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**FARMING AND FARM LABOR ARCHITECTURE IN JEFFERSON COUNTY,
WEST VIRGINIA**

**REPORT PREPARED AS AN ADDENDUM TO
THE HISTORIC STRUCTURES SURVEY
AND DETERMINATION OF ELIGIBILITY REPORT,
WEST VIRGINIA ROUTE 9 IMPROVEMENT PROJECT
STATE PROJECT U.19-9-10.43
JEFFERSON COUNTY, WEST VIRGINIA**

**WEST VIRGINIA DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION
DIVISION OF HIGHWAYS**

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A. INTRODUCTION

As requested, additional historical research has been conducted into the history of agriculture in Jefferson County, West Virginia, and particularly within the proposed West Virginia Route 9 Improvement project survey area. The purpose of the additional research was to provide further background context for the evaluation of certain farm dwellings identified through field survey as likely to have been historically related to nineteenth century and early twentieth century tenant farming. Research was performed at the Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore, Maryland; the Library of Congress, U.S. National Archives, and D.A.R. Library, all in Washington, D.C.; the Jefferson County Public Library, Charlestown, West Virginia; and the West Virginia University Library, Morgantown, West Virginia. Research contacts or correspondence also took place with the West Virginia State Archives (Division of Archives and History) and with Mr. William Theriault of the Jefferson County Landmarks Commission.

As field survey identified a number of dwellings which most likely served as tenant houses, an in-depth examination was made of all available materials relevant to the topics of tenant farming and tenant housing in West Virginia, in general, and Jefferson County, in particular. Farm tenancy in Jefferson County was compared with tenancy in both West Virginia, as a whole, and the United States from the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century through the second quarter of the twentieth century. Other indications of agricultural productivity and economics were examined in order to provide a background for the phenomenon of farm tenancy. As research indicated that certain identified tenant houses may have earlier served as slave quarters, some additional research was also performed concerning the prevalence of slaveholding in the county before the Civil War.

The forms of tenant housing found in Jefferson County were also examined. Dwelling types that appear to be associated with Jefferson County tenant housing are described.

Based on examination of the 1852 and 1883 land ownership maps (see Appendix B) and other available historical sources, a list was compiled of landowners in the project survey area who were associated with surveyed properties. Research into census and related records took place at the Library of Congress (agricultural census data and compiled reports, 1880-1935), the U.S. National Archives (population census schedules, 1790-1920), the D.A.R. Library (indices to West Virginia population census schedules, 1860-1880) and the West Virginia University Library (agricultural census schedules of 1880 and West Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station Survey of 1915-1916).

Population census schedules for Jefferson County are complete and extant from 1810 through 1920 (except the 1890 Census, entirely lost through fire); records for the first two Federal censuses, 1790 and 1800, have been lost for Berkeley County, Virginia, from which Jefferson County was taken in 1801. The amount and degree of information about farming, farm trends, farm labor, and farm housing available through census research varies widely from census to census. Population schedules prior to 1850 do not specify occupation and do not indicate names of members of households except the head of household; population schedules prior to 1910 do not include a category for "rental" versus "owned" housing.

Specific information about farm tenancy was first included in the 1880 Census, from which original agricultural schedules have survived (they may be consulted at West Virginia University Library). Original agricultural census schedules for 1890, 1900, and 1910 are not available for Jefferson County (the schedules have been lost), but data from Census Bureau compilations may be utilized to determine trends of the 1890-1910 period. Survey forms utilized during the 1915-1916 West Virginia Agricultural Experiment Survey are not available for Jefferson County, though a large and highly informative collection of these forms is held at West Virginia University Library.

Research has indicated that slave labor on farms prior to the Civil War and tenant farming after 1865 were prevalent trends within Jefferson County. Revealed in surviving

records, including census schedules, maps, county records, and local histories, each of these trends led to construction and use of secondary dwellings on farms in the project survey area. Such secondary dwellings included single-pen and double-pen dwellings dating to prior to the Civil War, and I-houses built for tenants near the beginning of the twentieth century. As tenant farming was frequent in Jefferson County during the latter nineteenth century and early twentieth century, the demand for tenant housing resulted in new construction.

Following the main addendum text, a bibliography has been included, with primary and secondary sources as well as research contacts listed. Appendix A includes landowning family histories relating to surveyed resources where slaveowning or tenant farming may have occurred. Historic maps consulted (1820, 1852, 1883, and 1928) are reproduced in Appendix B. Appendix C includes excerpts from the 1880 U.S. agricultural census records for the Charlestown and Harper's Ferry Enumeration Districts, with bolded names of farmers known to have farmed within the project area.

B. OVERVIEW OF SLAVERY AND EARLY TENANT FARMING IN THE UNITED STATES

Numerous studies have indicated that prior to the Civil War the employment of slaves on farms by white farmers was common throughout the south Atlantic states, including much of Virginia. In 1860, the entire South held only 46,274 farmers owning 20 or more slaves; most white farmers held less than 20 slaves (Tindall 1984, 1: 548). Over half of all slaves in 1860 worked on plantations, and most were fieldhands (Tindall 1984, I: 555). That part of Virginia's Shenandoah Valley which included the West Virginia Route 9 Improvement project survey area (Frederick County, Virginia until 1772; Berkeley County, 1772-1801; Jefferson County, Virginia (1801-1862) and West Virginia (1862-present)), however, was marked by farms with less than 10 slaves. Much of the Shenandoah Valley was settled during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries by Pennsylvania Germans who disapproved of slavery. However, research indicates that prior to 1860 Jefferson County was populated with a mix of farmers of varied English, Scotch-Irish, and German backgrounds (Mitchell 1972).

Farm tenancy, or the rental and working of farm land belonging to another, has been a factor in American agriculture since colonial days. Although found in all areas of the continental United States, farm tenancy was primarily characteristic of the southern states. Farm tenancy arose originally in the American colonies as a result of huge eighteenth century land grants and the availability of cheap land -- land that was often acquired by rich land speculators as well as yeoman farmers. Tenancy in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia has been documented as early as 1754, when William Beverley leased parcels of his 2,050-acre Mill Tract in Augusta County for terms of 57 to 89 years at annual rates of 20 to 45 shillings per year. By 1762, Beverley had leased 1,367 acres of his tract to six tenants (Mitchell 1977:64-69).

Although the 1785 Land Ordinance Act was intended to make plentiful and cheap land in the west available to the citizenry, speculators frequently acquired large tracts of

land, and tenancy continued to develop, much to the chagrin of Jeffersonian public figures who regarded tenant farmers as a class of persons with little to contribute to social stability (Atack 1988:14). Many public figures saw a clear social distinction between the farm tenant and the farm owner, but in reality the distinction was less precise. There was also a third type of farmer, the part-owner, who owned a tract of land, small or large, which was not adequate to his needs, and who augmented his acreage with other's land.

C. WEST VIRGINIA AND JEFFERSON COUNTY SLAVERY (PRE-1860) AND TENANT FARMING (FOURTH QUARTER OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY)

Although in-depth investigation of the history of slavery in West Virginia and Jefferson County was not requested, research for the addendum report indicated that several resources (Resources #63, #73, and #82) were likely former slave quarters. An examination of available population census schedules for Jefferson County during the period 1790-1860 indicated that small-scale or medium-scale slaveowning on farms in the area was a common phenomenon. The majority of the project area's white landowning families of the pre-Civil War era held slaves, although few families appear to have held more than 10 slaves total, including both fieldhands and domestic workers (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1790-1860). Prominent families such as the Briscoes, Lacklands, Moores and Eichelbergers held large farms, as depicted on Howell Brown's 1852 map of the county (see Appendix B), and these were often listed in the 1850 and 1860 census as "home farms" indicating a pattern of ownership over several generations (Brown 1852; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1850, 1860). Though farm slaveholding in Jefferson County did not reach the large scale of plantations in the Lower South or even Tidewater Virginia, it occasioned construction of likely slave quarters within the project survey area.

Farm tenancy records for Jefferson County for much of the nineteenth century are only sporadically available. Prior to the 1880 Census, officials had no accurate way in which to gauge the extent of tenancy in the United States. The 1880 U.S. Census, however, found that one quarter of all the farmers in the country did not own the farms that they operated. The situation was more pronounced in the South Atlantic and East South Central regions, where regional tenancy rates exceeded 36 percent (Goldenweisser and Truesdell 1924:23), and where tenant farming was often seen as a legacy of slavery (Reid 1979:154,155). Compared with its southern neighbors, the farm tenancy rate in West Virginia (included in the South Atlantic region) of 19.1 percent was

significantly lower, although much higher than the rates found in New England (8.5 percent) and the Mountain region (7.4 percent).

The officially calculated tenancy rate for Jefferson County at that time is not available, but there are indications that the rate for the county may have been significantly higher than the West Virginia average. Analysis of the 1880 U.S. Census agriculture schedules (the actual field data sheets) for two project area districts, Charles Town District and Harpers Ferry District (see Appendix), indicate that the tenancy rates for the two districts were 48 percent and 29 percent, respectively. The tenancy rate for Charles Town District's 52 farms was strikingly higher not only than the state's (19.1 percent), but also the South Atlantic region's (36.8 percent) (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1880). The schedules indicated the form of farm tenure according to three classifications, "owner", "rents for fixed money rental", and "rents for shares of profits". The field interviewer checked only one of the boxes to show tenure, a procedure that did not indicate when a farm was partly owned and partly tenant farmed, a pattern of operation that would become more prevalent in the twentieth century.

In 1880, the form of tenancy in Charles Town District was overwhelmingly share cropping (23 cases), compared with rental (2 cases). The prevalence of share cropping in the district (92 percent of all tenancy) was much higher than that of West Virginia as a whole, where share tenancy was 64.2 percent and rental was 35.8 percent.

The unusually large size of the tenant farms in Charles Town District is also worthy of note; the average size of the share-cropped farms was 258 acres, while that of rented farms was 253 acres. What is particularly surprising is that average farm size of both forms of tenancy exceeded the 245 acres of the average owner-operated farm in the two districts. Comparative statistics for the state and the region are not available, but the high acreage of tenant farms as compared with owner-operated farms in Charles Town District was at variance with the usual perception of tenancy as the poor farmer's

alternative to farm ownership. The pattern for Harpers Ferry District is similar to Charles Town District's, but the low number of farms reported (14) reduce the reliability of the results in this district.

The 1890 U.S. Census indicated that the incidence of farm tenancy in the United States had increased to 28.4 percent (Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1914:V,102). Tenancy in West Virginia had decreased to 17.7 percent by that time (Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1914:VII,867). Data for Jefferson County and Charles Town and Harpers Ferry districts have not been located, but comparison of data from 1880 and 1910 suggests that tenancy rose during the period.

The increase in farm tenancy during the 1880-1890 period caused the U.S. Bureau of the Census to gather increasing amounts of data on the subject in 1900. At that time, it was found that tenancy in the United States had risen to 35.3 percent. West Virginia's incidence of tenancy had risen to 21.8 percent, significantly below that of its southern neighbors (Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1914:V,102).

The census of 1900 is the first for which agricultural census data for Jefferson County was published. The 42.5 percent tenancy rate for the county was significantly higher than that of West Virginia as a whole. Although lower than Jefferson County's, the tenancy rates of neighboring Berkeley County (34.2 percent) and Virginia's Loudoun County (30.4 percent) suggest that regional factors may have played a part in the high incidence of tenant farming in Jefferson County. Population census schedules for Jefferson County for the entire nineteenth century were also examined. The population census schedules for 1870 and 1880 do not include a category for "owned" or "rented" dwellings but do reveal that many members of large farm households were listed as "farm hands" or "farm laborers" in 1870 and 1880. Some of these occupants were related by blood to the head of household (they were sons, nephews, cousins, or grandsons) but many held different surnames, which may indicate that they were farm

tenants unrelated to the head of household (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1870, 1880b).

D. WEST VIRGINIA AND JEFFERSON COUNTY TENANT FARMING IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

The 1910 U.S. Census provided the most accurate information up to that time concerning tenancy in the United States. Aware of the increasing public attention paid to the problem of farm tenure, the authors of the report observed that "One of the most important branches of agricultural statistics is that which relates to the distribution of farms and farm property according to the tenure under which the farm operator holds the land" (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1914:V,97).

Census officials of 1910 carefully defined the various forms of farm tenure found at the time:

Farm owners include (1) farmers operating their own land only, and (2) those operating both their own land and some land hired from others.

Managers are farmers who are conducting farm operations for the owner for wages or a salary.

Farm tenants are farmers who, as tenants, renters, or croppers, operate hired land only. They were reported in 1910 in three classes: (1) Share tenants -- those who pay a certain share of the products, as one-half, one-third, or one-quarter; (2) share-cash tenants -- those who pay a share of the products for part of the land rented by them and cash for part; and (3) cash tenants -- those who pay a cash rental or a stated amount of labor or products, such as \$7, 10 bushels of wheat, or 100 pounds of seed cotton per acre (Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1914:97).

The census revealed that farm tenancy in West Virginia as a whole declined slightly from its 1900 level of 21.8 percent to 20.5 percent in 1910, when the national rate was 37.0 percent. However, during the same period, Jefferson County tenancy rose slightly from its 1900 level of 42.5 percent to 43.7 percent in 1910. Share tenancy continued to be the predominant mode in Jefferson County in 1910; share tenants made up 82.2 percent of county tenant farmers (compared with 48.3 percent for the state), with

cash tenants comprising 15.9 percent (compared with 43.2 percent for the state). The 1910 census added a category for "share cash tenants" (who shared the profits rather than the bounty of their labor) and a category for "not specified" forms of tenancy; the percentage of both categories were negligible for the county (1.6 percent and 0.3 percent), as well as for the state.

The pattern of unusually large tenant farms detected in the 1880 census schedules for Charles Town District was confirmed by results of the published 1910 census analysis of Jefferson County, when tenant-operated farms averaged 179.6 acres. Data provided by the 1910 census suggested that the large tenant-operated farms found in Charles Town District in 1880 were not an anomaly within the county: large tenant-operated farms were, if not the norm, not at all unusual in Jefferson County in the final quarter of the nineteenth century and the first part of the twentieth century..

The size of Jefferson County tenant-operated farms increased at the expense of owner-operated farms between 1880 and 1910. In 1880, Charles Town District's tenant and owner-operated farms were at near parity in size, but there was a large variance between the two types of farms in the county in 1910; the average tenant farm acreage (179.6 acres) was significantly larger than owner-operated farms (115.8 acres). This pattern was echoed by neighboring Berkeley County, where tenant-operated farms averaged 156.4 acres, compared with 104.1 acres for owner-operated farms. Although Jefferson County owner-operated farms were similar in size to those of West Virginia as a whole (107.7 acres), the tenant-operated farms were considerably larger than the state's (78.5 acres). The thirteen manager-operated farms in Jefferson County, a new category in 1910, were similar in size (166.9 acres) to the tenant-operated farms.

While agricultural census schedules and published compilations offer the most informative portrayal of farm tenancy in Jefferson County, the decennial census population schedules provide further useful data. Prior to the 1900 Census, the population census records did not include specific categories listing whether a dwelling

associated with a given farm household was owned or rented. Though the 1900 Population Census did include a column for such information, the census enumerators who covered the Charlestown, West Virginia, area in 1900 did not consistently fill out the column. Beginning with the 1910 Census, however, figures for house ownership or occupancy are available. A tabulation was made to determine the total of all residences owned by those listed as "farmers", "general farmers", or "farm laborers", versus all residences rented by the same types of residents.

The totals indicate that in 1910, within the Charlestown Census Enumeration District, covering the entire West Virginia Route 9 Improvement project survey area, 90 residences were owned by farmers, general farmers, or farm laborers, while 141 farm residences were rented dwellings. This finding supports the conclusion, drawn from agricultural census schedules for 1910, that farm tenancy remained widespread in Jefferson County. The total of 141 rented farm-related dwellings does not indicate that there were 141 tenant farms in operation in 1910, but only that 141 persons associated with farming were living in rented residences at that time. Given this qualification, the apparent rise in farm tenancy in the area between 1880 and 1910 may have been less dramatic. The 1910 Population Census for the area records that more than 90 percent of farm tenants in Charlestown District by that date were white (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1910, Population Schedules, Jefferson County).

E. AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTIVITY AND INDEBTEDNESS IN JEFFERSON COUNTY

The 1910 census presented data which may partly explain Jefferson County's anomalous tenant farm situation, compared to state-wide figures. The data indicated that while the average Jefferson County farm was much more productive than the average West Virginia farm, farm mortgages were also significantly higher in Jefferson County.

In 1910, the productivity of the Jefferson County farm, compared with the average West Virginia farm, was significantly higher in all categories. Crop receipts for the 836 farms in Jefferson County averaged \$1,513.48 per farm per annum, over three times higher than the \$417.60 for the average West Virginia farm. Significant crops grown and sold in the county included corn, oats, wheat, rye, potatoes, and orchard fruits (particularly apples). Receipts for livestock sales and products (including milk, butter, cheeses, eggs, wool and mohair) were likewise significantly higher for Jefferson County, particularly the value of animals sold or slaughtered; for Jefferson County, average receipts per farm in this category were valued at \$479.72, much higher than West Virginia's \$200.22. Overall figures confirmed that Jefferson County was a highly prosperous agricultural region, far more productive than most West Virginia counties.

However, during the early twentieth century, Jefferson County owner-operators were much more likely to be in debt than their equivalents in the rest of the state; 35.0 percent of Jefferson owner-operators had mortgages on their farms, nearly three times the average of 12.6 percent for West Virginia owner-operators as a whole. Two factors contributed to this high rate of indebtedness: land was considerably more expensive in Jefferson County than in the rest of the state (an average of \$53.55 per acre, compared with \$20.65 for the rest of the state); and Jefferson County farmers invested far more heavily in implements and machinery. In 1910, Jefferson County farmers reported an

average per farm value of implements and machinery of \$336.55, nearly five times greater than the \$72.52 reported for the state as a whole. In 1900, Jefferson County farmers had reported an average of \$336.55 per farm, four times the \$54.27 reported by the farmers of West Virginia. Although the machinery and implement investment in Jefferson County was high in 1900, it increased 50 percent in the following decade, much higher than the 33 percent increase in the state as a whole. This high level of investment in machinery and implements in part permitted Jefferson County to dramatically outstrip the productivity of West Virginia farms as a whole. At the same time, this high rate of investment, coupled with the high cost of land in the county, contributed to the high degree of indebtedness of Jefferson County owner-operators.

The capital-intensive nature of Jefferson County farming set it apart from West Virginia agriculture as a whole during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Jefferson County's high rate of farm tenancy, and the unusually large farms run by farm tenants, may be related to the county's capital-intensive farming. Although a breakdown of the value of Jefferson County machinery and implements by tenure was not provided by the 1910 census, comparison of the value of land and buildings for Jefferson County for owner, tenant, and manager-operated farms indicates that the per farm average value was highest for tenant-operated farms (\$11,599.48), followed by manager-operated farms (\$10,507.70), and lowest for owner-operated farms (\$9,009.88).

Jefferson County, with its high land values, high fertility, and high rates of tenancy, fit the pattern noted in the 1924 U.S. Bureau of the Census monograph, Farm Tenancy in the United States:

...it is a generally accepted theory that high-priced land and a high rate of tenancy usually or always go together. In explanation of the relationship it is stated that the high price of the land (with the consequent difficulty of purchase), on the one hand, makes tenancy necessary, while the high productive value of the land, on the other hand, makes tenancy possible, for a farm in order to be rentable must produce sufficient income to enable the tenant to pay his rent and make his own living besides (Goldenweisser and Truesdell 1924:54).

Although during the Great Depression share-cropping became publicly associated with abject poverty (as depicted graphically by Farm Security Administration photographs of impoverished share-croppers and their families), tenant farming in the United States prior to the 1930s was in fact often accompanied by fertile soils, consequent high land values, and high productivity.

Clearly, Jefferson County tenant farmers of the last quarter of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were not mired in an unproductive, dependent farm system, but were engaged in profitable cultivation of a fertile area. Jefferson County land was expensive and did not change hands as often as in other regions, making it difficult for entrepreneurs to "buy in" to a region favored with extremely rich agricultural lands (Clark 1969:27-33), close proximity to eastern markets, and a well developed transportation network. The high rate of indebtedness among Jefferson County owner-operators in 1910 indicates that at least a third of them were having difficulty financing the improvements necessary to engage in productive farming. Although unwilling to sell their land, many Jefferson County landowners appear to have been willing to hire out at least a portion of their lands on a share basis, confident that they would derive a full share of the tenant farmer's bountiful crops and profitable livestock production -- and that the land would still be theirs when they had eliminated their debt. Overcoming the obstacle of not owning their own farms, many tenant farmers of Jefferson County had the capital to make the investments needed to achieve the high productivity required by the forfeiture to the landlord of a third to a half of their production. Although the profits of both landowner and tenant farmer were reduced by their being shared with another party, the high productivity of Jefferson County agriculture made tenancy a lucrative proposition for both.

In West Virginia, as elsewhere in the United States, a landowner could also hire out his land to a neighboring landowner. The 1910 census was careful to delineate between tenant farmers, who owned none of the land they farmed, and those who owned some of the land that they farmed, who were classified as owners. Only 7.4

percent of owner-operated farms in Jefferson County (compared with 10.1 percent for the state) were augmented by "hired land", but the typical acreage of the "hired land" cannot be ascertained from the data provided.

F. THE WEST VIRGINIA AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION SURVEY OF 1915-1916

In 1915 and 1916, the West Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station, Department of Farm Management exhaustively surveyed West Virginia farms. Using forms developed by the United States Department of Agriculture, Office of the Secretary for Farm Management, surveyors gathered in-depth information on the ownership, management, productivity, and physical characteristics of West Virginia farms. The survey was conducted throughout West Virginia, covering every farm in every county. Thousands of these forms, which carefully identify farm locations, are held in the West Virginia Archives of West Virginia University Library, but the forms for Jefferson County were evidently lost prior to the acquisition of the collection by the library archives. No additional forms are held at the West Virginia State Archives or any other known repository.

Nevertheless, select descriptive information from the surveys can perhaps offer some insights into a system of farm tenure that was so widely practiced in Jefferson County. The surveys detailed how land was used, how much hired land cost, and provided some idea of the housing that tenant farmers, as well as hired labor, inhabited. The following examples were gathered from Greenbrier County, which had a low rate (10.5 percent) of tenant farming.

Both "cash rented" and "share rented" tenancy were recorded, the latter form of tenancy typically registering the landlord's share of produce at one-third or one-half. The surveyor noted that one 32-year-old tenant farmer, operating a 225-acre share-rented farm, "furnishes part of machinery, does work, and gets 1/2 of crops." The tenant farmer lived in a house valued at \$400; other farm buildings were valued at \$100. The tenant farmer hired extra help for three months of the year, for \$100. He split the cost of fertilizer with the landlord, and took care of the shoeing of his own horses.

Another tenant farmer, aged 47, cash rented 61 acres (for \$75 per year) and share rented 79 acres, totalling 140 acres. The tenant farmer used hired labor for 1.5 months, of which he paid for the half month, and the landlord for the full month. A dwelling, valued at \$1,500, and another house, valued at \$400, were located on the land.

A number of "part owners" were found, who augmented their own farms by the hiring of neighboring land. The size of the additional hired tracts varied widely. One 68-year-old farmer owned 50 acres and augmented his small holding with the share rental of 22 acres of his neighbor's land. Inhabiting a weatherboarded log house, built circa 1845, the farmer hired no additional labor, but received \$100 per year for "teaming" (which one may infer referred either to the rental of his horse(s) or to the driving of a team on another farm).

Another part owner hired a considerably larger piece of land. This 30-year-old farmer augmented his 140 acres with 440 acres of share rented land. He hired both full-time and part-time labor to assist with the work: he paid \$210 for regular labor on a twelve-month basis, augmented by three months of extra labor, for which he paid an additional \$75. He provided room and board to the extra labor, valued at \$12. The laborer apparently lived with the owner's family in the only dwelling listed on the land, a house valued at \$3,000.

Similar to the above situation, the owner of a substantial 280-acre farm cash rented an additional 620 acres from a neighbor, farming a total of 900 acres. He provided room and board to one worker for twelve months, and to another for eight months. He provided room and board to both men. He apparently lived in a house, valued at \$2,000, located on his landlord's land, and provided accommodations to the hired labor in another house, or houses (also valued at \$2,000), also located on the landlord's land. Other buildings on the landlord's land were valued at \$1,000.

The survey of another large farm, this one owned by a widow and her daughters, gave a picture of arrangements made for farm labor and their housing. On this 1,000-acre farm, two men were hired throughout the year, augmented by extra labor for ten months. Board was not provided to these men, but they apparently lived in "tenant houses" (the number of houses was not specified) valued at \$500. It appears that the "tenant houses" were not used by tenant farmers working hired land, but by the laborers hired as employees by the landlord. The form also noted a main dwelling (valued at \$2,000) and a 100-year-old log house on the property; whether this log house was used for accommodation of the laborers is not clear.

G. JEFFERSON COUNTY TENANT FARMING AFTER 1915

Data from the 1915-16 West Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station survey of farms in other counties suggest that part owners in Jefferson County, although numerically small (7.4 percent in 1910), may have augmented their own small to medium size holdings by the hiring of large tracts of land. Such data would not become published until the census report on agriculture of 1935.

The 1920 census revealed that the rate of tenancy had changed very little in Jefferson County since 1910, dropping slightly from 43.7 percent in 1910 to 42.3 percent (compared with an overall West Virginia rate of 25.6 percent) in 1920 (Goldenweisser and Truesdell 1924:246). Other indicators of farm management and productivity in Jefferson County likewise remained stable.

The 1935 census report on agriculture revealed that the tenancy rate remained essentially stable during the throes of the Great Depression; the percentage of Jefferson County farms in 1930 operated by tenant farmers had declined only slightly to 40.8 percent. During the same period, the tenancy rate for West Virginia as a whole had declined to 18.9 percent (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1935:II,459). Augmentation of large farms by hired land was a growing phenomenon.

The 1935 census report provided the first published record of the extent of land hire by part owners: of the 6,791 acres in Jefferson County farmed by part owners, 49.7 percent was hired land (Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1935:II,459). This trend continued nationally through the mid-twentieth century, changing the meaning of farm tenancy. As expressed by the historian James S. Fisher in The Encyclopedia of Southern History:

Since World War II a modern tenant variant evolved even as croppers and other tenants were disappearing. Although numerically not great, the modern tenant accounts for a significant part of the southern production of tobacco, cotton, soybean, peanuts, and sugarcane. He is typically a landowner with capital, who therefore can expand his agricultural operation by renting additional land. The connotation of the modern tenant is in complete contrast to the traditional tenant varieties who preceded the 1940s (Roller and Twyman 1979:1187).

H. FORMS OF FARM LABOR HOUSING IN JEFFERSON COUNTY

Survey of historic structures in the Route 9 Improvement Study corridor, encompassing parts of Charles Town and Harpers Ferry districts, as well as land on the east bank of the Shenandoah River, identified six dwellings that may have served as agricultural tenant houses, either in the sense of houses for tenant farmers, properly understood, or in the general sense as housing for agricultural employees. A general caveat is necessary: firm identification of tenant houses in the area is dependent on detailed data such as those collected in 1915-16 by the West Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station. The 1915-1916 forms collected by the latter agency unfortunately are not available for Jefferson County; the forms were lost prior to acquisition of other surviving forms by the archives of the West Virginia University Library. Without such conclusive data, identification of tenant houses in the area cannot be as accurate as desired. Nonetheless, the architectural types found among the resources identified as tenant houses include single-pen houses, a double-pen "dogtrot" house, and several early twentieth century (circa 1900-1920) frame I-houses.

Some buildings that survive as identified tenant houses on area farms may have originated as quarters built to house slaves; these may include Resources #63, #73, and #82. Architectural historian John Michael Vlach has noted that by the early nineteenth century the architecture of plantation slavery typically included slave quarters for house slaves and field slaves. House slave dwellings were generally set behind or to the side of the planter's house, "where they would not contend with it visually", while dwellings erected for field slaves were generally located a considerable distance away from the main house and the center of domestic activity (Vlach 1993:21).

Vlach has noted that the "minimal" dwellings constructed to house field slaves "frequently were only one-room structures", but that hall-and-parlor forms as well as two-unit, or double-pen, structures were also commonly built throughout the South. Designs for slave housing were primarily based on the Anglo-American architectural tradition

employing square or rectangular room units, but Vlach has observed that such units were also "the basic design elements along the coasts of West and Central Africa, indicating that slave housing in the United States may retain African as well as Euro-derived features of form" (Vlach 1993:160, 247 note 30).

Single-pen structures included log cabins and frame cabins covered in simple plank siding. Within the Route 9 project survey area, Resources #63 and #82 are representative of these forms. Documentary evidence indicated that Resource #63, a one-story log house built circa 1840-1860, was likely built as slave quarters at Samuel Lackland's "Riverside" farm and may have been employed later as a tenant house by the farm's second owner Thomas Lackland (see Appendix A). Research suggested that Resource #82, a small plank house constructed in the early nineteenth century, may have been erected to house slaves belonging to Major Thomas Briscoe, a prominent landowner of Jefferson County who owned some 17 slaves in 1830 and 1840, according to population census schedules.

Hall-and-parlor houses with two room plans were also sometimes built in the South (Vlach 1993:158). Vlach also identified as another common type of slave quarter during the antebellum period a "two-unit building, which was essentially two single-pen cabins joined under one roof, with either a single chimney placed between the two rooms or a chimney located at each gable end" (Vlach 1993:159). The two-unit, or double-pen, "dogtrot" house, also built as quarters for field slaves, included two rooms separated by an open breezeway, "a layout that is the spatial equivalent of a center-passage house" (Vlach 1993:160).

Folk culture historian Henry Glassie rejected the attribution of the dogtrot house to "Scandinavian influence" and "American ingenuity", instead asserting that "the dogtrot house is, actually, a subtype of the old hall and parlor house built symmetrically with a central hall, one of the most common house types in the Southern Tidewater source area from Pamlico Sound in North Carolina through eastern Georgia" (Glassie 1968:89,96).

More recently, Terry Jordan and Matti Kaups have theorized that the dogtrot cabin originated in the Karelian-Finnish area of Europe and was disseminated through the Delaware Valley and Pennsylvania during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, into the backwoods of the Shenandoah and Cumberland valleys (Jordan and Kaups 1989:179-196).

The "dogtrot" house has been described as follows by architectural historian John Michael Vlach in his Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery:

In plan, the colorfully labeled dogtrot house consists of two rooms separated by an open breezeway, a layout that is the spatial equivalent of a center-passage house....Two different families usually occupied the two halves of a dogtrot cabin but shared the common space in the middle....When the same house was built by white yeoman farmers, the doors into the rooms usually opened off the passageway, so that the building was seen by passers-by as one dwelling rather than as two cabins under one roof....Each log pen had its own front door, immediately indicating that the small structure was intended for double-family rather than single-family occupancy (Vlach 1993:160).

The dogtrot house found in the project survey area (Resource #73) is of the double-family type, indicating that it was originally built as slave quarters for two families. Early Jefferson County's slaveowning pattern makes it likely that this dogtrot house was indeed a double-family slave dwelling, confirming Vlach's observations on occupancy of such dwellings. Late eighteenth century Berkeley County tax data indicated that there were 1,452 slaves in the part of the county that subsequently became Jefferson County (Washington 1967:67). Examination and analysis of U.S. Census population schedules for Jefferson County revealed that the majority of white farmers in the area owned less than 10 slaves total (field hands and domestic servants both). Slaveholding was apparently a pattern in the project survey area among farmers of all backgrounds, albeit on a smaller scale than in Tidewater Virginia or the Lower South.

Slave dwellings of all types were rarely built of materials other than simple logs or timber frames covered with planks. For this reason, their survival into the present day is a rare phenomenon. Vlach has emphasized that the typical slave quarters were crudely built structures that remained "bare geometric expressions -- square or rectangular boxes with roofs" after the Civil War:

Few of them had porches or shed additions that might indicate attempts by former slave occupants either to exercise a degree of choice in their houses' design or to personalize the buildings. The walls, often left unpainted, were pierced only by a door and a few square holes for windows, if there were any windows. Dark both inside and out, these buildings would only on rare occasions be taken for homes. They were clearly slave quarters, a type of outbuilding that in size, form, construction, and finish closely resembled a kitchen, dairy, smokehouse, or tool shed. Quarters were meant to function chiefly as shelters for people who, by definition, were not allowed to own homes (Vlach 1993:162-163).

While crudely-built slave quarters were intended purely as shelter for bound workers, dwellings associated with white yeomen farmers typically reflected a different purpose even if such farmers were tenants. As Vlach has noted, "no matter how ramshackle its condition, the cabin of a white yeomen farmer was usually seen as the lively core of a free and independent homestead" (Vlach 1993:163). As farming grew in scope and household-related activities required more space within the farmhouse, dwelling types larger than the simple one-room or two-room cabin were introduced. Through the late nineteenth and into the early twentieth century, in West Virginia and throughout the Shenandoah valley, a popular, versatile house form built for yeomen farms and tenant housing was the I-house.

In the early years of the nineteenth century, new construction techniques replaced log construction. The one room-deep I-house, known in contemporary British literature as the "farmhouse," was developed in the first half of the nineteenth century and was

used through the first quarter of the twentieth century. Cultural geographer Joseph W. Glass has commented on the form:

It has been suggested that the "I-house" may have evolved through a ground level pairing of basic one-room structures plus a subsequent addition of a second floor to the pair. Already well developed as style in the vicinity of the Delaware and Chesapeake Bay area prior to 1700, it was diffused through the southern end of the Appalachians as well as through and across them (Glass 1986:130).

The standard I-house is one room deep, with five bays on each of two stories. The entrance is centered on the symmetrical facade and there are chimneys at the gable ends. On the interior, a central hall separates two rooms on the first floor; the second floor contains either two or four sleeping chambers. Later examples of I-houses possessed gables with one or two windows, and were three, rather than five, bays wide. Due to the narrowness of the main core, many I-houses have kitchen wings to the rear. Initially, stone masonry construction prevailed: by the mid-nineteenth century, as pre-cut lumber became increasingly available, frame construction became the norm.

The three-bay I-houses identified as tenant housing in the Route 9 project area were typically built at the beginning of the twentieth century. Less expensive to build than the two-room deep housing lived in by large landowners, the economical, three-bay I-house was suited to the comparatively modest needs of a tenant farmer and his family, as well as the permanent agricultural employees of a large farm.

Although Jefferson County data from the 1915-1916 West Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station survey has not been located, it is likely that the data available for other counties can provide some insight into tenant housing in Jefferson County. Many of the larger farms (150 acres or more) described by the survey featured more than one house, suggesting that laborers may have been housed in secondary dwellings located on the property. Farms smaller than 150 acres only infrequently featured additional

dwellings, and just as rarely had need of additional labor. When provided with room and board, laborers hired to work on smaller farms typically lived with the farmer in the sole dwelling on the farm.

On larger farms, the additional houses were frequently specified as "old" on surviving 1915-1916 West Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station forms for counties other than Jefferson County. These older additional houses may have been the former dwellings of the landowner or his ancestors, or they may have been the dwellings of landowners whose land was subsequently purchased in the amalgamation of larger farms. In some cases, the older additional dwellings on larger farms may have been former overseer houses or slave quarters. Undoubtedly, newer tenant housing had to be built on occasion; the economical I-house form, which housed farmers, overseers, and slaves throughout the nineteenth century, was a likely choice for such new construction (Vlach 1993:28). The 1915-16 survey indicated that the use of the term "tenant houses" did not necessarily denote actual farm tenancy; the term could also refer to housing provided for hired labor.

I. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Although extensive research into the history of slavery in Jefferson County was not undertaken, research was performed to approximately determine the prevalent scale and pattern of slaveowning within the rural areas of the county during the period for which U.S. Census population schedules are available (1810-1860). Research indicated that, unlike much of the rest of the Shenandoah Valley, where non-slaveowning farmers of Pennsylvania German background predominated, Jefferson County was populated by a mix of white slaveholding farmers or heads of household of German, English, or Scotch-Irish background. Census records show that slaveholding on farms in the area occurred on a small or medium-sized scale, with the majority of farmers holding less than 10 slaves, including field hands and domestic servants. The need to house slaves, however, led to construction of slave quarters, which may have been later used as tenant houses. Documentary evidence indicates that within the Route 9 project survey area, Resource #63 (a one-story log house), Resource #73 (a dogtrot dwelling), and Resource #82 (a small plank house), were likely former slave quarters and are representative of the simple house forms employed for that purpose.

Examination of U.S Census data from 1880 to 1935 indicated that tenant farming in Jefferson County was considerably more extensive than in West Virginia as a whole. Tenant farms in Jefferson County were much larger than those found in most West Virginia counties during the same period and compared favorably with Jefferson County owner-operated farms during the same period. The strength of Jefferson County tenant farming appears to have been a result of the area's very fertile soil, consequent high land values, and the indebtedness of owner-operators. Together with owner-operated farms, tenant farms in Jefferson County were much more productive than those found in most West Virginia counties. Tenant farming appears to have been a very significant component of the success of Jefferson County agriculture from the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century through at least the first quarter of the twentieth century, as supported

also by the high farm tenancy rate revealed in the 1910 U.S. Census population schedules for the Charlestown Enumeration District covering the project survey area.

Compiled from all available research sources including census records, profiles of important white farm families in the area revealed that many such families held slaves prior to the Civil War and employed "farm laborers" or "farmhands" after 1865. Tenant dwellings, understood as the housing of either tenant farmers or full-time resident agricultural laborers, could be former slave quarters , the houses of former owner-operators, or economical three-bay frame l-houses built at the beginning of the twentieth century.

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APPENDIX A:
FAMILY HISTORIES AND SURVEYED RESOURCES
INCLUDING POTENTIAL TENANT HOUSES

As requested, additional research has been performed to determine the historical role of prominent families who were active in farming within the West Virginia Route 9 Improvement project survey area and associated with identified historic resources. Research drew on all available historical sources, including local histories, biographical publications for West Virginia and Jefferson County, the 1852 and 1883 Jefferson County land ownership maps issued by S. Howell Brown (see Appendix B), plat maps compiled from Jefferson County records, and U.S. Census population schedules for the entire available span from 1810 through 1880, and 1900 through 1920 (the 1790 and 1800 census records for the project survey area were lost in 1814 when the British burned Federal records, and the 1890 schedules were also lost through fire).

Research included investigation of all prominent landowners who appeared on the 1852 and 1883 maps (see Appendix B) and focused particularly on those influential farm families who at one time held land where resources identified through field survey as tenant-related or slave-related dwellings are now located. The following summaries recount the known history of these farm landowners, with the aim of further documenting their historical significance and their likely association with select surveyed resources within the project survey area. The summaries are keyed to resources identified during field survey, and issues relating to each resource, such as tenancy or family role in the area, are discussed in each summary.

JF-0008-0003/0004 Resources #3 and #4: Tate and Manning families

Surveyed resources #3 and #4 comprise a circa 1850-1870 side gable roof farmhouse and a twentieth century auction building. The farm property was historically associated with the Tate and Manning families. Resources #3 and #4 are located on a farm which by 1883 was Francis J. (Frank) Manning's farm "Vinton", but was held earlier by members of the Tate family. The farmhouse is a 2-story stuccoed I-house which is 3 bays wide on the first story with four window openings on the second story. The foundation is fieldstone. The side gable roof is covered in standing seam metal roofing, and is marked on the ends by two exterior end chimneys with flared bases. The front facade has a hipped roof porch with turned posts. A kitchen wing with cross-gable roof adjoins the rear facade. The glazed terra-cotta block livestock auction building with c.m.u. foundation is located to the east of the main house. The covered porch/stall area on the front facade is frame; the building is built on a sloping site and has a sunken basement level. There is a partial gable roof on the eastern portion of building, and a flat roof on the western portion.

Though no additional information was uncovered directly linking the Tate family to the construction of the circa 1850-1870 farmhouse on this property, the 1852 map of Jefferson County indicates that the house stood on Tate land. The Tates were prominent in the area as owners of the "Belvedere" farm (Resource #85, listed on the National Register) as well as the land which by 1883 became Francis Manning's "Vinton" farm (on which Resources #3 and #4 are located), but few Tates are listed in the census records. Historical sources indicate that Magnus Tate II (1732-1807) likely built the mansion house at "Belvedere" where he died. Historical and physical evidence indicates that the mansion was constructed on the former site of a log house (Album of Historic Homes XV Belvedere 1968:13-18). Magnus Tate II's son, William, inherited "Belvedere" plus 200 acres from his father, acquiring 16 additional acres later. William Tate died in 1818, passing the property to his son George. The William Tate estate was not formally divided until 1838, when his widow Abigail received a dower of 93 acres while son George and four other heirs each received 52 acres (George subsequently bought out the other three heirs). The Brown map of 1852 indicates that the "Belvedere" farm was then held by Abigail Tate and her late husband's heirs (Brown 1852; see Appendix B).

Abigail Tate died in 1862 (Album of Historic Homes XV Belvedere 1968:13-18). The Census of 1860 recorded Abigail Tate as a 72-year-old "Lady" and her son, George Tate, as a 46-year-old farmer. The household also contained two additional women, one aged 47 and the other 25, although their status within the household was not specified (U.S. Department of Commerce 1860, Population Schedule, Jefferson County, Va., 973).

On January 15, 1882, "Belvedere" (201 acres) was sold by George H. Tate and his niece Mary A. Daugherty to Thomas H. Bates of Philadelphia. Bates does not appear in any census records: the "Belvedere" property with all houses thereon was sold by the Bates family in 1937 to Thomas Hite Willis, a descendant of the Willis family who were also prominent in the area as owners of "Hopewell" (Resources #65, #66).

The Manning family appears in several late nineteenth and early twentieth century census records. "Frank" Manning is first listed in the 1880 Census as a 32-year-old white farmer and head of household, with wife Laura (31) "keeping house", three daughters, two sons, Edward Spare a "retired farmer" and "boarder", Lisey Painter a "seamstress", George Tucker a "laborer", and three servants including two males and one female (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1880b). Manning is listed in the 1880 agricultural census as owner of a 330 acre farm property (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1880a).

Francis J. Manning was shown on the 1883 map as owner of the "Vinton" farm. Manning also appeared in the 1900 census as a white male "farmer" and married head of household aged 51, living with his wife and one daughter. Manning did not appear in the 1910 census.

Resource #8: Hooff and Middlekauff Families

Surveyed resource #8 comprises a circa 1840-1850 side gable roof farmhouse, located on the "Oakland" farm. The farm property was historically associated with the Hooff and Middlekauff families. This farmstead consists of two houses, two barns, and shed and garage buildings. The main house is a 2½-story frame I-house, 3 bays wide, with a 1-story entry porch on the front facade. The clapboard exterior walls and fieldstone foundation have been stuccoed. The second dwelling is a 2-bay frame I-house with full-width front porch with shed roof and interior chimney. Barns include a gambrel roof frame barn and gable roof frame barn. The shed building is brick with pyramidal roof; the garage building is terra-cotta block.

No additional information was found to link the Hooff family to the construction or use of either of the two dwellings on this property. The Hooff family does not appear in any census records for Jefferson County. The 1852 land ownership map simply indicated that James L. Hooff was owner of the "Oakland" farm (Resource #8) subsequently held in 1883 by Samuel Middlekauff (Brown 1852, 1883; see Appendix B).

Additional information was found concerning the Middlekauff's ownership and use of the property. The Middlekauff family first appears in the 1870 census. Samuel L. Middlekauff is listed in 1870 as "farmer" and head of household, aged 60, with five other family members and one domestic servant (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1870). Middlekauff's real estate was then valued at \$28,800. Samuel Middlekauff also appeared in the 1880 census as a 70-year-old farmer, with his 65-year-old wife Katherine "keeping house", his 39-year-old single son Charles indicated as a "farmer", and two daughters Emma and Florence (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1880b). The 1883 land ownership map (Brown 1883; see Appendix B) indicated that Middlekauff then owned "Oakland" farm (Resource #8). Middlekauff did not appear in any post-1880 census schedules for the county.

Resource #23: Little, Craighill Families

Surveyed resource #23 comprises a side gable roof farmhouse built in 1802. Known as "Fenton", the farm property was historically associated with the Little and Craighill families. The 2-story brick farmhouse on a raised stone foundation has a 2-story porch on east facade. A recent addition is frame on a brick foundation with an enclosed porch. There is also a dilapidated barn on the property, west of the house.

The "Fenton" property, located on what was an 82-acre plot throughout the nineteenth century, was first farmed in 1802 by William Little. Little's daughter married into the Craighill family; the farm was owned by N. Craighill in the mid-nineteenth century and by John L. Craighill in the latter part of the century. Located on the Bloomery Turnpike (Route 9), which separates it from "Willowdale" (Resource #72, #73, #24), the

farm was bordered on the northwest by the land of Abraham Isler at mid-century (Mechanicstown was later developed on Isler's land in the late 1870s). Known as "Craighill Farm" in the nineteenth century, the property is identified as "Springdale" on a 1928 map (see Appendix B).

The Little family does not appear in census records for Jefferson County or the project survey area. In 1802, William Little reportedly built the main house at "Fenton" (Resource #23), later a Craighill property after Little's daughter married into the Craighill family. The Little family was also associated with the "Hopewell" farm complex (Resources #65 and #66), currently listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

Some further information about the role of the Craighill family in the history of this property was gained through additional research. "N. Craighill", depicted on the 1852 map as owner of the property, was not listed in census records. John L. Craighill was listed on the 1883 land ownership map as owner of the former Little family farm "Fenton" (Brown 1883; see Appendix B), where Resource #23 is located. In the 1860 Census, John L. Craighill, aged 45, was listed as a farmer with an assessed property value of \$4400. Craighill's household also included his wife and three children (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1860). The next listing of John L. Craighill's household was in the 1880 Census. According to the Census data, Craighill's family consisted of his 52-year-old wife, Sally, and three daughters aged 8 through 19. Craighill, then aged 65, again listed his occupation as farmer. Also listed within the household in 1880 were one black female servant and two white female boarders (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1880).

Additional research indicated that the Craighill family was a prominent landowning family within Jefferson County. A major farm holding of the family was the estate and farm, known as "Allemon", where Resource #64 is located (see below, under Resource #64 in this Appendix for further history concerning the role of the Craighills in the development of that property).

Resource #26: Chew Family

Surveyed resource #26 comprises a 1929 house with two nearby tenant houses. Known as "Highland", the farm property, not including the 1929 house, was historically associated with the Chew family. "Highland" is a farm complex consisting of a 5-bay cobblestone main house built in 1929, studio, garage, gazebo and pool pavilion, main barn, tractor barn, sheds, caretaker's cottage, and two tenant houses. The 2-story main house features a hipped roof surmounted by a balustrade. The north, or main facade, has a full width, 2-story pillared porch topped by a balustrade. The entrance door is surrounded by panel and fan lights; above the doorway is a balcony. An end chimney

and a balustraded entry porch are located on the west facade. There is a 1-story, hipped roof sun porch on the south facade. The windows are 6-over-6, double-hung sash.

Research produced no additional information concerning the construction and use of the tenant houses on this property. One of the most prominent families in the project survey area, the Chew family was heavily engaged in farming throughout the nineteenth century. Profiled in many historical sources, Roger Chew first appeared as a 63-year-old "farmer" and head of household in the 1860 census, with four others aged 9-22 (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1860). Resource #26 includes a Colonial Revival house built in 1929 plus two nearby tenant house; by 1929, the property had passed out of Chew family hands.

Resource #61, #62, #63: Lackland Family

Surveyed resources #61 and #62 comprise an 1830 farmhouse and a second frame house, possibly a tenant house. Surveyed resource #63 is an 1840-1860 log house, possibly associated with Resource #61. These farm properties were historically associated with the Lackland family. "Riverside" farm includes a 4-bay, 2½-story dwelling with full-width double porch on south facade. There is a 3-bay, 2-story kitchen wing on east facade, as well as two shed roof additions on north elevation. A drive-through frame barn, stone springhouse, and modern barn building are located on the property. Also located on the same property is an uninhabited two-story, gable-front-and-wing dwelling with 1-story porch (Resource #61). A shed building is located west of house.

The main "Riverside" farmhouse (Resource #61) was built in 1830 on the west bank of the Shenandoah River by Samuel Lackland and maintained in the family through the nineteenth century. Its construction date is attested by an inscription of a carpenter. Originally located on a nearly 300-acre tract, upon the death of Thomas Lackland in 1876, the house was included in an 81-acre tract retained by his wife until her death.

Resource #63, a log residence, first appears on a plat map of 1876, drawn shortly after the death of Thomas Lackland, the second owner of "Riverside". Originally located on a tract of nearly 300 acres, upon Lackland's death the house was included in a 108-acre subdivision of the land that was inherited by his children. It is a one-story log dwelling with a log kitchen wing in rear and a frame screened porch on the front facade. This house is a rare surviving example of log house construction and was once associated with "Riverside" farm. Additional research indicates that Resource #63 most likely was built as slave quarters at "Riverside" by Samuel Lackland, the first owner of the farm; the house may have been employed as a tenant house by the farm's second owner Thomas Lackland after the Civil War.

Builder and first owner of the "Riverside" farm (Resources #61, #62), Samuel Lackland was first listed in the 1830 Census. His household consisted of two adults, one white male aged 40 to 50, and one white female aged 20 to 30. In addition to the adults were two male children under 5 years of age, one male child aged 5 to 10 years, and 1 female child under 5. Also listed were four adult male slaves and three adult female slaves (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1830:128). Samuel Lackland also appeared in the 1840 Census. His household consisted of three adults, one female aged 30 to 40, one male aged 40 to 50, and one male aged 15 to 20, one male child aged 10 to 15 and one female child aged 5 to 10. Also listed were 2 adult male slaves, 5 adult female slaves and one free black male aged between 10 and 24 years (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1840:281).

The 1850 Census also listed Samuel Lackland, aged 65, as a farmer with real estate valued at \$25,360. Also included in the data were Elizabeth Lackland, aged 46, Francis Lackland, aged 20, and three other children (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1850: 652). A historic map of 1852 (Brown 1852; see Appendix B) indicated that Samuel W. Lackland owned a large tract of land along the Shenandoah River south of Charlestown; this property was "Riverside", where the main house was built in 1830, as attested by a carpenter's inscription.

The second owner of "Riverside", Thomas Lackland first appeared as a 46-year-old farmer in the 1870 Census. His real estate holdings were valued at \$2,400 and his personal property was valued at \$2,500. Among his household, five other Lacklands were listed as well as one black domestic servant and three black children (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1870: 513). An 1883 map (Brown 1883; see Appendix B) indicated that Thomas Lackland's heirs owned a large tract of land along the western bank of the Shenandoah River northeast of the Bloomery Turnpike. Resource #63, a log house, is evidently depicted simply as an additional "house" on an April 28, 1876, plat map filed with the Jefferson County Courthouse upon the death of Thomas Lackland; the plat map also shows Lackland's "mansion" (Resource #62).

Resource #64: Craighill and Sublette Families

Surveyed resource #64 comprises an 1810-1830 gable roof farmhouse. Named "Allemont", this farm property was historically associated with the Craighill and Sublette families. Included on the farm is a 2-story, 5-bay frame farmhouse on stone foundation. The 1-story wrap-around porch is partially enclosed, and partially screened-in on the east facade. Dairy farm buildings on the property include frame and concrete block sheds, cowstalls, barns, and storage facilities.

Located near the Shenandoah River, Resource #64 appears on an 1828 plat map as the property of Eliza Craighill, widow of William Craighill, who was recently deceased.

20 years. The Census also listed 9 male slaves and 7 female slaves (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1840: 296). A historic map of 1852 (Brown 1852; see Appendix B) showed two properties belonging to Thomas Hite Willis along the Shenandoah River near Hopewell mills.

In 1860, Willis was shown as a 59-year-old farmer and head of household, with no other farmers or farm laborers in his household of four additional family members aged 16-52. Willis's real estate was then valued at \$67,000; his personal property was recorded as \$14,000. By the 1870 census, Willis had become a "retired farmer" aged 69, with two children in the household, along with one "farm laborer" and two domestic servants. His real estate in 1870 was worth \$50,000, while his personal property stood at \$6000. In the 1880 census, Willis was listed aged 79 and a "farmer", with household consisting of his 50-year-old daughter Fannie "keeping house", a 45-year-old daughter Roberta, an 18-year-old son Willis "at home", 12-year-old daughter Nancy, 21-year-old granddaughter Nelly Lackland, and Kate Patterson a 20-year-old black "servant".

Resources #67 and #69: Eichelberger and Gardner Families

Surveyed resource #67 comprises an 1880-1900 side gable roof tenant house. Surveyed resource #69 comprises a circa 1890-1920 house. These farm properties were historically associated with the Eichelberger and Gardner families. Resource #67 is a 1½ story frame house which features a side gable roof, wrap-around porch with turned posts, and a central brick chimney. The exterior walls wood clapboard, the roofing is standing seam metal, and the foundation is stone. This dwelling is currently uninhabited. Resource #69 is a 2-story, 3-bay frame farmhouse with a side gable roof, a full width hipped roof porch, and shed roof addition to the rear. The exterior walls are covered in wood clapboard, the roofing is standing seam metal, and the foundation, though partially obscured, appears to be fieldstone. A frame barn and two shed buildings are also part of the property.

The tract of land on which Resources #67 and #69 are located was owned by Martin Eichelberger in 1852 and by John W. Gardner in 1883 (Brown 1852, 1883; see Appendix B). Though Martin Eichelberger was listed in the 1852 land ownership map of the county as a prominent landowner (owner of a large tract which included the grist mill on Cattail Run and encompassed the land on which Resources #67 and #69 are located), no record of him is found in nineteenth century population census schedules for Jefferson County. Martin Eichelberger was recorded in a Jefferson County plat map of May 30, 1850, showing a sale or division of a part of his 500 acres surrounding the grist mill to Elizabeth Snyder, the widow of Daniel Snyder (Jefferson County Plat Map Book n.d.).

Census records for John W. Gardner indicate that his household included farm laborers who may have lived in tenant houses. The first census listing for John W. Gardner was in the 1860 Census, where he was listed as aged 42 and a farmer whose personal property was valued at \$5,300. Also listed within the household were four other Gardners aged from 3 to 40 years (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1860:997). John W. Gardner next appeared in the 1870 Census as a 52 year-old farmer with personal property valued at \$1,500. Also listed within the household were six other Gardners, one retired farmer and three farm laborers (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1870:512). Although the 1880 Census did not list John W. Gardner, a historic map of 1883 (Brown 1883; see Appendix B) showed three large Gardner-owned tracts located east of Charles Town and south of the Smithfield, Charles Town and Harpers Ferry Turnpike. A younger "John Gardner" was listed in the 1900 Census, as a 30 year-old farmer whose two brothers resided within his household and were employed as day laborers (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1900).

Resource #72, #73, #24: Eichelberger, Shepperd
and Marlow Families

Surveyed resources #72, #73, and #24 comprise an 1830 farmhouse (Resource #72) with two tenant houses (Resources #73 and #24). "Willowdale", the farm property, is located on a 234 acre tract historically associated with the Eichelberger and Shepperd families. The farm includes a 2½-story, 3-bay Georgian farmhouse (Resource #72) with fieldstone walls and foundations. Additions include kitchen and garage wings on the east facade of main house. Outbuildings include a stone springhouse, a banked main barn, a secondary barn and stalls with stone foundations and two frame animal and equipment storage buildings. Also included on the property is a log-and-frame tenant house (Resource #73) that is a good example of an eighteenth century dog-trot house. This dwelling has a middle section that is log, with board-and-batten, 2-bay sections on either side. The building rests on a stone foundation. Outbuildings include sheds and outhouse. Also on the property is Resource #24, a 2-story, 3-bay I-house on a raised stone foundation. There is a kitchen ell and shed roof addition on the rear facade. A Colonial Revival porch is visible on the front facade.

"Willowdale" was built around 1830 by Frederick M. Eichelberger, a member of a prosperous family that owned large tracts of land in the county from the 1830s until the third quarter of the century. "Willowdale" remained in the Eichelberger family until the third quarter of the century, when it was purchased by Amos Sheppard. When Sheppard's property was divided in 1877, the plat map showed the "mansion house", a hog pen, a probable barn, and a "new house" (since disappeared) located on the northernmost third of the property. The 1883 land ownership map indicated that "Willowdale" had by then become the property of George W. Marlow (Brown 1883; see Appendix B).

Research produced little additional information about Frederick M. Eichelberger (who was shown in the 1852 map as owner of the "Willowdale" farm) but did reveal that members of the Eichelberger family were slaveowners. The 1830 Census listed a George Eichelberger aged between 70 and 80 within Jefferson County. Eichelberger's household included a white female adult aged between 30 and 40 years, and one white female child aged between 5 and 10. Three white male children, aged 5 to 15, were included, as were three male and four female slaves. In the 1830 census, Adam Eichelberger appeared as a white head of a household comprising one white male aged 40-50, one white male aged 30-40, one white male between 5 and 10, one white female aged 20-30, one white female under 5, four male slaves and two female slaves. Adam Eichelberger did not appear in subsequent census schedules. Jefferson County records include a January 6, 1831 document entitled "Plats of the farm belonging to the late Adam Eichelberger, widow Magdalena Eichelberger...", indicating that Adam had died. The plat map showed that Adam's land bounded land of John Moore, George Eichelberger, and the "Bloomery farm" of 150 acres (Jefferson County Plat Map Book n.d.).

Associated with the "Willowdale" property during the 1870s, Amos Shepperd's listing was not found in population census records of the era. On March 19, 1877, when Amos Shepperd's estate ("Willowdale") was divided (175 acres plus a dower of 59 acres), the plat map produced depicted a "mansion" house (Resource #72) and a "new" house (since disappeared or removed) located on the northernmost third of the property.

Shown on the 1883 land ownership map as owner of "Willowdale", George W. Marlow appears in census records of the era as a farmer with laborers on his farm, who were possibly tenants. Marlow first appeared in the 1870 census as a 29-year-old farmer and head of household including one white "farm laborer" and one black "farm laborer"; Marlow's assessed real estate value was then \$13,000 and his personal property stood at \$3,000 (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1870). In the 1880 census, Marlow was listed as 39-year-old farmer, whose household consisted of wife Mary "keeping house", Fanny Wiltsher (white) and Octavia Irvey (black) who were each 14-year-old "servants", and four men listed as "laborers" (Joseph Marlow a 35-year-old white male, Eurnial Henson a 19-year-old white male, Charles Wattson a 22-year-old white male, and Thomas Stratten a 20-year-old black male) (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1880).

Resources #74 and #75: Moore Family

Surveyed resource #74 comprises an 1850-1870 side gable roof farmhouse. Surveyed resource #75 comprises an 1840-1860 side gable roof farmhouse, possibly related to Resource #74. These farm properties were historically associated with the Moore family. The "Wild Goose" farm includes a 2-story, 3-bay farmhouse (Resource #74) built in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. It has a kitchen ell, entry porch,

additions in the rear, and stuccoed exterior walls. The roofing is batten metal and the foundation is stone. There are several barns, sheds, and stalls on the property.

The "Fleetwood" farm includes a 2½-story, 5-bay Federal farmhouse (Resource #75) with bracketed eaves under a gable roof, kitchen wing and 1-story addition on rear facade and front door with side lights and transom panel. The exterior walls are sheathed in clapboards, the roofing is standing seam metal, and the foundation is stone. Other buildings on this farm include frame main barn, modern horse stalls, and frame arena/barn.

"Fleetwood" was a large farm owned by John Moore from the 1830s through the 1850s. By 1883, the farm was subdivided between Moore's sons, Henry and William; Henry Moore inherited the property on which Resource #74 is located, while William Moore owned the property upon which Resource #75 is situated.

John Moore first appeared in the 1830 Census where he was listed as the head of a household consisting of two adult males aged 50 to 60 years, one adult female aged 40 to 50 years, two adult males aged 15 to 20, one female adult aged 15 to 20, three male children aged 10 to 15, two female children aged 5 to 10 years and two female children aged 10 to 15 years. Additionally, the 1830 census also listed 11 male slaves ranging in age from under 10 years to over 36 years (U.S. Census of 1830, Population Schedule, Jefferson County, Va., p. 132). Moore also appeared in the Census of 1840 in which his household consisted of one male age 60 to 70 years, five males aged 20 to 30, one female aged 50 to 60 and one female aged 20 to 30 years (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1840:284). A historic map of 1852 (Brown 1852; see Appendix B) depicted a large tract of land south of Charles Town known as "Fleet Wood" as owned by John Moore.

The Census of 1870 first contained a listing for Henry H. Moore, a 50-year-old farmer whose real estate was valued at \$7,500 and personal property at \$15,000. The household listing contained five other family members, one farm laborer, as well as one domestic servant and child (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1870:520). A historic map of 1883 (Brown 1883; see Appendix B) showed a large tract of land belonging to Henry H. Moore southeast of Charles Town near the Bloomery Turnpike.

The Census of 1870 contained the first listing for William H. Moore, a 57-year-old farmer. His household listing consisted of three family members who worked as farm laborers as well as one white domestic servant and three black domestic servants with three black children. Moore's real estate was valued at \$20,000 and his personal property was valued at \$4,000 (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1870:565). According to a historic map of 1883 (Brown 1883; see Appendix B), William H. Moore's property known as "Fleetwood" was located near the Bloomery Turnpike southeast of Charles Town.

Resource #78, #79: Eichelberger and Hunter Families

Surveyed resources #78 and #79 comprise an 1850s side gable roof farmhouse with a nearby tenant house. The farm property, "Federal Hill", was historically associated with the Eichelberger and Hunter families. The farm consists of a 2-story brick dwelling (Resource #79) and a large complex of dairy barns, cow stalls, silos and sheds on Cattail Road. The main house is a rectangular block with a projecting cross gable, and has decorative brackets in the eaves and on the porch supports. The windows are 6-over-6, double-hung sash with shutters, and there are semi-circular windows in the west and south gable ends. The brick building has been painted, the roofing is standing seam metal, and the foundation is stone. There is a tenant house (Resource #78) for Federal Hill Farm to the south of the main house. The tenant house is a 2-story, 2-bay frame I-house with partially enclosed front porch, and kitchen ell on south facade.

Listed on the Jefferson County Landmarks Register, "Federal Hill Farm" (Resource #79) was built in the early 1850s by George Eichelberger, a member of a prosperous Jefferson County family. Contiguous with two other estates owned by George William Eichelberger, the land was acquired by George Eichelberger by the 1830s and bore the name Federal Hill by 1852. Located near Cattail Run, the house was not far from a mill (since disappeared) on the estate that operated during the mid-nineteenth century. Cattail Road transects the property in close proximity to the house. The property was acquired by Rebecca Hunter in the third quarter of the nineteenth century.

George Eichelberger, who acquired the "Federal Hill" tract for the family, was first listed in the 1810 Census. Eichelberger's household consisted of four persons: two adults (one white male aged 45 or over and one white female aged 16 to 26 years) and two children (one male aged 10 to 16 and one female less than 10 years old). The 1830 Census listed a George Eichelberger aged between 70 and 80 within Jefferson County. Eichelberger's household included a white female adult aged between 30 and 40 years, and one white female child aged between 5 and 10. Three white male children, aged 5 to 15, were also included. Three male and four female slaves were also listed (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1810).

George Eichelberger again appeared in the 1840 census. His household included five adult white males, three aged 15 to 20 years, one aged 50 to 60 years, and one aged 70 to 80 years. One male child aged 10 to 15 years was also included. The white female members of the household consisted of two adults, one aged 15 to 20 years and the other aged 40 to 50. No slaves were listed in the 1840 census entry. George Eichelberger was depicted in the 1852 land ownership map as owner of "Federal Hill" (Resources #77, #78, and #79), a significant project survey area farm property; also involved in the property at the time was his son George William, reputed to have built the main farmhouse in 1851 (Jefferson County Historical Society 1990:26).

Shown in the 1852 land ownership map as the owner of two farms, one adjoining Frederick Eichelberger's "Willowdale" and one adjoining John Moore's "Fleetwood", George William Eichelberger initially appeared in the 1860 Census. Aged 40, Eichelberger listed his occupation as farmer. His household included 3 members of his family and one farm laborer, Lewis Hamlet, aged 49. George W. Eichelberger, aged 50, again appeared in the 1870 Census in which his occupation was listed as "retired farmer." His household listing contained two other Eichelbergers, one white farm laborer and three black domestic servants. In 1880, George W. Eichelberger, aged 61, was again included in the Census for Jefferson County. His occupation remained "retired farmer" and his household consisted of his 43-year-old wife Marian, his 33-year-old daughter Anna, and his 36-year-old son George F. Eichelberger, whose occupation was listed as a "farmer." Also listed within the household were three black adults, one female and one male domestic servant, and one male laborer. One child servant, aged 11, was also included.

An historic map of 1883 (Brown 1883; see Appendix B) showed that Rebecca Hunter was then owner of the "Federal Hill" farm (where Resources #78 and #79 are located). Rebecca Hunter is said to have given "Federal Hill" its name because in 1881 a bonfire was lit on the property's hill to celebrate the centenary of the Battle of Yorktown ending the American Revolution (Jefferson County Historical Society 1990:26).

Historical evidence indicates that Rebecca Hunter by the 1880s had been involved in landowning in the area for some three decades. Her household, as listed in the census records, often contained boarders or other unrelated members, but no direct evidence has been found to link her with construction of tenant houses at "Federal Hill".

An historic map of 1852 (Brown 1852; see Appendix B) showed that Rebecca Hunter owned a tract of land immediately southeast of Charles Town and close by the Smithfield, Charles Town and Harpers Ferry Turnpike. Hunter was first listed in the Census of 1860, as a 58-year-old "lady" who was born in England and had real estate valued at \$16,000 and personal property valued at \$38,000 (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1860:802). Rebecca Hunter next appeared in the 1870 Census as a 68-year-old woman whose occupation was listed as "keeping house." Also listed among her household was William Travens, a 44-year-old lawyer, and 3 others of the name Travens. Finally listed was Richard Houck, aged 59, whose occupation was that of a gardener (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1870:561).

Rebecca Hunter also appeared in the 1880 Census, aged 78 and "keeping house." William Travens, aged 53, was still listed as a lawyer along with his wife Elizabeth, aged 49. A second Elizabeth Travens was listed as a boarder, Richard Houck appeared as a servant, as did William Hanyon, a 30-year-old black male, Mavine Rose, a 40-year-old black female, and Mary Dixon, a 20-year-old woman of mixed race (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1880:607).

Resource #77: Roper Family

Surveyed resource #77 comprises an 1830-1850 gable roof farmhouse possibly used as a tenant house. Known as "Cattail Farm", the farm property was historically associated with the Roper family. Presently located on the same tax parcel as "Federal Hill" farm (Resources #78 and #79), "Cattail Farm" (Resource #77) includes a 5-bay frame house with stone foundation, and kitchen wing. Also on the property are a drive-through barn, wood shed, early barn on log sills, main barn, horse barn and several sheds.

Resource #77 is located just north of Cattail Run on a large farm owned by James Roper in 1852. Adjacent to "Federal Hill", the land came into the possession of his son, W. H. H. Roper, by the early 1880s. It is identified as "Cattail Farm" on a 1928 map (see Appendix B).

James H. Roper was first listed in the 1850 Census as a 67-year-old farmer with real estate valued at \$38,000. His household listing included Elizabeth Roper, aged 30, and six children (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1850:649). A historic map of 1852 (Brown 1852; see Appendix B) showed a property owned by James Roper southeast of Charles Town along the Alexandria and Warmspring Turnpike.

The Census of 1870 first listed William H. Roper as a 27-year-old farmer with real estate valued at \$49,000 and personal property at 1,000. His household consisted of 3 additional Ropers, two black farm laborers, three black domestic servants and two children (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1870:529). The 1880 Census listed Roper as a 38-year-old farmer with a household consisting of his wife Elizabeth and four children ages 2 through 12. Additionally, the Census listed two black male farm laborers and 2 black female domestic servants (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1880:109). An 1883 map (Brown 1883; see Appendix B) showed a large tract of land south of Charles Town belonging to William H. Roper. A second large property belonging to William H. Roper was located along Cattail Run adjacent to the "Federal Hill" tract. The Census of 1900 recorded William H. Roper as a 58-year-old farmer. His household included his wife, Elizabeth, and son, Marshall, a farm laborer. Additionally, the household included one unrelated farm laborer.

Resource #80 and #81: Gardner and Butler Families

Surveyed resource #80 comprises a circa 1880-1910 I-house. Surveyed resource #81 comprises a circa 1860-1875 side gable roof farmhouse. These farm properties were historically associated with the Gardner and Butler families. Resource #80 is a 2-story, 2-bay frame I-house with enclosed porch addition on the east facade. The exterior walls are covered in synthetic siding, the roofing is metal, and the foundation is stone. A concrete block and frame drive-through barn is located southeast of the main house.

Resource #81, located on a farm property known as "Oak Grove", is a late nineteenth century 2½-story frame dwelling, 3 bays wide, with a double-pile plan. A 1-story addition with dormers and enclosed porch is located on the northwest corner of the house. Modern barns and farm outbuildings are also located on this property.

Historic maps indicate that in 1852 Francis Gardner's holdings included the farm tracts where Resources #80 and #81 are located, while in 1883 these resources were located on land owned by Hannah S.F. Butler (Brown 1852, 1883; see Appendix B). Francis Gardner was first listed in the 1830 Census; Gardner's household contained three white adults, two males, the first aged between 40 and 50 years and the other aged 20 to 30, and one female aged 30 to 40. The survey also listed three children, one male aged 10 to 15 years, and two females aged 5 to 15 years. Also listed in the household were six male and five female slaves (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1830:122). Francis Gardner next appeared in the 1860 Census as a 75-year-old farmer whose farm was apparently highly prosperous as his listed real estate value was over \$95,000 and his personal property was valued at \$18,000. The survey also listed Francis H. Gardner, aged 12 within the household, as well as John Kized, aged 58, whose occupation was listed as "gentleman" (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1860:997).

Associated with Resources #80 and #81, Hannah S.F. Butler was first listed in the 1870 census as a 48-year-old head of a "farming" household, with one domestic servant and four other males aged 9-24. In the 1880 census, Hannah Butler is listed as a 58-year-old housekeeper, with three single daughters at home, her 22-year-old son Frank, and one black female servant (Emily) aged 13. No further census records for the Butler family have been located.

Resources #82 and #84: Briscoe and Hall Families

Surveyed resource #82 includes a 1900-1910 farmhouse with a nearby plank house. Surveyed resource #84 comprises an 1830-1850 gable roof farmhouse. These farm properties were historically associated with the Briscoe and Hall families. Resource #82 is a 2½-story frame house built at the beginning of the twentieth century. It is 3 bays wide and 3 bays deep, has a pyramidal slate roof, hipped roof dormers, and a wrap-around porch on the south and west facades. Also found on the property are a drive-through barn, two sheds, an early plank dwelling dating to the early nineteenth century, and a carriage house. Resource #84, located on a farm known as "Spring Field", is a 5-bay, 2½-story stuccoed farmhouse with a deep wing to the rear, wrap-around porch on the front and west facades, and a bay window on the west facade of

building. Also included on this property are a tenant house, tool shed, several barns including a drive-through barn and a brick barn with gambrel roof, frame animal storage facilities, and a springhouse.

Resource #82 is located on a large farm tract owned in 1852 by Major Thomas Briscoe. Adjoining "Belvedere", Briscoe's farm was typical of the more prosperous estates that flourished in the mid-nineteenth century in the area immediately east of Charles Town. The land was subsequently subdivided and purchased by John H. Hall before 1883. Resource #82 is shown on an 1852 map as located near Cattail Run on the same large Thomas Briscoe farm tract which Hall purchased prior to 1883. By 1928 the farm had acquired the name "Spring Field" (see Appendix B).

Research indicates that the small plank house associated with Resource #82 may have been constructed as a dwelling for house slaves by the Briscoe family. The plank house is situated close to the main farmhouse; architectural historian John Michael Vlach has noted that quarters for house slaves were often near the main plantation house but behind or to the side of it, and could be constructed of frame with crude plank covering (Vlach 1993:18-23,157). Additionally, the Briscoe family led by Thomas Briscoe was one of the area's largest slaveowning families during the antebellum period.

Thomas Briscoe first appeared in the 1830 census as head of a household consisting of one white male aged 30 to 40 years, a white female aged 20 to 30 years, four female children aged between 5 and 15 years, one female child under 5 years old, and two male children below the age of 11. Also listed for Thomas Briscoe were some 17 slaves (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1830). By 1840, Briscoe's household included three adults, one male between the ages of 40 and 50, two female - one aged 20 to 30 and the other aged 30 to 40. Children consisted of three males, one each under 5 years old, between 5 and 10 years old, and between 10 and 15 years. Listed in the census data were, again, some 17 slaves (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1840).

The next appearance of the Thomas Briscoe family was in the Census of 1860 in which Briscoe's occupation was listed as "farmer." Listed within Thomas Briscoe's household were three other adults. No slaves were listed; Briscoe's real estate was then valued at \$28,000 and his personal property was valued at \$12,500 (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1860). Historical sources indicate that Major Thomas Briscoe was a physician who served with the Confederate Army and was killed at the First Battle of Bull Run (First Manassas) in 1861 (Comstock 1974:224).

Thomas Briscoe's property subsequently was held by his son William Darke Briscoe, described during the early 1880s as "a prosperous farmer" of the Charlestown District (Comstock 1974:224). In the 1880 census, William Briscoe was listed as a 47-year-old "farmer", whose household consisted of his wife Evia, three daughters, his 60-year-old brother Frederick who was described as an "assistant", and Betty Cecil a "teacher" (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1880b). By 1883, however, the property once held by Briscoe was purchased by John N. Hall and subdivided. A portion of the property, on which Resource #84 is located, was known as "Spring Field" by 1928 (see Appendix B).

The 1883 land ownership map indicated that John H. Hall was then owner of the former Briscoe properties (Resources #82 and #84) (Brown 1883; see Appendix B). Hall is listed only in the 1880 census, where he is described as a 38-year-old farmer and head of household, with 30-year-old wife Elizabeth "keeping house" and one daughter (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1880b). A "John Hall" was also listed in the 1880 agricultural census (see Appendix C) as having "share" tenure as a farmer, with 225 acres tilled out of a total of 232 acres (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1880a).

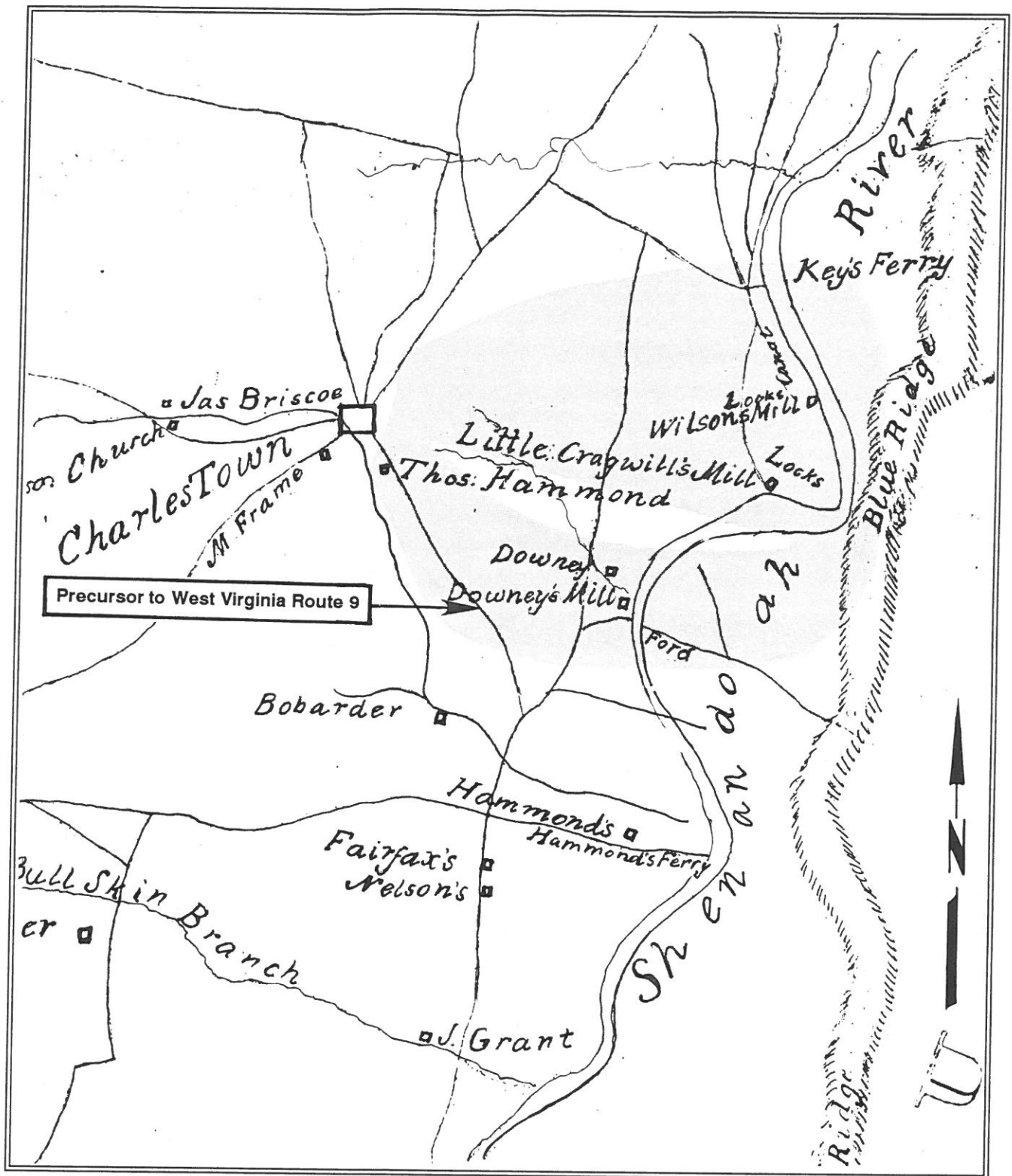
Resource #85: Tate and Bates Families

As surveyed resource #85 comprises the National Register-listed "Belvedere" farm complex, no additional research was performed concerning this property, which includes an 1807-1824 main house and was historically associated with the Tate and Bates families.

Resource #86: McCurdy Family

Surveyed resource #86 was historically associated with the McCurdy family. Resource #86 comprises a farmstead which includes a 3-bay, 2-story frame farmhouse, built circa 1820-1850, with a full-width front porch, a small cottage near the road, and several cowstalls and shed buildings. The exterior walls of the house are clad in vinyl siding, the roofing is standing seam metal, and the foundation is stone. Though the 1852 and 1883 county maps (see Appendix B) indicate that McCurdy family members held this farm, no additional historical or census-related information was located concerning the family or tenancy on their farm.

APPENDIX B:
HISTORIC MAPS



ROUTE 9 IMPROVEMENT STUDY

Jefferson County, West Virginia
Historic Resources Survey and
Determination of Eligibility Report Addendum

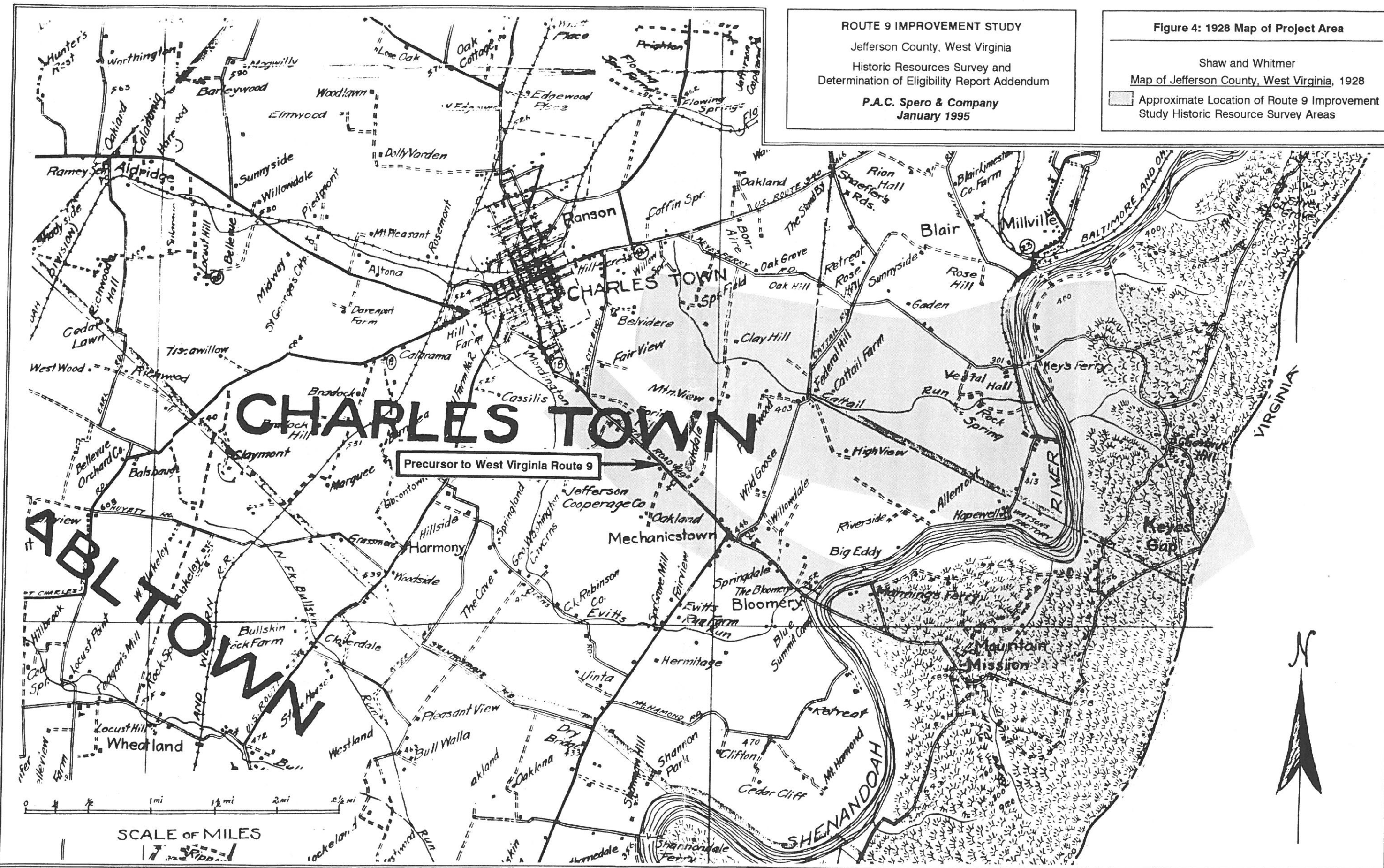
P.A.C. Spero & Company
January 1995

Figure 1: 1820 Map of Project Area

John Wood

Jefferson County, Surveyed and Drawn under
Direction of John Wood, 1820

Approximate Location of Route 9 Improvement
Study Historic Resource Survey Areas
Note: Map not to scale



ROUTE 9 IMPROVEMENT STUDY
Jefferson County, West Virginia
Historic Resources Survey and
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Figure 4: 1928 Map of Project Area
Shaw and Whitmer
Map of Jefferson County, West Virginia, 1928
Approximate Location of Route 9 Improvement
Study Historic Resource Survey Areas

APPENDIX C:
1880 AGRICULTURAL CENSUS SCHEDULES,
CHARLESTOWN AND HARPER'S FERRY ENUMERATION DISTRICTS,
JEFFERSON COUNTY, WEST VIRGINIA

Note: Those names bolded are names of farmers whose farms were located within the Route 9 project survey area

Charles Town Enumeration District

Name	Tenure	Acres (tilled)	Total
Turner, George	share	140	155
?, Nathaniel	own	80	85
Beavens, Benjamin	share	300	346
Glassland, W.C.	share	175	177
?Nicenander, Christian	share	100	115
Harriss, George	not specified	210	240
Risler, Samuel	not specified	300?	375
Timberlake, Charles	not specified	140	221
T...?, Gideon	own	80	90
Tavenden, John W.	not specified	250	300
Warfield, Edward	share	240	260
?Narracter, Mary	own	80	105
?Chilsp, Charles	share	225	279
Chew, Robert	own	280	360
Chew, John	own	104	104
Yates, Benjamin	own	117	200
Myers, John	own	160	170
Cramer, Phillip	share	185?	187
Moon, Henry	own	107	117
Middle, ??	share	80	80
Matheny, Jacob	share	340	415
Warrick, Frank	own	106	113
Rowland, ?	own	100	105
Painter, Joseph	share	225	242
Canfron?, William	share	315	345
Hall, John	share	225	232
Cain, Morris	share	150	173
Selden, Andrew	share	245?	264
Milton, James	rent	100	180

Name	Tenure	Acres (tilled)	Total
Eichelberger, George	share	330	419
Gibson, John	own	583	669
Sykes, Jacob	share	282?	292
Bane?, David W.	own	300	310
Gandon, Phillip	share	220	260
Hoole, James	own	384	479
Aldridge, Andrew	own	500	540
Washington, John	own	300	343
Packett, William	own	150	155
Galliher, James	own	7	8
Whitemore, William	share	120	120
Fritze, William	rent	270	310
Moore, William H.	own	250	291
Selden, John	own	186	240
Hoffmeister?, John	share	440	507
Johnson, Peter	share	100	100
Thompson, Solomon	share	200	225
Anderson, William H.	share	200	210
Shilen?, ?	own	266	331
Moone?, John	own	90	90
Middlekoulf, Samuel	own	360?	366
Washington, Bole?	own	206	214
Coleston?, John	share	460	530
Starrey?, ?	own	40	40
Manning, Frank	own	700	800
Earl, Robert	own	220	270

Charles Town Enumeration District acreage averages:

	Tilled	Total	% tilled
own (27)	221	245	90
rent (2)	185	253	73
share (23)	230	258	89

Harpers Ferry Enumeration District

Name	Tenure	Acres (tilled)	Total
Dillon, Lee H.	share	40	400
Wilt, George W.	own	90	143
Dillon, John	own	50	109
Robey, Thomas W.	own	35	75
Piper, Jacob	own	25	35
Robey, Jacob W.	own	25	80
Bryant, George W.	share	150	260
Staup, Lewis	share	70	136
Stewart, James C.	rent	150	450
McGraw, John	own	100	410
Thrasher, Thomas	own	90	120
Daily, Resin?	own	75	267
Haiser?, Eliza	own	60	80
Gosser?, George W.	own	75	536

Harpers Ferry Enumeration District acreage averages:

	Tilled	Total	% tilled
own (10)	63	149	42
rent (1)	150	450	33
share (3)	87	265	33