

Differential development on the Ohio River, 1850-1880:
A historical and genealogical study of two small towns in Ohio
and a rural district of West Virginia, before and after the U.S.
Civil War.

Barbara J. Ball



PhD History with Genealogical Studies

School of Humanities

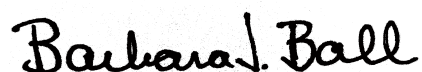
University of Strathclyde, Glasgow

2021

Declaration of Authenticity and Author's Rights

This thesis is the result of the author's original research. It has been composed by the author and has not been previously submitted for examination which has led to the award of a degree.

The copyright of this thesis belongs to the author under the terms of the United Kingdom Copyright Acts as qualified by the University of Strathclyde Regulation 3.50. Due acknowledgement must always be made of any material contained in, or derived from, this thesis.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Barbara J. Ball". The script is cursive and fluid, with the first letters of each word being capitalized and prominent.

Barbara J. Ball

Date: 25 June 2021

Dedication

To my husband, Dr. George Ball and my mother, Dr. Jean Chambers.
My inspiration.

Acknowledgements

I am deeply indebted to my tutors, Tahitia McCabe and Dr. Mark Ellis, for their patience, kindness, wisdom and commitment to this program. I could not have asked for a more open minded, supportive or innovative pair of tutors and could not have accomplished this work without their help. Thank you also for the assistance provided by the staff at the Museum of Ceramics in East Liverpool and the East Liverpool Historical Society. Most of all, thank you to my family for sticking with me. I especially appreciate the support of my parents, husband George, and children J, J, and J. Let's not forget the furry children, K, K, and Q.

Here's a nod to the courageous, determined and educated "Forbes Women" of Invernesshire and Glasgow (Scotland), Columbiana and Cuyahoga Counties (Ohio), and Tucson, Arizona. Although their stories do not appear here, some of their headstones adorn the cemeteries just outside Wellsville.

Finally, I am pleased and humbled to be able to step up alongside my mother, my husband, my son, one uncle and two cousins and call myself 'doctor.' Thank you.

Abstract

The central focus of this thesis is on two small towns in eastern Ohio and a rural area in neighboring West Virginia during the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Located on a sinuous bend of the Ohio River, the towns were separated by only a few miles yet the disparate courses of their development proved them to be quite distinct. Across the river, within sight of both towns, rural West Virginia saw the development of no towns until nearly a half-century later. This was a quiet part of the country in the 18th century, and is so still today. No events of national significance happened here, no famous Americans claim it as birthplace, no institutions of great wealth or learning developed here. However, following significant transitions in American economic development, this area became one of the great centers of the pottery industry in North America and attracted immigrants with relevant skills.

Who were the people who lived in this tiny portion of America? How did they interact with each other and with the local and national events of the mid-to-late 18th century? How did their actions help shape the eventual development of their little corner of the country? What kinds of obstacles did they overcome in their bid to build a community for themselves?

Drawing from the disciplines of history, genealogy and demography, this thesis looks at both population dynamics and individual action in an effort to understand why this small area of the midwestern United States developed as it did through the year 1880. Combined, these three types of research and data utilization complement each other to form a nuanced picture of this portion of the upper Ohio River valley which can perhaps be extrapolated and applied in studies of similar areas of the USA during this pivotal time in its history.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Authorship Statement.....	ii
Dedication & Acknowledgements.....	iii
Abstract.....	iv
Table of Contents.....	v
List of Figures.....	vii
List of Tables.....	xii
Introduction.....	1
Chapter One Early History of the Study Area.....	53
Chapter Two Wellsville 1850-1880.....	77
Chapter Three East Liverpool 1850-1880.....	139
Chapter Four Grant District 1850-1880.....	186
Chapter Five Major Social Issues and Trends	
I. Education.....	219
II. Religion.....	232
III. Roles of Women.....	244
IV. Immigration.....	270
V. Distribution of Wealth.....	283
VI. Occupational Distribution.....	289
Chapter Six Staffordshire Potters.....	308
Conclusion.....	324
Bibliography.....	332

Appendices

1.	Technical Appendix.....	375
2.	Wells Genealogical Case Study.....	433
3.	Teachers Genealogical Case Study.....	481
4.	Genealogy of Some English Potters.....	490
5.	Table of Early Potteries.....	564

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Location of study area within the eastern US	1
Figure 2. Location of study area within surrounding states	5
Figure 3. State of Virginia before the split	7
Figure 4. Study area showing three areas of interest	11
Figure 5. Basic terrain map of the eastern United States	53
Figure 6. General topography of states surrounding the study area	54
Figure 7. Portion of 1778 map by Hutchins	56
Figure 8. District of West Augusta, 1773	60
Figure 9. Pottery kiln in Wellsville	80
Figure 10. Ohio River topography	82
Figure 11. 2020 map of the study area showing current towns and topography	83
Figure 12. “Plat of The Seven Ranges of Townships”	85
Figure 13. Early landowners near Wellsville	86
Figure 14. <i>Union</i> and <i>Patriot</i> versions of the same patent medicine ad	104
Figure 15. Portion of Columbiana County, 1841	108
Figure 16. Portion of an 1852 map of Hancock County, Virginia	109
Figure 17. Stevenson & Co. ad from 1889	115
Figure 18. The Whitacre House Hotel in 1860	119
Figure 19. Portion of Wellsville 1870	120
Figure 20. Downtown Wellsville, ca. 1906	121
Figure 21. Chart of Wellsville transportation workers	124
Figure 22. Percent of Wellsville workforce in each occupational category	128
Figure 23. “Morgan Captured at Last”	129
Figure 24. “Home Again”	132
Figure 25. Portion of 1877 Wellsville map	135
Figure 26. Portion of 1902 map of Wellsville	136
Figure 27. Aerial photo of Wellsville from 2020	137
Figure 28. Population of Wellsville 1830-2010	138

Figure 29. Portion of Columbiana County, 1841	139
Figure 30. Early landowners near East Liverpool	141
Figure 31. Ten potteries located in East Liverpool, 1853	169
Figure 32. Portion of 1860 land ownership map of Columbiana County	171
Figure 33. Percentage of workforce in manufacturing	173
Figure 34. Percentage of production workers in pottery	173
Figure 35. Percent of East Liverpool workforce in each occupational category	174
Figure 36. Cleveland Fire Department in action, 1876	181
Figure 37. Soldier's monument standing in City Park	181
Figure 38. Birthplaces of East Liverpool potters	183
Figure 39. Birthplaces of pottery owners	183
Figure 40. Property ownership by potters	184
Figure 41. Percent of property owned by workers in several categories	185
Figure 42. Population of East Liverpool 1830-2010	185
Figure 43. Illustrations of eastern and western Virginia, 1849	187
Figure 44. Grant District of Hancock County	189
Figure 45. Early western Virginia	191
Figure 46. Hancock, Brooke and Ohio Counties in 1873	192
Figure 47. Illustration of Lyman Stedman's farm, 1877	196
Figure 48. Hancock and Brooke Counties, 1873	199
Figure 49. Grant Township, Hancock County, 1852	202
Figure 50. "Newell Pottery, largest in the World"	203
Figure 51. Historical marker near New Cumberland	204
Figure 52. Peter Tarr furnace site	209
Figure 53. Percentage of workforce in agriculture	215
Figure 54. Looking out over the Ohio River near New Cumberland	217
Figure 55. Locations of "Negro Schools."	220
Figure 56. Percentage of school age children attending school	229
Figure 57. Percent of school age children not in school or working	230
Figure 58. Number of teachers enumerated on decennial census	231

Figure 59. “Jane Elizabeth Jones”	248
Figure 60. Approximate percentage of women working for pay	253
Figure 61. “Children Teething”	259
Figure 62. “Dr. Cheeseman’s Female Pills”	259
Figure 63. “Marriage Guide”	260
Figure 64. “Quarterly Mirror of Fashion”	262
Figure 65. Sarah Josepha Hale	266
Figure 66. Percentage of area population born outside the US	271
Figure 67. Percent of area immigrants from heavily represented locations	272
Figure 68. 1870 immigrants from three overseas locations	273
Figure 69. 1880 immigrants from three overseas locations	274
Figure 70. Land ownership across the study area 1850-1870	286
Figure 71. Percent of property in the hands of the wealthiest owners	286
Figure 72. Percent of men over age 17 who owned no property	287
Figure 73. Number of distinct occupations 1850-1880	293
Figure 74. Total population enumerated in each section of the study area	293
Figure 75. Percent of workers per occupational category in 1850	294
Figure 76. Percent of workers per occupational category in 1860	294
Figure 77. Percent of workers in 1850-1860 excluding major categories	295
Figure 78. Percent of workers per occupational category in 1870	295
Figure 79. Percent of workers in 1870 excluding major categories	296
Figure 80. Percent of workers per occupational category in 1880	296
Figure 81. Percent of workers in 1880 excluding major categories	297
Figure 82. Distribution of major occupations 1850	304
Figure 83. Distribution of major occupations 1860	305
Figure 84. Distribution of major occupations 1870	306
Figure 85. Distribution of major occupations 1880	307
Figure 86. Birthplaces of pottery workers	309
Figure 87. “The Potters’ Examiner”	311
Figure 88. “The Pioneer Pottery”	313

Figure 89. Another view of the Bennett Pottery	314
Figure 90. Homer Laughlin Pottery after move to West Virginia	316
Figure 91. Upper Ohio River Valley in 1877	324
Figure 92. “The Evidence Analysis Process Map”	376
Figure 93. Simple family tree diagram	385
Figure 94. Parent-child relationships	386
Figure 95. Outline map of Columbiana County	396
Figure 96. Map of Hancock County Virginia	397
Figure 97. Census enumeration sheet 1820	413
Figure 98. Census enumeration sheet 1830	415
Figure 99. Census enumeration sheet 1840	417
Figure 100. Census enumeration sheet 1850	418
Figure 101. Census enumeration sheet 1860	419
Figure 102. Census enumeration sheet 1870	420
Figure 103. Census enumeration sheet 1880	421
Figure 104. Products of Industry schedule 1850	423
Figure 105. Products of Industry schedule 1860	424
Figure 106. Products of Industry schedule 1870	425
Figure 107. Children of William & Ann Wells	433
Figure 108. Plat of the Ohio Seven Ranges of Townships	436
Figure 109. Township Nine, Second Range	439
Figure 110. Sections four and five	441
Figure 111. Sections of Wellsville developed by William Wells, Sr.	445
Figure 112. Children of Joseph & Maria Beardmore	491
Figure 113. “The Sinking of the <i>Scioto</i> ”	497
Figure 114. “Names of Those Missing”	498
Figure 115. Parents and children of two Leigh families	504
Figure 116. Children of Edmund & Elizabeth Staley	511
Figure 117. Children of Jabez & Sarah Vodrey	517
Figure 118. Jabez Vodrey home	518

Figure 119. Illustration of Vodrey Pottery	520
Figure 120. Vodrey Pottery marks	523
Figure 121. William Henry Vodrey	524
Figure 122. James Norman Vodrey	527
Figure 123. Children of Fletcher & Ellen Mandley	529
Figure 124. Ad by Jethro Manley	536
Figure 125. Children of Timothy & Sarah Rigby	545

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Comparative population in the divisions of the study area, 1810	67
Table 2. Value/quantity of some manufactured goods in Virginia & Ohio, 1810	68
Table 3. Comparative population in the divisions of the study area, 1820	70
Table 4. Value/quantity of some manufactured goods in Virginia & Ohio, 1840	74
Table 5. Chronology of civil entities and associated federal census records	75
Table 6. Categories of workers	292
Table 7. Percentage of brick/pottery workers by birthplace	309
Table 8. Family tree data example	387
Table 9. Non-population census data available during the study period	388
Table 10. Specific census enumeration areas captured for statistical analysis	395
Table 11. Standardized codes for places of birth	426
Table 12. Occupational standardization guidelines	427
Table 13. Standardized occupations per category	430
Table 14. Genealogical information for William Wells Sr.	434
Table 15. Genealogical information for Mary Wells	455
Table 16. Genealogical information for James Wells	457
Table 17. Genealogical information for Margaret Wells	460
Table 18. Genealogical information for George Wells	462
Table 19. Genealogical information for William Wells Jr.	465
Table 20. Genealogical information for Joseph Wells	466
Table 21. Genealogical information for Anne Wells	469
Table 22. Genealogical information for Sarah Wells	471
Table 23. Genealogical information for Israel Wells	474
Table 24. Genealogical information for Rachel Wells	474
Table 25. Genealogical information for Alexander Wells	477
Table 26. Chronological events for Gardner case study	489
Table 27. List of potteries in East Liverpool area	564

INTRODUCTION



Figure 1 - Location of study area within the eastern US.

Map template source: <http://www.hist-geo.com>. Annotation by author. Star indicates approximate location of study area.

Though never a major steel manufacturing area, the small towns on the Ohio River in Hancock County, West Virginia, and Columbiana County, Ohio, are now, by some authors' definitions, firmly within the American Rust Belt.¹ The latter half of the nineteenth century was a period of relative economic prosperity and growth in this area. By the end of the study period in 1880, although agriculture predominated on the southeastern side of the river, several small Ohio towns were thriving along the bend in the Ohio River that forms the far northwestern border of West Virginia.

This study represents in part an inquiry into whether the application of some commonly used genealogical research techniques and records helps to explain the

¹ O. Blanchard & L. Katz. (1992) 'Regional Evolutions.' *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity*, 1992(1), p. 8. The authors group their regions by state; their grouping includes Ohio as a Rust Belt state but West Virginia as a Middle Atlantic and Coal Country State. J. Feyrer, B. Sacerdote, & A. D. Stern. (2007) 'Did the Rust Belt Become Shiny? A Study of Cities and Counties That Lost Steel and Auto Jobs in the 1980s.' *Brookings-Wharton Papers on Urban Affairs*, p 48. The authors also exclude Hancock County, West Virginia, from their definition of "Rust Belt." Matthew E. Kahn. (1999) 'The Silver Lining of Rust Belt Manufacturing Decline: Killing off Pollution Externalities.' *Journal of Urban Economics*, 46(3), p. 360. This author includes both Ohio and West Virginia as Rust Belt states.

unequal developmental pace of two small neighboring towns along the Ohio River as well as the primarily agricultural area across the river during the mid to late 19th century.

One hypothesis to be explored relates to the distribution of occupations during this period. Can it be demonstrated that on the Ohio side of the river, the majority of what would now be called “white collar” or professional jobs were located in Wellsville, while the industrial jobs were largely to be found in East Liverpool? Further, can it be shown that on the (West) Virginia side the Grant District remained purely agricultural? Was this because there was no need or desire for town formation at such close proximity to both Wellsville and East Liverpool?

This study will also examine the idea that the predominance of these types of occupational characteristics was formed and strengthened by the families that had historically occupied these areas, or that increasingly settled in them during the study period. Clearly, many interwoven social and economic factors played a part in the history of this entire area, but a major concern of this study is to investigate any specific influence of key families or groups of families on the development of the specific part of the area in which they lived.

It is speculated that the uneven development of the study area as a whole was dependent not simply on one obvious factor, but on several social and geographic factors acting in concert. For example, the entire area is located along a navigable river. The development of towns along such a river might be expected to depend more heavily on the transportation of goods and people for economic growth than that of towns found inland. The accessibility of the clay found in the region likely led to the founding of the early potteries during a time when it was important for manufacturing facilities to be located close to the available raw materials of this trade. The business acumen of William Wells, especially compared to that of the early “proprietors” of East Liverpool, provided an optimistic foundation for the early growth and prosperity of his town and also contributed to its more regular development.

These are just a few examples of the types of circumstances that helped shape the development of the study area during a time in which it was experiencing a period of relative economic prosperity and growth. The rural districts boasted productive farms, many owned by the same families for several generations, and both counties were firmly within the American Bread Belt by 1880.² The Ohio towns had working trade harbors on the riverfront and pottery factories or foundries that employed many local laborers. Populations increased in both Columbiana and Hancock Counties at a regular rate and agricultural and manufacturing production also increased during the designated study period of 1850 to 1880.

There are several other issues by which this thesis builds on existing scholarship. The lingering effects of the “market revolution” changed the relationship between the agrarian and industrial sectors of the workplace, and these effects can be detected in both East Liverpool and the agricultural Grant District; changes in the socioeconomic status of some residents in the area were partly as a response to this revolution. Evidence of continued immigration to the entire area both from neighboring states and increasingly (especially in East Liverpool) from England was easily detectible in the census data and this influx contributed to the character of the workforce, particularly in the potteries. Other themes include the contribution of expanding communications routes and their impact on the greater awareness of the population with respect to the social/economic/political issues of the day; shifting occupational dominance; changes in the status of women; and increasing educational and religious opportunities.

All of these factors contributed in some way to the growth and development of this small area in the American Midwest and this thesis examines these effects. The pottery boom did not last, and from today’s perspective, 150 years after this surge of prosperity, the area is struggling, both economically and socially. This, then, is a study of a small stretch of the Ohio River during its heyday. What can we learn

² United States Census Bureau. *Census of Population and Housing*. See 1880, vol. 3, pages 10, 11. <https://www.census.gov/prod/www/decennial.html> : accessed 12 October 2020.

from the people and events in this tiny section of this large country during a time when success seemed, for some at least, so much easier to achieve than it is today?

Historians such as Charles Sellers date the so-called market revolution of the 19th century to a period preceding the beginnings of this study (1850) and locate it primarily in the increasingly urban northeastern part of the country or the plantation culture of the south.³ The market revolution concept also influenced a generation of American historians such as Eric Foner, who commented that ‘no household could be truly independent in the age of the market revolution.’ After 1830 the northern birth rate began to fall, immigration rose, and ‘the centrality of the household to production waned.’ By 1850, Foner notes, wage earners outnumbered slaves for the first time, and by 1860 ‘wage laborers outnumbered self-employed members of the labor force.’⁴

Using a somewhat different approach, John Larson suggests that the effects of the market revolution were more diffuse, lasting perhaps from 1800-1860, and that an actual “tipping point” might be nearly impossible to pin down.⁵ Historian of the early national period Daniel Walker Howe prefers to call this a period of “communications revolution,” believing that the market expansion taking place during that time was just that - an expansion - rather than a revolution.⁶

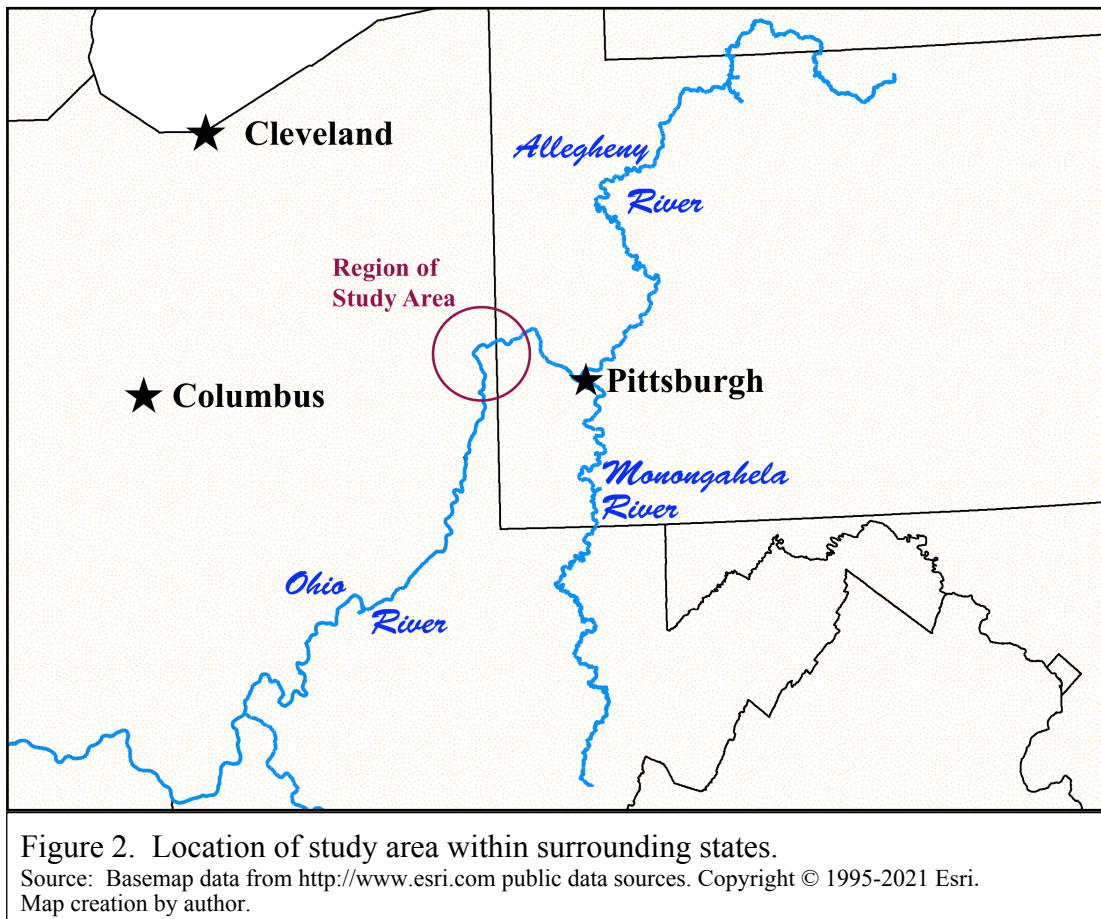
Despite these differences in approach, market-driven trends identified in this period tended toward similar outcomes. These included a decreasing reliance on subsistence farming, an increasing willingness to purchase goods previously produced at home, the movement of some farmers’ sons into other occupations, expanded production in the types and quantities of manufactured goods, and a shift

³ See, for example: Sellers, Charles. (1991) *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846*. New York: Oxford. Sellers often begins his narrative at 1815 (for example - pp. 3, 5, 7, 26, etc.) and speaks of specific parts of the country (for example, pp. 20-21). Also see Larson, John Lauritz. (2005) *The Market Revolution in Early America: An Introduction*. *OAH Magazine of History* 19(3). p. 4. Larson merely says “the first half of the nineteenth century.”

⁴ Foner, Eric M. (1995) *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War* (2nd rev. ed.) New York: Oxford University Press. pp. xv-xvi.

⁵ Larson, John Lauritz. (2012) *The Market Revolution in America: Liberty, Ambition, and the Eclipse of the Common Good*. New York: Cambridge University Press, p. 11.

⁶ Howe, Daniel Walker. (2007) *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848*. Oxford: University Press. Howe opens his analysis with the Battle of New Orleans in 1815 and concludes with the end of the Mexican War (p. 1). His note on market vs. communications, p. 5.



in the allocation of capital away from commerce and towards payment of wages. Labor had become a marketable commodity, sometimes the only one possessed by an individual, and manufacturers were increasingly willing to exploit this mainly unskilled labor force to their own gain.⁷ It was also during this time that anti-slavery and women's rights movements began to emerge, improved dissemination of information made more people aware of the larger world, and voluntary religious participation resulted in a near explosion of religious denominations and organizations.⁸

Sellers has been characterized by Howe as portraying this revolution as a villainous historical agent which 'ruined the lives of happy subsistence farmers,' while Foner has stressed the power of the new 'metaphor of wage slavery.' Larson believed this revolution was a more nuanced product of the accumulated actions of the people, themselves. Rather than being victims of the changes happening around

⁷ Sellers, *The Market Revolution*, pp. 17-21 and pp. 24-26.

⁸ Howe, *What Hath God Wrought*, p. 851-52, 165-66.

them, the individual participants were themselves causing these changes by their own actions.⁹ But Larson has also suggested that, after the most significant events of the revolution, an individual's actions might more often conform to the dictates of economic interest, rather than to their individual preferences as might have been the case during the more agrarian period.¹⁰

Complex economic and social changes took place in America during the period leading up to 1850, with impacts on individuals and communities that were extensive, often permanent, and just as often unquantifiable. This may be especially true in the small area under study where the extent and type of records available for examination is limited. But this does not mean nothing can be learned.

For example, lingering effects of the shift from "farm to factory" can be seen to some extent not only in the development of the pottery industry, but also in the make-up of the workforce of the East Liverpool potteries. By the end of the study period in 1880 the workforce included immigrants, women, and the descendants of area farmers. Meanwhile, many of the early landowning families found in the Grant District continued to grow in numbers, while the amount of available land for each farmer to leave his sons remained constant or even shrank. These sons could no longer rely on expansion of the family's subsistence agriculture model to support themselves and their own families in the future.

Since the focus of this thesis starts just after the date some historians give as the end of the market revolution, the contributions this study will make to the understanding of this historical model might lie in demonstrating how its impact was delayed in this more rural area, and how the predicted labor related changes were perhaps not felt as sharply as by the inhabitants of the more populated areas. Using only the data available, some evidence of the kinds of changes outlined by Sellers, Larson and Howe can be seen over the course of time.

⁹ Howe, Daniel Walker. (2011) review of Larson, *The Market Revolution in America: Liberty, Ambition, and the Eclipse of the Common Good*. *Journal of the Early Republic*, 31(3), p. 521. Howe gives a brief overview of Larson's original thesis, stating clearly where Larson differs from Sellers. Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men*, pp. xviii-xx.

¹⁰ Larson, *The Market Revolution*, p. 9.

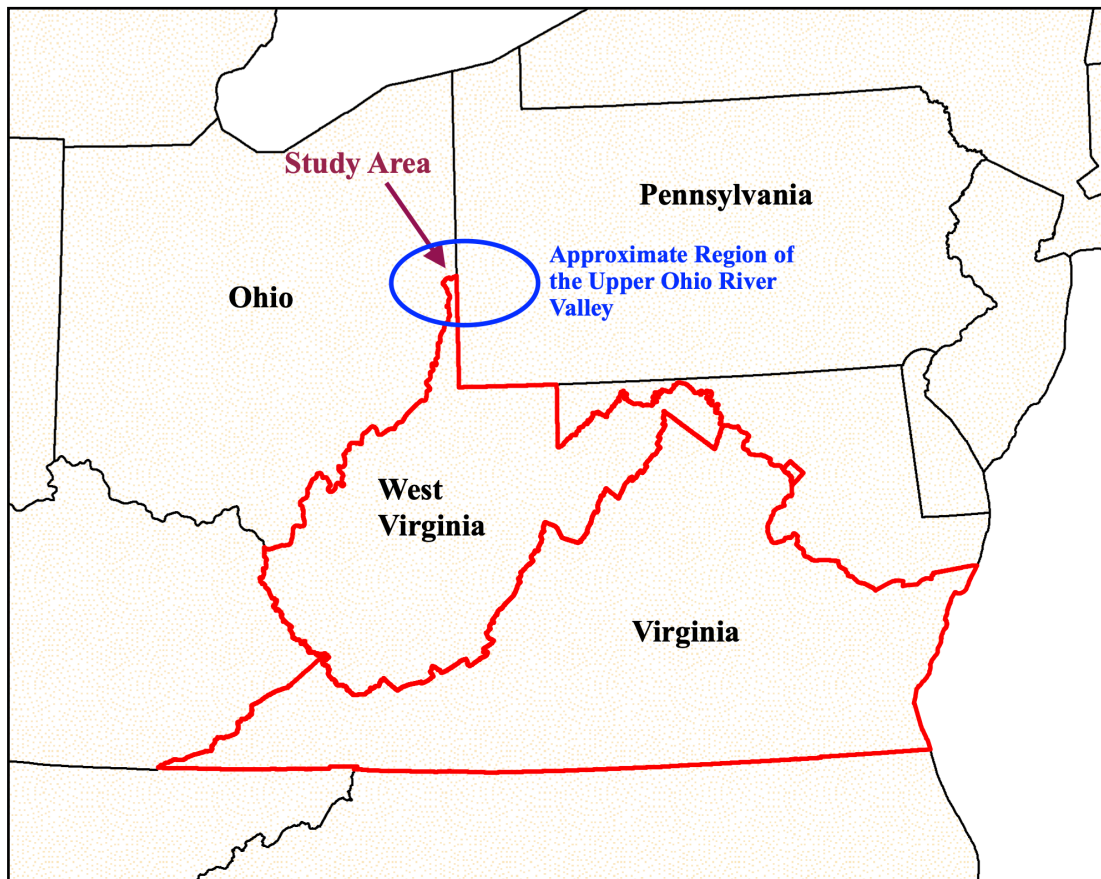


Figure 3. Virginia originally included the modern states of Virginia and West Virginia..

Basemap layer: <http://www.esri.com> public data sources. Copyright © 1995-2021 Esri.
Map creation by author.

An evaluation of the composition of workers in the predominantly agricultural Grant District over the course of the study period does not provide much evidence of farmers leaving the land and moving into the manufacturing labor market. What it does show, however, is an increasing proportion of farm workers categorized as “farm hand” rather than “farmer.” If these workers were not Turner’s poetic ‘degraded tillers of the soil, toiling that others might dream’,¹¹ neither were they the owners of the land they worked. Most were sons of farm owners who were presumably working on the family farm, and many already had families of their own.

In addition, the percentage of all workers in this district who were *not* engaged in agriculture fell from about 40% at the beginning of the study period to about 27% at the end, giving the appearance of the area becoming more agricultural

¹¹ Cited in: Breisach, Ernst A. (1993) *American Progressive History: An Experiment in Modernization*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p. 27, which discusses the views of Frederick Jackson Turner in the 1890s.

rather than less.¹² What this data does not tell us is how many of the sons and daughters of the local farmers had moved away from home (even just across the river to East Liverpool) and were living and working there in non-agricultural jobs.

More detailed information about these children of farmers might be obtained with a considerably more exacting evaluation of the census data over the decades. This would involve essentially constructing a brief genealogy of all farm owners from the Grant District, something which was beyond the scope of this work. Another aspect of the market revolution, that of farm owners having increasingly less land to leave to their heirs, could be further evaluated to some extent by analyzing the incomplete probate records in Hancock County; some beginning in 1853 are available online.¹³

The 1870 wages for farm laborers in the “middle” state of West Virginia varied with experience and season, but ranged from 90 cents to \$1.42 per day,¹⁴ or about \$23 to \$37 per month when calculated for a six-day work week. None of the potteries enumerated on the industrial census of 1870 employed only men, and reported wages were not split out between workers who were men, women, or children. Though one might reasonably speculate that women and children were being paid less,¹⁵ the available data cannot be used to firmly corroborate this notion. The average monthly wage for all pottery workers in the study area reported on the 1870 industrial enumeration ranged from about \$27 to \$55, with the largest potteries tending to pay less.¹⁶ These cursory figures seem to provide evidence of some

¹² Some of this change was due to the way the census data was collected in Hancock County. This will be discussed in detail later.

¹³ FamilySearch. *Will book, 1848-1917; will index, 1853-1971*. <https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/69667?availability=Family%20History%20Library> : accessed 8 December 2020. [These records from the Hancock County Court.] A visit to the courthouse in 2019 did not yield any additional access to these records.

¹⁴ Young, Edward. (1871) *Special report on immigration : accompanying information for immigrants relative to the prices and rentals of land, the staple products, facilities of access to market, cost of farm stock, kind of labor in demand in the western and southern states, etc., etc., to which are appended tables showing the average weekly wages paid in the several states and sections for factory, mechanical, and farm labor; the cost of provisions, groceries, dry goods, and house rent in the various manufacturing districts of the country, in the year 1869- '70*. Washington: Government Printing Office, p. 216.

¹⁵ Robert V. Robinson and Ana-Maria Wahl. (1990) ‘Industrial Employment and Wages of Women, Men, and Children in a 19th Century City: Indianapolis, 1850-1880.’ *American Sociological Review*. 55(6) pp. 925. This study used a rigorous statistical analysis of the available industrial census data to make wage change projections in a larger industrial city.

¹⁶ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Yellow Creek Township, East Liverpool, and Liverpool Township, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1870. Industrial Schedules. Roll T1159_45. Twelve pages total.

economic incentive for (especially male) laborers in this area to abandon farm work for factory work.

The only gender specific comparative statistics available from the industrial census were from 1850. In this year the six East Liverpool potters producing goods in excess of \$500 annually all employed both men and women. On average, the pay for women was \$11 per month, while for men it was \$20 per month.¹⁷ This data certainly supports the idea that women were paid less than men, and it also demonstrates the existence of women in the labor force as early as 1850.¹⁸

The increase in labor as a commodity could also be seen in the persistent (and sometimes increasing) percentage of workers giving their occupation in the census simply as “laborer”, as well as in the rise of (particularly single) women working as domestic servants. Additional information about the distribution of various occupations in the workforce can be found in Chapter Five.

Another feature of the early 19th century market revolution/expansion that was probably felt (mainly) on the Ohio side of the river in this area was an increasing number and variety of both craftsmen and merchants. These individuals would have been providing goods that subsistence farmers would have previously either made for themselves, perhaps traded for with other farmers, or done without.

Even before the study period began, farmers on both sides of the river began producing marketable surplus. Some surplus produced by farmers in both counties probably had some direct markets in the two towns. Increasingly, however, the local farmers were able to take advantage of the refining and export opportunities offered by the commercial facilities found in the towns. The leveraging of these types of facilities was instrumental in the early success of William Wells.¹⁹

A distinct facet of this economic (marketing) trend, though somewhat late in arriving to the area, was evidenced in the pottery industry of East Liverpool.

¹⁷ Census records. USA. Liverpool Township, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1850. Industrial Schedules. Roll T1159_12. One page.

¹⁸ It should be noted that women *might* have been working fewer hours per day than men. This information was not given on the enumeration forms. Even if children under age 16 were working, they were not enumerated separately until 1870.

¹⁹ This is discussed further in the Wellsville chapter as well as in the Wells genealogy, Appendix 2.

Examples of Sellers' "successful mechanic/entrepreneurs"²⁰ were to be found in the comparatively wealthy pottery owners/manufacturers of the 1870 census.²¹ The common story of James Bennett being the founder of the pottery industry in East Liverpool is given a boost by the report of his making a profit on his wares. Bennett was reportedly not producing pottery only for his own purposes, or even his family's use, he was also producing for and selling to the wider local market.

Evidence of a few other facets of the market revolution or even the communications revolution is found in the records of the study period. The arrival of the railroad in the area in the early 1850s is addressed in the East Liverpool chapter, and the 1847 arrival of the telegraph is noted in the Wellsville chapter. Further discussion of the activities of women in the area and the abundance of churches is provided in Chapter Five. (Abolitionist activity in the study area is not considered in any detail.)

Sellers contends that 'Capitalism ... created a male public world of competitive production sundered from a female domestic world ... [in which women were] ... called upon to provide the love, tranquility, and socially invisible labor needed by men ...'²² This notion can be seen as a support of the often-used description of women's lives during the early 19th century as belonging to a "separate sphere" to that of men. This perspective is discussed further in Chapter Five.

Given the records available, especially the dearth of local newspapers, it is difficult to estimate to what extent the inhabitants were aware of being swept up in aftermath of the changes which had mainly occurred earlier in the century. The same applies to the extent to which Larson's loss of individual identity or the dissolution of "vocation into work" was felt by the residents of the area.²³ We can only look at the analysis of the data available with an eye to the background market expansion that

²⁰ Sellers, *The Market Revolution*, p. 27

²¹ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1870. Roll: M593_1183. 53 pages total. This was the only year which captured both values of land and property owned and the distinction between pottery owners and workers.

²² Sellers, *The Market Revolution*, p. 242.

²³ Larson, *The Market Revolution*, p. 9.

As described by Emily Foster, early “squatters” were merely the beginnings of the torrent of colonists to appear when the ‘floodgates on the frontier opened’ after the end of the Revolutionary War.²⁶ By the 1820s Ohio had become more heavily settled, and was no longer always the final destination in the westward migration of settlers, but often only the starting point. It had begun taking on some trappings of eastern urban society in the larger towns. For some visitors and residents, the biggest complaint was that of terrible roads.²⁷ The need for roads and other means of transportation remained critical into and through the study period, not only for migrants but also for farmers and businessmen needing transport of their goods to market.

In terms of the existence of permanent residents, the study area of far eastern Ohio and far northwestern Virginia had ceased to be (if it ever was) the location of what Turner claimed was the ‘outer edge of the wave’ dividing savagery and civilization long before the study period began in 1850.²⁸ This appealing Turnerian illusion of the waves of settlement may have been drawn from the earlier description in John Mason Peck’s *New Guide for Emigrants to the West* of the classes of settlement. Peck described them this way:

Generally, in all western settlements, three classes, like the waves of the ocean have rolled one after the other. First comes the Poineer [sic], who depends for subsistence of his family chiefly upon the natural growth of vegetation ... He is the occupant for the time being, ... builds his cabin, gathers around him a few other families ... and occupies till the range is somewhat subdued ... The next class of emigrants purchase the lands ... [then] The men of capital and enterprise come ... The

²⁶ Emily Foster. (1996) *The Ohio Frontier: An Anthology of Early Writings*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, p. 68.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

²⁸ Turner, Frederick Jackson. (1921) *The Frontier in American History*. New York: Henry Holt and Co., p. 3.

small village rises to a spacious town or city

...²⁹

Peck believed that at the time he was writing the third wave, the ‘men of capital and enterprise’, were already sweeping over the states of Indiana and Illinois, both of which are west of Ohio. With an 1835 population of about 1.3 million in the 75 counties of the state,³⁰ Ohio was probably not any longer considered by him to represent the “western frontier.”

However, some of Peck’s “men of capital and enterprise” probably did personify the ‘growth of federal power and the gradual creation of a bureaucratic state in the West’, as described by Richard White.³¹ The most obvious aspect of this federal power, at least in the Ohio portion of the study area, might have been felt in the federal ownership and eventual sale of the public domain. While White also mentions the existence of the ‘obtrusive presence’ of the federal government in the form of the territorial system,³² both Ohio and Virginia had achieved statehood long before the study period began.

The Turner myth of the West was a story of free land, of farmers peacefully occupying a largely empty continent;³³ this story was clearly not true in light of the long history of conflict between European settlers and American Indians. His supposition was that (white male) farmers conquered the wilderness and advanced the practical, egalitarian and democratic American outlook.³⁴

While Turner’s use of the term “frontier” was never sharply defined, he appeared to rely at least partially on the US Census Bureau geographical definition which he used at the very beginning of his 1921 book.³⁵ By contrast, David Wrobel

²⁹ Peck, J. M. (1836) *A New Guide for Emigrants to the West*. Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln, pp. 114-16.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 193, 206.

³¹ Richard White. (1991) *It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own: A New History of the American West*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, p. 61.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 155.

³³ White, Richard. (1994) ‘Frederick Jackson Turner and Buffalo Bill.’ In James R. Grossman (ed.). (1994) *The Frontier in American Culture: An Exhibition at the Newberry Library, August 26, 1994 - January 7, 1995*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 7-66. [pp not printed in the text]

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Turner, *Frontier in American History*, p. 1.

described “frontier” as more of a metaphor - ‘for promise, progress and ingenuity.’³⁶ Perhaps Wrobel’s metaphor could be used to extend the condition of “frontierism” into the study period rather than ending it long before. As noted by Patricia Limerick:

.. it is nearly impossible to define either the beginning or the ending of a frontier. If one cannot define the beginning or ending of a condition, it is not going to be easy to say when that condition is present and when it is *not* present.³⁷

By this notion, the Ohio and West Virginia of 1850-1880 might have represented the “frontier” in terms of a residual mentality, if not in actual geography, and this is detectable in terms of efforts (especially in the towns) to promote progress and growth.

An additional brief overview of some other relevant aspects of national history will help put the study area in broader perspective. The history of the United States, while relatively short compared to European, Middle Eastern and Asian countries, is still a matter of at least 500 years. Even the restriction of time to the period between 1850-1880 represents a monumental amount of historical material, much of it largely ancillary to this study. As such only a few additional major topics of national import will be discussed here, followed by a brief chronology of some social/economic/political events which might have had some impact on the study area.

In 1850, the nation was divided into free states, slave states, territory open to slavery at the whim of local government, and unorganized territory. The country as a whole could be largely characterized by increasing friction over the issues of slavery. Ohio was called a border state; it was a free state and was bracketed to the west and east by two other free states (Indiana and Pennsylvania). However, across the

³⁶ Wrobel, David M. (1993) *The End of American Exceptionalism: Frontier Anxiety from the Old West to the New Deal*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, p. 145.

³⁷ Limerick, Patricia Nelson. (1994) ‘The Adventures of the Frontier in The Twentieth Century’, in James R. Grossman (ed.) (1994) *The Frontier in American Culture: An Exhibition at the Newberry Library, August 26, 1994 - January 7, 1995*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 67-102. [pp not printed in the text]

southern border of Ohio (as defined by the Ohio River) were the slave states of Kentucky and Virginia. The upshot for the study area was that the small towns of Wellsville and East Liverpool in southeastern Ohio were free, but Hancock County, Virginia, (just across the Ohio River) was in a state which allowed (and sometimes cherished) slavery.³⁸

The country was growing, agricultural and industrial production was progressing, and settlements were moving west. The American Indians were the main losers in this scenario as their historic landholdings were gobbled up by “new” Americans. Most of the open conflicts between settlers and American Indians in the study area occurred before 1850. The census of 1850 returned a total population of just over 23 million individuals living in the United States, including slaves and free colored individuals, but not including American Indians (who were not counted). Of this number, over three million were slaves.³⁹ The center of population for the country was in Wirt County (now in West Virginia), about 120 miles SSE of the study area.⁴⁰ By 1860, the mean center of population in the country would shift about 100 miles further westward, to a point in Pike County, Ohio.⁴¹

After the “Compromise of 1850” legislation, slave owners in border states perceived an increasing difficulty in maintaining the ownership of their slaves.⁴² The US Census of 1850 indeed reported that 1,467 slaves were manumitted, and 1,011 had escaped.⁴³ This is not a large number, even allowing for some undercounting, if

³⁸ Terminology note - Hancock County was in Virginia prior to 1863 after which it was in West Virginia. Where necessary, the distinction between the two states will be made within the body of this work.

³⁹ US Census Bureau. *1850 Census: The Seventh Census of the United States*. <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1853/dec/1850a.html> : accessed 1 October 2020. See Table 1 - Population of the United States Decennially From 1790 to 1850.

⁴⁰ US Census Bureau, Geography Division. *Centers of Population Computation for the United States, 1950-2010*. https://www2.census.gov/geo/pdfs/reference/cenpop2010/COP2010_documentation.pdf : accessed 4 December 2020.

⁴¹ US Census Bureau, Geography Division. *Centers of Population Computation for the United States, 1950-2010*. https://www2.census.gov/geo/pdfs/reference/cenpop2010/COP2010_documentation.pdf : accessed 9 October 2020.

⁴² For more on the details of this legislation see: Library of Congress. *A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation: U.S. Congressional Documents and Debates, 1774-1875 (Statutes at Large, 31st Congress, 1st session. (1850), pp. 446, 452, 462)* <https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage> : accessed 4 December 2020; U.S. History. *An Uneasy Peace, 30d. The Compromise of 1850*. <http://www.ushistory.org/us/30d.asp> : accessed 4 December 2020.

⁴³ Emmett D. Preston. (1943). ‘The Fugitive Slave Acts in Ohio.’ *Journal of Negro History*, 28(4), p. 428.

one considers the total slave population of over 3.2 million in this year. In Virginia, slaves made up 30% of the total population in 1850, but large disparities existed between the relative sizes of the black and white populations of different counties. This has some significance for the study area. For example, the county with the largest number of enslaved people, Henrico County, bordering the city of Richmond, had 16,109 slaves out of a total population of 43,572 while Nottoway County, in south-central Virginia, recorded the highest percentage of slaves (72% of the total population of 8,437). At the other end of the spectrum lay Hancock County, which recorded precisely three slaves out of a total population of 4,050 – less than 0.1% – the lowest figure in the state on both counts.⁴⁴

One author notes that the old east-west National Road served as a semi-official boundary through Ohio separating southern and northern sympathizers.⁴⁵ This road divided the state nearly in half, but fell well south of our study area, running through Wheeling, West Virginia, then west to Zanesville and Columbus.⁴⁶ This demarcation *suggested* the entirety of the study area was inhabited by northern abolitionist sympathizers, which is highly unlikely.

In Ohio during the first half of the 1850s many black people were focused on improving their civic and social standing, especially with regards to suffrage. The “Black Convention” petitioned Ohio’s Constitutional Convention of 1851 to eliminate racial restrictions on voting. This petition was denied. William Sawyer, an outspoken opponent of equal racial rights, went so far as to defend the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. He specifically opposed offering black children educational benefits as he imagined this would encourage a flood of black immigrants into the state of

⁴⁴ University of Virginia Library. *Population of Virginia - 1850*. <http://www.virginiaplaces.org/population/pop1850numbers.html> : accessed 8 June 2021. In Kentucky, slaves made up 22% of the population. US Census Bureau. *1850 Census: The Seventh Census of the United States*. <https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1850/1850a/1850a-39.pdf> : accessed 8 June 2021.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 422.

⁴⁶ Robert Bruce. (1915) *The Old National Road*. New York: American Automobile Association, p. 3.

Ohio.⁴⁷ Foner has noted the ease with which white workers could oppose slavery but also feel threatened by the idea of [competing] black skilled labor, and the reluctance of white employers and customers to deal with black people: ‘The result was a rapid decline in economic status, until by mid-century, the vast majority of Northern blacks labored for wages in unskilled jobs and personal service.’⁴⁸

One of Ohio’s senators for the first half of this decade was a Free-Soil Party promoter. Salmon P. Chase⁴⁹ was elected largely by the northeastern counties which were the core of Whig strength in the state. Chase served one term, retired, and was replaced by a Democrat, George Ellis Pugh. Pugh was elected on the 10th ballot to the Senate and also served only one term.⁵⁰ The other Ohio senator, Benjamin F. Wade, was staunchly abolitionist, a Whig and then a Republican, and worked hard to repeal Ohio’s black codes.⁵¹ Wade supported equal rights for black Americans. He was not widely popular in Ohio, but managed to retain his seat for 18 years.⁵² As if to demonstrate the political disunity present even in the free state of Ohio, of the six Representatives elected during this decade, four were Democrats. One Whig Representative served only three months, to be replaced by a Democrat. One Opposition Representative served his full term, but was not re-elected.

In the state of Virginia, west vs. east divisions were growing stronger during the decade of the 1850s. The counties west of the Alleghenies complained of unequal representation at the state level, while eastern counties were lobbying for secession from the Union over the issue of slavery. Additional issues arising from

⁴⁷ Jonathan Scott Howard. (2011) ‘Changing the Law; Fighting for Freedom: Racial Politics and Legal Reform in Early Ohio, 1803-1860’. Unpublished MA thesis, Ohio State University, pp. 80-85. Terminology note - some consideration was given to the term that would be used to describe the individuals whom the 1850 census called “free colored.” In America at the time of this writing (2021) the term “African American” is commonly used. This term was not found in any of the published histories or newspapers contemporary to the time. The term in use then was “black” or “colored” but not “Black.” In an effort at consistency, the term “black” was selected.

⁴⁸ Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men*, pp. xxviii.

⁴⁹ John Niven. (1995) *Salmon P. Chase: A Biography*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 114-128.

⁵⁰ ‘Election of an Ohio Senator.’ *The National Era* (Washington, D.C.) 16 March 1854, p. 44, c. 4. <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov> : accessed 4 December 2020.

⁵¹ These “codes” were restrictive laws designed to limit the freedom of blacks and ensure their availability as a cheap labor source even after the abolition of slavery following the Civil War. See: Constitutional Rights Foundation. *Southern Black Codes*. <https://www.crf-usa.org/brown-v-board-50th-anniversary/southern-black-codes.html> : accessed 4 December 2020.

⁵² Ohio History Connection. *Benjamin F. Wade*. http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Benjamin_F._Wade : accessed 5 February 2019.

the Virginia State Convention of 1851 included those of the variable taxation of slaves as property, and a provision forbidding the emancipation of any slave or descendant of a slave.⁵³

US Senator James Murry Mason of Virginia served during this time when the state was already experiencing sectional conflict. Mason, a Democrat, was himself a slaveholder and personally committed to the perpetration of slavery. During his terms as a senator he pushed back against the westerners' abolitionist tendencies, believing slavery to be '... a critical element of southern culture.'⁵⁴ Mason was a supporter of secession and thus expelled from the US Senate in July of 1861 along with nine other southern senators deemed guilty of conspiracy against the federal government.⁵⁵

The other senator from Virginia, Democrat Robert Hunter, was equally pro-slavery. Although seen by some historians as a conciliatory upper South politician, he was seen by others as a supporter of special privilege for slaveholders and a champion of state rights. He identified himself as a "Southern Man," one who would accept secession only as a last resort. In the end he was expelled along with his colleague Mason and citizens of western Virginia were left without representation.⁵⁶

Five of the six US representatives from Virginia's (old) Congressional District 11 (now in West Virginia) who served in the 1850s were Democrats and therefore almost certainly pro-slavery. However, even the Unionist representative, John S. Carlisle, was eventually ordered arrested by Abraham Lincoln for suspected treason.⁵⁷ It does not appear that citizens of the western part of Virginia in the 1850s

⁵³ Charles Henry Ambler. (1933) *A History of West Virginia*. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., pp. 275-278. This subject is covered in more detail in the Grant District Chapter.

⁵⁴ Adam J. Zucconi. (2011) 'The Ideology of Equality: James Murray Mason and Antebellum Politics'. Unpublished MA thesis, Clemson University, pp. 44-47.

⁵⁵ United States Senate. *Ten Senators Expelled. July 11, 1861*. Citing Butler, Anne M. https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/minute/Ten_Senators_Expelled.htm : accessed 7 December 2020.

⁵⁶ William S. Hitchcock. (1973) 'Southern Moderates and Secession: Senator Robert M. T. Hunter's Call for Union.' *Journal of American History*, 59(4), p. 872.

⁵⁷ ProQuest Congressional. *Executive Orders and Presidential Proclamations, Order for Arrest of John S. Carlisle*. (Citing Abraham Lincoln, 1864.) <https://congressional-proquest-com.ezproxy1.library.arizona.edu/congressional/docview/t67.d72.1864-21-145?accountid=8360> : accessed 7 December 2020.

had the cohesion necessary to elect federal representatives who reflected their anti-slavery and anti-secession views.

Slavery and politics were not the only troublesome issues of the 1850s. The financial crisis of 1857 followed several years of economic expansion in the United States which included land speculation, railroad construction, and the exporting of gold from California. Railroads provided the bulk of this economic growth and were funded in part by state land grants, government bonds, company stock sales on Wall Street, and foreign (mainly British) investors. The number of banks in the country increased dramatically from 1850 to 1857 and these banks provided easy credit to clientele who wished to invest in railroads or in land speculation. Along with this prosperity came inflation. When the Crimean War ended, American farmers no longer had a huge market for grain in Europe, as the market for Russian grain was reopened. Demand fell, profits dropped, and many farmers could not pay their debt to eastern merchants and bankers.

An international trade imbalance also meant that gold was flowing out of the country. Banks raised their interest rates in an effort to build up their gold reserves. The huge amount of credit-based speculation in land and railroads meant that borrowers now had to pay more for their investments. The first bank to fail was the Ohio Life Insurance and Trust Company; this institution had loaned \$5 million to railroad investors in addition to having been the victim of a huge swindle by one of its managers. Unable to pay its debt to eastern bankers (from whom *they* had borrowed), the company went into bankruptcy.⁵⁸ Although this particular financial failure is seen by many historians to have been the beginning of a “domino effect” of bank failures, not all agree with this analysis. This was the only bank that failed in

⁵⁸ HarpWeek. Robert C. Kennedy, author. *On this Day*. (Cartoon from *New York Times*, 24 October 1857.) <https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/learning/general/onthisday/harp/1024.html> : accessed 7 December 2020; Quentin R. Skrabec, Jr. (2012) *The 100 Most Significant Events in American Business*. Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood, pp. 53-55.

the state of Ohio, and it went bankrupt a full month earlier than other banks began experiencing problems.⁵⁹

Eventually, though not necessarily in response to the failure of Ohio Life and Trust, eastern banks began severely tightening their credit policies and demanding immediate payment of all mature loans. By late summer the value of western land was dropping, as were the value of trunk-line railroad stocks and speculative railroads' earnings.⁶⁰ Depositors became nervous about the safety of their money and began withdrawing gold from the banks; this caused the gold reserves to drop. Adding to that, a steamer bringing gold from California sank in a hurricane taking with it \$1.6 million in gold meant for the reserves.

As gold reserves dropped, banks began to suspend gold payments. The value of stocks dropped, and half of the stock brokerages in New York City alone went bankrupt. Businesses failed, the extension of credit nearly halted, and construction of buildings and railroads nearly ceased; unemployment in the Northeast and Midwest increased markedly. By the end of 1857, the worst was over. On an individual level, big investors like Cornelius Vanderbilt had come out ahead by taking advantage of low stock prices. On a national level, low tariffs on the cotton exports to Europe at the time meant that southern farmers had weathered the crisis better than northern businessmen. This disparity did nothing to ease tensions between existing north-south factions.⁶¹

In Ohio, the panic was not as destructive as in other parts of the country. While many businesses failed, most banks survived, largely due to the coordination of suspensions and assistance by coinsuring banks. Some evidence of the type of land speculation taking place was found in the dealings of Cook, Mitchell, Blakely

⁵⁹ Charles W. Calomiris & Larry Schweikart. (1991) 'The Panic of 1857: Origins, Transmission, and Containment,' *Journal of Economic History*, 51(4), pp. 808-09. See also, Larry Schweikart. (1991) "U.S. Commercial Banking: A Historiographical Review," *Business History Review*, 65(3), 618-19. Huston also covers this crisis in his 1980 doctoral dissertation. Review," *Business History Review*, 65(3), 618-19. Huston also covers this crisis in his 1980 doctoral dissertation. James Lynn Huston. (1980) *The Panic of 1857 and the Coming of the Civil War*. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Illinois.

⁶⁰Calomiris & Schweikart, 'The Panic of 1857', pg. 811. The financial panic of 1837, although pre-dating the actual study period, had some limited effect on East Liverpool. Timothy Knight. (2014) *Panic, Prosperity, and Progress: Five Centuries of History and the Markets*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, ch. 5.

⁶¹ HarpWeek (Kennedy), *On this Day*; Skrabec, *The 100 Most Significant Events*, p. 55.

and Smith in East Liverpool.⁶² Declining westward immigration did result in a large decrease (roughly 30%) in the number of east-west rail passengers through Ohio.⁶³ In the state legislature, Republicans lost some power to the Democrats.⁶⁴ On the federal level the reverse was true and in 1858 the still-new Republican party gained control of the House of Representatives.⁶⁵

The Civil War, territorial expansion, slave emancipation and the assassination of Lincoln were the defining events of the 1860s. The Civil War, itself, will not be discussed in any detail in this thesis except insofar as the war affected the local economy, political alignments and factions, or family histories with which this work is concerned. It is noted that about 300,000 Ohioans fought in the War, almost entirely for the North, and over 35,000 died.⁶⁶ Only two battles are routinely mentioned as having taken place in Ohio. Both involved Morgan's Raiders and their attempt to cross the Ohio River in order to leave the state.⁶⁷ Soldiers from the now-state of West Virginia fought, about equally, for the North and the South - perhaps about 40,000 in total.⁶⁸ No Civil War battles took place in the northwestern panhandle of Virginia where the study area is located.⁶⁹

The portion of the study area that lies immediately across the river from Wellsville and East Liverpool lies in Hancock County which was among the counties to split off and form West Virginia in 1863. The specific effect of the war on the

⁶² For a discussion of these men, see the East Liverpool chapter.

⁶³ Calomiris, 'The Panic of 1857', p. 813. Charles Calomiris. (2000) *U.S. Bank Deregulation in Historical Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp.104-105.

⁶⁴ Ohio History Connection. *Panic of 1857*. http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Panic_of_1857 : accessed 7 December 2020. Sources for this article are available on the website.

⁶⁵ US Senate, Senate Historical Office. *The 1858 Midterm Election*. https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/minute/The_1858_Midterm_Election.htm : accessed 7 December 2020. The panic of 1857 was described by Riddiough and Thompson as the '... first truly international financial crisis, and a contributing factor to the start of the Civil War.' Timothy J. Riddiough & Howard E. Thompson. (2018) 'When prosperity merges into crisis: the decline and fall of Ohio Life and the Panic of 1857,' *American Nineteenth Century History*, 19(3), pp. 289-313.

⁶⁶ Christine Dee (ed.). (2006) *Ohio's War: The Civil War in Documents*. Athens: Ohio University Press, pg. 94.

⁶⁷ National Park Service. *Update to the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields. State of Ohio*. <http://npshistory.com/publications/battlefield/cwsac/updates/oh.pdf> : accessed 7 December 2020.

⁶⁸ West Virginia Department of Arts, Culture and History. *The Civil War in West Virginia*. <http://www.wvculture.org/history/archives/wvcivilwar.html> : accessed 7 December 2020.

⁶⁹ The US population was about 31.5 million individuals in 1860. The state of Ohio reported over 2.3 million individuals and Virginia nearly 1.6 million. USCensus Bureau. *1860 Census: Population of the United States*. <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1864/dec/1860a.html> : accessed 9 October 2020.

formation of the state of West Virginia has been covered in broad state histories.⁷⁰ Several of these works deal specifically with the formation of West Virginia and the broader Civil War era.⁷¹

West Virginia began the pursuit of statehood in its own right in October 1861, reflecting longstanding tensions that eventually came to a head. Following years of disputes over equal representation at the state level as well as property tax disputes, the counties of northwestern Virginia finally took action when Virginia's governor and legislature approved secession from the federal government, something the northwestern counties did not want.⁷² West Virginia was declared a state by presidential proclamation in April of 1863. Although the split came to a head over the issue of secession, it had its roots in the original state constitution which granted voting rights only to white men who owned a certain amount of land. This was unpopular with small land owners in the western counties.⁷³ The creation of a new state within the '... Jurisdiction of any other State;' seemed to conflict with Article IV, Section 3, of the Constitution, but was approved as a measure made possible by war - and not to be seen as a precedent for peacetime.⁷⁴

It might appear that the awful reality of the Civil War did not directly affect many citizens in states where few or no battles occurred, even though images captured by Scottish photographer Alexander Gardner, including the bloody aftermath of the Battle of Antietam, may have provided glimpses.⁷⁵ And yet, even tiny Wellsville felt the effects when the results of the drafts were published in the

⁷⁰ See, for example: Callahan, History of West Virginia, Old and New, in One Volume.

⁷¹ See, for example: Granville Davidson Hall. (1902) *The Rending of Virginia, A History*. Chicago: Mayer & Miller. Also such works as Scott A. MacKenzie, Scott A. (2017) 'Voting with Their Arms: Civil War Military Enlistments and the Formation of West Virginia, 1861–1865,' *Ohio Valley History*, 17(2), pp. 25-45. National Constitution Center, author Bonboy, Scott. *On This Day, West Virginia starts controversial statehood process*. <https://constitutioncenter.org/blog/on-this-day-west-virginia-starts-controversial-statehood-process> : accessed 34 January 2019.

⁷² National Constitution Center, author Bonboy, Scott. *On This Day, West Virginia starts controversial statehood process*. <https://constitutioncenter.org/blog/on-this-day-west-virginia-starts-controversial-statehood-process> : accessed 34 January 2019.

⁷³ West Virginia Department of Arts, Culture and History. *West Virginia Statehood*. <http://www.wvculture.org/history/archives/statehoo.html> : accessed 7 December 2020.

⁷⁴ National Constitution Center. *On this Day*.

⁷⁵ American Battlefield Trust. *Alexander Gardner*. <https://www.battlefields.org/learn/biographies/alexander-gardner> : accessed 7 December 2020.

newspapers and citizens saw the names of friends, neighbors or family who would soon be joining the fighting.⁷⁶ In nearby East Liverpool, 85 men had volunteered for the Union Army by May 1862, and the town had its own artillery squad.⁷⁷ Fear for the safety of loved ones and of the draft seemed to capture much of both towns' attention during this time.⁷⁸

Some publications on the war and Ohio (in particular) include studies of the conflict's effects on particular families or communities; Clymer discusses incidents of wartime insanity, for example.⁷⁹ Rockenbach notes that the Ohio River Valley was in a border area between '... free and slave, rural and urban, agricultural and industrial.' Movement across the Ohio River for business, relocation, and improved economic opportunities resulted in a mixing of political opinions all through the area. Although he wrote specifically about maturing frontier towns in Indiana and Kentucky, Rockenbach noted a legacy of political homogeneity of the Ohio River Valley, deriving from a historic dedication to frontier settlement and economic development and the need to gain control in the face of Native American resistance.⁸⁰

The national conflict had many other effects on the populace, in addition to the violence attending any war. For example, the Revenue Act of 1861 was imposed in August of that year. In order to raise money to support the war against the South Lincoln imposed a 3% tax on annual incomes over \$600, up to 5% for those lucky few who earned over \$10,000. Seen by some analysts as evidence of Lincoln's 'promise of upward mobility' and his belief that inequality destabilized American society, his tax yielded only 20% of the funds necessary for the war; it was repealed in 1872.⁸¹

⁷⁶'Draft List.' *Wellsville Patriot*. 17 May 1864, pg. 3, c. 2. A list of 49 men from Yellow Creek Township which included Wellsville. This list included "C. M. Wells" a possible grandson of the town founder.

⁷⁷ Gates, *City of Hills and Kilns*, pp. 66-67.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pg. 68.

⁷⁹ Ann Clymer Bigelow. (2017). 'Insanity in Civil War Ohio,' *Ohio Valley History*, 17(2), pp. 46-64.

⁸⁰ Stephen I. Rockenbach. (2016) *War Upon our Border: War and Society in Two Ohio Valley Communities, 1861-1865*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, pp. 17-34.

⁸¹ Skrabec, *The 100 Most Significant Events*, p. 145. Hormats, Robert D. (2003) 'Abraham Lincoln and the Global Economy,' *Harvard Business Review*, 81(8), pp. 59-67.

Another continuing issue of this decade was that of labor unrest both nationally and abroad. The International Workingmen's Association (the First International) was founded in London to organize and promote the emancipation of the working class,⁸² and yet American formation of labor unions seemed to lag behind that in other countries. Some reasons for this may have been the relatively higher standard of living in the United States, the early tendency for labor unions to exclude many immigrants and ethnic groups (including blacks), and the notion that the two-party political system excluded the formation of a "labor party" per se. Nevertheless, as Craig Calhoun pointed out in a key article, 'While America had relatively weak trade unions and socialistic politics, it nurtured a relatively strong and open proliferation of the other sort of social movement, new social movements,' including utopian socialism.⁸³

In the study area, only the East Liverpool potteries employed the numbers of workers necessary to support interest in any kind of organized labor representation. Although potters had begun to organize in England as early as 1824 the potteries in East Liverpool were generally free (at this time) from the kinds of labor difficulties cropping up not only in England but elsewhere in the United States as well.⁸⁴ Pottery workers did not begin to organize in the United States until the mid-1870s or later.⁸⁵

The end of the Civil War in early April of 1865 marked the approximate beginning of what some historians have called "The Gilded Age." The bold goals envisioned by many at the beginning of this 30-year period included Reconstruction and the reunification of the entire country in the mold of the free labor North, emancipation of slaves and homogeneous citizenship for all as guaranteed by the federal government, westward movement and industrial growth, the building of a Protestant and largely egalitarian country, freedom for all citizens to work without

⁸² Spartacus Educational Publishers, Ltd. (Citing Karl Marx.) *International Workingmen's Association (First International)*. <https://spartacus-educational.com/IWA.htm> : accessed 7 December 2020.

⁸³ Ethan Schmick. (2018) 'Collective Action and the Origins of the American Labor Movement,' *Journal of Economic History*, 78(3), pp. 751-53. Craig Calhoun. (1993) "'New Social Movements' of the early Nineteenth Century,' *Social Science History*, 17(3), pp. 385-427.

⁸⁴ Gates, *City of Hills and Kilns*, pp. 34 and 45.

⁸⁵ Gates, *City of Hills and Kilns*, p. 86.

bondage, etc. Too lofty to be completely successful, many of these efforts were considerably curtailed by the reality of American life and public debate, which was dominated by what Michael Les Benedict has called ‘constitutional politics.’⁸⁶

Despite the accumulation of vast dynastic fortunes, perhaps the most rapid changes during this period were experienced by citizens who did not enjoy great wealth. It was during this time that the wishes and actions of the powerful few were becoming more subservient to the collective actions of the millions of citizens. Technological growth expanded rapidly due to the combined efforts of many, rather than singular inspiration of an isolated inventor. Rural dwellers moved more frequently into the cities and the population moved generally westward. The concept of “home” became more sacrosanct, a symbol of everything worth respecting and defending. As environmental historian Richard White has put it, ‘the United States in the Gilded Age was a collection of homes’ and this attitude is borne out by the research undertaken for this thesis.⁸⁷

Another reaction to the war included the founding of veterans’ groups. The Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), for example, was founded in April of 1866 in Illinois, ostensibly as a community and political resource for veterans. Membership was restricted to honorably discharged Union veterans. The GAR founded soldiers’ homes for disabled and/or elderly veterans and was active in relief work and pension legislation.⁸⁸ There was reportedly a Henry Cope Post in Wellsville, though no records have been found.⁸⁹ The General Lyon Post in East Liverpool was founded on 1 January 1881 (long after the war ended) and records are extant.⁹⁰ No posts were found to have been established in the portion of the study area south of the river.

⁸⁶ Michael Les Benedict. (2010) ‘Constitutional Politics in the Gilded Age,’ *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*, 9(1), pp. 7-35.

⁸⁷ Richard White. (2017) *The Republic for Which It Stands*. New York: Oxford University Press, Introduction. Jesse Gant. (2017) EdgeEffects. Jesse Gant, author. *Making the Nation in the Gilded Age: A Conversation with Richard White*. <https://edgeeffects.net/richard-white/> : accessed 10 June 2021.

⁸⁸ Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War. *Grand Army of the Republic History*. http://www.suvvw.org/?page_id=167 : accessed 7 December 2020.

⁸⁹ Library of Congress. *The Grand Army of the Republic and Kindred Societies*. <https://www.loc.gov/rr/main/gar/appendix/ohio3.html> : accessed 17 September 2020.

⁹⁰ General Lyon Post No. 44. Department of Ohio, Grand Army of the Republic. (n.d.) *Descriptive Book*. [manuscript] East Liverpool: Museum of Ceramics.

Recently, historians such as Brian Matthew Jordan have challenged the views of Gerald Linderman, Stuart McConnell and David Blight, who argued that Union army veterans eschewed recurrent celebration of their costly victory until long afterwards, alienated by the GAR's supposed obsession with rank and class. Jordan finds evidence that veterans continued to harbor strong, vivid feelings and doubts about the most important experience of their lives and found the charitable work and comradeship of the GAR to be a lifeline.⁹¹

Specific impacts on businesses in the study area of the 1869 crisis, when many investors were ruined by gold speculation loans, were not detected in the histories or newspapers consulted.⁹² By 1870, the US population stood at 38.5 million and would surpass 50 million by the end of the decade.⁹³ The population of the state of Ohio had grown from 2.3 million to nearly 2.7 million and the new state of West Virginia exceeded four hundred thousand.⁹⁴ Americans were still moving westward, so that in 1870 the mean center of population for the country was in Highland County, Ohio, about 44 miles to the northwest of the 1860 location.⁹⁵

The novelist and literary critic, William Dean Howells, saw the manifesto of Gilded Age liberalism as characterized by some themes which would not seem very progressive in today's world: 'abolition of the tariff, civil service reform, return to the gold standard, curbing of democracy through limitations on suffrage, replacement of elected officials with appointed officials, and prevention of any extension of suffrage to women.'⁹⁶ Nevertheless, the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution was ratified in February of 1870. This declaration that the 'right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude' supposedly

⁹¹ Brian Matthew Jordan. (2015) "'Our Work is Not Yet Finished': Union Veterans and Their Unending Civil War, 1865-1872," *Journal of the Civil War Era*, 5(4), pp. 495-497.

⁹² White, *The Republic*, pp. 246-247.

⁹³ US Census Bureau. *1870 Census: Volume I. the Statistics of the Population of the United States*. [https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-04.pdf?#](https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-04.pdf?#:) : accessed 23 Jan 2019. Table 1 - Population, 1870-1790, etc.

⁹⁴ US Census Bureau, *1870 Census: Volume I*. Table 2 - Population, 1870-1790, in each State and Territory, etc.

⁹⁵ US Census Bureau, Geography Division, *Centers of Population Computation for the United States, 1950-2010*.

⁹⁶ Howells. (1872) 'Politics.' *Atlantic Monthly*, January. pp. 124-28, cited in White, *The Republic* p. 209.

granted black *men* the right to vote, but southern states (in particular) were effective at keeping them from the polls by the use of poll taxes, literacy tests, and other discouraging measures.⁹⁷ Women were still barred from voting.

Political representation from the study area in Ohio and West Virginia during the 1870s seemed to be in flux. Eleven senators and representatives were either elected or appointed from the two states during this decade. In all, fifteen different men served all or part of their terms in the 1870s. Of the twelve who served at least a full term, seven were Democrats and five Republicans. These seats were apparently often not held for long periods, and the area appeared to be roughly split between Republican and Democratic leanings.⁹⁸

In 1870 John D. Rockefeller and his associates organized five small refineries into the Standard Oil Company in Ohio, epitomizing the effects of industrial monopolies by manipulating transportation costs with fellow financiers Gould and Vanderbilt to get special rates from New York Central railroad.⁹⁹ These monopolistic tactics may have had some effect on the transportation trade in the study area.

The panic of 1873, a global depression lasting from October of 1873 to March of 1879, was brought on in America partly by currency speculation¹⁰⁰ The long-term effects of this financial disaster included the further concentration of capital in the hands of fewer suppliers of both capital and goods - those with sound capital investments became wealthier simply because their money was worth more than those with less sound investments. These investors used their advantage to buy controlling interests in companies on shakier ground, leading to the rise of men such as Andrew Carnegie, John Rockefeller and Cyrus McCormick. According to US Department of Agriculture economist George K. Holmes, by 1890, 71% of the

⁹⁷ Digital Public Library of America. *The joint resolution of the United States Congress proposing the Fifteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, December 7, 1868*. <https://dp.la/primary-source-sets/the-fifteenth-amendment/sources/1212> : accessed 18 September 2020; also *The Fifteenth Amendment*. <https://dp.la/primary-source-sets/the-fifteenth-amendment> : accessed 17 September 2020.

⁹⁸ Nicholas Barreyre. (2011) 'The Politics of Economic Crises: The Panic of 1873, The End of Reconstruction, and the Realignment of American Politics,' *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*, 10(4), p. 412.

⁹⁹ White, *The Republic for Which It Stands*, pp. 342-343.

¹⁰⁰ David Blanke, *Panic of 1873*. <http://teachinghistory.org/history-content/beyond-the-textbook/24579> : accessed 7 December 2020.

nation's wealth was held by 9% of the citizens.¹⁰¹ This concentration of wealth in the hands of a minority of individuals was demonstrated in the study area where a few large landowners or manufacturers held the bulk of the assets.

When agricultural prices began to fall, farmers produced more in a doomed effort to maintain their income.¹⁰² Railroad problems saw demand for steel drop nearly 45%. Although not a major industry in the study area, iron and coal workers in other areas of Ohio, as well as Pennsylvania and Illinois were most seriously affected by decreased coal mining and steel production.¹⁰³

This financial panic also had political implications and northern Republicans, led by Ulysses S. Grant, were blamed; but the panic had roots far deeper than the scandals of his administration.¹⁰⁴ Other implications included a general distrust of labor organizations such as the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor. These groups lost public support when worker disputes turned violent, as they did in Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania, in 1874-75.¹⁰⁵

Another dispute, 'the 'Great Railroad Strike' began in July of 1877 in the far eastern West Virginia town of Martinsburg, over 160 miles in a straight path from the study area, and was sparked by workers for the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad who were incensed by a 10% pay cut. Other contentious issues included safety, working hours, and the use of child and convict labor. Members of the militia called out by the governor were in sympathy with the striking workers and refused to intervene. By the time President Rutherford Hays had sent federal troops to assist, the strike had spread to other states. Violence erupted in Baltimore and temporary control of the cities of Pittsburgh and St. Louis was lost to the strikers¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹ C. L. Merwin, Jr. (1939) 'American Studies of the Distribution of Wealth and Income by Size' in Conference on Research in National Income and Wealth, *Studies in Income and Wealth*, vol. 3. [Washington, D.C.] : National Bureau of Economic Research, p. 6.

¹⁰² White, *The Republic for Which It Stands*, p. 267.

¹⁰³ Barreyre, 'The Politics of Economic Crises,' p. 409.

¹⁰⁴ George Mason University, *Panic of 1873*.

¹⁰⁵ George Mason University, *Panic of 1873*.

¹⁰⁶ Thomas Carson & Mary Bonk. (1999) 'Great Railroad Strike of 1877' in Carson and Bonk (eds.), *Gale Encyclopedia of U.S. Economic History*. Detroit: Gale, pp. 400-402.

Effects of this strike in Ohio were mixed. In Cleveland, residents mainly opposed the strike and defended B. & O. Railroad property; in the smaller city of Columbus, undefended railroad property was damaged or destroyed. Protests in smaller towns, such as Zanesville and Newark, temporarily shut down the railroad, before federal and state intervention and strikebreakers ended the disruption. Levels of pay were eventually maintained, but attempts to improve working conditions failed. Disputes such as this exposed basic inequalities in the American system, in that a person's "class" (including race, gender, residential location, etc.) was more determinative of economic success and leverage than talent or work ethic.¹⁰⁷

It is likely that repercussions of this financial crisis were felt in the study area; but if employees in Wellsville of the railroad and associated roundhouse and car repair shops participated in the railroad strike, no evidence was found. East Liverpool was increasingly a single industry town and it is likely that the potters who began organizing in the area were influenced in some way by labor protests.

The employers' United States Potters Association was founded in 1875 at Philadelphia. The group's initial aim was not to fix wage rates; rather the Association was interested in protection for the industry from expensive tariffs, promotion of quality and more universal acceptance of American made pottery, pushing of new trends in technology, and upholding trade contracts. In 1879, thirteen East Liverpool potteries agreed among themselves to work towards uniform action with respect to the hiring and management of their workers. In the early 1900s the group would sign wage scale agreements with the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters, which was founded in 1890.¹⁰⁸

Although the study area had an extremely small black population and does not appear to have experienced much actual racial strife, that was certainly not the case for the country as a whole. The Civil Rights Act of 1875 was an attempt to deal

¹⁰⁷ Ohio History Connection. *Great Railroad Strike of 1877*. http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Great_Railroad_Strike_of_1877 : accessed 7 December 2020.

¹⁰⁸ Gates, *City of Hills and Kilns*, pp. 85-86. *Proceedings of the Annual Convention of United States Potters' Association*. (1875) Trenton, NJ: Murphy & Bechtel. n.a. (1911) *Wage Scale and Agreements between the United States Potters' Association and the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters*. East Liverpool: J. Betz Printing Co.

with certain racial inequalities. A section of the Act forbidding school segregation was eliminated. In the end, the law required:

That all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, and privileges of inns, public conveyances on land or water, theaters, and other places of public amusement; subject only to the conditions and limitations established by law, and applicable alike to citizens of every race and color, regardless of any previous condition of servitude.¹⁰⁹

Public school segregation remained in place in several northern states, including Ohio. James M. McPherson has argued that the Act was not seen as being of much importance by Northerners and had very little impact on the customs and traditions of the South, where segregation actually advanced. A bill without teeth, it was declared unconstitutional by the US Supreme Court in 1883.¹¹⁰

This brief outline, touching on political, social and financial trends on a national and regional scale, is intended to frame certain developments in the small towns on this sweeping bend of the Ohio River during the thirty years from 1850-1880, which will be discussed in the chapters that follow. What impacts of these and other events, both national, and local, can we detect? Can a more in-depth study of the lives and families in these communities lead to a deeper understanding of the communities as a whole?

The selection of this specific section of the Ohio River as a focus of research was propelled by a recognition that the geographic proximity of the three identified “areas” of Wellsville, East Liverpool, and the Grant District of Hancock County offered intriguing parallels and contrasts. Today, the three areas are either within

¹⁰⁹ US Senate, Senate Historical Office. *Landmark Legislation: Civil Rights Act of 1875*. <https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/generic/CivilRightsAct1875.htm> : accessed 7 December 2020; James M. McPherson. (1965) ‘Abolitionists and the Civil Rights Act of 1875.’ *Journal of American History*, 52(3), p. 508.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid*.

sight of each other or within five minutes' travel time of each other. While the travel time would have been longer in 1850, the two towns lie only five miles apart along the river and both lie directly across the river from the Grant District. As the research developed, it became clear that the histories of these areas could serve as a case study, not only of the varied progress of local economic and industrial development, but also of whether a research strategy in line with genealogical methodology might provide some further insights into the interactions between specific residents of the area and the broader economic forces at work during this time period. The question of why areas like this have suffered recent decline, when they once seemed so successful, has been addressed by others.¹¹¹ Instead, this study looks at the factors and people that helped this area rise to prosperity in the first place.

An overview of this study might borrow from historian of the American revolutionary period Ronald Hoffman and be described as '... an endeavor to discern through the lives of individuals or families the broader contours of the social and cultural landscape.'¹¹² No great social movements originated in this quiet area of the country, and no waves of social or labor unrest or outpourings of political fanaticism were detected during the research. This area, about 350 miles west of New York City and 100 miles south of Cleveland and Lake Erie, was not a nexus of change on any grand historical scale. Yet the citizens lived and worked, raised their families, and were a part of the historical events of their state and country. As such, their lives might reflect those of the majority of Americans during this period. Can they help us better understand how it was to simply live your life and build a home in America during this time?

James Morton Callahan, in his first volume of West Virginia history, has the following to say about the teaching of local history:

¹¹¹ See, for example: Roger Biles. (2017) 'The Decline of Decatur.' *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 110(2), pp. 183-210; Michael Streissguth. (2020) *City on the Edge : Hard Choices in the American Rust Belt*. Albany: State University of New York Press; Lee E. Ohanian. *Competition and the Decline of the Rust Belt*. <https://www.minneapolisfed.org/article/2014/competition-and-the-decline-of-the-rust-belt> : accessed 13 October 2020.

¹¹² Ronald Hoffman, et. al., eds. (1997) *Through a Glass Darkly: Reflections on Personal Identity in Early America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, p. viii.

... [local history] is suitable to unfold the fundamental principles of historical development. It contains the universal motives to human action, the universal geographic conditions and influences, the law of development from the simple to the complex, and the evolution of institutions to meet human needs. The common people in their home life, government, and industrial interests, have contributed a share to the onward movement of civilization, and a study of the story of their community life will fortify the student with a habit of mind which will fit him to study more intelligently the history of the nation and the world.¹¹³

Some characteristics of this small area may be common to other rural, and particularly riverfront, areas across the country. Two small towns grew and flourished on the northwestern side of the Ohio River, yet none appeared (during this period) on the southeastern side.¹¹⁴ Can any reasons be found for this? There is also the dynamic between the two towns in Ohio. The East Liverpool founder (Thomas Fawcett) platted his proposed town in 1802,¹¹⁵ twenty-one years before Wellsville founder William Wells platted his,¹¹⁶ and yet the town of Wellsville was, for several decades, the more prosperous town.

Can a case be made for the importance of individual action over the broader, more impersonal, trends of history in the early development of these two towns? What can it tell us about the later development of the towns, the decades when East Liverpool eclipsed its slower growing neighbor to the southeast and approached (in

¹¹³ James Morton Callahan. (1923) *History of West Virginia Old and New in one volume*. Chicago/New York: The American Historical Society, Inc., p. 1.

¹¹⁴ Note regarding terminology: the portion of the study area on the southern side of the Ohio River may be referred to in several different ways throughout this work. It may variously be called Grant, Hancock, or some combination of the two.

¹¹⁵ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed records, Vol. 1, pg. 520. Plat of St. Clair, 1802. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 26 Jul 2019. FHL film 926861, image 279 of 669.

¹¹⁶ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed records, Vol. 8, pg. 309-311. A Platt of the Town of Wellsville, 1823. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 26 Jul 2019. FHL film 926864, images 467-68 of 586.

population and economic diversity) what might more accurately be described as a small city than a small town?¹¹⁷ Why was East Liverpool able to achieve this status when nearby Wellsville was not? Genealogical research methods may help to answer these questions.

Research Approaches: A Summary

This thesis proposed a “blended format”, combining both historical and genealogical research methods. It is an interdisciplinary work, drawing ideas from both these fields. As practiced by a growing number of professionals and amateurs, genealogy ‘... informs popular conceptions of the past, of time, of the way history is undertaken as a research activity.’¹¹⁸ The application of some genealogical research techniques in the study of history can help uncover populations that make up a forgotten majority - a majority which can, by lacking apparent significance, go relatively unnoticed in a more traditional historical approach.

This work also draws ideas from the field of demography, in its focus on the size, composition and distribution of human populations across space. In addition, it often relies on records of events which are of major importance to both genealogists and historians, those being births, deaths and migration of individuals.¹¹⁹ This work makes heavy use of census data, something demographers can increasingly rely on as the power of computer analysis software grows and the census data becomes more widely available digitally.

The two disciplines of history and genealogy can have a great deal in common in their approach. Both rely on surviving evidence to interpret the past and use similar types of sources. Perhaps the major difference is the narrower focus of genealogy on determining and proving exact family relationships. While the nature

¹¹⁷ Timothy R. Mahoney. (2003) ‘The Small City in American History.’ *Indiana Magazine of History*, 99(4), pp. 320-23. Note in particular his descriptions of the differential attributes of a small town and a small city.

¹¹⁸ Jerome de Groot. (2015) ‘International Federation for Public History Plenary Address: On Genealogy.’ *The Public Historian*, (37)3, pg. 103.

¹¹⁹ Stockholm University, Department of Sociology. *Demography - the study of human populations*. <https://www.suda.su.se/education/what-is-demography> : accessed 13 October 2020.

of these relationships *can* be important when developing the history of a particular area, they are usually not the primary focus of an historical study.

Thomas Jones is of the opinion that ‘college degrees in genealogy should be commonplace’,¹²⁰ but even 12 years after his optimistic statement, that has not come to pass. The literature covering the intersection of genealogy with history or other sociological fields is still sparse. Most authors, including Jones, feel that genealogy is a multidisciplinary or transdisciplinary pursuit, combining the skills required in history, genetics, palaeography, law, and many other established academic disciplines.¹²¹ Although acknowledged by most authors as an ancient endeavor, “modern” genealogy is said to be a discipline in transition.¹²² I believe this is still true today, and that the discipline is moving slowly forward from a primarily individual/hobby based craft towards a more institutionally based and academically rigorous area of study.

The cited articles written on the subject of promoting genealogy to status of academic discipline are relatively contemporary. Several appear in the Jewish genealogy journal *AVOTAYNU*¹²³ and the online-only journal *Genealogy*.¹²⁴ While some, like Jones, take a practical approach to integrating genealogy into an academic curriculum, other authors ponder the more deeply philosophical meanings and techniques of genealogy as a discipline and the intersections of the fields of history and genealogy at a theoretical level.¹²⁵

Laslett has been often quoted in articles discussing the similarities and differences underlying the study of history and genealogy, and his work is heavily philosophical in nature, as well as being over 20 years old. Though he is referring to

¹²⁰ Thomas W. Jones. (2007) ‘Post-secondary Study of Genealogy: Curriculum and Its Contexts,’ *IJG Symposium*. Jerusalem, Israel.

¹²¹ *Ibid*; Bruce Durie. (2017) What is Genealogy? Philosophy, Education, Motivations and Future Prospects. *Genealogy*, 1(1), p. 4 (of this article - journal unpaginated).

¹²² Avotaynu, Inc. H. Daniel Wagner, author. (2006) *Genealogy As an Academic Discipline*. <https://www.avotaynu.com/Wagner.htm> : accessed 9 December 2020.

¹²³ Avotaynu, Inc. *AVOTAYNU Journal*. <https://www.avotaynu.com/journal.htm> : accessed 9 December 2020.

¹²⁴ See, for example: Durie, ‘What is Genealogy? ...’

¹²⁵ See, for example: Peter Laslett. (1987) ‘The Character of Familial History, its Limitations and the Conditions for its Proper Pursuit,’ *Journal of Family History*, 12(1-2), pp. 263-284; Robert Wheaton. (1987) ‘Observations on the Development of Kinship History, 1942-1985,’ *Journal of Family History*, 12(1-3), pp. 285-301.

the history of the family, his discussion about studying history forwards in time rather than backwards is still somewhat at odds with modern genealogical teachings, which require beginning from some current well established facts then working backwards. He does remark that ‘... the familial historian can only infer information about the family and kinship from demographic data’ and this holds generally true for the many types of genealogical records which contain no specific statement of kinship between individuals.¹²⁶

More approachable and contemporary is the work of Hatten, which describes the nature of genealogy with respect to history, kinship, identity, craft and technology. He reminds us that expert genealogists have methodologies and techniques not generally used by historians (usually related to data collection), and that no historian or genealogist can ever isolate historical facts from our own interpretations. Hatten makes some broad statements that will hopefully be contradicted to some extent by the present work. For example:

Genealogy is concerned primarily with individuals and with facts about individuals, and mostly about vital data facts related to birth ... marriage, offspring, and death. Most genealogists are unconcerned about societal significants ... [except] ... for the purpose of better understanding an individual.

Genealogy is not concerned with what caused events, with a few exceptions. ... Interest in cause of death is for the purpose of doing medical genealogy as a curiosity.

... genealogists are concerned with determining identities of individuals in specific relations to a research subject or ancestor, whereas historians are concerned with events with broader societal significance.¹²⁷

¹²⁶ Laslett, ‘The Character of Familial History ...,’ p. 272.

¹²⁷ Stephen B. Hatten. (2019) ‘History, Kinship, Identity and Technology: Toward Answering the Question “What Is (Family) Genealogy?”’ *Genealogy*, 3(2) (unpaginated)

While I agree, for the most part, with Hatten's description even of most current genealogical efforts, it is hoped that this work, and others like it, will begin to blend the close study of genealogy specifically for the developing of familial relationships with the broader study of the history of the events in which those familial relationships developed in the first place, and persisted or broke down over time.

Two general historical approaches were considered for this project, and the eventual research methodology incorporated some ideas from both.¹²⁸ It initially appeared that taking a microhistory type approach to this study would be the best way to undertake the research and analyze the material. "Microhistory" is a term that first notably appeared in a monograph title in 1959, with Stewart's work on the final battle of Gettysburg. This book may have represented the epitome of microhistory describing, as it does, a twenty-minute battle in over 300 pages.¹²⁹ One researcher has referred to this approach as that of 'asking large questions in small places.'¹³⁰

Microhistory is said to be one way of describing a particular culture. This is accomplished by providing a representative example, on a smaller stage, of larger historic events. It can be said to be looking for the answers to big questions in small places.¹³¹ In their writings, microhistorians often focus on a single event, a group of families, a small village or town, even a single individual. Intensive research into a small mystery found within this narrow range of people and places may serve as an allegory for the broader cultural issues of the time and place.¹³² Microhistorians stress the agency of individuals, their active roles in history as unique people, not just as parts of a greater mass of humanity. They favor a narrative form of writing,

¹²⁸ More detailed information on these research methodologies can be found in the Literature Review section.

¹²⁹ George R. Stewart. (1959) *Pickett's Charge: A Microhistory of the Final Attack at Gettysburg, July 3, 1863*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co.

¹³⁰ Charles W. Joyner. (1999) *Shared Traditions: Southern History and Folk Culture*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, p. 1.

¹³¹ Sigurdur Gylfi Magnusson & Istvan M. Szijarto. (2013) *What is Microhistory? Theory and Practice*. London: Routledge, p. 5. Author was referencing Charles Joyner (1995)

¹³² Jill Lepore. (2001) 'Historians Who Love Too Much: Reflections on Microhistory and Biography,' *Journal of American History*, 88(1), p. 133.

telling a story, bringing the past to life through the minute description of everyday events and objects, using details drawn from appropriate historical records. A microhistory might contain maps and family trees, quotes from civil and criminal records, and extensive explanations of the particular use of language and familial relationships in use at the time of the event.¹³³

Current methodologies used by microhistorians emerged in the 1970s and 1980s, and the discipline itself reached its heyday in the 1990s.¹³⁴ Published works that might qualify as microhistories usually deal with events, people and places in Europe (often Italy and Germany) during the 16th century, events for which unusually substantial local records survive. These works tell a detailed and very contextually rich story of a single event; common themes are crime, village and family tensions, or other types of everyday disruption to the social norms of the time which elicited official or unofficial response from clergy, local citizens or law enforcement.

Although sound in many of the techniques needed to talk about a small region within a large country, the microhistorical approach soon proved not be a sufficient model for the methodology needed for this research. One issue is the time span of this project - while a microhistory may focus primarily on a single court case or cultural event, a historical progression of over 30 years would not fit well with the model. The second issue is the geographical space. Covering two small towns plus an adjacent agricultural area is too broad for a microhistorical approach alone. Certain applicable aspects of microhistorical treatment will nevertheless be adopted in the focus on individuals or family groups, which is closely akin to the work of genealogists.

A second potential methodological approach researched was prosopography. Rather than trying to extrapolate a general social or historical trend from a single

¹³³ See, for example: David Warren Sabean. (1984) *Power in the Blood: Popular Culture and Village Discourse in Early Modern Germany*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. In particular, Chapter 5 - 'The conscience of the poor: A village detective story,' pp. 133-43.

¹³⁴ David Sabean. (2010) 'Reflections on Microhistory' in Gunilla Budde, Sebastian Conrad, & Oliver Janc, (eds.), *Transnational Geschichte*. Göttingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 275-289; Magnusson and Szijarto, *What is Microhistory?*; Carlo Ginzburg. (1993) 'Microhistory: Two or Three Things That I Know About It,' *Critical Inquiry*, 20(1), pp. 10-35.

example as microhistorians do, prosopography is an attempt to describe the general condition of a representative (and in some way homogeneous) group of people by studying their similarities and using that data to theorize about larger social conditions. Particularly relevant to this research project is the prosopographical inclusion of genealogy and demographics as part of a study of a group of individuals who possess some common characteristics (such as profession, religion, educational level).¹³⁵ Stone characterized the technique in this way: 'Prosopography is the investigation of the common background characteristics of a group of actors in history by means of a collective study of their lives.'¹³⁶

This approach to historical study began to flourish in the 1920s and 1930s partially in reaction to a perceived exhaustion of traditional archival historical research materials. Prosopography was sometimes broken down into two basic camps - the elitist school concerns itself with small group dynamics such as politicians and other rulers, while the mass school studies larger groups about which little or nothing is known.¹³⁷ It is this second approach that was considered for this research.

One contemporary researcher demonstrated the "mass school" approach clearly when he formulated this question: 'Can the history of a single family serve as a proxy or exemplar for a section of society, and can it therefore be used to examine ideas about the development of that section?'¹³⁸ In this work, Macdonald used a selection of single-surname individuals in a particular area for his data group. He then attempted to derive some broader historical truths based on the statistical analysis of the characteristics chosen for his questionnaire. Another researcher took a similar but not specifically prosopographical approach when she attempted to learn

¹³⁵ University of Oxford. Katharine S. B. Keats-Rohan, author. *Prosopography: Definition*. <https://prosopography.history.ox.ac.uk/prosopdefinition.htm> : accessed 9 December 2020; Koenraad Verboven, Myriam Carlier, & Jan Dumolyn. (2007) 'A Short Manual to the Art of Prosopography', in K.S.B. Keats-Rohan (ed.), *Prosopography Approaches and Applications A Handbook*. Oxford: Occasional Publications UPR.

¹³⁶ Lawrence Stone. (1971) 'Prosopography,' *Daedalus*, 100(1), p. 46.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48.

¹³⁸ Ian G. Macdonald. (2012) *Genealogical Techniques and Family Prosopography as a Means to Illuminate the 'Middling Sort'*. MSc dissertation, University of Strathclyde, p. 20.

something about families involved in the iron industry in Sussex in 1500-1700 by studying the family genealogies of only six representative families.¹³⁹

Prosopography is an attempt to overcome the problem historians have with drawing broader conclusions from individual cases (as microhistorians might do) or generalizing about social trends and conditions from only a handful of examples.¹⁴⁰ This is often a problem when there is a scarcity of historical records relating to a particular topic or time period. It is an inductive method of inquiry - it begins with concrete data extracted from primary sources then tries to extrapolate from the analysis of this data to the understanding of a broader historical phenomenon.

The use of prosopographic techniques is usually data-heavy and involves designing a questionnaire to extract the same bits of information about every subject of the study. The group of subjects is not necessarily pre-defined by any metric other than the researcher's choice. For example, Macdonald selected a surname and English parish for his subject set. Other researchers may select their subjects either thematically (a particular profession), geographically (a particular town or county) or chronologically (optimally, a relatively brief time period relevant to the formulation of the problem).¹⁴¹

This approach relies on some quantity of available data for the time period and subjects in question. Often used in the study of political action, the usefulness of this technique for this work related more to the description of the social structure and mobility of the residents in the study area and, in particular, of the pottery workers of East Liverpool.¹⁴² The data sets being queried must contain the same information for all individuals through all time periods. In the end this approach was abandoned partially due to the disparate nature of the United States federal census data being relied upon for the base data, but also because it did not form a good basis for describing entire towns of people who, by the very nature of town foundation, must

¹³⁹ Kerry Baldwin. (2013) *Sussex Ironmasters 1500-1700: what were their origins and destinations?* MSc Dissertation, University of Strathclyde.

¹⁴⁰ Verboven et al., 'A Short Manual ...', p. 36.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

¹⁴² Lawrence Stone. (1971) 'Prosopography.' *Daedalus*, 100(1), p. 46.

not be terribly homogeneous in their professions and backgrounds. In the end, the actual process used to draw inferences about the population was ultimately based on a more straightforward statistical (demographic) analysis of the census data and on published histories of the area.

Having settled on a more standard historical research approach for this project, basic research began with a variety of published county histories which described parts of the research area. These mainly date from the late 19th to early 20th century, and quite a few were published around the time of the United States centennial of 1876. They were often published on a subscription basis; that is, those wishing a biographical sketch of themselves or their family to be included in the volume were required to pay a fee. This necessarily influenced the number and character of individuals and families portrayed. Sometimes called “mug books,” these publications were reliant on the information given by the subscriber. As such, the biographical information should always be viewed with some skepticism and documented with outside sources.¹⁴³

While these types of local histories can be useful, they are often difficult to read. The format for the presentation of a local history varies widely between authors. Most try to give some chronological recounting of significant historic events alongside separate histories of significant local institutions (such as churches) or families. The presentation of this information is often poorly organized and the style can make it difficult for the reader to get a good feel for the broad sweep of the historical tide in the area.

In the case of Columbiana County, local histories were published as early as 1879 (Mack) and as late as 1926 (Barth).¹⁴⁴ Virginia/West Virginia state or county

¹⁴³ Harold E. Way, MLS, MA. (2010) *A White Paper: American County Histories Their Uses, Usability, Sources and Problems with Access*. <https://accessiblearchives.s3.amazonaws.com/AAI-County-Histories-and-Territorial-Histories.pdf> : accessed 9 December 2020; Yankee Publishing, Inc. Rich Venezia, author. *Unusual Records: Researching County Histories*. <https://www.familytreemagazine.com/records/other/unusual-records-country-histories/> : accessed 9 December 2020; FamilySearch. *United States History - Local Histories*. https://www.familysearch.org/wiki/en/United_States_History : accessed 9 December 2020.

¹⁴⁴ Horace Mack. (1879) *History of Columbiana County, Ohio, with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches, Some of its Prominent Men and Pioneers*. Philadelphia: D. W. Ensign & Co.; Harold B. Barth. (1926) *History of Columbiana County, Ohio in Two Volumes*. Topeka: Historical Publishing Co.

histories were published for this area as early as 1879 (Newton)¹⁴⁵ but most local histories were published later, after the towns of Newell and Chester were settled.

The quality of the general history in these sources appeared to vary somewhat with the education, resources, and/or motivation of the authors. Some writers were avid amateur local historians who relied on, possibly, their own memory and that of their neighbors and associates. These histories can be quite entertaining, often containing many photographs and stories of major events in an area. They almost never contain any source citation and the “facts” therein presented are therefore open to question. These types of histories are often very positive in tone, containing a good deal of the “spirit of boosterism” that was required to get a small town up and running and keeping it from failing.¹⁴⁶

Most (but not all) of the available historical publications for this area are as described above - subscription publications, often produced in response to a major historic event such as the centennial of the country. Those written around the end of the study period have the benefit of being relatively contemporary to the period under study. Where several of these types of histories were written for the same area, it can be seen that in fact and sometimes in word, they often seem to copy either from each other or from the same (sadly, unnamed) source.

Nonetheless, these types of common county histories can give a good deal of information about the general trend of local development. Several of these books were reviewed for Columbiana County, Ohio, as well as the Upper Ohio Valley as a whole.¹⁴⁷ Histories dealing specifically with Hancock County, West Virginia, were harder to obtain. This may be due to the relative youth of Hancock as a county at the time of the centennial, the rural nature of the area, and/or the lack of motivated

¹⁴⁵ J. H. Newton et al. (1879) *History of the Pan-Handle; being Historical Collections of the counties of Ohio, Brooke, Marshall and Hancock, West Virginia*. Wheeling: J. A. Caldwell.

¹⁴⁶ See, for example: Edgar Stanton Davidson. (n.d.) *Before The Memory Fades*. Wellsville: Wellsville Historical Society; Wallace L. Fogo. (1903) *City of Wellsville in Black and White*. n.p.: Ervin Geffs.

¹⁴⁷ See, for example: Harold B. Barth. (1926) *History of Columbiana County, Ohio in Two Volumes*. Topeka: Historical Publishing Co.; William B. McCord. (1905) *History of Columbiana County, Ohio and Representative Citizens*. Chicago: Biographical Publishing Co.; Gibson Lamb Cranmer. (1891) *History of the Upper Ohio Valley*. Madison: Brant & Fuller.

authors. Some histories were found that covered the entire pan-handle, or the state of West Virginia, and these included sections on Hancock.¹⁴⁸

Much rarer are the county or local histories that are well researched and meticulously documented, written either by trained historians or by other educated individuals. These are much harder to find, were generally not published by subscription, and do not focus primarily on biographical information about the residents of the area. By great fortune, one of these books was written about East Liverpool.¹⁴⁹ Two more were written about the Upper Ohio Valley or West Virginia, one by a judge/politician, and the second by a trained historian. These volumes contain at least some source notations, descriptions of sources and methodology, or notes explaining specific information.¹⁵⁰

This work is indebted to the well-researched and sourced publication by William C. Gates, Jr. on the history of East Liverpool. Extensively researched, this book also has a comprehensive bibliography of local sources, government publications, newspapers, interviews, etc. It makes a glaring comparison to the absolute absence of anything remotely as comprehensive about the history of either Wellsville or the area of West Virginia across the river. As far as research methodology is concerned, Gates has this bit of advice: ‘The quantitative analysis of census returns and city directories should not replace newspapers, diaries, photographs, public records, and other conventional historical tools.’¹⁵¹ Gates was fortunate to have this kind of material available to him for East Liverpool; these kinds of records are not nearly so plentiful for Wellsville and the Grant District (Hancock County).

Some state histories were also consulted though, for the most part, they provided little specific information about the small towns in Columbiana County, and

¹⁴⁸ See, for example: Peter Boyd. (1927) *History of northern West Virginia pan-handle embracing Ohio, Marshall, Brooke, and Hancock Counties*. Topeka: Historical Publishing Co.; Jack Welch. (1963) *History of Hancock County*. Wheeling: The Wheeling News Printing & Litho Co.

¹⁴⁹ William C. Gates, Jr. (1984) *The City of Hills and Kilns, Life and Work in East Liverpool, Ohio*. East Liverpool: East Liverpool Historical Society.

¹⁵⁰ See, for example: Cranmer, *History of the Upper Ohio Valley ...* ; Callahan, *History of West Virginia...*

¹⁵¹ Gates, *City of Hills and Kilns*, p. vi.

only general information about Hancock County.¹⁵² A state history of West Virginia written by the State Historian has some information on Hancock County, but most of it pre-dates the study period and relates to the Indian Wars.¹⁵³ There were two “reminiscence” type works published by residents of Wellsville. None of the sources for information was referenced, and much was anecdotal in nature.¹⁵⁴ The *Images of America* series was typically written by local writers or historians, and the books contain a good number of photographs of a particular area over time, conveniently collected into one source. Three of these are available for the immediate area, none for Wellsville, and they are typically more contemporary in their scope than the current study requires. Nonetheless, they usually contained a bit of local history and some older photos or drawings of the area during the time period.¹⁵⁵

Local history is an area is where the literature is particularly scant. With the exception of the previously discussed book by Gates, no histories of academic quality dealing with the towns of Wellsville or East Liverpool or the rural area of the Grant District in Hancock County have been found. In lieu of published history, other resources were used to help develop a history of the area. Therefore it is hoped that some of the original contribution of this thesis will derive from the very absence of comparable work describing the variable development of this area in the mid- to late-1800s.

Newspapers are available on microfilm and online for several locations in and near the study area. These range from state level papers such as the *Ohio State Journal* and *Columbus Gazette* which published all through the study period to short run local papers such as the *Wellsville Local* which is only available for one year from 1870-71. Most were general family papers often filled with local advertising,

¹⁵² See, for example: Grace Goulder Izant. (1953) *This is Ohio: Ohio's 88 counties in words and pictures*. Cleveland : World Publishing Co., pp. 64-67.

¹⁵³ Virgil A. Lewis, M.A. (1906) *First Biennial Report of the Department of Archives and History of the State of West Virginia*. Charleston : The Tribune Printing Co.

¹⁵⁴ Nathan J. Morrison. (1987) *Life and Times in Wellsville - An Ohio River Town*. Baltimore : Gateway Press, Inc.; Davidson, *Before the Memory Fades*. In particular, Morrison was relating his memories. Davidson did refer to some newspapers without citing them specifically.

¹⁵⁵ George B. Hines, III, & Lou Martin. (2006) *Images of America: Hancock County*. Charleston : Arcadia Publishing Co.; Pamela Lee Gray. (2002) *Images of America: Ohio Valley Pottery Towns*. Charleston : Arcadia Publishing Co.; Cathy Hester Seckman. (2015) *Images of America: East Liverpool*. Charleston : Arcadia Publishing Co.

poems and literature, as well as editorial commentary and advice for homemaking and child rearing. State and national news was usually copied from larger newspapers into the smaller local papers. Only a few newspapers, such as the *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, had a clear focus that included local and national opinions.

Author Edgar Davidson published a book of abstractions from Wellsville newspapers between 1848 and 1945. Davidson did not extract with any known regularity which leaves the reader to wonder why he chose particular articles over others. The subject of the articles he chose to include in his publication changes over time; it is not known whether this change reflects the actual published items in the newspaper or the interests of Davidson himself. For example, Davidson extracted 23 different articles from the 1851 newspaper. Of these, four dealt with the building and schedules of steamboats or overland stages, five dealt with the coming railroad, which arrived in town the next year, two dealt with national news, and the rest related to local businesses and advertising.¹⁵⁶

Manuscript collections found at the local level were of some help in this project. Six repositories and one private collection were accessed in the course of the on-site research. Only one of these was in Wellsville; the repository in Hancock County was closed.¹⁵⁷ The River Museum in Wellsville had only two books on the history of Wellsville, one a retrospective by a fairly contemporary author.¹⁵⁸ Their manuscript collection was alphabetized by subject, but contained mainly 20th century photographs and information. There was some information on family genealogy, presumably donated by local residents.

¹⁵⁶ Edgar S. Davidson. (n.d.) *Before the Memory Fades*. Wellsville: The Wellsville Historical Society. pp. 16-18.

¹⁵⁷ Tri-State Genealogical & Historical Society. *Welcome to TSGHS Homepage*. <http://sites.rootsweb.com/~wvtsghs/index.html> : accessed 15 January 2020. I was in email and phone contact with an archivist, but she was not responsive to requests to visit. I drove to the archive on a day when they advertised they would be open, but they were not open and nobody was on-site.

¹⁵⁸ Morrison, *Life and Times in Wellsville* -... ; Davidson, *Before the Memory Fades*...

The repositories in East Liverpool included the local Carnegie Library,¹⁵⁹ the Museum of Ceramics,¹⁶⁰ The East Liverpool Historical Society,¹⁶¹ and the private collection of a local attorney. The library had a local history/genealogy section, and a few relevant publications were found there. Most information was very general, including several statistical labor reports from 1887, after the end of the study period. Several maps were available, a brief church history, and some genealogical information. The library also had a publication about the history of the early clay industries in the area.¹⁶²

The local attorney provided me with several manuscript items from his local collection and also opened the Historical Society archives for my use. The East Liverpool Historical Society proved to have quite a large genealogical holding. Donated papers related to several of the prominent families of East Liverpool but also included maps, relatively contemporary information about the potteries and some information about the history of the potteries and the potters from England.

The Museum of Ceramics in East Liverpool had a reasonable amount of archival material; however, it was not organized in any coherent manner and there was no index. Much of the material was contemporary; this included photographs and material relating specifically to individual potteries, the wares produced, and the processes used. There was little on the actual history of either the potteries, the pottery industry, or the town of East Liverpool. They did have some maps, and some genealogical information on one particular early potter.

The Columbiana County Archives and Research Center is located in Lisbon, the county seat.¹⁶³ This archive contains a vast amount of material pertinent to Columbiana County in general. They had almost nothing specific to either Wellsville

¹⁵⁹ Carnegie Public Library. <https://www.carnegie.lib.oh.us> : accessed 15 January 2020.

¹⁶⁰ Museum of Ceramics. *Preserving Our Pottery Heritage*. <https://www.themuseumofceramics.com> : accessed 15 January 2020.

¹⁶¹ East Liverpool Historical Society. *Welcome*. <http://www.eastliverpoolhistoricalsociety.org/index.html> : accessed 15 January 2020.

¹⁶² W. A. Calhoun. (n.d.) *Early Clay Industries of the Upper Ohio Valley*. [manuscript] East Liverpool: Carnegie Public Library.

¹⁶³ Columbiana County Archives and Research Center. http://www.columbianacountyarchives.org/ccarc2009_001.htm : accessed 15 December 2020.

or East Liverpool. They did have some directories from the time period, and a few books and genealogies that were relevant. One of the biggest problems encountered when working in this archive was the lack of any kind of index describing their holdings.

In addition to these local repositories, the Ohio History Center library in Columbus was visited. This library did not carry information about Wellsville or East Liverpool that was not available at local repositories. It did, however, have some old Wellsville newspapers. These included random issues of the *Patriot* by editor Clarke from 1853 to 1864; quite a few issues of the *Local* by editor Martin from 1871-72; one issue of the *Union* by editor Wells from 1884. These papers were on microfilm that the library was willing to copy and sell.¹⁶⁴ These are the only newspapers readily available for Wellsville. Some additional issues of the *Wellsville Union* by editor Wells are extant at the Western Reserve Historical Society.

Literature specifically dealing with social issues in this small local area was not available. Information about such broad cultural issues as immigration, city growth, women's lives, internal migration, the industrial revolution, race, religion, education and many other social issues had to be extrapolated from works covering a greater geographic area with a broader perspective. For example, information about the history of education might be published at a state level¹⁶⁵ but was more often covered at a national level with some reference to the states of Ohio or West Virginia.¹⁶⁶ Likewise, while some sporadic information about wages is available through the decennial census, a good deal of the research about the distribution of wealth and quality of life issues was found to be either too contemporary or too

¹⁶⁴ *The Wellsville Patriot*. Wellsville, Ohio. Scattered issues on microfilm from 15 February 1853 through 17 May 1864. *The Wellsville Union*. Wellsville, Ohio. One issue on microfilm from 21 April 1864. *The Wellsville Local*. Wellsville, Ohio. Scattered issues on microfilm from 7 December 1870 through 22 November 1871.

¹⁶⁵ State Superintendent of Schools [WV]. (1907) *The History of Education in West Virginia*. Charleston: Tribune Printing Co.; George W. Knight, Ph.D. (1898) 'History of Educational Progress in Ohio' in Henry Howe (ed.), *Historical collections of Ohio in two volumes, an encyclopedia of the state*. Norwalk, OH: The Laning Printing Co., p. 137.

¹⁶⁶ See, for example: Charles K. Woltz. (1955) 'Compulsory Attendance at School,' *Law and Contemporary Problems*, 3(22), pp. 3-22; Michael S. Katz. (1976) *A History of Compulsory Education Laws*. Bloomington: The Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation.

spatially broad.¹⁶⁷ Some information was found that was either period-specific and/or centered closer to the study area.¹⁶⁸

Writings about the lives and roles of American women in general are extensive, and some background was obtained from authors such as Linda Kerber, Amy Dru Stanley, Carl Degler and Nancy Cott.¹⁶⁹ Abbott wrote several pieces about women in industry and the wages of unskilled labor that gave broad information about the conditions in the country in the second half of the nineteenth century.¹⁷⁰ Nothing specific to the area under study could be found, and general information about women's lives had to be extrapolated from more general works. The local newspapers, while scanty, did provide a glimpse into the activities of local women when they reported on clubs, church picnics, or other activities in which women participated. It was rare to find any mention of women and work in the local newspapers of the time.

While literature regarding religion in the area was, again, not specific certainly much was written about the role of religion in the country during the time period. There are old pastoral records and session books available for some of the individual churches in both towns.¹⁷¹ In addition, "snippets" in most of the county history books mentioned above talk about the early churches in the towns and Hancock County as well as the continuing development of those churches up to the

¹⁶⁷ See, for example: Alice Bee Kasakoff, Andrew B. Lawson & Emily M. Van Meter. (2014) 'A Bayesian analysis of the spatial concentration of individual wealth in the US North during the nineteenth century,' *Demographic Research*, 30(36), p. 1036; Bureau of Labor Statistics. (1934) *History of Wages in the United States from Colonial Times to 1928*. Washington D.C.: United States Government Printing Office.

¹⁶⁸ See, for example: Robert V. Robinson & Ana-Maria Wahl. (1990) 'Industrial Employment and Wages of Women, Men, and Children in a 19th Century City: Indianapolis, 1850-1880,' *American Sociological Review*, 55(6), p. 912.

¹⁶⁹ See, for example: Degler, Carl N. (1980) *At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present*. New York: Oxford University Press; Linda K. Kerber. (1992) 'Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History', in Cott, Nancy F. (ed.), *Domestic Ideology and Domestic Work*. New York: Saur; Amy Dru Stanley. (1996) 'Home Life and the Morality of the Market', in Stokes, Melvyn and Conway, Stephen, eds. *The Market Revolution in America: Social, Political, and Religious Expressions, 1800-1880*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia;

¹⁷⁰ Edith Abbott. (1905) 'The Wages of Unskilled Labor in the United States 1850-1900,' *Journal of Political Economy*, 13(3), pp. 321-367; Edith Abbott, Ph.D. (1910) *Women In Industry - A Study in American History*. New York : D. Appleton & Co.

¹⁷¹ See, for example: Christian Metsch & C. R. Boyce. (1906) *Memories ... some events and persons connected with the First Methodist Episcopal Church of East Liverpool, Ohio*. East Liverpool: Morning Tribune Print.

time of publication. Available newspapers often published church schedules and sometimes excerpts from particular sermons.

This work relies on several of the described published histories of the area as an underpinning for the ways the population lived and worked. It is not strictly genealogical in the sense that it does not (as a whole) focus on any one specific family or bloodline. It is also not restricted only to the genealogical methodologies which would render the majority population of the study area rather inconsequential. Rather it draws some techniques from both disciplines to craft a more nuanced history as well as a more contextualized genealogy. Some basic background information about the current research process used in genealogical research may be useful at this point.

One description of the different fields of “family history” has three facets:

1. BASIC GENEALOGY - In its most restricted sense, this is the traditional “begats...”, the discovery of a chain of relationships that spans generations and centuries.
2. FAMILY HISTORY - Like genealogy, this field of interest also focuses upon the individual family. Yet the true family historian goes well beyond the begats and reconstructs the historical role of his particular family and the personalities, lifestyles, contributions, and the shortcomings of the myriad family members.
3. HISTORY OF THE FAMILY - A highly disciplined academic field in which the professional historian attempts to define the composite characteristics of family life in a specific society. This is often accomplished through the reconstitution of all families in a given community and the statistical analysis of the mass of data that is gleaned from the reconstitution process.¹⁷²

¹⁷² Elizabeth Shown Mills. (1983) ‘Academia vs. Genealogy Prospects for Reconciliation and Progress,’ *National Genealogical Society Quarterly*, 71(2). p. 100.

In 2010, online blogger Tamura Jones's working definition of "genealogy" included the concept of family history as a microhistory as well as the notion that genealogy as a discipline is related to many other disciplines including history, biology, heraldry, and library science.¹⁷³ This idea of genealogy as a multi-disciplinary academic research field was explored further in 2012 by Arnon HersHKovitz who suggested six components: People - Families - Communities - Representations - Data - Bird's-eye View.¹⁷⁴ The idea of genealogy as a cross-disciplinary or multi-disciplinary effort is not new. Genealogists have often been educated in, and often spent their careers in, the fields of history, library science, or museum/archive curation.

Genealogy, *per se*, is not history, although Elizabeth Shown Mills has described it as 'history in microcosm.'¹⁷⁵ It might be argued that a good genealogy will always include history, but that a good history need not include any genealogy. As seen by the above definitions, genealogy is also not, strictly speaking, the same as family history. Family history weaves in information about the political, economic and social conditions under which a family lived. It can include family lore unsubstantiated by factual evidence, family traditions passed down orally, and even physical artifacts such as photographs or bagpipes. It is the study of events and the story of the families who lived those events.

A genealogist does not approach a problem in the same way an historian might. Whereas an historian might be compelled (even satisfied in rare circumstances) to rely on the published work of others, a genealogist must rely on original records whenever possible to demonstrate proof of kinship. Much like a standard scientific research problem, a genealogical research study must begin with a specific question or problem of relationship, one or more hypotheses, and a research

¹⁷³ Tamura Jones. *What is genealogy?* <https://www.tamurajones.net/WhatIsGenealogy.xhtml> : accessed 8 December 2020. See also Jones, *What is Genealogy II*.

¹⁷⁴ Arnon HersHKovitz. (2012) 'A Suggested Taxonomy of Genealogy as a Multidisciplinary Academic Research Field,' *Journal of Multidisciplinary Research*, 4(3), pp. 7-14. HersHKovitz is a mathematician.

¹⁷⁵ Elizabeth Shown Mills. (2003) 'Genealogy in the "Information Age": History's New Frontier?' *National Genealogical Society Quarterly*, 91(Dec), p. 260.

plan designed and carried out to test those hypotheses.¹⁷⁶ Rather than interpret a history (even a family history) through the synthesis of general information, genealogical research relies on specific details with no room for error, as these initial errors tend to multiply over the generations under study.¹⁷⁷

Genealogy has been described as moving ‘the focus away from the grand sweep of civilizations and larger social groups to the lives and actions of individuals and immediate families.’¹⁷⁸ Its reliance on documentary evidence may make a genealogy - with documentation of births, marriages, deaths - dry reading compared with a dramatic family history, and genealogy often concerns itself only with bloodline connections between generations, however interesting the in-laws may have been.¹⁷⁹ In the end, though, all these differences may be immaterial to this particular effort: ‘Family History incorporates Genealogy.’¹⁸⁰

Analysis of the growth and progress of each individual geographic area in this study included some of what was called “history of the family.” The resulting extended examinations of particular families required the writing of some family history, though never complete biographies. While these kinds of biographical sketches are often included in published county histories, they are usually second- or even third-hand reports provided by a subscriber to the book who wished to have his or his family’s story included in the historical account.¹⁸¹ In this study, the brief biographies of a few families in the area included a good deal of genealogical information, almost always far in excess of what might be offered by the local and regional histories of the time. While the family sketches included here may have

¹⁷⁶ See, for example, Val D. Greenwood. (2000) *The Researcher’s Guide to American Genealogy*. 3rd ed. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co. [Chapter 1.] Boston University. (2018) *MET CPE Genealogical Research Certificate Program*. Boston: Boston University. [Module 1: Genealogical Methods, Unit 2: anatomy of the Research Cycle.]

¹⁷⁷ Mills, ‘Genealogy in the “Information Age”’, p. 261.

¹⁷⁸ The University of Strathclyde. (2019) *C1.1 Aims and Objectives of Genealogical Research*. Glasgow: University of Strathclyde, p. 2. [Postgraduate Certificate in Genealogical, Palaeographic & Heraldic Studies.]

¹⁷⁹ National Genealogical Society. *Are Genealogy and Family History Different?* <https://www.ngsgenealogy.org/family-history/> : accessed 8 December 2020.

¹⁸⁰ Society of Genealogists. *Hints & Tips Two: Genealogy or Family History? What’s the Difference?* <http://www.sog.org.uk/learn/education-sub-page-for-testing-navigation/guide-ten/> : accessed 8 December 2020.

¹⁸¹ Common Place. Rhonda Frevert, author. *Mug Books*. <http://commonplace.online/article/mug-books/> : accessed 12 June 2021.

some basis in traditional family stories, they rely mainly on the use of genealogical research methods both to confirm the information provided elsewhere and to expand those accounts to include more individuals and events. It is the use of this type of research, rather than simple reliance on previously published information, which serves to develop a more nuanced family history and also makes this study unique, especially with respect to other local histories.

The resulting strict genealogies, with all the generations included, will be restricted to the appendices. All genealogical research was done in keeping with the current proof standards for such research. These standards have been stated at lesser or greater length by the Society of Genealogists, the Register of Qualified Genealogists and the Board for Certification of Genealogists.¹⁸² Readers should note that a good deal of further information and illustrative genealogical material can be found in the Technical Appendix.

The research methodology began with a historical framework developed by extracting the typically recited pioneers and “firsts” from each area and important dates concerning the development of each town. Detailed genealogical information was developed for some individuals to establish key family dynamics. This resulted in genealogical case studies found in the appendices, and information specific to the three areas found in Chapters Two, Three and Four. Chapter Five explores key social trends affecting every portion of the study area, both towns and farms, to a greater or lesser extent. Additional research was carried out to develop further insight into these issues and find instances of their specific impacts within the study area.

An additional major methodological practice was the compilation and analysis of the census data. The resulting data was used to provide examples for the issues discussed in Chapter Five, assist in the development of the genealogical case studies, and demonstrate basic developmental trends within the three study areas in

¹⁸² Society of Genealogists. *Hints & Tips Five: Standards and Good Practice in Genealogy*. <http://www.sog.org.uk/learn/education-sub-page-for-testing-navigation/hints-tips-six-standards-and-good-practice-in-genealogy/> : accessed 8 December 2020. Register of Qualified Genealogists. *Professional Code for Qualified Genealogists*. <https://www.qualifiedgenealogists.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/RQG-Professional-Code-Final-for-web-post-incorporation.pdf> : accessed 8 December 2020. Board for Certification of Genealogists. (2019) *Genealogy Standards Second Edition*. Nashville and New York : Turner Publishing Co.

their individual chapters. The specifics of this methodology are found in the Technical Appendix.

Outline of Thesis

Chapter One recounts some basic early history of the study area as a whole. The objective of this section is to give a more detailed general history of the upper Ohio River valley in particular than that which has been offered on a national scope in this Introduction. Chapter Two discusses the history of Wellsville in detail. While the bulk of the chapter concerns the study period of 1850-1880, the early development of the town before that time is also covered. Demographic comparisons are made for variables within the town only. Chapter Three discusses the history of East Liverpool in detail, as with the Wellsville chapter. Chapter Four follows the same format for the Grant District of Hancock County. Chapter Five analyses several different aspects of society which were common to all three geographic areas. Some discussion of the history of each factor is included and demographic comparisons are made between the areas. Chapter Six provides further insights about the origins of the pottery workforce which eventually led to the success of East Liverpool.

Several Appendices will be found at the end of this work, containing different types of material. The Technical Appendix contains a description of the census data forms used by the enumerators over the course of the study period as well as the specific questions asked; discussion of the process used to standardize the actual data; some brief illustrations of the types of family tree data collection formats that were used during the research. Methodology employed for this data collection has not been described in any great detail. Specifics of occupational standardization will be found in this section.

The next three Appendices contain genealogical case studies. These types of case studies are the result of specifically genealogical research and often form the basis of reports by professional genealogists to clients. They are also found in published (and some peer reviewed) journals. Several of these are published in the

United States - the *New England Historical & Genealogical Register*, for example, has been in publication since 1847. The periodical *Family History* has been published in Kent since 1962. While not conforming to either the editorial or content specifications of either contracted research reports or published journals, the appended genealogical case studies will give some insight into the specific types of records and research questions pursued by genealogists.

Appendix Five is a simple table of the early potteries found in the East Liverpool area. This table was relied upon when developing the selection of potters to be investigated for family case studies, as well as some background in the chapter on the Staffordshire Potters.

CHAPTER ONE

EARLY HISTORY OF THE STUDY AREA

The objective of this chapter is to ground the more extensive histories of the specific small areas selected for intense study within a somewhat more detailed regional history of the upper Ohio River valley through about 1800 than was presented in the Introduction. Additional early history of the individual areas selected for detailed study will be included with those relevant chapters. At the end of this chapter is found a brief overview of the study area as described by the available census statistics; this review covers the period through 1840. The long history of colonial Virginia will not be recounted here, nor will the history of the original Native Americans or the Revolutionary War.



Figure 5. Basic terrain map of the eastern United States.

Source: Basemap data from <http://www.esri.com> public data sources. Copyright © 1995-2021 Esri. Map creation by author.

The study area is in the east-central part of the United States, about 50 miles southeast of Cleveland, Ohio, which itself is on the southern bank of Lake Erie. (See Figure 5.) The area selected for detailed study includes only the farthest northwestern tip of the (now) West Virginia panhandle as well as the two Ohio towns of Wellsville and East Liverpool directly across the Ohio River. The West Virginia portion of the study area now contains the small towns of Newell and Chester, plus

the Homer-Laughlin Pottery, forested land, and a few other industries. Neither Newell nor Chester had been established before the end of the study period. Both the Ohio and West Virginia sections are now located in an economically depressed area.¹

Many of the very early white explorers along this part of the Ohio River, or “La Belle Riviere,” were French. One of the earliest was Rene Robert Cavelier Sieur de La Salle who arrived in about 1669.² By about 1749, seeing value in the territory

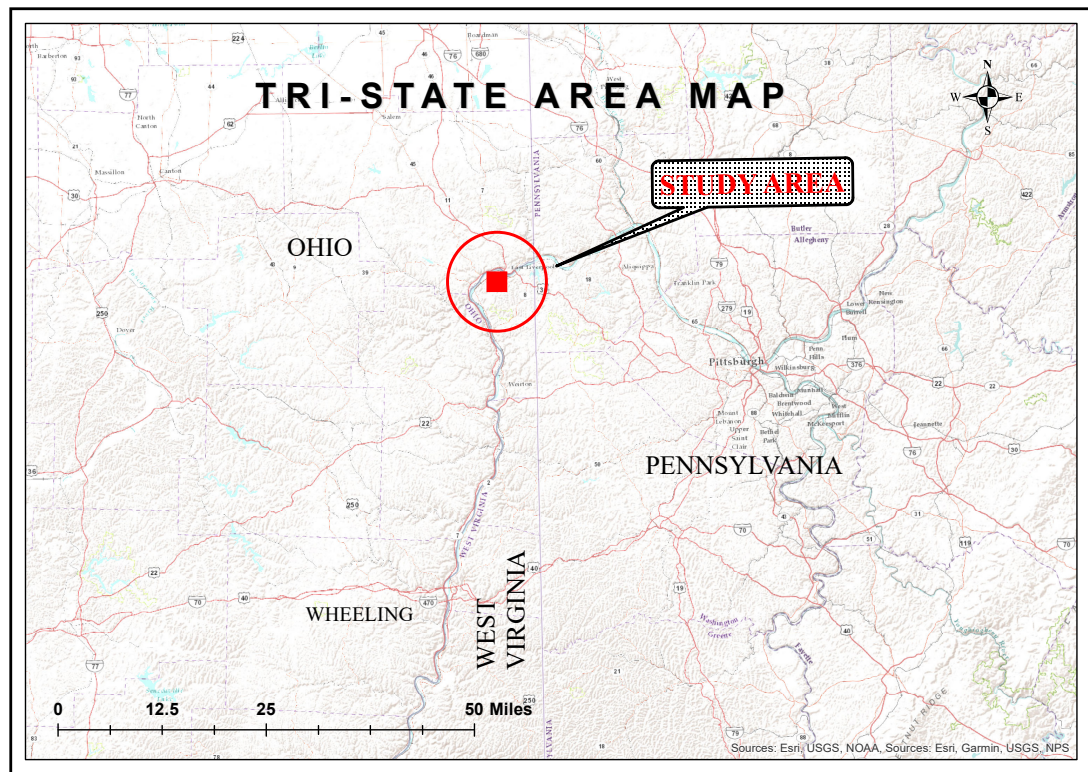


Figure 6. General topography of states surrounding the study area.

Source: Basemap data from <http://www.esri.com> public data sources. Copyright © 1995-2021 Esri.
Map creation by author.

between the Ohio river and Lake Erie, the French and British were both eager to settle the boundary line between their respective holdings in the new world. At this time the boundary between the two country’s territories in this area was still the Ohio River.

¹ U.S. Census Bureau. *QuickFacts*. <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/US/PST045219> : accessed 23 September 2020. See facts for Hancock County, West Virginia and Columbiana County, Ohio.

² Ohio History Connection. *Rene R. de La Salle*. http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Rene_R._de_La_Salle : accessed 29 November 2020..

In 1748 the Ohio Company of Virginia was formed primarily as a land investment scheme but also to promote trading with the native tribes, mainly for beaver pelts, in the area between the Monongahela and Ohio Rivers.³ It comes as no surprise that this was devastating to the beaver population.⁴ The target area for the Ohio Company of Virginia was comprised of about a 50-mile wide swath of land mainly found in southwestern Pennsylvania. The land furthest west in this settlement target area now falls into the northwest panhandle of West Virginia which forms part of the study area. (See Figure 6.) The early settlers were often the victims of attack by the natives and the efforts by the Ohio Company failed to produce much, if any, permanent settlement at this time.⁵

Also in 1748 the Governor of Canada selected Captain Coleron de Bienville as his representative to survey the Ohio river in the interests of the French. Along their voyage de Bienville and his party buried inscribed lead plates claiming the various territories in the name of the King of France.⁶ Although the conflict between the French and English was said to be over the “land north of the Ohio,” these French exploration trips also noted the presence of a few settlements *south* of the river in the British-claimed colony of Virginia. Government and private expeditions into this area often built forts or temporary encampments; many of these were in what is now southeastern West Virginia. By 1776 there were dozens of forts erected along rivers in western Virginia, including some along the Ohio River.⁷

The mid-to-late 18th century saw continued conflict in the upper Ohio valley, on both sides of the river, between the British, the French, and the native tribes. The Proclamation of 1763 ended what was called the French and Indian War. As part of

³ Ohio History Connection. *Ohio Company*. http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Ohio_Company : accessed 9 December 2020.

⁴ Ruth Henthorne, et al. (1982) *The History of Newell and Vicinity* n.p.: Newell Bi-Centennial Book Commission, p. 8.

⁵ James Morton Callahan. (1923) *History of West Virginia, old and new, in one volume*. Chicago: The American Historical Association, p. 54.

⁶ Peter Boyd. (1927) *History of northern West Virginia pan-handle Embracing Ohio, Marshall, Brooke, and Hancock Counties*. Vol. I. Topeka: Historical Publishing Company, p. 7; J. H. Newton, et al. (1879) *History of the Pan-Handle; being Historical Collections of the counties of Ohio, Brooke, Marshall and Hancock, West Virginia*. Wheeling: J. A. Caldwell, p. 36.

⁷ Callahan, *History of West Virginia* ..., pp. 62 and 81-83.

the treaty, and in an effort to appease the natives, King George III forbade American colonists from settling west of the crest of the Appalachian Mountains.⁸ In 1766 Chief Pontiac of the Ottawa, encouraged by the French, formally surrendered to the British after several additional years of war.⁹ In 1768 the allowable settlement boundary line was pushed westward by the Treaties of Fort Stanwix and Hard Labor; the boundary for colonial settlement then became the south/east side of the Ohio River. The far northwestern panhandle of West Virginia is the portion of the study area which fell into this territory.¹⁰

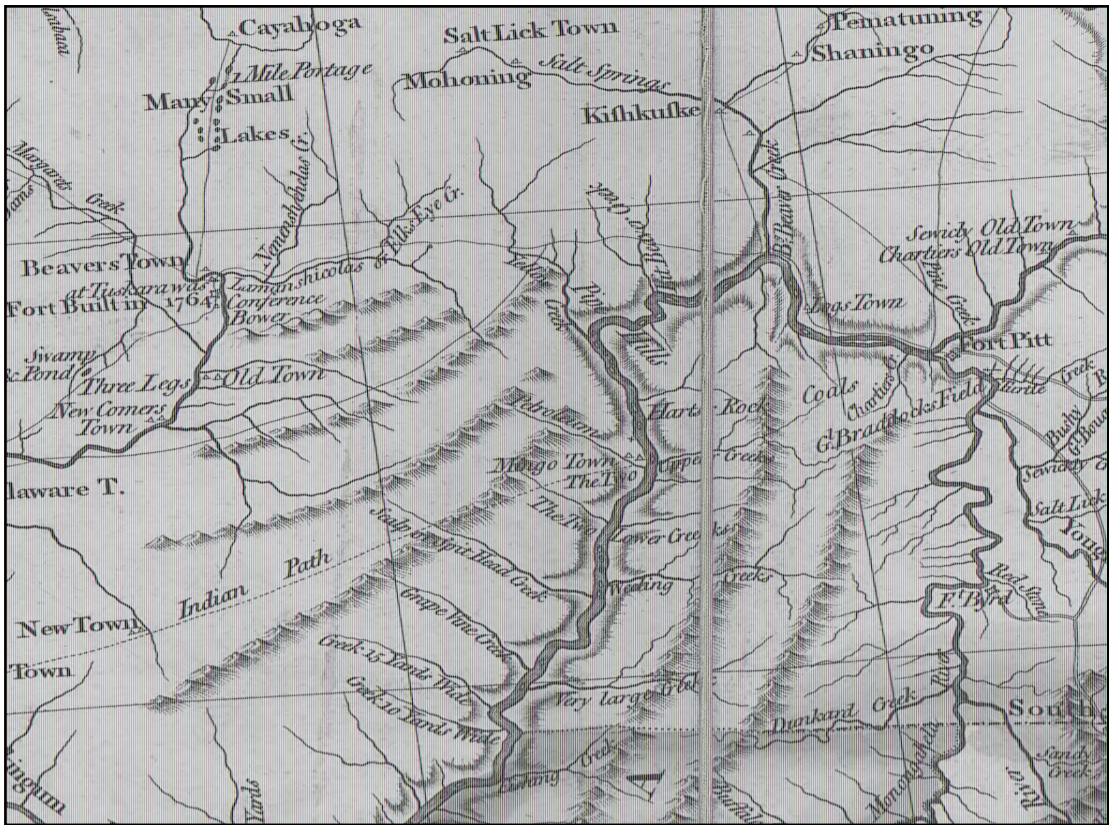


Figure 7. Portion of 1778 map by Hutchins.

Source: Thomas Hutchins. (1778) *A new map of the western parts of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North Carolina; comprehending the River Ohio, and all the rivers, which fall into it; part of the River Mississippi, the whole of the Illinois River; Lake Erie; part of the Lakes Huron, Michigan &c. and all the country bordering on these lakes and rivers.* Scale ~1:1,270,000. London: n. pub. Library of Congress Geography and Map Division control no. gm71002165.

⁸ R Squared Communications LLC. *The Proclamation of 1763*. <https://www.americanhistorycentral.com/entries/the-proclamation-of-1763/> : accessed 4 December 2020.

⁹ Callahan, *History of West Virginia* ..., p. 65; Ohio History Connection. *Pontiac*. <http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Pontiac> : accessed 16 December 2020.

¹⁰ Ohio History Connection. *Treaty of Fort Stanwix (1768)*. [http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Treaty_of_Fort_Stnwix_\(1768\)](http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Treaty_of_Fort_Stnwix_(1768)) : accessed 4 December 2020.

Many potential settlers followed existing Indian trails, crossing the Appalachians overland from Maryland through Pittsburgh; travel to the south of these overland routes was often accomplished via river. During a period of relative calm, about 1764-74, these pioneers occupied their land without purchasing title from the Indians. "Tomahawk" rights were acquired by marking the bark of a few deadened trees at the head of a spring with the settler's initials.¹¹ However, the physical barrier of the Appalachians was a drag on immigration to the area which was discouraged by the English even during this time. The inability to transport manufactured articles east and west meant that pioneering migrants would have to rely almost entirely on themselves.¹²

Despite these drawbacks a few white families were beginning to settle in the area east/south of the Ohio River (the Virginia side) by the mid-to-late 18th century. These early pioneers included the Zane family, who arrived in about 1769 and founded the settlement at Wheeling.¹³ In 1770 Indian Scout Daniel Greathouse settled at the current site of Newell; he and another settler, Samuel Muchmore, built houses and blockhouses for protection from the Indians.¹⁴ Greathouse was the instigator of the "Yellow Creek Massacre" in Ohio in which nearly a dozen Indians were killed.¹⁵ Migration into the area began to increase after the rebuilding of Fort Pitt (previously Fort Duquesne, at Pittsburgh) in 1759 and the building of Fort Fincastle (later Fort Henry) at Wheeling in 1776. These two forts provided some safety for settlers traveling or settling along the Ohio River between Pittsburgh and Wheeling. Traveling along the river at this time was undoubtedly easier and safer than exploring overland across the Appalachians.¹⁶

¹¹ Callahan, *History of West Virginia* ..., p. 69; US Fish & Wildlife Service. *NCTC Cultural History/Early Colonial Period*. <https://training.fws.gov/history/virtualexhibits/nctcculturalhistory/Timeline1649.html> : accessed 16 December 2020.

¹² Isaac Lippincott. (1914) *A History of Manufacturers in the Ohio Valley to the Year 1860*. PhD Dissertation, The University of Chicago, p. 66.

¹³ Boyd, *History of Northern West Virginia Pan-Handle* ..., p. 77.

¹⁴ Henthorne, *The History of Newell and Vicinity*, p. 8.

¹⁵ Ohio History Connection. *Lord Dunmore's War and the Battle of Point Pleasant*. http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Lord_Dunmore%27s_War_and_the_Battle_of_Point_Pleasant : accessed 16 December 2020; Callahan, *History of West Virginia* ..., p. 76.

¹⁶ Michael C. Robinson. (1983) *History of Navigation in the Ohio River Basin*. Alexandria, VA: Institute for Water Resources, p. 1.

Some of these early settlers were arriving in the area to claim their military bounty land awarded after the end of the French and Indian War.¹⁷ After that war ended, in about 1763, several more exploratory expeditions were mounted, both privately and by the English government, to survey this part of the Ohio River. One of these was an 1765 expedition led by Col. George Croghan. His mission was to explore the area around the river and to make peace with the Indian nations who had previously acted in concert with the French. After passing Little Beaver Creek (about five miles upriver from East Liverpool) on May 16 of that year he noted:

From thence we sailed to Yellow creek, being about fifteen miles from the last mentioned creek; here and there the hills come close to the banks of the river on each side, but where are bottoms, they are very large, and well watered; numbers of small rivulets running through them, falling into the Ohio on both sides. ... a great part of the trees in the bottoms are covered with grape vines. For the most part of the way ... the banks of the river are high and steep.¹⁸

The first detailed hydrographic/topographic survey of the Ohio River was commissioned also by the British government. In 1766 Captain Harry Gordon and Ensign Thomas Hutchins mapped the Ohio downriver from Fort Pitt (Pittsburgh).¹⁹ Hutchins' notes include references to Little Beaver Creek to the northeast and Yellow Creek to the southwest of the study area. He also kept track of how many Indian warriors he encountered along the way.²⁰

In October of 1770 George Washington traveled to the Ohio River district to research the character of the region. This trip was in the interest of himself and other (unnamed) parties. He left Pittsburg with an Indian tracker called Pheasant,

¹⁷ Henthorne, *The History of Newell and Vicinity*, p. 8.

¹⁸ Newton, et al., *History of the Pan-Handle ...*, p. 51.

¹⁹ Robinson, *History of Navigation in the Ohio River Basin*, p. 3.

²⁰ Beverly W., Bond, Jr. (ed) (1942) *The Courses of the Ohio River taken by Lt. T. Hutchins Anno 1766 and Two Accompanying Maps*. Cincinnati: Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, p. 80.

interpreter Joseph Nicholson, a young Indian warrior and several others.²¹

Washington's party passed through the study area on about October 22. On that day they departed their camp three miles below Little Beaver Creek, probably near present day East Liverpool. His assessment of the slope of the land above the river conflicts slightly with that of Col. Croghan; Washington had reported snow, and perhaps that affected the way he perceived the countryside:

... it was about half-past seven before we left the encampment. At a distance of about eight miles, we came to the mouth of Yellow creek, opposite, or rather below which, appears to be a long bottom of very good land, and the ascent to the hills apparently gradual. There is another pretty large bottom of very good land about two or three miles above this.²²

By about 1770, when the West Virginia side of the study area was still part of the District of West Augusta, Virginia, a group of German settlers had pushed beyond the Appalachians as far west as Elm Grove, near present day Wheeling, West Virginia.²³ Settlers continued arriving in this area and soon began building churches, mills, and cabins. Many of these settlers had come from Virginia and Maryland and traveled by water utilizing Short Creek or one of the other myriad creeks and rivers that drain westward off the Appalachian Mountains into the Ohio River.²⁴ This "influx" of white settlers did little to quell the conflict between the native tribes and the existing colonial settlers in the Ohio Valley.

At the beginning of the Revolutionary War in 1776 the district of West Augusta in colonial Virginia included approximately the area northwest of the Appalachian Mountains in Virginia, and southeast of the Ohio River to the

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Newton, et al., *History of the Pan-Handle ...*, p. 55.

²³ Boyd, *History of Northern West Virginia Pan-Handle ...*, p. 110.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 123; Virgil A. Lewis. (1889) *History of West Virginia: in two parts*. Philadelphia: Hubbard Brothers, p. 114.

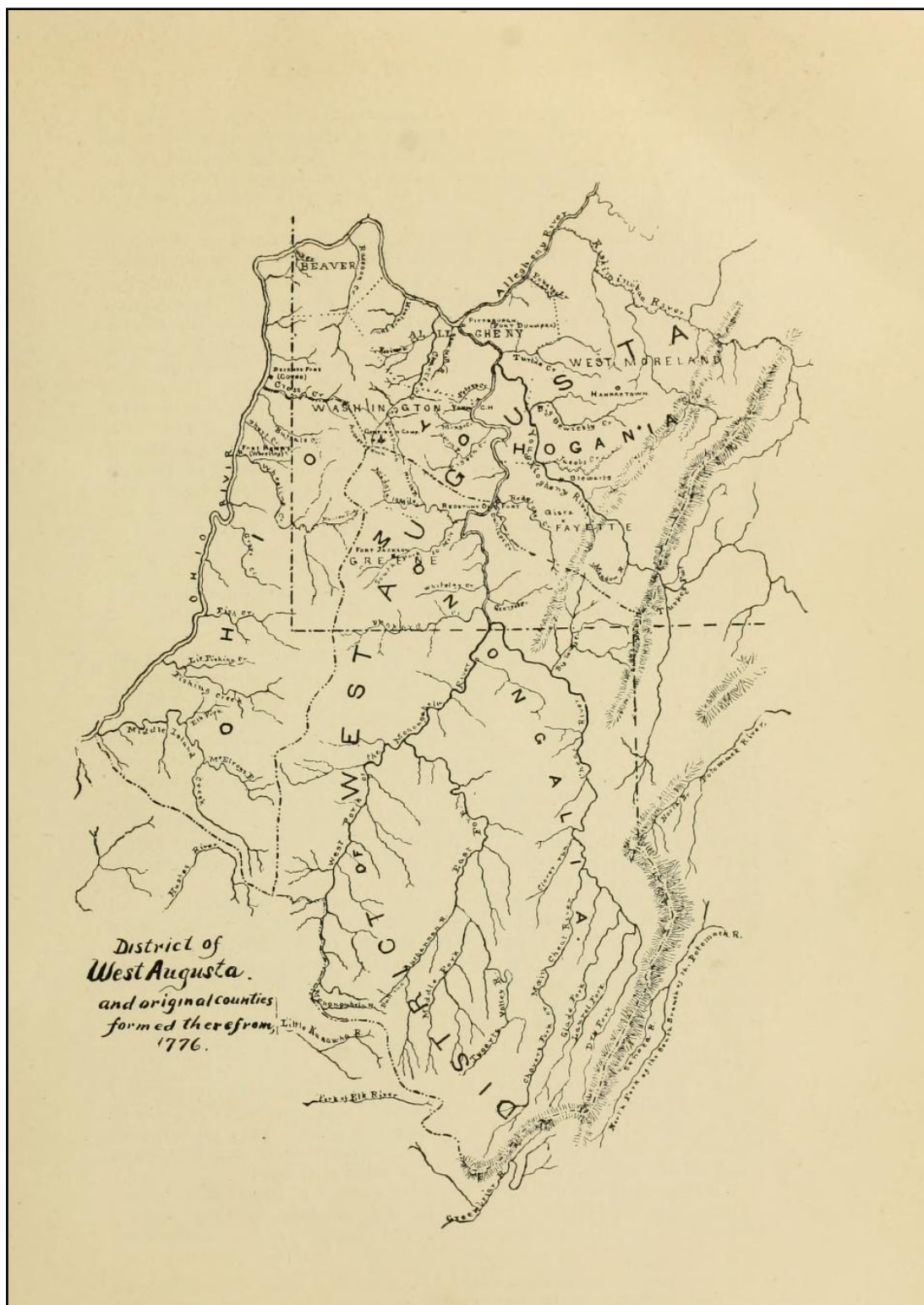


Figure 8. District of West Augusta, 1776.

Source: James Morton Callahan. (1923) *History of West Virginia, old and new, in one volume, and West Virginia biography, in two additional volumes*. Vol. 1. Chicago: The American Historical Association. pg. 54. No other citation was given for this map, possibly drawn by Callahan..

Monongahela River.²⁵ This territory included the West Virginia portion of the study area. Ohio County, Virginia, was created from West Augusta in 1776. (See Figure 8.) Land sales to private individuals as well as speculators in this area were conducted under the same system as other colonial, or state-land states.²⁶

When Mason and Dixon fixed the western boundary of Pennsylvania in 1776 ownership of the land now in the northwestern panhandle of West Virginia was still being disputed between Pennsylvania and Virginia. This persisted until July of 1780 when the border dispute was finally resolved. In 1785 the actual boundary between the two states was finally agreed to after being re-surveyed by a commission appointed by both states.²⁷ In October of 1776 this disputed area had been divided into three counties; the study area fell into the now defunct Yohogonia County. After the border was finally drawn, most of Yohogonia was absorbed into western Pennsylvania while the portion that is now Hancock County, West Virginia, was made part of Ohio County, Virginia.²⁸

A fairly large group of pioneers arrived in the upper reaches of Ohio County, Virginia, between 1785-87. Following this influx there was a brief (unexplained) lull in settlement after which migration to the area resumed in about 1795. Wellsburg, to the south of the study area in then Ohio County, was laid out in 1790. Brooke County was formed from Ohio County in 1797; Brooke encompassed what would later become Hancock County. The earliest settler in what is now Hancock County was probably a Mr. Holliday, who developed Holliday's Cove along the Ohio River in about 1776.²⁹ This settlement was near the current location of Wheeling.

By about 1786 squatters had begun to arrive in the area west of the Ohio River (in the now state of Ohio) and were found all along the banks and some of the

²⁵ Lewis, *History of West Virginia: in two parts*, p. 136.

²⁶ For more information on this sales process see: FamilySearch. *Virginia Land and Property, Land Grant Process*. https://www.familysearch.org/wiki/en/Virginia_Land_and_Property : accessed 8 December 2020. A description is included in the Technical Appendix.

²⁷ Boyd, *History of Northern West Virginia Pan-Handle ...*, p. 173.

²⁸ Crumrine, Boyd. (1905) 'The Boundary Controversy between Pennsylvania and Virginia, 1748-1785' in W. J. Holland & J. B. Hatcher (eds.), *Annals of the Carnegie Museum, Vol. I, 1901-1902*. Pittsburgh: Carnegie Institute, pp. 520-23.

²⁹ Callahan, *History of West Virginia ...*, p. 104.

tributaries. One of these, Mr. Dawson, was a farmer who had offered to supply milk, butter and vegetables to surveyors coming down river. This may be the same man recorded by several historians as living just west of Little Beaver Creek on the border between Pennsylvania and Ohio.³⁰ Near the end of the American Revolution flatboats had begun to appear on the Ohio as a principal means of transporting goods and people. In 1788 alone over 300 of these boats were found as far south as Fort Harmar (Marietta, Ohio) which was about 70 miles downriver from Wheeling.³¹

When the federal government opened up the Northwest Territory for settlement they first set about surveying the land before sales were made. The rectangular survey of Ohio commenced in 1785 and the first seven ranges were begun at a surveyors mark on the Ohio River at the border between Pennsylvania and Ohio. Township 5 of the First Range was surveyed in 1786 by Absolom Martin of New Jersey. First located in Washington County, then Jefferson County, and finally Columbiana County,³² this area later became St. Clair Township, then Liverpool Township and includes the study town of East Liverpool. The Ohio Company of Associates was formed in 1786 in an effort to settle military veterans in the new public lands in the Ohio Valley. Former chief engineer of the Continental Army, Col. Rufus Putnam, was instrumental in the organization of this company.³³

Land sales in this western area of the country were slow until Congress passed the Public Land Act of 1796. Under this law sections of 640 acres were made available as an alternative to the previously required minimum purchase of an entire township of six square miles.³⁴ The sale of federal lands on the Ohio side of the river was similar in process to that of the state lands in Virginia with the exception of the

³⁰ 'Early Reminiscences of Fawcettstown.' *East Liverpool Review*. 6 October 1934, Centennial Edition, Section C. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 25 Jan 2019; William C. Gates, Jr. (1984) *The City of Hills & Kilns. Life and Work in East Liverpool, Ohio*. East Liverpool: The East Liverpool Historical Society, p. 4.

³¹ Robinson, *History of Navigation in the Ohio River Basin*, p. 4.

³² William B. McCord. (1905) *History of Columbiana County, Ohio and Representative Citizens*. Chicago: Biographical Publishing Co., p. 38.

³³ Robinson, *History of Navigation in the Ohio River Basin*, p. 3.

³⁴ Gates, *The City of Hills & Kilns ...*, p. 5.

surveying step.³⁵ Sales of the smaller, 640 acre, units were handled at regional government offices which made it easier for settlers to record their claims.

Early Irish immigrant and reported Revolutionary war officer Isaac Craig³⁶ was one of the first purchasers of Ohio land sold to private buyers; he and several other purchasers were living in the city of Pittsburgh at the time and did not live on the land they had purchased. On 18 May 1796 Craig purchased sections 23 and 24 in Range I Township V of the Ohio Seven Ranges; he reportedly paid \$2,181.50. This purchase included the land on which East Liverpool is now situated. On 1 July 1800 Thomas Fawcett purchased this tract of land from Craig who made a profit of almost \$1500 on the sale.³⁷

About five miles to the west of Craig's purchase, sections 4 and 5 of Range II Township IX of the Ohio Seven Ranges (the area where Wellsville is now located) were purchased by Robert Johnston, one of the government surveyors of the Ranges. He acquired his land in 1788, possibly as partial payment for his work on the survey.³⁸ Johnston eventually sold all of this land and never lived in the area that was to become Wellsville.

When thinking about the process of settlement in this part of the country the importance of the Ohio River cannot be underestimated. As noted by Robinson in his 1983 contribution to the National Waterways Study:

... the Ohio River and its tributaries provided the principal means of moving goods and people in the trans-Appalachian West. ... the Ohio Valley region became the route followed by the great western migration of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The rivers and the [water] craft placed on them transformed the economy from frontier

³⁵ For further information on this process see: Dr. George W. Knepper. (2002) *The Official Ohio Lands Book*. Columbus: The Auditor of State, p. 38.

³⁶ Harold B. Barth. (1926) *History of Columbiana County*. Topeka: Historical Publishing Co., p. 162.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 162; Gates, *The City of Hills & Kilns* ..., p. 8.

³⁸ US Department of the Interior. Records of the Bureau of Land Management, General Land Office. 17 April 1788. JOHNSTON, Robert, credit entry file. Ohio Accession CV-0001-048 and -049. <https://www.glorerecords.blm.gov>.

subsistence to a burgeoning, complex commercial structure.³⁹

The study area was, in 1800, still the western frontier of American settlement. As such it may have attracted a fair number of ‘hardy and rugged pioneers’ who were moving westward for reasons other than the often assumed noble intent to acquire land and raise a family. An English travel writer had this to say about Wheeling in 1806:

... as the navigation above Wheeling is more dangerous than all the remainder of the river, persons should undoubtedly give it the preference to Pittsburg. [as a port] ...The original settlers were not calculated to give importance to an infant establishment. Had they done so [instead of] ... rapine [sic] on Indian property, drunkenness, horse-racing and cock-fighting, their town would have rivalled [sic] Pittsburg ... To this frontier all persons outlawed, or escaping from Justice, fled, ... [and] formed a species of nefarious republic, where equality of crime constituted a social band, ...⁴⁰

The author went on to tell of his interview with a respected Quaker citizen who insisted that persons of “high respectability” would soon have their way in town and “... abolish cock-fighting, horse-racing, fighting, drinking, gambling, etc. ...” The author himself had no such hopes; he found, for example, that the only observance of the Sabbath was by an “increase in debauchery.” Various other deprivations were recounted by him in his advice to avoid Wheeling.⁴¹

Much of the early town development in what would become Hancock county took place further south than the study area. The town of Wheeling, in Ohio County,

³⁹ Robinson, *History of Navigation in the Ohio River Basin*, p. 10.

⁴⁰ Callahan, *History of West Virginia* ..., p. 127-28. Quoting from Ashe, Thomas. (1806) *Travels in America*.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

West Virginia, is more than 40 miles downriver from the study area. Going north along the river, a traveler encounters the towns of Wellsburg (Brooke County), Steubenville (Ohio), Weirton and New Cumberland (both in Hancock County), before coming to the study town of Wellsville, Ohio. To this day, New Cumberland (the county seat), Chester and Weirton are the only communities designated as ‘cities’ in Hancock County.⁴² The population of the entire county in 2017 was estimated at about 29,500.⁴³

Census Statistics from the Study area, 1790-1840

1790 - Ohio County, Virginia, reported a total population of 5,212. Of this number, only 281 were counted as slaves.

There were 78 counties in Virginia in 1790 and the total population of the state was 747,610. No geographically specific figures were given, so it would be difficult to determine the density of population by county. The most populous county was Culpeper, in the northeastern part of the state, with over 22,000 inhabitants including over 8,000 slaves (37% of the population). The county with the largest city was Henrico, about 70 miles to the southeast. There, the city of Richmond numbered 3,761 of whom 39% or 1,479 were slaves. Ohio County, in the far western reaches of West Virginia, reported a strikingly low population of slaves - only 5.4% of the total population; compare this to the 39% in the town of Richmond and 57% in the county of Richmond, on the Potomac River. The individual heads of families were not enumerated on the 1790 census for all counties in Virginia.⁴⁴

The state of Ohio was not formed until 1803. Although the Northwest Territory contained some defined geographic areas, no census was taken there in 1790.

⁴² USCensus Bureau. *Publications, Census of Population and Housing*. <https://www.census.gov/prod/www/decennial.html> : accessed 16 December 2020. See individual census publications for exact figures.

⁴³ US Census Bureau. *Quick Facts: Hancock County, West Virginia*. <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/hancockcountywestvirginia,US/PST045218> : accessed 16 December 2020.

⁴⁴ US Census Bureau. *1790 Census: Return of the Whole Number of Persons within the Several Districts of the United States*. <https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/decade/decennial-publications.1790.html> : accessed 23 September 2020.

1800 - Brooke County, Virginia, reported a total population of 4,706. Of this number, only 288 were counted as slaves.

As with its parent county, Ohio, the percentage of slaves was very low at 6%. In (still largely rural) Brooke County 37% of the white population were children under age ten. In the heavily populated eastern Culpeper County the percentage of children was only 20%, but the percentage of slaves had risen from the 37% noted above to 40%. The county of Richmond, on the east coast, continued to report 57% of the population as slaves.⁴⁵

A census of the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio was conducted in 1800 but included only Washington County (later to become part of the state of Ohio). Nine townships were included in this census, which reported only the names of 1,361 males over the age of 21 in that county.⁴⁶

1810 - Numbers of individuals in Brooke County, Virginia, and in the Townships of St. Clair and Yellow Creek, Columbiana County, Ohio are shown in Table 1.⁴⁷

The percentage of the enslaved population in Brooke County was still very low at about 5.6%. By comparison, the percentage of slaves in eastern Culpepper County had risen again to 43% and in Richmond County was 51% while in the City of Richmond the percentage of enslaved individuals was lower at 38.5%. This difference likely reflects the abundance of slaves on the plantations; farmers in western Brooke County did not follow this agricultural practice to any great extent.

The situation was quite different in the Ohio county of Columbiana where slavery was non-existent. The very sparsely populated townships of St. Clair and Yellow Creek would eventually be home to the towns of East Liverpool and Wellsville respectively. For comparison, in 2020 the size of Brooke County and

⁴⁵USCensus Bureau. *1800 Census: Return of the Whole Number of Persons within the Several Districts of the United States*. <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1801/dec/return.html> : accessed 25 November 2020.

⁴⁶ Census records. USA. Washington County, Northwest Territory. 4 August 1800. Roll: M1801_1. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 14 May 2020.

⁴⁷ US Census Bureau. *Aggregate amount of each Description of Persons within the United States of America, and the territories thereof, agreeably to actual enumeration made according to law, in the year 1810*. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015032989587&view=1up&seq=5> : accessed 10 December 2020. See Vol. 3. Brooke County - pg. 54 and Columbiana County - pg. 59.

Hancock County together was approximately 172 square miles. The Townships of Yellow Creek and St. Clair with the addition of the towns of Wellsville and East Liverpool comprised only about 63.2 square miles.⁴⁸

Table 1. Comparative population in the divisions of the study area, 1810.			
1810 Population Categories	Brooke County, Virginia	St. Clair Twp., Columbiana County	Yellow Creek Twp., Columbiana County
Free white males	2819	510	265
Free white females	2653	474	225
Other free persons not Indians	39	19	1
Slaves	332	0	0
Total	5,843	1,003	491

Also available for this year is the Tabular Statements of the Several Branches of American Manufactures. Virginia was characterized as either ‘western’ or ‘eastern’ but figures given represent the entire state. The statistics from this report for both Virginia and Ohio are interesting. (See Table 2.)⁴⁹

The categories for fabric goods showed Virginia was the most productive state in the country, with over 4 million dollars in goods produced. The young state of Ohio produced just under one million. Also of interest was the fact that while Ohio had two cotton *manufacturing* establishments, all of the fabric produced in Virginia was done “in families” (plantations, no doubt). Virginia was also the leading producer of stockings, turning out twice as many pairs as its nearest competitor, Pennsylvania. The number of labor saving machines for fabric production was high in some states such as New York and Pennsylvania; it was extremely low in both Virginia and Ohio. While not surprising in Ohio, this fact reinforces what we know about Virginia; it relied heavily on slave labor and the

⁴⁸ Figures approximated from United States Census Bureau statistics as of 23 September 2020. Hancock County was still a part of Brooke County in 1810.

⁴⁹ U.S. Census Bureau. *A Statement of the Arts and Manufactures of the United States of America, for the year 1810*. <https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1810/1810v2/1810v2-06.pdf?#> : accessed 25 November 2020. Only the states of Ohio and Virginia were included for brevity.

Table 2. Value/quantity of some manufactured goods in Virginia & Ohio, 1810.		
Manufactured Goods	Virginia	Ohio
Cotton goods in families, etc., yards made	3,007,255	56,072
# of manufacturing establishments	0	2
Mixed goods, and cotton chiefly mixed, yards	1,272,322	0
Flaxen cloths in families, etc., yards	4,918,273	1,093,031
Blended/unnamed cloths/stuffs, yards	0	701,156
Woolen cloth in families, etc., yards	408,224	93,074
Total of cloths and stuffs, value	\$4,611,445	\$999,538
Cotton and wool spun in mills, yards	0	10,000
Stockings, pairs made	227,578	0
Wool and mixed hats	276,267	0
Air/Blast furnace iron production, tons	6,930	1,187
Tons of bar iron from forges	2,740	0
Gunsmiths	\$83,343	0
Swords	\$5,405	0
Augers & bits	\$8,400	0
Clocks & watches	\$7,027	0
Tin & copper ware	\$52,915	0
Number of stills made	768	0
Pounds of tallow candles	276,948	0
Hard soap	783,704	0
Value from tanneries	\$676,076	\$153,581
Total value from manufactures	\$11,447,605	\$1,987,370

slaves were doing this work by hand mainly without the benefit of spinning frames, carding machines, fulling mills, spindles, etc.

The national statistics for iron and steel manufacturing are not too surprising. Pennsylvania led the country in most categories of production. Virginia was a distant second in the tons of iron coming from furnaces and forges, with Ohio producing very little. An interesting statistic was the value of gunsmith production - Virginia came in third here (and first in lead shot), and was the only state which produced swords. It was also the only state producing augers and bits. With respect to finer

metal goods, Virginia came second in clock and watch production, was one of only three states producing gold and silver jewelry and was the leading producer of tin and copper ware. Only three states were producing copper/brass/tin, but Virginia was by far the lowest producer. Where Virginia really shone was in the number of stills produced. Of the 788 stills reportedly produced nationally in 1810, the vast majority of 768 were made in Virginia. Ohio had little or no production in these categories.

Virginia was also third in the nation in production of tallow candles and hard soap, a statistic which implies that they raised enough cattle or sheep to provide the lard/suet necessary. This assumption was supported by Virginia's second place ranking in the number of tanneries in the state, and first place ranking in the number of hides these tanneries produced. Oddly, although Virginia had more "distilleries" than any other state, they reported no production using "stills" even though they were a huge producer of the actual stills. They ranked second only to Pennsylvania in the value of spirits distilled. They produced little beer, and no wine.

Virginia was also a producer of wooden goods such as cabinets, carriages, casks and even paper, though nowhere near the top producer. Not surprisingly, Virginia was the leading state in terms of tobacco production. The state also produced gun power, as did Ohio to a much smaller extent. Virginia was the largest producer of salt, with Ohio coming in fourth of the ten states producing salt. In total value of manufactured goods, Virginia ranked third behind Pennsylvania and New York.

These statistics support the view of Virginia in about 1810 as a plantation driven manufacturing state, primarily producing cotton and tobacco. Given what we know of the sparsely settled western part of the state, as well as the very low proportion of slaves in that area, and the lack of plantation style farming and produce, the beginnings of the eventual state schism begin to come into focus. It is probable that almost none of this manufacturing and production was taking place in the portion of Virginia now in the study area.

1820 - By this decade regional divisions were becoming more numerous and more of the population was moving westward. Aggregate statistics are available for Brooke County, Virginia, and both St. Clair (East Liverpool) and Yellow Creek (Wellsville) townships in Ohio. (See Table 3.) In that publication Virginia was separated into Virginia East and Virginia West “of the Allegany Mountain” [sic]. It is possible that the only area enumerated in Brooke County was around the town of Wellsburg. Some statistics for Brooke County, which still at this time contained the eventual county of Hancock, and both Ohio townships are presented below.⁵⁰

A basic comparison between the eastern and western districts of Virginia again illustrates the differences in the regions of the state. Western Virginia counties had a total population of 147,534. Of that, only 13,366 or about 9% were slaves. Eastern Virginia counties were much more populous with a total of 877,300 inhabitants. Of those individuals 393,595 or almost 45% were slaves. While the population of free colored persons in the west was tiny at less than 1%, it was much higher in the east at nearly 4%. On both sides of the state agricultural workers were in the vast majority when compared to those working in commerce or manufacture.

Table 3. Comparative population in the divisions of the study area, 1820			
1820 Population Categories	Brooke	St. Clair	Yellow Creek
Free White Males	3,169	779	375
Free White Females	3,018	759	347
Foreigners	9	24	16
Engaged in Agriculture	1,526	281	137
Engaged in Commerce	40	1	0
Engaged in Manufacture	237	96	58
Slaves (total)	383	0	0
Free Colored (total)	61	13	0
Total Population	6,631	1,551	722

The two Ohio townships, being adjacent to each other, were very similar in character. Neither had any slaves and Yellow Creek had no free colored inhabitants.

⁵⁰ U.S. Census Bureau. *Census for 1820*. <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1821/dec/1820a.html> : accessed 14 May 2020. See p. 92 (western Virginia) and p. 123 (Ohio).

The majority of persons worked in agriculture though both townships had a moderate number of employees in manufacturing as well.

1830 - For this decade only a few aggregate statistics are available. In the brief abstract report found, the state of Virginia was divided into eastern and western sections and included the county of Brooke. Only 31% of the population of Virginia lived in the western counties and only 11% of the slave population was found in these counties. In Brooke County the slave population was even lower at 3%.

There were no slaves in Columbiana County and free colored individuals made up only about 1% of the total state population. In 1830 the town of Liverpool was enumerated separately within St. Clair Township; the total population of the town was 136. Likewise, Wellsville was enumerated separately within Yellow Creek Township; the total population there was 169.⁵¹

1840 - In this final census enumeration before the beginning of the study period in 1850 the Census Bureau published both population schedules and manufacturing schedules.⁵² Once again Virginia was divided into eastern and western districts, and then by county. The total number of free white males in all age groups was roughly equivalent in the eastern and western districts; the same was true for free white females. Once again, however, the big difference came in the slave and free colored population. The counties in the western district had roughly one-sixth the population of free colored persons as in the eastern district; for slaves the discrepancy was even more obvious with westerners owning only between 9%-12% of the slaves in the state despite having a nearly equivalent white population.

The slaves in Brooke County represented just over 1% of the total county population. The population in Brooke was rural, agricultural, and home to 13

⁵¹US Census Bureau. *1830 Census: Abstract of the returns of the Fifth Census*. <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1832/dec/1830b.html> : accessed 8 December 2020. Brooke County is on p. 17, Columbiana County is on p. 30; Ancestry. *1830 United States Federal Census*. <https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/8058/> : accessed 23 September 2020. Census for Ohio towns and townships transcribed by author.

⁵² US Census Bureau. *1840 Census: Compendium of the Enumeration of the Inhabitants and Statistics of the United States*. <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1841/dec/1840c.html> : accessed 14 May 2020.

common schools and academies to serve only 281 students. The total population, white and colored, free and slaves, was only 7,948, less than 2% of the western Virginia population, and only 0.6% of the population of the state.

The total population of Columbiana County in 1840 was 40,378. There were no slaves and only 417 free colored persons enumerated; the county represented about 2.5% of the state's population. As with Brooke County, most workers were employed in agriculture, followed by manufacturing; there were 115 schools and academies to serve the 2,560 students. Columbiana County was approximately 530 square miles in size, Brooke County about 180 square miles.

The apportionment of congressional representatives was also noted on this census report. Virginia, being the most populous state when the US constitution was created, warranted 10 of the 65 total representatives seated in the first Congress. In 1790 they had 19 of the 105 and in 1800 Virginia returned 22 of the 141 representatives. In 1810 Virginia was overtaken in representation by New York, but still warranted 23 of the 181 representatives; Ohio, now a state, had only six. Virginia continued to fall in the overall proportion of representatives, declining to 22 in 1820 and 21 in 1830. During that time representation in Ohio increased to 14 in 1820 and 19 in 1830.

The number of representatives was calculated according to population. As has been demonstrated the western counties in Virginia had fewer total inhabitants when slaves were included in the count. Representation calculations included counting three-fifth of the slave population thereby giving the western counties a disadvantage in Congress due to a lower percentage of the 'population to be represented.'

Some values of manufactured goods and agriculture can be seen in the table below; not all values have been abstracted from the east vs. west districts of Virginia or Ohio counties/townships. A few interesting statistics support the growing picture of the variation in the Virginia districts. While the capital investment in or production of many types of goods was not strikingly different, obvious goods like tobacco and cotton, heavily produced in only the east, do stand out. Likewise nearly

all of the distilled spirits were apparently produced in the west. The east far outpaced the west in commercial investment, while the west excelled in sugar and glass production.

Only a few anomalies were found in Brooke County specifically as compared to the entire western part of the state. Although no cotton was produced in Brooke County \$40,000 was invested in manufacturing of cotton/cotton goods. Likewise although no capital was invested in manufacturing facilities, over \$32,000 in fire bricks were produced. Other capital investments in the county were for glass, paper and wool.

Some comparisons between Virginia and Ohio with respect to production are striking given their geographic proximity. While Ohio and Virginia produced roughly equal amounts of cereal grains, for example, Columbiana County produced three times as much as neighboring (much smaller but more agricultural) Brooke County. While a good deal of tobacco was grown in Ohio, none of it was grown in Columbiana County or, for that matter, in Brooke County, Virginia. Ohio produced no cotton but did invest in cotton manufacturing. Ohio produced roughly four times as much sugar as Virginia and had about twice as much livestock. Ohio also had over four times as much capital invested in distilled liquors. Columbiana County had a good deal of capital invested in tanneries and flouring mills. Overall Ohio had 1.5 times the capital invested in manufacturing as did Virginia.

Table 4. Value/quantity of some manufactured goods in Virginia & Ohio, 1840					
1840 Manufacturing	VA East	VA West	Brooke County	Columbian a County	Ohio total
Mines, including coal, capital	\$1,709,860	\$1,313,745	\$3,900 Coal only	\$8,200 Iron and salt	\$1,349,866 Mainly iron
Live stock of all kinds, counts	2,854,465	1,794,380	56,274 Mainly sheep	148,370 Mainly sheep	6,327,741 Sheep/Pigs
Bushels of cereal grains	34,221,695	25,730,725	433,757	1,312,900	66,292,692
Other crops including wool and potatoes - tons/ bushels, etc.	75,660,950 Over 90% tobacco	5,638,064 Abt. 40% tobacco	129,854 Wool/potatoes	369,632 Wool/potatoes	16,564,873 Tobacco/potatoes
Pounds of cotton	3,493,667	816	0	0	0
Pounds of sugar	63	1,541,770	5,614	25,211	6,363,386
Value of dairy & orchard	\$1,238,373	\$947,880	\$14,632	\$7,536	\$2,324,140
Value of home goods	\$1,485,988	\$955,684	\$6,085	\$5,712	\$1,853,937
Capital invested in commerce	\$16,024,316	\$4,959,597	\$87,300	\$437,150	\$25,899,795
Cap. invest. metal manufacturing	\$93,631	\$70,410	(\$32,441 value of bricks/Lime produced)	\$10,800 Stone quarry Fire bricks	\$677,055
Cap. invest. wool manufacturing	\$29,850	\$82,500	\$12,000	\$80,900	\$537,985
Cap. invest. cotton manufacturing	\$1,250,720	\$48,300	\$40,000	0	\$113,500
Cap. invest. tobacco manufact.	\$1,483,926	\$42,160	\$500	0	\$68,810
Cap. tanneries	\$508,862	\$671,236	\$25,100	\$61,795	\$1,574,628
Cap. distilled liquors	\$29,286	\$157,926	\$6,500	\$6,800	\$893,119
Cap. glass manuf.	0	\$132,000	\$30,000	0	0
Cap. paper/printing/binding	\$271,900	\$184,700	\$20,200	\$6,500	\$654,920
Cap. Earthenware	\$3,100	\$7,125	\$1,500	\$2,675	\$43,450
Cap. Mills	\$2,999,108	\$2,185,561	\$109,293	\$143,250	\$4,931,024
Total cap. in manufacturing	\$7,443,024	\$3,917,837	\$250,293	\$346,737	\$16,905,257

Table 5. Chronology of civil entities and events associated federal census records	
1774-76	District of West Augusta was part of Colonial Virginia
1776	Yohogania County, Virginia, was created from District of West Augusta
1780	Ohio County created from Yohogania County, Virginia
1787	Northwest Ordinance/creation of Northwest Territory north of Ohio River
1790	Population schedule included Ohio Co., VA; statistics only survive
1797	Jefferson County, Ohio, was created in the Northwest Territory
1797	Brooke County, Virginia, was created from Ohio County
1800	Population schedule included Brooke Co., VA; statistics only survive
1800	Population sched. enumerated only Washington Co. in the Northwest Territory
1802	Thomas Fawcett platted his proposed town (eventually East Liverpool)
1803	State of Ohio created from Northwest Territory in February
1803	Columbiana County, Ohio, created in March
1810	Population schedule enumerated Brooke Co., VA as a whole
1810	No census done in Ohio or the Northwest Territory
1820	Population schedule enumerated only Wellsburg Twp. in Brooke Co., VA
1820	Pop. sched. enumerated St. Clair & Yellow Creek Twps. in Columbiana Co., OH
1823	William Wells platted his proposed town (Wellsville)
1830	Population schedule enumerated Brooke Co., VA as a whole
1830	Pop. sched. enumerated St. Clair Twp. & Wellsville in Columbiana Co., OH
1833	Wellsville incorporated as a village
1834	East Liverpool incorporated as a village
1840	Population schedule of Brooke Co., VA split off only Wellsburg from Brooke Co.
1840	Population sched. enumerated East Liverpool & Wellsville in Columbiana Co., OH
1848	Hancock County, Virginia, was created from Brooke County
1850	Pop. sched. split New Cumberland, New Manchester, Dist. 26 in Hancock Co., VA
1850	Population sched. enumerated East Liverpool & Wellsville in Columbiana Co., OH
1850	Industry schedule included Columbiana Co., OH
1850	Industry schedule included Hancock Co., VA

Table 5. Chronology of civil entities and events associated federal census records	
1850	Social Statistics schedule included Hancock Co., VA
1860	Population schedule split out only Dist. 1 from Hancock Co., VA
1860	Population sched. enumerated East Liverpool & Wellsville in Columbiana Co., OH
1860	Industry schedule included Hancock Co., VA
1863	West Virginia was created from Virginia
1863	Grant District was created in Hancock Co., West Virginia
1870	Population schedule enumerated Grant District, Hancock Co., WV
1870	Population sched. enumerated East Liverpool & Wellsville in Columbiana Co., OH
1870	Agriculture schedule included Columbiana Co., OH
1870	Industry schedule included Columbiana Co., OH
1880	Population schedule enumerated Grant District, Hancock Co., WV
1880	Population sched. enumerated East Liverpool & Wellsville in Columbiana Co., OH
1880	Agriculture schedule included Columbiana Co., OH

CHAPTER TWO

WELLSVILLE 1850-1880

The aim of this chapter is to provide a detailed history of the town of Wellsville beginning before the actual establishment of the town and proceeding through the study period of 1850-1880. Demographic comparisons presented in this chapter refer only to Wellsville and are used as a way to evaluate the changes within the town rather than as a comparison between Wellsville and the surrounding area.

The town of Wellsville, though platted later than its neighbor East Liverpool, flourished more quickly and in a more regular manner. It did not become the larger of the two towns despite having the benefit of more stable early leadership in the person of founder William Wells. Found in the northwestern corner of the study area, Wellsville will be the first town studied for this project.

One rather lyrical description of the Wellsville area talks of the large level tract of land on which the town sits above the highest river floods, the straight deep river channel, splendid wooded hills, abundant supply of pure soft water from springs and brooks, and the general beauty of the area on both sides of the Ohio River. Wellsville was described as being located midway between the ports of Pittsburgh and Wheeling.¹ A second local author was even more enraptured with the place:

The landscape in and about Wellsville is a living poem of the most enravishing beauty, picturesque beyond description or imagination, and fairer than the most gorgeous vision of Eutopia. It is an earthly paradise ... Across the river rise the sublime hills of West Virginia, and during the summer months, when the foliage is in bud and bloom, the panoramic scene presents the wonder and admiration of travelers ... Nature must have been in a lavish mood when from her gigantic furnaces this locality was fashioned. the surrounding hills are vast storehouses of natural wealth, in stone, clay, coal and

¹ Harold B. Barth. (1926) *History of Columbiana County*. Topeka: Historical Publishing Co., p. 140.

mineral, while the valleys possess a soil that is inexhaustible in fertility.²

A prominent New York newspaperman, author, and expert on coal engineering and mining³ published a travel book in 1855. In it he had this to say about the stretch of the Ohio River between Pittsburgh and Wheeling, which was said to contain many islands:

[This stretch of the Ohio River] is much the wildest and rudest part... The hills are high and steep, the river bottom narrow, and the stream itself rapid and tortuous.⁴

In a description of Columbiana County as a whole, and apparently drawing upon a geological survey of Ohio done by Profs. Edward Orton and J.S. Newberry, we learn the following about the coal and clay deposits in the county:

The clays belonging to this formation are usually arranged in well defined strata ... [referring to the layers of soil a few feet below the surface] ... we find the workable measures of the lower coal series, consisting, through this portion of its area of seven veins, five, and probably six, of which are above the level of the Ohio river at the mouth of the Big Yellow creek, at low water ... the lowest coal measure having any commercial value as coal, in northeastern Ohio, is not more than 150 feet, or 200 feet, below the lowest exposed surface of land in the Ohio river's bed at low water, at the southern corner of the county. [Big Yellow Creek drains into the Ohio River just downriver from Wellsville, about a mile north

² Wallace L. Fogo. (1903) *City of Wellsville in Black and White*. n.p.: Ervin Geffs, Publ. unpaginated.

³ G. M. Downey. "Eli Bowen." *The Semi-Weekly New Era*. 25 November 1908, p. 4, c. 7. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 7 October 2020.

⁴ Ele Bowen. (1855) *Rambles in the Path of the Steam-Horse.: An off-hand olla podrida, embracing a general historical and descriptive view of the scenery, agricultural and mineral resources, and prominent features of the travelled route from Baltimore to Harper's Ferry, Cumberland, Wheeling, Cincinnati, and Louisville*. Philadelphia: Wm. Bromwell and Wm. White Smith, p. 363.

of the Grant District, West Virginia, southern boundary.] Coal No. 6 is the most important of all the coal seams of the Ohio Coal field ... It is the big vein of the Yellow Creek valley, having a thickness of from 4 to 7 feet.⁵

Cranmer's chapter on geology also mentions that the veins of coal, as a general rule, have veins of fire clay running directly beneath them.⁶ This clay would be used for manufacturing sewer pipe, drain tile, ornamental designs, and fire bricks. The clay may have been easier to access in the East Liverpool area as early potters reportedly dug their own clay.⁷ Coal veins in the far southwestern part of the county, near the confluence of Yellow Creek and the Ohio River, had reportedly been worked since at least 1840.⁸

Coal and clay were not the first of the natural resources to be consumed by settlers in the Upper Ohio River Valley. Although by 1790 the abundance of beaver, buffalo, and other animals which supported the fur trade had been sorely depleted, the reports of fur trappers regarding the existence of this game as well as other natural resources available in the Ohio Valley likely continued to encourage western migration.⁹ Certainly the combination of beauty, fertile farmland, water, and minerals must have made this part of Ohio attractive to settlers.

The early depth of the Ohio River, before the era of locks and dams, was not what it is today and by 1811 Zadok Cramer, in his occasional publication "The Navigator" was warning watermen that:

⁵ Gibson Lamb Cranmer. (1891) *History of the Upper Ohio Valley*. Madison: Brant & Fuller, v.2, pp. 62-68. Cranmer acknowledged the state geological reports for the facts and suggestions he put forth on this subject.

⁶ This notion is supported by more modern geological surveys. For more information on this phenomenon see, for example: University of Kentucky. *Kentucky Geological Survey*. <https://www.uky.edu/KGS/coal/coal-mining-geology-clay-veins.php> : accessed 26 October 2020.

⁷ William C. Gates, Jr. (2020) Personal communication. 4 September 2020. Phone conversation about his research for the book, his years as Historian in Ohio, and the pottery industry in East Liverpool.

⁸ William B. McCord. (1905) *History of Columbiana County, Ohio and Representative Citizens*. Chicago: Biographical Publishing Co., p. 32.

⁹ Lippincott, Isaac. (1914) *A History of Manufacturers in the Ohio Valley to the Year 1860*. PhD Dissertation, The University of Chicago, p. 49.

In low water the navigation of the Ohio is difficult to the old Mingo-town, about 75 miles below Pittsburgh.¹⁰

“Mingo-town,” now known as Mingo Junction, is about three miles downriver from Steubenville. It is interesting to note that Mr. Cramer mentions tiny “Faucetstown” (later East Liverpool) as a recognizable landmark as early as 1808.¹¹ Although Thomas Fawcett had platted his town in 1802,¹² it was not a large community for many decades (see the chapter on East Liverpool).¹³ By the time of his 1824 edition (the last) Zadok Cramer’s map of the area near Wellsville had not changed from the earliest edition; it still did not mention Wellsville, though the town had been platted the previous year.¹⁴

In 1824 Congress tasked the US Army Corps of Engineers with improving navigation on the Ohio River. This project included clearing snags and obstructions from the notoriously shallow river. Despite these efforts deep draft boats still could not navigate the Ohio River and shallow draft steamers, piloted by experts, could only use the river after the spring rains or during a wet season. The average



Figure 9. Pottery kiln in Wellsville. Note the steep hill behind the kiln which helps define the northwestern edge of town.

Photo by FDLeYda. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Wellsville_Ohio_Bottle_Kiln_06_2013.jpg : accessed 16 July 2020.

¹⁰ Zadok Cramer. (1821) *The Navigator: Containing Directions for Navigating the Monongahela, Allegheny, Ohio and Mississippi Rivers ; with an Ample Account of These Much Admired Waters, from the Head of the Former to the Mouth of the Latter ; and a Concise Description of Their Towns, Villages, Harbors, Settlements, &c. with Maps of the Ohio and Mississippi ; to which is Added an Appendix, Containing an Account of Louisiana, and of the Missouri and Columbia Rivers, as Discovered by the Voyage Under Capts. Lewis and Clark*. Pittsburgh: Cramer & Spear, p. 22.

¹¹ Zadok Cramer. (1808) *Cramer’s Mississippi Navigator*. Pittsburgh: Zadok Cramer. p. 44.

¹² Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed records, Vol. 1, p. 520. Plat of St. Clair, 5 June 1802. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 26 July 2019. FHL film 92861, image 279 of 669.

¹³ See, for example: Cramer. (1814) *The navigator: ...*, pp. 75 and 80.

¹⁴ Cramer. (1824) *The navigator: ...*, p. 53; Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed records, Vol. 8, p. 309-11. Plat of Town of Wellsville, 11 October 1823. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 26 July 2019. FHL film 926864, image 467-468 of 586.

depth of water during the dry season on the Ohio River was only about one foot between Pittsburgh and Cincinnati.¹⁵

The locks and dams now existing along this stretch of the Ohio River have increased the depth of water around Wellsville and East Liverpool to an average of about 30 feet. The actual depth still varies greatly, ranging from about 2.5 feet to 61.5 feet.¹⁶ The current locks and dams also serve to keep the water depth constant through dry periods as well as floods. Existing locks and dams in the study area were all constructed well after the study period ended.¹⁷ There were some older water control facilities built as early as 1893 (and no longer in place) which still post-dates the study period.¹⁸ The importance of the depth of water on the Ohio River is primarily as it relates to ease of transportation (mainly of goods) up and down the river to larger towns and cities.

One author who grew up in Wellsville makes note of a high point of ground between Wellsville and East Liverpool, noting that this cliff rose 500 feet above the river at the far north end of Wellsville.¹⁹ This hill is clearly visible on modern satellite photographs which show a steep road cut where Ohio State Route 39/7 runs along the river. The grade on either side of this hill back down to the elevation of the riverbank is around 15%. Slopes of over 15% are considered steep by today's standards, and suitable only for limited agriculture or low density residential housing.²⁰ This may be the same 'remarkable rocky cliff' that was mentioned by

¹⁵ US Army Corps of Engineers. *Pittsburgh District, District Civil Works, Navigation*. <https://www.lrp.usace.army.mil/Missions/> : accessed 8 October 2020; US Army Corps of Engineers, Pittsburgh District. (1987) *Montgomery Locks & Dam, Ohio River*. Pittsburgh: USACE, Pittsburgh District. [pamphlet]

¹⁶ US Army Corps of Engineers. *Ohio River Navigation Charts*. <https://www.lrp.usace.army.mil/Portals/72/docs/navigation/OhioRiverNavigationChart.pdf> : accessed 9 October 2020; US Army Corps of Engineers. *Pittsburgh District. Hydrographic Survey Data*. <https://www.lrp.usace.army.mil/Missions/Navigation/Navigation-Charts/HydrographicSurveyData/> : accessed 9 October 2020. See Mile 44-48.

¹⁷ Lock Master DiMattio, Montgomery Locks & Dam. (2019) Personal conversations. August.

¹⁸ US Army, Corps of Engineers, R. Ralston Jones. (1929) *The Ohio River.: Charts, Drawings, and Description of Features Affecting Navigation*. Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office.

¹⁹ Nathan J. Morrison. (1987) *Life and Times in Wellsville, an Ohio River Town*. Baltimore: Gateway Press, Inc., p. 5.

²⁰ Lehigh Valley Planning Commission. *Steep Slopes*. <https://lvpc.org/pdf/SteepSlopes.pdf> : accessed 26 October 2020.

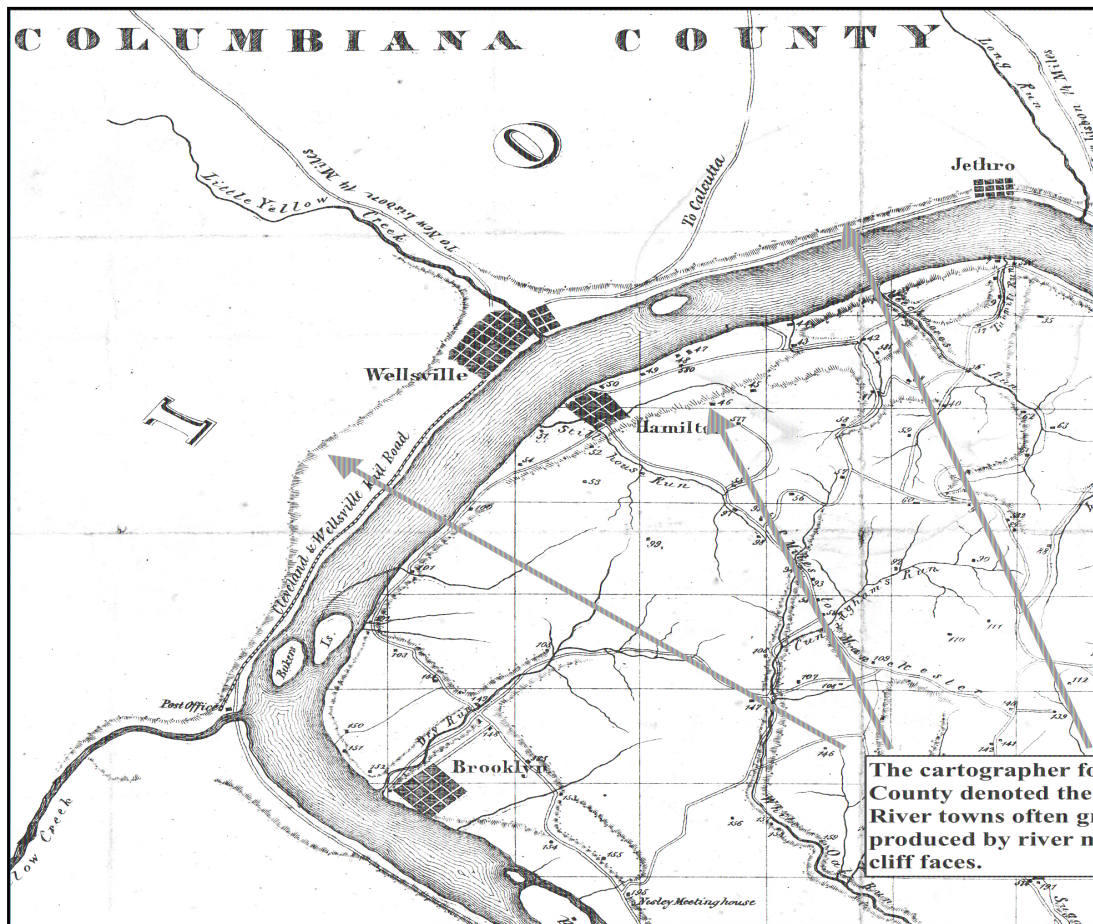


Figure 10. Ohio River topography - note steep hillsides rising behind Wellsville and (East) Liverpool as recorded in 1852.

Source: n.a. (1852) *Map of Hancock County Virginia, 1852*. Additions by author.

Cuming in about 1808; he noted it was about two miles downriver from “Faucetstown.”²¹

The steepness of some of the hills surrounding Wellsville may have been a constricting factor when it came to expansion. Topographic maps illustrate what a visitor to the area will readily recognize. Wellsville lies on a fairly level bench of land approximately 20 feet above the current water level of the Ohio River. The town itself never exceeds about a half mile in width, and backs up to a steeply rising hill which forms the northwestern boundary of the town. To the far northeast is the

²¹Fortesque Cuming. (1904) *Cuming's Tour to the Western Country (1807-1809)*. Cleveland: A. H. Clark, p. 103.

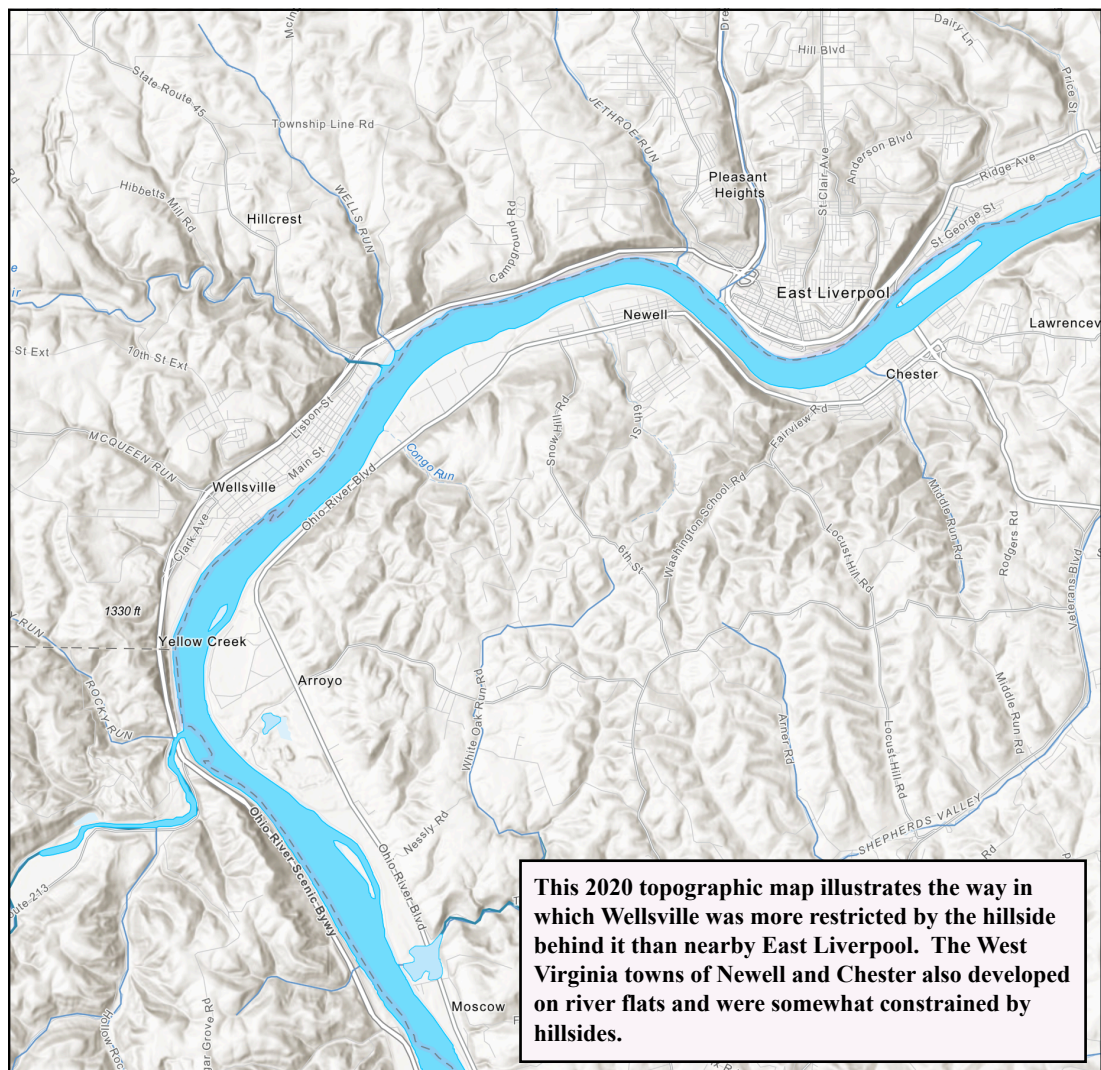


Figure 11. 2020 map of the study area showing current towns and topography.
Source: Basemap data from <http://www.esri.com> public data sources. Copyright © 1995-2021 Esri.
Scale approximately 1:100,000. Map creation by author.

beginning of the slope to the hilltop mentioned by Morrison, and to the far southwest the town is constrained by a steep hill which extends down to the river.²²

One traveler, writing in the early 1840s, made this favorable comparison of Wellsville with its neighbor East Liverpool and took note of these hills:

... Wellsville, a larger and an older place,
with less of area for extension, but with fine

²² US Geological Survey. (1960) *Wellsville Quadrangle*. USGS Topographic Map Series, Wellsville, Ohio-W.VA. 1:24,000. Washington, D.C.: US Geological Survey. For an interesting look at how geography and historic events influenced the development of large cities, see: Library of Congress. Ed Redmond, author. *Mapping a World of Cities*. <https://blogs.loc.gov/maps/2020/09/mapping-a-world-of-cities/?locrl=eamap> : accessed 14 December 2020.

wooded hills rising immediately behind the town ...²³

These hillsides were recorded on an 1852 map of Hancock County which showed the locations of the towns of Wellsville, Jethro and Liverpool, as well as the proposed town of Hamilton in Hancock County. Although Wellsville was eventually “hemmed in” by the hillside to the northwest, East Liverpool grew up the hillside to its north, as shown in the 2020 map. (See Figure 11.)

In the fall of 1785 US Geographer Thomas Hutchins recruited eight surveyors to carry out the survey of the first Seven Ranges of land (in Ohio) implementing the rectangular survey system of land division; one of those recruited was Robert Johnston.²⁴ In May 1796 the Fourth US Congress adopted an Act which called for the surveying and sale of lands as yet not surveyed or sold in the territory northwest of the river Ohio, and above the mouth of Kentucky River. The Act also revised slightly the methodology used in the original early surveys under Geographer Hutchins.²⁵ It was after this Congressional Act that small land speculators and individual farmers (as opposed to larger land speculation companies) began purchasing land in the far northeastern portion of these previously surveyed Seven Ranges of Ohio where the study area is located.

In April of 1788 when Gen. Arthur St. Clair (the first Governor of the Northwest Territory) was still in office, the county of Washington, Ohio, was defined as including most of the eastern part of the state of Ohio. In July of 1797 (after the Land Act of 1796) Jefferson County was set off from Washington and this county originally included what is now Columbiana County. Immediately after statehood, at the first session of the new state legislature in 1803, Columbiana County was created from Jefferson County. St. Clair Township (which included the land where East Liverpool was platted) was laid out in 1803, and Yellow Creek Township (which

²³ James Silk Buckingham. (1842) *The Eastern and Western States of America*, Vol. 2. London : Fisher, p. 238.

²⁴ C. Albert White. (1983) *A History of the Rectangular Survey System*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, p. 17.

²⁵ Library of Congress. *Statutes at Large. 4th Congress, Session I, Chapter 29*. <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/statutes-at-large/4th-congress/session-1/c4s1ch29.pdf> : accessed 16 December 2020.

included the land where Wellsville was platted) was laid out in 1806. The county seat for Columbiana was later fixed at New Lisbon, which is about 15 miles to the northwest of Wellsville and East Liverpool.²⁶

Prior to 1820 there were few non-native settlers in the area that is now Wellsville. Many early white settlers near this part of the Columbiana County study area were Scottish farmers living in Yellow Creek Township (of which Wellsville originally was a part).²⁷ In April of 1788 the above mentioned surveyor Robert Johnston purchased portions of Section Four and Section Five in Range Two, Township Nine of the original Ohio Seven Ranges.²⁸ He may have received a discount on the cost as partial payment for his federal government surveying services on the Seven Ranges.

Available published county and local histories were consulted for information about Columbiana County and either Wellsville or East Liverpool in particular. Most talk about the early land purchases in this area as well as naming the first postmaster, first store owner, and so on. What these histories generally lack is the benefit of direct observation of the situation by the author. Being published in some cases over 100 years after the actions described they also cannot often rely on eye-witness accounts of any of these events, and rarely cite any evidentiary material for the “firsts” they



Figure 12. “Plat of The Seven Ranges of Townships” in eastern Ohio- study area in upper right corner.

ThomasHutchins, William Barker & Mathew Carey. (1785) *Plat of the seven ranges of townships being part of the territory of the United States, N.W. of the River Ohio*. Scale: four miles per inch (bar printed). Philadelphia: Matthew Carey. Collection: Library of Congress Geography and Map Division control no. 99441743.

²⁶ McCord, *History of Columbiana County*, ..., p. 40-44.

²⁷ Barth, *History of Columbiana County*, p. 140.

²⁸ Robert Johnston (Columbiana County) credit entry file, Washington D.C. Land Office; Records of the Bureau of Land Management, RG 49, Washington, D.C.; digital images at <https://www.glorerecords.blm.gov>. Accession CV-0001-048 and -049.

propose. Nonetheless, these are sometimes all the record that is available. Some of the claims of the local historians will be offered here along with any more direct

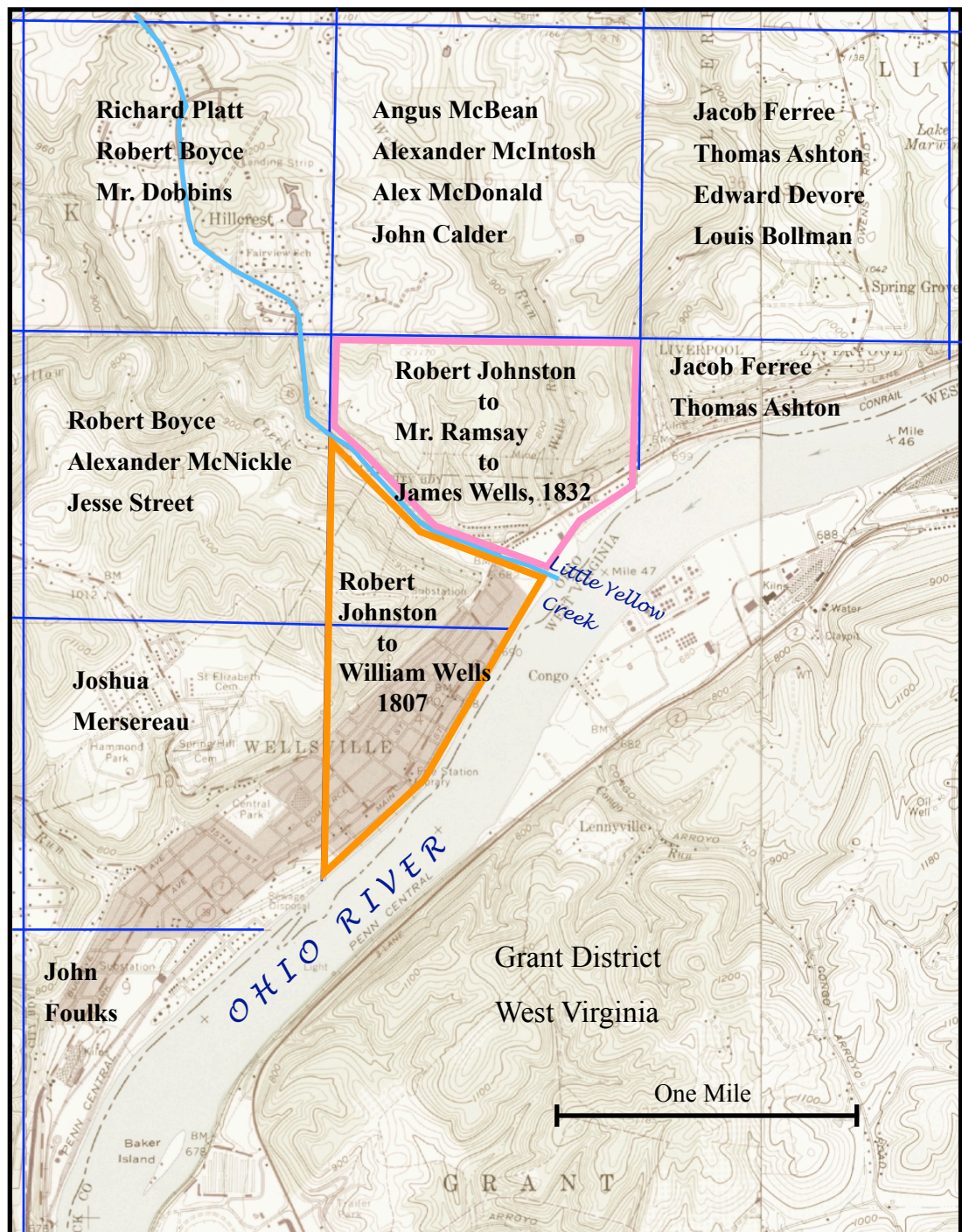


Figure 13. Early landowners near Wellsville.

Map by author. Basemaps: USGS 7.5' quadrangles of Wellsville, West Point, East Liverpool North and East Liverpool South. Further information here: https://pubs.usgs.gov/circ/1341/pdf/circ_1341.pdf : accessed 26 January 2021.

evidence found either to corroborate or refute their claims.²⁹

The local published histories agree that in about 1795 surveyor Robert Johnston sold 304 of his 770 acres in Sections Four and Five to James Clarke of Washington Co., Pennsylvania; this was the land on which Wellsville was later established. There were said to be squatters on this land - Richard Vaughn and his son-in-law George Clarke - who had erected a log cabin for themselves. Vaughn and his son-in-law reportedly left this land after it was purchased by Clarke. There were several other squatters in this area, reportedly including James Watson and George Hill; these and other unknown farmers tilled the land during day then crossed the river to the government blockhouse on the Virginia side at night.³⁰ No other record of Vaughn in Ohio has been found during this time; he may have been the Richard Vaughn enumerated in Washington County, Pennsylvania, on the Ohio border, in 1790.³¹ There are records of a James Watson and a George “Hall” living in the Northwest Territory in 1800,³² and both names appear several times in the 1790 census of the western counties of Pennsylvania.³³

The story of Johnston’s sale of land to Clarke in 1795 has not been corroborated, as available deed books in Columbiana County begin in 1798.³⁴ In that year Robert Johnston sold about 310 acres directly to William Wells who was then living in Washington Co., Pennsylvania, (orange outline in Figure 13). Several deeds of sale between Clarke and Wells during this time are somewhat vague, and may have included either land swaps or temporary sales between the two. By 1807

²⁹ A rather dusty explanation of the evaluation process of these types of historical claims is offered by: Marc Bloch. (1949) *The Historian’s Craft*. New York: Vintage Books. See particularly Chapter II. An explanation crafted for genealogists (based on evidence evaluation) is found in Board for Certification of Genealogists. (2019) *Genealogy Standards, Second Edition*. Nashville: Turner Publishing Co. See sections 37-50.

³⁰ McCord, *History of Columbiana County*, ..., p. 342.

³¹ Census Records. USA. Washington County, Pennsylvania. 2 August 1790. VAUGHN, Richard (head). Roll: M637_9. p. 173. www.ancestry.com : accessed 16 Aug 2019.

³² Census Records. USA. Northwest Territory, Ohio Territory, Washington Co. 4 August 1800. WATSON, James (head). www.ancestry.com : accessed 16 August 2019. [index entry only]

³³ For example: Census Records. USA. Portion Taken From Washington, Allegheny, Pennsylvania. 2 August 1790. WATSON, James (head). Roll: M637_9. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 25 January 2021; Census Records. USA. Washington, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania. 2 August 1790. HALL, George (head). Roll: M637_9. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 25 January 2021.

³⁴ FamilySearch. *Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881; index, 1798-1969*. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/248169?availability=Family%20History%20Library> : accessed 10 December 2020.

William Wells was in control of the plot of land that would eventually become Wellsville.³⁵

William Wells received a commission as justice of the peace in July of 1797 from Arthur St. Clair, the governor of the Territory Northwest of the Ohio.³⁶ While performing his duties in this office Wells was involved in local court cases including that of Chief White Eyes in nearby West Point.³⁷ Wells was not the only early landowner in this area. Lands eventually in the Wellsville area adjoining that of the original purchaser, Robert Johnston, were granted under federal sale to Joshua Mersereau (downriver to the southwest), and below him John Foulks. Robert Johnston himself retained title to the northeastern portion of Section 5, which fell outside and to the northeast of the eventual town of Wellsville. Jacob Ferree purchased the section northeast of Wells and Johnston along the Ohio River. Robert Boyce of Columbiana Co., Jesse Street of Brooke Co., and Alexander McNickle of Pittsburgh purchased in the section directly west of William Wells. Some other early nearby landowners included Robert Dobbins, John Hickman, Alexander McDonald and John Calder who all owned land in the area northwest of William Wells.³⁸

Published histories also note that settlers (though not necessarily land owners) were found along Yellow Creek to the west of current Wellsville where a salt-boiling industry had developed. Salt springs or “licks” were abundant in the Ohio River Valley; the proximity of one of these resources would have been a draw to settlers who intended to mine the salt for sale.³⁹ Among these Yellow Creek

³⁵ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed Records, Vol 1, p. 514. Johnston to Wells, 8 February 1798. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. (<http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 22 Jul 2020. FHL film 926861, image 276 of 669. [Also found transcribed in the Jefferson County Deed Records, Bk. A, p. 24.] Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed Records, Vol 1, p. 515. Wells to Clark, 8 February 1798. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 22 Jul 2020. FHL film 926861, image 276 of 669. Also Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed Records, Vol 1, p. 219. Clark to Wells, 21 May 1807. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 22 July 2020. FHL film 926861, image 116 of 669.

³⁶ McCord, *History of Columbiana County*, ..., p. 343.

³⁷ Fogo, *City of Wellsville in Black and White*, unpaginated.

³⁸ Original land grants are available from the BLM: US Department of the Interior. Bureau of Land Management. *General Land Office Records*. <https://glorerecords.blm.gov/search/default.aspx#searchTabIndex=0&searchByTypeIndex=0> : accessed 25 November 2020. Deeds to land in Columbiana County begin in about 1798. The original deed books are available digitally. FamilySearch. *Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881; index, 1798-1969*. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/248169?availability=Family%20History%20Library> : accessed 10 December 2020.

³⁹ Lippincott, *A History of Manufacturers in the Ohio Valley to the Year 1860*, pp. 16-17.

settlers was reported land purchaser Jacob Nessley of Virginia, who gave the land to his son Jacob to settle. Nessley was an important early contributor to the development of the Grant District of Hancock County, directly across the river (see the chapter on Grant District).⁴⁰

Not all of the above mentioned original landowners lived in the area. Owners of land immediately adjacent to what developed into early Wellsville were Jacob Ferree, Joshua Mersereau and Robert Johnston.⁴¹ Ferree lived in Allegheny County, Pennsylvania and Mersereau in Tioga County, New York.⁴² Ferree died within a few years of his land purchase and in 1809 his land was sold by his heirs to Thomas Ashton of St. Clair Township, Ohio. Mersereau sold his land in 1801 and by 1804 the section that later became part of Wellsville was owned by Daniel Swearingen of Brooke County, Virginia. Robert Johnston retained ownership of the land adjoining that of William Wells until his death; his executor sold it in 1830 and in 1832 it was purchased by William's son James.⁴³ With the exception of Wells and Swearingen, these families were not found in the later records.

Most local histories mention either "Robert S. Killinger" or "Robert Skillinger" as being the first boat builder in the area in around 1816. He reportedly built flatboats before the era of steam, but also laid the hull of the early Ohio steamboat *Robert Thompson*. Flat-boats were still in use even after the advent of steam⁴⁴ but these boats were used for down-river trade only, being broken up for lumber upon reaching their destination. Keel-boats travelled in both directions,

⁴⁰ Lou Martin. (2015) *Smokestacks in the Hills: Rural-Industrial Workers in West Virginia*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, p. 15.

⁴¹ US Department of the Interior. Bureau of Land Management. General Land Office Records. Record for Jacob Ferree, Credit Volume Patent, 5 October 1808. <https://glorerecords.blm.gov/search/default.aspx> : accessed 25 January 2021; US Department of the Interior. Bureau of Land Management. General Land Office Records. Record for Joshua Mersereau, Credit Volume Patent #70, 5 September 1788. <https://glorerecords.blm.gov/search/default.aspx> : accessed 25 January 2021.

⁴² *Ibid* (Ferree); Census records. USA. Union, Tioga County, New York. 4 August 1800. MENERSAN [Mersereau], Joshua (head). Roll: M32_24. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 25 January 2021.

⁴³ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed records, Vol. 2, p. 134. Ferree to Ashton, 7 June 1809; Vol. 1, p. 523. Mersereau to Saloman, 7 February 1801; Vol. 1, p. 5. Salmon to Swearingen, 29 May 1804; Vol. 21, p. 412. Bard [exr.] to Ramsey, 5 April 1830; Vol. 21, p. 414. Ramesy to Wells, 18 August 1832. Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 20 May 2020

⁴⁴ Horace Mack. (1879) *History of Columbiana County Ohio, with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches, Some of its Prominent Men and Pioneers*. Philadelphia: D. W. Ensign, Co., pp. 276-279.

being either pushed or pulled when moving upstream.⁴⁵ Production of steamboats emerged as an industry at about the time Skillinger was reportedly a resident and probably would have been a more lucrative industry for him than flatboats.⁴⁶

In 1815 William Wells and his son James reportedly built a sawmill in the township of Yellow Creek and by 1817 had established a ferry on the Ohio River and constructed a warehouse for the storage of goods for transport along the river. William Wells initially retained the use of his land primarily for the support of his own family (likely primarily through farming) and did not lay out his town until 1820, nearly 25 years after he had purchased the property. He began selling lots to the public in about 1825.⁴⁷ The first federal census records available for this part of Ohio are from 1820.⁴⁸ Yellow Creek Township, in which Wellsville was founded, was enumerated in 1820; Wellsville proper was not enumerated until 1830.⁴⁹ William Wells and his son James were enumerated in 1820 in Yellow Creek Township.⁵⁰

The 1820 census recorded some, but not all, of the above mentioned families actually living in the area. Government surveyor Robert Johnston probably never lived on his Columbiana County land, as he was not found on any early census of the area. If Daniel Swearingen and Robert Skillinger had businesses in the area, they apparently did not live nearby. Neither was located on the 1820 or 1830 Yellow Creek census, but in 1819 Daniel Swearingen did pay taxes on land he owned which

⁴⁵ Lippincott, *A History of Manufacturers in the Ohio Valley to the Year 1860*, p. 57.

⁴⁶ Ohio History Connection. *Steamboats*. <http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Steamboats> : accessed 22 August 2020.

⁴⁷ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed Records, Vol. 8, p. 309-311. A Plat of the Town of Wellsville, 8 October 1823. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 20 May 2020. FHL film 92864, images 467-68 of 586. The original plat drawing is here. Early deeds for property in Wellsville begin in 1825: Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed Records, Vol. 9, p. 214; deeds from William Wells to purchasers continue into Vol. 44, through the year 1850.

⁴⁸ William Thorndale and William Dollarhide. (1987) *Map Guide to the U.S. Federal Censuses, 1790-1920*. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., pp. 268-69.

⁴⁹ See: U.S. Federal Census Collection. <https://www.ancestry.com/search/categories/usfedcen/> : accessed 8 December 2020. Search decades of 1820 and 1830, state of Ohio, Columbiana County, Township of Yellow Creek (1820) and Wellsville (1830).

⁵⁰ Census records. USA. Yellow Creek Township, Columbiana County, Ohio. 7 August 1820. WELLS, James (head) and William (head) Roll: M33_91. p. 47-48. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 4 May 2021.

was located west of the Wellsville area in Columbiana County.⁵¹ Daniel may have actually lived across the river in Brooke County, Virginia, where a man by that name was found on later census enumerations.⁵²

No Robert Skillinger (boat-maker) was found on Ohio census or tax lists of this time but a Daniel Skillinger was found living in Yellow Creek in 1820.⁵³ This may have been the same Daniel Skillenger (or perhaps his son) who in 1850, at age 65, was still working as a ship carpenter just across the Pennsylvania border in Beaver County.⁵⁴ Or perhaps historians misremembered his name, and “Daniel” was actually the early ship builder in Wellsville.

A Jacob “Neasly” was found living in Yellow Creek Township in 1820 and the Nesslys did purchase considerable land in the area.⁵⁵ A Thomas “Aston” was found living in St. Clair Township where East Liverpool is now located.⁵⁶ Other nearby land owners Alexander McNickle and Robert Dobbins were not found on any early censuses of the area. These men may have bought the land for speculation purposes, or may have been renting it to someone else to farm, or they may have been farming the land themselves but living outside Columbiana County.

John Foulks, who originally purchased the land at what would be the far southern end of Wellsville probably lived in St. Clair Township in 1820.⁵⁷ He was not located on any later census enumeration in the study area and there was no deed

⁵¹ Columbiana County, Ohio. Tax Records. SWEARINGEN, Daniel, 1819. Collection: *Tax Records, 1816-1838*. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/236331?availability=Family%20History%20Library> : accessed 11 December 2020. FHL film 476488, image 425 of 441.

⁵² Census records. USA. Wellsburg, Brooke County, Virginia. 7 August 1850. [SWEARINGEN, Danl.] Roll: M33_132. p. 95 & 96. [partially alphabetized] <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 20 July 2020; Census records. USA. Brooke County, Virginia. 1 June 1830. SWEARINGEN, Daniel. Roll: M19_139. p. 189. [partially alphabetized] <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 20 July 2020.

⁵³ Census records. USA. Yellow Creek, Columbiana County, Ohio. 7 August 1820. SKILLINGER, Daniel (head). Roll: M33_91. p. 47. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 15 Aug 2019.

⁵⁴ Census records. USA. Freedom, Beaver County, Pennsylvania. 1 June 1850. SKILINGER, Daniel (head). Roll: M432_750. p. 213B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 15 Aug 2019.

⁵⁵ Census records. USA. Yellow Creek, Columbiana County, Ohio. 7 August 1820. NEASLY, Jacob (head). Roll: M33_91. p. 48. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 20 July 2020. Several deeds of land to Jacob Nessley [Jr.] from Jacob Nessley were found in what is Township 9, Range 2. The lands were in sections 8 and 14, where Yellow Creek empties into the Ohio River, and directly across the river from his father's large landholdings in what was then Virginia.

⁵⁶ Census records. USA. St. Clair, Columbiana, Ohio. 7 August 1820. ASTON, Thomas (head). Roll: M33_91. p. 7. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 15 July 2020.

⁵⁷ Census records. USA. St. Clair, Columbiana, Ohio. 7 August 1820. FULKS, John (head). Roll: M33_91. p. 7. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 15 July 2020.

of sale found from him for this land; he may have died and the land was disbursed in his probate. Jesse Street was found living in the area, probably on his own land, beginning in 1830.⁵⁸ Other early land owners who seemed to have stayed in the area from the time of their land purchase through the 1840 census included Robert Boyce, Alex McDonald, John Hickman, and William Wells.⁵⁹

What this tells us about the early settlement of the area probably had more to do with the practice of land speculation at this time than it did with transience of land owners. Some purchasers, like Johnston, Mersereau and probably Richard Platt (first owner of the Boyce/Dobbins land), likely never had any intention of leaving their homes in Pennsylvania or New York. They purchased western land relatively cheaply from the federal government in the hopes of making a profit later when settlers began moving west. Others, like William Wells, were true “pioneers” in the sense that they moved their families west into the youngest and sometimes most dangerous part of the country.

This early period of settlement was a time of clearing the ground for home building and planting, the use of simple (sometimes handmade) tools, home manufacture of most food and clothing, and little excess from farm production. Isolated farms and homesteads forced settlers to be self-reliant. The period between 1790 and 1830 was a time of economic growth in the United States and the Ohio Valley was not exempt. Immigration to the upper Ohio Valley began to increase after about 1800; manufactured items from Pittsburgh and Cincinnati in particular were becoming available in towns along the Ohio River by about 1810⁶⁰ and the availability of these goods likely made the prospect of settlement in “the wilderness” more palatable to some migrants.

Wells himself was an industrious pioneer, determined to see his family and eventually his town, succeed; his entrepreneurial spirit undoubtedly gave Wellsville a

⁵⁸ Census records. USA. Yellow Creek, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1830. STREET, Jessey B. (head). Roll: M19_128. p. 375. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 15 August 2019.

⁵⁹ Census records. USA. Wellsville and Yellow Creek, Columbiana, Ohio. 1 June 1840. Various surnames. Roll: M704_386.

⁶⁰ Lippincott, *A History of Manufacturers in the Ohio Valley to the Year 1860*, pp. 52-53.

good foundation for town formation.⁶¹ Wells was known as a charitable and kind man, strictly honorable, and was respected for his integrity. He resided in Wellsville until his death in April of 1852.⁶² Wells undoubtedly profited personally from his land speculation. Rather than merely retaining his riverfront property as farmland, or developing it for river access and shipping, he platted it as the town of Wellsville. Over the years the sale of his town lots greatly increased his fortune, far outstripping the price he originally paid for the land.

Columbiana County as a whole was very productive agricultural land. Farmers grew various grains and vegetables and planted fruit orchards. A great deal of livestock was raised and the area was a leading wool producer by the late 1840s. Salt mining was productive in the early years of settlement.⁶³ These agricultural generalizations by local historians obviously apply mainly to the rural areas rather than to the early towns. However the county and local histories also tell us that common types of businesses had begun to open in the town of Wellsville well before 1850.

One example of these early business ventures is that of Sanford C. Hill who was said to be the owner of the first store in 1814; Hill was later to become a prominent resident of and key proponent in the development of East Liverpool.⁶⁴ Hill was found to be living in St. Clair Township by 1820.⁶⁵ Early stores mentioned by historians may have operated at least partially on the barter system. Nearby farmers would bring what they had to sell (likely home-manufactured goods such as woolen cloth, beeswax, feathers, furs, etc.) and trade for items they could not produce themselves such as tea, coffee, or white sugar. Farmers could have their corn or wheat ground at a local mill, and even whisky was obtained by exchange at the local still.⁶⁶

⁶¹ Mack, *History of Columbiana County Ohio*, ..., pp. 276-279.

⁶² Fogo, *City of Wellsville in Black and White*, unpaginated. Further information on the family of William Wells is found in Appendix 2.

⁶³ Barth, *History of Columbiana County*, pp. 66-67.

⁶⁴ Mack, *History of Columbiana County Ohio*, ..., pp. 276-279.

⁶⁵ Census records. USA. St. Clair, Columbiana County, Ohio. 7 August 1820. HILL, Sanford (head). Roll: M33_91. p. 9. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 15 August 2019.

⁶⁶ Lippincott, *A History of Manufacturers in the Ohio Valley to the Year 1860*, p. 63.

The first store ‘... of any magnitude ...’ was reportedly opened by Feehan & Shearman of Pittsburgh, probably John J. Feehan and Oliver P. Shearman. John J. Feehan was reportedly the first postmaster in the Wellsville area, beginning in 1816.⁶⁷ He was not located on any census of the area until 1830 when he was enumerated in Yellow Creek Township.⁶⁸ He began paying tax on land in Yellow Creek Township beginning in about 1827;⁶⁹ Feehan purchased additional land in the township in 1831, and part of a lot in Wellsville in 1833.⁷⁰ Feehan had sold much or all of his land by 1835⁷¹ although he appeared on the Ohio tax rolls until 1838.⁷² No record was found for him in the area after that date. Oliver P. Shearman married William Wells’ daughter Ann, probably between 1820 and 1825.⁷³ He was not enumerated in Yellow Creek or Wellsville before 1840⁷⁴ and in 1850 was a shoe merchant in Wellsville.⁷⁵

Local histories report that George Wells (probably the second son of William) constructed a large warehouse on the riverfront, presumably for storage of goods being shipped on the river, and ran a large freight shipping business. An early steamboat builder in Wellsville was reported to be Robert Ralston. In addition to

⁶⁷Mack, *History of Columbiana County Ohio*, ..., pp. 276-279.

⁶⁸ Census records. USA. Yellow Creek, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1830. FEEHAN, John (head). Roll M19_128. p. 373a. www.familysearch.org : accessed 20 August 2019.

⁶⁹ Columbiana County, Ohio. Tax Records. FEEHAN, John, 1827. Collection: Tax records, 1816-1838. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 15 July 2020. FHL film 476491, image 71 of 742. Feehan’s land was in Range 2, Township 9; this was Yellow Creek Township.

⁷⁰ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed Records. Grantee Index Vol. 1 A-G 1798-1897, p. 137. FEEHAN, John. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 20 May 2020.

⁷¹ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed Records. Grantor Index Vol. 1 E-K 1798-1897, p. 137-38. FEEHAN, John. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 20 May 2020.

⁷² Columbiana County, Ohio. Tax Records. FEEHAN, John, 1838. Collection: Tax Records, 1816-1838. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/236331?availability=Family%20History%20Library> : accessed 11 December 2020. FHL film 476500 image 109 of 400.

⁷³ Fogo, *City of Wellsville in Black and White*, unpaginated.; Testamentary records. USA. 19 May 1852. WELLS, William. Collection: Probate records, 1803-1890; index to files (appearance dockets), 1803-1940. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 7 May 2020. FHL microfilm 927752, images 500-501 of 654. ‘Will brought to court.’

⁷⁴ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1840. SHERMAN, [Elwin] Oliver P. (head). Roll: M704_386. p. 202. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 15 July 2020.

⁷⁵ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1850. SHERMAN, Oliver P. (head). Roll: M432_669. p. 160A. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 30 January 2019. This census gives Ann’s birth as approximately 1802 and her oldest child (at home) as about 1826, and her marriage date is estimated from this information.

Hill's store, there was a tavern (Jonathan Whittaker) as early as 1800, a lumber yard (Allen McDonald), a blacksmith (John Robbins), and a physician (McLean) by about 1812.⁷⁶ All of these men except Whittaker were located on census records at some point between 1820 and 1840.

James Wells, oldest son of William Wells, was said to have been a "waterman" for part of his life and also the pilot of the first organized ferry across the river in about 1814. Given the reports of very early farmers tilling their fields in Ohio and returning to Virginia to the government blockhouses in the evenings, the only way across the river before this 1814 ferry might have been personally owned rafts. James Wells lived his entire life in Columbiana County, and had gone into farming by 1840.⁷⁷

If the George Wells noted above was the son of William, he would have been about 27 in 1820⁷⁸ and could have been the 26-45 year old male in William Wells' household on that census.⁷⁹ He began purchasing land from his father about two years after the lots in Wellsville went up for sale, and eventually had purchased about 35 lots. George later sold these lots in whole or in part to others.⁸⁰ George was located on the 1830 census of Wellsville in his own household.⁸¹

No record was found on the Ohio census for reported early steamboat builder Robert Ralston until 1840,⁸² but there was a man named "Rolston" living in Beaver County, Pennsylvania, in 1820. This man was engaged in "Manufactures."⁸³ The

⁷⁶ Mack, *History of Columbiana County Ohio*, ..., pp. 276-279.

⁷⁷ Census records. USA. Yellow Creek, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1840. WELLS, James (head). Roll: M704_386. p. 208. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 15 July 2020.

⁷⁸ Deaths (CR) USA. Wheeling, Ohio County, West Virginia. 13 August 1889. WELLS, George. Collection: West Virginia Department of Arts, Culture and History, Death Records. http://www.wvculture.org/vrr/va_dcsearch.aspx : accessed 11 December 2020. Age at death given as 96.

⁷⁹ Census Records. USA. Yellow Creek, Columbiana County, Ohio. 7 August 1820. WELLS, William (head). Roll M33_91. p. 48. www.ancestry.com : accessed 16 August 2019.

⁸⁰ These deeds and indexes are available digitally: FamilySearch. *Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881; index, 1798-1969*. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/248169?availability=Family%20History%20Library> : accessed 10 December 2020.

⁸¹ Census Records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1830. WELLS, George (head). Roll M19_128. p. 379 www.ancestry.com : accessed 16 August 2019.

⁸² Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1840. RALLSTON, Robert (head). Roll: M704_386. p. 202. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 21 July 2020.

⁸³ Census records. USA. Little Beaver, Beaver County, Pennsylvania. 7 August 1820. ROLSTON, Robert (head). Roll: M33_96. p. 157. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 21 July 2020.

1850 census returned a “Boat Builder” named Robert “Ralston” and enumerated him living with his family in Yellow Creek Township.⁸⁴ This Robert was only 50 years old in 1850; he was possibly the 16-25 year old man living with the Robert “Rolston” enumerated in 1820.

The difficulty in verifying the claims of these local historians is certainly not unique to this area. Traditions regarding the first landowner, first shopkeeper, first blacksmith, etc. abound in local histories. Although land records for this area begin quite early, not all residents actually purchased the land they lived on. Census records for the area do not begin until 1820, after many of the recorded early events took place, and many of the individuals named as “firsts” did not reside in the area long enough to be captured by a decennial census. Where the records do not exist to either verify or disprove the stories of these early settlers, they must be left as we find them - legends.

Although the 1820 census of Yellow Creek Township returned 117 families and over 700 individuals, many were probably immigrant (often Scottish) farmers who never moved into the town of Wellsville.⁸⁵ Several local histories mention 1828 as the year Wellsville began to develop beyond just a few scattered buildings⁸⁶ but this characterization does not really fit with the occupations reported by residents in the township eight years earlier. On the 1820 census occupations were very broadly categorized rather than specifically described. Of the 195 individuals engaged in any occupation in Yellow Creek Township in 1820, 137 were in agriculture (as would be expected) but 58 were engaged in occupations related to manufacturing.⁸⁷ Some of these individuals may have been working in the above discussed boatyards, potteries and mills.

⁸⁴ Census records. USA. Yellow Creek, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1850. RALSTON, Robt. (head). Roll M432_669. p. 155a. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 20 August 2019.

⁸⁵ For a good discussion of this population see : Amanda Epperson. (2002) *‘I wish they were all here’: Scottish Highlanders in Ohio 1802-1840*. PhD thesis, University of Glasgow. The town itself did not yet exist in 1820.

⁸⁶ Henry Howe, LL.D. (1907) *Historical collections of Ohio in two volumes. An encyclopedia of the state*. Cincinnati: State of Ohio, v.1., p. 464.; Barth, *History of Columbiana County*; Isaac Harris. (1837). *Harris’ Pittsburgh Business Directory for the year 1837*. Pittsburgh: Isaac Harris, p. 294.

⁸⁷ Census records. USA. Yellow Creek, Columbiana County, Ohio. 7 August 1820. All residents. Roll: M33_91. p. 86-92. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 15 July 2020.

William Wells recorded his plat for the town of Wellsville in October of 1823. The original layout called for 76 lots of varying sizes and four large “out lots” along the north edge.⁸⁸ Long after the development of the town, farming continued to prevail as the primary occupation in the surrounding townships. This was true in both Yellow Creek and St. Clair Townships. External demands for the goods produced on these farms was likely met by local entrepreneurs who built grist-mills for grinding the locally grown grains as well as ship-yards and warehouses to facilitate trade and transportation to markets outside the immediate area.

Several factors appear to have led to the prosperity and growth of Wellsville prior to 1850, but geography was probably key. One vital asset necessary for the development of a community is transportation in and out for both goods and people. The Ohio River was the most obvious (and initially the only) method of transportation in and out of Wellsville. The river was supplemented in 1814 by a horse and wagon track or “mud turnpike” leading north to Lisbon. This connection led to increased business for Wellsville, where a river port was located, as it eased the difficulties inherent in getting produce to market over unimproved roads. Wellsville’s heyday as a river shipping port was said to be from about 1832-1842, when it was the only town of any size on this stretch of the Ohio.⁸⁹ Harold Barth, in his history of the area, says this shipping heyday lasted until as late as 1852 when the arrival of the railroad increased the availability of shipping options.⁹⁰ (The history of the first railroad in the area is given in the Early East Liverpool chapter.)

William Wells, as the founder of Wellsville, was said to be quite active in his sponsorship of wagon roads that would connect “his” town with inland Ohio towns and thence north to Cleveland and the Great Lakes. Wellsville supposedly lies at the point where the Ohio River comes closest to Lake Erie,⁹¹ although looking at a

⁸⁸ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed Records, Vol. 8, p. 309-311. A Plat of the Town of Wellsville, 8 October 1823. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 20 May 2020. FHL film 92864, images 467-68 of 586. The original plat drawing is here.

⁸⁹ Mack, *History of Columbiana County Ohio*, ..., pp. 276-279.

⁹⁰ Barth, *History of Columbiana County*, p. 142.

⁹¹ Edgar S. Davidson. (n.d.) *Before the Memory Fades*. Wellsville: The Wellsville Historical Society. p. 6.

modern map the difference in direct overland distance to Lake Erie between Wellsville and East Liverpool is negligible. However, this “fact” might have been used in promoting Wellsville as a road terminus over East Liverpool (then Fawcettstown).

In addition to the 1814 mud road another road was originally planned in 1825 from Cleveland through Lisbon to the Ohio River; when the original East Liverpool developers failed to secure the contract, George Wells and Henry Aten of Wellsville made the investment personally and the road was laid to Wellsville. This resulted in a doubling of Wellsville property values within about two years.⁹² As noted above Wellsville already had daily steamboat packets traveling back and forth to Pittsburgh, and a stage connection with Fairport, on Lake Erie. Although the railroad did not reach Wellsville until after 1850, plans were underway much earlier for construction of a line from Cleveland. The 1844 committee formed to promote this line was attended by William Wells’ son, Joseph. Although it was anticipated that the rail line would be finished by 1851, the first train did not arrive until a year later.⁹³

The wide use of river transportation in the area was also a stimulus to the boat building industry and those industries which supported it. Boat builders needed lumber, rope, iron fittings, tar, etc. Eventually they began to demand pottery products for plumbing and doorknobs, cabinet work and general hardware such as hinges.⁹⁴ When these goods could be produced locally a boat builder was able to pay less for their purchase. The advent of the steamboat as a larger vessel not only assisted with transporting more immigrants into the area, but also called attention to the need for canals and smaller vessels which would use these canals to transport travelers to the interior.⁹⁵

The location of Wellsville on the Ohio River was thus unquestionably a huge factor in its early success. By 1850, boat builders had been at work in Wellsville for over 30 years. As noted above, trade along the river was brisk for several decades

⁹² Davidson, *Before the Memory Fades*, p. 6.

⁹³ Mack, *History of Columbiana County Ohio*, ..., p. 283.

⁹⁴ Lippincott, *A History of Manufacturers in the Ohio Valley to the Year 1860*, p. 55.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.

before 1850, with Wellsville a stop for loading, unloading, and storage of freight going both upriver towards Pittsburgh, and downriver towards Wheeling.

Merchandise was then transported inland to points between the river and Lake Erie.

However, the same attributes of river location also applied to upstream East Liverpool. In the case of Wellsville the impact had by the town founder on the greater early success of his town as compared to its eastern neighbor was reinforced by an East Liverpool historian. William C. Gates, Jr. noted the enthusiastic support of William Wells himself as a factor in the early success of his town. Not only was he a prime supporter of roads to Wellsville, he was also more proactive in promoting and selling his town lots than was the (then Fawcettstown) founder.⁹⁶ A travel writer offered this promising report of Wellsville in 1837:

Wellsville, a post village in Yellow Creek township ... [has] three forwarding and commission houses, 1 wholesale grocery, 1 steam saw mill, 1 air foundry, 1 steam flouring mill; besides other manufacturing and mercantile establishments; ... a boat yard and an extensive engine establishment ... There are two steam packets which ply daily ... a mail steam boat ... two regular daily lines of stages ... The trade of Wellsville for a year or two past, has probably been unprecedented, for towns of its size. ... This town is selected as the permanently located point for the termination of the Wellsville and Fairport rail road ... There can be no doubt of its being the best landing on the northern shore of the Ohio, between Pittsburgh and Cincinnati, and the only port within the county of Columbiana affording business facilities for the river trade.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ William C. Gates, Jr. 1984. *The City of Hills & Kilns, Life and Work in East Liverpool, Ohio*. East Liverpool: The East Liverpool Historical Society, p. 13.

⁹⁷ Warren Jenkins. (1837) *The Ohio Gazetteer, and Traveler's Guide: containing a description of the several towns, townships and counties, with their water courses, roads, improvements, mineral productions ... with an appendix, or general register* ... Columbus: Isaac N. Whiting, p. 468.

A Pittsburgh business directory for 1837 listed Wellsville, saying it had ‘... one of the finest, and most commodious natural landings on the river ...’ but that ‘The present facilities for the transportation of merchandise and goods, are entirely inadequate to the demand ...’ This directory listed three clergymen, three forwarding and commission merchants, two wholesale grocers, eleven other merchants, four physicians and six hotels. Also listed were a steam engine maker, a stoneware manufacturer, an iron founder and a tallow chandler.⁹⁸

The population of Wellsville in 1837 was reported by the above directory at about 1,000 individuals, though that was an obvious exaggeration as the census of 1840 enumerated only 760 residents.⁹⁹ The Wellsville firms listed were said to be importing groceries and dry goods from places such as Pittsburgh. Such goods included raisins, salt, tobacco, yarn, spices, sperm oil, cordage, tea and coffee, Marino shawls, molasses, fish and cheese. Several merchants were purchasing wool, wheat and flour.¹⁰⁰ The annual export of flour was estimated in excess of 30,000 barrels and the weekly transportation of all merchandise in and out of the port estimated at 80-120 tons. In addition to flour, major exports included cheese, butter, bacon and wool.¹⁰¹ The town was beginning to be self-supporting.

Unlike its neighbor East Liverpool, the pottery business in Wellsville never flourished; in about 1817 John Kountz was making redware east of town and in 1826 Joseph Wells began producing similar ware.¹⁰² Joseph, son of William Wells, eventually produced both redware and stoneware in his shop which was in business from about 1826-1856.¹⁰³ The bulk of the pottery industry in this area developed in East Liverpool, then moved to Hancock County, West Virginia, before the present day. Another early and persistent business was the foundry of Bottenberg and Geisse

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ Harris, *Harris' Pittsburgh Business Directory for the year 1837*, p. 293. The total population in Wellsville in 1830 was about 170 and in 1840 was about 760. Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio.

¹⁰⁰ Davidson, *Before the Memory Fades*, p. 7.

¹⁰¹ Harris, *Harris' Pittsburgh Business Directory for the year 1837*, p. 293.

¹⁰² W. A. Calhoun. (n.d.) *Early Clay Industries of the Upper Ohio Valley*. [manuscript] East Liverpool: Carnegie Public Library, p. 31.

¹⁰³ Stout, W. (1923) ‘History of the Clay Industry in Ohio.’ *Bulletin of the Ohio Geological Survey*, 4(26), p. 14; Harris, *Harris' Pittsburgh Business Directory for the year 1837*, p. 294. This directory mistakenly called him “S. Wells.”

which began in 1836 and was listed in the 1837 Pittsburgh Directory as Geisse & Boltenberg. Also known as the Fulton Foundry, it was sold in 1870 and was subsequently known as the Stevenson Company.¹⁰⁴

Churches were being organized in the Wellsville area by about 1800 when the First Methodist Episcopal Church, organized by Rev. John Callahan, was meeting in the house of William Wells. The Presbyterians appeared in the same year under the leadership of Rev. George Scott; this congregation met at the house of George Welhelm on the Virginia side of the river. The summer seasons saw Presbyterian ministers holding worship in tents and in the schoolhouse during winter. The Methodists were the first to build a dedicated house of worship (in 1833) on a lot donated by William Wells. At about the same time the Presbyterians built a brick house of worship on the riverbank in Wellsville.¹⁰⁵ In 1843 the First Christian Church was organized by Martin Mahlon; this congregation had also begun by meeting in a schoolhouse. They built their first church in 1845 on land donated by William Wells.¹⁰⁶ Several other denominations also established congregations in Wellsville during its early days.

Wellsville provided educational facilities for its own children and possibly for those from across the river as well. Supplementing the available grade schools were at least three privately run academies. These academies appear to have been run by the local Methodist and Presbyterian ministers.¹⁰⁷

The 1830 census, the first which specifically enumerated Wellsville, returned 30 families and a total population of 167.¹⁰⁸ Of those 30 heads of household only six were recorded as having purchased lots from William Wells prior to 1830. Six more of these named residents purchased lots in Wellsville within the next few years, meaning that 40% of the residents of Wellsville in 1830 eventually purchased their

¹⁰⁴ Barth, *History of Columbiana County*, p. 143; Harris, *Harris' Pittsburgh Business Directory for the year 1837*, p. 294.

¹⁰⁵ Barth, *History of Columbiana County*, p. 141.

¹⁰⁶ Fogo, *City of Wellsville in Black and White*, unpaginated.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 144-145.

¹⁰⁸ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1830. All residents. Roll M19_128. p. 379-380. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 16 August 2019.

land.¹⁰⁹ No occupational categories were captured on this census. In 1830, over 20% of the population of Wellsville was made up of young men between the ages of 20 and 30, another 12% young women in the same age group. There were no men on record over the age of 50, and no women over the age of 70. It was a young population. There was a total of 34 children in Wellsville under the age of five, but only 13 between the ages of five and ten. This likely says more about the youth of their parents than it does about the rate of infant/childhood mortality. There was only one black resident in Wellsville on the 1830 census, a young man living in the household of A. G. Richardson.

The Village of Wellsville was incorporated on 6 February 1833, nearly ten years after Wells initially laid it out.¹¹⁰ Although two authors give the incorporation date as March of 1848, this may actually be the date the village was advanced to a town.¹¹¹ The record for this 1848 date was not found by the Ohio State official who supplied the 1833 date.¹¹² The earliest mayor mentioned in any history was John Feehan, who was also said to be the first postmaster. As noted above, Feehan was reportedly postmaster by 1816 before Wellsville existed.

Other officials reported elected in March of 1833 were John Kneff (recorder), and Trustees A.D. Richardson, Joseph Wells, J.A. Riddle, Allen McDonaldson, and John Stewart. In April, at the first council meeting, George Wells was appointed town marshal, and committees were formed to address health and fire watch.¹¹³ The men on the above town council were all found on census records of Wellsville or Yellow Creek with the exception of John Kneff (although he did pay taxes); no

¹⁰⁹ These deeds and indexes are available digitally: FamilySearch. *Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881; index, 1798-1969*. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/248169?availability=Family%20History%20Library> : accessed 10 December 2020.

¹¹⁰ Barth, *History of Columbiana County*, p. 142; Davidson, *Before the Memory Fades*, p. 8; Mack, *History of Columbiana County Ohio*, ..., p. 279; Valerie Bunting. (2019) Personal communication. Email to author attaching a list of city mayors and managers from 1974 that included the incorporation date. 9 October.

¹¹¹ McCord, *History of Columbiana County*, ..., p. 342; Fogo, *City of Wellsville in Black and White*, unpaginated.

¹¹² Valerie Bunting. (2019) Personal communication. Email. 9 October.

¹¹³ Davidson, *Before the Memory Fades*, p. 8.

corroboration could be found for Davidson's claim that Feehan was mayor in 1833, nor any other record of this early town council.¹¹⁴

Wellsville had its own newspaper beginning in about 1834 with Lewis Caton's *Wellsville Advertiser* or *Commercial Advertiser*. Caton sold out to Joshua Hart in 1836 who continued the paper only until the presidential election of that year. The town was without a newspaper until 1840 when A. McBane founded *The Wellsville Patriot*; William L. Clarke, former assistant to Lewis Caton, purchased that paper in 1842.¹¹⁵ He published the paper for over 20 years, first as the *American Patriot* then as the *Wellsville Patriot*.¹¹⁶ Even before the demise of Clarke's paper in 1864, William Foster began publishing the *Wellsville Union*. This paper was sold in 1872, but continued publication. Several other papers were published for a few years only including the *Wellsville Local* which lasted only from about 1868 to 1870.¹¹⁷ No issues of any Wellsville papers prior to February of 1853 were located during this research. Although Barth states that editor Clark (actually Clarke) was a strong Democrat who objected to Lincoln's conduct of the war, no blatant evidence of anti-Union sentiment was found in the paper through about May of 1864, the last issue available to this researcher.¹¹⁸ Davidson reports that Clarke ceased printing in 1863, while Barth says he continued until 1866.¹¹⁹

Several other newspapers were published in Wellsville after Clarke left the area. William George Foster published *The Weekly Union* from about 1863 to 1892.

¹¹⁴ Mack, *History of Columbiana County Ohio*, ..., p. 279. Mack, writing probably in the mid-1870s, stated that all these early town records had been lost up to 1855; Barth, writing probably in the mid-1920s, makes no mention of early mayors. Davidson provided no source citations in his book, written probably in the 1970s. He often seemed to have information found nowhere else.

¹¹⁵ Barth, *History of Columbiana County*, p. 148; Cranmer, *History of the Upper Ohio Valley*, v.1, p. 45.

¹¹⁶ Mack, *History of Columbiana County Ohio*, ..., p. 283. Mack gives the ending publication date as 1866; this is disputed by both Davidson (pg. 9) who gives the end date as 1863, and the Library of Congress record for this paper, which gives the end date as 1864. Library of Congress. *About The Wellsville patriot. [volume] (Wellsville, Ohio) 1850-1864*. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85026325/> : accessed 11 December 2020; Library of Congress. *About American patriot. (Wellsville, Ohio) 1844-1850*. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn91069914/> : accessed 14 December 2020.

¹¹⁷ Cranmer, *History of the Upper Ohio Valley*, v.1, pp. 45-46.

¹¹⁸ *The Wellsville Patriot*. Scattered issues of the weekly publication available on microfilm from the Ohio History Connection library. These date from 15 February 1853 through 17 May 1864.

¹¹⁹ Whatever the case, Davidson at some point had access to early issues of the *Patriot*, and he abstracted a bit of news beginning in 1847.

Wellsville.”¹²³ An ad for “vermin exterminators” is likewise somewhat divisive in its wording with the *Union* version claiming the poison is available from “Wm. Bright And all the Druggists in Wellsville, O.” while the *Patriot* version says only “Sold by Wm. M. Hamilton, Druggist, Wellsville Ohio.”¹²⁴ One is left to wonder if Mr. Hamilton was a friend of editor Clarke or perhaps paid extra for his ads.

Despite the population estimate made in 1837 of about 1,000 residents¹²⁵ the 1840 census of Wellsville recorded a total of only 759 individuals occupying 152 households; this still represents nearly a five-fold increase in both numbers over the 1830 census. Wellsville was still a young population, with over 25% of the individuals recorded being between the ages of 20 and 30. Another 22% of the population was children under the age of five. As with 1830, only about half that number were children in the next age group (5-10), and this is again possibly more a function of the youth of their parents than of excessive childhood mortality. Older people were more numerous in 1840 than ten years earlier, with 25 individuals over the age of 50, the oldest being in the 80-90 year old range. There were twelve black residents enumerated in 1840, ten of whom were living in their own households.¹²⁶

The number of schoolchildren was recorded as a total in 1840; for Wellsville, there was one schoolhouse recorded with 130 students, and a second with 175 students. No pensioners were recorded, nor were any persons with disabilities noted. The distribution of occupations was heavily skewed toward manufacturing. As with the 1820 census occupations were not listed individually, but were grouped this time into these seven categories: Mining, Agriculture, Commerce, Manufacturing, Naval/Ocean, Naval/Canal, Professional/Engineering. There were 184 individuals recorded as working; it is possible that some (usually men) were working in occupations that did not fit in any of these categories, but probably not many as these categories were

¹²³Jones & Evans. ‘Dyspepsia.’ *The Wellsville Union*. [?] March 1864. p. 3, c. 5; Hamilton, Wm. M. ‘Dispepsia.’ *The Wellsville Patriot*. 17 May 1864. p. 3, c. 3.

¹²⁴Wm. Bright. “‘Costar’s’ Vermin Exterminators.” *Wellsville Union*. 21 April 1864. p. 3, c. 4; Henry B. Costar. “‘Costar’s’ Vermin Exterminator.” *The Wellsville Patriot*. 17 May 1864. p. [?], c. 4.

¹²⁵ Harris, *Harris’ Pittsburgh Business Directory for the year 1837*, p. 293.

¹²⁶ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1840. All residents. Roll M704_386. p. 199-204. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 15 July 2020.

meant to be all-inclusive and anyone working would be assigned to one of the categories. Of the 184 working individuals in Wellsville in 1840, 106 were working in manufacturing of some kind. An additional 30 were working in commerce, and 24 were naval/canal workers.¹²⁷ It is possible that any women working for pay were not recorded.

Travelers on the Ohio River sometimes stopped at Wellsville as there was a wharf. One writer, despite making a generally favorable comparison of Wellsville to East Liverpool, made this rather scathing remark as well:

As the ascent over the steep bank [of the Ohio River] is by a long ladder of substantial wooden steps, lying on the slope, at an angle of about 45 degrees, making the passage up rather fatiguing and tedious, some enterprising citizen has profited by this obstacle to speed intercourse with the town, and moored himself in a floating store, just at the spot where the steamboats touch, hanging out the sign of "Entertainment," and keeping a bar-room, with supplies of tobacco and liquors, for those to whom habit has rendered these poisons agreeable. ... Here, drunken and dissipated men are seen congregated, making themselves still more brutal, from the facility of supply thus placed within their reach ...¹²⁸

It is probably not surprising that no record was found of this "floating store" in the published histories or even the newspapers. On a more positive note, a glimpse of civic pride, if perhaps misguided in its enthusiasm, was supplied by reports of the "crack military company" known as the Wellsville Light Artillery. This group of about 50 men was organized in 1844 by the then-mayor, Henry Cope. Not surprisingly, he was duly elected a captain in the company. A branch of the state militia, this group reportedly had one gun (a twelve-pound Napoleon) and "snappy"

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ Buckingham, *The Eastern and Western States of America*, Vol. 2, p. 239.

uniforms of white striped pants, red coats, and fancy plumed hats. They paraded at general musters and civic celebrations for a total of about eight years. Though at one point they were ordered to take the field in the Mexican War, an unfortunate outbreak of peace robbed them of their only real chance for military glory.¹²⁹ Their leader, Henry Cope, later appeared on the 1850 census of Wellsville; a merchant of some type, he owned property worth about \$3,000.¹³⁰

Local news from Wellsville in 1847 (as abstracted by Davidson) included reports on the progress of the Cleveland & Pittsburg railroad; they were expecting to extend from the state line (with Pennsylvania) to Wellsville. The “coming of the cars” or the steam horse, was overshadowed by news of the telegraph. Local resident Richard Aten was contracted to furnish poles for some of the expected lines. By about August of 1847, editor Clarke no longer had to depend on the daily Pittsburgh papers for his outside news; he received news by telegraph.¹³¹

The local news from 1848 was much more extensively abstracted by Davidson (or perhaps he had more issues of the *Patriot* at his disposal). He noted the organization of churches and businesses (including pottery works), the opening of banks, increased river traffic, hope of the railroad, construction projects, a new school and a new institute, mail service, several fires and local elections. Social news was also covered to some extent. Several parties were given, lectures offered, Fourth of July was celebrated, an Odd Fellows hall organized, the circus came to town, a theatrical company strolled through, and emigration parties to the gold fields in California were organized. A local debate pondered whether foreigners ought to be allowed the right of suffrage, and a second debate wondered if temperance had produced more injury in the United States than slavery.

Some oddities found in Davidson’s newspaper extractions of this time period included mention of place names - “Valley of Jehoshaphat” was thought to be a creek bed running along the base of the hill northwest of town. “Texas” was a term used

¹²⁹ 155th Anniversary Celebration Committee. (1950) *Souvenir Program*. Wellsville: n. pub. East Liverpool: Museum of Ceramics.; Barth, *History of Columbiana County*, p. 437.

¹³⁰ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1850. COPE, Henry (head). Roll: M432_669. p. 149a. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 2 Nov 2018.

¹³¹ Davidson, *Before the Memory Fades*, pp. 10-11.

by editor Clarke to refer to any place outside of Wellsville proper. The location of Hamilton's tailor shop at "Hole in the Corner" on Water Street could not be found. Also interesting was an ad for schoolteachers in rural Madison and Yellow Creek townships requesting someone who could teach a wide variety of subjects including 'reading, writing, arithmetic, English grammar, geography, geometry, trigonometry, natural philosophy, bookkeeping and algebra.'¹³²

The decade of the 1840s closed on a positive note in Wellsville. Several men left town for the California gold fields. Another new educational academy was organized, offering classes to both men and women. Construction was brisk, ferry boats were being built, local businesses were expanding. The hopes of the possible railroad connection were growing. A Masonic Lodge opened. The circus came through again.¹³³

An 1841 map of Columbiana County, Ohio, shows Wellsville and a few other Ohio towns lying along the north side of the Ohio River. Wellsville is one of the larger towns in the area, stretching about one-half to three-fourths of a mile along the river; it was about one-quarter mile wide. This map is not sufficiently detailed to determine the names of residents or businesses in the various towns. Large landowners are labeled and the names are familiar from the earlier history of the area - Wells, Aten, Street, Foulks, Boyce, etc.¹³⁴ A second map, published in 1852 (the year the railroad arrived), has some detail of these small Ohio towns. By this point Wellsville was shown straddling Little Yellow Creek



Figure 15. Portion of Columbiana County, 1841.

Source: J. P. Willard. (1841) *Map of Columbiana County Ohio*. No scale given. [Salem?]; Lewis Vail Esq. Collection: Library of Congress Geography and

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 11-14.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 14-15.

¹³⁴ Willard, J. P. (1841) *Map of Columbiana County Ohio*. No scale stated. Salem?: Lewis Vail Esq. Library of Congress Geography and Map Division. Control no. 201286252. <https://lcn.loc.gov/2012586252> : accessed 14 December 2020.

and appeared somewhat larger.¹³⁵ No published maps specifically of Wellsville have been found for this time period.

After their recitations of notorious “firsts” in the area, county histories and state histories which included the area around Wellsville seemed to shift their focus to more categorical descriptions such as talking

about the major industries, lists of soldiers, prominent citizens, etc. This style makes a chronological reporting of events in Wellsville more difficult to extract from these sources. Additional information which bolstered the chronology of the town was acquired using other sources already described - census and land records, newspaper reports, vital records, etc.

By the time of the 1850 census the population in Wellsville had grown to 1,505.¹³⁶ This figure was nearly double the enumerated 1840 population. Wellsville had become a small town, thriving and optimistic as many small towns were in that time. The scant early records discussed above describe a town that was becoming a center for local and regional transportation of both people and manufactured goods and crops. It was connected to the larger cities by steamboat, newspaper, and telegraph. The small town values of hard work, self-control and religious participation were evidenced by the development of churches and local civic groups. Businessmen were primarily local entrepreneurs rather than operators from distant

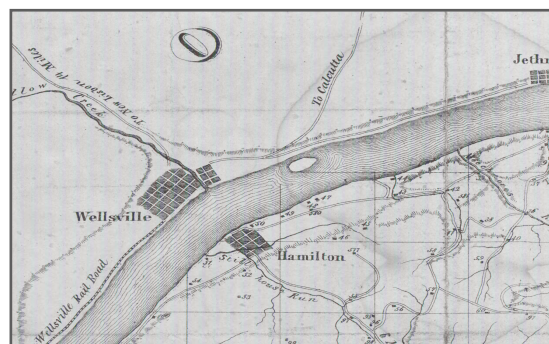


Figure 16. Portion of an 1852 map of Hancock County, Virginia - note the several towns along the Ohio River.
Source: n.a. (1852) *Map of Hancock County Virginia*, 1852.

¹³⁵ Author unknown. (1852) *Map of Hancock County Virginia*, 1852. Scale bar. Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division. Control No. 2006626015. <https://www.loc.gov/item/2006626015/> : accessed 11 December 2020.

¹³⁶ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Ohio, Columbiana, Wellsville. 1 June 1850. Roll: M432_669. p. 162A. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 11 December 2020.

cities.¹³⁷ The newspapers reflected a feeling of community, of togetherness, and social order.¹³⁸

Further analysis of the 1850 census enumeration sheets as well as the recap produced by the enumerator for the area can give us a glimpse into the kinds of trades being followed by 1850. Women who worked for pay were not recorded on the 1850 census; while they may not have been common, they almost certainly existed. Only working males over the age of 15 were recorded. Hence, any children who may have worked for pay were also not counted.¹³⁹ While these facts may not materially affect the overall picture of employment in Wellsville in 1850, they should be taken into account as the omission of these workers makes the picture incomplete.

On the 1850 census 386 males over the age of 15 had a recorded occupation other than “student.” By far the greatest percentage of those men reported being laborers - almost 16% of the working population of Wellsville worked at unspecified labor jobs. It is possible that some of these men were working at agricultural labor in the surrounding rural areas and returning home at night. However given the timing of the arrival of the first railroad into Wellsville within two years of this census enumeration, it is also possible that some of these laborers were working on this project. Most specified occupations related to the railroad on this census included more skilled jobs such as “contractor” or “agent” rather than general laborers.

The pottery industry was in its infancy in the area (more particularly in nearby East Liverpool) and some few of these men may have been working at potteries. Workers in more skilled professions were usually described as such, for example “iron moulder,” or “brick layer.” Men who were working on the river boats were usually called “boatman” or “wharf boatman.”

A large number of men were working in the various building trades in 1850 and some of these may have been general laborers. About 21% of working men in

¹³⁷ For information on this model see, for example: Timothy R. Mahoney. (2003) ‘The Small City in American History,’ *Indiana Magazine of History*, 99(4), pp. 311-330; John Jakle. (1999) ‘America’s Small Town/Big City Dialectic,’ *Journal of Cultural Geography*, 18, pp. 1-27. Records of Wellsville, discussed above, demonstrate how the town fit this model.

¹³⁸ Davidson, *Before the Memory Fades*, pp. 10-15

¹³⁹ University of Minnesota. *Occupational Coding in the 1850 Public Use Microdata Sample*. <https://usa.ipums.org/usa/volii/85occtc.shtml> : accessed 14 December 2020.

Wellsville were occupied in the skilled building trades as brick layers, carpenters, cabinet makers, painters, plasterers, stone masons, and related building occupations.¹⁴⁰ This number of men apparently devoted to the construction of buildings and houses implies, if not a growing population, at least a stable population with enough capital to finance this construction. The heyday of river commerce had apparently not yet ended, the anticipation of the railroads was in the air, and the town was continuing to grow.

An editorial published by William Clarke in January of 1848 seemed still (in 1850) to reflect the character of the town:

The interests of Wellsville are commercial and to promote commercial advantages of the place is the aim of our paper. By so doing we promote the best interests also of the agricultural men around us. ... we have labored zealously in favor of the contemplated railroad ... Many families have been added to our population ... buildings ... have risen on every hand.¹⁴¹

In addition to the building trades specified on the 1850 census, Wellsville had a wide variety of other tradesmen working in the town that year. There were eleven tailors and eight tobacconists reported on this census as well as a watch maker, a cigar maker, a brewer, and a confectioner. Clearly the townspeople had at least some disposable income with which to purchase beer, sweets and smokes. The river trade was hardly extinct - Wellsville supported three boat builders, a steamboat agent, and fifteen boatmen. A stage agent and twelve drivers, as well as nine wagon makers and a livery, attested to the continued presence of overland transport. Most town merchants were not identified with a specialty; while three butchers, four druggists and four grocers were identified, 33 men were classified as simply “merchant.”

¹⁴⁰ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1850. Roll: M432_669. pp. 144a-161b. <http://www.familysearch.org> and <http://www.ancestry.com>. Transcribed by author in about 2014.

¹⁴¹ Davidson, *Before the Memory Fades*, pp. 11-12.

In addition to the merchants specified on the 1850 census, newspapers of the 1850s carried advertising for a growing variety of merchants. As early as 1853 Wellsville merchants were selling boots and shoes, general groceries and hardware, patent medicines, books, stoves and farm equipment, clothing and hats, insurance, porcelain, land, guns, saddles and wagons, wallpaper, even imported marble.¹⁴²

The federal census Products of Industry schedule for 1850 is extant and includes Yellow Creek Township (and Wellsville by extension). Manufacturing operations producing at least \$500 worth of goods in one year were enumerated.¹⁴³ Twelve firms were recorded on this census; the owners of ten of them lived in Wellsville. The names are familiar from local histories and were often seen in the available newspaper advertising - Smith, Geisse, Riddle, Goodman, Aughenbaugh. These larger firms included one tanner, two iron foundries, two sawmills/boatyards, two wagon/coach makers, a cabinet maker, a tobacconist, and a pottery. Owners of the two flour mills lived in Yellow Creek. Together these twelve firms employed 71 men and produced goods valued at over \$102,000.¹⁴⁴ This equates to about \$3.4 million in 2021 dollars.¹⁴⁵

Doctors and dentists advertised in the newspaper as did attorneys, druggists, exchange/shipping agents, hoteliers, and bankers. The 1850 population census expanded the record of the number and kind of these services available to residents. Nine physicians were enumerated as being in residence at Wellsville, three attorneys, a barber, a dentist, blacksmiths, a gunsmith, three each of preachers, school teachers and shoemakers. There were five hotel keepers in town.¹⁴⁶

There was apparently a bank in Wellsville to assist with all this trade. "D. & D. McDonald" (probably Duncan and Daniel) reportedly ran a private bank in

¹⁴²*The Wellsville Patriot*. A few issues were available from 1853, 1854, 1858 and 1859. Obtained on microfilm from The Ohio History Center Museum, Archives and Library in Columbus.

¹⁴³ The National Archives. *Non-population Census Records*. <https://www.archives.gov/research/census/nonpopulation#mfg> : accessed 14 December 2020.

¹⁴⁴ Census records. USA. Yellow Creek, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1850. Products of Industry Schedule. Roll: T1159_2. p. 167. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 23 October 2018.

¹⁴⁵ Ian Webster. *CPI Inflation Calculator*. <https://www.officialdata.org/1850-dollars-in-2021?amount=1> : accessed 14 December 2020.

¹⁴⁶ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1850. Roll: M432_669. pp. 144a-161b. <http://www.familysearch.org> and <http://www.ancestry.com>. Transcribed by author in about 2014.

1848-49. This was followed by the private bank of “Hoffstart & Co.” (probably Gideon N. Hoffstart) from 1850-52.¹⁴⁷ Davidson stated that the original bank was owned by McIntosh & McCullough (possibly John S. McIntosh and J. N. McCollaugh) and that the original location of this bank was in the “Whitacre House hotel” at Fourth Street and Riverside.¹⁴⁸ Mr. Whitacre himself did not appear on the 1850 census in Columbiana county; however, an 1858 newspaper ad did mention the “Whitacre House” and T. W. Whitacre, proprietor. This advertisement stated that Whitacre had taken over from Capt. Way;¹⁴⁹ Benjamin Way did appear as a hotel keeper on the 1850 census, and perhaps the bank was actually located in his establishment. A list of hotels advertising in the newspapers of 1850 did not include a hotel by the name of Whitacre House.¹⁵⁰

Though easy for us to forget in the modern age citizens of Wellsville in 1850 had to rely on oil lamps (rather than electricity) to light their houses. Natural gas was first supplied to Wellsville in 1872 or 1873; there was no street lighting before this time. Electric lighting did not appear until 1885 and the first telephone exchange did not arrive until 1899. A reliable public water system was probably in place no earlier than 1880.¹⁵¹

In its 17th year as an incorporated village (1850) Wellsville was governed by Mayor Alexander McLaughlin. McLaughlin had been elected mayor in or before 1848 (earlier village records have apparently been lost) and served through 1852. He was assisted by a recorder and five trustees.¹⁵² McLaughlin was age 62 in 1850, probably retired (as he listed no occupation on the census), and a landowner originally from Scotland. His recorder, Nathan Walker, was a druggist from Ohio. The trustees appeared to be businessmen, merchants and a boat builder. They were

¹⁴⁷ Mack, *History of Columbiana County Ohio*, ..., p. 285.

¹⁴⁸ Davidson, *Before the Memory Fades*, p. 11.

¹⁴⁹ ‘Whitacre House.’ *True American*. 1 September 1858, p. 5, c. 3. <http://www.genealogybank.com> : accessed 14 December 2020.

¹⁵⁰ Davidson, *Before the Memory Fades*, p. 15.

¹⁵¹ 155th Anniversary... *Souvenir Program*; Mack, *History of Columbiana County Ohio*, ..., p. 285.

¹⁵² Fogo, *City of Wellsville in Black and White*, unpaginated.

of middle age, from 36 to 50, four of the five were land owners. With the exception of one other Scot, the trustees were born in Ohio or neighboring states.¹⁵³

1850 was the year Wellsville built its first dedicated school building. Although consisting of only seven rooms it was built to accommodate 500 pupils. This school was one of the first in the state built after the passage of the Union School law which established graded schools. Although the first superintendent was reportedly a Mr. Parsons,¹⁵⁴ he did not appear on the 1850 census; three school teachers were enumerated on that census in Wellsville, all men. School officials' pay in the late 1860s and early 1870s was about \$35 a month for male teachers and \$38 a month for female teachers; superintendents earned between \$700 and \$1,000 a year. By the end of the study period, the pay structure more closely mirrored what is seen today with male teachers earning more (\$42) than their female counterparts (\$33). These wages were low (\$35 in 1880 is worth about \$885 in 2020)¹⁵⁵ and fairly static at an average of about \$35 per month through the reported period of 1872-1888.¹⁵⁶

Churches abounded in this part of the country. Yellow Creek Township, being largely settled in the rural areas by Scottish Presbyterians, had several churches of that denomination by 1850. In the town of Wellsville itself a variety of denominations took hold and were in evidence by 1850 including the First Presbyterian under the direction of James C. Campbell,¹⁵⁷ a Methodist Episcopal church originally organized at the home of William Wells in 1800,¹⁵⁸ a Methodist Protestant church originally organized at the home of Joseph Wells in about 1830,¹⁵⁹

¹⁵³ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1850. Roll: M432_669. pp. 144a-161b. <http://www.familysearch.org> and <http://www.ancestry.com>. Transcribed by author in about 2014.

¹⁵⁴ Fogo, *City of Wellsville in Black and White*, unpaginated.

¹⁵⁵ Webster, *CPI Inflation Calculator*.

¹⁵⁶ Cranmer, *History of the Upper Ohio Valley*, v.1, p. 119.

¹⁵⁷ Fogo, *City of Wellsville in Black and White*, unpaginated; Mack, *History of Columbiana County Ohio*, ..., p. 281.

¹⁵⁸ Fogo, *City of Wellsville in Black and White*, unpaginated; Mack, *History of Columbiana County Ohio*, ..., p. 281.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid*.

a Disciples Church under the direction of Mahlon Martin,¹⁶⁰ and the Catholic Church of the Immaculate Conception founded by Father James Conlin in 1834.¹⁶¹

Despite this plethora of religious opportunity, crime and vice were not unknown in Wellsville during the middle of the 19th century. On the eastern edge of town was an area sometimes called Topheth (a Biblical reference to a place of shame or fire)¹⁶² and later distorted to Toe-Foot. This was the destination of individuals who subscribed to the “eat, drink and be merry” philosophy. Davidson recorded the names of several drinking establishments in this area - “Driven From Home” and “Brimstone Corner.”¹⁶³ These establishments may have been selling liquor without a license. The Common Pleas Court for 1850 recorded eleven instances of illegally distributing liquor, and several more offenses probably related to alcohol consumption. Not all of these offenses occurred in Wellsville; these were county-wide records, and the exact locality of the offense was not always recorded.¹⁶⁴

An advertisement on the back of the 1950 Wellsville 155th anniversary flyer prompted further investigation. This ad was a promotion for “The Stevenson Company” which claimed to be ‘owned and continuously operated 1836-1950 by Citizens of Wellsville.’ This claim seemed innocuous enough. However, the further mention that it was ‘Founded by Samuel Stevenson’¹⁶⁵ bore investigation since there were no Stevensons living in Wellsville in 1840. The company apparently manufactured machinery for use in the potteries. This same ad stated Samuel was the ‘original designer of dry and wet



Figure 17. Stevenson & Co. ad from 1889.

Source: n.a. (1889) [Advertising]. *The Clay Worker*; Vol. 11, p. 113.

¹⁶⁰*Ibid.*

¹⁶¹ Fogo, *City of Wellsville in Black and White*, unpaginated.

¹⁶² Society of Biblical Literature. *Topheth*. <https://www.bibleodyssey.org/HarperCollinsBibleDictionary/t/topheth> : accessed 19 January 2021.

¹⁶³ Davidson, *Before the Memory Fades*, p. 10.

¹⁶⁴ Court of Common Pleas. *Criminal Records, 1850 term, Common Pleas Journal #16, 1850-1852*. [digital images] Lisbon: Columbiana County Archives. [Records no longer held by the County office.]

¹⁶⁵ 155th Anniversary... *Souvenir Program*. Back page of program.

pans for clay and shale reduction and mixing.’¹⁶⁶ The company was still manufacturing this type of machinery in 1910¹⁶⁷ and was still in business in Wellsville in 1968.¹⁶⁸

Was Samuel really the founder of this company, or was this yet another example of the broad brush of civic and family pride? If Samuel really was the “Founder,” and the business had been in operation since 1836, a logical place to look for evidence would be the 1850 population and industrial census returns (since he was not located in 1840). The 1850 population return did enumerate a Samuel Stevenson, age 22, working as a machinist. He was living at home with his Irish born parents James and Hanna.¹⁶⁹ This was the only Stevenson family in Wellsville that year. This Samuel obviously could not be the same founder of a business that began in 1836. The 1850 industrial return did not list any business by the name of Stevenson - P. F. Geisse was the only machinist in Yellow Creek Township that year.¹⁷⁰ So why say the business was founded by Samuel?

The answer is most easily found in the pages of published county histories. Samuel Stevenson began work at about age 15 in the machine shop of Philip F. Geisse, the man named on the 1850 industrial census. After learning the trade Samuel went to work as an engineer on a river steamer and served in that capacity until 1862. In that year Mr. Geisse reportedly offered Samuel a job as foreman of the machine shop; Samuel held this job until 1866 then bought out Philip Geisse and took on his own brother Thomas as partner.¹⁷¹ So, while the advertised claim ‘Owned and continuously operated by citizens of Wellsville’ was correct, the founder in 1836 was not Samuel Stevenson as implied.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ n.a. (1910) ‘Editorial Notes and Clippings,’ *The Clay Worker*, v. 54 (July), p. 437. Also ‘Trade Literature,’ same volume, p. 651.

¹⁶⁸ ‘Machinists and Welders.’ *East Liverpool Review*. 27 July 1968. p. 12, c. 1. <http://newspaperarchive.com> : accessed 2 November 2018.

¹⁶⁹ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1850. STEVENSON, James (head). Roll: M432_669. p. 152a. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 2 November 2018.

¹⁷⁰ Census records. USA. Yellow Creek, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1850. Products of Industry Schedule. Roll: T1159_2. p. 167. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 23 October 2018.

¹⁷¹ McCord, *History of Columbiana County*, ..., p. 591; Barth, *History of Columbiana County*, p. 617.

In 1889 the situation was worded as such: ‘Stevenson & Co., proprietors of the Fulton Foundry and Machine Shops.’¹⁷² The company may not have been called “The Stevenson Company” until about 1906,¹⁷³ before that being called the Fulton Foundry or Geisse & Bottenberg. After Stevenson took control the shop focused entirely on manufacturing brick-making machinery. A conflation of facts gives this ad the impression that the Stevenson family had been influential in the town far longer than they actually had. This anecdote is probably merely another example of small town civic pride.

The Wellsville newspaper in the early 1850s published a good deal of fiction, moral platitudes, and extensive advertising. There were interspersed some tidbits of mainly national but sometimes local news as well. In 1850 the *Patriot* noted that a Union School had been built at the corner of Sixth and Washington, one of the first Union Schools in the state. (See Chapter Five for a discussion of the education laws.) There was a literary society in town which met regularly. Mayor McLaughlin loaned the village of Wellsville funds out of his own pocket at only 6% interest plus a 2% accommodation fee. His annual salary was only \$50, but he did own \$3,600 in real estate.¹⁷⁴

The early 1850s in Wellsville was a time of enthusiasm and anticipated growth. This probably had a great deal to do with the approval of Wellsville as a stop on the Cleveland and Pittsburg Railroad. (See the East Liverpool chapter for the history of the early railroad negotiations that resulted in Wellsville being selected.) In early December of 1851 the town council of Wellsville granted the Cleveland and Pittsburgh Railroad Company the right-of-way through Main, Second and Water streets as well as the town land lying between Water St. and the river and between Second St. and Lisbon St. This included a proviso that they obtained quit-claim deeds from land owners, specifically William Wells and John U. Robertson. The

¹⁷² n.a. (1889) [Advertising] *The Clay Worker*, v. 12, p. 253.

¹⁷³ n.a. (1906) [Advertising] *Brick and Clay Record*, 25(6), p. 86.

¹⁷⁴ Davidson, *Before the Memory Fades*, p. 15; Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 24 July 1850. McLAUGHLIN, William (head). Roll: M432_669. p. 146A. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 11 December 2019.

terminus was specified as between Cherry Ave. and Lisbon St.¹⁷⁵ Davidson claims that the railroad initially ran along Main Street, a contention supported by some other local history writers who say only the “railroad tract” ran through the middle of town.¹⁷⁶ However Davidson also reports that in 1853 the railroad abandoned its right-of-way on *Broadway* (not Main Street) but the right-of-way was never granted on that street, at least not in the published resolutions.¹⁷⁷

This is curious, as the tracks now run along the river on the south side of town. An 1860 county map clearly shows the tracks running between the town streets of Wellsville and the Ohio River and an inset depicts the Whitacre House, with the train running along in front, located at the corner of Water and Market Streets.¹⁷⁸ A larger scale 1870 map still locates the Whitacre House at this intersection and depicts the rails running between Water Street and the Ohio River, with the depot at Water and Lisbon, about two blocks away.¹⁷⁹ The initial resolution by the town council of Wellsville regarding the location of the tracks granted the Cleveland and Pittsburgh Railroad Company right-of-way to construct tracks, side-tracks, switches and turnouts ‘... between Water street and the Ohio river ...’¹⁸⁰ It is difficult to imagine what would have prompted the railroad to move the tracks from their supposed location Main Street (then the center of town) in 1852 two blocks south to Water Street where they were seen in 1860.

It is possible that the supposed Main Street tracks were not abandoned completely. A photo of Wellsville from 1906 shows what appear to be streetcars

¹⁷⁵ S.H. Church. (1900). *Corporate History of the Pennsylvania Lines west of Pittsburgh comprising charters, laws, mortgages, decrees, deeds, leases, agreements, ordinances and other papers with descriptive text*. Series C., Vol. VIII. Baltimore: The Friedenwald Company. pp. 883-894.

¹⁷⁶ Davidson, *Before the Memory Fades*, p. 20; Barth, *History of Columbiana County*, p. 143.

¹⁷⁷ Davidson, *Before the Memory Fades*, p. 63.

¹⁷⁸ Carhart, Mead & Co. (1860) *Map of Columbiana County, Ohio*. No scale stated. Philadelphia: Carhart, Mead & Co. Library of Congress Geography and Map division. Control no. 2012586253. <https://www.loc.gov/resource/g4083c.la000610/> : accessed 22 July 2020. This is a small scale map and the location of the railroad tracks directly along the river could be seen only as a generalization.

¹⁷⁹ D. J. Lake, C.E. (1870) *Atlas of Columbiana County Ohio - Wellsville, Yellow Creek Township*. Sheet 53, 400 ft. to the inch (no bar). Philadelphia: C. O. Titus. [Ohio History Connection, Historic Atlases. https://www.ohiohistory.org/OHC/media/OHC-Media/Documents/SHPO/Atlas/Lake-s_Atlas_of_Columbiana_County_1870.pdf : accessed 31 July 2019.]

¹⁸⁰ Church, *Corporate History of the Pennsylvania Lines ...* , p. 884.

using tracks which are clearly visible down the middle of the street. These may have been the original railroad tracks, or perhaps tracks laid specifically for the streetcars.

Later resolutions by the town council allowed the railroad to extend the lines slightly at the northeast end of town along Water Street (1866) and to pass through what was the “Old Grave Yard” at the southwest end of town (1872).¹⁸¹ The bodies



Figure 18. The Whitacre House Hotel in 1860 - Corner of Water & Market Streets.

Source: Carhart, Mead & Co. (1860) *Map of Columbiana County, Ohio*. No scale stated. Philadelphia: Carhart, Mead & Co. Library of Congress Geography and Map division control no. 2012586253.

had reportedly already been reinterred elsewhere. The history of this “Old Grave Yard” is difficult to uncover. William Wells, writing his will in 1848, donated the piece of ground then in use as his family cemetery to the town of Wellsville. This cemetery was located on lots 112 and 113, then on Main Street between First and Rose.¹⁸²

According to a local historian, Wells had earlier (1825) donated a larger piece of ground for a town cemetery at what was then well outside the town

limits to the southwest.¹⁸³ This donation by Wells could not be verified in other sources, but the described cemetery is clearly visible on the 1870 map of Wellsville as a green triangular. Perhaps this was the cemetery from which bodies were reinterred. Neither cemetery is visible on a map produced only seven years later.¹⁸⁴

An 1873 ordinance allowed for the lighting of the track crossings at Lisbon Street (at the northeast end of town) and Eleventh Street (at the southwest end of

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 884-885.

¹⁸² Testamentary records. USA. 6 November 1848. WELLS, William. Last Will and Testament. Collection: Columbiana County Probate Records, 1803-1900. Probate Journal, vol. 16. FHL film 927752, image 501 of 654. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 16 July 2020. Streets have been renumbered.

¹⁸³ Amber Boyce. *History Written in Stone (Morning Journal 1999) - Springhill Cemetery*. <http://genealogypitstop.com/resources/ohio-resources/columbiana-county-history-news-articles/history-written-in-stone-morning-journal-1999/> : accessed 16 December 2020.

¹⁸⁴ Eli L. Hays. (1877) *Illustrated Atlas of the Upper Ohio River Valley from Pittsburgh, Pa. to Cincinnati, Ohio - Wellsville*. Pp. 38-39, 400 ft. to the inch (no bar). Philadelphia: Titus, Simmons & Titus. David Rumsey Map Collection. Image No. 4975B. <https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~3472~390072:-Title-Page-to--Illustrated-atlas-o> : accessed 14 December 2020.



Figure 19. Portion of Wellsville 1870 - railroad and cemeteries (in green).
Source: Lake, *Yellow Creek Township*, 1870.

town). In 1874 it was made illegal for anyone other than railroad employees and paying passengers to get on or off a moving train while it was within the incorporated village of Wellsville; penalty was a \$10 fine or 10 days in jail. Speculation about the original Main Street railroad line may have originated from two ordinances which allowed small spurs to be laid along the street, one at the northeast end of town near the depot, and the other near the Old Grave Yard property at the southwest end of town where the “car shops” were located. Several of these ordinances were passed, most between about 1880 and 1900 when the account of these ordinances was published.¹⁸⁵ Additional support for an original theorized (if never actually planned) location for the tracks was extracted by Davidson from 1851. He notes ‘The railroad asked for a switch within Wellsville that would give them direct contact with the river.’¹⁸⁶ Davidson does not give an exact date for this extract; it may have actually been the December 1851 ordinance noted above.

While these varying (and often unsubstantiated) accounts of railroad history may not seem terribly relevant, they do speak to the reliability of various authors’ accounts of this period. Very few newspapers from that time are available for

¹⁸⁵ Church, *Corporate History of the Pennsylvania Lines* ... , pp. 887-893.

¹⁸⁶ Davidson, *Before the Memory Fades*, p. 17.

corroboration of these stories; published accounts of town resolutions are equally rare. The “railroad era” was a time of sometimes swift change in many parts of the country. This brief discussion of the confusion over (or poor description of) the location of the tracks is perhaps merely an example of the pace of change and the inability of historians, journalists and other record keepers to keep the public apprised of what was actually taking place in their town. It might also be a reflection of the fact that Wellsville was still a small town which did not attract map makers to record the changing layout of the place the way some larger towns might. This confusion may also illustrate how difficult it can be for contemporary readers to understand the meaning of even seemingly clear documents written over a century before.

Wherever the tracks actually lay, the arrival of the railroad did bring changes to Wellsville. Some of the changes were almost certainly seen as positive by the citizens. These types of positive impacts likely included increased opportunities for trade and commerce within the town; perhaps the immigration into town of additional merchants, bankers and others who would participate in the increased business dealings; associated service industries such as hotels, taverns, warehouses for storing goods; potentially an increase in the variety of merchants offering groceries, dry goods and other supplies to travelers; increase in the number of jobs available both with the railroad and with these other businesses. Negative changes



Figure 20. Downtown Wellsville, ca. 1906.

Source: n.a. *Wellsville, Ohio Postcard "MAIN STREET" Downtown Scene SCHLITZ BEER Sign 1906*. <http://www.crowsnestpostcards.com> : accessed 8 September 2020. Used with permission of Mr. Allen Cottrell.

would also have occurred. Reportedly, both the river commerce and the overland transport sectors lost customers to the railroad. Construction of the tracks, car shops and depots in the town would have meant increased road congestion and inconvenience, some loss of land, air/water/noise pollution, and the existence of potentially rowdy laborers drinking at taverns and creating disturbances. Perhaps those who valued the quiet of their small town saw this as a harbinger of change they neither understood nor necessarily embraced.

Subjective evidence for some of these changes can be found in Davidson's newspaper extractions of the time (Clarke's *Patriot*). For example, in 1852, the year the railroad actually reached Wellsville, Davidson extracted 61 newspaper articles. Of those 37 dealt with the railroad and only four with the river or water transport. For the year 1853, after the railroad had been running through town for some months, he reported on 35 different news items; 19 of those dealt directly or indirectly with the railroad.¹⁸⁷ With only Davidson's abstractions for reference, it is impossible to know whether these figures represent the actual frequency with which Clarke reported on railroad news. Not all the railroad related items chosen by Davidson were completely positive. Consider this backhanded compliment by the editor of the *Cleveland Herald* and copied from his paper:

... Wellsville is beginning to brush up somewhat under the railroad influence and when its superior manufacturing advantages are improved, will become a very important city in the Ohio Valley...¹⁸⁸

Cleveland editor Harris did mention that the location of the tracks along the river was a "great improvement" though whether he meant an improvement over a previous track location or just an improvement as an extension of the railroad to Wellsville is unclear. Editor Clarke (of the *Wellsville Patriot*) in a response to Harris notes that he hopes Harris' remarks will put to rest the complaining of some of the

¹⁸⁷ Davidson, *Before the Memory Fades*, pp. 22-24.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 23. Davidson was quoting Editor Harris, but he does not give the date of the paper other than 1853.

“old croakers” about the railroad being the ruin of Wellsville.¹⁸⁹ This voice of dissent was hinted at in the following quote from 1853:

“Wellsville is Dead”, was the subject of an editorial in the *Patriot*, in mid year, in which the editor took to task the “old Fogies” who were raising the cry. He points out that where a few men received transient employment in the loading and unloading of the wagons that plied the former trade, now the railroad had come, giving steady employment to 50 or 60 already. And the money they bring into town is considerable. This, claimed [editor] Clarke, should be the criteria, not the number of wagons hitched along our streets.¹⁹⁰

By 1854 either editor Clarke or author Davidson had begun to again speak of other matters. For that year, Davidson extracted 60 articles from the *Patriot*. Of these, only 19 related directly or indirectly to the railroad while eight spoke of matters related to river travel and steamboat production. The advent of the railroad did not immediately ‘... eliminate[d] the stage coach and teaming trade’ as author Barth theorized.¹⁹¹ Davidson continued his extractions through some time in 1863 when he stated (again without giving an exact date) that ‘It was at this time that Editor Clarke returned to his native Maryland and the *Patriot* ceased publishing.’¹⁹² Davidson’s extractions are valuable in the absence of available archived newspapers; they would have been improved by the addition of at least the month of publication in addition to the year.

The railroad was anticipated to become a huge boon to the economy of Wellsville for many years. This change did not happen overnight. In fact the 1850

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

¹⁹¹ Barth, *History of Columbiana County*, p. 143.

¹⁹² Davidson, *Before the Memory Fades*, p. 43.

Wellsville census enumerated a total of 386 individuals employed in some capacity; by 1860, eight years after the railroad arrived, that number had increased to 479.¹⁹³

Barth, writing in 1926, reported that by that time the Pennsylvania Railroad Company employed 900 men (it is not clear if these were all in Wellsville), had erected extensive railroad shops (which can still be seen at the southwest end of town) and provided one-eighth of all taxes paid in Wellsville. The local payroll was said to be a half million dollars annually.¹⁹⁴ These employment statistics could not be verified. The number of men in Wellsville who worked for the railroad by the time Barth wrote his history was probably closer to 250 than 900.¹⁹⁵ An examination of the composition of employment in Wellsville from the 1850 through the 1880 censuses is appropriate at this stage of the research.

An approximate statistical overview of workers employed over the study period in the fields of river, stage and rail transportation confirmed that river and stage related occupations were not eradicated by the arrival of the railroad, as some feared.¹⁹⁶ While the total numbers of workers in the river and stage related occupations remained fairly constant through the study period, their representation as a percentage of the workforce declined overall. By contrast, both the number and percentage of railroad workers increased.¹⁹⁷

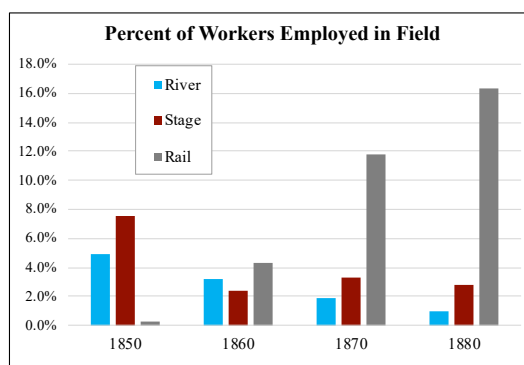


Figure 21. Chart of Wellsville workers in various transportation fields.
Source: Complete transcribed census enumerations for 1850-1880.

¹⁹³ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. Complete transcribed census enumerations for 1850-1880. It should be noted that 109 of these employed individuals were reported as domestic labor; this figure is slightly suspicious, as discussed elsewhere.

¹⁹⁴ Barth, *History of Columbiana County*, p. 143.

¹⁹⁵ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 January 1920 and 2 April 1930. Search terms "railroad" and "Wellsville" returned 270 entries in 1920 and 230 entries in 1930. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 23 July 2020.

¹⁹⁶ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. Complete transcribed census enumerations for 1850-1880. Generally, marine type occupations included workers on steamboats, chandlers, wharf workers, pilots, engineers, etc. Stage workers included liverymen and saddlers, but not blacksmiths; also draymen, teamsters, agents and wagon makers. Rail workers were usually specified and included agents.

¹⁹⁷ The workforce in this calculation did not include domestic servants but did include general laborers.

The above calculations did not include workers in businesses that might also be expected to benefit from the existence of the railroad through town as a means of transportation, the existence of the “car shops” for building and repair of railroad cars, and the potential influx of both visitors and businessmen in town who might need accommodations and services. These types of jobs were more difficult to categorize since many of these jobs would undoubtedly have existed even in the absence of the railroad.

For example the “hospitality” industry as we think of it today might include such categories as hotels, restaurants, bars, and entertainment venues. During the study period however, there was only intermittent entertainment and few restaurants. Itinerant businessmen and other travelers stopping over in town would find hotels and boarding houses available as well as saloons. Travelers likely either took their meals at the hotel or purchased food from a grocer who would have been in business anyway serving the local population. The number of workers employed in the hotel/restaurant/saloon trades did increase more than threefold over the course of the study period, but still remained lower overall than the numbers employed in the above transportation categories.

Types of businesses that would have persisted in Wellsville as long as there was a population to serve included those involved in the sales of food and clothing, and merchants selling other types of basic goods such as hardware, dry goods, furniture, etc., and professional services such as physicians and perhaps teachers and clergy.¹⁹⁸ The overall numbers of individuals engaged in each separate category was somewhat variable. However the total percentage of all workers engaged in these types of occupations did not vary much, ranging from a high of about 27% in 1850 to a low of about 16.5% in 1860. In fact, three of the four census decades recorded workers in these categories as making up 16%-18.5% of the workforce.¹⁹⁹

A comparison of workers in the manufacturing and construction fields was somewhat compromised by the large number of general laborers enumerated in every

¹⁹⁸ These occupations were found in Groups 1-3 in the standardized coding system. See Technical Appendix.

¹⁹⁹ The domestic servants were removed from these calculations. The high in 1850 represents a higher percentage of tradesmen and merchants than were present in other years.

census year. It is not known how many of these laborers were working regularly in the same type of industry (construction or manufacturing of some kind) versus how many may have been day laborers who worked at whatever temporary jobs came their way. The percentage of the overall workforce represented by these workers varied only slightly over the study period from 41% to 44.5%.²⁰⁰ Some workers in this category were probably working as mechanics in the railroad car shops which were established in 1857. One author estimates that they employed 100 men by 1890.²⁰¹ If the enumerators had recorded where these mechanics worked they might better have been classified as working in the “Rail” category, thereby altering the percentage of both transportation and industrial related employment workers.

The last category of workers considered for this analysis was those employed in the “craftsmen” and light industry type fields (Category 8). The percentage of total workers represented by these individuals dropped off gradually over the study period from nearly 20% to nearly 14%.

As noted in the Technical Appendix, the (mostly) women who were categorized as “servants” or “domestic servants” were only counted beginning in 1860. It is not known how closely the individual enumerators held to the instructions indicating that only individuals doing housework *for wages* were to be enumerated here. These workers were analyzed in their own category. The percentage of Wellsville workers in this category was nearly 23% in 1860, then dropped to about 8% in 1870 and to about 6.5% in 1880. This result does not make much sense if you consider that as the town grew and merchants and businessmen presumably became more successful over time more households would have been able to afford domestic servants, not fewer.²⁰²

The histories of the town which emphasized the growth in the number and variety of merchants and professionals in residence rather implied that the percentage

²⁰⁰ These occupations were found in Groups 6, 7, 9. See Technical Appendix. Group 9 is made up of general laborers.

²⁰¹ Cranmer, *History of the Upper Ohio Valley*, v.1, p. 90.

²⁰² Unless otherwise noted above calculations regarding the percentages of workers in each category were all carried out using the total workers that *included* domestic servants. A second calculation using the total workers *excluding* domestic servants changed the percentages somewhat, especially in 1860, but did not markedly change the general trends in occupational percentages reported.

of the workforce in Wellsville would be tending more towards the “white collar” types of jobs by the end of the study period. The suggestion was not borne out by this analysis. In fact, using only the very general categories defined in the Technical Appendix, the percentages of these types of jobs in the overall workforce did not change much. Figure 22 demonstrates that workers in Categories 1-3 (Professional - Trade - Clerical/Service/Government) retained a small but persistent minority in the workforce. This was rather surprising as it was expected that the percentage of the workforce in these categories would increase as the focus of industry shifted away from Wellsville to the potteries in East Liverpool. It is likely that the existence in Wellsville of an iron foundry as well as the railroad car shops helped to keep the balance of occupational types rather stable over the decades of the study period.

The citizens of Wellsville were not privy to the way historical statistics would portray their town. In 1859 editor Clarke editorialized in his customary fashion:

There is no town in Ohio, of the same population, that can boast of better retail and wholesale facilities than Wellsville. Let us enumerate: 3 large wholesale groceries ... nine or ten grocery stores; two or three wholesale liquor stores; ...²⁰³

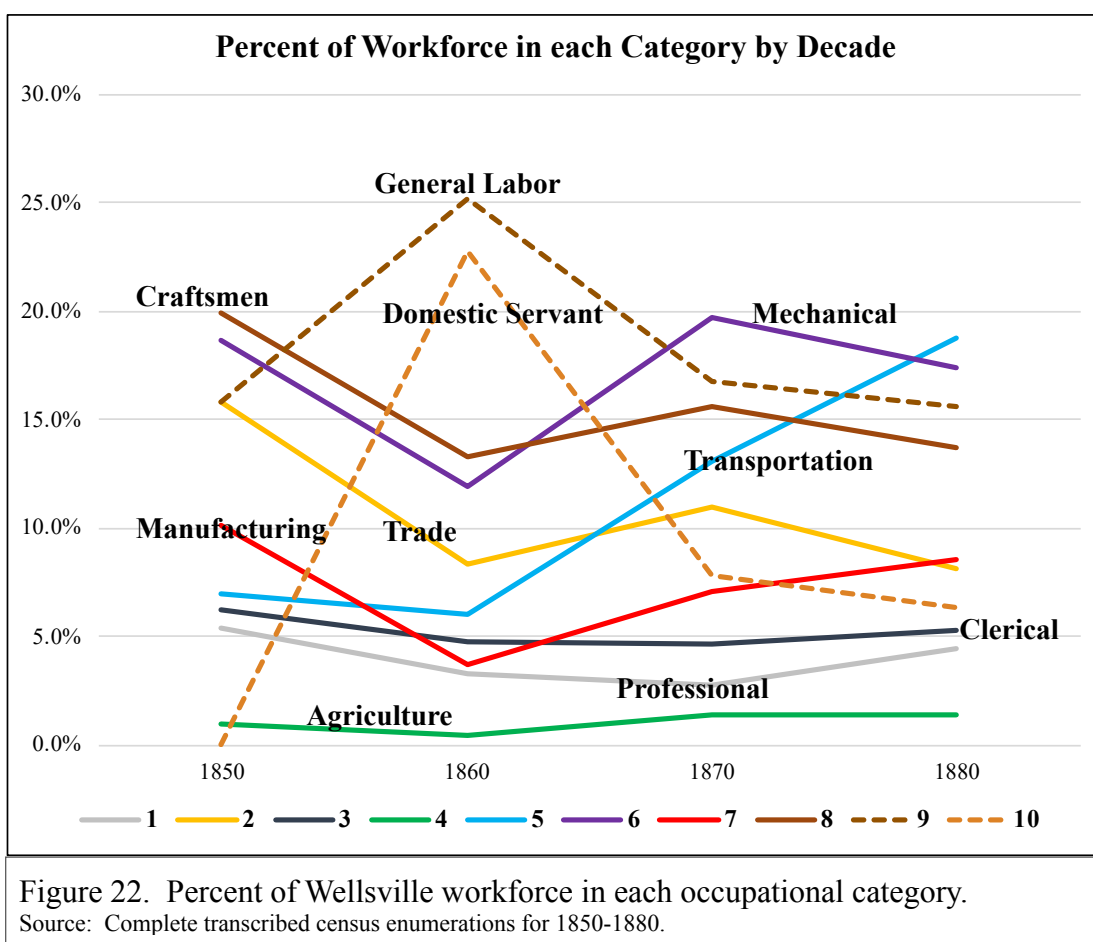
The 1860 census confirms Clarke’s contention with the enumeration of eleven grocery dealers and two liquor dealers along with the other list of merchants, tradesmen, foundry, boat builders, etc. which he provided in his editorial. It is not the purpose of this research to prove or disprove whether or not his claim that Wellsville had the best of these facilities is accurate. Author Cranmer’s brief evaluation of the composition of industry in Wellsville in 1890 was a bit off the mark, however; he stated that ‘... railroad machine shops, rolling mills, pottery and pipe works are the chief industries.’²⁰⁴ No census returns are available for 1890, but the 1880 census revealed no large employment in either the pottery or pipe works

²⁰³ Davidson, *Before the Memory Fades*, p. 36

²⁰⁴ Cranmer, *History of the Upper Ohio Valley*, v.1, p. 148.

(clay sewer tile mainly) industries in Wellsville with fewer than four percent of workers employed by potteries.²⁰⁵

Finally, an examination of the total percentage of workers in each defined category was carried out. As can be seen by the graph in Figure 22 most categories of workers retained a fairly steady percentage of the workforce through the decades. The obvious exception is the spike in workers in the General Laborers and Domestic Servants (Categories 9 and 10) groups in 1860, which tended to depress the percentages of workers in categories where these laborers might actually have been working, such as Categories 6 and 7, both of which rebounded in percentages by 1870.²⁰⁶



²⁰⁵ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1880. Complete transcribed census enumeration for 1880.

²⁰⁶ Category 6 is Mechanical/Mining/Construction/Repair and Category 7 is Manufacturing/Production/Heavy Industry. It is possible that many (men) fell into the general labor category who were actually working primarily in one of these other types of jobs.

Women did hold jobs in Wellsville throughout the study period and probably in greater numbers than we can know due to the way the census enumerators interpreted their instructions. For example, in 1850 there were but two women enumerated as earning wages; by the next census, which specifically included domestic laborers, the number of women at work had jumped to 100 - nearly 21% of the entire workforce. It is likely that neither figure is entirely accurate. The 1870 and 1880 enumerations recorded women as making up about 11%-12% of the workforce. From 1860-1880 the field of domestic service dominated the occupations for which women were paid wages. Over the decades more and more women were engaged in the common female occupations involving washing, sewing and hat making; by 1880 they were also working as teachers, potters, clerks and a few other scattered occupations.

During the decade of the 1860s Wellsville, like nearly everywhere in the country, was impacted to some extent by the Civil War, although those impacts were not easy to determine from the census data alone.

The war was not fought in the backyard, nor even to any great extent in any neighboring states except Kentucky. By most accounts the closest “action” to Wellsville took place about eight miles away when Southern General John H. Morgan was captured; he was held briefly under guard at the Whitacre Hotel in Wellsville before being sent to a penitentiary at Columbus.²⁰⁷ A Cleveland newspaper confirms this account, saying only that Morgan was captured near Salineville (perhaps 10 miles west of Wellsville). This newspaper account says only that Morgan and his men were transported by the railroad to Wellsville from

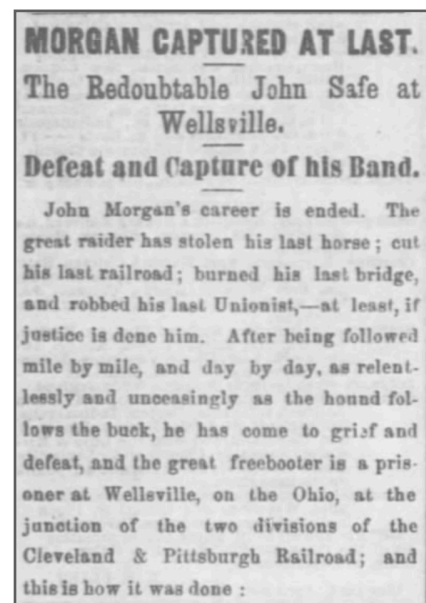


Figure 23. “Morgan Captured at Last.”

Source: ‘Morgan Captured at Last.’ *Cleveland Daily Leader*. 27 July 1863, p. 2, c. 1. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 27 July 2020.

²⁰⁷ See, for example: Barth, *History of Columbiana County*, p. 146. Published county history reports are all quite similar.

whence they would be moved.²⁰⁸ A second Ohio newspaper reported that Morgan was captured near Lisbon, nearly 11 miles from Salineville²⁰⁹ Major G. W. Rue of the Ninth Kentucky Cavalry reported that General Shackelford accepted Morgan's surrender along the Beaver Creek Road heading for Smith's Ford on the Ohio River.²¹⁰ Another account says Major Rue himself captured Morgan about three miles west of West Point (Ohio).²¹¹ Wherever the capture actually took place, "Morgan's Raid" was reportedly the closest that any actual Civil War action came to Wellsville. Morgan's sword is on prominent exhibit at the Wellsville Historical Society's Riverside Museum and is proudly pointed out to visitors.²¹²

This lack of actual fighting in the area does not mean that the citizens of Wellsville did not participate in other ways towards the war effort. Troops moved up and down the Ohio River and along the Cleveland & Pittsburgh Railroad. Soldiers Aid Societies were formed, parades held, banners sewn, Home Guard units formed.²¹³ Author Cranmer relates the following:

In Columbiana county the condition of affairs was similar to that in most localities throughout the north. Being, particularly in the central and northern portions, an anti-slavery stronghold, with a large number of radical abolitionists, the people had become accustomed to the predictions of disruption of the Union by the speakers of that party, and could not bring themselves to view the situation with much alarm, yet there was considerable uneasiness felt upon receiving

²⁰⁸ 'Morgan Captured at Last.' *Cleveland Daily Leader*. 27 July 1863. p. 2, c. 1. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 27 July 2020.

²⁰⁹ 'John Morgan Captured.' *The Lima Weekly Gazette*. 29 July 1863. p. 2, c. 3. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 27 July 2020.

²¹⁰ US War Department. (1889). *The War of the Rebellion: a Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*. Washington: Government Printing Office. Series I, Volume XXIII, Part I, p. 668.

²¹¹ Ohio History Connection. *Morgan's Raid*. http://ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Morgan%27s_Raid : accessed 27 July 2020.

²¹² Julie Riedel. *Wellsville Historical Society aims to preserve local history*. <https://www.reviewonline.com/news/local-news/2020/01/wellsville-historical-society-aims-to-preserve-local-history/> : accessed 30 August 2020.

²¹³ Davidson, *Before the Memory Fades*, pp. 37-43.

the news of secession of the Southern states.²¹⁴

It is unfortunate that the local newspapers do not survive to confirm this description. Davidson's abstractions from the *Patriot* leading up to editor Clarke's departure did not characterize the paper as being overly consumed with the War, despite Clarke's derogatory editorial style and his apparent lack of respect for President Lincoln.²¹⁵

Ohio provided men for the draft, and Wellsville was not exempt, although some wealthy men may have hired substitutes. Northern draftees apparently had the option of paying a \$300 commutation fee to avoid conscription.²¹⁶ This may have led to the description of the conflict as 'a rich man's war and a poor man's fight' although this complaint was apparently more common in the South.²¹⁷ In June of 1863 marshals recorded 83 men of "Class II, subject to do military duty" from the town of Wellsville.²¹⁸ Several regiments were made up largely of men from Wellsville, and these included the 3rd Ohio Volunteers, who were originally signed on for three months' service in April of 1861 but who ended up serving three years. They suffered rather severe losses at the battle of Perrysville in 1862²¹⁹ and editor Clarke reported five local men killed and thirteen wounded.²²⁰ This regiment included the old "Wellsville Guards" which had been organized in 1858 by Henry Cope.²²¹ When the federal government conducted a special census of Civil War

²¹⁴ Cranmer, *History of the Upper Ohio Valley*, v.2, p. 440.

²¹⁵ See, for example: Davidson, *Before the Memory Fades*, p. 43. Davidson reports on Clarke's support of a Compromise Union, limited slavery, attacks on Republicans, and sometimes vicious abuse of Lincoln and his policies.

²¹⁶ Steven E. Woodworth (ed.) (2008) *Gale Library of Daily Life: American Civil War*. Michigan: Gale, v. I, p. 153.

²¹⁷ Peter Wallenstein. (1984) 'Rich Man's War, Rich Man's Fight: Civil War and the Transformation of Public Finance in Georgia,' *The Journal of Southern History*, 50(1), p. 15.

²¹⁸ Ancestry. U.S., Civil War Draft Registration Records, 1863-1865. <https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/1666/> : accessed 6 December 2020. [Records for 17th Ohio Congressional District. June, 1863.] Class I included men aged 20-35 and single men aged 36-45. Class II included all others who registered.

²¹⁹ Cranmer, *History of the Upper Ohio Valley*, v.2, p. 444-45.

²²⁰ Davidson, *Before the Memory Fades*, p. 42.

²²¹ East Liverpool Historical Society. *Our Military Heritage*. <http://www.eastliverpoolhistoricalsociety.org/honourmiliher.htm> : accessed 14 December 2020.

Veterans in 1890, enumerators located about 170 such veterans (or their widows) living in Wellsville.²²² Although the Grand Army of the Republic established a post in 1881 in nearby East Liverpool, only 31 of the eventual 389 members were from anywhere other than East Liverpool; most were from within a few miles of town, and only three were from Wellsville.²²³ Wellsville had a G.A.R.



Figure 24. “Home Again.”

Source: Trevor McClurg. (c. 1866) (lith. D. C. Fabronius) Collection: Library of Congress Photo, Print, Drawing control no. 92509076.

post of its own, but that membership list is not extant.²²⁴ Their last surviving member was either John J. Clark, who died in 1931,²²⁵ or Daniel M. McIntosh, who died in 1935.²²⁶

Wellsville continued to grow and expand after the war. The federal government conducted another enumeration of “establishments of productive industry” in 1870. The objective was to enumerate every industry which produced a value of at least \$500 in one year. Remarks on the comprehensive nature of this undertaking are interesting.

Inasmuch as, with ruling prices of labor and materials, few able-bodied artisans working ten months in a year but produce to the value of \$500, these tables should comprise all the

²²² Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. ED 76 & 77. [n.d.] 1890. All veterans. Roll M123_? <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 27 July 2020.

²²³ General Lyon Post No. 44. Department of Ohio, Grand Army of the Republic. (n.d.) *Descriptive Book*. [manuscript] East Liverpool: Museum of Ceramics. This post was active until at least 1918 when the last member joined.

²²⁴ Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War. *Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) Records Project*. <http://www.garrecords.org> : accessed 28 July 2020. [See records for state of Ohio.]

²²⁵ ‘Last Vet Dies.’ *News-Journal (Mansfield)*. 24 April 1931. p. 20, c. 1. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 28 July 2020.

²²⁶ ‘Last ‘Boy in Blue’ Dies.’ *News-Journal. (Mansfield)*. 11 December 1935. p. 12, c. 5. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 28 July 2020.

results of substantially all the manufacturing and mechanical industry in the country.²²⁷

Of course that was an optimistic expectation and the balance of the “Remarks on the Tables of Manufacturing Industry” then proceed for about six pages discussing the omissions in the current report. This 1870 enumeration captured 34 businesses in Wellsville which produced the requisite \$500 a year in value. Twelve of these firms were engaged in industries supporting the construction industry; six each were involved with mechanical or foundry operations, shoe and clothing manufacture, and wagon/saddlery operations.²²⁸

Not every business produces goods. The 1870 population census of Wellsville described individuals working in over 100 different occupations. By comparison East Liverpool, with a working population of only 25 fewer individuals than Wellsville, recorded only 82 different occupations.²²⁹ As was described in the above census analyses, Wellsville residents worked in banks, as merchants of all kinds, for the railroad, as servants and laborers, as manufacturing and insurance agents, in printing shops, in service industries, teaching school, government service, sending telegraphs, and a wide variety of other jobs in addition to productive industry. Again, by contrast, over 45% of the working population of nearby East Liverpool were working in the pottery and brick industries. This large representation of workers in a single industry was not found on any Wellsville census during the study period.

An 1870 business directory of the area included Wellsville. In this directory were listed many kinds of merchants (agricultural implements, booksellers, boots/shoes, druggists, dry goods, groceries, hardware, notions, paints, tobacco, watches) and several kinds of service industries (express company, insurance agent, hotels,

²²⁷ US Census Bureau. *1870 Census: Volume 3. The Statistics of Wealth and Industry of the United States*. <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1872/dec/1870c.html> : accessed 4 December 2019. See Tables of Manufactures, p. 371.

²²⁸ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1870. Roll: T1159_45. p. 1-4. Complete transcribed census enumerations.

²²⁹ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1870. Roll M593_1184. p. 461A-489B. Complete transcribed census enumerations.

photographer, real estate agent) as well as the production industries, the newspaper, doctors and lawyers. These were just the businesses which paid to advertise.²³⁰ This directory also mentioned the machine shops of the Cleveland and Pittsburgh Railroad, but the description of the town Wellsville itself was otherwise rather ordinary and uninspiring.

Publisher Wiggins produced another directory of the area in 1877 which again covered Wellsville. This directory was somewhat more comprehensive; it listed seven churches, three masonic societies plus the I.O.O.F. and Daughters of Rebekah,²³¹ the railroad workers labor union, and the Temperance Union. It also gave the usual rundown of the holders of public office, Board of Education, and the cemetery trustees. By the time this directory was published many more firms were willing to pay for advertising. In addition to the types of merchants named seven years earlier, there were now ads for furniture and house furnishings, a gunsmith, milliners, baker/confectioner, stoves, and even picture frames. Additional services included a bank, several barbers, dentists, carpenters, a restaurant, four notaries public, livery stable, and an architect.²³²

By the end of the study period (1880), the population of Wellsville was 3,440, approximately what it was in 2010.²³³ After 1880 the population of Wellsville continued to increase until about 1920, when it hit a recorded high of about 8,850; a figure which East Liverpool had surpassed by 1890.²³⁴ During the study period, Wellsville residents might have considered their town very well described in a story written by Mark Twain about a different river town:

²³⁰ Wiggins & Weaver (compilers) (1870) *Directory of Steubenville, Wellsville, East Liverpool and Wellsburgh, 1870-71*. Cleveland: Wiggins & Weaver, pp. 128-29. These occupations were all found on the actual census enumerations for that year.

²³¹ Independent Order of Odd Fellows, another type of service group. The Rebekahs are the women's branch: Independent Order of Odd Fellows The Sovereign Grand Lodge. *Rebekahs*. <https://odd-fellows.org/?s=Rebekahs> : accessed 14 December 2020.

²³² Wiggins & McKillop, *Columbiana County Directory for 1877*, pp. 165-166. Wiggins also published in 1874 but the ads for Wellsville were brief and the only copy available was an alphabetized transcription which included the entire county. As above, all these occupations were found on the individual census enumerations of 1880.

²³³ 1830-1880 population from: Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. Complete transcribed census enumerations. 2010 and intervening figures from: U.S. Census Bureau. *Publications*. <https://www.census.gov/library/publications.html> : accessed 14 December 2020. Select years individually.

²³⁴ US Census Bureau. *Publications*. <https://www.census.gov/library/publications.html> : accessed 14 December 2020.

... The main street, one block back from the river, and running parallel with it, was the sole business street. The hamlet's front was washed by the clear waters of the great river; its body stretched itself rearward up a gentle incline; ... the hills rose high, inclosing the town in a half-moon ... Steamboats passed up and down every hour or so.²³⁵

The town of Wellsville, with its possessive place name, was possibly more proud of its founder than nearby East Liverpool which early on discarded the name of "Fawcettstown." The reminder to early citizens of Wells, their founder, may have imbued the residents with some sense of shared history, fleeting though it was. Wellsville in its heyday, like many small towns in America, may have seemed to its citizens like the 'core of national economy, culture, politics' as well as the 'center for the surrounding rural countryside' as described by Robert Pinsky.²³⁶ But as Pinsky

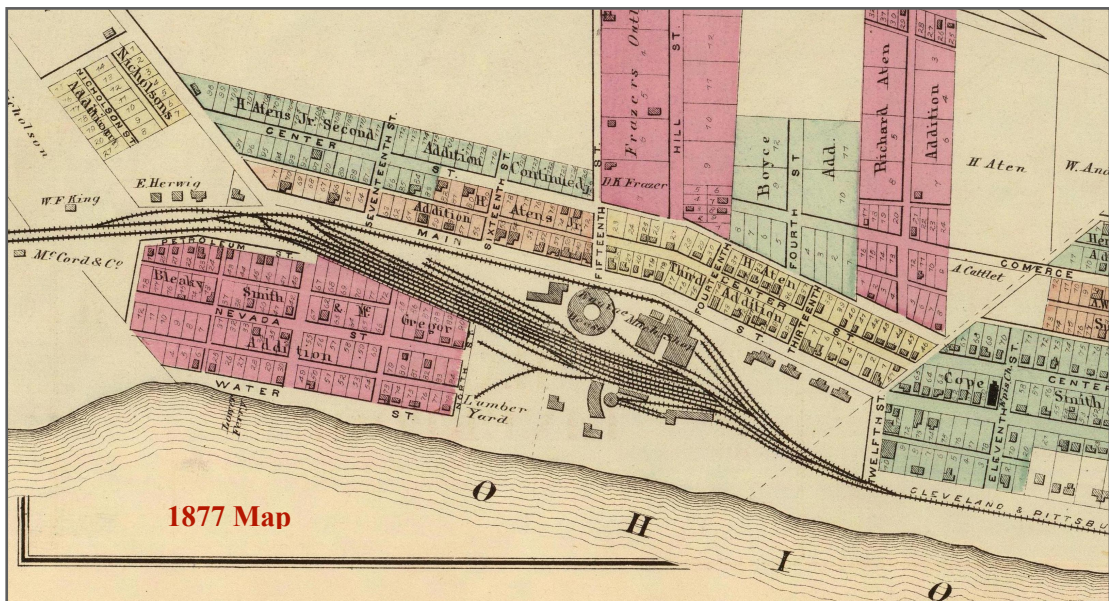


Figure 25. Portion of 1877 Wellsville map - note the extensive railroad car shops.

Source: Eli L. Hays. (1877) *Illustrated Atlas of the Upper Ohio River Valley from Pittsburgh, Pa. to Cincinnati, Ohio.* pp. 38-39, scale 1:4,800. Philadelphia: Titus, Simmons & Titus. David RumseyMap Collection. Image No. 4975B. <https://www.davidrumsey.com> : accessed 14 December 2020.

²³⁵ Twain, Mark. (2015) *Pudd'nhead Wilson*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, p. 6. Reprint. Twain was describing an imaginary slave-holding town, which Wellsville was not.

²³⁶ Robert Pinsky. (2009) *Thousands of Broadways : Dreams and Nightmares of the American Small Town*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p. 15.

also notes, “Main” Street eventually faded as the central focus of social and economic life and became no longer “main” as the town spread, the population diversified, and the primary industry of the area (pottery) moved increasingly to East Liverpool.

The best opportunity for industrial development in Wellsville may have been the Cleveland and Pittsburgh Railroad car shops which were located in Wellsville shortly after the railroad arrived in town in the mid-1850s. These shops appear with prominence on the 1877 map of Wellsville²³⁷ but by the time of the 1902 map, their scope (as depicted in Figures 25 - 27) had been greatly reduced.²³⁸ In contemporary Wellsville there is still a rail terminal used for commodities transportation. Again, the size and importance of this facility has faded since the study period.²³⁹

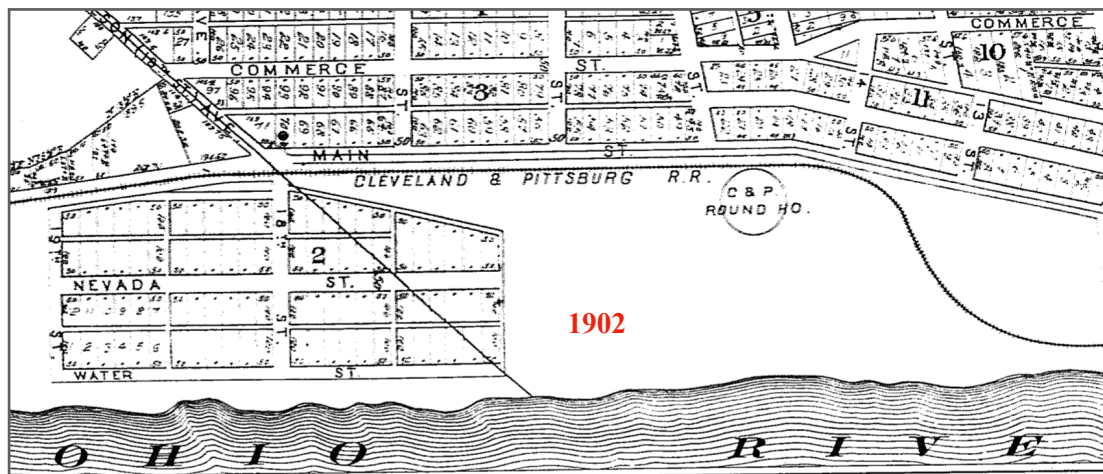


Figure 26. Portion of 1902 map of Wellsville - some reduction of the scope of the car shops can be seen.

Source: W. G. Bentley. (1902) *Atlas of Surveys of Columbiana County Ohio - Part of Wellsville*. Sheet 23, 320 ft. to the inch (no bar). Lisbon: Columbiana County Map & Atlas Co. Ohio History Connection, Historic Atlases. <https://www.ohiohistory.org> : accessed 31 July 2019.

To some residents Wellsville during the study period may have seemed a ‘... dull stifling little place[s], without culture or charm unbearably provincial, sad, ugly

²³⁷ Hays, *Illustrated Atlas of the Upper Ohio River Valley* ... p. 34-35. [Wellsville, p. 38-39, scale 1:48,000.]

²³⁸ W.G. Bentley. (1902) *Atlas of Surveys of Columbiana County Ohio - Part of Wellsville*. Sheet 23, 320 ft. to the inch (no bar) Lisbon: Columbiana County Map & Atlas Co. Ohio History Connection, Historic Atlases. https://www.ohiohistory.org/OHC/media/OHC-Media/Documents/SHPO/Atlas/Bentley-s_Atlas_of_Columbiana_County_1902.pdf : accessed 31 July 2019.

²³⁹ Google LLC. *GoogleEarthPro*. <https://www.google.com/earth/> : accessed 8 September 2020; Wellsville Terminals Co. *Wellsville Terminals Company*. <http://www.wellsvilleterminals.com/index.php> : accessed 8 September 2020.



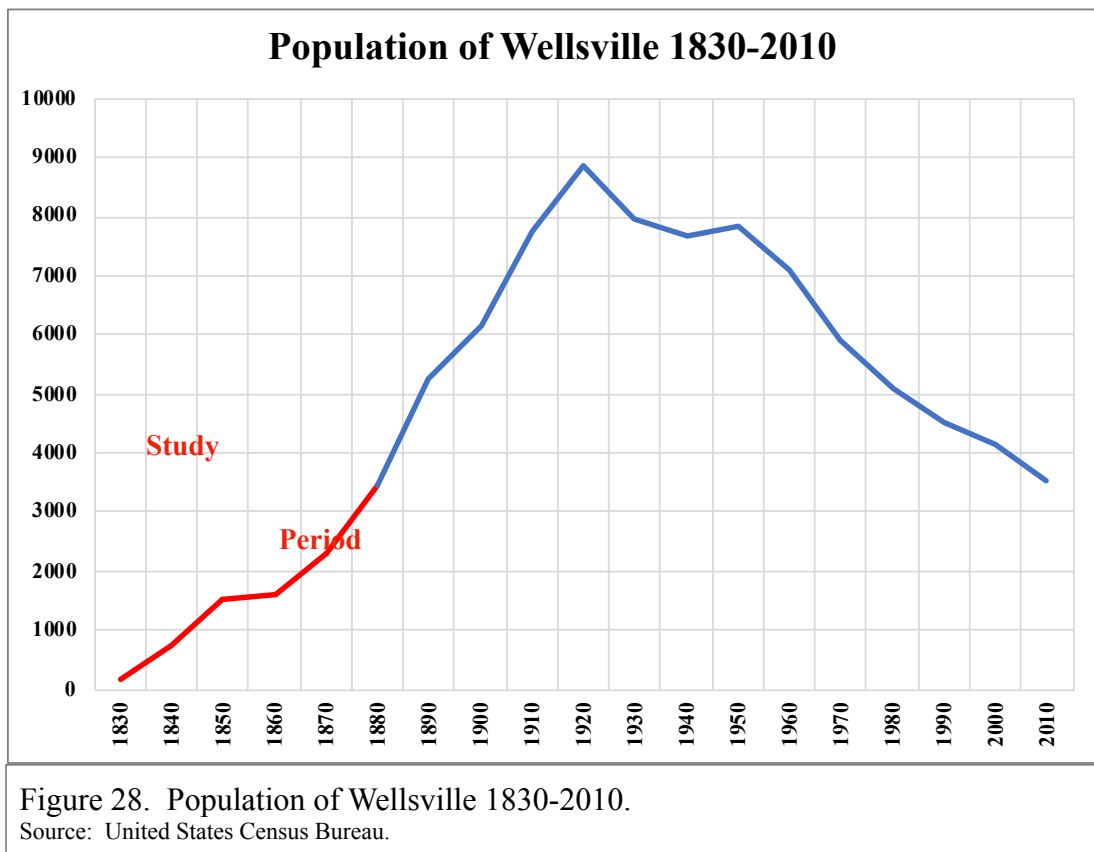
Figure 27. Aerial/satellite photo of Wellsville from 2020. The car shops have been reduced to a shipping facility only.

Map data © 2020 Google. <https://www.google.com/maps>

or worse ...'²⁴⁰ This particular sentiment was not often to be found in the surviving newspapers of Wellsville though. Wellsville had a reason for being where it was, '... cozying up to the hills along the river bend[s]...' ²⁴¹ and that reason was the river itself and the opportunities for trade. With the arrival of the railroad in 1852 the river became slowly less relevant, and eighty years later the railroad, too, was becoming passé with the coming of interstate highways, automobiles, and eventually airplanes. Without a major industry, and no longer especially relevant as a center for trading or merchandising, Wellsville eventually faded into near obscurity.

²⁴⁰ David Plowden. (1994) *Small town America*. New York: H. N. Abrams, p. 5.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 10.



CHAPTER THREE

TOWN OF EAST LIVERPOOL 1850-1880

This chapter will focus in more detail on the history of the now larger town of East Liverpool about five miles east of Wellsville. This town is in the northeast section of the study area and had grown to be the most populous by 1880. It was also the seat of the only well developed industry in the area outside of agriculture. Demographic comparisons presented in this chapter refer only to East Liverpool and are used as a way to evaluate the changes within the town rather than as a comparison between East Liverpool and the surrounding area.

East Liverpool, as it is known today, seems not to have been the subject of the types of lyrical description of its geographic charm applied to its downstream neighbor, Wellsville.¹ The town lies on a sloping section of land nestled in a serpentine elbow-like bend in the Ohio River about three and one-half miles downriver from the

Pennsylvania border. This area has been described as a “natural amphitheater”² and the waterfront does, indeed, resemble a curving stage swept by the Ohio River. While

Wellsville is narrow and possesses a long straight waterfront, East Liverpool is more compact with all the early formation of the town taking place along the curving waterfront.

The general descriptions offered of the Ohio River itself, especially those found in the section on Wellsville, apply equally well to East Liverpool. The river was equally as shallow and filled with shoals at low water and ice in winter as was the waterfront in Wellsville. In addition the northeastern section of East Liverpool is still close to a large island in the river. Today measuring about 2,000 feet in length



Figure 29. Portion of Columbiana County, 1841.

Source: J. P. Willard. (1841) *Map of Columbiana County Ohio*. No scale given. [Salem?]: Lewis Vail Esq. Collection: Library of Congress Geography and Map Division, control no. 201286252.

¹ The town was originally called St. Clair by its founder. Original residents called it Fawcettstown in honor of the founder. It was later renamed Liverpool, and later East Liverpool. For the sake of consistency, it will be referred to as “East Liverpool” throughout unless quoting a specific reference.

² Harold B. Barth. (1926) *History of Columbiana County, Ohio in Two Volumes*. Topeka: Historical Publishing Co., p. 161.

by 400 feet in width, Babb's Island was almost certainly larger before the building of locks and dams on the Ohio raised the water level to its current depth.

Another modern detail to be noted is that there are no bridges across the Ohio River at Wellsville, while there are two bridges at East Liverpool. The earliest bridge at East Liverpool was the Chester Bridge (built in 1897) which ran from mid-East Liverpool near the Thompson Pottery to First Street in Chester, West Virginia. It was closed and demolished in 1969.³ The Newell Bridge was built in 1905 and leads across the river from the present parking lot of the East Liverpool Hospital towards the present site of the Homer Laughlin China Company; this was originally a trolley bridge.⁴ The newer Jennings Randolph Bridge was built in 1969 at the opposite end of East Liverpool and today carries interstate traffic.⁵ The historic importance of these bridges almost certainly relates to the location of the potteries.

East Liverpool has the distinction of becoming, ultimately, the more successful industrial town when compared to Wellsville. Probably for that reason more early historical information is available for this town than for Wellsville. In one case an entire book was written on the history of the town by a trained historian and curator, William C. Gates.⁶ In another William G. Smith, a grandson of the town founder, recounted the early history of the town based on his own memory and experiences.⁷ While these types of publications might give more detail to the study of East Liverpool than was available for Wellsville, they also present the likelihood of conflicts between remembered events and recorded events. In the case of the Smith work he was an eyewitness to some of the events he portrayed. However, he wrote his *Reminiscences* when he was in his 80s and his memory of the events

³ Laurel Hollow Park. *Chester Bridge. Chester, West Virginia*. <http://www.laurelhollowpark.net/chester/chesterbridge.html> : accessed 15 December 2020.

⁴ Laurel Hollow Park. *The Newell Bridge*. <http://www.laurelhollowpark.net/newell/newellbridge.html> : accessed 22 October 2019.

⁵ Laurel Hollow Park. *Jennings Randolph Bridge*. <http://www.laurelhollowpark.net/jrb/jenningsrandolphbridge.html> : accessed 15 December 2020.

⁶ William C. Gates, Jr. (1984) *The City of Hills and Kilns. Life and Work in East Liverpool, Ohio*. East Liverpool: East Liverpool Historical Society.

⁷ Wm. G. Smith. (1888) *Early Reminiscences of "Fawcettstown" or East Liverpool*. East Liverpool: J. H. Simms.

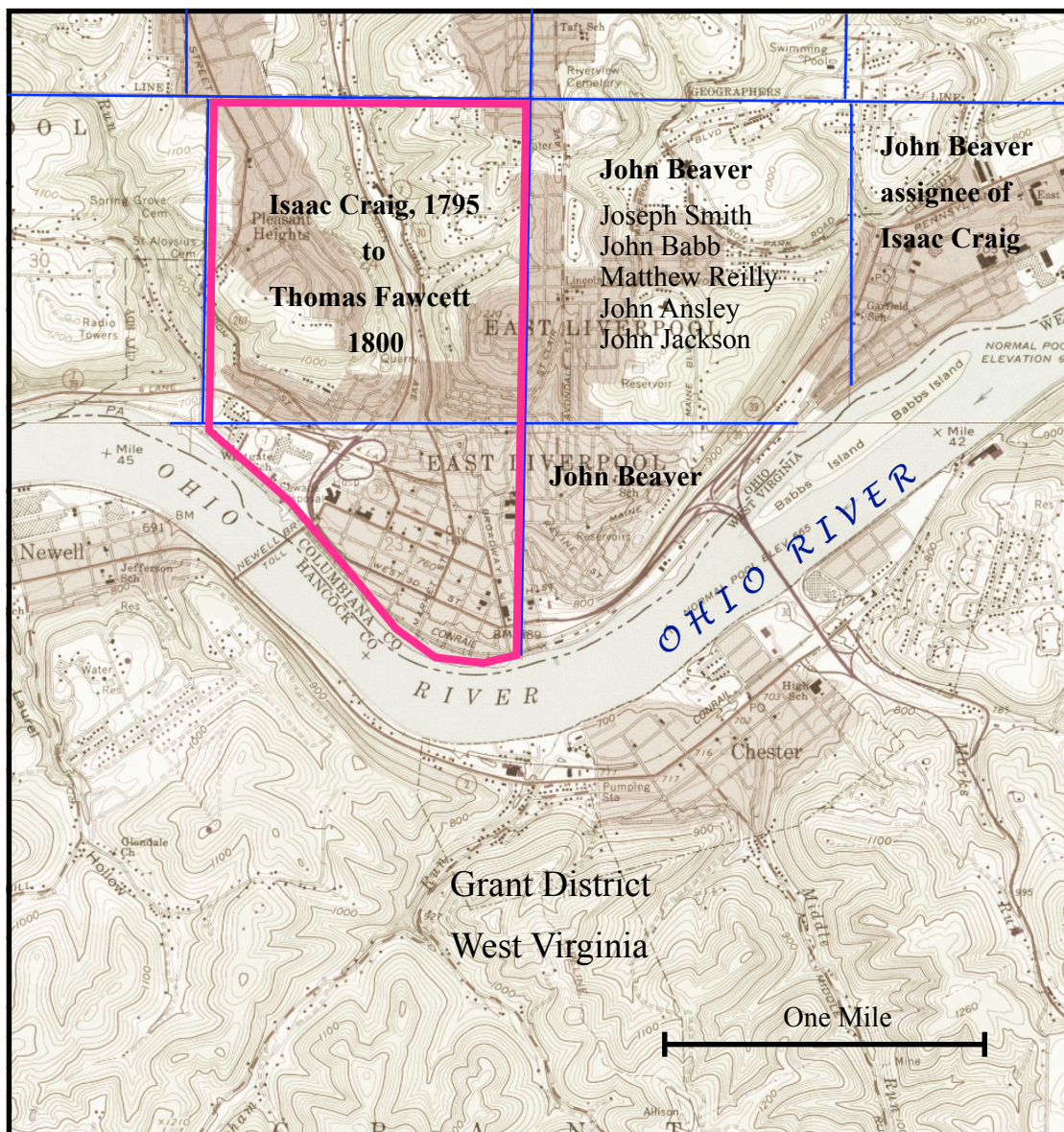


Figure 30. Early landowners near East Liverpool.

Map by author. Basemaps: USGS 7.5' quadrangles of East Liverpool North and East Liverpool South. Further information here: https://pubs.usgs.gov/circ/1341/pdf/circ_1341.pdf : accessed 26 January 2021.

(rather than being objective) almost always tends to reflect well on the beneficial effects of his own participation in those events. The Gates work on the other hand is objective, well researched, and based on cited sources.

In addition to these dedicated works, published county and area histories mention East Liverpool - usually the same ones that described Wellsville. The descriptions in these works of East Liverpool are often longer and more detailed than those for Wellsville. There are usually more “firsts” noted, and more detail about the

individuals being discussed. With this in mind the recitation of the first sawmill, first store, etc. will be kept as much to a minimum as possible, reflecting mainly those events that played an important part in the history of the town.

The earliest land purchase in the East Liverpool area occurred the year after Robert Johnston purchased land to the west in what would become Wellsville. In 1796 Isaac Craig of Pittsburgh received the patent for Sections 23 and 24 of Township 5, Range 1 of the Seven Ranges. This was a plot of about 1,090 acres, for which he paid \$2,181.50.⁸ In July of 1800 Isaac and his wife (still of Pittsburgh) sold this same 1,090 acres to Thomas Fawcett of Jefferson County, Ohio, for \$3,650.00.⁹ Isaac did not live on this land; it is not known if he had rented it to another farmer, and therefore the increase in value cannot specifically be tied to improvements rather than just the increasing value of western land in general. In June of 1802 Thomas and Isabella Fawcett registered the plat for the town of St. Clair, which then consisted of 117 lots located on the land purchased from Craig.¹⁰

Thomas Fawcett was about 55 years old when he platted “St. Clair” as he called it. He was a Quaker, born and married in Ireland; he and Isabella had eight children by the time they reached Ohio.¹¹ Fawcett had acquired 436 acres in the Chartier’s Creek valley of Washington County, Pennsylvania, on 1 April 1788,¹² though he was reported to have lived in that area for much longer. Probably all of his

⁸ Columbiana County, Ohio. General Index to Deeds, Grantee Index, Vol. 1, C-D, p. 229. United States to Craig, 1796. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 20 May 2020. FHL film 905970, image 613 of 1006; US Department of the Interior. Bureau of Land Management.. *General Land Office Records*. Record for Isaac Craig, Credit Volume Patent #51, 18 May 1796. <https://glorerecords.blm.gov/search/default.aspx> : accessed 22 October 2020.

⁹ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed records, Vol. 1, p. 518. Craig to Fawcett, 1 July 1800. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 20 May 2020. FHL film 926861, image 278 of 669.

¹⁰ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed Records, Vol. 1, p. 520. Plat of St. Clair Town, 3 June 1802. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 20 May 2020. FHL film 926861, image 279 of 669.

¹¹ Thomas Plunkett. (1900) ‘Thomas Fawcett, Irish Quaker, American Pioneer,’ *The Journal of The American-Irish Historical Society*, v. 3, p. 118.

¹² Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Patent Indexe, Vol. P-14, p. 97 [image F-101]. Patentee Thomas Fawcett, 18 April 1788. Collection: RG-17, records of the Land Office, Patent Index, P Series (P-1 to P-19), 1781-1794. <http://www.phmc.state.pa.us/bah/dam/rg/di/r17PatentIndexes/r17-154PatIndP1Interface.htm> : accessed 15 December 2020.

children were born there.¹³ The land in Chartier's Creek had been patented under the name "Sleepfield" which might be seen by some as an indicator of Fawcett's approach to his future business dealings.

It is not known exactly when Thomas Fawcett left Pennsylvania. He appeared on the 1790 census in Washington County near his reported brother John. In that year there were eight members enumerated in the Thomas Fawcett household.¹⁴ Although John Fawcett was located on the 1800 census in the same place Thomas had apparently already left and was likely living in what was to become Ohio. Writing 80 years later, Fawcett's grandson described him as:

... a good old Quaker gentleman of a very kind, peace loving, hospitable disposition, yet he had not the natural, or acquired abilities for a successful town builder. He lacked the ambition and go-aheaditive [sic] vim that characterize successful proprietors, and for the want of which, at the organization of the county, he lost to his place the county seat by one vote.¹⁵

While some of the early struggles of East Liverpool may indeed have been the result of Fawcett's lack of booster spirit and entrepreneurial skill, the town had other challenges as well. In the early 1800s there were several small towns surrounding the area where Fawcett had chosen to lay out his village. At this time there were still sporadic Indian uprisings in the surrounding area.¹⁶

Fawcett was likely but one of many abolitionist Quakers to have settled in eastern Ohio, primarily in Columbiana County and the two counties to the south (Belmont and Jefferson). This early abolitionist influence continued to be felt in the county and in 1827 the Columbiana Abolition Society was organized in New Lisbon.

¹³ Prof. Ewing Summers (ed.) (1903) *Genealogical and Family History of Eastern Ohio*. New York & Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Co., p. 682.

¹⁴ Census records. USA. Washington County, Pennsylvania. 2 August 1790. FAUCETT, Thos. (head) Roll: M637_9. p. 205. <http://www.ancestry.com> ; accessed 24 October 2019.

¹⁵ Smith, *Early Reminiscences of "Fawcettstown,"* p. 4.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-8.

Even earlier, settlers in the southwestern Ohio counties of Brown and Clermont (across the river from Kentucky) were reported to have moved with their slaves to Ohio, set them free, and helped them establish themselves.¹⁷

One aspect of geography that may have worked against East Liverpool in the early years was the lack of a well-drained creek or stream in the area. These streams (which drained into the Ohio River) provided valuable power for water works; hydraulic power was the main form of power for early mills - both grist mills and sawmills - as well as local transportation. While two small creeks were located on an 1805 survey within about a mile and a half west of East Liverpool¹⁸ both were quite small, possibly not large enough to power a watermill, and neither carries perennial water today. By contrast the nearby town of Glasgow/Smith's Ferry (to the east on the Pennsylvania border) had Little Beaver Creek, which is still a perennial stream. Wellsville had Little Yellow Creek which is also still running. Although there was apparently a flour mill built by Thomas Fawcett on a small stream called Carpenter's Run, it may have been temporary in nature.¹⁹

Just past the Pennsylvania border to the east of the study area lay the village of Georgetown; this spot had been used as a riverboat supply stop since about 1789.²⁰ Even closer to the Ohio border was Smith's Ferry (now Glasgow), Pennsylvania, located at the place where Little Beaver Creek flows into the Ohio River. Settlers who had arrived earlier than Fawcett had taken advantage of this stream for the construction of both flour and saw mills, and were also running a ferry across the creek for land travelers.²¹ By 1814 there was a bridge across the creek, two paper mills, grist and sawmills, iron furnaces and forges, a tan-yard, blacksmith, and textile

¹⁷ C.B. Galbreath. (1921) 'Anti-Slavery Movement in Columbiana County,' *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications*, 30(11), pp. 355-359.

¹⁸ US Department of the Interior. Bureau of Land Management.. General Land Office Records. Record for Alex Holmes and Benjamin Hough, Ohio River Survey of township No. V Range No. I, 1 January 1805. [The Seven Ranges]. https://glorerecords.blm.gov/details/survey/default.aspx?dm_id=388667&sid=kppizsyyp.si2 : accessed 28 October 2020.

¹⁹ Smith, *Early Reminiscences of "Fawcettstown,"* pp. 5-6. Supposedly the first flour mill in Columbiana County, operated by his son-in-law Joseph Smith.

²⁰ Beaver County, Pennsylvania. *Greene Township, Georgetown*. <https://greentownship.net/history/georgetown/> : accessed 25 October 2020.

²¹ Barth, *History of Columbiana County, Ohio in Two Volumes*, p. 170.

operations. On the other side of East Liverpool, Little Yellow Creek was powering saltworks, gristmills, and a potash factory.²² At the time this kind of successful progress on either side of East Liverpool probably made the settlement there seem redundant at best. Time and perseverance would prove these fears unwarranted.

In 1813 William Foulks, as the assignee of Daniel Morgan, purchased from the US Government 160 acres of land north of East Liverpool in Township 6, Range 1.²³ Local histories indicate that Foulks had been living there since 1802, and calling the place “Faulkstown” or “Foulkstown”.²⁴ Although reported to have been laid out by Foulks as “West Union” before 1810²⁵ no record of any recorded plat has been found. Now called Calcutta, the formation of this town north of East Liverpool was seen by some authors as another competitor for the early trade in the area.

As alluded to above in Smith’s description of his ancestor, Fawcett had hoped to have his little town named the county seat due to its convenient location on the river. This was not to be, and the honor went to what is now the town of Lisbon. Originally called “New” Lisbon, that town was established in Columbiana County in February of 1803, less than a year after Fawcett platted his town.²⁶ New Lisbon founder Lewis Kinney donated land for county buildings and erected a log courthouse and jail.²⁷ These buildings were almost certainly built and funded after the county seat had been established at Lisbon, which is located in Center Township, near the geographic center of Columbiana County.²⁸ The area around Lisbon is

²² Gates, *The City of Hills and Kilns*, p. 12-13.

²³ US Department of the Interior. Bureau of Land Management.. General Land Office Records. Record for William Foulks, Credit Volume Patent 18-81, 2 March 1813. <https://glorerecords.blm.gov/details/patent/default.aspx?accession=0018-081&docClass=CV&sid=2abg3fo1.fgx> : accessed 25 October 2020.

²⁴ Barth, *History of Columbiana County, Ohio in Two Volumes*, p. 92; Smith, *Early Reminiscences of “Fawcettstown,”* p. 9.

²⁵ Horace Mack. (1879) *History of Columbiana County Ohio, with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches, Some of its Prominent Men and Pioneers*. Philadelphia: D. W. Ensign & Co., p. 232.

²⁶ Lisbon, Ohio. *History*. <https://lisbonohio.weebly.com/history.html> : accessed 25 October 2020. The town was called New Lisbon for several decades. Throughout this paper the “New” will not be used when referring to the town.

²⁷ Barth, *History of Columbiana County, Ohio in Two Volumes*, p. 105.

²⁸ Columbiana County Courts. *Historical Sketch of Columbiana County*. <http://www.columbianacounty.org/history> : accessed 28 October 2020.

crossed by several streams capable of powering mills and providing limited transportation of goods and people. Lots had been set aside by founder Kinney for the use of the county and school system, with the express intent of attracting the honor of 'county seat' to New Lisbon which was permanently established by the county commissioners in 1804.²⁹

Also in 1804 a county road had been established that ran from Lisbon to Georgetown (upriver from East Liverpool).³⁰ Early trade into the Northwest Territory arrived at Georgetown via the Ohio River, then proceeded overland northwest to Lisbon and on to Canton. As East Liverpool was located southeast of this trail, trade and settlers tended to bypass the town in its early years.³¹ Lisbon also boasted the first newspaper in the area, when William Lepper began publishing the *Ohio Patriot* in 1809.³²

Although the favorable attributes of Lisbon may have made it seem like the natural choice, the selection of Lisbon over competitor East Liverpool for the site of the county seat was reportedly done by a close vote. Favor fell to Lisbon perhaps in large part because of the lobbying on the part of the supporters of that town. Their spirit of boosterism exceeded that of the residents of East Liverpool, who were also fewer in number. While East Liverpool offered access to the transportation opportunities of the Ohio River, Lisbon was more centrally located which would have been attractive to residents on the northern edges of the county who had business in the county seat. Whatever the ultimate reason for the decision, this early and important loss of status by East Liverpool seemed to presage a repeating pattern of setbacks which lasted for the next few decades.³³

Although some historians indicate that there may have been outside investment in Fawcett's lots prior to the decision on the location of the county seat,

²⁹ William B. McCord. (1905) *History of Columbiana County, Ohio and Representative Citizens*. Chicago: Biographical Publishing Co., p. 269; Gates, *The City of Hills and Kilns*, p. 11.

³⁰ Mack, *History of Columbiana County Ohio*, ... , p. 53.

³¹ Smith, *Early Reminiscences of "Fawcettstown,"* p. 8.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 220.

³³ Gates, *The City of Hills and Kilns*, p. 11.

and in anticipation of East Liverpool being chosen,³⁴ no evidence has been found for that inasmuch as the first deeds issued by Thomas Fawcett in Range 1, Township 5, Sections 23/24 (location of plat) were not until 1805-10, several years after the county seat was located in Lisbon.³⁵ Despite not being named county seat, the tiny village continued to grow, but at a very slow pace.

When passing “Faucetstown” in about 1808, an Ohio River traveler remarked that it contained five or six houses and a ferry, from which ran a road into Warren, Ohio. He also observed what sounded like handmade fishing seines in use; these, he said, were constructed from bushes bound together with vines of the very common wild grape.³⁶ This description varies quite a bit from the optimistic description given by author Smith when he talked of the nearby mills, the local post office, and store.³⁷ An almanac description of the town published in 1810 gave another basic overview of the situation at that time:

Fawcettstown is a small town very pleasantly situated on the Ohio, in which is a post office. It contains but few houses, as but little encouragement has been given by the original proprietor to settlers. By information, we find the population in the neighborhood of the town is very considerable. About 3 m[iles] from thence is a Scotch settlement. The settlers retain the language, manners and dress of the North-Britains ... The road from Fawcettstown up the bank of the river is open, and leads to Little Beaver Creek, 6 miles on which is a grist and saw mill. A toll bridge is erecting, which is, by the act of the

³⁴ Smith, *Early Reminiscences of “Fawcettstown,”* p. 4.

³⁵ Columbiana County, Ohio. General Index to Deeds, Grantor Index Vol. 1 E-K, p. 111, Thomas Fawcett, grantor, 1805-1810. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 20 May 2020. FHL film 905965, image 97 of 854.

³⁶ Fortesque Cuming. (1904) *Cuming’s Tour to the Western Country (1807-1809)*, p. 103.

³⁷ Smith, *Early Reminiscences of “Fawcettstown,”* pp. 4-7.

Legislature, to stand good for the term of 50 years ...³⁸

Some overland roads in Columbiana County were constructed in the early 1800s. The early road coming into the study area ran from Lisbon to Wellsville. Mail came over this road on roughly a weekly basis and another mail route ran weekly through Smith's Ferry to the east along the Ohio River. Residents of East Liverpool could get their mail from either.³⁹ The locating of roads was a paradoxical problem for small towns like East Liverpool. On the one hand there had to be a good reason to build a road (such as access to a prospering town) while on the other hand the prosperity of a town depended to a great extent on the existence of these roads as transportation routes for tradesmen and manufacturing. Fawcett himself did not put forth any petitions for roads into his town, thereby losing out to the more active William Wells of nearby Wellsville.⁴⁰

In 1817 East Liverpool lost a bid for a road authorized from Cleveland through Lisbon to the nearest point on the Ohio River. Although East Liverpool was then called "the nearest point" it is, in fact, nearly a mile further from Lisbon than Wellsville. In the event, the road commissioners decided on the East Liverpool location if the required number of bondsmen could be subscribed to guarantee funding. When Fawcett failed to acquire these signatures, the road went to Wells' Landing, and was completed in about 1821.⁴¹

By this time Thomas Fawcett was about 70 years old, and perhaps no longer had the energy to devote to developing a new town. At the time of his death in September of 1820⁴² Fawcett had sold only 35 of his original 117 lots to individual

³⁸ Gates, *The City of Hills and Kilns*, p. 12. Gates was quoting Robert Stubbs. (1810) *Browne's Cincinnati Almanac No. 5*. Cincinnati: John W. Browne and Co., p. 29. [I could not locate a copy of this original.]

³⁹ McCord, *History of Columbiana County, Ohio and Representative Citizens*, p. 69.

⁴⁰ Gates, *The City of Hills and Kilns*, p. 14.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*; Barth, *History of Columbiana County, Ohio in Two Volumes*, p. 171.

⁴² Monumental Inscriptions. USA. Riverview Cemetery, East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 19 September 1820. FAWCETT, Thomas. Photo added by San. *Find A Grave Memorial*: 28821045. <http://www.findagrave.com> : accessed 29 October 2019.

purchasers.⁴³ On 4 July 1816 Thomas Fawcett together with James Pemberton and Thomas' son John Fawcett had replatted the town, calling it Liverpool.⁴⁴ On 29 April 1817, Thomas sold to James Pemberton and John Fawcett of Wheeling, Virginia, all the unsold lots west of Market Street excepting those he had reserved as his own house lots. This \$500 sale constituted over 60 lots.⁴⁵

One historian states that when Thomas died in 1820 his will left his remaining property to his four daughters.⁴⁶ Although this particular probate record has not been found⁴⁷ a document was found which referenced his 1818 will.⁴⁸ Not exactly a deed, this document appointed Terah Jones to divide the land left by Thomas Fawcett amongst his heirs according to his wishes. This document apportioned land outside of town to sons John and Benjamin and surveyed town lots to daughters Abigail, Mary, Elizabeth, and Isabella. It also provided for the three sons of Thomas' eldest son Joseph Fawcett.⁴⁹

The above instrument completely left off Thomas Fawcett, Jr., the second son of Thomas, Sr. Apparently Thomas, Jr. had purchased a portion of his father's land in 1805, sold it to Jeremiah Barker in 1808, and then moved to Indiana.⁵⁰ Several

⁴³ Columbiana County, Ohio. General Index to Deeds, Grantor Index Vol. 1 E-K, p. 111, Thomas Fawcett, grantor, 1805-1810. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 20 May 2020. FHL film 905965, image 97 of 854.

⁴⁴ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed Records, Vol. 3, p. 1060. Plan of the Town of Liverpool, 4 July 1816. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 20 May 2020. FHL film 926862, image 566 of 620.

⁴⁵ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed Records, Vol. 4, p. 168. Thomas Fawcett et ux to James Pemberton and John Fawcett, 29 April 1817. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 20 May 2020. FHL film 926863, image 105/106 of 826. Although Gates refers to this deed as mentioning Daniel Moore and describing the town as "Saint Clair", I did not see that language in the deed as it was recorded on the date cited by Gates (p. 15).

⁴⁶ Smith, *Early Reminiscences of "Fawcettstown,"* p. 6.

⁴⁷ Testamentary records. USA. 19 May 1965. Packet #459 [Thomas Fawcett] Collection: Estate records, 1803-1900. [Columbiana County, Ohio]. FHL film 2032427, image 2094 of 2986. The probate packet for this case was missing from the files as of 19 May 1965.

⁴⁸ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed Records, Vol. 7, p. 349. John Fawcett et al. to Joseph Smith, 21 July 1821. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 20 May 2020. FHL film 926864, image 193 of 586. Fawcett's will was reportedly dated 15 February 1818.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ Columbiana County, Ohio. General Index to Deeds, Grantor Index Vol. 1 E-K, p. 111, Thomas Fawcett, grantor, 1805-1812. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 20 May 2020. FHL film 905965, image 97 of 854; Barth, *History of Columbiana County, Ohio in Two Volumes*, p. 167.

grandchildren of Thomas Fawcett, Sr., were also missed in the will, including another son of Joseph. It is not clear why Thomas overlooked his son Joseph in favor of his grandsons, who only received one town lot apiece. There was no record of Joseph being deeded any land by his father before 1820, and Joseph was apparently still living at the time of his father's death. This seemingly uneven distribution of assets was not especially uncommon in a time when land and property may have been gifted without record by a father to any of his children or grandchildren (such as son Joseph).

The 1817 sale of much of Thomas Fawcett's land to his son John and John's business partners James Pemberton (and later Daniel Moore) heralded the coming of the town's "second proprietors." Unlike the first Fawcett, the new proprietors promptly held a public auction to sell lots in the newly platted and renamed town.⁵¹ Despite this early drive, over the next five years Fawcett and Pemberton sold only an additional 17 town lots.⁵² One of the new landowners, Sanford Hill, had moved his store from Wellsville to East Liverpool in 1819. His cautious approach to commerce is suggested by the tone of his 1817 advertisement in the Lisbon *Ohio Patriot*, while still operating in Wellsville, in which he warned would-be customers not to attempt payment with counterfeit specie or ask for credit:

Sanford Hill has just received a general and elegant assortment of dry goods, groceries and hardware, which he will dispose of at the lowest Pittsburgh prices for current money; none that is doubtful will be received in payment. He flatters himself that every one who will favor him with his custom, will be satisfied with the attention paid to his call.—

⁵¹ Gates, *The City of Hills and Kilns*, p. 16. Gates quotes from the original newspaper article from 27 July 1816 *Ohio Patriot*.

⁵² Columbiana County, Ohio. General Index to Deeds, Grantor Index Vol. 1 E-K, p. 111. Thomas Fawcett, grantor, 1805-1812. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 20 May 2020. FHL film 905965, image 97 of 854; Columbiana County, Ohio. General Index to Deeds, Grantor Index Vol. 1 N-R, p. 113. James Pemberton, grantor, 1817-1825. ; Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 20 May 2020. FHL film 905966, image 544 of 810.

as he calculates to sell at the lowest prices
there will be NO TRUST.⁵³

Local historians Smith and Gates have noted that out of the sale by the “second proprietors” of the additional 17 lots over a five year period, only four purchasers made any improvements on their lots.⁵⁴ The little town was still not flourishing.

As is the case with Yellow Creek and Wellsville, the first available federal census records for this part of Ohio are from 1820. On that census St. Clair was enumerated as a township with no distinction made for individuals living in the village of East Liverpool. This census recorded 256 families in this township, more than double the number found in Yellow Creek where Wellsville is located. Within this population, 378 individuals were working, 281 of them in agriculture.⁵⁵ This reflects a very agrarian township during this time. The completion of the new road from Lisbon into Wellsville the following year doubtless did nothing to improve the attractiveness of East Liverpool as a residential destination.

However, there were merchants and manufacturers of a sort in and near East Liverpool at this time. Joseph Fawcett, the eldest of Thomas’ sons, had built a grist-mill on Carpenter’s Run;⁵⁶ the stream at that time apparently possessed enough power to run a mill. The Fawcett family had also constructed a warehouse near the river, and one log school house had been built by local residents. Nevertheless, a report in 1823 of the population of East Liverpool stated it contained only two bachelors and six families.⁵⁷ The village had developed no manufacturing base and was second to Wellsville in terms of river trade.

⁵³ Gates, *The City of Hills and Kilns*, p. 18.

⁵⁴ Smith, *Early Reminiscences of “Fawcettstown,”* p. 10; Gates, *The City of Hills and Kilns*, p. 17.

⁵⁵ Census Records. USA. St. Clair, Columbiana County, Ohio. 7 August 1820. Roll M33_91. Complete transcribed census enumerations.

⁵⁶ Mack, *History of Columbiana County Ohio*, ... , p. 175.

⁵⁷ This statistic was reported by Barth, Smith, Mack and Gates. The original source was not noted, possibly a travel reporter.

Proprietors John Fawcett and James Pemberton, having made but few improvements to their town, apparently decided to curtail the effort and go on to something more immediately lucrative. In about 1817, while still owning much of the land in East Liverpool, the pair accepted a government contract to supply some kind of goods to forts along the Missouri River.⁵⁸ Although they retained their ownership of East Liverpool lots and continued their sale, they likely did not expend much effort to develop the town. In 1825 they sold most of their holdings to Claiborne⁵⁹ Sims (or Simms) who became the town's third proprietor.⁶⁰

Not much is known about the ancestors of Claiborne Richard Simms Sr. He was born perhaps about 1765 in Washington County, Maryland.⁶¹ He supposedly married Mary Ann Beall on 5 December 1799 in Frederick County.⁶² The first potential record of this Claiborne is the 1810 federal census of Ohio County, Virginia.⁶³

There were five Simms families enumerated in Ohio County in 1810. Three of these were headed by women - Margaret, Jacosta and Maria. The two male heads were Samuel and Clabourn; the latter was enumerated next to Jacosta. On this census, Claybourn was said to be age 26-45; if he were born in 1763 as suggested by one historian,⁶⁴ he would actually have been age 47 in this year, a bit outside this age category. The Clabourn enumerated had one (possible) son age 10-15 and two sons under age 10, plus three daughters age 10-13 and two under age 10. A possible wife

⁵⁸ Gates, *The City of Hills and Kilns*, p. 17.

⁵⁹ The forename is spelled many different ways. For the purposes of this document, it will be spelled exactly as written in documents, and "Claiborne" for general reference.

⁶⁰ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed Records, Vol. 9 p. 439-41. Fawcett & Pemberton to Claborn Simms, 9 October 1925. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 20 May 2020. FHL film 926865, image 242/43 of 781.

⁶¹ Summers, *Genealogical and Family History of Eastern Ohio*, p. 463. The surname was alternately spelled Sims or Simms. The forename was spelled in a variety of ways. Unless quoting a specific record, it will be spelled "Claiborne".

⁶² Marriages (CR) USA. Frederick County, [Maryland.] 5 December 1799. SIMMS, J. Clebborn and BEALL, Mary Ann. Collection: Maryland, US, Compiled Marriages, 1655-1850. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 1 December 2020.

⁶³ It should be remembered that before 1850 the United States federal census did not record the names of every person in each household. Only the name of the head of household was recorded, plus the numbers of individuals in specified gender/age groups.

⁶⁴ Summers, *Genealogical and Family History of Eastern Ohio*, p. 463.

was aged 26-44. The relationships are speculative based only on the numbers of individuals in each gender/age category. The family owned eight slaves.⁶⁵ It is possible that Richard had a wife before he married Mary Ann Beall; the existence of eight children under the age of 15, born in a marriage only 11 years old seems unlikely, since American women at this time bore a child approximately once every two years.⁶⁶

The next census on which Claiborne appeared was in 1820; he was still living in Ohio County. On this census, he was correctly enumerated as over age 45, as was his potential wife. The family included one (possible) son under age 10, two aged 10-15, and one aged 16-25; there was also one daughter 10-15, and two aged 16-25. There were no slaves recorded on this census, and the ages of the children are mostly increased appropriately by about 10 years.⁶⁷ The only other Simms in the county during this enumeration was Richard Simms, who had a total of 15 people in his household. The names of all of Claiborne's children are not known. He probably had eight or nine children, possibly with two different wives.

It is not certain when Claibourn Simms Sr. arrived in Ohio; the first deed bearing his name with residence in Columbiana County is dated 18 October 1825. This is the deed of sale from Fawcett and Pemberton; the 404 acres of land conveyed in this deed contained the surveyed town of Liverpool.⁶⁸ In an apparent land exchange, four days later Simms sold to Fawcett, Pemberton, Daniel Moore and John

⁶⁵ Census records. USA. Elizabeth, Ohio County, Virginia. 6 August 1810. SIMMS [Jimmo], Clabourn (head). Roll: M33_70. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 21 October 2020. It should be noted that no family relationships were recorded on this census, only the age categories of the individuals who lived in the household.

⁶⁶ Digital History. *Limiting Births in the Early Republic*. http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/topic_display.cfm?tcid=134 : accessed 21 November 2019.

⁶⁷ Census records. USA. Ohio County, Virginia. 7 August 1820. SIMMS, Clayborn (head). Roll: M33_140. p. 26. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 7 Feb 2019.

⁶⁸ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed Records, Vol. 9, p. 439. John Fawcett and James Pemberton of Wheeling to Claborn Simms of Columbiana Co., 18 October 1825. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 20 May 2020. FHL film 926865, image 242 of 781.

Smith a plot of land in Ohio County, Virginia.⁶⁹ By this time Claiborne would have been in his early 60s.

Between 1825 and 1832 Claiborne Simms succeeded in selling 101 of the remaining lots in the original allotment plus those in his additional plat which made up a total of 196 available lots.⁷⁰ This despite the fact that East Liverpool had lost its post office by 1826, and there were only 18 families in town during that year.⁷¹ During Simms' proprietorship several general stores opened, and two docks were constructed on the Ohio River to serve as ferry points.⁷² The 1830 census did register an increase in population with 26 households and 136 individuals living in town.⁷³ Of these 26 households, at least 11 were landowners. Compared to Wellsville, East Liverpool had a far smaller population of young men and women between 20-30 years of age, only 22% of the population vs. Wellsville's 32%. However, East Liverpool had a far higher percentage of young children under age ten - 42% of the population as opposed to only 28% in Wellsville. The percentage of older (age 30-40) parents in the towns was roughly equal, so it is not known why East Liverpool residents appeared to have higher fertility. This was also a slightly older population overall than Wellsville, with three men over 50, one in his 70s, and three women between 50-70. There were no black residents in East Liverpool this year.⁷⁴

⁶⁹ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed Records, Vol. 9, p. 441. Claiborne Simms to John Fawcett, James Pemberton, John Smith and Daniel Moore of Wheeling, 22 October 1825. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 20 May 2020. FHL film 926865, image 243 of 781.

⁷⁰ Columbiana County, Ohio. General Index to Deeds, Grantor Index Vol. 1 S-T, p. 80. Cleaburn Simms, grantor, 1825-1832. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 20 May 2020. FHL film 905967, images 61-63 of 486.

⁷¹ Smith, *Early Reminiscences of "Fawcettstown,"* pp. 21, 17.

⁷² Gates, *The City of Hills and Kilns*, p. 18.

⁷³ Census records. USA. Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1830. Roll: M19_128. p. 312-13. Complete transcribed census for 1830.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

Claiborne Simms Sr. died in 1833 in East Liverpool. His probate records do not contain a will nor any listing of the heirs.⁷⁵ However, when his wife Mary Ann died in 1848 she left a will that named eight children. All except her executor, Ignatious Simms, got a total of ten cents from their mother. Ignatious, her oldest son, received the home lot and house.⁷⁶ Overall, Simms seemed to have been the most successful town proprietor to date. He managed to sell many more of the original town lots than his predecessors and the town developed more trade on his watch. Alternately, perhaps he merely happened along at a time when increasing migration to the area and interest in river trade led to more potential settlers in general.

The 1825 legislative authorization of two main canals to connect the Ohio River with Lake Erie also resulted in the construction of smaller local branch canals to connect with these large water routes. In 1828 the private Sandy and Beaver Canal Company began surveying for a potential canal to connect the Ohio Canal with the Ohio River at Little Beaver Creek, a distance of about 90 miles. Work began in November of 1834, some capital was obtained from Philadelphia investors, and about 38 miles of the canal were underway by 1835.⁷⁷

The financial crisis which occurred in 1837 was basically a result of local banks issuing paper money with no hard currency (usually gold) to back it up. Land speculators took full advantage of the resulting easy credit, as did the financiers of projects such as the canal, railroads and roads. When the government began requiring that all paper money be backed by hard currency, the rapid economic expansion of the country slowed abruptly. Many banks failed since they had no specie to back up the paper notes they had issued. The recovery from this recession was long and slow and effects were felt in some sectors for as long as five years.⁷⁸ This national problem resulted in a sharp curtailment of funding for the Sandy and

⁷⁵ Testamentary records. USA. 28 October 1833. SIMMS, Clayburn. Collection: Ohio, US, Wills and Probate Records, 1786-1998. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 31 October 2020. Estate Records no. 1549.

⁷⁶ Testamentary records. USA. 20 March 1849. SIMMS, Mary Ann. Collection: Ohio, US, Wills and Probate Records, 1786-1998. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 31 October 2020. Estate Records no. 3346.

⁷⁷ Ohio History Connection. *Canals*. <https://ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Canals> : accessed 25 January 2021.

⁷⁸ Timothy Knight. (2014) *Panic, Prosperity, and Progress: Five Centuries of History and the Markets*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., pp. 49-61.

Beaver Canal and the project was not finished until 10 years later than originally hoped.

There was differing opinion by locals as to the benefits of the canal at the time; some believed it would provide direct water transportation from this part of the study area to national markets in the northeast while others believed it would effectively cut off East Liverpool from some of these beneficial larger transportation routes.⁷⁹ By 1852 the local canal was abandoned; it had become unprofitable due to the arrival of the railroad.⁸⁰ However, this project may have provided work for laborers in the area up until about 1837 and perhaps benefitted the slow growth of East Liverpool to a minor extent.

The histories of both Wellsville and East Liverpool discuss the building of the railroad line connecting Lake Erie to the Ohio River. The impact of this effort on East Liverpool was described by both Gates and Smith.⁸¹ Two routes had been proposed for this connection. One ran from Painesville (northeast of Cleveland) through New Lisbon to Wellsville. The other route ran from Ashtabula (further northeast of Painesville) through Warren to East Liverpool. Proponents of each line were to meet in Salem in October of 1835 to decide the route. This road was to be funded by speculators and town boosters who invested in Ohio railroad companies.

The names of the original eight signers of the East Liverpool petition for the route to go through their town have apparently been lost. At a meeting *prior* to the October 1835 Salem convention local East Liverpool supporters met and appointed Richard Boyce, Dr. Quigly, A. M. Dawson, Mathew Laughlin and William Thompson to meet with citizens of Geauga County (in which Painesville was located) in an effort to increase support for the East Liverpool Route. The appointed Richard Boyce was a large landowner living in East Liverpool;⁸² Quigly may have

⁷⁹ Gates, *The City of Hills and Kilns*, p. 22.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

⁸¹ This history, with the exceptions of other footnoted facts, was reported in Gates, *The City of Hills and Kilns*, pp. 22-26. County histories herein cited also relate this story. Smith (as footnoted) provided the most concise and unbiased explanation, which was an odd departure from his normal style.

⁸² Census records. USA. Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1850. BAYCE, Richd. (head). Roll: M432_669. p. 124a. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 22 November 2020.

been the Samuel Quigly, Jr. living in Calcutta (north of East Liverpool) in 1840;⁸³ Dawson may have been Augustine M. Dawson, a businessman also from Calcutta;⁸⁴ neither Laughlin nor Thompson was located in Columbiana on 1830 or 1840 census enumerations. Gates did not record the outcome of the meeting between the East Liverpool and Geauga County citizens.

Actual delegates to the 1835 Salem meeting from East Liverpool were not the same men sent to confer with representatives of Geauga County; Aaron Brawdy, S.C. Hill and William G. Smith were instead the representatives for East Liverpool's interests.⁸⁵ Representative Smith was one of the authors being referenced here, [Sanford C.] Hill was later to be the third town "proprietor" and Aaron Brawdy was a large landowner in East Liverpool.⁸⁶ No resolution was reached at the Salem convention regarding the eventual route of the road. Disappointed, the East Liverpool group applied for a charter to build their own railroad and this was granted by the state Legislature. The Ashtabula, Warren and Liverpool Railroad Company was chartered in February of 1836, but collapsed during the nationwide depression of 1837.⁸⁷

Thus began a bitter rivalry between the towns of Wellsville and East Liverpool for the distinction of terminus for the rail line. Wellsville initially had the stronger economic position due to its further developed shipping facilities, greater availability of capital, and larger population of businessmen. The town of Lisbon (the county seat) was at the time engaged in the complicated negotiations for the Beaver and Sandy Canal and leaders there were too distracted to lend county support to the building of the rail line. Apparently due to this lack of county support, the route to Wellsville was temporarily abandoned.⁸⁸

⁸³ Census records. USA. Calcutta, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1840. QUIGLEY, Samuel (head). Roll: M704_386. p. 151a. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 22 November 2020.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* AUGUSTINE, Augustine M. (head).

⁸⁵ Smith, *Early Reminiscences of "Fawcettstown,"* p. 34.

⁸⁶ Census records. USA. Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1860. BRODY, Aaron (head). Roll: M653_948. p. 171a. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 22 November 2019.

⁸⁷ Gates, *The City of Hills and Kilns*, p. 26.

⁸⁸*Ibid.*, p. 23.

The incorporators of the railroad company promoting the East Liverpool terminus included six men from Ashtabula County, seven men from Trumbull County, and six men from Columbiana County (including author William G. Smith). This company was authorized to sell capital stock worth \$1.5 million in shares of \$50 each. Construction could begin when \$50,000 had been subscribed; however, if the road was not finished within 20 years, the charter would be null. In March of 1836 the committee began advertising in the New Lisbon paper.⁸⁹ Descriptions of the proposed railroad included intersections with both the Sandy and Beaver as well as the Ohio and Pennsylvania canals; intersection with the Cleveland and Warren R. R. and the proposed railroad from Pittsburgh to Cleveland. This “great project” would then reportedly link New York with the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys at a fraction of the cost of present canal navigation. The terminus would be at East Liverpool, that town described as being ‘... equalled by few, and surpassed by none on the Ohio in any respect ...’ Despite being overweening and less than truthful, the advertisement did provide a boost to the morale of the town. Many local residents purchased shares, including Claiborne Simms. Speculation in East Liverpool property was brisk.⁹⁰

This ‘exaggerated proclamation[s] of worth of a particular place over all other places’ was not uncommon then, nor is it today. Small towns in the United States and Canada often used these tactics to attract settlers and, more importantly, to attract potential employers. These optimistic claims were based on the promotion of local assets, resources, and activities that could lead to economic development of the town and potential success of employers.⁹¹ As noted above, speculation in land and railroads was rife during this period. The two almost fed on each other. If investors in railroad stocks had confidence that a line would be built in a particular place they could then invest heavily in the land through which the line would run. The idea was

⁸⁹ A search for online version of the New Lisbon newspapers during this period did not return any digitized papers available through *Newspapers.com* or the Library of Congress.

⁹⁰ Gates, *The City of Hills and Kilns*, p. 23. Citing *Ohio Patriot* and *Farmers and Mechanics Shield*, 11 Mar 1836.

⁹¹ David B. Knight. (1998) ‘Extending the local: the small town and globalization,’ *GeoJournal*, 45(1), p. 145.

then to sell the land to the railroad for a profit. Some railroad securities were used as collateral for these land loans, and the system was thereby self-reinforcing.⁹²

A good example of this type of speculation took place in East Liverpool at about this time. William Smith's plan as a proponent of the railroad and a champion of East Liverpool was to sell stock in the proposed railroad while at the same time bolstering his personal interests in the town. In October of 1836 Smith and five other investors platted an addition to East Liverpool consisting of 127 town lots.⁹³ Smith sold these lots to wealthy Pittsburgh speculators as a bonus for taking stock in the railroad project. Major purchasers of the lots were George A. Cook, Lawrence Mitchell, and James Blakely (already a property owner in East Liverpool). Smith retained ownership of some of the land for himself. These speculators themselves formed a joint stock company and advertised lots in their town addition for public sale. Gates quotes part of the ad for these lots, citing the *Ohio Patriot*:

These lots are beautifully situated on the Ohio River ... fronting on a street 100 feet in width, and in that part of town in which shortly the heaviest business will be transacted. Wharves and landings can be constructed in front of these lots — (and in fact fronting the whole town, equal to those of Cincinnati or Pittsburgh) — a wharf having been made by the proprietors during the last season, at which the largest class of steamboats load and unload with ease. The plan on which this property is laid out is on a liberal scale, with streets of sixty, eighty, and one hundred feet wide; and large plots have been reserved for places of worship, public squares, and manufactories. The undersigned bind themselves to devote one-fifth of the proceeds of the sale to the erection of an extensive Hotel, and for the extension of the

⁹² Johnny Fulfer. *Financial Instability and the Panic of 1857*. <https://economic-historian.com/2020/07/panic-of-1857/> : accessed 16 December 2020.

⁹³ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed Records, Vol. 4, p. 430. The Addition to East Liverpool, 17 October 1836. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 20 May 2020. FHL film 926872, image 224 of 782.

wharf and landings opposite the property offered for sale ... Liverpool is ... in the midst of a rich and flourishing agricultural district, having within six miles, eight large flouring mills — and with the exception of the county of Hamilton, the largest in population in the State. Coal, stone, lime, clay, and other materials, for building and manufacturing are in abundance in its neighborhood; and capital and enterprise are only wanting to make it in a few years as thriving a manufacturing and mercantile town as any in the state ... The Ashtabula, Warren and Liverpool Railroad ... will, when finished, be one of the most important public works in the state ... [and] ... must necessarily become the avenue of the southwestern trade to the Atlantic Cities.⁹⁴

According to one account the acquisition of the land for the addition was done through cleverly manipulating the previous owner, Mr. William Hill, into trading his land (which he did not want to sell) for another piece of property owned by Smith. Author Smith claimed this particular piece of land was owned by his family when he, himself, was a child and he seemed rather gleeful that he had wrested it back from Mr. Hill. Smith then divided this land (at one-sixth share apiece) with the Pittsburgh speculators Gen. William Robinson, George A. Cook, and Lawrence Mitchel; a divided one-sixth share went to James Bleakley and R. Mansley. Smith sold Bleakley an additional 14 acres and together they purchased a large tract just north of those 14 acres from Claiborne Simms, Sr. All of the above investors then took stock in the railroad.⁹⁵ There was no mention in the historical accounts or of available newspapers of this kind of land speculation taking place in Wellsville as part of an anticipated railroad terminus being located there.

Construction reportedly began at each end of the proposed Ashtabula, Warren and Liverpool Railroad Company route. Soon, however, William Robinson

⁹⁴ Gates, *The City of Hills and Kilns*, pp. 25-26. Citing *Ohio Patriot*, date not given.

⁹⁵ Smith, *Early Reminiscences of "Fawcettstown,"* pp. 36-38.

transferred his stock to George Cook, who then owned a full third of the interest in the lots as well as Robinson's railroad stock. Before Cook could pay off his original loan to William G. Smith, the panic of 1837 hit and Cook lost everything. Smith recovered nothing from Cook. In the midst of this financial confusion, the company was dissolved, the railroad project was abandoned, the Sandy and Beaver Canal project was abandoned, and East Liverpool failed to reap much benefit from either of these enterprises. To make matters worse a potential rival village had recently sprung up in the form of Jethro, lying just west of East Liverpool near the original Thomas Fawcett property.⁹⁶

The advertisement for the sale of East Liverpool town lots as noted above and the descriptions of East Liverpool at this time by travel writers are good examples of the spirit of boosterism that was displayed by the various proprietors of the town (with the exception of Fawcett). The financial problems of the country in the mid to late-1830s did not exclude East Liverpool and the loss of both the railroad and the canal as potential employers was not incidental. Nonetheless the town boosters continued to promote the place based on the positive aspects they could point out. They were not unique in their promotional activities, as was noted by Knight.⁹⁷

"East Liverpool" acquired this final name in about 1830 when the "East" was added as a prefix. In 1834 "East Liverpool" was incorporated as a village,⁹⁸ within a year of the date Wellsville achieved the same status. It had taken East Liverpool about 32 years to reach this landmark, something Wellsville achieved in only about 13 years. This rapid progress in Wellsville was not long to exceed that of East Liverpool. Proprietor Simms soon began selling many additional town lots and businesses began to move into the area in the 1830s. Much of this progress was due to the zealousness of Simms as well as the corporate energies of the Sanford Hill family and William G. Smith, author and grandson of Thomas Fawcett.

⁹⁶ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed Records, Vol. 26, p. 405. Jethro, 9 January 1838. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 20 May 2020. FHL film 926873, image 211 of 845. This point marks the end of the Gates recitation of the railroad contest between Wellsville and East Liverpool.

⁹⁷ Knight, 'Extending the local: the small town and globalization,' p. 145.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

The decade of the 1830s saw over two dozen new dwellings constructed in the village, the beginnings of a hotel, stores, and a boat yard for building flatboats and steamboats. The steamboat *Liverpool* began operations in 1835 and ran locally for several years before moving to the more profitable route from Little Rock to New Orleans. Boatbuilder Abel Coffin built two more steamboats in East Liverpool in the 1830s.⁹⁹ Whether profitable or not for their owners, these efforts likely provided work for local laborers. Much of this growth may have been in early anticipation of the railroad terminus. By 1837 East Liverpool was described as follows by a travel writer:

East Liverpool ... a pleasant post town in St. Clair township ... contains near 500 inhabitants, a number of splendid brick buildings, 4 stores, 2 taverns, 1 steam saw mill, a steam grist mill, and steam boat yard ... one physician, one practical astronomer and surveyor ... 3 commission warehouses, and a number of mechanics of various professions. ... The future prospects of this town are very flattering, as a charter for a rail road was granted by the Legislature of 1834-5 ... All kinds of buildings materials are abundant and easy of access ... Two mail routs [sic] pass through the place ...¹⁰⁰

Though a second traveler, just a few years later, still had this report:

... the new town of Liverpool ... [has] a great extent of water-frontage. It is judiciously placed, though at present the straggling houses, interspersed with the stumps of recently-felled trees, and the deep ruts and

⁹⁹ Barth, *History of Columbiana County, Ohio in Two Volumes*, p. 172.

¹⁰⁰ Warren Jenkins. (1837) *The Ohio Gazetteer, and Traveler's Guide: containing a description of the several towns, townships and counties, with their water courses, roads, improvements, mineral productions ... with an appendix, or general register ...* Columbus: Isaac N. Whiting, p. 169.

mud in the lines intended for streets, mark the infancy of its condition.¹⁰¹

The Pittsburgh Directory of 1841 printed another optimistic opinion:

... [East Liverpool] is a very flourishing place ... There is a steamboat yard, steam gristmill and sawmill in successful operation, and there are many other mills and manufactories, progressing and in contemplation, among which is the manufactory (now in successful operation), of Porcelain ...¹⁰²

Although the 1837 prediction regarding the railroad was premature, the writer's optimism was otherwise well founded. By 1840 the population of East Liverpool had increased to 504 individuals living in 100 households - nearly quadrupling the statistics from a decade earlier. The age range of adults with the highest percentage was 20-30 year olds at 20% of the overall population. Children under age 10 accounted for fully one-third of the population and there were two schoolhouses with a total of 74 students. There were more older adults in town, 17 men over age 50 and 18 women of the same age. There was one black family in town, a woman with two young children. In all, 113 individuals (probably nearly all men) were working at some occupation. A huge percentage of those, nearly 71%, were working in manufacturing with an additional 15% in navigation, and the rest in commerce or agriculture.¹⁰³

The demographics of the country as a whole roughly mirror those in East Liverpool, at least as far as the percentages of individuals represented by each age group. In 1840, about 32% of the population of the country was under age 10 and about 18% was between the ages of 20 and 30. The big difference was evident in the

¹⁰¹ James Silk Buckingham. (1842) *The Eastern and Western States of America*, Vol. 2. London: Fisher, p. 238.

¹⁰² Gates, *The City of Hills and Kilns*, p. 32. Gates was quoting the directory, of which he had only a photocopy and no additional publication information.

¹⁰³ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1840. Roll M704_386. p. 143-146. Complete transcribed census enumerations for 1840. The 1840 census did not enumerate each person individually, just the name of the head of household and the ages/genders of others in the household.

composition of occupations. While East Liverpool reported 71% of its inhabitants working in manufacturing, in the country as a whole only 16.5% of individuals worked in this area with the huge percentage of individuals, nearly 78%, employed in agriculture.¹⁰⁴ This is not surprising given that the inhabitants of East Liverpool were living in a town rather than a rural/agricultural area; on this enumeration the nearby farmers lived within a few miles of town and were enumerated in the township rather than the town.

One individual enumerated in 1840 would prove to have a large impact on the future of the town - if not in actual economic development, at least in spirit. James Bennett, with (probably) a young wife and one small child, appeared on the census of East Liverpool for the first and only time in 1840.¹⁰⁵ Local and regional historians have made a great point about the story of James Bennett being the “Pioneer Potter” and the first potter in East Liverpool. He was not the first individual to attempt pottery making in the study area. Potters had been active in Pittsburgh, Morgantown (West) Virginia, and other parts of the upper Ohio River Valley since the late 1700’s.¹⁰⁶ Joseph Wells had begun making pottery in Wellsville in 1826.¹⁰⁷ Any number of individuals had been producing the rather crude “redware” for everyday use as well as bricks, probably for several decades.¹⁰⁸ A prominent contemporary historian, attorney, and president of the local historical society in East Liverpool believes Bennett was the first potter in town to make a commercial success of the

¹⁰⁴ United States Census Bureau. *1840 Census: Sixth Census or Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the United States*. <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1841/dec/1840c.html> : accessed 22 November 2020. See page 100 & 103. These statistics were muddled by the way the enumerators tallied colored inhabitants and slaves, for both of which the age group was 24-36 rather than 20-30.

¹⁰⁵ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1840. BENNETT, James (head). Roll: M704_386. p. 143. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 6 November 2019.

¹⁰⁶ John Ramsay. (1947) *American Potters and Pottery*. New York: Tudor, pp. 66-80.

¹⁰⁷ Barth, *History of Columbiana County, Ohio in Two Volumes*, p. 143.

¹⁰⁸ Author unknown. n.d. Untitled biography of James Bennett, written by an unnamed great-great-grandson. n.pub. p. 1. East Liverpool Historical Society, East Liverpool, Ohio. Manuscript Collection: Bennett; W. A. Calhoun. (n.d.) *Early Clay Industries of the Upper Ohio Valley*. [manuscript] East Liverpool: Carnegie Public Library, p. 1-5. Typed version of Calhoun’s original manuscript, reportedly held in 1976 at the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society.

effort, rather than the first individual to actually produce pottery in the area.¹⁰⁹ His opinion is borne out to some extent by the historical record.

Although Bennett was listed as a laborer on the passenger manifest of the ship *St. Lawrence* which brought him from England in 1835,¹¹⁰ he was said locally to have been a “packer-apprentice at a local pottery” [in England]¹¹¹ and a “trained potter.”¹¹² The 1840 census listed him in the category of “Manufacturers.”¹¹³ When his brothers arrived in 1841, the passenger manifest of the *Eli Whitney* called them all farmers.¹¹⁴

On 23 June 1843 James Bennett and his three brothers purchased lot 53 in East Liverpool from William Dougherty.¹¹⁵ Before this time James had apparently been producing pottery with the financial assistance of other local landowners and those on whose land the clay was found. Two in particular helped fund the Bennett venture and provided land and/or supplies; these men were Anthony Kearns and Benjamin Harker, Sr.¹¹⁶ The first batch of wares produced by James was reportedly in East Liverpool 1840. James sold his pottery in the town and the surrounding communities for a profit of \$250.¹¹⁷

¹⁰⁹ Timothy Brookes. (2019) Personal communication. 27 September.

¹¹⁰ Passenger list for *S. S. St. Lawrence* departing Liverpool. BENNETT, James. Arriving New York, 25 May 1825. Collection: New York, U.S., Arriving Passenger and Crew Lists, 1820-1957. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 7 December 2020.

¹¹¹ Author unknown, Untitled biography of James Bennett, p. 1.

¹¹² Gates, *The City of Hills and Kilns*, p. 31.

¹¹³ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1840. BENNETT, James (head). Roll: M704_386. p. 143. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 6 November 2019.

¹¹⁴ Passenger list for *S. S. Eli Whitney* departing Liverpool. BENNETT, Edwin. Arriving New York 22 September 1841. Collection: New York, U.S., Passenger and Crew Lists, 1820-1957. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 7 November 2020.

¹¹⁵ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed Records, Vol. 34, p. 383. Wm. Daugherty to [four] Bennett, 23 June 1843. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 20 May 2020. FHL film 926942, images 213-214 of 490.

¹¹⁶ Calhoun, *Early Clay Industries of the Upper Ohio Valley*, p. 24.

¹¹⁷ Barth, *History of Columbiana County, Ohio in Two Volumes*, p. 198.

The common story is that the Bennett brothers sold out to Thomas Croxall in 1844, though no deed for the land transfer was found.¹¹⁸ James and Daniel Bennett moved to the south side of Pittsburgh where there was apparently better shipping for their pottery goods. Edwin Bennett moved to Baltimore where he was later joined by William.¹¹⁹ There were several Bennetts living in the Pittsburgh area on the 1850 census. These included Daniel and James, both potters born in England. Records were also found for Edwin and William, both of whom were living in or near Baltimore.¹²⁰

Although the Bennetts themselves did not remain long in East Liverpool, the fact of their successful profit from pottery production apparently gave some local manufacturers enough energy to pursue this possible trade. Another timely boost to the pottery industry in East Liverpool was the existence of increasing labor problems in the Staffordshire area potteries of England in the early 1840s.¹²¹ Letters home from the Bennetts to their friends and relatives may have mentioned the benefits of East Liverpool and the potential for pottery manufacture and job opportunities in the area.

In the 1840s English potters, along with many other laboring classes, were experiencing labor unrest brought on by poor working conditions, a surplus of labor, decreases in wages, and specific management systems which worked against them. Unions had been formed but were often crushed by manufacturers.¹²² Emigration to America had become a much-discussed topic and William Evans had taken the lead to encourage disaffected potters to move. He organized “The Potters Joint Stock

¹¹⁸ Author unknown. (n.d.) *Genealogical records of Bennet Family*. [manuscript] East Liverpool: East Liverpool Historical Society. Collection: Bennett. [record for James Bennett] No grantee named Thomas Croxall was found in 1844. In 1847 William Bennett sold lot 53 to *Samuel Croxall*: Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed records, General Index to Deeds, Grantor index Vol. 1 A-D, pg. 238. William Bennett, grantor, 1847. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 20 May 2020. FHL film 905964, image 126 of 474.

¹¹⁹ Barth, *History of Columbiana County, Ohio in Two Volumes*, p. 198.

¹²⁰ Census records. USA. 1 June 1850. Search for surname “Bennett” with place of birth “England” and residence in Baltimore or Pittsburgh, to include the county. Records for all four men indicate they are potters. Website used was <http://www.ancestry.com>.

¹²¹ Harold Owen. (1901) *The Staffordshire Potter*. London: Grant Richards. p. 47.

¹²² *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

Emigration Society and Savings Fund” which encouraged members to subscribe as they were able and awarded land he had purchased in Wisconsin via a lottery-style system.¹²³

Ohio immigrant George Garner wrote home to his friends on Christmas Day of 1844. He had come to Ohio with John Garner and Enoch Bullock and operated a pottery in Wellsville for about 18 months. George had then moved to East Liverpool and gone into business with James Foster. His letter home was long and covered many topics. In part he reported:

We were well received at East Liverpool, by a many that came from the Potteries, together with others from Ashley Wholds. In three days after we got in, Bradshaw, Cartwright and myself began to work. ... I have been through Pittsburgh and the surrounding markets, and I find there are markets open to receive every cup of ware that is made. The Derbyshire ware cannot come into these markets [and be competitive] ... there is a duty of 30 per cent on your English pottery. ... East Liverpool is full of clay and coal, and contains about 760 inhabitants ... I have engaged with the Bennetts, that were potting here, to do their throwing until spring. ... I will not recommend any potters to come out, unless they have situations to come to; but as the trade spreads, potters will be wanted.¹²⁴

The “Cartwright” mentioned in Garner’s letter was probably the potter Thomas Cartwright who was found on the census of 1850.¹²⁵ Sometime in the 1880s Cartwright wrote a brief sketch of the town based on his memory. In addition to

¹²³ Grant Foreman. (1938) ‘English Potters in Wisconsin,’ *The Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 21(4), pp. 375-396; Gates, *The City of Hills and Kilns*, pp. 34-37. See Chapter Six for more information on these conditions.

¹²⁴ East Liverpool Historical Society. *Posthumous Letter of a Pioneer Potter*. <http://www.eastliverpoolhistoricalsociety.org/g.garner.htm> : accessed 16 December 2020. Published reprint of a letter written by Mr. Geo. Garner.

¹²⁵ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1850. CARTWRIGHT, Thos. (head). Roll: M432_669. sheet 115b <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 22 Nov 2019.

remarks about the fashions, dancing, and entertainments common at the time, he had a few things to say about the potteries and business:

... Arriving in East Liverpool, August, 1844, after leaving a populous district like the Staffordshire potteries, it seemed a very small place to me ... There were four potteries. The 1st was Bennett's, at the lower end of town, the bank of the river on which it stood is washed away long ago. The 2nd was John Goodwin's, which is now Baggot Bros. Third, the Mansion House, Salt & Mear. Fourth, Harker's. Each pottery had but one kiln, and small at that. ... When the only means of shipping was by river, in a long dry spell the river would be so low for a long time that no shipping could be done. The warehouses would get stocked so we simply had to quit work and wait; the same result would occur in winter when the river would be frozen up for a long time.¹²⁶

Another English potter, John Thomas, wrote to friend Jabez Vodrey in August of 1846:

... there is 5 factorys In Operation Making Yellowware and Rockingham ... there is about 150 Dwellings and 3 churches ... Liverpool is What I call A very Poor Plase and I think it is likely for to be for there is no Kind of Improvement going on nor as not Been for many years Except theese Little potting Establishments and they are But Little Binafit for Either town or Country.¹²⁷

¹²⁶ Thomas Cartwright. (n.d.) 'East Liverpool in 1844.' *Potters' Gazette, East Liverpool, Ohio*. [newspaper clipping] East Liverpool: East Liverpool Historical Society. This newspaper was published from 1876-1891, the piece by Cartwright was published 24 October 18??.

¹²⁷ Gates, *The City of Hills and Kilns*, p. 37. Gates quotes from an unpublished manuscript in the possession of family descendants called *The Diary of Jabez Vodrey*, dated about 1830-1860. This letter dated 8 August 1846.

Although the overall tone of these three letters is generally cautious about the immediate prospects of the pottery business in East Liverpool, the communication from George Garner seemed the most optimistic. In the end, Garner would go into the grocery business while Cartwright and Vodrey became successful potters.¹²⁸ Despite these somewhat tentative early reports, East Liverpool had apparently attracted the favorable attention of immigrants and finally began to flourish.

By the end of the 1840s, there were six main potteries in town employing 153 people and producing items valued at over \$67,000 annually.¹²⁹ A new brick schoolhouse had replaced the old log structure, and the first common school was convened there. There was at least one physician in town.¹³⁰ There were Episcopal and Methodist Episcopal churches, with a Presbyterian congregation making use of one of their buildings. Stores and taverns served as gathering places for men, while

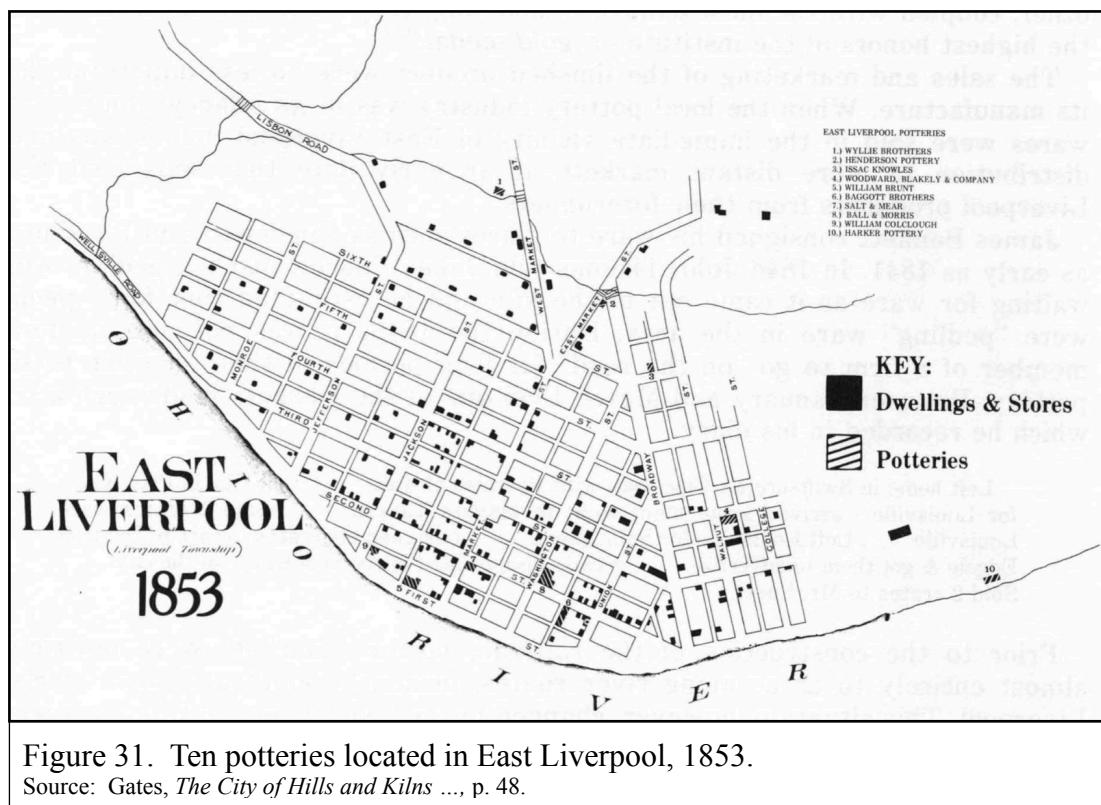


Figure 31. Ten potteries located in East Liverpool, 1853.

Source: Gates, *The City of Hills and Kilns* ..., p. 48.

¹²⁸ Cartwright and Vodrey are discussed further in the chapter on Staffordshire Potters.

¹²⁹ Census records. USA. Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1850. Roll: T1159. Industry schedule. Dist. 25, p. 161. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 7 November 2019.

¹³⁰ Barth, *History of Columbiana County, Ohio in Two Volumes*, pp. 179, 175

women occupied themselves with quilting, dancing or plays. Whiskey was freely available.¹³¹

East Liverpool began the study period of 1850 to 1880 on less stable footing than its downriver neighbor. Nevertheless, with the population finally growing steadily and the beginnings of an industrial base, prospects for the town were increasingly positive. The “discovery” of the local abundance of clay for pottery production and the increasing national need for affordable household wares made from pottery and porcelain helped fuel the growth of this nascent industry into something that would propel the population growth and economic expansion of East Liverpool for many decades.

In 1984 William C. Gates, Jr., then serving as Historian and Curator for the Ohio Historical Society’s East Liverpool Museum of Ceramics, published a very well researched and comprehensive history of the town of East Liverpool and the pottery industry in particular. This book, frequently cited here, covered “Life and Work” in East Liverpool from its inception to the time of writing. Gates’ first four chapters have history of the town up to 1890, covering 144 pages. His excellent book contains not only the history of the potteries but also the history of the town itself, including photos and maps of the town during the study period which Mr. Gates had access to during his time at the Museum of Ceramics, and which may no longer exist.¹³²

One way in which the present work hopes to differ from that of Gates is through more detailed analysis of census data as well as some focus on individuals who were not necessarily important pottery owners or other local “bigwigs.” For example, Gates noted that it was not possible in 1860 to separate the individuals enumerated in East Liverpool proper from those in the township of Liverpool.¹³³ He

¹³¹ Cartwright, ‘East Liverpool in 1844.’

¹³² This researcher did visit the archives of the Museum (2019) but they appeared to be somewhat reduced in scope since Gates’ time and a reported “library” was not found. In addition the archival material had apparently been moved within the building more than once residing, on the 2019 visit, in one small room also used as an office. At that time the archives were overseen only by an untrained volunteer and included no index nor any apparent attempt at a professional filing or indexing system. Material was very difficult to locate and citations/sources difficult to obtain.

¹³³ Gates, *The City of Hills and Kilns*, p. 51.

was technically correct. John M. Jenkins enumerated the entire township of Liverpool between 1 June and 10 June 1860, making no distinction between those individuals living in town and those living in the rural township. He noted the Post Office as “East Liverpool” on all but seven of the fifty-two pages in his enumeration.¹³⁴ Though an odd omission in his otherwise very complete recording of the census, there is no particular reason to suspect that Jenkins deliberately left these seven post office designation lines blank.

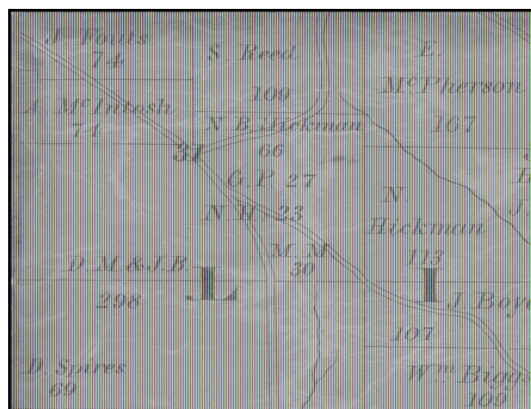


Figure 32. Portion of 1860 land ownership map of Columbiana County.

Source: Carhart, Mead & Co. (1860) *Map of Columbiana County, Ohio*. No scale stated. Philadelphia: Carhart, Mead & Co. Library of Congress Geography and Map division control no. 2012586253.

One method that can be used to separate some of the rural farmers from the dwellers in the town of East Liverpool is to examine a land ownership map for 1860 and note the families on the census who match the names of landowners. This is not a completely straightforward process, as most names on the land ownership map contain initials and some contain *only* initials. (See Figure 32.) While many of the names found on the map were believed to correspond to farmers on the census there were problems. Some landowners' names could not be determined or, if they could, were not found on the census. Secondly some large landowning farmers named in the census did not appear on the land ownership map. It is also likely that families who were enumerated on the same day and their households listed in order between those of two landowners who were found on the map, but who were not themselves

¹³⁴ Census records. USA. Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1860. Roll: M432_948. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 18 August 2020. Complete transcribed census enumerations for 1860.

listed as landowners, were very probably living in the same area as those known to be land owners - possibly as tenant farmers, for example.¹³⁵

The potentially rural families thus identified constituted 255 of the original 2,051 individuals enumerated in Liverpool Township. It is not known why Gates gave the population in 1860 as only 1,982.¹³⁶ This discrepancy is not problematic for the research at hand as Gates' statistics with respect to the percentage of the population engaged in the pottery industry will not be quoted; these statistics will be calculated given the data currently available.

While Gates' history of East Liverpool is thorough, only about 25% of his book deals with the period up to 1880. One topic which he deals with in depth is the battle between Wellsville and East Liverpool for the railroad terminus. The eventual arrival of the railroad in East Liverpool in 1856, about four years after it made its debut in Wellsville, was not thought to have had as great an immediate impact on the transportation occupations here as it did in Wellsville. The biggest boon was likely to the pottery business as the railroad provided vastly improved shipping opportunities when compared to reliance on the riverboat trade alone or the carting of wares overland to the rail station in Wellsville.¹³⁷ In fact the percentage of workers in East Liverpool who worked in the transportation trades related to river, rail and stage was never as large as in Wellsville even after the railroad was extended to East Liverpool in 1856. This was probably because the "car shops" were located in Wellsville, and it was *that* facility which employed most of the railroad workers. In East Liverpool, the majority of transportation workers were usually draymen or others related to the wagon and stage trade. These workers were likely involved in hauling of goods from the potteries to the railhead or wharf.

¹³⁵ It was not likely that Mr. Jenkins would enumerate a landowning farmer, then go into town to enumerate a town resident, then return to enumerate the first farmer's neighbor. Nevertheless, these intermediate individuals were retained as town residents even though they probably were not. When discussing census statistics in this section, the distinction will be made between the original 1860 enumerations and the proposed "town" vs. "township" enumerations.

¹³⁶ Gates, *The City of Hills and Kilns*, p. 51.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

The industrialization of East Liverpool brought on by the proliferation of pottery businesses before and during the study period is most clearly seen by looking at the percentages of workers who were employed in the general category of Manufacturing/Production & Heavy Industry as opposed to all other occupational categories. Unlike in

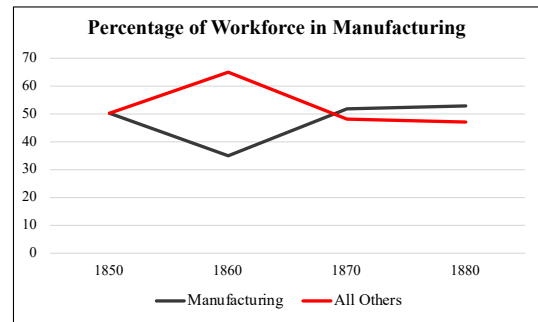


Figure 33. Percentage of workforce in manufacturing.

Source: Complete transcribed census enumerations for 1850-1880.

Wellsville, where the highest percentage of workers in any single category in any year was only about 25%,¹³⁸ East Liverpool figures show a clear and consistent dominance by workers in manufacturing and production across the study period. In

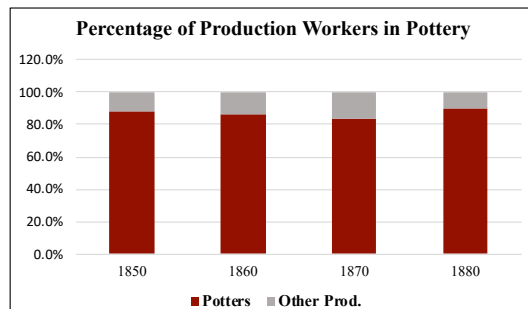


Figure 34. Percentage of production workers in pottery.

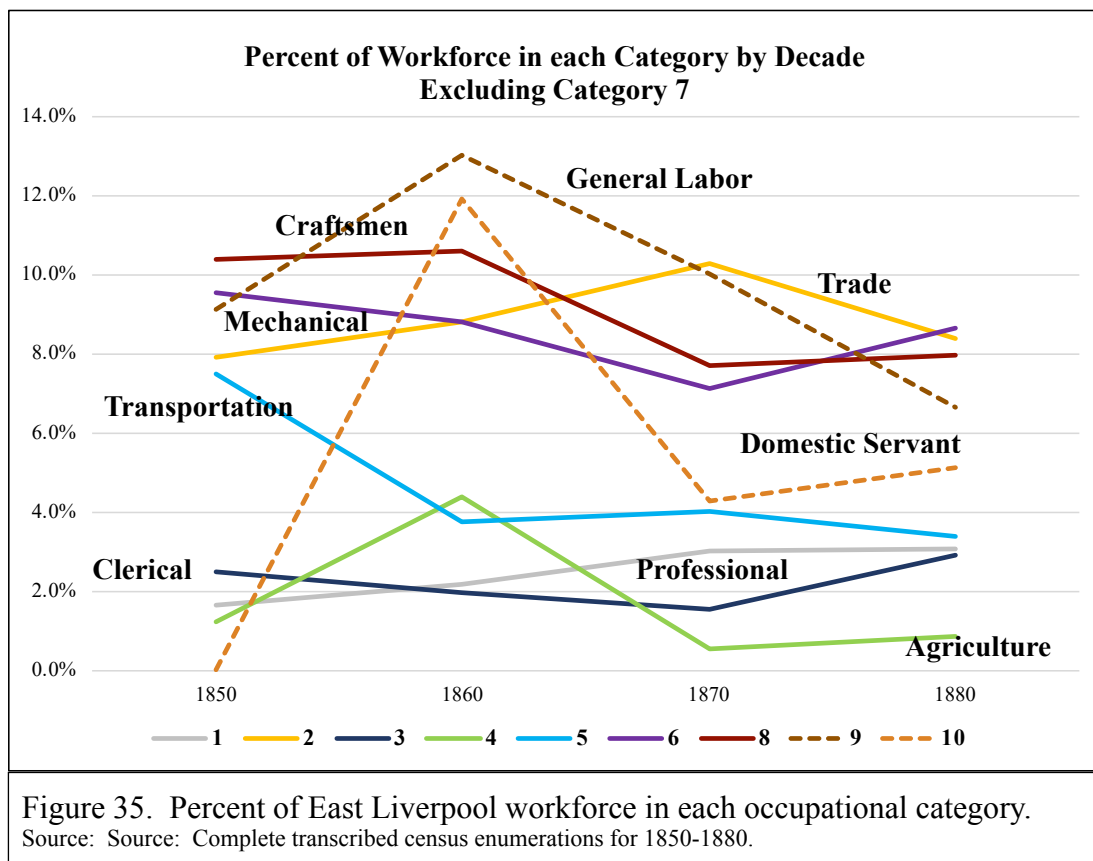
Source: Complete transcribed census enumerations for 1850-1880.

both towns the percentage of the workforce engaged in Category 7 (Manufacturing) jobs was beginning to level off by the end of the study period; however in Wellsville that figure was less than 9% in 1880 while in East Liverpool the figure was about 53%. While potters did not make up all of these production workers, they represented a clear and

consistent majority of over 83% in every decade. (See Figure 34.)

Other differences exist between the general employment characteristics of the two towns. While in Wellsville the percentage of workers engaged in the basic and professional services types of occupations found in Categories 1-3 fluctuated between categories and tended (in total) to decrease towards the end of the study period, the total percentage of workers in these three categories in East Liverpool never constituted more than 14.5% of the workforce (as opposed to a high of about 30% in Wellsville) and the percentages remained remarkably consistent across the

¹³⁸ Please refer to Chapter Two - Wellsville, chart depicting the percent of workforce per category by decade.



time span of the study period. Category 2 (Tradesmen, Merchants) made up about 75% of the East Liverpool workers in this block; Professional and Clerical workers were consistently represented by an average of only about 5% of the workforce as opposed to the average of about 10% in Wellsville.

In general the picture of the workforce in East Liverpool was skewed far more heavily towards the Manufacturing/Production & Heavy Industry category of work than the professional, service, and craftsmen types of jobs.¹³⁹ A comparison of the percentage of workers in all other categories excluding Category 7 shows no category exceeding about 13% in any year. The trends in these categories mirror, to some extent, those seen in Wellsville. The most obvious similarity is the spike in general laborers and domestic servants in 1860. Unlike Wellsville, a corresponding depression in other represented categories is not seen. The drop in workforce *was* seen in Category 7 workers (Manufacturing/Production & Heavy Industry) which are

¹³⁹ As discussed above, the statistics for 1860 do not include those likely to have been living in the township rather than East Liverpool proper. The great bulk of the individuals thus excluded from the analysis were farmers.

not shown in Figure 35. Two other items of note in this analysis are the spike in agricultural workers in 1860¹⁴⁰ and the overall decline in transportation workers. The spike probably does not represent more farmers living in East Liverpool, but rather an artifact of the way the enumerator did his job that year. This is in contrast to Wellsville where there was an increase in transportation-related workers over most of the study period. (Please refer to the Wellsville chapter.)

As in Wellsville, women in East Liverpool also worked, and they made up approximately the same percentage of the overall workforce at about 11-15% between 1860-1880.¹⁴¹ Unlike Wellsville, where domestic servitude dominated the kind of work done by women through the decades, women in East Liverpool worked more often in the potteries as time went by. While in 1860 domestic workers made up 82% of working women, by 1880 that percentage had dropped to 34% and had been taken over by pottery workers at 38%. As in Wellsville, women also followed trades involving sewing, hat making, washing, and teaching.¹⁴²

The focus of this research was not specifically related to the development of the pottery industry. However it is clear from the analysis of the workforce that the potteries were the primary employers and likely provided the economic advantages that allowed East Liverpool to persist as a town. Wellsville had a more balanced workforce and a larger percentage of that workforce was providing professional services or engaging in trade, construction, and other types of service-related industries (as opposed to manufacturing). Based only on this analysis, it is not certain that East Liverpool would have persisted as a town much less outstripped Wellsville in size if it had not been able to develop this single industry.

As noted by one local historian, ‘... most residents were engrossed in the necessity of making a living and establishing an industry rather than turning their resources to community improvement.’¹⁴³ Despite this assessment, the community

¹⁴⁰ Many, but not all, farmers from the 1860 Liverpool Township census were able to be excluded as living outside of East Liverpool.

¹⁴¹ No women were enumerated as working for wages in East Liverpool in 1850.

¹⁴² Complete transcribed census enumerations for 1850-1880.

¹⁴³ Gates, *The City of Hills and Kilns*, p. 31.

obviously did develop other institutions. Some insight into the lives of the inhabitants and the development of the community can be found in newspapers published in the area. For East Liverpool, the first newspaper published specifically for that community did not begin printing until May of 1861, when publishers Luckey & Harris began printing the *East Liverpool Mercury*, which lasted just over a year.¹⁴⁴ It is not certain that either man even lived in East Liverpool; neither was found on either the 1860 or 1870 enumerations of the town. Although one source indicates this paper contains ‘... a remarkable record of a community caught up with the rest of the nation in bloody and bitter strife’¹⁴⁵ a more objective source indicates the issues contained ‘illustrations (chiefly advertisements)’.¹⁴⁶ No issues of this paper were available for review during this research.

The next newspaper was also short-lived; the *East Liverpool Record* reportedly published from about 1867 to 1870. This newspaper suffered from lack of funding, and by the time it was disbanded the size of the paper had been reduced to about six by ten inches. The only printing press then available to the beleaguered publisher could reportedly print nothing larger.¹⁴⁷ Nothing could be found about a reported third paper, the *East Liverpool Local*, said to have been published for but six weeks in the summer of 1869.¹⁴⁸

Towards the end of the study period, East Liverpool newspaper publishers began to stay in business somewhat longer, perhaps due to an increase in town population sufficient to sustain a local paper in competition with the Wellsville papers. In 1869, local potter Enoch Bradshaw invested in a paper designed to offer a ‘... Democrat publication in the heavily Republican community’ of East

¹⁴⁴ Library of Congress. *East Liverpool Mercury (East Liverpool, Ohio) 1861-1862*. <https://www.loc.gov/item/sn83035521/> : accessed 9 September 2020.

¹⁴⁵ East Liverpool Historical Society. *Early County Newspapers. Chapter I*. <http://www.eastliverpoolhistoricalsociety.org/earcounew.htm> : accessed 9 September 2020.

¹⁴⁶ Library of Congress. *East Liverpool Mercury (East Liverpool, Ohio) 1861-1862*. <https://www.loc.gov/item/sn83035521/> : accessed 9 September 2020.

¹⁴⁷ East Liverpool Historical Society, *Early County Newspapers. Chapter I*; ‘Pottery City Week by Week.’ *Evening Review*. 18 October 1929, p. 32, c. 1. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 9 September 2020. This newspaper was not found in the Library of Congress listings.

¹⁴⁸ East Liverpool Historical Society, *Early County Newspapers. Chapter I*.

Liverpool.¹⁴⁹ He published *The Democrat* until about 1876, at which time he reportedly sold the paper to his son, T. R. Bradshaw and his partner J. H. Simms, who changed the name to *The Tribune* and published for several more decades.¹⁵⁰ During this same period David Martin of Wellsville moved his plant to East Liverpool and published *The Gazette* for a period of about five years.¹⁵¹ The name was then changed to *Potters Gazette*, which published for an additional six years.¹⁵²

A stark example of the scorn with which Democrats were viewed in anti-slavery Ohio was found in this published example of ill behavior on the part of some Liverpool residents:

... about thirty women, and five men, dressed in women's clothes, started out, with tar and feathers, after the Democratic women in that town. They first went to the house of a Mrs. Morris, a widow woman, and a boy called her to the door. He then took hold of her and tore off all her clothes, except her chemise. The crowd of she fiends then came up and dressed her in a coat of tar and feathers. ... Five other Democratic women were tarred and feathered.
...¹⁵³

None of these publishers were apparently quite as successful as the Wellsville publishers; in that town, newspapers began as early as 1838 and most lasted at least five years.¹⁵⁴ The oldest East Liverpool newspapers were not readily available for

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*; Library of Congress. *The East Liverpool Tribune (East Liverpool, Ohio) 1876-1911*. <https://www.loc.gov/item/sn85026030/> : accessed 9 September 2020.

¹⁵¹ Library of Congress. *East Liverpool Gazette (East Liverpool, Ohio) 1871-1876*. <https://www.loc.gov/item/sn85034458/> : accessed 9 September 2020.

¹⁵² Library of Congress. *Potter's Gazette (East Liverpool, Ohio) 1876-1882*. <https://www.loc.gov/item/sn83035519/> : accessed 9 September 2020.

¹⁵³ 'Outrageous Barbarity.' *Daily Ohio Statesman*. 24 June 1863, p. 2, c. 3. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 24 September 2020.

¹⁵⁴ This was not always the case, and several early Wellsville papers lasted only two years; Library of Congress. *US Newspaper Directory Search Results*. https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/search/titles/results/?state=Ohio&county=Columbiana&city=Wellsville&year1=1690&year2=2020&terms=&frequency=&language=ðnicity=&labor=&material_type=&ccn=&rows=20 : accessed 9 September 2020.

study during this project (many being held by libraries in other states), and there was no yearly recap published by any local historian as there was for Wellsville.¹⁵⁵

Other types of histories are available for East Liverpool including Columbiana County histories and the publications gathered by the East Liverpool Historical Society. Together these shed some additional light on the development of the town that grew up to support the pottery industry. Most report the usual “important” events which took place during the study period, some of which are mentioned here.

Churches began appearing in the 1850s. During this decade Rev. S. W. Clark headed a United Presbyterian congregation,¹⁵⁶ Rev. Lenakemper organized a German Evangelical Lutheran church,¹⁵⁷ and a Protestant Methodist church was organized by an unnamed pastor from Wellsville.¹⁵⁸ This last group later relocated and is still active in East Liverpool.¹⁵⁹

Graded schools were organized under the supervision of J. P. Cameron beginning in about 1864. There were originally four grades. A commissioner’s report of 1872 numbered the “youth of school age” in 1871 as 816;¹⁶⁰ the 1870 census recorded only 693 children between the ages of 5 and 18. Perhaps the commissioner’s count included the township. In 1870, only 397 children from East Liverpool were actually attending school, according to census enumerations.¹⁶¹ This graded system was somewhat late coming, as it did, about nine years after ‘... most cities, towns and villages in Ohio had established free school systems, erected school

¹⁵⁵ Edgar Stanton Davidson. (n.d.) *Before the Memory Fades*. Wellsville: Wellsville Historical Society. Davidson, writing perhaps in about 1950, apparently had access to newspapers dating from 1847-1863.

¹⁵⁶ Gibson Lamb Cranmer. (1891) *History of the Upper Ohio Valley*. Madison: Brant & Fuller, p. 399.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 427; Laurel Hollow Park. *St. John’s Evangelical Lutheran Church - East Liverpool*. <http://www.laurelhollowpark.net/elo/stjohnschurch.html> : accessed 10 September 2020.

¹⁵⁸ Cranmer, Gibson L., et. al. (1890) p. 414.

¹⁵⁹ Mack, *History of Columbiana County Ohio*, ... , p. 179; Author unknown. *Our Church*. <https://www.fumceastliverpool.com/mission-index-impact> : accessed 16 December 2020.

¹⁶⁰ Cranmer, Gibson L., et. al. (1890) p. 112

¹⁶¹ Complete transcribed census enumerations.

buildings ...'¹⁶² and East Liverpool was apparently the last incorporated town in Columbiana County to establish a graded school in compliance with the Akron School Law of 1847.¹⁶³ The larger Union School building was opened in the fall of 1870.¹⁶⁴ Mandatory schooling in Ohio was not instituted until 1876 when children ages eight to fourteen were to receive at least twelve weeks of schooling, although Gates later cites 'school-age children' as between six and twenty-one.¹⁶⁵ The 1880 census recorded 904 children ages 8-14 in East Liverpool and 2,077 in the 6-21 age group. Of this number 950 children had actually attended school for some period in the previous year.¹⁶⁶

The first bank to be established in East Liverpool was founded in 1870. A private institution, Huff & Company Deposit Bank failed during the financial crisis of 1873, but was able to pay off creditors at 83% of their original investment. The next institution, the East Liverpool Banking Company, opened the next year and was reorganized six months later as the First National Bank.¹⁶⁷ It remained in operation successfully throughout the remainder of the study period.¹⁶⁸ In 1870 the census recorded one bank clerk - Farren D. Kitchel; by 1880 Jason B. Manley and Heber Blythe were both working as bank clerks. The other members of the board of directors named by Gates were either not residents of East Liverpool or were working in other professions, several of them pottery manufacturers.¹⁶⁹

The city hall building, begun in 1877, was completed the next year.¹⁷⁰ The building was on Third Street, part of the area that was lost when the freeway

¹⁶² Molly O'Brien & Amanda Woodrum. (2004) 'Constitutional Common School,' *Cleveland State Law Review*, 51(3), p. 597.

¹⁶³ Gates, *The City of Hills and Kilns*, p. 59; Ohio History Connection. *Akron School Law*. https://ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Akron_School_Law : accessed 24 September 2020.

¹⁶⁴ Gates, *The City of Hills and Kilns*, p. 121.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 90, 103, 121.

¹⁶⁶ Complete transcribed census enumerations.

¹⁶⁷ Gates, *The City of Hills and Kilns.*, p. 185.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

¹⁶⁹ Complete transcribed census enumerations.

¹⁷⁰ Gates, *The City of Hills and Kilns*, p. 123.

construction began in 1962.¹⁷¹ This building contained the mayor's office, city council chambers, a courtroom, jail, marshal's office and a fire engine equipment room.¹⁷²

The mid-1860s saw an increasing availability of the type of public services which would later become quite commonplace. In about 1866 natural gas was first piped into the town to be used as fuel.¹⁷³ This resource was not used widely by the citizens until a few years later, and by the end of the study period gas was used for street lighting and for light and heat in dwellings, stores, offices, and potteries.¹⁷⁴ It was not until 1877 that the first organized fire department formed. The increasing use of gas, especially in the heated environment of the potteries, led to more frequent and damaging fires. Robert Hague was reportedly the first captain of this volunteer force;¹⁷⁵ he may have been the painter located on the 1880 census.¹⁷⁶ Nowhere near the size of the Cleveland Fire Department, depicted in Figure 36, the East Liverpool volunteers had a hook and ladder wagon and 50 volunteers.¹⁷⁷

A more reliable water supply became available in 1879 when the water works was established. The water supply was pumped from the Ohio River, up the hill 320 feet into a reservoir, then gravity fed. In addition to household use, this water supply and the associated hydrants were invaluable to the fire department and potteries (which also used the water in production).¹⁷⁸ The water works may have made use of locally produced terra cotta sewer pipe and the occupation of "plumber" appeared

¹⁷¹ East Liverpool Historical Society. *The End of the Beginning of ELO, the End of Second & Third Streets*. <http://www.eastliverpoolhistoricalsociety.org/neighborhoods/2ndstreet/2ndSt%20Intro.htm> : accessed 10 September 2020.

¹⁷² Mack, *History of Columbiana County Ohio*, ... , p. 186.

¹⁷³ East Liverpool Historical Society. *Memorable East Liverpool Dates*. <http://www.eastliverpoolhistoricalsociety.org/memdates.htm> : accessed 10 September 2020.

¹⁷⁴ Mack, *History of Columbiana County Ohio*, ... , p. 184.

¹⁷⁵ Gates, *The City of Hills and Kilns*, p. 112.

¹⁷⁶ Complete transcribed census enumerations.

¹⁷⁷ Gates, *The City of Hills and Kilns*, p. 112.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 114-116; Mack, *History of Columbiana County Ohio*, ... , p. 186; Barth, *History of Columbiana County, Ohio in Two Volumes*, p. 181.



Figure 36. Cleveland Fire Department in action, 1876.

Source: Michael Schwartz Library, Cleveland State University. *Going to a fire*. <https://clevelandmemory.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/print/id/142/rec/1> : accessed 10 September 2020.

for the first time in East Liverpool with nine men claiming that as their main occupation.¹⁷⁹

Other services that are taken for granted in modern society were also somewhat late arriving in East Liverpool. The first policemen/watchmen were not appointed until 1876 and the first actual city marshal not elected until 1880.¹⁸⁰ “Secret orders” and societies were

established early in the town; between 1859 and 1876 eight such societies were formed.¹⁸¹ These societies, which included many of the town’s leading potters, allowed local men a regular opportunity to socialize and interact for business matters.¹⁸² The town had no library or hospital by the end of the study period, but a branch of the YMCA did open in the fall of 1880.¹⁸³

As with all parts of the country, East Liverpool felt the effects of the Civil War even if not in terms of local combat. Company K of the 3rd Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry fielded 100 men mainly from Wellsville, East Liverpool, and Salineville, for three months’ service. Two companies were made up entirely of men from Liverpool Township and East Liverpool:

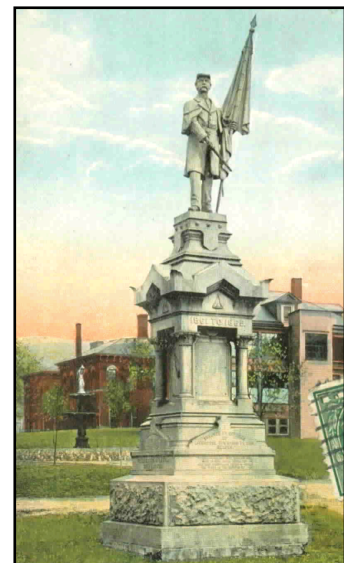


Figure 37. Soldier’s monument standing in City Park.

Source: East Liverpool Historical Society. *ELO on Postcards, Part III*. <http://www.eastliverpoolhistoricalsociety.org/postcards/postcards3.htm> : accessed 10 September 2020.

¹⁷⁹ Complete transcribed census enumerations.

¹⁸⁰ Gates, *The City of Hills and Kilns*, p. 117.

¹⁸¹ Mack, *History of Columbiana County Ohio, ...*, p. 186.

¹⁸² Gates, *The City of Hills and Kilns*, p. 61.

¹⁸³ Ohio Valley YMCA. *Our History*. <https://www.ohiovalleyymca.org/ourymca/our-history/> : accessed 10 September 2020.

Company A of the 115th Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry was called the “Liverpool Tigers” and Company I of the 143rd Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry was composed entirely of men from Liverpool Township.¹⁸⁴ These last two companies were particularly well represented in the local post of the Grand Army of the Republic, which was formed in East Liverpool in January of 1881.¹⁸⁵ These men were apparently not quite as civic minded when at home; William Vodrey, Colonel in the 143rd, had this to say about them:

We have some of the worst specimens of humanity from Liverpool that can be found this side of hell. Men who, at home and not called upon to make any sacrifice, were the most blatant union men we had in the town, are now the most violent copperheads and traitors either North or South.¹⁸⁶

Whatever their character, the soldiers of East Liverpool (like the soldiers of many communities) have a memorial to their service. The Civil War Soldiers’ Monument which now stands in Riverview Cemetery was originally a “Roving Sentinel” which was first erected in downtown East Liverpool in 1890, moved to the city park in 1909, then to the front of the Carnegie library in 1916 and finally to the cemetery in 1942.¹⁸⁷

The potteries were, in the end, probably the main reason that East Liverpool persisted as a town. The early potters likely dug the clay locally, turning a farmer’s nuisance into a profitable industry.¹⁸⁸ A general discussion of English potters, their reasons for immigrating, and some family histories are found in the chapter related to Staffordshire Potters. As can be seen by Figure 38 and 39, the proportion of pottery

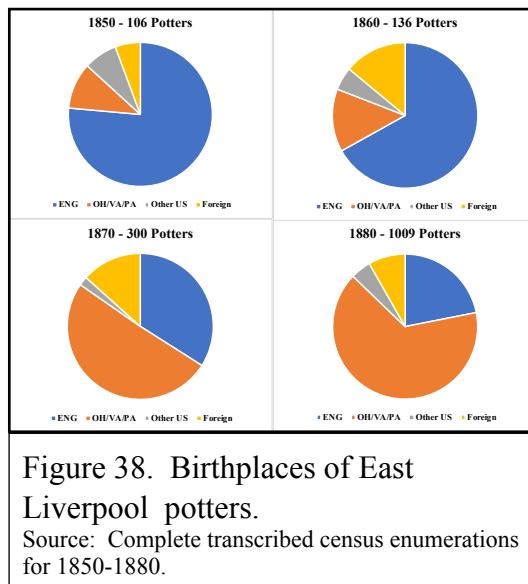
¹⁸⁴ Cranmer, Gibson L., et. al. (1890) p. 444, 460, 465.

¹⁸⁵ General Lyon Post No. 44. Department of Ohio, Grand Army of the Republic. (n.d.) *Descriptive Book*. [manuscript] East Liverpool: Museum of Ceramics.

¹⁸⁶ Gates, *The City of Hills and Kilns*, p. 69.

¹⁸⁷ Michael Schwartz Library. Cleveland State University. *Soldiers’ Monument, East Liverpool, Ohio*. <https://clevelandmemory.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/general/id/2811> : accessed 10 September, 2020.

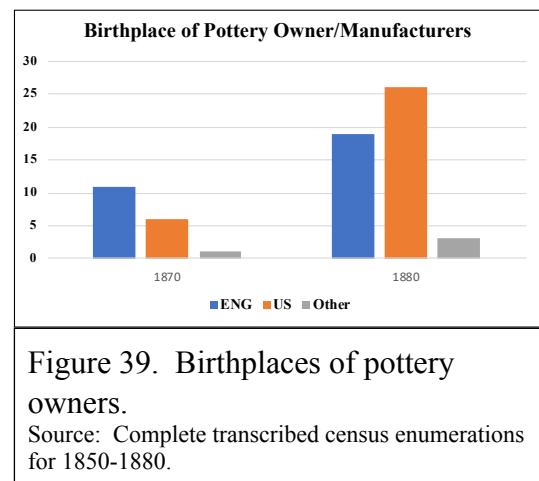
¹⁸⁸ Gates, William C., Jr. (2020) Personal communication. 4 September. Phone conversation about his research for the book, his years as Historian in Ohio, and the pottery industry in East Liverpool.



workers born in England was quite high (over 75%) in 1850 and declined progressively over the decades of the study period to about 25% by 1880. While the absolute number of English born potters did keep increasing over the time period, they were joined by the rapidly expanding ranks of their own children and other workers who were born in Ohio and the neighboring states of Pennsylvania and Virginia.¹⁸⁹

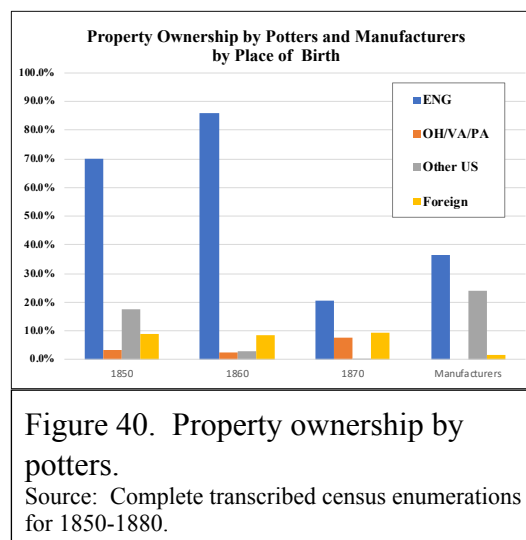
Pottery manufacturers were only specifically identified on the census beginning in 1870. On that enumeration most manufacturers were born in England but by 1880 the majority were American born. A bit of an extrapolation can be made from the 1850 Industrial Schedule wherein business owners producing more than \$500 annually were enumerated. In Liverpool Township there were six potteries counted. By cross checking this listing with the population schedule it was found that of the twelve potters individually named on the industrial schedule who could be identified on the population schedule nine were born in England, two in Scotland and only one in Ohio. This rough estimate of 75% of pottery owners being English in origin fits with the other trends developed here.

Figure 40 speaks to how dominant an economic influence the English potters had in the industry. US census takers enumerated the amount of land and/or personal property owned by



¹⁸⁹ These figures, taken from the census transcriptions used for all the statistics in this work, are not completely consistent. In 1870 and 1880 the enumerators separated those who indicated they were “Manufacturers” and those individuals were not included in the calculations here. In any event, they accounted for a maximum of 5.6% of all pottery workers by 1880.

each individual from 1850-1870. As can be seen the English pottery workers dominate their American and other foreign born counterparts with respect to property ownership through all three decades. The manufacturers, seen as a second category, were depicted separately from the pottery workers. This group applies *only* to the year 1870. Taken together, the percentage of property owned by English potters *and* manufacturers in 1870 was around 55%. This is still a decrease from the decade before, and it can be seen that US born manufacturers were beginning to own more of the land and other property associated with the pottery business by 1870.



A third metric demonstrates the economic importance of the pottery industry (at least through 1870) by looking at the percentage of all real and personal property in East Liverpool owned by potters (workers and owners) as opposed to two other large categories of property owners - merchants and those not working (perhaps retired). In all years individuals involved with the pottery industry were the owners of more property than the next highest category, usually those not working.¹⁹⁰

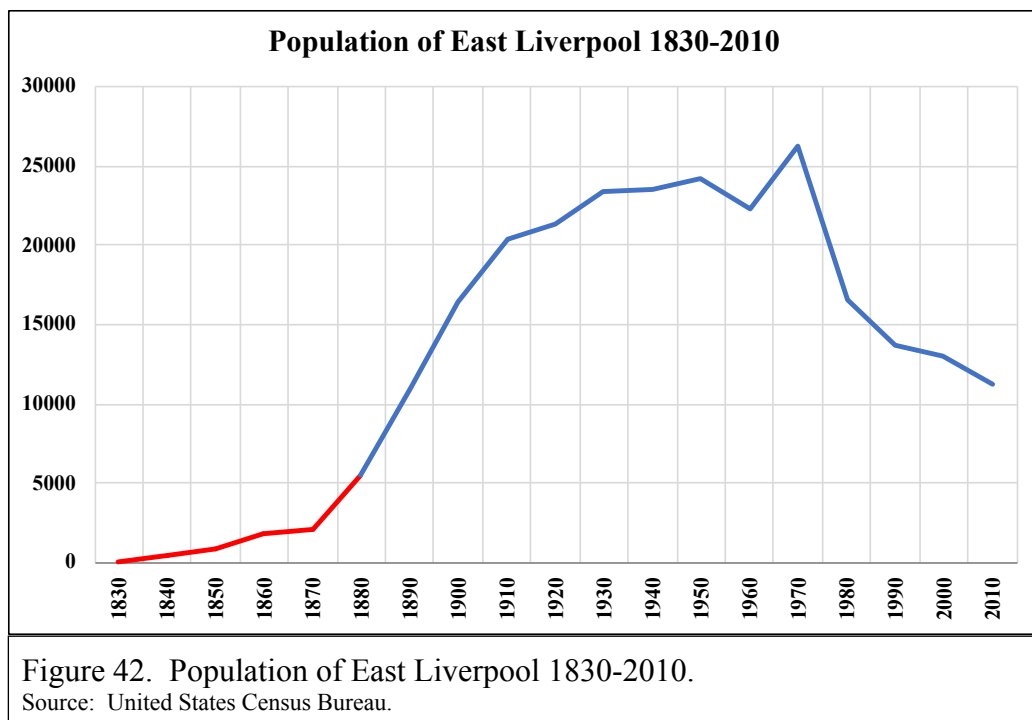
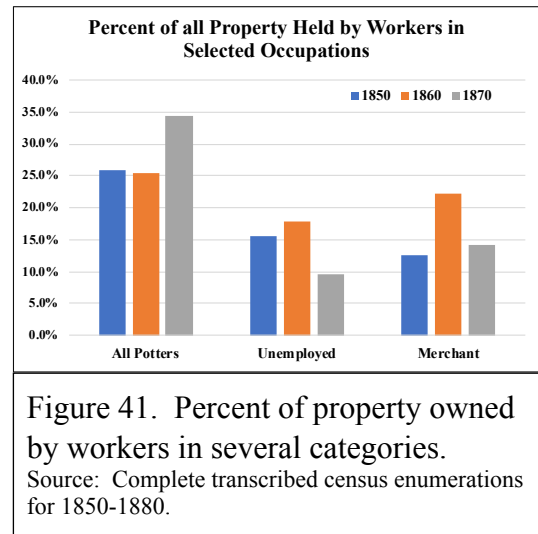
By the end of the study period (1880) the population of East Liverpool was 5,568, about half of what it would be in 2010.¹⁹¹ Unlike Wellsville, whose population peaked around 1920, the population of East Liverpool continued to increase until about 1970, after which it dropped off much more precipitously than that of Wellsville.

The history of East Liverpool is a good example of how difficult it was to establish a town and make it prosperous during this period. When compared to

¹⁹⁰ Although there were farmers enumerated in town in 1860, this category was not included due to the difficulties with determining which of them actually were living in town rather than in the township.

¹⁹¹ 1830-1880 population from transcribed census data used in this work. 2010 and intervening figures from: United States Census Bureau. *Decennial Census of Population and Housing*. <https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census.html> : accessed 28 July 2020.

neighboring Wellsville, the future of East Liverpool hung in the balance for several decades longer and success was never really assured until the potteries became profitable. Unlike Wellsville, which had a visionary in William Wells, East Liverpool labored under several ineffective or mainly disinterested “proprietors” at its beginnings. East Liverpool also had more competition from surrounding communities, including Wellsville and towns in Pennsylvania. Early in its history East Liverpool offered nothing to travelers or settlers that could not be found more easily and/or abundantly in these surrounding communities. It is almost certainly thanks to the discovery of the usefulness of the local clay, the determination of the early potters, and the hard work and wish for a better life of the immigrant English pottery workers that East Liverpool survived at all.



CHAPTER FOUR

GRANT DISTRICT 1850-1880

Thus far the research has looked at the history of two Ohio towns through their formation until about 1880. The Grant District of Hancock County, West Virginia, is clearly visible across the Ohio River from both towns. During the study period there was no town development in that area. A review of the history of this part of the study area may help illuminate some of the reasons why this was so. Demographic comparisons presented in this chapter refer only to Hancock County and/or the Grant District and are used as a way to evaluate the changes within the area rather than as a comparison with the surrounding area.

The importance to this study of Hancock County, and the Grant District in particular, is by way of comparison with the small towns across the Ohio River. One of the questions that sparked this research was why there was town development on the north (Ohio) side of the river during the study period, but this portion, to the south of the river, remained almost completely rural and agricultural.

Hancock County, now in the state of West Virginia, is the smallest county in the state at only 88.6 square miles.¹ Between 1797 and 1848 the area that is now Hancock County was part of Brooke County, Virginia; Brooke had been created from its parent Ohio County by an act of the Virginia General Assembly on 30 November 1796.² Hancock was split from Brooke County, Virginia, by an act of the General Assembly on 15 January 1848.³ In 1850 the first census which recorded data for Hancock County reported the total population as 4,050. Of this number only ten individuals were either slaves or free colored.⁴ Some of the post-revolutionary historical information about (now) Hancock County for the time before 1848 has, by necessity, been extracted from histories of Brooke or Ohio Counties.

¹ Hancock County. *We're on top of the State!*. <http://hancockcountywv.org> : accessed 17 December 2020.

² Brooke County. *Brooke County History*. <http://www.brookewv.org/bchist.html> : accessed 17 December 2020.

³ eRD. *Hancock County, West Virginia*. <http://www.ereferencedesk.com/resources/counties/west-virginia/hancock.html> : accessed 17 December 2020.

⁴ US Census Bureau. *1850 Census: The Seventh Census of the United States*. <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1853/dec/1850a.html> : accessed 1 October 2020. See Virginia, p. 256.



Figure 43. Illustrations of eastern and western Virginia, 1849.

Source: Henry Howe. (1849) *Historical Collections of Virginia; containing a collection of the most interesting facts, traditions, biographical sketches, anecdotes, &c. relating to its history and antiquities, together with geographical and statistical descriptions.* Charleston, SC: W. R. Babcock, p. 153.

Today, Brooke County is not much larger than Hancock at about 93 square miles.⁵ Neither county is large and neither has ever been heavily populated. The total population of Brooke County in 1840 (before the split) was only 7,948; by contrast the most populous county in Virginia that year was the eastern county of Henrico (home of Richmond) at just over 33,000. Another distinction then common in western and eastern Virginia counties, respectively, was the percentage of the population made up of free colored individuals and slaves; in 1840 this figure was about 2% in Brooke, around 45% in Henrico.⁶

One result of the small size of Hancock (and, previously, of Brooke) County is the scarcity of detailed and comprehensive history of the area and the people. By 1880 (the end of the study period) there were no towns of any great size in Hancock County and the US Census Bureau enumerated the population that year by magisterial district rather than by community, as was done in Columbiana County, Ohio. The towns of New Cumberland and New Manchester were noted by the

⁵ Zip-Codes. *Brooke County, WV, ZIP codes.* <https://www.zip-codes.com/county/wv-brooke.asp> : accessed 17 December 2020.

⁶ US Census Bureau. *1840 Census: Compendium of the Enumeration of the Inhabitants and Statistics of the United States.* <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1841/dec/1840c.html> : accessed 8 December 2020. See State Tables, Virginia, p. 34 & 38.

enumerators but these towns are in the southern part of the county and not in the study area.⁷ The population of the entire county of Hancock (by now in *West* Virginia in 1880 was only 4,882 which represented an increase of just over 800 individuals since the first census undertaken in 1850.⁸

Because of this dearth of the kind of well researched published history that might be found for larger counties and cities the available written histories of Hancock County are those that have been compiled by local amateur historians, family historians, or publishing companies, or are histories which cover a larger geographic area and mention Hancock County almost in passing. These types of offerings are often merely copied from previous works. They tend to overdramatize the significance of “leading citizens” and minor events in an effort to have something to say. While these types of works were used extensively in researching the very early history of Hancock County (pre-1850), they usually could not be relied upon for any kind of detailed analytical commentary on the history of Hancock County during the study period of 1850-1880.

This late 19th century description of a rural township in New Jersey might just as well apply to this area of northwestern West Virginia during the study period:

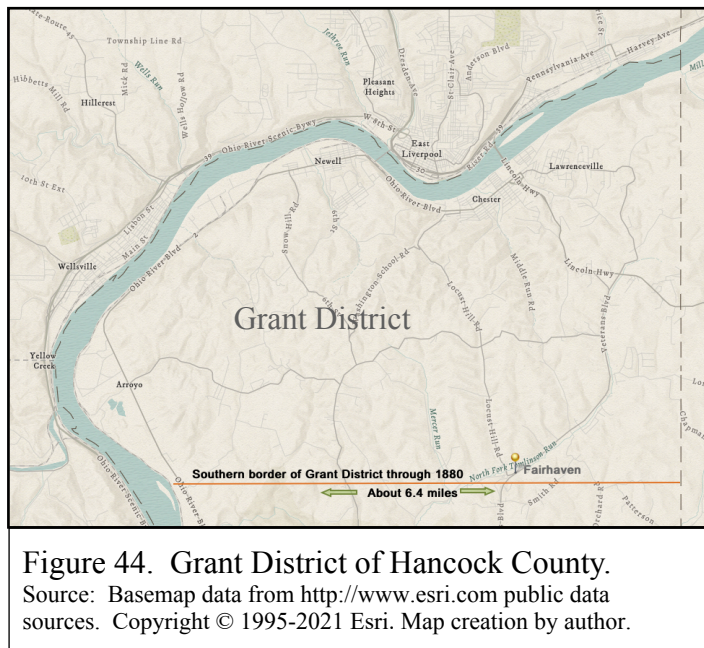
There are no settlements of importance in this township, which is doubtless due to the fact that the surroundings necessary to suggest and invite the building of a town are wanting. There is good farming land ... any many of the people are in comfortable circumstances.⁹

The Grant District is at the northernmost end of Hancock County. This portion of the county is the focus of the dissertation work, along with the towns of Wellsville and East Liverpool across the Ohio River. Grant District is now the home

⁷ Reference any website which carries the digital images of 1840 U.S. census for Hancock County. See, for example: Ancestry - <https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/1880usfedcen/> : accessed 6 May 2020.

⁸ US Census Bureau. *1880 Census: Volume 1. Statistics of the Population of the United States*. <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1883/dec/vol-01-population.html> : accessed 8 December 2020. See Table II, Population of each State and Territory, by Counties, in the Aggregate, at all Censuses, p. 82.

⁹ Weaver & Kern (compilers) (1886) *Warren County History and Directory, Or the Farmer's Manual and Business Mens' Guide*. Washington, NJ: Press of the Review, p. 375.



of only two main communities - Chester and Newell - across the Ohio River from Wellsville and East Liverpool. Both communities developed after the end of the study period. Nearly all of the historic and present communities in the Grant District of Hancock County lie along the Ohio River.

The only exception is Fairhaven, a small village in the lower center of the Grant District. Other small villages or homesteads are marked on old maps, but none could be found on current maps or gazetteers.

Early History of Brooke/Hancock County (~1775-1848)

The first Constitution of the Commonwealth of Virginia was enacted on 29 June 1776 and stood for over 50 years. It was the first such document written by an American state.¹⁰ This document contained several ideas left over from colonial-era Virginia which eventually played a part in the splitting of the state into two separate states. The first issue was related to unequal legislative representation of the various counties of Virginia. This inequality was probably due to a very high early 18th century population in the Tidewater region of colonial Virginia which was fairly homogeneous in culture as well as economic and political interests. The above mentioned Henrico County is located in this region. Such homogeneity was beginning to change by 1776 when the Virginia Constitution was written, but most of the state's population was still located in the eastern part of the state. The second

¹⁰ Library of Virginia. *First Virginia Constitution, June 29, 1776*. https://edu.lva.virginia.gov/online_classroom/shaping_the_constitution/doc/va_constitution : accessed 29 June 2020.

issue was the old aristocratic British limitation of voting rights to freeholders or landowners. The wealthy plantation owners lived mainly in the eastern part of the state while the mountainous west was more sparsely settled. This voting system was not unique to Virginia but basically gave the rich more political power than the middle or poorer classes.¹¹

In 1776 Ohio County, Virginia, was split off from Augusta County which, as late as 1769, included all of western Virginia as well as the area that is now West Virginia and Kentucky.¹² In 1796 Brooke County was split off from the northernmost portion of Ohio County. This new county of Brooke included what would later become Hancock County when it was created in 1848.

One persistent early legal question related to the jurisdiction over the Ohio River along the colonial border of Virginia. The Second Charter of Virginia granted by King James in 1609 gave the colony of Virginia land on the new continent ‘... from Sea to Sea ...’¹³ In 1781 Virginia ceded her claim to lands northwest of the Ohio River to the new federal government; the cession was not accepted until 1784.¹⁴ This resolution was upheld in future rulings to mean that since Virginia was the original owner of the Ohio River, and had ceded only “lands” on the northwest side of that river, that the state of Virginia still included the river itself (in that area). This situation changes at the Kentucky border where the state boundary lies in the middle of the Ohio River.¹⁵ The eastern boundary of the West Virginia panhandle (which borders Pennsylvania) was eventually settled, after much wrangling, to approximate William Penn’s 1681 charter which located it five degrees of longitude west of

¹¹ Virgil A. Lewis (1889) *History of West Virginia: in two parts*. Philadelphia: Hubbard Brothers, p. 319.

¹² The Newberry Library. *Virginia, Historical Borders*. <https://publications.newberry.org/ahcbp/map/map.html#VA> : accessed 29 June 2020.

¹³ Francis NewtonThorpe. (1909) *The federal and state constitutions, colonial charters, and other organic laws of the state, territories, and colonies now or hertofore forming the United States of America*. Washington: Government Printing Office, p. 3795; Lillian Goldman Law Library, Yale Law School. *The Second Charter of Virginia; May 23, 1609*. https://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th_century/va02.asp : accessed 2 December 2020.

¹⁴ Merrill Jensen. (1939) ‘The Creation of the National Domain, 1781-1784,’ *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 26(3), p. 323.

¹⁵ West Virginia Department of Arts, Culture and History. Stanley E. Dadisman, author. *Boundaries of West Virginia*. <http://www.wvculture.org/history/government/wvboundaries.html> : accessed 17 December 2020.

Pennsylvania's eastern boundary.¹⁶ Thus the eastern, northern and western boundaries of Hancock County were settled by about 1785, and the southern border in 1848.

The first recorded white (probably American or English) settlers had arrived in the northern (Brooke) region of Ohio County, Virginia, around 1772. It is likely that Frenchmen had visited and perhaps settled temporarily in the area even before that. By 1786 state land patents were being actively located in northern Ohio County, many in the area that is now Wheeling, following a wave of westward immigration. A second influx of immigrants to this area seemed to occur in about 1795. Although several authors have mentioned the sporadic nature of these immigration waves none has explained it.¹⁷ Many of these settlers' family names were still found in the records of the study area from 1850-1880.

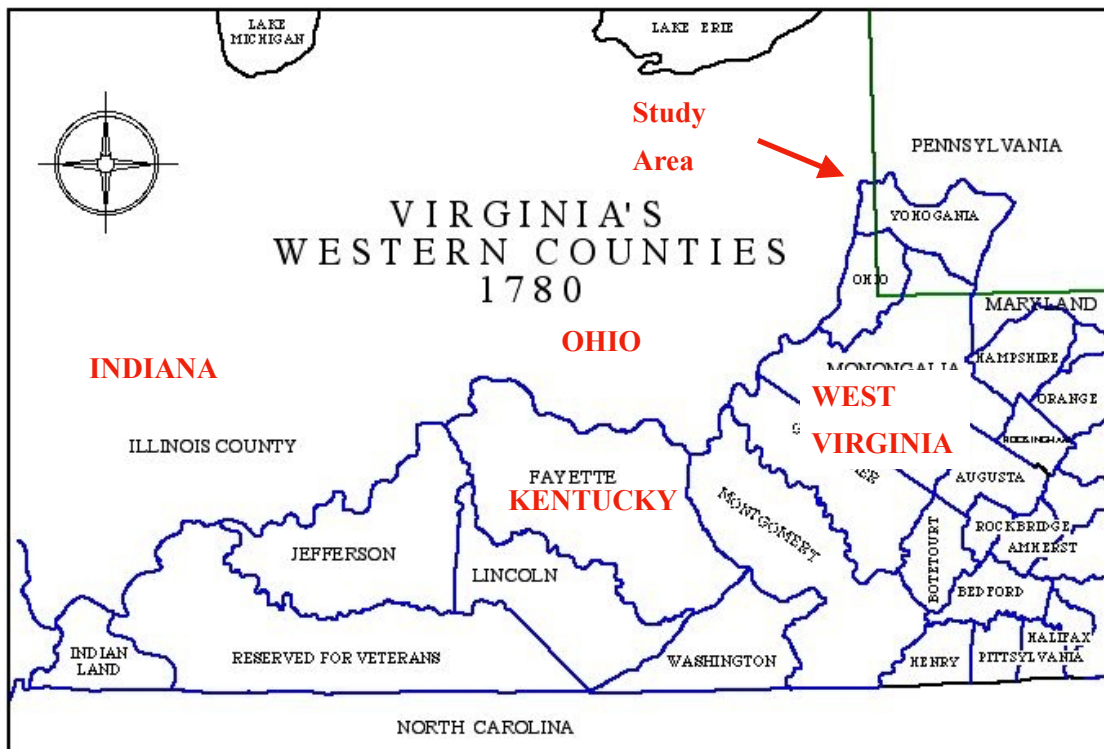


Figure 45. Early western Virginia encompassed parts of (now) Kentucky, West Virginia and Pennsylvania.

Source: Kentucky Secretary of State. *Geographic Materials, Neal Hammon Series*. <https://www.sos.ky.gov/admin/land/resources/Pages/Geographic-Materials.aspx> : accessed 29 June 2020. Additions to map by author.

¹⁶ Charlie Grymes. *Virginia-Pennsylvania Boundary*. <http://www.virginiaplaces.org/boundaries/paboundary.html> : accessed 30 December 2020. [There are a lot of great maps on this site, many attributed to David Rumsey.]

¹⁷ Peter Boyd. (1927) *History of northern West Virginia pan-handle embracing Ohio, Marshall, Brooke, and Hancock Counties*. Topeka: Historical Publishing Company, p. 184.

One of several notorious Indian encounters reported in this part of the study area was tied to Mr. Greathouse and Mr. Muchmore who slaughtered several members of the Logan family including Logan, Chief of the Mingoes. In retaliation between 1774 and 1778 the Mingoes killed nearly 50 settlers along what would become the Hancock County stretch of the Ohio River.¹⁸

The Greathouse and Muchmore families appear to have left the area early as they were not found on later census enumerations of Hancock

County. The area where

Hamilton Town was later laid out across the river from Wellsville was also called “Muchmore’s Bottom” in some records.¹⁹ In 1782 another incident occurred when brothers Adam and Andrew Poe and a few associates undertook to punish a small band of Wyandotte Indians for killing an old man and looting his cabin.²⁰ The Poe District of Hancock County, immediately south of the Grant District, was named for them.



Figure 46. Hancock, Brooke and Ohio Counties in 1873.

Source: William M. Gamble. (1873) *White's New County & District Atlas of the state of West Virginia*. Sheet 36 (no scale)
Grafton: M. Wood White. David Rumsey Historical Map Collection. Image no.: 1199015.

¹⁸ Ruth Henthorne, et al. (1982) *The History of Newell and Vicinity*. n.p.: Newell Bi-Centennial Book Commission, pp. 8-9

¹⁹ Isaac Harris. ‘For Rent or Lease.’ *Pittsburgh Daily Post*. 26 September 1844. p. 2, c. 7. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 18 June 2020. Harris advertised a tract of land lying on “Muchmore’s Bottom opposite Wellsville, Ohio, 50 miles below Pittsburgh.” This area can be seen as Hamilton on maps of the time.

²⁰ Lewis, *History of West Virginia: in two parts*, p. 702-707

According to Thomas Jefferson, ‘Those who labour in the earth are the chosen people of God...’²¹ Whether or not early settlers to this section of Virginia held with Jefferson’s sentiments, they brought their religion with them. The first organized church in Hancock County was probably the Three Springs church erected in about 1790. This housed an early Presbyterian congregation which used their old log building until 1812 when they constructed a stone church for worship. This early church was located in what became Holliday’s Cove, at the southern border of Hancock County.²² The congregation split in 1846 and the remaining local members built a new church which was completed in 1860. A second Presbyterian congregation established the Fairview Church at Pughtown (now New Manchester) in 1794. Called “Flats Church,” it was organized by settlers from eastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Connecticut. Pughtown is near the center of Hancock County.²³

The Methodist Protestant Nessly Chapel was erected in about 1826. Most of the funding was provided by Mrs. Elizabeth Nessly (wife of Jacob) who died in 1829. The Nesslys were Methodist converts from the Mennonite faith.²⁴ This chapel, rebuilt in 1905, is located in the far southwest corner of the Grant District of Hancock County.

The Methodist Episcopalians organized in about 1818. Services were held in private homes and Lowe’s schoolhouse until 1850 when Asbury Chapel was built on Tomlinson’s run.²⁵

Early educational opportunities for children in what was to become Hancock County were quite limited. Subscription schools were the only available option as there was no public funding for teachers or facilities; these schools were not always staffed by competent or trained teachers.²⁶ Historian Boyd reports that the first

²¹ Thomas Jefferson. (1832) *Notes on the State of Virginia*. Boston: Lilly and Wait, p. 172.

²² J.H. Newton, et al. (1879) *History of the Pan-Handle; being Historical Collections of the counties of Ohio, Brooke, Marshall and Hancock, West Virginia*. Wheeling: J. A. Caldwell, pp. 435-36.

²³ Jack Welch. (1963) *History of Hancock County*. Wheeling: The Wheeling News Printing & Litho Co., p. 37.

²⁴ Newton. (1879) p. 437.

²⁵ Newton. (1879) p. 437-38.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 428.

public school in the county was established in 1811, but he does not say how this school was funded.²⁷ The state of Virginia had proposed a free school system as early as 1779 but no actual schools appear to have reached what would become Hancock County until much later. In 1861 the 47 counties soon to become West Virginia wrote the first state constitution; this document included bills related to the establishment of free schools. In 1863 the new West Virginia legislature passed an act setting up a free school system; within two years, public education had reached about half of the counties in the new state.²⁸ An actual free school *law* was not adopted until 1873, under the second state constitution.²⁹

Even before state laws provided funding for schools or teachers western Virginia had several subscription academies. In Brooke County, the Brooke Academy was established at Wellsburg in 1797 and Bethany College in 1840. In what would become Hancock County, Cove Academy was established at Holliday's Cove in 1839. Holliday's Cove is at the far southern end of the county at least 15 miles downriver from the study area.³⁰ The teacher there was probably J. H. Atkinson, a resident of New Cumberland. Slightly to the north Thomas Bambrick ran a school in New Manchester (then called Fairview) in about 1832.³¹ Prior to the establishment of schools in the study area of Hancock County children had to cross the river to Ohio if they wished to obtain formal education.³² It is not known when the first school began in the Grant District, but Newton reported that in 1879, the very end of the study period, there were seven schoolhouses in the district.³³

²⁷ Boyd, *History of northern West Virginia pan-handle* ..., p. 177.

²⁸ Federal Writers' Project. (2013) *The WPA Guide to West Virginia: The Mountain State*. San Antonio: Trinity University Press, p. 117. The authors do not state which counties contained schools this early.

²⁹ Benjamin Stephen Morgan & Jacob F. Cork. (1893) *Columbian History of Education in West Virginia*. Charleston: Moses W. Donnally, pp. 16-21.

³⁰ James Morton Callahan. (1923) *History of West Virginia, Old and New, in one volume and West Virginia biography, in two additional volumes*. Chicago: The American Historical Association, p. 292.

³¹ State Superintendent of Schools [WV]. (1907) *The History of Education in West Virginia* Charleston: Tribune Printing Co., p. 114.

³² Roy C. Cashdollar. (2000) *A History of Chester, The Gateway to the West*. n.p.: Classon Press, p. 75.

³³ Newton, *History of the Pan-Handle; ...*, p. 437.

Hancock County was primarily settled by farmers. Farmers in the nineteenth century were thought to make good citizens because ‘... unlike manufacturers, they were not dependent on the whims of the market.’ These farmers migrated west taking with them the rural ideals of kinship, neighborhood support, collective activities, and ties to the land that allowed them to form a successful interdependent network of families despite the lack of nearby villages and towns in the early decades.³⁴ These notions of work, community and politics lived on long past the reliance on agriculture for sustenance and livelihood.³⁵ Most of the industry in agricultural areas during the early 1800s also revolved around farming. A good deal of this in the study area involved orchard produce, to which Jacob Nessly was a major contributor. The building of fruit-houses and storing of winter apples was also an important industry in this area and employed any number of coopers for building the storage and shipping containers.³⁶

Sheep were raised in the county in addition to cattle, wheat and apples. Another source of food and income was hunting. The Indians in the area depended upon the buffalo, ducks, geese and turkeys which were plentiful and this game was also likely a welcome resource for new settlers,³⁷ who also hunted for deer, bear, squirrels and beavers. In addition to managing the household and raising the children, women were said to raise small livestock and care for the kitchen garden.³⁸

Before about 1830 this part of West Virginia was an important center of flour milling, and local merchants shipped up to 40,000 barrels of flour downriver per year. Soil exhaustion put a halt to wheat farming, after which many residents shifted their efforts to planting orchards or raising sheep.³⁹ During the 1820s and 1830s the entire study area was undergoing a process of increased industrialization in general. But while nearby Pittsburgh, Wheeling and Steubenville grew into centers of

³⁴ Lou Martin. (2015) *Smokestacks in the Hills: Rural-Industrial Workers in West Virginia*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, pp. 18, 23.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

³⁶ Henthorne, *The History of Newell and Vicinity*, p. 10

³⁷ Cashdollar, *A History of Chester; The Gateway to the West*, p. 1.

³⁸ Martin, *Smokestacks in the Hills: ...*, pp. 17, 20, 27.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

industry in the 1830s, Hancock County remained primarily unindustrialized and agricultural, specializing in apple growing and wool production.⁴⁰

This particular area of the Ohio River Valley contains soils with a very high clay content with localized areas containing between 25%-50% clay.⁴¹ Early fire brick manufacturing, potteries, and clay mining were supported by this vein of Kittanning Fire Clay which ran through Columbiana and Hancock Counties. Entrepreneurs on both sides of the river also made use of deposits of coal, iron and limestone; factories along the river produced and exported coal, firebrick, pottery, glassware, woolen goods, pig iron and cut nails.⁴² The local production of these types of goods in Hancock County illustrated at least the potential for further industrial growth in the area, whether or not that potential was ever actually fulfilled.

The Ohio River was the main source of trade and commerce in the early days of settlement in both counties under study. Boats ferried goods downriver to New Orleans or upriver to Pittsburgh with various stops along the way. Industries active at the time included water-powered grist and saw mills which made use of the flow from creeks emptying into the Ohio River usually for sawing timber or milling grain.

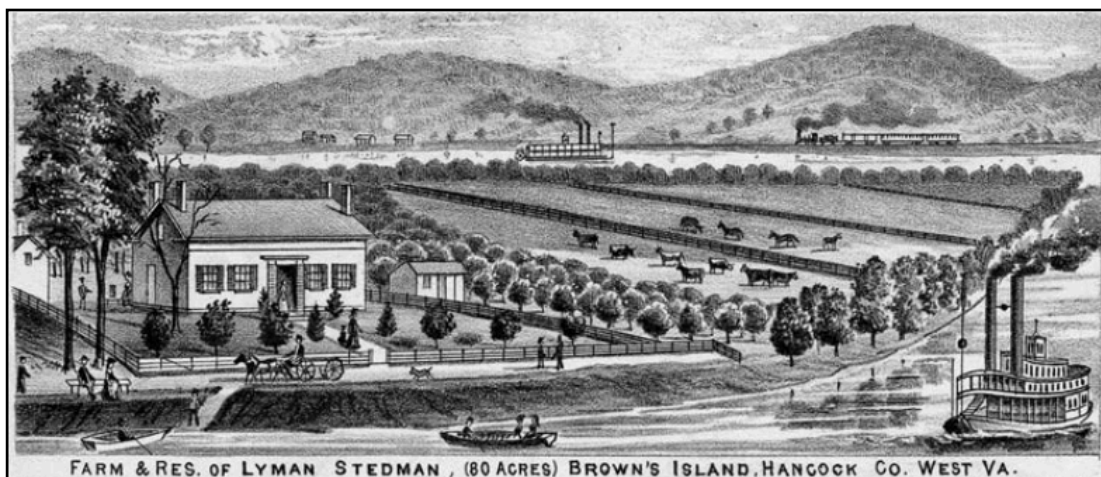


Figure 47. Illustration of Lyman Stedman's farm, 1877.

Source: Lou Martin, *Smokestacks in the Hills: ...*, p. 17. Martin cites the West Virginia and Regional History Center, WVU Libraries.

⁴⁰ L. Martin. (2008) *Working for independence: The failure of new deal politics in a rural industrial place*. PhD dissertation, West Virginia University. See chapter 2.

⁴¹ USDA Natural Resources Conservation Service. *Web Soil Survey*. <https://websoilsurvey.sc.egov.usda.gov/App/HomePage.htm> : accessed 17 December 2020.

⁴² Martin, *Smokestacks in the Hills: ...*, p. 30-31.

Wellsburg, about 25 miles downstream from the study area, was one of the first towns created in Brooke County. At that time the county was still in the state of Virginia and slaves were sold at Wellsburg. The larger town of Wheeling was a constant competitor with Wellsburg, which eventually declined in importance as a trading post while Wheeling grew.⁴³

In 1848 personal property was assessed in Hancock County by the Commissioner of Revenue, Josiah A. Adam, at a total tax value of \$285.84. The entirety of the property reported in the county was one slave (taxable at 32 cents); 968 horses, 82 silver watches, 157 metal clocks, 236 wooden clocks, 64 Jersey cows, carriages, pianos, and 4 physicians.⁴⁴ This tax on physicians may have been a holdover from the old colonial tax which included “transactions and occupations.”⁴⁵ Tax was also charged on interest, bonds and notes. It is not known if there was actually only one slave in the entire county or if he/she was the only one valued highly enough to be taxed. It is interesting to note that the horses were taxed at only 10 cents apiece and the slave, at 32 cents, had the highest tax value to the assessor. In addition to the taxable personal property 42 town lots in New Manchester and 39 lots in New Cumberland were taxed along with buildings. Apparently agricultural land was not subject to a local tax.

Early Settlers:

One of the earliest known settlers in (now) Hancock County was Mr. John Holliday who settled at Holliday’s Cove (near Weirton)⁴⁶ in about 1776. He built his log hut along what is now Cove Road. Migrating along with Holliday were several Revolutionary War veterans and their families including Colonel Richard Brown of Maryland who settled 1,000 acres in Holliday’s Cove. Others included Irishman Col. George Stewart of Pennsylvania who settled in Grant District in 1790; James Allison

⁴³ Callahan, *History of West Virginia*, ..., p. 157.

⁴⁴ Boyd, *History of northern West Virginia pan-handle* ..., p. 175.

⁴⁵ Richard T. Ely. (1888) *Taxation in American States and Cities*. New York: T.Y. Crowell, p. 71.

⁴⁶ Callahan, *History of West Virginia*, ..., p. 157.

and family from Maryland who came to Grant Dist. in 1780; George Chapman who settled in New Cumberland; James Campbell who settled on Kings Creek.⁴⁷

Jacob Nessly, his wife, and seven children, came from Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in about September of 1785. The family were originally Mennonites who had farmed in Lancaster for several years before they settled near the mouth of Tomlinson Run Creek west of present day Newell. Nessly was a Revolutionary War veteran and one of the first large landowners in the area (one author says he owned 3,000 another says 8,000 acres). He reportedly owned all the land along the river for a distance of five miles and for a mile inland. Nessly built a thriving apple orchard industry which lasted until just after the Civil War, shipping winter apples and fruit brandy as far south as New Orleans.⁴⁸

As noted above, the Nesslys built the (Methodist) Nessly Chapel which was also called the Old Stone Church. The government block house was also built on his grounds; this structure was used by guards and spies during conflicts with the Indians. Nessly raised grain, vegetables, apple and peach trees and eventually constructed his own mill for grinding the grain he raised. He had his own blacksmith shop on his extensive property.⁴⁹ Jacob Nessly split off portions of this large farm to his eight children over the years. Samuel Nessly, one grandson of Jacob, built a large, substantial brick house on land where a racetrack is now located. He reportedly mined the clay and fired the bricks on the same property.

William Hamilton settled along the Ohio at Congo in 1795; this spot is directly west of present day Newell on the southwesterly flowing part of the river. He laid out a town called Hamilton Town and operated a ferry across the river. Hamilton eventually built an 8-bedroom hotel, tavern, ladies parlor, and kitchen. He sold the ferry and hotel to Joseph Lockhart who in 1872 sold it to Watson Johnson. The hotel persisted and two Johnson children lived nearby until 1970 or so – Robert Emmet and Elizabeth N. Johnson. The first doctor in Hancock County, Dr. P. C.

⁴⁷ Lewis, *History of West Virginia: in two parts*, p. 702.

⁴⁸ Martin, *Smokestacks in the Hills: ...,* p. 15.

⁴⁹ Welch, *History of Hancock County*, p. 18.

McLane, reportedly began practice in Hamilton Town in 1849. Hamilton Town itself failed to thrive, and the name was changed to Congo in 1890. In 1963 it was said to contain only 15 homes.⁵⁰

Splitting of Brooke and Hancock Counties:

The population of Brooke County (which then still included Hancock) was first recorded in 1800 as 4,705. It increased gradually until 1840 when 7,948 individuals were enumerated. In 1850 the population of Brooke County had been reduced to 5,054 when some of their inhabitants became residents of Hancock County after it was created in 1848. The population of Hancock County in 1850 was 4,050. By 1860 the population of Hancock County had increased by only about 400 individuals.⁵¹

One reason given for the formation of Hancock County from Brooke was the difficulty of traveling from the northern part of the state (the area of current Hancock County) over very bad roads to do business in the Brooke County seat further south in Wellsburg. The roads were nearly impassible even as late as 1840 and the distances required could be up to 25 miles if the trip was made over land rather than down the river. The northern half of Brooke County was far more sparsely populated than the southern half and decisions made at the county seat did not

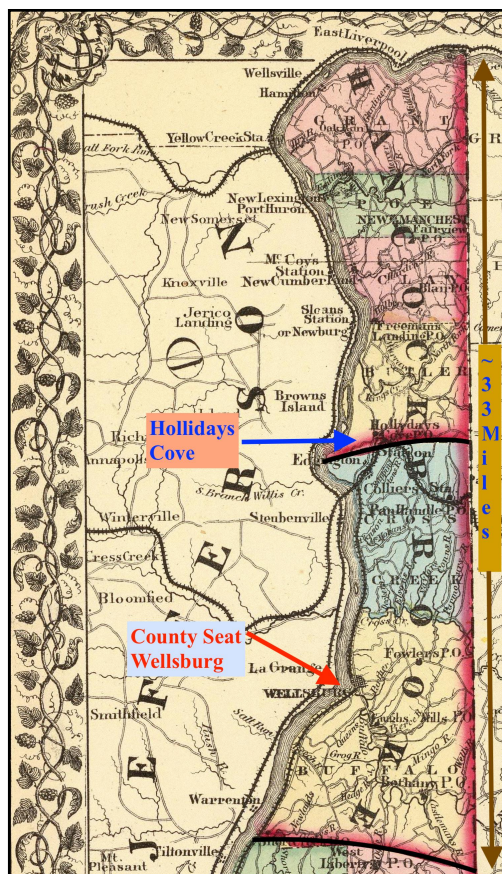


Figure 48. Hancock and Brooke Counties, 1873.

Source: Gamble, *White's New County & District Atlas*, 1873. Annotations by author.

⁵⁰ Henthorne, *The History of Newell and Vicinity*, pg. 9.

⁵¹ Callahan, *History of West Virginia*, ..., p. 252.

always take into account the interests of the “distant” northern farmers. One early solution was to form a town at Holliday’s Cove, which was centrally located in Brooke County, and move the county seat and courthouse from Wellsburg to that town. This proposal was met with resistance from those businessmen who would then be required to make the trip north to Holliday’s Cove from Wellsburg, a distance of at least ten miles.⁵²

The petition for the splitting of Brook County was approved by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia on 15 Jan 1848. The county was divided approximately in half with the boundary line beginning at a rock ledge called “William’s Rocks” on the Ohio river (about a mile north of Steubenville, at the oxbow), running straight to the toll gate on the Holliday’s Cove turnpike road, then directly east to the Pennsylvania state line. This southern border of Hancock County is near what is now State Route 22.⁵³

The first county court for Hancock was held on 10 April 1848 (second Monday, as prescribed by law) at the home of Samuel C. Allison.⁵⁴ The appointed surveyor, Thomas Hewett, was directed to meet with the Brooke County surveyor and establish the county boundary line as per the Act of 1845 (sic – did he mean 1848?) The county was named after John Hancock, president of the Continental Congress.

The new justices of the peace for Hancock were those from what was previously Brooke County who were now living in the new county; the county seat of Hancock was originally designated as New Manchester. The first general election for delegates to the general assembly also included a question as to whether citizens preferred the permanent county seat to be New Manchester or the smaller town of

⁵² See, for example, 1860 census records, marriage records, or birth indexes for Hancock County. Some prominent proponents of dividing the county were David Pugh, Peter Pugh, John Mayhue, Anderson Henderson, David Wiley. The Pughs were a large family in Hancock County as were the Mayhues. The petition was carried by Hon. Thomas Bambrick who was the representative in the State Legislature from Brooke County.

⁵³ Boyd, *History of northern West Virginia pan-handle* ..., pp. 164-168.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*; J. G. Jacob. (1882) *Brooke County : being a record of prominent events occurring in Brooke County, W.Va. from the settlement of the country, until January 1, 1882 : also, a list of the marriages and deaths, from January 1, 1870 to 1882*. Wellsburg: Herald Office, p. 165. The first justices were John Pittinger, David Pugh, Andrew Henderson, John Gardner, David Wylie, William H. Grafton and John Mayhew. John H. Atkinson was elected clerk; Robert Brown prosecuting attorney; Josiah Adams commissioner of revenue; Thomas J. Hewett surveyor. Some of these surnames were quite common in the area.

New Cumberland. The drive between the two towns today, which includes skirting around forested and agricultural areas, is just over 3.5 miles.

The first vote on this question went to the supporters of New Cumberland which is located along the Ohio River. However, the court had begun by meeting at the house of Samuel Allison, which was in New Manchester, and they refused to move. A second election, in 1850, also resulted in a vote for New Cumberland. The court eventually moved but a dispute then arose regarding the location of the courthouse within the town. In 1852 a third election finally named the county seat as New Manchester by a majority of one vote and the court, which had never really accepted New Cumberland, moved back to New Manchester.⁵⁵

Development of Hancock County (1850-1880) and Formation of West Virginia:

The towns that eventually grew in Hancock County were never large. Although none of the towns now existing in the Grant District were formed during the study period, this section on town development will be dealt with first to help provide geographic reference for the places named in the following history of the county and of Grant District.

Moving from south to north in the county, the primary towns *today* are Weirton, New Cumberland, New Manchester, Fairhaven, Newell and Chester. The last three are within the present (and historic) Grant District but Newell and Chester did not develop until after the study period. Fairhaven is a small unincorporated community, perhaps 1.75 miles square, which now lies mostly outside of the area that was Grant District during the study period.⁵⁶ In the Grant District of Hancock County in 1852, only two small towns were mapped - Brooklyn in the far southwestern part of the district between Nesly [sic] and Bakers Islands and Hamilton, directly across the river from Wellsville.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Lewis, *History of West Virginia: in two parts*, p. 701-702.

⁵⁶ US Department of the Interior. USGS. *Geonames, Feature Detail Report for Fairhaven*. ID: 1558728, measurement from USGS The National Map viewer. https://geonames.usgs.gov/apex/f?p=gnispq:3:0::NO::P3_FID:1558728 : accessed 13 November 2020.

⁵⁷ Author unknown. (1852) Map of Hancock County Virginia, 1852. Scale bar. Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division. Control No. 2006626015. <https://www.loc.gov/item/2006626015/> : accessed 11 December 2020.

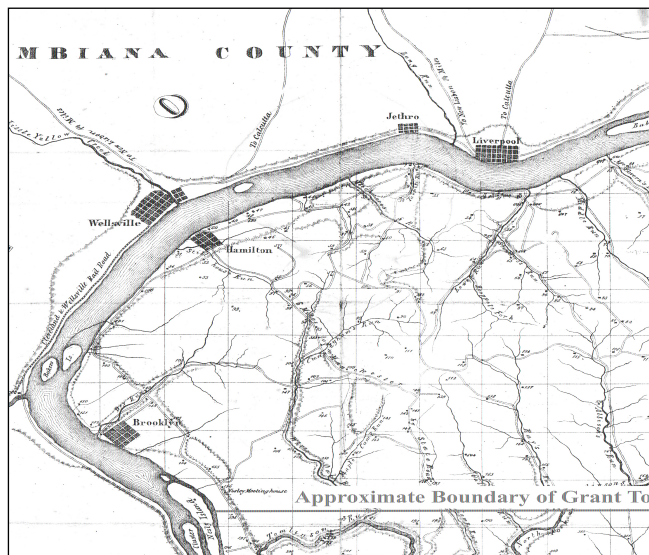


Figure 49. Grant Township, Hancock County, 1852.

Source: n.a. (1852) *Map of Hancock County Virginia*. Scale: ~1:94,667 (from scale bar). n. pub. Collection: Library of Congress Geography and Map Division control no. 2006626015. Annotations by author.

Although it is usually dated to only 1890, historian Boyd says settlement around the (now) town of Chester reportedly dated to the time of the Revolutionary War. It remained an informal, unnamed, settlement for many decades until 1887 when William Pusely of Chester, Pennsylvania, moved to the area and married a daughter of Justice of the Peace J. Gardner. Gardner was one of the biggest land owners in the

district at that time. Pusely laid out the town lots but failed to obtain permission for a post office under the very common name of “Chester.” The post office was originally named Mercer, but later renamed Chester.⁵⁸ No industry was reported in the area which is now Chester; it was likely farmland until near the end of the study period.

Cashdollar, in his history of Chester, confirms this basic story, noting that this flat area of shoreline was called “Chester” prior to the Civil War. He notes the existence of ferries across the river to East Liverpool as early as 1809 and a road leading from the ferry along the river. Farming families living in the area in the mid-1850s were said to include the familiar names of Allison, Gardner, and Newell.⁵⁹

The area that is now the town of Newell was primarily a farming district through the 1860s. It was also the site of a ferry terminus to Jethro Hollow, the ferry being operated by the Todd family and later the Newell family.⁶⁰ Jethro Hollow was

⁵⁸ Boyd, *History of northern West Virginia pan-handle ...*, p. 179.

⁵⁹ Cashdollar, *A History of Chester; The Gateway to the West*, p. 4.

⁶⁰ Henthorne, *The History of Newell and Vicinity*, p. 11.

a small settlement between Wellsville and East Liverpool.⁶¹ The present town of Newell is located directly across the Ohio River from the far western edges of East Liverpool and the “suburb” of Jethro, both of which can be seen on the 1852 map. John Newell, a tanner, had moved north to this area from Pughtown in 1837 and purchased a portion of the original Greathouse tract near Newell. In the 1850s his son Hugh laid out lots that would eventually become the town of Newell.⁶² The town of Newell is now home to Homer Laughlin Pottery, producer of Fiesta Ware, which located there in 1903.⁶³ Their plant was once called the largest pottery in the world.⁶⁴

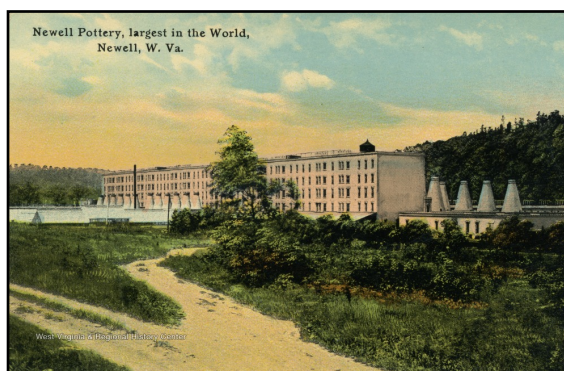


Figure 50. “Newell Pottery, largest in the World.”

Source: West Virginia University, *West Virginia History on View*. <https://wvhistoryonview.org/catalog/042363> : accessed 27 October 2020.

The town of New Manchester has gone by a variety of names - originally called Fairview, then New Manchester, then Pughtown, then (sometime after 1927) back to New Manchester. The town was founded by David Pugh in about 1810, expanded rapidly, and by 1814 had a population of 60. After much dissent it became the county seat in the 1852 election, as noted above. New Manchester is not on the river but is centrally located in the county.⁶⁵ Other early settlers near Fairview (New Manchester) included Alexander Scott in 1802 and William Langfitt in 1812. Settlers locating elsewhere in this part of the county included William Chapman from

⁶¹ Cathy Hester Seckman. (2015) *Images of America. East Liverpool*. Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, p. 75.

⁶² Henthorne, *The History of Newell and Vicinity*, p. 11

⁶³ Fiesta Tableware Company. *Our History*. <https://fiestafactorydirect.com/pages/our-history> : accessed 27 October 2020.

⁶⁴ West Virginia University. *Newell Pottery, Largest in the World; Newell, W. Va.* <https://wvhistoryonview.org/catalog/042363> : accessed 27 October 2020.

⁶⁵ Lewis, *History of West Virginia: in two parts*, p. 707

eastern Virginia in about 1795; Irishman Alexander Morrow from New Jersey in about 1798; Burgess Allison in 1801.⁶⁶

New Cumberland, originally called Brick Bend or Brickyard Bend due to the plethora of potteries and brick works, saw settlers as early as 1784. The town may have been called Cuppytown at one time in honor of its official founder, John Cuppy, who laid out 42 town lots in 1839 and called the town Vernon.⁶⁷ The name was changed to New Cumberland in 1840. Additions were laid out in 1848 by Joseph L. Ball, Thomas Elder and John Gamble.⁶⁸ Its charter was issued by the Legislature in 1894 and amended in 1921. It lies along the Ohio River southwest of New Manchester. When New Cumberland became the center of population in 1884 the records were moved there and it finally became, and remains, the county seat.⁶⁹

With the names, locations and a bit of the history of the current towns in mind, the history of Hancock County and the Grant District may be more easily visualized. Before 1863 the county of Hancock was still part of the seceded state of Virginia. By late April of 1862 county conventions were being held in all or most counties soon to be within the new state of West Virginia. The aim of the Hancock convention was to appoint delegates to the state convention which was to be held later. The purpose of the state convention was the nomination of officers for the state of West Virginia, appointment of delegates for nomination of senators and a circuit court judge for the district, and the nomination of county officers. The opening statement at the Hancock convention made clear the conventioners stance on the Rebellion:



Figure 51. Historical marker near New Cumberland.

Source: Adventure Rider. *WV Historical Markers - Let's Find all 700*. <https://advrider.com/f/threads/wv-historical-markers-lets-find-all-700.407164/page-59> : accessed 1 July 2020. Photo by pnoman.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 702-03.

⁶⁷ eRD. *Hancock County, West Virginia*. <http://www.ereferencedesk.com/resources/counties/west-virginia/hancock.html> : accessed 17 December 2020.

⁶⁸ Lewis, *History of West Virginia: in two parts*, p. 708

⁶⁹ Paul T. Hellmann. (2005) *Historical Gazetteer of the United States*. New York: Routledge, p. 1203.

WHEREAS, our country is now [sic] engaged in a sanguinary war, brought upon us by traitors in the Southern States, in which they are determined to destroy our Government and dismember our Union, even if it should bring upon their own heads, as well as upon ours, utter ruin; and whereas, we come at this momentous period to establish, in accordance with Constitutional law, the State of West Virginia, by the selection of our State officers; ... That the interests and destiny of West Virginia are inseparably connected with the cause of the Union, ... That we can never listen with honor to any proposition looking to the dismemberment of this Union; ... That as patriots we stand by the flag of our country; ...⁷⁰

In August of 1862 a “patriotic assemblage” was held in New Manchester (the county seat). State officials were on hand as well as commissioned officers ready to enlist volunteers into the military. A federal military draft had been instituted as of 14 August 1862 to help make up the quota of 300,000 men called for by the President. Those men who were drafted would receive no bounty. Those who volunteered were eligible for either federal or county bounty. In Hancock a bounty of \$60 was paid to volunteers, of whom there were about two dozen resulting from the above mentioned meeting.⁷¹

The Civil War draft registration by the US Provost Marshal in 1863 returned 331 eligible men in Class I living in Hancock County.⁷² These records do not give any more detailed description of the residence of these men than the county name, so

⁷⁰ ‘Proceedings of the Hancock County Convention.’ *Wheeling Intelligencer* (Virginia). 23 April 1863, p. 1, c. 3. <https://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 14 November 2020.

⁷¹ West Virginia Department of Arts, Culture and History. *Timeline of West Virginia: Civil War and Statehood. August 2, 1862.* <http://www.wvculture.org/history/sesquicentennial/18620802a.html> : accessed 14 December 2020; ‘A Draft.’ *The Wheeling Daily Intelligencer* (Virginia). 5 August 1862, p. 2, c. 1-2. <https://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 14 November 2020.

⁷² War Department. Provost Marshal General’s Bureau. 1st West Virginia Congressional District. June, 1863. Collection: U.S., Civil War Draft Registration Records, 1863-1865. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 27 July 2020. Class I included men aged 20-35 and single men aged 36-45. Class II included all others who registered. Note: This “registration” did not enlist men into the military, rather it was an enumeration of the men who were eligible for the draft.

it is not known how many lived in Grant District or how many of these men eventually served.

In all 466 men from Hancock County had enlisted for military service by the end of 1864. All calls for a quota of men were promptly filled, even to excess, and a draft was never required. The First Regiment, West Virginia Infantry volunteers, Company I, was organized at Wheeling in May of 1861, and was made up of volunteers from all four panhandle counties (Hancock, Brooke, Ohio, Marshall). Their goal was to resist aggression from the counties in Virginia that had supported the state's secession from the Union.⁷³ The 1890 Veteran's enumeration located 36 veterans of the Civil War still living in the Grant District.⁷⁴

In March of 1863, only three months before West Virginia became a state, another meeting was held at the courthouse in New Manchester. This meeting aired the views of both the faction in favor of the "New State" and the "Butternuts" (Confederates) who were against the split. Although it was noted that 19,000 of the 28,000 voters approved the split, Congressional Democrat Sherrard Clemens insisted that:

... West Virginia, was too small for a State. These steep ridges and sterile knobs, those cranberry and huckleberry hills are not fertile nor productive, and we have not the financial resources or population essential to organizing and carrying on a new State, and defraying the expenses of a new government.⁷⁵

Sherrard was a lawyer, a representative of the Tenth District of Virginia which included Hancock, Brooke and Ohio Counties, as well as eight more.⁷⁶ While

⁷³ Newton, *History of the Pan-Handle*; ..., pp. 177-78.

⁷⁴ Census records. USA. Grant, Hancock County, West Virginia. 1890. ED 236. Roll M123_? <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 27 July 2020.

⁷⁵ West Virginia Department of Arts, Culture and History. Timeline of West Virginia: Civil War and Statehood. February 27, 1863. <http://www.wvculture.org/history/sesquicentennial/18630227.html> : accessed 14 December 2020.

⁷⁶ n.a. (1858) *The Evening Journal Almanac*. Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons & Co., Printers, p. 37.

his views on the future economy of West Virginia may have been prescient, his constituents were apparently more concerned with the politics of states' rights than with his prognostications.

At another public meeting about three weeks later citizens of Brooke and Hancock Counties heard from the 'elected governor of the restored government of Virginia' Francis H. Pierpont. Pierpont had been elected to fill out the term of John Letcher, who had joined the Confederacy. Pierpont was a proponent of splitting the state of Virginia.⁷⁷ The report of this meeting, which was held in Hollidays Cove in Hancock County, concluded:

Take this meeting of the people as an indication of the feeling pervading Brooke and Hancock counties throughout, look out for rousing majorities in favor of the Union, the Constitution, and West Virginia, now and forever.⁷⁸

West Virginia was admitted to the Union as the 35th state on 20 June 1863.⁷⁹ On 31 July 1863 the General Assembly of West Virginia passed an act to divide some of the state's counties into townships. In Hancock County four townships were created, Grant being the furthest north. The rationale for the division boundaries was to provide an evenly divided population of about 1100 individuals in each township. A new state constitution, adopted 9 April 1872, changed the name "township" to "district." The boundaries did not change⁸⁰. Grant District is about 5.5 miles by 7.5 miles in size, or 18,175 acres.

⁷⁷ n.a. (1895) *Biographical and Portrait Cyclopaedia of Monongalia, Marion and Taylor Counties, West Virginia*. Philadelphia: Rush, West & Co., p. 23.

⁷⁸ 'Glorious New State Meeting of the Citizens of Brooke and Hancock Counties.' *The Wheeling Daily Intelligencer* (Virginia.) 26 March 1863, p. 2, c. 3. <https://www.newspapers.com>: accessed 14 November 2020.

⁷⁹ US House of Representatives, History, Art & Archives. *West Virginia Statehood*. <https://history.house.gov/HouseRecord/Detail/15032436240> : accessed 4 December 2020.

⁸⁰ West Virginia Department of Arts, Culture and History. *1872 Constitution of the State of West Virginia*. <http://www.wvculture.org/history/government/1872constitution.html> : accessed 4 December 2020. [transcription]. The Constitution actually uses both terms, but the maps and later documents switch to the use of "district" after this time. The change appears to have more to do with legislative districts than just current terminology.

Newton, writing in 1879, said Grant District at that time was mostly farmland and was home only to the village of Hamilton (across the river from Wellsville) and the White Oak Run post office (in about the middle of the district). He mentioned seven schoolhouses, one Methodist Episcopal and one Methodist Protestant church, two stave factories, one cask factory, one sawmill and three blacksmith shops operating in that year. Presumably he believed the rest of the population were farmers.⁸¹

The 1880 census tells a similar story. There were four school teachers enumerated, but no clergy except for one theological student. There were two men working in cooper shops (perhaps the stave factories) and five in a cask factory. Three men worked in the sawmill, and three were blacksmiths. It is certainly possible that some of the school teachers or clergy lived either across the river or in the neighboring Poe District. In addition to these occupations, quite a few men were following other occupations not mentioned by Newton - these included grocers, masons, boat hands, carpenters, miners, etc. There were ten potters in Grant District on this enumeration, but no pottery mentioned by Newton. The farmers and farm laborers numbered over 280, by far the majority of the 381 men working; only two women (a school teacher and a domestic servant) declared a paid occupation.⁸²

Industrial Development

Iron manufacturing was an early industry in what is now Hancock County where an iron furnace was erected on King's Creek around the turn of the century and operated for several years. King's Creek is just north of Weirton at the southern end of Hancock County.⁸³ A Mr. Grant was the reported first owner of this furnace which was taken over in 1794 by Peter Tarr of Connell, Tarr & Co. Although coal

⁸¹ Newton, *History of the Pan-Handle*; ..., p. 437. Map is on page 8.

⁸² Census records. USA. Grant, Hancock County, West Virginia. 1 June 1880. ED 222. Roll: T9_1403. pp. 47A-60C. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 30 June 2020. Complete transcribed census enumerations for 1880.

⁸³ Newton, *History of the Pan-Handle*; ..., p. 415.

was available in Hancock County,⁸⁴ it was not yet being mined at that time and the furnace was fired by cutting timber. The metal produced was mainly used for household utensils.⁸⁵

Another early manufacturer was John Nesselroad who, in 1795, started a small gunpowder manufactory on his farm near Pughtown (New Manchester). He was in the business for about six years and abandoned the project in 1801. His intent was to supply local settlers with gunpowder, one dollar a pound, for hunting and defense purposes. His product was all made by hand using hand-mills to produce his ingredients⁸⁶.

A diary kept by an Ohio river pilot noted the price of some goods in the fall of 1837 in Wellsburg: flour - \$5 - \$6 per barrel and wheat - \$1 per bushel. In January of the following year, after a hard winter and the Ohio River being frozen over, he records that flour was going for \$6 - \$7 a barrel in New Orleans. This may have been a drought year, as the pilot records that the river was very low - only 10" at Wellsburg. Flour in New Orleans in June of 1839 was going for \$4.75 - \$5.25 a barrel. Whiskey went for 32 cents per gallon.

A good wheat crop in 1839 as well as high production of other farm and orchard produce pushed the prices down yet again from the January 1838 levels. In October of 1840 flour had dropped to \$3.50 a barrel and whiskey to 18 cents a gallon. Bacon was 4-6 cents per pound, butter 8 cents per pound, meats 2.5 cents per pound, and lard 6.5 cents per pound.⁸⁷ While this decrease in prices was likely very



Figure 52. Peter Tarr furnace site.

Source: Generic1139 - Own work, CC BY-SA 3.0. <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=21781780> : accessed 2 July 2020.

⁸⁴ I.C. White & Ray V. Hennen. (1908) Map of West Virginia showing coal, oil, gas and limestone areas. Seven miles to the inch. n.p.: West Virginia Geological Survey. <https://www.digitalcommonwealth.org/search/commonwealth:4m90f606f> : accessed 2 July 2020.

⁸⁵ Welch, *History of Hancock County*, p. 31.

⁸⁶ Welch, *History of Hancock County*, p. 32.

⁸⁷ Boyd, *History of northern West Virginia pan-handle ...*, p. 200. (Diary of Cornelius H. Crawford.)

welcome for the consumer it is hard to see how such a decline would encourage farmers to settle in the area.

Apples were a main orchard crop early in the 19th century and at least four fruit houses were constructed for storage. These included the Brenneman fruit house on the river at what is now Waterford Park, Newell; Charles Brown fruit house on the present C. M. Brenneman estate; the Cowl fruit house on the present Cowl farm site at the mouth of Tomlinson Run Creek; J. L. Mahan fruit house, located in Arroyo just around the southward bend of the Ohio River. The Mahan, Hellings & Brother fruit house was erected in 1878 on J. L. Mahan's farm on the bank of the river opposite Yellow Creek along the Cleveland & Pittsburgh RR. The orchards employed many coopers during the summer making thousands of wooden barrels to store and ship the winter apple crop from these farms. In her history of the Newell area Henthorne notes that the demise of these orchards was due to the sale of the property along the river to the budding industrial concerns in the area. She does not state which specific industries, or the dates, but alludes to the fire brick and pottery manufacturers which moved into this northern section of Hancock County.⁸⁸

The clay soil of the county is reportedly "unequaled" for the manufacture of fire brick, fire clay, sewer pipe and other similar products.⁸⁹ The fire-brick business in Hancock County was centered around New Cumberland, in about the middle of the county along the Ohio River. Beginning in about 1832 James S. Porter, Philip Beall and Thomas Freeman were producing bricks at a plant near the mouth of Kings Creek. At this spot there were clay deposits overlain by coal; both coal and the abundant wood from the forest were used to fire the brick making kilns. The bricks they produced were mainly shipped to Pittsburgh for use in the iron mills and foundries. John Porter was said to have laid the first brick street in America at New Cumberland in July of 1882.

Newton includes an estimate of the production of thirteen separate brick yards in Hancock County in the year 1867. Total production that year was supposed

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 9-11.

⁸⁹ Boyd, *History of northern West Virginia pan-handle* ..., p. 172.

to be nearly eight million bricks. Family names associated with more than one brick yard were Porter, Anderson, Freeman and Atkinson. The fire-brick industry reportedly peaked in around 1872 and did not recover quickly from the panic of 1873.⁹⁰

The Homer Laughlin China Co. was founded in 1871-3 at East Liverpool by Homer and Shakespeare Laughlin. The two-kiln pottery grew slowly until 1876 when their wares were awarded high honors at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia. In 1893 Homer left the business and his interest was purchased by Louis I. Aaron of Pittsburgh and W. E. Wells of Steubenville who purchased the land in Newell where the plant is now located.⁹¹

Other industries operated in the Newell area in the mid-19th century. J. L. Mahan built a sawmill on his 575-acre farm near Arroyo in 1850 and a gristmill in 1854. Tanner John Newell from Pughtown bought part of the original Greathouse tract near Newell in 1837. He and/or his grandson Samuel laid out and sold the original town lots for the town of Newell on part of this farmland.⁹² In the mid-1850s a pottery was built by Curtis and James Larkins and William Thompson. This yellow ware plant was located about 300 yards below the West Virginia end of the Newell Bridge and operated for only a few years.⁹³

Author Welch notes that the first gas well in the state was drilled (accidentally) on the property of Jesse Stuart in Deep Cut/Gut Run near New Cumberland in 1862. The speculators had hoped to find oil but instead struck a pocket of natural gas. Since there was no way to capture this gas at that time it apparently was just expelled until it expired. A firm from Philadelphia later leased this land and erected a carbon black factory to produce printing ink from the soot.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ Newton, *History of the Pan-Handle*; ..., pp. 422-424.

⁹¹ W. A. Calhoun (n.d.) *Early Clay Industries of the Upper Ohio Valley*. [manuscript] East Liverpool: Carnegie Public Library, pp. 117-122.

⁹² Henthorne, *The History of Newell and Vicinity*, p. 11.

⁹³ Calhoun, *Early Clay Industries of the Upper Ohio Valley*, p. 78.

⁹⁴ Welch, *History of Hancock County*, p. 57.

Published statistics for Hancock including agriculture and industrial summaries are found in Table 9. In 1850-1870 a census was taken of manufacturers whose gross production exceeded \$500. An additional qualification for this particular enumeration was that these industries not be considered “neighborhood industries” which produced goods for immediate local consumption (such as blacksmiths).

On these censuses the major industries in Hancock County were shown to be brick production, sawed lumber production, and stone and earthen ware production, flour milling and grist milling. In each of the three years the number of fire brick manufacturers always exceeded the number of any other manufacturer enumerated. The brickyards employed more men and paid more in wages than any of the other industries.⁹⁵ These statistics are not available for 1880.

During this same twenty-year period East Liverpool and Wellsville were enumerated only on the 1850 and 1870 industrial schedules. In 1850 East Liverpool and the surrounding township of Liverpool had six potteries and one brick factory which surpassed the \$500 production requirement.⁹⁶ In Hancock County that year there was only one pottery but twelve firebrick producers. By contrast, Wellsville and the surrounding township of Yellow Creek had only one pottery and no brick production of any kind. By 1870 the pottery business had exploded in the East Liverpool area, which then recorded seventeen potteries producing over \$500 (and doubtless many smaller potteries) as well as four brickyards; Wellsville reported one pottery. In Hancock there were at least fourteen firebrick manufacturers and at least two potteries.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ US Census Bureau. *1870 Census: Volume 3. The Statistics of Wealth and Industry of the United States*. <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1872/dec/1870c.html> : accessed 4 December 2020. See Tables of Manufactures: Table IX - General Statistics of Manufactures in each State and Territory, p. 580 and Table XI - Selected Statistics of Manufactures, showing Certain Selected Industries, by Totals of Counties, in each State and Territory, p. 741.

⁹⁶ Note that the industrial census enumeration required only \$500 in total production to be counted; the 1870 statistical summary mentioned above for Hancock County required a much higher \$10,000 total production value. West Virginia was not enumerated by individual business on the 1870 industrial schedule. This makes it risky to compare the 1860 and 1870 production figures for Hancock, as the actual 1870 figures might have been higher if smaller businesses were included.

⁹⁷ Census records. USA. District 26, Hancock County, Virginia. 1 June 1850. Roll: T1132_4; Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1850. Roll: T1159_12; Hancock County, Virginia. 1 June 1860. Roll: T1132_8; Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1870. Roll: T1159_45. Complete transcribed census enumerations.

Hancock County and later the Grant District specifically was more similar to East Liverpool than Wellsville in that one particular “industry” was dominant during the entire study period. Data acquired from the federal census population schedules will help illustrate this point.

From 1860-1880 farmers and agricultural laborers made up a steady 75% of the workforce in the Grant District. The 1850 census included the southernmost parts of the county where the brick manufacturers were clustered. When these workers were eliminated from the calculations, the percentage of the remaining workforce made up by farmers was about 66%.⁹⁸ With respect to other occupational categories, the next highest percentage of workers was found in in the county-wide census of 1850 in the category of Manufacturing/Production. Made up largely of brick makers, this 18% of the workforce likely lived in the southern part of the county outside of the Grant District. Apart from these workers, the only occupational category to reach as high as 10% of the total workforce was the count of general laborers in 1880.

Also in contrast to the towns across the river, women in the Grant District area were far less likely to be working for wages. While in the towns the percentage of women earning wages ranged from about 11% to 20% (depending upon whether domestic servants were included) the percentages in Grant never rose above 4.5% including servants. Most of these women *were* domestic servants, as well as teachers and a few scattered other occupations.

Transportation

Very early settlers to the Upper Ohio River Valley area came via water or on foot. Settlers from the eastern United States first had to reach the study area and in West Virginia that could be particularly difficult if they were crossing the Appalachians. Some consideration has been given in other chapters to transportation issues especially as they apply to workers in the field. Often, after a trail was broken

⁹⁸ Complete transcribed census enumerations for 1850-1880. Including all workers, agriculture accounted for only about 59% of the workforce.

across these mountains the ox cart and horse could be used to move people and goods. Steamboats were useful along the river only during periods of sufficiently high water, so horse was the main transportation before the railroad appeared.

The first “packet line” for transportation along the Ohio River was established between Pittsburgh and Cincinnati on 11 January 1794. One boat sailed each week, returned, and then sailed again on the fourth week. There were four boats, one leaving each week. Steamboats began traversing the Ohio in October of 1811. The height of steamboat building on this portion of the Ohio River seemed to occur in the 1830s and 1840s near Steubenville, Ohio (just south of Hancock County), and Wheeling, West Virginia (in Ohio County). Tyler, Ralston and Company of Wellsville commissioned a steamboat for the transportation of goods in 1847 (see Wellsville section). When the railroad came through in 1852 steamboats ran in conjunction with trains to facilitate the transportation of goods.⁹⁹

Completed in 1837, the old National Road/Cumberland Road was the first major highway funded and built by the federal government. It ran between Cumberland, Maryland, and Vandalia, Illinois, passing through Wheeling. This road carried passengers and freight by stage coach and heavy horse drawn vehicles. Hundreds of inns and coach stations were built along this road.¹⁰⁰ This road did not pass through the study area or even through Hancock County. It did provide additional access to the Ohio River from the east, perhaps enhancing trade opportunities in the Hancock and Columbiana Counties area.

The General Assembly of Virginia passed an act for establishing a turnpike on 18 February 1828. The road was surveyed from Hamilton’s Ferry (across from Wellsville), passing New Manchester and on to the Pennsylvania line. This road, not completed until 1852, runs partially through the Grant District and was still being used in 1879.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Newton, *History of the Pan-Handle*; ..., p. 197.

¹⁰⁰ Cranmer, Gibson L., et. al. (1890) *History of the Upper Ohio Valley*. Madison: Brant & Fuller. Vol. 1, p. 194.

¹⁰¹ Newton, *History of the Pan-Handle*; ..., pp. 424-425.

There was no mention in the local histories consulted of railroads running along the West Virginia side of the Ohio River during the study period. On a map of the Upper Ohio River Valley published in 1877, the Cleveland & Pittsburgh Railroad is clearly identified and runs along the Ohio side of the river.¹⁰² A 1933 West Virginia state atlas does show a railroad running through Grant District, though it appears to end in Chester; this is marked “P.C.C. & St. L.” which was the Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Chicago and St. Louis Railroad.¹⁰³

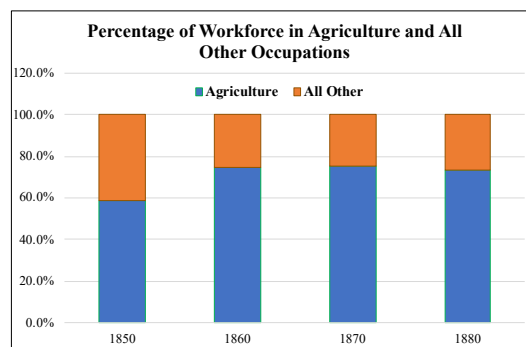


Figure 53. Percentage of workforce in agriculture as opposed to all other occupations.

Source: Complete transcribed census enumerations for 1850-1880.

Large Families of Landowners

Within Hancock County and later only the Grant District of that county several surnames were found to be prominent not just in numbers but in the amount of land they owned. While the actual value of the land or property of any individual was only recorded on the census from 1850-1870, the commonality of surnames can be analyzed for all four census enumerations available. Some, but hardly all, of the large landowning families enumerated during the study period were also mentioned above as early settlers.¹⁰⁴ The potential influence on the social and economic structure of this part of the study area by large and/or wealthy families was quantified using three separate variables - the abundance of the surname, total value of land owned by that surname, total value of personal property owned by that surname.

¹⁰² Eli L. Hays. (1877) Part III. *Illustrated Atlas of the Upper Ohio River Valley from Pittsburgh, Pa. to Cincinnati, Ohio - PART III.* pp. 34-35, 1:31,680 (no bar). Philadelphia: Titus, Simmons & Titus. David Rumsey Map Collection. Image No. 4975B. <https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~3472~390072:-Title-Page-to--Illustrated-atlas-o> : accessed 14 December 2020.

¹⁰³ Ice, John R. Ice (compiler) (1933) *New Descriptive Atlas of West Virginia - Hancock County.* p. 20, (scale bar) Clarksburg: Clarksburg Publishing Co. FHL film 1425710, item 1. <https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/47872?availability=Family%20History%20Library> : accessed 18 December 2020.

¹⁰⁴ Surnames were standardized within each census decade to a limited extent so that, for example, “Breneman” and “Brenneman” were considered the same surname but “Johnson” and “Johnston” were not.

Some patterns are immediately obvious. The family of Allison ranked first in all four decades with respect to the commonality of their surname. The Allisons had two to three times as many members as the next most common surname. In two of the three decades the Allisons also ranked highest in land ownership and in one of two decades highest in value of personal property. This particular family, which were probably all descendants of an early Maryland ancestor, seemed to have the potential to be quite influential in the area.¹⁰⁵

County and area histories used during this research did mention quite a few Allisons in connection with Hancock County. Allisons were named as county supervisors, state legislators, Civil War soldiers, lodge members, attorneys and customs officials in addition to the occupations found on the census.¹⁰⁶ In 1850 all the Allisons living in Hancock County were called farmers. In both 1860 and 1870 a few younger men were following different occupations, but the surname was still overwhelmingly connected with farming. In 1880 about half of the working Allisons were called “farm laborer” rather than “farmer.” The distinction was in this case almost always drawn between the head of household (farmer) and his unmarried son (farm laborer).

No other surname in the county demonstrated the prosperity or commonality as did the Allisons. The surname of Stewart was often second or third with respect to commonality and the families of Gardner, Brown, Pugh, Nessly, Brenneman, Stewart and Mahon were found to be among the largest owners of land and/or personal property in more than one decade.¹⁰⁷

Over the course of the study period the average number of individuals per surname decreased slightly from about 8.5 to 7.3. The average number of Allisons found per decade was 142; clearly there were a great many surnames represented by only one or a very few individuals. Along with this trend is the shrinking number of

¹⁰⁵ Lewis, *History of West Virginia: in two parts*, p. 702.

¹⁰⁶ Results of search for “Allison” in the following: Lewis, *History of West Virginia: in two parts*; Welch, *History of Hancock County*; Newton, *History of the Pan-Handle*;

¹⁰⁷ For this analysis the following baseline values were considered: surnames with 30 or more members per census; total land owned per surname of \$30,000 or more per census; total personal property owned per surname of \$10,000 or more per census.

surnames found with more than 30 members; in 1850 there were 20 such surnames; by 1880 there were only three.¹⁰⁸

A second trend is suggestive but can not be adequately verified using the available data. Although the Allison family were the most numerous family and often owned the most land per surname, they were by no means the wealthiest per capita.¹⁰⁹ With an average total property holding of \$911 per individual, the families of Allison lag far behind some of the other families mentioned above. The Mahan family reported an average of \$8,120 and the Nesslys \$12,617. On the other hand, they were by no means the least well off of the large families; the common surname of Stewart, the only other surname appearing with more than 30 members on all four census years, reported an average per capita wealth of only \$686.¹¹⁰

Since the number of different surnames falling within the large land/property owners category increased from 1860 to 1870, it could not be demonstrated in that way that the wealth of the county was being concentrated within a smaller number of families. Looking at just the number of *families* of a given surname rather than the total of all individuals, one trend does appear. The wealth per family of the Allison family increased markedly from about \$2,500 in 1850 to almost \$14,000 in 1880. The wealth per family of the Stewarts showed a gradual increase from just over \$1,300 in 1850 to over \$4,600 in 1880. There were very wealthy families, such as the Browns, whose family wealth increased from nearly \$8,700 in 1850 to over \$21,000 in 1880. Several other families were quite wealthy in one decade or

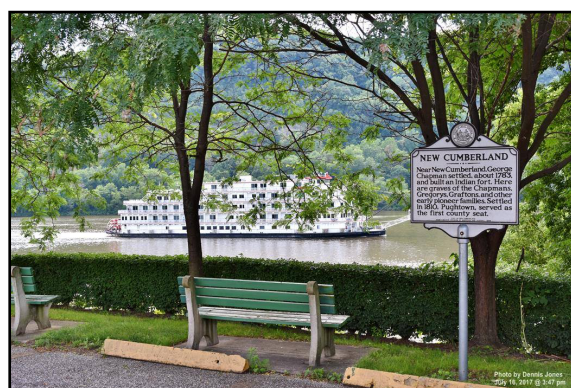


Figure 54. Looking out over the Ohio River near New Cumberland.

Source: Photo by Dennis Jones; @dennisgeorgejones.

¹⁰⁸ Be mindful of the fact that in 1850 the census incorporated the entirety of Hancock County rather than just the northernmost portion (Grant).

¹⁰⁹ This gross measure includes individuals of all ages.

¹¹⁰ In 1850 only there were quite a few individuals with the surname “Stuart” - these were not included with the “Stewart” spelling as 1850 is the only year in which that spelling occurred.

another, but the Brown family appears to have been the most consistently successful in terms of land and property ownership. The Browns were noted in histories as being among early county officials, surveyors, agricultural implement manufacturers, and of course farmers.¹¹¹

Some Conclusions

During the study period, the Grant District of Hancock County never developed much beyond being a well established agricultural area. While small communities (more likely gatherings of a few houses) likely existed, no towns were successfully founded. The residents were evidence of the ‘... need for stability inherent in the very nature of farm life ...’¹¹² The population was heavily agricultural with slightly larger families than in the towns of Wellsville and East Liverpool (please refer to Chapter Five) and a small percentage of workers scattered across other (mainly construction or manufacturing) types of occupations. Women rarely participated in the workforce. The brick making industry seemed to have remained in the southern part of the county, never (during the study period) making much of an impact on employment in the Grant District.

The Grant District of Hancock County was home to several very large and comparatively wealthy land owning families. These families, particularly the Allisons, may have come to dominate the local economy and/or politics in the same ways that large pottery owners of East Liverpool might have done. Newspapers extant for the period provide subjective evidence to support this notion in both cases.

¹¹¹ Results of search for “Brown” and “Hancock” in the following: Lewis, *History of West Virginia: in two parts*; Welch, *History of Hancock County*; Newton, *History of the Pan-Handle*; ...

¹¹² Suzanne Strait Fremon & Morrow Wilson. (1976) *Rural America*. New York : H. W. Wilson, p. 4.

CHAPTER FIVE

MAJOR SOCIAL ISSUES AND TRENDS

The aim of this chapter is to provide a closer look at some of the different aspects of society present and active during the study period. Issues which would be expected to exert an influence of some kind on all portions of the study area include education, religion, the roles of women, foreign immigration into the area, the distribution of wealth, and the availability of work. Unlike the previous three chapters, demographic analyses presented in this chapter aim to compare the conditions and development between the three distinct areas under study.

I. EDUCATION

The nineteenth century marked a general decline of the family as the overarching social and economic unit in society, especially in non-rural settings, and with it came an increase in institutions formed to take on some of the duties previously performed by parents. One of these was the education of their children. In earlier centuries it was the duty of the father to teach their children religious doctrine and vocational skills, including often reading and writing. As fathers increasingly went out of the home to work, some of this responsibility fell on mothers to teach their children how to read, write and cipher. It was during the common school reform movement of the mid-19th century that the school as an institution began to draw children out of the home for their education.¹

The provisions made for the education of children can tell us something about the various governmental policies of a particular state as well as how much importance they placed on educating their children. It can also tell us something about the actual resources available for carrying out state educational policies in various regions and in smaller towns these resources might be especially scarce. However, school attendance at this time was not dependent merely upon state policy - it was still incumbent upon the parents to ensure that their own children attended school. Individual attendance figures from particular families can suggest to us how

¹ James C. Carper. (1992) 'Home Schooling, History, and Historians: the Past as Present,' *The High School Journal*, 75(4), pp. 254-55.

TABLE 1

LOCATIONS OF NEGRO SCHOOLS OPERATED BY ABOLITIONISTS
AND NEGROES, 1837-1843, AS COMPILED FROM
REPORTS OF SOCIETIES OF THESE GROUPS

Locations	Code letter*	Locations	Code letter
Africa	f	Lancaster	b,d,e
(Highland Co.)		Logan County	a,e(2),f,g(3)
Big Bottom	e,g,h	Loramie Creek	a
(Pike Co.)		Marion Township	a
Brown County	c	(Mercer Co.)	
Brush Creek	a	Massillon	g
(Brown Co.)		Mercer County	c,e,g
the Camps	e,g	Milton Township	c
(Brown Co.)		(Jackson Co.)	
Champaign County	d	Mount Pleasant	a
Chillicothe	a(2),b,c,d	Newark	f
	e,f,g	Pea Pea Creek	g
Cincinnati	a(3),c,e,f	(Pike Co.)	
	g,h	Piketon	b,e,f
Circleville	b,d,e	Putnam	a
Cleveland	a,b,c,g	Ross County	e
Columbiana County	g	Shelby County	a,c,e,g(2)
Columbiana County	a	Smithfield	a
(near Salem)		Springboro	f
Columbiana County	a	Springfield	a,b,c,d,e,g,h
(NW corner)		Stark County	a
Columbus	a,b,d,e,g,h	(NE corner)	
Darke County	a,e,g	Swan Creek	g
Dayton	a,b,c,d	(Gallia Co.)	
Gallipolis	f,g	Symmes Creek	e
Hamilton	f	(Gallia Co.)	
Handsburg Settlement	g	Troy	f
(Highland Co.)		Urbana	e,f,g,h
Hillsboro	f	Wayne Township	c
Jackson County	e,f,g	(Jefferson Co.)	
Jerome Township	g	Xenia	a,d
(Franklin Co.)		Zanesville	b,d

*The coding for the above lists is as follows:

- a- Wattles' 1837 list (22 schools)
- b- School Fund Society 1839 list (9 schools)
- c- Ladies Society 1839 list (10 schools)
- d- School Fund Society 1840 list (9 schools)
- e- Ladies Society 1840 list (18 schools)
- f- Ladies Society 1841 list (13 schools)
- g- Ladies Society 1842 list (23 schools)
- h- Ladies Society 1843 list (5 schools)

Figure 55. Locations of "Negro Schools."

Source: Erickson, *The Color Line in Ohio Public Schools, 1829-1890*, p. 83.

much importance a particular family placed on education, and perhaps bring to light other factors that might have kept children out of school, in particular. For the

purposes of this study, we are concerned only with primary and secondary education rather than college level education.

The original constitution of the new state of Ohio (1803) stated specifically that no laws be passed to prevent the poor from attending publicly funded schools. This document made no mention of black students specifically which might suggest that there was no intent at the time of writing that these students be segregated or educated separately from white students.² The state passed a law establishing the common schools in 1825 and provided funding with a half-mill property tax³ which amounted to about 1/2000th of the value of the property.⁴ The 1829 version of this law had the following wording added:

Provided, that nothing in this act shall be construed to permit black or mulatto persons to attend schools hereby established, or compel them to pay any tax for support of such schools; ...⁵

While not specifically stating that black children could not attend the white schools (only that public funds could not be used to pay the expenses of their education) in practice, this was a very effective exclusion. Erickson notes that while early Quakers may have been involved in the education of black children, most of these children received only a rudimentary or intermittent education if any at all.⁶ Benevolent societies, abolitionists, and blacks themselves operated some schools in the state. One estimate of the number and location of these schools was not broken down

² Ohio History Central. *Ohio Constitution of 1803 (Transcript). Article VII. Bill of Rights. Sec 25.* [https://ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Ohio_Constitution_of_1803_\(Transcript\)](https://ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Ohio_Constitution_of_1803_(Transcript)) : accessed 7 December 2020.

³ Ohio History Central. *Public Schools.* https://ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Public_Schools : accessed 7 December 2020.

⁴ Municipal Association of South Carolina. *What is a mill?* <https://www.masc.sc/Pages/resources/What-is-a-mill.aspx> : accessed 25 January 2021.

⁵ n.a. (1876) *A History of Education in the State of Ohio.* Columbus: Gazette Printing House, p. 75.

⁶ Leonard Ernest Erickson. (1959) *The Color Line in Ohio Public Schools, 1829-1890.* PhD dissertation, Ohio State University., pp. 33, 54.

numerically by county but some were present in Columbiana County in both 1837 and 1842. Statewide, there were 22 such schools in 1837 and 23 in 1842.⁷

A state law of 1848 established separate black schools in communities where there were twenty or more black children of school age. Prior to this time blacks and mulattos were not subject to Ohio school laws. For the first time, black and mulatto individuals were required to pay property tax to support these schools. In communities where there were fewer than twenty black children, these children could attend white schools if there was no objection presented by the parents of a white student or any legal voter.⁸ The percentage of black children actually attending these schools averaged about 38% from 1853 to 1886;⁹ the average of all children attending school in the study area from 1850 to 1880 varied from about 48% to 78% (see discussion below). While Erickson cited examples of ‘scattered local actions’ of colored men supporting the common schools in their township,¹⁰ he did not make note of Edward Devore, an early black settler of Liverpool township who helped fund and build the first school in Yellow Creek Township.¹¹

Despite the small numbers of blacks living in the study area, this information does give insight into the general tone of racial conditions at the time. And, in a reminder to historians to be cautious about believing everything they read about the history of American education, and as another way to look at the state education laws referred to above, author Geraldine Clifford had this to say in 1976:

If racism and ethnic conflict are not the biggest story in America’s educational past, few historians remain blind to the racial, cultural, and religious animus which has all

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 83. See Figure 68.

⁸ n.a., *A History of Education in the State of Ohio*, p. 76. For a review of the current usage of the term “mulatto” please see: Pew Research Center. Ana Gonzalez-Barrera, author. ‘*Mestizo*’ and ‘*mulatto*’: *Mixed-race identities among U.S. Hispanics*. <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/07/10/mestizo-and-mulatto-mixed-race-identities-unique-to-hispanics/>; accessed 25 January 2021. During this time period, “mulatto” typically referred to anyone who was of mixed white and black heritage.

⁹ Erickson, *The Color Line in Ohio Public Schools, 1829-1890*, p. 216. Table 4.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

¹¹ Horace Mack. (1879) *History of Columbiana County, Ohio, with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches, Some of its Prominent Men and Pioneers*. Philadelphia: D. W. Ensign & Co., p. 282.

along influenced educational policy and practice. ...¹²

The structure of Ohio's current school system is based upon the Ohio School Law of 1849 which in turn was based on the Akron School Law. During the 1830s and 1840s Ohioans were taking a significant interest in the idea of free public education. The Ohio School Law of 1849 reflected that interest. Schools commonly functioned independently from one another before this organizing law, with little attempt at uniformity. In 1849 the state legislature chose to model the new state system after one created by the citizens of Akron in 1847. This is not to imply that schools did not formally exist in Ohio prior to this law, only that this law provided for organization and funding in a more systematic manner than had previous laws, and that the system adopted at that time has persisted to the present.

The Akron School Law stated that there was to be one school district encompassing the entire city. Within that district would be a number of elementary schools, with students divided into separate "grades" based on achievement. When enough demand existed, the school board would establish a high school as well. Property taxes would pay for the new school system. A school board, elected by the community, would make decisions about the systems management and hire the necessary professionals to run each school.

The Ohio legislature passed a modified Ohio School Law in 1853 (or Union School Law), which simplified the 1849 law. As a result of the new law, the state collected a uniform property tax across the state, which it then redistributed to each school district based upon the number of students enrolled. The School Law of 1853 also provided money for school libraries for the first time in Ohio's history.¹³ With respect to the very specific attempts at organization of schools in Ohio, we have this note from an 1854 Lisbon, Columbiana County, newspaper:

¹² Geraldine Joncich Clifford. (1976) 'Education: Its History and Historiography,' *Review of Research in Education*, vol. 4, p. 216.

¹³Ohio History Connection. *Ohio School Law*. http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Ohio_School_Law : accessed 17 December 2020.

Ohio spends somewhat more than \$200,000 a year in maintaining her 9,916 schools. In one year - 1852 - Ohio built 181 school houses. The State is in earnest on the subject of education. ... Virginia, so far as we know, has no organized system of public schools; nor we believe, have North Carolina, Florida, Alabama, Arkansas and Texas.¹⁴

In fact, the Virginia School Law of 1846 required each county to define a chosen number of districts and appoint one school commissioner for each district. These commissioners met and selected a superintendent. The superintendent organized funding under a pre-existing funding law. The potential school children were ages 5 to 16. This law did not substantially change the way education had been administered for the last 50 years in the state. Schools in each district were called 'Old Field Schools.' These were free schools, which all children over six years of age were entitled to attend.¹⁵ In addition to these district schools, there was a system of county free schools, funded by a school fund, fines, bequests, and some taxes.¹⁶ This type of organization certainly does suggest the 'centralized, professional structure' Clifford alluded to above.

With the formation of the state of West Virginia in 1863 came a new state constitution, and this included the permanent election of a statewide school superintendent. The state constitution also included an act establishing the school system, something the existing Virginia state constitution did not have at that time. It also provided for the establishment of five normal schools for the education of teachers.¹⁷ Funding of the school system was to be acquired from sale of previously forfeited or unappropriated (Virginia) lands, grants from the State, a share of the literary fund of Virginia, taxes on corporations, and several other sources.¹⁸

¹⁴ 'Common School Facts.' *Anti-Slavery Bugle* (Lisbon, OH). 25 February 1854, p. 4, c. 1; www.newspapers.com : accessed 17 December 2020.

¹⁵ State Superintendent of Schools [WV]. (1907) *The History of Education in West Virginia*. Charleston: Tribune Printing Co., p. 33.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

¹⁸ Granville Davisson Hall. (1902) *The Rending of Virginia, A History*. Chicago: Mayer & Miller, pp. 65, 437.

Education of black people in West Virginia began late. There was no provision made for their education before the Civil War (unless provided by an open-minded slave owner), and even after statehood, colored students were not allowed to attend school with whites. By 1872 the law allowed colored students to use the same facilities as white students (at different times), and Negro schools could therefore be established as long as there were 15 or more Negro children between ages six and 21 attending the school.¹⁹ This was never to be the case in the Grant District where, in 1870, only 20 black or mulatto individuals were enumerated in Grant District, 15 of them adults. In 1880, 23 blacks and mulattos were enumerated in Grant, 13 of whom were adults.²⁰

Although the mandatory provision of educational opportunity was put in place in most states during our study period, laws requiring attendance by children were slow to follow. Compulsory attendance legislation was partially dependent upon the standard of living in each particular state, and whether parents could reasonably be expected to forgo possible income provided by their children in favor of their education. Although education was seen as the best way to assimilate the influx of immigrant children who had arrived in the United States, the individual states took their own time to realize the value of an educated workforce. By the end of the study period (about 1886) only 17 states had compulsory school attendance laws.²¹ West Virginia did not have a compulsory attendance law until 1897,²² and the Bing Act requiring all Ohio children between six and eighteen years of age to attend school was not enacted until 1921.²³

County histories of the area, usually written between 1880 and 1930, can give some secondary information about the educational system in local areas.

Columbiana County was seen to be progressive in adopting the terms of the Union

¹⁹ C. G. Woodson. (1922) 'Early Negro Education in West Virginia,' *The Journal of Negro History*, 7(1), p. 27.

²⁰ Ancestry. *U.S. Federal Census Collection*. <https://www.ancestry.com/search/categories/usfedcen/>. Search 1870 and 1880 for the exact location, use "Black" or "Mulatto" in the Race/Nationality field.

²¹ C. K. Woltz. (1955) 'Compulsory Attendance at School,' *Law and Contemporary Problems*, vol. 20, p. 3.

²² Michael S. Katz. (1976) *A History of Compulsory Education Laws*. Bloomington: The Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation, p. 18.

²³ Ohio History Connection. *Bing Act of 1921*. https://ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Bing_Act_of_1921 : accessed 7 February 2020.

School Law as well as the inauguration of teachers' institutes.²⁴ The Wellsville histories boast of the "best available grade schools" as well as three "academies" (apparently for the education of older pupils). Academies were often taught by clergymen and were eventually replaced by the high school.²⁵ In 1850, Wellsville built a seven-room, two-story school building which accommodated about 500 students. It was the first school in the state organized under the requirements of the Union School Law. That building was replaced in 1879 with a newer and larger building, which was in use until at least 1903.²⁶

The East Liverpool history notes the first old log schoolhouse was built in 1820 and teaching began under the supervision of James Johnson. The public school system was inaugurated in 1834, with the first free school in East Liverpool being held in the basement of the old Methodist Episcopal Church. Hugh B. Anderson was the first teacher in this school. In 1849 a new two-story brick school building was begun on land donated for that purpose by Thomas Fawcett and Joseph Pemberton, two of the original town proprietors. The first teacher there was Henry M. Sheldon, assisted by Jane Gibson. The first graded school was organized in 1864, probably held in a rather frail two-story brick structure which had been erected in 1851 as the first school under the Union School Law system. This building was torn down in 1869 and replaced by a three-story schoolhouse.²⁷

Specific information about the educational situation in the Grant District is harder to come by. One author describes the early 'educational barrenness' in the state of Virginia, noting that the state education fund (dating from 1831) was devoted entirely to schools in the eastern part of the state. Children of common people could only find whatever scanty education was available in the "old-field" schools

²⁴ Mack, *History of Columbiana County, Ohio*, ..., pp. 38-42.

²⁵ Harold B. Barth. (1926) *History of Columbiana County, Ohio in Two Volumes*. Topeka: Historical Publishing Co., pp. 144-45.

²⁶ Wallace L. Fogo. (1903) *City of Wellsville in Black and White*. n.p.: Ervin Geffs, unpaginated; William B. McCord. (1905) *History of Columbiana County, Ohio and Representative Citizens*. Chicago: Biographical Pub. Co., p. 349.

²⁷ East Liverpool Historical Society. *East Liverpool School History*. <http://www.eastliverpoolhistoricalsociety.org/eltribsch.htm> : accessed 7 February 2020; Barth, *History of Columbiana County, Ohio in Two Volumes*, p. 179; McCord, *History of Columbiana County, Ohio and Representative Citizens*, p. 291.

described above. He intimates that the state was loathe to educate these ‘children of the common people,’ as education was considered incompatible with, and possibly dangerous to, the structure of society and the institution of slavery.²⁸ After statehood in 1863, five schools were created in the Grant District. Hamiltontown School stood at the current site of Congo (between Newell and Wellsville) and the “Pottery School” was located in Newell. This school closed in 1890, and the pupils moved to the Chester school.²⁹

Wheeling appears to have been the location of the closest early Negro school to the study area in the state West Virginia. By 1866, Wheeling had an elementary school open to blacks. Parkersburg, well over 100 miles from Grant District, had the first Negro school supported by private funds. Carter G. Woodson was one of the first eminent black American historians and had a particular interest in the education of black youths.³⁰ Writing in 1922, Woodson noted that ‘... the Negroes were early permitted to attend school in Ohio ...’ and perhaps the few black students in Hancock County did just that.³¹

Is it possible to find, in this small study area, any evidence of the increasing school attendance mentioned at the beginning of this chapter? The decennial census returns are a good place to gather information about school attendance. Beginning in 1850, the federal census required enumerators to record which individuals had attended school within the last year. Some attention must be paid to the methodology used in this analysis, and a description of the information collected during each decennial census as well as other problems posed by the structure of the census districts is included in the Technical Appendix.³²

²⁸ Hall, *The Rending of Virginia, A History*, p. 65.

²⁹ Laurel Hollow Park. *History of Newell*. <http://www.laurelhollowpark.net/newell/newellhistory02.html> : accessed 18 December 2020.

³⁰ NAACP. *NAACP History: Carter G. Woodson*. <https://www.naACP.org/naACP-history-carter-g-woodson/> : accessed 13 November 2020.

³¹ Woodson, ‘Early Negro Education in West Virginia,’ p. 38.

³² Please note: for statistical comparisons *between* areas the 1850 townships have been combined with the 1850 towns for East Liverpool and Wellsville. For statistical comparisons *within* an area, only the figures for the towns were used.

Over the course of the 1850-1880 census enumerations for the entire area the youngest individual marked as attending school was age two (probably an error), and the oldest was 23 (perhaps a college or normal school student).³³ Judging by today's educational customs as well as the above defined Virginia School Law, it seems reasonable to expect a child of five or six to be attending school, but not one of two to four. Similarly, scholars over the age of 18 at the oldest would be the exception and in the 19th century, children were much more apt to leave school after age 16. The upper limit for compiling these statistics was retained at 18, as mentioned in the Virginia School Law, while the lower limit was set at five.

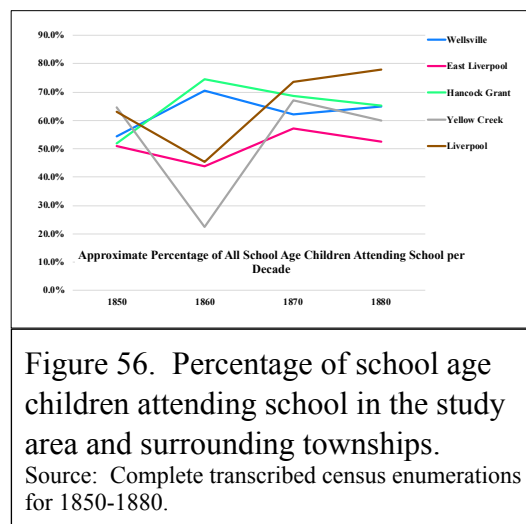
The resulting statistics provided an interesting glimpse of school attendance in the area during this time. The highest percentages of children attending school were ages about 7 - 14. Overall, Wellsville had the highest consistent school attendance and East Liverpool the lowest. Considering the study area *as a whole*, the average overall school attendance was fairly consistent ranging from about a low of 56.5% and a high of 63%. Boys and girls generally attended school with roughly equal frequency, a slightly higher percentage of boys generally attending in all areas over all four decades. The most erratic attendance figures were found in East Liverpool, the most consistent in Wellsville.

The general trend over time is one of a gradually decreasing total percentage of children attending school in the entire area. Between 1850 and 1860 the percentage of children attending school jumps almost 7% from the lowest to the highest percentages; following that, the percent attending decreases for the next two decades. Both the Wellsville area and the Hancock/Grant area followed this pattern. East Liverpool's attendance was erratic. Attendance dropped about 13% between 1850 and 1860, the only area which exhibited that result; it had increased about 6% by 1870 then dropped again in 1880.

A very simple school attendance analysis, based on a search of the census databases available at Ancestry and FamilySearch, was performed for reference. This was done purely for comparison between local large towns and rural townships.

³³ This did not include obvious errors in the higher end, such as men aged 60+ in school.

The data used separated Wellsville from Yellow Creek and East Liverpool from Liverpool Township for all four decades. Search parameters at Ancestry asked for all individuals in school, regardless of age. Search parameters at FamilySearch asked for all individuals between the ages of 8-18 only. No distinction was made between male and female pupils.



Results of this comparison were mixed. The percentage of children attending school in the five distinctive areas ranged between 22% and 78% over the four decades. The most drastic variation was in Yellow Creek Township which saw a drop in attendance to about 22% in 1860; this did not at all mirror the increase in attendance in the town of Wellsville. The trend in attendance in rural Liverpool Township approximately followed that in the town of East Liverpool. The most interesting figures in this analysis are those from 1860. This year saw an increase in attendance in both Wellsville and the Grant District areas and at the same time a sometimes precipitous drop in attendance in the rural township outside of Wellsville (Yellow Creek) and both the town of East Liverpool and the surrounding township of Liverpool.

Very few general trends can be extrapolated from this data. With no mandatory attendance laws yet in force, school attendance in Wellsville and the Grant District was about 52% in 1850, rose to about 70% - 75% in 1860, then declined gradually to about 65% in 1880. Attendance in East Liverpool was consistently lower than all other areas for all years with the exception of Yellow Creek Township in 1860. Since county histories state that both Wellsville and East Liverpool appeared to have adequate facilities for educating schoolchildren, it is not known why attendance in East Liverpool was consistently lower than in the two adjacent areas unless some significant proportion of the school aged children were actually working in the potteries.

In fact, some percentage of children of school age in *all* communities were working instead of attending school. The percentage was lowest in Hancock/Grant, ranging from about 3% to 8% over the time period; in this area, youth were primarily working on home farms and this did not preclude them from attending school when they were not needed for that work. The percentages of youth working in Wellsville might have been skewed by the way in which the enumerators recorded domestic workers (see the Technical Appendix). As with Hancock, these numbers were quite low - 4% to 6.5% in 1850 and 1880 but almost doubling during 1860-1870. East Liverpool, by contrast, showed a continuous increase in the percentage of school aged children who were working and not

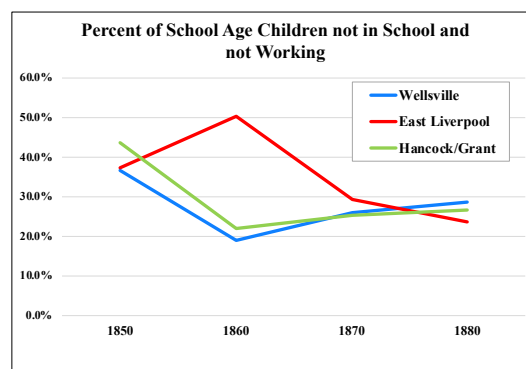


Figure 57. Percent of school age children not in school or working.
Source: Complete transcribed census enumerations for 1850-1880.

attending school. From a low of 6% in 1850, the percentage of these youths working increased to nearly 24% by 1880. These youths were nearly all working in the potteries and were living in town rather than in Liverpool Township.

An analysis of the percentages of school age children apparently doing nothing (but possibly being educated at home) in each of the three areas over the decades shows East Liverpool again out of step with the areas of Wellsville and the Grant District of Hancock County. As can be seen, the percentage of these youths decreased in Wellsville and Grant between 1850 and 1860, then increased slightly over the next two decades. By contrast, the percentage in East Liverpool increased between 1850 and 1860 then dropped to near the levels in the other areas in 1870, and continued to decrease below those levels in 1880. The last point may be due to the increasing percentage of school age workers in the potteries in 1880. It is not known how many of these children were being educated at home by their parents, nor what activities they may have been involved in which did not include working

for pay or attending school. It is very unlikely that they were actually “doing nothing.”

The decennial census was also analyzed to determine the number of teachers living in each area for each year. These individuals were enumerated as “school teacher”, “music teacher”, “teacher”, “school superintendent”, or some variation of these. The number of teachers who gave that as their primary occupation to the census enumerator remained consistently low in the entire area, numbering between nine and fifteen from 1850-1870. In 1880, the total number of teachers in the entire study area jumped to 48.

While the number of total teachers in the first three decades remained fairly constant, their gender did not. This is admittedly a small sample from a small area. In 1850, none of the nine local teachers were women. In 1860 the number had risen to six women teachers out of fifteen total teachers, and by 1870 seven of the ten teachers were women. By 1880, only 14 of the total 48 educators were *men* and this included administrators. The female teachers were all single, and many were living at home with their likely family of origin.³⁴ A further discussion of women in the workforce will be presented later in this chapter. A brief genealogical analysis of three specific teachers can be found in Appendix 3.

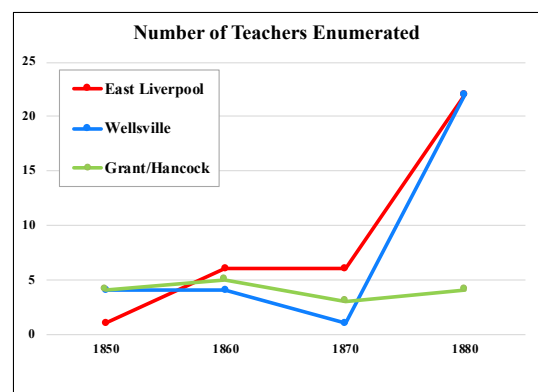


Figure 58. Number of teachers enumerated on decennial census.
Source: Complete transcribed census enumerations for 1850-1880.

³⁴ Complete transcribed census enumerations for 1850-1880.

II. RELIGION

Although several historians included significant information on the effects of the market revolution on the proliferation of religious denominations in 19th century America, no evidence was found for this effect in the study area, and this idea will not be pursued here.³⁵

The Presbyterian Church, founded on the writings of John Calvin, has a long history in both the United States and in the state of Ohio. At its core, Presbyterianism is a system of church government via representative assemblies (similar to the general form of the United States government) rather than by bishops as in the episcopal system, the Pope in the Catholic system, or by individual congregations. In the 19th century, the Presbyterian Church was focused on education and mission, as well as evangelical and reforming work. During the secession crisis surrounding the Civil War, the disagreements within the church became more political. Old School Presbyterian congregations pledged loyalty to the federal government. Southern Presbyterian congregations, unable or unwilling to uphold this pledge, split and formed the Presbyterian Church of Confederate States, later the PCUSA.³⁶

The Methodist Church, founded by John Wesley, has also been well established in both the United States and in the study area. Unlike the Presbyterians, the Methodist Church does not have a central governing body; rather the duties of administration are divided amongst several entities.³⁷ The Methodists also suffered denominational conflict during and after the Civil War, when divisions over slavery and church governance caused a split between northern and southern branches of the denomination. Methodists are committed to mission, and by 1875 had churches in Europe, Japan, Africa, Mexico, and Scandinavia. Other sects formed from the

³⁵ See, for example, these chapters devoted to this topic: Sellers, Charles. (1991) *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815–1846*. New York: Oxford. [chapter 7]; Howe, Daniel Walker. (2007) *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815–1848*. Oxford: University Press. [chapter 5]

³⁶ Presbyterian Historical Society. *History of the Church*. <https://www.history.pcusa.org/history-online/presbyterian-history/history-church> : accessed 25 February 2020.

³⁷ The people of The United Methodist Church. *Structure*. <https://www.umc.org/en/who-we-are/structure> : accessed 25 February 2020.

original Methodist Episcopal Church include the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist Protestant Church and The Brethren in Christ.³⁸

The establishment of churches is often one of the first things mentioned by county historians when recounting the development of a settlement area. The first church noted in Wellsville was the First Methodist Episcopal Church dating to the year 1800, just after town founder William Wells arrived in the area. Also in about that year the Presbyterians on both sides of the Ohio River in the study area began hearing occasional preachers, although there may not have been an organized congregation that early. Wellsville lies in the heavily Scots/Presbyterian township of Yellow Creek; East Liverpool is in St. Clair Township.

Other early denominations organizing in Wellsville included the Methodist Protestants in 1829, the Disciples Church in 1838, Christian Church in 1843, and the Episcopal Church in 1863. Catholics heard occasional preaching as early as about 1834, but not on a regular weekly basis until 1876 when a Catholic priest was permanently stationed at East Liverpool. The African Methodist Episcopal Church was organized in 1887, First Evangelical in 1896, and a Swedish Lutheran congregation organized in 1903.³⁹

The situation in East Liverpool was slightly different. Town founder Thomas Fawcett was himself a Quaker; therefore it is likely that Quaker Meetings may have been the most common forms of worship in the early years of the town, although there is no record that a meetinghouse was ever established. Barth reports that a Methodist circuit rider from Yellow Creek township conducted the first actual service in East Liverpool in 1799.⁴⁰

The first church building housing any denomination was built in 1834 by the Protestant Episcopal congregation. The Catholics in East Liverpool had a brick church as early as 1838. Other early churches include Presbyterian, organized in

³⁸ The people of The United Methodist Church. *A (brief) history of the people of the United Methodist Church*. <https://www.resourceumc.org/en/content/a-brief-history-of-the-people-of-the-united-methodist-church> : accessed 17 December 2020.

³⁹ Barth, *History of Columbiana County, Ohio in Two Volumes*, pp. 141-2; Mack, *History of Columbiana County, Ohio, ...*, pp. 280-82; McCord, *History of Columbiana County, Ohio and Representative Citizens*, pp. 346-49.

⁴⁰ Barth, *History of Columbiana County, Ohio in Two Volumes*, p.175.

1845; the Methodist Episcopal congregation organized in about 1827; United Presbyterian in 1858; Methodist Protestant organized in 1855; Evangelical Lutheran, before 1867; German Evangelical Lutheran, 1854 (this may have been the same congregation); Christian Church organized in 1888; and the African Methodist Episcopal Church organized in 1887.⁴¹ Occasional mention was made in the county histories of Mormons, Jews, and the Salvation Army, though no members were named. Apparently none of these groups had sufficient numbers to organize a congregation of any size.

Hancock County, being originally a part of the colony of Virginia, did not permit worship by any denomination except the Church of England until the Virginia legislature passed an act in 1784 which extended religious liberty to all citizens of the state. By 1800, three Episcopal congregations were located in the panhandle of which Hancock County is a part. There were also several Baptist congregations in this mountainous part of the state. The first Presbyterian church in Hancock County was built in 1790. After 1784 the Methodist church became a separate entity from the Church of England, and the first Methodist Church in Hancock County was organized in about 1818. A Methodist Protestant church began in the county in 1830.⁴²

Basic statistical data was collected about religious organizations from 1850-1870. This information is available at a county level, and includes both Columbiana and Hancock Counties. The extent of the information gathered from religious leaders changed in 1880, and the basic statistics about number of churches, seating capacity, and property ownership are not available for that year.⁴³ Specific local information can be found in a regional directory from 1877. The Columbiana County directory in 1877 located four Presbyterian, two each Methodist Protestant

⁴¹ Barth, *History of Columbiana County, Ohio in Two Volumes*, p. 176; Mack, *History of Columbiana County, Ohio, ...*, pp. 178-180; McCord, *History of Columbiana County, Ohio and Representative Citizens*, pp. 292-94; William C. Gates, Jr. (1984) *The City of Hills & Kilns. Life and Work in East Liverpool, Ohio*. East Liverpool: The East Liverpool Historical Society, p. 28.

⁴² James Morton Callahan. (1923) *History of West Virginia, Old and New, in One Volume*. Chicago: American Historical Society, pp. 257-276.

⁴³ Pew Research Center. Anne Farris Rosen, author. *A Brief History of Religion and the U.S. Census*. <https://www.pewforum.org/2010/01/26/a-brief-history-of-religion-and-the-u-s-census/> : accessed 18 December 2020.

and Methodist Episcopal, and two other denomination churches, plus one each Catholic and Episcopal in the two towns of Wellsville and East Liverpool.⁴⁴

Over the course of these three census enumerations, a total of 16 different denominations were recorded as having churches in either Hancock or Columbiana County; only four of those denominations were recorded in Hancock County. Looking only at the persistent and/or larger denominations, some trends can be seen. For example, the two major denominations in the area - Methodist and Presbyterian - show a fairly consistent number of churches and seating capacity.

The Methodists reported an average of 22 churches in Columbiana County across the three decades, with an average seating capacity in those churches of about 7,275. In Hancock County, Methodism was the dominant religion with an average of five churches and seating of 1,225. The Presbyterians were the dominant religion in Columbiana County with an average of 24 churches and seating for about 9,935 parishioners. In Hancock County there were three Presbyterian churches and seating for 1,635. While the number of churches and average total seating capacity tended to increase across the decades in Columbiana County for these two denominations, in Hancock County these figures remained more stable.

For other denominations the situation was different. For example, ten Baptist churches were reported in Columbiana County in 1850; the number fell off rapidly and only four remained 20 years later. The "Christian Church" appeared in both counties in 1860. Quakers were counted in large numbers in Columbiana County only in 1850 and 1860, and had disappeared by 1870; there was never a Quaker meetinghouse reported in Hancock County. Several denominations appeared only in Columbiana County - the German Reformed and Lutheran, for example, had 3-6 churches each from 1850-1870. There were no Jewish synagogues in either county. In Columbiana County only, two or three Roman Catholic congregations were

⁴⁴ Wiggins & McKillop (compilers). (1877) *Columbiana County Directory for 1877*. Columbus: Wiggins & McKillop, Printers, p. 121.

reported, with a seating of about 1,000. Other minor denominations came and went.⁴⁵

Nothing was found in the literature reviewed to indicate that individuals were deliberately shifting their denominational preferences. The variability in church existence and attendance was more likely a reflection of the numbers of followers of a particular denomination living in each area. It would have required some critical number of believers and sufficient funds to both found and maintain a new church of any denomination. Residents who wished to attend church but did not find one of their own specific denominational preference within convenient distance may have simply attended a different nearby church of a different denomination.

These generalizations and statistics apply to the counties of Columbiana and Hancock, but do not necessarily reflect the conditions in the towns of Wellsville and East Liverpool. Although city/county directories are scarce for the study area a few are available. In 1857, Williams' directory listed four churches in the area; three were in Wellsville. There were two Old School Presbyterian (the one in East Liverpool had no pastor), one Disciples of Christ, one Methodist Episcopal.⁴⁶ Another directory covered only Columbiana County for the year 1877, near the very end of the study period.⁴⁷ This directory listed seven churches in Wellsville and eight in East Liverpool that year. Of those 15 churches, eight were either Presbyterian or Methodist; there were two Episcopal, two Catholic, one German Lutheran and two Church of Christ/Christian. Two pulpits were vacant in East Liverpool, and Phillip McKim was the Episcopalian pastor in both towns.

There were a few other Ohio state directories during the study period, none listed pastors or churches in either town. Church and ministerial directories for either the state of Ohio or specific denominations are available beginning after the study period. No directories were found for West Virginia, so this type of resource

⁴⁵ US Census Bureau. *Census of Population and Housing*. <https://www.census.gov/prod/www/decennial.html> : accessed 16 December 2020. These figures are found individually by decade, generally in a section relating to Churches or Church Property.

⁴⁶ C. S. Williams. (1857) *Williams' Ohio state register and business mirror for 1857*. Cincinnati: C. S. Williams, pp. 211-250.

⁴⁷ Wiggins & McKillop. (1877) *Columbiana County Directory for 1877*. Columbus: Wiggins & McKillop, Printers, p. 121.

could not be used to help quantify the denominations or identify the pastors in this area.

Unlike some countries, such as Canada, the United States in their decennial census never asks questions about religious affiliation. That makes data about an individuals' religious affiliation harder to collect for this time period than that for the above discussed school attendance. Several large databases relating to church membership are available online. One of the largest is for the Quaker Meeting records. There were meetings in Columbiana County, but none in either Wellsville or East Liverpool. There were no records in this collection for Hancock County.⁴⁸ Another large collection is for Presbyterian records. In Wellsville, three separate churches have records available, though one of them is outside of town. No churches in East Liverpool were found in this collection, nor any close to the study area in West Virginia.⁴⁹ Although Methodist records are also available for some states on this site (*Ancestry*), neither Ohio nor West Virginia was represented. Another large repository (*FamilySearch*) had no available church records for Columbiana County, but did have some for Hancock County.⁵⁰

When discussing the churches of East Liverpool, Gates noted '... organized religion had a stabilizing effect upon the residents and the town.'⁵¹ He does not go on to explain how he determined or quantified this statement which may have been an assumption on his part. This 'stabilizing effect' was not reflected in the Circuit Court records of major crimes perpetrated in Columbiana County as a whole between 1850 and 1879, which indicate an apparent rise in arrests for criminal behavior. The reported arrests did not increase smoothly over this time, and several years with either no arrests or a larger number may have been related to the records collection methodology. In general, however, the number of annual arrests increased about

⁴⁸Ancestry. U.S., *Quaker Meeting Records, 1681-1935*. <https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/2189/> : accessed 5 February 2020. Search by state, county, Monthly Meeting.

⁴⁹ Ancestry. U.S., *Presbyterian Church Records, 1701-1970*. <https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/61048/> : accessed 5 February 2020. Search by state and city.

⁵⁰ FamilySearch. *Hancock County, West Virginia deaths, deeds, wills, inventories, church and cemetery records*. <https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/325201?availability=Family%20History%20Library> : accessed 25 November 2020.

⁵¹ Gates, *The City of Hills & Kilns* ..., p. 28.

five-fold over the time period. Most of the arrests over these nearly 30 years related to liquor law violations of some kind. However, violent crimes were also quite numerous and included assault and battery, rape and attempted murder.⁵²

Nationally, the United States Census Bureau began collecting information on criminal convictions in 1850 but no systematic cross-jurisdictional effort was made to being collecting crime reports in the US until about 1927.⁵³ As such, few resources are available which speak directly to the crime rate in the specific study area. The records of the Ohio Court of Common Pleas noted above are the only available evidence of the arrest of these misbehavers. Some degree of licentiousness apparently flourished in early frontier areas, especially in towns where single men might be gathered for work.⁵⁴ About 30 years before the study period began, the governor of Missouri noted that the ‘Sabbath had never crossed and should never cross the Mississippi.’⁵⁵

Despite the dire observation of Governor Clark, it was not only the legal authorities who exacted punishment on wrongdoers. The churches themselves had strict codes of conduct for their members and were not loathe to enforce them, although their strictures likely had little or no effect on non-members. In the fall of 1846 the captain of the steamboat *Union* appeared before the Session of his Presbyterian church in Wellsville.⁵⁶ Mr. John MacLean was about 33 years old that year, a married father of four young children.⁵⁷ He confessed to leaving port on the Sabbath; conducting business on the Sabbath was not acceptable in this church. A month later the Session decided that despite their high regard for Mr. MacLean and

⁵² Court of Common Pleas. *Criminal Records, 1850 term, Common Pleas Journal #16, 1850-1852*. [digital images] Lisbon: Columbiana County Archives. These records were digitized by the volunteers at the Center, likely from the records of the Circuit Courts. The original records were not readily available, and this data should be considered to be only a general glimpse of the conditions in the County during the time period.

⁵³ Ryan K. Williams. (2012) ‘Crime and Arrest Statistics Analysis’ in Wilbur R. Miller (ed.), *The Social History of Crime and Punishment in America : An Encyclopedia*. Los Angeles: Sage Publications, Inc., p. 374.

⁵⁴ Paul Dolan. (1940) ‘Rise of Crime in the Period 1830-1860,’ *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 30(6), p. 863.

⁵⁵ Harry J. Carman. (1930) *Social and economic history of the United States. Vol. II*. Boston: Heath, p. 186.

⁵⁶ Ancestry. *U.S., Presbyterian Church Records, 1701-1970*. See Session and Register of Riverside Presbyterian Church, Wellsville, Ohio, 1838-1852, p. 42.

⁵⁷ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1850. McCLANE, John (head). Roll: M432_669. Pg. 161a. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 2 Nov 2018.

his ‘... good reputation as a gentleman a steam boat captain and a moral man ...’ it was still ‘... sinful for any Christian person to engage in any worldly business ... upon the holy Sabbath, therefore we decide that Mr. John MacLean be suspended from the privileges of church membership until he shall give evidence of his repentance & willingness to forsake his sin.’⁵⁸ The very next day the Session moderator transcribed into the register this letter by MacLean, in which he acknowledged his misdemeanor, but protested against his suspension. MacLean’s protest was based on his insistence that he was a more wholesome riverboat captain than many at Wellsville, but that despite his desire to honor the Sabbath he still needed to earn a living.

To the Moderator of the Session of the church
of Wellsville

Sir

I hereby give notice to you that I intend to appeal from the decision of your judicatory in my case, to the Presbytery of Steubenville at its next meeting on the first Tuesday of October. The ground of my appeal is the injustice which I consider is done me by the decision.

It is well known to all who have had much to do with the Steam Boats upon the Western waters that a great change has taken place in the character of Steam boat officers within the past fifteen years. Formerly the officers were to a man profane & reckless - insulting in their conduct & language to every respectable passenger and endangering the lives entrusted to them by their recklessness. Of late these evils have in a great measure been removed because in many cases moral & professedly religious men have engaged in the business. It becomes then a serious question whether the river trade will not again fall into the hands of daring & dangerous men and all prospects of Sabbath Reform be forever done

⁵⁸ Ancestry. *U.S., Presbyterian Church Records, 1701-1970*. See Session and Register of Riverside Presbyterian Church, Wellsville, Ohio, 1838-1852, p. 43.

away if the churches should all take the stand you have taken & forbid men who are disposed to do better from engaging in the benefits.

No man can desire more ardently than I do that all our boats should lay by over each Sabbath whether in Port or on their way. But for one boat, or even one line to attempt the reform alone, would be to ruin their own business & effect no good end. If the time shall ever come, as I hope it may, when such an attempt shall meet with sufficient encouragement even from good men I for one will rejoice to promote the reform. As it is, I have tried to make any arrangements to be out of Port on the Sabbath as little as possible; though when on a trip I have esteemed it right to run very seldom do I leave port on the Sabbath. When I left Pittsburgh this spring on the Sabbath it was because I had advertised to leave previously & was unavoidably detained; and I considered it injustice to a large company of passengers that after the boat was ready they should be detained longer as some of them had been on board from Thursday. When I left New Orleans it was to preserve a valuable amount of property from destruction.

I have always endeavored to keep good order upon my boat as well upon the Sabbath as upon other days. I have engaged in this business with the desire of maintaining my family comfortably & as no charges are brought against me except such as my business engagements render necessary if I continue on this business I regard your decision as unjust as well as injurious to me.

(Signed) Yours,

John Maclean⁵⁹

No further mention was found of this matter in the Session minutes for the next year. Although John MacLean and his family were still living in Wellsville in

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

1850,⁶⁰ he had left the riverboat business for farming and moved to Illinois around 1859.⁶¹ Several other charges of violating the Sabbath were noted in this Session register immediately following the charge against John including one by another steam boat mariner. This letter is fascinating in the glimpse it gives us not only of the influence of the church on its members, but also the character of steamboat pilots. Letters and diaries from this study area are not easy to access, and this is a delightful bit of personal information that would not be evident on the sterile rosters of names and dates more plentifully available for this area and time.

Some mention is found of church fetes in the newspapers of the time, as well as the posting of worship times for various churches. Some are particularly amusing by today's standards, such as the description of the benefit for the Methodist Protestant Sabbath School held in February of 1859 in Wellsville. One author, perhaps the editor, was very complimentary:

The house was literally crowded to overflowing with the youth, beauty and fashion of the town; and every discriminating observer could not but ascribe ease, grace and even conception of character to many of the young ladies and the little boys and girls who participated during the evening.⁶²

This author appeared specifically *not* to refer to the young gentlemen present who were excoriated severely by a second author when discussing those standing at the back to enjoy the same gathering:

[standing at the back were] ... some of the young bloods enjoying themselves hugely (in their way) but disgusting to all around them. Their confab ran as follows: "There's gon'-

⁶⁰Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1850. McCLANE, John (head). Roll: M432_669. Pg. 161a. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 2 Nov 2018.

⁶¹ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1860. McLEAN, John (head). Roll: M653_119. Pg. 119. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 2 Nov 2018.

⁶² *Wellsville Patriot*. 1 March 1859, p. 2, c. 2.

to-be gobs in whur to-night, and I don't budge
fur any of 'em; I paid fifteen cents ..." [when
discussing a female performer] ... "All right!
Well, I'll be dogged! Ain't she pumpkins?
How'd ye like to have her for a wife, boys?
Gim me chaw 'tobacker, Jake."⁶³

The discrepancy in the experiences of the two authors at the same program is interesting particularly in the willingness of the second author to describe undoubtedly common unruly behavior and hint at social tensions in the community, rather than glossing over the antics of the audience and give us the common, bland, ubiquitous description of the performance that could be applied to a circus performance equally as well as a funeral eulogy.

Wellsville newspapers are not continuously available. However, in 1870 the listing of the church calendar appeared to be a regular offering. In December of that year, there were several notices that the "colored people" of "this place" or of "the M.E. persuasion" were holding meetings and building a church in Wellsville. By January of 1871 they had a pastor and a parsonage.⁶⁴ This is interesting as the census enumerations for the area record only six black or mulatto citizens in Wellsville, and two in East Liverpool. However, 21 "colored people" were enumerated in the Grant District, 24 in Yellow Creek Township outside of Wellsville and eleven in St. Clair Township, outside of East Liverpool. While the black citizens of the time were not living in the towns under study, they were by no means absent from the area and may have relied on the towns for supplies and possibly work.⁶⁵

In the same month, there were several rather critical items published about the A.M.E. church, including remarks about the amount of powder worn by the women and the amount of liquor drunk by the men. Also, a rumor spread that the minister of the church had absconded with the proceeds of a benefit festival held for

⁶³ *Ibid.*, c. 3.

⁶⁴ *Wellsville Local*. 28 December 1870, p. 2, c. 6; same newspaper, 4 January 1871, p. 3, c. 1.

⁶⁵ Complete transcribed census enumerations for 1850-1880; Ancestry. *U.S. Federal Census Collection*. <https://www.ancestry.com/search/categories/usfedcen/> : accessed 8 December 2020 - search for the two townships. White citizens were eliminated from all searches, those enumerated "black" or "mulatto" were counted.

the church, which was proven false by reference to the original notice of the festival which states that the proceeds were to go to him:

We the undersigned colored ladies of Wellsville, O., feel it our duty to give a festival on Wednesday evening, Dec. 28, 1870 for the support of our minister in charge, and, as our number is small, we respectfully appeal to the white ladies of Wellsville to assist us on the occasion. Mrs. Vianna Bell, Bearer.⁶⁶

Mrs. Bell proved to be a resident of Yellow Creek Township. Her household was composed of three black women and two black children. This family was not located on either the 1860 or 1880 census enumerations and, as has proven problematic for this research, was difficult to trace through the records. However in 1870, in the study area, this family appeared to be active in the church.⁶⁷

Apart from the A.M.E. church (which was still a Methodist Episcopal church) the citizens of the study area who attended church were primarily Presbyterians and Methodists (as noted above). Census records remind us that this was an overwhelmingly white part of the country. While religious intolerance is not mentioned outright in the newspapers at hand, we do see shades of it in reports such as this:

A lecture on the "Life and Writings of Mohammet," [sic] was delivered in the M. E. Church, East Liverpool, on Thursday evening, Dec. 23d, by Rev. Hastings, of Newburgh. This interesting theme was treated in an able manner, and the rise and rapid progress of the impostor's religion, and the marvelous results attend his labors and teachings, amply discussed.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ *Wellsville Local*. 11 January 1871, p. 3, c. 1.

⁶⁷ Census Records. USA. Yellow Creek Township, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1870. LEE, Nancy (head). p. 425B Roll M593_1184. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 5 March 2020.

⁶⁸ *Wellsville Local*. 11 January 1871, p. 3, c. 5.

III. ROLES OF WOMEN

Sellers' market revolution analysis provides some support for the distinction between the "separate spheres" in which 19th century men and women lived.⁶⁹ Although Linda Kerber decries the "trope" of describing the lives of American women during this time period as being separate from men and occupying a distinct world or sphere, the records available from the study area and time do lend some support to the notion.⁷⁰ Available local newspapers feature heavily the traditional narrative of women as having the duty and practical challenge of taking moral care of their husbands and children. By the end of the time period, while some women did report an occupation to the census enumerator, nearly all married women and most single women were still engaged in "keeping house." But was that a truly valueless "occupation?"

Amy Dru Stanley, in an article drawing similarities between the institutions of slavery and marriage, went to some lengths to describe the effects of the market revolution, or market society, on the lives of women. She contends that the "women's sphere" model, which stated in part that developing capitalism tended to confine women to the home and isolate them from production, is outdated. Instead she believes women were in fact participating with the market. Their activities included commodity production within the home (perhaps an extension of the activities of subsistence farming), and also engagement with the public market in the form of peddling or market stalls. Women sold their labor as scrubwomen, domestic servants and factory hands. They took in boarders. All these activities tended to blur the strict demarcation between the "spheres" of women's and men's worlds.⁷¹

The degree to which the women of the study area strove towards the attributes of "True Womanhood" - those of piety, purity, submissiveness and

⁶⁹ Sellers, *The Market Revolution*: ..., p. 242.

⁷⁰ Linda K. Kerber. (1992) 'Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History.' In: Cott, Nancy F., ed. *Domestic Ideology and Domestic Work*. New York: Saur. In particular, see pp. 173-180.

⁷¹ Amy Dru Stanley. (1996) 'Home Life and the Morality of the Market'. In: Stokes, Melvyn and Conway, Stephen, eds. *The Market Revolution in America: Social, Political, and Religious Expressions, 1800-1880*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. See especially pp. 78-81.

domesticity⁷² - could not truly be measured using the meager documents available. Some evidence for lack of “purity” might be found in a close examination of available marriage records alongside the birthdate of the same couple’s first child, but even this would not always constitute proof. Barbara Welter surveyed an array of women’s magazines, books, and newspaper articles from the early to mid-nineteenth century to provide evidence for many women’s apparent desire to meet this standard. She also notes those who rebelled against this “ideal,” especially with respect to ‘... movements for social reform, westward migration, missionary activity, utopian communities, industrialism, the Civil War ...’⁷³

The notion of women’s patriotism during the Civil War period was said by Attie to stress the “naturalness of female loyalty” and is evidenced by their participation in altruistic activities such as support for military volunteerism and soldier relief. This participation was thought to spring from a woman’s natural moral instinct, rather than any political motives, as women were not thought capable of understanding a complex subject such as the causes and events of war.⁷⁴ Evidence for some of these “movements” can be found in the records available for this study time and place.

Legal rights which affected a woman’s home and family life during this time had much to do with the ownership of land and property, and the ability to support a family and make independent decisions without the approval of her husband, father, or some other sturdy male. Laws designed to give relief to married women burdened by the old British system of coverture, which assigned all property and earnings of women to their husbands, were being adopted in the United States by about 1848. This roughly corresponds with the Seneca Falls Convention of July, 1848, which is commonly thought to mark the beginning of the women’s rights movement, although

⁷² Barbara Welter. (1992) ‘The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860.’ In: Cott, Nancy F., ed. *Domestic Ideology and Domestic Work*. New York: Saur, p. 49.

⁷³ *Ibid.* p. 71.

⁷⁴ Attie, Jeanie. (2007) ‘Northern White Women and the Mobilization for War.’ In: Norton, Mary Beth, ed. *Major Problems in American Women’s History*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. pp. 221-230. See especially pp. 223-24.

its influence was gradual.⁷⁵ By 1865, the middle of the study period, 29 states had passed married women's property protection laws in some form.⁷⁶ Ohio did not amend all their property and contract laws until 1887.⁷⁷

Essentially, by the middle of the 19th century (when this study begins), a single woman had the same property rights as a man. That is, she could buy or sell property of her own volition, be the owner of property, control any property she inherited, etc. This covered both land and personal property.⁷⁸ She also had control of any money she earned or inherited. A single woman still could not vote even though she was responsible for paying taxes on any property she owned. Once a woman married, she lost all control of her personal and real property, as the marital unit was considered a single individual - the husband.⁷⁹ This situation draws a sharp distinction between the rights of single, as opposed to married, women during this time.

In 1852 the state of Ohio, in an Act describing property liable to taxation, seemed to class women as non-persons with this passage: 'Every person of full age and sound mind, *not a married woman*, shall list the real property of which *he* is the owner...' (italics mine).⁸⁰ Equally insulting, if not more so, regarding the handling of wills, the Acts seem to consider being a married woman a disability; they are mentioned in the same category as infants, the insane, and those in prison.⁸¹ However restricted the legal rights of married women might have been, these women undoubtedly had more autonomy in most cases than the laws imply.

⁷⁵ Office of the Historian. US House of Representatives. *The Women's Rights Movement, 1848-1917*. <https://history.house.gov/Exhibitions-and-Publications/WIC/Historical-Essays/No-Lady/Womens-Rights/> : accessed 21 December 2020.

⁷⁶ Norma Basch. (1982) *In The Eyes of the Law : Women, Marriage, and Property in Nineteenth-Century New York*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, p. 28.

⁷⁷ Case Western Reserve University. *Women*. <https://case.edu/ech/articles/w/women> : accessed 25 December 2020.

⁷⁸ Joseph A. Custer. (2014) 'The Three Waves of Married Women's Property Acts in the Nineteenth Century with a Focus on Mississippi, New York, and Oregon,' *Ohio Northern University Law Review*, vol. 40, p. 396.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ Ohio, Secretary of State & General Assembly. (1852) *Acts of a General Nature Passed by the Fiftieth General Assembly of the State of Ohio*. Columbus: Osgood & Blake, Printers, Vol. L, p. 138. (Sec. 4)

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 301, Sec. 25.

Basch's metaphor of the '... person of the wife [being submerged] under the person of the husband ...'⁸² persisted in the United States for nearly a century after independence from the England and their coverture laws. One of the major departures in American law involved the sale of land, even though the separate examination of a married woman upon the sale of land "owned" by her husband was still thought sufficient as a means of removing 'the cloud of dower' from the sale.⁸³

The law requiring this examination, even if it was merely an expedient as compared with the more cumbersome English version, did serve a useful purpose for genealogists. Deeds from the early 19th century often recorded a wife releasing her dower rights - sometimes this deed was one of the few places wherein a wife's name might be recorded in the years before the census recorded the name of every individual and marriage records could be hard to find.⁸⁴ It was not until the decade after the study period that the sale of land by women in Ohio (sometimes to another woman) became routine.⁸⁵ In West Virginia records of land sales are found somewhat earlier.⁸⁶ It should be noted, however, that the women selling this land could very well have been single women, in which case the married women's property laws would not apply.

A simplistic analysis of women's roles in the late 18th to early 19th centuries would include the gradual move away from subsistence farming which required the complete attention of a married woman to the chores of home, farm, and child rearing. During this time of increasing agricultural efficiency, the sphere of work began to separate from the world of home. Some men left the home to work at trades, and women were able to participate in either commercial (likely single

⁸² Bash, *In the eyes of the law* : ... p. 27.

⁸³ *Ibid*, p. 24.

⁸⁴ See, for example, the discussion of the wives of William Wells and James Clark in Appendix 2.

⁸⁵ For an example, see: Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed Records, Grantor Index v. 1 U-Z 1798-1897, p. 116. Sales by Anna Webb, Alice Webster, Anna Weaver, etc. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 24 May 2021. FHL film 905968, image 112 of 398.

⁸⁶ For an example from the 1860s, see: Hancock County, West Virginia. Deed Records, Grants index, v. 1-2 1848-1918, p. 4. Sales by Catharine Aten, Christine Arbuckle, Catherine Anderson, etc. Collection: Hancock County Clerk, Deeds, 1863-1902; deed index, 1848-1928. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 24 May 2021. FHL film 869659, image 8 of 534.

women) or home industries, especially those related to textile trades such as spinning. Later in the 19th century, the importance of home industry also began to wane. Single women were able to find work in the mills, in domestic service, and in teaching. For a married woman, the outside world of paid work was still largely inaccessible.⁸⁷

During the early decades of the 19th century, the plight of married women who were abandoned or deserted, or one whose husband's debts threatened property she brought to the marriage, was somewhat alleviated by changing divorce statutes and other acts granting women some protection of their economic rights. Laws forbidding imprisonment of women debtors, and an increase in the popularity of poorhouses, also provided some protection.⁸⁸ However, at least in the mind of Jane Elizabeth Jones, speaking at the 1850 Women's Rights Convention at Salem, Ohio, women did not adequately chafe at the 'rose-covered chains and gilded prison-bars' that would seem so oppressive to most women today.⁸⁹ Progress in social change takes time, and Jones was probably one of those at the forefront of the women's movement at that time.

Increasingly as time went on, women began to participate in activities outside of the home. Beginning as early as the late 18th century, women were forming societies and auxiliaries to male volunteer organizations, and were active in religious reform. Other activities included efforts to alleviate poverty, prostitution, slums and alcohol abuse. Women



Figure 59. "Jane Elizabeth Jones."

Ohio History Connection. *Ohio Women Vote: 100 Years of Change*. <http://resources.ohiohistory.org/omeka/items/show/816> : accessed 13 November 2020.

⁸⁷ Richard H. Chused. (1983) 'Married Women's Property Law: 1800-1850,' *The Georgetown Law Journal*, vol. 71, pp. 1362-63.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 1405-09.

⁸⁹ Robert W. Audretsch. (Ed) (1976) *The Salem, Ohio 1850 Women's Rights Convention Proceedings*. Salem: Salem Area Bicentennial Committee, p. 62.

and girls were increasingly literate and educated, though still less so than men. Though most of these efforts reflected domestic concerns on the part of women, they were also increasingly drawn into teaching children other than their own.⁹⁰

Although Chused suggests a steady decline in reproductive rates based on average household size over the decades, this was not demonstrated in one part of our study area.⁹¹ In Yellow Creek township (excluding the village of Wellsville), average household size actually rose from 5.3 in 1820 (the first year for which the Ohio federal census is available) to 5.8 in 1850.⁹² A slight decrease began to appear in 1860, when average household size was only 5.6.⁹³ Family size does affect a woman's life, and these basic statistics are informative. However it should be noted that "household" size is not the same as "family" size as the calculation may include individuals living in the household who are not family members, much less children of the householder. For the year 1850, the three localities in the study area had the following approximate household sizes:

Wellsville Area = 5.9
East Liverpool Area = 5.5
Hancock County = 6.0⁹⁴

The difference in the areas is slight, and the smaller family size in East Liverpool may have more to do with the greater number of single men working in the potteries than it does with any effort on the parts of women towards birth control. Hancock County was still very rural, and contained a large number of farming families who probably tended towards having more children in an effort to increase the labor force needed to work the land. The inclusion of the townships surrounding

⁹⁰ Chused, 'Married Women's Property Law: 1800-1850,' pp. 1415-17.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1419.

⁹² Census records. USA. Yellow Creek, Columbiana County, Ohio. 7 August 1820 and 1 June 1850. Complete transcribed census enumerations.

⁹³ Census records. USA. Yellow Creek, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1860. Complete transcribed census enumerations.

⁹⁴ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Yellow Creek, East Liverpool, Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio; District 16, Hancock County, Virginia.. 1 June 1850. Complete transcribed census enumerations.

the two towns for this decade only tended to increase the family size in the Wellsville area due to the larger farming families found in Yellow Creek Township. Prevalence and practices of birth control coming to the fore at this time are well covered by Degler.⁹⁵ The household size did not decrease markedly in any area over the course of the 30 years of this study period, dropping on average by about .5 members.

Teaching was one occupation which could be pursued by (especially) young unmarried women. The study area serves as an example of the gender shift among teachers that took place in the mid-to-late 19th century. Relying on census figures alone, 100% of the teachers in the two towns and Hancock County in 1850 were male; that figure decreased steadily by decade to 73% in 1860, 36% in 1870, and only 27% (including school administrators) in 1880.⁹⁶ There is no evidence of the seasonal split in teaching duties as outlined by Strober and Lanford; they suggested that in some areas women often taught younger children in the summer months when farm work was heaviest, with men taking over the duties in the winter when the older students also joined the classes.

In rural areas both women and men were willing to teach for low wages - women because they had few alternative jobs and saw teaching as an ideal way station on the road to marriage and motherhood, men because they used their teaching salaries merely to supplement their earnings from other endeavors or because they saw teaching as a stepping-stone to other occupations.⁹⁷

This contention is largely, but not completely, borne out by analysis of the teachers in the study area. Despite what Basch calls 'the slavery of wifehood'⁹⁸ a

⁹⁵ Carl N. Degler. (1980) *At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 210-248.

⁹⁶ See above section on education describing numbers of teachers enumerated in the study area.

⁹⁷ Myra H. Strober and Audri Gordon Lanford. (1986) 'The Feminization of Public School Teaching: Cross-Sectional Analysis, 1850-1880,' *Signs*, 11(2), p. 216-17.

⁹⁸ Françoise Basch. (1986) 'Women's Rights and the Wrongs of Marriage in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America,' *History Workshop Journal*, 22(1), p. 19. Basch was likely offering this description in context of the general early women's rights movement.

good percentage of the young women working as teachers in the study area did marry and abandon their “profession.”

... credentialing of teachers and the lengthening of school terms served to reduce the supply of male teachers. When teaching was a relatively casual occupation in which a person could engage for fairly short periods of time, it was attractive to a variety of men.⁹⁹

The authors go on to describe how a farmer could teach in the winter and farm the rest of the year. Men planning to enter public contact jobs such as the ministry, politics, law, or merchandising might teach to gain visibility within a community. This began to change when credentialing of teachers became more stringent and the school terms were extended to cover more of the year.

Women undoubtedly did other types of jobs in the area, even though the vagaries of the federal census often failed to reflect that. In 1850 for example, no women were recorded as having any occupation in all of Hancock County. In Liverpool Township two women were working in the potteries and one was a farmer. In Wellsville two women were working - one as a potter, one a tobacco merchant. These were not normal women’s jobs; however women, especially widows, had been recorded as doing these types of normally male (especially in this period) jobs in larger cities, especially if they were taking over the work done by their deceased husbands.¹⁰⁰

By 1860, the situation in the area had changed. The census of that year tells us that 61 women in the town of East Liverpool supposedly *were* working for pay probably outside the home; the huge majority of these women were working in domestic service. There are almost certainly errors in this data - one woman, aged 92, was supposedly being paid for domestic service work. Other jobs in East Liverpool performed by women that year included traditional female occupations

⁹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 219.

¹⁰⁰ S. J. Kleinberg. (1999) *Women in the United States, 1830-1945*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, p. 16.

such as milliner, seamstress, or teacher; four women were working in the potteries. The women classified as “domestic” could also have been doing home based work such as spinning, weaving, or other craft-type occupations or even farm and garden production. Kleinberg, in her research on women in the United States, reported that 60% of working white women in 1850 *were* domestic servants.¹⁰¹ It is unfortunate that the censuses of 1850 and 1860 were not more specific in recording the types of work these women were performing.

In Hancock County in 1860 there were 14 women working as domestic/housekeepers, two farmers, four teachers, and two milliner/seamstresses. Even more women were at work in Wellsville by 1860. There were 81 women doing “domestic” work, and 19 others working primarily in clothing related jobs.¹⁰² Across the entire study area in 1860 the most common type of work done by women reporting a specific occupation was that of domestic service. Most other working women were doing clothing related work such seamstress/dressmaker/millinery/washerwoman. But women were also working as teachers, farmers and potters.

Culturally if not geographically, the women in the study area were still probably living nearer to America’s western frontier than to the more metropolitan areas on the east coast. They may have been somewhat late to adopt the emerging “cult of domesticity” which saw more married women devoting their home life to family and children rather than contributing economically to the household. This trend resulted from the increasing number of workshops (especially in larger cities) which resulted in a decreasing need for women doing piecework at home.¹⁰³ Perhaps because of the common presumption that women’s work was in the home, their labor was often devalued by employers and they were paid less than men doing the same jobs.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² Please refer to the Technical Appendix which describes the problems with the recording of domestic workers in 1850 and 1860.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 27-28.

¹⁰⁴ Sara M. Evans. (1997) *Born for Liberty. A History of Women in America*. New York : Simon & Schuster, p. 99.

The census of 1870 was more specific with respect to Hancock County in that it delineated most precisely the particular area of interest to this study - the Grant District across the Ohio River from the towns of Wellsville and East Liverpool. The greatest number of women at work in the area were again described as “domestic servant,” especially in Wellsville. One

persistent question is whether or not some of these (mostly) women had actually been doing this work for years, for pay or some other consideration, but had not been previously enumerated as having an occupation due to the way the data was collected. Most of the other working women were doing jobs such as teaching, keeping boarding houses, as

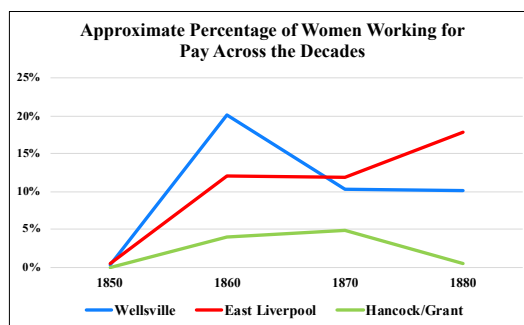


Figure 60. Approximate percentage of women working for pay.

Source: Complete transcribed census enumerations for 1850-1880.

clerks, and the many fabric/clothing related occupations. An increasing number of East Liverpool women were working in the potteries. There was one notice in the Wellsville newspaper in December of 1870 that a woman was working as a conductor on the Carrollton & Oneida railroad. No further details were offered and she was not enumerated in Wellsville, itself.¹⁰⁵

The following decade again saw an expansion not only of the number of women working but the types of work they were doing. As with the previous census many women in 1880 (some as young as eight) were enumerated as “servant.” Many of these women appeared to be living with the family they were “serving.” School teachers abounded on this schedule, along with pottery workers. New occupations appearing this year for women included such jobs as telegraph operator, cigar maker, saloon keeper, nurse, hotel keeper. At about 10% to 17%, the percentage of women in the labor force in the two towns for 1870 and 1880 was initially lower than, but in East Liverpool later exceeded, the national average of about 15% - 16%.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ *Wellsville Local*. 1 December 1870, p. ?, c. 5. [page number obscured]

¹⁰⁶ Kleinberg, *Women in the United States, 1830-1945*, p. 105.

The basic occupational statistics presented above probably do not accurately capture the true contribution of women to the household economy, especially in agricultural/rural Hancock County. Not only did farm women contribute to their own family's subsistence through kitchen gardens and raising of smaller animals, they also contributed to the household economy by selling butter, eggs and cheese, and perhaps garden produce, in nearby towns.¹⁰⁷ In this case the farm wives of the Grant District nearest Wellsville and East Liverpool were quite likely to have found markets there for their home produce.

The census data for the study period, especially that for the two towns, certainly supports Stanley's assertion that 'As scrubwomen, domestic servants, and factory hands, women entered the widening market for free labor.' Stanley describes this as a blurring of the '... supposed distinction between [women's and men's] spheres ...' and reminds us that women were also leveraging both their own living space as well as their domestic/household service by taking in lodgers and borders.¹⁰⁸

The United States Census Bureau conducted manufacturing surveys beginning in 1810, generally including only firms that generated a specific minimum in revenue. (Many of the schedules from 1850-1880 are available online, though there are significant gaps in 1860 and 1880.) These schedules reported, in addition to other information, the number of men and women employed, and the average monthly cost of labor.¹⁰⁹ For the most part these schedules correspond with the information gathered from the Population Schedules regarding the proportion of women working in organized industries, mainly potteries.

The 1850 (industrial) census enumerated manufacturers of over \$500 annually in Yellow Creek and Liverpool Townships, Ohio, as well as Hancock County, Virginia. No further geographic refinement was made on this schedule. In Yellow Creek Township, which encompasses Wellsville, there were no women reported as employed by these manufacturers. This is not surprising given the nature

¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*, p. 13-14.

¹⁰⁸ Stanley, 'Home Life and the Morality of the Market,' p. 79.

¹⁰⁹ National Archives. *Nonpopulation Census Records*. <https://www.archives.gov/research/census/nonpopulation#mfg> : accessed 22 December 2020.

of the work - mills, coach and cabinet makers, boat yards and machine shops are not areas where women were yet working. The one pottery in this township did not employ any women, and only nine men.¹¹⁰

The situation was different in Liverpool Township, where the town of East Liverpool is located. In that township 13 women were employed in industry as well as 153 men. The largest single employer was the Harker Pottery, employing 45 men and two women. All of the 13 women employed in manufacturing businesses in the township worked for potteries. It is interesting to note that neither of the Population Schedules for East Liverpool and Liverpool Township recorded these women; only two women working as potters and one as a farmer were recorded in the town and township for 1850. Wages recorded on the industrial schedule for the women in the six different potteries which employed them ranged from a low of \$6 a month to a high of \$15, possibly because some women were not working full-time.¹¹¹ Wages for men were much more consistent, ranging from \$20 a month to \$21.50.

In the entirety of Hancock County only one woman was working in industry - in a woolen factory at \$10 a month and she was not enumerated as a worker on the population schedule. There was much more variety in the types of manufacturers existing in this county as well; this may not be surprising, given that the enumeration for 1850 encompassed the whole of Hancock County. The large employers in Hancock County were all fire brick manufacturers.

The only industrial information available for the area in 1860 is from Hancock County.¹¹² This schedule noted two post offices, Holliday's Cove and New Cumberland. These two towns approximately split the county from north to south with New Cumberland being the further north. The results from that enumeration

¹¹⁰ Census records. USA. Yellow Creek and Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio, 1 June 1850. Products of Industry, Schedule 5. Roll: T1159_12. pp. 167-68 and 165; Census records. USA. District 26, Hancock County, Virginia. 1 June 1850. Products of Industry, Schedule 5. Roll: T1132_4. p. 603. Complete transcribed census enumerations.

¹¹¹ The number of months worked during the year was not noted on the 1850 schedule.

¹¹² Census records. USA. Hancock County, West Virginia. 1 June 1860. Products of Industry, Schedule 5. Roll: T1132_8. p. 155-158. Complete transcribed census enumerations.

were examined. In 1860 no women were working in industry in the northern part of the county and this is born out by the Population Schedule.¹¹³

West Virginia returns for the 1870 or 1880 census of manufacturers are not available, and the 1880 schedule for all of Columbiana County is missing. Therefore the last available industrial employment data from the Census Bureau is for Columbiana County in 1870.¹¹⁴ The combined data for all four of the relevant areas for which data is available (East Liverpool and Wellsville, Liverpool and Yellow Creek Townships), reveal a total of 467 men over age 16 working in industry, as well as 64 women over age 16 and 147 “children and youth.” The enumeration form did not ask for the genders of “children and youth” 16 years or younger.

All but one of the industries employing more than 10 people were manufacturing pottery, earthenware, brick or terra cotta sewer pipes. Only one firm employed as many as ten women, and nearly all employers of women were potteries or other clay industries. Two women worked for a door knob manufacturer, fifteen worked in textiles, and one worked in a printing office.

This industrial schedule did not break down the ages of the adult (over age 16) men and women employees. The wages paid were not differentiated, as they had been in 1850, between male and female workers. For example, we know from the schedule that one pottery owner employed twelve men over age 16, three women over age 16, and ten children and youth (under 16). In total the owner paid these 25 workers \$800 a month. Although the average was \$32 per month, it is probably not reasonable to assume that all his workers received the same wages. Since most potteries employed men, women, and children, it will be difficult to determine the differential wages based only on this data. There were no industries recorded on this census that employed *only* women.

With respect to businesses owned or run *by* women, one thing that would be interesting to know is how long the saloon-keeping women noted on the 1880 census

¹¹³ Women working in the northern part of Hancock County were working, but not in industry. See discussion above.

¹¹⁴ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1870. Products of Industry, Schedule 4. Roll: T1159_45. p. 1-4; Yellow Creek Township, p. 1; East Liverpool, p. 4-6; Liverpool Township, p. 1-2. Complete transcribed census enumerations.

were able to maintain their establishments. In the winter of 1873-74 the study area was only about 200 miles away from temperance demonstrations in the small towns of Hillsboro, Ohio, and Adrian, Michigan. If the impact of these these types of demonstrations on the liquor industry was minimal, the impact on some women's sense of power was not. As is partially demonstrated by the census data above, women had begun to leverage their demographic bulk for social reform in the areas of workplace and pay inequity, as well as many others. Although national change was slow to come this was a beginning in the fight for women's suffrage.¹¹⁵

Although the newspaper coverage for the time and area is spotty, we can deduce a few things about the society in which women lived from their pages. The papers of the 1850s are largely filled with fiction and poetry, as well as advertising. Much of the longer fiction is domestic or romantic in nature, tales of loves won and lost, misdeeds by men, and a fair amount of religious disapproval of various behavior. The editors were clearly conscious of their women readers. Shorter pieces sometimes included diatribes against current tradition, such as the three short pieces with these titles:

Woman's silence, though it is less frequent,
signifies much more than man's.

Baby carts on narrow side-walks are awful
bores, especially to a hurried business man.

Some ladies will forgive silliness; but none ill
manners.¹¹⁶

Much advice was offered to young gentlemen regarding their conduct. It often ran along these lines in the early 1850s:

If you want to grow wealthy, get married.
What it costs to support one vice will keep six

¹¹⁵ Evans, *Born for Liberty. A History of Women in America*, pp. 125-128.

¹¹⁶ *Wellsville Patriot*. 15 February 1853, p. 1, c. 5.

children. ... there is nothing the Lord ever invented for the health equal to a virtuous woman.

Don't trifle with the affections of young ladies. If you don't contemplate marriage certificates and the parson, ... just take your hat and leave.

Two old sailors, strolling along Wall street, met a young lady taking open air exercise, with more "swell" on than the ocean. ... The lady looked forked lightning at the benighted mariner, and muttering her dissent and displeasure passed on.¹¹⁷

Some stories were quite crude. Take this, for example, possibly fairly accurate description of an event - one wonders whether the Colonel actually considered these offers "advantageous."

Women in Demand.—Col. D. S. Miles, U.S.A., now on his way to New Mexico, with a detachment of troops, writes from Fort Atkinson, Arkansas, that he had been four days among the Comanches and Ki-a-ways, and adds—"Some of the bucks offered me as high as ten horses for my daughter, and I had an offer of a swap of a squaw for Mrs. M. I declined both advantageous offers."¹¹⁸

Much of the advertising aimed at women in the local newspaper in the 1850s involved traditional women's activities such as cooking, sewing, and tending to the health of their families. Patent medicines were offered for most general maladies, those that would afflict both men and women. By the end of the decade women in business for themselves (often as milliners or dressmakers) had begun to advertise as did Mrs. Smith: 'Mrs. Rebecca Smith, Fashionable Milliner, Lisbon st., Wellsville,

¹¹⁷ *Wellsville Patriot*. 12 September 1853, p. 1, c. 5-6.

¹¹⁸ *Wellsville Patriot*. 12 September 1853, p. 2, c. 5.

Ohio.¹¹⁹ Rebecca Smith was not located on the 1850 or 1860 census living in Wellsville. There was a “Rebecca Forbes” living in East Liverpool, an apparent head of household, working as a milliner.¹²⁰ The advertiser may not have been a local resident.

The 1860s saw some changes in the local Wellsville paper (the only local paper still available for the time) which may have indicated increased readership by women. The editor still referred to marriage notices as ‘Hymen’s

Bower’¹²¹ and there was still much fiction and

general moralizing as well as the previously noted genuflecting towards the highly esteemed character of ‘virtuous women.’ Patent medicine ads specifically targeted to women and mothers had begun to appear.¹²²

Ads for patent medicines began to talk of ‘nausea and headache to which females are so subject.’¹²³ A subtle acknowledgement of women’s increasing wish to

control their own reproduction was regularly offered by the producer of *Dr. Cheeseman’s Female Pills*. After a long description of the female ails they purport to cure (including nervous tremors and hysterics), he offers the following warning which, in the opinion of this author, is the real function of this “medication.”



Figure 61. “Children Teething.”

Source: Mrs. Winslow. [Advertising] *Wellsville Patriot*. 26 February 1861. p. 1, c. 2.



Figure 62. “Dr. Cheeseman’s Female Pills.”

Source: *The Wellsville Patriot*. 26 February 1861, p. 3, c. 1.

¹¹⁹ *Wellsville Patriot*. 19 October 1858, p. 3, c. 6.

¹²⁰ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1860. FORBES, Rebecca (head). Roll: M653_n.s. p. 167. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 11 March 2020.

¹²¹ *Wellsville Patriot*. 20 November 1860, p. 2, c. 6.

¹²² *Wellsville Patriot*. 20 November 1860, p. 1, c. 6.

¹²³ [advertisement] *Wellsville Patriot*. 26 February, 1861, p. 3, c. 3.

To Wives and Matrons, Dr. Cheeseman's Pills are offered as the only safe means of renewing interrupted menstruation, but Ladies must bear in mind, that on that very account, if taken when the interruption arises from natural causes, they will inevitable prevent the expected events. This caution is absolutely necessary, for such is the tendency of the Pills to restore the original functions of the sexual organization, that they inevitably arrest the process of gestation.¹²⁴

Cheeseman's remedy might be similar to that of the 'James Clark's Celebrated Female Pills' often advertised in England and Canada during this same time period. Despite their advertised use, this class of patent medicines were almost certainly, according to Andrea Carnivale, '... capitalizing on the increased demand for abortifacients by advertising products that restored the regularity of the monthly period.'¹²⁵

As noted by Sellers, an early pregnancy (before 'quickening') could be ethically and legally ended by the use of '... abortive substances, devices, and techniques ...' These means could be found not only through the advice of helpful grandmothers, but also midwives and doctors; they were also advertised in newspapers and advice books.¹²⁶

Carnevale notes, however, that nearly all American advertisements for patent medicines similar to Dr. Cheeseman's that were pills printed from about 1856-1866 contained a warning that advised women not to take them during the first three months of pregnancy as

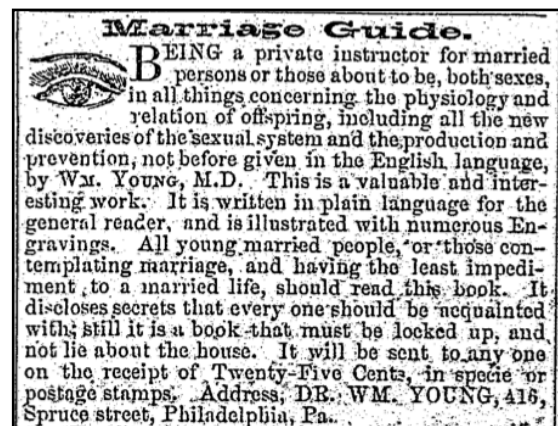


Figure 63. "Marriage Guide."

Source: *Wellsville Patriot*. 26 February 1861, p. 4, c. 5.

¹²⁴ *Wellsville Patriot*. 26 February, 1861, p. 3, c. 1.

¹²⁵ Carnevale, Andrea et al. (2016) "Removes All Obstacles": Abortifacients in Nineteenth-Century Toronto and Beyond. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 20(4). p. 755.

¹²⁶ Sellers, *The Market Revolution*: ..., p. 421.

they were sure to bring on a miscarriage.¹²⁷ This same ‘caution’ can indeed be seen in the text of Cheeseman’s advertisement and it can be safely concluded that it was inserted for the same reason and to appeal to the same market as that of James Clark, for example.

An increasing willingness to discuss matters related to women’s health, reproduction, and “marital relations” in general was found in the publication of “marriage guides” and personal instruction such as the one in Figure 63.¹²⁸

Throughout the 1860s these and other types of patent medicine ads seemed to be particularly targeting women. An increase in advertising by women in business, again frequently in the areas of millinery and dress making, was also noted.

The news of the uprising and impending war was also in the news and by about 1862 some mention of the women’s activities in support of the troops had begun to appear:

The splendid regimental flag, purchased by individual subscription at the instance of Miss Ellen Shearman and other patriotic young ladies, for the 104th (Col. Reilly’s.) Ohio Regiment, is now on exhibition at Miss Shearman’s daguerian rooms on Walnut st.¹²⁹

This lady was likely Ellen Sherman/Shearman, daughter of 1860 Wellsville postmaster Oliver P., a shoemaker from Ireland. Oliver was rather successful in his business; he owned \$5,000 in real estate in 1860 as well as \$3,500 in other goods. His son Joseph was a local lawyer.¹³⁰ The next column of the same paper carried this notice about Captain Cope’s company:

Light Infantry flag. ... The company being thus organized, a couple of Wellsville’s fair

¹²⁷ Carnevale, “Removes All Obstacles,” p. 756.

¹²⁸ *Wellsville Patriot*. 26 February, 1861, p. 4, c. 5.

¹²⁹ [advertisement] *Wellsville Patriot*. 4 November 1861, p. 2, c. 1.

¹³⁰ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1860. SHERMAN, Oliver P. (head). Roll M653_n.s. p. 521. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 11 March 2020.

daughters, Miss Jennett Stevens and Miss Sarah Steele (now Mrs. Sergeant Deevers) circulated a petition and procured the funds necessary to purchase an appropriate banner ... The banner may be seen at the residence of O. M. Stevens, on Market Street.¹³¹

Jennett Stevens was likely the daughter of Orange M. Stevens, a liquor dealer from Massachusetts. He, too, was a successful businessman owning \$3,400 in real estate and \$300 in other goods in 1860.¹³² It may have been his son O. M. Stevens who served in Company K, the Company for which this flag was procured.¹³³ The political climate may have been tense, but women were still concerned with fashion, as noted by the ad from the *Quarterly Mirror of Fashion*.¹³⁴ No reports in the local newspapers or local histories was found that any women from the area actually fought in the war, although apparently this was not unheard of as one author reports that more than 400 women had enlisted in the Union army, and several hundred in the Confederate army as well. This includes some reports of specific women from Pennsylvania.¹³⁵

The balance of the Wellsville newspapers from the 1860s were not found to be extant. By 1870 a different editor was in charge of the available local paper and the tone had changed somewhat. The vast quantity of fiction, poetry, and general moralizing so prominent in the previous paper was less copious. The 'Hymeneal' notices had disappeared to be replaced by 'Marriages.' News of the day was more



Figure 64. "Quarterly Mirror of Fashion."
Source: Mme. DeMorest.
'Quarterly Mirror of Fashion.'
Wellsville Patriot. 4 November 1862, p. 4, c. 4.

¹³¹ *Wellsville Patriot*. 4 November 1861, p. 2, c. 2.

¹³² Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1860. STEVENS, Orange M. (head). Roll M653_n.s. p. 495. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 11 March 2020.

¹³³ Fold3. Grave Registration Card. STEVENS, O. M. n.d. Co. K, 3rd Regt. O.V.I. Collection: Ohio, Soldiers Grave Registration Cards, 1804-1958. <https://www.fold3.com/title/996/ohio-soldiers-grave-registration-cards-1804-1958> : accessed 11 March 2020.

¹³⁴ *Wellsville Patriot*. 4 November 1862, p. 4, c. 4.

¹³⁵ D. P. Livermore. (1897) 'Female Warriors,' *Political Science Study Series*, 3(3), p. 25.

in evidence, along with other locally helpful information such as the church schedules. The gender gap was still apparent in the types of articles and ads which pertained specifically to women and their activities. For example, in apparent contrast to the above notice for the fashion magazine, eight years later we have the following:

A society of ladies is being formed in Lafayette, Indiana, the general objects of which are to free the members from the thralldom of fashion, and leave more time for pure, healthy pleasure, intellectual improvement and ennobling pursuits, such as every true women's heart craves. Such a society as this could be formed with profit in almost any community; for the "thralldom of fashion," is certainly a great evil now-a-days.¹³⁶

The following week there was a report on the Ohio Female Suffrage Association which had recently held a meeting in Columbus to elect officers. The attendance was said to be small at only 24 delegates. Women were beginning to assert their opinions in other ways as well:

Some young brides think it an evidence of brilliancy to omit the "obey" in the troth plighted of the Episcopal marriage service. One of them was much shocked a short time since when the officiating minister refused to proceed with the ceremony till the obnoxious words were audibly uttered by the damsel.¹³⁷

Advertising by women in the available papers from the 1870s continued to feature milliners and dressmakers. Women were also beginning to advertise individual items they had for sale, such as buggy gear, and also items they might

¹¹⁷ *Wellsville Local*. 1 December 1870, p. ?, c. 5. [page number obscured]

¹³⁷ *Wellsville Local*. 7 December 1870, p. 2, c. 3.

continuously have for sale, such as bees.¹³⁸ The importance of women in the domestic sphere (as the moral center of home and community) was still apparent:

Home Influence of Woman. The evidence of true progress consists in personal and social culture, intelligence and refinement. The real condition of a people is to be seen best in spheres of private and domestic life. ... the very centre and heart of civilization is "home" ... and it is "woman" that makes home. Without her there can be none. Her condition is its condition. ... If there be a test of progress in civilization it is to be found in the condition of the female sex.¹³⁹

This particular article may not have been as complimentary as it appeared on the surface. Tensions between the genders were displayed in a variety of ways in the available newspaper articles. For example, in early 1871 the editor expended an entire column encouraging young women to spend as much (money) as possible as often as possible on their clothing and accessories. He recommends never to wear the same pair of gloves twice, to add as many embellishments (regardless of cost) to a woman's bonnets, to buy all the hair she possibly can, have all her dresses made by dressmakers rather than her own mother, and to purchase the most expensive shoes possible.¹⁴⁰

In the same issue, the editor expounded upon 'Women's True Greatness.' Beginning with the bland assertion that so many smart women aspire to nothing higher than household drudgery, he then went on to wonder if there was not a higher sphere for women than that of wife and mother. He reminded readers of the bad men who have held power and wondered if women leaders might have rid the world of corruption, wickedness and crime. But soon the criticism appeared. What he was really saying is that women spent too much time baking pies and cookies,

¹³⁸ *Wellsville Local*. 21 December 1870, p. 3, c. 3.

¹³⁹ *Wellsville Local*. 4 January 1870, p. 2, c. 4.

¹⁴⁰ *Wellsville Local*. 18 January 1871, p. 4, c. 1.

embroidering their clothing, wearing tight dresses (which endangered their health), and too little time enriching their own minds, thereby hampering their capacity for *raising men who would not be wicked or corrupt* (emphasis mine). ‘From the greatness of the home comes the greatness of the nation.’¹⁴¹

By early 1882 the local Wellsville paper was again published under a different name and with a different editorial staff. Again, the quantity of fiction, poetry and moralistic directives decreased and more news was being printed. Brief snippets of local news began appearing, including the social tidbits describing foreign visitors to town and so forth. Patent medicines were still very commonly advertised for women as were sewing machines, ladies’ fashions and shoes, embroideries, lace, underwear and paper patterns for dressmaking. Notices of estates going to probate more often named an “administratrix” and the Daughters of Rebekah (a women’s group associated with the Odd Fellows fraternal order) appeared in the list of societies holding meetings. The increasing push for women’s rights was by no means a cause upheld by all women, as evidenced by this extract from a letter to the editor by “A Woman.” One wonders if the editors made any effort to determine if the writer really was a woman.

There are a few women in almost every community which the “Women’s Temperance Crusade” has developed into a sort of Temperance Evangelists who spend time that might be advantageously employed in attending to their domestic duties, in the proper training and teaching of their children, who keep up a continual uproar in the community by dabbling in politics and other matters entirely inconsistent with the position they occupy as women, and in straggling over the country as delegates to conventions, alliances and other temperance meetings, to the disgust of solid thinking men, and intelligent women.¹⁴²

¹⁴¹ *Wellsville Local*. 18 January 1871, p. 2, c. 3.

¹⁴² *Wellsville Union*. 25 February 1882, p. 2, c. 4.

Also, beginning with the papers available from the 1880s, comes information about the local schools and teachers, advertising want-ads specifically for the hiring of women as sales agents, tonics for the ‘loss of manhood’, and an interesting article from Chicago advising men to allow their wives greater latitude with the household finances and more say in financial decisions made for the family.¹⁴³

The issue of the *Wellsville Union* dated 30 May 1884, the last available, had columns devoted to New York fashions, female authors, commencement exercises for an apparent women’s school (perhaps a teaching academy), and the wretched conditions of women and young girls at a lace-making school. Women had become worthy of notice in the news as more than just wives and mothers.¹⁴⁴

A quick read through the 1850 issue of the Philadelphia-based *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, the first successful women’s magazine in the antebellum USA, is instructive.¹⁴⁵ These are long volumes, filled with poetry and stories. Most seem to be primarily moralistic, some even religious, in tone. They speak of family matters - love, children, family, the problems of poverty and orphans and widowhood. In one issue there was a discourse on German fashions and a story about the French nobility. Block prints of current fashion are scattered throughout. One telling poem, entitled ‘Woman’s Power’ speaks directly to what Degler implies was the actual role women should have been taking during this period - the emotional and moral strength and power behind the man and the family.¹⁴⁶ While this kind of writing may have felt empowering to women living nearly 170 years ago, it might nevertheless



Figure 65. Sarah Josepha Hale.
Source: National Women’s History Museum. *Sarah Josepha Hale*. <https://www.womenshistory.org/education-resources/biographies/sarah-hale> : accessed 13 November 2020.

¹⁴³ ‘Household Finance.’ *Wellsville Union*. 2 June 1882, p. 4, c. 7.

¹⁴⁴ Although this and the previous few issues fall outside the time period for this study they were included as a way to expand the available coverage of women past 1871, when the most current previous paper was dated.

¹⁴⁵ L. H. Sigourney, Sarah J. Buell Hale, Louise A. Godey. (1850) *Godey’s Lady’s Book for 1850*. Vol. 40-41.

¹⁴⁶ Frank J. Walters. (1850) ‘Woman’s Power,’ *Godey’s Magazine and Lady’s Book*, 40(Jan) p. 118.

have been rather burdensome in its implication that there was no emotional partnership or strength to be had from men. It implied at times that women had a duty (or function) of “moral guardianship” on behalf of their community or even the nation, as well as for their families.

While the letters to the editor of *Godey's Lady's Book*, Sarah Josepha Hale, who held the post from 1837 to 1877,¹⁴⁷ were scant, the editorial sections did contain pages of book reviews. These were mainly books on history, literature, music, and family issues. The editor also offered much information about the latest in furniture, fashion, and housing. There was printed music, embroidery and crochet patterns. Advertising was scant, generally confined to just a few pages per issue; the business relied on subscriptions to this tome, reportedly \$3 per year, making it more expensive than the *Saturday Evening Post* at the time.¹⁴⁸

It is important to remember that the women in this study area lived in villages or rural areas; the larger industrial centers were not within commuting distance. Beginning at mid-century single women could own real and personal property in their own right; married women could not. The census enumerations for the study area record women owning both land and personal property beginning as early as 1850.¹⁴⁹ Newspaper and magazine advertising of the time demonstrated that women were beginning to become more conscious of their own ability to control their fertility. Social and religious groups offered women some opportunity to express themselves away from the home and family. As a group women and girls were becoming more literate and educated. Laws were coming into effect that would protect women's property rights and give them expanded social and economic support in the event of divorce or abandonment.

On the national scale women's roles were beginning to change and expand by the end of the study period. The women's suffrage movement had gained enough

¹⁴⁷ National Women's History Museum. *Sarah Josepha Hale*. <https://www.womenshistory.org/education-resources/biographies/sarah-hale> : accessed 13 November 2020.

¹⁴⁸ Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer. (1906) *The Literary History of Philadelphia*. Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Co., p. 239.

¹⁴⁹ Complete transcribed census enumerations for 1850-1880 In 1850 more than one woman in each of the regions of the study area as a whole were named as owning land.

support by January of 1878 to lobby Congress to amend the national constitution and give women the vote. The proposal failed that year, as it would during every Congressional session for the next 41 years. The 19th Amendment did not pass until 1920. Drafted by suffrage promoters Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the amendment gave women the vote, though it remained particularly unpopular in southern states.¹⁵⁰ Very little mention of the proposed amendment was found in the available Ohio newspapers for 1878 though Ohio Senator Allen Thurman was one of the senators who was willing to present petitions on behalf of the women in the US Senate.¹⁵¹

Beginning in February of 1879 female attorneys were allowed to practice before the Supreme Court for the first time. Although women still could not vote, any woman who had been a member of the bar in the highest state, territorial, or federal court for at least three years was ‘...admitted to practice before the Supreme Court of the United States.’ Belva A. Lockwood of Washington, D.C. became the first member of the Supreme Court bar; over the next twenty years, nineteen other women were admitted.¹⁵² This distinction did not always insulate Mrs. Lockwood from being often seen as a woman rather than an attorney. A Cincinnati newspaper had this to say about her a few days after her admission to practice:

Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood, the only female practitioner before the Supreme Court of the United States, is a practical, lady-like person about forty-five years of age. She was the Principal of a female academy in Western New York some years ago, and has outlived two husbands.¹⁵³

¹⁵⁰ Kris Kobach. (1994) ‘Rethinking Article V: Term Limits and the Seventeenth and Nineteenth Amendments,’ *Yale Law Journal*, 103(7) p. 1983; National Women’s History Museum. Allison Lange, PhD, author. *Passing the 19th Amendment*. <http://www.crusadeforthetvote.org/19-amendment/> : accessed 21 December 2020.

¹⁵¹ *Perrysburg Journal*. 11 January 1878, page 2, column 1. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 12 October 2020.

¹⁵² HeinOnline. Mary L. Clark, author. *The First Women Members of the Supreme Court Bar, 1879-1900*. <https://heinonline.org/HOL/LandingPage?handle=hein.journals/sanlr36&div=7&id=&page=> : accessed 21 December 2020.

¹⁵³ ‘Personals About Ladies.’ *Cincinnati Daily Star*. 8 March 1879, page 6, c. 6. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 12 October 2020.

As Degler pointed out, however, ‘The great preponderance of women either had nothing to do with feminism, or actually scorned it as unnecessary and wrong-headed.’¹⁵⁴ The impetus and justification for most extra-domestic women’s activity was still the domestic fallback of moral and religious conformation. Although this notion was largely confirmed by the available newspapers in the area for the time the growing presence of women in the workforce, as land and business owners, heads of households, and social activists outside of the domestic sphere was also demonstrated in the study area by both the media and the census.

¹⁵⁴ Degler, *At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present.*, p. 306.

IV. IMMIGRATION

The immigration of foreign-born individuals has always been an important part of American history. Immigration happened for a variety of reasons. The process broadly included “pull” immigration factors in which the immigrants were drawn to the United States for a specific reason. That reason might include finding work, purchasing land, or joining family. The other broad element is “push” immigration, in which the immigrants felt they had to leave their country of origin. Reasons for this might include poverty, loss of land, religious or ethnic persecution, or forced military conscription. Immigrants who crossed the Atlantic, if they were intent on moving beyond their port of arrival and the Atlantic coast, and had the means to do so, could choose from a huge range of possible destinations and livelihoods. An analysis of the percentage and nationalities of the immigrant population in the study area, and a comparison of those figures with county and state figures, may tell us something about these local conditions and help illuminate factors that attracted immigrants to this particular area - factors that included land availability and work opportunity.

In a brief chronology of immigration into the United States, one author notes that 1854 marked the peak year for immigration before the Civil War.¹⁵⁵ The United States Census Bureau, from which these statistics were taken, gives figures for every year between 1820 and 1945. These statistics show that immigration into the US from all other countries dropped drastically in one particular year from the high of about 428,000 in 1854 to about 201,000 in 1855. Immigration rebounded somewhat in 1857, then dropped again to lows during the Civil War period of 1861-1864 that often fell below 100,000, figures not seen in twenty years. After the war, immigration resumed and by the end of the study period (1880) annual immigration

¹⁵⁵ James M. Bergquist. (2009) *Daily Life in Immigrant America 1820-1870*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, p. xv.

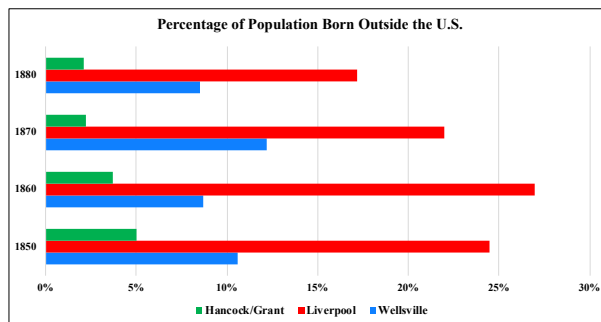


Figure 66. Percentage of area population born outside the US.

Source: Complete transcribed census enumerations for 1850-1880.

into the United States had topped 450,000, slightly higher than the figures from 1854.¹⁵⁶

These same statistics tell us that the overwhelming majority of immigrants to the US during the study period were from Europe and most of those were from northwestern Europe.¹⁵⁷ During

some years, the immigration from pre-Unification Germany was also particularly high. Within the study time, these would include the peak period of 1852-1854 and another surge in about 1866-1873.¹⁵⁸ Although a fairly large number of Chinese people immigrated to the US during the study period, none found their way to the area under review; Chinese immigration to the US was not restricted until after the end of the study period.¹⁵⁹

An overview of the number and origin of foreign born individuals living in the study is again most easily accomplished by studying census records.¹⁶⁰ For this research, the term “immigrant” will refer in the standard way to an individual (including children) who, himself or herself, was not born in the United States. The categories of country of origin for foreign born individuals (immigrants) extracted from the census data for the study area were drawn from the categories used by the US Census Bureau, with some streamlining. For most census decades, over 90% of

¹⁵⁶ United States Census Bureau. *Historical Statistics of the United States, 1789-1957*. https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/1949/compendia/hist_stats_1789-1945/hist_stats_1789-1945-chB.pdf : accessed 20 September 2020. See Chapter B. Population Characteristics and Migration: (Series B 1-352), Series B 304-330. Immigration - Immigrants by Country: 1820-1945. p. 34.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.* Northwestern Europe included Great Britain, Ireland, Scandinavia, and Other.

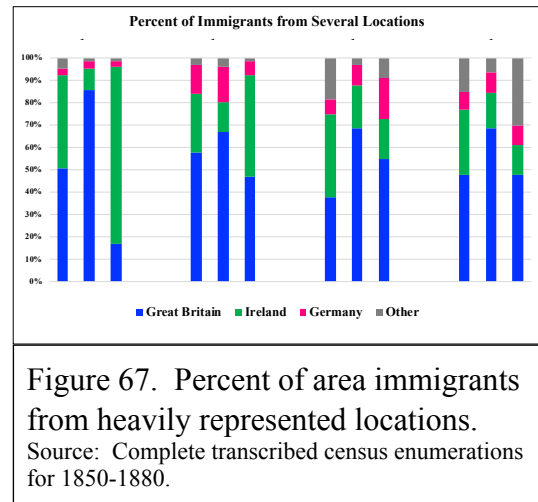
¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.* The particular push factors behind this German migration are not the subject of this thesis.

¹⁵⁹ Library of Congress. *Immigration to the United States, 1851-1900*. <https://www.loc.gov/classroom-materials/united-states-history-primary-source-timeline/rise-of-industrial-america-1876-1900/immigration-to-united-states-1851-1900/> : accessed 30 September 2020.

¹⁶⁰ All figures used to calculate the statistics in this section were drawn from the complete transcribed census enumerations for 1850-1880

immigrants living in the study area were from Great Britain (defined as England, Scotland, Wales), Ireland and Germany.

Looking first at the percentage of the population born outside the United States for all decades during the study period, Figure 66 points out some differences between the separate geographic sections of the study area. It



is important to remember that these percentages do not represent *immigration* figures for a particular year, but the percentage of foreign born residents in each population. The same English-born resident of East Liverpool, for example, might have been counted in each of these census years.

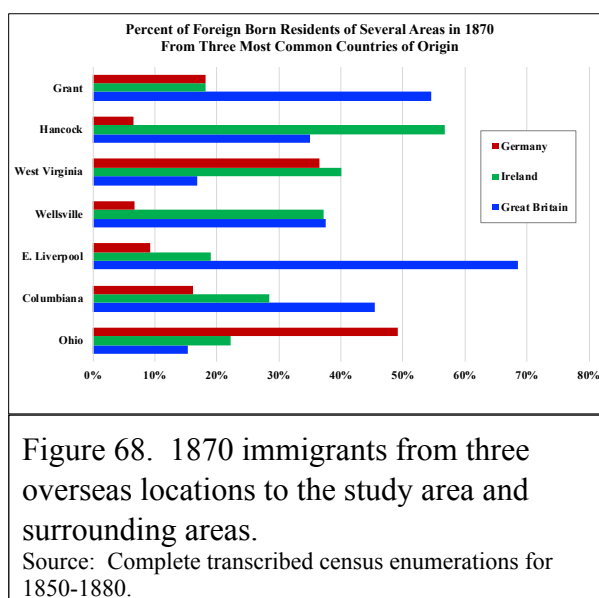
The East Liverpool area consistently had the highest percentage of immigrants in their population in the whole study area, and Hancock County/Grant the lowest. It is likely that these overall figures had more to do with the type of work available in East Liverpool than any other factor. A small increase in the immigrant population of East Liverpool is noted between 1850 and 1860, with many of the new immigrants coming from Germany. In East Liverpool, particularly, the immigrant population decreased from its highest level in 1860 as more of the pottery workers (who made up a good part of the population) were now the American-born children of the original (usually) English-born potters.

The percentage of the Wellsville population made up of immigrants was consistently between about 8.5% and 12%. The percentage in Hancock County and the Grant District was even lower, ranging from about 2% to 5% of the population. During the study period the percentage of total immigrant workers in East Liverpool who were working in the potteries ranged from about 22.5% to 34%. As Hancock County was primarily agricultural (and nearly completely so in the northern Grant District) it was less likely to attract immigrants who did not have the means to purchase land for farming.

The situation in Wellsville was not as dependent upon the work available. In 1850 there were quite a few Scottish farmers living in Yellow Creek Township outside of Wellsville. Most of the rest of the immigrants were working as laborers. The occupation most often followed by immigrants living in Wellsville from 1860-1880 was that of general

laborer; the majority of these workers were Irish immigrants. Federal census statistics published in 1860 indicates that laborers made up the vast majority of passengers arriving in the United States from foreign countries who stated an occupation; this was true from 1820 through 1860.¹⁶¹

An analysis of the specific origins of the immigrant population in each area must be done keeping in mind the overall percentage of the population made up by these individual immigrant populations. For example, Figure 67 indicates that a huge percentage of the *immigrants* in Hancock County in 1850 were from Ireland, and this is factually correct. However only 5% of the *total* population in Hancock County in that decade was born outside the United States. This chart serves to illustrate the variability in the country of origin for all foreign-born residents of the study area from 1850-1880. Several trends are clear, however. The highest percentage of immigrants had been born in Great Britain, followed by Ireland. German-born residents represented the third largest country of origin, with immigrants from the rest of the world making up the “Other” category, less than 20% of all immigrants.



¹⁶¹ United States Census Bureau. *1860 Census: Population of the United States*. <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1864/dec/1860a.html> : accessed 1 October 2020. See the Introduction section, p. xxii.

The United States Census

Bureau statistics for immigration help to illuminate some differences between the states of Ohio and Virginia during the mid-to-late 19th Century and add context to the significance of immigration to the study area. These statistics do not go beyond the state level for 1850; in that year only 2.4% of the white and free colored population of

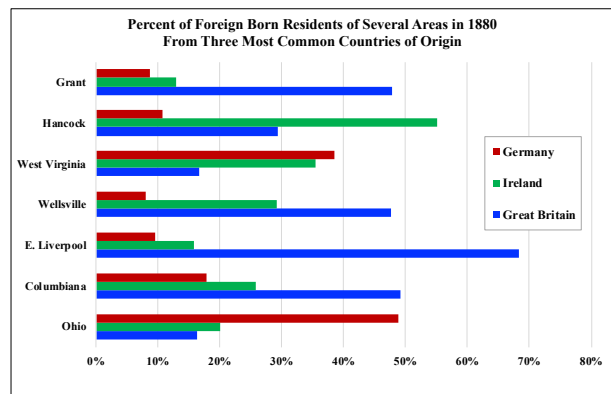


Figure 69. 1880 immigrants from three overseas locations to the study area and surrounding areas.

Source: Complete transcribed census enumerations for 1850-1880.

Virginia was enumerated as foreign-born.¹⁶² The percentage of immigrants in the Hancock County area was therefore higher than the state average for this decade.¹⁶³ On the other side of the river, the percentage of foreign-born residents in the state of Ohio was 11% - the Wellsville area percentage was very close to this figure at 10.6%, but East Liverpool was substantially higher at 24.5%.¹⁶⁴ This figure may already be reflecting the immigration of English potters to the area.

In 1860, the federal foreign-born statistics were collected at a finer grain; for that year the Virginia state percentage was 3.1% and 7.6% for Hancock County. The 3.7% of the population who were foreign-born in the study area of northern Hancock County is therefore slightly lower than the county number and slightly higher than the state number. In Ohio, about 14% of the population in the entire state were foreign born by 1860, while only about 8% were so in Columbiana County.¹⁶⁵ As with the 1850 statistics, in Wellsville the immigrant population of 8.7% fell between

¹⁶² United States Census Bureau. *1850 Census: The Seventh Census of the United States*. <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1853/dec/1850a.html> : accessed 1 October 2020. See document sections for the states of Ohio and Virginia.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.* Close to 100% of the population of the western county of Hancock, Virginia, was either white or free colored; there were three slaves enumerated in the entire county in this year.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.* Local level figures taken from the enumerations of each individual area rather than published statistical summaries.

¹⁶⁵ United States Census Bureau. *1860 Census: Population of the United States*. It is again noted that the foreign born figures in Virginia apply onto to “Free” individuals, but that only two slaves were enumerated in the entire county in this year.

the figures for the county and state while East Liverpool had a substantially higher immigrant population than both the county and the state with 27% of its residents foreign-born.

These same basic statistics for 1870 showed the Grant District of Hancock County in the newly-formed state of West Virginia with a smaller percentage of immigrant population than either the county of Hancock or the state of West Virginia; all percentages were below 5.5%. In Ohio, Wellsville's percentage of immigrant population still fell between the county and state figures while that of East Liverpool exceeded both.¹⁶⁶ In 1880 the situation was exactly the same, except that the percentage of immigrants in Wellsville had fallen slightly below that of both the county and state.

The 1870 country of origin figures for the three locations in the study area do not mirror the county and state percentages regarding nationality. In 1870, the dominant country of origin in West Virginia as a whole was Ireland at 40%, closely followed by Germany at 36.5%. Immigrants from Great Britain made up fewer than 17% of all immigrants in the state. In Hancock County in 1870 the dominant country of origin was Ireland at 56.7% followed by Great Britain at 35.1%. In the county, unlike the entire state, German immigrants were in the minority at less than 7%.

The very rural Grant District in far northern Hancock County had very few immigrants in 1870 - only 22 individuals out of a population of over 1,000. This very small group was made up primarily of immigrants from Great Britain at nearly 55% and equal percentages of German and Irish immigrants.

In Ohio in 1870, the great majority of immigrants (nearly 50%) were from Germany followed by those born in Ireland and lastly Great Britain. In Columbiana County, the situation was reversed - immigrants from Great Britain were in the majority followed by those from Ireland and lastly Germany. In East Liverpool in 1870, 22% of the population were born outside the country. The town statistics mirrored those for Columbiana County, at least as far as the rankings of the

¹⁶⁶ United States Census Bureau. *1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States.* <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1872/dec/1870a.html> : accessed 1 October 2020.

immigrant populations; however, the percentage of immigrants from Great Britain living in East Liverpool in 1870 was 68.5% - Irish immigrants made up only 19% of the immigrant population, and Germans just over 9%. This marked skew in favor of (mostly) English immigrants was almost certainly due to the availability of work in the potteries during this time. In Wellsville, only about 12% of the population was made up of immigrants. These immigrants were from Ireland and Great Britain in about equal numbers, with a smaller percentage of Germans.

It is interesting to note that neither the two Ohio towns nor the county in which they are located reported the heavy percentage of German immigrants that the state of Ohio as a whole demonstrated. Possibly these German immigrants were part of the “labor seekers” as opposed to “land seekers” and would not have been attracted either to the rural West Virginia areas nor the single industry town of East Liverpool.¹⁶⁷ The Germans immigrating after the Civil War were often coming from the industrial cities rather than the agricultural areas of Germany,¹⁶⁸ and may have been attracted in larger numbers to cities such as Cleveland, in which the percentage of foreign born residents coming from Germany was over 40% or Cincinnati where the percentage of immigrants who were Germans was over 62%.¹⁶⁹

By 1880, the dominant country of origin for West Virginia immigrants had shifted to Germany at 42.9%, followed by Ireland at 35.4%. In Hancock County, the Irish were still the largest group of immigrants at 55%. Once again, the rural Grant District mirrored neither the county nor the state; however the total number of immigrants in the district was still very small, only 2% of the total population.

In 1880 Ohio, the relative percentages of immigrants from the three largest countries/areas of origin had not changed since 1870; the same was true in Columbiana County and East Liverpool. The town of Wellsville recorded a higher proportion of immigrants from Great Britain and a lower proportion of immigrants from Ireland compared to their 1870 statistics.

¹⁶⁷ Granatir Alexander. (2007) *Daily Life in Immigrant America 1870-1920*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, p. 19.

¹⁶⁸ Bergquist, *Daily Life in Immigrant America 1820-1870*, p. 274.

¹⁶⁹ United States Census Bureau. *1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States*.

East Liverpool had consistently the highest percentage of immigrants in their population ranging from a high of 27% in 1860 to a low of 17% in 1880. The East Liverpool area also experienced the greatest population growth in the study area as a whole, ballooning from 1582 in both the town and township in 1850 to 5566 in 1880, a growth of about 350%. By contrast, the population of nearby Wellsville increased only from 2359 in the town and township to 3389 (143%) during the same period. Some of the population growth in East Liverpool could certainly be attributed to foreign immigrants, who numbered 956 on the 1880¹⁷⁰ census.

Census records are not the only types of records that might record an individual's potential foreign birth. Naturalization records can tell us something about the immigrants who decided to pursue citizenship, but nothing about those who did not. Another drawback to naturalization records is that the process took many years, and individuals often moved between the time they filed their initial and their final papers. These records are not specific to individual small communities but are recorded in the courthouse the immigrant chose to file their paperwork. Before 1906, naturalization papers could be filed in any courthouse in the country. The chosen courthouse was typically the closest to an individual's current place of residence and these data may provide additional evidence about the immigration in a particular area.

What is not found in naturalization records is any evidence that speaks to the motivation for immigration. It is not thought that this small, rather rural part of the country would be the focus of the kind of "pull" migration that existed in the larger industrial towns. With the exception of the English finding work in the potteries, there is little evidence that the bulk of immigrants had any specific vocation in mind when they arrived. In addition, while some naturalization records might state specifically where an applicant was living at the time he filed his papers, they will often only mention the state and county of residence, not a particular town. For these

¹⁷⁰ US Census Bureau. *Census of Population and Housing, 1880/Final Reports/Volume 1/Statistics of the Population of the/United States*. <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1883/dec/vol-01-population.html> : accessed 18 December 2020.

reasons naturalization records were not pursued as a source of immigration information.

Newspapers are a source of information about immigration in general and often reflect the public sentiment regarding immigration at the time. A search focused on a Steubenville, Ohio, newspaper (about 20 miles south of the study area) revealed 19 articles dealing with immigration published between about 1854 and 1859. These articles would give modern Americans pause as they sound as if they could have been written by some current political figures or commentators.

Immigrants in one 1855 article were described as follows:

Destitute alike of education, and a proper understanding of the rights and duties of freemen, they are fit tools for the use of those corrupt and unprincipled politicians whose god is their own sordid ambition.¹⁷¹

An article in the same paper a month later recounted a speech by the Hon. W. R. Smith of Alabama. He spoke of ‘Native Americans’ (i.e., those being native-born) and their desire to purify the ballot-box by excluding foreigners who were not naturalized from the voting process (though even naturalized foreigners were not “native born”). He was not necessarily in favor of this action.¹⁷² Another article, on the same page, cited a writer from *Putnam’s Monthly* which considered the morals of the contemporary political activism regarding immigration law reform. The writer spoke about ‘the degradation of the average intelligence in the voting body’ and ascribed it primarily to ‘the ingress of ignorant foreigners.’ His contention was that immigrants were not familiar with the republican form of government and law.¹⁷³

Many letters to the editor of this newspaper expressed sentiments against the hiring of foreign labor and the inclusion of foreigners in the civil and military

¹⁷¹ ‘Should there be a Modification of the Present Naturalization laws?’ *True American* (Steubenville, Ohio) 18 January 1855, p. 3, c. 1. www.genealogybank.com : accessed 22 December 2020.

¹⁷² ‘Speech of Hon. W. R. Smith, of Alabama’ *True American* (Steubenville, OH) 8 February 1855, p. 3, c. 4. www.genealogybank.com : accessed 22 December 2020.

¹⁷³ ‘Our Immigrants.’ *True American* (Steubenville, OH) 8 February 1855, p. 3, c. 2. www.genealogybank.com : accessed 22 December 2020.

service. One writer had a particular concern: 'I am decidedly in favor of foreigners coming to this [land] on one single condition; provided they *Americanize*. This the Romanists never can do so long as they hold their allegiance to the Pope of Rome ...'¹⁷⁴ It must be pointed out that all the articles noted above came from one single newspaper - the *True American* - which ran for only three years and supported the Know-Nothing or American Party, 'which sought to limit the influence of immigrants, Roman Catholics in particular, on American Politics.'¹⁷⁵ This particular paper also espoused views critical of specific groups of immigrants:

... Ireland has shaken from her lap tens of thousands of her miserable children, who, in rags and wretchedness, in ignorance and crime, have long been convulsing and degrading the country of their birth. They have come here to escape from the oppressive legislation of the English government, ... From the petty German States we have received hundreds of thousands of emigrants, many of them it is true, respectable and well to do in the world, but many more, poor and uneducated and by far the greater portion of the whole, poisoned with principles of rationalism, little better than avowed infidelity and imbued with notions of republicanism which lead directly into licentiousness and anarchy.¹⁷⁶

The above opinion, from 1856, was in stark contrast to an opinion from Cincinnati in 1851:

... We certainly owe a great portion of our real wealth and prosperity to our foreign

¹⁷⁴ 'On Emigration.' *True American* (Steubenville, OH) 29 March 1855, p. 2, c. 3. www.genealogybank.com : accessed 22 December 2020.

¹⁷⁵ National Digital Newspaper Program in Ohio. *Steubenville True American*. <http://ndnpohio.ohiohistory.org/newspapers/steubenville-true-american> : accessed 22 December 2020.

¹⁷⁶ 'Is the Union Safe?' *True American*. (Steubenville, Ohio) 9 January 1856, p. 2, c. 2. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 22 December 2020.

population, especially the Germans, who in the main are an industrious, hard-working, saving set of people, laying up their means, acquiring real estate as soon as possible, and adding every week to the substantial basis of our prosperity as a City.¹⁷⁷

In fact, there was no evidence in the study area to suggest that either the Irish or the Germans were anything other than working men and their families. On the 1850 census, 100% of Germans in the three areas of the survey were employed. On the same census, only eight of 125 Irish men of working age was unemployed.¹⁷⁸ On the 1860 census, the figures were nearly the same. Including one man who was classified as “dumb” only 10% of (mostly older) working age German men were unemployed, most of them in East Liverpool. In Grant and East Liverpool, 100% of Irishmen were working, while in Wellsville only four out of 38 working age Irish men were unemployed.

A brief sampling of articles (especially during the 1850s) from several other Ohio newspapers revealed them to be much more informative, and less opinionated, than those published by the *True American*.¹⁷⁹ For the most part these papers reported on immigration statistics to the port of New York or the west coast, sometimes bemoaning the fate of the “poor emigrants” from Europe. Articles dated towards the end of the study period (1880s) often dealt with Chinese immigration. For the most part these articles were national rather than local in nature and therefore did not shed much light on the effects of immigration in our local communities under examination.

These newspapers noted the decrease in foreign immigration in the early 1850s and stated the causes to be several; included were the decrease in the number of Irish still living in their own country, since so many had already immigrated to the

¹⁷⁷ ‘Cincinnati Correspondence.’ *Anti-Slavery Bugle* (New Lisbon, Ohio) 8 March 18581, p. 4, c. 2. <http://www.genealogybank.com> : accessed 22 December 2020.

¹⁷⁸ “working age” considered for this purpose to be 16-70. Typically all males over age 15 were asked by the census enumerators for their profession, but no upper limit was observed.

¹⁷⁹ See the *Saturday Review* from East Liverpool, the *Carroll Free Press* from Carrollton, or the *Anti-Slavery Bugle* from Lisbon. Issues can be found online at [genealogybank.com](http://www.genealogybank.com) or [newspapers.com](http://www.newspapers.com). Use search terms “immigration” or “foreign immigration.”

United States, the war “in the East” and the number of men demanded for the belligerent powers’ armies, and the ‘scarcity and high price of provisions in the United States.’¹⁸⁰

Articles in the *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, published in New Lisbon, Ohio, were interesting in their discussion of foreign immigration with respect to the anti-slavery movement. The question of whether the existence of slavery in a particular area determined where foreign immigrants settled was often addressed in this paper. With respect to Texas, for example, the paper had this to say:

... there is a strong probability that [a free State of Western Texas] will occur within the next ten years. Our opinion is based upon the fact that foreign immigration is greater than domestic, by at least ten to one; and upon the well known fact that foreign immigration is opposed to slavery, from principle, prejudice and education.¹⁸¹

Newspapers in Wheeling, Virginia/West Virginia, were very pro-immigration. Several articles from the 1860s contain references to speeches and resolutions by the state representatives as to the benefits of immigration and their wish that more immigrants would move to the state. Joseph Johnson, Governor of Virginia in 1855, seemed much less enthusiastic referring to the ‘pernicious influence arising from the extent and character of foreign immigration.’¹⁸² Most articles were more balanced, several even decrying the increase of the white population versus that of the black population that could be tied (supposedly) at least in part to white foreign immigration. Many articles were of the following tone:

¹⁸⁰ ‘Immigration-Crops.’ *Carroll Free Press* (Carrollton, Ohio) 10 May 1855, p. 2, c. 3. <http://www.genealogybank.com> : accessed 22 December 2020. The war “in the east” referred to the Crimean war, between the Russian, French, British and Ottoman empires.

¹⁸¹ ‘A Free State in Texas.’ *Anti-Slavery Bugle* (New Lisbon, Ohio) 22 November 1856, p. 4, c. 4. <http://www.genealogybank.com> : accessed 22 December 2020.

¹⁸² ‘By the National Line. Third Dispatch.’ *Wheeling Daily Intelligencer*. 4 May 1855, p. 3, c. 3. <http://www.chroniclingamerica.loc.gov> : accessed 16 November 2020.

Resolved, That foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth, development of resources and increase of power to this nation, the asylum of the oppressed of all nations, should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.¹⁸³

¹⁸³ 'The Administration Platform.' *Daily Register* (Wheeling, West Virginia) 13 June 1864, p. 4, c. 1 <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov> : accessed 22 December 2020.

V. DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH

Distribution of wealth studies are often available for comparisons between countries or states within a country. A simple Google search for “distribution of wealth” returned over 20 billion hits. One common index used in these studies is the Gini coefficient, ‘... used as a gauge of economic inequality, measuring income distribution among a population.’ Generally speaking, the lower the index number (which ranges from 0 to 1) the more equally distributed the wealth.¹⁸⁴ One study determined this coefficient in rural northern households for 1860; the value for Ohio was .59. Virginia was not included in this study, but other values ranged from a low of .54 in New Hampshire to .85 in Maryland. While income inequality certainly existed in Ohio, it appears to have been less pronounced than in some other rural northern areas.¹⁸⁵

Simpler statistical measures will be used to illustrate the distribution of wealth in the study area over time. No income data is available from the US federal census, but enumerators collected asset data from individuals from 1850-1870. Artificial intelligence/machine learning algorithms do exist that might be used to predict the value of property owned by an individual in 1880 based on other input variables available for all four census enumerations. This type of analysis can be complicated and time-consuming and was not attempted for this project.¹⁸⁶

In 1850 the enumerators asked only how much real estate (usually land) a person owned. In 1860 and 1870 they again asked about real estate but also about personal wealth, which could include anything from currency to furniture to bonds.

¹⁸⁴ towards data science. Juhi Ramzai, author. *Gini coefficient and Lorenz curve explained*. <https://towardsdatascience.com/clearly-explained-gini-coefficient-and-lorenz-curve-fe6f5dc07> : accessed 22 December 2020.

¹⁸⁵ Jeremy Atack and Fred Bateman. (1980) ‘The “Egalitarian Ideal” and the Distribution of Wealth in the Northern Agricultural Community: A Backward Look,’ *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, 63(1), p. 127.

¹⁸⁶ Kimberly R. Kukurba, PhD. (2020) Email regarding inference of property values for 1880, 9 October. For basic information on machine learning, see: towards data science. Javaid Nabi, author. *Machine Learning - Fundamentals*. <https://towardsdatascience.com/machine-learning-basics-part-1-a36d38c7916> : accessed 22 December 2020.

The purpose, at that time, was assessment for taxation.¹⁸⁷ No country-wide statistics were published with the 1850 information; the 1860 and 1870 statistics consisted only of countywide aggregate values of real and personal property. While these could be used to calculate *per capita* wealth, it seemed more informative (at least initially) for this study to determine the wealth *per household*. Since it was not possible to do this calculation using the published federal statistics,¹⁸⁸ the temporal comparison of values was done only on the areas being used for this study rather than county or state values. Household wealth or net worth is another common statistic used by economists; it can only be approximated here as no information is available on how much debt individual census responders were carrying which would have contributed to their net worth.¹⁸⁹ Precedent for this approach is provided by Steckel in his 1990 study using 1850-1860 census data.¹⁹⁰

As noted, the first measure of wealth available for this study is the value of land owned in 1850. Perhaps not surprisingly the average value of an individual landowner's land was highest in Hancock County. These landowners owned on average about \$1,000 more than the landowners in the Wellsville area, who in turn owned about \$750 more land than the East Liverpool area landowners. By 1860, the Hancock County landowners had nearly doubled their land values, while the average value of land owned by town landowners dropped. This is due to the way the 1850 census data was captured.¹⁹¹ By 1870, the average value of landowner's property had increased by nearly 80% in the Grant District of Hancock County, nearly doubled in Wellsville, but remained virtually unchanged in East Liverpool.

¹⁸⁷ U.S. Census Bureau. *1860 Census: Statistics of the United States, (including mortality, property, etc.)* <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1866/dec/1860d.html> : accessed 13 December 2020. See: Miscellaneous Statistics: Banks and Insurance, Real and Personal Estate, The Public Press.

¹⁸⁸ Census statistics focused on individuals rather than households. While it is relatively easy to determine the number of households in each portion of the study area, these figures were not published by the Census Bureau on a countywide basis.

¹⁸⁹ United States Census Bureau. *Where is the Wealth?* https://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/newsroom/releases/2014/cb14-156_net_worth_graphic.pdf : accessed 16 December 2020.

¹⁹⁰ Richard H. Steckel. (1990) 'Poverty and Prosperity: A Longitudinal Study of Wealth Accumulation, 1850-1860,' *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, 72(2), p. 275.

¹⁹¹ See the Technical Appendix. For 1850 *only* and for comparisons *between the areas only* the 1850 figures include township data; residents in the townships outside of Wellsville and East Liverpool were, like those in Hancock, primarily farmers.

The general trends are not surprising. The landowners in Hancock/Grant were farmers who would, by necessity, own more land than those in the towns, (with the exception of the larger investors such as William Wells) and who might also purchase additional land over time to expand their farms. This notion is borne out by statistics for the country as a whole where the percentage of farmers who owned no property declined steadily from 1850-1870.¹⁹² The calculation of total value of property per household (including households who did not own any property at all) is, of course, lower but the temporal trends still generally follow those of average value of land owned per actual land owner. The percentage of householders owning land across the entire study area and time ranged from about 46% to 70%. This percentage was highest in Hancock/Grant (63%-70%) and averaged about 53% in the towns.

By this measure alone, that is in terms only of land ownership in any amount, it might seem that “wealth” was evenly distributed in the towns and less so in the rural Hancock County area. This conclusion might be generally supported by the rankings of Ohio and West Virginia in terms of real estate inequality. In 1850 Ohio ranked 8th and West Virginia 17th ‘most equal’ out of 37 states surveyed; by 1870 Ohio had dropped to 13th but West Virginia was still 17th out of 44 states surveyed.¹⁹³

However, the details in the finer data describing the towns and Grant/Hancock County tell a different story. In 1850 the actual wealth distribution was heavily skewed towards the top 20% (5th quintile) of the *property owners* (not individuals). In the East Liverpool area the top 20% of property owners owned 51% of the land. These and the similar figures for Wellsville and Hancock compare fairly well with the results found by Steckel in the ‘Rural’ and ‘North’ categories of states.¹⁹⁴ These figures seem to indicate that while a fairly high percentage of

¹⁹² Gregory W. Stutes. (2004) *The distribution of real estate: A nineteenth century perspective*. PhD dissertation, University of Kansas, p. 64

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

¹⁹⁴ Steckel, ‘Poverty and Prosperity: ...’ See Table 1, p. 277.

householders in the area owned *some* land, most of the land was actually owned by a comparatively few individuals.

Similar statistics for 1860 and 1870 were calculated somewhat differently due to the format of the data. In addition to real wealth in the form of land, personal wealth was also recorded. This type of asset was owned not only by

landowning heads of household, but also by heads of household who held no land, or by members of a household other than the head. As a result, the statistics were calculated using the number of adult men over the age of 17 in the population rather than heads of household.¹⁹⁵ Although Stutes in his 2004 study, restricted his data to land owned by adult *white* men,¹⁹⁶ this distinction was not made due to the near absence of black men in the study area during this period. Because of this change in the way the analysis was carried out, some care should be taken when making comparisons between the 1850 data and the data for the following two decades.

Keeping in mind the above caution, it is still clear that wealth was very unevenly distributed in the area during 1860 and, in fact, had become more so when compared to 1850. By 1860 the wealthiest 20% of property owners consistently owned over about

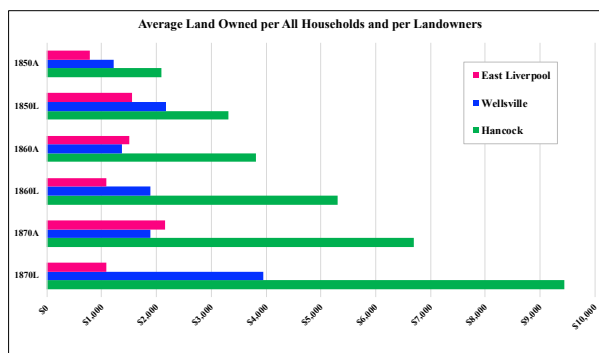


Figure 70. Land ownership across the study area 1850-1870.

Source: Complete transcribed census enumerations for 1850-1880. In the chart above two calculations are presented. Those labeled “A” represent the average land and personal property total based on the total number of household in the area. Those labeled “L” represent the same calculation based only on those households which actually owned land and/or property.

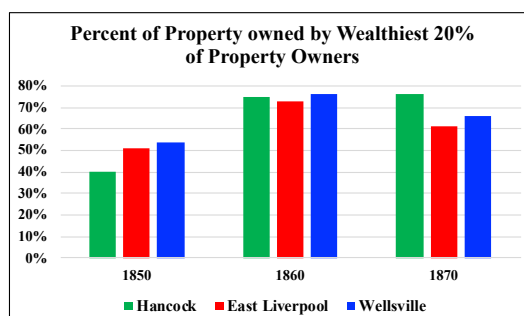


Figure 71. Percent of property in the hands of the wealthiest property owners.

Source: Complete transcribed census enumerations for 1850-1880.

¹⁹⁵ The number of adult women was not included. Only a very few of them owned land or have other property.

¹⁹⁶ Stutes, *The distribution of real estate: A nineteenth century perspective*, p. 5.

73% of all the wealth in each region. The percentages for the towns dropped about 10% between 1860 and 1870 but remained constant in the rural Grant District of Hancock County.

Generally speaking, the old adage that ‘the rich get richer’ is borne out by the trend of personal wealth ownership in the towns. This small data set shows that in all parts of the study area the percentage of personal wealth owned by the top 20% of the population increased from 1850 to 1870.

An equally interesting comparison can be made between the areas concerning the percentage of adult (age 18 or older) males who owned no property of any kind. The figures for 1850, when more geographic area was encompassed by the census and more of the land included was agricultural, the percentages are high, from about 59% to 70%. This may be primarily due to the way agricultural land in the area was apportioned within families. The farmers in Hancock County tended to have large families and even when their sons came of age, the sons might be found living with their own families in their fathers’ households; in these cases, the father typically held ownership of the entire family farm until his own death.

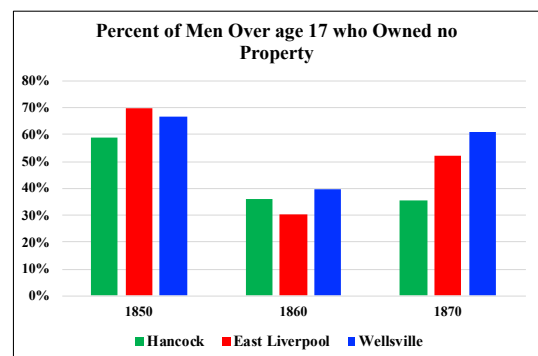


Figure 72. Percent of men over age 17 who owned no property.
Source: Complete transcribed census enumerations for 1850-1880.

In the heavily Scottish farmland outside of Wellsville, the situation was similar; large families headed by the oldest male were found living on the family land until the *paterfamilias* died.

The lower statistics in 1860 reflect two differences. In Hancock County, the older generation of early landowners had begun to die off leaving their sons in possession of property. Even though this census was restricted to the northernmost portion of Hancock County, encompassing little area outside of the Grant District, the area was still almost completely agricultural. In the two town areas, the census calculations were now restricted to individuals living only in the two towns, not the

surrounding townships. Hence the statistics reflect almost no agricultural land at all, only town lots and personal property such as stocks of merchandise, factory equipment, etc. In all areas the 1860 census included ownership of personal property; this change meant that men owning as little as \$10 were counted as owning property.

By 1870, the situation had begun to change in the towns. In this decade the percent of adult men owning nothing at all had begun to climb; in both towns the percentage increased 20 points in one decade. It is unfortunate that the 1880 census did not ask the question about property ownership. One could speculate that the percentage of men owning nothing would continue to rise, especially in industrial East Liverpool. These figures tend to bear out the disparity in the distribution of wealth described above. The situation appears to be most egregious in Wellsville in 1870 where the wealthiest 20% of property owners held over 65% of the total property and 61% of adult men owned nothing at all.

VI. OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION

Another important measure of the pace and type of change in an area over time is the analysis of the concentration and distribution of different occupational categories. The most consistent source of this data once again is the census, as it asked for an individual's occupation in every decade for the study period. Several difficulties were encountered with this approach, and these are explained more fully in the Technical Appendix. The most problematic issue for this analysis was the inconsistencies with which enumerators described what was almost certainly the same job.

For example, an individual *probably* doing unspecified work in the pottery might have any of these entries in the "Occupation" field of the census form: "Potter", "Pottery", "Pottery Hand", "Pottery Work", "Works In A Pottery." These descriptions all contain the word "potter" but that is not the case for all similar professions. Men who worked on the various types of river boats might be called "Boatman", "Ferryman", "Ferry Boatman", "Mariner", "Pilot on River", "River Man", "River Runner", "River Roustabout", "Steamboat Worker", or "Works on Ferry Boat." If this area was home to a large and varied shipping industry such as might be found at an ocean port or perhaps on the Great Lakes, these distinctions might have made a bigger difference than they do in this small area where they represent a small part of the working population.

Other issues were possibly due to the terminology of the time and lead to some puzzling questions. Was a "dealer" different than a "merchant", a "salesman", or an "agent"? If a man was called a "manufacturer" did that necessarily mean he owned the business? How is the reader to know if the "farmer" is working on land he owns or is a paid laborer on someone else's farm? Does it matter? These questions are over and above the insidiously poor spelling and handwriting of some of the enumerators which made an individual's occupation occasionally impossible to determine.

All this aside, however, a basic occupational classification system was eventually devised that will allow some analysis of the trends of occupational endeavor over the time and space of the study. The scheme was developed using the following resources:

History of Work Information System¹⁹⁷

1850-1900 US Census Bureau occupational coding schemes¹⁹⁸

1970 US Census Occupational Classification Distribution¹⁹⁹

2002 Census Industry Codes²⁰⁰

The newer coding systems did not always reference the types of occupations that were recorded in census enumerations from 1850-1880. These occupations were often jobs which related to technology available at the time (such as the telegraph), older names for a particular job (such as collier), or a very general description of a job that would later be described more fully (such as laborer).

The History of Work system (HISCO) sometimes tended to the opposite problem in that it offered nine major groups of workers, but often did not split these groups adequately or account for the types of work being done during the study period. For example, HISCO offered one group for administrative and managerial workers, of which there were almost none in the research data; another major group included clerical workers, which again included almost no residents of the study area/time. By contrast, it lumped three major groups into ‘production and related workers, transport equipment operators and laborers.’ This massive grouping included nearly all of the employed individuals in the research project. The three groups were teased out somewhat but were not labeled in any way, and many of the occupations in this category did not exist during the study period.

¹⁹⁷ International Institute of Social History. *History of Work - HISCO/The HISCO database*. <https://historyofwork.iisg.nl/index.php> : accessed 26 November 2020.

¹⁹⁸ These are available in various forms. Typically attached to the publications for a particular census decade, they can be found at the main U.S. Census Bureau website: <https://www.census.gov/prod/www/decennial.html>

¹⁹⁹ This can be found at the main U.S. Census Bureau website: <https://www.census.gov/prod/www/decennial.html> Locate under *Census of Population and Housing/1970/1970 Census of Population/Other Reports*.

²⁰⁰ U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. *Census 2002 Industry Codes*. <https://www.bls.gov/tus/census02iocodes.pdf> : accessed 26 November 2020.

Most of the inspiration for the eventual coding scheme came from the older United States Census Bureau occupational tables and very general coding schemes. This is reasonable since they were developed to aid census enumerators during the actual study period. The data analysis in this section will be asking questions about particular industries. One question asked in the Wellsville chapter related to the number of employees in several “transportation” industries - stage, rail or water. Although these occupations were grouped in one category, some effort was made to distinguish between the three. The same type of issue related to individuals working in the pottery industry as opposed to other manufacturing type industries. Eventually, a system of nine major categories was settled on. These categories generally reflect the types of occupations being followed during the time period in the study area:²⁰¹

- 1) Professional
- 2) Trade
- 3) Clerical, Service, Government
- 4) Agriculture
- 5) Transportation
- 6) Mechanical, Repair, Mining, Construction
- 7) Manufacturing/Production, Heavy Industry
- 8) Craftsmen, Light Industry
- 9) General Laborers
- 10) Domestic Servants

This coding system is not perfect. It sometimes had odd results such as coding Bakers in the same category as Blacksmiths (Craftsmen & Light Industry). The occupations in the Professional category were generally easy to separate. The Trade category unexpectedly included saloon keepers, but not restaurants on the more current coding schemes consulted. “Merchants” as they were called in the

²⁰¹ A complete list of which specific occupations fell into each category is located in the Technical Appendix.

census of the day were not mentioned on current schemes, but were called tradesmen.

Category three, Clerical, Service & Government, also presented a few problems. Postal workers were added to this category, though they were not necessarily found there in very current schemes. Telegraph workers were included here as there was no category for communication workers in the older coding schemes. The Agriculture, Transportation and General Laborers categories are fairly self-explanatory.

The biggest problems came with categories six, seven and eight. The above noted classification schemes were relied on for the most part in developing category eight - Craftsmen. There were some crafts at the time, such as broom maker, that were not found on modern tables. Light Industry was determined for this study to be manufacturing that a single individual might do on his own, or perhaps with an assistant. Heavy Industry (category seven) was deemed to be work that had to be done in a shop, factory, work-yard, or which would generally involve more than just one or two individuals to complete the task. Still, there were problems. Does a tannery involve more workers than a harness/saddle making concern? A typesetter would certainly be working in a printing shop employing more than just himself, but he could perform his own job without assistance.

Sometimes the exact nature of the job as it actually existed in that time/place could not be determined. For example, what was a machinist doing that was different from what a mechanic was doing? Perhaps one was creating tools or machines and the other was repairing them. In the end both of these jobs ended up in

Table 6. Categories of Workers:

1 - Professional	6 - Mechanical, Repair, Mining, Construction
2 - Trade	7 - Manufacturing/Production, Heavy Industry
3 - Clerical, Service, Government	8 - Craftsmen, Light Industry
4 - Agricultural Workers	9 - General Laborers
5 - Transportation Workers	10 - Domestic Servants

the rather catch-all category six, Mechanical, Repair, etc. The biggest concern with this category was that it included construction workers, which perhaps did not really belong in the same category as machinists. In addition, masons were not usually categorized with carpenters as construction workers (in the schemes consulted), though it seems they should have been. Bricklayers, however, were considered different than masons and *were* considered construction workers. The category assigned to all professions found on the 1850-1880 census enumerations used can be found in the Technical Appendix. After

standardization of the occupations recorded, about 100 individual and unique occupations were identified across the four decades of census data available.²⁰²

Despite the limitations of the original data and the possibility of error introduced by the formatting of the transcribed data, some interesting trends can be found within the entire area over

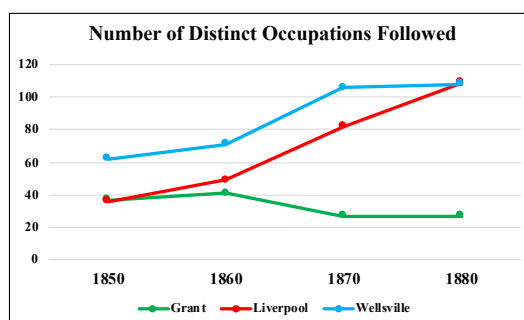


Figure 73. Number of distinct occupations enumerated across the study area 1850-1880.

Source: Complete transcribed census enumerations for 1850-1880.

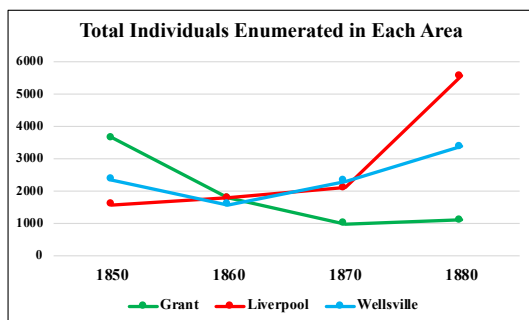


Figure 74. Total population enumerated in each section of the study area.

Source: Complete transcribed census enumerations for 1850-1880.

time. A simple depiction of the number of unique jobs found in each area demonstrates the early diversity of the workforce in the Wellsville area, the steadily increasing diversity in East Liverpool, and the gradually decreasing diversity in the rural Grant District of Hancock County. These figures should be compared with the total population from which these occupations were drawn. It

²⁰² The actual number is far higher when a general occupation such as “Merchant” is distinguished by what kind of merchant the individual was. The same kind of lumping occurred with the categories of Clerk, Agent, Manufacturer, Railroad Employee.

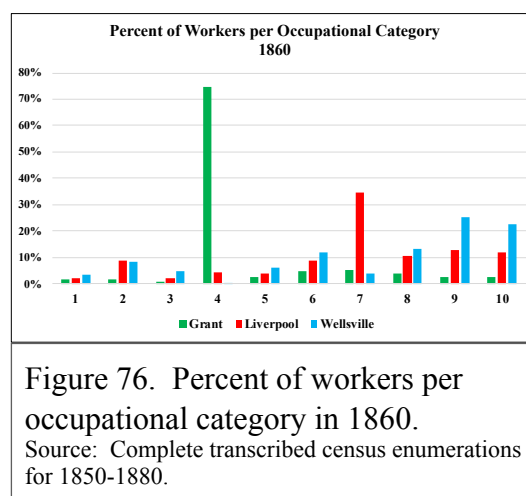
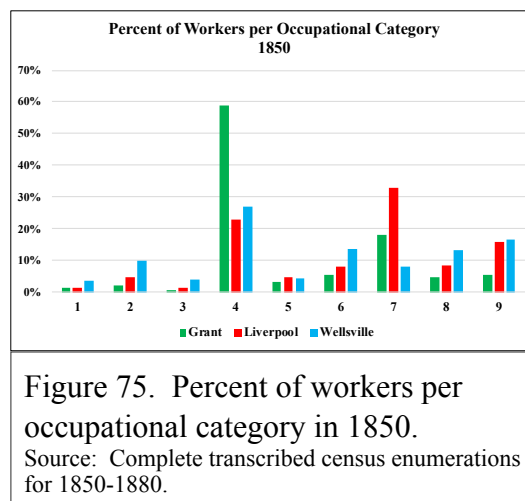
should be noted that the population did not actually decrease in any given area; the decreases shown here are a function of the way the data was collected.²⁰³

Thus it can be seen in Figures 73 and 74 that the generally decreasing trend in occupational diversity in the Grant/Hancock area makes some sense when compared with the decreasing number of individuals enumerated. The trends in the town areas are quite different; despite an initial dip in the number of individuals enumerated in Wellsville, the diversity of occupations increased. In East Liverpool, however, the sharp increase in individuals enumerated from 1870 to 1880 did not result in a similarly sharp increase in the diversity of jobs.

A general comparison of the percentage of workers employed in each occupational category follows. Due to the fluctuating number of individuals enumerated for each year, total counts were deemed to be less illustrative than percentages. A review of the categories used is presented first.

A comparison between the two earliest census years shows some change in the percentage of workers in most categories that might be due (in part) to the way in which the data was collected.

In 1850 a greater number of agricultural workers (Category 4) across the whole area would be expected as an artifact of the data, but might also be true in fact. This distinction was difficult to make. As a



²⁰³ Please see the Technical Appendix. The major difficulty is with the 1850 data which was collected at a much coarser grain than the data in the succeeding years.

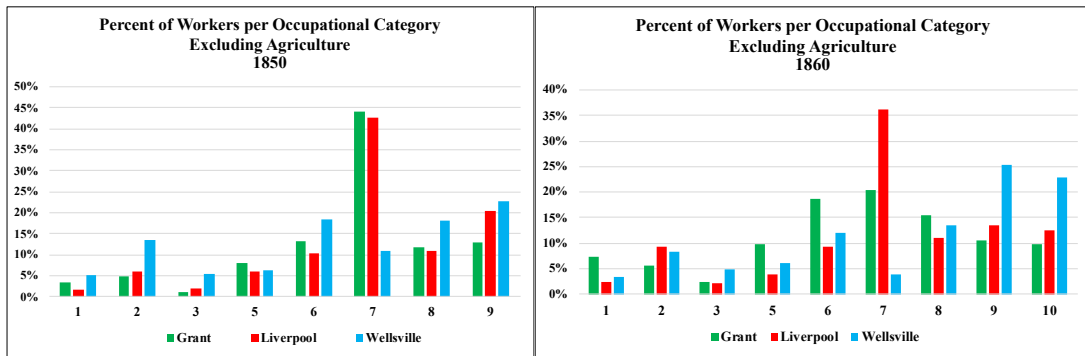


Figure 77. Percent of workers per occupational category for 1850-1860 excluding major category for each year.

Source: Complete transcribed census enumerations for 1850-1880.

consequence of the high percentage of agricultural workers, the percentages of other workers was depressed (see Figure 75). In addition, 1860 was the first year enumeration of domestic servants (Category 10) was attempted on the federal census (see Figure 76). By removing the agricultural workers from the equation a very different picture of the relative percentages of workers in each occupational category in 1850 and 1860 appears (see Figure 77).

Excluding the agricultural workers results in a somewhat more balanced distribution of job types as defined by the broad categories selected. In 1850 the highest percentage of workers in the Liverpool Township area and Hancock County was in Manufacturing/Production (Category 7). This trend continued in East Liverpool in 1860 while the distribution of non-agricultural jobs in rural (northern) Hancock County was beginning to even out. Job type distribution in Wellsville was fairly even in 1850 but more weighted towards the unskilled categories of labor (Categories 9 & 10) by 1860.

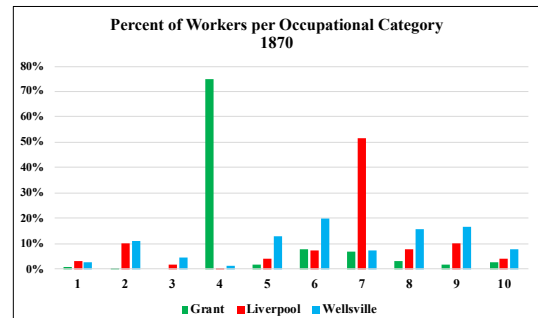


Figure 78. Percent of workers per occupational category in 1870.

Source: Complete transcribed census enumerations for 1850-1880.

In 1870, two of the areas under study showed the continued development of a predominant type of occupation. As can be seen in Figure 78, farming was still the

occupation of nearly three-fourths of the population in the Grant District while manufacturing and production predominated in East Liverpool where the potteries were located. The occupations followed in Wellsville still continued to be more evenly distributed.

By excluding the agricultural workers from the Grant calculations and the production workers from the East Liverpool calculations a slightly more

nuanced picture of occupational distribution appears (see Figure 79). The distribution of occupations in Wellsville is still fairly even with percentages between 1% and 20%. Likewise, distribution of occupations *other than production* in East Liverpool from between 1% and 21% per category. A larger disparity is seen in the Grant district where the distribution of workers *other than agricultural workers* ranges from 0% to 30%. The percentage of workers in all areas in the Professional, Trades, and Service categories (Categories 1-3) is still small but their numbers in the two towns are growing.

The basic occupational distribution in 1880 continues to reflect a large disparity in job types in both the rural Grant District and in East Liverpool where the farmers and the potters represent approximately the same percentage of their respective workforces as they did in 1870 (see Figure 80). Exclusion of these categories of workers again gives some insight into the rest of the workforce. Some changes are noticeable in the comparison of the 1870 and 1880 charts. The most striking difference is found in the distribution of workers in the Grant

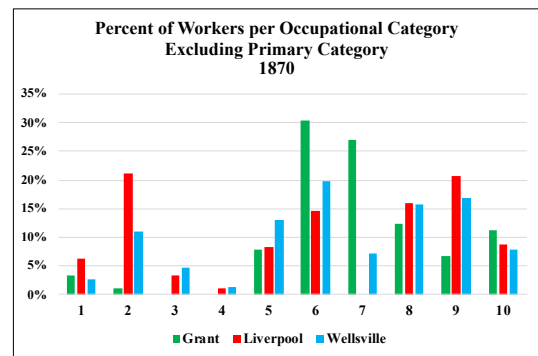


Figure 79. Percent of workers per occupational category in 1870 excluding major categories in Grant and East Liverpool.

Source: Complete transcribed census enumerations for 1850-1880.

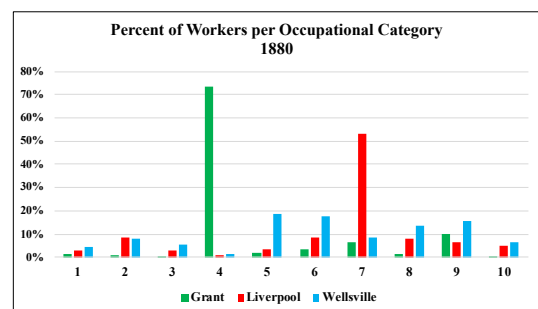


Figure 80. Percent of workers per occupational category in 1880.

Source: Complete transcribed census enumerations for 1850-1880.

District. The balance of non-agricultural workers shifted from predominantly mechanical and production types of jobs in 1870 (Categories 6 and 7) to general labor jobs in 1880 (Category 9). The percentages of workers across the two towns is more balanced; the obvious differences appear mainly in the relatively small percentages of workers in a particular category (such as Categories 1 and 3) rather than in the more dominant percentages (see figure 81).

General trends of entire occupational categories across the whole study area from 1850-1880 show an increase in representation of some categories of workers (such as tradesmen and merchants, Category 2) but a decrease in others such as agricultural workers (Category 4).

While the drop in overall percentage of farmers across the area might be expected between 1850 and 1860 due to the

vagaries of the census, it was interesting to see that trend continue during the years when the geographical boundaries of the census enumeration areas became more

stable. Category 7, which includes

pottery workers, demonstrated a not-surprising jump across the area to eventually account for about 35% of the entire workforce by the end of the study period (1880).

The trend away from agricultural work demonstrated in the data from the study area mirror a national trend underway at the time. In 1850, roughly twice as many individuals over the age of ten were gainfully employed in agricultural as opposed to non-agricultural pursuits. By 1880 the numbers were about equal and by 1930 nearly four times as many workers were engaged in non-agricultural types of work.²⁰⁴

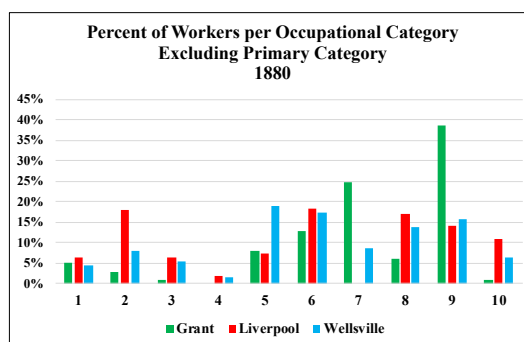


Figure 81. Percent of workers per occupational category in 1880 excluding major categories in Grant and East Liverpool.

Source: Complete transcribed census enumerations for 1850-1880.

²⁰⁴ United States Census Bureau. *Historical Statistics of the United States, 1789-1957*. https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1949/compendia/hist_stats_1789-1945.html : accessed 16 October 2020. See Chapter D, p. 63. Unfortunately the statistics as applied to industrial occupations do not begin until 1900, after the study period.

Another way to look at the occupational variances in the area is to look at actual *occupations* rather than just the occupational category. While the results of this inquiry will not yield information that refutes that found in the categorical analyses found above, they do add a bit more detail about the specific kinds of jobs being performed. Since many different occupations were followed in any particular year and area by only one or a few individuals, the following statistics were compiled looking only at specific occupations which were followed by 10 or more individuals in all areas in 1850 and 1860. As the number of occupations and population increased, the charts for 1870 still show occupations with 10 or more individuals for the Grant District; but the lower level for display on the town charts was increased to 15 in 1870 and 20 in 1880.

Some specific occupations *were* grouped - for example, merchants were sometimes distinguished on the census to a specific product; on these charts all merchants are included in one category. The same is true for railroad workers, watermen, manufacturers and clerks. Given the inclusion of all a larger population on the 1850 data, the number of different occupations seen during this year was greater than the following decade. Also in 1850, a large number of brick workers were counted in Hancock County; however, most of these brick works were located around New Cumberland, just outside of Grant District to the south (see the Grant chapter).²⁰⁵ The diagrams on the following pages help display both the variety of occupations and the concentration of workers within the most common occupations across the area as a whole.²⁰⁶ (Figures 82 - 85 are found at the end of this chapter.)

The occupations found on the 1850 census reflect the likely occupations of rural and small town areas of the time. Carpenters were needed to build houses and boats; nearly everyone needed boots and shoes; grocers and other merchants served the populace; blacksmiths and coopers probably served the boatmen, wagon drivers, and others involved in the transportation of goods. The category of general laborer

²⁰⁵ West Virginia Humanities Council. Jeanne Grimm, author. *Brick Industry*. <https://www.wvencyclopedia.org/articles/649> : accessed 19 December 2020.

²⁰⁶ The referenced diagrams are located at the end of this section.

was present in every decade across the entire study area and potters appeared in every decade in East Liverpool.²⁰⁷

The charts for 1850 clearly show that even before the advent of the large potteries the vast majority of workers in East Liverpool (working in industries employing more than ten individuals) were potters. In Hancock County the majority were farmers. In Wellsville the workers were more balanced. There was found a mix of construction trades, but also a measurable number of merchants as well as tailors and shoemakers. Wellsville may have been, in this decade, the location for social/mercantile occupations that helped support the vast number of workers in the other areas.

By 1860, the distribution of occupations had changed, especially in the towns. Potters were still the primary occupation in East Liverpool and their predominance was growing. The variety of occupations represented in Hancock County had almost completely disappeared; in the rural Grant District, most of the workers were farmers.²⁰⁸ In Wellsville the percentage of general laborers was growing, and the percentage of specialized trades dropping. Although Wellsville consistently had a larger variety of occupations represented by its workers in the previous analysis, this is not always reflected on the simple pie charts showing distribution of workers between the different areas because often occupations such as dentist, lawyer, or butcher were followed by fewer individuals than were required for the lower cutoff for the pie chart data.

The appearance of domestic servants, first enumerated in 1860, probably reflected the fact that the federal government was more willing to take notice of the growing number of women working for pay. The comparatively large percentage of the workforce which they represented in Wellsville in 1860 was likely an artifact of the enumeration process rather than an accurate depiction of their prominence. In 1860 the enumerators were to record the occupations or 'means of living' of every

²⁰⁷ Keep in mind always the lower cutoff for an occupation to be represented on these charts; the lower limits are discussed above and printed on each chart.

²⁰⁸ While the townships around the two towns were included in 1850 they were not included in 1860; this resulted in the proportion of farmers present in these towns to drop.

person over age 15. Members of a family ‘employed in domestic duties at wages’ were to be recorded as servants or domestics.²⁰⁹ It is not clear that the enumerators in the study area actually followed that directive with respect to wages and this may have resulted in the large number of women called “Domestic” on both the Wellsville and East Liverpool returns. In 1870 this distinction was made more exact by the enumerators’ use of the term “domestic servant” which more clearly appeared to indicate an individual working for wages.

In 1870, clerks and railroad workers begin to appear in the analysis. The clerks might demonstrate that the towns had grown to the point that more “service-oriented” jobs were now available and it was not a requirement for everyone to do jobs that provided the staples of keeping the population fed and the economy functioning. The railroad workers were mainly living in Wellsville where the car shops and the depot were located. Other rural/small town occupations remained including merchants, construction trades, and those involved in metal working (blacksmiths and machinists) and manufacturing of some kind.

Another large jump in the number of different occupations by 1880 again required that the lower cutoff for numbers of individuals employed within each occupation in the towns be raised. While the Grant District was becoming, if anything, *more* homogeneous with respect to occupational diversity, that was not the case in the towns. East Liverpool had caught up with neighboring Wellsville with respect to the number of different occupations followed by its occupants, although the vast majority of them were still potters. In fact, workers in the potteries were present in numbers more than seven times those in the next most common category - that of general laborers. This might indicate that while the occupational diversity in East Liverpool was increasing, the opportunities for workers in other than unskilled or semi-skilled jobs was still rather limited.

In Wellsville, the largest proportion of workers were general laborers and those working for the railroad. While many railroad workers were (probably) semi-

²⁰⁹ US Census Bureau. *questionnaires/1860*. <https://www2.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial/technical-documentation/questionnaires/1860/1860-instructions.pdf> : accessed 22 December 2020.

skilled laborers, many more worked in jobs that required the skills to operate the trains. Carpenters were quite common as well as domestic servants. It should be noted that the actual numbers of individuals employed in some categories might be actually very close in East Liverpool and Wellsville. For example, in 1880 Wellsville reported 82 carpenters and East Liverpool 85. These similarities are not clearly demonstrated by the type of pie charts shown as the relative percentages of these similar *number* of carpenters (for example) can be easily overwhelmed by their less proportionate representation when compared to the very large numbers in another category (such as potters, which numbered over 1,000 in East Liverpool).²¹⁰

Some Conclusions

Census data is not consistent in the information provided across the three decades and four census enumerations of this time period. Newspapers are particularly spotty, and were not found at all for East Liverpool or the Grant District. Published secondary sources, such as county histories, often do not dwell on the development of social issues with the exception of noting the first or most important person to perform a particular service, open a specific business or construct a building.

Although history records five schools being founded in the Grant District after 1863, specific dates and locations have not been found. There were teachers living in the area in all census years. However, we still might not be too far wrong if we were to assume that some of the West Virginia children recorded as attending school were actually doing so in Ohio. Likewise, the dearth of churches located in the Grant District and the near absence of clergy in the census enumerations might indicate that church-goers were also crossing the river to attend services. While these and other manifestations of social organization may very well have existed in the primarily rural northern tip of Hancock County, little evidence of them has been found.

²¹⁰ These graphics are located at the end of this section.

Based only on the social aspects reported here it seems fair to say that the two towns under study were growing and changing through time. More schools were built, more children attended school, and more seats in churches became available as time progressed. Women began working not only doing home based work, but as the majority of school teachers and outside the home as milliners and in other occupations such as potters.

Although generally decreasing across the area over the decades, the percentage of the population made up of foreign immigrants was always highest in East Liverpool, and very low in Hancock County. While the immigrant percentage in Wellsville was in line with Columbiana County averages, those in East Liverpool were always quite a bit higher. This could very well be attributed to the availability of jobs that some (especially English) immigrants were particularly skilled at performing. There was much less of this kind of work available in Wellsville and across the river in Grant District where farming prevailed. Farm owners were almost certainly employing their own sons and neighbors rather than hiring immigrant farm laborers.

The distribution of wealth was difficult to estimate for the study area due to the way the census was conducted. In 1850 enumerators recorded only the resident's estimated value of his land. In the next two decades they also recorded the resident's estimated value of his personal estate. There was never any information collected about income. Based solely on this restricted bit of data the picture we see is not unfamiliar to us today. Overwhelmingly and consistently across the area and the decades, the "wealthiest" 20% of residents owned about 80% of the value of land and other personal assets. Also not surprisingly, the recorded values of the land and other assets was consistently highest in Hancock County/Grant District where the population was mainly land owning farmers.

Occupational distribution was also difficult to extract from the census for two reasons. First, the enumerators were not consistent in recording an occupation using the same language. Second, the occupations had to be grouped in some fashion to make the data more manageable. Even given these restrictions, across the area as a

whole some occupational trends can be discerned. The number of pottery workers increased more than tenfold from 1850 to 1880. The number of workers employed by the railroad increased consistently over the years, as did those in the service and mercantile trades. Conversely, workers in shipping (overland and river) showed a decrease. The numbers of all workers at various skill levels, and the variety of the work they were doing, generally increased over time as would be expected with a growing population.

Generally speaking farmers, general laborers and potters were the most common occupations over time across the whole area. The number of different occupations with more than 10-20 followers increased markedly over the study period, as also might be expected from a growing population. By 1880 (and excluding farmers, laborers and pottery workers) there were over 40 different occupations with more than 10 employees recorded in the entire area, more than double the number found in 1850. The total number of different occupations increased steadily over the years in the two towns, but not in Grant District. The towns were becoming more cosmopolitan, offering a larger variety of goods and services to the population, while Grant remained rural and agricultural.

Wellsville was quicker to attract a variety of different types of workers, especially those in the transportation and mercantile occupations. Carpenters and laborers still made up the bulk of the workers in Wellsville over time, while in East Liverpool the percentage of workers in the potteries was always higher than any other occupation. Over time the towns had more to offer their residents and those in rural Grant District in terms of goods and services. The area as a whole was becoming more settled and self-sustaining.

1850 Distribution of Major Occupations Across the Study Area

Occupations displayed are those followed by 10 or more individuals only

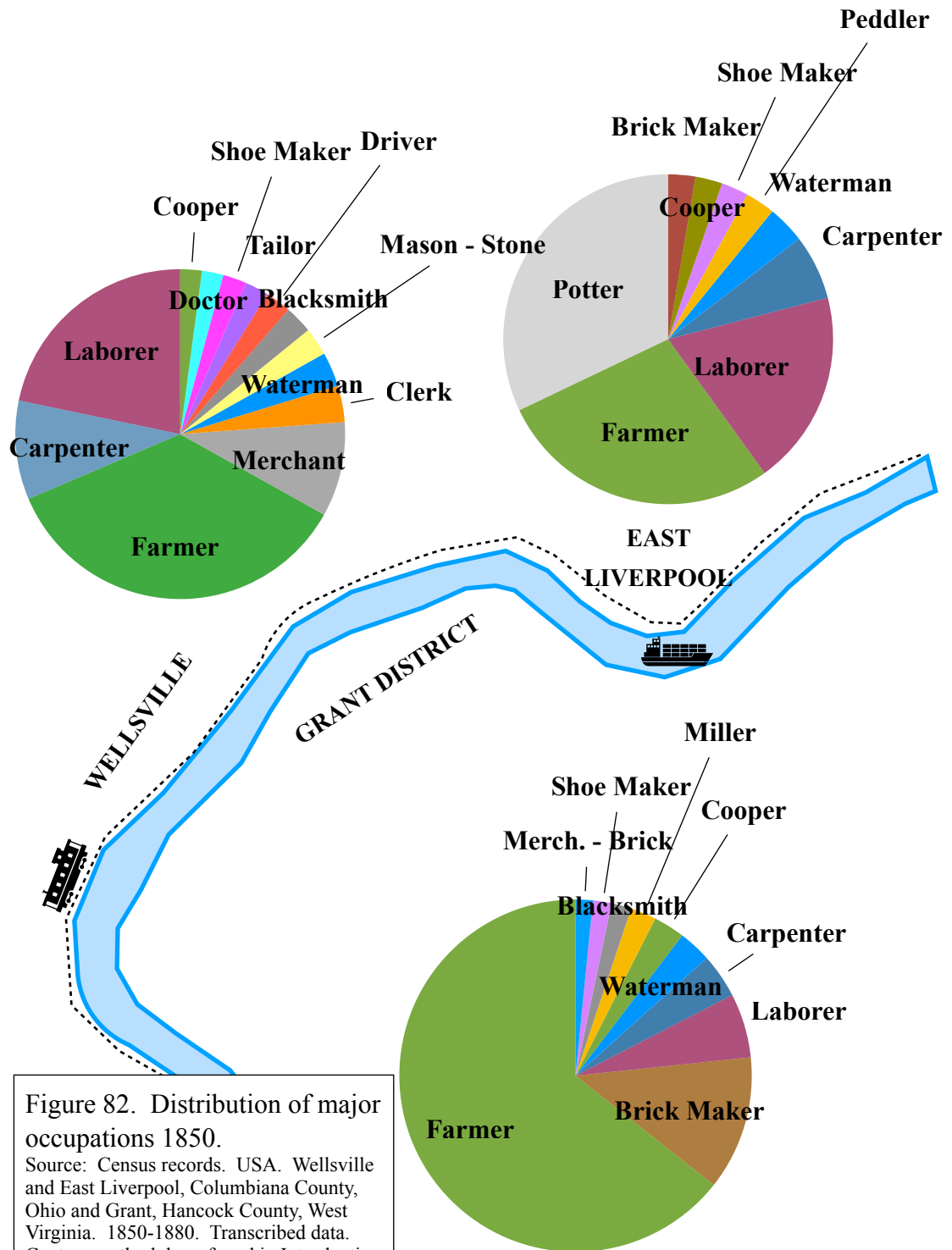


Figure 82. Distribution of major occupations 1850.

Source: Census records. USA. Wellsville and East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio and Grant, Hancock County, West Virginia. 1850-1880. Transcribed data. Capture methodology found in Introduction Part 3.

1860 Distribution of Major Occupations Across the Study Area

Occupations displayed are those followed by 10 or more individuals only

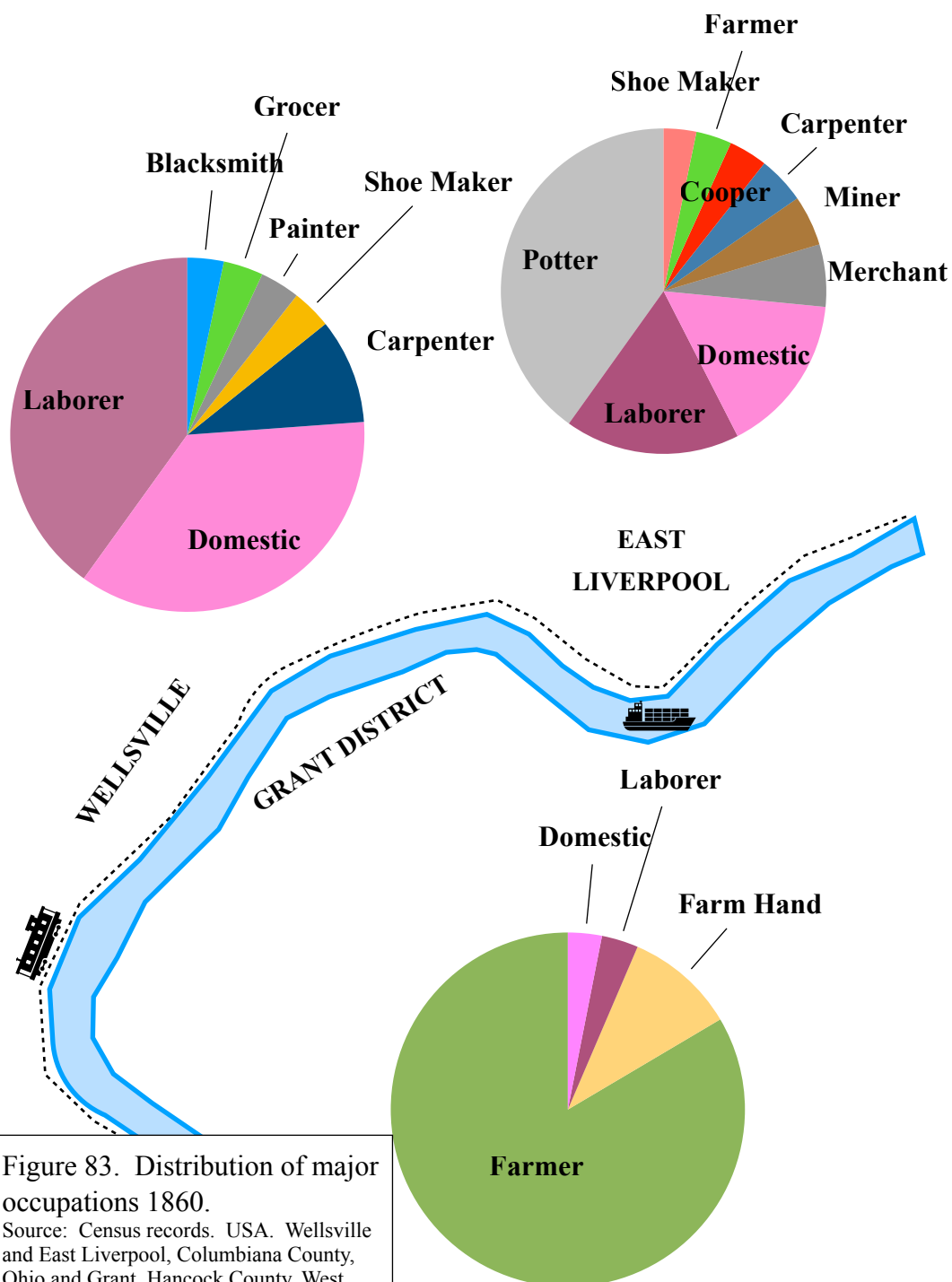


Figure 83. Distribution of major occupations 1860.

Source: Census records. USA. Wellsville and East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio and Grant, Hancock County, West Virginia. 1850-1880. Transcribed data. Capture methodology found in Introduction Part 3.

1870 Distribution of Major Occupations Across the Study Area

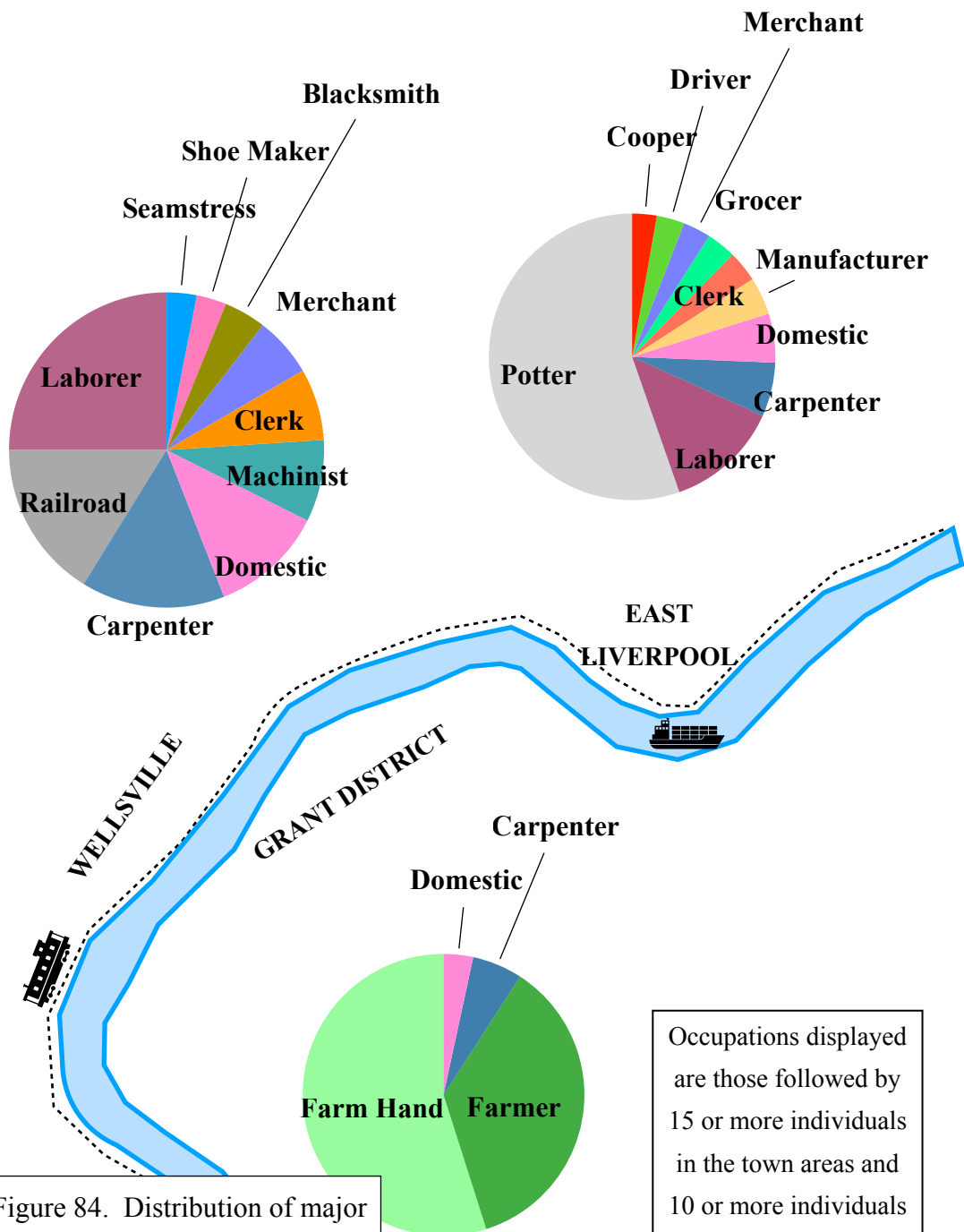


Figure 84. Distribution of major occupations 1870.

Source: Census records. USA. Wellsville and East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio and Grant, Hancock County, West Virginia. 1850-1880. Transcribed data. Capture methodology found in Introduction Part 3.

Occupations displayed are those followed by 15 or more individuals in the town areas and 10 or more individuals in Grant

1880 Distribution of Major Occupations Across the Study Area

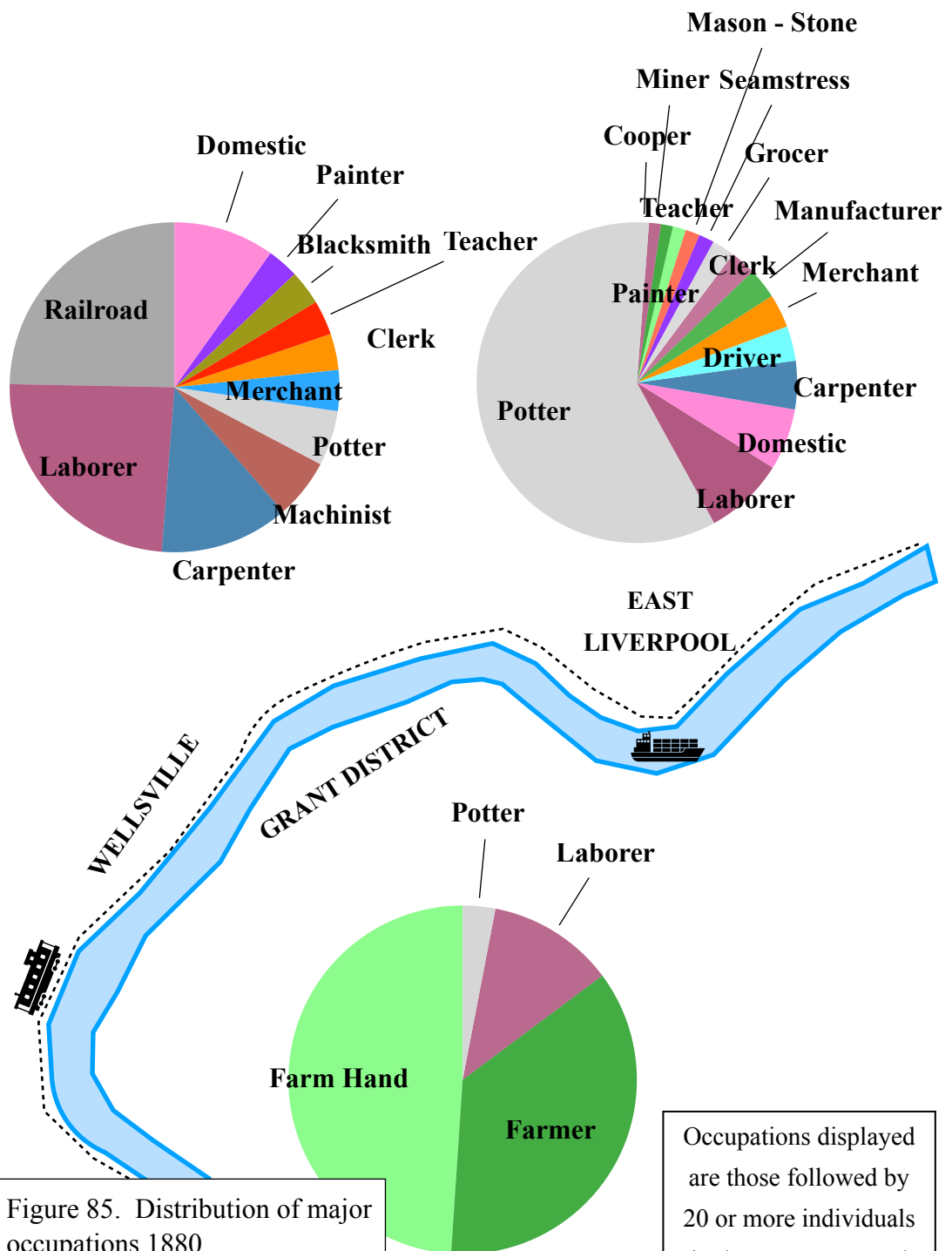


Figure 85. Distribution of major occupations 1880.

Source: Census records. USA. Wellsville and East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio and Grant, Hancock County, West Virginia. 1850-1880. Transcribed data. Capture methodology found in Introduction Part 3.

Occupations displayed are those followed by 20 or more individuals in the town areas and 10 or more individuals in Grant

CHAPTER SIX

STAFFORDSHIRE POTTERS

While this research was not specifically dedicated to the history of the potteries in East Liverpool, no work covering the area would be complete without some discussion of this industry. The objective of this chapter is to provide further insight into the origins of the pottery workforce which eventually led to East Liverpool becoming nearly a single-industry town. Some early potteries came and went in Wellsville, and brickworks were found in the Grant District, but the real success of the potteries was located, during the study period, in East Liverpool alone. One writer went so far as to say:

The inception and, to a great extent, the growth, of the pottery industry in the United States is due to the immigration of English practical potters and skilled workmen.¹

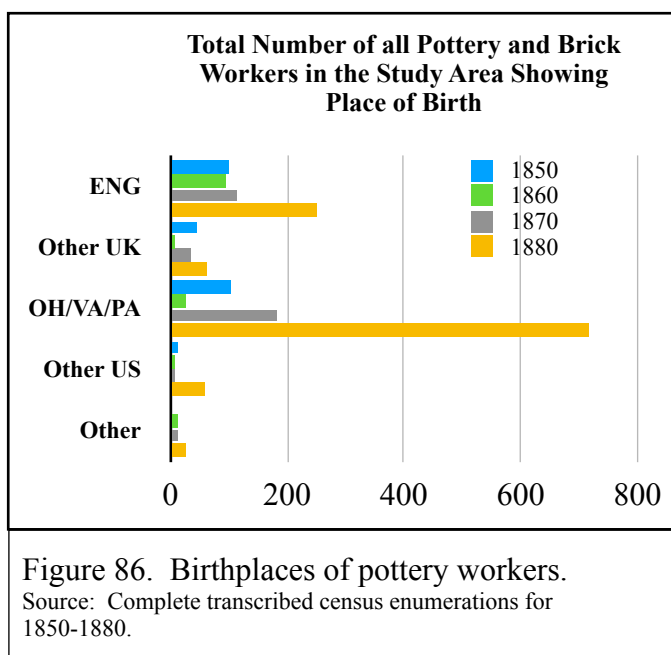
The clay industries began in the study area with the making of bricks. A summary by Calhoun² describes the most common evolution of the usage of clay in pioneering areas of the United States, and the upper Ohio Valley in particular. Clay could be used as mortar to chink the cracks between logs in cabins, plaster the walls of a stick chimney flue, and build a fire resistant hearth. Baking ovens were needed for cooking and these large wood burning affairs (including the flues) were built from local clay. These ovens could also be used to fire small pottery articles including pipes, small pans and crocks, even children's marbles. The need for household crockery likely led to the construction of small early kilns for their production.

Crockery was not the only item made from clay as the early abundance of fire brick manufacturers in the study area (particularly Hancock County) demonstrates. Brick buildings were being constructed in Columbiana County by early in the 1800s. Bricks were also used for the bodies and stacks of iron smelting furnaces. The clay

¹ F. Thistlethwaite. (1958) 'The Atlantic Migration of the Pottery Industry.' *The Economic History Review*. New Series 11(2), p. 266. He was quoting the U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. (1915) Misc. Series No. 21, *The Pottery Industry*, p. 67.

² W. A. Calhoun. (n.d.) *Early Clay Industries of the Upper Ohio Valley*. [manuscript] East Liverpool: Carnegie Public Library, p. 1-5.

in the study area was so abundant that brick makers often set up their brick yard close to the site of the structure being built and dug their clay onsite, rather than lease or buy land for a permanent brick yard and then transport materials and the finished products between the yard and the construction site.³



The brick industry, while still evident on the 1870 industrial census, had almost completely given way to potteries by that year.⁴ Over the course of the decades studied for this work the percentage of brick and pottery workers born in England was consistently high; however, only in 1860 was it higher than the percentage of those workers born in Ohio, West Virginia and Pennsylvania. In addition, the percentage of clay workers born in England decreased gradually (with the exception of 1860), while the percentage born in Ohio, West Virginia and Pennsylvania increased. This may perhaps be partially a result of the American born children of English potters going to work and their fathers aging out of the work force. Although the percentage of the total workforce born in England

Table 7. Percentage of Brick and Pottery Workers in the Entire Area Born in England or Ohio/Pennsylvania/West Virginia		
	ENGLAND	OH/PA/WV
1850	38.9	39.7
1860	64.8	16.5
1870	32.7	52.3
1880	22.5	64.2

³ Calhoun, *Early Clay Industries of the Upper Ohio Valley*, p. 1-5.

⁴ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Yellow Creek Township, East Liverpool, and Liverpool Township, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1870. Industrial Schedules. Roll T1159_45. Twelve pages total.

declined over time, the actual number of workers increased steadily for a time as more workers immigrated from England.⁵

Thistlethwaite, in his study of the Atlantic migration of the pottery industry, focuses much of his case study on the migration from the Five Towns of Staffordshire to East Liverpool and Trenton, New Jersey. He postulates that the American pottery establishment is the direct result of the immigration of these Staffordshire potters.⁶ This portion of a poem printed in 1845 by a potters' union newspaper may give some clues as to why potters were setting sail and emigrating from England:

The tyrants of state, in their pride and their
hate
Have driven their thousands to premature
graves;
The lives of the poor, they think of no more
Nay less than the Planter would think of their
slaves.
But away with the pain - we shall see them
again!
We are only preparing a way for the rest:
Then blow! Breezes blow! As onward we go
-
The Potters shall yet have a home in the
West!⁷

The early years of the 19th century had been somewhat tumultuous for potters in Britain with the threat of unemployment a constant fear.⁸ The 1799 and 1800 Combination Acts essentially forbade any gathering together of workmen to '...bring pressure of numbers to bear on their employers or on each other' mainly in

⁵ The sharp drop in the percentage of workers from OH/PA/WV from 1850 to 1860 is an artifact of the Hancock County census, as described in the Technical Appendix. As noted in Chapter Four, there was a large population of brick workers in southern Hancock County in 1850. This part of the county falls outside the actual study area. It is likely that the 1850 figure given here is unrealistically high, and that all percentages for these years have been skewed by the problems with this particular census enumeration.

⁶ Thistlethwaite, 'The Atlantic Migration of the Pottery Industry,' p. 3.

⁷ Miranda Goodby. (2003) "'Our Home in the West': Staffordshire Potters and Their Emigration to America in the 1840s,' *Ceramics in America 2003*. p. 1.

⁸ Martin Crawford. (2011) 'Back to the Future? The Potters' Emigration Society and the Historians,' *Labour History Review*, 76(2), p. 83.

the pursuit of increased wages or improved working conditions.⁹ In 1824 these combination laws and also those laws forbidding the emigration of artisans were repealed.¹⁰ Potters and other artisans were now allowed to organize into unions and negotiate for better pay and working conditions. This improvement in status helped make potters in general a bit more

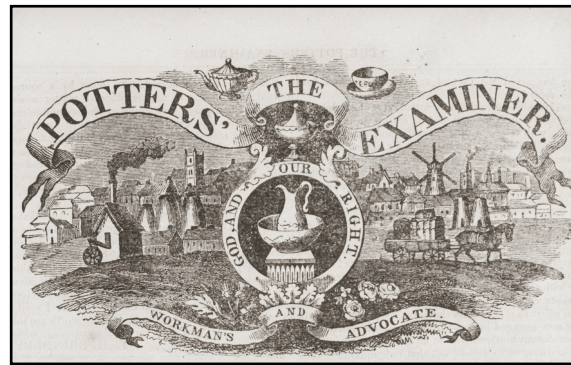


Figure 87. The Potters' Examiner advocated for the rights of pottery workers.

Source: Goodby, "Our Home in the West": Staffordshire Potters ..., [unpaginated]

prosperous. However as the pottery industry was composed of workers with a wide variety of skills, unionization in this industry was still somewhat difficult.¹¹ Despite this diversity in the work force most types of potters had several specific grievances in common:

- 1) Annual hiring. Employers hired for a whole year, during which the worker was bound to the employer; however, the employer was not obligated to find regular consistent work for the potter. Piecework rates were fixed for the year.
- 2) "Good from oven." Workers were only paid for work which was salable. Thus, if a specific firing failed, all workers involved in producing those pieces received no pay even though the failure of the firing was beyond their control.
- 3) Allowance system. This was another way of cutting wages in which workers "allowed" the employer a few pence in the shilling.
- 4) Truck system. Employees were paid in goods rather than cash. Some such goods were sometimes poor quality or useless to the employee and could not be used to pay rent or buy food and fuel.¹²

⁹ William Frank Shawl. (1954) *The Repeal of the Combination Acts 1824-1825*. MA thesis, Montana State University, p. 27.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

¹¹ Goodby, "Our Home in the West": Staffordshire Potters ..., [unpaginated] p. 6.???

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Since unions were now legal some were formed, and some were successful at improving conditions and wages. In 1843 potter William Evans founded the United Branches of Operative Potters, and in mid-1844 the Potters Emigration Society was formed, partially to promote emigration to Wisconsin as a solution to the replacement of potters by industrial machinery.¹³ The excess of workers replaced by machines were encouraged to emigrate, thus relieving the employment pressure on potters remaining in Staffordshire.¹⁴ In 1844, Evans published the following notice of intent in his *Potter's Examiner and Workman's Advocate*:

We intend to send the most industrious and honest men there are in the Potteries, as we intend this colony to be an asylum for those who have the BLACK mark put upon them, or, in other words, for those who are turned adrift for their integrity to the Union.¹⁵

Evans' original intent was that the emigrated potters should become farmers, and he had purchased 1,600 acres of land in Wisconsin for that purpose. However, not all potters could make the transition to farming and the effort eventually collapsed. This did not stop British potters from emigrating to the United States, and many settled near the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers. Emigrants wrote letters home to friends and family. Some of those letters were positive and encouraged fellow potters to follow them. This type of "pull" emigration was likely a factor in the early settlement of Staffordshire potters in the study area. Some of the early emigrants who eventually settled in the East Liverpool area included:

About 1827 - Jabez Vodrey

By about 1840 - John Goodwin, Walter and Thomas Croxton/Croxoll

About 1844 - Enoch Bradshaw, Thomas Cartwright, George Garner, James

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 8. [images here <http://www.chipstone.org/images.php/75/Ceramics-in-America-2003/>]

¹⁴ Crawford, 'Back to the Future? ...', p. 81-82.

¹⁵ Goodby, "'Our Home in the West': Staffordshire Potters ...," [unpaginated] p. 10.?? She was quoting from the *Potters Emigration and Workers Advocate*, 1(24), May 1844, p. 189-90.

Bennett, Benjamin Harker, William Brunt, James Tams¹⁶

An 1845 contract at the Harker pottery in East Liverpool provided for Thomas Cartwright to do turning for one pottery thrower, 160 dozen pieces per week. He was to be paid a set amount per piece, and Harker was required ‘... to settle up once in two or three months, as may be convenient.’ Thus it can be seen that a potter’s income was not as reliable as might be hoped. All were paid by the piece, and some were paid in goods, as had also been the case in England.¹⁷

Individual reasons for leaving home and migrating abroad are wide ranging. English potters could not expect to achieve much prestige at home in this rather low ranking and dirty craft; some may have seen America as a land of equality. Some may have wanted the opportunity to operate their own factories or be their own masters. Others wanted their children to have an opportunity to choose their own professions.¹⁸ A close study of individual immigration records for Staffordshire potters was not undertaken for this study. However, as is often the case, some potters likely traveled in groups with neighbors or family members, while others came independently.

Many, if not most, historians of the pottery industry in East Liverpool point to James Bennett as the early pioneer whose success attracted other English potters to the area. Bennett, who arrived in about 1839, only stayed in East Liverpool for about three years. His designation as the father of the pottery industry in East



Figure 88. “The Pioneer Pottery.” An enticing image of the pottery situations supposedly to be found in East Liverpool. Source: Goodby, “Our Home in the West”: Staffordshire Potters ..., [unpaginated]

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 9-21; William C. Gates, Jr. (1984) *The City of Hills and Kilns, Life and Work in East Liverpool, Ohio*. East Liverpool: East Liverpool Historical Society, pp. 35-37; Thistlethwaite, ‘The Atlantic Migration of the Pottery Industry,’ p. 271.

¹⁷ Gates, *The City of Hills and Kilns*, ..., p. 44.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

Liverpool is apparently due to one particular act. With the help of several local land owners Bennett built a small kiln, fired a batch of Yellow Ware mugs, and sold them throughout the neighborhood. He made a profit of \$250 or nearly \$7,000 in 2020 dollars.¹⁹

The fact that he was apparently the first marketer of his goods for a profit appears to have been the primary reason why he, and not some other early potter, was settled on as the inspiration for the expansion of the industry in East Liverpool.²⁰

Much of the early imagery depicting the early pottery industry in East Liverpool (as in Figure 104) certainly gives the impression that without the Bennett family the industry would not have achieved prominence and perhaps the Staffordshire potters would have had to find a different “home in the west” to settle. A

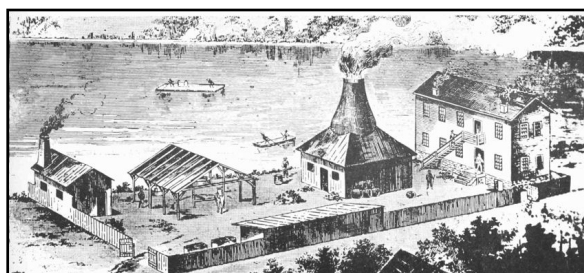


Figure 89. Another view of the Bennett Pottery.

Source: Steve Birks. *A Representation of James Bennett's first kiln which was fired in 1840*. http://www.thepotteries.org/potworks_wk/067.htm : accessed 8 May 2020.

slightly different version of the drawing is seen in Figure 89 without the picture of Bennett although it still depicts his supposed pottery.

Although it would be impossible to know the exact names and locations of all early potters and potteries in the study area a fairly comprehensive list has been compiled, drawing on four sources, for use in this work. (See Appendix 5.) There are undoubtedly omissions and duplications in this list. The names and locations of potters changed with great frequency, potters adopted and dismissed partners, and were often involved in more than one pottery at a time.

A few of the potteries/potters mentioned in the list were in business before 1850 which was the year of the first US census to specifically record an individual's occupation. Some of the potters on the list were found on the 1840 census of the

¹⁹ Official Data Foundation. Ian Webster, author. *CPI Inflation Calculator*. <https://www.officialdata.org/1850-dollars-in-2018?amount=1> : accessed 14 December 2020.

²⁰ See, for example: Thistlethwaite, ‘The Atlantic Migration of the Pottery Industry,’ p. 271; Gates, *The City of Hills and Kilns*, ..., pp. 30-33.

area. An example is John Kountz who was found living with a young boy, possibly his son, in Liverpool Township; one member of his household was engaged in manufacturing.²¹ Some of the names found on the list are more commonly associated with the history of the area - James Bennett, Joseph Wells, Phillip Geisse.

Potters Genealogical Case Study

What can this research determine about some of the less well-known English potters who worked in East Liverpool? Can their stories help provide depth to the more general historical accounts of this Atlantic potter migration? Further research into some specific families may provide some answers.²² The case studies of the specific families mentioned below is found in Appendix 4.

Although author Thistlethwaite repeatedly refers to the ‘Five Towns of Staffordshire’²³ there were actually six. These six towns of Tunstall, Burslem, Hanley, Stoke-upon-Trent, Fenton and Longton made up the center of the ceramic production in Staffordshire. The misnomer was likely promulgated by author Arnold Bennett who titled a book “The Five Towns” because he thought it sounded more pleasant on the ear than “six towns.”²⁴

Of the 90 potters living in East Liverpool or Liverpool Township on the 1850 census who were born in England, almost half were located with reasonable accuracy on the 1841 English census. Of these, sixteen were living in the town of Burslem, near the center of the Staffordshire pottery area. Possible records were found for an additional nine potters and four were found to have been in the United States before

²¹ Census records. USA. Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1840. KAANTZ, Jane (head). Roll M704_386. p. 149. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 9 April 2020. The head of household was a male, transcribed as “Jane”; the written name looks to me like “Jana.”

²² The criteria used to select several families for further research will be described in the following pages.

²³ Thistlethwaite, ‘The Atlantic Migration of the Pottery Industry,’ p. 265, 266, and several other pages.

²⁴ Friends of the Arnold Bennett Society. *The Five Towns*. <https://www.arnoldbennettsociety.org.uk/the-five-towns/> : accessed 9 December 2020. No evidence was found to tie this author to the Bennett potters of East Liverpool.

1841.²⁵ These figures tend to support the history of the emigration from the Staffordshire area which was reportedly well underway by the mid to late 1840s.

The number of English-born potters in East Liverpool increased with each census year and by 1880 they numbered 235. Though a seemingly large number, these English-born potters represented a minority of just over one-third the number of East Liverpool working potters born in the surrounding states of Ohio, West Virginia and Pennsylvania. Some of these English potters had more impact on the study area than others. As has been noted, James Bennett is often cited as the father of the pottery industry in the area.

In an effort to select a few pottery worker families for more in-depth study, a good deal of sifting and sorting of all workers found on the census enumerations had to be done. The semi-comprehensive list of potters who were either independent or engaged in business numbers 181, and the surnames are often duplicated.²⁶ By 1880 there were over 1,100 people working in the pottery and brick industries in the study area.²⁷

The total number of records for individuals working in the pottery or brick industry over the four census enumerations and three geographic areas was 1,861; this total was represented by 623 different surnames. Most of these surnames (280)



Figure 90. Homer Laughlin Pottery as visualized after the move to West Virginia.

Source: Steve Birks. *Pottery Works at East Liverpool, Ohio, USA*. http://www.thepotteries.org/potworks_wk/067.htm : accessed 8 May 2020.

²⁵ Reasonable accuracy for this purpose means a close name and age match, occupation of potter or living at home with a father who was a potter, living in or near the six towns. The family in England could not directly conflict the family in America with respect to wife, children's names and ages, etc. Searches carried out on both FindMyPast.co.uk and Ancestry.com.

²⁶ See Appendix 4. The individuals named on this list were said to be either independent potters or engaged in the business, often with one or more partners. They were likely potters themselves. This list does not include potters employed by others.

²⁷ Census records. USA. Wellsville and East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. Also Grant District, Hancock County, West Virginia. 1 June 1880. Roll T9_1002 (Ohio) and T9_1403 (West Virginia). <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 1 June 2020. Complete transcribed census enumerations for 1850-1880.

were represented by a single recorded individual and 516 surnames were represented by fewer than five recorded individuals (there may have been some specific individuals enumerated twice).²⁸ The following criteria were examined to develop a preliminary list of potential potter surnames for more in-depth study:

- Five or more records, all of an individual born in England, all living in East Liverpool in 1850-1880 (or in Liverpool Township in 1850 only).
- Surname recorded as a pottery owner (see Appendix 4).
- Ten or more records, individuals born anywhere, living anywhere in the study area.
- Surname recorded in the industrial censuses of 1850-1870.

These criteria were not either mutually exclusive nor cumulative, rather information for each category was collected for each surname. The resulting table contains 70 different surnames. There were some unresolved questions related to spelling and/or enumeration errors. For example, was the Barker family of England and Ohio the same as the Harker family, also of England and Ohio during the same time period? Was the Webster family, primarily from England and recorded in 1850-60 the same as the Webber family, primarily from Ohio and recorded in 1870-80?

Six surnames were eliminated immediately as they appeared only on the industrial census schedules and could not be located in the population schedules. An additional 19 surnames were eliminated if they appeared on the Industrial schedules but had numbers in the study area fewer than the lower limits of five or ten individuals. This was a difficult choice, as some of these individuals were owners of large potteries (such as William Flentke and Isaac Knowles) or came from well-known local families (such as Nathaniel Simms). Twenty-three more surnames were eliminated if the name was not persistent in the area for more than one decade or in

²⁸ Some individuals were recorded twice if they were working as a potter on two succeeding censuses. Rarely was a single individual recorded more than twice. This particular figure is not meant to represent the number of distinct individuals who worked in the area over this time period.

numbers fewer than ten, or if none had been born in England. This still left 22 potential surnames for additional study.

In order to look at the impact on the area not only of pottery owners but also pottery workers, it was deemed important to select some families in which a large number of individuals worked in the potteries but none were named on the industrial census or pottery owners lists as having owned a pottery. Three surnames were selected for consideration - Beardmore, Leigh and Stanley. When looking for wealthier potters, three additional families were selected. These families had between 12 and 27 surname records each, were resident in the area on all four census enumerations, were named in the pottery owner lists as owning at least one pottery, and owned significant (total more than \$5,000) land on the census population schedules. Surnames selected were Manley, Rigby and Vodrey. All six of the families selected for further study were located on the 1841 English census with the exception of Vodrey; this family had immigrated to America before 1841.²⁹

The commonality of these six selected surnames was checked by performing a basic search of the 1841 English census. All members with a given surname were counted; the search was restricted to those living in Staffordshire, England. Some of the surnames selected for study were much more common than others:³⁰

Beardmore	665
Staley	33 (277 in Derbyshire)
Rigby	288
Manley	31
Leigh	217
Vodrey	11

²⁹ Census records. USA. Louisville, Jefferson County, Kentucky. 1 June 1830. VODREY (head). Roll: M19_38. p. 69. line 5. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 21 April 2020.

³⁰ Search done using exact spelling of each surname, restricted to Staffordshire residence. The results were very similar between these three websites, which were then averaged to produce the numbers reported: <http://www.findmypast.co.uk>, <http://www.ancestry.com>, <http://www.familysearch.org>. The "Staley" family was from Derbyshire; those results show a much higher incidence of the surname than in Staffordshire.

Discussion of Results

The original selection of these six families for study began with some simple criteria which were intended to produce a feasible number of families whose roles, status and family structures could shed some light on the experience of a cross-section of pottery workers and owners in East Liverpool. Even after these criteria were applied to the pottery family surnames culled from the 1850-1880 census enumerations, too many families remained as potential candidates for genealogical study. As such, the ultimate selection of the six families used was not informed by type or amount of information available in other records. As a result, although no initial research was done on the many surnames under consideration to detect intermarriage between families or other potential family or business ties, it is not surprising that these linkages emerged when the data was analyzed.

The families selected to represent pottery *workers* rather than pottery *owners* did appear to be fairly representative of what might be expected from the working class rather than the merchant class, and some individuals exceeded expectations in areas such as civic involvement (especially among the Beardmore family). Although several of these working potters were land owners actual pottery ownership was not found among any of them.

The first three families discussed were those selected to be representative of the pottery workers who came to East Liverpool from (mainly) Staffordshire and who remained in the area for a generation or two. These were the workmen and women who did the actual labor in the potteries and not the owners or managers of the potteries. While many other immigrants worked for a few years in the potteries before moving on, these families were selected for study because they remained through the study period. In addition, while not all immigrants who worked for the potteries stayed with that profession these families appeared to do so with some consistency.

The Beardmore family represents a civically involved family with community and financial investment in their chosen home. They owned land, sent their children to school, intermarried with other local pottery families, and several of

their children and grandchildren remained in the area and worked as potters. They may be typical of a family who immigrated either with more resources available to them or with greater ambition than some of the other families or single individuals who came to East Liverpool to work in the potteries. The father was a potter himself and two of his possible five sons plus several grandchildren remained in the business for decades.

The Leigh family did not appear to be either as resourceful or as committed to the pottery business as the Beardmores. The father in the Leigh family was not a potter though he immigrated with two sons who were potters. One of the sons appeared to do fairly well in the business while the other died in the Civil War. The older son, James, stayed with the pottery business as did two of his own sons and a son-in-law. This James may have been a partial owner of a pottery for a time and his family were stable residents in East Liverpool.

The Staley family were more geographically and socially scattered. The relationships between them were not always clear and the father died almost immediately after arriving in East Liverpool. One of his probable sons never worked as a potter and a second son died young and unmarried, leaving (as with the Leighs) only one (probable) son to carry the family name. The man who remained in the pottery business cannot be definitively proved to be a son of the immigrant. This man, Charles, purchased land in the area and worked in the potteries all his life. Although women were thought to make up about one-third of the pottery workforce in Staffordshire in the eighteenth century,³¹ such was not the case in America. The Staley family, with its many women enumerated as being employed, illustrates the opportunity for women to work in the East Liverpool potteries, at least by 1870.

These families are thought to be fairly representative of the working class families in East Liverpool during this time period. Some bought and sold land, they answered the census, served in the Civil War, and wrote their wills. Some fell afoul of the law, but most did not (or if they did no record of it was found). Perhaps these

³¹ Lou Martin. (2015) *Smokestacks in the Hills: Rural-Industrial Workers in West Virginia*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, pp. 38-39.

workers, with skills enough to obtain jobs in the potteries, were more socially stable than the citizens who depended on day labor or other more ephemeral work.

These three families were never well-to-do or heavily invested in civic affairs. They did not warrant much mention in local histories, and rarely appeared in the newspapers. It was sometimes difficult to develop a very comprehensive sketch of these families due to scarcity of information. The opposite was hoped to be true of the next three families illustrated. They were selected to be representative of the pottery owners. As such some members of these families were well documented by local historians and some left a plethora of financial and newspaper records. The challenge was anticipated to be one of deciding how to give a brief overview of these families in the face of a sometimes overwhelming amount of information.

When the research actually began on the last three families they did not turn out to be quite as well documented as originally anticipated. None was found to be either a large pottery owner, a long-term pottery owner, or particularly influential within the pottery industry in East Liverpool (with the exception of Vodrey). This was likely a result of the original selection process which required ten or more individuals *working in the pottery industry* of that surname living in the study area. The very large pottery owners, such as Brunt and Knowles, did not meet the criteria for enough members working as potters. Some families not selected, such as Croxall, Cartwright and Goodwin, had sufficiently large families of pottery workers and *possibly* would have been more representative of the wealthier potters in the area.

While the evaluation criteria might better have been tightened with respect to the eventual selection of the three particular families chosen from the several pottery owning families which met all the established criteria, a study of this kind, in which there is a potentially overwhelming volume of certain kinds of data, requires the exercise of some judgement and selectivity to make it manageable.

Of the three families selected to represent pottery owners the Vodrey family was perhaps both the smallest and the most successful. They arrived in the United States as long as two decades before some of the other families. While not

seemingly either wealthy or successful when they arrived in East Liverpool, the family quickly became both property owners and pottery manufacturers (as opposed to employees). They routinely sent their children to school, some going on to college and learned professions.

The Manley family was quite extensive and immigrated sporadically to the United States over the course of 30 years (rather than all together as a group). While one individual did become a well known pottery owner, most were pottery workers. In this family not everyone remained in East Liverpool; daughters in particular married and moved from the area. Quite a few of the women in this family worked, usually in the potteries, which none of the Vodrey daughters did.

The Rigby surname is a probable example of an extended family immigrating to the same area. As with the Manleys, this was a large family whose members often intermarried with other local potters. While most were not pottery owners, there were enough owners to warrant their mention in the histories of potteries in the area as well as on the industrial census enumerations. A very few of the women in this family worked in the potteries and most attended school.

Despite the fact that the actual records of the pottery “owners” did not quite match initial expectations about their wealth and influence, the overall research into these six families did give some insight into the diverse lives of the potters who settled in East Liverpool. Some were found to be very civic minded, some alcoholic brawlers. Some were able to invest in large amounts of land and become landlords, others were probably fortunate to be able to purchase their own house (an ideal during the Civil War era).³²

These potters often, but not always, sent their children to school and some went on to more educated professions. It is likely (based on census records) that most if not all of the children of these Staffordshire potters were among the up to 90% of northerners estimated to be literate in America during the Civil War era.³³

³² Dorothy Deneen Volo. (1998) *Daily life in Civil War America*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, p. 191.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

While some of the descendants of these early potters moved on to other professions or jobs, most remained allied with the pottery business in some way through the end of this research (1900 for census records in this section only). Employed women were found among these families, though less often among the pottery owners than working class families. As was then common, most (but not all) of these women probably left the work force after they married.³⁴

Some of these pottery workers died comparatively young, possibly from “potters’ asthma or potters’ rot”, a known concern to potters.³⁵ Most married, as was common during this time,³⁶ often into other pottery families. Some never married, some had few (or no) children, but most had fairly large families; the average number of children nationwide per household during this period was about three according to one study³⁷ and as high as seven according to another.³⁸

³⁴ Steven Ruggles. (2014) ‘Marriage, Family Systems, and Economic Opportunity in the United States Since 1850,’ *Minnesota Population Center, University of Minnesota*, working paper no. 2014-11 (December 2014), p. 20.

³⁵ Martin, *Smokestacks in the Hills*: ..., p. 110.

³⁶ Ruggles, ‘Marriage, Family Systems, and Economic Opportunity ...,’ p. 9; Ruggles indicates less than 10% of women remained unmarried by age 44 during this time period. Divorce was less than 5%, and none were found in this study.

³⁷ Todd Schoellman & Michèle Tertilt. (2007) ‘Families as Roommates: Changes in U.S. Household Size from 1850 to 2000,’ *Clemson University & Stanford University* [conference paper], p. 44.

³⁸ Economic History Services. Michael Haines, author. *Fertility and Mortality in the United States*. <https://eh.net/encyclopedia/fertility-and-mortality-in-the-united-states/> : accessed 24 December 2020.

CONCLUSION



Figure 91. Upper Ohio River Valley as mapped in 1877 - the study area is in the far upper right corner.

Source: Eli L. Hays. (1877) Part III. *Illustrated Atlas of the Upper Ohio River Valley from Pittsburgh, Pa. to Cincinnati, Ohio*. Sheet. 34-35., scale 1:31,680. Philadelphia: Titus, Simmons & Titus. David Rumsey Map Collection. Image No. 4975B. <https://www.davidrumsey.com> : accessed 14 December 2020.

This work began with a question regarding the history of a narrow stretch of the Upper Ohio River Valley region which included small sections of both far eastern Ohio and far northwestern West Virginia. Originally imagined to determine why bustling communities developed early on the Ohio side of the river but not, until about 100 years later, on the West Virginia side, the study quickly expanded to include research into the additional differential development of the two main towns in the study area, both of which are located in Ohio. The topics in 19th century American historiography which resonate most with the history of this area include communications - river/rail/trade, movement from farm to factory, employment of women, and pull immigration of specific workers to a specific time/place.

It could be argued that Wellsville owed much of its early development to improvements in the communications sector (water transportation, rail, newspapers, etc.) while East Liverpool owed its somewhat later and ultimately greater success to industrialization. The Grant District, whose residents never made much attempt to leverage either of these economic advantages during the study period, appeared to “stagnate” as a purely agricultural area.

It was not possible to draw precise parallels between some of the broader economic and cultural movements of the United States during this time period and

comparative events which could be specifically identified within the study area. For example, while some effects of the market revolution model could be detected in an apparent shift from agricultural to factory jobs, these effects were not felt until about the middle of the study period, perhaps 20 years after Sellers' end date for this phenomenon. This evidence does not serve to question the movement described by Sellers; rather it points out that the process was more sustained in time and the effects perhaps more diffuse the farther away from the urban northeast one moved.

The same might be said for several of the economic upheavals which took place during and just before the study period. In particular, the effects of early 19th century land speculation could be seen in an examination of the land records in Columbiana County, and especially in East Liverpool. Local histories also report on the adverse effects of this practice during the approximate time periods of the Panics of 1837 and 1857. No discernible effects were obvious in Wellsville or in the Grant District, though there probably would have been some impact.

Larson suggested that any revolution which took place was actually in the area of communications, not economic development. While the arrival of the telegraph in the area was noted in area newspapers, very little further mention was made of it specifically. Perhaps the real communications revolution in this area came with the arrival of the railroad shortly after the beginning of the study period. This, coupled with increasingly efficient and predictable river transportation, helped put the local residents in greater touch with the events of the outside world. These developments also fed the buildup of the industrial base in East Liverpool by providing access to broader markets.

While these factors seemed to have little impact on the agrarian nature of the West Virginia portion of the study area it is probable that the effects were too subtle to be detectable by the data available for this study but were, in fact, present. Over the course of the study period, these farmers were probably allocating an increasing percentage of their output to commercial sales, rather than mere subsistence. The more efficient access to a broader marketplace which helped energize the pottery

industry in East Liverpool would also have served the West Virginia farmers in getting their agricultural produce to market.

Some of the broad trends towards women's suffrage could also be seen in the few available local newspapers, as well as in the increasing number of women joining the paid workforce. While the perseverance of the notion of "women's sphere" was still heavily apparent in the newspapers, these papers also carried advertisements for women running their own businesses. There was also some evidence of women participating in civic activities and joining social movements. However, there was not a great deal of evidence found in these scanty offerings for support of the kinds of overt suffragist demonstrations which were being held elsewhere in the country.

There was also not a great deal of evidence found for the kinds of labor unrest increasingly evident in the more industrial parts of the country. The two major industries employing laborers in the study towns were the railroad car shops in Wellsville and the potteries in East Liverpool. No mention of labor unions forming or active in either of these industries was found either in local newspapers or in area histories. Likewise, no evidence could be found in these resources for any early effects of the market revolution on religious activities in the study area.

Foreign immigration to the area had an important impact on the pottery industry. In the early years of its development, the industry in East Liverpool was a draw for immigrants especially from the Staffordshire area of England. The appendix dealing with the genealogies of several area potters provides evidence that these English potters and their descendants did retain some cultural and economic community bonds. There was no evidence found that they formed the kind of tightly knit ethnic community that was found earlier in the century with the Scottish farmers in nearby Yellow Creek Township.

The use of records more often relied upon by genealogists, and the kinds of information sought in those records, provided insight into the above mentioned social and economic shifts as they were reflected in the study area. For example, land records helped illuminate the lingering effects of coverture in the requirement of

women to sign away their dower rights. They also gave evidence of some of the deleterious effects of land speculation failures, especially in East Liverpool.

The heavily used census records, especially the close examination of records for specific individuals, provided support for the trends in occupational diversification. They were also leveraged to offer confirmation for some names and dates given in published local histories. Both census and land records, as well as the usual types of vital records, were used in constructing the families of the six potters chosen for genealogical analysis.

With respect to Stephen Hatten's notion that '... genealogists are concerned with determining identities of individuals in specific relations to a research subject or ancestor, whereas historians are concerned with events with broader societal significance'¹ this work has made a concerted effort to utilize the two disciplines in concert to provide a richer exploration of the historical development of the area under study.

Referring back to one original research hypothesis, it was not possible to demonstrate that the town of Wellsville eventually developed as a sort of "bedroom community" where the white-collar workers of the entire study area tended to congregate. This did not seem to be the case as these types of jobs were found with similar frequency in East Liverpool, and manufacturing/labor type jobs were found just as often in Wellsville.

The question regarding the lack of town development on the West Virginia side of the Ohio River has not been fully answered, but numerous contributing factors to the changes that took place over the course of the study period have nevertheless been uncovered and considered. Published histories make mention of several unsuccessful and brief attempts at town development in the far northern portion of Hancock County during the study period without providing any explanation for their failure. Census records and concurrent study of families living in the area reveal large land holdings concentrated in several families with the bulk

¹ Stephen B. Hatten. (2019) 'History, Kinship, Identity and Technology: Toward Answering the Question "What Is (Family) Genealogy?"' *Genealogy*, 3(2) (unpaginated)

of the land typically used for agriculture. No large businesses or industries were located in this part of the study area before 1880.

One possible scenario is that farmers, despite owning enough land to support the formation of a town, simply preferred to keep their land under cultivation. Surveying and platting a portion of a farm required time and money; offering the platted lots for sale also required some expenditure of time and money. There appear to have been no farmers in that section of West Virginia who saw any profit in attempting this type of development. The towns across the Ohio River were growing and becoming more accessible as time passed. It would have been logical for the West Virginia farmers simply to have seen no need to build their own town when access to services provided by merchants and other businessmen was increasingly available nearby.

Another reason for late town development on this side of the river has to do with topography. While the hills northwest of the Ohio River on the Ohio side are rather more “rolling” than steep, the same cannot be said of the West Virginia side. The topography in that part of the study area provided fewer relatively level areas that might have encouraged town development. With the Ohio towns already located on the river, any West Virginia developer might have been tempted to locate his town further inland. An inland town would attract less competition from the Ohio towns and might also provide closer access to services for farmers living further from the river. The land inland, however, was hillier and therefore probably less attractive as a town location. This supposition is given some support by the location of the two small towns that now exist in the West Virginia part of the study area. Both are located on the relatively flat portion of land along the river rather than further into the surrounding hills.

While the differential development of the two Ohio towns seemed to have an obvious explanation in the location of the potteries, on closer examination the eventual greater success of East Liverpool over Wellsville turned out not to have been a foregone conclusion. As noted in the introduction to this thesis, this eventual outcome was most likely the result of many social, financial and geographical factors

acting in concert. At least part of the story lies with the actions of the founders and promoters of the two towns.

As has been established, the town of East Liverpool was platted by Thomas Fawcett in 1802 while the plat for Wellsville was not recorded by William Wells until 1823. Despite this 20 year start on town development, East Liverpool failed to flourish under the leadership of Fawcett and several other early town promoters. It also labored unsuccessfully under competition from other early towns in the area which had more developed facilities or services to offer prospective inhabitants. Fawcett himself did almost nothing by way of business development before laying out his town. It might appear that his whole “business plan” was to split the land he owned into town lots then sell those for a profit. It is not clear that he had any idea how his imagined town would support itself. East Liverpool investors also fell victim to the land speculation schemes which were common during the Panics of both 1837 and 1857; the earlier disaster, at least, would have been a setback to the development of the town.

Wellsville, on the other hand, was well served by the foresight and ambition of its town founder. Wells spent more of his own time and money developing shipping facilities along the river before attempting to develop a town. By the time Wellsville was platted, facilities and services for shipping and transportation, as well as for prospective town settlers, were either in place or in progress. William Wells also made Wellsville his own hometown, in that more of his children (than those of Thomas Fawcett) remained there, raising their own families, and building up their own businesses. The early success of Wellsville was further cemented when it was chosen as the first railroad terminus in the study area.

However, by the time the railroad arrived in Wellsville in the early 1850s, the potential for establishing a pottery industry at East Liverpool had already been discovered. Once the potteries became well established, within about a decade, the success of East Liverpool was assured. The potteries provided money for town growth and expansion, the development of supporting industries, schools, libraries, and other social institutions required by a larger population. While the growth and

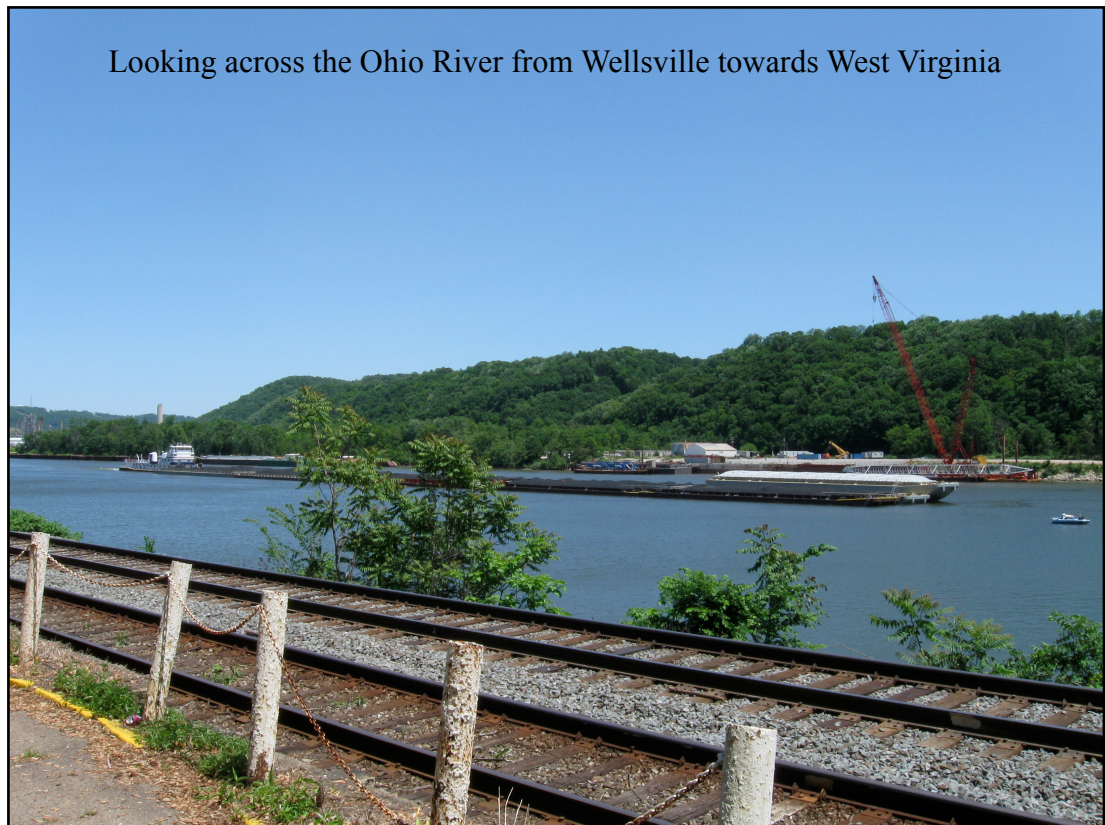
expansion of the pottery industry in East Liverpool was not a specific theme in this work, the very existence of that industry was undoubtedly the defining factor in East Liverpool's eventual greater success and growth as a town. Wellsville did have one major industry - the iron foundries and railroad repair shops - but that industry was apparently not sufficient in size, expansibility or employment capacity to lure and retain the number of residents that the potteries could draw.

Perhaps we might conclude that Wellsville was earlier the more successful town due in large part to the efforts of its original founder, William Wells, while East Liverpool became later the more successful town in spite of the inaction of its original founder, Thomas Fawcett. Across the river, the Grant District remained an example of how the land where the two towns now lie might have continued on as farmland for some undetermined period of time if neither man had happened to move into the area.

The small size of this rather diverse population made an examination of the genealogical type records, the census, newspapers, and local histories a workable project for this study. Unfortunately, the same relatively small size and rural nature made it more difficult to find evidence for some of the broader social and economic trends at work within the country during this time. Part of the challenge in this project was to locate information which could be acquired at a comparable level of detail for all sectors of the study area, town and rural, Ohio and West Virginia. This was not often easy to accomplish, and required some innovative methods of correlation and comparison.

This study of a small segment of rural and small-town America during the mid-to-late 19th century provides some insight into how individual disciplines can be used in a multidisciplinary fashion to contribute to the same body of knowledge. The general historical research methodology used to provide a basic historical framework for the time and place has been supplemented with a detailed genealogical investigation into individual actors to give added insight into the recorded historical events and change. The addition of demographic information specific to each geographic location of the study population provides an even greater level of detail

relating to some specific characteristics and motivations of the inhabitants. Combined, these three types of research and data utilization have complemented each other to form a nuanced picture of this portion of the upper Ohio River valley which could be extrapolated and applied to similar areas of the USA during this pivotal time in its history.



BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

GOVERNMENT AND COURT DOCUMENTS AND RESOURCES - HISTORY

Bureau of Labor Statistics. *Census 2002 Industry Codes*. <https://www.bls.gov/tus/census02iocodes.pdf> : accessed 14 October 2020.

Bureau of Labor Statistics. (1934) *History of Wages in the United States from Colonial Times to 1928*. Washington D.C.: United States Government Printing Office.

Digital Public Library of America. *The Fifteenth Amendment*. <https://dp.la/primary-source-sets/the-fifteenth-amendment> : accessed 17 September 2020.

Digital Public Library of America. *The joint resolution of the United States Congress proposing the Fifteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, December 7, 1868*. <https://dp.la/primary-source-sets/the-fifteenth-amendment/sources/1212> : accessed 18 September 2020.

Library of Congress. *A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation: U.S. Congressional Documents and Debates, 1774-1875 (Statutes at Large, 31st Congress, 1st session. (1850); see pp. 446, 452, 462)* <https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage> : accessed 4 December 2020.

Library of Congress. *Statutes at Large. 4th Congress, Session I, Chapter 29*. <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/statutes-at-large/4th-congress/session-1/c4s1ch29.pdf> : accessed 16 December 2020.

National Archives. *The Constitution of the United States: A Transcription*. <https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/constitution-transcript> : accessed 8 December 2020.

National Park Service. *Update to the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields. State of Ohio*. <http://npshistory.com/publications/battlefield/cwsac/updates/oh.pdf> : accessed 7 December 2020.

Ohio History Connection. *Ohio Constitution of 1803 (Transcript). Article VII. Bill of Rights. Sec 25*. [https://ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Ohio_Constitution_of_1803_\(Transcript\)](https://ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Ohio_Constitution_of_1803_(Transcript)) : accessed 7 December 2020.

Ohio, Secretary of State & General Assembly. (1852) *Acts of a General Nature Passed by the Fiftieth General Assembly of the State of Ohio*. Columbus: Osgood & Blake, Printers.

Ohio, Secretary of State. (1893) *Annual Report of the Secretary of State to the Governor of the State of Ohio, for the year ending November 15, 1892*. Norwalk: The Laning Printing Co.

ProQuest Congressional. *Executive Orders and Presidential Proclamations, Order for Arrest of John S. Carlisle*. (Citing Abraham Lincoln, 1864.) <https://congressional-proquest-com.ezproxy1.library.arizona.edu/congressional/docview/t67.d72.1864-21-145?accountid=8360> : accessed 7 December 2020.

Robinson, Michael C. (1983) *History of Navigation in the Ohio River Basin*. Alexandria, VA: Institute for Water Resources.

State Superintendent of Schools [WV]. (1907) *The History of Education in West Virginia*. Charleston: Tribune Printing.

US Army, Corps of Engineers, Jones, R. Ralston. (1929) *The Ohio River.: Charts, Drawings, and Description of Features Affecting Navigation*. Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office.

US Senate, Senate Historical Office. *Landmark Legislation: Civil Rights Act of 1875*. <https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/generic/CivilRightsAct1875.htm> : accessed 7 December 2020.

US Senate, Senate Historical Office. *The 1858 Midterm Election*. https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/minute/The_1858_Midterm_Election.htm : accessed 7 December 2020.

US Army Corps of Engineers, Pittsburgh District. (1987) *Montgomery Locks & Dam, Ohio River*. Pittsburgh: USACE, Pittsburgh District. [pamphlet]

US Bureau of Labor Statistics. *Census 2002 Industry Codes*. <https://www.bls.gov/tus/census02iocodes.pdf> : accessed 26 November 2020.

US Census Bureau. *1790 Census: Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790*. <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1907/dec/heads-of-families.html> : accessed 8 December 2020.

US Census Bureau. *1790 Census: Return of the Whole Number of Persons within the Several Districts of the United States*. <https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/decade/decennial-publications.1790.html> : accessed 23 September 2020.

- US Census Bureau. *1800 Census: Return of the Whole Number of Persons within the Several Districts of the United States*. <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1801/dec/return.html> : accessed 25 November 2020.
- US Census Bureau. *1830 Census: Abstract of the returns of the Fifth Census*. <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1832/dec/1830b.html> : accessed 8 December 2020.
- US Census Bureau. *1840 Census: A Census of Pensioners for Revolutionary or Military Services*. <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1841/dec/1840d.html> : accessed 8 December 2020.
- US Census Bureau. *1840 Census: Compendium of the Enumeration of the Inhabitants and Statistics of the United States*. <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1841/dec/1840c.html> : accessed 8 December 2020.
- US Census Bureau. *1850 Census: The Seventh Census of the United States*. <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1853/dec/1850a.html> : accessed 1 October 2020.
- US Census Bureau. *1860 Census: Manufactures of the United States*. <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1865/dec/1860c.html> : accessed 21 October 2020.
- US Census Bureau. *1860 Census: Population of the United States*. <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1864/dec/1860a.html> : accessed 1 October 2020.
- US Census Bureau. *1860 Census: Statistics of the United States, (including mortality, property, etc.)* <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1866/dec/1860d.html> : accessed 13 December 2020.
- US Census Bureau. *1870 Census: A Compendium of the Ninth Census*. <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1872/dec/1870e.html> : accessed 9 December 2020.
- US Census Bureau. *1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States*. <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1872/dec/1870a.html> : accessed 1 October 2020.
- US Census Bureau. *1870 Census: Volume 3. The Statistics of Wealth and Industry of the United States*. <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1872/dec/1870c.html> : accessed 4 December 2019.

- US Census Bureau. *A series of tables of the several branches of American manufactures, exhibiting them in every county of the Union, so far as they are returned in the reports of the marshals, and of the secretaries of the territories and of their respective assistants, in the autumn of the year 1810 : together with returns of certain doubtful goods, productions of the soil and agricultural stock, so far as they have been received.* <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/009710671> : accessed 8 December 2020.
- US Census Bureau. *A Statement of the Arts and Manufactures of the United States of America, for the year 1810.* <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1814/dec/1810v2.html> : accessed 8 December 2020.
- US Census Bureau. *Aggregate amount of each Description of Persons within the United States of America, and the territories thereof, agreeably to actual enumeration made according to law, in the year 1810.* <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015032989587&view=1up&seq=5> : accessed 10 December 2020.
- US Census Bureau. *Census of Population and Housing, 1880/Final Reports/Volume 1-Statistics of the Population of the/United States.* <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1883/dec/vol-01-population.html> : accessed 8 December 2020.
- US Census Bureau. *Census of Population and Housing, 1940/1940 Census of Population/Volume 4-Characteristics by age: Marital status, relationship, education, and citizenship.* <https://www.census.gov/prod/www/decennial.html> : accessed 29 December 2020.
- US Census Bureau. *Census for 1820.* <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1821/dec/1820a.html> : accessed 14 December 2020.
- US Census Bureau. *Publications.* <https://www.census.gov/library/publications.html> : accessed 14 December 2020.
- US Census Bureau. *Census of Population and Housing.* <https://www.census.gov/prod/www/decennial.html> : accessed 16 December 2020.
- US Census Bureau. *Decennial Census of Population and Housing, Decennial Census Official Publications, 1850.* <https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/decade/decennial-publications.1850.html> : accessed 8 December 2020.
- US Census Bureau, Geography Division. *Centers of Population Computation for the United States, 1950-2010.* https://www2.census.gov/geo/pdfs/reference/cenpop2010/COP2010_documentation.pdf : accessed 4 December 2020.

- US Census Bureau. *Historical Statistics of the United States, 1789-1957*. https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1949/compendia/hist_stats_1789-1945.html : accessed 16 October 2020.
- US Census Bureau. *History/Census Instructions*. https://www.census.gov/history/www/through_the_decades/census_instructions/ : accessed 8 December 2020.
- US Census Bureau. *Measuring America: The Decennial Censuses From 1790 to 2000*. https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/2002/dec/pol_02-ma.pdf : accessed 20 December 2020.
- US Census Bureau. *Publications, Census of Population and Housing*. <https://www.census.gov/prod/www/decennial.html> : accessed 14 October 2020.
- US Census Bureau. *QuickFacts*. <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/US/PST045219> : accessed 23 September 2020.
- US Census Bureau. *Where is the Wealth?* https://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/newsroom/releases/2014/cb14-156_net_worth_graphic.pdf : accessed 16 December 2020.
- USDA Natural Resources Conservation Service. *Web Soil Survey*. <https://websoilsurvey.sc.egov.usda.gov/App/HomePage.htm> : accessed 17 December 2020.
- US Department of the Interior. Bureau of Land Management. *General Land Office Records*. <https://glorerecords.blm.gov/search/default.aspx#searchTabIndex=0&searchByTypeIndex=0> : accessed 25 November 2020.
- US Department of the Interior. USGS. *Query Form For The United States And Its Territories*. <https://geonames.usgs.gov/apex/f?p=138:1:::NO::> : accessed 17 December 2020.
- US War Department. (1889). *The War of the Rebellion: a Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*. Washington: Government Printing Office. Series I, Volume XXIII, Part I.
- US War Department. Provost Marshal General's Bureau. 1st West Virginia Congressional District. June, 1863. Collection: U.S., Civil War Draft Registration Records, 1863-1865. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 27 July 2020.

US War Department. Provost Marshal General's Bureau. 17th Ohio Congressional District. June, 1863. Collection: U.S., Civil War Draft Registration Records, 1863-1865. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 27 July 2020.

West Virginia Department of Arts, Culture and History. *1872 Constitution of the State of West Virginia*. <http://www.wvculture.org/history/government/1872constitution.html> : accessed 4 December 2020 [transcription].

White, C. Albert. (1983) *A History of the Rectangular Survey System*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Young, Edward. (1871) *Special report on immigration : accompanying information for immigrants relative to the prices and rentals of land, the staple products, facilities of access to market, cost of farm stock, kind of labor in demand in the western and southern states, etc., etc., to which are appended tables showing the average weekly wages paid in the several states and sections for factory, mechanical, and farm labor; the cost of provisions, groceries, dry goods, and house rent in the various manufacturing districts of the country, in the year 1869-'70*. Washington: Government Printing Office.

GOVERNMENT AND COURT DOCUMENTS AND RESOURCES - GENEALOGY

AmericanAncestors. *Ohio: Tax Records, 1800-1850*. <https://www.americanancestors.org> : accessed 8 December 2020.

Ancestry. *Ohio, U.S., Tax Records, 1800-1850*. <https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/60104/> : accessed 11 December 2020.

Ancestry. *U.S., Civil War Draft Registration Records, 1863-1865*. <https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/1666/> : accessed 6 December 2020.

Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. *Land Records Overview*. <https://www.phmc.pa.gov/Archives/Research-Online/Pages/Land-Records-Overview.aspx> : accessed 26 November 2020.

FamilySearch. *Birth and death records, 1867-1908*. <https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/84877?availability=Family%20History%20Library> : accessed 8 December 2020.

FamilySearch. *Chancery order books, 1848-1930*. <https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/770392?availability=Family%20History%20Library> : accessed 8 December 2020.

FamilySearch. *Deeds, 1863-1902; deed index, 1848-1928*. [Hancock County, West Virginia] <https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/69674?availability=Family%20History%20Library> : accessed 10 December 2020.

FamilySearch. *Deed books, 1848-1863*. [Hancock County, West Virginia] <https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/772458?availability=Family%20History%20Library> : accessed 10 December 2020.

FamilySearch. *Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881; index, 1798-1969*. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/248169?availability=Family%20History%20Library> : accessed 10 December 2020.

FamilySearch. *Estate records, 1803-1900*. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/776336?availability=Family%20History%20Library> : accessed 24 November 2020.

FamilySearch. *Marriage records, 1803-1951*. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/84908?availability=Family%20History%20Library> : accessed 5 February 2020.

FamilySearch. *Ohio, County Births, 1841-2003, Columbiana*. <https://www.familysearch.org/search/image/index?owc=Q633-M14%3A227586001%3Fcc%3D1932106> : accessed 5 February 2020.

FamilySearch. *Ohio, County Death Records, 1840-2001, Columbiana*. <https://www.familysearch.org/search/image/index?owc=7DZ2-GTZ%3A1296037101%3Fcc%3D2128172> : accessed 5 February 2020.

FamilySearch. *Probate records, 1803-1890; index to files (appearance dockets), 1803-1940*. <https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/330210?availability=Family%20History%20Library> : accessed 8 December 2020.

FamilySearch. *Will Book, 1848-1917; will index, 1853-1971*. [Hancock County, West Virginia] <https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/69667?availability=Family%20History%20Library> : accessed 5 February 2020.

Fold3. *Ohio, Soldiers Grave Registration Cards, 1804-1958*. <https://www.fold3.com/title/996/ohio-soldiers-grave-registration-cards-1804-1958> : accessed 26 November 2020.

UNPUBLISHED, MANUSCRIPT AND ARCHIVAL RESOURCES

155th Anniversary Celebration Committee. (1950) *Souvenir Program*. Wellsville: n. pub. East Liverpool: Museum of Ceramics.

Author unknown. (n.d.) Bible records, Wells Family. Wellsville: Wellsville River Museum archives. Collection: Wells.

Author unknown. (n.d.) Untitled biography of James Bennett, written by an unnamed great-great-grandson. [manuscript] East Liverpool Historical Society, East Liverpool, Ohio. Collection: Bennett.

Author unknown. (n.d.) *Genealogical records of Bennet Family*. [manuscript] East Liverpool: East Liverpool Historical Society. Collection: Bennett.

Bush, Eileen. (n.d.) *Wells Family Group Sheets*. Wellsville: Wellsville River Museum archives. Collection: Wells.

Calhoun, W. A. (n.d.) *Early Clay Industries of the Upper Ohio Valley*. [manuscript] East Liverpool: Carnegie Public Library.

Cartwright, Thomas. (n.d.) 'East Liverpool in 1844.' *Potters' Gazette, East Liverpool, Ohio*. [newspaper clipping] East Liverpool: East Liverpool Historical Society.

Court of Common Pleas. *Criminal Records, 1850 term, Common Pleas Journal #16, 1850-1852*. [digital images] Lisbon: Columbiana County Archives.

General Lyon Post No. 44. Department of Ohio, Grand Army of the Republic. (n.d.) *Descriptive Book*. [manuscript] East Liverpool: Museum of Ceramics.

MacAleese, Robert. (c1970) *The Wells Family in America*. [typed manuscript] Wellsville: Wellsville River Museum archives. Collection: Wells.

PERIODICALS

Anti-Slavery Bugle. Lisbon, Ohio. A few issues missing, mainly continuous from 20 June 1845 through 27 April 1861.

Carroll Free Press. Carrollton, Ohio. Coverage spotty at times, online from 1 January 1836 through 29 December 1858.

Cleveland Morning/Daily Leader. Cleveland, Ohio. Daily issues available online from 1 June 1858 through 31 August 1866.

Daily Register. Wheeling, West Virginia. Weekday issues online from 8 September 1863 through 29 Jun 1878.

Evening Review. East Liverpool. Many daily issues online from 16 June 1885 through 26 December 1977.

Homestead Journal. Salem, Ohio. Continuous issues online from 19 April 1842 through 4 April 1855.

Lima Weekly Gazette. Lima, Ohio. Weekly issues online from 8 July 1859 through 28 June 1865.

News-Journal. Mansfield, Ohio. Daily issues online from 2 January 1891 through 20 October 2020.

Ohio State Journal and Columbus Gazette. Columbus, Ohio. Continuous issues online from 2 January 1825 through 3 April 1897.

Saturday Review. East Liverpool, Ohio. Ten issues online from 25 October 1879 through end of year.

Semi-Weekly New Era. Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Weekly or twice weekly issues available online from 5 May 1877 through 31 December 1919.

True American. Steubenville, Ohio. Continues issues online from 4 January 1855 through 29 December 1858.

Wellsville Local. Wellsville, Ohio. Scattered issues on microfilm from 7 December 1870 through 22 November 1871.

Wellsville Patriot. Wellsville, Ohio. Scattered issues on microfilm from 15 February 1853 through 17 May 1864.

Wellsville Union. Wellsville, Ohio. One issue from microfilm 21 April 1864.

Wheeling Daily Intelligencer. Wheeling, West Virginia. Weekday issues online from 24 August 1852 through 31 December 1900.

OTHER PUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES

Church, S. H. (1900). *Corporate History of the Pennsylvania Lines west of Pittsburgh comprising charters, laws, mortgages, decrees, deeds, leases, agreements, ordinances and other papers with descriptive text*. Series C., Vol. VIII. Baltimore: Friedenwald Company.

Harris, Isaac. (1837) *Harris' Pittsburgh Business Directory for the year 1837*. Pittsburgh: Isaac Harris.

J Wiggins & Co. (compilers) (1874) *Columbiana County Ohio 1874-1875 Directory*. n.p

n.a. (1858) *The Evening Journal Almanac*. Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons, Printers.

n.a. (1895) *Biographical and Portrait Cyclopedia of Monongalia, Marion and Taylor Counties, West Virginia*. Philadelphia: Rush, West.

Pigot & Co. (compilers) (1842) *Pigot & Co's Directory of Staffordshire*. Hove: Brooks, Davies.

Polk, R.L. & Co. (publishers) (1902) *East Liverpool Directory, 1902-03*. Pittsburg: R.L. Polk.

Weaver & Kern (compilers) (1886) *Warren County History and Directory, Or the Farmer's Manual and Business Mens' Guide*. Washington, NJ: Press of the Review.

Wiggins & McKillop (compilers) (1877) *Columbiana County Directory for 1877*. Columbus: Wiggins & McKillop, Printers.

Wiggins & Weaver (compilers) (1870) *Directory of Steubenville, Wellsville, East Liverpool and Wellsburgh, 1870-71*. Cleveland: Wiggins & Weaver.

Williams, C.S. (1857) *Williams' Ohio state register and business mirror for 1857*. Cincinnati: C. S. Williams.

Williams, C.S. (1878) *Williams' Ohio state directory*. Cincinnati : Williams.

CORRESPONDENCE

Brookes, Timothy. (2019) Personal communication. 27 September.

Gates, William C., Jr. (2020) Personal communication. 4 September.

Lock Master DiMattio, Montgomery Locks & Dam. (2019) Personal conversations. August.

Bunting, Valerie. (2019) Personal communication. 9 October.

Kukurba, Kimberly R., PhD. (2020) Personal communication. 9 October.

MAPS

n.a. (1852) *Map of Hancock County Virginia, 1852*. n. pub. Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division. Control No. 2006626015. <https://www.loc.gov> : accessed 11 December 2020.

Bentley, W. G. (1902) *Atlas of Surveys of Columbiana County Ohio*. Lisbon: Columbiana County Map & Atlas Co. Ohio History Connection, Historic Atlases. <https://www.ohiohistory.org> : accessed 31 December 2020.

Carhart, Mead & Co. (1860) *Map of Columbiana County, Ohio*. No scale stated. Philadelphia: Carhart, Mead & Co. Library of Congress Geography and Map division. Control no. 2012586253. <https://www.loc.gov> : accessed 22 July 2020.

Gamble, William M. (1873) *White's New County & District Atlas of the state of West Virginia*. Grafton: M. Wood White. David Rumsey Historical Map Collection. Image no.: 1199015.

Gray, Orlando Willis & H. F. Walling. (1871) *Official Topographic Atlas of Massachusetts, from astronomical, trigonometrical and various local surveys*. n.p.: Stedman, Brown & Lyon.

Hays, Eli L. (1877) *Illustrated Atlas of the Upper Ohio River Valley from Pittsburgh, Pa. to Cincinnati, Ohio*. Philadelphia: Titus, Simmons & Titus. David Rumsey Map Collection. Image No. 4975B. <https://www.davidrumsey.com> : accessed 14 December 2020.

Holmes, Alexr. & Benjamin Hough. (1803-05) *Township No. IX Range No. II* [The seven Ranges] n. pub. Bureau of Land Management, General Land Office Records, Original Survey, DM ID 388666 [Ohio]. https://glorerecords.blm.gov/details/survey/default.aspx?dm_id=388666&sid=qbfcon3g.jvw#surveyDetailsTabIndex=1 : accessed 31 July 2019.

Hutchins, Thomas. (1778) *A new map of the western parts of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North Carolina; comprehending the River Ohio, and all the rivers, which fall into it; part of the River Mississippi, the whole of the Illinois River, Lake Erie; part of the Lakes Huron, Michigan &c. and all the country bordering on these lakes and rivers.* London: n. pub. Library of Congress Geography and Map Division control no. gm71002165. <https://lccn.loc.gov> : accessed 14 December 2020.

Hutchins, Thomas, W. Barker & Mathew Carey. *Plat of the seven ranges of townships being part of the territory of the United States, N.W. of the River Ohio.* Philadelphia: M. Carey. Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/99441743/> : accessed 14 December 2020.

Lake, D. J., C.E. (1870) *Atlas of Columbiana County Ohio.* Philadelphia: C. O. Titus. Ohio History Connection, Historic Atlases. <https://www.ohiohistory.org> : accessed 31 July 2019.

Martin, Absalom. (1786) *Township No. IX. Second Range.* n. pub. Bureau of Land Management, General Land Office Records, Original Survey, DM ID 431691 [Ohio]. https://glorerecords.blm.gov/details/survey/default.aspx?dm_id=431691&sid=54ne22ej.pn0#surveyDetailsTabIndex=1 : accessed 31 July 2019.

Willard, J. P. (1841) *Map of Columbiana County Ohio.* No scale stated. Salem?: Lewis Vail Esq. Library of Congress Geography and Map Division. Control no. 201286252. <https://lccn.loc.gov> : accessed 14 December 2020.

US Geological Survey. (1960) *Wellsville Quadrangle.* Washington, D.C.: US Geological Survey.

White, I.C. & Ray V. Hennen. (1908) *Map of West Virginia showing coal, oil, gas and limestone areas.* n.p.: West Virginia Geological Survey. <https://www.digitalcommonwealth.org/search/commonwealth:4m90f606f> : accessed 2 July 2020.

SECONDARY SOURCES

BOOKS AND BOOK CHAPTERS

Abbott, Edith. (1910) *Women In Industry - A Study in American History.* New York : D. Appleton.

Alexander, June Granatir. (2007) *Daily Life in Immigrant America 1870-1920.* Chicago: Ivan R. Dee.

- Ambler, Charles Henry. (1933) *A History of West Virginia*. New York: Prentice-Hall.
- Anderson, Robert Charles. (2014) *Elements of Genealogical Analysis*. Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society.
- Attie, Jeanie. (2007) 'Northern White Women and the Mobilization for War', in Norton, Mary Beth, (ed.). *Major Problems in American Women's History*. :Boston: Houghton Mifflin pp. 221-230.
- Audretsch, Robert W. (ed.). (1976) *The Salem, Ohio 1850 Women's Rights Convention Proceedings*. Salem: Salem Area Bicentennial Committee.
- Barth, Harold B. (1926) *History of Columbiana County, Ohio in Two Volumes*. Topeka: Historical Publishing.
- Basch, Norma. (1982) *In The Eyes of the Law : Women, Marriage, and Property in Nineteenth-Century New York*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Bergquist, James M. (2009) *Daily Life in Immigrant America 1820-1870*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee.
- Bloch, Marc. (1949) *The Historian's Craft*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Board for Certification of Genealogists. (2019) *Genealogy Standards*. Second Edition. Nashville: Turner Publishing.
- Bond, Beverly W., Jr. (ed.). (1942) *The Courses of the Ohio River taken by Lt. T. Hutchins Anno 1766 and Two Accompanying Maps*. Cincinnati: Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.
- Boston University. (2018) *MET CPE Genealogical Research Certificate Program. Module 1: Genealogical Methods, Unit 2: anatomy of the Research Cycle*. Boston: Boston University.
- Bowen, Ele. (1855) *Rambles in the Path of the Steam-Horse.: An off-hand olla podrida, embracing a general historical and descriptive view of the scenery, agricultural and mineral resources, and prominent features of the travelled route from Baltimore to Harper's Ferry, Cumberland, Wheeling, Cincinnati, and Louisville*. Philadelphia: Wm. Bromwell and Wm. White Smith.
- Boyd, Peter. (1927) *History of Northern West Virginia Pan-Handle Embracing Ohio, Marshall, Brooke and Hancock Counties*. Topeka: Historical Publishing.

- Breisach, Ernst A. (1993) *American Progressive History: An Experiment in Modernization*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bruce, Robert. (1915) *The Old National Road*. New York: American Automobile Association.
- Buckingham, James Silk. (1842) *The Eastern and Western States of America, Vol. 2*. London: Fisher.
- Callahan, James Morton. (1923) *History of West Virginia, Old and New, in one volume*. Chicago: American Historical Society.
- Callahan, James Morton. (1923) *History of West Virginia, Old and New, in one volume, and West Virginia Biography, in two additional volumes*. Chicago: American Historical Association.
- Calomiris, Charles W. (2000) *U.S. Bank Deregulation in Historical Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Carman, Harry J. (1930) *Social and Economic History of the United States. Vol. II*. Boston: Heath.
- Carson, Thomas & Mary Bonk, (eds.) (1999) 'Great Railroad Strike of 1877' in Carson and Bonk. *Gale Encyclopedia of U.S. Economic History*. Detroit: Gale.
- Cashdollar, Roy C. (2000) *A History of Chester, the Gateway to the West*. n.p.: Classon Press.
- Cashman, Sean Dennis. (1994) *America in the Gilded Age, From the Death of Lincoln to the Rise of Theodore Roosevelt*. 3rd ed. New York: New York University Press.
- Cramer, Zadok. (1808) *Cramer's Mississippi Navigator*. Pittsburgh: Zadok Cramer.
- Cramer, Zadok. (various) *The Navigator: Containing Directions for Navigating the Monongahela, Allegheny, Ohio and Mississippi Rivers ; with an Ample Account of These Much Admired Waters, from the Head of the Former to the Mouth of the Latter ; and a Concise Description of Their Towns, Villages, Harbors, Settlements, &c. with Maps of the Ohio and Mississippi ; to which is Added an Appendix, Containing an Account of Louisiana, and of the Missouri and Columbia Rivers, as Discovered by the Voyage Under Capts. Lewis and Clark*. Pittsburgh: Cramer & Spear.

- Cranmer, Gibson Lamb. (1891) *History of the Upper Ohio Valley*. Madison: Brant & Fuller.
- Crumrine, Boyd. (1905) 'The Boundary Controversy between Pennsylvania and Virginia, 1748-1785', in W. J. Holland & J. B. Hatcher (eds.) *Annals of the Carnegie Museum, Vol. I, 1901-1902*. Pittsburgh: Carnegie Institute. pp. 505-524.
- Cuming, Fortesque. (1904) *Cuming's Tour to the Western Country (1807-1809)*. Cleveland: A. H. Clark.
- Davidson, Edgar Stanton. (n.d.) *Before the Memory Fades*. Wellsville: Wellsville Historical Society.
- Davis, A.J. (ed.). (1887) *History of Clarion County, Pennsylvania*. Syracuse: D. Mason.
- Dee, Christine (ed.). (2006) *Ohio's War: The Civil War in Documents*. Athens: Ohio University Press.
- Degler, Carl N. (1980) *At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Estopinal, Stephen V. (2009) *A Guide to Understanding Land Surveys*. 3rd ed. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.
- Evans, Sara M. (1997) *Born for Liberty. A History of Women in America*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Federal Writers' Project. (2013) *The WPA Guide to West Virginia: The Mountain State*. San Antonio: Trinity University Press.
- Finkelman, Paul, & Donald R. Kennon (eds.) (2012) *Congress and the Crisis of the 1850s*. Athens: Ohio University Press.
- Fogo, Wallace L. (1903) *City of Wellsville in Black and White*. n.p.: Ervin Geffs.
- Foner, Eric M. (1995) *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War* (2nd rev. ed.) New York: Oxford University Press.
- Foster, Emily. (1996) *The Ohio Frontier: An Anthology of Early Writings*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.

- Fremon, Suzanne Strait & Morrow Wilson. (1976) *Rural America*. New York : H. W. Wilson.
- Galbreath, Charles B. (1925) *History of Ohio*. Chicago: American Historical Society.
- Gates, William C., Jr. (1984) *The City of Hills & Kilns. Life and Work in East Liverpool, Ohio*. East Liverpool: East Liverpool Historical Society.
- Gray, Pamela Lee. (2002) *Images of America: Ohio Valley Pottery Towns*. Charleston : Arcadia Publishing.
- Greenwood, Val D. (2000) *The Researcher's Guide to American Genealogy*. 3rd ed. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing.
- Hall, Granville Davidson. (1902) *The Rending of Virginia, A History*. Chicago: Mayer & Miller.
- Henthorne, Ruth et al. (1982) *The History of Newell and Vicinity*. n.p.: Newell Bi-Centennial Book Commission.
- Hines, George B., III, & Lou Martin. (2006) *Images of America: Hancock County*. Charleston : Arcadia Publishing.
- Hoffman, Ronald, et. al. eds. (1997) *Through a Glass Darkly: Reflections on Personal Identity in Early America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Howe, Daniel Walker. (2007) *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848*. Oxford: University Press.
- Howe, Henry, LL.D. (1907) *Historical collections of Ohio in two volumes. An encyclopedia of the state*. Cincinnati: State of Ohio.
- Huston, James Archibald. (1914) *Genealogy of some branches of the families of Huston, Wilson, Wilkin, Holmes, Wells, Whitaker, Brown, ancestors of James Archibald Huston and wife, Amanda Wilkin Huston*. Sewickley, PA: Robindale.
- Izant, Grace Goulder. (1953) *This is Ohio: Ohio's 88 counties in words and pictures*. Cleveland : World Publishing.
- Jefferson, Thomas. (1832) *Notes on the State of Virginia*. Boston: Lilly and Wait.

- Jenkins, Warren. (1837) *The Ohio Gazetteer, and Traveler's Guide: containing a description of the several towns, townships and counties, with their water courses, roads, improvements, mineral productions ... with an appendix, or general register ...* Columbus: Isaac N. Whiting.
- Jervis, William Percival. (1897) *A Book of Pottery Marks*. Philadelphia: Hayes Brothers.
- Joyner, Charles W. (1999) *Shared Traditions: Southern History and Folk Culture*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Katz, Michael S. (1976) *A History of Compulsory Education Laws*. Bloomington: Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation.
- Kerber, Linda K. (1992) 'Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History', in Nancy F. Cott (ed.), *Domestic Ideology and Domestic Work*. New York: Saur, pp. 173-203.
- Kleinberg, S. J. (1999) *Women in the United States, 1830-1945*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Knepper, George W. (2002) *The Official Ohio Lands Book*. Columbus: Auditor of State.
- Knight, George W. (1898) 'History of Educational Progress in Ohio', in Henry Howe (ed.), *Historical collections of Ohio in two volumes, an encyclopedia of the state*. Norwalk, OH: Laning Printing Co.
- Knight, Timothy. (2014) *Panic, Prosperity, and Progress: Five Centuries of History and the Markets*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.
- Larson, John Lauritz. (2009) *The Market Revolution in America Liberty, Ambition, and the Eclipse of the Common Good*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Leonard, Lewis Keeler & Melvevna Burris. (1975) *Seven Hundred Ancestors*. n.pub.
- Lewis, Virgil A. (1889) *History of West Virginia: in two parts*. Philadelphia: Hubbard Brothers.
- Lewis, Virgil A., M.A. (1906) *First Biennial Report of the Department of Archives and History of the State of West Virginia*. Charleston : Tribune Printing Co.
- Lewis, Virgil A. (1909) *How West Virginia was Made. Proceedings of the First Convention of the People Northwestern Virginia ...* Charleston, WV: News-Mail.

- Limerick, Patricia Nelson. (1994) 'The Adventures of the Frontier in The Twentieth Century', in James R. Grossman (ed.), *The Frontier in American Culture: An Exhibition at the Newberry Library, August 26, 1994 - January 7, 1995*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 67-102. [pp not printed in the text]
- Mack, Horace. (1879) *History of Columbiana County, Ohio, with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches, Some of its Prominent Men and Pioneers*. Philadelphia: D. W. Ensign.
- Magnusson, Sigurdur Gylfi, & Istvan M. Szijarto. (2013) *What Is Microhistory? Theory and Practice*. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
- Martin, Lou. (2015) *Smokestacks in the Hills: Rural-Industrial Workers in West Virginia*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- McCord, William B. (1905) *History of Columbiana County, Ohio and Representative Citizens*. Chicago: Biographical Publishing.
- Merwin, C. L. Jr. (1939) 'American Studies of the Distribution of Wealth and Income by Size', in Conference on Research in National Income and Wealth. *Studies in Income and Wealth*, vol. 3. [Washington, D.C.] : National Bureau of Economic Research.
- Metsch, Christian and C. R. Boyce. (1906) *Memories ... some events and persons connected with the First Methodist Episcopal Church of East Liverpool, Ohio*. East Liverpool: Morning Tribune Print.
- Mills, Elizabeth Shown. (2009) *Evidence Explained*. 2nd ed. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing.
- Mirola, William A. (2014) *Redeeming Time: Protestantism and Chicago's Eight-Hour Movement, 1866-1912*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Morgan, Benjamin Stephen & Jacob F. Cork. (1893) *Columbian History of Education in West Virginia*. Charleston: Moses W. Donnally
- Morrison, Nathan J. (1987) *Life and Times in Wellsville - An Ohio River Town*. Baltimore: Gateway Press.
- n.a. (1898) *Commemorative Biographical Record of Central Pennsylvania including the counties of Centre, Clearfield, Jefferson and Clarion, containing biographical sketches of prominent and representative citizens, and many of the early settled families*. Chicago: J. H. Beers.

- Newton, J. H. et al. (1879) *History of the Pan-Handle; being Historical Collections of the counties of Ohio, Brooke, Marshall and Hancock, West Virginia*. Wheeling: J. A. Caldwell.
- Niven, John. (1995) *Salmon P. Chase: A Biography*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Oberholtzer, Ellis Paxson. (1906) *The Literary History of Philadelphia*. Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs.
- Owen, Harold. (1901) *The Staffordshire Potter*. London: Grant Richards.
- Peck, J. M. (1836) *A New Guide for Emigrants to the West, containing sketches of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Michigan, with the Territories of Wisconsin and Arkansas, and the Adjacent Parts*. Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln.
- Pinsky, Robert. (2009) *Thousands of Broadways: Dreams and Nightmares of the American Small Town*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Plowden, David. (1994) *Small Town America*. New York: H. N. Abrams.
- Ramsay, John. (1947) *American Potters and Pottery*. New York: Tudor.
- Reilly, Elizabeth. (ed.). (2011) *Infinite Hope and Finite Disappointment: The Story of the First Interpreters of the Fourteenth Amendment*. Akron, OH: University of Akron Press.
- Rockenbach, Stephen I. (2016) *War upon Our Border : War and Society in Two Ohio Valley Communities, 1861-1865*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.
- Roe, Mary J. (1892) *Genealogy of Gen. James Wells and Descendants*. n.p.: Webb Stationery & Printing.
- Sabean, David Warren. (1984) *Power in the Blood: Popular Culture and Village Discourse in Early Modern Germany*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sabean, David. (2010) 'Reflections on Microhistory', in Gunilla Budde, Sebastian Conrad, & Oliver Janc (eds.) *Transnational Geschichte*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. pp. 275-289.
- Seckman, Cathy Hester. (2015) *Images of America: East Liverpool*. Charleston: Arcadia Publishing.

- Sellers, Charles. (1991) *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815–1846*. New York: Oxford.
- Shown Mills, Elizabeth. (2009) *Evidence Explained. Citing History Sources from Artifacts to Cyberspace*, 2nd ed. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company.
- Skrabec, Quentin R. Jr. (2012) *The 100 Most Significant Events in American Business*. Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood.
- Smith, Wm. G. (1888) *Early Reminiscences of “Fawcettstown” or East Liverpool*. East Liverpool: J. H. Simms.
- Stanley, Amy Dru. (1996) ‘Home Life and the Morality of the Market,’ in Melvyn Stokes and Stephen Conway (eds.) *The Market Revolution in America: Social, Political, and Religious Expressions, 1800-1880*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, pp. 74-98.
- Stewart, George R. (1959) *Pickett’s Charge: A Microhistory of the Final Attack at Gettysburg, July 3, 1863*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Stout, Wilber. (1923) *Coal Formation Clays of Ohio*. n.p.: Geological Survey of Ohio.
- Stratton, Penelope L. & Henry B. Hoff. (2014) *Guide to Genealogical Writing*. Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society.
- Streissguth, Michael. (2020) *City on the Edge : Hard Choices in the American Rust Belt*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Summers, Ewing (ed.). (1903) *Genealogical and Family History of Eastern Ohio*. New York: Lewis Publishing.
- Thorndale, William & William Dollarhide. (1987) *Map Guide to the US Federal Censuses, 1790-1920*. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing.
- Thorpe, Francis Newton. (1909) *The Federal and State Constitutions, colonial charters, and other organic laws of the state, territories, and colonies now or hertofore forming the United States of America*. Washington: Government Printing Office.
- Turner, Frederick Jackson. (1921) *The Frontier in American History*. New York: Henry Holt.

- University of Strathclyde. (2019) *C1.1 Aims and Objectives of Genealogical Research*. Glasgow: University of Strathclyde, Genealogical, Palaeographic & Heraldic Studies.
- Verboven, Koenraad, Myriam Carlier & Jan Dumolyn. (2007) 'A Short Manual to the Art of Prosopography', in Keats-Rohan, K.S.B. (ed.), *Prosopography Approaches and Applications A Handbook*. Oxford: Occasional Publications UPR.
- Volo, Dorothy Deneed and James M. (1998) *Daily Life in Civil War America*. Westport: Greenwood Press.
- Watkins, Lura Woodside. (1950) *Early New England Potters and Their Wares*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Welch, Jack. (1963) *History of Hancock County*. Wheeling: Wheeling News Printing & Litho.
- Welles, Albert. (1876) *History of the Welles Family in England and Normandy: with the derivation from their progenitors of some of the descendants in the United States*. New York: Albert Welles.
- Welter, Barbara. (1992) 'The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860', in Nancy F. Cott (ed.), *Domestic Ideology and Domestic Work*. New York: Saur, pp. 48-71.
- White, Richard. (1994) 'Frederick Jackson Turner and Buffalo Bill', in James R. Grossman (ed.), *The Frontier in American Culture: An Exhibition at the Newberry Library, August 26, 1994 - January 7, 1995*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 7-66. [pp not printed in the text]
- White, Richard. (1991) *It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own: A New History of the American West*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- White, Richard. (2017) *The Republic for Which It Stands*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Williams, Ryan K. (2012) 'Crime and Arrest Statistics Analysis', in Wilbur R. Miller (ed.), *The Social History of Crime and Punishment in America: An Encyclopedia*. Los Angeles: Sage Publications, pp. 375-378.
- Wiseman, C.M.L. (1901) *Pioneer Period and Pioneer People of Fairfield County, Ohio*. Columbus: P. J. Herr Printing.

Woodworth, Steven E. (ed.). (2008). *Gale Library of Daily Life: American Civil War*. Michigan: Gale. Vol. I.

Wrobel, David M. (1993) *The End of American Exceptionalism: Frontier Anxiety from the Old West to the New Deal*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

JOURNAL ARTICLES AND CONFERENCE PAPERS

Abbott, Edith. (1905) 'The Wages of Unskilled Labor in the United States 1850-1900.' *Journal of Political Economy*, 13(3) pp. 321-367.

Atack, Jeremy and Fred Bateman. (1980) 'The "Egalitarian Ideal" and the Distribution of Wealth in the Northern Agricultural Community: A Backward Look.' *Review of Economics and Statistics*, 63(1) pp. 124-129.

Barreyre, Nicholas. (2011) 'The Politics of Economic Crises: The Panic of 1873, The End of Reconstruction, and the Realignment of American Politics.' *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*, 10(4) pp. 403-423.

Basch, Françoise. (1986) 'Women's Rights and the Wrongs of Marriage in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America.' *History Workshop Journal*, 22(1) pp. 18-40.

Benedict, Michael Les. (2010) 'Constitutional Politics in the Gilded Age.' *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*, 9(1) pp. 7-35.

Bigelow, Ann Clymer. (2017). 'Insanity in Civil War Ohio.' *Ohio Valley History*, 17(2) pp. 46-64.

Biles, Roger. (2017) 'The Decline of Decatur.' *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 110(2) pp. 183-210.

Blanchard, O., & L. Katz. (1992) Regional Evolutions. *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity*, 1992(1) pp. 1-75.

Calhoun, Craig. (1993) "'New Social Movements" of the early Nineteenth Century.' *Social Science History* 17(3) pp. 385-427

Calomiris, Charles W. & Larry Schweikart. (1991) 'The Panic of 1857: Origins, Transmission, and Containment.' *Journal of Economic History*, 51(4) pp. 807-834.

Carnevale, Andrea et al. (2016) "'Removes All Obstacles": Abortifacients in Nineteenth-Century Toronto and Beyond.' *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 20(4) pp. 743-767.

- Carper, James C. (1992) 'Home Schooling, History, and Historians: The Past as Present.' *The High School Journal*, 75(4) pp. 252-257.
- Chused, Richard H. (1983) 'Married Women's Property Law: 1800-1850.' *Georgetown Law Journal*, vol. 71. pp. 1359-1425.
- Clifford, Geraldine Joncich. (1976) 'Education: Its History and Historiography.' *Review of Research in Education*, vol. 4. pp. 210-267.
- Crawford, Martin. (2011) 'Back to the Future? The Potters' Emigration Society and the Historians.' *Labour History Review*, 76(2) pp. 81-103.
- Custer, Joseph A. (2014) 'The Three Waves of Married Women's Property Acts in the Nineteenth Century with a Focus on Mississippi, New York, and Oregon.' *Ohio Northern University Law Review*, vol. 40. pp. 395-440.
- de Groot, Jerome. (2015) 'International Federation for Public History Plenary Address: On Genealogy.' *The Public Historian*, 37(3) pp. 102-127.
- Durie, Bruce. (2017) 'What is Genealogy? Philosophy, Education, Motivations and Future Prospects.' *Genealogy*, 1(4) (unpaginated)
- Feyrer, J., B. Sacerdote, & A. D. Stern. (2007) 'Did the Rust Belt Become Shiny? A Study of Cities and Counties That Lost Steel and Auto Jobs in the 1980s.' *Brookings-Wharton Papers on Urban Affairs*. pp. 41-102.
- Foreman, Grant. (1938) 'English Potters in Wisconsin.' *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 21(4) pp. 375-396.
- Galbreath, C.B. (1921) 'Anti-Slavery Movement in Columbiana County.' *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications*, 30(11) pp. 355-395.
- Ginzburg, Carlo. (1993) 'Microhistory: Two or Three Things That I Know About It.' *Critical Inquiry*, 20(1) pp. 10-35.
- Goodby, Miranda. (2003) "'Our Home in the West": Staffordshire Potters and Their Emigration to America in the 1840s.' *Ceramics in America 2003*. [unpaginated]
- Sigourney, Lydia Howard, Sarah Josepha Buell Hale, Louise Antoine Godey. (1850) *Godey's Lady's Book for 1850*. Vol. 40-41.
- Hatten, Stephen B. (2019) 'History, Kinship, Identity and Technology: Toward Answering the Question "What Is (Family) Genealogy?"' *Genealogy*, 3(2) (unpaginated)

- Hershkovitz, Arnon. (2012) 'A Suggested Taxonomy of Genealogy as a Multidisciplinary Academic Research Field.' *Journal of Multidisciplinary Research*, 4(3) pp. 5-21.
- Hitchcock, William S. (1973) 'Southern Moderates and Secession: Senator Robert M. T. Hunter's Call for Union.' *Journal of American History*, 59(4) pp. 871-884.
- Hormats, Robert D. (2003) 'Abraham Lincoln and the Global Economy,' *Harvard Business Review*, 81(8) pp. 58-140.
- Howe, Daniel Walker. (2011) '[Review of] The Market Revolution in America: Liberty, Ambition, and the Eclipse of the Common Good.' *Journal of the Early Republic*, 31(3) p. 520-523.
- Hughes, J.R.T. (1956) 'The Commercial Crisis of 1857.' *Oxford Economic Papers, New Series*, 8(2) pp. 194-222.
- Jakle, John. (1999) 'America's Small Town/Big City Dialectic.' *Journal of Cultural Geography*, 18, pp. 1-27.
- Jensen, Merrill. (1939) 'The Creation of the National Domain, 1781-1784.' *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 26(3) pp. 323-342.
- Jones, Thomas W., Ph.D. (2007) 'Post-secondary Study of Genealogy: Curriculum and Its Contexts.' *IJG Symposium*. Jerusalem, Israel.
- Jordan, Brian Matthew. (2015) "'Our Work is Not Yet Finished": Union Veterans and Their Unending Civil War, 1865-1872.' *Journal of the Civil War Era*, 5(4) pp. 484-503.
- Kahn, Matthew E. (1999) 'The Silver Lining of Rust Belt Manufacturing Decline: Killing off Pollution Externalities.' *Journal of Urban Economics*, 46(3) pp. 360-376.
- Kasakoff, Alice Bee, Andrew B. Lawson & Emily M. Van Meter. (2014) 'A Bayesian Analysis of the Spatial Concentration of Individual Wealth in the US North during the Nineteenth Century.' *Demographic Research*, 30(36). pp. 1035-1074.
- Knight, David B. (1998) 'Extending the Local: the Small Town and Globalization.' *GeoJournal*, 45(1). pp. 145-149.
- Kobach, Kris. (1994) 'Rethinking Article V: Term Limits and the Seventeenth and Nineteenth Amendments.' *Yale Law Journal*, 103(7) pp. 1971-2007.

- Larson, John Lauritz. (2005) 'The Market Revolution in eErly America: An Introduction.' *OAH Magazine of History* 19(3) pp. 4-7.
- Laslett, Peter. (1987) 'The Character of Familial History, its Limitations and the Conditions for its Proper Pursuit.' *Journal of Family History*, 12(1-2). pp. 263-284.
- Lepore, Jill. (2001) 'Historians Who Love Too Much: Reflections on Microhistory and Biography.' *Journal of American History*, 88(1) pp. 129-44.
- Livermore, D.P. (1897) 'Female Warriors.' *Political Science Study Series*, 3(3) pp. 11-35.
- MacKenzie, Scott A. (2017) 'Voting with Their Arms: Civil War Military Enlistments and the Formation of West Virginia, 1861–1865.' *Ohio Valley History*, 17(2) pp. 25-45.
- Mahoney, Timothy R. (2003) 'The Small City in American History.' *Indiana Magazine of History*, 99(4) pp. 311-330.
- McPherson, James M. (1965) 'Abolitionists and the Civil Rights Act of 1875.' *Journal of American History*, 52(3) pp. 493-510.
- Mills, Elizabeth Shown. (1983) 'Academia vs. Genealogy Prospects for Reconciliation and Progress.' *National Genealogical Society Quarterly*, 71(2) pp. 99-106.
- Mills, Elizabeth Shown. (2003) 'Genealogy in the "Information Age": History's New Frontier?' *National Genealogical Society Quarterly*, 91(Dec) pp. 260-77.
- n.a. (1889) [Advertising] *The Clay Worker*, Vol. 11. p. 113.
- n.a. (1889) [Advertising] *The Clay Worker*, Vol. 12. p. 253.
- n.a. (1906) [Advertising] *Brick and Clay Record*, 25(6) p. 86.
- n.a. (1922) 'Caught in the News Net.' *Crockery and Glass Journal*, 94(12) pp. 21-22.
- n.a. (1910) 'Editorial Notes and Clippings.' *The Clay Worker*. v. 54 (July). p. 437.
- n.a. (1910) 'Trade Literature.' *The Clay Worker*. v. 54 (July). p. 651.

- n.a. (1911) *Wage Scale and Agreements between the United States Potters' Association and the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters*. East Liverpool: J. Betz Printing.
- National Era*. (1854) Election of an Ohio Senator. *National Era*, 16 March. p. 44.
- O'Brien, Molly & Amanda Woodrum. (2004) 'Constitutional Common School.' *Cleveland State Law Review*, 51(3) pp. 581-642.
- Plunkett, Thomas. (1900) 'Thomas Fawcett, Irish Quaker, American Pioneer.' *The Journal of The American-Irish Historical Society*, v. 3. pp. 118-120.
- Preston, Emmett D. (1943) 'The Fugitive Slave Acts in Ohio.' *Journal of Negro History*, 28(4) pp. 422-477.
- United States Potters' Association. (1875) *Proceedings of the Annual Convention of the United States Potters' Association*. Trenton: Murphy & Bechtel.
- Riddiough, Timothy J. & Howard E. Thompson (2018) 'When Prosperity Merges into Crisis: the Decline and Fall of Ohio Life and the Panic of 1857.' *American Nineteenth Century History*, 19(3) pp. 289-313.
- Robinson, Robert V. & Ana-Maria Wahl. (1990) 'Industrial Employment and Wages of Women, Men, and Children in a 19th Century City: Indianapolis, 1850-1880.' *American Sociological Review*, 55(6) pp. 912-928.
- Rose, E.A. (1990) 'The Methodist New Connexion 1797-1907.' *Proceedings of the Wesleyan Historical Society*, 47(6) pp. 241-253.
- Ruggles, Steven. (2014) 'Marriage, Family Systems, and Economic Opportunity in the United States Since 1850.' *Minnesota Population Center, University of Minnesota*, working paper no. 2014-11 (December 2014)
- Schmick, Ethan. (2018) 'Collective Action and the Origins of the American Labor Movement.' *Journal of Economic History*, 78(3) pp. 744-84.
- Schoellman, Todd & Michèle Tertilt. (2007) 'Families as Roommates: Changes in U.S. Household Size from 1850 to 2000,' Clemson University & Stanford University [conference paper], p. 44.
- Steckel, Richard H. (1990) 'Poverty and Prosperity: A Longitudinal Study of Wealth Accumulation, 1850-1860.' *Review of Economics and Statistics*, 72(2) pp. 275-285.

- Stone, Lawrence. (1971) 'Prosopography.' *Daedalus*, 100(1) pp. 46-79.
- Stout, W. (1923) 'History of the Clay Industry in Ohio.' *Bulletin of the Ohio Geological Survey*, 4(26) pp. 7-102.
- Schweikart, Larry. (1991) 'U.S. Commercial Banking: A Historiographical Review.' *Business History Review*, 65(3), 606-661.
- Thistlethwaite, F. (1958) 'The Atlantic Migration of the Pottery Industry.' *Economic History Review*. New Series 11(2) pp. 364-278.
- Wallenstein, Peter. (1984) 'Rich Man's War, Rich Man's Fight: Civil War and the Transformation of Public Finance in Georgia.' *Journal of Southern History*, 50(1) pp. 15-42.
- Walters, Frank J. (1850) 'Woman's Power.' *Godey's Magazine and Lady's Book*, 40(Jan) p. 118.
- Woltz, Charles K. (1955) 'Compulsory Attendance at School.' *Law and Contemporary Problems*, 3(22) pp. 3-22.
- Woodson, C. G. (1922) 'Early Negro Education in West Virginia.' *Journal of Negro History*, 7(1) pp. 23-63.

THESES AND DISSERTATIONS

- Epperson, Amanda. (2000) "'I wish they were all here": Scottish Highlanders in Ohio 1802-1840.' PhD thesis, University of Glasgow.
- Erickson, Leonard Ernest. (1959) 'The Color Line in Ohio Public Schools, 1829-1890.' PhD dissertation, Ohio State University.
- Howard, Jonathan Scott. (2011) 'Changing the Law; Fighting for Freedom: Racial Politics and Legal Reform in Early Ohio, 1803-1860.' Unpublished MA thesis, Ohio State University.
- Huston, James Lynn. (1980) 'The Panic of 1857 and the Coming of the Civil War.' PhD dissertation, University of Illinois.
- Lippincott, Isaac. (1914) 'A History of Manufacturers in the Ohio Valley to the Year 1860.' PhD dissertation, University of Chicago.

Macdonald, Ian G. (2012) 'Genealogical Techniques and Family Prosopography as a Means to Illuminate the "Middling Sort"'. MSc dissertation, University of Strathclyde.

Martin, L. (2008) 'Working for independence: The failure of new deal politics in a rural industrial place.' PhD dissertation, West Virginia University.

Shawl, William Frank. (1954) 'The Repeal of the Combination Acts 1824-1825.' MA thesis, Montana State University.

Stutes, Gregory W. (2004) 'The distribution of real estate: A nineteenth century perspective.' PhD dissertation, University of Kansas.

Zuconi, Adam J. (2011) 'The Ideology of Equality: James Murray Mason and Antebellum Politics.' Unpublished MA thesis, Clemson University.

ONLINE RESOURCES

American Battlefield Trust. *Alexander Gardner*. <https://www.battlefields.org/learn/biographies/alexander-gardner> : accessed 7 December 2020.

Avotaynu, Inc. *AVOTAYNU Journal*. <https://www.avotaynu.com/journal.htm> : accessed 9 December 2020.

Avotaynu, Inc. Wagner, H. Daniel, author. (2006) *Genealogy As an Academic Discipline*. <https://www.avotaynu.com/Wagner.htm> : accessed 9 December 2020.

Ancestry. *US, Selected Federal Census Non-Population Schedules, 1850-1880*. <https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/nonpopcensus/> : accessed 27 August 2020.

Ancestry. *1810 United States Federal Census*. <https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/7613/> : accessed 8 December 2020.

Ancestry. *1820 United States Federal Census*. <https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/7734/> : accessed 8 December 2020.

Ancestry. *1830 United States Federal Census*. <https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/8058/> : accessed 8 December 2020.

Ancestry. *1840 United States Federal Census*. <https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/8057/> : accessed 8 December 2020.

Ancestry. *1850 United States Federal Census*. <https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/8054/> : accessed 6 December 2020.

Ancestry. *Census Forms*. <https://www.ancestry.com/cs/census-forms> : accessed 8 December 2020.

Ancestry. *U.S., Selected Federal Census Non-Population Schedules, 1850-1880*. <https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/nonpopcensus/> : accessed 27 August 2019.

Ancestry. *U.S. Federal Census Collection*. <https://www.ancestry.com/search/categories/usfedcen/> : accessed 8 December 2020.

Ancestry. *U.S., Presbyterian Church Records, 1701-1970*. <https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/61048/> : accessed 5 February 2020.

Ancestry. *U.S., Quaker Meeting Records, 1681-1935*. <https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/2189/> : accessed 5 February 2020.

Apple. *Keynote*. <https://www.apple.com/keynote/> : accessed 26 November 2020.

Aquarela. *What are outliers and how to treat them in Data Analytics?* <https://www.aquare.la/en/what-are-outliers-and-how-to-treat-them-in-data-analytics/> : accessed 2 September 2020.

Beaver County, Pennsylvania. *Greene Township, Georgetown*. <https://greenetownship.net/history/georgetown/> : accessed 25 October 2020.

Board for Certification of Genealogists. *Webinars*. <https://bcgcertification.org/category/webinars/> : accessed 16 January 2020.

Board for Certification of Genealogists. *Educational Activities*. <https://bcgcertification.org/learning/education/> : accessed 10 December 2020.

Britannica. *Erie Railroad Company*. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Erie-Railroad-Company> : accessed 7 December 2020.

Brooke County. *Brooke County History*. <http://www.brookewv.org/bchist.html> : accessed 16 December 2020.

Chipstone. Stradling, Diana & J. Garrison, authors. *American Queensware - The Louisville Experience, 1829-1837*. <http://www.chipstone.org/article.php/14/Ceramics-in-America-2001/American-Queensware—The-Louisville-Experience,-1829–1837-> : accessed 27 May 2020.

Carnegie Public Library. *Alphabetical List of Pottery Industries in the East Liverpool Area*. <https://www.carnegie.lib.oh.us/potteries> : accessed 30 December 2020.

Case Western Reserve University. *Women*. <https://case.edu/ech/articles/w/women> : accessed 25 December 2020.

City of Boston. *Boston Maps - Wards and Precincts*. https://www.cityofboston.gov/maps/pdfs/ward_and_precincts.pdf : accessed 23 December 2020.

Columbiana County Courts. *Historical Sketch of Columbiana County*. <http://www.columbianacounty.org/history> : accessed 28 October 2020.

Columbiana County Archives and Research Center. http://www.columbianacountyarchives.org/ccarc2009_001.htm : accessed 9 December 2020.

Common Place. Frevert, Rhonda, author. *Mug Books*. <http://commonplace.online/article/mug-books/> : accessed 12 June 2021.

Constitutional Rights Foundation. *Southern Black Codes*. <https://www.crf-usa.org/brown-v-board-50th-anniversary/southern-black-codes.html> : accessed 4 December 2020.

Digital History. *Limiting Births in the Early Republic*. http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/topic_display.cfm?tcid=134 : accessed 21 November 2020.

East Liverpool Historical Society. *Early County Newspapers. Chapter I*. <http://www.eastliverpoolhistoricalsociety.org/earcounew.htm> : accessed 9 September 2020.

East Liverpool Historical Society. *East Liverpool School History to 1887*. <http://www.eastliverpoolhistoricalsociety.org/eltribsch.htm> : accessed 18 December 2020.

East Liverpool Historical Society. *Memorable East Liverpool Dates*. <http://www.eastliverpoolhistoricalsociety.org/memdates.htm> : accessed 10 September 2020.

East Liverpool Historical Society. *Our Military Heritage*. <http://www.eastliverpoolhistoricalsociety.org/honourmiliher.htm> : accessed 14 December 2020.

East Liverpool Historical Society. *Posthumous Letter of a Pioneer Potter*. <http://www.eastliverpoolhistoricalsociety.org/g.garner.htm> : accessed 16 December 2020.

East Liverpool Historical Society. *Rest in Peace*. <http://www.eastliverpoolhistoricalsociety.org/restinpe.htm> : accessed 29 December 2020.

East Liverpool Historical Society. *The End of the Beginning of ELO, the End of Second & Third Streets*. <http://www.eastliverpoolhistoricalsociety.org/neighborhoods/2ndstreet/2ndSt%20Intro.htm> : accessed 10 September 2020.

East Liverpool Historical Society. Witt, Joan, author. *The Vodrey Connection*. <http://www.eastliverpoolhistoricalsociety.org/vodchu.htm> : accessed 27 May 2020.

East Liverpool Historical Society. *Welcome*. <http://www.eastliverpoolhistoricalsociety.org/index.html> : accessed 15 January 2020.

Economic History Services. Haines, Michael, author. *Fertility and Mortality in the United States*. <https://eh.net/encyclopedia/fertility-and-mortality-in-the-united-states/> : accessed 24 December 2020.

EdgeEffects. Gant, Jesse, author. *Making the Nation in the Gilded Age: A Conversation with Richard White*. <https://edgeeffects.net/richard-white/> : accessed 10 June 2021.

eRD. *Hancock County, West Virginia*. <http://www.ereferencedesk.com/resources/counties/west-virginia/hancock.html> : accessed 17 December 2020.

FamilySearch. *Church records, 1864-1940*. [Methodist Episcopal, Columbiana County, Ohio] <https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/331650?availability=Family%20History%20Library> : accessed 5 February 2020.

FamilySearch. *Columbiana County, Ohio Genealogy*. https://www.familysearch.org/wiki/en/Columbiana_County,_Ohio_Genealogy : accessed 24 December 2020.

FamilySearch. *Hancock Co., West Virginia church memberships, 1830-1899; births, 1853-1896; deaths, 1853-1899*. <https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/270747?availability=Family%20History%20Library> : accessed 5 February 2020.

FamilySearch. *Hancock County, West Virginia Genealogy*. https://www.familysearch.org/wiki/en/Hancock_County,_West_Virginia_Genealogy : accessed 30 April 2020.

FamilySearch. *Hancock County, West Virginia deaths, deeds, wills, inventories, church and cemetery records*. <https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/325201?availability=Family%20History%20Library> : accessed 25 November 2020.

FamilySearch. *How to Find Ohio Birth Records*. https://www.familysearch.org/wiki/en/How_to_Find_Ohio_Birth_Records#Births_from_1867_thru_1908 : accessed 5 February 2020.

FamilySearch. *How to Find Ohio Marriage Records*. https://www.familysearch.org/wiki/en/How_to_Find_Ohio_Marriage_Records : accessed 5 February 2020.

FamilySearch. *How to Find Virginia Birth Records*. https://www.familysearch.org/wiki/en/How_to_Find_Virginia_Birth_Records : accessed 5 February 2020.

FamilySearch. *How to Find Virginia Death Records*. https://www.familysearch.org/wiki/en/How_to_Find_Virginia_Death_Records#Deaths_before_1853 : accessed 5 February 2020.

FamilySearch. *How to Find Virginia Marriage Records*. https://www.familysearch.org/wiki/en/How_to_Find_Virginia_Marriage_Records#Marriages_Before_1853 : accessed 5 February 2020.

FamilySearch. *Pennsylvania Births and Christenings, 1709-1950*. <https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1681005> : accessed 26 November 2020.

FamilySearch. *Search Results for FamilySearch Catalog*. [Search terms 'census' and 'United States'.] <https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/results?count=20&placeId=337&query=%2Bplace%3A%22United%20States%22%20%2Bsubject%3Acensus%20%2Bavailability%3AOnline> : accessed 10 December 2020.

FamilySearch. *United States History - Local Histories*. https://www.familysearch.org/wiki/en/United_States_History : accessed 9 December 2020.

FamilySearch. *Virginia, 1810 thru 1840 federal census : population schedules and Census schedules, 1820*. https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/results?count=20&query=%2Bfilm_number%3A193691 : accessed 8 December 2020.

FamilySearch. *Virginia Land and Property, Land Grant Process*. https://www.familysearch.org/wiki/en/Virginia_Land_and_Property : accessed 8 December 2020.

FarmProgress. Moore, Robert, author. *Dower Rights are old but still real in Ohio*. <https://www.farmprogress.com/land-management/dower-rights-are-old-still-real-ohio> : accessed 24 December 2020.

Federal Judicial Center. *Civil Rights Act of 1866*. <https://www.fjc.gov/history/timeline/civil-rights-act-1866> : accessed 7 December 2020.

Fiesta Tableware Company. *Our History*. <https://fiestafactorydirect.com/pages/our-history> : accessed 27 October 2020.

Find A Grave. *World's largest gravesite collection*. <https://www.findagrave.com> : accessed 26 November 2020.

Friends of the Arnold Bennett Society. *The Five Towns*. <https://www.arnoldbennettsociety.org.uk/the-five-towns/> : accessed 9 December 2020.

Frost, Jim. *Guidelines for Removing and Handling Outliers in Data*. <https://statisticsbyjim.com/basics/remove-outliers/> : accessed 2 September 2020.

Fulfer, Johnny. *Financial Instability and the Panic of 1857*. <https://economic-historian.com/2020/07/panic-of-1857/> : accessed 16 December 2020.

George Mason University. Blanke, David, author. *Panic of 1873*. <http://teachinghistory.org/history-content/beyond-the-textbook/24579> : accessed 7 December 2020.

Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History. Salmon, Marylynn, author. *The Legal Status of Women, 1776-1830*. <https://ap.gilderlehrman.org/essay/legal-status-women-1776-1830> : accessed 29 December 2020.

Google LLC. *GoogleEarthPro*. <https://www.google.com/earth/> : accessed 8 September 2020.

Grymes, Charlie. *Virginia-Pennsylvania Boundary*. <http://www.virginiaplaces.org/boundaries/paboundary.html> : accessed 17 December 2020.

Hancock County. *We're on top of the State!* <http://hancockcountywv.org> : accessed 16 December 2020.

HarpWeek. Kennedy, Robert C., author. *On this Day*. (Cartoon from *New York Times*, 24 October 1857.) <https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/learning/general/onthisday/harp/1024.html> : accessed 7 December 2020.

HeinOnline. Clark, Mary L., author. *The First Women Members of the Supreme Court Bar, 1879-1900*. <https://heinonline.org/HOL/LandingPage?handle=hein.journals/sanlr36&div=7&id=&page=> : accessed 21 December 2020.

Hewitt, Jane. *Dictionary of Old Occupations: A-Z Index*. <https://www.familyresearcher.co.uk/glossary/Dictionary-of-Old-Occupations-Index.html#Old-Occupations-I> : accessed 14 October 2020.

History (editors). *Democratic Party*. <https://www.history.com/topics/us-politics/democratic-party>.

History (editors). *Republican Party*. <https://www.history.com/topics/us-politics/republican-party> : accessed 14 October 2020.

ICAPGen. *4 Genealogy Institutes you Should Know About*. <https://icapgen.blog/2016/05/13/4-genealogy-institutes-you-should-know-about/> : accessed 10 December 2020.

Independent Order of Odd Fellows The Sovereign Grand Lodge. *Rebekahs*. <https://odd-fellows.org/?s=Rebekahs> : accessed 14 December 2020.

Inflation Calculator. <https://www.officialdata.org> : accessed 9 April 2020.

Interesting.com Inc. *WikiTree*. <https://www.wikitree.com> : accessed 23 December 2020.

International Institute of Social History. *History of Work - HISCO/The HISCO database*. <https://historyofwork.iisg.nl/index.php> : accessed 26 November 2020.

Jones, Tamura. *What is genealogy?* <https://www.tamurajones.net/WhatIsGenealogy.xhtml> : accessed 8 December 2020.

Kentucky Secretary of State. *Geographic Materials, Neal Hammon Series*. <https://www.sos.ky.gov/admin/land/resources/Pages/Geographic-Materials.aspx> : accessed 29 June 2020.

Larabee & Hertrick, LLP. *What are Dower Rights?* <http://www.larabee-hertrick.com/literature/are-dower-rights> : accessed 6 December 2020.

Laurel Hollow Park. *Chester Bridge. Chester, West Virginia*. <http://www.laurelhollowpark.net/chester/chesterbridge.html> : accessed 15 December 2020.

- Laurel Hollow Park. *History of Newell*. <http://www.laurelhollowpark.net/newell/newellhistory01.html> : accessed 11 November 2020.
- Laurel Hollow Park. *Jennings Randolph Bridge*. <http://www.laurelhollowpark.net/jrb/jenningsrandolphbridge.html> : accessed 15 December 2020.
- Laurel Hollow Park. *The Newell Bridge*. <http://www.laurelhollowpark.net/newell/newellbridge.html> : accessed 15 December 2020.
- Laurel Hollow Park. *St. John's Evangelical Lutheran Church - East Liverpool*. <http://www.laurelhollowpark.net/elo/stjohnschurch.html> : accessed 10 September 2020.
- Lehigh Valley Planning Commission. *Steep Slopes*. <https://lvpc.org/pdf/SteepSlopes.pdf> : accessed 26 October 2020.
- Lents, Nathan H., Ph.D. *The Meaning and Meaninglessness of Genealogy*. <https://www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/beastly-behavior/201801/the-meaning-and-meaninglessness-genealogy> : accessed 8 December 2020.
- Library of Congress. *About American patriot. (Wellsville, Ohio) 1844-1850*. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn91069914/> : accessed 14 December 2020.
- Library of Congress. *About The Wellsville patriot. [volume] (Wellsville, Ohio) 1850-1864*. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85026325/> : accessed 11 December 2020.
- Library of Congress. *US Newspaper Directory, 1690-Present*. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/search/titles/> : accessed 28 December 2020.
- Library of Congress. *East Liverpool Gazette (East Liverpool, Ohio) 1871-1876*. <https://www.loc.gov/item/sn85034458/> : accessed 9 September 2020.
- Library of Congress. *East Liverpool Mercury (East Liverpool, Ohio) 1861-1862*. <https://www.loc.gov/item/sn83035521/> : accessed 9 September 2020.
- Library of Congress. *Immigration to the United States, 1851-1900*. <https://www.loc.gov/classroom-materials/united-states-history-primary-source-timeline/rise-of-industrial-america-1876-1900/immigration-to-united-states-1851-1900/> : accessed 30 September 2020.
- Library of Congress. *Potter's Gazette (East Liverpool, Ohio) 1876-1882*. <https://www.loc.gov/item/sn83035519/> : accessed 9 September 2020.

Library of Congress. *The Grand Army of the Republic and Kindred Societies*. <https://www.loc.gov/rr/main/gar/appendix/ohio3.html> : accessed 17 September 2020.

Library of Congress. Redmond, Ed, author. *Mapping a World of Cities*. <https://blogs.loc.gov/maps/2020/09/mapping-a-world-of-cities/?loclr=eamap> : accessed 14 December 2020.

Library of Congress. Terrell, Ellen, author. *Robber Barons: Gould and Fisk*. https://blogs.loc.gov/inside_adams/2012/09/robber-barons-gould-and-fisk/ : accessed 7 December 2020

Library of Congress. *The East Liverpool Tribune (East Liverpool, Ohio) 1876-1911*. <https://www.loc.gov/item/sn85026030/> : accessed 9 September 2020.

Library of Virginia. *First Virginia Constitution, June 29, 1776*. https://edu.lva.virginia.gov/online_classroom/shaping_the_constitution/doc/va_constitution : accessed 29 June 2020.

Lillian Goldman Law Library, Yale Law School. *The Second Charter of Virginia; May 23, 1609*. https://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th_century/va02.asp : accessed 2 December 2020.

Lisbon, Ohio. *History*. <https://lisbonohio.weebly.com/history.html> : accessed 25 October 2020.

Michael Schwartz Library. Cleveland State University. *Soldiers' Monument, East Liverpool, Ohio*. <https://clevelandmemory.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/general/id/2811> : accessed 10 September, 2020.

Municipal Association of South Carolina. *What is a mill?* <https://www.masc.sc/Pages/resources/What-is-a-mill.aspx> : accessed 25 January 2021.

Museum of Ceramics. *Preserving Our Pottery Heritage*. <https://www.themuseumofceramics.com> : accessed 15 Jan 2020.

MyHeritage. *Legacy Family Tree Webinars*. <https://familytreewebinars.com> : accessed 16 January 2020.

n.a. *Our Church*. <https://www.fumceastliverpool.com/mission-index-impact> : accessed 16 December 2020.

NAACP. *NAACP History: Carter G. Woodson*. <https://www.naACP.org/naACP-history-carter-g-woodson/> : accessed 13 December 2020.

National Archives. *Census Records*. <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/help-with-your-research/research-guides/census-records/> : accessed 8 December 2020.

National Archives. *Nonpopulation Census Records*. <https://www.archives.gov/research/census/nonpopulation#mfg> : accessed 14 December 2020.

National Bureau of Economic Research. Calomiris, Charles, author. *Banking Crises and the Rules of the Game*. https://www.nber.org/system/files/working_papers/w15403/w15403.pdf : accessed 9 December 2020.

National Constitution Center. Bonboy, Scott, author. *On This Day, West Virginia starts controversial statehood process.*” <https://constitutioncenter.org/blog/on-this-day-west-virginia-starts-controversial-statehood-process> : accessed 34 January 2019.

National Digital Newspaper Program in Ohio. *Steubenville True American*. (<http://ndnpohio.ohiohistory.org/newspapers/steubenville-true-american> : accessed 22 December 2020.

National Genealogical Society. *Are Genealogy and Family History Different?* <https://www.ngsgenealogy.org/family-history/> : accessed 8 December 2020.

Newberry Library. *Virginia, Historical Borders*. <https://publications.newberry.org/ahcbp/map/map.html#VA> : accessed 29 June 2020.

Office of the Historian. US House of Representatives. *The Civil Rights Bill of 1866*. <https://history.house.gov/Historical-Highlights/1851-1900/The-Civil-Rights-Bill-of-1866/> : accessed 7 December 2020.

Office of the Historian. US House of Representatives. *The People of the People's House*. <https://history.house.gov/People/> : accessed 7 December 2020.

Office of the Historian. US House of Representatives. *The Women's Rights Movement, 1848-1917*. <https://history.house.gov/Exhibitions-and-Publications/WIC/Historical-Essays/No-Lady/Womens-Rights/> : accessed 21 December 2020.

Official Data Foundation. Webster, Ian, author. *CPI Inflation Calculator*. <https://www.officialdata.org/1850-dollars-in-2018?amount=1> : accessed 14 December 2020.

Ohanian, Lee E. *Competition and the Decline of the Rust Belt*. <https://www.minneapolisfed.org/article/2014/competition-and-the-decline-of-the-rust-belt> : accessed 13 October 2020.

Ohio History Connection. *Akron School Law*. https://ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Akron_School_Law : accessed 24 September 2020.

Ohio History Connection. *Benjamin F. Wade*. http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Benjamin_F._Wade : accessed 5 February 2019.

Ohio History Connection. *Bing Act of 1921*. https://ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Bing_Act_of_1921 : accessed 7 February 2020.

Ohio History Connection. *Canals*. <https://ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Canals> : accessed 25 January 2021.

Ohio History Connection. *Great Railroad Strike of 1877*. http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Great_Railroad_Strike_of_1877 : accessed 7 December 2020.

Ohio History Connection. *Lord Dunmore's War and the Battle of Point Pleasant*. http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Lord_Dunmore%27s_War_and_the_Battle_of_Point_Pleasant : accessed 16 December 2020.

Ohio History Connection. *Morgan's Raid*. http://ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Morgan%27s_Raid : accessed 27 July 2020.

Ohio History Connection. *Ohio Company*. http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Ohio_Company : accessed 9 December 2020.

Ohio History Connection. *Ohio School Law*. http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Ohio_School_Law : accessed 17 December 2020.

Ohio History Connection. *Pontiac*. <http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Pontiac> : accessed 16 December 2020.

Ohio History Connection. *Panic of 1857*. http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Panic_of_1857 : accessed 7 December 2020.

Ohio History Connection. *Public Schools*. https://ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Public_Schools : accessed 18 December 2020.

Ohio History Connection. *Rene R. de La Salle*. http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Rene_R._de_La_Salle : accessed 29 Mar 2020.

- Ohio History Connection. *Treaty of Fort Stanwix (1768)*. [http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Treaty_of_Fort_Stnwix_\(1768\)](http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Treaty_of_Fort_Stnwix_(1768)) : accessed 4 December 2020.
- Ohio History Connection. *Steamboats*. <http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Steamboats> : accessed 22 August 2020.
- Ohio Valley YMCA. *Our History*. <https://www.ohiovalleyymca.org/ourymca/our-history/> : accessed 10 September 2020.
- Pew Research Center. Gonzalez-Farrera, Ana, author. *'Mestizo' and 'mulatto': Mixed-race identities among U.S. Hispanics*. <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/07/10/mestizo-and-mulatto-mixed-race-identities-unique-to-hispanics/> : accessed 25 January 2021.
- Pew Research Center. Rosen, Anne Farris, author. *A Brief History of Religion and the U.S. Census*. <https://www.pewforum.org/2010/01/26/a-brief-history-of-religion-and-the-u-s-census/> : accessed 18 December 2020.
- Presbyterian Historical Society. *History of the Church*. <https://www.history.pcusa.org/history-online/presbyterian-history/history-church> : accessed 25 February 2020.
- R Squared Communications LLC. *The Proclamation of 1763*. <https://www.americanhistorycentral.com/entries/the-proclamation-of-1763/> : accessed 4 December 2020.
- Random Acts of Genealogical Kindness. *How to find and use US Census Records*. <https://raogk.org/census-records/> : accessed 8 December 2020.
- Register of Qualified Genealogists. *Professional Code for Qualified Genealogists*. <https://www.qualifiedgenealogists.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/RQG-Professional-Code-Final-for-web-post-incorporation.pdf> : accessed 8 December 2020.
- Riedel, Julie. *Wellsville Historical Society aims to preserve local history*. <https://www.reviewonline.com/news/local-news/2020/01/wellsville-historical-society-aims-to-preserve-local-history/> : accessed 14 December 2020.
- Rodriguez, Gregory. *How Genealogy Became Almost as Popular as Porn*. <https://time.com/133811/how-genealogy-became-almost-as-popular-as-porn/> : accessed 8 December 2020.

RootsWeb. Arnold, Harold Henry & Nadine Hull, authors. *The Wells Family, Known as "The Little Wells."* <http://sites.rootsweb.com/~wellsfam/genealogy/fam00003/jameswen.html> : accessed 6 December 2020.

RootsWeb. *WorldConnect*. <https://wc.rootsweb.com> : accessed 23 December 2020.

Society of Biblical Literature. *Topheth*. <https://www.bibleodyssey.org/HarperCollinsBibleDictionary/t/topheth> : accessed 19 January 2021.

Society of Genealogists. *Hints & Tips Two: Genealogy or Family History? What's the Difference?* <http://www.sog.org.uk/learn/education-sub-page-for-testing-navigation/guide-ten/> : accessed 8 December 2020.

Society of Genealogists. *Hints & Tips Five: Standards and Good Practice in Genealogy*. <http://www.sog.org.uk/learn/education-sub-page-for-testing-navigation/hints-tips-six-standards-and-good-practice-in-genealogy/> : accessed 8 December 2020.

Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War. *Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) Records Project*. <http://www.garrecords.org> : accessed 28 July 2020.

Spartacus Educational Publishers, Ltd. (Citing Karl Marx.) *International Workingmen's Association (First International)*. <https://spartacus-educational.com/IWA.htm> : accessed 7 December 2020.

Stockholm University, Department of Sociology. *Demography - the study of human populations*. <https://www.suda.su.se/education/what-is-demography> : accessed 13 October 2020.

The Legal Genealogist. Russell, Judy G., author. *Saying no*. <https://www.legalgenealogist.com/2015/12/08/saying-no/> : accessed 6 December 2020.

The people of The United Methodist Church. *Structure*. <https://www.umc.org/en/who-we-are/structure> : accessed 25 February 2020.

The people of The United Methodist Church. *A (brief) history of the people of the United Methodist Church*. <https://www.resourceumc.org/en/content/a-brief-history-of-the-people-of-the-united-methodist-church> : accessed 17 December 2020.

The Software MacKiev Company. *Family Tree Maker 2019*. <https://www.mackiev.com> : accessed 26 November 2020.

towards data science. Ramzai, Juhi, author. *Gini coefficient and Lorenz curve explained*. <https://towardsdatascience.com/clearly-explained-gini-coefficient-and-lorenz-curve-fe6f5dc07> : accessed 22 December 2020.

towards data science. Nabi, Javaid, author. *Machine Learning - Fundamentals*. <https://towardsdatascience.com/machine-learning-basics-part-1-a36d38c7916> : accessed 22 December 2020.

Tri-State Genealogical & Historical Society. *Welcome to TSGHS Homepage*. <http://sites.rootsweb.com/~wvtsghs/index.html> : accessed 15 Jan 2020.

U.S. History. *An Uneasy Peace. 30d. The Compromise of 1850*. <http://www.ushistory.org/us/30d.asp> : accessed 4 December 2020.

University of Kentucky. *Kentucky Geological Survey*. <https://www.uky.edu/KGS/coal/coal-mining-geology-clay-veins.php> : accessed 26 October 2020.

University of Minnesota. *Occupational Coding in the 1850 Public Use Microdata Sample*. <https://usa.ipums.org/usa/volii/85occtc.shtml> : accessed 14 December 2020.

University of Oxford. Keats-Rohan, Katharine S. B., author. *Prosopography: Definition*. <https://prosopography.history.ox.ac.uk/prosopdefinition.htm> : accessed 9 December 2020.

University of Virginia Library. *Population of Virginia - 1850*. <http://www.virginiaplaces.org/population/pop1850numbers.html> : accessed 8 June 2021.

US Army Corps of Engineers. *Ohio River Navigation Charts*. <https://www.lrp.usace.army.mil/Portals/72/docs/navigation/OhioRiverNavigationChart.pdf> : accessed 9 October 2020.

US Army Corps of Engineers. *Pittsburgh District, District Civil Works, Navigation*. <https://www.lrp.usace.army.mil/Missions/> : accessed 8 October 2020.

USGenWeb. Census project. <http://www.us-census.org> : accessed 8 December 2020.

US Army Corps of Engineers. *Pittsburgh District. Hydrographic Survey Data*. <https://www.lrp.usace.army.mil/Missions/Navigation/Navigation-Charts/HydrographicSurveyData/> : accessed 9 October 2020.

US Census Bureau. *Availability of 1890 Census*. https://www.census.gov/history/www/genealogy/decennial_census_records/availability_of_1890_census.html : accessed 8 December 2020.

US Fish & Wildlife Service. *NCTC Cultural History/Early Colonial Period*. <https://training.fws.gov/history/virtualexhibits/netcculturalhistory/Timeline1649.html> : accessed 16 December 2020.

US Geological Survey. *The Public Land Survey System (PLSS)*. <https://www.usgs.gov/media/images/public-land-survey-system-plss> : accessed 8 December 2020.

US House of Representatives, History, Art & Archives. *West Virginia Statehood*. <https://history.house.gov/HouseRecord/Detail/15032436240> : accessed 4 December 2019.

US Senate. *Ten Senators Expelled. July 11, 1861*. Citing Butler, Anne M. https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/minute/Ten_Senators_Expelled.htm : accessed 7 December 2020.

Virtual Museum of Surveying. *Metes & Bounds vs. Public Lands*. http://www.surveyhistory.org/metes_&_bounds_vs_public_lands.htm : accessed 6 December 2020.

Washington County Courts, Pennsylvania. *Genealogy Resources*. <http://www.washingtoncourts.us/191/Genealogy-Resources> : accessed 24 December 2020.

Way, Harold E. *A White Paper: American County Histories Their Uses, Usability, Sources and Problems with Access*. <http://www.accessible-archives.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/10/AAI-County-Histories-and-Territorial-Histories.pdf>: accessed 11 November 2020.

Wellsville Terminals Co. *Wellsville Terminals Company*. <http://www.wellsvilleterminals.com/index.php> : accessed 8 September 2020.

West Virginia Department of Arts, Culture and History. *Timeline of West Virginia: Civil War and Statehood. August 2, 1862*. <http://www.wvculture.org/history/sesquicentennial/18620802a.html> : accessed 14 December 2020.

West Virginia Department of Arts, Culture and History. *Timeline of West Virginia: Civil War and Statehood. February 27, 1863*. <http://www.wvculture.org/history/sesquicentennial/18630227.html> : accessed 14 December 2020.

West Virginia Department of Arts, Culture and History. Dadisman, Stanley E., author. *Boundaries of West Virginia*. <http://www.wvculture.org/history/government/wvboundaries.html> : accessed 17 December 2020.

West Virginia Department of Arts, Culture and History. *Vital Research Records Search Selection* ... http://www.wvculture.org/vrr/va_select.aspx : accessed 5 February 2020.

West Virginia Department of Arts, Culture and History. *The Civil War in West Virginia*. <http://www.wvculture.org/history/archives/wvcivilwar.html> : accessed 7 December 2020.

West Virginia Department of Arts, Culture and History. *West Virginia Statehood*. <http://www.wvculture.org/history/archives/statehoo.html> : accessed 7 December 2020.

West Virginia Humanities Council. Grimm, Jeanne, author. *Brick Industry*. <https://www.wvencyclopedia.org/articles/649> : accessed 19 December 2020.

West Virginia University. *Newell Pottery, Largest in the World; Newell, W. VA*. <https://wvhistoryonview.org/catalog/042363> : accessed 27 October 2020.

World Through The Lens. *Obscure Old English Census Occupations*. <http://www.worldthroughthelens.com/family-history/old-occupations.php> : accessed 14 October 2020.

Yankee Publishing, Inc. Venezia, Rich, Author. *Unusual Records: Researching County Histories*. <https://www.familytreemagazine.com/records/other/unusual-records-country-histories/> : accessed 9 December 2020.

Zip-Codes. *Brooke County, WV, ZIP codes*. <https://www.zip-codes.com/county/wv-brooke.asp> : accessed 17 December 2020.

MISCELLANEOUS

McClurg, Trevor. (c. 1866) (lith. D. C. Fabronius) Collection: Library of Congress Photo, Print, Drawing control no. 92509076.

Twain, Mark. (2015, 1st pub. 1894) *Pudd'nhead Wilson*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

APPENDIX ONE

TECHNICAL APPENDIX

This appendix will cover some technical information related to genealogical records and their evaluation as well as the acquisition and quality control of the census data used for the basic statistical analyses.

GENEALOGICAL METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES

The field of genealogy as a hobby is exploding in the US, the UK, and in many other countries. The easier accessibility of digital records, the ubiquitous use of computers, and the interest in using DNA to find ancestors have all propelled this phenomenon. As such, the literature on the subject is vast. Standard manuals for “doing” genealogy are published in hardback,¹ a plethora of webinars and tutorials are offered online,² genealogy conferences and institutes are held across the world every year,³ and several academic programs are available including Master’s level study at the Universities of Strathclyde and Dundee.⁴ Hundreds of individual bloggers post regularly or occasionally on the internet. Many or even most public libraries now have a section devoted to genealogy, both as a “how-to” and a collection of family histories.

The sources of information used by genealogists are often the same as those used by historians. While these fall into two basic categories (primary and secondary), American genealogists now usually refer to an original record (created at/around the time of an event by someone with firsthand knowledge) vs. a derivative record (original record that has been transcribed or abstracted and published) vs. an

¹ See, for example: Elizabeth Shown Mills. (2009) *Evidence Explained. Citing History Sources from Artifacts to Cyberspace*. Second Edition. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company. [This source has been updated several times since this edition.] Also: Penelope L. Stratton & Henry B. Hoff. (2014) *Guide to Genealogical Writing*. Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society; Board for Certification of Genealogists, *Genealogy Standards*. Many other examples exist.

² See, for example: MyHeritage. *Legacy Family Tree Webinars*. <https://familytreewebinars.com> : accessed 16 January 2020; Board for Certification of Genealogists. *Webinars*. <https://bcgcertification.org/category/webinars/> : accessed 16 January 2020. Many other examples exist.

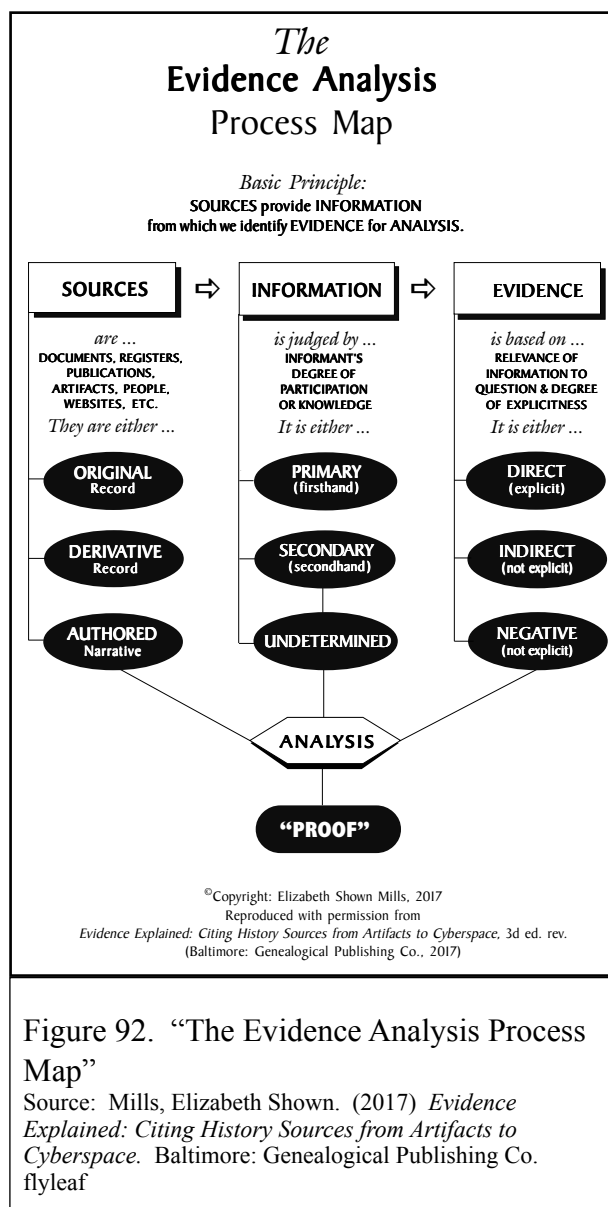
³ In the United States there are four main institutes - GRIP, SLIG, IGHR, NIGR, as well as the NGS conference and RootsTech. Cyndi’s List has a partial list: <https://www.cyndislist.com/education/institutes/> : accessed 16 January 2020. ICAPGen has a partial list: <https://icapgen.blog/2016/05/13/4-genealogy-institutes-you-should-know-about/> : accessed 16 January 2020.

⁴ Board for Certification of Genealogists has a partial list here: <https://bcgcertification.org/learning/education/> : accessed 20 January 2020.

authored narrative (a written synthesis compiled from varying sources, possibly including author's own conclusions).⁵

Sources are evaluated for their reliability. For example, if searching for documentation of the birthdate of an individual, we might be presented with both their birth certificate and an interview with the subject's grandmother, who was present at the birth. While both could be considered original, in that the creator of the document or memory was present at the birth, it would be wise to rely on the written birth certificate unless we have some compelling reason not to. Likewise the newspaper record of the birth on a given day in a given location might be considered derivative or authored and would thus carry less weight than the original birth record.⁶

Sources are then used to obtain information, which can be either primary (firsthand), secondary (secondhand) or undetermined.⁷ The quality of information in any given source is evaluated on the basis of the informant's level of participation in the event in question. Returning to the birth question above - if we have



⁵ Mills, Elizabeth Shown. (2009) *Evidence Explained*. 2nd ed. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., p. 24; Board for Certification of Genealogists, *Genealogical Standards* ..., p. 73.

⁶ See, for example, Robert Charles Anderson. (2014) *Elements of Genealogical Analysis*. Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, Chapter 1.

⁷ Mills, *Evidence Explained*, p. 25.

both a birth certificate and a death certificate for an individual and they give different birth information we would always rely on the birth certificate. This document was produced (usually) at the time of the event using information given by someone directly involved (parent or physician). A death certificate, produced at the time of death, might well contain birth information given by the same physician or parent (usually if the deceased was young). More often though the information about the birth of an individual which is found on their death certificate is secondhand, given to them by the deceased or some other source, then passed on to the agency creating the death certificate.

Once we have information we can move on to extrapolating evidence that bears on our particular problem. Evidence can said to be direct, indirect or negative. An example of direct evidence of a birth would be the birth certificate; this answers the question regarding the birth of the individual all by itself and requires no additional supporting information. Indirect information might be a year of birth on the deceased's headstone; this gets us close to the answer but is not explicit enough to provide a complete answer.

Negative information is a difficult concept. Say, for example, that a woman had six children born within 15 years all while she and her husband were living on the farm which he owned. A search of the county or church records might reveal birth or baptismal records for the first two and the last three children. We "know" a child is missing because the child was recorded on the census living with the family the year after he is born, or perhaps listed in a Bible record or other family document. We expect to find his birth certificate along with his siblings' in the county records. We do not believe the family lived elsewhere as the husband owned the land. This could be an example of negative evidence - the absence of information which we expect to find.⁸

In essence it is the competent, analytical analysis of the evidence at hand which will produce what is termed genealogical proof of a particular relationship or question. But that proof rests on accurately extracting the proper information from

⁸ *Ibid.*

the correct sources. It relies on an extensive search for all relevant records related to the problem, as well as accurate documentation both of those sources and of the extent and scope of the search itself. Proof also relies on explaining any conflicting evidence found and coherently documenting and communicating the conclusions of the research.⁹

Genealogists frequently begin their research with the use of census records. For this research, census records were used not only to track specific individuals (as most traditional family genealogists do) but also to look at demographic trends, to compare these trends between the communities under study, and for information about how the demographic composition of the study area compared with the individual states in which the communities fall. Much basic census information is available from the United States Census Bureau, which publishes decennial census reports.¹⁰

Demographic information specific to the two towns and portion of Hancock County was extracted from transcribed census returns available online. These returns are not available for all places for every census year, but do exist for most of the study area for 1850-80. The bulk of this information was obtained from the website *Ancestry.com*.¹¹ This is a subscription database; the same information is available without subscription from The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints website *FamilySearch*.¹² While historians may not make much use of individual census returns, many rely on the decennial demographic statistics published by the Census Bureau for basic information about the American populace during the years for which the data is available.

Perhaps the second most widely used group of records by genealogists is composed of vital records - these would include birth/baptism, marriage, and death/

⁹ Board for Certification of Genealogists, *Genealogical Standards* ..., p. 1.

¹⁰US Census Bureau. *Publications, Census of Population and Housing*.

¹¹Ancestry. *U.S. Federal Census Collection*.

¹²FamilySearch. *Search Results for FamilySearch Catalog*. [Search terms 'census' and 'United States'.] <https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/results?count=20&placeId=337&query=%2Bplace%3A%22United%20States%22%20%2Bsubject%3Acensus%20%2Bavailability%3AOnline> : accessed 10 December 2020.

burial records. With the exception of specific biographies, historians do not make much use of these individual records. These types of records can be difficult to find for the colonial years in the United States. The onus for keeping track of births and death is on the states, not the federal government. States began requiring the recording of these events at different times, some not until the 20th century. The records for births and deaths are generally not publicly available until a specific length of time after the event. For the purposes of this study, however, that restriction is not an issue. What is an issue is the mere existence of the records themselves.

Birth and death records created by the state of Ohio are not available until 1908; county level records began in Columbiana County in 1867.¹³ The situation in West Virginia is more complicated as research in Virginia is also sometimes required. In 1853 the state of Virginia began requiring counties to record births and deaths;¹⁴ birth records available for Hancock County begin in 1853, but death records are harder to come by, being only reliably available beginning in 1884, after the study period.¹⁵ Marriage records are often easier to access. In Ohio they were kept by county, beginning with the creation of that county; for Columbiana, these begin in 1803.¹⁶ In Virginia, ministers were required to report all marriages to the county clerk as early as 1780; the clerks were not required by state law to issue marriage

¹³ FamilySearch. *How to Find Ohio Birth Records*. https://www.familysearch.org/wiki/en/How_to_Find_Ohio_Birth_Records#Births_from_1867_thru_1908 : accessed 5 February 2020; FamilySearch. *Ohio, County Births, 1841-2003, Columbiana*. <https://www.familysearch.org/search/image/index?owc=Q633-M14%3A227586001%3Fcc%3D1932106> : accessed 5 February 2020; FamilySearch. *Ohio, County Death Records, 1840-2001, Columbiana*. <https://www.familysearch.org/search/image/index?owc=7DZ2-GTZ%3A1296037101%3Fcc%3D2128172> : accessed 5 February 2020. These microfilm collections are digitized versions of the county record books held in the Columbiana County courthouse in Lisbon.

¹⁴ FamilySearch. *How to Find Virginia Birth Records*. https://www.familysearch.org/wiki/en/How_to_Find_Virginia_Birth_Records : accessed 5 February 2020; FamilySearch. *How to Find Virginia Death Records*. https://www.familysearch.org/wiki/en/How_to_Find_Virginia_Death_Records#Deaths_before_1853 : accessed 5 February 2020.

¹⁵ West Virginia Department of Arts, Culture and History. *Vital Research Records* ...

¹⁶ FamilySearch. *How to Find Ohio Marriage Records*. https://www.familysearch.org/wiki/en/How_to_Find_Ohio_Marriage_Records : accessed 5 February 2020. Also: FamilySearch. *Marriage records, 1803-1951*. <https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/84908?availability=Family%20History%20Library> : accessed 5 February 2020.

licenses or keep marriage records until 1853.¹⁷ Marriage records are available in Hancock County beginning in 1854.¹⁸

When available, these governmental vital records can often be supplemented by church records. Baptismal and burial records, along with marriage banns and records, were usually kept by individual church pastors or church clerks. However, not everyone was a church member, and relatively few of these pastoral or church records are extant and available. Some Presbyterian church records are available for Wellsville, but not East Liverpool (in this collection).¹⁹ Likewise, some Quaker Meeting records are available for Columbiana County, but not Hancock.²⁰ Methodism was also popular in Ohio and West Virginia, and scattered church records are available from that and other denominations.²¹ Newspapers, when available, could also serve as a secondary source for these types of vital records.

Headstones, monuments and cemetery records can be valuable to genealogists. When birth or death dates are completely unknown these monuments can provide clues. Monuments often give at least the years of birth and death, the age of the deceased, sometimes complete dates of birth and death. These monuments should never be relied on as the only source of this information. In addition to the information on a single monument a grouping of monuments often gives clues to family structure. The place of an individual's burial should never be assumed to be the same place as his/her death. Cemetery/mortuary records and church sexton records, if available, may contain information about the families of the deceased. These were not used for this study. Other types of church records, where available,

¹⁷ FamilySearch. *How to Find Virginia Marriage Records*. https://www.familysearch.org/wiki/en/How_to_Find_Virginia_Marriage_Records#Marriages_Before_1853 : accessed 5 February 2020.

¹⁸ West Virginia Department of Arts, Culture and History. *Vital Research Records* ...

¹⁹ Ancestry. *U.S., Presbyterian Church Records, 1701-1970*. <https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/61048/> : accessed 5 February 2020.

²⁰ Ancestry. *U.S., Quaker Meeting Records, 1681-1935*. <https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/2189/> : accessed 5 February 2020.

²¹ FamilySearch. *Church records, 1864-1940*. [Methodist Episcopal, Columbiana County, Ohio] <https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/331650?availability=Family%20History%20Library> : accessed 5 February 2020; FamilySearch *Hancock Co., West Virginia church memberships, 1830-1899* ... <https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/270747?availability=Family%20History%20Library> : accessed 5 February 2020.

can often give considerable information about family structure. These are not always easy to find and few are available for Hancock County. Some have been found for specific churches in Wellsville and East Liverpool.

Court records are often used by genealogists, primarily those involving probate. These records are almost always produced by the county level court. Consequently, Columbiana County records begin with the county formation in 1803 while Hancock County records likewise begin in 1848.²² In addition to giving information about the heirs to an estate, the inventories sometimes included can give the reader a glimpse into the kind of occupation the deceased followed, his land ownership, and his relative wealth. Probate records were not used extensively in this work, with the exception of specific genealogical sketches.

Some estate records in both Hancock and Columbiana Counties are available digitally for the entire 30 years of the project.²³ In Hancock County some records are available digitally beginning in 1853.²⁴ In Columbiana County many are available digitally beginning in 1803.²⁵ Virginia kept records of chancery cases. These types of court records might apply to land or estate disputes, divorce, or business disputes, guardianship of minors, or appointment of local officials. Some of these records are also available digitally for Hancock County beginning in 1848²⁶ but were rarely used for this study as their application to the social and economic development of the Grant District was not clear.

²² FamilySearch. *Estate records, 1803-1900*. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/776336?availability=Family%20History%20Library>; FamilySearch. *Will Book, 1848-1917; will index, 1853-1971*. [Hancock County, West Virginia] <https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/69667?availability=Family%20History%20Library> : accessed 5 February 2020.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ FamilySearch. *Will book, 1848-1917; will index, 1853-1971*. <https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/69667?availability=Family%20History%20Library> : accessed 8 December 2020. [These records from the Hancock County Court.]

²⁵ FamilySearch. *Probate records, 1803-1890; index to files (appearance dockets), 1803-1940*. <https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/330210?availability=Family%20History%20Library> : accessed 8 December 2020. [These records from the Columbiana County Probate Court.]

²⁶ FamilySearch. *Chancery order books, 1848-1930*. <https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/770392?availability=Family%20History%20Library> : accessed 8 December 2020. [These records from the Hancock County Circuit Court.]

Another type of record often used by genealogists, and heavily referenced for this project are land records. These include both government granted lands and private land transfers (deeds). Two different land surveying systems are in common use in the United States (see below). Ohio falls into the system surveyed using the Public Land Survey System while West Virginia is one of the states using the metes and bounds system.²⁷ The differences between the two are in the way the boundary of the land is described, and the original authority granting the land (federal vs. state government). In either case, deed records are very similar and are available for both counties.²⁸

The ownership of land was of considerable importance to settlers and these records are more plentiful. Deeds are available digitally for (now) West Virginia beginning in 1848, when Hancock County was founded;²⁹ in Columbiana County, they date from 1798, before Ohio was a state.³⁰ These records can be used to help locate a resident within the area (if a good land description is given), will sometimes name his neighbors, and usually required a married man to have his wife sign a dower release when selling the land, thereby giving further information about his spouse. Property tax rolls were often used to supplement land ownership information. Tax records are not readily available for Hancock County, however

²⁷ US Geological Survey. *The Public Land Survey System (PLSS)*; Virtual Museum of Surveying. *Metes & Bounds vs. Public Lands*. http://www.surveyhistory.org/metes_&_bounds_vs_public_lands.htm : accessed 6 December 2020.

²⁸ FamilySearch. *Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881; index, 1798-1969*. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/248169?availability=Family%20History%20Library> : accessed 10 December 2020; FamilySearch. *Deed books, 1848-1863*. [Hancock County, West Virginia] <https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/772458?availability=Family%20History%20Library> : accessed 10 December 2020; FamilySearch. *Deeds, 1863-1902; deed index, 1848-1928*. [Hancock County, West Virginia] <https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/69674?availability=Family%20History%20Library> : accessed 10 December 2020.

²⁹ FamilySearch. *Deeds, 1863-1902; deed index, 1848-1928*. <https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/69674?availability=Family%20History%20Library> : accessed 8 December 2020. [These records are from the Hancock County Clerk.]

³⁰ FamilySearch. *Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881; index, 1798-1969*. <https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/248169?availability=Family%20History%20Library> : accessed 8 December 2020. [These records are from the Columbiana County Recorder.]

they are available in Ohio; tax records (primarily property tax) are available digitally for Columbiana County from 1816-1838.³¹

In the United States there are two basic ways in which a tract of land is described on a deed. The older survey method, called “metes and bounds”, is based on the European system of describing a parcel of land based on landmarks and adjoining landowners.³² This surveying system was used in the original 13 American colonies, and later in Texas as well. As such it was the system used in Virginia and later West Virginia.

The biggest problem encountered in attempting to locate a piece of land on a contemporary map that was originally surveyed using this system is the nature of the landmarks. These landmarks were often a tree (species usually given), a pile of rocks, the corner of another surveyed piece of land, a river crossing, or some other natural landmark that has long since disappeared from the landscape. These land descriptions carried no reference to any Cartesian/rectangular coordinate system definitions, or to any fixed latitude or longitude reference points. Land surveyed in this fashion was often very irregular in shape, following streams, ridge lines, and neighboring surveys. This situation made it difficult to locate land owners in Hancock County. The study area was specifically defined to include the very northern district of the county and deeds could not always be reliably used here to determine whether a piece of land fell actually within this district.

The second and newer surveying system came into effect shortly after the Revolutionary War. Called the “Public Land Survey System,” this system was originally used to survey land for distribution as bounty to Revolutionary War soldiers.³³ This is a rectangular survey system based on surveyed latitude and longitude points, meridians and baselines. The surveyed lands were divided into

³¹ FamilySearch. *Tax Records, 1816-1838*. <https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/236331?availability=Family%20History%20Library> : accessed 8 December 2020. [These records are from the Columbiana County Auditor]; AmericanAncestors. *Ohio: Tax Records, 1800-1850*. <https://www.americanancestors.org> : accessed 8 December 2020. [Columbiana County records from 1816-1838.]

³² Stephen V. Estopinal. (2009) *A Guide to Understanding Land Surveys*. 3rd ed. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, p. 92.

³³ US Geological Survey. *The Public Land Survey System (PLSS)*. <https://www.usgs.gov/media/images/public-land-survey-system-plss> : accessed 30 August 2019.

townships (running north and south) and ranges (running east and west). Ideally there were six miles between each township or range number. Of course since the earth is not flat, these “blocks” of land were not exactly square. Each 36 square mile block of land was called a township and these were then further divided into 36 Sections.³⁴

This land surveying system makes it much easier to locate land on a contemporary map as the lines of latitude and longitude are referenced in the original survey. An ideal one-square-mile section contained 640 acres and was often further subdivided into quarters, or quarters of quarters, and so forth. Sometimes fractional portions of a section were described using the old metes and bounds method.

Ohio was the first state surveyed using this system, which not yet perfected when the survey began. As such Ohio is a patchwork of variously surveyed areas. The study area in Ohio falls within the first survey - the Seven Ranges - located in the extreme northeast corner of the state. Though not ideal in this area due to some early changes in the way the blocks of land were numbered, the rectangular survey system still makes location of old deeds much easier for the state of Ohio than it does for (now) West Virginia, just across the Ohio River.

Deeds can also occasionally be used to help track the existence and name of a spouse. Real estate transfers during this time required a spouse to release their dower rights when a property was sold. So, for example, if a man sells a piece of property in January of a particular year and his wife has signed a dower release then he sells another piece of property in June of that same year with no dower release by his wife, it gives a clue that the wife might have died during that time.³⁵

Military records can be used to help identify a man, and his pension record (if one exists) might usefully give information about his dependents. These records are available for many Civil War Union soldiers, but are held at the National Archives in Washington, D.C., and must be ordered on an individual basis. They were not used

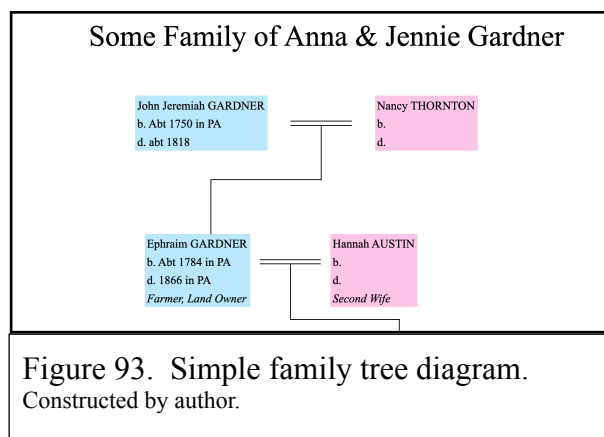
³⁴ Estopinal, *A Guide to Understanding Land Surveys*, pp. 102-109.

³⁵ Larabee & Hertrick, LLP. *What are Dower Rights?* <http://www.larabee-hertrick.com/literature/are-dower-rights> : accessed 6 December 2020; The Legal Genealogist. Judy G. Russell, author. *Saying no*. <https://www.legalgenealogist.com/2015/12/08/saying-no/> : accessed 6 December 2020.

for this research. Other types of basic military records such as the Civil War Draft Registration Records are available, and were used sporadically.³⁶ Directories, usually for larger cities or sometimes counties, are used particularly for urban research. In this case, only two directories were located - both for Columbiana County, for years 1874 and 1877.³⁷

Newspapers can provide insight into genealogical relationships and offer valuable information about the cultural climate in an area at a particular time as well as the makeup of the local business community. No newspapers were found to be published in Hancock County at any time during the 19th century. Either newspapers or brief extractions are extant for Wellsville dating from about 1847³⁸ and extending (with gaps) through the study period. Newspapers were not yet available for East Liverpool at that time; those residents likely read the Wellsville paper or others from the surrounding area. Both Wellsville and East Liverpool were too small to warrant the publication of city directories, which are often used in larger cities to locate individuals between census years. Some few business directories were located which included either Wellsville or East Liverpool.

One additional major category of records used by genealogists is immigration records. Usually used to trace a manifest naming a particular individual, these records are useful for determining exactly when an ancestor entered the country. They will also often name the family members traveling with him. In addition to ship manifests, naturalization records might contain detailed information about the place and date of birth of



³⁶ Ancestry. *U.S., Civil War Draft Registration Records, 1863-1865*. <https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/1666/> : accessed 6 December 2020.

³⁷ Wiggins & McKillop (compilers) (1877) *Columbiana County Directory for 1877*. Columbus: Wiggins & McKillop, Printers; J Wiggins & Co. (compilers) (1874) *Columbiana County Ohio 1874-1875 Directory*. n.p. [I did not view the original, rather a reorganized copy with no original publication information.]

³⁸ Edgar Stanton Davidson. (n.d.) *Before the Memory Fades*. Wellsville: Wellsville Historical Society.

a person applying, as well as any dependents he might have. These records were rarely used in this work. Information about basic immigration patterns and rates was, instead, obtained from the population census records for each area.

Although genealogical information for some case studies may have been initially gathered and organized using a specific genealogical software package,³⁹ this software was not used to produce any of the family tree diagrams included with the case studies for specific

individuals. These types of very simple trees were produced by hand in a simple graphics program such as Keynote.⁴⁰ These very simple descriptive graphics are illustrated in Figures 93 and 94.

No effort was made to illustrate the entirety of an individual's family tree for any of the case studies done here. In many cases a simple table was used to present the basic information involving a single family composed of a couple and their children (see Table 8). This tabular information might be supplemented with a basic family tree chart in a different format (Figure 94).

In addition to these types of genealogical data organization strategies, extensive use was made of spreadsheets to capture census data. This was done in a different manner than the decennial federal enumeration of the population, but did draw the information from those returns.

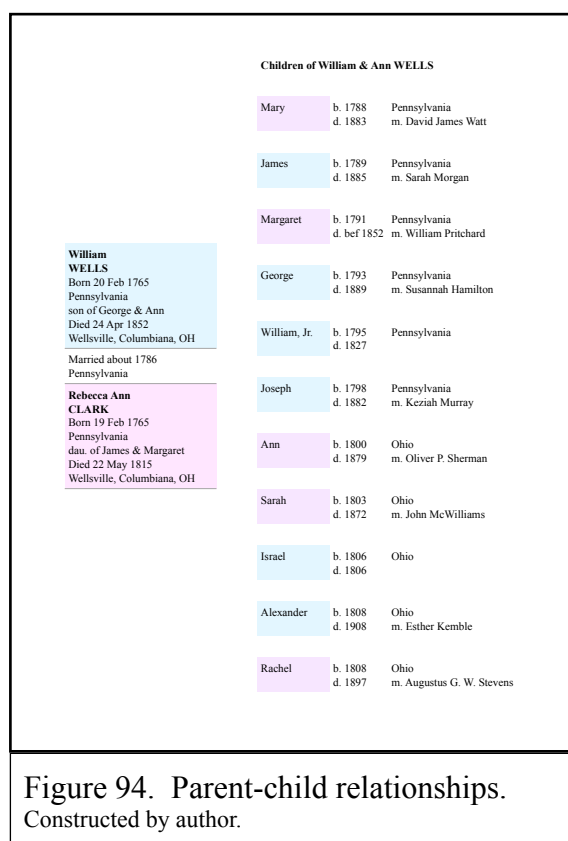


Figure 94. Parent-child relationships. Constructed by author.

³⁹ The Software MacKiev Company. *Family Tree Maker 2019*. <https://www.mackiev.com> : accessed 26 November 2020. This version has been superseded. More information about this software can be found at their website.

⁴⁰ Apple. *Keynote*. <https://www.apple.com/keynote/> : accessed 26 November 2020. This program is similar to PowerPoint for PCs. More information about this software can be found at the company website.

Table 8. Family tree data example.

Basic Genealogical Information for William WELLS	
Parents	George WELLS and unknown wife, possibly HUFF*
Birth	10/20 Feb 1765 in Bedford County, Pennsylvania
Marriage	Ann CLARK, Washington County, Pennsylvania, before about 1779.
Occupation	Farmer, town founder
Death	24 Apr 1852, probably in Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio
Children	Mary (1788-1883) m. David Watts James (1789-1885) m. Margaret (~1791-1852) m. William Pritchard George (1793-1889) m. Susannah Hamilton Joseph (1798-1882) m. Keziah Murray
	*Sources for all information found inline

In addition to the differences found in the surveyed land descriptions, other problems make research in Virginia/West Virginia somewhat more difficult than in Ohio. The study area now in West Virginia has changed jurisdictions several times over its history. First part of West Augusta in colonial Virginia, it became part of Ohio County, Virginia, in 1776; this county split and the study area was then located in Brooke County, Virginia, as of 1797. Hancock County was created from Brooke in 1848 and the state of West Virginia split from Virginia in 1863. This can make locating actual records difficult if it is not known precisely when an event took place or when/if that county at that time kept those particular types of records.

Although the portion of the study area located in West Virginia does now contain some small towns, at the time of the study it was completely rural. As such residents who wished to record a document in a courthouse had to travel to the county seat in New Cumberland. While this was not a great distance (perhaps 8 - 10 miles) the terrain was rough and mountainous. Some residents undoubtedly just did not bother to make the trip. Rugged, rural terrain may have also made the census returns less complete than they might have been in more compact, easily accessible semi-urban areas and small towns. A census enumerator who had walked or ridden a horse for a mile or more between farms may not have bothered to return to a farm where he found nobody at home and, instead, obtained approximate information about that household from a neighbor.

THE CENSUS

In 1849 Congress established a census board which re-wrote the forms used to collect population information and provided for the “full enumeration of the inhabitants of the United States” - the first census to name all inhabitants of each household, not just the head. This Seventh Census also collected information about mortality, social statics, and the products of agriculture and industry.⁴¹ These non-population schedules were used by the federal government during the 1850-1880 census enumerations. Some, but not all, of these returns are available for the area:⁴²

Table 9. Non-population census data available during the study period.

Year/Schedule	Wellsville/Yellow Creek	East Liverpool/St. Clair	Grant/Hancock
1850 Mortality	Classification of	deaths per	state/county
1850 Agriculture	Summary only	for entire county	Summary only
1850 Industry	X	X	X - also Social Stats.
1860 Mortality	X	X	State summary only
1860 Agriculture	Summary only	for entire county	Summary only
1860 Industry	Summary only	for entire county	X
1870 Mortality	Classification of	deaths per	state only
1870 Agriculture	X	X	Summary only
1870 Industry	X	X	Summary only
1880 Mortality	X	X	State summary only
1880 Agriculture	X	X	Summary only
1880 Industry	Summary only	for entire county	Summary only

Where an area is marked “X” a schedule with named individuals is present. Often only the summary statistics for an area survive. Early mortality schedules contain statistics on the causes of death for particular counties, but often no

⁴¹ United States Census Bureau. *Decennial Census of Population and Housing, Decennial Census Official Publications, 1850*. <https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/decade/decennial-publications.1850.html> : accessed 8 December 2020.

⁴² Ancestry. *1850 United States Federal Census*. <https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/1850usfedcenancestry/> : accessed 27 August 2019; and Ancestry. *US, Selected Federal Census Non-Population Schedules, 1850-1880*. <https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/nonpopcensus/> : accessed 27 August 2019.

individual names; likewise, agriculture may be presented only as the total production of each type of agricultural commodity for each county not by each individual farmer. After West Virginia split from Virginia in 1863 it was enumerated separately. Not all of these schedules have survived.⁴³

Of the non-population schedules discussed only the “Products of Industry” were used in this research. A “Slave Inhabitants” schedule was in use in the US before 1870 but these were not used at all - in 1850 only three slaves were listed in Hancock County, Virginia, and none in 1860. No slaves were enumerated in the free state of Ohio. See the section below for additional specific information about the collection of data from the US census population schedules.

During the decades of the study period a large number of pottery workers immigrated from England. It is for this reason that some use was made of the British census. These decennial censuses were generally carried out in the spring and are available digitally for the decades 1841 - 1911 inclusive. These enumerations are similar to those carried out in the United States, generally becoming more detailed as time went on. The 1841 census recorded every name and age (with some rounding), occupation, and whether the individual was born in the county where enumerated or was an alien (born outside the country). The next three decades included questions about marital status and the exact place of birth, as well as disability.⁴⁴ These records were used primarily to trace specific individuals who are found living in the study area and are reported to be from the United Kingdom. They were not captured/transcribed in the way the corresponding US population censuses were.

The first US federal census enumeration began on 2 August 1790, the year after the inauguration of the first president. Every household was to be visited and results were posted publicly as well as sent to the president. Very few questions were asked on this census, which was conducted as required by the US Constitution for

⁴³ US Census Bureau. *Publications, Census of Population and Housing*. <https://www.census.gov/prod/www/decennial.html> : accessed 27 August 2019. Select by decade and publication desired.

⁴⁴ The National Archives. *Census Records*. <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/help-with-your-research/research-guides/census-records/> : accessed 8 December 2020.

the purpose of apportioning both taxes and seats in the US House of Representatives.⁴⁵

At the time of this first census the West Virginia portion of the study area was part of what was then Ohio County, Virginia. The state of Virginia was enumerated on the 1790 census; however only the statistical tables for Ohio County survive (no population schedules).⁴⁶ The state of Ohio was not yet a part of the United States and as such no enumeration took place in that part of the study area. In 1800 the enumeration again began in early August. By that year the (now Hancock County) part of the study area was in the county of Brooke, Virginia, which had split from Ohio County in 1797. Data for Brooke County is not extant.⁴⁷ An enumeration was also undertaken in the territory northwest of the Ohio River; only that for Washington County, well outside the study area, is extant.⁴⁸

Availability of surviving census records improves as time goes on. Since Ohio became a state in 1803, the 1810 census included that portion of the study and has more information to offer. The population enumeration pages are available for Brooke County, Virginia, though not broken down into smaller geographic segments.⁴⁹ Population enumeration records for Columbiana County, Ohio (though it did exist), are not extant.⁵⁰ Also in 1810 the Census Bureau enumerated the “Arts and Manufactures” of the country. This document contains information for both Brooke and Columbiana Counties, tallying the quantity and value of everything from bells to gin to tobacco and wool, and containing information about women employed

⁴⁵ National Archives. *The Constitution of the United States: A Transcription*. <https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/constitution-transcript> : accessed 8 December 2020. (Article I. Section 2.)

⁴⁶ US Census Bureau. *1790 Census: Return of the Whole Number of Persons within the Several Districts of the United States*. <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1793/dec/number-of-persons.html> : accessed 23 August 2020. (Data Tables, pg. 49.) Also US Census Bureau. *1790 Census: Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790*. <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1907/dec/heads-of-families.html> : accessed 8 December 2020. (Virginia, County Tables.)

⁴⁷ William Thorndale & William Dollarhide. (1987) *Map Guide to the US Federal Censuses, 1790-1920*. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., p. 350.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 268.

⁴⁹ Ancestry. *1810 United States Federal Census*. <https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/7613/> : accessed 8 December 2020.

⁵⁰ Thorndale and Dollarhide, *Map Guide to the US Federal Censuses*, p. 269.

in manufacturing, naval and military architecture, and what workmen may learn to manufacture during winter months.⁵¹

The 1820 census was the last to begin in August of the year. While a manufacturing census was conducted in this year these records are not available digitally. Population census data is available for Brooke County, Virginia, and the households are split between the township of Wellsburg and the rest of the county. These sheets have been alphabetized.⁵² When census enumerators went out to record the inhabitants in their assigned area they typically went from one household to the next nearest household. If the enumerator followed this system a future user of these older returns might gain a glimpse into the specific inhabitants of a particular neighborhood enumerated. Alphabetizing destroys this information and was fortunately not a very common occurrence.

Population enumerations for 1820 are extant in Columbiana County, Ohio, and include both St. Clair Township (where East Liverpool was later established) and Yellow Creek Township (where Wellsville was later established). These returns were not alphabetized. This census was the first to ask a basic question about the occupation of household members. Each household reported the number of individuals engaged in one of three occupational categories - agriculture, commerce, and manufacturing.⁵³

The 1830 census began on 1 June of that year instead of August. Another change from previous years was that enumerators were required to finish their task within six months rather than nine. Basic aggregate population statistics were

⁵¹ US Census Bureau. *A Statement of the Arts and Manufactures of the United States of America, for the year 1810*. <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1814/dec/1810v2.html> : accessed 8 December 2020. Also: US Census Bureau. *A series of tables of the several branches of American manufactures, exhibiting them in every county of the Union, so far as they are returned in the reports of the marshals, and of the secretaries of the territories and of their respective assistants, in the autumn of the year 1810 : together with returns of certain doubtful goods, productions of the soil and agricultural stock, so far as they have been received*. <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/009710671> : accessed 8 December 2020.

⁵² Ancestry. *1820 United States Federal Census*. <https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/7734/> : accessed 8 December 2020. Also FamilySearch. *Virginia, 1810 thru 1840 federal census : population schedules and Census schedules, 1820*. https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/results?count=20&query=%2Bfilm_number%3A193691 : accessed 8 December 2020. (FHL film 193691.)

⁵³ Ancestry. *1820 United States Federal Census*. See Ohio, Columbiana, Yellow Creek.

published by state and county⁵⁴ as well as the actual population enumeration returns. In this year the question about basic occupational categories was not present. As before only the heads of households were enumerated by name. Brooke County, Virginia, was enumerated without further geographic breakdown and, once again, these returns are alphabetized.⁵⁵ In Columbiana County the town of Wellsville had been platted and was enumerated separately from the township. In addition, residents of the “Town of Liverpool” were noted; these were inserted in the final returns between the town of Westunion and the township of St. Clair.⁵⁶

The 1840 population census returns for the study area again contain some basic information about occupations. In this year respondents were asked if they were engaged in the expanded categories of mining, agriculture, commerce, manufacturing, naval/ocean, naval/canal or professional/engineering. Quite a few households were enumerated with no information about occupation; it is supposed that either the head of household was unemployed or was engaged in some other type of work. These returns are available for Brooke County, Virginia, including the rural area outside of the town of Wellsburg,⁵⁷ and the towns of “Wells” and “Liverpool” in Columbiana County, Ohio. These returns are not alphabetized.⁵⁸

Additional information published in the compendium reports for this census included a listing of pensioners for military services. This list named all Revolutionary War and other military service pensioners who had been enumerated.⁵⁹ Aggregate population statistics are available for this year as well as county-wide reports of the values of produce, mines, commerce, manufacturing, and

⁵⁴ US Census Bureau. *1830 Census: Abstract of the returns of the Fifth Census*. <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1832/dec/1830b.html> : accessed 8 December 2020.

⁵⁵ Ancestry. *1830 United States Federal Census*. <https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/8058/> : accessed 23 August, 2019. (See Virginia, Brooke County.)

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* (See Ohio, Columbiana County, Wellsville and St. Clair and Westunion.)

⁵⁷ Ancestry. *1840 United States Federal Census*. Database and images online. <https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/8057/> : accessed 8 December 2020. (See Virginia, Brooke County, Township Not Stated.)

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* (See Ohio, Columbiana County, Wells and Liverpool.)

⁵⁹ US Census Bureau. *1840 Census: A Census of Pensioners for Revolutionary or Military Services*. <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1841/dec/1840d.html> : accessed 8 December 2020.

employment figures for all these sectors. Information is available for both Ohio and Virginia.⁶⁰

Population schedules for the following four decennial censuses gathered an increasing amount of information for each individual on each enumeration. The 1850 schedule began with eleven questions asked for each individual and was the first to record the name of every individual in each household as well as their specific age in years (rather than an age range); this census also recorded where each individual was born, and their occupation and value of real estate owned, plus questions about education and literacy. The 1860 schedule asked nearly the same questions and included a question about the value of personal estate/property. A list of all questions asked by the enumerators for each decade is included further in this appendix.

In 1870 additional questions were asked about marital status, nationality of parents, and citizenship of males over age 21. By 1880 twenty-four questions were asked of each individual including birth month of infants born in the previous year and the specific birth-place of each individual's parents. These censuses also asked the standard questions of gender, race, marital status, school attendance, and disability.⁶¹

These four decades of census data were used extensively in the analysis of demographic trends in the areas. In addition the population schedules provided information for the family genealogies. The non-population schedules discussed above provided very specific information only in the years where the every-name schedules survive. For Ohio, several counties' worth of this non-population information has been unaccountably lost (including Columbiana). The population schedules for Hancock County, Virginia, begin in 1850 and in that year specified

⁶⁰ United States Census Bureau. *1840 Census: Compendium of the Enumeration of the Inhabitants and Statistics of the United States*. <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1841/dec/1840c.html> : accessed 8 December 2020. (See Aggregate Value and Produce, and Number of Persons Employed in Mines, Agriculture, Commerce, Manufactures, etc.)

⁶¹ This information can be found on the United States Census Bureau website. Brief overviews can be found here: Random Acts of Genealogical Kindness. *How to find and use US Census Records*. <https://raogk.org/census-records/> : accessed 8 December 2020. Blank copies of yearly forms can be found here: Ancestry. *Census Forms*. <https://www.ancestry.com/cs/census-forms> : accessed 8 December 2020.

only “District 26” as the rural area and either “District 1” or “not stated” as the rural area on the 1860 enumeration. The population schedules for *West* Virginia available beginning in 1870 are specific to the Grant District rather than the whole of Hancock County. Population schedules specific to the two Ohio towns are, as noted, available for all four decades.⁶²

It was not until the US federal census of 1850 that the birthplace of any individual was recorded on the population enumerations. By 1870 the federal census recorded an individual’s place of birth and asked only whether an individual’s father/mother was of foreign birth without any further specification. It was not until 1880 that the US federal census began recording the specific birthplace of each individual enumerated as well as their parents’ places of birth.⁶³

Census returns for 1850 and 1860 were transcribed by this researcher. Transcriptions of the returns for 1870 and 1880 were purchased from a consultant (Michael Tobias). Unless specified otherwise statistical data found in the tables and discussed herein was obtained by direct query of the transcribed census enumerations rather than by relying on the statistical reports published by the US Census Bureau; these reports usually recorded the data only at the county level, not specific towns or districts.

Some considerable time was spent determining which population schedules should be used for statistical analysis; the specific census areas chosen are listed in Table 10. Data collection problems were obvious from the beginning in that the two areas in Ohio were treated as towns (and usually enumerated separately) whereas the northern area of Hancock County (Grant District) did not come into existence until 1863 and was not enumerated separately until 1870. The desired geographic study area for this work was planned to include only the two towns of Wellsville and East

⁶² Ancestry. *US Federal Census Collection*. <https://www.ancestry.com/search/categories/usfedcen/> : accessed 8 December 2020.

⁶³ United States Census Bureau. *History/Census Instructions*. https://www.census.gov/history/www/through_the_decades/census_instructions/ : accessed 8 December 2020. Instructions for each decennial census are listed separately.

Table 10. Specific Census Enumeration Areas Captured for Statistical Analysis			
	Wellsville	East Liverpool	Grant District
1850	Town of Wellsville	Town of East Liverpool	District 26
	Yellow Creek Township	Liverpool Township	
	Yellow Creek Township - Industrial Schedule	Liverpool Township - Industrial Schedule	Hancock County - Industrial Schedule
1860	Wellsville	East Liverpool	Post Offices: East Liverpool, Fairview, Georgetown, Hookstown, Linton, Port Homer, Wellsville
			Hancock County - Industrial Schedule
1870	Wellsville	East Liverpool	Grant District
	Wellsville - Industrial Schedule	East Liverpool - Industrial Schedule	
	Yellow Creek Township - Industrial Schedule	Liverpool Township - Industrial Schedule	
1880	Wellsville	East Liverpool	Grant District

Liverpool, plus the Grant District.⁶⁴ It was not always possible to obtain data only from those three specific places. The 1850 census presented some particular difficulties in data collection due to the lack of enumeration boundaries in (then) Hancock County, Virginia.

In 1850 William MacLean enumerated the entire county of Hancock, Virginia, from about 27 July to 3 October. He specifically delineated only the two towns of New Manchester and New Cumberland, calling the rest of the county only “District No. 26.”⁶⁵ There is no sure way to distinguish the residents of the northernmost part of the county from those in the south. This census, therefore, includes an unknown number of individuals who were not living in the area of interest. (See Figure 96. Approximate southern boundary of the Grant District is marked in red.)

⁶⁴ West Virginia Archives and History. *1872 Constitution of the State of West Virginia*. <http://www.wvculture.org/history/government/1872constitution.html> : accessed 4 December 2020. [Transcription.]

⁶⁵ Digital images of this entire census run are available on several websites including ancestry.com and familysearch.org.

The 1850 census of Ohio was more specific. Columbiana County was split by townships and larger towns were also designated. It is possible on the Ohio census of 1850 to separate the inhabitants of Wellsville from the inhabitants in the surrounding township of Yellow Creek. Likewise, the town of East Liverpool can be distinguished from the township of Liverpool. (See Figure 95.) The townships of Yellow

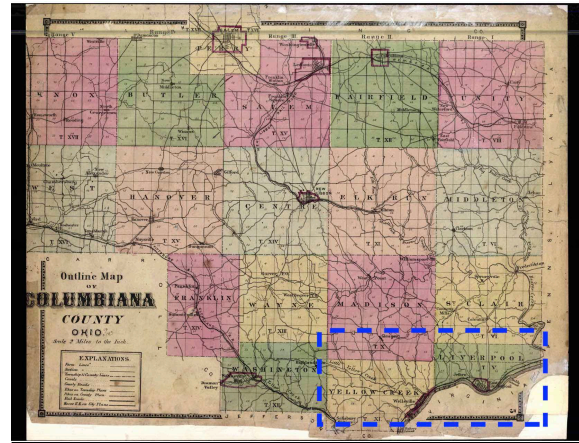


Figure 95. Outline map of Columbiana County - Yellow Creek and Liverpool Townships outlined

Source: D.J. Lake, C.E. (1870) *Atlas of Columbiana County Ohio - Wellsville, Yellow Creek Township*. Sheet 53, 400 ft. to the inch (no bar) Philadelphia: C.O. Titus.

Creek and Liverpool are in the southeast corner.) For reference, the size of Hancock County is 88 square miles while the size of Columbiana County is 535 square miles. Even though the entirety of the Hancock County census data had to be used by necessity in 1850, it was not necessary to use all of Columbiana County as a comparison.

Together the two townships of Yellow Creek and Liverpool contain about 33.5 square miles, far less than the area of Hancock County. As with Hancock County in 1850, these two Ohio townships contain two towns but are primarily rural. The total population enumerated in Hancock County in 1850 was 4,044. The total population of the two Ohio townships plus the two towns was 3,940.⁶⁶ In an effort at consistency and to balance the sizes of the populations being analyzed, it was decided to include census statistics for the two Ohio townships of Yellow Creek and Liverpool (in addition to the towns of East Liverpool and Wellsville) for the 1850 census analysis *only*.

On the 1860 census the problem in Hancock County persisted to some extent. On this census the enumerator noted a “Post Office” on each record sheet. Although

⁶⁶ These statistics from: Ancestry. *1850 United States Federal Census*. Use the specific county, township or town as the only search term.

the instructions to the enumerators state only that they will record the “post office of the vicinage”⁶⁷ it is not known whether this was merely the geographically nearest post office to the area in which the enumerator was then working or the post office at which the listed residents actually received their mail.

Another problem with this notation was that enumerators may not have necessarily broken their pages when they changed post offices; sometimes the same family was enumerated across two different sheets that carried two different post office designations.

Nevertheless, this information was helpful in that the post offices closest to the (eventual) Grant District could be selected.

For the 1870 and 1880 enumerations Hancock County, West Virginia, was split into four districts with Grant being the northernmost, directly across the Ohio River from the two Ohio towns.⁶⁸ All of the 1870 Grant District enumeration sheets indicated the post office of New Cumberland; this town was not in the district, but it was the county seat. The enumerators did not make mention of nearby post offices which were actually in Ohio or Pennsylvania as they did in 1860. No post office notations were made on the 1880 census.⁶⁹

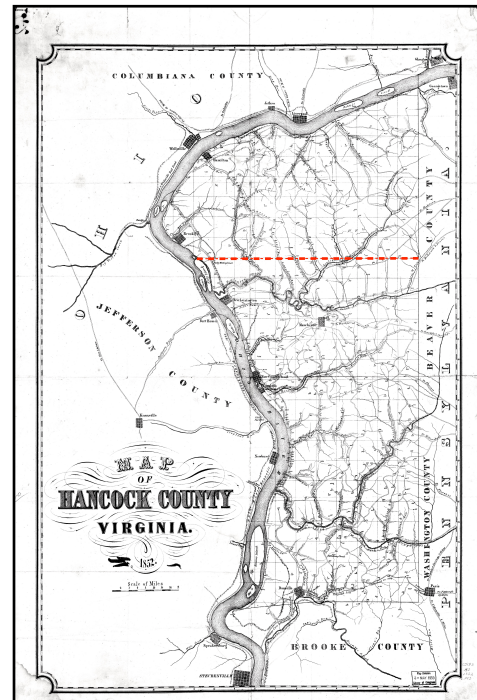


Figure 96. Map of Hancock County Virginia - Grant District above red line

Source: n.a. (1852) *Map of Hancock County Virginia*. Scale: ~1:94,667 (from scale bar). n. pub. Collection: Library of Congress Geography and Map Division control no. 2006626015.

⁶⁷ US Census Bureau. *History/Census Instructions*. [1860 - See page 13, paragraph 1.]

⁶⁸ US Census Bureau. *1870 Census: A Compendium of the Ninth Census*. <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1872/dec/1870e.html> : accessed 8 December 2020. (Table IX for “Territory of Utah through Territory of Wyoming,” page 360.); US Census Bureau. *1880 Census: Volume 1. Statistics of the Population of the United States*. <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1883/dec/vol-01-population.html> : accessed 8 December 2020. (Table III “Oregon (remainder) through Wyoming Territory,” page 363.)

⁶⁹ For images of these enumerations, see Ancestry. *U.S. Federal Census Collection*. Search by year and location.

PROCESS NOTES FOR STANDARDIZING CENSUS DATA

Census data for 1850-1880 was collected using three different methods. First, data was transcribed by this author directly into an Excel spreadsheet from the printed enumeration sheets. Second, data was downloaded from the USGenWeb Census Project⁷⁰ This data was then formatted by hand (mine) so that it would import into an Excel spreadsheet format similar to that being used by the first batch. Third, the larger census blocks were scraped from *Ancestry.com* by contractor Michael Tobias. The resulting data files were in Excel format but still required additional manipulation as some data was lost and much extraneous information was included in his process.⁷¹

Several anomalies were discovered in the way the original data was collected by the enumerators which made the future comparative analysis of the census data between areas problematic. Most of the problems related to Hancock County in which all or most of the county was enumerated with no further specific geographic residence of the individuals noted. A similar problem occurred when one enumerator in Ohio captured an entire township without distinguishing which individuals actually lived in the town not the rural township area. These problems have been described in detail above.

Since the data was obtained by three different methods standardization of the resulting spreadsheets was required. Not all column headings or descriptive information appeared on all census forms for this period. The following information was consistently captured:

Page/Line/Dwelling/Family numbers for each individual

Name - usually forename or initials and surname for each individual

Age/Gender/Race for each individual

Occupation for those working, often left blank

Place of birth of the individual only (not their parents)

School attendance/Literacy/Disability included only if relevant

⁷⁰ USGenWeb. *Census project*. <http://www.us-census.org> : accessed 8 December 2020. Select specific state, county, township.

⁷¹ Working tables generated during this process are Tables 11-13.

Various other information was included in some but not all census years. Questions about land ownership and personal property were asked in 1850-1870. The birthplaces of each individuals' parents did not appear until 1880; the precursor was the question regarding the foreign birth of each person's parents in 1870. Other questions not always asked included whether/in what month a couple was married within the past year and the month in which a child was born within the past year. The 1880 census asked the number of months a person was unemployed. While this information was routinely captured by all three methods, it was rarely used. The exception is the land and personal estate values from the 1850-1870 censuses.

A FEW RELEVANT STEPS FOR STANDARDIZING DATA

These and other standardizing steps were accomplished in Excel using the raw data collected by the three processes mentioned above.

- Correction/addition of dwelling and family numbers. This combination allows the distinction between individuals living in separate houses (dwellings) and the possibility of more than one family living in the same house or farm. Minor errors in enumeration sequence within the same dwelling/family combination were largely ignored.
- Correction of surnames that were abbreviated and/or illegible as written by all the enumerators, mis-transcribed, or otherwise changed during the data acquisition process. Known surnames (such as those recorded by historians, i.e. Vodrey) which were misspelled by the enumerators were not usually changed unless the error was so egregious that a sorting of data would result in the surname being separated from other like surnames. An error of this type might be "Ellison" rather than "Allison" or "Coxell" rather than "Croxell." Abbreviated forenames were not spelled out. These corrections illuminated some interfamily sequencing errors that were also corrected.
- Occupation was recorded in every census year. At this point stricter standardization was employed in an effort to provide data that would be easier to

analyze when discussing broad categories of occupations. In some cases the only change was to make one word out of two - “brick layer” becomes “bricklayer” or the opposite in “brickmaker” to “brick maker.” This change did not alter the meaning of the occupation, merely slightly streamlines the data. The overall intent here was to eliminate minor distinctions in a broader occupational category, distinctions which would not affect the way the data was later analyzed.⁷²

- Place of birth was typically recorded as a state or country. All were abbreviated to standard US post office state two character abbreviations in the case of states and my own version of a three character abbreviation for countries. These are found in Table 11.
- Property values were standardized only in that the columns were defined as numbers, no decimals, with thousands separators. (i.e. 1,000 not 1000 or 1000.00)
- The final check of the data was overall quality control. This check involved looking for errors or anomalies in the data that were *believed to be* due to enumerator error. Errors of omission, such as the absence of any illiterate persons in an entire town, could not be corrected. Some errors of commission, such as giving the wrong occupation for an individual, also could not be corrected. For these errors to be corrected, either the enumeration would have to be repeated (obviously impossible) or the correct answer would have to be inferred from another source. In many cases, these errors are not obvious and therefore remain in the data set.
- Some suspicious data points could be eliminated. For example, how likely is it that a 29 year old married woman with young children at home was working for wages as a laborer? How likely is it that a two year old child was attending school? Or that a 41 year old man was working as a cooper and also attending school? In the case of the child, the error could be either in his age or school attendance. In the case of the man, the error is almost certainly in his school attendance. The errors which contained “unusual properties or conditions” could

⁷² Some odd occupations are defined here: World Through The Lens. *Obscure Old English Census Occupations*. <http://www.worldthroughthelens.com/family-history/old-occupations.php> : accessed 14 October 2020; and Jane Hewitt. *Dictionary of Old Occupations: A-Z Index*. <https://www.familyresearcher.co.uk/glossary/Dictionary-of-Old-Occupations-Index.html#Old-Occupations-I> : accessed 14 October 2020.

be legitimately removed as they likely represented a data entry error on the part of the enumerator.⁷³ No rigorous statistical analysis was going to be performed on this data and these outliers were relatively uncommon. It was not felt necessary to do any separate analysis on these outliers and the anomalous “condition” (i.e. school attendance or occupation) was simply removed.

- For the years 1850-70 the enumerators were to record every individual over the age of fifteen who had an occupation (this included students) but in 1880 the age limit was dropped to ten. For consistency, records of any individuals under the age of ten *in any year* said to be working for wages were changed to indicate no occupation.
- The Age/Sex/Race columns were checked to ensure there were no omissions. If a person’s gender was omitted, but seemed obvious (John vs. Mary) it was added. On some sheets infants had been coded with their age in months (“9m” for example). This was changed so that all infants under age one year were coded age 0 with the birth month in the proper column, if it was available. If not, the information was lost. A few entries contained a name but no age. This information could not be inferred and the age was left blank.

Reference to the US Census Bureau instructions to their enumerators for the four years under scrutiny revealed that there were some changes in the reporting requirements from year to year. Some of these changes were significant in that they affected the way the data could be analyzed. Specifically:

- 1850 - enumerators must record the profession, occupation or trade of each person over 15 years of age (including students)
- 1860 - same age requirements as above; individuals employed in domestic duties at wages were to be recorded as “servants” or “domestic”. Distinction was to be

⁷³ Jim Frost. *Guidelines for Removing and Handling Outliers in Data*. <https://statisticsbyjim.com/basics/remove-outliers/> : accessed 2 September 2020; Aquarela. *What are outliers and how to treat them in Data Analytics?* <https://www.aquare.la/en/what-are-outliers-and-how-to-treat-them-in-data-analytics/> : accessed 2 September 2020.

made between employer and employee. The term “master” was often used for the employer.

- 1870 - much more detailed requirements were instituted. Enumerators must use the term ‘manufacturer’ for proprietors of a business such as a pottery. They must discriminate between farmers (usually farm owners) and farm laborers (this was not always done). A “domestic servant” was not the same as a “house-keeper” and the latter must receive wages or salary for services. Women keeping their own house were said to be “keeping house”.
- 1880 - the age of occupational reporting dropped to 10; other requirements were the same as in 1870.
-

These checks and corrections outlined above were done by year rather than by geographic area. It was thought that patterns of working women, age of workers and school attendance were more likely to have been consistent temporally than geographically and this might have made errors and inconsistencies easier to spot. Some assumptions about these issues were made as follows:

Working women:

Women, especially married mothers, were assumed *not* to have been working in heavy industry, general labor, or other jobs that were almost exclusively done by men during the time period. Many women worked in the potteries. These entries were considered correct, as other sources provide confirmation. In the few cases where a married woman’s husband had no job but she did, the occupation was assigned to the husband. Female heads of household enumerated as farmers were assumed to be the farm managers and this designation was retained.

Age of workers:

There were always a few workers who fell below the age required to be enumerated, but it was thought unlikely that a three year old was working as a potter or a ten year old as a hotel keeper. It was not possible to determine an upper age

limit for this category (although I believe my own grandfather had given up farming long before the age of 94!)

School attendance:

In general, it was believed that children under the age of five would not be attending school. However, a check of the data revealed enough children aged four attending school that the lower age limit was dropped to four. In addition, older (especially married) individuals were not thought to be attending school, especially men with occupations. This age cutoff was more difficult to ascertain, but it was generally assumed that those individuals aged 21 or over and those aged 19-20 with an occupation (especially men) were not actually in school. In later census years, these older students were enumerated as students the occupation column rather than simply by a tick mark in the school attendance column. In those cases, the designation was retained.

A FEW SPECIFIC PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED:

1) There were significant problems with the 1880 Wellsville data. Enumerator Fisher made quite a few substantial errors in numbering. The data capture process resulted in many families, though grouped correctly, not being ordered in the same way in which Fisher listed them. Although pagination and numbering errors were corrected, family order within a page was not changed.

Fisher's tendency to lose track of his sequencing, often between pages, often resulted in either dwelling or family numbers were repeated or the same obvious family being split between two dwellings. Typically the dwelling/family number combination was not repeated. He also crossed through or tried to erase many of his numbering entries. These errors were not corrected.

2) In 1860 Hancock County, enumerator Jones did not adhere to the requirement to "distinguish boundaries" by leaving a blank space between geographical or municipal divisions. He may have been forgiven as he was recording post offices

used in a rural area rather than residents of towns or villages;⁷⁴ nonetheless this was an unfortunate choice as it rendered the information about the proximity of neighbors somewhat less reliable.

3) In Yellow Creek township 1850, enumerator Murdock made several apparent errors when grouping families. Usually the error involved breaking the family designation before the end of the previous family, thereby apparently leaving one member of family "A" as the head of household to their neighbors, family "B" who bore a different surname. Sometimes he apparently did not break the families at all, resulting in more than one large family of different surnames recorded in one dwelling/family group. These errors were not corrected.

4) Mr. Murdock also left the entire "color" column blank in 1850 Yellow Creek. All individuals were coded as white. When enumerating Wellsville in 1850 Mr. Jenkins used only a checkmark in the "color" column, except when specifying "B." These individuals were coded as white. Mr. Murdock followed the same pattern for Liverpool Township in 1850. In 1860 Mr. Jenkins left most of the "color" column blank with only the odd checkmark.

5) Until 1870 there was no requirement for the enumerator to distinguish between farmers and farm laborers. It was not possible to absolutely distinguish between farm owners and farm laborers on this basis except by relying on the value of real estate owned. For this reason, the distinction was not made in this standardization even in years/areas where the enumerator did break them out.

In 1860 Hancock Mr. Jones did differentiate the farm hands from the farmers despite the requirement not yet being specifically in place. He was likely distinguishing between employer and employee. The description "Farm Hand" was retained. The distinction of "Master" also began to appear, but was not retained. In 1850 there was also no distinction made between pottery workers and pottery owners. Quite a few young boys in Hancock county in 1870, age 10-15, were specifically reported to be farm hands.

⁷⁴ United States Census Bureau. *History/Census Instructions*. (1860, p. 11, #5.)

6) In 1860 Wellsville Mr. Jenkins enumerated over 100 individuals as “Domestic” which the instructions indicated meant they were receiving wages. This represented roughly 15% of the population and included both men and women, ages 15 to 75. These categorizations are suspicious, but they were retained. Some “domestics” were found in Hancock and East Liverpool, but not nearly as high a proportion of the population as in Wellsville.

Ten males in Wellsville in 1860 between the ages of 12-19 were recorded both as “Domestic” (indicating working for wages) and attending school. Both designations were retained, though they seem suspicious. Seven males in Liverpool were recorded as “Domestic;” a baby aged one year had that designation removed.

7) In 1870 the distinction was being made between dealers and merchants. This distinction was not thought to be particularly important to future analysis, and all dealers were classed as merchants, albeit possibly erroneously. This broad category might better have been called “sales.” Moulders were tricky. In Wellsville (where the iron foundry was located) they were classed with iron workers. In East Liverpool (if not otherwise specified) they were classed with potters. Quite a few different occupations were duplicated in men working for the railroad. These were all classed as RR occupations; so Railroad Station Agent would be “RR - Agent” rather than “Agent - Railroad”.

8) In East Liverpool 1860 Mr. Jenkins apparently recorded nobody who was illiterate, including those who were deaf, dumb, blind or idiotic. A check of this revealed that the box was checked so lightly that it wasn’t picked up during the data scraping process. However he actually appeared to have marked almost all school children as illiterate but nobody else. These results are very suspicious but could not be corrected.

9) In 1850 1,675 individuals aged 2 - 69 were said to be attending school. Of these, 62 were removed on the basis of age (about 3.7%). This number seems somewhat high. Most of those removed were between ages 19-21.

In 1860 1,306 individuals aged 0 - 46 were said to be attending school. Of these, 17 were removed on the basis of age (about 1.3%), an improvement in the potential error rate over the 1850 enumeration.

In 1870, 1,125 individuals aged 0 - 72 were said to be attending school. Of these, 25 were removed on the basis of age (about 2.2%) mostly from Hancock County.

In 1880, 1,918 individuals aged 4 - 40 were said to be attending school. Of these, only 14 were removed on the basis of age (about 0.7%) which represents a probable improvement in the conscientiousness of the enumerators.

10) In Wellsville in 1880 there were a few women probably erroneously attributed with their husband's occupations. One eight year old girl, not living with her family, was left as a "Servant" though I did question her age. A similar occurrence was found in East Liverpool. Mr. Fisher of Wellsville recorded "School" in the occupation category, making it easier to distinguish actual older students. In Hancock County, again, boys as young as 10 were called farm hands. In East Liverpool, records of potters as young as age nine were accepted. Two women, ages 49 and 66 were not believed to be laborers; it is acknowledged that this could be a judgment error on my part.

FINAL REVISION OF OCCUPATIONAL CODING

After the above described data standardization it was still necessary to group the recorded occupations for some of the statistical analyses. A basic occupational classification scheme was developed using the following resources:

History of Work Information System⁷⁵

1850-1900 US Census Bureau occupational coding schemes⁷⁶

⁷⁵ International Institute of Social History. *History of Work - HISCO/The HISCO database*. <https://historyofwork.iisg.nl/index.php> : accessed 26 November 2020.

⁷⁶ USCensus Bureau. *Census of Population and Housing*. These are available in various forms and are typically attached to the publications for a particular census decade.

The newer coding systems did not always reference the types of occupations that were recorded in census enumerations from 1850-1880. These occupations were often jobs which related to technology available at the time (such as the telegraph), older names for a particular job (such as collier), or a very general description of a job that would later be described more fully (such as laborer).

The History of Work system (HISCO) sometimes tended to the opposite problem in that it offered nine major groups of workers, but often did not split these groups adequately. For example, HISCO offered one group for administrative and managerial workers, of which there were almost none in the research data; another major group included clerical workers, which again included almost no residents of the study area/time. By contrast, it lumped three major groups into “production and related workers, transport equipment operators and laborers.” This massive grouping included nearly all of the employed individuals in the research project. The three groups were teased out somewhat, but were not labeled in any way, and many of the occupations did not exist during the study period.

Most of the inspiration for the eventual coding scheme came from the older United States Census Bureau’s occupational tables and very general coding schemes. This is reasonable since they were developed to aid census enumerators during the actual study period. The data analysis for this project would be asking questions about employment in particular industries. One question asked during data analysis was related to the number of employees in several “transportation” industries - stage, rail or water. Although these occupations were grouped in one category, some effort was made to distinguish between the three specific jobs in order to better understand the changing character of the workforce. The same type of “lumping vs. splitting” issue related to individuals working in the pottery industry as opposed to other

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* Locate under Census of Population and Housing, 1970 > 1970 Census of Population > Other Reports.

⁷⁸ Bureau of Labor Statistics. *Census 2002 Industry Codes*. <https://www.bls.gov/tus/census02iocodes.pdf> : accessed 14 October 2020.

manufacturing type industries. In this case, again, some effort was made to identify workers in the pottery industries as a part of the schematic category in which those jobs fell. Eventually, a system of nine major categories was settled on. These categories generally reflect the types of occupations being followed during the time period in the study area.⁷⁹

- 1) Professional
- 2) Trade
- 3) Clerical, Service, Government
- 4) Agriculture
- 5) Transportation
- 6) Mechanical, Repair, Mining, Construction
- 7) Manufacturing/Production, Heavy Industry
- 8) Craftsmen, Light Industry
- 9) General Laborers

This coding system is not perfect. It sometimes had odd results such as coding bakers in the same category as blacksmiths (Craftsmen & Light Industry). The occupations in the Professional category were generally easy to separate. The Trade category unexpectedly included saloon keepers, but not restaurants on the more current schemes. “Merchants” as they were called in the census of the day were not mentioned on current schemes, but were called tradesmen.

Category three, Clerical, Service & Government, also presented a few problems. Postal workers were added to this category, though they were not necessarily found there in very current schemes. Telegraph workers were included here as there was no category for communication workers. The Agriculture, Transportation and General Laborers categories are fairly self-explanatory.

The biggest problems came with categories six, seven and eight. The above noted classification schemes were relied on for the most part in developing category eight - Craftsmen. There were some crafts at the time, such as broom maker, that

⁷⁹ A complete list of which specific occupations fell into each category is located in Table 12.

were not found on modern tables. Light Industry was determined for this study to be manufacturing that a single individual might do on his own, or perhaps with an assistant. Heavy Industry (category seven) was deemed to be work that had to be done in a shop, factory, work yard, or which would generally involve more than just one or two individuals to complete the task. Still, there were problems. Does a tannery involve more workers than a harness/saddle making concern? A typesetter would certainly be working in a printing shop employing more than just himself, but he could perform his job alone.

Sometimes the exact nature of the job as it actually existed in that time/place could not be determined. For example, what was a machinist doing that was different than what a mechanic was doing? Presumably one was creating tools or machines and the other was repairing them. In the end, both of these ended up in the rather catch-all category six, Mechanical, Repair, etc. The biggest concern with this category was that it included construction workers, which perhaps did not really belong in the same category as machinists. In addition, masons were not normally categorized in the schemes consulted with carpenters as construction workers, though it seems they should have been. Bricklayers, however, were considered different than masons and were considered construction workers.

An additional column was added to the standardized census data tables wherein the category code (above) was appended to the data for each employed individual.⁸⁰ This served to make eventual analysis a bit more streamlined as it eliminated the need to classify each particular occupation every time data of a merely categorical nature was being referenced. The list of actual occupations enumerated within the area during the study period, and the categories each were assigned, is found in Table 12.

ABOUT THE ENUMERATORS

William G. Murdock (1850) died on 7 January 1893. He had served as a Presbyterian elder and clerk of session at the Riverside Presbyterian Church in

⁸⁰ Column "OC" for Occupational Code. This step was not referenced in the Data Standardization section.

Wellsville for nearly 50 years, having been ordained in August of 1848.⁸¹ He was enumerated himself as a saddler in 1850, was an insurance agent in 1860 and 1870 and a notary public in 1880.⁸² He lived in Wellsville.

William McLean (1850) was not located on the 1850 census, the one he performed, or on any other census year for Hancock County. He may have been the William McClean who was listed as a cabinet maker in 1850 living in Washington County, Pennsylvania.⁸³

John M. Jenkins (1860) was not located in Liverpool, which he enumerated. He may have been the John M. Jenkins who died at age 90 in 1885, having served four terms in the Ohio State Legislature as a Democrat.⁸⁴ This John was enumerated in Wellsville in 1870 and 1880. He was an attorney.⁸⁵

M. C. Jenkins (1860) could not be found on any of the data tables including in Wellsville, which he enumerated. Without knowing his forename it would be difficult to find him in the records. Nothing was found in newspaper records of Columbiana County with just his initials.

William Jones (1860) may have been the 45 year old farmer from Hancock County in 1860, which he enumerated. He was not found in the Grant District in 1870 or

⁸¹ Riverside Presbyterian Church. Church Register, pg. 2. Wm. G. MURDOCK, Elder. Died 7 January 1893. Collection: US, Presbyterian Church Records, 1701-1970. https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/61048/images/47105_620303987_2201-00011?treeid=&personid=&hintid=&queryId=663bec0698801f90549b9f34ec844772&usePUB=true&_phsrc=PeH11805&_phstart=succesSource&usePUBJs=true&_ga=2.150020790.1047947066.1598885492-341756470.1578765429&pId=1964684 : accessed 2 September 2020.

⁸² Data tables referenced above.

⁸³ Census records. USA. Canonsburgh, Washington County, Pennsylvania. 1 June 1850. McCLEAN, William (head). Roll: M432_834. p. 396B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 2 September 2020.

⁸⁴ 'Death announcements.' *Akron City Times*. 6 May 1885. JENKINS, Hon. John M. p. 2, c. 1. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 2 September 2020.

⁸⁵ Data tables referenced above.

1880, but may have been living in nearby Clay District on both enumerations.⁸⁶ He reportedly died in 1899.⁸⁷

R. B. Williamson (1870) may have been the Robert B. Williamson living in Wellsville in 1870, working as a carpenter. In 1880 he was still in Wellsville, enumerated as B. R. Williamson. No occupation was given on that census.⁸⁸ Robert died in 1918 in Wellsville.⁸⁹

S. B. Jenkins (1870) was the Sylvester B. Jenkins, age 24, who was living in the Clay District of Hancock County in 1870 and working as a boat builder.⁹⁰ He was also appointed postmaster from Frereman's Landing in 1877.⁹¹

G. W. Hallam (1880) was probably the pottery manufacturer George W. Hallam who enumerated himself in East Liverpool in 1880.⁹² He was 64 that year, born in Staffordshire, England. George died in 1890 in East Liverpool.⁹³ No obituary was

⁸⁶ Census records. USA. Clay District, Hancock County, West Virginia. 1 June 1870 and 1 June 1880. JONES, Wm. A. or William (head). Roll: M593_1687 p. 578A and T9_1403 p. 28B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 2 September 2020.

⁸⁷ Monumental inscriptions. USA. United Methodist Cemetery, Hancock County, West Virginia. 1899. JONES, William A. Photo added by Duane Warren. Find A Grave Memorial: 17204305. <http://www.findagrave.com> : accessed 2 September 2020.

⁸⁸ Data tables referenced above.

⁸⁹ Monumental inscriptions. USA. Spring Hill Cemetery, Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 April 1918. WILLIAMSON, Robert Bruce. Photo added by "San." Find A Grave Memorial: 72873068. <http://www.findagrave.com> : accessed 2 September 2020.

⁹⁰ *The Kanawah Journal*. 'Census Marshals.' *The Wheeling Daily Intelligencer*. 15 June 1870. p. 1, c. 2. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 2 September 2020. Census records. USA. Clay District, Hancock County, West Virginia. 1 June 1870. JENKINS, Sylvester B. (child). Roll: M593_1687, pg. 576A. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 2 September 2020.

⁹¹ United States Post Office. Records of Appointment of Postmasters, 1832-1971. JENKINS, S. B. 7 August 1877. Collection: US, Appointments of US Postmasters, 1832-1971. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 2 September 2020.

⁹² Data tables referenced above.

⁹³ Ohio History Connection. Graves Registration Cards Collection. HALLAM, George. 31 March 1890. Collection: Ohio, Soldier Grave Registrations, 1804-1958. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 2 September 2020.

found, but George was apparently standing as a renewing candidate for justice of the peace as late as 1886.⁹⁴

Van B. Bernard (1880) enumerated himself as a 38 year old school teacher in the Grant District of Hancock County in 1880.⁹⁵ He also served as county superintendent of schools in Fairview in 1877.⁹⁶ He was only 53 when he died,⁹⁷ apparently unmarried, as he left all his property (including encyclopedias and dictionaries specifically mentioned) to his brothers.⁹⁸

Samuel L. or S. Fisher (1880) enumerated himself as a 58 year old grocer in Wellsville in 1880. He and both his parents had been born in England.⁹⁹ In 1870 a Samuel S. Fisher of appropriate age lived in Wellsville and was an oil merchant.¹⁰⁰ He was probably the Samuel L. living with his daughter, working as a notary public, in 1900.¹⁰¹ Samuel was likely the most prominent enumerator from this group. His obituary noted that he had been a Captain during the Civil War, a riverman, a businessman of long standing, mayor of Wellsville three times, a promoter of the Pioneer Pottery, a Mason, and a friend of Andrew Carnegie.¹⁰²

⁹⁴ 'Justice of the Peace.' *The Evening Review*. 15 February 1886. p. 1, c. 1. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 2 September 2020.

⁹⁵ Data tables referenced above.

⁹⁶ 'The State Schools.' *The Wheeling Daily Register*. 6 September 1877. p. 1, c. 2. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 2 September 2020.

⁹⁷ Monumental inscriptions. USA. Flats Cemetery, New Manchester, Hancock County, West Virginia. 21 September 1895. BERNARD, Van Buren. Photo added by George Alexander Allison. Find A Grave Memorial: 27053528. <http://www.findagrave.com> : accessed 2 September 2020.

⁹⁸ Testamentary records. USA. Hancock County, West Virginia. 9 August 1895. BERNARD, Van B. Will. Collection: West Virginia, Wills and Probate Records, 1724-1985. FHL microfilm 870902, image 564 of 576. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 2 September 2020.

⁹⁹ Data tables referenced above.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ Census records. USA. Middleton, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1900. FISHER, Samuel L. (father). Roll: T623_??, pg. 3. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 2 September 2020.

¹⁰² 'Busy Career is at an End.' *The Evening Review*. 15 Mar 1906. p. 1, c. 1. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 2 September 2020.

CENSUS FORMS

This section will illustrate the original census returns which were used to gather data for this project. Included will be partial images of the census enumeration sheets as well as a list of questions asked on each enumeration.

For the Population Census

1820 - 1840

Yellow Creek Township	Kenneth McBlennin	1	1			1	2	2		1		1	1						
	Andrew McGilvray	4			1					1			1						
	William McIntosh	3	3			1	2			2			1						
	Daniel Smith	3	2			1		1	1	1			1						
	Daniel Smith		1			1	1	2	1	1	1		2						
	Philip Smith		1		1	1	3			1		1	2						
	James Davidson	1				1	2			1		1							
	Alexander McGilvray					1					1		1						
	Joseph Pettit				1	1		1		1			1						
	Daniel McIntosh	4	2			1		1	1	1			1						
	William Fraser	2				1		1		1			1						
	Benjamin Dawg	2		1	1		2	2	1	1			2						
	William Smith	1			2		1			1			2						
	Alexander Fraser	1				1				1			1						
	Duncan Davison	1				1		1		1			1						
	Laughlin Nabel					1	2	2	2		1	1	1						
	Allen McLane	1				1					2		1						
	Isabella McIntosh		2			1		1			1		2						

Figure 97. Census enumeration sheet 1820.

Source: Census records. USA. Yellow Creek, Columbiana County, Ohio. 7 August 1820. Roll: M33_91, pg. 47. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 20 October 2020.

These early returns, for Ohio only, were used mainly for background information. In 1820 the returns available for the study area did not even have column headings as seen below.¹⁰³ These early forms were supplied by the states or marshals rather than the federal government. The enumerators asked questions that were meant to apply to each family or household as a whole, recording only the

¹⁰³ Census records. USA. Yellow Creek, Columbiana County, Ohio. 7 August 1820. Roll: M33_91. pg. 47. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 20 October 2020.

number of individuals in each age category. In slave states, the blank columns seen on the right were used to record slaves according to age.

1820

The relevant column headings for 1820 reading from left to right:¹⁰⁴

NAME OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD

NUMBER OF WHITE MALES IN AGE CATEGORIES

Under age 10

10 to under 16

Between ages 16 to 18

16 to under 26

26 to under 45

Age 45 and older

NUMBER OF WHITE FEMALES IN AGE CATEGORIES

Under age 10

10 to under 16

16 to under 26

26 to under 45

Age 45 and older

NUMBER OF FOREIGNERS NOT NATURALIZED

NUMBER FOLLOWING THESE OCCUPATIONS

Agriculture

Commerce

Manufactures

1830

Beginning in 1830 the federal government began supplying a uniform schedule for enumeration. These schedules covered two pages and were still collecting information on a family as a whole; only the head of household was recorded by name. Slaves and free colored persons were enumerated separately on

¹⁰⁴ US Census Bureau. *Measuring America: The Decennial Censuses From 1790 to 2000*. https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/2002/dec/pol_02-ma.pdf : accessed 20 December 2020.

379

SCHEDULE of the whole number of Persons within the District, related to

State of
County of
Tennessee
Tennessee
Franklin
District

NAMES

HEADS OF FAMILIES

WHITE PERSONS, (EXCLUDING HEADS OF FAMILIES)

MALES

FEMALES

Under 5 years of age	5 to 14	15 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 54	55 to 64	65 to 74	75 to 84	85 to 94	95 to 104	105 to 114	115 to 124	Under 5 years of age	5 to 14	15 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 54	55 to 64	65 to 74	75 to 84	85 to 94	95 to 104	105 to 114	115 to 124
Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18
Under 5 years of age	5 to 14	15 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 54	55 to 64	65 to 74	75 to 84	85 to 94	95 to 104	105 to 114	115 to 124	Under 5 years of age	5 to 14	15 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 54	55 to 64	65 to 74	75 to 84	85 to 94	95 to 104	105 to 114	115 to 124
Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18
Under 5 years of age	5 to 14	15 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 54	55 to 64	65 to 74	75 to 84	85 to 94	95 to 104	105 to 114	115 to 124	Under 5 years of age	5 to 14	15 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 54	55 to 64	65 to 74	75 to 84	85 to 94	95 to 104	105 to 114	115 to 124
Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18
Under 5 years of age	5 to 14	15 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 54	55 to 64	65 to 74	75 to 84	85 to 94	95 to 104	105 to 114	115 to 124	Under 5 years of age	5 to 14	15 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 54	55 to 64	65 to 74	75 to 84	85 to 94	95 to 104	105 to 114	115 to 124
Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18
Under 5 years of age	5 to 14	15 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 54	55 to 64	65 to 74	75 to 84	85 to 94	95 to 104	105 to 114	115 to 124	Under 5 years of age	5 to 14	15 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 54	55 to 64	65 to 74	75 to 84	85 to 94	95 to 104	105 to 114	115 to 124
Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18
Under 5 years of age	5 to 14	15 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 54	55 to 64	65 to 74	75 to 84	85 to 94	95 to 104	105 to 114	115 to 124	Under 5 years of age	5 to 14	15 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 54	55 to 64	65 to 74	75 to 84	85 to 94	95 to 104	105 to 114	115 to 124
Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18
Under 5 years of age	5 to 14	15 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 54	55 to 64	65 to 74	75 to 84	85 to 94	95 to 104	105 to 114	115 to 124	Under 5 years of age	5 to 14	15 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 54	55 to 64	65 to 74	75 to 84	85 to 94	95 to 104	105 to 114	115 to 124
Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18
Under 5 years of age	5 to 14	15 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 54	55 to 64	65 to 74	75 to 84	85 to 94	95 to 104	105 to 114	115 to 124	Under 5 years of age	5 to 14	15 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 54	55 to 64	65 to 74	75 to 84	85 to 94	95 to 104	105 to 114	115 to 124
Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18
Under 5 years of age	5 to 14	15 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 54	55 to 64	65 to 74	75 to 84	85 to 94	95 to 104	105 to 114	115 to 124	Under 5 years of age	5 to 14	15 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 54	55 to 64	65 to 74	75 to 84	85 to 94	95 to 104	105 to 114	115 to 124
Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18
Under 5 years of age	5 to 14	15 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 54	55 to 64	65 to 74	75 to 84	85 to 94	95 to 104	105 to 114	115 to 124	Under 5 years of age	5 to 14	15 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 54	55 to 64	65 to 74	75 to 84	85 to 94	95 to 104	105 to 114	115 to 124
Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18
Under 5 years of age	5 to 14	15 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 54	55 to 64	65 to 74	75 to 84	85 to 94	95 to 104	105 to 114	115 to 124	Under 5 years of age	5 to 14	15 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 54	55 to 64	65 to 74	75 to 84	85 to 94	95 to 104	105 to 114	115 to 124
Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18
Under 5 years of age	5 to 14	15 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 54	55 to 64	65 to 74	75 to 84	85 to 94	95 to 104	105 to 114	115 to 124	Under 5 years of age	5 to 14	15 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 54	55 to 64	65 to 74	75 to 84	85 to 94	95 to 104	105 to 114	115 to 124
Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18
Under 5 years of age	5 to 14	15 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 54	55 to 64	65 to 74	75 to 84	85 to 94	95 to 104	105 to 114	115 to 124	Under 5 years of age	5 to 14	15 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 54	55 to 64	65 to 74	75 to 84	85 to 94	95 to 104	105 to 114	115 to 124
Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18
Under 5 years of age	5 to 14	15 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 54	55 to 64	65 to 74	75 to 84	85 to 94	95 to 104	105 to 114	115 to 124	Under 5 years of age	5 to 14	15 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 54	55 to 64	65 to 74	75 to 84	85 to 94	95 to 104	105 to 114	115 to 124
Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18
Under 5 years of age	5 to 14	15 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 54	55 to 64	65 to 74	75 to 84	85 to 94	95 to 104	105 to 114	115 to 124	Under 5 years of age	5 to 14	15 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 54	55 to 64	65 to 74	75 to 84	85 to 94	95 to 104	105 to 114	115 to 124
Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18
Under 5 years of age	5 to 14	15 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 54	55 to 64	65 to 74	75 to 84	85 to 94	95 to 104	105 to 114	115 to 124	Under 5 years of age	5 to 14	15 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 54	55 to 64	65 to 74	75 to 84	85 to 94	95 to 104	105 to 114	115 to 124
Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18
Under 5 years of age	5 to 14	15 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 54	55 to 64	65 to 74	75 to 84	85 to 94	95 to 104	105 to 114	115 to 124	Under 5 years of age	5 to 14	15 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 54	55 to 64	65 to 74	75 to 84	85 to 94	95 to 104	105 to 114	115 to 124
Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18
Under 5 years of age	5 to 14	15 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 54	55 to 64	65 to 74	75 to 84	85 to 94	95 to 104	105 to 114	115 to 124	Under 5 years of age	5 to 14	15 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 54	55 to 64	65 to 74	75 to 84	85 to 94	95 to 104	105 to 114	115 to 124
Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18
Under 5 years of age	5 to 14	15 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 54	55 to 64	65 to 74	75 to 84	85 to 94	95 to 104	105 to 114	115 to 124	Under 5 years of age	5 to 14	15 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 54	55 to 64	65 to 74	75 to 84	85 to 94	95 to 104	105 to 114	115 to 124
Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18	Or married and under 18
Under 5 years of age	5 to 14	15 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 54	55 to 64	65 to 74	75 to 84	85 to 94	95 to 104	105 to 114	115 to 124	Under 5 years of age	5 to 14	15 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 54	55 to 64	65 to 74	75 to 84	85 to 94	95 to 104	105 to 114	115 to 124
Or married and																									

Figure 98. Census enumeration sheet 1830.

Source: Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1830. Roll: M19_128. pg. 379. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 20 October 2020.

the second sheet along with those who were deaf/dumb, blind, aliens. Slaves and colored inhabitants were enumerated separately here as well.¹⁰⁵

The relevant column headings reading left to right for this census:¹⁰⁶

NAMES OF HEADS OF FAMILIES

¹⁰⁵ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1830. Roll: M19_128. pg. 379. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 20 October 2020.

¹⁰⁶ US Census Bureau. *Measuring America*: ...

NUMBER OF FREE WHITE PERSONS [by age males on the left females on the right]

Under 5 years of age
Of 5 to under 10
Of 10 to under 15
Of 15 to under 20
Of 20 to under 30
Of 30 to under 40
Of 40 to under 50
Of 50 to under 60
Of 60 to under 70
Of 70 to under 80
Of 80 to under 90
Of 90 to under 100
Age 100 years and older

1840

In 1840 the same questions were asked about the ages of each household member as in 1830. The schedule layout had changed a bit and the second page included some further questions. On the far right of the second page are questions relating to white then colored persons who were deaf/dumb, blind and insane. The last columns were used only for noting the total number of academic institutions found within an enumerator's catchment area.¹⁰⁷

The relevant column headings reading left to right for this census:

NAMES OF HEADS OF FAMILIES

NUMBER OF FREE WHITE PERSONS [by same age categories as 1830]

NUMBER OF FREE COLORED PERSONS [age categories different]

On the second page, in addition to the unused (in Ohio) slave enumeration, were:

NUMBER OF PERSONS IN EACH FAMILY EMPLOYED IN

Mining
Agriculture
Commerce
Manufactures and trades

¹⁰⁷ Census records. USA. Wells, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1840. Roll: M704_386. pg. 199. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 20 October 2020.

(No. 4.)

SCHEDULE of the whole number of persons within the division allotted to H. M. Gump

NAME OF HEAD OF FAMILY.	FREE WHITE PERSONS, INCLUDING HEADS OF FAMILIES.																				FREE COLORED PERSONS.																			
	MALES										FEMALES										MALES										FEMALES									
	5	10	15	20	25	30	35	40	45	50	5	10	15	20	25	30	35	40	45	50	5	10	15	20	25	30	35	40	45	50	5	10	15	20	25	30	35	40	45	50
James Allen	1																																							
John A. Altemeyer	2	1																																						
James Lyons	2										2																													
Sam. Armstrong	1																																							
John A. Altemeyer											1																													
John Wells	2										1																													
John G. Galloway											2																													
Sam. Brown																																								
Eliza A. Altemeyer																																								
John A. Altemeyer																																								
John A. Altemeyer	1																																							
John A. Altemeyer																																								
John A. Altemeyer	2										1																													
John A. Altemeyer	1																																							
John A. Altemeyer	2										1																													
John A. Altemeyer	1																																							
John A. Altemeyer	2										1																													
John A. Altemeyer	1																																							
John A. Altemeyer	1																																							
John A. Altemeyer	1																																							

Figure 99. Census enumeration sheet 1840.
 Source: Census records. USA. Wells, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1840. Roll: M704_386. pg. 199.
<http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 20 October 2020.

- Navigation of the ocean
- Navigation of canals, lakes, and rivers
- Learned professions and engineers

PENSIONERS FOR REVOLUTIONARY OR MILITARY SERVICES

Name
 Age

1850

This was the first year the census attempted to enumerate the entire population of free individuals by name. Slaves were captured on a different schedule; that schedule will not be discussed as virtually no slaves were found in the study area. This was a single page form provided by the federal government. All individuals whose usual place of abode on 1 June was the dwelling in question were to be enumerated, regardless of when the enumerator arrived.¹⁰⁸

The column headings reading left to right for this census:

DWELLING HOUSES NUMBERED IN THE ORDER OF VISITATION

¹⁰⁸ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1850. Roll: M432_669. pg. 144a.
<http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 20 October 2020.

SCHEDULE I. — Free Inhabitants in Wellsville Township **in the County of** Columbiana **State** Ohio
enumerated by me, on the 34 **day of** July **1850.** Wm. S. Hubbard Ass't Marshal

Dwellings numbered in order of visitation.	Families numbered in the order of visitation.	The Name of every Person whose usual place of abode on the first day of June, 1850, was in this family.	DESCRIPTION.			Profession, Occupation, or Trade of each Male Person over 15 years of age.	Value of Real Estate owned.	PLACE OF BIRTH. Naming the State, Territory, or Country.	Married within the year.	Attended School within the year.	Can read & write. Who cannot read & write.	Whether deaf and dumb, blind, insane, idiotic, pauper, or convict.
			Age.	Sex.	White, black, or mulatto.							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
487	184	Joseph Stevenson	52	all		Physician	\$1500	Virginia				
		Mary "	43	W				Idaho				
		Elizabeth "	19	W				"				
		Rachel "	17	W				"				
		Edward "	15	W				"				
		John "	12	all				"				
		George "	8	all				"				
488	185	John McHenry	74	all		None	\$1300	Ireland				
		Eliza "	70	W				Ireland				
489	186	David McConald	36	all		blacksmith	\$500	Ohio				
		Abigail "	24	W				Ohio				
		Louisa "	4	W				"				
		Abigail A "	1	W				Ohio				
		Isabella Brown	18	W				"				

Figure 100. Census enumeration sheet 1850.

Source: Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1850. Roll: M432_669. pg. 144a. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 20 October 2020.

FAMILIES NUMBERED IN THE ORDER OF VISITATION

NAME OF EVERY PERSON ... IN THIS FAMILY

AGE

SEX

COLOR - White, black or mulatto

PROFESSION, OCCUPATION, OR TRADE OF EACH MALE OVER AGE 15

VALUE OF REAL ESTATE OWNED

PLACE OF BIRTH NAMING STATE, TERRITORY OR COUNTRY

MARRIED WITHIN THE YEAR - tick mark

ATTENDED SCHOOL WITHIN THE YEAR - tick mark

PERSON OVER AGE 20 WHO CANNOT READ & WRITE - tick mark

WHETHER DEAF & DUMB, BLIND, INSANE, IDIOTIC, PAUPER, CONVICT

1860

The questions asked in 1860 were identical to those asked in 1850 and included one additional question. Information on slaves was collected on a separate

Page No. 10

SCHEDULE 1. Free Inhabitants in West Township of Liverpool **in the County of** Columbiana **State of** Ohio **enumerated by me, on the** 16th **day of** June **1860.** John M. Smith Ass't Marshal.
Post Office East Liverpool

Dwelling House numbered in order of visitation.	Family numbered in the order of visitation.	The name of every person whose usual place of abode on the first day of June, 1860, was in this family.	Description.			Profession, Occupation, or Trade of each person, male and female, over 15 years of age.	VALUE OF ESTATE OWNED.		Place of Birth, Naming the State, Territory, or Country.	Married within the year.	Attended School within the year.	Whether deaf and dumb, blind, insane, idiotic, pauper, or convict.
			Age.	Sex.	Color, or race.		Value of Real Estate.	Value of Personal Estate.				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1		Thomas C. Smith	33	M					Ohio			
2		Rebecca Smith	13	F					"			
3	66	Alfred Young	70	M		Retired	6400	3500	Pennsylvania			
4		Samuel	72	F					"			
5	67	Samuel B. Bodshaw	53	M		Farmer	6000	500	Pennsylvania			
6		Polina	19	F					Ohio			
7	68	E. H. Clark	37	M		Warmer	6000	500	Ohio			
8		David S.	37	F					Pennsylvania			
9		James	5	M					Ohio			
10		John	2	F								

Figure 101. Census enumeration sheet 1860.
 source: Census records. USA. Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1860. Roll: M593_unk. pg. 163. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 20 October 2020.

form.¹⁰⁹ The column headings reading left to right for this census are the same as the above.

The addition is column nine, after the question about real estate owned:

VALUE OF PERSONAL ESTATE

1870

The census of this year asked six more questions than the previous census. There was no slave census this year.¹¹⁰ Education and occupation questions were asked of those over age 10.¹¹¹

The column headings reading left to right for this census are as follows:

DWELLING HOUSE NUMBERED IN ORDER OF VISIT

FAMILY NUMBERED IN ORDER OF VISIT

¹⁰⁹ Census records. USA. Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1860. Roll: M593_unk. pg. 163. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 20 October 2020.

¹¹⁰ Census records. USA. Grant Township, Hancock County, West Virginia. 1 June 1870. Roll: M593_1687. pg. 587B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 21 October 2020.

¹¹¹ US Census Bureau. *Measuring America*: ...

Page No. 103 ~~10~~ Inquiries numbered 7, 16, and 17 are not to be asked in respect to infants. Inquiries numbered 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 19, and 20 are to be answered (if at all) merely by an affirmative mark, as /.

SCHEDULE 1.—Inhabitants in Grant Township, in the County of Hancock, State of W. Va., enumerated by me on the 15 day of June, 1870.

Post Office: New Cumberland. S. B. Perkins, Ass't Marshal.

1	2	3	DESCRIPTION.			7	VALUE OF REAL ESTATE OWNED.		10	PARENTAGE.		14	15	16	17	18	19	20	
			4	5	6		8	9		11	12								13
The name of every person whose place of abode on the first day of June, 1870, was in this family.			Age at last birthday, or under 1 year, specify month and day.	Sex—Male (M), Female (F).	Color—White (W), Black (B), Indian (I), or other race (O).	Profession, Occupation, or Trade of each person, male or female.	Value of Real Estate.	Value of Personal Estate.	Place of Birth, naming State or Territory of U. S.; or the Country, if of foreign birth.	Father of foreign birth.	Mother of foreign birth.	If born within the year, state month (Jan., Feb., &c.).	If married within the year, state month (Jan., Feb., &c.).	Attended school within the year.	Cannot read.	Cannot write.	Whether deaf and dumb, blind, insane, or idiotic.	Male citizen over 21 years of age, and not under 21, who has not been convicted of a crime, and is not an alien, or has not been naturalized, or is not a citizen of the United States.	Male citizen over 21 years of age, and not under 21, who has not been convicted of a crime, and is not an alien, or has not been naturalized, or is not a citizen of the United States.
1		<u>William Mahalia</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>W</u>	<u>Keeps House</u>			<u>W. Va.</u>										
2		<u>John</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>W</u>	<u>at House</u>			<u>W. Va.</u>										
3		<u>John</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>m</u>	<u>W</u>	<u>"</u>			<u>W. Va.</u>										
4		<u>George</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>m</u>	<u>W</u>	<u>"</u>			<u>W. Va.</u>										
5		<u>John</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>W</u>	<u>"</u>			<u>W. Va.</u>										
6		<u>John</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>m</u>	<u>W</u>	<u>Farmer</u>	<u>1500</u>	<u>370</u>	<u>W. Va.</u>										
7		<u>Levin</u>	<u>44</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>W</u>	<u>Keeps House</u>			<u>W. Va.</u>										

Figure 102. Census enumeration sheet 1870.

Source: Census records. USA. Grant Township, Hancock County, West Virginia. 1 June 1870. Roll: M593_1687. pg. 587B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 21 October 2020.

NAME OF EVERY PERSON [WHO LIVED HERE] ON 1 JUNE 1870

AGE AT LAST BIRTHDAY

SEX

COLOR

PROFESSION, OCCUPATION, TRADE OF EACH PERSON MALE OR FEMALE

VALUE OF REAL ESTATE

VALUE OF PERSONAL ESTATE

PLACE OF BIRTH

FATHER OF FOREIGN BIRTH - tick mark

MOTHER OF FOREIGN BIRTH - tick mark

MONTH BORN FOR INFANT UNDER AGE ONE

MONTH MARRIED IF MARRIED WITHIN THE YEAR

ATTENDED SCHOOL - tick mark

CANNOT READ - tick mark

CANNOT WRITE - tick mark

WHETHER DEAF & DUMB, BLIND, INSANE, IDIOTIC - tick mark

MALE CITIZEN OVER AGE 21 - tick mark

MALE CITIZEN OVER AGE 21 DENIED THE VOTE - tick mark

[T-200.]

Received July 23, 1880. A.

Page No. 1
 Supervisor's Dist. No. 8
 Enumeration Dist. No. 64

Note A.—The Census Year begins June 1, 1879, and ends May 31, 1880.
 Note B.—All persons will be included in the Enumeration who were living on the 1st day of June, 1880. No others will. Children BORN SINCE June 1, 1880, will be OMITTED. Members of Families who have DIED SINCE June 1, 1880, will be INCLUDED.
 Note C.—Questions Nos. 13, 14, 22 and 23 are not to be asked in respect to persons under 10 years of age.

SCHEDULE I.—Inhabitants in Wellsville, in the County of Columbiana, State of Ohio, enumerated by me on the 1st day of June, 1880.

David L. Fisher
 Enumerator.

In 1880		Personal Description		Civil Condition		Occupation		Health		Education		Satisfy	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1	1	J. Allen Horace	W. M. 60	Wife	1	Boarding house							
2	2	Octavia	W. F. 60	Daughter	1								
3	3	Julia	W. F. 36	Son	1								
4	4	Frank	W. M. 33	Son	1								
5	5	Edna	W. F. 26	Daughter	1								
6	6	Edna	W. F. 26	Son	1								
7	7	Harriet	W. M. 17	Son	1								

Figure 103. Census enumeration sheet 1880.

Source: Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1880. Roll: T9_1002. pg. 731A. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 21 October 2020.

Again this year the enumeration added questions; it also dropped the questions about land and personal estate. This was the first census to ask for the birthplaces of each individual's parents as well as each individual's relationship to the head of household. In cities the enumerator would capture the name of the street and the house number. Education and occupations questions were asked of those over age ten.¹¹²

The column headings reading left to right for this census are as follows:

DWELLING HOUSE IN ORDER OF VISITATION

FAMILY NUMBERED IN ORDER OF VISITATION

NAME OF EVERY PERSON [WHO LIVED HERE] ON 1 JUNE 1880

COLOR

SEX

AGE AT LAST BIRTHDAY

MONTH BORN IF WITHIN THE CENSUS YEAR

RELATIONSHIP OF EACH PERSON TO THE HEAD OF THIS FAMILY

CIVIL CONDITION - tick mark

¹¹² US Census Bureau. *Measuring America*: ...

Single

Married

Widowed or Divorced

MARRIED DURING CENSUS YEAR - tick mark

OCCUPATION

NUMBER OF MONTHS THIS YEAR PERSON WAS UNEMPLOYED

HEALTH - tick mark

If the person was sick this day, what was their ailment

Blind

Deaf and Dumb

Idiotic

Insane

Maimed, Crippled, Bedridden, etc.

EDUCATION - tick mark

Attended school within the census year

Cannot read

Cannot write

PLACE OF BIRTH OF THIS PERSON

PLACE OF BIRTH OF THE FATHER OF THIS PERSON

PLACE OF BIRTH OF THE MOTHER OF THIS PERSON

For the Non-Population Census

For the years 1850-1870 information about the larger manufacturing concerns in the study area is available. The U.S. Census Bureau collected this information for the four decades of the study time; the information for census year 1880 (for the study area) has been lost. Although the Census Bureau also collected information about agricultural production, this information was not used as it was not available for the primarily agricultural area of Grant and the focus in the Ohio work was on the towns rather than on agricultural production.

The objective of the Manufacturers Schedules was to record statistics for the principal industries in each county in which “any class of mechanical industry” produces a value of at least \$500 per year. Other information captured included

capital, expenses, some information on employees and labor costs. Questions varied by year.¹¹³

1850

District 35

SCHEDULE 5.—Products of Industry in St. Clair Township in the County of Columbiana State
of Ohio during the Year ending June 1, 1850, as enumerated by me, *W. B. Williams* Ass't Marshal

1	2	3	Raw Material used, including Fuel.			7	Average number of hands employed.		Wages.		Annual Product.		
			Quantities.	Kinds.	Values.		Males.	Females.	Average monthly wages.	Average annual wages.	Quantities.	Kinds.	Values.
1	<i>Geo. Kullbacker + John Schmitt</i>	<i>10000</i>	<i>50000</i>	<i>Wheat</i>	<i>3600,00</i>	<i>Wheat</i>	<i>8</i>		<i>40</i>		<i>9000</i>	<i>Gr. Flour</i>	<i>41760</i>
			<i>2700</i>	<i>Barley</i>	<i>1300</i>	<i>Barley</i>					<i>2700</i>	<i>Barley</i>	<i>1400</i>
				<i>Lys</i>	<i>200</i>						<i>50000</i>	<i>Gr. Flour</i>	<i>500</i>
2	<i>John Gardner + Blacksmith</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Iron</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>Iron</i>	<i>1</i>		<i>10</i>		<i>4</i>	<i>Iron Nails</i>	<i>100</i>
												<i>Metals</i>	<i>100</i>
3	<i>Chas. Hamilton + John Mice</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>Wheat</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>Wheat</i>	<i>2</i>		<i>30</i>		<i>500</i>	<i>Gr. Flour</i>	<i>2500</i>
			<i>1000</i>	<i>Barley</i>	<i>200</i>						<i>1000</i>	<i>Barley</i>	<i>400</i>
4	<i>William Schaffer + Blacksmith</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Iron</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>Iron</i>	<i>1</i>		<i>30</i>		<i>4</i>	<i>Iron Nails</i>	<i>100</i>
												<i>Metals</i>	<i>100</i>
5	<i>L. S. Hamilton + William Mice</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>7000</i>	<i>Wheat</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>Wheat</i>	<i>4</i>		<i>80</i>		<i>2000</i>	<i>Gr. Flour</i>	<i>1000</i>

Figure 104. Products of Industry schedule 1850.

Source: Census records. USA. St. Clair Township, Columbiana County, Ohio. [Schedule 5.] 1 June 1850. Roll: T1159_12. unpaginated. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 21 October 2020.

Columns for Schedule 5 - Products of Industry - for 1850 reading from left to right:¹¹⁴

NAME OF CORPORATION, COMPANY, OR INDIVIDUAL PRODUCER
NAME OF BUSINESS, MANUFACTURE, OR PRODUCT
CAPITAL INVESTED IN REAL & PERSONAL ESTATE IN THE BUSINESS

RAW MATERIALS USED INCLUDING FUEL
Quantities
Kinds
Values

KINDS OF MOTIVE POWER, MACHINERY, STRUCURE OR RESOURCE

¹¹³ US Census Bureau. 1860 Census: Manufactures of the United States. <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1865/dec/1860c.html> : accessed 21 October 2020; US Census Bureau. 1870 Census: Volume 3. The Statistics of Wealth and Industry of the United States. <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1872/dec/1870c.html> : accessed 4 December 2020.

¹¹⁴ Census records. USA. St. Clair Township, Columbiana County, Ohio. [Schedule 5.] 1 June 1850. Roll: T1159_12. unpaginated. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 21 October 2020.

Page No. 5

SCHEDULE 4.—Products of Industry in East Liverpool Township in the County of Columbiana, State of Ohio, during the year ending June 1, 1870, as enumerated by me.

Post Office: Wellsville Ohio J. B. Williamson, Ass't Marshal.

1	2	3	MOTIVE POWER		MACHINES		AVERAGE NUMBER OF HANDS EMPLOYED					12	MATERIALS (Including Mill Supplies and Fuel)			PRODUCTION (Including all Jobbing and Repairing)		
			4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	13		14	15	16	17	18	
1	A. J. Martin & Co. Yellowstone Manufacture	2000	Horse	Blue Print Hags Hoggs Lath	1 1 2 1	12 3 10 8000	10						Wool	3000	450	Wool	200	4500
													Wool	1800	1320	Yellowstone		8500
													Wool	1400				3200
2	Bryce A. J. Virgin	6000	Steam	Drill Press Lath	1 3	4 1		2050	10				Wool	4000	450	Wool	2	2000
													Wool	200	1260	Wool		2400
													Wool	4000	450			4800
													Wool	200				
3	Bryce A. J. Ground	2000	Steam	Drill Press Lath	1 1	1 1		2	420	10			Wool	2000	450	Wool		2700
													Wool	200	1260	Wool		2400
													Wool	200				

Figure 106. Products of Industry schedule 1870.

Source: Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. [Schedule 4.] 1 June 1870. Roll: T1159_45. unpaginated. FHL Film 1602369, image 75 of 588. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 21 October 2020.

In this year the enumerators asked 18 instead of 14 questions. Additional questions the types of machinery used and the number of employees. No West Virginia returns are available for this year.¹¹⁶

The columns for Schedule 4 - Products of Industry - reading left to right:

NAME OF CORPORATION, COMPANY, INDIVIDUAL PRODUCING > \$500

NAME OF BUSINESS, MANUFACTURE OR PRODUCT

CAPITAL INVESTED IN THE BUSINESS

MOTIVE POWER

Kind of power - steam, water, wind, horse, hand

If steam or water, number of horsepower

MACHINES

Name or description

Number of

AVERAGE NUMBER OF HANDS EMPLOYED

Males above 16 years

Females above 15 years

¹¹⁶ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. [Schedule 4.] 1 June 1870. Roll: T1159_45. unpaginated. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 21 October 2020.

Children and youth
TOTAL AMOUNT IN WAGES DURING THE YEAR
NUMBER OF MONTHS IN ACTIVE OPERATION
MATERIALS including mill supplies and fuel
Kinds
Quantities
Values
PRODUCTION including jobbing and repairing
Kinds
Quantities
Values

OCCUPATIONAL METHODOLOGY TABLES

Found in this section are tables and lists used during the standardization of the basic census data collected from various sources as well as the standardization of the occupations recorded by the various enumerators over the course of the four decades of data collection. Although some effort was made to “correct” an obviously misspelled or mis-transcribed surname, this was not done systematically and will not be described further. These tables are related to the quality control processes described above.

Table 11. Standardized codes for places of birth

Africa	AFR
At Sea	SEA
Austria	AUS
Bohemia	CZE
Canada	CAN*
Cuba	CUB
Denmark	DEN
England	ENG
France	FRA
Germany	GER**
Holland/Netherlands	HOL
Ireland	IRE
Italy	ITA

Mexico	MEX
Philippines	PHI
Prussia	PRU
Russia	RUS
Scotland	SCO
Sweden	SWE
Switzerland	SWI
United States	USA
Unknown/blank	UNK***
Wales/South Wales	WAL
West Indies	WIN

*This included provinces of Canada such as Ontario & Nova Scotia which were recorded.

**This included divisions of Germany such as Baden which were recorded.

***The many blanks in the parents' birthplace columns in 1880 were left blank. One entry of "North America" was coded UNK.

Table 12. Occupational Standardization Guidelines	
Original Occupation	Standardized Occupation
" ____ " Agent, also Brokers	Agent - " ____ "
Apprentices of all kinds	Code in occupation of apprenticeship
>15, At School, Student	leave blank
Attorney at Law	Lawyer
All bank employees	Banker
Boarding house keeper	Lumped with Hotel Keepers, though not exact
Bonnet maker	Milliner
Brakeman	Miner unless specified as RR brakeman
Brick layer	Bricklayer (retained, not changed to mason)
Brickmaker, brick hand, brick moulder, brick yard	Brick Maker (to match other "makers")
" ____ " Manufacturer	Manuf. - " ____ "

Table 12. Occupational Standardization Guidelines	
Original Occupation	Standardized Occupation
Carriage maker, Coach maker	Wagon Maker
Carrier	Driver
Civil Engineer	Engineer - Civil
" ____ " Clerk	Clerk - " ____ " except banks and post office
Clothier	Merch. - Clothing
Coal or clay miner, coal digger, Colier	Miner
Collar Maker, Harness Maker	Saddler (assumed to be making horse collars and harnesses)
" ____ " Contractor	Cont. - " ____ "
Crate maker, cask works, barrel maker	Cooper
Dealer in " ____ "	Merch. - " ____ "
Drayman, stage driver, teamster, waggoner	Driver
Dressmaker, seamstress, embroiderer	Seamstress (Tailoress = Tailor)
Farm laborer, farm hand	Farm Hand
Farmer, farm tenant, farm manager	Farmer
Government agents, JPs, Mayor, police, court clerks, guards, watchmen	Government (perhaps should say "civil")
Hairdresser	Milliner (they were not hair stylists!)
Hostler	Liveryman
House carpenter, house painter	Carpenter, Painter
House Keeper (NOT Keeping House)	Domestic Servant (despite the stated distinction)
Huckster	Peddler (not an exact translation)
Iron Founder & Iron Moulder	Ironworker
Livery Stable owners and workers	Liveryman
Lumberman	Sawyer
Mail carrier, postmaster, PO clerks, etc.	Postman

Table 12. Occupational Standardization Guidelines	
Original Occupation	Standardized Occupation
Master “___”; also Manager	“___” (retain occupation only)
“___” Merchant	Merch. - “___”
Merchant Tailor	Tailor
Mariner, waterman, riverman, all kinds of boatman, ferryman, fisherman	Waterman
Mason, or specific type	Mason - “___”
Monotypist	Printer
None (required in some years)	leave blank
Pattern maker	Ironworker
Physician or Doctor	Doctor
Portrait painter, photographer, music composer	Artist
Pottery workers of all kinds	Potter
Preachers, clergy of all denominations, sextons	Clergy
Railroad in all combinations	RR - “___”
Retired occupation	leave blank (not used in all years)
Roller	These may have been tin workers
Salesman	Merchant
Section master	RR - Foreman
Shoemaker, shoe & boot maker	Shoe Maker
Steamboat in all combinations	SB - “___”
School teacher or specific subject teacher, school mistress	Teacher
Silver workers of all kinds	Silversmith
Store keeper	Merchant
Student of a particular profession	leave blank
Tanner and/or Currier	Tanner

Table 12. Occupational Standardization Guidelines	
Original Occupation	Standardized Occupation
References to terra cotta, pipe works, door knobs, earthenware, Yellow Ware, Rockingham; also decorators	Potter/Pottery
Tin workers of all kinds	Tinsmith
Tobacconist	Merch. - Tobacco
Trader	Merchant
Unknown	leave blank
Washerwoman, laundress, etc.	Laundry
White smith	Tinsmith

Table 13. Standardized occupations per category

- 1) **PROFESSIONAL**

Architects	Draftsmen
Artists	Editors
Civil Engineers	Lawyers
Clergy	Publishers
Dentists	Surveyors
Doctors & Nurses	Teachers

- 2) **TRADE**

Agents of All Kinds	Merchants of All Kinds
Chandlers	Merchant Factors
Clerks in stores	News Sellers
Contractors	Peddlers
Druggist	Saloon Keepers & Clerks
Grocers	

- 3) **CLERICAL, SERVICE, GOVERNMENT**

Bankers	Hotel and/or Restaurant Keepers
Barbers	Housekeepers

Bookkeepers	Janitors
Boarding House Keepers	Laundry Workers
Clerks - Unspecified	Liverymen
Clerks at Hotel/Restaurant	Postal Workers
Cooks	Telegraph Operators
Domestic Servants (see below)	Undertakers
Government Employees	

4) **AGRICULTURE**

Farmers, Farm Hands, Florists, Gardeners, etc.

5) **TRANSPORTATION**

Clerks in Transportation Companies
 Drivers
 Engineers for Rail or Steamboats
 Railroad Officials and Employees (except agents)
 Steamboat Pilots and Employees (except agents)
 Watermen

6) **MECHANICAL, MINING, CONSTRUCTION, REPAIR**

[including officials of companies and clerks, not agents]

Bricklayers	Miners & Quarrymen
Carpenters	Painters & Glaziers
Engineers	Plasterers
Gas & Oil Workers	Plumbers
Machinists	Slaters
Marble & Stone Cutters	Soda Water
	Manufacturers
Mechanics	Wheelwrights
Millwrights	

7) **MANUFACTURING/PRODUCTION, HEAVY INDUSTRY**

[including officials of companies and clerks, not agents]

Boiler Makers	Finishers in all Fields
Brick Makers	Ironworkers
Bridge Builders	Millers
Boat Builders	Potters

Building Materials Manufacturers
Coopers
Engine Builders

Sawyers
Tanners
Wagon Makers

8) **CRAFTSMEN, LIGHT INDUSTRY**

Bakers & Confectioners
Blacksmiths
Brewers
Broom Makers
Butchers
Cabinet & Chair Makers
Cigar Makers
Dyers
Gunsmiths

Paper Makers
Printers & Engravers
Rope Makers
Saddlers
Shoemakers
Silver/Copper/Tinsmiths
Tailors & Seamstresses
Upholsterers
Watch Makers &
Repairmen

Jewelers
Masons - Brick and Stone
Milliners

Weavers
Wool Carders

9) **GENERAL LABORERS**

After beginning the statistical analysis using these categories, it was found that some significant skew was introduced by the intermittently used category of “domestic servants.” As such, a 10th category was added.

10) **DOMESTIC SERVANTS**

APPENDIX TWO

WELLS GENEALOGICAL CASE STUDY

Mary	b. 1788 d. 1883	Pennsylvania m. David James Watt
James	b. 1789 d. 1885	Pennsylvania m. Sarah Morgan
Margaret	b. 1791 d. bef 1852	Pennsylvania m. William Pritchard
George	b. 1793 d. 1889	Pennsylvania m. Susannah Hamilton
William, Jr.	b. 1795 d. 1827	Pennsylvania
Joseph	b. 1798 d. 1882	Pennsylvania m. Keziah Murray
Ann	b. 1800 d. 1879	Ohio m. Oliver P. Sherman
Sarah	b. 1803 d. 1872	Ohio m. John McWilliams
Israel	b. 1806 d. 1806	Ohio
Alexander	b. 1808 d. 1908	Ohio m. Esther Kemble
Rachel	b. 1808 d. 1897	Ohio m. Augustus G. W. Stevens

Married about 1786
Pennsylvania

**Rebecca Ann
CLARK**
Born 19 Feb 1765
Pennsylvania
dau. of James & Margaret
Died 22 May 1815
Wellsville, Columbiana, OH

Figure 107. Children of William & Ann Wells.
Data sources cited inline.

Table 14. Basic Genealogical Information for William WELLS - founder of Wellsville.	
Parents	George WELLS and unknown wife, possibly HUFF*
Birth	10/20 Feb 1765 in Bedford County, Pennsylvania
Marriage	Ann CLARK, Washington County, Pennsylvania, before about 1876
Occupation	Farmer, town founder, merchant, civil servant
Death	24 Apr 1852, probably in Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio
Children	Mary (1788-1883) m. David Watts** James (1789-1885) m. Margaret (~1791-1852) m. William Pritchard George (1793-1889) m. Susannah Hamilton William Jr. (1795-1827) Joseph (1798-1882) m. Keziah Murray Ann (1800-1879) m. O. P. Sherman Sarah (1803-1872) m. Joseph Benson Israel (1806-1806) Alexander (1808-1908) m. Esther Kemble Rachel (1808-1897) m. A.G.W. Stevens
	*Sources for William's information found inline
	**Sources for information about William's children follow in a separate section.

Introduction and ancestors of William:

The family of Wells is a very large family, likely of English or Welsh descent, which can date its arrival in the United States to the early 1700s or before. One author dates their arrival to the mid-1600s, and includes the descent of the family from 15th century Normandy. Included in his genealogy is the common American story of the immigration of several brothers to this country.¹ The aim of this study is not to trace these early ancestors, but to examine the generations who lived and worked in and near the study area.

¹ Albert Welles. (1876) *History of the Welles family in England and Normandy: with the derivation from their progenitors of some of the descendants in the United States*. New York : Albert Welles, p. 97. This author does not specifically discuss the descendants of James Wells of Baltimore.

The first members of the Wells family under study probably settled near Baltimore, as quite a few family histories dealing with this branch mention land ownership, births, and marriages in that area. Some of these Wells may have originally been tobacco farmers,² moving along as the land became depleted, or their families grew, or they simply yearned for new challenges. Some branches of the Baltimore family moved south to Virginia, or the Carolinas, and many more went southwest to Kentucky and Missouri. The line from which William Wells, founder of Wellsville, descends moved nearly due west, settling in central and western Pennsylvania before some of them moved on to what is now northern West Virginia and eastern Ohio. Many of them continued in farming, and were generally successful land owners.

The Wells were a long-lived family, and often both men and women lived well into their 80s or 90s. They were fertile. It is reported that William Wells' grandfather fathered a total of 12 sons and 12 daughters by two different wives.³ This ancestor, Richard Wells, was born in Baltimore on 15 March 1722, son of James and Ann.⁴

The colonial records of the Wells ancestors are not of particular import to this study. Wells family historian Harold Arnold speculates that the immigrant ancestor, James, was born about 1676 in England.⁵ He became a tobacco farmer in Maryland (as were many farmers in that area), and Arnold's conclusions are reasonable given the scope of his research.⁶ James and his wife Ann had six children baptized at St. Paul

² RootsWeb. Harold Henry Arnold & Nadine Hull, authors. *The Wells Family, Known as "The Little Wells."* <http://sites.rootsweb.com/~wellsfam/genealogy/fam00003/jameswen.html> : accessed 6 December 2020. [transcription of material written in 1966, revised in 1998] Arnold cites quite a few original records in his analysis of the family. This transcription is unpaginated, and the original (if it exists) was not found.

³ Arnold & Hull, *The Wells Family, Known as "The Little Wells"*; James Archibald Huston. (1914) *Genealogy of some branches of the families of Huston, Wilson, Wilkin, Holmes, Wells, Whitaker, Brown, ancestors of James Archibald Huston and wife, Amanda Wilkin Huston*. Sewickley, PA: Robindale; Welles, *History of the Welles family in England and Normandy*:... All authors discuss this same basic story in various parts of their books.

⁴Baptisms. USA. St. Paul Protestant Episcopal Church, Baltimore, Baltimore, Maryland. 1716-1725. Children of WELLS, James and Ann. Collection: Maryland Births and Christenings, 1650-1995. <https://familysearch.org> : accessed 11 February 2018. See FHL microfilm 13696.

⁵ There is some dissent among Wells family historians regarding this date. James was apparently first recorded as a taxable (presumed age 16) in 1692; from this record, his birth year has been estimated.

⁶ Arnold & Hull, *The Wells Family, Known as "The Little Wells"*



Figure 108. Plat of the Ohio Seven Ranges of Townships.

Surveyed by Thomas Hutchins, the United States Geographer, according to the guidelines in the Land Ordinance of 1785. The “Point of Beginning” is where the Ohio River meets Pennsylvania, currently in East Liverpool, Ohio.

The study area (marked with an oval) is comprised mainly of Sections 23-24 and 17-18 in the First Range (East Liverpool) and Sections 4-5 in the Second Range (Wellsville).

Source: Thomas Hutchins, William Barker, & Mathew Carey. (1785) *Plat of the seven ranges of townships being part of the territory of the United States, N.W. of the River Ohio*. Four miles to the inch (bar printed). Philadelphia: Mathew Carey. Library of Congress Geography and Map Division control no. 99441743.

Protestant Episcopal Church in Baltimore, between the years of 1716 and 1729;⁷ in addition, most Wells researchers attribute two additional children to this couple, the oldest being born in about 1709, and another before 1716.⁸ The veracity of the claimed two additional children are not at issue here, as the ancestor of the Wellsville Wells is probably Richard, who *was* named in the church records.

James and Ann Wells of Baltimore almost certainly died in Baltimore County, as James' probate was administered there in late 1771.⁹ As noted, there is some dispute amongst researchers about James' date of birth, but he was likely in his 90s when he died, quite an old age at that time. This couple had at least eight known children, probably all born in Baltimore County. These children began the diaspora of this branch of the Wells family to the south and west.

A second group of Wells descendants, children of Benjamin Wells and Temperance Butler of Baltimore, also moved west. At least five of Benjamin's sons settled in Ohio or Brooke County, Virginia, around 1775.¹⁰ Although Benjamin was not the direct ancestor of William Wells of Wellsville, this branch of the family should not be dismissed in the overall view of the Wells family in the upper Ohio Valley since the commonality of shared forenames could lead to misidentification of individuals within William's family.

The grandfather of William Wells of Wellsville was probably Richard Wells, Sr. He was born 15 March 1722 and baptized at St. Paul's in Baltimore.¹¹ Some traditions of interest attach to this Richard and it should be noted that there were several men

⁷ Baptisms. USA. St. Paul Protestant Episcopal Church, Baltimore, Baltimore, Maryland. 1716-1725. Children of WELLS, James and Ann. Collection: Maryland Births and Christenings, 1650-1995. <https://familysearch.org> : accessed 11 February 2018. See FHL microfilm 13696.

⁸ Arnold & Hull, *The Wells Family, Known as "The Little Wells"*

⁹ *Ibid.* Arnold cites the manuscript records at the 'Maryland Hall of Records' in Annapolis which he used for this research.

¹⁰ J. H. Newton, et al. (1879) *History of the Pan-Handle; being Historical Collections of the counties of Ohio, Brooke, Marshall and Hancock, West Virginia*. Wheeling: J. A. Caldwell, p. 356. Newton does not specifically name Benjamin as the father of the five.

¹¹ Baptisms. USA. St. Paul Protestant Episcopal Church, Baltimore, Baltimore, Maryland. 1716-1725. Children of WELLS, James and Ann. Collection: Maryland Births and Christenings, 1650-1995. <https://familysearch.org> : accessed 11 February 2018. See FHL microfilm 13696.

named Richard Wells in Pennsylvania, Virginia and Ohio during his lifetime. This may have led to some confusion in recording, or conflating of several individuals into one “Richard.” In addition, the places he lived were considered the American frontier, and verifiable records are hard to come by. The first tradition reported by Wells family researchers is that his nickname was “Tidley.” No researcher consulted could give a reason for this, and no individuals of surname Tidley were found in the family genealogical records.¹²

The second tradition surrounding Richard is that he had two wives and each wife produced six boys and six girls thus providing Richard with an even dozen each of daughters and sons. The names and distribution between the wives of these children varies from author to author, and very little actual evidence exists to support this tradition. Although a total of 24 names were gathered from family histories, authors do not always agree on which wife produced which child, birth order, etc.¹³ Richard left the Baltimore area and settled in southwestern Pennsylvania sometime before his first wife, Nancy Brown, died probably in Somerset County in about 1766.¹⁴ As many pioneers did when pushing west, they tended to purchase land near other family members when possible, sometimes migrating as a group. The name “Richard Wells” was quite common in this part of Pennsylvania during this time period, and there is no guarantee that our Richard ever lived in Bedford, Somerset or Yohogania Counties, all of which have references naming a “Richard Wells”.

¹² The name “Tidley” was found in nearly all online trees associated with this family. See, for example: RootsWeb. *Name: willyeye — Istvan-Gruber-Donaldson-McKownTree*. <https://wc.rootsweb.com/trees/242210/109671/-/> individual : accessed 18 May 2020; Interesting.com Inc. *Richard Tidley Wells Sr: (1722-abt. 1808)*. <https://www.wikitree.com/wiki/Wells-202> : accessed 18 May 2020. “Tidley” was not noted in the wells genealogy documents located at the River Museum archives (see below).

¹³ Robert MacAleese. (c1970) *The Wells Family in America*. [typed manuscript] Wellsville: Wellsville River Museum archives. Collection: Wells. (he names 14 children); Eileen Bush. (n.d.) *Wells Family Group Sheets*. Wellsville: Wellsville River Museum archives. Collection: Wells. (she names 11 children)

¹⁴ Monumental inscriptions. USA. Unknown Cemetery, Cumberland County, Pennsylvania. 1766. BROWN, Nancy Ann. Memorial only, maintained by Kathryn Peters. *Find A Grave Memorial: 79800655*. <http://www.findagrave.com> : accessed 29 April 2020. This contributor is citing: Brown, Lee A. (2006) *A Genealogical History of Joshua Brown and his Descendants in America with Information Concerning his Forebears*. Roanoke: Lee A. Brown Sr.; MacAleese, *The Wells Family in America*.; C.M.L. Wiseman. (1901) *Pioneer Period and Pioneer People of Fairfield County, Ohio*. Columbus: P. J. Herr Printing Co., p. 270. Wiseman states Richard settled in Somerset County ‘a year or two before the Revolution’.

According to one source, Richard may have stayed on in Somerset County following the death of Nancy until the mid- to late-1790s.¹⁵ Richard's second wife is not of particular interest to the study of William Wells, grandson of his first wife. Richard and his second family reportedly moved from Somerset County to Holliday's Cove, in Hancock County, Virginia, in about 1798. From there he likely moved into Ohio, possibly settling in Licking County by about 1802.¹⁶ Richard's exact date and place of death are not known.

Records for Richard's son George are not plentiful. Published accounts of his life indicate he was born in Baltimore in about 1745, probably traveling with his father as a young man as far as Bedford County, Pennsylvania. The name of George's wife, William's mother, has not been found. She is speculated to have been a Miss Huff, who died when William was an infant.¹⁷ George reportedly married again to Elizabeth Holmes and had several more children by about 1775, some of whom were born in Bedford County, Pennsylvania.¹⁸ An enumeration for "George Wells" on the 1790 census of Washington County, Pennsylvania, may have been William's father.¹⁹

George may have left Pennsylvania before 1820 when at least seven Wells families were found in Licking County, Ohio, where George reportedly died. There were two Georges on this census, neither the proper age to be William's father.²⁰ Licking County is just east of Columbus. Union Township and Hebron, where George is buried, are about 110 miles southwest of the study area. The only George Wells on the

¹⁵ Wiseman, *Pioneer Period and Pioneer People of Fairfield County, Ohio*, p. 271.

¹⁶ Lewis Keeler Leonard & Melvevna Burris Leonard. (1975) *Seven Hundred Ancestors*. n.pub., Chap. XLVII - Wells.

¹⁷ William B. McCord. (1905) *History of Columbiana County, Ohio, and Representative Citizens*. Chicago: Biographical Publishing Co., p. 357.

¹⁸ Mary J. Roe. (1892) *Genealogy of Gen. James Wells and Descendants*. n.p.: Webb Stationery & Printing Co., p. 54.

¹⁹ Census records. USA. Washington County, Pennsylvania. 2 August 1790. WELLS, George (head). Roll: M637_9. p. 166. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 11 October 2019.

²⁰ Census records. USA. Union, Licking County, Ohio. 7 August 1820. WELLS, George [Jr.] (head). Roll: M33_94. p. 13. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 10 July 2019.

1830 census of Licking County is also too young to be William's father.²¹ George was reported to have died on 19 Oct 1831, buried in Hebron, Licking County, Ohio.²²

William Wells:

After George Wells' young wife died, the infant William was reportedly left in the care of a grandmother. History does not record which grandmother, only that he lived briefly in Summit County, but was reared mainly in Washington County, Pennsylvania.²³ He might have lived with grandfather Richard or with a Huff relative - both surnames are present on the 1790 census in Washington County, though Wells are far more prevalent.²⁴ While living there, William married Ann Clark, daughter of James Clark, probably by about 1786.²⁵

The 1790 US census recorded only the name of the head of each household, plus the number of males under age 16, those over



Figure 110. Sections four and five. William Wells purchased Section Four and the portion of Section Five south of Little Yellow Creek.

Source: Alexr. Holmes & Benjamin Hough. (1803-05) *Township No. IX Range No. II* [The seven Ranges] n. pub. Bureau of Land Management, General Land Office Records, Original Survey, DM ID 388666 [Ohio]. https://glorerecords.blm.gov/details/survey/default.aspx?dm_id=388666&sid=qbfcon3g.jvw#surveyDetailsTabIndex=1 : accessed 31 July 2019.

²¹ Census records. USA. Union, Licking County, Ohio. 1 June 1830. WELLS, Geo. (head). Roll: M19_134. p. 440. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 10 July 2019.

²² US Sons of the American Revolution, Western Reserve Society, Ohio Society. Application for Membership. WELLS, Hugh. National number 85400. Collection: US, Sons of the American Revolution Membership Applications, 1889-1970. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 20 December 2018. [Ancestor Richard Wells, Sr.]; Monumental inscriptions. USA. Luray Cemetery, Licking County, Ohio. n.d. WELLS, George. *Find A Grave* memorial 40338577. <http://www.findagrave.com> : accessed 10 June 2019.

²³ McCord, *History of Columbiana County, Ohio*, ..., p. 357.

²⁴ Census records. USA. Washington County, Pennsylvania. 2 August 1790. Search terms "Huff" and "Wells". <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 10 July 2019.

²⁵ McCord, *History of Columbiana County, Ohio*, ..., p. 357.

age 16, and total number of females. The 1790 census returns for Washington County, Pennsylvania, recorded 15 heads of household named Wells, two named William. There is some evidence that these returns may have been at least partially alphabetized, thereby making unwise any assumptions about physical proximity when noting individuals named on the same page. Keeping this in mind, the most likely William Wells from this enumeration is still believed to be the household with five members, rather than seven, the one listed on the same page as four other Wells households (including a George) and a household of James Clark.²⁶

There were 30 Clark households in Washington County in 1790, two headed by men named James. The two potential households of Wells and Clark both have five members. If this is our William he had (probably) one son under 16 and two other women in his household along with his wife; one might have been daughter Mary. Alternately, any of these individuals may have been servants or other relatives, as no other household members' names or women's ages were recorded. The Clark household had (possibly) one son under 16, one over 16 and possibly a daughter.²⁷

Ohio did not become a state until 1803 and was, therefore, not included on the 1800 census. Some effort was made to enumerate the inhabitants northwest of the Ohio River. Extant records include only those in what was then called Washington County (Ohio).²⁸ The study area around Columbiana County was not covered by these records so a search for Wells or Clark living in our area in 1800 would return nothing from this census. Although the 1810 census did cover Ohio, those records have been lost.²⁹

²⁶ Census records. USA. Washington County, Pennsylvania. 2 August 1790. WELLS, William (head). Roll: M637_9. p. 166. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 29 April 2020.

²⁷ Census records. USA. Washington County, Pennsylvania. 2 August 1790. WELLS, William and CLARK, James (heads). Roll: M637_9. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 11 July 2019.

²⁸ William Thorndale & William Dollarhide. (1987) *Map Guide to the US Federal Censuses, 1790-1920*. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., p. 268.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

Land records are available for part of this time. The common story of early Wellsville beginnings states that government surveyor Robert Johnston came into possession of a large tract of land in now Columbiana County as partial payment for his services to the federal government.³⁰ This is borne out by examining a complicated set of deeds in which land transfers back and forth between Robert Johnston (the original surveyor), William Wells (the town founder) and James Clark (Wells' father-in-law). By 1807 William Wells owned the land that comprises approximately the now northern half of Wellsville, plus some farmland to the northwest of the town.³¹ (See Map 1.) The land in these sections was described by a surveyor in either 1803 or 1805 as "Down steep hill, then through Sugartree Bottom."³²

The deeds record the name of James Clark's wife, Margaret O. She was living in 1807 when the last deed between the two men was executed and she released her dower rights.³³ Although Ann Clark was reportedly married to William Wells by about 1785 or at least by 1788 when daughter Mary was born³⁴ there is no record that Ann released her dower rights to the property in the initial 1798 sale of some of this property to her father, James. The next year, when William sold more of the property to James Clark, Ann did release her dower rights.³⁵

³⁰ For a general discussion see McCord, McCord, *History of Columbiana County, Ohio*, ..., and Harold B. Barth. (1926) *History of Columbiana County*. Topeka: Historical Publishing Co.

³¹ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed Records, Vol. 1, pp. 219 and 514-516. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 20 May 2020.

³² US Department of the Interior. Bureau of Land Management.. General Land Office Records. Survey of Township No. IX Range No. II [The seven Ranges] by Benjamin Hough, 1 January 1805. https://glarecords.blm.gov/details/survey/default.aspx?dm_id=388666&sid=qbfcon3g.jvw#surveyDetailsTabIndex=1 : accessed 31 July 2019.

³³ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed Records, Vol 1, p. 219. Clark to Wells, 21 May 1807. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 22 July 2019. FHL film 926861, image 116 of 669.

³⁴ Monumental inscriptions. USA. Spring Hill Cemetery, Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 July 1883. WATT, Mary. Memorial created by "Bev." *Find A Grave* memorial: 78064870. <http://www.findagrave.com> : accessed 26 February 2019.

³⁵ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed Records, Vol. 1, p. 515-516. Wells to Clark, 8 February 1798. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 29 April 2020. FHL film 926861, images 276 & 277 of 669.

These deeds also cast some doubt on parts of the common story of Wells' arrival in Ohio which begins with Robert Johnston who received Sections Four and Five in Range Two, Township Nine of the original Ohio Seven Ranges as partial payment for his work surveying the area. The cost was reportedly \$6.00 per 100 acres.³⁶ This may be mostly correct. Federal patents indicate that on 17 April 1788 Johnston purchased Section Four for \$286.85 and Section Five for \$540.45.³⁷ Both sections are fractional, the total acreage for both being about 769 acres.³⁸ (See Maps 2 and 3.) The story goes on to say that James Clark, William's father-in-law, purchased 304 acres of Johnston's land from him in 1795.³⁹

If any part of this land was purchased by James Clark from Robert Johnston in 1795, as claimed by local historians, these records have been lost as the deeds for Columbiana County begin in 1798.⁴⁰ The first record found of transfer of this particular land from Johnston was directly to William Wells on 8 Feb 1798, rather than to Clark as the tradition states.⁴¹ The land purchased by Wells did not include all the land owned by Johnston in Section Five; the northern extent purchased by Wells was Little Yellow Creek, eventually to become the northern end of Wellsville. The balance of Johnston's land in Section Five was purchased by William's son James in 1832.⁴² Local historians also report that William and his family lived on the Virginia side of the river in a blockhouse (for defense against Indian attack) and traveled back and forth to farm his

³⁶ See, for example: McCord, *History of Columbiana County, Ohio*, ..., p. 342.

³⁷ US Department of the Interior. Bureau of Land Management. General Land Office Records. Credit entry file for JOHNSTON, Robert. 17 April 1788. <https://glorerecords.blm.gov/search/default.aspx>.

³⁸ Earth Point Townships, Section S5&5 T9N R2W, Ohio River Base; www.earthpoint.us. Citing BLM-GLO Township Records for original information, see footnote 35.

³⁹ See, for example: McCord, *History of Columbiana County, Ohio*, ..., p. 342.

⁴⁰ The Family History Library in Salt Lake City holds some film supposedly covering Trumbull and Columbiana Counties beginning in 1795. A search of that index did not reveal any grants from Johnston to Clark in 1795. If this deed does exist, it does not appear to have been indexed.

⁴¹ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed Records, Vol 1, p. 514. Johnston to Wells, 8 February 1798. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 22 July 2019. FHL film 926861, image 276 of 669. Also found in the Jefferson County Deed Records, Bk. A, p. 23.

⁴² Columbiana County, Ohio. Deeds Records, Vol. 21, p. 414. Ramsay to Wells, 18 August 1832. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 23 July 2019. FHL film 926870, image 805 of 924.

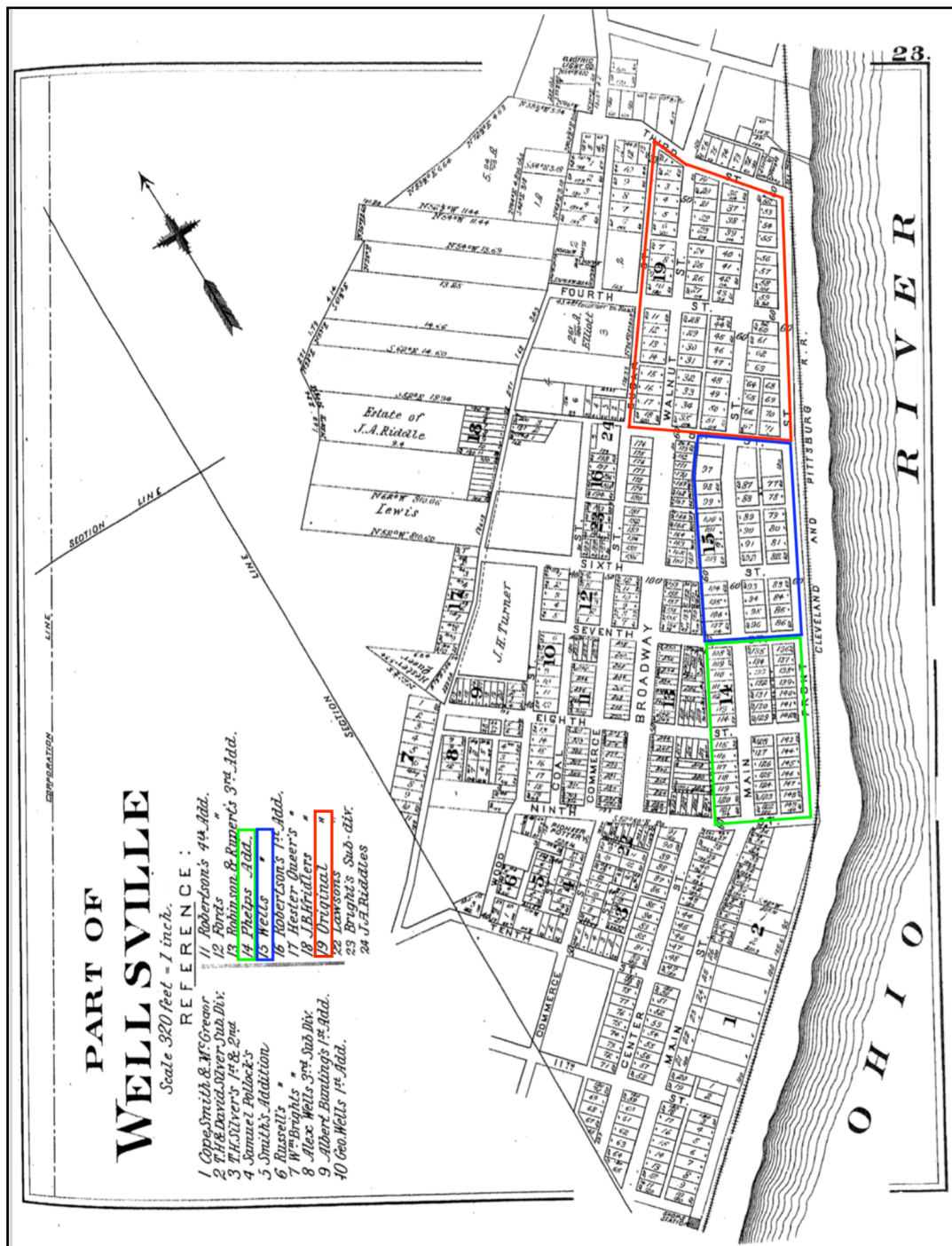


Figure 111. Sections of Wellsville developed by William Wells, Sr. The original plat of 76 lots was entered in the deed books in 1823; Wells' Addition of 31 more lots was entered in 1833; Phelps' Addition of 41 more lots was entered in 1841. Source: W. G. Bentley, W. G. (1902) *Atlas of Surveys of Columbiana County Ohio - Part of Wellsville*. Sheet 23, scale 320 ft. to the 1 inch (no bar). Lisbon: Columbiana County Map & Atlas Co. Ohio History Connection, Historic Atlases. https://www.ohiohistory.org/OHC/media/OHC-Media/Documents/SHPO/Atlas/Bentley-s_Atlas_of_Columbiana_County_1902.pdf : accessed 31 July 2019.

land on the Ohio side of the river.⁴³ There is no evidence that William Wells owned land on the Virginia side of the river during this period; he may well have been renting or just sheltering with friends.

Integral to the history of William and his spouses is the concept of dower rights. This is a very old concept, dating to the middle ages. Dower rights for women were designed to protect them in the event of widowhood. Since married women could not own land in their own name in these early years of American history dower rights allowed a widow to profit from the proceeds of her deceased husband's lands for the rest of her life, thereby (ostensibly) preventing her destitution. When a living husband decides to sell land his wife must specifically sign away her dower rights in order for the land transfer to be enforceable.⁴⁴

Part of the land William Wells purchased from Johnston was later purchased by James Clark, the supposed father of William's wife Ann. William sold 150 acres to Clark for \$300 on 8 Feb 1798, the same day he purchased it.⁴⁵ On this transaction there was no dower release by Ann recorded. About 18 months later William and Ann apparently sold another parcel of the land to James; this was sold for £300 (currency of Virginia) and contained 161.25 acres.⁴⁶ This may have been a duplication or correction of the earlier deed rather than a sale of additional acreage. James and wife Margaret sold this parcel back to William on 21 May 1807 for the sum of £282 and 6.9 pence.⁴⁷ It is not known where the common story of the land coming to William from his father-in-

⁴³ McCord, *History of Columbiana County, Ohio*, ..., p. 342.

⁴⁴ FarmProgress. Robert Moore, author. *Dower Rights are old but still real in Ohio*. <https://www.farmprogress.com/land-management/dower-rights-are-old-still-real-ohio> : accessed 24 December 2020.; Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History. Marylynn Salmon, author. *The Legal Status of Women, 1776-1830*. <https://ap.gilderlehrman.org/essay/legal-status-women-1776-1830> : accessed 29 December 2020.

⁴⁵ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed Records, Vol 1, p. 514. Johnston to Wells, 8 February 1798. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 22 July 2019. FHL film 926861, image 276 of 669. Also found in the Jefferson County Deed Records, Bk. A, p. 23.

⁴⁶ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed Records, Vol. 1, p. 515-516. Wells to Clark, 8 February 1798. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 29 April 2020. FHL film 926861, images 276 & 277 of 669.

⁴⁷ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed Records, Vol 1, p. 219. Clark to Wells, 1 May 1807. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 22 July 2019. FHL film 926861, image 116 of 669.

law James Clark (rather than directly from Johnston) originated; it does not seem to be borne out by the deeds.

When William sold land to James Clark on 22 Aug 1799 Ann signed away her dower rights, indicating that she was alive at that time.⁴⁸ A monument was erected by the great-grandchildren of William Wells and is located in Spring Hill Cemetery in Wellsville. On this are carved the names, birth, and death dates for William and his first two wives. His first wife was Ann Clark (1765-1815), second wife was Mary Crowl (1771-1842). His third wife has a separate headstone. This monument clearly notes the date of death for Ann Clark as 22 May 1815.⁴⁹ The last deed found in which Ann released her dower rights was dated 10 Feb 1812.⁵⁰

The death date of William's first wife is important because of claims on published family trees and in local histories that William's son George was the son of his second wife rather than Ann. However, deed records clearly reveal that Ann was still living when George Wells was born in about 1793.

William Wells was reported to be a farmer, and he undoubtedly began life in that profession.⁵¹ However he was also a successful and prosperous businessman. His initial purchase of about 310 acres on the Ohio River was made in 1798 for \$1,446.⁵² William

⁴⁸ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed Records, Vol. 1, p. 515-516. Wells to Clark, 8 February 1798. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 29 April 2020. FHL film 926861, images 276 & 277 of 669.

⁴⁹ Monumental inscriptions. USA. Spring Hill Cemetery, Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 24 April 1852. WELLS, William. Photo by "Flinsbach". *Find A Grave Memorial*: 15793218. <http://www.findagrave.com> : accessed 30 April 2020.

⁵⁰ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed Records, Vol. 2, p. 538, Wells to Cattnach, 9 February 1812. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 23 July 2019. FHL film 926861, image 567 of 669.

⁵¹ McCord, *History of Columbiana County, Ohio*, ..., p. 357; Census records. USA. Yellow Creek Township, Columbiana County, Ohio. 7 August 1820. WELLS, William (head). Roll: M33_91. p. 47. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 4 Jan 2019. Three of the four males in the household were engaged in agriculture (one was under age 16).

⁵² Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed Records, Vol 1, p. 514. Johnston to Wells, 8 February 1798. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 22 July 2019. FHL film 926861, image 276 of 669.

platted his original block of 76 lots on 8 Oct 1823;⁵³ when he began selling lots about two years later, he was charging \$50 per lot. Within a few years the prices on some lots had gone as high as \$100.⁵⁴ William platted his first town addition on 13 Sep 1833, an additional 31 lots plus a parcel for the Methodist Meeting house and one for a steam mill.⁵⁵ He began selling these lots the next year, prices ranging from about \$150 to \$300.⁵⁶

On 6 Sep 1838, William sold two blocks of land, north and south of Wellsville, to Henry Phelps. Phelps platted these two blocks on the same day. However, Phelps died before he could pay William for the land, and his will required the land be returned. On 1 Jan 1841, William filed to have the northern part of the platted land vacated, retaining the southern addition to the town as platted under the name “Phelps’ Addition.”⁵⁷

William began selling these 42 lots the same year with prices ranging from about \$200 to \$275.⁵⁸ All told, the land originally platted by William Wells encompasses all the land between the current Commerce Street and the Ohio River, north from just above 3rd Street all the way to 9th. This area comprises about one-eighth of the total town area today (see Map 4).

The enthusiastic support of William Wells himself was unquestionably a factor in the early success of his town. Not only was he a prime supporter of (wagon) roads to

⁵³ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed Records, Vol. 8, p. 309-311. A Plat of the Town of Wellsville, 11 October 1823. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 23 July 2019. FHL film 926864, image 467-468 of 586.

⁵⁴ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed Records, beginning with Vol. 9, grantee William Wells, lots in Wellsville. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 23 July 2019. FHL films beginning with 926865.

⁵⁵ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed Records, Vol. 18, p. 263. Wellsville Addition, 13 September 1833. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 23 July 2019. FHL film 926869, image 528 of 723.

⁵⁶ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed Records, beginning with Vol. 19, grantee William Wells, lots in Wellsville. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 23 July 2019. FHL films beginning with 926870.

⁵⁷ Columbiana County, Deed Records, Vol. 31, p. 662-64, Phelps’ Addition to Wellsville, 5 April 1841. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 23 July 2019. FHL film 926940, image 789 of 878.

⁵⁸ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed Records, beginning with Vol. 30, grantee William Wells, lots in Wellsville. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 23 July 2019. FHL films beginning with 926940.

Wellsville, he was also more proactive in promoting and selling his town lots than was the founder of nearby East Liverpool.⁵⁹ Partially as a consequence of this the first railroad to the area was routed through Wellsville rather than East Liverpool. At the completion of the line into Wellsville, William drove the last spike at the Wellsville end (February of 1852) and service from there to Pittsburgh began in 1856.⁶⁰ Wells was the first justice of the peace for this part of Ohio, commissioned on 15 July 1798 only a week after his first recorded land purchase;⁶¹ he also served as a county judge at Steubenville until 1803. He and his son James built the first sawmill in the township, and operated the first ferry across the Ohio River at Wellsville.⁶²

Many birth dates for William and Ann's children are derived from headstones, death records, or local histories. The first four children were probably born in Washington County, Pennsylvania, before William and Ann move to Ohio. Birth records for that county are available beginning in approximately 1893, about 100 years after the Wells children were born.⁶³ Index records for the county and state do not contain records of these Wells children.⁶⁴ The last five children were born in Ohio, very likely Columbiana County, several of them before Ohio became a state in 1803.⁶⁵

According to her headstone William's first wife Ann died 22 May 1815; no place of death was noted but it was almost certainly in Wellsville where her headstone is

⁵⁹ Based on cited county histories as well as examination of the deed indexes for both Wellsville and East Liverpool through about 1850.

⁶⁰ Barth, *History of Columbiana County*, p. 143; Tom T. Jones. 'The Sunlit Road.' *Evening Review*. 21 May 1934, p. 4, c. 7. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 30 April 2020.

⁶¹ Tom T. Jones. 'The Sunlit Road.' *Evening Review*. 24 January 1941, p. 13, c. 4. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 30 April 2020.

⁶² Horace Mack. (1879) *History of Columbiana County Ohio, with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches, Some of its Prominent Men and Pioneers*. Philadelphia : D. W. Ensign, p. 278.

⁶³ Washington County Courts, Pennsylvania. *Genealogy Resources*. <http://www.washingtoncourts.us/191/Genealogy-Resources> : accessed 24 December 2020.

⁶⁴ FamilySearch. *Pennsylvania Births and Christenings, 1709-1950*. <https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1681005> : accessed 26 November 2020.

⁶⁵ Bush, *Wells Family Group Sheets*. The last child born in Pennsylvania is supposed to be William, who was born in 1795; the next child, Joseph, was reportedly born in Ohio in 1798 when deed records place his father in Columbiana County.

found.⁶⁶ The actual identities of William's next two wives is not crucial from a genealogical standpoint, as he fathered no children with them. However, there are some interesting conflicts with respect to the identities of these women which will be explored briefly. Birth and death records for Columbiana County, Ohio, begin in about 1867; marriage records date from 1803.⁶⁷ Residents of Ohio sometimes married in adjoining Hancock County (now West Virginia) directly across the Ohio River. While most marriage records from this county begin by about 1854,⁶⁸ some very few are available beginning in the late 18th century.⁶⁹ Both counties were searched for William's marriage records.

William's second wife was "Mary Crowl," according to the cemetery memorial. No record has been found for this marriage and it is not known if Crowl was her maiden, married, or even her middle name. One record for William Wells at the approximately correct time range is a marriage to Mary Hardick (or Hardwick) on 12 Feb 1826. This date would have been about eleven years after his first wife died, well after all his children were born. It is certainly possible that Mary, at age 55 or so, was a widow.⁷⁰ The first deed with a wife "Mary" signing her dower release was dated 26 Apr 1830,⁷¹

⁶⁶ Monumental inscriptions. USA. Spring Hill Cemetery, Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 22 May 1815. WELLS, Ann (Clark). Photo by "Bev." *Find A Grave Memorial*: 15793230. <http://www.findagrave.com> : accessed 20 December 2018.

⁶⁷ FamilySearch. *Columbiana County, Ohio Genealogy*. https://www.familysearch.org/wiki/en/Columbiana_County,_Ohio_Genealogy : accessed 30 April 2020.

⁶⁸ West Virginia Department of Arts, Culture and History. *Vital Research Records Search Selection ... Marriage*. http://www.wvculture.org/vrr/va_mcsearch.aspx : accessed 30 April 2020.

⁶⁹ FamilySearch. *Hancock County, West Virginia Genealogy*. https://www.familysearch.org/wiki/en/Hancock_County,_West_Virginia_Genealogy : accessed 30 April 2020.

⁷⁰ Marriages (CR) USA. Columbiana County, Ohio. 12 February 1826. WELLS, William and HARDICK, Mary. Collection: Columbian County Marriages, 1803-1951, Vol. 2, p. 235. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 29 April 2020.

⁷¹ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed Records, Vol. 13, p. 197-98. Wells to Nissley, 7 April 1830. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 24 July 2019. FHL film 926867, image 119 of 684.

fitting with a marriage to Mary (Hardick) before this time. Mary's headstone information indicates she was born 12 Oct 1771 and died 12 Oct 1842.⁷²

An interesting deed from 1835 may suggest where the name "Mary Crowl" originated. On 13 Nov 1835, William Wells and Mary his wife sold Lot 103 in Wellsville to Mary Crowell, widow, for \$250.00.⁷³ On 26 Sept 1835, Mary Ann Crowl, widow of Jacob Crowl (who died before Aug. 1833), had quitclaimed her dower right to a lot in Lisbon to David Whitaker for \$225.00.⁷⁴ This sum would have provided her most of the money needed to purchase the lot in Wellsville three weeks later. Mary Crowell sold this lot on 8 January 1847; she lived in Hamilton County at the time.⁷⁵ There is no proof that this Mary Ann Crowl has been conflated with Mary Hardick by the erectors of the memorial to William Wells. No record has been found for a marriage of William and Mary Crowl.

William's third wife was supposedly Eleanor Black, born 7 Jan 1786 and died 1 Sep 1847.⁷⁶ By the time William's second wife had died in 1842, Eleanor would have been about 56. There is a marriage record for William Wells and Eleanor Stillwell, 23 July 1844,⁷⁷ two years after the death of second wife Mary. It is possible (but not proven) that Black was Eleanor's maiden name, that she was a widow and and that she

⁷² Monumental inscriptions. USA. Spring Hill Cemetery, Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 12 October 1842. WELLS, Mary (Crowl). Photo by "Bev." *Find A Grave* Memorial: 78063427. <http://www.findagrave.com> : accessed 20 December 2020.

⁷³ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed Records, Vol. 24, p. 258. Wells to Crowell, 13 November 1835. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 1 Aug 2019. FHL film 926872, image 137 of 782.

⁷⁴ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed Records, Vol. 22, p. 151. Crowl to Whitacre, 26 September 1835. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 24 July 2019. FHL film 926871, image 85 of 768. The deed noted the administration of Jacob's estate at the August 1833 Court of Common Pleas session.

⁷⁵ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed Records, Vol. 38, p. 757. Crowell to Brown, 8 January 1847. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 29 April 2020. FHL film 926944, image 837 of 886.

⁷⁶ Memorial inscriptions. USA. Spring Hill Cemetery, Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 September 1847. WELLS, Eleanor (Black). Photo by "Bev." *Find A Grave* Memorial: 78062335. <http://www.findagrave.com> : accessed 20 December 2018.

⁷⁷ Marriages USA. Columbiana County, Ohio. 23 July 1844. WELLS, William and STILLWELL, Eleanor. Collection: Columbiana County, Marriage Records, Vol. 3, p. 385. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 24 July 2019.

married under her married name of Stilwell. One family researcher gives her name as “Eleanor Stapleton Black”.⁷⁸ No record was found for a marriage between William Wells and Eleanor Black or Stapleton. The first deed found requiring wife Eleanor to sign a dower release was dated just a month after the marriage to Eleanor Stillwell, 24 August 1844.⁷⁹ Eleanor predeceased William, and he did not marry again.

While articles in local newspapers often referenced William Wells and his family, only one paper in the area, the *American Patriot* (and succeeding title *The Wellsville Patriot*), published in Wellsville, was in business during his lifetime. This paper was likely originally published as the *Wellsville Commercial Advertiser and Farmers and Mechanics' Register*. The dates of these three versions of the paper run from approximately 1838-1864; however, few issues are actually extant and those are mainly on microfilm in Ohio libraries.⁸⁰ There was no mention of William found in these scattered early newspapers.

William wrote his will about a month after Eleanor died, on 6 Oct 1847, and died on 24 Apr 1852, almost certainly in Wellsville.⁸¹ He named all his children in birth order, and appointed his two eldest sons, James and George, executors. In the end, James declined and George executed the probate. There was no wife named in this will.⁸² By the time William Wells died, he had sold nearly all of the 107 lots in his first two town plats, and over half of the 41 lots in the 1841 (Phelps') plat, leaving only 26 of

⁷⁸ Bush, *Wells Family Group Sheets*.

⁷⁹ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed Records, Vol. 36, p. 461-62, Wells to Crossman, 24 August 1844. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 24 July 2019. FHL film 926943, image 696 of 903.

⁸⁰ Library of Congress. *US Newspaper Directory, 1690-Present*. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/search/titles/> : accessed 28 December 2020. Search term “Wellsville.”

⁸¹ Memorial inscriptions. USA. Spring Hill Cemetery, Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 24 April 1852. WELLS, William. Photos by “Flinsbach” and “Bev.” *Find A Grave Memorial*: 15793218. <http://www.findagrave.com> : accessed 20 December 2018.

⁸² Testamentary records. USA. 19 May 1852. WELLS, William. Will brought to court. Probate Court, A.D. 1852, p. 350. Collection: Probate records, 1803-1890; index to files (appearance dockets), 1803-1940. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 7 May 2020. FHL microfilm 927752, images 500-501 of 654.

the entire 149 lots unsold. He disposed of some of the remaining lots to his children in his will.⁸³

His oldest child, daughter Mary (now Mary Watt) received \$500 and some household furnishings. William also gave her title to the house and lot she was occupying, but did not state the plot number. The deed appears to lay out a plot of land just outside William's original plat.⁸⁴

William's oldest son James received an unnumbered lot in Wellsville "... situate between the Market House and my present residence ..." It is not clear which lot this was, but there was empty ground just northeast of the Wells' homestead. James also received Lot 111 and \$1,000. He was also to receive any household goods not otherwise mentioned in the will. He and George shared any remaining real estate left after the will was probated, plus any cash or other residue.

William's son-in-law William Pritchard, husband of deceased daughter Margaret, received \$10.00.

William's next son, George, received \$2,000. He had apparently already received \$1,000. He also shared with brother James the remaining balance of real estate, cash or residue of the estate.

Son Joseph received one lot outside of Wellsville adjoining the property of D. J. Boyce; this lot has not been specifically located. He had already received \$1,000 from William.

Daughter Anne Shearman received \$300; this sum was added to the \$700 she had already received. She also received title to her real estate in Wellsville, but the lot number was not given.

Daughter Sarah Benson received \$500 which, in addition to a previous gift of \$500, was the entirety of what she received.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ Columbiana County, Ohio, Deed Records, Vol. 47, p. 573, Wells to Watt, 17 June 1844. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 24 July 2019. FHL film 926951, image 309 of 682.

Daughter Rachael Stevens received the use or income from Lots 89 and 90 in Wellsville during her natural life. These lots were previously unsold. When she died, the lots would pass to her children; Rachael also received \$1,000.

William's youngest child, son Alexander, received the homestead. This consisted of Lots 77, 78, 87 and 88. He also received \$1,000.

Several grandsons named "William" also received bequests of land. Sons of James, Alexander, George, and Anne each received a lot in Phelps's Addition. Apparently no other grandchildren were remembered. William expected strict adherence to the terms of his will - he decreed that any legatee contesting the will in any way would have their share reduced to \$10.00.⁸⁵ The final settlement of William's estate was not until 1864; the dates of the money dispositions to his children were not specifically recorded.⁸⁶

William Wells, in addition to being the founder of Wellsville, was the ancestor of many who lived, worked, and prospered in the area. His older sons, Joseph and George, continued in the land sales business for several years, and son Alexander was a merchant in town. His sons and grandsons became lawyers, newspaper editors, bankers, potters, river-men, civil servants and merchants. Some volunteered for military service and/or attended the Methodist church. He left a legacy of civic pride, strict morals, hard work, and family duty that persevered for several generations.

William and Ann Wells had eleven children; eight of them outlived both parents. A brief review of the children of William will give more context to his own and his children's relationship with the town he founded.

⁸⁵ Testamentary records. USA. 19 May 1852. WELLS, William. Will brought to court. Probate Court, A.D. 1852, p. 350. Collection: Probate records, 1803-1890; index to files (appearance dockets), 1803-1940. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 7 May 2020. FHL microfilm 927752, images 500-501 of 654. Covers all the dispositions named above.

⁸⁶ Testamentary records. USA. 19 May 1852. WELLS, William. Probate administration. File 3513. Collection: Estate records, 1803-1900. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 30 April 2020. FHL microfilm 2033061, images 2326-2343 of 3183. Final signature by executor George Wells.

Table 15. Basic Genealogical Information for Mary WELLS

Parents	William WELLS Rebecca Ann CLARK
Birth	7 January 1788, Pennsylvania*
Marriage	David WATT, 3 January 1811, Columbiana County, Ohio
Occupation	None
Death	17 July 1883, probably in Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio
Children	James - no information found** Mary Jane (1817 - 1889), m. David RICE, one child m. Anthony POE, six children Lydia Ann (1820 - ??), m. James ATKINSON, three children m. James MARTIN, five children
	*Sources for all information found inline
	**Source for most of the children's information was the named family historians MacAleese and Bush. Additional information from the <i>Find A Grave</i> and census records for these children and their spouses.

Mary was probably the first child born to her parents, whose marriage date is not known for certain. According to Mary's headstone she was born 7 January 1788 and died 17 July 1883; she would have been age 95.⁸⁷ Since she was born 10 years before her father was known to be in Ohio, it is likely that she was born in Pennsylvania. This assumption is borne out by the 1850 census, on which Mary (Watt) was enumerated with William Wells and gave her place of birth as Pennsylvania.⁸⁸ She would not have appeared by name on any preceding census, unless she was head of her own household, as noted below.

⁸⁷ Monumental inscriptions. USA. Spring Hill Cemetery, Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 7 July 1883. WATT, Mary. Photo by “Bev.” *Find A Grave* Memorial: 78064870. <http://www.findagrave.com> : accessed 30 April 2020.

⁸⁸ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1850. WELLS, Wm. (head). Roll M432_669. p. 148B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 20 December 2018.

On 3 January 1811 Mary married David James Watt; the marriage took place in Columbiana County.⁸⁹ Mr. Watt reportedly died on 15 September 1819 on the Isle of Martinique in the West Indies, though this has not been proven.⁹⁰ Nothing further has been found about Mary's husband, and she apparently did not marry a second time. Mary and David Watt had three children, one of whom may have been born after David died.⁹¹ Possible census records for Mary and her children include:

- 1820 - Mary, three children, in Salem, Jefferson County, Ohio⁹²
- 1830 - not found
- 1840 - Mary only in Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio⁹³
- 1850 - Mary, probable father William (head of household), in Wellsville⁹⁴
- 1860 - not found
- 1870 - Mary (not head of house.), probable daughter Mary J. Poe and family, in Wellsville⁹⁵
- 1880 - Mary (not head of house.), daughter Mary J. Poe and family, in Wellsville⁹⁶

⁸⁹ Marriages USA. Columbiana County, Ohio. 3 January 1811. WATT, David and WELLS, Mary. Collection: Ohio, County Marriage Records, 1774-1993. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 20 January 2020. FHL microfilm 927766, image 47 of 698.

⁹⁰ MacAleese, *The Wells Family in America*.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* Dates for the daughters came from MacAleese's research. He names James but gives no dates.

⁹² Census records. USA. Salem, Jefferson County, Ohio. 7 August 1820. WATT, Mary (head). Roll: M33_91. p. 243. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 3 May 2020.

⁹³ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1840. WATT, Mary (head). Roll: M704_386. p. 202. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 4 May 2020.

⁹⁴ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1850. WELLS, Wm. (head). Roll: M432_669. p. 148B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 20 December 2018.

⁹⁵ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1870. POE, Anthony (head). Roll: M593_1184. p. 462A. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 1 May 2020.

⁹⁶ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1880. POE, Anthony (head). ED 64. Roll: T9_1002. p. 762c. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 1 May 2020.

Mary received some household furniture, a cow, the title to a house and lot on which she was living, and \$500 from her father's estate.⁹⁷ Mary Watt signed her own will on 21 July 1881 and died about 20 July 1883. Although the census never noted Mary as illiterate, she signed the will with "her mark". The executor was Alexander Wells, possibly her youngest brother. Mary left her daughter Mary Jane Poe all of her estate "... real, personal and mixed ..." and this may have included the land she inherited from her father. The list of next of kin prepared by Alexaander does not include the daughter named in the will, but does include daughter Lydia Harris and six grandchildren.⁹⁸

Mary's headstone gives her date of death as 17 July 1883 rather than 20 July as noted in her probate papers.⁹⁹ A search of the memorials available for the Spring Hill Cemetery in Wellsville (as compiled on *Find A Grave*) revealed no markers or memorials for Mary's husband or son. Possible matches for her daughters Mary Jane and Lydia were inconclusive.

Table 16. Basic Genealogical Information for James WELLS

Parents	William WELLS Rebecca Ann CLARK
Birth	26 October 1789, Pennsylvania*
Marriage	Sarah MORGAN, 13 February 1817, Wellsville, Columbiana, Ohio
Occupation	Farmer
Death	26 December 1885, probably in Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio

⁹⁷ Testamentary records. USA. 19 May 1852. WELLS, William. Probate administration. File 3513. Collection: Estate records, 1803-1900. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 30 April 2020. FHL microfilm 2033061, images 2326-2343 of 3183.

⁹⁸ Testamentary records USA. 31 July 1883. WATT, Mary. Probate administration. File 10198. Collection: Estate records, 1803-1900. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 30 April 2020. FHL microfilm 2050029, images 1239-1255 of 3098.

⁹⁹ Monumental inscriptions. USA. Spring Hill Cemetery, Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 7 July 1883. WATT, Mary. Photo by "Bev." *Find A Grave* Memorial: 78064870. <http://www.findagrave.com> : accessed 30 April 2020.

- 1840 - James, possible wife, four boys under age 20, three girls age 20-30, one age 30-40, in Yellow Creek Twp.¹⁰⁵
- 1850 - James, probable wife Sarah and five probable named children, in Yellow Creek Twp.¹⁰⁶
- 1860 - James, probable wife Sarah and three probable named children, in Yellow Creek Twp.¹⁰⁷
- 1870 - James, probable wife Sarah and probable son Morgan, in Yellow Creek Twp.¹⁰⁸
- 1880 - James, daughter Mary and son C. Morgan in Wellsville¹⁰⁹

The names of the eight children of James are recorded by family historians in birth order as Narcissus, Frances Ann, Sarah, Mary, Charles Morgan, William R., James and George. James was a large landowner with real estate valued at \$10,000 in 1850.¹¹⁰ Although James' father left him two lots in Wellsville in 1852,¹¹¹ he had obviously been able to acquire a good deal of land of his own accord, as noted by his land valued at \$25,000 by the 1870 census.¹¹² James' wife was reported to have died in 1861; no

¹⁰⁵ Census records. USA. Yellow Creek, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1840. WELLS, James (head). Roll: M704_386. p. 208. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 1 May 2020.

¹⁰⁶ Census records. USA. Yellow Creek, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1850. WELLS, Jas. (head). Roll: M432_669. p. 171B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 1 May 2020.

¹⁰⁷ Census records. USA. Yellow Creek, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1860. WELLS, James (head). Roll: M653_949. p. 530. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 1 May 2020.

¹⁰⁸ Census records. USA. Yellow Creek, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1870. WELLS, James (head). Roll: M593_1184. p. 460A. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 1 May 2020.

¹⁰⁹ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1880. WELLS, James (head). ED 64. Roll: T9_1002. p. 764D. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 1 May 2020.

¹¹⁰ Census records. USA. Yellow Creek, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1850. WELLS, Jas. (head). Roll: M432_669. p. 171B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 1 May 2020.

¹¹¹ Testamentary records. USA. 19 May 1852. WELLS, William. Will brought to court. Probate Court, A.D. 1852, p. 350. Collection: Probate records, 1803-1890; index to files (appearance dockets), 1803-1940. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 7 May 2020. FHL microfilm 927752, images 500-501 of 654.

¹¹² Census records. USA. Yellow Creek, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1870. WELLS, James (head). Roll: M593_1184. p. 460A. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 1 May 2020.

record of this death has been found.¹¹³ James consistently reported his occupation as “farmer” or in one instance “retired farmer.”

James died on 26 December 1885, probably in Wellsville. He was 96 years old. Despite the fact that his name did not appear on a search of Spring Hill Cemetery via *Find A Grave*, James was supposedly buried there in Block H, Lot 14, Grave 3.¹¹⁴ His funeral was reportedly well attended.¹¹⁵ James’ will was probated early the next year. Administrator Charles M. Wells named the same eight children given in family histories as next of kin. His two youngest sons, James and George, lived in Pittsburgh; all the other children had remained in Wellsville. James left a bequest to each of these children in his will. He bequeathed several large plots of land outside of Wellsville, several lots inside of Wellsville, and a large tract between the railroad and the Ohio River. He also left about \$1700 in cash, securities, etc. as well as over \$1,400 owed by John Roberts.¹¹⁶

Table 17. Basic Genealogical Information for Margaret WELLS	
Parents	William WELLS Rebecca Ann CLARK
Birth	14 October 1791, Pennsylvania*
Marriage	William PRITCHARD, 13 September 1820, Wellsville, Columbiana, Ohio
Occupation	None
Death	Before 6 October 1847
Children	Peace (Abt. 1822-1824) - no other information found Harvey (Abt. 1824-1838) - no other information found
	*Sources for information found inline

¹¹³ MacAleese, *The Wells Family in America*.

¹¹⁴ Monumental inscriptions. USA. Spring Hill Cemetery, Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 26 December 1885. WELLS, James. Collection: Ohio, Soldiers Grave Registration Cards, 1804-1958. <https://www.fold3.com/title/996/ohio-soldiers-grave-registration-cards-1804-1958> : accessed 26 November 2020.

¹¹⁵ ‘Local Brevities.’ *Evening Review*. 29 December, 1885. p. 4, c. 1. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 1 May 2020.

¹¹⁶ Testamentary records. USA. 22 January 1886. WELLS, James. Notice to Next of Kin. File 10822. Collection: Estate records, 1803-1900. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 1 May 2020. FHL film 2050205, images 317-366 of 3149.

Very little is known about Margaret, William and Ann's third child. Family historians give her birth date as 14 October 1791¹¹⁷ and her children's names as Peace and Harvey, born 1822 and 1824.¹¹⁸ Margaret had married William Pritchard in Columbiana County on 7 September 1820.¹¹⁹ William Wells left "Wm. Pritchard the husband of my daughter Margaret (now deceased)" the small sum of \$10 when he wrote his will on 6 October 1847. There is no mention of where Pritchard lived.¹²⁰ No mention was made by William of his two grandsons, Peace and Harvey; they had both reportedly died by 1838.¹²¹ No actual records of these boys has been found.

William Pritchard and possibly Margaret were enumerated on the 1820 census of Yellow Creek Township. The next household enumerated was that of William Wells.¹²² It is possible that Margaret was still living in 1830 when a William Pritchard was enumerated in Licking County with a woman about the right age of Margaret; also in the household was one young boy, perhaps the son who died in 1838.¹²³ No further information about Margaret was found, including her date or place of death. No death or cemetery records were found for her supposed sons Peace and Harvey. William Prichard or Pritchard was recorded on the Ohio Tax Records from 1827-1838 in five different counties; these records overlap and most likely refer to several different men.¹²⁴ No obituary was found for William that might have named a deceased wife or children.

¹¹⁷ MacAleese, *The Wells Family in America*.

¹¹⁸ Bush, *Wells Family Group Sheets*.

¹¹⁹ Marriages. USA. Columbiana County, Ohio. 7 September 1820. PRITCHARD, Wm. and WELLS, Margaret. Collection: Ohio, County Marriage Records, 1803-1848. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 1 May 2020.

¹²⁰ Testamentary records. USA. 19 May 1852. WELLS, William. Will brought to court. Probate Court, A.D. 1852, p. 350. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 7 May 2020. Find on FHL microfilm 927752, images 500-501 of 654.

¹²¹ Bush, *Wells Family Group Sheets*.

¹²² Census records. USA. 7 August 1820. Yellow Creek, Columbiana, Ohio. PRITCHARD, William (head). Roll: M33_91. p. 47. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 1 May 2020.

¹²³ Census records. USA. Hopewell, Licking, Ohio. 1 June 1830. PRITCHARD, William (head). Roll: M19_134. p. 418. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 1 May 2020.

¹²⁴ Columbiana County, Ohio. Tax Records. PRITCHARD/PRICHARD, William or Wm. (search terms), 1827-1838. Collection: Tax records, 1816-1838. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 4 May 2020.

Table 18. Basic Genealogical Information for George WELLS	
Parents	William WELLS Rebecca Ann CLARK
Birth	31 October 1793, Pennsylvania*
Marriage	Susannah HAMILTON, 9 June 1840, Brooke County, Virginia
Occupation	Dry Goods Merchant, Wool Merchant
Death	13 August 1889,
Children	Nancy Ann (1841-1842)** William Pritchard (1843-1924), m. Mary E. Saunders Susan Eliza (1845 - George Antes (1848-1937), m. Alice G. Slyder Lida Susan (1850-1893), m. Joseph H. Wells Luly (1853-1881), m. William C. Hickman Josephine (1855-1942), m. George Gray Charles Morgan (1858-1936), Rachel Clare (1861-1954), m. Samuel Henry Bell Harry Clay (1863-1936), m. Ollie Mae Keever
	*Sources for information found inline
	**Source for most of the children's information was: Bible records. Wells Family. n.d. Wellsville River Museum archives. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. Collection: Wells.

In addition to the compiled family histories by MacAleese and Bush, copies of Bible records were also found that seem to relate primarily to George and his family.¹²⁵ George was the fourth known child of William and Ann Wells, born 31 October 1793 in Pennsylvania.¹²⁶ He married Susannah Hamilton on 9 June 1840, when he was 47 years old and she only about 21. They were married in Brooke County, Virginia, probably just over the Ohio River from Wellsville.¹²⁷ It is not known if George had a wife prior to Susannah; none is recorded in the available Bible records or family histories. Possible census records for George and his family include:

¹²⁵ Author unknown. (n.d.) Bible records, Wells Family. Wellsville: Wellsville River Museum archives. Collection: Wells. There was no identifying information with the photocopied pages.

¹²⁶ MacAleese, *The Wells Family in America*.

¹²⁷ Marriage. USA. Brooke County, Virginia. 9 January 1840. WELLS, George and HAMILTON, Susannah. Collection: Virginia, Compiled Marriages, 1740-1850. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 1 May 2020. Hancock County, West Virginia, which now abuts Columbiana County across the Ohio River was Brooke County until 1848.

- 1830 - first record of George as named head, two other adult males in household, in Wellsville¹²⁸
- 1840 - George and possible wife, working in commerce, in Wellsville¹²⁹
- 1850 - George, merchant, probable wife Susan, three children, in Wellsville¹³⁰
- 1860 - George, probable wife Susan, six children, in Wellsville¹³¹
- 1870 - George, wool merchant, probable wife Susan, five children, in Steubenville, Ohio¹³²
- 1880 - George, retired dry goods, wife Susan, five children, in Wheeling, West Virginia¹³³

George was consistently enumerated as a merchant of some type on the census records above (with the exception of 1860 which recorded no profession). He was a land owner, holding \$8,000 worth of land in 1850; this amount decreased over the years to \$6,000 then to \$3,000 in 1880. He received at least \$2,000 in cash from his father's estate, probably in the 1850s; George was his father's administrator.¹³⁴ George may have had to sell some of his land to recover part of his losses from a warehouse fire in

¹²⁸ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1830. WELLS, George (head). Roll: M19_128. p. 379. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 29 August 2019.

¹²⁹ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1840. WELLS, George (head). Roll: M704_386. p. 201. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 5 May 2020.

¹³⁰ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1850. WELLS, George (head). Roll: M432_669. p. 161a. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 17 May 2019.

¹³¹ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1860. WELLS, George (head). Roll: M653_949. p. 513. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 17 May 2019.

¹³² Census records. USA. Steubenville, Jefferson County, Ohio. 1 June 1870, WELLS, George (head). Roll: M593_1228. p. 37b. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 26 February 2019.

¹³³ Census records. USA. Wheeling, Ohio County, West Virginia. 1 June 1880. WELLS, Geo. (head). Roll: T9_1410. p. 197a. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 20 July 2019.

¹³⁴ Testamentary records. USA. 19 May 1852. WELLS, William. Will brought to court. Probate Court, A.D. 1852, p. 350. Collection: Probate records, 1803-1890; index to files (appearance dockets), 1803-1940. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 7 May 2020. FHL microfilm 927752, images 500-501 of 654; Testamentary records. USA. 19 May 1852. WELLS, William. Probate administration. File 3513. Collection: Estate records, 1803-1900. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 30 April 2020. FHL microfilm 2033061, images 2326-2343 of 3183.

1869. His wool warehouse caught fire at one a.m., and he lost 1,000 pounds of wool and \$3,000 worth of groceries. Sixteen nearby homes were also destroyed. He was probably insured. Arson was suspected.¹³⁵

County historians report that early in the history of Wellsville, George had constructed a large warehouse for the storage of goods to be shipped on the Ohio River.¹³⁶ He began purchasing town lots in Wellsville from his father soon after they came up for sale, and eventually owned about 35 lots which he sold in whole or in part to others, presumably at a profit.¹³⁷ In 1829, George went into the mercantile business with his brother Alexander; they continued the partnership until 1844.¹³⁸ George, along with his father William, was instrumental in winning for the town of Wellsville the terminus of the first railroad to reach the area (by 1852).¹³⁹ He was also involved in the establishment of stage routes to Wellsville.¹⁴⁰ He was a director of the Wellsville Savings Bank in 1863.¹⁴¹ According to census records George lived for some time in Steubenville, Ohio, where he was a wool merchant. By 1880 he had settled in nearby Wheeling, West Virginia, where he spent the rest of his life.

George's wife Susan died in Wheeling on 27 February 1884,¹⁴² and George died there five years later on 13 August 1889.¹⁴³ The couple may have been buried in the

¹³⁵ Wolff, Robert (informant). 'Disastrous Fire at Wellsville, Ohio,—Sixteen Houses Burned.' *Wheeling Daily Intelligencer*. 15 September 1869. p. 2, c. 2. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 5 May 2020.

¹³⁶ Mack, *History of Columbiana County Ohio*, p. 276-79.

¹³⁷ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed Records, Deed Index 1, Grantee U-Z, 1798-1897. George Wells, grantee, 1824-1888. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 22 July 2019. FHL film 905973, images 115-117 of 346; Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed Records, Deed Index 1, Grantor U-Z, 1798-1987. George Wells, grantor, 1827-1887. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 5 May 2020. FHL film 905968, images 129-132 of 398. These transactions involve hundreds of deeds; the prices were not given on the index so any notion of the profit made by George is mainly speculation.

¹³⁸ McCord, *History of Columbiana County, Ohio*, ..., p. 358.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 346.

¹⁴² 'Died.' *Wheeling Daily Intelligencer*. 28 February 1884. p. 2, c. 3. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 5 May 2020.

¹⁴³ 'Died.' *Wheeling Daily Intelligencer*. 15 August 1889. p. 2, c. 2. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 5 May 2020. See following footnote as well.

Peninsula Cemetery in Wheeling.¹⁴⁴ No probate records were found for George in either Ohio County, West Virginia, or Columbiana County, Ohio.

Table 19. Basic Genealogical Information for William Jr. WELLS	
Parents	William WELLS Rebecca Ann CLARK
Birth	24/29 December 1795, Pennsylvania*
Marriage	unmarried
Occupation	Possibly a farmer
Death	7 October 1827, probably in Yellow Creek Twp., Columbiana County, Ohio
Children	none
	*Sources for information found inline

Almost nothing is known about William Wells, Jr., the fifth of William and Ann's known children. His birth and death dates are given by family historians and found nowhere else. Bush speculated that he died of diphtheria.¹⁴⁵ A potential probate file for William Wells Jr. assigned the administration of his estate to (possible brother) George Wells on 8 November 1827. William's estate consisted primarily of clothing and household items, books, and farming tools. He owned one horse.¹⁴⁶ It is interesting to note the name of "Batzler Crowl" among those indebted to the estate; William's father had supposedly married a Crowl as his second wife the year before William Jr. died.

¹⁴⁴ Monumental inscriptions. USA. Wheeling, Ohio County, West Virginia. 13 August 1889. WELLS, George. Memorial only by "genieresearcher". *Find A Grave* Memorial: 186653478. <http://www.findagrave.com> : accessed 5 May 2020. There is no headstone photo, and there are several factual errors in the text added by this contributor. Burial in this cemetery is supported by the Bible records and death index; Author unknown. (n.d.) Bible records, Wells Family. Wellsville: Wellsville River Museum archives. Collection: Wells; Deaths (CR) USA. Wheeling, Ohio County, West Virginia. 13 August 1889. WELLS, George. Collection: West Virginia, Death Index, 1853-1973. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 5 May 2020. FHL film 857522.

¹⁴⁵ Bush, *Wells Family Group Sheets*; MacAleese, *The Wells Family in America*.

¹⁴⁶ Testamentary records. USA. 8 November 1827. WELLS, William Jr. File #944. Collection: Estate records, 1803-1900. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 5 May 2020. FHL film 2032491, images 1826-1859 of 3001.

Receipts given to purchasers of items of William's personal estate match the names of known siblings: Mary Watt, Sarah McWilliams, James, George, Joseph, Rachel, Alex. Batzer Crawl also made a purchase. The confluence of these names tends to support the notion that this is the estate of William Wells Jr. No death or burial record was found for William Jr.

Table 20. Basic Genealogical Information for Joseph WELLS	
Parents	William WELLS Rebecca Ann CLARK
Birth	21 March 1798, Washington County, Pennsylvania*
Marriage	Hezekiah Murray, 16 October 1821 in Wellsville
Occupation	Potter, Steamboat Agent
Death	1 December 1882, in Wellsville Columbiana County, Ohio
Children	Cyrus (1828-1870), m. Josephine Black, four children**
	*Sources for information found inline
	**Source for information on adopted son Cyrus from named family historians MacAleese and Bush and census records cited. Also: Monumental inscriptions, USA. Spring Hill Cemetery, Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 March 1870. WELLS, Cyrus A. Photo by Anderson. <i>Find A Grave</i> Memorial: 78272194. http://www.findagrave.com : accessed 6 May 2020.

Joseph was probably the last of William and Ann's children born in Pennsylvania, on 21 March 1798, shortly before the couple left Pennsylvania for Ohio.¹⁴⁷ He married Hezekiah Murray in Wellsville on 16 October 1821.¹⁴⁸ An unusual testament to the longevity of the Wells family was published in 1881, the year before Joseph died:

¹⁴⁷ Monumental inscriptions. USA. Spring Hill Cemetery, Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 December 1882. WELLS, Joseph. Photo by Irja Ruffner Coles. *Find A Grave* Memorial: 15793248. <http://www.findagrave.com> : accessed 20 December 2018.

¹⁴⁸ Bush, *Wells Family Group Sheets*.

Joseph Wells, of Wellsville, is a member of a family of seven brothers and sisters whose longevity probably has no parallel in the United States, the youngest being beyond three score and ten years. Their several ages are as follows: Mary, 94; James, 93; George, 88; Joseph, 83; Ann, 81; Alexander, 78; Rachel, twin sister of Alexander, 73. The aggregate of all their ages is 584 years. The father of the family was William Wells, the founder of Wellsville. He died at his old homestead there about twenty-eight years ago, at the ripe age of eighty-eight.¹⁴⁹

Joseph may be best known as the first pottery owner in Wellsville. He began this work in about 1826 and continued in the business for 30 years.¹⁵⁰ He was an early member of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Wellsville, services being held in his pottery shop during his first two years of business.¹⁵¹ Another author says it was the Methodist Protestant Church.¹⁵² Likely census records for Joseph and his family include:

- 1830 - First record of Joseph as household head, possible wife, one male under age five, in Wellsville¹⁵³
- 1840 - Joseph, possible wife, one male age 10 - 15, in Wellsville¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁹ 'State News.' *Bacyrus Journal*. 3 June 1881. p. 2, c. 4. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 5 May 2020.

¹⁵⁰ Barth, *History of Columbiana County*, pp. 143, 198; McCord, *History of Columbiana County, Ohio*, ..., p. 148; Mack, *History of Columbiana County Ohio*, p. 284.

¹⁵¹ McCord, *History of Columbiana County, Ohio*, ..., p. 347.

¹⁵² Mack, *History of Columbiana County Ohio*, p. 281.

¹⁵³ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1830. WELLS, Joseph (head). Roll: M19_128. p. 380. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 3 Jan 2019.

¹⁵⁴ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1840. WELLS, Joseph (head). Roll: M704_386. p. 201. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 3 May 2019.

- 1850 - Joseph, steamboat agent, probable wife Kaziah, one female child, in Wellsville¹⁵⁵
- 1860 - Joseph, probable wife Kaziah, probable son and his possible family, in Wellsville¹⁵⁶
- 1870 - Joseph, retired potter, possible daughter-in-law and her family, in Wellsville¹⁵⁷
- 1880 - Joseph, gentleman, [daughter] Josephine and her family, in Wellsville¹⁵⁸

Joseph did not appear to be the large land owner that several of his brothers were. According to the census records cited above, in 1850 Joseph owned \$2,000 worth of real estate. When his father's estate was settled Joseph would have received only an additional one-acre lot.¹⁵⁹ In 1860 Joseph owned \$4,000 in real estate, perhaps reflecting this additional acre, plus \$3,000 in personal assets. Perhaps the additional personal assets were related to the sale of the pottery business, which he had reportedly left about four years previously.¹⁶⁰ On the 1870 census, the last which asked this question, Joseph owned more real estate (\$6,000) but less personal assets (\$400).

Joseph's estate was estimated at \$600 in personal and \$4,400 in real estate in 1882. He stipulated no valuation be done on his assets. Joseph may not have had the best of relationships with his daughter-in-law; his will left her only \$300 plus the \$1,000

¹⁵⁵ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1850. WELLS, Joseph (head). Roll: M432_669. p. 153A. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 5 May 2020.

¹⁵⁶ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1860. WELLS, Joseph (head). Roll: M653_949. p. 497. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 5 May 2020.

¹⁵⁷ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1870. WELLS, Joseph (head). Roll: M593_1184. p. 467B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 5 May 2020.

¹⁵⁸ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1880. WELLS, Joseph (head). Roll: T9_1002. p. 759A. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 5 May 2020. Josephine was likely Joseph's daughter-in-law, wife of son Cyrus.

¹⁵⁹ Testamentary records. USA. 19 May 1852. WELLS, William. Will brought to court. Probate Court, A.D. 1852, p. 350. Collection: Probate records, 1803-1890; index to files (appearance dockets), 1803-1940. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 7 May 2020. FHL microfilm 927752, images 500-501 of 654.

¹⁶⁰ Barth, *History of Columbiana County*, pp. 143, 198; McCord, *History of Columbiana County, Ohio*, ..., p. 148; Mack, *History of Columbiana County Ohio*, p. 284.

he owed her on a mortgage; if she objected, she got nothing. He left one apparent granddaughter half of a 4.5 acre lot in Wellsville, and the balance of his estate was mainly split between (deceased son) Cyrus' four children. Six of Joseph's siblings were named as next of kin, confirming his place in the family. The siblings still living were: brother James, sister Mary Watt, sister Ann Shearman, brothers George and Alexander, sister Rachel Stevens.¹⁶¹

Joseph's obituary mentioned his residence at the time of death with R. R. Williamson, probably his granddaughter Sarah J. Williamson and husband who received the land in Joseph's will. His birthplace was given as Washington County, Pennsylvania. The obituary contained a glowing review of Joseph's support for the Methodist *Protestant* Church (not the Methodist Episcopal), having donated the land upon which it was built.¹⁶²

Table 21. Basic Genealogical Information for Anne WELLS

Parents	William WELLS Rebecca Ann CLARK
Birth	8 November 1800, Columbiana County, Ohio*
Marriage	Oliver P. Sherman, 4 October 1822, in Wellsville, Columbiana County
Occupation	None
Death	13 April 1879 in Wellsville
Children	Mary (1823-1915), m. William H. Green, three children** William Wells (1824-1886), unm. Martha A. (1829-1921), m. Thomas Stapleton, four children Oliver J. (1835-??), m. Mary McCombs, no further information Joseph W. (1838-??), no further information Ellen (1841-??), no further information Elizabeth (1842-1918), m. Hampden M. McCreary, three children Ann Matilda (1846-1919), m. Thomas M. Geary, seven children

¹⁶¹ Testamentary records. USA. 13 December 1882. WELLS, Joseph. Probate administration. File #10022. Collection: Estate records, 1803-1900. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 5 May 2020. FHL film 2034335, images 1889-1919 of 3121.

¹⁶² 'Death of "Uncle Joe" Wells.' *Saturday Review*. 9 December 1882. p. 5, c. 4. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 6 May 2020.

	*Sources for information found inline
	**Source for most of the children's information was the named family historians MacAleese and Bush. Additional information from the <i>Find A Grave</i> and census records for these children and their spouses.

Anne Wells, seventh known child of William Wells and Ann Clark, was probably the first of their children born after the family moved to Ohio. Little is known about Ann herself. She was born on 8 November 1800, before the town of Wellsville was an entity, so perhaps she was born in Yellow Creek Township in Columbiana County.¹⁶³ She married Oliver P. Sherman or Shearman in Wellsville on 4 October 1822.¹⁶⁴ Oliver was one of the earliest Catholics in the area, and Ann converted to his faith.¹⁶⁵

Oliver was an Irish born shoe merchant. The couple apparently lived for some time in Virginia (probably what is now West Virginia) as well as Wisconsin, before returning to Ohio by 1835.¹⁶⁶ Oliver also served as postmaster at Wellsville from about 1853-1861.¹⁶⁷ Oliver's date of death was found only in family history records, and no probate or burial information was found for him. He reportedly died 23 December 1861.¹⁶⁸ Probable census records for Anne include:

- 1850 - Anne, probably husband Oliver, a shoe merchant, seven children, in Wellsville¹⁶⁹

¹⁶³ Bush, *Wells Family Group Sheets*.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ Mack, *History of Columbiana County Ohio*, p. 282; Wallace L. Fogo. (1903) *City of Wellsville in Black and White*. n.p.: Ervin Geffs, Publ. Unpaginated.

¹⁶⁶ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1850. SHEARMAN, Oliver P. (head). Roll: M432_669. p. 160A. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 6 May 2020.

¹⁶⁷ Records of the Post Office Department. SHEARMAN, Oliver P. 22 April 1853. Collection: US, Appointments of US Postmasters, 1832-1971. vol. 25A. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 6 May 2020.

¹⁶⁸ Bush, *Wells Family Group Sheets*; MacAleese, *The Wells Family in America*.

¹⁶⁹ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1850. SHEARMAN, Oliver P. (head). Roll: M432_669. p. 160A. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 6 May 2020.

- 1860 - Anne, probable husband Oliver, five children, in Wellsville¹⁷⁰
- 1870 - Anne, one adult and two children, in Wellsville¹⁷¹
- 1880 - Anne (not head of house.), daughter Elizabeth McCreary, and her family, in Wellsville¹⁷²

Anne was mentioned in her father's will of 1847; he left her \$300 in addition to land and money he had already given her.¹⁷³ Anne lived most of her life in Wellsville, and likely died there on 18 April 1897.¹⁷⁴ No memorial for her husband was found in the St. Elizabeth Cemetery, where Anne was buried. No probate was found for either Anne or her husband in Columbiana County.

Table 22. Basic Genealogical Information for Sarah WELLS

Parents	William WELLS Rebecca Ann CLARK
Birth	30 August 1803, Columbiana County, Ohio*
Marriage	John McWilliams, 20 January 1825 in Columbiana County John Benson, 29 December 1831 in Wellsville
Occupation	None
Death	12 October 1872 in Benton County, Iowa

¹⁷⁰ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1860. SHERMAN, Oliver P. (head). Roll: M653_949. p. 261A. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 6 May 2020.

¹⁷¹ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1870. SHERMAN, Ann (head). Roll: M593_1184. p. 464B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 6 May 2020. Ann was age 68, the young children were likely guests or her grandchildren, not her own children.

¹⁷² Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1880. McCREAY, M. H. (head). ED 64. Roll: T9_1002. p. 761A. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 6 May 2020.

¹⁷³ Testamentary records. USA. 19 May 1852. WELLS, William. Will brought to court. Probate Court, A.D. 1852, p. 350. Collection: Probate records, 1803-1890; index to files (appearance dockets), 1803-1940. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 7 May 2020. FHL microfilm 927752, images 500-501 of 654.

¹⁷⁴ Monumental inscriptions. USA. Saint Elizabeth Cemetery, Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 18 April 1897. SHEARMAN, Anne Wells. Photo by Hall Loving Genealogy. *Find A Grave* Memorial: 62245099. <http://www.findagrave.com> : accessed 6 May 2020.

Children	<p><i>w/McWilliams</i> Sarah Ann (1825-1865), m. James Harvey Eaton, six children**</p> <p><i>w/Benson</i> Mary Ann (1833-1920), m. Boltis Clinesmith, five children m. J. L. Young, no children (divorce?) m. George Coover, no children</p> <p>Ann (1835-1835) William Wells (1836-1912), m. Catherine Kurtz, four children m. Ella Ainsworth, six children James G. (1838-1924), m. Mary L. Farquhar, eight children Belinda (1841-1933), m. John Wesley Miller, six children m. Joseph H. Rafferty Lavina (1843-1923), m. Henry B. Stoner, three children John Z. (1846-1925), m. Jane Marie Sykes, five children Liberty R. (1847-1852) Sis (1851-1851)</p>
	*Sources for information found inline
	**Source for most of the children's information was the named family historians MacAleese and Bush. Additional information from the Find A Grave and census records for these children and their spouses.

Sarah Wells, the eighth known child of William Wells and Ann Clark, was born 30 August 1803 probably in Wellsville, and died 12 October 1872; she was buried in Benton County, Iowa.¹⁷⁵ Sarah married first, probably in Wellsville, a man named John McWilliams on 20 January 1825.¹⁷⁶ This first husband probably died shortly after their marriage, leaving Sarah with only one child.¹⁷⁷ His death record has not been found. Sarah married secondly on 29 December 1831, probably in Wellsville, John Benson.¹⁷⁸ Sarah and John Benson reportedly had nine children together, six of whom lived to

¹⁷⁵ Monumental inscriptions, USA. Redman Cemetery, Benton County, Iowa. 12 October 1872. BENSON, Sarah Wells. Photo by Hiesela. Find A Grave Memorial: 5989678. <http://www.findagrave.com> : accessed 7 May 2020; Bush, *Wells Family Group Sheets*.

¹⁷⁶ Marriages. USA. Columbiana County, Ohio. 20 January 1825. McWILLIAMS, John and WELLS, Sarah. Collection: Ohio, County Marriage Records, 1774-1993. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 7 May 2020. FHL microfilm 927766, image 259 of 698.

¹⁷⁷ Marriages. USA. Crawford County, Ohio. 27 June 1846. EATON, James H. and McWILLIAMS, Sarah Ann R. Collection: Ohio, County Marriage Records, 1774-1993. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 7 May 2020. FHL microfilm 388675, image 434 of 492. Sarah was noted as being over 18 years of age.

¹⁷⁸ Marriages. USA. Columbiana County, Ohio. 29 December 1831. BENSON, John and McWILLIAMS, Sarah. Collection: Ohio, County Marriage Records, 1774-1993. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 7 May 2020. FHL microfilm 927766, image 395 of 698.

adulthood.¹⁷⁹ As with several of her sisters, after Sarah married she moved westward with her second husband, dying probably in Benton County, Iowa, where she was buried.¹⁸⁰ Census records tell us that all of Sarah's children were born in Ohio. Likely census records for Sarah and her family include:

- 1840 - John Benson, possible wife, two boys under five, one girl age 5-10, in Sandusky, Crawford County, Ohio¹⁸¹
- 1850 - Sarah, probable husband John, seven children, in Sandusky¹⁸²
- 1860 - Sarah, probable husband John, three children, in Sandusky¹⁸³
- 1870 - Sarah, probably husband John (not head of house.), with probably daughter Belinda and family, in Kane, Benton County, Iowa¹⁸⁴

The above census records call John Benson a farmer; he owned \$6,000 worth of land in 1860, and just over \$7200 in 1870. Although Sarah Benson had been left \$500 by her own father,¹⁸⁵ no probate records were found for Sarah herself in Benton County, nor any obituary. Her husband survived her.

¹⁷⁹ Bush, *Wells Family Group Sheets*; MacAleese, *The Wells Family in America*.

¹⁸⁰ Monumental inscriptions. USA. Redman Cemetery, Benton County, Iowa. 12 October 1872. BENSON, Sarah Wells. Photo by Hiesela. *Find A Grave Memorial*: 5989678. <http://www.findagrave.com> : accessed 7 May 2020.

¹⁸¹ Census records. USA. Sandusky, Crawford County, Ohio. 1 June 1840. BENSON, John (head). Roll: M704_388. p. 17. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 7 May 2020.

¹⁸² Census records. USA. Sandusky, Crawford County, Ohio. 1 June 1850. BENSON, John (head). Roll: M432_671. p. 395B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 7 May 2020.

¹⁸³ Census records. USA. Sandusky, Crawford County, Ohio. 1 June 1860. BENSON, John (head). Roll: M653_951. p. 363. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 7 May 2020.

¹⁸⁴ Census records. USA. Kane, Benton County, Iowa. 1 June 1870. MILLER, J. W. (head). Roll: M593_376. p. 183A. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 7 May 2020.

¹⁸⁵ Testamentary records. USA. 19 May 1852. WELLS, William. Will brought to court. Probate Court, A.D. 1852, p. 350. Collection: Probate records, 1803-1890; index to files (appearance dockets), 1803-1940. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 7 May 2020. FHL microfilm 927752, images 500-501 of 654.

Table 23. Basic Genealogical Information for Israel WELLS	
Parents	William WELLS Rebecca Ann CLARK
Birth	6 June 1806 probably in Wellsville
Death	6 June 1806 probably in Wellsville

No information at all has been found about Israel, who was reportedly stillborn.¹⁸⁶

Table 24. Basic Genealogical Information for Rachel WELLS	
Parents	William WELLS Rebecca Ann CLARK
Birth	3 June 1808, Columbiana County, Ohio*
Marriage	Augustus Stevens, 7 May 1829, in West Union, Columbiana
Occupation	None
Death	3 October 1897, Nevada, Wyandot County, Ohio
Children	Nancy M. (1838-1919), m. Henry Cricklow, no further information** William Wells (~1840-??), no further information Sherman A. (1842-1930), m. Alta Spear, one child Charlotte A. (1845-1885), unm. Harold A. (1845-??), no further information Helen Kezia (1848-1940), m. William J. Harper, two children Iva E. (1852-1939), m. William Balliet, no children
	*Sources for information found inline
	**Source for most of the children's information was the named family historians MacAleese and Bush. Additional information from the <i>Find A Grave</i> and census records for these children and their spouses.

Ann and William Wells' last two children were twins, Rachel and Alexander. Born on 3 June 1808, probably in Wellsville, family records do not say which child was

¹⁸⁶ Bush, *Wells Family Group Sheets*; MacAleese, *The Wells Family in America*.

born first.¹⁸⁷ Historian McCord, on the other hand, records that Rachel was born first.¹⁸⁸ Rachel married Augustus Stevens in West Union, Columbiana County, on 7 May 1829.¹⁸⁹ By 1850 the family had moved to Pitt Township, Wyandot County, Ohio, where Augustus worked as a physician.¹⁹⁰ When her father wrote his will in 1847 he gave her the use or income of two lots in Wellsville, and she may have been living there at that time. Augustus was probably not working as a physician at this time.¹⁹¹ William Wells also stipulated that the two lots or the sale thereof were to pass to Rachel's children "... if such a course is deemed most advisable by my executors ...". He made no such notations regarding his other children.¹⁹² Likely census records for Rachel and her family:

- 1830 - Augustus, possible wife, one female under age 5, in St. Clair, Columbiana County¹⁹³
- 1840 - Augustus, possible wife, two children under age 5, in Wellsville¹⁹⁴
- 1850 - Rachel, probable husband Augustus, six children, in Pitt, Wyandot County, Ohio¹⁹⁵
- 1860 - not found

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁸ McCord, *History of Columbiana County, Ohio*, ..., p. 357.

¹⁸⁹ Marriages. USA. Columbiana County, Ohio. 7 May 1829. STEVENS, Augustus and WELLS, Rachel. Collection: Ohio, County Marriage Records, 1777-1993. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 7 May 2020. FHL microfilm 927766, image 338 of 698.

¹⁹⁰ Census records. USA. Pitt, Wyandot County, Ohio. 1 June 1850. STEVENS, Augustus (head). Roll: M432_741. p. 235B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 7 May 2020.

¹⁹¹ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1840. STEVENS, Augustus (head). Roll: M704_386. p. 199. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 7 May 2020.

¹⁹² Testamentary records. USA. 19 May 1852. WELLS, William. Will brought to court. Probate Court, A.D. 1852, p. 350. Collection: Probate records, 1803-1890; index to files (appearance dockets), 1803-1940. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 7 May 2020. FHL microfilm 927752, images 500-501 of 654.

¹⁹³ Census records. USA. St. Clair, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1830. STEVENS, Augustin G. (head). Roll: M19_128. p. 324. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 7 May 2020.

¹⁹⁴ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1840. STEVENS, Augustus (head). Roll: M704_386. p. 199. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 7 May 2020.

¹⁹⁵ Census records. USA. Pitt, Wyandot County, Ohio. 1 June 1850. STEVENS, Augustus (head). Roll: M432_741. p. 235B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 7 May 2020.

- 1870 - Rachael, probable husband Augustus, two children, in Pitt¹⁹⁶
- 1880 - Rachel (not head of house.) with daughters Iva and Charlotte, in Nevada, Wyandot County¹⁹⁷

Rachel probably died in Nevada, Wyandot County, where she is buried.¹⁹⁸ No death record or obituary has been found for either Rachel or Augustus. Rachel's probate records were found. All of her next of kin lived in Ohio - daughter Iva Eliza Balliet (husband William), daughter Nancy Crichlow, daughter Helen Kizziah Harper, son S. A. Stevens, son William Wells Stevens (residence unknown); grandchildren William Martin and Mary Mathina Harper, and Augustus Frederick Stevens.

Rachel wrote her will in Nevada, Wyandot County, on 9 October 1897, signing with her mark. She left a lot in the Village of Nevada to daughter Iva. Her son, S. A. (probably Sherman) owed her \$1,000; Rachel bequeathed \$100 from this note to grandchildren William, Mary and Augustus. The balance of the note to be split between her daughters. She allowed her son Sherman (signer of the note) the interest he otherwise would have owed her, but required that he pay the expenses of her last illness, funeral and testamentary expense. Since her son William Wells Stevens had been absent many years, and she did not know his whereabouts, he got nothing. Her executor was Robert L. Souder. One of the witnesses to her will was her possible brother Alex Wells.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁶ Census records. USA. Pitt, Wyandot County, Ohio. 1 June 1870. STEVENS, Augustas (head). Roll: M593_1284. p. 778B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 7 May 2020.

¹⁹⁷ Census records. USA. Nevada, Wyandot County, Ohio. 1 June 1880. BALLIET, William (head). Roll: T9_1079. p. 542C. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 7 May 2020.

¹⁹⁸ Monumental inscriptions. USA. Nevada Cemetery, Nevada, Wyandot County, Ohio. 3 October 1897. STEVENS, Rachel Wells. Memorial only, no headstone photo. *Find A Grave* Memorial: 64623810. <http://www.findagrave.com> : accessed 7 May 2020. Although no headstone photo was attached, the plot and grave number were given on this memorial.

¹⁹⁹ Testamentary records. USA. 30 October 1897. STEVENS, Rachael. Last Will and Testament. Collection: Probate Records, 1845-1932. [Wyandot County, Ohio] <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 8 May 2020. FHL film 905942, image 397 of 663. Covers all the named heirs and the terms of the will.

Table 25. Basic Genealogical Information for Alexander WELLS	
Parents	William WELLS Rebecca Ann CLARK
Birth	3 June 1808, Columbiana County, Ohio*
Marriage	Esther Kemble, 13 September 1836, in Wellsville, Columbiana County
Occupation	
Death	19 July 1908, Wellsville, Columbiana
Children	William George (1837-1927), m. Esther Ann Leonard, five children** Kemble C. (1839-1870), unm. Margaret P. (1841-1930), m. Elias Taylor, two children Clarke (1843-1843), died in infancy Homer Clark (1844-1936), m. Kate Baguley, two children Helen May (1846-1929), m. Clarence Rockwell Arnold, three children Alexander R. (1849-1912), m. Mary Jane McIntosh, six children Marcelles (1850-1918), m. Ida Lloyd, two children Emmet H. (1853-1940), unm.
	*Sources for information found inline
	**Source for most of the children's information was the named family historians MacAleese and Bush. Additional information from the <i>Find A Grave</i> and census records for these children and their spouses.

According to historian McCord, Alexander was the last born child of William Wells and Rebecca Ann Clark, having been the second born to his twin sister Rachel.²⁰⁰ He was born 3 June 1808 in Wellsville and died there on 19 July 1908, having reached the age of 100.²⁰¹ Alexander married Esther (or Hester Ann) Kemble, probably in Wellsville, on 13 September 1836.²⁰² Likely census records for Alexander and his family include the following:

²⁰⁰ McCord, *History of Columbiana County, Ohio*, ..., p. 357.

²⁰¹ Bush, *Wells Family Group Sheets*; MacAleese, *The Wells Family in America*; Monumental inscriptions. USA. Spring Hill Cemetery, Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 19 July 1908. WELLS, Alexander. Photo by Irja Ruffner Coles. *Find A Grave* Memorial: 15793185C. <http://www.findagrave.com> : accessed 20 December 2018.

²⁰² Marriages. USA. Columbiana County, Ohio. 13 September 1836. WELLS, Alexander and KEMBLE, Hester Ann. Collection: Ohio, County Marriage Records, 1774-1993. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 20 December 2020. FHL microfilm 927766, image 527 of 751.

- 1840 - Alex, commerce, possible wife, two boys under age 5, one girl age 10-15, in Wellsville²⁰³
- 1850 - Alex, merchant, probable wife Esther, six children, in Wellsville²⁰⁴
- 1860 - Alex, dry goods merchant, probable wife Hester, seven children, in Wellsville²⁰⁵
- 1870 - Alexander, dry goods merchant, probable wife Esther, five children, in Wellsville²⁰⁶
- 1880 - Alexander, widow, dry goods clerk, with four of his sons, in Wellsville²⁰⁷
- 1900 - Alexander, capitalist, with son Emmett, in Wellsville²⁰⁸

Alexander lived his entire life in Wellsville, being the oldest and longest lived of William's children. Census records (cited above) and family histories indicate that Alexander and Esther had nine children, eight of whom lived into adulthood, and five of whom lived most or all their lives in Wellsville. Although Alexander did not have as many grandchildren as some of his siblings, he apparently was more successful at keeping his family close to home.²⁰⁹

When William Wells wrote his will in 1847, Alexander was 39 years old. William left his youngest child four adjoining lots in Wellsville and all the buildings,

²⁰³ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1840. WELLS, Alex (head). Roll: M704_386. p. 199. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 20 December 2018.

²⁰⁴ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1850. WELLS, Alex (head). Roll: M432_669. p. 148b. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 20 December 2018.

²⁰⁵ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1860. WELLS, Alex (head). Roll: M653_949. p. 521. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 20 December 2018.

²⁰⁶ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1870. WELLS, Alexander (head). Roll: M593_1184. p. 464b. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 20 December 2018.

²⁰⁷ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1880. WELLS, Alexander (head). Roll: T9_1002. p. 761a. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 20 December 2018.

²⁰⁸ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1900. WELLS, Alexander (head). ED 37. Roll: T623_?? p. 14. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 20 December 2018.

²⁰⁹ See Bush, MacAleese, and census records cited above. Death and *Find A Grave* records for many of Alexander's children were referred to but were not researched further.

these being the homestead of William. This property fronted the Ohio River.²¹⁰ Like his father, Alexander was a large land owner. In 1850 he owned \$9,000 in real estate, which had decreased to \$8,000 in 1860. If William's estate was not settled until 1864, when the final papers were signed, that might explain the large increase in Alexander's real estate holdings on the 1870 census, which amounted to \$21,000.²¹¹

Alexander and his family have been well documented by area historians. He reportedly received some education at the early schools in the area, then went to work as a store clerk in 1827, at the age of 19. His only pay was his clothes and board. Two years later he went into the dry goods business with his brother George; the brothers continued until George left the partnership in 1844. Alexander continued in the business himself, making it his life's work. He was an active proponent, along with his father, of the Cleveland & Pittsburgh Railroad, and later became one of the directors of the company. He was a director of the First National Bank. Alexander was said to be an early Whig, later a Republican, and a prominent member of the Methodist Church.²¹²

Alexander's son William G. became a lawyer and served as Mayor of Wellsville for two terms.²¹³ His daughter Helen married successful real estate and insurance businessman, Clarence R. Arnold, of Wellsville.²¹⁴ Son Kemble served as a lieutenant in the Civil War. In 1853, Alexander was reportedly instrumental in the rescue and resettlement of a kidnapped black child. Alexander was succeeded in his dry goods business in the late 1860s by sons Alexander R. and Emmett H.; he remained a silent partner until 1901.²¹⁵

²¹⁰ Testamentary records. USA. 19 May 1852. WELLS, William. Will brought to court. Probate Court, A.D. 1852, p. 350. Collection: Probate records, 1803-1890; index to files (appearance dockets), 1803-1940. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 7 May 2020. FHL microfilm 927752, images 500-501 of 654.

²¹¹ Censuses cited above; Testamentary records. USA. 19 May 1852. WELLS, William. Probate administration. File #3513. Collection: Estate records, 1803-1900. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 30 April 2020. FHL microfilm 2033061, images 2326-2343 of 3183.

²¹² Gibson L. Cranmer. (1890) *History of the Upper Ohio Valley*. Madison: Brant & Fuller, p. 366.

²¹³ Barth, *History of Columbiana County*, p. 968.

²¹⁴ Fogo, *City of Wellsville in Black and White*, unpaginated.

²¹⁵ McCord, *History of Columbiana County, Ohio, ...,* pp. 107, 359.

The numerous obituaries and tributes written about Alexander at his 100th birthday and shortly thereafter at his death give much the same sketch of his long business career, faithful membership in the Methodist church, and public servant.²¹⁶ Alexander was buried in Spring Hill Cemetery in Wellsville.²¹⁷

Concluding Remarks

This section represents a sample of the type of genealogical information which can be used to flesh out a more general story of an individual. While certainly not a biography of William Wells, the information presented gives a broader picture of his life and his impact on the town which bore his name.

William Wells and his family were instrumental in the founding and promoting of Wellsville as a regional population center and transportation hub. They were farmers, civic leaders, potters, merchants, bankers, even mayors. While some of the daughters left the area to follow their husbands, many of William's male descendants remained, married local girls, and continued to provide economic and civic leadership to their community for many decades after the founder's death.

²¹⁶ Representative of these many publications are the following: 'The Veteran Alexander Wells Passes 100th Milestone Tomorrow' *Evening Review*. 2 June 1908. p. 1, c. 3-5. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 8 May 2020; 'Alexander G. Wells Dead.' *Evening Review*. 20 July 1908. p. 1, c2. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 8 May 2020.

²¹⁷ Monumental inscriptions. USA. Spring Hill Cemetery, Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 19 July 1908. WELLS, Alexander. Photo by Irja Ruffner Coles. *Find A Grave Memorial*: 15793185. <http://www.findagrave.com> : accessed 20 December 2020.

APPENDIX THREE

TEACHERS GENEALOGICAL CASE STUDY

Introduction

Three young women surnamed Gardner, all of East Liverpool, all teachers, were recorded living in the study area in 1880. They did not all live in the same household, but all appeared to be living with a parent. Might they be related in some way through their fathers, presumably surnamed Gardner? Could they have come from a family with a tradition of scholarship which may have informed their decision to go into teaching?

Research Question

Do Anna, Jennie and Josie Gardner, all of East Liverpool, Ohio, enumerated as teachers in 1880, share a common ancestor along their paternal lines within two generations?

Discussion

Two of the women, Anna and Jennie, were apparently sisters as they were both living in the household of James W. Gardner, a physician, in 1880. Anna was age 24, Jennie age 20, both were born in Pennsylvania. James was age 54, also born in Pennsylvania and his wife Salina was age 52, born in Pennsylvania. Also in the household were son Elmer (age 19), daughter Lillie (age 15), and daughter Minnie (age 11); only Minnie was born in Ohio. These three younger children were all in school and Elmer also worked as a clerk at the Post Office.¹

The third teacher, Josie Gardner, was living with her probable widowed mother, Ruth; Josie was age 21, born in Virginia (probably the area that is now West Virginia). Her possible mother, Ruth, was age 49, born in Virginia. Josie's apparent siblings were all born in West Virginia: John (age 22) a pottery worker, George (age 19), Josias (age 18), Richard R. (age 16) and William P. (age 14). The three younger boys were all in school.²

¹ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 10 June 1880. GARDNER, James W. (head). ED 52. Roll: T9_1002. p. 447D. www.ancestry.com : accessed 26 February 2020.

² Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 01 June 1880. GARDNER, Ruth (head). ED 52. Roll T9_1002. p. 446A. www.ancestry.com : accessed 26 February 2020. West Virginia became a state in 1863; anyone over the age of 17 would have actually been born in the state of Virginia, not West Virginia.

Having described the likely families of the three Gardner school teachers as they appeared in 1880, the task is now to determine if the husband of Ruth Gardner who was widowed and living with six children in 1880 shares a common ancestor with James W. Gardner, born about 1826 in Pennsylvania. Ruth B. was born about 1829 in Virginia. Since all the parents of all three girls were probably born between 1825 and 1830, we would not necessarily expect to see them (the parents) listed by name on any census before 1850 since the previous censuses recorded only the names of the heads of household.

Records that might name the parents of the three Gardner teachers in connection with their own parents include their birth/death/marriage records, or their parents' probate records. Secondary sources might include county histories, obituaries, graveyard websites or published genealogies. Some relationship information can be inferred from land records and other types of county records if they are available. The two fathers were probably born in different states, as the father of Josie was said to be born in West Virginia on the 1880 census. The fathers may have been born in approximately the same year, as their wives were approximately the same age. A good course of action would be to research one family at a time.

Family of Josie Gardner, daughter of Ruth B. Gardner

The first step in determining any potential relationship between the two families must be finding the deceased spouse of Ruth Gardner, the probable father of Josie. Based on the 1880 census, Josie was born in about 1859 in West Virginia. Tracing backwards through the census a possible match for Josie's mother was Ruth Gardner, age 40, located on the 1870 census of Grant, Hancock County, West Virginia.

Ruth was living in the household of John Gardner, age 75, a rather wealthy farmer. Ruth did not appear to have a spouse and this census did not ask marital status. She had seven apparent children with her, all born in Virginia, all but the youngest at school. The children ranged in age from seventeen to four: Julia A.,

John, Josephine, George, Josiah, Richard R., William. Also in this household was Reason R. Gardner, age 48, and his apparent wife and child, Melvina and Clara.³ This record did not give us Ruth's husband but did name enough children to eventually help identify their father. On this record Josephine (the potential future teacher) was born in about 1859.

Backing up one more decade to 1860 we find Ruth still in the household of John Gardner in Hancock County. On this census she did appear to have a husband. Head of household John Gardner, age 65, was still reported as a land owning farmer and his apparent son (as found also in 1870) Reason R. was age 36, working as a ferryman. Another apparent son, Reeves Gardner, was age 33 and working as a farmer. Below him on the enumeration were listed Ruth, age 29, and five children ages eight through one: Eliza, Ruth, Julia, John, Josephine. The younger three children appear to be the same as the oldest three in the 1870 census, and the ages correspond.⁴ It is thought that this is likely the family of 1880 schoolteacher Josie, now only age one, with her parents Ruth and Reeves Gardner, and potential grandfather John Gardner, who was born in Pennsylvania about 1795.

Family of Anna and Jennie Gardner, daughters of James W. Gardner

According to the "Directory of Deceased American Physicians," James W. Gardner was a physician born in Clarion County, Pennsylvania, to unnamed parents. He married Salina Margaret Fulton in 1851, graduated from Pennsylvania Medical College in Philadelphia in 1857, and practiced medicine in both Pennsylvania and Ohio before his death in East Liverpool in 1906. He was a member of the Methodist

³ Census records. USA. Grant, Hancock County, West Virginia. 01 June 1870. GARDNER, John (head). Roll: M593_1687. p. 586A. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 26 February 2020. If the family had lived in this same county for more than seven years, any children born after mid-1863 would have actually been born in West Virginia.

⁴ Census records. USA. Hancock County, Virginia. 01 June 1860. GARDNER, John (head). Roll: M653_1349. p. 954. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 26 February 2020.

Episcopal church. He died leaving four married daughters, one unmarried daughter, and one son.⁵

Even though James Gardner reportedly died in East Liverpool during the times for which death records are available he did not appear in those records.⁶ Some of these records name the parents of the deceased and that information would have been helpful had it been available. Dr. Gardner's obituary is available but it did not mention his parents. It did name his wife, Salina Margaret Fulton, and gave the marriage year as 1851. Dr. Gardner died leaving the following children: Miss Anna B. Gardner [possibly one of the teachers in question], Mrs. D. B. Martin, Mrs. T. U. Milligan, Mrs. D. C. Simmers all of East Liverpool; Mrs. Jason Manley of Orwell, Ohio [possibly one of the teachers in question], and Elmer E. Gardner of Cleveland.⁷

A history of Clarion County, Pennsylvania, mentioned James Gardner's wife Salina and her family. Salina M. was said to be the daughter of James Fulton who was born in Ireland in about 1780 and immigrated to the United States with his mother and three brothers in 1794. James married in Clarion County in 1805.⁸ A search of the 1850 census did locate a James Fulton, born in about 1780, living in Clarion County. James was a farmer with \$1000 worth of property and he had an apparent daughter Salina, age 22, living in his household. There were four children in this household; two of the younger ones were in school.⁹ This could be the Salina Fulton who would marry James Gardner in 1851.

Since James Gardner and his future wife Salina Fulton were both probably from Clarion County a search was made for families named "Gardner" in that county on the 1850 census. Only one family was found, that of Ephraim Gardner. Ephraim

⁵'Dr. James W. Gardner.' *Pittsburgh Press*. 15 April 1906. p. 4, c. 2. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 26 February 2020; Directories. USA. 13 April 1906. GARDNER, James W. Collection: Directory of Deceased American Physicians, 1804-1929. Transcription. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 26 February 2020.

⁶ Death records. USA. Columbiana County, Ohio. 1906. GARDNER, James. Collection: Birth and death records, 1867-1908. Death records vol. 4, 1903-1908. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 27 February 2020. FHL microfilm publication 931590, item 4, images 577-578 of 639.

⁷'Dr. James W. Gardner.' *Pittsburgh Press*. 15 April 1906. GARDNER, Dr. James W. p. 4, c. 2. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 13 April 2020.

⁸ A.J. Davis, ed. (1887) *History of Clarion County*, Pennsylvania. Syracuse: Mason & Co., p. xvii.

⁹ Census records. USA. 1 June 1850. Toby, Clarion County, Pennsylvania. FULTON, James (head). Roll: M432_767. p. 82B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 27 February 2020.

may have been remarried after the death of a previous wife since in his household were fifteen possible children ranging in age from thirty-eight to three. Ephraim himself was age 62, a farmer, born in Pennsylvania, owning real estate worth \$1000. In the household was a James Gardner, born about 1826. Although all adults in the household were apparently literate, none of the children in the household were in school.¹⁰ Ephraim's household was located on the 1860 census as well; at that time all five children in the household (who were ages fourteen through twenty) were attending school.¹¹

A biographical type county history published in 1898 covers Clarion County. In it, James W. is named as a child of Ephraim Gardner and Hannah Austin both of Clarion County. Ephraim's second wife was probably the much younger Catherine, mistakenly thought to be the 38 year old child on the 1850 census, and possible mother of the five children seen on the 1860 census.¹²

Remarks and Analysis

The paternal grandparents of all three 1880 Gardner schoolteachers have been located. Grandfather of Anna and Jennie is likely Ephraim Gardner, a farmer from Clarion County, Pennsylvania. Grandfather of Josie is likely John Gardner, a farmer from Hancock County, West Virginia. It seems unlikely that a family connection further back than this would have had much direct social impact on these 19th century schoolteachers, as they might not have even known their grandparents much less their great-grandparents. Even without any known ancestral connection, perhaps a closer look at the composition of these two families can tell us something about the demographic or family conditions which might prompt young women to go into teaching, even temporarily.

¹⁰ Census records. USA. 1 June 1850. Toby, Clarion County, Pennsylvania. GARDNER, Ephraim (head). Roll: M432_767. p. 81B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 27 February 2020.

¹¹ Census records. USA. Toby, Clarion, Pennsylvania. 1 June 1860. GARDNER, Ephraim (head). Roll: M653_1095. p. 644. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 27 February 2020.

¹² n.a. (1898) *Commemorative Biographical Record of Central Pennsylvania including the counties of Centre, Clearfield, Jefferson and Clarion, containing biographical sketches of prominent and representative citizens, and many of the early settled families*. Chicago: J. H. Beers & Co., p. 1522.

In neither family were the parents married by the 1850 census, so a logical place to begin looking at the family structure is with the 1860 enumeration. In that year the Dr. James Gardner family included five children, two of whom were at school; the Ruth & Reeves Gardner family matched exactly, with five children, two in school. In 1870 James and his wife had six children at home, three in school; Ruth Gardner was now a widow, living with her father-in-law. She had eight children, seven of them at school. By the time of the 1880 census three of the Gardner daughters were school teachers. Between them they had eight siblings still living at home on this census. Their siblings were ages eleven to twenty-two and six of the eight were in school.

When compared to the general school attendance statistics for East Liverpool (Dr. James W. Gardner) and Hancock County (Reeves/Ruth Gardner) James' and Reeves' children attended school at or above the levels seen in the area as a whole. In addition, their children appeared to stay in school longer. In James' 1880 East Liverpool household, his 19 year old son was still in school and in Ruth's 1880 Grant district household, her 18 year old son was still in school. In both places the percentage of children still in school at the age of 17 was less than 45% in this census year.¹³ It appears that every child in both families attended school for some period of time, both boys and girls, and four of the sixteen known school-attending children were in school on two consecutive censuses.

One way to determine how many years of education each of these children actually got is to find them on the 1940 federal census which explicitly asked the highest grade of education completed. This line of inquiry was not considered likely to be very successful, as most of these children were born between 1852 and 1869; the oldest would have been 88 and the youngest 71 if they lived until 1940. Likely death dates were found for 14 of the 17 siblings involved in these two families; of

¹³ Complete transcribed census enumerations for 1880. Ages of all children in both areas enumerated as attending school in that census year were analyzed to determine how many remained in school through age 17.

those, only four died after 1940.¹⁴ Probable census records for these four indicate all had four years of high school education.¹⁵

This relatively high level of education was not uncommon for *younger* citizens of Ohio at that time (1940). Federal census statistics indicate that for individuals aged 20-24 in 1940, the statewide median years of education was 12.0 (females) and 12.1 (males) years. For older people, the median years of education was significantly less at 8.1 and 8.3 years for females and males respectively. This approximate median held for the state in general as well as for rural non-farm areas, such as the small towns of Wellsville and East Liverpool. The situation in West Virginia was quite different. There the median years of education for females and males aged 20-24 was only 9.1 and 9.5 years as of 1940. For individuals in the age group of the families under study in 1940 the average was 6.2 years of education for females and 6.8 years for males and specifically in rural agricultural areas even less at 5.9 and 6.4 years for females and males respectively.¹⁶

Conclusions

No close family connection was found between the two Gardner families which had young women working as school teachers on the 1880 census. The fact of the common surname is probably just coincidental, although a more distant family relationship has not been disproved. What has been shown is that both families valued education enough to send all of their children to school at some time, and to send at least some of them to school for a relatively long period. There are many reasons why young ladies might have pursued school teaching for short period of

¹⁴ These potential records were found by searching FindAGrave for surname "Gardner" and the birth dates in either Pennsylvania or West Virginia. A good many of the potential Gardners were buried in Riverview Cemetery in East Liverpool.

¹⁵ Census Records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana, Ohio. 1 April 1940. MILLIGAN, Thomas V. (head). ED 15-27. Roll T627_3043. p. 9B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 28 February 2020; Census Records. USA. Euclid, Cuyahoga County, Ohio. 1 April 1940. ELY, Stuart (head). Ward 4. ED 18-128. Roll T627_3052. p. 2A. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 28 February 2020; Census Records. USA. Mount Dora, Lake County, Florida. 1 April 2020. THOMAS, Josephine (head). ED35-34. Roll MT627_595. p. 19B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 28 February 2020.

¹⁶ US Census Bureau. *Census of Population and Housing, 1940/1940 Census of Population/Volume 4-Characteristics by age: Marital status, relationship, education, and citizenship*. <https://www.census.gov/prod/www/decennial.html> : accessed 29 December 2020.

time during the mid-to-late 19th century; only one of the three girls under study, Anna B., appears to have remained single and was still teaching at the age of 63.¹⁷

¹⁷ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 January 1920. GARDNER, Anna B. (head). Ward 2. ED 110. Roll: T625_1356. p. 4B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 13 May 2020.

Table 26. Chronological events for Gardner genealogical case study						
Children of James W. & Salina Gardner	Children of J. Reeves & Ruth Gardner	Year Born	In School in 1860	In School in 1870	In School in 1880	Profession, education, notes
	Eliza	1852	X			Not found after 1860
	Ruth M.	1853	X	X		Married William Croxall (saloon keeper, gardener), d. 1925
Alonzo		1853	X	Potter	Died 1878	Never married, d. 1878
George		1855	X			Not found after 1860
	Rachel Julia	1855		X		Not found after 1870
	John H.	1857		X	Pottery	Married Martha J. McCarty, d. 1928
Anna B.		1856		X	Teacher	4 yrs. high school, teacher, never married, d. 1943
Lizzie		1858		X	Married	Married David B. Martin (newspaper publisher), d. 1937
	Josephine	1859		X	Teacher	4 yrs. high school, m. Lawrence M. Thomas (pottery owner), d. 1949
Jennie		1860			Teacher	Married Jason B. Manley (clergyman), d. 1930
	George	1861		X		Married, d. 1922 (laborer/machinist)
	Josiah	1862		X	X	Married Minnie Twiss, d. 1913 (potter)
Elmer		1862		X	X; PO Clerk	4 yrs. high school, RR freight conductor, m. Ida M. Brandon, d. 1952
	Richard R.	1864		X	X	Never married, d. 1897 (pottery decorator)
Lena/Lillie		1866			X	Married Thomas V. Milligan (hardware store owner), d. 1925
	William P.	1866			X	Never married, d. 1918 (real estate agent)
Minnie		1869			X	4 yrs. high school; m. Delbert Simmers (brickyard manager) & T. V. Milligan

APPENDIX FOUR

GENEALOGY OF SOME ENGLISH POTTERS

This appendix contains brief genealogies of the six families associated with the pottery business described in Chapter Seven, Staffordshire Potters. More general remarks about the relative importance of each family with respect to each other as well as to the community as a whole are found there. Basic family charts are included here for each family.

Children of Joseph & Maria BEARDMORE			
<p>Joseph BEARDMORE Born about 1811 Staffordshire, England married 14 September 1829 Staffordshire, England</p> <p>Maria SALT Born 22 January 1806 Staffordshire, ENG John & Mary SALT</p>	Mary Ann	b. 1830	Hanley, England Not found in US
	William	b. 1831	Hanley, England
	Joseph	b. 1833	Hanley, England
	John	b. 1836	Hanley, England Not found in US
	George	Abt. 1838	Staffordshire, England Not found in US
	Emma Maria	b. 1841	Staffordshire, England
	Thomas	Abt. 1843	England Not found aft. 1860
	Mary E.	Abt. 1845	England Not found aft. 1855
<p>Figure 112. Children of Joseph & Maria Beardmore. Data sources found inline.</p>			

THE BEARDMORE FAMILY

The surname *Beardmore* was often seen in the records under slightly different spellings, most often as “Beardman” or “Boardman.” Joseph “Beardman” and his family appeared on the 1850 census of East Liverpool; he was a potter who owned no property, and was born about 1811 in England. The enumerated household of Joseph “Beardman” included his likely wife Mariah, age 46 and his working sons William, age 18 - a potter and Joseph, age 17 - a carpenter. The three young children in the house were Emma (age 9), Thomas (age 7) and Mary (age 5), all attending school. There was a noticeable age gap in the children’s ages from 17 year-old Joseph to 9 year-old Emma. Explanations might be either the deaths of these children or their failure to emigrate with the family.¹ Other English potters on this census page included John Goodwin, Samuel Croxell and William F. Woodward.² Also on the East Liverpool census for 1850 was a record for John “Beardmore.” This man was a 40 year-old potter from England living in the household of Jonathan Paulsen and wife along with Adam Booth, another English potter.³

Joseph Beardmore and this family were located on the 1841 English census (the first available) living in Hanley, Staffordshire. Joseph was a potter; he and his whole family were born in Staffordshire county. With Joseph was his probable wife Mariah. Children in this household included William (age 9), Joseph (age 7), George (age 3) Emma (age 1 month) and Thomas (age 11).⁴ The ages of the adults in the household are consistent with those given nine years later on the 1850 US census. Children William, Joseph and Emma are also about nine years younger. The young boy George did not appear on the 1850 US census and no record was found of his death in England. The 11-year old boy Thomas is not consistent with the 7-year old

¹ Note that relationships were not given on this census. The status of ‘wife’ or ‘child’ of the head of household is assumed.

² Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1850. BEARDMAN, Joseph (head). Roll: M432_669. p. 113B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 21 April 2020.

³ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1850. BEARDMORE, John. Roll: M432_669. p. 118A. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 21 April 2020.

⁴ Census records. England. Hanley, Stoke-upon-Trent, Staffordshire. 6 June 1841. BEARDMORE, Joseph (head). PN HO107/990. FL 18. p. 29. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk> : accessed 21 April 2020. Relationships between household members are not given; status of ‘wife’ and ‘child’ of head of household are assumed.

Thomas recorded in East Liverpool in 1850. The Thomas of 1841 was listed at the end of the household. Since relationships among people living in the same household were not stated on this census, it is not possible to use this census to verify the relationship between this Thomas and the head of household.

English baptism records were found for four of Joseph and Mariah's children. These children were baptized between 1830 and 1836 at the Bethesda Chapel, Albion Street, Methodist New Connexion, in Shelton, Staffordshire. All four of these baptism records call the children '... of Joseph Beardmore Potter of Shelton and of the Parish of Stoke & County of Stafford by his wife Maria daughter of John Salt Labourer of Werrington/Cheedale' or very similar language.⁵ Only two of the four children baptized, William and Joseph, apparently survived until the 1841 census although no death or burial records were found for the missing children, Mary Ann and John.

No baptism records were found for George (named in the household on the 1841 census) or the three younger children found on the 1850 census (Emma, Thomas, Mary). Considering the regularity with which Joseph and Mariah had their older children baptized, it is curious that these later records were not found. The family may have left the church entirely for some reason, or they may have moved and not joined a different church. The existing baptism records reinforce the spelling of the surname as "Beardmore" and give the surname of Joseph's wife as Salt. Although there was a potter named James Salt/Sault in East Liverpool at various times, it is not known if he was a relative.

When the passenger ship *Liverpool* arrived in New York on 17 July 1849 it carried two men, apparently traveling together, John and Jos. "Beardman." John was age 49, a farmer; Jos[eph] was age 38, a potter.⁶ The Joseph under study was consistent in recording his birth year as 1811, and this is thought to be his

⁵ Baptisms (NCR) England. Methodist New Connexion, Hanley Circuit, Shelton, Staffordshire. 7 Mar 1830. BEARDMORE, Mary Ann. Archive reference: TNA/RG/4/2724. Collection: England & Wales Non-conformist Births And Baptisms. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk> : accessed 21 April 2020; BEARDMORE - William, 4 Sept 1831 and Joseph, 1 Sept 1833 and John, 7 Feb 1836.

⁶ Passenger list for *S. S. Liverpool* departing Liverpool. BEARDMAN, Jos. Arriving 1 January 1849. Collection: New York, Passenger and Crew Lists, 1820-1957. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 22 April 2020.

immigration record. No immigration records were found for the rest of his family, and it is not known whether the John on this passenger manifest was a brother; he was too old to have been the John found on the 1850 East Liverpool census. A newspaper recap of Joseph Beardmore Jr.'s life indicated that he 'came to East Liverpool in 1849' suggesting that the rest of Joseph Sr.'s family followed him rather quickly across the Atlantic.⁷

Joseph Beardmore Sr. probably followed the common immigration route up the Hudson River to Albany, across Lake Erie on a ship, then by canal boat down the Ohio River to Rochester, Pennsylvania. From there his journey might have continued by steamboat down the Ohio River to East Liverpool. In total, from departing by ship in England to arriving in East Liverpool, the journey took almost three months; this meant Joseph probably arrived in East Liverpool in around October of 1849.⁸

After staying in East Liverpool at least until the summer of 1850,⁹ Joseph and family apparently removed to New York and Boston for some period between 1850 and 1860. The 1855 Massachusetts state census recorded Joseph and Maria, along with five of their children, a daughter-in-law, and a grandchild, living in Boston's Ward 2. Joseph and his two older sons, William and Joseph, were all working as potters. William had an apparent wife, Catharine (born in Scotland) and a daughter Maria Stewart, age three months (born in New York). Also in the household were four younger children, Emma Maria, Thomas and Mary E. The family of John Ross, a potter from England, was also living in this dwelling.¹⁰

The name of the pottery for which Joseph and perhaps his housemate John Ross were working is not known. Ward 2 of Boston did, in 1871, and does today

⁷ Tom T. Jones. 'The Reviewing Stand.' *Evening Review*. 20 January 1933, p. 4, c. 6-7. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 23 April 2020.

⁸ William C. Gates, Jr. (1984) *The City of Hills & Kilns. Life and Work in East Liverpool, Ohio*. East Liverpool: The East Liverpool Historical Society, p. 36. In his footnote, Gates indicates that this is the route taken by Joseph Beardmore in 1849. He cites an *East Liverpool Tribute* article of 1904.

⁹ The 1850 census on which Joseph appeared was dated 4 July 1850.

¹⁰ Census records. USA. Boston, Suffolk County, Massachusetts. 12 July 1855. BEARDMORE, Joseph (head). Ward 2. p. 30. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 21 April 2020.

include Charlestown.¹¹ During this time, at least one pottery was operating in Charlestown - that of Edmands & Company. This pottery was in business while Joseph lived in Boston and may have been the largest in the area.¹² Perhaps Joseph and his sons were attracted by the possibility of working for a larger or different pottery than those in East Liverpool.

No further records were found for Joseph Beardmore Sr. It is possible that he died in about 1855 and was buried in the old Fifth Street Cemetery in East Liverpool,¹³ a now disused cemetery where many early settlers were buried.¹⁴ No death records were found for Joseph in Massachusetts, no probate records were found in Ohio. Columbiana County death records do not begin until 1867.¹⁵

Mariah was back in East Liverpool on the 1860 census living with her son Thomas, who was age 17 and working as a potter. Next-door was her probable son Joseph (a potter), his wife Mary and their son Joseph. Joseph Jr. was a land owner¹⁶ who had married Mary Colclough in Columbiana County on 11 August 1857.¹⁷ Mariah's oldest son, William, was also in East Liverpool having returned to Ohio by 1856; his second child, Caroline, had been born in Ohio in that year.¹⁸ Mariah's daughters Emma and Mary were not located on the 1860 census.

¹¹ Orlando Willis Gray & H. F. Walling. (1871) *Official Topographic Atlas of Massachusetts, from astronomical, trigonometrical and various local surveys - Map of the Compact Portions of Boston and the adjacent Cities and Towns*. Sheets 74-75, 100 rods to an inch (scale bar). n.p.: Stedman, Brown & Lyon. David Rumsey Historical Map Collection. Image no.: 1154015. <http://www.davidrumsey.com> : accessed 23 April 2020.; City of Boston. *Boston Maps - Wards and Precincts*. https://www.cityofboston.gov/maps/pdfs/ward_and_precincts.pdf : accessed 23 December 2020.

¹² Lura Woodside Watkins. (1950) *Early New England Potters and Their Wares*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, p. 85.

¹³ Monumental inscriptions. USA. Old Fifth Street Cemetery, East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1855. BEARDMORE, Joseph. No photo. *Find A Grave Memorial*: 181455334. <http://www.findagrave.com> : accessed 22 April 2020.

¹⁴ East Liverpool Historical Society. (2020) *Rest in Peace - Old Fifth St. Cemetery*. <http://www.eastliverpoolhistoricalsociety.org/restinpe.htm> : accessed 23 December 2020.

¹⁵ FamilySearch. *Columbiana County, Ohio Genealogy*. https://www.familysearch.org/wiki/en/Columbiana_County,_Ohio_Genealogy : accessed 28 December 2020.

¹⁶ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1860. BEARDMEN, Mariah (head). Roll: M653_948. p. 180. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 23 April 2020; also BEARDMORE, Joseph (head).

¹⁷ Marriages. USA. Columbiana County, Ohio. 11 August 1857. BEARDMAN, Joseph and COLCLOUGH, Mary. Collection: Marriage records, 1803-1951. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 23 April 2020. FHL film 927767 image 174 of 590.

¹⁸ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1860. BOARDMAN, William (head). Roll: M653_948. p. 177. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 23 April 2020.

Records relating to William's family give us some other information about the apparent travels of the Beardmores. William was married in April of 1854 in Worcester, Massachusetts.¹⁹ His wife, Catherine Gardner, was a native of Scotland.²⁰ Their oldest child, Maria, had been born in New York City in February of 1855.²¹

If the whole family of Joseph Beardmore traveled together one potential story would be that they left East Liverpool after June of 1850 when they were recorded on the census, were in Massachusetts long enough for William to meet and marry Catherine, went from there to New York City by February of 1855 where William's child was born, then back to Boston by July of 1855 where they were recorded on the Massachusetts state census, and back to East Liverpool in time for Joseph to be buried there by the end of the year.

Following the 1855 Massachusetts state census no further records were found for daughter Mary E. Beardmore. Following the 1860 census no further records were definitively located for Joseph and Mariah's son Thomas Beardmore. He may have served during the Civil War in the Ohio 3rd Infantry Regiment, Company K. A soldier named Thomas C. Beardmore served in this Company; he was born in about 1843 as Thomas was, served only four months, and mustered out on 22 August 1861.²² There is a possibility that this Thomas re-enlisted on 4 September 1861 from Pennsylvania²³ and was killed in the war.²⁴ No proof of this has been found. The children of Joseph Sr. and Mariah Beardmore still known to be living in the United States as of about 1860 will be discussed in turn.

¹⁹ Marriages. USA. Worcester, Worcester County, Massachusetts. 11 April 1854. BEARDMORE, William and GARDNER, Catherine. Collection: Massachusetts, Marriage Records, 1840-1915. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 21 April 2020.

²⁰ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1860. BOARDMAN, William (head). Roll: M653_948. p. 177. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 23 April 2020.

²¹ Deaths. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 3 May 1938. PICKAL, Maria Beardmore. Collection: Ohio Deaths, 1908-1953. State file no.: 26955. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 23 April 2020. FHL film 2023606.

²² Official Roster of the Soldiers of the State of Ohio. BEARDMORE, Thomas. 25 April 1861. Collection: Civil War Soldier Records and Profiles, 1861-1865. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 29 December 2020.

²³ History of Pennsylvania Volunteers, 1861-1865. BEARDMORE, ThomasC. . 4 September 1861. Collection: Civil War Soldier Records and Profiles, 1861-1865. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 29 December 2020.

²⁴ Quartermaster General's Office. *Roll of Honor. Names of Soldiers Who Died in Defence of the American Union, Vol. XVI.* BEARDMORE, Thomas. 6 June 1864. Collection: U.S., Civil War Roll of Honor, 1861-1865. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 29 December 2020.

Perhaps the most historically striking thing about this particular branch of the Beardmore family was the loss of four cousins in the 4 July 1882 sinking of the steamboat *Scioto* near Wellsville. On 13 July of that year Thomas, Lincoln, Harry and Carrie Beardmore were all declared lost in the sinking. On 3 August 1882 William Beardmore waived the right to administer the estates of his daughter Caroline Sinclair and son Lincoln, lost by the sinking of the *Scioto*, declaring himself to be next of kin. Likewise, on the same day, William's brother Joseph waived the right to administer the estates of his sons Harry E. and Thomas C., declaring himself to be next of kin. It must have been a terrible day for the family.²⁵



Figure 113. 'The Sinking of the *Scioto*.'
Source: East Liverpool Historical Society. *A Pall of Egyptian Gloom: The Sinking of the "Scioto."* <http://www.eastliverpoolhistoricalsociety.org/scioto1.htm>

William Beardmore

As noted above, William (son of Joseph and Mariah) married Catherine Gardner while the family was in Massachusetts. By the time of the 1860 census William and Catherine had three children. Daughter Mariah S. was reported born in New York in about 1855; daughter Caroline in Ohio in about 1856; son Alvin R. in Ohio in about 1859. William was working as a potter on this census and the family were living in the township of Liverpool;²⁶ there were about 90 potters living in the township (as opposed to the town of East Liverpool) on this census.²⁷

²⁵ Testamentary records. USA. 3 August 1882. BEARDMORE, Caroline Sinclair and Thomas C. and Lincoln and Harry E. Collection: Administrator's bonds, 1868-1926. [Ohio County, West Virginia] Vol. 3, pp. 109-112. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 13 December 2020. FHL film 1872053, images 677-680 of 1200.

²⁶ Census records. USA. Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1860. BOARDMAN, William (head). Roll: M653_948. p. 177. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 28 April 2020.

²⁷ Search of 1860 census online. Search terms "potter" as occupation and "Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio" as residence. <https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/7667/> : accessed 28 April 2020.

On 12 February 1861 William Beardmore purchased lot 629 in East Liverpool from John S. Blakely for \$76;²⁸ this was probably a house lot. On 2 December 1869 William, along with Elias M. and Samuel P. Jackson purchased about a half acre of land from in Liverpool Township from Homer Laughlin and Nathaniel M. Simms. The purchase price for this small lot was \$3,400; it is possible, but not specified in the deed, that there was a pottery or other building on the land.²⁹

By the time of the 1870 census William and Catherine had three more children - William was born in about 1850, Lincoln in about 1856 and Mary A. in about 1858. Son Alvin was missing from this census; children Maria S., Caroline S., and William were all attending school.³⁰

William was apparently doing well in business; on 1 August 1870 he was able to purchase lot 703 in East Liverpool for the sum of \$800 from John and Sarah Baum. This lot was not near lot 629 which William had purchased in 1861.³¹ It is odd that William declared no real or personal property on the 1870 census only eight weeks before he was able to commit \$800 for a land purchase. On 25 June 1879 William purchased lot 784 in East Liverpool from James W. Gaston for

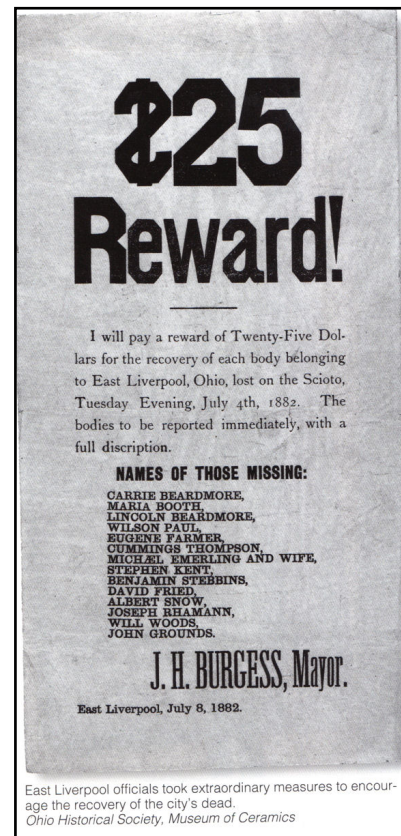


Figure 114. 'Names of Those Missing.'

Source: East Liverpool Historical Society. *A Pall of Egyptian Gloom: The Sinking of the "Scioto."* <http://www.eastliverpoolhistoricalsociety.org/scioto1.htm>

²⁸ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed records, Vol. 65, p. 25. Blakeley to Beardmore, 12 February 1861. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 28 December 2020. FHL film 926901, image 18 of 681.

²⁹ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed records, Vol. 85, p. 83. Laughlin and Simms to Elias M. Jackson et. al. 2 December 1869. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 28 April 2020. FHL film 926912, image 46 of 677.

³⁰ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1870. BEARDMAN, William (head). Roll M593_1183. p. 202B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 28 April 2020.

³¹ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed records, Vol. 88, p. 433. John Baum to Wm. Beardmore, 1 August 1870. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 28 April 2020. FHL film 926913, image 566 of 649.

\$700.³² In 1881 William purchased his last recorded piece of land, lot 688 in East Liverpool, which he purchased from John Crawford.³³

The family apparently moved before 1880 as that census recorded William and Catherine living in Wellsville. They now had five children at home: S. Cary (Caroline) age 23, William age 19 and working as a potter, Sinclair (Lincoln) age 14 and also a potter as well as attending school, James age 9 and at school, S [t or F] Pearl age two.³⁴ This census did not ask how much personal or real property a person owned. As noted above, Caroline and Lincoln died in the 4 July 1882 sinking of the steamship *Scioto* on a pleasure cruise on the Ohio River; as the ship sank near the West Virginia bank, probate records were found in that state.

William Beardmore was found on the 1890 Veterans Schedules for East Liverpool, part of the few census records from that year still extant. William reported that he had served with the 115th Ohio Volunteer Infantry from 6 August 1862 through 27 June 1865. He also reported suffering from bronchitis.³⁵ William was found on the 1900 census for the last time. He and Catherine were back in East Liverpool, William was working as a truant officer, and their son William was in the household. The son was reportedly married though his wife was not enumerated with the family; he was a potter.³⁶ William Sr. died on 3 February 1904 while living in East Liverpool.³⁷ His wife Catherine died there on 12 July 1905. She had given

³² Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed records, Vol. 132, p. 51. J. W. Gaston to Wm. Beardmore. 25 June 1879. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 28 April 2020. FHL film 926934, image 571 of 761.

³³ Columbiana County, Ohio. Grantee index, Vol. 1, A-G 1798-1897. John Crawford to William Beardmore, 1881. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 28 April 2020. FHL film 905970, image 214 of 1116. The noted deed volume, #137, is not available at this website.

³⁴ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1880. BEARDMON, William (head). ED 64. Roll: T9_1002. p. 744C. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 11 May 2020.

³⁵ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. n.d. [1890] BEARDMORE, William. Roll: M123_???. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 11 May 2020.

³⁶ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1900. BEARSHIRE, William (head). ED 12. Roll: T623_???. p. 10. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 11 May 2020.

³⁷ Deaths (CR) USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 3 February 1904. BEARDMORE, William. Collection: Birth and death records, 1867-1908. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 31 December 2020. FHL film 931590, image 554 of 639.

birth to eight children, four of whom were living in 1900, though only three were named in her obituary.³⁸

Joseph Beardmore

Joseph was first seen in his own household on the 1860 census.³⁹ He and wife Mary Colclough had probably married in about 1857.⁴⁰ He was working as a potter, and claimed \$350 in real estate and \$20 in personal assets. He and Mary had one child, Joseph, age one; the child was born in Ohio. By 1870 Joseph was still fairly successful; he now owned \$800 in real estate and \$250 in personal assets. He and Mary had apparently lost their first child (Joseph), as he did not appear with them. They did have five children under the age of ten, and the widowed Mariah (Joseph's mother, age 64) was living with them. Joseph was still working as a potter.⁴¹

By 1880 Joseph and Mary had eight children living at home; both Joseph and their son Thomas were working as potters and three of their other children were at school. It is not known why Joseph's brother William moved for a time to Wellsville, but Joseph and his family apparently did not. Since Joseph reported that he owned real estate, perhaps he owned his own home and/or land, while William was only renting, and this made Joseph's family a bit more stable. Joseph also participated in the civic life on his community to some extent, as noted by his service as Township Trustee later in life.⁴² Joseph and Mary lost their two oldest sons in the

³⁸ 'Obituary. Mrs. Catherine Beardmore.' (1905) *Evening Review*. 13 July 1905. p. 4, c. 2. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 13 May 2020; Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1900. BEARSHIRE, William (head). ED 12. Roll: T623_?? p. 10. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 11 May 2020.

³⁹ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1850. BEARDMAN, Joseph (head). Roll: M432_669. p. 113B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 21 April 2020.

⁴⁰ 'Death Roll. Mrs. Mary Beardmore.' *Evening Review*. 5 September 1912. p. 8, c. 2. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 11 May 2020. Obituary calls her "Mrs. Mary Colclough Beardmore" and names her husband as Joseph. Surviving children also named; Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1900. BEARDMORE, Jos. (head). Ward 2. ED 15. Roll: T623_?? p. 22. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 20 May 2020. Mary and Jos. had been married 43 years on this census.

⁴¹ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1870. BEARDMAN, Joseph (head). Roll: M593-1183. p. 198A. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 11 May 2020.

⁴² R.L. Polk & Co. (publishers) (1902) *East Liverpool Directory, 1902-03*. Pittsburg: R.L. Polk & Co., p. 60.

Scioto disaster of 4 July 1882; Thomas C. and Harry E. were both reported drowned.⁴³

Joseph reported that he was still working as a potter in 1900, at the age of 67. An article published on the anniversary of his 100th birthday (which he did not live to see) mentioned his wife Mary as a daughter of East Liverpool potter William Colclough, his participation in the Methodist Protestant Church, the deaths of his two sons in the steamboat disaster, and his work as a potter with C. C. Thompson as well as Township Trustee.⁴⁴ His obituary noted that he had served in the Ohio 143rd Volunteers, Co. K, during the Civil War and was a member of the Odd Fellows for nearly 30 years. He had been a Township Trustee for 25 years at the time of his death.⁴⁵

Joseph's wife died five years later. Mary Colclough Beardmore had given birth to eleven children; although she noted five were living on the 1900 census, only four were named in her obituary - Ella, Annie, Will and Edwin.⁴⁶ There were actually five children living at her death as daughter Mary Emge did not die until 1916.⁴⁷

Emma Maria Beardmore

Emma was born in Staffordshire in 1841⁴⁸ and immigrated to the United States in about 1849 with her family.⁴⁹ She appeared with her family on the 1850 US

⁴³ Testamentary records. USA. 3 August 1882. BEARDMORE, Caroline Sinclair and Thomas C. and Lincoln and Harry E. Collection: Administrator's bonds, 1868-1926. [Ohio County, West Virginia] Vol. 3, pp. 109-112. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 13 December 2020. FHL film 1872053, images 677-680 of 1200.

⁴⁴ Tom T. Jones. 'The Reviewing Stand.' *Evening Review*. 20 January 1933, p. 4, c. 7. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 13 May 2020.

⁴⁵ 'Joseph Beardmore, honored old citizen, dies very suddenly.' *Evening Review*. 11 October 1907, p. 1, c. 6-7. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 13 May 2020.

⁴⁶ 'Death Roll. Mrs. Mary Beardmore.' *Evening Review*. 5 September 1912. p. 8, c. 2. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 11 May 2020.

⁴⁷ Monumental inscriptions. USA. Riverview Cemetery, East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. EMGE, Mary Elizabeth. No photo. *Find A Grave Memorial*: 3734292. <http://www.findagrave.com> : accessed 15 May 2020.

⁴⁸ Births index (CR) England & Wales. RD Stoke on Trent, Staffordshire. 2nd Q., 1841. BEAREMORE, Emma. Vol. 17. p. 156. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk> : accessed 21 April 2020.

⁴⁹ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. MORLEY, Emma (head). 1 June 1900. ED 16. Roll: T623_??, p. 12. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 12 May 2020. Her two brothers reported immigration years of 1849 and 1850.

Federal and 1855 Massachusetts state censuses, but was not located anywhere on the 1860 US Federal enumeration. She was almost certainly living nearby, however, as she married George Morely in East Liverpool on 6 November 1861.⁵⁰ George was not successfully located on the 1860 census. He may have been the George Morley living in Madison County, Illinois, in 1850 and working as a potter.⁵¹ By about 1855 he was involved with his brother Samuel as well as James Godwin and William Flentke in the “Morley, Godwin & Flentke” pottery.⁵² On the 1870 census George was a pottery manufacturer in East Liverpool with about \$7,000 in combined assets. He and Emma had three children at home that year.⁵³

In about 1874 the above pottery was under the sole ownership of George Morley and Samuel Godwin, and in 1878 George went out on his own in Wellsville and was making white-ware pottery, a different type of ware than the yellow-ware made in the region. From 1878 until 1884 the pottery was owned by George alone, under the name “Pioneer Pottery.”⁵⁴ George and Emma Morely appeared on the 1880 census living in Wellsville. They had four children at home.⁵⁵

By 1884 the family had moved back to East Liverpool, where George had purchased the “West, Hardwick & Co.” pottery and had gone into business with his son Charles Lincoln, renaming the operation “The Lincoln Pottery.” They made white granite ware and Majolica ware at the plant. Charles was reportedly not much interested in the business, which failed in 1890 resulting in George losing everything.⁵⁶ After serving as mayor for one term in 1891, George died on 28 November 1896. His obituary makes no mention of him “losing everything” rather

⁵⁰ Marriages. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 6 November 1861. MORELY, George and BEARDMORE, Emma M. Collection: Ohio, U.S., County Marriage Records, 1774-1993. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 15 May 2020.

⁵¹ Census records. USA. Upper Alton, Madison, Illinois. 1 June 1850. MORLEY, Charles (head). Roll: M432_119. p. 388A. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 29 December 2020.

⁵² Carnegie Public Library. *Alphabetical List of Pottery Industries in the East Liverpool Area*. <https://www.carnegie.lib.oh.us/potteries> : accessed 30 December 2020.

⁵³ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1870. MOORELY, George (head). Roll: M593_1183. p. 209B. <https://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 12 May 2020.

⁵⁴ Carnegie Public Library. *Pottery Industries ...*

⁵⁵ Census records. USA. Wellsville, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1880. MORELY, George (head). ED 64. Roll: T9_1002. p. 739B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 12 May 2020.

⁵⁶ W. A. Calhoun. (n.d.) *Early Clay Industries of the Upper Ohio Valley*. [manuscript] East Liverpool: Carnegie Public Library, p. 107-108.

noting that he continued to take care of his business until the day before his death. The obituary also noted that George served in the Civil War for Ohio, was a Knight Templar, and a member of the Methodist Protestant church.⁵⁷

Emma remained in East Liverpool, where she was enumerated in 1900 living with three of her sons, two of their wives, and one grandson. All three sons were working as potters. Emma reported that she had given birth to eleven children, only five of whom had survived.⁵⁸ Emma was not located on the 1910 census but by January of 1911 she was living in Madison, Columbiana County, where she died on the 26th of that month. She was buried in East Liverpool.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ 'Without a Struggle.' *Evening Review*. 28 November 1896, p. 1, c. 4-5. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 15 May 2020.

⁵⁸ Census records.USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. MORLEY, Emma (head). 1 June 1900. ED 16. Roll: T623_?? p. 12. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 12 May 2020.

⁵⁹ 'Wife of Former Mayor dies in Madison.' *Evening Review*. 27 January 1911, p. 6, c. 5. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 15 May 2020.

Sons of Henry LEIGH		Children of James and Ann LEIGH		
James LEIGH Born about 1828 Staffordshire, England	Jane L.	b. 1852	Ohio	Not found aft. 1870
	James	b. 1854	Ohio	
Ann ALLEN Born about 1835 England	Elizabeth	b. 1858	Ohio	
	Francis Ella	b. 1862	Ohio	
	William H.	b. 1863	Ohio	
	Joseph	b. 1868	Ohio	
Children of Peter and Emma LEIGH				
Peter LEIGH Born January 1830 Staffordshire, England	Herbert	Abt. 1853	Ohio	Not found aft. 1860
	Alfred J.	b. 1856	Ohio	
married before 1853 Ohio (likely)	William	b. 1856	Ohio	
Emma _____ Born about 1838 Ohio	Mary	b. 1858	Ohio	

Figure 115. Parents and children of two Leigh families.

Data sources found inline.

THE LEIGH FAMILY

The *Leigh* surname was sometimes misspelled in the records located with the most obvious error being “Lee;” other spellings included “Leek” and “Ley”.

“Henery” Leigh and his two apparent sons, James and Petre, appeared on the 1850 census of East Liverpool. In that year the younger men were both working as potters, and all three reported being born in England. Henery himself was a shoemaker.⁶⁰ A possible English census record for this trio was located. In 1841 “Harvey” Leigh was working as a shoemaker in Staffordshire. With him on this census were his possible wife Mary and possible sons James and Peter. James, at age 14, was working as a potter.⁶¹ This Mary Leigh may have been the woman who died in February of 1845 in Tunstall or Wolstanton, Stoke-Upon-Trent, and was buried at Tunstall.⁶²

The men probably immigrated together aboard the *S. S. Enterprise*, which arrived in New York on 19 June 1849. Peter and Harvey were listed together, although they were called laborers from Ireland. James was listed several pages later and called a tradesman from England.⁶³ James’ obituary confirmed that he arrived in 1849 aboard the *Enterprise* and was in East Liverpool within a few weeks.⁶⁴

Harvey and Peter Leigh

Henery or Harvey’s fate is not known. He was not located on any further census of the area, no obituary was found, no burial or death information, no probate

⁶⁰ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1850. LEIGH, Henery (head). Roll: M432_669. p. 115A. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 18 May 2020.

⁶¹ Census records. England. Hanley, Stoke-upon-Trent, Staffordshire. 6 June 1841. LEIGH, Harvey (head). PN HO107/990. FL 43. p. 27. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 18 May 2020.

⁶² Deaths index (CR) England & Wales. Wolstanton, Staffordshire, England. 2nd Q., 1845. LEIGH, Mary. Vol. 17. p. 241. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 19 May 2020; Burials. England. Tunstall, Staffordshire. 22 February 1845. LEIGH, Mary. Collection: Parish registers for Christ Church, Tunstall (near Stoke-upon-Trent), 1832-1900 <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 30 December 2020. FHL film 1526193, image 634 of 2586 (item 4, p. 118.)

⁶³ Passenger list for *S. S. Enterprise* departing Liverpool. LEIGH, Peter, Harvey, James. Arriving 19 June 1849. Collection: New York, Passenger and Crew Lists, 1820-1957. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 19 May 2020. Errors regarding place of origin are not often found on ship manifests; more common errors relate to the ages of a passenger or their occupation.

⁶⁴ ‘Paralysis of the Brain.’ *Evening Review*. 13 July 1896, p. 1, c. 5-6. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 19 May 2020.

or remarriage, and no deeds. “Petre” or Peter Leigh married a woman named Emma, probably shortly after his arrival in Ohio. Peter and Emma were enumerated in East Liverpool in 1860 where their oldest child was age seven and Peter was working as a potter; Peter owned no land.⁶⁵

Peter enlisted in the Ohio 3rd Light Artillery Battery on 1 February 1862; he served as the Chief Bugler for the Battery.⁶⁶ Peter was killed in action in Germantown, Tennessee, on 17 January 1863 and Emma filed for her widow’s pension on 14 December 1863.⁶⁷ No further record of Emma or of Peter’s children was found in Columbiana County; they may have moved across the border to Beaver County, Pennsylvania.⁶⁸ Further research on those children was not pursued.

James Leigh

James had begun to establish himself early in East Liverpool. Less than two years after his arrival in about 1850 James married Ann Allen, also an English immigrant.⁶⁹ In September of 1858 Anne Leigh purchased the east half of lot 135 in East Liverpool from Claiburn Simms for \$200.⁷⁰ The 1860 census reflects this purchase. On that enumeration James (a potter) owned real estate valued at \$200 and personal estate at \$40. In the household with him and Ann were three children - Jane, James and Elizabeth; the oldest child was in school.⁷¹

⁶⁵ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1860. LEE, Peter (head). Roll: M653_948. p. 170. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 19 May 2020.

⁶⁶ Official Roster of the Soldiers of the State of Ohio. LEIGH, Peter. 1 February 1862. Collection: Civil War Soldier Records and Profiles, 1861-1865. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 29 December 2020.

⁶⁷ Fold3. Grave Registration Card. LEIGH, Peter. 17 January 1863. Collection: Ohio, Soldiers Grave Registration Cards, 1804-1958. <http://www.fold3.com> : accessed 19 May 2020; National Archives. Pension index card. LEIGH, Emma. 14 December 1863. Collection: U.S., Civil War Pension Index: General Index to Pension Files, 1861-1934. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 19 May 2020.

⁶⁸ This may be a son of Peter: Census records. USA. Ohio, Beaver County, Pennsylvania. 1 June 1870. LEE, Alfred (laborer). Roll: M593_1303. p. 164A. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 19 May 2020.

⁶⁹ Marriages. USA. Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 July 1851. LEIGH, James and ALLEN, Ann. Collection: Ohio, U.S., Compiled Marriage Index, 1803-1900. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 18 May 2020.

⁷⁰ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed records, Vol. 59, p. 23. Claiburn B. Simms to Anne Leigh, 15 September 1858. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 20 May 2020. FHL film 926958, image 361 of 676.

⁷¹ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1860. LEIGH, James (head). Roll: M653_948. p. 172. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 19 May 2020.

On 2 May 1864 James enlisted in the Ohio 143rd Infantry, Co. I; he mustered out as a Sergeant at Camp Chase, Franklin County, Ohio, on 13 September 1864, having served four months.⁷² In April of 1870 James purchased the west half of lot 135 from George Hallum; for this he paid \$800. The couple now owned all of lot 135 which was located on Second Street.⁷³ Although no other real estate purchases were found for James or his wife, a few months later (on the 1870 census) James reported owning \$3,000 in real estate - about three times what he and Ann had reportedly paid for Lot 135. James was still working as a potter in 1870, as was his son James. The family had six children at home, three at school.⁷⁴

James was not noted as a pottery owner or manufacturer in his own right, but was a well known member of the pottery community. An example of his participation with fellow potters is seen in his service as a pall bearer at the funeral of a local physician; serving with him were some of the more well known potters in the community - Isaac W. Knowles and James Goodwin.⁷⁵

The decade of the 1870s must have been busy for James and Ann. Their oldest son James married Sarah Ann Thackery, daughter of another local potter, on 16 April 1876.⁷⁶ Their daughter Ann Elizabeth married Ozias Boughton on 11 April 1877;⁷⁷ she did not live long, dying three years later of childbed fever on 30 March 1880.⁷⁸ On 31 March 1879 James purchased the west one-half of Lot 154 in East

⁷² Official Roster of the Soldiers of the State of Ohio. LEIGH, James. 2 May 1864. Collection: Civil War Soldier Records and Profiles, 1861-1865. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 29 December 2020.

⁷³ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed records, Vol. 88, p. 234. George Hallum to James Leigh, 2 April 1870. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 20 May 2020. FHL film 926913, image 465 of 649.

⁷⁴ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1870. LEIGH, James (head). Roll: M593_1183. p. 190B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 20 May 2020.

⁷⁵ Tom T. Jones. 'The Sunlit Road.' *Evening Review*. 10 June 1935, p. 6, c. 4. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 20 May 2020.

⁷⁶ Marriages. USA. Columbiana County, Ohio. 16 April 1876. LEIGH, James Jr. and THACKERY, Sarah Ann. Collection: Ohio, U.S., County Marriage Records, 1774-1993. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 20 May 2020; Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1870. THACKERY, Thomas (head). Roll: M593_1183. p. 199B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 20 May 2020. Sarah was age nine, her probable father worked in a pottery.

⁷⁷ Marriages. USA. Columbiana County, Ohio. 11 April 1877. BOUGHTON, Ozias and LEIGH, Ann Elizabeth. Collection: Ohio, U.S., County Marriage Records, 1774-1993. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 20 May 2020.

⁷⁸ Deaths (CR) USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 30 March 1880. BOUTON, Elisabeth. Collection: Birth and death records, 1867-1908. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 20 May 2020. FHL film 931590 image 108 of 639.

Liverpool;⁷⁹ his son James had purchased the east half of this lot on 3 March 1877 from the same seller.⁸⁰ This lot fronted onto 4th Street and was probably the property where James Sr. eventually died.⁸¹ On the 1880 census, daughter Elizabeth's widower (Osias Boughton) and their two children were living in the household with her parents and her three remaining siblings. James Leigh was still working as a potter at age 52, as were his son William H. and son-in-law Osias Boughton.⁸² Eldest daughter Jane was not at home on the 1880 census, and no further records of her were found. The James Leigh family had likely already moved to the 4th Street address by the time of this census since James and Ann had sold Lot 135 on 13 April 1880.⁸³

On 20 September 1880, James and Ann's daughter Francis "Nelly" Leigh married William A. Rhodes.⁸⁴ William was also a potter, born in Ohio, whose mother and grandmother were from England.⁸⁵ On 24 December 1883 James was presented with a gold-headed cane by the employees of the kiln department of C. C. Thompson & Co.'s Pottery. The presenter was a member of the previous family discussed, Joseph Beardmore.⁸⁶ Although no record tells us which specific pottery James Leigh worked for during his career, this record suggests it may have been Thompson's.

⁷⁹ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed records, Vol. 121, p. 343. George Burford to James Leigh, 31 March 1879. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 20 May 2020. FHL film 926929, image 705 of 790.

⁸⁰ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed records, Vol. 113, p. 68. George Burford to James Leigh Jr., 3 March 1877. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 20 May 2020. FHL film 926926, image 66 of 638.

⁸¹ Paralysis of the Brain.' *Evening Review*. 13 July 1896, p. 1, c. 5-6. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 19 May 2020.

⁸² Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1880. LEIGH, James (head). ED 52. Roll: T9_1002. p. 436A. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 20 May 2020.

⁸³ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed records, Vol. 129, p. 22. Jas. Leigh Sr. & wife to William Surles, 13 April 1880. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 20 May 2020. FHL film 926933, image 306 of 513.

⁸⁴ Marriages. USA. Columbiana County, Ohio. 20 September 1880. RHODES, Wm. A. and LEIGH, Nelly L. Collection: Ohio, U.S., County Marriage Records, 1774-1993. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 30 December 2020.

⁸⁵ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1880. TALBOT, Emma S. (head). ED 52. Roll: T9_1002. p. 451D. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 20 May 2020.

⁸⁶ 'East Liverpool Briefs.' *Saturday Review*. 5 January 1884, p. 3, c. 4. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 20 May 2020.

The 1890 Veterans Schedules from the Census Bureau are extant and James Leigh was enumerated in East Liverpool. The schedule confirmed his four months' service in 1864, his Company and rank of Sergeant. He noted no disability incurred in service.⁸⁷ A few months after this census was taken James and Ann's youngest child Joseph died of some kind of stomach ailment; he was age 22, said to have been a potter in East Liverpool.⁸⁸

James Leigh died in East Liverpool on 11 July 1896 after undergoing several rounds of cancer treatment. He had gone to Rome, New York, in early March 1887 for treatment of a cancer in his face.⁸⁹ That cancer was removed from his cheek, but there was apparently a second operation needed.⁹⁰ James was buried at Riverview Cemetery in East Liverpool.⁹¹ Ann Leigh died the following year, on 30 October 1897, at the house on 4th Street.⁹² No monumental records were found. On 12 September 1899 James Leigh Jr. died in East Liverpool of a stroke, also at the house on 4th Street.⁹³

By the turn of the century, only two of James and Ann's children were known to be living. Son William was living in East Liverpool with his sister-in-law Sarah (James Jr.'s widow) and working as a potter; one of Sarah's sons was also a potter, as was her son-in-law.⁹⁴ James Leigh's daughter Frances was also enumerated in East

⁸⁷ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1890. LEIGH, James. SD 8. ED 52. Roll: M123_??, p. 2. No. 46. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 20 May 2020.

⁸⁸ Deaths (CR) USA. Lindley, Columbiana County, Ohio. 5 August 1890. LEIGH, Joseph. Collection: Birth and death records, 1867-1908. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 31 December 2020. FHL film 931590 image 414 of 639.

⁸⁹ 'East Liverpool Briefs.' *Saturday Review*. 5 March 1887, p. 3, c. 1. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 20 May 2020.

⁹⁰ 'East Liverpool Briefs.' *Saturday Review*. 26 March 1887, p. 3, c. 4. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 20 May 2020.

⁹¹ Office of the Quartermaster General. USA. Headstone Application. LEIGH, James. 11 July 1896. Collection: U.S., Headstone Applications for Military Veterans, 1925-1970. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 19 May 2020.

⁹² 'Local Brevities.' *Saturday Review*. 1 November 1897, p. 8, c. 1. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 20 May 2020.

⁹³ 'James Leigh.' *Evening Review*. 12 September 1899, p. 2, c. 2. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 20 May 2020.

⁹⁴ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1900. LEIGH, Sarah (head). ED 16. Roll: T623_??, p. 3. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 20 May 2020.

Liverpool. Her husband William Rhodes was a traveling salesman.⁹⁵ Several of James Leigh Sr.'s descendants may have continued to work in the pottery business, but no record was found to indicate that any of them either rose to the level of ownership or made pottery work their career as their ancestor had.

⁹⁵ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1900. Ward 3. ED 17. Roll: T623_??, p. 8. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 20 May 2020.

Children of Edmund and Elizabeth STALEY			
Edmund STALEY Born about 1782 England married 11 June 1811 Derbyshire, England Elizabeth WILKINSON Born about 1793 England	Charles	b. 1812	England
	John	b. 1812	England
	Richard	b. 1830	Derbyshire
	Sarah	Abt. 1832	Derbyshire
	Emma	b. 1834	England

Figure 116. Children of Edmund & Elizabeth Staley.
Data sources found inline.

THE STALEY/STANLEY FAMILY

This family may have been from Derbyshire rather than Staffordshire.⁹⁶ The spelling of this surname also varied but was usually seen as “Staley” or “Stanley.” The first record of this group in the United States was the 1850 census of East Liverpool. This census did not mention the relationships between people enumerated in the same household. The apparent head of the family was Eliz[abe]th Staley, age 57, born in England. Potential children of Elizabeth were:

John, age 38, a potter with \$300 in property

Richard, age 20, a laborer

Sarah, age 18

Emma, age 15

⁹⁶ Census records. England. Stapenhill, Burton upon Trent, Derbyshire. 6 June 1841. STALEY, Edmund (head). PN HO107/192. FL 11. p. 15. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 21 May 2020. All members of the family who later immigrated were said to have been born in Derbyshire.

Charles, age 20, a potter with \$175 in property (he had a wife and daughter)⁹⁷

It is interesting to note that while John and Charles both claimed to own property when the enumerator called in July, the deeds for this property were not dated until September. John and Charles purchased adjoining property near the intersection of Jackson and 4th streets in East Liverpool on the same day from James Blakeley.⁹⁸

While no definitive immigration record has been found for Charles, a likely record for the rest of the family was located. On 11 July 1848, this family group arrived in New York City aboard the *S.S. Centurion*:

Edmund Staley, age 66, collier

Elizabeth, age 56, wife

John, age 36, collier

Richard, age 17

Sarah, age 14

Emma, age 12⁹⁹

The names and ages of this group match well the household on the 1850 census with two exceptions. Edmund Staley was not found in 1850. Research revealed that Edmund died shortly after the family arrived in East Liverpool, on 25 November 1848.¹⁰⁰ A potential headstone match for the John Staley enumerated on the 1850 census was found in Riverside Cemetery; this headstone lists both John and

⁹⁷ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1850. STALEY, Elizth (head). Roll: M432_669. p. 118B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 21 May 2020. The 18 year gap between the births of John and Richard was noted but not pursued.

⁹⁸ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed records, Vol. 44, p. 658. James Blakeley & wife to John Staley, 25 September 1850. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 20 May 2020. FHL film 926949, image 344 of 901; Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed records, Vol. 45, p. 128. James Blakeley & wife to Charles Stanley, 25 Sept 1850. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 20 May 2020. FHL film 926949, image 532 of 901.

⁹⁹ Passenger list for *S. S. Centurion* departing Liverpool. STALEY, Edmund, Elizabeth, John, Richard, Sarah, Emma. Arriving 11 July 1848. Collection: New York, Passenger and Crew Lists, 1820-1957. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 19 May 2020.

¹⁰⁰ Monumental inscriptions. USA. Riverview Cemetery, East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 8 January 1783. STALEY, Edmund. No photo. *Find A Grave* Memorial: 28592093. <http://www.findagrave.com> : accessed 15 May 2020. No headstone, link to wife said to be Elizabeth Wilkinson.

Elizabeth, his possible mother. John died 12 March 1851.¹⁰¹ It is not known what happened to John, perhaps he was ill. He managed to sell his property to possible brother or nephew Richard only two days before he died.¹⁰² No probate or death records were found for John.

There is no record that Richard ever sold this land even though he never declared its value to a census enumerator. He probably married an Englishwoman named Harriet Whitten in East Liverpool some time before 1853. This family was found on the 1860 census living across the border in Beaver County, Pennsylvania; Richard owned no land but was called a farmer.¹⁰³ In 1870 Richard and his family were back in East Liverpool, this time with \$300 in personal assets but still no land; he had a wife and two sons. Both Richard and his oldest son were working as laborers.¹⁰⁴

Richard was still working as a laborer in East Liverpool in 1880 when he was enumerated with wife Harriet and son John, who was a potter.¹⁰⁵ It is curious that Richard never called himself a “potter” yet his death record calls that his line of work. He died of cancer on 22 December 1884 in East Liverpool.¹⁰⁶ No probate or obituary for Richard was found.

¹⁰¹ Monumental inscriptions. USA. Riverview Cemetery, East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 9 November 1812. STALEY, John. Photo by San. *Find A Grave Memorial*: 28592066. <http://www.findagrave.com> : accessed 15 May 2020. Although the memorial creator did not link to Elizabeth, her name is also on the headstone.

¹⁰² Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed records, Vol. 45, p. 150. John Staley to Richard Staley, 10 March 1851. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 20 May 2020. FHL film 926949, image 543 of 901.

¹⁰³ Census records. USA. Ohio, Beaver County, Pennsylvania. 1 June 1860. STAILY, Richard (head). Roll: M653_???. p. 619. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 21 May 2020 (son George is age seven); Deaths (CR) USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 31 December 1941. STALEY, John E. State file #71916. Collection: Ohio Deaths, 1908-1953. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 21 May 2020. FHL film 2023974 image 2553 of 331; John was found on the 1870 census, see reference below. His parents were named as Richard Staley and Harriet Whitten, both of England.

¹⁰⁴ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1870. STAILEY, Richard (head). Roll: M593_1303. p. 188B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 21 May 2020.

¹⁰⁵ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1880. STALEY, Richard (head). ED 52. Roll: T9_1002. p. 469C. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 21 May 2020.

¹⁰⁶ Deaths (CR) USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 22 December 1884. STALEY, Richard. Collection: Birth and death records, 1867-1908. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 31 December 2020. FHL film 931590, image 274 of 639.

Charles Staley

As noted above, Charles was enumerated with the family of Elizabeth, John and Richard Staley in East Liverpool in 1850. He had been married within the year, and with him were his wife Margaret (nee Nicholson)¹⁰⁷ and likely daughter Mary. Charles was said to be a potter.¹⁰⁸ Charles was not found in the 1841 Derbyshire household noted above, nor did he appear on the *S.S. Centurion* with Elizabeth and her other children. It has not been definitively determined that Charles was a brother of John and/or Richard, although the dates and locations of land purchases in East Liverpool certainly suggest some familial relationship. Charles' year of birth was not consistent across the records; while the 1850 census indicates he was born in about 1830, the 1860 census suggests he was born in 1812.

On the 1860 census Charles and Margret were living in their own household with four daughters, the oldest three in school. Charles was working as a potter and owned \$200 in real estate (probably the same property purchased in 1850).¹⁰⁹ The 1870 census record for Charles Stanly and his family is unique so far in this study. Charles claimed \$800 in land, although there is no record of him purchasing additional land. He and Margaret had five children at home, two in school. What makes this record particularly interesting is that in addition to Charles himself working as a potter, his three oldest *daughters* were also enumerated as potters.¹¹⁰ In the study area, women recorded in the census as working for pay were rare before the advent of pottery jobs; these jobs began to be reflected beginning in about 1870.¹¹¹

Charles' oldest daughter (Mary or Mary Ann) likely married just after the 1870 census. In June of 1880 she and husband William Rigby, a pottery worker from

¹⁰⁷ Deaths (CR) USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 16 October 1926. LEIGH, Ella May. State file no.: 60024. Collection: Ohio Deaths, 1908-1926. FHIL Film 2023606, image 315 of 3590. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 22 May 2020. Charles and Margaret were named as her parents.

¹⁰⁸ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1850. STALEY, Elizth (head). Roll: M432_669. p. 118B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 21 May 2020.

¹⁰⁹ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1860. STANLEY, Charles (head). Roll: M653_948. p. 169. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 21 May 2020.

¹¹⁰ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1870. STANLY, Charles (head). Roll: M593_1183. p. 206B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 21 May 2020.

¹¹¹ With the exception of domestic service type of work. Specific discussions of employment classifications and work by women are discussed elsewhere in this work.

England, were living in Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania, with five children; the oldest was age ten.¹¹² This may not have been the most successful of marriages; the police were called to their home on Lisbon Street in East Liverpool on at least two occasions to break up drunken brawls between the two.¹¹³

Charles' second daughter, Caroline, reportedly married Harry Burns of Philadelphia.¹¹⁴ Nothing further was found on Caroline and she was not seen on the 1880 census in East Liverpool. The third daughter, Jane, married Charles Sahm, an artist or designer from New York. Although they apparently did not marry until about 1882, Jane was also missing from the 1880 census. Sadness also attended Jane, as she reported in 1900 that of her seven children only one had survived.¹¹⁵

Charles' fourth daughter (Ellen or Ella) married David Leigh on 28 June 1876.¹¹⁶ David was born in Vermont; his relationship, if any, with the Leigh family studied above is not known. In 1880 Charles Stanley and Margaret were enumerated with their only their son William who was still living at home. Charles and William were both pottery workers. Also in this house were David and Ella Leigh and their three year old son Harry. David was also a pottery worker.¹¹⁷ This couple was apparently luckier than her sister Jane; all three of Ella's children had survived.¹¹⁸

Although no record was found of his service, Charles apparently did serve in the 115th Ohio Infantry during the Civil War; his widow Margaret J. filed for her

¹¹² Census records. USA. Beaver Falls, Beaver County, Pennsylvania. 1 June 1880. RIGBY, William (head). ED 176. Roll: T9_1097. p. 64D. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 22 May 2020.

¹¹³ The Rigby Family Had a Quarrel.' *Evening Review*. 29 October 1900, p. 1, c. 1. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 22 May 2020; 'Police Called to Stop a Row.' *Evening Review*. 29 March 1902, p. 1, c. 7. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 22 May 2020.

¹¹⁴ 'An Aged Resident.' *Evening Review*. 9 June 1906, p. 1, c. 2. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 22 May 2020.

¹¹⁵ Census records. USA. Brooklyn, Kings County, New York. 1 June 1900. SAHM, Charlie (head). ED 431. Roll: T623_?? p. 6. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 22 May 2020.

¹¹⁶ Marriages. USA. Columbiana County, Ohio. 28 June 1876. LEIGH, David and STANLEY, Ella. Collection: Marriage records, 1803-1951. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 22 May 2020. FHL film 927768 image 466 of 471.

¹¹⁷ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1880. STANLEY, Charles (head). ED 52. Roll: T9_1002. p. 453D. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 21 May 2020.

¹¹⁸ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1900. LEIGH, David (head). Ward 2. ED 15. Roll: T623_?? <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 22 May 2020.

widow's pension on 17 October 1894.¹¹⁹ No obituary or cemetery record was found for Charles. Margaret's 1906 obituary called her "Stanley" and indicated that her husband had died eleven years previously.¹²⁰

¹¹⁹ National Archives. Pension index card. STANLEY, Charles. 17 January 1890. Collection: U.S., Civil War Pension Index: General Index to Pension Files, 1861-1934. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 19 May 2020.

¹²⁰ 'An Aged Resident.' *Evening Review*. 9 June 1906, p. 1, c. 2. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 22 May 2020.

Children of Jabez & Sarah VODREY			
Jabez VODREY Born 14 January 1795 Staffordshire, England married 26 April 1819 Staffordshire, England Sarah NIXON Born 16 January 1802 Staffordshire, England James & Hannah NIXON	Jabez	Abt. 1821	Staffordshire, England Died young
	Sarah	Abt. 1822	England Died young
	Ann	Abt. 1824	England Died young
	Alfred	Abt. 1826	England Died young
	William Henry	b. 1832	Kentucky
	James Norman	b. 1834	Kentucky
	John Wadsworth	b. 1836	Kentucky Died in Civil War
Figure 117. Children of Jabez & Sarah Vodrey. Data sources found inline.			

THE VODREY FAMILY

Jabez Vodrey was born in England about 1795; his headstone gives the date as 14 Jan 1795¹²¹ while the only potential baptism record found indicates baptism in Staffordshire on 19 October 1794.¹²² On his marriage record to Sarah Nixson on 26 April 1819 he was called a potter of Wolstanton, Staffordshire, parish.¹²³ Sarah was baptized in Burslem on 24 January 1802.¹²⁴ No immigration record was found for Jabez,¹²⁵ but Sarah and three young children landed at Baltimore in early 1828.¹²⁶ It is reasonable to expect Sarah to have had some young children by that time, as she had been married eight years. None of these children was ever recorded by name on a United States federal census,

although the two year old boy on the 1828 immigration record may have been the less than five year old boy noted on the 1830 census of Louisville.¹²⁷ If so, he likely

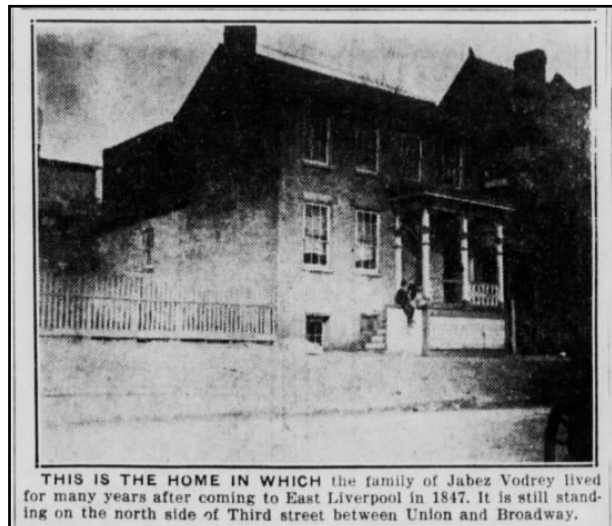


Figure 118. Jabez Vodrey home.

Source: 'Raider Morgan Made History Here.' *East Liverpool Review*. 6 October 1924, p. 13D, c. 3. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 28 May 2020.

¹²¹ Monumental inscriptions. USA. Riverview Cemetery, East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 12 February 1861. VODREY, Jabez. Photo by Deborah Wall. *Find A Grave Memorial*: 33032334. <http://www.findagrave.com> : accessed 22 May 2020.

¹²² Baptisms (PR) England. Newchapel, St. James, Staffordshire. 19 October 1794. VODREY, Jabis. Archive reference: D3544/1/3. Collection: Staffordshire Baptisms. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk> : accessed 26 May 2020.

¹²³ Marriages (PR) England. Wolstanton, Staffordshire. 26 April 1819. VODREY, Jabez and NIXSON, Sarah. Archive Reference: D3534/1/19. Collection: Staffordshire Marriages. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk> : accessed 26 May 2020.

¹²⁴ Baptisms (PR) England. Burslem, Staffordshire. 24 Jan 1802. NIXON, Sarah. [Transcription] Collection: England Births & Baptisms 1538-1975. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk> : accessed 26 May 2020.

¹²⁵ Historians report he immigrated in 1827. See, for example: Gates, *The City of Hills & Kilns* ..., p. 36.

¹²⁶ Migration records. Passenger lists for ships arriving in Baltimore. VODREY, Sarah. June 1828. Collection: Baltimore, Passenger Lists, 1820-1964. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 26 May 2020. [Passengers arriving Apr-Jun 1828; Roll: M596_1, p. 13.]

¹²⁷ Census records. USA. Louisville, Jefferson County, Kentucky. 1 June 1830. VODREY, Jabez (head). Roll: M19_38. p. 69. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 25 May 2020.

died before the 1840 census, which appears to note only the three sons of Jabez and Sarah who were born in Kentucky.¹²⁸

Local historians relate approximately the same tale of the Vodrey's first years in America. They may have been assisted in their biography by his diary which is still held in the family.¹²⁹ These family sketches do not mention the three potential children found with Sarah on her immigration, and they routinely state that Jabez himself immigrated in 1827; some accounts say he came with a colleague from Staffordshire, Joseph Thompson. This has not been corroborated.

Reportedly Vodrey and Thompson went first to Pittsburgh then, in 1829, to Louisville. By 1839 he had moved to Troy, Indiana, to manage the Indiana Pottery Company.¹³⁰ The 1840 census did record a "Jabez Voder" in Perry County, Indiana (Troy is in Perry County). On this record one person was working in manufacturing, the oldest male (Jabez) was age 40-49, which is consistent with other records for Jabez, and the only female (possibly Sarah) was age 30-39, which would also be the correct range for his wife. The three young boys in the household were all under age nine.¹³¹

The Vodrey family reportedly moved to East Liverpool before 1847, and they were found there on the census of 1850. Jabez, at age 55, was still working as a potter on this census and owned \$30 in real estate.¹³² The first record of Jabez purchasing land was not until five years later when he spent \$375 to purchase a lot from Josiah Thompson and his wife Sarah.¹³³ Jabez reportedly worked in small

¹²⁸ Census records. USA. Perry County, Indiana. 1 June 1840. VODERY, Jabez (head). Roll: M704_90. p. 209. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 25 May 2020.

¹²⁹ Gates, *The City of Hills & Kilns* ..., p. 477; Chipstone. Diana & J. Garrison Stradling, authors. *American Queensware - The Louisville Experience, 1829-1837*. <http://www.chipstone.org/article.php/14/Ceramics-in-America-2001/American-Queensware-The-Louisville-Experience,-1829-1837-> : accessed 27 May 2020. Specifically - "Journal and ledgers of Jabez Vodrey in the possession of his descendants in East Liverpool, Ohio (hereinafter referred to as "Vodrey diary"), November 11, 1849."

¹³⁰ Chipstone, *American Queensware* ...

¹³¹ Census records. USA. Perry County, Indiana. 1 June 1840. VODERY, Jabez (head). Roll: M704_90. p. 209. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 25 May 2020.

¹³² Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1850. VODREY, Jabez (head). Roll: M432_669. p. 114B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 25 May 2020.

¹³³ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed records, Vol. 52, p. 455. Josiah Thompson to Jabez Vodrey, 3 April 1855. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 20 May 2020. FHL film 926954, image 239 of 664.

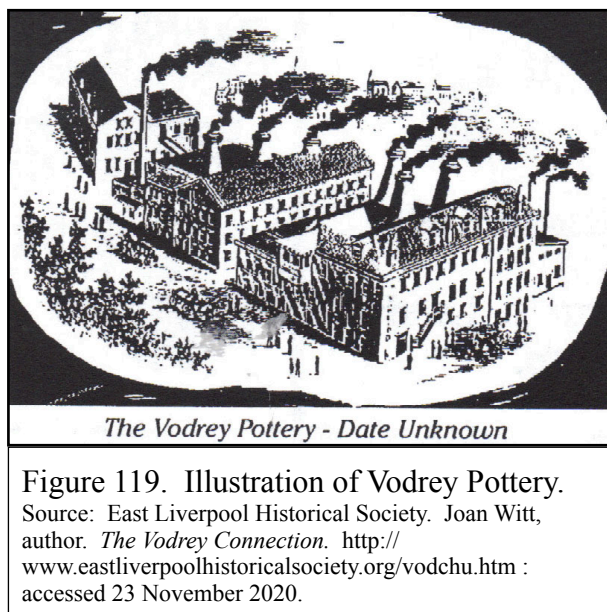


Figure 119. Illustration of Vodrey Pottery.

Source: East Liverpool Historical Society. Joan Witt, author. *The Vodrey Connection*. <http://www.eastliverpoolhistoricalsociety.org/vodchu.htm> : accessed 23 November 2020.

potteries which he co-owned with William Woodward and the Blakely brothers manufacturing Yellow-ware, Rockingham-ware and terra cotta (often for pipes). Jabez himself reportedly retired from actively working in the industry in about 1855,¹³⁴ although on the 1860 census he still called himself a potter. In that year he had \$1100 in real estate; this may have been the

lot he purchased in 1855 from Josiah Thompson (see above). Still living at home were Jabez' three sons, all working as potters, and son James' wife "Isabelle."¹³⁵

On 7 December 1857 brothers William and James Vodrey purchased lots 313-315 in East Liverpool for \$1700 from the bankrupt Woodward & Blakeley '... together with all buildings, kilns, slip kilns, sheds, wells as also all machinery such as stoves, flues, lathes, throwing wheels and all found thereon except molds ...' This was the land which was to become the Vodrey Brothers pottery. This land was purchased by mortgage, rather than outright.¹³⁶

Jabez Vodrey died on 12 February 1861.¹³⁷ No obituary was found for Jabez, but his headstone has been photographed and the dates are clear. His death date was also given by his wife five years later when she applied for a Mother's Pension for her deceased son John.¹³⁸ John had mustered into the 46th Pennsylvania Volunteers

¹³⁴ East Liverpool Historical Society. Joan Witt, author. *The Vodrey Connection*. <http://www.eastliverpoolhistoricalsociety.org/vodchu.htm> : accessed 27 May 2020.

¹³⁵ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1860. VODREY, Jabez (head). Roll: M653_948. p. 182. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 25 May 2020.

¹³⁶ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed records, Vol. 60, p. 146. Woodward Blakely & Co. to William Vodrey, 7 December 1857. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 1 June 2020. FHL film 926959, image 81 of 344.

¹³⁷ Monumental inscriptions. USA. Riverview Cemetery, East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 12 February 1861. VODREY, Jabez. Photo by Deborah Wall. *Find A Grave Memorial*: 33032334. <http://www.findagrave.com> : accessed 22 May 2020.

¹³⁸ National Archives. Mother's pension. VODREY, Sarah. 20 October 1866. Cert. 85587. Collection: Civil War "Widows' Pensions." <https://www.fold3.com> : accessed 27 December 2020.

on 3 September 1861. He served nearly three years before being killed in action near Dallas, Georgia, on 25 May 1864. In her application his mother claimed John had provided materially to her support and she was now a widow.¹³⁹ While that may have been true, she likely did not actually need the money.

Although Jabez and his business partners had suffered a considerable setback in 1857, this was long before Jabez died in 1861. The sons of Jabez had taken over much of the business by late 1857¹⁴⁰ (see land purchase noted above) and John appeared to have sold his land to his brothers in January of 1860 before he enlisted. When applying for her Mother's Pension, Sarah stated that John had been sending her money from his pay. This may have been true, as John had no wife or children to support. By 1870 her other two sons were well established in the pottery business and Sarah was likely in no financial need.

Jabez and Sarah's oldest known son William married Elizabeth Jackman on 25 December 1866.¹⁴¹ Their second son James married Isabell/Isabella Jobling on 31 December 1859.¹⁴² Neither boy married into pottery families.¹⁴³ By the time of the 1870 census, Sarah was living with son James and his family. Both brothers owned a good deal of real estate (\$7325 for William \$3375 for James) and both claimed about \$4000 in personal assets as well. It is hard to believe that Sarah's \$8 a month pension payment made much difference. On the other hand, James was also housing his mother-in-law and brother-in-law, so perhaps the extra money came in handy.¹⁴⁴

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ Calhoun, *Early Clay Industries* ..., p. 50-51; Calhoun describes the failure of the Woodward & Booth enterprise and the later takeover by Jabez Vodrey.

¹⁴¹ Marriages. USA. Columbiana County, Ohio. 25 December 1866. VODREY, William and JACKMAN, Elizabeth. Collection: Marriage records, 1803-1951. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 27 May 2020. FHL film 927767, image 395 of 574.

¹⁴² Marriages. USA. Columbiana County, Ohio. 31 December 1859. VODREY, James and JOBLING, Isabell. Collection: Marriage records, 1803-1951. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 27 May 2020. FHL film 927767, image 205 of 269.

¹⁴³ Census records. USA. St. Clair, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1850. JACKMAN, Jno. (head). Roll: M432_669. p. 229A. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 27 May 2020. Elizabeth's father John Jackman was a farmer; Census records. USA. Rush, Dauphin County, Pennsylvania. 1 June 1850. JEHLING, William (head). Roll: M432_775. p. 336B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 27 May 2020. Isabella's father William was a miner.

¹⁴⁴ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1870. VODREY, William H. (head). Roll: M593_1183. p. 213A. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 26 May 2020; Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1870. VODREY, James (head). Roll: M593_1183. p. 212B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 26 May 2020.

In 1870, both of Sarah's surviving sons were pottery manufacturers. She had four grandchildren between the two households, the oldest was age seven and attending school.¹⁴⁵ Her sons owned the "Vodery Brothers" pottery, in which they had reportedly invested \$14,000 in capital. This pottery was producing about \$12,000 worth of goods per year. However, they claimed expenses of about \$2750 and payroll of \$7500 leaving an apparent profit of only \$1750 for the year. They employed eight men, two women, and five children in their pottery.¹⁴⁶

Although she was less than 75 years old when she died on 23 May 1874 in East Liverpool, Sarah Vodrey's cause of death was given as "old age."¹⁴⁷ No obituary or probate records were found for Sarah. She was buried with her husband at Riverview Cemetery in East Liverpool.¹⁴⁸

The United States federal census did not ask about a person's real estate or personal assets after 1870 and that simple method of estimating a person's assets was no longer available after that date. The Columbiana County schedules for the 1880 industrial/manufacturers census also do not survive. The 1880 census recorded both William and James Vodrey living in East Liverpool, both calling themselves Earthenware Manufacturers. They had seven children between them, five at school, none working. The oldest of these grandchildren of Jabez was eighteen year old Ella, the youngest six year old James N.; all were living at home with their parents.¹⁴⁹

The Vodrey pottery had been producing the common Yellow and Rockingham Ware in their pottery on 4th Street near College Street since about 1857. In about 1875 the firm expanded, built a new pottery, and added white ironstone and

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1870. VODERY BROTHERS. Roll: T1159_?? Industry, p. 2. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 17 May 2020.

¹⁴⁷ Deaths (CR) USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 23 May 1874. VODREY, Sarah. Collection: Birth and death records, 1867-1908. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 31 December 2020. FHL film 931590, image 196 of 639.

¹⁴⁸ Monumental inscriptions. USA. Riverview Cemetery, East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 16 May 1874. VODREY, Sarah. Photo by Deborah Wall. *Find A Grave* Memorial: 36785834. <http://www.findagrave.com> : accessed 22 May 2020.

¹⁴⁹ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1880. VODREY, William H. (head). ED 52. Roll: T9_1002. p. 465C. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 26 May 2020; Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1880. VODREY, James (head). ED 52. Roll: T9_1002. p. 465C. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 26 May 2020.



Figure 120. Vodrey Pottery marks.
Source: William Percival Jervis. (1897) *A Book of Pottery Marks*. Philadelphia: Hayes Brothers, p. 94.

eventually also added semi-porcelain and white granite wares to their production. Specific products included semi-porcelain dinner sets, toilet hardware and hotel china.¹⁵⁰

Newspapers records referring to the family are voluminous, numbering nearly 20,000 mentions in the state of Ohio on one site.¹⁵¹ The family was chronicled by several local historians, often including sketches of three or more generations.¹⁵² The extensive history of the Vodrey Pottery, which was incorporated in 1896 and operated until 1928, will not be recounted here.

William Henry Vodrey

Jabez and Sarah Vodrey's oldest known son William was born in Kentucky and married in Columbiana County to Elizabeth Jackman. William served for about four months as a Colonel in Company I, 143rd Ohio Infantry during the Civil War.¹⁵³ He may have served in the Ohio State Militia before enlisting for federal service.¹⁵⁴ He would have been in his early 30s at the time of this service. By 1880 William and Elizabeth had three children; the couple had not lost any children as so many did in

¹⁵⁰ Calhoun, *Early Clay Industries* ..., p. 50-51; East Liverpool Historical Society, *The Vodrey Connection*.

¹⁵¹ Newspapers.com. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 28 May 2020. Search term "vodrey" restricted to the state of Ohio.

¹⁵² Charles B. Galbreath. (1925) *History of Ohio*. Chicago: The American Historical Society, Inc.; Gates, *The City of Hills & Kilns* ...; Harold B. Barth. (1926) *History of Columbiana County*. Topeka: Historical Publishing Co.; William B. McCord. (1905) *History of Columbiana County, Ohio and Representative Citizens*. Chicago: Biographical Publishing Co.; Horace Mack. (1879) *History of Columbiana County Ohio, with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches, Some of its Prominent Men and Pioneers*. Philadelphia: D. W. Ensign & Co.

¹⁵³ Fold3. Grave Registration Card. VODREY, William Sr. 23 October 1896. Collection: Ohio, Soldiers Grave Registration Cards, 1804-1958. <http://www.fold3.com> : accessed 28 May 2020.

¹⁵⁴ Barth, *History of Columbiana County, Ohio*, p. 945.

those times.¹⁵⁵ William was active in the East Liverpool City Council as early as 1880 and was often called “Col. Vodrey” throughout his life despite his brief service during the Civil War.¹⁵⁶ William was an early member of the General Lyon Post of the Grand Army of the Republic¹⁵⁷ and participated with this group at reunions.¹⁵⁸ He did not note any disability incurred in service on the 1890 Veterans schedule.¹⁵⁹

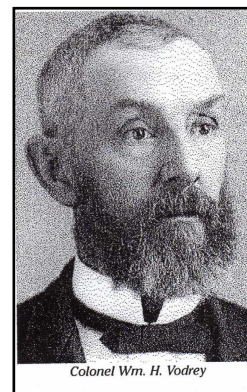


Figure 121. William Henry Vodrey.

Source: East Liverpool Historical Society. Joan Witt, author. *The Vodrey Connection*. <http://www.eastliverpoolhistoricalsociety.org/vodchu.htm>

William served on the Board of Directors of the First National Bank in East Liverpool as well as the Board of Education.¹⁶⁰ In December of 1895 he was reported “confined to his home by illness.”¹⁶¹ He was so ill by the following April that his youngest son was called home from Ann Arbor where he was attending college.¹⁶² Late in the month William was recovered to the point where he was able to sit out on his porch.¹⁶³ By the end of June he was reported “about the same” though his physician still had hope.¹⁶⁴ The hope was

¹⁵⁵ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1880. VODREY, William H. (head). ED 52. Roll: T9_1002. p. 465C. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 26 May 2020; Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1900. VODREY, Elizabeth (head). ED 12. Roll: T623_?? p. 9. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 26 May 2020. Elizabeth reported having had only three children, all living.

¹⁵⁶ ‘City Council.’ *Saturday Review*. 28 February 1880, p. 3, c. 3. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 28 May 2020.

¹⁵⁷ General Lyon Post No. 44. Department of Ohio, Grand Army of the Republic. (n.d.) *Descriptive Book*. [manuscript] East Liverpool: Museum of Ceramics.

¹⁵⁸ ‘Grand Tri-State Reunion of Ex-Soldiers and Sailors.’ *Evening Review*. 2 July 1885, p. 4, c. 4. <http://www.newspapers.com>.

¹⁵⁹ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1890. VODREY, William H. ED 50. Roll: M123_?? p. 1 of 31. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 28 May 2020.

¹⁶⁰ ‘First National Bank.’ *Evening Review*. 4 May 1895, p. 4, c. 7. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 29 May 2020; ‘Republican Primary.’ *Evening Review*. 19 March 1888, p. 1, c. 6. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 29 May 2020.

¹⁶¹ ‘Those Who are Ill.’ *Evening Review*. 11 December 1895, p. 4, c. 4. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 29 May 2020.

¹⁶² ‘Seriously Ill.’ *Evening Review*. 8 April 1896, p. 1, c. 6. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 29 May 2020.

¹⁶³ ‘Convalescing.’ *Evening Review*. 29 April 1896, p. 4, c. 3. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 29 May 2020.

¹⁶⁴ ‘Local Brevities.’ *Evening Review*. 23 June 1896, p. 3, c. 4. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 29 May 2020.

futile and “Colonel Vodrey” died on 23 October 1896; his reported cause of death was pneumonia.¹⁶⁵

The obituary of William does mention that he had “six brothers and sisters” - the only corroboration found for the existence of the three young children who immigrated with his mother in 1827. The obituary also gives a long description of his (rather brief) military service; perhaps he achieved the rank of Colonel due to the fact that he “recruited a company” of men rather than just signing up for service himself. He reportedly served one term as Mayor, as well as many years on the Board of Education. His service on the Board of the bank was of 25 years’ duration. He was called “honest, enterprising, and an excellent citizen.”¹⁶⁶ Several other Ohio papers picked up his death notice and the General Lyon Post, the Board of Education and the Bank all posted resolutions of sympathy and respect.

It is indicative of the relative wealth and influence of this family that the Vodrey family name appeared so often in the newspapers and that William’s last illness was reported with some regularity. It is quite likely that the final illnesses of many members of the previous three families detailed were just as dramatic or followed a very similar course. Yet in no case were they mentioned in the newspapers, and in many cases no obituary was even printed.

William’s will was presented for probate five days after his death. It named his wife and three children as the only next of kin. The initial estimate of the value of his estate was about \$30,000. William signed his will during his last illness on 4 July 1896. He died owning \$9,000 in land and nearly \$31,000 in various stocks, much of it in the Vodrey Pottery run by his sons. The terms of his will were fairly straightforward: he left \$500 to Riverview Cemetery and \$1,000 to Bethany College of West Virginia subject to some conditions. The rest of his estate went to his wife. Upon her death, his three children were to split the balance of his estate between

¹⁶⁵ Fold3. Grave Registration Card. VODREY, William Sr. 23 October 1896. Collection: Ohio, Soldiers Grave Registration Cards, 1804-1958. <http://www.fold3.com> : accessed 28 May 2020; Deaths (CR) USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 23 October 1896. VODREY, Wm. H. Collection: Birth and death records, 1867-1908. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 31 December 2020. FHL film 931590, image 517 of 639.

¹⁶⁶ ‘Col. W. H. Vodrey Dead.’ *Evening Review*. 23 October 1896, p. 1, c. 4. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 29 May 2020.

them with the exception that daughter Mary got \$2,000 in addition to her one-third share.¹⁶⁷ Although no photos of headstones were found, William (and later his wife Elizabeth) were supposedly buried in Riverview Cemetery.¹⁶⁸ This makes sense in light of the bequest he made to that particular cemetery.

Elizabeth Vodrey survived her husband by 14 years. She appeared on the 1900 census with all three of her grown children still living at home; son Oliver C. had apparently taken over for his father in the pottery as her other son, William H., was a dentist.¹⁶⁹ Dentistry was an odd profession for a man who later went on to become a well respected lawyer, and this may have been an enumerator error.¹⁷⁰ It was perhaps fortunate that the 1910 census was taken in April rather than June, as had been done since 1830. Elizabeth lived to be enumerated one last time in that year; at home with her were her daughter Mary, son Oliver and Oliver's wife and daughter.¹⁷¹ Three weeks after this census, the newspaper reported that Elizabeth was quite ill with uremic poisoning.¹⁷²

Elizabeth died the next day and her death certificate gives the cause as uremic poisoning and nephritis.¹⁷³ Elizabeth's obituary was comprehensive, as was her husband's. It named her parents, talked of her upbringing, church membership, work with the Woman's Relief Corp, and her love of flowers and her garden.¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁷ Testamentary records. USA. 28 October 1896. VODREY, William Henry. Estate #14560. Collection: Estate records, 1803-1900. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 29 May 2020. FHL film 2051253, image 1739 of 3198.

¹⁶⁸ Monumental inscriptions. USA. Riverview Cemetery, East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 23 October 1896. VODREY, William Henry. No photo. *Find A Grave* Memorial: 33032704. <http://www.findagrave.com> : accessed 22 May 2020.

¹⁶⁹ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1900. VODREY, Elizabeth (head). ED 12. Roll: T623_??, p. 9. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 26 May 2020.

¹⁷⁰ 'W. H. Vodrey, 81, Dies After Long Illness; Rites Set Wednesday.' *Evening Review*. 20 December 1954, p. 1, c. 8. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 29 May 2020. William was called a lawyer and newspaperman.

¹⁷¹ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 15 April 1910. VODREY, Elizabeth (head). ED 22. Roll: T624_1161. p. 4A. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 29 May 2020.

¹⁷² 'Mrs. Vodrey is Very Ill.' *Evening Review*. 9 May 1910, p. 1, c. 4. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 29 May 2020.

¹⁷³ Deaths (CR) USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 10 May 1910. VODREY, Elizabeth. State file no.: 25046. Collection: Ohio Deaths, 1908-1953. FHL film 952391. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 29 May 2020.

¹⁷⁴ 'Mrs. Vodrey Passes to the Beyond.' *Evening Review*. 10 May 1910, p. 1, c. 7. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 29 May 2020.

James Norman Vodrey

Born in Kentucky, James moved with his parents to East Liverpool at about the age of 14. By the age of 16 he was working as a potter, as were both his brothers and his father.¹⁷⁵ At the age of 25 he married Isabella Jobling.¹⁷⁶ By 1870 James and Isabella had three children living, the oldest at school. James was a land owner, and held over \$4000 in personal assets.¹⁷⁷ These assets were probably related to the pottery which he and his brother William were now running together. Unlike his two brothers, there is no record that James ever served during the Civil War.

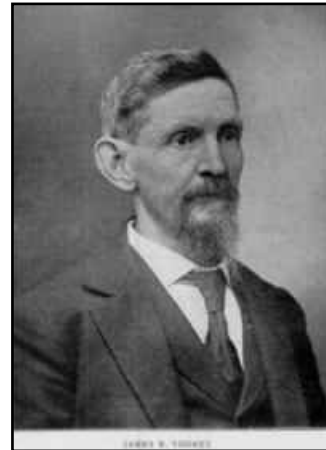


Figure 122. James Norman Vodrey.

Source: Chris Vodrey. *Vodrey Family Tree (Jabez Line)*, James Norman Vodrey.
Collection: Ancestry family trees. <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/51088001/person/13143628453/facts> : accessed 1 June 2020.

Like his brother William, James was called an “earthenware manufacturer” on the 1880 census. He and Isabella had four children at home that year, two of whom were attending school.¹⁷⁸ “Isabell” died on 3 July 1887 at the age of 49. She was said to have been a staunch member of the Methodist Protestant church and was buried at Riverview Cemetery.¹⁷⁹

James and his youngest son were enumerated on the 1900 census living in the same household. James was a crockery manufacturer and his son was said to be a dentist.¹⁸⁰ Unlike the potentially erroneous calling of his cousin William K. “a

¹⁷⁵ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1850. VODREY, Jabez (head). Roll: M432_669. p. 114B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 25 May 2020.

¹⁷⁶ Marriages (CR) USA. Columbiana County, Ohio. 31 December 1859. VODREY, James and JOBLING, Isabella. Collection: Marriage records, 1803-1951. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 27 May 2020. FHL film 927767 image 205 of 269.

¹⁷⁷ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1870. VODREY, James (head). Roll: M593_1183. p. 212B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 26 May 2020.

¹⁷⁸ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1880. VODREY, James (head). ED 52. Roll: T9_1002. p. 465C. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 26 May 2020.

¹⁷⁹ ‘Death’s Doings.’ *Saturday Review*. 9 July 1887, p. 3, c. 2. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 1 June 2020.

¹⁸⁰ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1900. VODREY, James (head). ED 12. Roll: T623_???. p. 5. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 26 May 2020.

dentist” on this same census, it appears that James N. Jr. actually was a dentist for some time.¹⁸¹ James’ other two sons were both living in East Liverpool with their families, both manufacturers of crockery. His daughter Ellen had married potter Joel Taylor, also of East Liverpool.¹⁸²

As with his brother William, James had served on the board of directors of the First National Bank until his final illness. He was a Republican and member of the Methodist Protestant church. At the time of James’ death on 25 January 1902 his oldest son John was the President of Vodrey Pottery and second son William was the general manager. His third son was called “Dr. J. Norman Vodrey” and his daughter was married to Joel Taylor. James died unexpectedly in Pennsylvania where he had gone for his health.¹⁸³

¹⁸¹ ‘J. N. Vodrey Dead.’ *Evening Review*. 25 January 1902, p. 1, c. 3. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 1 June 2020. His father’s obituary called him “Dr. J. Norman Vodrey.” For example: ‘Dr. J. N. Vodrey, Dentist.’ *Evening Review*. 22 September 1897, p. 3, c. 5. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 1 June 2020. His last advertisement appeared in 1904.

¹⁸² Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1900. VODREY, John W. (head). ED 12. Roll: T623_??, p. 5. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 26 May 2020; Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1900. VODREY, William (head). ED 12. Roll: T623_??, p. 5. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 26 May 2020; Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1900. TAYLOR, Joel B. (head). ED 12. Roll: T623_??, p. 5. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 26 May 2020.

¹⁸³ ‘J. N. Vodrey Dead.’ *Evening Review*. 25 January 1902, p. 1, c. 3. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 1 June 2020.

Children of Fletcher & Ellen MANDLEY			
Fletcher MANDLEY Born about 1788 Staffordshire, England married 26 October 1806 Staffordshire, England Ellen HOLLAND Born about 1788 Staffordshire, ENG	William	b. 1807	Burslem, England Did not emigrate
	Emma	b. 1810	Burslem, England died young
	Eliza	b. 1813	England m. Job RIGBY
	Ann	b. 1815	Shelton, England Not found in US
	Susan	Abt. 1817	England
	Richard	b. 1819	Staffordshire, England Did not emigrate
	Honour	b. 1821	Burslem, England Not found in US
	Jethro	Abt. 1825	Burslem, England
	Ellen	Abt. 1828	Burslem, England
	Holland	b. 1830	Staffordshire, England
	Ellison	b. 1832	Burslem, England

Figure 123. Children of Fletcher & Ellen Mandley.
Data sources found inline.

THE MANLEY FAMILY

This surname was often spelled “Mandley” on the English records.¹⁸⁴ Other spellings include “Manley” and “Manly.” This surname was chosen for research using the criteria outlined elsewhere. No genealogical research was done before the surnames were chosen, and in this case it turns out that some of the “Manley” census enumerations were actually misspelled and were not from this family at all. While that makes this particular family less representative of the wealthier pottery-owning potters from Staffordshire, their story has some interesting features and thus will be presented.

The father of this family, Fletcher Mandley, was born in about 1788 in Newcastle Under Lyme, Staffordshire, England. He did not emigrate to the United States and was living with his wife in Burslem on the last census which recorded him, that of 1861. He was a boot maker.¹⁸⁵ Fletcher died probably in May of 1870, and was buried at St. Paul, Burslem.¹⁸⁶ His wife’s maiden name was Ellin Holland.¹⁸⁷ This couple had six children baptized in Staffordshire in the Methodist New Connexion faith between 1807 and 1821.¹⁸⁸ It is not known why the couple did not baptize their last four known children in this faith; records are available for this church through 1835.¹⁸⁹ The 1841 census enumerated Fletcher and Ellen with daughter Honour, the last to be baptized in this Chapel,¹⁹⁰ along with four younger

¹⁸⁴ See, for example, daughter Honour’s marriage record: Marriages (PR) England. St. John, Burslem, Staffordshire. 20 July 1844. MASSEY, William and MANDLEY, Honour. Collection: England, Select Marriages, 1538-1973. [transcription] <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 4 June 2020.

¹⁸⁵ Census records. England. Burslem, Wolstanton, Staffordshire. 7 April 1861. MANDLEY, Fletcher (head). PN RG9/1929. FL 89. p. 29. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk> : accessed 4 June 2020.

¹⁸⁶ Burials (PR) England. St. Paul, Burslem, Staffordshire. 11 May 1870. MANDLEY, Fletcher. Collection: Staffordshire Burials. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk> : accessed 4 June 2020.

¹⁸⁷ Marriages (PR) England. St. Bartholomew, Norton Le Moors, Staffordshire. 26 October 1806. MANLEY, Fletcher and HOLLAND, Ellin. Collection: Staffordshire Banns. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk> : accessed 4 June 2020.

¹⁸⁸ Baptisms (PR) England. Albion Street, Bethesda Chapel, Shelton, Staffordshire. Collection: England & Wales Non-Conformist Births and Baptisms. Collection: England Births & Baptisms. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk> : accessed 4 June 2020. Search for surname Manley (or variants), father’s name Fletcher.

¹⁸⁹ Collection: Births and baptisms, 1797-1837. [Bethesda Chapel, Albion Street, Shelton, Staffordshire: methodist New Connexion] <https://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 4 June 2020. FHL film 825395, items 3-4.

¹⁹⁰ Baptisms (PR) England. Albion Street, Bethesda Chapel, Shelton, Staffordshire. 1 September 1821. MANDLEY, Honor. Collection: England & Wales Non-Conformist Births and Baptisms. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk> : accessed 4 June 2020.

children - Jethro, Ellen, Holland and Ellison.¹⁹¹ Additional evidence that Fletcher and Ellen were in fact the parents of these four younger children is suggested by Holland's death certificate which named his parents as Fletcher and Ellen.¹⁹²

Based on the baptism records and the 1841 census, Fletcher and Ellen had ten known children. In addition the will of the eldest immigrating daughter, who died in Ohio, pointed to an unknown daughter. Susan or Susannah was probably born in about 1817, which would have made her the fifth child of Fletcher and Ellen. No record of her baptism was found, although the children born immediately before and after her were both baptized at the Bethesda Chapel.¹⁹³

Of these eleven potential children, six immigrated to the United States and eventually settled in Ohio. However, they did not come as a group as is common in some families. Rather, they appeared to arrive at inconsistent intervals between about 1849 and 1878. Some married in England, some married after they arrived in the US. Most of the men and some of the women worked as potters. Only two of this family were actually pottery owners - Jethro and Holland.

The Immigrant Mandley Daughters

The oldest daughter to emigrate, Eliza, was married to Job Rigby. Not much is known about this couple, and the particulars of Job will be discussed in the next section. Born in 1813,¹⁹⁴ Eliza married Job Rigby in 1833 in Staffordshire.¹⁹⁵ No records were found, either in England or the US, which indicate Eliza had any

¹⁹¹ Census records. England. Burslem, Wolstanton & Burslem, Staffordshire. 6 June 1841. MANDLEY, Fletcher (head). PN HO107/987. FL 26. p. 3. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk> : accessed 1 June 2020.

¹⁹² Deaths (CR) USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 20 March 1922. MANLEY, Holland. State file no.: 13633. Collection: Ohio Deaths, 1908-1922. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 4 June 2020. FHL film 1991913, image 2265 of 6239.

¹⁹³ See below for further discussion of Susannah.

¹⁹⁴ Baptisms (PR) England. Albion Street, Bethesda Chapel, Shelton, Staffordshire. 4 July 1813. MANDLEY, Eliza. Collection: England & Wales Non-Conformist Births and Baptisms. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk> : accessed 4 June 2020. Birthdate given as 14 January 1813.

¹⁹⁵ Marriages (PR) England. St. Peter ad Vincula, Stoke on Trent, Staffordshire. 4 August 1833. RIGBY, Job and MANDLEY, Eliza. D1384/4. p. 104. Collection: Staffordshire Marriages. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk> : accessed 4 June 2020.

children other than one potential son who was born in 1850 in Ohio.¹⁹⁶ Further particulars of Eliza and Job will be discussed in the next section.

Eliza wrote her quite extensive will in December of 1881. There were 15 items in this will detailing the disposition of her property. She identified the following devisees:

- Holland Manley - brother
- Thomas Rigby - son of Thomas and Hannah of Burslem [relationship unknown]
- Elijah Rigby - brother of her late husband [Job]
- Hannah Stevenson - sister of her late husband
- Sarah Rigby - widow of the late John Rigby of East Liverpool
- Rebecca Burford - daughter of John and Sarah Rigby [above]
- Honor Massey - sister
- Ellen Durber - sister
- Ellison Manly - brother
- Susan Freeman - sister
- Jethro Manly - brother
- Job Manley - relation unspecified

Eliza had considerable property which included land, furniture, paintings, and cash. She also ordered a brass band to play at her funeral, to be paid \$50 for their services.¹⁹⁷ Her obituary noted that she had immigrated in 1842 along with her husband and several other Staffordshire potters. Eliza laid out two additions to the town of East Liverpool which bore her name. She was described as a ‘...lovable old lady, kind and affectionate...’ No mention of the requested funeral band was made in her obituary.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁶ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1860. RIGBY, Job (head). Roll: M653_948. p. 167. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 4 June 2020.

¹⁹⁷ Testamentary records. USA. 23 January 1882. RIGBY, Eliza M. Probate Court of Columbiana County, Ohio. Estate. Collection: Ohio, Wills and Probate Records, 1786-1998. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 4 June 2020.

¹⁹⁸ ‘Obituary.’ *Saturday Review*. 21 January 1882, p. 2, c. 5. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 8 June 2020.

The next daughter to emigrate, Susan, came with four of her children aboard the *Guy Mannering*, arriving in New York on 28 May 1850. Their destination was Ohio.¹⁹⁹ Susan had married Joseph Freeman in Stoke Upon Trent in 1837 in the same church where her sister Eliza had married four years before.²⁰⁰ No immigration record was found for Joseph. This couple were never found together on any English or US census enumeration. It is not known what profession Joseph followed and no obituary was found for him.

Susan appeared on the 1841 census of England with her two eldest children, possibly living with her father-in-law who was a coal miner.²⁰¹ She was not found on the 1850 US census which is not particularly surprising since she had only arrived in the country a few days before census day that year. Her husband may have died between 1857 and 1860 as Susan was the head of household on the 1860 census; she was living in Youngstown, Mahoning County, Ohio. Her youngest child, age three, had been born in Ohio. Her oldest son, Richard, was a coal miner. Susan owned some property, perhaps left to her by her husband, although no probate record was found for him in Mahoning County.²⁰²

This family does not appear to have been involved in the pottery business. On the 1870 census Susan was still living in Youngstown with three of her sons. Susan was a widow and could not write. Her older son was a coal miner, her middle son (Jethro) an engineer.²⁰³ The last census record of Susan was in 1880; she was still living in Youngstown.²⁰⁴

¹⁹⁹ Passenger list for *S. S. Guy Mannering* departing Liverpool FREEMAN, Susan. Arriving 28 May 1850. Collection: New York, Passenger and Crew Lists, 1850-1957. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 5 June 2020.

²⁰⁰ Marriages (PR) England. St. Peter ad Vincula, Stoke on Trent, Staffordshire. 5 June 1837. FREEMAN, Joseph and MANDLEY, Susan. D1385/5. p. 287. Collection: Staffordshire Marriages. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk> : accessed 4 June 2020.

²⁰¹ Census records. England. Leek, Norton On the Moors. 6 June 1841. FREEMAN, Susan (head). PN HO107/989. FL 14. p. 21. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 5 June 2020.

²⁰² Census records. USA. Youngstown, Mahoning County, Ohio. 1 June 1860. FREEMAN, Susan (head). Roll: M653_??, p. 112. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 5 June 2020.

²⁰³ Census records. USA. Youngstown, Mahoning County, Ohio. 1 June 1870. FREEMAN, Susan (head). Roll: M593_1239. p. 263A. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 5 June 2020.

²⁰⁴ Census records. USA. Youngstown, Mahoning County, Ohio. 1 June 1880. FREEMAN, Susan (head). Roll: T9_1045. p. 269D. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 5 June 2020.

At some point in the next 18 years Susan moved to East Liverpool. She wrote her will on 1 December 1898, describing herself as “of East Liverpool.” She died there, in her brother Jethro’s home, on 9 December 1899.²⁰⁵ Susan owned land and railroad stock. She did not request a brass band as her sister had done. In her will, Susan identified the following devisees:²⁰⁶

- Edwin Freeman - son (of Bricknell, Indiana)
- Job Freeman - son (of South Linton, Indiana)
- Richard M. Freeman - son (of Bricknell, Indiana)
- Martha Wilson - daughter (of Bricknell, Indiana)
- Jethro Freeman - son (of Bentlerville, Pennsylvania)
- Dora Freeman - widow of son Joseph M. Freeman (of Bricknell, Indiana)
- Jethro Manley - brother

The last daughter of Fletcher and Ellen Mandley to emigrate was Ellen. Born in about 1828 in Burslem, Ellen and her husband remained in England until the 1870s. Ellen married Ambrose Durber in Staffordshire in 1850.²⁰⁷ Ambrose was working as a potter on the 1851, 1861 and 1871 census enumerations of Staffordshire. On two of those enumerations Ambrose E. Massey was living in the household.²⁰⁸ Ambrose was not a child of Ellen’s sister Honour Massey (as named in Eliza’s will) as his mother’s maiden name was said to be Bennett.²⁰⁹ By about 1878

²⁰⁵ ‘Aged Resident Dead.’ *Evening Review*. 9 December 1889, p. 5, c. 3. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 5 December 2020.

²⁰⁶ Testamentary records. USA. 18 January 1900. FREEMAN, Susan. Probate Court of Columbiana County, Ohio. Collection: Ohio, Wills and Probate Records, 1786-1998. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 4 June 2020.

²⁰⁷ Marriages (PR) England. Lane-end and Longton, Staffordshire. 11 November 1850. DURBER, Ambrose and MANDLEY, Ellen. Collection: England & Wales Marriages, 1538-1988. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 5 June 2020.

²⁰⁸ Census records. England. Burslem, Wolstanton, Staffordshire. 30 March 1851. DOORBAR, Ambrose (visitor). PN HO107/2003. FL 591. p. 5. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 4 June 2020; Census records. England. Leek, Norton in the Moors, Staffordshire. 7 April 1861. DUEBER, Ambrose (head). PN RG/9/1945. FL 129. p. 1. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 4 June 2020; Census records. England. Burslem, Wolstanton, Staffordshire. 2 April 1871. DOWBER, Ambrose (head). PN RG/10/2853. FL 11. p. 16. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 4 June 2020.

²⁰⁹ Birth index (CR) England & Wales. RD Stoke on Trent, Staffordshire. 2d Q., 1847. MASSEY, Ambrose. Vol. 17. p. 156. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk> : accessed 5 June 2020. Mother’s maiden name was Bennett.

the Durbers had settled in East Liverpool²¹⁰ where, at the age of 55, Ambrose was still working in a pottery.²¹¹ This couple apparently had no children of their own, and Ambrose Massey did not appear with them in 1880.

Ellen signed her will on 28 August 1896. Like her sisters, she named and described her heirs. She bequeathed both real estate and money. The devisees listed were:²¹²

- Ellen Wooliscroft - daughter of Henry and Ann Massey
- Ellen E. Hulme - daughter of Thomas and Eliza Chadwick
- Laura Chadwick - daughter of Thomas and Eliza Chadwick
- Alice Buckley - daughter of Ellison and Maria Manley
- Harriet Simms - daughter of Ellison and Maria Manley
- Rebecca Tolbert - daughter of Ellison and Maria Manley
- Ellen W. Manly - daughter of Jethro and Mary W. Manley
- Susan Freeman - sister
- Jethro Manley - brother
- Holland Manley - brother

While not particularly relevant to the study of the potters in this family, the wills of these three women (especially Eliza) illustrate how these documents can be used successfully in researching family relationships.

Jethro Manley

Jethro was born in Burslem on 22 April 1824, the third known son of his parents Fletcher and Ellen Mandley.²¹³ He appeared with his parents on the 1841

²¹⁰ 'Lived Here Twenty Years.' *Evening Review*. 8 August 1898, p. 5, c. 2. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 31 December 2020.

²¹¹ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1880. DURBER, Ambrose (head). ED 52. Roll: T9_1002. p. 477C. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 4 June 2020. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 5 June 2020.

²¹² Testamentary records. USA. 17 September 1898. DURBER, Ellen. Probate Court of Columbiana County. Estate. Collection: Ohio, Wills and Probate Records, 1786-1998. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 4 June 2020.

²¹³ Fold3. Grave Registration Card. MANLEY, Jethro 11 June 1902. Collection: Ohio, Soldiers Grave Registration Cards, 1804-1958. <http://www.fold3.com> : accessed 28 May 2020. Birth and death dates and places are recorded.

census of Burslem and was working as a potter at the age of 15.²¹⁴ Jethro apparently immigrated on his own, arriving in New York on 18 November 1844. The passenger list called him a potter.²¹⁵ Jethro went first to Pennsylvania where in 1852 he married a widow from Derbyshire, Mary Udall, who had lost her husband, William Toft, to a cholera epidemic.²¹⁶

Jethro and Mary remained in Pennsylvania for some years. In 1860 they were living in Birmingham, Allegheny County, where Jethro was working as a potter. They had Mary's two children with them as well as two of their own.²¹⁷ The family may have moved shortly after this census to East Liverpool; like many in the town, Jethro served in the 143rd Regiment of the Ohio Volunteers. He served for four months in 1864.²¹⁸

In 1865 Jethro and several investors purchased the Novelty Pottery from John Goodwin.²¹⁹ The 1870 census recorded Jethro and Mary with four children; both Jethro and his step-son William Toft were pottery workers. Jethro owned \$2,000 in real estate,

—YOU CAN BUY—

AT THE

Sewing Machine Agency

On Broadway, between Fifth and Sixth streets,

	Pym't.	Cash.
Domestic, 2 drawer, drop leaf, . . .	\$45	\$40
Davis, 2 drawer, drop leaf,	45	40
Wheeler & Wilson, do,	45	40
New Home, 2 drawers, drop leaf, . . .	40	35
F. F. Weed, 4 drawers,	40	35
P. F. Weed, 2 drawers,	30	25

Oil and Needles for all Machines.

JETHRO MANLEY, Agent,

East Liverpool, O.

If you wish to send for your friends from England, Ireland, Scotland, or from the Continent of Europe, you cannot do better than to send for them by the swift, safe and reliable INMAN LINE of steamers. Drafts for £1 and upwards for sale by

JETHRO MANLEY,

n4 Agent.

Figure 124. Ad by Jethro Manley.

Source: Jethro Manley. 'Sewing Machine Agency.' *Saturday Review*. 19 June 1880, p. 1, c. 3. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 5 June 2020.

²¹⁴ Census records. England. Burslem, Wolstanton & Burslem, Staffordshire. 6 June 1841. MANDLEY, Fletcher (head). PN HO107/987. FL 26. p. 3. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk> : accessed 1 June 2020.

²¹⁵ Passenger list for *S. S. Liverpool* departing Liverpool. MANLEY, Jethro. Arriving 18 November 1844. Collection: New York, Passenger and Crew Lists, 1850-1957. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 5 June 2020.

²¹⁶ 'Mrs. Mary Udall Manley.' *Evening Review*. 13 May 1904, p. 4, c. 2. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 5 June 2020.

²¹⁷ Census records. USA. Birmingham, Allegheny County, Pennsylvania. 1 June 1860. MANLY, Jethro (head). Roll: M653_?? p. 7. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 4 June 2020.

²¹⁸ Fold3. Grave Registration Card. MANLEY, Jethro 11 June 1902. Collection: Ohio, Soldiers Grave Registration Cards, 1804-1958. <http://www.fold3.com> : accessed 28 May 2020.

²¹⁹ Wilber Stout. (1923) *Coal Formation Clays of Ohio*. n.p.: Geological Survey of Ohio, p. 69.

perhaps his portion of the Novelty Pottery which had actually ceased production by 1869.²²⁰

Some time before 1880 Jethro left the pottery industry and became a sewing machine agent. His ads appeared often in the East Liverpool newspapers.²²¹ Although his step-son continued doing pottery work, Jethro's oldest son Jason went to work as a bank clerk.²²² This son went on to become a Methodist Episcopal pastor.²²³ Jethro was enumerated on the 1890 Veterans Schedule which stated he had served 4 months and 11 days as a Private; he had sustained no disability during his service.²²⁴ Jethro was named Justice of the Peace in East Liverpool in the early 1890s²²⁵ and was still serving in that capacity in June of 1900.²²⁶

There is no evidence that any of Jethro's children (other than his step-son) continued in the pottery business. Jethro died in East Liverpool on 11 June 1902. His obituary reported that he had been a member of the G.A.R. (Grand Army of the Republic) as well as the I.O.O.F.F. and A.M. Improved order of Red Men.²²⁷ No probate was found for Jethro, but his wife signed her will on 2 November 1902. She named these devisees:²²⁸

- Jessie F. Manley - daughter (of East Liverpool)
- Nellie W. Manley - daughter (of East Liverpool)
- Russell Orr - grandson (of East Liverpool)

²²⁰ Calhoun, *Early Clay Industries* ..., p. 89.

²²¹ 'Sewing Machine Agency.' *Saturday Review*. 19 June 1880, p. 1, c. 3. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 5 June 2020.

²²² Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1880. MANLEY, Jethro (head). ED 52. Roll: T9_1002. p. 462B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 4 June 2020.

²²³ 'Friends and Visitors.' *Evening Review*. 12 June 1902, p. 8, c. 3. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 5 June 2020.

²²⁴ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. June 1890. MAN[NY], Jethro (veteran). ED 51. Roll: M123_?? p. 2. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 5 July 2020.

²²⁵ Ohio, Secretary of State. (1893) *Annual Report of the Secretary of State to the Governor of the State of Ohio, for the year ending November 15, 1892*. Norwalk: The Laning Printing Co., p. 110.

²²⁶ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1900. MANLEY, Jethro (head). ED 15. Ward 2. Roll: T623_?? p. 3. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 4 June 2020.

²²⁷ 'Aged and Honored.' *Evening Review*. 11 June 1902, p. 1, c. 2. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 5 June 2020.

²²⁸ Testamentary records. USA. 4 May 1904. MANLEY, Mary E. Probate Court of Columbiana County, Ohio. Estate. Collection: Ohio, Wills and Probate Records, 1786-1998. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 4 June 2020.

- Lewis Orr - grandson (of East Liverpool)
- Park Orr - grandson (of East Liverpool)
- Edna Orr Elliott - granddaughter
- Allen Surles - great-grandson (of East Liverpool)
- Jason B. Manley - son (of East Liverpool)
- William S. Toft - son (of East Liverpool)

Mary did have land to bequeath but did not seem to have as much cash to disburse as Jethro's sisters. Also unlike some of the Manley families, Jethro's children and grandchildren appeared to have remained in East Liverpool.

Holland Manley

Holland was born on 31 January 1830 in Staffordshire (possibly Burslem), the fourth known son of his parents Fletcher and Ellen.²²⁹ He appeared with his parents on the 1841 census of Burslem where he was working as a potter at age ten.²³⁰ Although Holland stated that he had immigrated in 1849,²³¹ the only potential immigration record found for him in that year listed his age as 16; he would actually have been age 19. Possibly traveling with him was Joseph Manley, a 24 year old miner. This passenger list called Holland a potter.²³² He was the first of the family to be located on the 1850 US census, living in East Liverpool in the household of English potter John Thomas. Holland was working as a potter.²³³ One story says that after he arrived in the United States he walked from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh to locate his brother-in-law.²³⁴ The truth of this story cannot be ascertained; the only

²²⁹ Monumental inscriptions. USA. Riverview Cemetery, East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 20 March 1922. MANLEY, Holland. Photo by Deborah Wall. *Find A Grave Memorial*: 19438263. <http://www.findagrave.com> : accessed 8 June 2020.

²³⁰ Census records. England. Burslem, Wolstanton & Burslem, Staffordshire. 6 June 1841. MANDLEY, Fletcher (head). PN HO107/987. FL 26. p. 3. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk> : accessed 1 June 2020.

²³¹ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1900. MANLEY, Hollis (head). ED 16. Ward 3. Roll: T623_?? p. 3. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 4 June 2020.

²³² Passenger list for *S. S. Ivanhoe* departing Liverpool. MANLEY, Holland. Arriving 19 October 1849. Collection: New York, Passenger and Crew Lists, 1850-1957. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 5 June 2020.

²³³ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1850. MANDY, Holland (head). Roll: M432_669. p. 118B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 3 June 2020.

²³⁴ n.a. (1922) 'Caught in the News Net,' *Crockery and Glass Journal*, 94(12), p. 22.

immigration record for Holland has him landing in New York, not Philadelphia. It is not known who the brother-in-law could be unless it was Job Rigby who may have been in the area by that time.

Holland married Mary Cartwright on 18 November 1854;²³⁵ Mary was probably the daughter of Staffordshire potter William Cartwright.²³⁶ The 1860 census recorded “Hallem” Manley as a pedler rather than a potter. He was living next to James Leigh (of the described Leigh family) who was enumerated as a potter, so it was unlikely to be an enumerator error as the enumerator clearly knew the difference between the two occupations. Possibly Holland was primarily engaged in the selling (peddling) of pottery rather than the production. He and Mary had one child in the household and Holland owned \$800 in real estate.²³⁷

In his history of the East Liverpool potteries, Calhoun does say that Holland went into the “selling of ware” before he entered the pottery business.²³⁸ In about 1864 Holland went into business with William Cartwright (his probable father-in-law) making Rockingham and Yellow-ware. They had taken over Webster’s Industrial Pottery plant but changed the name in 1872 to Manley-Cartwright & Co.²³⁹ The 1870 census reflected Holland’s increased wealth - he reported \$4,300 in real estate owned and \$5,000 in personal assets. He now called himself an earthenware manufacturer. He and Mary had only one child at home, Mary E., age 12.²⁴⁰ The 1870 industrial census recorded the Manly & Cartwright Yellow-ware production facility. They had reportedly invested \$10,000 in their plant and produced \$16,000 worth of product in 1870. Most of that income (\$10,400) went to paying their employees who consisted of twelve men over age sixteen, three women over age

²³⁵ Marriages. USA. Columbiana County, Ohio. 18 November 1854. MANLEY, Holland and CARTWRIGHT, Mary. Collection: Ohio, U.S., Compiled Marriage Index, 1803-1900. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 8 June 2020.

²³⁶ Baptisms (PR) England. Bethesda Chapel, Shelton, Staffordshire. 6 June 1833. CARTWRIGHT, Mary. PN RG4/2724. p. 156. Collection: England & Wales, Non-Conformist and Non-Parochial Registers, 1567-1970. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 8 June 2020.

²³⁷ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1860. MANLEY, Hellem (head). Roll: M653_948. p. 172. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 4 June 2020.

²³⁸ Calhoun, *Early Clay Industries* ..., p. 81.

²³⁹ Stout, *Coal Formation Clays of Ohio*, p. 69.

²⁴⁰ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1870. MANLY, Holland (head). Roll: M593_1183. p. 188A. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 8 June 2020.

sixteen, and four children or youth. This pottery operated ten months out of the year, which was about average for potteries in that area during that time.²⁴¹

Holland was apparently very active in the real estate business in East Liverpool starting in the 1860s or so and continuing nearly until his death. During those 60 years Holland was the grantee on more than 50 deeds in Columbiana County, and the grantor on more than 70.²⁴² Holland may have left the pottery business and gone completely into real estate around 1880, and the census for that year does record him as a “retired potter.” His wife was living with him but their daughter had moved out of the family home.²⁴³ Daughter Mary E. had married Canadian brick manufacturer John E. Gamble in 1877;²⁴⁴ Gamble was most often associated with Harry Surles in the brick contracting business, but had also invested with Holland in a three-kiln pottery in about 1878.²⁴⁵

Mary (Cartwright) Manley died in 1903 at the family home on Fourth Street. Her obituary noted that her brothers owned the Cartwright pottery with which her husband had been previously affiliated. She was a member of Methodist Episcopal church.²⁴⁶ Holland died in 1922 at his daughter’s home, also on Fourth Street. This obituary again tells the story of Holland walking from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh in December of 1849 where he supposedly located his (unnamed) brother-in-law and they came to East Liverpool and went to work for James Goodwin. The obituary confirms his 1880 retirement from pottery and his association with both the Cartwright (pottery) family and the Gamble (brick) family. It does not mention Job

²⁴¹ Census records. USA. 1 June 1870. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. MANLY & CARTWRIGHT. Roll: T1159_?? Industry, p. 4. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 17 May 2020.

²⁴² Columbiana County, Ohio. General Index to Deeds, Grantor Index Vol. 1-3 and Grantee Index Vol. 1-3. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 9 June 2020.

²⁴³ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1880. MANLEY, Holland (head). ED 52. Roll: T9_1002. p. 445C. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 4 June 2020.

²⁴⁴ Marriages (CR) USA. Columbiana County, Ohio. 20 September, 1877. GAMBLE, John E. and MANLY, Mary E. Collection: Ohio, U.S., County Marriage Records, 1774-1993. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 9 June 2020.

²⁴⁵ Calhoun, *Early Clay Industries* ..., p. 114.

²⁴⁶ ‘Mrs. Mary C. Manley.’ *Evening Review*. 28 May 1903, p. 4, c. 2. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 9 June 2020.

Rigby, thought to be the brother-in-law he was seeking.²⁴⁷ No probate records for Holland were found.

Ellison Manley

The last known child of Fletcher and Ellen Manley, Ellison (sometimes spelled Allison) was born in October of 1832 possibly in Burslem, Staffordshire, England.²⁴⁸ He was living with his family in 1841 in Burslem, but was not at work at the age of nine.²⁴⁹ Ellison had not emigrated by 1851 and was still living Burslem with his sister Honour, where he was working as a potter.²⁵⁰ The next year Ellison traveled to the United States, arriving in New York on 2 June 1852. He was apparently traveling alone.²⁵¹ Ellison married Maria Wildblood in Trenton, New Jersey, in May of 1857.²⁵² It is not known how long he remained in New Jersey; he was not located on the 1855 state census for New Jersey.

Not a great deal of information was found about Ellison. He and Maria moved to East Liverpool before 1860 when they were located on the census there with probably their first child, Thomas. "Allison" was working as a potter, and owned only \$100 in real estate; he was apparently not as successful yet in the business as his brothers had been.²⁵³ Ellison served in the Civil War as a member of the local 143rd Regiment of Ohio Volunteers; he served about four months in

²⁴⁷ 'H. Manley, 92, is Dead Here.' *Evening Review*. 21 March 1922, p. 1, c. 7. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 9 June 2020.

²⁴⁸ Fold3. Grave Registration Card. MANLEY, Ellison. 6 December 1890. Collection: Ohio, Soldiers Grave Registration Cards, 1804-1958. <http://www.fold3.com> : accessed 28 May 2020.

²⁴⁹ Census records. England. Burslem, Wolstanton & Burslem, Staffordshire. 6 June 1841. MANDLEY, Fletcher (head). PN HO107/987. FL 26. p. 3. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk> : accessed 1 June 2020.

²⁵⁰ Census records. England. Tunstall, Wolstanton, Staffordshire. 30 March 1851. MANDLEY, Ellison (lodger). PN HO107/2002. FL 590. p. 32. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 4 June 2020. He gave his birthplace as Burslem.

²⁵¹ Passenger list for *S. S. State Rights* departing Liverpool. MANLEY, Ellison. Arriving 2 June 1852. Collection: New York, Passenger and Crew Lists, 1820-1957. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 5 June 2020.

²⁵² Marriages (CR) USA. Trenton, Mercer County, New Jersey. 9 May 1857. MANLY, Ellison and WALDBLOOD, Maria. [Transcription] Collection: New Jersey Marriages, 1678-1985. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 9 June 2020.

²⁵³ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1860. MANLEY, Allison (head). Roll: M653_948. p. 176. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 4 June 2020.

1864.²⁵⁴ Ellison wrote and signed his will in March of 1861, long before he reported for military service. The witnesses to this will were local potters John Goodwin and Job Rigby. Ellison left everything to his wife Maria and named her guardian of his two children, Thomas and Jethro.²⁵⁵

Ellison survived the war and went back to work in the pottery. By the time of the 1870 census he had acquired \$1,000 in real estate and had fathered at least six children. Four of these children were attending school in 1870.²⁵⁶ In January of 1873, Ellison and two of his possible brothers-in-law (William and James Wildblood)²⁵⁷ purchased the “Lincoln Pottery” from George West, John Hardwick and Henry Crofts.²⁵⁸ Although not then called the Lincoln Pottery, this business appeared on the 1870 industrial census as producers of the usual Rockingham and Yellow-ware. Their sales of about \$12,000 were not expended on payroll to the extent that the Vodrey and Manley potteries claimed; this pottery spent only about \$6,400 on its 20 employees.²⁵⁹

An interesting comparison comes to light at this point. Two other potteries have been studied in this chapter - the Vodrey Brothers and Manley & Cartwright. The West (Lincoln) pottery purchased by Ellison Manley (above) had previously employed twelve men and eight youths; they paid an average of \$35 per month per worker, almost certainly paying the men more than the youths. By comparison, the Vodrey brothers employed eight men, two women and five youths at an average of \$50 per worker; again, it is probable that the men were paid more than the youths or women. The Manley/Cartwright was paying the highest wages, averaging \$55 per

²⁵⁴ Fold3. Grave Registration Card. MANLEY, Ellison. 6 December 1890. Collection: Ohio, Soldiers Grave Registration Cards, 1804-1958. <http://www.fold3.com> : accessed 28 May 2020.

²⁵⁵ Testamentary records. USA. 13 March 1861. MANLEY, Ellison. Will, estate no. 13764. Collection: Ohio, Wills and Probate Records, 1786-1998. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 9 June 2020.

²⁵⁶ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1870. MANLY, Henderson (head). Roll: M593_1183. p. 195B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 9 June 2020.

²⁵⁷ Census records. England. Church Gresley, Derbyshire. 6 June 1841. WILDBLORD, Thos. (head). PN HO107/191. FL 7. p. 8. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 9 June 2020. Maria was in this household, age 8. Thomas was a potter, as was son William. Son James was an infant.

²⁵⁸ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed records, Vol. 96, p. 411. West, Hardwick & Crofts to Wildblood, Manley & Wildblood, 1 January 1873. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 20 May 2020. FHL film 926917, image 547 of 664.

²⁵⁹ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. WEST, HARDWICK & CO.. Roll: T1159_?? Industry, p. 1. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 17 May 2020.

worker for twelve men, three women and four children. All three potteries were using horse driven power, and producing the same kinds of ware.²⁶⁰

It is not known how long Ellison may have owned any kind of controlling interest in this pottery and its fate was not recorded by Calhoun who did not even mention the sale to Manley and Wildblood of the West, Hardwick & Company Pottery.²⁶¹ Ellison and his family all appeared together on the 1880 census of East Liverpool. Ellison reported he “works in pottery” rather than being a pottery/earthenware manufacturer like his brother Holland. Another demonstration of the expanded opportunities/responsibilities of woman at this time was the record of two of Ellison’s daughters working in the pottery. All of his younger children were in school, and all of his older sons were also potters.²⁶²

Ellison appeared on the 1890 Veterans census schedule of Wheeling, West Virginia.²⁶³ He died of cancer in a Pittsburgh hospital on 6 December 1890 and was buried in East Liverpool.²⁶⁴ No obituary was found for Ellison; his will went to probate 30 years after it was written. There was no description in the probate package of the property and/or real estate left by Ellison. The heirs named in the probate application were:²⁶⁵

- Maria Manley - widow
- Thomas F. Manley - son (of East Liverpool)
- Jethro Manley - son (of East Liverpool)
- Mary Alice Buckley - daughter (of East Liverpool)
- Harriet Simms - daughter (of Kittanning, PA)
- Rebecca Talbot - daughter (of East Liverpool)

²⁶⁰ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1870. Industrial Schedules. Roll T1159_45. Six pages total. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 9 June 2020.

²⁶¹ Calhoun, *Early Clay Industries* ..., p. 107.

²⁶² Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1880. MANLEY, Ellison (head). ED 52. Roll: T9_1002. p. 439D. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 4 June 2020.

²⁶³ Census records. USA. Wheeling, Ohio County, West Virginia. June 1890. MANLEY, Ellison (veteran). ED 218. Roll: M123_??, p. 2. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 5 July 2020.

²⁶⁴ Fold3. Grave Registration Card. MANLEY, Ellison. 6 December 1890. Collection: Ohio, Soldiers Grave Registration Cards, 1804-1958. <http://www.fold3.com> : accessed 28 May 2020.

²⁶⁵ Testamentary records. USA. 30 May 1891. Application to Probate Will, estate no. 13764. MANLEY, Ellison. Collection: Ohio, Wills and Probate Records, 1786-1998. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 9 June 2020.

- William Manley - son (of Alliance, OH)
- Holland Manley - son (of East Liverpool)
- Job Manley - son (of East Liverpool)

Ellison's wife Maria died in May of 1899; her death notice indicated she had lived in East Liverpool for 40 years.²⁶⁶ Maria signed her will very shortly before she died. In addition to referring to her brother William Wildblood, she named the following devisees:²⁶⁷

- Ethel Wannamaker - no relationship stated
- Mary Alice Buckley - daughter
- Frank Simms - possible grandson?
- Holland Manley - son
- Harriet Simms - daughter
- Rebecca Talbot - daughter
- Thomas Manley - son
- Jethro Manley - son
- William Manley - son

Maria left furniture and some small items to her children individually, plus small sums of money to Ethel and Frank. She had some real estate which she ordered sold and the proceeds divided among her children. Of all these children only Holland produced records that demonstrated his persistence in the pottery business.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁶ Aged Resident Dead.' *Evening Review*. 9 December 1889, p. 5, c. 3. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 5 December 2020.

²⁶⁷ Testamentary records. USA. 15 June 1899. MANLEY, Maria. Will. Columbiana County, Ohio, Probate Court. Collection: Ohio, Wills and Probate Records, 1786-1998. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 9 June 2020.

²⁶⁸ 'Holland Manley.' *Evening Review*. 30 November 1938, p. 11, c. 2. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 9 June 2020.

Children of Timothy & Sarah RIGBY		
<p>Timothy RIGBY Born about 1786 Staffordshire, England</p> <p>married 18 October 1807 Staffordshire, England</p> <p>Sarah KELSHALL Born about 1791 Burslem, Staffordshire, ENG</p>	Thomas	b. 1808 Burslem, England Did not emigrate
	Job	b. 1813 Shelton, England m. Eliza MANLEY
	Elijah	b. 1814 Staffordshire, England Did not emigrate
	Rebecca	b. 1816 Shelton, England Did not emigrate
	Hannah Jane	b. 1818 Shelton, England Did not emigrate
	Ann Dawn	b. 1820 Hanley, England Not found in US
	Esther	b. 1822 Hanley, England Not found in US
	John #1	b. 1825 Hanley, England
	Timothy	b. 1827 Shelton, England
Other RIGBY potters in the area		
	John #2	b. 1825/7 Staffordshire, England possibly Longton
	William	b. 1821 England

Figure 125. Children of Timothy & Sarah Rigby
Data sources found inline.

THE RIGBY FAMILY

Members of three different Rigby families were working as potters in East Liverpool during the study period and Rigby was also the second most common surname in Staffordshire among the six surnames selected. The primary Rigby family group to emigrate from Staffordshire to East Liverpool were three of the ten children of Timothy Rigby and his wife Sarah (Kelshall). The parents in this family were found on the 1841 census living Burslem; the father, Timothy, and five of his daughters were working as potters.²⁶⁹ An interesting feature of this family is that the siblings did not emigrate together.

One story of the immigration of the Rigbys is recounted by Calhoun. He tells the somewhat stereotypical American tale of four brothers immigrating from Staffordshire in about 1843, although he does not name all four. He says William and his brother Job (a shoemaker) went first to Perry County, Illinois, then William returned to England for a time. William was reportedly in business in East Liverpool with a James McPherson, making bricks, before 1845.²⁷⁰ No evidence has been found to support this account by Calhoun, including the notion that William Rigby was a brother of Job.

The three sons of Timothy and Sarah Rigby who were later found in East Liverpool were Job, John and Timothy. Two other Rigby men were also working there as potters - another John Rigby, and a William Rigby. All five of these men were probably born between about 1813 and 1827. While it is possible that William and John (#2) were related to the three sons of Timothy and Sarah, this connection

²⁶⁹ Census records. England. Burslem, Staffordshire. 6 June 1841. RIGBY, Timothy (head). PN HO107/987. FL 39. p. 28. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk> : accessed 2 June 2020. One son named John likely died young as they named their ninth child John as well.

²⁷⁰ Calhoun, *Early Clay Industries* ..., p. 11.

was not found in the existing records and was not pursued.²⁷¹ Unlike several of the more prominent pottery families, the Rigby family was not often mentioned in the East Liverpool newspapers; the first incidence of the name is not until 1885.²⁷²

This surname was not misspelled as often as some of the other surnames in this study. The most common error was “Rigley” and this did cause a few research difficulties. Timothy and Sarah, like some of the other families researched, had most of their children baptized in the Methodist New Connexion faith in Staffordshire. Definitive baptisms were found for all but their two oldest children.²⁷³ This version of Methodism had been gaining popularity in the pottery centers of Hanley and Burslem during the early 19th century.²⁷⁴ Baptisms for the other two immigrant Rigby men (John #2 and William) could not be definitively located as the names of their parents has not been found.

Job Rigby

This man may have been the “Job Rigby” who was supposedly a shoemaker in Perry County, Illinois. Several records been found that might support this supposition; in an 1842 Staffordshire directory, there was a listing for “Job Rigby”

²⁷¹ The conflation of two individuals of the same name living in the same area at the same time is a common problem in genealogical research. Care must be taken to ensure that information pertinent to each individual is assigned correctly. Vital records (especially marriage records) can be useful if the records name the parents of the individual. For men, military records might help determine which individual served if the records (such as pension files) contain the names of their kin. Probate records can be very useful if a will or list of living heirs is attached. When using census records, looking at the individuals living near the person in question might give a clue as to which families lived close enough to supply a spouse. A newspaper obituary might give enough information about a person’s birth date or place to separate them from the other same-named individual. Newspapers also might carry a marriage record either for the individual or one of their children that has pertinent information. If the two individuals followed different occupations they might be more easily tracked using census records; if they followed the same occupation there might be employment records available. Land records can be particularly useful in some cases. In some states deeds described the land using the metes and bounds system; this system often mentioned the neighboring landholders. These neighbors were, surprisingly often, either kin or in-laws. When a married man sold land (at least during this time period) his wife would be required to sign a dower release, thereby giving the name of the wife. Separating two same-named women is often much more difficult than same-named men. Both probate and land records can be useful as a deed or a will might mention both a woman’s married and maiden name.

²⁷² Newspapers.com search parameters - “Rigby” and the specific newspaper *Evening Review*.

²⁷³ Search parameters on <http://www.findmypast.co.uk> to locate these nine children: Surname “Rigby,” born 1808-1828, Staffordshire, parents Timothy and Sarah. Seven of these nine records were Methodist New Connexion and gave Sarah’s maiden name as Kelshall or variant.

²⁷⁴ E.A. Rose. (1990) ‘The Methodist New Connexion 1797-1907,’ *Proceedings of the Wesleyan Historical Society*, 47(6), p. 245.

on Waterloo road in Burslem; he was listed as a boot and shoe maker.²⁷⁵ Job was not living at home with his probable family on the 1841 census.²⁷⁶ In 1833 Job had married Eliza “Mandley” (see “The Immigrant Mandley Daughters” above) in Stoke on Trent.²⁷⁷ The couple were located in Burslem in 1841, enumerated as “Rigley.” Job was a cordwainer.²⁷⁸

No immigration records have been found for either Job or Eliza. Author Gates suggested that Job may have immigrated with William Brunt in late 1842. The two supposedly went first to Illinois to try their hand at farming, perhaps as part of the Potters Emigration Society scheme, but failed to make the transition from pottery to farming.²⁷⁹ It is difficult to imagine that the Job Rigby suggested by Calhoun as a shoemaker could be the same man who paid into the potters relocation lottery as suggested by Gates.

The first actual record found for Job and Eliza in the United States was a land purchase on 4 January 1847. Job purchased lot 81 in East Liverpool from A. M. Dawson for \$35.²⁸⁰ On 11 October of the same year Job and Eliza sold this lot to Matthew Bently for \$75.²⁸¹ It is not known whether the couple temporarily moved out of the area, but they were not found on the 1850 census.

On 4 December 1852 Job purchased lot 161 in East Liverpool from John Goodwin for \$300.²⁸² On 5 April of 1860 Job and Eliza sold that lot at a loss to

²⁷⁵ Pigot & Co. (compilers) (1842) *Pigot & Co's Directory of Staffordshire*. Hove: Brooks, Davies & Co. p. 43. Collection: U.K., City and County Directories, 1600s-1900s. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 15 June 2020.

²⁷⁶ Job's baptism named his parents only as Timothy Rigby, Potter, and Sarah (no surname). Baptisms (PR) England. St. John, Burslem, Staffordshire. 26 January 1813. RIGBY, Job. Archive Reference: D3571/1/5, p. 4. Collection: Staffordshire Baptisms. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk> : accessed 15 June 2020.

²⁷⁷ Marriages (PR) England. St. Peter ad Vincula, Stoke on Trent, Staffordshire. 4 August 1833. RIGBY, Job and MANDLEY, Eliza. D1384/4. p. 104. Collection: Staffordshire Marriages. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk> : accessed 4 June 2020.

²⁷⁸ Census records. England. Burslem, Staffordshire. 6 June 1841. RIGLEY, Job (head). PN HO107/987. FL 15. p. 9. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 15 June 2020.

²⁷⁹ Gates, *The City of Hills & Kilns* ..., p. 35.

²⁸⁰ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed records, Vol. 40, p. 258 Dawson to Rigby, 4 January 1847. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 15 June 2020. FHL film 926946, image 138 of 470.

²⁸¹ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed records, Vol. 40, p. 650. Rigby to Bently, 11 October 1847. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 15 June 2020. FHL film 926946, image 348 of 470.

²⁸² Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed records. Vol. 48, p. 441. Goodwin to Rigby, 4 December 1852. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 15 June 2020. FHL film 926951, image 581 of 682.

Simon Jennings for only \$250.²⁸³ About two weeks before this sale Job had purchased about 6.5 acres just outside of East Liverpool from the estate of John Allison.²⁸⁴ When Job reported real estate valued at \$600 to the census enumerator in June of that year, this was likely the property in question. These deeds contained no mention of pottery buildings and after Job's death Eliza subdivided the south half of the six acre plot into "Eliza Rigby's First Addition" and sold the lots individually; she later subdivided the north half as "Eliza Rigby's Second Addition."²⁸⁵ In 1860 Job and Eliza were enumerated in East Liverpool with one child, Joseph, age ten; Job was working as a potter.²⁸⁶ No further record of this child was found.

Job and Eliza were enumerated together for the last time in East Liverpool in 1870; at that time Job claimed \$2,000 in real estate owned.²⁸⁷ Writing in 1936, newspaper columnist Tom T. Jones reported on a copy of the *East Liverpool Democrat* which has come into his possession. The issue, dated 4 June 1873, reportedly carried the obituary of Job Rigby, age 60.²⁸⁸ No other record of his death was located. Eliza's brother Jethro Manly along with William Toft submitted Job's will for probate on 19 June 1873. His will, signed on 23 December 1872, was quite simple. Job bequeathed all of his real estate and personal property of all kinds to

²⁸³ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed records, Vol. 62, p. 2. Rigby to Jennings, 5 April 1860. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 15 June 2020. FHL film 926960, image 335 of 661.

²⁸⁴ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed records, Vol. 62, p. 124. Young & Morris to Rigby, 22 Mar 1860. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 15 June 2020, FHL film 926960, image 398 of 661.

²⁸⁵ No record of the plat has been found; however, the deeds for the individual lots are available and the original purchase is as "J. Rigby" on the 1870 Lake's atlas page for East Liverpool and as "Rigby's 1st" and "Rigby's 2nd" on the 1902 Bentley's atlas pages for East Liverpool; D.J. Lake, C.E. (1870) *Atlas of Columbiana County, Ohio - East Liverpool, Liverpool Township*. Sheet 59, 20 rods to the inch (no bar) Philadelphia: C. O. Titus. Ohio History Connection, Historic Atlases. <https://www.ohiohistory.org> : accessed 31 December 2020; W.G. Bentley. (1902) *Atlas of Surveys of Columbiana County, Ohio - Part of East Liverpool*. Sheet 4, 300 ft. to the inch (no bar) Lisbon: Columbiana County Map & Atlas Co. Ohio History Connection, Historic Atlases. <https://www.ohiohistory.org> : accessed 31 December 2020.

²⁸⁶ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1860. RIGBY, Job (head). Roll: M653_948. p. 167. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 4 June 2020.

²⁸⁷ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1870. RIGBY, Jot (head). Roll: M593_1183. p. 208B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 4 June 2020.

²⁸⁸ Tom T. Jones. 'The Sunlit Road.' *Evening Review*. 6 October 1936, p. 9, c. 4. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 15 June 2020. Jones notes that the issue he had was one of the few remaining copies of this particular paper.

Eliza, named her Executor, and required that she not be required to post bond. No appraisal of his property was to be made.²⁸⁹

Eliza Rigby was living alone in 1880 in East Liverpool. No death record or obituary was found for her when she died nearly two years later. When her brother presented her will for probate, her death was recorded as happening on or about 16 January 1882. The contents of her will and a list of her recorded heirs was presented above (Manley section). This is the lady who wished a brass band to play at her funeral.²⁹⁰

John Rigby (son of Timothy)

To distinguish this John from the other John Rigby living in East Liverpool at this time, he will sometimes be referred to as John #1. This John was the ninth known child of Timothy and Sarah, baptized at the Methodist New Connexion church in Burslem on 20 April 1825 at the age of three days.²⁹¹ John was enumerated with his family on the 1841 census of Burslem; he was working as a joiner.²⁹² Like his brother Job, John married while still in England. The records of the two John Rigbys are difficult to distinguish at times. This John's marriage record called him a "joiner" and said he was the son of Timothy Rigby; his father was called a farmer rather than a potter. John married Sarah Broughton, daughter of potter Thomas Broughton. The couple married at St. George's Church in Newcastle under Lyme on 30 June 1849; this was an Anglican church.²⁹³

²⁸⁹ Testamentary records. USA. 19 June 1873. RIGBY, Job. Probate of Will, estate file 7629. Probate Court of Columbiana County, Ohio. Collection: Ohio, Wills and Probate Records, 1786-1998. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 15 June 2020.

²⁹⁰ Testamentary records. USA. 23 January 1882. RIGBY, Eliza M. Estate Probate Court of Columbiana County, Ohio. Collection: Ohio, Wills and Probate Records, 1786-1998. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 4 June 2020.

²⁹¹ Baptisms (PR) England. Bethesda Chapel, Burslem, Staffordshire. 20 April 1825. RIGBY, John. National Archives reference RG/4/2724. Collection: England & Wales Non-Conformist Births and Baptisms. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk> : accessed 15 June 2020. A previous son named John, also baptized in this church, had apparently died.

²⁹² Census records. England. Burslem, Staffordshire. 6 June 1841. RIGBY, Timothy (head). PN HO107/987. FL 39. p. 28. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk> : accessed 2 June 2020.

²⁹³ Marriages (PR) England. St. George, Newcastle under Lyme, Staffordshire. 30 June 1849. RIGBY, John and BROUGHTON, Sarah. Archive reference D3411/2/1. Collection: Staffordshire Marriages. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk> : accessed 15 June 2020.

John and Sarah remained in Staffordshire for a time and were enumerated in Rushton Grange, Wolstanton, in 1851. John was still working as a joiner, Sarah was a milliner and they had an infant daughter Rebecca. Also in this household were two of Sarah's relatives - Ann and Sarah Broughton, her mother and sister; both were china painters.²⁹⁴ John, Sarah and Rebecca are probably the family seen on the 1853 passenger list for the *Savannah*, which arrived at Philadelphia on 15 September. John was called a mechanic on the passenger list, but this record was still tentatively accepted as the immigration for this family as no conflicting records were found.²⁹⁵ This family was not located on the 1860 US census or the 1861 England census, but may have arrived in East Liverpool by 1861.²⁹⁶ No evidence has been found that John served during the Civil War.

By 1870 this couple had settled in East Liverpool and were enumerated there on the federal census. John owned \$2,000 in real estate and was working in a pottery. Nineteen year old daughter Rebecca was still at home.²⁹⁷ The source of this claimed real estate is not known, as no grantee land records were found for John or Sarah. John's wife appeared as a widow on the 1880 census. With her was her mother Ann, also a widow. Sarah indicated she was working as a grocer.²⁹⁸

John signed his will on 7 January 1867, with possible brother Timothy Rigby as witness; Timothy affirmed his witness of the will on 20 May 1878 when the will was filed for probate. Although the probate papers do not say so, John had perhaps died in May of 1878. His will left lot 74 in East Liverpool to his wife Sarah and daughter Rebecca. Sarah was appointed executor, to be assisted by friend Charles

²⁹⁴ Census records. England. Wolstanton, Staffordshire. 6 June 1841. RIGLEY, John (head). PN HO107/2003. FN 548. p. 33. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 10 June 2020.

²⁹⁵ Passenger list for *S. S. Savannah* departing Liverpool. RIGBY, John. Arriving 15 September 1853. Collection: Philadelphia, Passenger and Crew Lists, 1800-1962. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 15 June 2020.

²⁹⁶ See discussion below of Sarah Broughten's headstone.

²⁹⁷ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1870. RIGBY, John (head). Roll: M593_1183. p. 195A. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 4 June 2020.

²⁹⁸ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1880. RIGBY, Sarah (head). Roll: T9_1002. p. 446B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 10 June 2020.

Kelsall.²⁹⁹ Charles may have been a relative of John's mother Sarah Kelshall/Kelsall; Charles had arrived in East Liverpool in 1854 and was a potter.³⁰⁰

John and Sarah's only living child, Rebecca, had married pottery manufacturer Robert Burford on 27 November 1871.³⁰¹ Robert was also an Englishman; by 1880 the couple had two daughters, Annie E. and Josephine. They were living in East Liverpool.³⁰² By 1900, widow Sarah Rigby had moved in with her daughter and granddaughters. Robert Burford was a pottery manufacturer. It is possible that neither Sarah nor her daughter understood the enumerators question regarding how many children they had given birth to; despite evidence to the contrary, both women apparently made errors.³⁰³

Sarah Rigby died on 11 August 1911. Her obituary was reportedly published in the *East Liverpool Tribune*, and named her three grandchildren Anna, Josephine and Lillian, the three children of her daughter Rebecca (also apparently deceased). Sarah had been living with a niece, Mrs. Mary Ann Malkin of East Liverpool. Sarah shares her headstone with "Julia Ann Rigby" who died at about the age of four in 1861.³⁰⁴ If this were Sarah's child, it would indicate she and John had arrived in East Liverpool by 1861. Rebecca Burford, Sarah's daughter, is buried in the same cemetery. The Burford family plot contains a stone for two sons that Rebecca and

²⁹⁹ Testamentary records. USA. 20 May 1878. RIGBY, John. Probate of Will, estate 9018. Collection: Estate Records, 1803-1900. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 29 May 2020. FHL film 2034153, image 770 of 3160.

³⁰⁰ 'An Aged Lady Dead.' *Evening Review*. 20 February 1894, p. 1, c. 4. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 16 June 2020.

³⁰¹ Marriages (CR) USA. Columbiana County, Ohio. 27 November 1871. BURFORD, Robert and RIGBY, Rebecca. Collection: Ohio, U.S., County Marriage Records, 1774-1993. Vol. 1870-1876, p. 160. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 16 June 2020.

³⁰² Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1880. BURFORD, Robert (head). Roll: T9_1002. ED 52. p. 479C. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 10 June 2020.

³⁰³ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1900. B[EN]FORD, Robert (head). Ward 4. ED 18. Roll: T623_?? p. 14. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 11 June 2020. Rebecca had daughters Annie and Josephine by 1880 and Lillian born in 1881. She reported having two children, both living (Josephine and Lillian, in the household on this census.) She also lost two sons. Sarah may have had a daughter Julia who died as a child. See below.

³⁰⁴ Monumental inscriptions. USA. Riverview Cemetery, East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. RIGBY, Sarah B. Photo by Deborah Wall. *Find A Grave Memorial*: 38334132. <http://www.findagrave.com> : accessed 15 June 2020.

Robert apparently lost in early childhood.³⁰⁵ John and Sarah Rigby's son-in-law, Robert Burford, was described in his brief obituary of 1919 as '... owner of one of the first potteries established here, ...'³⁰⁶

Timothy Rigby Jr.

Timothy was the last known child of Timothy Sr. and Sarah Kelshall. He was baptized as the 10th child of his parents; born 3 June baptized 5 August 1827 at the Methodist New Connexion chapel in Shelton.³⁰⁷ He was living at home with his family in Burslem in 1841, but was not working at the age of 14.³⁰⁸ It is not known when he immigrated, although the obituary of one of his sons indicated it may have been around 1843.³⁰⁹ Although no marriage record has been found, Timothy probably married Eliza Rowley in Pennsylvania around 1848; they appeared on the 1850 census of East Liverpool with no children. On this census Timothy was working as a potter and owned \$200 in real estate.³¹⁰

No record of a land purchase was found prior to this census; however, in September of 1850 Timothy and Eliza's possible brother or father (Rowley) purchased a portion of lot 394 in East Liverpool for \$50³¹¹ Between 1850 and 1880 Timothy engaged in over two dozen land transactions; these will not be recounted in detail.³¹² By 1860 Timothy had acquired \$1,000 in real estate. He and Eliza had

³⁰⁵ Monumental inscriptions. USA. Riverview Cemetery, East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 24 September 1906. BURFORD, Rebecca *Rigby*. Photo by Deborah Wall. *Find A Grave Memorial*: 35676950. <http://www.findagrave.com> : accessed 15 June 2020.

³⁰⁶ 'Robert Burford.' *Pittsburgh Daily Post*. 10 September 1919, p. 7, c. 2. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 16 June 2020. In this article "here" refers to East Liverpool, from whence the information originated.

³⁰⁷ Baptisms (PR) England. Bethesda Chapel, Burslem, Staffordshire. 5 August 1827. RIGBY, Timothy. National Archives reference RG/4/2724. Collection: England & Wales Non-Conformist Births and Baptisms. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk> : accessed 15 June 2020.

³⁰⁸ Census records. England. Burslem, Staffordshire. 6 June 1841. RIGBY, Timothy (head). PN HO107/987. FL 39. p. 28. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk> : accessed 2 June 2020.

³⁰⁹ 'Jas. H. Rigby Dies From Blood Poisoning.' *Evening Review*. 15 November 1916, p. 9, c. 6. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 16 June 2020. The obituary says Timothy immigrated at about age 16.

³¹⁰ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1850. RIGLEY, Timothy (head). Roll: M432_669. p. 118B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 10 June 2020.

³¹¹ Columbiana County, Ohio. Deed records, Vol. 47, p. 378. Blakeley to Rowley and Rigby, 25 September 1850. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 15 June 2020. FHL film 926951, image 198 of 682.

³¹² Columbiana County, Ohio. General Index to Deeds, Grantor index v. 1, L-R and Grantee index v. 1 N-T. Collection: Columbiana County Recorder, Deed records and mortgages, 1803-1881. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 16 June 2020.

three children at home. The oldest child, Sarah, was born in about 1850 in Pennsylvania; the couple may have married in Pennsylvania and remained there until Sarah was born.³¹³

In his extensive history of the Isaac Knowles pottery, Calhoun makes a note about the loyalty of Timothy Rigby (formerly of Foster & Rigby) saying that his loyalty was a big part of what made Knowles a success. Calhoun calls Rigby a “practical white ware potter” who worked for Knowles for 20 years.³¹⁴ Timothy was apparently a part owner in two firms - Foster & Rigby which operated for only two years between 1866 and 1868 and T. Rigby & Co. which operated from 1868 to 1872.³¹⁵ Like many of the potters recounted here, Timothy served four months in the Civil War, May through September, in Co. I of the Ohio 143rd.³¹⁶ This was a normal period of service for the men studied in this section of the research.

Perhaps reflecting his involvement and partial ownership in these potteries, on the 1870 census Timothy reported ownership of \$7,000 in real estate. He called himself a pottery manufacturer and he and Eliza had four children at home; son James was working in a pottery, possibly with his father.³¹⁷ The industrial/manufacturers census schedule for 1870 recorded “T. Rigby & Co.” as a manufacturer of Rockingham and Yellow-ware. The firm had \$24,000 in capital invested, a steam powered mill, and 25 employees. Timothy had paid his sixteen men, one woman and eight youths a total of \$10,000 for their ten months work. He claimed sales valued at \$16,000. After he paid salaries and purchased materials the profit margin was slim at about \$1,750.³¹⁸ Rigby was paying an average of \$40 per

³¹³ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1860. RIGBY, Timothy (head). Roll: M653_948. p. 180. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 10 June 2020.

³¹⁴ Calhoun, *Early Clay Industries* ..., p. 69.

³¹⁵ Gates, *The City of Hills & Kilns* ..., pp. 428 and 430.

³¹⁶ Fold3. Grave Registration Card. RIGBY, Timothy. 4 February 1883. Collection: Ohio, Soldiers Grave Registration Cards, 1804-1958. <http://www.fold3.com> : accessed 16 June 2020.

³¹⁷ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1870. RIGBY, Timothy (head). Roll: M593_1183. p. 201B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 10 June 2020.

³¹⁸ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1870. Industrial Schedules. Roll T1159_45. Six pages total. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 9 June 2020.

month to his employees; this wage falls about midway between what pottery manufacturers Vodrey and Manley paid on the same census enumeration.³¹⁹

Eliza Rigby died on 20 November 1871 of consumption at the age of 44³²⁰ and was buried at Riverview Cemetery in East Liverpool.³²¹ Timothy was still working in 1880 as a pottery manager. Enumerated as a widow, he had two children living with him - daughter Sarah and son Frank, who was a pottery employee. Son James and his family lived next door.³²² Timothy died on 4 February 1883 in East Liverpool, apparently intestate. His estate went to probate on 21 February of 1883 with his three adult children, James H., Sarah A., and Byron A. signing a \$5,000 administrator's bond. The estate owned about \$2,480 in assets almost all of which were composed of debts owed to Timothy by his children. The heirs listed were Timothy's four children, all of East Liverpool, those above plus Francis F. Each received 25% of the estate.³²³

All of Timothy's sons were potters, at least for a time. His oldest son James was working as a potter in 1880, but had abandoned the trade by 1900 when he was apparently relying on income from rental properties. Five of James' six children were in school in that year.³²⁴ James' obituary noted that he left the industry in about 1896.³²⁵ Timothy's second son Byron was a neighbor of pottery owner George

³¹⁹ See this discussion above in the "Ellison Manley" section.

³²⁰ Deaths (CR) USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 20 November 1871. RIGBY, Eliza. Collection: Birth and death records, 1867-1908. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 31 December 2020. FHL film 931590, image 166 of 639.

³²¹ Monumental inscriptions. USA. Riverview Cemetery, East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 20 November 1871. RIGBY, Eliza. Photo by Deborah Wall. *Find A Grave* Memorial: 36361884. <http://www.findagrave.com> : accessed 17 June 2020.

³²² Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1880. RIGBY, Timothy (head). Roll: T9_1002. p. 481C. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 10 June 2020.

³²³ Testamentary records. USA. 21 February 1883. RIGBY, Timothy. Estate #10096. Collection: Estate Records, 1803-1900. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 16 June 2020. FHL film 2050025, image 1120-1135 of 3127.

³²⁴ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1900. RIGBY, James (head). Ward 4. ED 18. Roll: T623_?? p. 8. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 12 June 2020.

³²⁵ 'Jas. H. Rigby Dies From Blood Poisoning.' *Evening Review*. 15 November 1916, p. 9, c. 6. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 16 June 2020.

Brunt.³²⁶ He was employed, perhaps by Mr. Brunt, as a pottery worker in 1880³²⁷ and in 1900 when his own son was working as a pottery “dipper”.³²⁸ Timothy’s youngest son Frank was working in a pottery at the age of sixteen.³²⁹ By 1900, at the age of about 36, he too had apparently left the industry and was relying on income from rental property.³³⁰

John Rigby #2

This man was not a son of Timothy and Sarah Kelshall and his relationship (if any) to their children has not been determined. Descendants of John #2 have posted several photos and online trees related to his family.³³¹ These trees give his birth date variously as 5 May 1825 or 1827, and a memorial website gives it as 17 April 1825;³³² if this last date were correct, it would make him born on the same day as the son of Timothy Rigby and Sarah Kelshall. This same memorial gives John #2’s death as 8 March 1886; a John Rigby did die on that day at age 59 years and 5 months.³³³ The man in this death record was born in October of 1826, if his age upon death was correct. The possible baptism record corresponding to this baptism is a John Rigby, son of John Rigby and Sarah Steel.³³⁴ There was no baptism record

³²⁶ Newspapers.com search parameters “byron rigby” and “brunt” returned eight matches from 1898-1911 describing a house fire and other local events.

³²⁷ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1880. RIGBY, Byron (head). Roll: T9_1002. ED 52. p. 480B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 10 June 2020.

³²⁸ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1900. RYGBY, Byren (head). Ward 3. ED 17. Roll: T623_?? p. 12. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 11 June 2020.

³²⁹ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1880. RIGBY, Byron (head). Roll: T9_1002. ED 52. p. 480B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 10 June 2020

³³⁰ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1900. RIGBY, Frank F. (head). Ward 4. ED 18. Roll: T623_?? p. 8. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 12 June 2020.

³³¹ See, for example: smcurran11. Online family tree Curran/Lowe. John S. RIGBY. 2020. Collection: *Ancestry* family trees. <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/1169602/person/6156250386/facts> : accessed 17 June 2020.

³³² Monumental inscriptions. USA. Riverview Cemetery, East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 19 February 1886. RIGBY, John S. Memorial only by Penny Nelson. *Find A Grave* Memorial: 38334071. <http://www.findagrave.com> : accessed 17 June 2020.

³³³ Deaths (CR) USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 8 March 1886. RIGBY, John. Collection: Birth and death records, 1867-1908. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 31 December 2020. FHL film 931590, image 272 of 639.

³³⁴ Baptisms (PR) England. Burslem, Staffordshire. 5 November 1826. RIGBY, John. Collection: England & Wales Non-Conformist Births and Baptisms. Archive reference: TNA/RG/4/2724. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk> : accessed 26 May 2020.

found for a John Rigby born 5 May 1825; the record for John Rigby born 5 May 1827 gave his name as John Samuel Rigby son of James Rigby, joiner, and Mary Stoddard.³³⁵

This discussion of the conflation of records between John, son of Timothy with John, son of James and John, son of John may not seem relevant to the history of the area under discussion in this paper. However it points to a problem often experienced in genealogical research, one that cannot be ignored when attempting to clarify family relationships. Experienced genealogists know only too well not to rely on secondary sources, but to seek out the original records whenever possible. This is a case in point.

The immigration of John #2 is not certain; there is a record of a John Rigby arriving in New York on 15 January 1850.³³⁶ If this is his true arrival date, and he worked in Pittsburgh before traveling to Zanesville as recalled by his own son John in 1939,³³⁷ he could not have stayed long in Pittsburgh as he married Ann Maria Cowen in Muskingum County, Ohio, on 15 April of 1850.³³⁸ Their marriage record indicated that Ann (or Anna) Maria was at least 18 years of age; however the census record of two months later gave her age as 15. On this record, John was called a “pedler.”³³⁹ The couple still lived in Zanesville in 1860. In that year John called himself a potter; he and Ann had five children at home, two in school.³⁴⁰ The industrial/manufacturers census for Zanesville in 1860 recorded one pottery and eight brick manufacturers, some quite large. John might have been working for the Bernard Housers pottery, or perhaps a smaller operation that was not recorded on this

³³⁵ Baptisms (PR) England. Longton, Staffordshire. 3 June 1827. RIGBY, John. Collection: England & Wales Non-Conformist Births and Baptisms. Archive reference: TNA/RG/4/2722. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk> : accessed 17 June 2020.

³³⁶ Passenger list for *S. S. Enterprise* departing Liverpool. RIGBY, John. Arriving 15 January 1850. Collection: New York, Passenger and Crew Lists, 1820-1891. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 17 June 2020.

³³⁷ Tom T. Jones. ‘The Sunlit Road.’ *Evening Review*. 20 February 1939, p. 7, c. 5. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 17 June 2020.

³³⁸ Marriages (CR) USA. Muskingum County, Ohio. 15 April 1850. RIGBY, John and COWEN, Ann Maria. Collection: Ohio, U.S., County Marriage Records, 1774-1993. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 17 June 2020.

³³⁹ Census records. USA. Zanesville, Muskingum County, Ohio. 1 June 1850. RIGBY, John (head). Roll: M432_717. p. 224A. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 10 June 2020.

³⁴⁰ Census records. USA. Zanesville, Muskingum County, Ohio. 1 June 1860. RIGBY, John (head). Roll: M653_948. p. 255. <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 10 June 2020.

census schedule.³⁴¹ John #2 may have been the John Rigby listed on the Civil War Draft Registration list for East Liverpool in June of 1863.³⁴² There is no record that he served in the war.

By 1870 this family had moved to East Liverpool and had six children living at home. John owned \$550 in real estate, and three of his children were in school. He worked in a pottery (as opposed to being a manufacturer).³⁴³ John and Ann's oldest child, daughter Sarah, had married potter Sylvester H. Kinsey in 1869³⁴⁴ and they had one child by the time of the 1870 census.³⁴⁵ In 1880 John was still a pottery worker at age 53; his son Hiram was living at home and working in a pottery, and three children at home were in school.³⁴⁶ Ann eventually gave birth to 14 children, 10 of whom lived; it is likely that the infant Ella named on this census was her last child, born when Ann was about 45.³⁴⁷

John Rigby #2 died in East Liverpool on 8 March 1886.³⁴⁸ Although his complete probate packet is not available, the Executors Bond is extant. This is a confusing document in that it says John Rigby '... died testate on or about the 10th day of February A.D. 1888 ...' and the application by Anna Maria to be appointed executrix is dated the same day. It seems unlikely that the widow would go into court to apply for executorship of her dead husband's estate on the same day he died. John's will was approved by the court in Lisbon on 4 February 1888, six days earlier

³⁴¹ Census records. USA. [L]anesville, Muskingum County, Ohio. 1 June 1860. BERNARD HOUSERS. Roll: T1159_??, Industry, p. 3. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 17 June 2020.

³⁴² US War Department. Provost Marshal General's Bureau. 17th Ohio Congressional District, East Liverpool, p. 223. RIGBY, John. 3 June, 1863. Collection: U.S., Civil War Draft Registration Records, 1863-1865. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 27 July 2020.

³⁴³ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1870. RIGBY, John (head). Roll: M593_1183. p. 202A. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 4 June 2020.

³⁴⁴ Marriages (CR) USA. Columbiana County, Ohio. 29 September 1869. KINSEY, Sylvester H. and RIGBY, Sarah. Collection: Ohio, U.S., County Marriage Records, 1774-1993. Vol. 1848-1870, p. 532. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 17 June 2020.

³⁴⁵ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1870. KINZIE, Sylvester H. (head). Roll: M593_1183. p. 209B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 4 June 2020.

³⁴⁶ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1880. RIGBY, John (head). Roll: T9_1002. p. 450B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 10 June 2020.

³⁴⁷ Census records. USA. Beaver, Beaver County, Pennsylvania. 1 June 1900. TODD, Homer W. (head). ED5. Roll: T623_??, p. 1. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 11 June 2020.

³⁴⁸ Deaths (CR) USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 8 March 1886. RIGBY, John. Collection: Birth and death records, 1867-1908. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 31 December 2020. FHL film 931590, image 272 of 639.

than he reportedly died. Anna estimated John's estate at only \$100; she was appointed executor on 14 February 1888. Ten children were listed (see below).³⁴⁹

No death record for John Rigby was found in 1888. Surrounding years were also searched, with no records found. The closest record was the 8 March 1886 death.³⁵⁰ A brief death notice from the East Liverpool paper reported that he died 10 February 1886. It is unlikely that his death was reported prematurely; he was called '... one of our oldest and most esteemed practical potters ...'³⁵¹ It is possible that John died on 10 February 1886 (not 1888 as recorded in the probate papers) but his death was not recorded until a month later (as seen in the county death records). Again, while this is not a crucial detail in the overall story of the potters in East Liverpool, it illustrates the depth of research required of genealogists when building family relationships. Next of kin of John listed in the above referenced probate record, all of East Liverpool:

- Anna Maria Rigby - widow
- Sarah Kinsey - daughter
- Ada Cleckner - daughter
- Clara Rigby - daughter
- Edith Rigby - daughter
- Nellie Rigby - daughter
- J. L. Rigby - son [John Lincoln]
- J. A. Rigby - son [James Ancil]
- H. C. Rigby - son [Hiram C.]
- H. A. Rigby - son [Horace Abbott]
- S. H. Rigby - son [Sylvester Henry]

³⁴⁹ Testamentary records. USA. 10 February 1888. RIGBY, John. Collection: Ohio, Wills and Probate Records, 1786-1998. Executors Bonds and Letters, vol. 5, p. 166. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 17 June 2020.

³⁵⁰ Deaths (CR) USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. RIGBY, John. Collection: Birth and death records, 1867-1908. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 31 December 2020. FHL film 931590, image 272 of 639.

³⁵¹ 'Local Brevities.' *Evening Review*. 11 February 1886, p. 4, c. 1. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 17 June 2020.

John's wife Anna Maria Cowan died on 8 July 1916 in East Liverpool³⁵² at the home of her oldest daughter Sarah Kinsey. By the time Anna died, two more of her children had pre-deceased her as noted in her obituary. She was buried at Spring Grove Cemetery in East Liverpool.³⁵³ According to both John and Anna's brief obituaries, John had been an early potter in East Liverpool. He was never reported to be a pottery owner. Of the couple's ten surviving children, sons James and Hiram were recorded as potters in 1880;³⁵⁴ oldest son John was likely also a potter though he was not located on the 1880 census. Eldest daughter Sarah had married potter Sylvester Kinsey (see above).

While John Rigby #2 and his descendants were not pottery owners, they were a large family and at least eleven were still active in the pottery business in 1900:³⁵⁵

- Sylvester Kinsey - son-in-law - pottery handler
- William Kinsey - grandson - potter
- John Rigby - son - presser in pottery
- Homer Todd - son-in-law - pottery kiln hand
- James Rigby - son - pottery dishmaker
- Annie Rigby - granddaughter - pottery finisher
- James A. Rigby - grandson - pottery mould runner
- Walter Crewson - grandson-in-law - potter
- Hiram C. Rigby - son - pottery superintendent
- Horace Rigby - son - clay hand
- Richard Murray - son-in-law - pottery jiggerman

³⁵² Deaths (CR) USA. Columbiana County, Ohio. 8 July 1916. RIGBY, Anna. State file #1985-41454. Collection: Ohio, Death Records, 1908-1932, State of Ohio Death Index, p. 7059. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 17 June 2020.

³⁵³ 'Mrs. Anna Rigby.' *Evening Review*. 8 July 1916, p. 10, c. 4. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 17 June 2020.

³⁵⁴ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1880. RIGBY, John (head). Roll: T9_1002. p. 450B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 10 June 2020; Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1880. RIGBY, James (head). Roll: T9_1002. ED 52. p. 465D. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 10 June 2020.

³⁵⁵ Citations as found on accompanying spreadsheet.

William Rigby

The final Staffordshire Rigby to be considered in this chapter is William Rigby, possible son of Thomas and Ellen Rigby. As with John Rigby #2, a confusion of questionable online records required careful analysis to determine which related to this William. A user-created memorial page for “William Rigby” gives his birth as 1 November 1821 and his death as 1 April 1891.³⁵⁶ A death record for William was located for that date on which his age was given as 72.³⁵⁷ With only an age in years, this could be an approximation. However it could also indicate that he was actually born in 1819 rather than 1821 as the memorial page stated. A baptism record for William Rigby, son of potter Thomas Rigby and Ellen Eanoss, was located for the Methodist New Connexion chapel in Shelton; this William was born on 14 September 1819, which would have made him about 71 ½ years old at his death.³⁵⁸

The William who was a possible son of Thomas and Ellen was not definitively located on the 1841 England census. His marriage to Mary Brown took place on 20 August 1843 in Stoke on Trent.³⁵⁹ Few records were found for this man, and it appears that he lived a quiet life. In 1850 he and Mary were living in East Liverpool. William owned no real estate and claimed to personal assets; he was working as a potter. He and Mary had one child, three year old William [Jr.], who had been born in England.³⁶⁰ This record implies an immigration sometime between 1847 and 1850. By 1860 William Sr. had acquired \$600 in real estate; he was still working as a potter with three children in the household.³⁶¹

³⁵⁶ Monumental inscriptions. USA. Riverview Cemetery, East Liverpool, Ohio. 1 April 1891. RIGBY, William. Memorial only by San. *Find A Grave* Memorial: 188514711. <http://www.findagrave.com> : accessed 17 June 2020.

³⁵⁷ Deaths (CR) USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 April 1891. RIGBY, William. Collection: Birth and death records, 1867-1908. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 31 December 2020. FHL film 931590, image 472 of 639.

³⁵⁸ Baptisms (PR) England. Burslem, Staffordshire. 24 October 1819. RIGBY, William. Collection: England & Wales Non-Conformist Births and Baptisms. Archive reference: TNA/RG/4/2724. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk> : accessed 17 June 2020.

³⁵⁹ Marriages (PR) England. St. Peter ad Vincula, Stoke on Trent, Staffordshire. 20 August 1843. RIGBY, William and BROWN, Mary. Archive reference: D3787/2/4. p. 100. Collection: Staffordshire Marriages. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk> : accessed 17 June 2020.

³⁶⁰ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1850. RIGLEY, Wm. (head). Roll: M432_669. p. 109B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 10 June 2020.

³⁶¹ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1860. RIGBY, William (head). Roll: M653_948. p. 168. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 10 June 2020.

This man was probably the William Rigby listed on the Civil War Draft Registration list for East Liverpool along with Timothy and John Rigby.³⁶² There is no indication that William served in the war. By 1870 William had apparently given up the pottery trade, at least temporarily. He was enumerated as a farmer in nearby Beaver County, Pennsylvania, owning \$3000 in land. His two daughters were both in school.³⁶³ The couple's older son, William, was not located definitively on the 1870 census. However their second son, Columbus, was living in Beaver (not at home) and working in a pottery.³⁶⁴

By 1880 William Sr. had returned to the pottery business. Though still living in Beaver County, he was called a potter as was his son Columbus (then age 30 and back at home) as well as his 16 year old son George.³⁶⁵ The couple's oldest son William was also living in Beaver County this year with his wife Mary and their five children; he was also doing pottery work.³⁶⁶ The same online memorial which (probably erroneously) gave William's birth also recorded his death in East Liverpool on 1 April 1891.³⁶⁷ This date was confirmed by death records.³⁶⁸ No probate record or obituary was found for William in either Ohio or Pennsylvania.

Mary Rigby survived her husband by about a decade. Although she was not located on the 1900 census with her son William Jr.,³⁶⁹ the 1902 East Liverpool directory records Mary (widow of William) at the same address on Lincoln Ave. as

³⁶² US War Department. Provost Marshal General's Bureau. 17th Ohio Congressional District, East Liverpool, p. 223. RIGBY, William. 3 June, 1863. Collection: U.S., Civil War Draft Registration Records, 1863-1865. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 27 July 2020.

³⁶³ Census records. USA. Patterson, Beaver County, Pennsylvania. 1 June 1870. RIGBY, William (head). Roll: M593_1303. p. 274B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 4 June 2020.

³⁶⁴ Census records. USA. Beaver, Beaver County, Pennsylvania. 1 June 1870. RIGBY, Columbus (boarder). Roll: M593_1303. p. 168B. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 4 June 2020.

³⁶⁵ Census records. USA. Beaver Falls, Beaver County, Pennsylvania. 1 June 1880. RIGBY, William (head). Roll: T9_1097. ED 175. p. 49D. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 10 June 2020.

³⁶⁶ Census records. USA. Beaver Falls, Beaver County, Pennsylvania. 1 June 1880. RIGBY, William (head). Roll: T9_1097. ED 175. p. 64D. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 10 June 2020.

³⁶⁷ Monumental inscriptions. USA. Riverview Cemetery, East Liverpool, Ohio. 1 April 1891. RIGBY, William. Memorial only by San. *Find A Grave* Memorial: 188514711. <http://www.findagrave.com> : accessed 17 June 2020.

³⁶⁸ Deaths (CR) USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 April 1891. RIGBY, William. Collection: Birth and death records, 1867-1908. [Columbiana County, Ohio] <http://www.familysearch.org> : accessed 31 December 2020. FHL film 931590, image 472 of 639.

³⁶⁹ Census records. USA. East Liverpool, Columbiana County, Ohio. 1 June 1900. RIGBY, William (head). Ward 4. ED 19. Roll: T623_???. p. 14. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 12 June 2020

William Rigby, a (pottery) dipper.³⁷⁰ Mary supposedly died on 11 January 1903 at East Liverpool;³⁷¹ this date was not confirmed by death records. However her will was admitted to probate on about 4 February 1903, lending credence to this death date.³⁷²

William Sr. and Mary Rigby had five known children. Their oldest son, William Jr., was the most notorious and apparently a heavy drinker. He and his wife Mary were cited by the police several times for drunken brawling.³⁷³ William Jr.'s wife was Mary Staley, daughter of Charles Staley and Margaret Nicholson (see Staley section above.) In 1900 several of William Rigby Sr. and Mary Brown's descendants were working in the pottery business.

- William Rigby - son - sagger maker in pottery
- Hubert Hunt - grandson-in-law - sagger maker in pottery
- Thomas Rigby - grandson - potter [probable, per 1910 census]
- Lawrence Rigby - grandson - pottery jiggerman
- Gertrude Rigby - granddaughter - pottery laborer
- Lillian Rigby - granddaughter - pottery laborer
- Christopher Columbus Rigby - son - potter [probably, per obituary]
- James Barker - son-in-law - potter
- Josie Barker - granddaughter - pottery decorator
- George Rigby - son - kiln hand at pottery

³⁷⁰ R.L. Polk & Co. (publishers) (1902) *East Liverpool Directory, 1902-03*. Pittsburg: R.L. Polk & Co., p. 250. Collection: U.S., City Directories, 1822-1995. <http://www.ancestry.com> : accessed 13 May 2020.

³⁷¹ Monumental inscriptions. USA. Riverview Cemetery, East Liverpool, Ohio. 11 January 1903. RIGBY, Mary. Memorial only by San. *Find A Grave* Memorial: 188514629. <http://www.findagrave.com> : accessed 17 June 2020.

³⁷² 'Will Admitted to Probate.' *Evening Review*. 4 February 1903, p. 1, c. 3. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 18 June 2020.

³⁷³ See, for example: 'Police Called to Stop a Row.' *Evening Review*. 29 March 1902, p. 1, c. 6. <http://www.newspapers.com> : accessed 18 June 2020.

APPENDIX FIVE

TABLE OF EARLY POTTERIES

Table 27. List of potteries in East Liverpool area						
Pottery Name	Owners	Location	Established/ Present	Closed	Next Owner	Produced
John Kountz ^a	Kountz, John	Jethro	1817			Red Stoneware
Joseph Wells ^{a,b,c}	Wells, Joseph	Wellsville	1826	1856		Red Stoneware
Longs Run Pottery ^c	unknown	St. Clair Twp.	1830		Sprucevale Pottery	R & Y Ware
James Gibson ^a	Gibson, James	East Liverpool				Itinerant Brick Maker
Bennet, James ^{b,c}	Bennett, James	East Liverpool	1839	1841	Bennett Brothers	R & Y Ware
Bennett Brothers [or Bennett & Sons] ^{a,b}	Bennett, James	East Liverpool	1840	1844	Croxall	R & Y Ware
Benjamin Harker; Etruria Pottery Works ^{a,b,c}	Harker, Benjamin Sr.	East Liverpool	1840/41	1846	Etruria Pottery	R & Y Ware
Andrew Russell ^a	Russell, Andrew	Jethro	1841	1846	Geisse, Phillip F.	Brick
George McCullough ^a	McCullough, George	Jethro	1842	1846	Geisse, Phillip F.	Tiles
Salt & Mear; Salt, Mear, Ogden & Hancock ^{a,b,c,d}	Salt, James; Mear, Fredrick	East Liverpool	1842	~1852	Mansion House	R & Y Ware

Pottery Name	Owners	Location	Established/ Present	Closed	Next Owner	Produced
John Goodwin ^{a,b,c,d}	Goodwin, John	East Liverpool	1843	1853	Samuel & William Baggott	R & Y Ware, White Granite
Croxall Brothers ^{a,b,c,d}	Croxall, Thomas & brothers	East Liverpool	1844	1852	Plant destroyed by flood	R & Y Ware
James McPherson ^a	McPherson, James	East Liverpool	1845	~1863		Itinerant Brick Maker
William Rigby ^a	Rigby, William	East Liverpool	1845	~1863		Itinerant Brick Maker
George Garner ^{b,c}	Garner, George	East Liverpool	~1846			
[Russell & McCullough] ^a	Geisse, Phillip F.	Jethro	1846	1852	N. U. Walker	Brick only
Harker Taylor & Co. ^{a,b,c,d}	Harker, Benjamin? & Mr. Taylor; Hennison or Harrison	East Liverpool	1846	1851	Harker, Thompson & Co.	R & Y Ware
The Riverside Knob Works ^{a,c}	Brunt, William Sr. and sons William & Henry; Bloor, William	East Liverpool	1847	1879	[men went to the gold rush]	R & Y Ware, Door Knobs
Bullock & Garner ^{b,c}	Bullock, Mr.; Garner, Mr.	East Liverpool	1847		Bullock & Anderson?	

Pottery Name	Owners	Location	Established/ Present	Closed	Next Owner	Produced
Henderson Pottery; Salamander Pottery ^{a,b,c}	Henderson, John	East Liverpool	1847/49	1854/57	Godwin, Flentky, Rigby	R & Y Ware, Coat Buttons
Vodrey Pottery Co. ^a	Vodrey, Jabez	East Liverpool	1847	1849	Woodward & Vodrey	R & Y Ware
Woodward & Vodrey; Herculaneum Pottery ^{b,c}	Woodward, Mr.; Vodrey, Mr.	East Liverpool	1847	1848		R & Y Ware
Ball & Morris; Union Pottery ^{a,b,c,d}	Ball, Thomas; Morris, William B.	East Liverpool	1848	1856	Croxall	R & Y Ware
Brunt & Bloore ^{b,c}	Brunt, William Jr.; Bloor, William?	East Liverpool	1848	1853		R & Y Ware, Door Knobs
Dovey, Webster & Co. ^{b,c}	Dovey, Mr.; Webster, Mr.	East Liverpool	1848			
Larkins Bros. ^{b,c}	Larkin and Larkin	East Liverpool	~1848	1861		
Newell, Larkins & Co. ^{b,c}	Newell, Mr.; Larkins, Mr.	East Liverpool	1848	~1852	Larkins, Newell & Co.?	
Webster & Phillips ^{b,c,d}	Webster, Mr.; Phillips, Mr.	East Liverpool	~1848	1850		
Woodward, Vodrey & Booth ^{b,c}	Woodward, Mr.; Vodrey, Mr.; Booth, Mr.	East Liverpool	1848			R & Y Ware

Pottery Name		Owners	Location	Established/ Present	Closed	Next Owner	Produced
Woodward, Blakely & Co. ^{a,b,c,d}		Woodward, William; Vodrey, Jabez; Blakeley, James & John S.; Booth, Richard	East Liverpool	1848/49	1857	Vodrey & Brothers	R & Y Ware, T. C.
Wally Brothers & Co.; Wyllie Bros. ^{a,b,c}		Wyllie Brothers	East Liverpool	1848/53	1854	[Returned to England] William Rigby	Pottery
J. M. Atkinson & Co. ^d		Atkinson, J. M. or J. H.	Hancock	1850, 1860			Fire Brick
Thomas Atkinson & Co. ^d		Atkinson, Thomas	Hancock	1850			Fire Brick
Bullock & Anderson ^{b,c}		Bullock, Mr.; Anderson, Mr.	East Liverpool	1850			
John Campbell & Co. ^d		Campbell, John and/or James	Hancock	1850, 1860			Fire Brick
William Colclough ^{a,b,c}		Colclough, William	East Liverpool	1850/65/79	1881/95		Novelties, Clay Pipes, Porcelain
Robert Criss ^d		Criss, Robert	East Liverpool	1850			Brick Manufacturer
John Elliott ^d		Elliott, John	Hancock	1850			Fire Brick
Thomas Freeman ^d		Freeman, Thomas	Hancock	1850			Fire Brick

Pottery Name	Owners	Location	Established/ Present	Closed	Next Owner	Produced
Isabul & Co. ^d	Isabul, Mr.	Hancock	1850			Fire Brick
James S. Lawten ^d	Lawten, James S.	Hancock	1850			Fire Brick
Thomas S. Mahan ^d	Mahan, Thomas S.	Hancock	1850			Fire Brick
George C. Miller ^d	Miller, George C.	Hancock	1850			Stoneware
James Moore ^d	Moore, James	Hancock	1850			Fire Brick
M.M. Shauley ^d	Shauley, M. M.	Hancock	1850			Fire Brick
Gigham, Stuart & Harper ^d	Stuart, Gigham?	Hancock	1850			Fire Brick
Joseph Stuart & Co. ^d	Stuart, Joseph	Hancock	1850			Fire Brick
The Empire Co. ^{b,c}	unknown	East Liverpool	~1850			
William White ^d	White, William	Hancock	1850			Stoneware
Douds & Barnes ^{b,c}	Douds, Mr.; Barnes, Mr.	East Liverpool	~1851			
Harker, Thompson & Co. ^{b,c}	Harker, Mr. & Thompson, Mr.	East Liverpool	1851	1854	George S. Harker & Co.	R & Y Ware
Harvey, Green & Co. ^{b,c}	Harvey, Mr.; Green, Mr.	East Liverpool	1851	1853		
R.G. Phillips ^b	Phillips, R. G.	East Liverpool	1852			
Sprucevale Pottery ^{b,c}	unknown	St. Clair Twp.	~1852	1859		R & Y Ware

Pottery Name	Owners	Location	Established/ Present	Closed	Next Owner	Produced
N.U. Walker & Co. ^{a,d}	Walker, N. U.	Jethro	1852	1899		Firebrick, T. C., Tile, Sewer Pipe, etc.
Baggott Brothers; Eagle Pottery ^{a,b,c}	Baggott, Samuel & William	East Liverpool	1853	~1897		R & Y Ware
William Brunt Sr. ^{b,c}	Brunt, William Sr.	East Liverpool	1853 or 1859/60			R & Y Ware, Door Knobs
Richard Harrison & Co. ^{b,c}	Harrison, Richard	East Liverpool	~1853			
The East Liverpool Pottery Works; Knowles & Harvey ^{a,c}	Knowles, Isaac W. [& Harvey, Mr.]	East Liverpool	1853/54	1865/68	Knowles, Taylor & Knowles	R & Y Ware, Fruit Jars
Larkins, Newell & Co. ^{a,b,c}	Larkins, Curtis; Thompson, William [and Mr. Newell?]	Newell	1853	1860		Yellow Ware
O. Ritter ^{b,c}	O. Ritter	East Liverpool	1853			
J.R. Phillip ^{b,c}	Phillip, J. R.	East Liverpool	1853			
Booth Brothers ^{a,b,c}	Booth, Israel, Abraham, Manuel & Adam	East Liverpool	1854/58	~1865		Novelties, Heating Stoves

Pottery Name	Owners	Location	Established/ Present	Closed	Next Owner	Produced
George S. Harker & Co. ^{a,b,c,d}	Harker, George S.	East Liverpool	1854	1890	Harker Pottery Co.	R & Y Ware
McGillvray & Moore ^{b,c}	McGillvray, Mr.; Moore, Mr.	East Liverpool	1855	1857		
McGillvray & Orr ^{b,c}	McGillvray, Mr.; Orr, Mr.	East Liverpool	1855			R & Y Ware
Morley, Godwin & Flentke ^{a,b,c,d}	Morley, George & Samuel; Godwin, James; Flentke, William	East Liverpool	1855/57	1874	Morley, Godwin & Co.	R & Y Ware
William Brunt & Sons ^c	Brunt, William	East Liverpool	1856			
William Brunt & Bros. ^b	Brunt, William and unnamed brothers	East Liverpool	1856	1859		
Croxall & Cartwright ^{a,b,c,d}	Croxall, Thomas & brothers	East Liverpool	1856	1888		R & Y Ware
Foster & Garner ^{b,c}	Foster, James; Garner, William	East Liverpool	~1856	1859	Foster & Rowley?	R & Y Ware
The Mansion Pottery ^{a,b,c}	Salt, James; Mear, Fredrick; Hancock, John; Ogden, James	East Liverpool	1856	1859	Croxall	R & Y Ware

Pottery Name	Owners	Location	Established/ Present	Closed	Next Owner	Produced
Wallace Brothers ^{b,c}	Wallace, Mr.	East Liverpool	1856	~1861		
Douds & Sebring ^{b,c}	Douds, Mr.; Sebring, Mr.	East Liverpool	1857	1860		
Smith, Foster & Co. ^{b,c}	Smith, Mr.; Foster, Mr.	East Liverpool	1857			
Vodrey Brothers; Pallisy Works ^{a,b,c}	Vodrey, Jabez; sons William, James, John	East Liverpool	1857	~1864	Vodrey & Brothers	R & Y Ware
A. Webster & Co.; Webster Pottery ^{a,b,c}	Webster, Elijah	East Liverpool	1858/59	1861/65	Volney Ball	Stoneware
William Bloor ^{a,b,c}	Bloor, William	East Liverpool	1859/60	1862	William Brunt Jr.	First production of White Ware, Porcelain, Novelties
The Phoenix Pottery; William Brunt, Son & Co.; Wm. Brunt Jr. & Co. ^{a,b,c,d}	Brunt, William Jr.; Bloor, William	East Liverpool	1859/60/62	~1900 or 1877	[sold part in 1865]	White Ware, R & Y Ware, Ironstone
T. Anderson & Co. ^d	Anderson, T.	Hancock	1860			Fire Brick
T. Anderson ^d	Anderson, T.	Hancock	1860			Stoneware

Pottery Name	Owners	Location	Established/ Present		Closed	Next Owner	Produced
Foster & Rowley ^{b,c}	Foster, Joseph; Rowley, James	East Liverpool	1860		~1866	Foster & Rigby?	R & Y Ware
Fowler, Jacob ^{a,d}	Fowler, Jacob	East Liverpool	1860, 1870			Land sold to Buckeye Pottery	Brick Manufacturer
J.L. Freeman ^d	Freeman, J. L.	Hancock	1860				Fire Brick, Tiles, Chimneys
William B. Freeman ^d	Freeman, William B.	Hancock	1860				Fire Brick, Tiles
Garlick & Co. ^d	Garlick, Mr.	Hancock	1860				Fire Brick
F. Moneypenny & Co. ^d	Moneypenny, F.	Hancock	1860				Fire Brick
J.S. Porter & Son ^d	Porter, J. S. and son	Hancock	1860				Fire Brick
Porter & Smith ^d	Porter, Mr; Smith, Mr.	Hancock	1860				Fire Brick
Porter, Anderson & Co. ^d	Porter, Mr.; Anderson, Mr.	Hancock	1860				Fire Brick
W.E. Stuart ^d	Stuart, W. E.	Hancock	1860				Fire Brick
Agner, Foutts & Co.; American Pottery Works ^{a,b,c,d}	Foutts, Isaac; Agner, Henry; Hallum, George	East Liverpool	1862/3		1882/3	Sebring, Ashbaugh, Turnbull	R & Y Ware

Pottery Name	Owners	Location	Established/ Present	Closed	Next Owner	Produced
Novelty Pottery Works ^{a,b,c}	Goodwin, John	East Liverpool	1863	1865	Marks, Farmer, Manley & Riley	R & Y Ware, Novelties
Harker & Smith ^{b,c}	Harker, Mr. & Smith, Mr.	East Liverpool	1853	1855		R & Y Ware
Manley & Cartwright; Manley, Cartwright & Co.; Industrial Pottery ^{a,b,c,d}	Manley, Holland; Cartwright, William & sons	East Liverpool	1864	1880	Cartwright Bros.	R & Y Ware
Mayer, Ross & McDevitt ^{b,c}	Mayer, Mr.; Ross, Mr.; McDevitt, Mr.	East Liverpool	1864			
Vodrey & Brother ^{a,b,d}	Vodrey, Jabez [one brother]	East Liverpool	~1864	1896		
Isaac Knowles ^{b,c,d}	Knowles, Isaac W.	East Liverpool	~1865	1870	Knowles, Taylor & Knowles	R & Y Ware
Novelty Pottery Co.; A.J. Marks & Co. ^{a,b,c,d}	Marks, A. J.; Manley, Jethro; Farmer, Joseph K.; Riley, Enoch; Nevill, James	East Liverpool	1865/66	1869/71	Fritz, McNichol, McClure, Burton, Dover	R & Y Ware
Mayer & Geon ^{b,c}	Mayer, Mr.; Geon, Mr.	East Liverpool	1865			

Pottery Name	Owners	Location	Established/ Present	Closed	Next Owner	Produced
Daniel Smith ^a	Smith, Daniel J.	East Liverpool	~1865	1873		Brick Manufacturer
West, Hardwick & Co.; Lincoln Pottery ^{a,b,c,d}	Thompson, John; Joblin, William; Taylor, James; Hardwick, John	East Liverpool	1865/67	1883/84	George Morley	CC Ware, White Granite, Majolica
Douds & Moore ^{b,c}	Douds, Mr.; Moore, Mr.	East Liverpool	1866			
Foster & Rigby ^{a,b,c}	Foster, James; Rigby, Timothy	East Liverpool	1866	1868		R & Y Ware
Simms & Starkey; star Stone ^{b,c}	Starkey, Thomas [Simms, N. M. ?]	East Liverpool	1866	1868		Stoneware
The Dresden Pottery; N.M. Simms & Co. ^{a,b,c,d}	Starkey, Thomas; Simms, Nathaniel	East Liverpool	1866/68	1874/75	William Brunt Jr.	Stoneware
Burgess, Webster & Viney ^{a,b,c}	Burgess, John H.; Webster, Albert; Mrs. Ann Viney	East Liverpool	1867	1869	Starkey & Ourly	Stoneware
Hill, Brunt & Co. ^{b,c}	Hill, Mr.; Brunt, Mr.	East Liverpool	1867	~1869		R & Y Ware
Jones Pottery; Wellsville T. C. Works; Lomand & Jones ^{a,b,c,d}	Jones, George	Wellsville	1867	1880	[Took in partner Mr. Lomand]	T. C., Sewer Pipe, Drain Tile, etc.

Pottery Name	Owners	Location	Established/ Present	Closed	Next Owner	Produced
Joseph Morton ^{a,c}	Morton, Joseph [or Jacob]	East Liverpool	1867	1870		Stone Clay Pipes
[Barlo & Beddo] ^a	Barlo, Richard & Beddo, Thomas	East Liverpool	1868	~1875	[Barlow sold out to J. Newton George]	Architectural T. C.
Great Western ^{b,c}	Brunt, William Sr. & Son	East Liverpool	~1868	1874		
Jackson Bros. ^{a,b,c}	Jackson, Samuel P. and Elias	East Liverpool	1868	1870		China & Parian Ware
Knowles, Taylor & Knowles ^{a,b,c}	Knowles, Isaac W. and son Homer S.; Taylor, John N.	East Liverpool	1868/70	1929	Homer S. Taylor	R & Y Ware, White Granite
California Pottery; McDevitt, Cochran & Co. ^{a,b,c,d}	McDevitt, Edward; Moore, Stephen; Keffer, Ferdinand, et al	Carpenter's Hollow; California Hollow	1868	1870	McDevitt, Moore & Curby	R & Y Ware
T. Rigby & Co.; Broadway Pottery ^{a,b,c,d}	Rigby, Timothy	East Liverpool	1868	1872		R & Y Ware

Pottery Name	Owners	Location	Established/ Present	Closed	Next Owner	Produced
Thompson & Herbert ^{a,b,c,d}	Thompson, Josiah; Herbert, Col. J. T.	East Liverpool	1868	1922 [or 1870]		R & Y Ware
Viney, Thompson & Co. ^{b,c}	Viney, A.; [Thompson, Mr.]	East Liverpool	1868	1869		
Viney, Thompson & Co. ^b	Viney, Mr.; Thompson, Mr.	East Liverpool	~1868	1869	Viney, Webster & Co.?	
Douds & Welch ^{b,c}	Douds, Mr.; Welch, Mr.	East Liverpool	1869			
Novelty Pottery Co.; Fritz, McClure & Co. ^{a,b,c}	Fritz, Adolph; McNichol, Patrick & John; McClure, William M.; Burton, William Sr. & William T.; Dover, John	East Liverpool	1869			Yellow Ware, CC Ware, White Ware
McNichol, Burton & Co. ^{b,c}	McNichol, Mr.; Burton, Mr.	East Liverpool	1869	1892		R & Y Ware, White Granite
The Star Pottery; Starkey & Ourby ^{a,b,c}	Starkey, Thomas; Ourby/Ourly, Samuel P.	East Liverpool	1869	1872	Samuel Worcester	R & Y Ware
Viney, Webster & Co. ^{b,d}	Viney, Mr.; Webster, Mr.	East Liverpool	1869	1872		Stoneware
Beddow & Morrison ^d	Beddow, Mr.; Morrison, Mr.	East Liverpool	1870			Fire Brick

Pottery Name	Owners	Location	Established/ Present	Closed	Next Owner	Produced
W. Burns & Son ^d	Burns, W. [is this William Brunt?]	East Liverpool	1870			Door Knobs
Thomas J. Forner ^d	Forner, Thomas J.	Wellsville	1870			Red Bricks
Lamond & Jones ^{b,c}	Lamond, Mr.; Jones, Mr.	East Liverpool	1870			
Searles & Hukelle ^d	Searles, Mr.; Hukelle, Mr.	East Liverpool	1870			Red Brick, Fire Brick
A. Viney & Co. ^{b,c}	Viney, A.	East Liverpool	1870			
Harry Willot & Co. ^{b,c}	Willot, Harry	East Liverpool	1870	1872		
Fowler & O'Connor ^{b,c}	Fowler, Jacob; O'Connor, Mr.	East Liverpool	1871	1872		
Douds & Foutts ^{b,c}	Douds, Mr.; Foutts, Mr.	East Liverpool	~1872			
John Goodwin & Sons ^{a,b}	Goodwin, John	East Liverpool	1872	1875	Goodwin Brothers	R & Y Ware
McDevitt, Moore & Curby ^{b,c}	McDevitt, Edward; Moore, Stephen [Curby, Mr.]	East Liverpool	1872	1874	McDevitt & Moore	

Pottery Name	Owners	Location	Established/ Present	Closed	Next Owner	Produced
Simms & Ferguson ^{b,c}	Simms, Mr.; Ferguson, Mr.	East Liverpool	1872			Stoneware
The Star Pottery; Bulger & Worcesters ^{a,b,c}	Worcester, Samuel & son Thomas	East Liverpool	1872	1884/86		R & Y Ware
Samuel Worcester & Son ^c	Worcester, Samuel; Worcester, Thomas	East Liverpool	1872		Bulger & Worcester	R & Y Ware
Emanuel Booth ^{b,c}	Booth, Emanuel	East Liverpool	1873	1876		
Laughlin Bros.; Laughlin & Simms ^{a,b,c}	Laughlin, Homer; Simms, Nathaniel	East Liverpool	1873	1877		Stoneware
R. Thomas & Sons ^{b,c}	Thomas, R. [sons]	East Liverpool	1873	1957		Clay Knobs
Flentke, Worcester & Co.; Buckeye Pottery Works ^{b,c}	Flentke, Mr.; Worcester, Mr.	East Liverpool	1874	1877		R & Y Ware
Golding Sons Co. ^c	Golding, Mr.	East Liverpool	1874	1939		Flint & Feldspar
Thomas Haden ^{b,c}	Haden, Thomas	East Liverpool	1874	1888		
McDevitt & Moore ^{a,c}	McDevitt, Edward; Moore, Stephen	East Liverpool	1874	~1900 or 1877		Majolica, Jet Ware
Morley, Godwin & Co. ^{a,b,c}	Morley, George; Godwin, Samuel	East Liverpool	1874	1878	Morley & Co.	

Pottery Name	Owners	Location	Established/ Present	Closed	Next Owner	Produced
John Wyllie & Son; Great Western; Pitcher Pottery ^{a,b,c}	Wyllie, John and son	East Liverpool	1874	1893		White Granite, Decorator Ware
The Dresden Pottery; Brunt, Bloor, Martin & Co. ^{a,b,c}	Brunt, William Jr. and Henry; Bloor, William; Martin, George	East Liverpool	1875	1882	McNichol, H. A.; Potters Co-Op	Ironstone China, White Granite
Curby, Starkey & Co. ^{b,c}	Curby, Mr.; Starkey, Mr.	East Liverpool	1875			
Joseph Dennis ^{b,c}	Dennis, Joseph	East Liverpool	1875	1886		
Goodwin Brothers Pottery Co. ^{a,b,c}	Goodwin, James H., George S., Henry S.	East Liverpool	1875	1896		CC Ware, Ironstone China, White Granite
Bulger, Starkey & Co. ^{b,c}	Bulger, Mr.; Starkey, Mr.	East Liverpool	1877		Bulger, Worcester & Co.?	
Bulger, Worcester & Co. ^b	Bulger, Mr.; Worcester, Mr.	East Liverpool	1877	1880		
Flentke, Harrison & Co. ^{b,c}	Flentke, Mr.; Harrison, Mr.	East Liverpool	1877	1884		R & Y Ware
Wedgwood Pottery ^{a,b,c}	Harker, Benjamin Jr. & Sons	East Liverpool	1877	1881	Chetwynd & Wallace	CC Ware

Pottery Name	Owners	Location	Established/ Present	Closed	Next Owner	Produced
George F. Humrickhouse ^{b,c}	Humrickhouse, George F.	East Liverpool	1877	~1883		
Homer Laughlin [China Co.] ^{a,b,c}	Laughlin, Homer; Simms, Nathaniel	East Liverpool	1877	present		White Ware, Porcelain
Anderson, Curry & Co. ^{b,c}	Anderson, Mr.; Curry, Mr.	East Liverpool	1878			
Bradshaw ^a	Bradshaw, Enoch	East Liverpool	~1878	~1880		Red Bricks
William Brunt Son & Co. ^{b,c}	Brunt, William	East Liverpool	1878	1892		White Granite
Gamble & Surlis; The Buckeye Pottery ^{a,b,c}	Gamble, John; Manley, Holland; Surlis, William H.; Harrison, William	East Liverpool	~1878	1884		R & Y Ware
Godwin & Flentke ^{b,c}	Godwin, Mr.; Flentke, Mr.	East Liverpool	1878	1882		White Granite
The Pioneer Pottery; Morley & Co. ^{a,b,c}	Morley, George	Wellsville	1878	1884	George Morley & Son	Pottery
Sants & Barlow ^{b,c}	Sants, Mr.; Barlow, Mr.	East Liverpool	1878			
Ralph Scragg ^{b,c}	Scragg, Ralph	East Liverpool	1878	~1887		

Pottery Name	Owners	Location	Established/ Present	Closed	Next Owner	Produced
John F. Steele ^{b,c}	Steele, John F.	East Liverpool	1878	1891		
East Liverpool Encaustic Tile Co. ^{b,c}	unknown	East Liverpool	1878			
A.B. Beck ^{b,c}	Beck, A. B.	East Liverpool	1879			
The Riverside Knob Manufacturing Co. ^{a,c}	Brunt, Henry and son William H.	East Liverpool	1879	1910		Clay & Porcelain Door Knobs, Electrical Porcelain
Burford Bros. Pottery Co. ^{a,b,c}	Burford, Robert, George, Oliver	East Liverpool	1879	1905	Standard Pottery	Floor & wall Tile
Standard Pottery Co. ^a	Gould, A. C.; Horan, Malachi	East Liverpool	1879	1922		Pottery
Hayden & Lycett ^{b,c}	Hayden, Mr.; Lycett, Mr.	East Liverpool	1879			
Dennis Outtrim ^{b,c}	Outtrim, Dennis	East Liverpool	1879	1880		
Cartwright Bros., Co. ^{a,b,c}	Cartwright, William, Samuel, Thomas, John	East Liverpool	1880	1896		R & Y Ware
E. Fox Co. ^c	Fox, E.	East Liverpool	1880			

Pottery Name	Owners	Location	Established/ Present	Closed	Next Owner	Produced
John Lythe & Sons ^a	Lythe, John	Wellsville	1880	1899		Sewer Pipe, Architectural T. C.
George Monroe Co. ^c	Monroe, George	East Liverpool	1880			
John Pearson ^a	Pearson, John	Calhoun	1880	1889		Brick
Robertson & Co. ^c	Robertson, Mr.	East Liverpool	1880			Stilts, Pins, Spurs
Henry Surles ^a	Surles, Henry	East Liverpool	1880	1900		Red Bricks
Worcester Co. ^{b,c}	Worcester, Mr.	East Liverpool	1880	1882/3		

^a W. A. Calhoun (n.d.) *Early Clay Industries of the Upper Ohio Valley*. [manuscript] East Liverpool: Carnegie Public Library.

^b Gates, William C., Jr. (1984) *The City of Hills & Kilns. Life and Work in East Liverpool, Ohio*. East Liverpool: The East Liverpool Historical Society.

^c Carnegie Public Library. *Alphabetical List of Pottery Industries in the East Liverpool Area*. <https://www.carnegie.lib.oh.us/potteries> : accessed 30 December 2020.

^d United States Census Bureau. Manufacturers/Industrial Schedules 1850-1870.

R & Y Ware - Rockingham and Yellow Ware

T. C. - Terra Cotta

CC Ware - Cream Colored Ware