The Upper Ohio Valley Historical Review is published twice a year by the Wheeling Area Historical Society, Dr. Kenneth R. Nodyne, Editor, Professor of History, West Liberty State College, West Liberty, West Virginia, 26074. The Review is distributed free to members and sold to the public at $1.50 a copy.

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West Liberty State College
PRESERVATION THROUGH DOCUMENTATION:  
THE HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDING SURVEY, Wheeling, West Virginia -- 1976

by

Candace Reed  
George Washington University

with

John McRae  
University of Florida

On April 30, 1891, the Vigilant Engine House burned. The Wheeling Daily Intelligencer on Friday, May 1, 1891 reported that it seemed "a little odd that an engine house should be burned, especially in daylight when the whole force was on duty." Moments after the fire had been discovered and reported to the men on duty, the engine was connected to a nearby fire plug and the "work of putting out the fire was well in progress." Other companies, however, were confused by the alarm and reported to several different boxes before the location of the fire was discovered." The second story where the blaze began was completely burned out and the entire building was rendered uninhabitable. The Intelligencer estimated the loss to be $2500.

The Wheeling Daily Intelligencer shortly thereafter ran an advertisement under its "Proposals" column which announced that "sealed proposals will be received at the City Clerk's office until Thursday, July 23 at 3 o'clock p.m. for construction of an engine house for Vigilant No. 3 on premises, North Main Street, Wheeling, West Virginia."

On July 28, the Committee on the Fire Department reported to the City's Second Branch Council that they had awarded the contract to Wilson and Chapman whose bid of $6,597 was the lowest they had received. The Council approved the contract and construction began a short time later.

The "new" Vigilant Engine House, built in 1891 and vested with the authority and responsibility of providing protection against fires for all that part of Wheeling north of the Creek, stands vacant today. The City of Wheeling has erected a new and completely modernized fire house on upper Main Street to replace the older 1891 structure.

How did this nearly forgotten piece of Wheeling history come to light? The Friends of Wheeling, Inc., a local preservation action group recognized that Wheeling has a significant body of early commercial and residential structures located both within the City itself and scattered throughout Ohio County. Because these structures represent a valuable link connecting past and future generations of Wheelingites, Friends felt that it was important to make a record of those buildings of particular historic and architectural significance. The Friends of Wheeling joined with the National Park Service of the Department of the Interior in co-sponsoring the Historic American Building Survey (HABS) project in Wheeling during the summer of 1976.

The National Park Service, through HABS, operates a national program of intensive architectural surveys in cooperation with state and local governments, preser-
vation groups, and historical societies. The National Park Service works with
groups like the Friends of Wheeling which have an active interest in recording
historic structures, to conduct surveys of those that are architecturally and
historically significant.

The National Park Service began the Historic American Building Survey in
1933. At that time, the Federal Government initiated one of its depression-era
relief programs to employ architects, draftsmen and photographers to compile a
graphic record of the nation's historic buildings. This was a significant program,
not only because it provided work to a highly skilled segment of the national
work force, but because it was the first major step taken by the Federal Govern-
ment toward cataloguing and preserving historic structures.

In 1934, the National Park Service entered into a tripartite agreement with
the American Institute of Architects and the Library of Congress to conduct the
Survey on a permanent basis. The agreement provides that the National Park Ser-
vice administer the planning and operation of the Survey, with funds appropriated
by the Congress and supplemented by gifts from individuals, foundations and asso-
ciations. The National Park Service is responsible for establishing qualitative stan-
dards, organizing the projects and selecting subjects for recording. Records and
catalogues prepared by the Service are deposited in the archives of the Library of
Congress. The American Institute of Architects provides professional counsel through
its national membership.

The Historic Sites Act of 1935 recognized the need for such records and author-
ized the National Park Service to conduct surveys; to secure and preserve drawings,
plans, photographs and other data relating to historic buildings; and to develop an
educational program concerning historic buildings. Although the survey was inactive
from 1941 to 1957, the collection continued to grow through donations of drawings
and photographs from individuals, universities, and members of the American Institute
of Architects.

The program today is perpetuated by comprehensive area surveys, photo-data pro-
jects, specialized projects and by contracts with individuals and organizations.
Each building is recorded by measured drawings, photographs, and architectural and
historical documentation. The data thus collected is deposited in the HABS archives
in the Library of Congress and published in state and local catalogues. The His-
toric American Building Survey Project in Wheeling during the summer of 1976 employ-
ed four architectural technicians from Pennsylvania State University, Arizona State
University, Mississippi State University, and City College of New York. These student
architects did measured drawings of over twenty structures in Wheeling. A histori-
ian from the George Washington University wrote the historical documentation
of each of the structures included in the survey. All were under the supervision
of architecture Professor John McRae of the University of Florida.

The Wheeling project sought to include as wide a range as possible of con-
struction types and use types from the first one hundred years of Wheeling's his-
tory. The team historian and supervisor sought as much written and photographic
documentation of the local structures considered for inclusion in the survey as
could assist in documenting the American building art. Architectural merit and
historic association were primary considerations in selecting buildings to be sur-
veyed.

The Paxton-Reed house located at 100 12th Street was a building both architect-
urally and historically significant. Built by William Paxton, one of Wheeling's
earliest merchants in 1852, it was later sold to Paxton's son, James who was a partner with his father in a local wholesale grocery house. In 1854 he retired from the family business and became one of the directors of the Northwestern Bank of Virginia, a member of the City Council, and one of the City Commissioners who compromised the city's railroad debt.

When the State of Virginia seceded from the Union, James Paxton emerged as an activist union sympathizer who staunchly supported the legitimate authority of the United States government. He was a member of the convention held in Wheeling's Custom House to reorganize the state government of West Virginia. Paxton was an enthusiastic "new state and free state man" and participated in framing the new state constitution. As one of the commissioners appointed by the Constitutional Convention, he carried the West Virginia constitution to Washington and presented it to the U.S. Congress.

The Paxton House was purchased in 1902 by Dr. Robert J. Reed, Senior. The Reed family lived there while Dr. Reed practiced medicine from the building's first floor offices. Dr. Reed's son, Robert J. Reed, Junior, and grandson, Robert J. Reed, III have lived here and practiced medicine from the same offices for nearly 75 years. Wheeling citizens have received medical services from the three Doctors Reed for about 75 years and for most of that time they have visited these doctors at their offices in the Paxton-Reed house.

Architecturally, this house draws principally upon two design styles which were popular during the 1820-1860 period: The Adams Style and the Romano-Tuscan mode of the Renaissance Revival Style. Design elements drawn from the Adams or Federalist style of architecture include the rectilinear form of the house, the long narrow windows with slender glazing bars, and the doorway which is arched by a semielliptical fanlight and flanked by sidelights. The Roman-Tuscan mode is evident in the smooth plain wall surfaces which serve as a neutral background for windows and doorways; the trabeated windows have been treated with a complete entablature. The building itself is capped by a massive cornice line behind which the roof is low and virtually invisible from the street.

Buildings of commercial function were also included in the survey. One of them in particular, the Bank of Wheeling, was included in the survey. "The history of Wheeling's banks reflects in an unmistakable way the solid and substantial character of the commerce and industry of the city." Banking in Northwestern Virginia began in 1817 with the establishment of the Northwestern Bank of Virginia in Wheeling. The Bank of Wheeling was established in 1850 as a private institution by C.D. Hubbard and Daniel C. List. It was reorganized and incorporated under the laws of West Virginia as a State Bank in 1890.

In 1892 the Bank of Wheeling was erected. It was designed by the Wheeling architectural firm of Franzheim, Giese and Faris. The bank building was then centrally located in the "jobbing" section of the city. It was listed in Callin's Wheeling City Directory of 1894 as an office building "particularly deserving of mention." Edward B. Franzheim of the architectural firm of Franzheim, Giese, and Faris was described in Gibson Lamb Cranmer's 1902 History of Wheeling as "probably the most successful and best known architect in the State of West Virginia." Born in 1866 in Wheeling, Franzheim attended the Linsly Institute and then studied architecture for seven years at the Boston Institute of Technology. He opened an office in Wheeling 1890. Cranmer states that "he does all classes of architectural work, and has designed many of the most elaborate residences and buildings in Wheeling."
Franzheim's design for the Bank of Wheeling clearly reveals his Boston training as an architect. Henry Hobson Richardson, who is generally recognized as one of the three greatest American-born architects, was practicing in Boston at the time Franzheim was a student there. After Richardson's early death in 1886, there was a great increase in buildings which either directly imitated or adopted and elaborated upon his architectural tenets.

The Bank of Wheeling is a fine example of Richardsonian Romanesque architecture. As in traditional Romanesque architecture, the bank's most prominent design element is the round arch. The building is constructed in part of rusticated stone arches. Lintels and other structural features have been emphasized by using materials which have been treated differently from the walls. The sense of weight and mass was originally reinforced by a semi-circular window which was set into the primary round arch. That window, with its delicate tracery, has since been replaced by a large semi-circular plate glass window. A large shop window which was divided into a rectangular light by a stone colonette.

The Bank of Wheeling gives strong evidence of coherent, consistent planning and design which are integral to the development of regional and national architecture. Changes to this structure have been limited to the first floor which now serves as the Springer Sport shop. The second and third floors reveal many of the original details with which the upper floors of the bank were designed. The Bank of Wheeling is a valuable legacy both for its original design and as an example of a building type which is of considerable interest and importance to the City of Wheeling.

Architecture technicians from the HABS team made measured drawings of each of the more than twenty buildings included in the survey. Measured drawings are made by measuring each part of the subject structure. Such drawings are "accurate, to scale, show proportions accurately, are measurable, highly informative and can emphasize or de-emphasize parts according to their historic importance. Aspects which cannot be portrayed by photographs (as: floor plans, general sections) or those normally hidden from the eye (as construction details) can be recorded by drawing."  
The objective of the HABS drawings is to make records which may be used widely and effectively. Thus emphasis is placed upon the pictorial and historical quality of elevations, showing few dimensions on floor plans and minimizing those structural aspects which may be understood from verbal description. There are several methods of obtaining a structure's measurements. The Wheeling HABS team utilized precise hand measurements, photographs and sketching for the structures included in the survey.

The work of the architecture technicians is complemented by two kinds of written records — historical documentation and architectural descriptions. The historical and architectural descriptions supplement each other and together they give additional support to the measured drawings and photographs.

The team historian sought information relating to the original structure and the physical changes which have transpired over the years as well as information regarding the human events and associations of the structure. The first step in researching the physical history of the buildings was to go through plat maps, Deed and Will books, Death and Marriage Records and the City and County Land Books (tax assessments of all land and property in Wheeling and Ohio County). In addition, photographs, inventories, newspaper accounts, and minutes of official bodies all provided material for documenting the physical history of each of the structures.
After establishing the physical history of each of the structures, the historian then researched information relating to the people of Wheeling and the major events in Wheeling's history. Documentary material of this kind was found in such local histories as Newton, Nichols and Sprankle's *History of the Panhandle, Ohio, Brooke, Hancock, and Marshall*, 8 Charles Wingerter's *History of Greater Wheeling and Vicinity*, 9 and an anonymous two volume work entitled *History of the Upper Ohio Valley*. 10 The *Wheeling Daily Intelligencer* and the Wheeling City Directories were also helpful sources of information. Finally interviews with the owners and families related to the structures under review by the survey furnished information otherwise inaccessible to the historian.

One of the most important tasks of the historian is to ascertain the name of the structure. HABS believes that it is important to use an historic name -- "one which will continue to be meaningful regardless of changes in occupancy or use." 11 The name most commonly adopted is the name of the original owner of the house. If this cannot be documented, then the earliest "ascertainable" owner's name is used, "if he was an early owner and the state of the records indicated that the first owner never will become known." 12 Tax assessor records for Wheeling and Ohio County date back only to 1845. Thus it is difficult to document when a building was constructed before 1845.

For example, Absalom Ridgeley, an early developer of the Ohio Valley region and a Justice of the Peace, built a house at 58 14th Street about 1838. This date could be verified only by an agreement dated June 5, 1838 between David McLure and Absalom Ridgeley. This Agreement was recorded in Deed Book 22, on page 422 and concerned a "two story brick building" which Ridgeley proposed to build:

"He would like that portion of the said lot he heretofore conveyed to the said David which lies directly east of the building so contemplated to be erected, should remain open or free from having buildings erected on the same, so as not to obstruct the windows or lights which the said Absalom would place on his house, which would be built up to the line between him and the said David."

It was subsequently recorded that the "said Absalom Ridgeley has adopted a definite plan for the erection of his aforesaid contemplated building. There will be no windows in the end of the same next the said David McLure to Light his [sic] the said Ridgeley's front room in the said building, but there will be windows in the said end to light his back room and garret." The agreement between McLure and Ridgeley provided documented evidence regarding both the construction and even the details of the original structure.

The Absalom Ridgeley House was unique among the houses surveyed this summer in having such conclusive public documentation. An example of private documentation of a building is the John Thoner House, located in the Centre Market area and today known as Anne's Corner on the Market. John J. Thoner, grandson of John A. Thoner who built this structure, kindly provided the HABS historian with Thoner's original account with contractor John Grey as well as the cancelled checks used in payment for the building's construction. The overall cost of building the house "by cont (ract)" was $2970. There follows a careful itemization of the costs associated with fitting out the structure for habitation. This list includes 5 pounds of nails, 25c; work on coal house, $300; one door and frame and putting in partition, $12.00; 265 feet of flooring for privy, $9.27; and fitting up bathtub and sink, $12.60.

Mr. John J. Thoner also provided three early photographs depicting the original store front taken prior to the 1895 remodeling of the store. Copies of these photos
as well as copies of the contractors list and information relating to this and other buildings have been collected and will be submitted as part of HABS historical documentation.

The architectural description of the structure is a technical evaluation of a structure based upon a direct examination by the Team supervisor of the building and its site relationship. The primary objective of this evaluation is to explain cogently the significant features of both the interior and exterior, giving full consideration to materials, finishes, moldings, construction techniques and other important architectural aspects. In this way the architectural description of a building further amplifies the information presented in the measured drawings and photographs.

The architectural evaluation of the Joseph Speidel and Company Building, located at 1417 Main Street, identified the structure as being a four story commercial building which is the only full double front cast iron structure still standing in Wheeling. Its future prognosis is not good. In poor condition and vacant, this structure is located opposite the new Civic Center and is scheduled for demolition during the fall of 1976 to make way for a parking lot.

This building is of considerable interest as an example of commercial architecture and for the early technological innovations incorporated into its construction. The Wheeling Daily Intelligencer, August 31, 1876, ran an article which listed all buildings underway in Wheeling at that time. Included in the list was the Joseph Speidel and Company Building, a "three-story brick building (iron front) west side of Main Street between 14th and 16th Streets; $12,000. Contractors--Armstrong, Coes & Company, carpenter work; Scheneale & Lutz, store work; B. F. Caldwell, tin work; Thompson & Hibberd, plumbing. An hydraulic elevator is to be put in the building."

An examination of the Speidel Building revealed that there was a large hydraulic elevator toward the southwest corner of the building. It is enclosed by a wire and wood frame cage. It appeared to corroborate the Intelligencer's information that an hydraulic elevator was installed. The floor plans were essentially large loft spaces on each of the three upper stories. This information substantiated the historical information that Joseph Speidel and Company was, at one time, the largest wholesale grocer in West Virginia and used this building as his warehouse. The survey's aim of "preservation through documentation" is particularly relevant for buildings like the Speidel Building which are threatened by imminent demolition. Priority was given to recording the Speidel Building both to provide a permanent record of it for the future, and to call local attention to the threatened structure.

The Historic American Building Survey is one of the largest collection of its kind in the world. HABS documents have been widely used in the restoration and reconstruction of historic buildings. The Wheeling Project has added yet another significant link to the American past. Building traditions and social mores have emerged from this study and serve to relate old time Wheeling to the modern City of Wheeling. It is hoped that this study has focused attention on the valuable resources with which Wheeling is so abundantly endowed.
NOTES


3. Charles Wingert; History of Greater Wheeling and Vicinity. p. 300

4. The Wheeling Register, City of Wheeling, Its History and Institutions with Illustrations and Sketches of Its Professional, Banking, Wholesale and Manufacturing. p. 68

5. Collins Wheeling City Directory, 1894. p. 20


7. McKee: p. 21

8. Newton, et.al.

9. Wingert


11. McKee. p. 98

12. Ibid.

SHADES OF GLORY
or
Bark of the Buttonwood - The Wheeling Stock Exchange

by

John A. Hazlett

"New York Stock Exchange" - "American Stock Exchange" - "Chicago Board of Trade" - even the old "Pittsburgh Stock Exchange," all call forth recognition in the financial memory of generations of U.S. investors. Few, however, outside of local financial circles would even recognize the name of one of the last regional exchanges in the country - the Wheeling Stock Exchange.

As one of the results of the Great Depression, two acts were passed in 1933 and 1934 whose overall intent was to regulate the securities industry in the United States in all of its aspects. One of the many things required in line with this new system of regulation was registration of the stock exchanges extant in the country at the time.

It must have been a shock all the way around to the Federal authorities to find application for registration from an exchange listing only about thirty securities, and to the members of the Wheeling Stock Exchange to have to formalize what must have been a loose and informal arrangement noted mostly for its casualness.

Although in existence for several years prior to that required registration period, the Wheeling Stock Exchange's records for that earlier time seem to have disappeared. There is, in fact, a question as to whether there ever were any official records of the WSE as such before 1934, for without a formal trading floor, capitalization, or set of written rules, there was very little reason to keep any kind of documentation until it was actually required by such laws as the Securities Act of 1933 and the Securities Exchange Act of 1934.

The Constitution of the Wheeling Stock Exchange was formally adopted on September 13, 1934. The officers and members as of September 26, 1934 were as follows:

President: George W. Baron - George W. Baron & Company
Vice President: Edgar R. McGregor - McGregor, Irvine & Anderson
Secretary-Treasurer: I. T. Killeen
Louis F. Brank - A. E. Masten & Company
H. C. Hazlett - Hazlett & Burt
John E. Stevenson - John E. Stevenson, Inc.
William Wardman - Winthrop, Mitchell & Company

Of the six brokerage firms represented, three of them were local, and Joseph S. Jefferson had recently given up his own firm. By contrast, today there are only three firms in Wheeling and only one - Hazlett, Burt & Watson - is headquartered in Wheeling.

The reasons for forming a formal nationally registered stock exchange in Wheeling only can be reasoned out, but it must have been of definite value to the members, for the Exchange formally existed until 1964, at which time it was one of only a double handful of exchanges left in the country.
What kept an Exchange without even a formal trading floor - with no paid staff - with no special requirements or rules for investing different from the New York Stock Exchange (indeed, originally, on stocks listed only on the Wheeling Exchange they were more stringent in that they would accept no margin orders) in existence for thirty years?

Examination of the Constitution of the Wheeling Stock Exchange with Rules as adopted September 13, 1934 gives the following purpose for the Exchange:...."to provide facilities for governing security transactions between the members of the Exchange and to limit and to define the activities in which the members may properly engage. It is the purpose of the Exchange to promote friendly relations between the security dealers of the City of Wheeling and to inculcate in its members a spirit of just and equitable principals of trade and integrity among its members."2

Upon some reflection and reading between the lines, several purposes can be surmised. When dealing in New York, there are both communication and execution costs realized by local firms higher than if the trade could be completed in Wheeling. By having a registered local exchange, trades could be executed locally by local brokers under certain conditions at reduced costs. As member firms of the New York Stock Exchange, local firms would not be able to execute trades locally for stocks listed in New York without a registered local exchange. Thus, for securities listed both in New York and on the WSE with large local interest, frequently trades could be possible in Wheeling instead of in New York at lesser expense to the firm.

Looking at the list of stocks originally listed on the WSE in 1934, the following companies would seem to have qualifications fulfilling this reason:1

| Bristol-Myers Company       | United Drug Inc.       |
| Continental Baking Corporation | Vick Chemical Inc.     |
| General Aviation Corporation | Ward Baking Corporation |
| Life Savers Corporation     | Wheeling Electric Company |
| Hazel-Atlas Glass Company   | Wheeling Steel Corporation |
| Sterling Products, Inc.     | American Gas & Electric Company |

A second reason for having a local exchange would be to provide listing possibilities for stocks not able to be listed on the NYSE. Until the advent of bank holding companies in recent years, the most notable category of securities unable to be listed on the "Big Board," as the financial parlance has it, was the wide range of bank stocks. Some eight local bank stocks were among the 1934 list of securities traded on the Wheeling Stock Exchange. They included:1

| Center Wheeling Savings Bank | National Exchange Bank |
| Citizens Mutual Trust Company | Security Trust Company |
| Half-Dollar Trust & Savings Bank | South Side Bank & Trust Company |
| National Bank of West Virginia | Wheeling Dollar Savings & Trust Co. |

By listing on a registered exchange, these bank securities received a recognition and liquidity they wouldn't have otherwise. By having these bank stocks more recognized and more easily traded, the local firms were better able to promote business in these securities. It may be of interest to note that until this year - 1976 - the largest bank in the country - Bank of America - had not had its stock listed and had seen it traded only over the counter.
A third reason for having a local exchange is to offer a listing opportunity, and therefore exposure, to local industrial firms which could grow and achieve national recognition. By getting in on the "ground floor" so to speak, of trading in these securities, the Exchange and its members could hope to grow as trading in the securities of these companies became greater as the companies expanded. Among the 1934 list of traded companies on the WSE fitting into this category could be included the following: ¹

Postoria Glass Company
Market Auditorium Company
M. Marsh & Son, Inc.

Wheeling Bronze Casting Co.
Wheeling Tile Company

A fourth reason was the ability to agree formally - by means of the exchange regulations - what kind of fees would be charged for transactions with firms outside the community who wanted to deal in a local stock or even for retail transactions. As an informal communications method among firms, such an organization offered a mechanism to keep price competition in the local area at a minimum, just as one example of the things to be cooperated on more readily thereby.

The fees to be charged by members for buying and selling securities listed on the Exchange were as follows: ²

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Rate per Share</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Selling up to 19-7/8 inclusive</td>
<td>$0.25 per share</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selling at 20, up to 99-7/8 inclusive</td>
<td>.50 per share</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selling at 100 and above</td>
<td>1.00 per share</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minimum commission on any transaction</td>
<td>$3 except</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>where amount involved shall be less than $10 when it shall</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| be as mutually agreed upon."

Close comparison of these rates with today's rates would, surprisingly, show that after more than 40 years, in many instances today's rates would be cheaper in particular trades.

Not least, a formal Exchange gave a prestige and business-attracting capability to the community's financial firms by lending an air of professionalism and up-to-date methods comparable to the large cities. It formed a vital ingredient in that aura of competence that frequently is self-fulfilling by serving to attract the business a firm or industry needs to reach the position it desires. Unfortunately, Wheeling essentially did not grow for a substantial part of the next thirty years, and the economic changes in the country caused a series of combinations and mergers that continually reduced the need for a local Exchange. It is remarkable it lasted as long as it did.

Among the Exchanges extant in 1934, there were many as unfamiliar to us today as the New York Exchange is familiar. ³ Why did the Wheeling Stock Exchange stand out from the bulk of the list of the Colorado Springs Stock Exchange, Louisville Stock Exchange, Milwaukee Grain & Stock Exchange, Reno Stock Exchange, Richmond Stock Exchange, Seattle Mining Exchange, and the Standard Stock Exchange of Spokane, to name but some? There is some indication that the benefits of listing by a few of the remaining strongest stocks on the WSE were felt to be minimal by 1964, and the requirements for listing had perhaps become nuisances rather than benefits. By withdrawing from listing, this handful sounded the death knell for an organization that probably had survived for quite some time on a prime moving force of inertia and the
efforts of a few volunteers. With virtually no operating costs, the habit of keeping the Exchange going was easier to maintain than to break.

Among the self-serving, but undoubtedly sincere, statements of lofty and high ideals set forth in the Constitution there are lighter moments as well to be gleaned from some of the other provisions. Under Article III, Section 4 of the Constitution and Rules, "transactions between the members shall be by telephone, messenger, or verbal." Since there was no trading floor and no hours set for the Exchange to be open, it was perfectly within the rules to trade a WSE security at midnight in one of our more notorious establishments, or even at high noon in the middle of Market Street, so long as it was between two members. The former circumstance seems far-fetched, of course, but the latter no doubt occurred frequently and probably qualified Wheeling as being one of the most wide-open towns in the East in a manner not usually associated with that turn of phrase and, indeed, foreshadowing what has become a method of securities trading practiced increasingly by large institutions in recent years and referred to loosely as the "third market."

Also under Article III, Section 6 provides an exemption to give room for thought, to wit: "the Wheeling Stock Exchange makes no provision for requiring financial statements from its members, deeming this to be un-necessary and superfluous." The rationale for this was that "the Auditor of the State of West Virginia may require of all registered dealers financial statements at regular intervals," again to be found in Section 6 of Article III of the Constitution. Suffice it to say the single most important element required of its members by the New York Stock Exchange today is the frequent, complete, detailed accounting of its financial status by each member firm.

The newly registered Exchange did not exactly consume the overwhelming attention of its members. The May, 1935, minutes read "The regular meeting of the Wheeling Stock Exchange was not held in May, 1935, due to the fact that we were unable to secure a quorum of the members." The June, 1935 minutes read the same way and again in July, 1936; September, 1936; October, 1936; and December, 1936.⁵

Shares traded on the Wheeling Stock Exchange amounted to 8,771 shares with an approximate value of $538,112 during 1936.

During 1937, the February, March, May, June, July, August, September, October, November and December monthly meetings were not held due to the absence of quorums. Nineteen thirty-seven volume on the Exchange amounted to 4,624 shares with a value of $374,307. Again, 1938 presented much the same story with monthly meetings and volume, which came to 4,308 shares totalling $227,234.

A resurgence took place in 1939 with 6,488 shares and $575,481 value traded. The following year, 1940, saw 9,199 shares traded valuing $669,056. And still, in 1941, 15,081 shares changed hands exceeding $1,306,000 in dollar worth. With the war, things slipped a little and 1942 saw 8,528 shares worth $500,460 followed by 6,120 shares valuing $298,972 in 1943.

Records after the war years haven't been located at this writing, but the logical guess would be that there was a resurgence of trading after World War II with a continued fluctuation over the years in line with volume records on the major exchanges until the post Korean War years saw the gradual trailing off of the Wheeling Exchange until its demise in 1964.
Not only because of the names of people and families prominent in Wheeling for years, but more especially because of the companies involved, those associated with the Wheeling Stock Exchange make a study of its functions and operations a vehicle for a new viewpoint on the life and development of Wheeling as a vital economic entity.

In one sense, it can be fascinating to speculate what would have happened had the WSE listed after 1934 bank stocks unanimously adopted by the members in 1933. At a special meeting June 27th, banks listed were Chase National Bank of New York, National City Bank of New York, Guaranty Trust Company of New York, First National Bank of New York, Bankers Trust Company, Irving Trust Company, Chemical National of New York, Pittsburgh Trust Company, and First National Bank of Pittsburgh - rather than the list of local bank stocks ultimately listed and traded.

On the other hand, even the economic revitalization of the area which can be expected through the increasing development of its coal could not be expected now to provide a force sufficient to be able to maintain a local Exchange in Wheeling versus the various pressures extant for a national, central market system and the great communications changes that have taken place.

The Wheeling Stock Exchange has fascination as a small, relatively isolated and constant organization reflecting all the major elements of the development of the nation's financial and capital markets over a period covering radical changes, growth, and development of direction-determining structures affecting all aspects of the country's economic life.

NOTES

1. Wheeling Stock Exchange's statement filed with the SEC in connection with the application of the WSE for registration or exemption from registration "under the Securities Act of 1934" dated September 26, 1945.

2. Article I of the Constitution of the WSE as adopted September 13, 1934.

3. Article III, Section I of the Constitution of the Wheeling Stock Exchange as adopted September 13, 1934.


5. Quoted from the original records of the meetings. Volumes of shares for a year are taken directly from the minutes of the January meeting of the succeeding year, the official annual meeting. Only a fragment of the 1944 meeting records - containing the 1943 volume - was found.

6. Original minutes of the meeting, through the courtesy of Miss Betty L. Huffman of Bache and Company, Wheeling, West Virginia.
FRANCIS H. PIERPONT—A MAN FOR TWO STATES\textsuperscript{1}

by

Clifford M. Lewis, S.J.

During the trying times of the Civil War and its aftermath, he was recognized by Presidents Lincoln and Johnson and the United States Congress as the legitimate governor of Virginia from 1861 to 1868, with his capital successively at Wheeling, Alexandria, and Richmond.

During the first two years of that period he was the leader in the creation of a new state, West Virginia, out of the western mountains of the Old Dominion.

Pierpont was born on January 25, 1814. He was the third of the seven children of Francis Peirpoint (for years the spelling) and Catherine Weaver. The elder Francis was the son of John Peirpoint and Nancy Morgan. John was a homesteader, at least by 1770, on the Forks of the Cheat River, a source of the Monongahela. He served under Colonel Zackquill Morgan in the Virginia Militia for the District of West Augusta and was rewarded with the hand of the Colonel's daughter in marriage. It was an honorable hand, for Nancy was descended from Morgan Morgan, generally presumed to be the first White resident of western Virginia.

In his diary,\textsuperscript{2} George Washington relates that in 1784 he conferred with Zackquill and stopped at Fort Peirpoint, on the Cheat near Morgantown. There he searched records in vain for evidences of one of his land purchases. This one, like many others, was related to water transportation on the Potomac and the Cheat, thus giving access to the Monongahela and Ohio.

When the younger Francis was born the father was serving in the War of 1812-14 under William Henry Harrison. When the father got the opportunity he honored his son with the additional name of Harrison, for the future president.\textsuperscript{3}

Shortly after the future Governor Pierpont was born, his father removed from his 20x20 log fort to land given him at the forks of the Tygart Valley and West Fork Rivers where they combined to form the Monongahela. Here he built another log cabin, where Francis and his two older brothers laid the foundations for successful careers through the responsibilities of farm work. Francis H.—and perhaps his brothers too—attended a log school-house. Here he finished four three-month terms. When young Francis was thirteen, his father, without disposing of the farm, moved his family to a small town now called Fairmont, where he built and operated a tannery.

From his seventeenth year until his death, Francis H. Pierpont was an adherent of the Methodist Protestant Church which his father helped launch in Western Virginia. Its appeal was strong to the independent spirit of country people.

Allegheny Days
The family's Methodist background doubtless accounts for the young Pierpont's decision, at age 21, to obtain his higher education at Allegheny College.\textsuperscript{4} By this time Allegheny was operated by the Methodist Episcopal Church, though it never lost the charm and breadth of its Congregationalist founder, Timothy Alden. Pierpont, setting out from Fairmont in June of 1835, had to walk the 180 miles to Meadville. It must have seemed far from home to him, for he pictured himself "a stranger in a strange land." Yet he made friends: for example, Gordon Battelle, with whom he dined at a cost of 45 cents each per week. This was a friendship that would last
until their later associations in Wheeling, where Battelle was pastor of the famed Fourth Street Methodist Church, an occasional preacher at the Thomson Methodist Church on Wheeling Island, and led prayers at the assemblies that gave birth to the Restored Government of Virginia. He was chaplain of the 1st Virginia Voluntary Infantry that saw early action in western Virginia. His grandson established the Battelle Memorial Institute in 1929, with headquarters in Columbus, Ohio, with branches in Richland, Wash., and in Germany and Switzerland. The Institute is a group of five thousand persons engaged in the most refined research for the benefit of mankind.

An Allegheny College professor of natural science, while Pierpont was in attendance, Matthew Simpson (1811-1884), of Cadiz, Ohio, near Wheeling, became a bishop and in the estimation of many was that era's most influential Methodist in America. He was a man who achieved success with little formal education. He became president of what is now De Pauw College, Greencastle, Indiana, which he served for nine years, declining the presidency of two other Methodist institutions—Northwestern and Wesleyan.

One year behind Pierpont at Allegheny was Calvin Kingsley (1812-1870), of Annsville, Oneida County, New York. Kingsley entered Allegheny College in 1836 and progressed rapidly enough to teach mathematics in his senior year. By 1843 he was professor of mathematics and civil engineering. A wide reader, a writer, and religious controversialist, he established himself in Cleveland, from where, as Methodist bishop, he ranged far and wide. He was well known to his contemporaries as editor of the aggressively abolitionist Western Christian Advocate, published in Cincinnati. Kingsley was a remarkably gifted speaker with the ability to hold his audiences spellbound. This gift doubtless had much to do with his global excursions, which ended in 1870 in Beirut, Lebanon, where he was felled by a heart attack and where he is buried.

Pierpont and most of his fellow-students earned part or all of their way through college by working at odd jobs. The young Fairmont student was a hod carrier and when home, a coal miner, among other things. Despite these time-consuming necessities, Pierpont, according to his biographer, the late Charles H. Ambler, was graduated with distinction in September of 1839.

During his life, Pierpont did an enormous amount of speaking and writing. He was a member of the Allegheny Literary Society, essentially a debating group. His college-period writings that survive in the West Virginia University Library special collections reveal several characteristics of the young Pierpont's development. He was attracted to the Whig party then at the point of emerging, but found the Democratic party leadership of men like Jackson and Van Buren repugnant to his more refined tastes. He regretted the slander that bespattered the political scene. He himself later was sensitive to political criticism and injustice, as attested by the long flow of his "letters to the editor" throughout his life.

Pierpont's essential attitude of optimism combined with realism is found in his writings. Disappointed in the philosophical output of America, he nevertheless hoped for the emergence of a leader who would dispel mists and lead the way to a better tomorrow. In view of his later life, one cannot help thinking that he subconsciously cast himself in the role of that savior of democracy. His willingness to expose himself to hostility against his leadership of the Restored Government of Virginia for seven very long years is proof of his commitment to the role of front runner.

Allegheny College has a deep tradition of openness to the discoveries of
scientists. Pierpont evidently shared the tradition. Although Allegheny was ahead of many sister colleges in her interest in scientific progress, America herself was behind Europe in many respects. Pierpont's outlook is well summarized by Ambler: "Furthermore he would have introduced a study of science into drug shops, pulpits, legislative halls and other walks of life. In this way he would have cultivated habits of observation and inquiry to the end that man might have "dominion over the fish of the seas, the fowls of the air and every living creature that moveth on the earth." Moreover, he predicted that the bowels of the earth and the elements encompassing it would eventually reveal their secrets to man and contribute to his happiness and comfort.

Having been born in western Virginia, he was conscious of "marine deposits... on mountain tops and other places," but he fell back on the Great Deluge for their explanation."

Related to his devotion to science was his hope to apply scientific research to the development of farming and thus achieve a great agricultural society in America. He saw this progress growing naturally from a nation devoted to the "Author of Liberty."

Ambler found Pierpont's excursions into humor sophomoric, and with some justification. Nevertheless he sometimes in more mature years was able to bring humor into play effectively even in most serious circumstances.

First Attempts at Employment

Pierpont was now faced with the problem of how initially to employ the knowledge his sheepskin implied he had achieved. Like many other college graduates, especially of that day, he perpetuated the learning cycle by becoming a teacher. He taught first in Harrison County, in the central part of western Virginia, and then gave in to the urge to see new places. He took a boat from Parkersburg to Memphis. From Memphis to Pontotoc, Mississippi, he continued his journey by stage and on foot. Pontotoc, in the northern part of the state, had a land office, brisk trade with the Indians, and a mixture of Whites mostly from border states but including some Yankees. Although he was well impressed with the people and his Methodist associates, at the conclusion of his ten-weeks term he obtained strong recommendations from his Pontotoc employers and moved fifty miles southeast to Aberdeen, where he taught school for about six months. Before heading north in March of 1842, Pierpont visited New Orleans and wrote his impressions of the South, largely unfavorable, to his long-time friend and later Senator, Waitman T. Willey, whose career resembled Pierpont's in so many respects.

Pierpont was admitted to the bar shortly after arriving home and in 1848 became the B and O's counsel for Marion and Taylor counties. Interest in the railroad tied in with his ownership of a coal mine in Fairmont, which, along with his tannery, made him financially secure by 1860. In 1856 he joined a movement to establish a "Fairmont Male and Female Seminary," largely a Methodist enterprise, of whose board he became chairman. From these beginnings arose the present Fairmont State College.

Pierpont married rather late in life, at age forty. He had been commissioned by his neighbor and friend, Judge Haymond, to engage a governess for his family. He chose the attractive daughter of an abolitionist Presbyterian cleric, the Reverend S. Robertson, then engaged in the ministry in Wisconsin. For some reason Francis had difficulty in luring the girl, 14 years his junior, to Fairmont, but less difficulty, apparently, in persuading her to marry him. All of their children—two boys and two girls—were born before the Civil War. One girl died in infancy. The other, Anna (Mrs. William H. Siviter), was the only child to marry. She has given us her
childhood memories in Recollections of War and Peace, 1861-1868, published by Putnam in 1938. She had one daughter, Frances Pierpont, who married Rear Admiral Dr. James Chambers Pryor. They in turn had one daughter, Pierrie (Mrs. Edward F. Beyer, Jr.), like her mother interested in perpetuating Pierpont's fame. Mrs. Pryor died in 1974, leaving only her daughter as a descendant.

The North-South Conflict

The Pierpont children were born in tragic times. The abolitionists of the North and the pro-slavery people of the South were destined to split the country in two, as Pierpont himself predicted. Pierpont was worried about the political effects of these differences. He saw the Democratic party dominated by slave-holding interests that were leading the nation into dissolution. Although he was opposed to slavery, he regretted seeing the leading Protestant denominations splintered because of this issue. He advised the ministers to "leave it to God and His Holy spirit thro' good men to correct all abuses."19 Admittedly, this philosophy would not place him in the front ranks of modern social reformers, but his patient and deliberate moves did bring fruit over the years.

April and May of 1861 saw the fracturing of the Union. Virginia's secession was opposed by a large majority of the delegates from northwestern Virginia. Union sentiment was expressed in conventions hurriedly assembled in Clarksburg in April and in Wheeling in May and June.20

Prior to these meetings Pierpont had prepared himself and his public for his leadership role through study of the issues and by expressing his conclusions in letters to newspapers. Now, at the three conventions just mentioned and one at Morgantown, Pierpont's ability became apparent through his speeches, marked not only by his forcefulness but his clarity and comprehension of all the complicated factors to be considered. He and some other leaders blocked an over-enthusiastic move immediately to create a new state with the suggested name of Kanawha.21 Instead, the delegates meeting at Wheeling conceived the idea of organizing a loyal "Restored Government of Virginia," to function over all the counties of Virginia where military control made this possible. Very soon this loyal government was recognized by President Lincoln and the Congress as the true government of Virginia.22 Pierpont had demonstrated his leadership to the point where he was the unanimous choice as Governor.23

The dangers attendant on leadership were amply demonstrated when Pierpont went home to vote at Fairmont in the state of Virginia's forthcoming election. Whether he had a chance to vote or not we do not know, but when he was at the station awaiting his train to Wheeling, soldiers of Confederate sympathy walked toward him. He was later informed that they intended to capture him and take him to Richmond. Fortunately an engine and its tender just then came by from a side track. Pierpont swung himself on board and got safely back to Wheeling.24

After his election as governor, and perhaps before, Pierpont made his home in the Mclure House, still functioning, its inception corresponding almost exactly with the coming of the B and O to Wheeling. Here Pierpont had the opportunity to help plan military strategies with such other residents at the hotel as General Rosecrans and General Fremont.25 A handsome man, the Governor was also strong, friendly, and kind, just the type of person to survive the many novel and trying situations that arose in war time in western Virginia, where loyalties were divided.26
As the months wore on, Pierpont came to side more and more with the growing opinion that western Virginia must become a new state. He communicated frequently with Lincoln and the United States Congress. Both Lincoln's cabinet and Congress were divided on the propriety and even the legality of forming a new state out of an old without the latter's consent. One last telegram to Lincoln was dictated by Pierpont to Archibald Campbell, editor of the Wheeling Intelligencer, in Pierpont's office in the Wheeling Custom House. The Custom House had become the headquarters of the state government after the May assembly of 1861. By Lincoln’s own admission, this telegram resolved his doubts about the desirability of creating a new state, which became a reality on June 20, 1863. Pierpont unquestionably could have become the first governor of the new state of West Virginia, but he chose to remain the head of the Restored Government of Virginia, although it now would shrink to small territories around Alexandria, which he chose for his new capital, and Norfolk, which always had been occupied by Union forces.

The Virginia Years

Pierpont's family shared his difficulties. During the Wheeling years for the sake of their safety he moved his wife and children to Washington, Pa. When he went to Alexandria, he established them some distance north at Laurel, Maryland. There he had the sadness of witnessing the death of his little daughter Mamie.

One of Pierpont's early acts of importance in Alexandria was the calling of a convention to amend the Virginia Constitution so that slavery might be abolished and to pass various needed laws, including the legalizing of marriages between Blacks and in some cases granting Blacks the right to testify in court.

The Governor strove to hold the power of military rule to a minimum. This tendency brought him into conflict with General Benjamin F. Butler, who held sway in the Norfolk area in such manner as to bring normal civil law almost to extinction. Pierpont appealed to Lincoln, who took tardy though definite steps to eliminate the abuses about which Pierpont had complained.

Soon after Lee's surrender, Pierpont moved his government to Richmond, where he instituted a policy of prompt reconciliation of rebels with the government they had opposed. His close friends were now few. His only real satisfaction was that of performing what he considered to be a necessary service in restoring some semblance of normalcy to a stricken people. His term of office ended in 1868. He desired to stay on and serve, but the victors in the war could be denied no longer. His wife was anxious to leave Virginia, and he finally consented. They returned to Fairmont.

Declining Years

By modern standards, Pierpont was still in the prime of life. He still had much to offer—to the Methodist Protestant Church, in which he was the first layman to become president of the general conference and in which he helped heal the split between northern and southern factions; to the West Virginia legislature, in which he had a brief membership; the Grand Army of the Republic, in which he was the favorite speaker; to newspapers both in Virginia and West Virginia to which he contributed many articles. He must have been disappointed in not being chosen U.S. Senator from West Virginia; he would have been ideal for that post. As a staunch Republican, Pierpont was at a disadvantage in a state with an increasing Democratic majority.

Sadness came to Pierpont with his wife's death in 1886. During the next ten years Pierpont's communications were more with his relatives than with the press. In 1897 he went to Pittsburgh to live with his daughter, Mrs. Siviter, where he died two years later at the age of 85. The GAR launched a move to place his statue in
Statuary Hall, in the Capitol Building in Washington. It was unveiled in 1910 by his only grandchild, Frances Pierpont Siviter, with whom the writer of this article became acquainted several years before her death. Due to her interest and that of her daughter Mrs. Beyer, the Wheeling Custom House, now called Independence Hall, is privileged to have in the Governor's office the desk on which the decisive telegram was written to President Lincoln—also a corner cupboard from the Pierpont home in Fairmont. Also on display is a Steinway grand piano which the Pierponts bought in New York and installed in their home in Richmond.

NOTES

1. This article, without footnotes but in substantially the same form, first appeared under this author's name in the Allegheny College Bulletin for June, 1976. The writer is grateful to the Allegheny editor, Mr. Robert S. Wycoff, for permission to use it in the OOVHR. Thanks are also due to Col. J. G. Hearne, Jr., AUS ret., for donation of some source material and for reading the manuscript.

2. Hugh Cleland, in George Washington in the Ohio Valley (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1955), notes that the Captain Hanway mentioned by Washington in his Journal of 1784 had his office in the home of John Pierpont (Cleland uses the later spelling), note 96, p. 301.


4. For Pierpont's college days, see Ambler, pp. 16-23. Allegheny was the nearest Methodist college to Fairmont.

5. An abolitionist, Battelle died early in the war from his exertions.

6. The Institute was kind enough to supply a history of the family and the work of the foundation.


10. Thanks are expressed to Dr. George Parkinson, curator of the West Virginia Collection at the library in Morgantown for access to the Peirpont papers.


12. Ibid.

13. Ibid. p. 23.

14. An example is in his pamphlet attacking General Butler and his various ruling actions at Norfolk, including a $2 tax on every fourth dog: "A juvenile freed-man, who was standing on the pavement, said to a friendly little cur, "little doggie, if you don't get two dollars, Massa Butler will take de wag out ob your tail." Letter of Governor Peirpont to the President and Congress of the United States, on Abuse of Military Power in the Command of General Butler in Virginia and North Carolina (Washington, 1864), p. 28.

16. They were born and lived much of their lives in the vicinity of Fairmont; in their early years they were largely self-educated; they were both for the elimination of slavery by gradual but certain stages; one was a Methodist, the other Methodist Episcopal; they were both long-lived, Pierpont to 85 and Willey to 89; they both used the legal profession as a stepping stone to greatness.

17. Ambler, p. 32.


20. Ibid., pp. 81-83.

21. Ibid., p. 133.

22. Ibid., pp. 102-03.

23. Pierpont was elected governor on June 20, 1861, exactly two years before western Virginia became a separate state.


25. Mrs. Siviter (p. 150), recalls wearing a dress given her by Mrs. Frémont when she joined in a peace celebration in Alexandria in April of 1865.

26. Pierpont's daughter, on the same occasion, reports hearing President Lincoln tell her mother "I think your husband is the handsomest man I know." Recollections, p. 150.

27. Ambler, p. 184, describes this historic scene, with Pierpont finally agreeing to dictate, Campbell writing, and J. W. Paxton and E. M. Norton looking on.

28. Just four days before his tragic assassination, Lincoln in conversation with Pierpont, described how the telegram led him to act, Work Projects Administration, Calendar of the Francis Harrison Pierpont Letters and Papers in West Virginia Depositories (The West Virginia Historical Records Survey, 1940).

29. Siviter, pp. 133-34.


31. See note 14 for reference to Pierpont's view.

32. There his wife died March 26, 1886, revered by her husband (Ambler, p. 359).


34. The Wheeling Intelligencer was his most cooperative vehicle for expression.

35. Statue of Governor Francis Harrison Pierpont, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1910, p. 40. The poem was composed by Miss Siviter's mother, Anna Pierpont Siviter. The book in which it appears, 183 pages of tribute by members of Congress and others, constitutes an interesting reference work on Pierpont and his associates from West Virginia.
HENRIETTA FULKS AND THE SUFFRAGETTE MOVEMENT IN WHEELING

by

Mary L. Leibold

It was the wrong time for W.Va. Senator Jesse Bloch of Wheeling to be in California. It was Friday, February 27, 1920, and Governor John Cornwell had called a special session of the Legislature for the purpose of submitting the resolution in support of the Suffrage Amendment to the Federal Constitution. A torrent of opposition had descended upon Charleston. From all over the country anti-suffrage leaders appeared with little warning. The vote was taken in the House and stood 47 ayes, 40 noes. The vote in the Senate was 14 to 14. A motion to reconsider was lost by the same vote. Finally a message arrived by telegraph from Senator Bloch "Just received notice of special session. Am in favor of ratification." He set out immediately to make the long trip across the continent. In the meantime, Mrs. Ellis A. Yost, Ratification Committee Chairman for the W. Va. Equal Suffrage Association, and her committee members, including its youngest member, Henrietta Romine, were in despair. The situation was indeed critical. A motion in the Lower House to reconsider had been laid on the table and could be called up at any time. Many members were anxious to go home, and there was difficulty in keeping enough present at the roll call to defeat the opposition. Word came that the Senator would arrive on a special 2 a.m. train from Chicago. Henrietta was elated. She declared she would meet the train personally and conduct the Senator to the hotel. Mrs. Yost, quite a few years senior to Henrietta, quickly nixed this plan. A middle of the night meeting in a lonely train station would be most undignified behavior for a young Suffragist.*

The gist of it was that on March 10, Senator Bloch took his seat in the Senate amid cheers from crowded galleries. The corridors were thronged, and the floor of the Senate was crowded with guests, many of them women. Several hours of debate followed. The vote was taken at 6 o'clock in the afternoon - 16 ayes, 13 noes, one opponent changing his vote when he saw the resolution would pass. After the Senate vote, a second was secured in the House by the opponents of the motion to reconsider, which resulted in a larger favorable majority than the first vote.

Mrs. Fulks victorious strategy rested upon individual contact. She explained it to the author in the following manner:

I had a list of men I was supposed to take care of. Most of them lived in the County and would go home on week-ends. I had to know where they were at all times and make sure they were in their seats when the vote was called. I remember one Legislator was walking to meet his train with his suitcase in his hand. When I told him how important his vote was to us, he turned and walked back to the hotel. I took a long taxi ride to the home of another Legislator, a carpenter, by trade. He was working at the top of some scaffolding. I had to climb a ladder to talk with him. I begged him to return to his seat. You know, he did, and that's some of the things we had to do to get the Amendment ratified.

*The "Antis" disparagingly called them "Suffragets."
This was a very crucial and important campaign. W. Va. was a pivotal State, the 34th to ratify. The "Antis" were very strong in the state. They set up a headquarters on Market at 14th Street in Wheeling. Then they ran up a banner that said, "Women's Place Is In The Home." The Suffragists couldn't let that pass, and so they set up an office next door and unfurled their banner. It proclaimed, "If The Home Is Women's Sphere, What Are The Antis Doing Here?" The 'Antis' were also strong in Wheeling. Mrs. Julian Hearne was their leader. But even though she was an 'Anti', this did not inhibit her from being the first woman in the area to run for public office, as soon as the Suffrage Amendment passed. She ran for the office of member of the Board of Education, and won.

There were years of hard work for Mrs. Fulks that began in 1915 and continued throughout the campaign. She sold Suffragist papers on Chapline Street in downtown Wheeling. She took auto trips up the river to the steel mills for the purpose of handing out fliers to the men as they finished their work and departed for home. They were always very courteous to the women, whose appearance inspired respect. The suffragists were decked in the full female regalia of the early twentieth century - brimmed, picturesque hats, high-buttoned shoes, skirts sweeping the ground, suffragist banners emblazoned across chests. All were securely seated behind the liveried Hon. George A. Laughlin's chauffeur. As all nine Suffragists posed pleasantly for the photographer, Henrietta sat comfortably on the running board of the motorcar.

Suffragist speeches were delivered about noonday. Henrietta recollected one afternoon driving an out-of-town speaker onto 14th Street just across from the former Hub department store, in front of what was then the Orpheum Vaudeville Theatre. The top was down and the Suffrage banner was draped across the back of the auto. An enormous crowd gathered around the women and listened spellbound to the speeches. The crowd was composed mostly of men.

Henrietta served as Congressional Chairman for the W. Va. Equal Suffrage Association and attended both the 65th and 66th Congress, when the 19th Amendment passed the vote. During the struggle, she was immediately responsive to the call of the National Chairman. When letters and telegrams were called for, she got hundreds of them. After its passage, when the work of ratification was passed on to the states, as Finance Chairman, she raised the money without which the necessary bills could not have been paid. For this work, she was presented a Distinguished Service Certificate, dated February 16, 1920, signed by Carrie Chapman Catt. The certificate was presented at the last convention of the National Suffrage Organization held in Chicago. The certificate "entitles Henrietta Arbenz Romine Fulks a place on the Honor Roll of the brave army of men and women who have rendered distinguished service to the cause of Woman Suffrage in America." The Chicago Convention was the great Jollification Convention, which marked also the birth of the National League of Women Voters.

The West Virginia League of Women Voters was organized in Huntington, October 1920. Henrietta was a charter member. At this first Huntington Convention, she was elected Legislative chairman. Unanimously elected to the presidency of the State League at the Parkersburg Convention, 1922, as second President of the State League, she held the distinction of being the youngest state president in the country. When asked how she felt about assuming the presidency, she threw up her hands. "Scared to death. I did not see that I could do it. Our first president, Mrs. John L. Ruhl, was a brilliant Mt. Holyoke graduate. I did not think my talents matched hers in any way. But all of the members kept pledging their assistance. Frances Johnson, a talented piano teacher from Parkersburg, said to Mrs. Fulks, 'If you will take it (the presidency), I'll publish a bulletin.' I thought this was too good an offer to refuse, and so I accepted." That is how the League got the first issue of the West
Virginia Woman Voter. As president, Henrietta formed the Joint Legislative Council, comprised of various State organizations having a legislative program. She set up a combined state and local headquarters for the League at 1413 Chapline Street in Wheeling.

In her second term as President, on account of her health, she had to relinquish the presidency. That year the Charksburg Convention passed a resolution in tribute: "Resolved: that the W. Va. League of Women Voters greatly appreciating the wonderful contribution of time, effort, and money, that our retiring president, Mrs. Romine, has given to the League, do hereby express their sincere thanks, and that their admiring thought and prayer for her health and happiness will follow her through life." Mrs. John L. Ruhl, Honorary President, said at the same convention, "It has been said Mrs. Romine has been the perfect president. We are sorry that Mrs. Romine's health prevents her from succeeding herself, but we hope that she will sometime again serve us as a state president."

NOTES


3. Scrapbook Memorabilia belonging to Henrietta A. R. Fulks, consisting of letters, telegrams, news clippings, convention programs, pictures, notes, honorary certificates, concert programs, etc.

BLACK'S CABIN AND THE SITE OF OHIO COUNTY'S FIRST COURT

by

Donald R. Strong and Richard S. Klein

By 1763 the French and Indian War had ended, and in 1764 Pontiac's War ran its course. King George III had decreed that no white man could live west and north of the Ohio River, thus the Indians were appeased.

In the comparative peace that followed the frontiers of northwestern Virginia and Kentucky began to develop rapidly. We shall be concerned here with the Virginia settlements, specifically, Black's Cabin. The name Black's Cabin is the prime source of confusion in the search for the location of the first court on the early 18th century frontier.

Then as now, law and order were of prime importance in the continued development of Ohio County. To address this problem, among others, the General Assembly of Virginia in 1776 enacted a provision that the landowners of the newly formed Ohio County should meet to select a site for holding courts in the new county. In order Book, no. 1 of the new court we find the following:

In compliance with which and certain other Instructions directed to John McColloch Esqr. directing him the said McColloch to summon the several landholders within said County to meet at the house of Ezekiel Dewits (sic) on Buffalo Creek on the 27th of December last (1776) as well for the purpose of electing and Constituting a Committee in and for the said County, as for the making choice of the seat for County Courts to be held at in future, within said County, which was done accordingly.

A majority determined in favor of a place known by the name of Black's Cabin...¹

The question that is most perplexing in the above is the exact meaning of "Black's Cabin." The heading or dateline for the first entry in the Order Book is, "Black's Cabin, Ohio County, January 6, 1777." However, it is not clear whether the reference is to the settlement known as Black's Cabin or the very cabin itself.

An examination of the early records reveals no mention of the specific cabin owned and built by Adam Black. An investigation into the Van Metre genealogy reveals that our man named Black came from Berkeley County, Virginia. He was, sent to Ohio County, history tells us, as an agent of Abraham Van Metre. Black's assignment was to take up a claim of 400 acres for Van Metre as a settlement right. That is all we know of the man who gave rise to the confusion as to the site of the first courthouse.

Black is supposedly the first settler in what is now West Liberty, having arrived there sometime between 1769 and 1772.² The early survey books for Ohio County dispute this, however. It is seen in a deed surveyed February 27, 1783, that Black's claim
was not filed until 1773. The survey records also show that the settlement of Benjamin Biggs, whose lines bordered those of Van Metre was made one year earlier in 1772.3

Joseph Doddridge in his Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars suggests that the first court session was held at Van Metre's Fort,4 and that it was traditionally called "the court house fort" due to its location. Here again not a shred of evidence substantiates Doddridge's report, but the fact that the Fort was indeed called the "Court House Fort" is authenticated by a court order which reads:

Ordered that the sherriff make a jail of the house known by the hospital opposite the gates of the court house Fort.5

Van Metre's Fort would be a logical location for the court, since it would be thus protected and defended from the Indians.

At any rate no evidence exists that court sessions were held at the cabin built by Adam Black. On the contrary the evidence points to the opposite theory. For in June of 1778 court was held in the home of Andrew Ramsay.6

It is worth noting, however, that in the first court session, January 6, 1777, that it was ordered that Zachariah Sprigg and Silas Hedges be appointed to contract with Van Metre for "not less than two acres of sd Tract Including the Cabbin & Spring."7 We have no record nor indication that this was Black's Cabin or some other cabin. Indeed, the court did not take possession of the property until March 6, 1777, when the deed was acknowledged in open court.8 Further, it was not until November, 1778, that the county was able to pay Van Metre the 20 pounds owed him for the land purchased for the court house.9

The evidence suggests then that the first court sessions in Ohio County were held somewhere in the settlement of Black's Cabin rather than in a particular cabin there. The written evidence is, to say the least, inconclusive and vague, but it is certain that the court met in what is now West Liberty.

It was sometime during the early years of the Revolution that the town name was changed to West Liberty. Tradition says that the name substitution was a result of patriotic fervor and the town's extreme western location.10 No official record exists concerning the name change and it was not until 1786 or 1787 that West Liberty was incorporated as a town in Virginia.

The naming and location of the sites of the first court must of necessity be pieced together from just bits of historical facts, unauthoritative sources and deeply rooted traditions. More than likely this sparsity of evidence can be attributed to a fire, which Newton quaintly says in passing, "In 1797, however the county seat was removed to Wheeling, and about this time, unfortunately, the old records fell prey to the devouring element."11

The story of the building of the first log court house building can be pieced together from the Order Books of the Court. These somehow escaped the fire. It is evident from these records that the two acres of ground were purchased from Van Metre for the express purpose of building a court house.

Consequently on April 7, 1777 a resolution of the court set forth the dimensions of the new court house.
The court taking into consideration the expediency of having a court house erected, it is ordered that a house for that purpose be erected of the following dimensions and conveniences, to wit: A diamond-cornered house of dimensions 22 by 18 feet in the clear, one story and one-half high, a floor above and below of hard sawn plank, ten joists in the upper floor, nine or ten feet high in the lower story; court's bench and clerk's table; two windows of eight lights each 8 x 10 inches, a pair of stairs and cabin roof; a plain door and hinges of iron; likewise plain window shutters with iron hinges also.¹²

Two years later we find in the record for November 1, 1779 that charges were brought against Isaac Taylor, who had accepted the bid to build the court-house, for his delinquency in finishing the project. The record says that the charges were "Ordered quashed & improperly brought to court."¹³

The reasons for the delay and other details which might enlighten us are not mentioned. On June 7, 1780, however, the court record says "the court is of the opinion the court house is completed by Isaac Taylor and that his bond for that purpose be made void."¹⁴ Why it took three years to build a relatively simple building is unknown.

By 1785 repairs were needed for the Order Book entry for September 5, 1785 orders that:

McMahan & Meek do contact with some person to a pair of good sufficient stocks and whipping post and shingle roof to the court house and any repairs to the court house and jail any thing necessary.¹⁵

This first permanent court house served Ohio County until 1793 when the justices ordered the building of a new structure to house the court. This new center of justice was to be built on Liberty Street in West Liberty, about six feet porth of the old court house. The building was to be completed in eighteen months.¹⁶

As mentioned earlier the town had been incorporated in 1786 or 87 and laid out by Moses Chapline, Zaccariah Sprigg, George McColloch, Charles Wells, Van Swearingen, James Mitchell and Benjamin Biggs. Consequently, the streets were named. Liberty Street was what is now Route 88 and named Chatham Street within the town limits.

The new court house was never finished. The most likely reason has been pieced together by evidence in the Ohio County Clerk's Office and in the research done by Edward Mays.¹⁷ This evidence shows that an error was made in laying out the streets at an angle of 10 degrees North which cut across the public square.

The records show that Isaac Meek, the deputy sheriff, and Andrew Archbald were sued later in the year for improper conduct of the contract to build the new court house. One must assume, for want of actual evidence, that these two men were not anxious to build on land that was still in dispute as to ownership.

Ruben Foreman, son-in-law of Abraham Van Metre, finally settled the question in 1796 when he issued a deed to the county for two acres "in consequence of the court of Ohio County relinquishing all claims to public lands in the town of W. Liberty as heretofore existing."¹⁸ Thus, three years after the decision to build the new court had been made, it was possible to begin construction. The delay had embarrassed the court, and Wheeling continued to grow as a transportation and commercial center.
Consequently, on June 6, 1797 the court ordered their commissioners to "desist from further prosecuting of said building." An order to resume building was never issued and in 1798 the court was removed to Wheeling which in its turn did not get a court house built until 1839.

With the removal of the court West Liberty declined. It may very well be that, had the court house been built, West Liberty might still be the county seat.

NOTES


5. Ohio County, Virginia, op. cit., I, 12.


7. Ibid., I, 11.

8. Ibid., 32.


12. Ibid., 50.

13. Ibid., 76.


15. Newton, op. cit., 156.


CHRISTMAS IN THE UPPER OHIO VALLEY

by

Beverly Fluty

Happiness and fun have characterized the celebration of Christmas in the Upper Ohio Valley from Revolutionary days to the present. Despite the threats of the frontier and dangers of the Civil War, citizens of Wheeling have relished the Christmas season.

One of the earliest records of Yuletide celebrations in the valley relates that in January, 1783, Christmas was celebrated on the twelfth day thereafter. This was in keeping with the old calendar. Two large turkeys were roasted and a lot of twelfth-day cake was baked. "Twelfth-day cake is made of unleavened dough, slightly sweetened with spice, cloves and cinnamon bark worked into it, and then baked in a Dutch oven like a loaf of light bread."¹

By the middle of the next century, Wheeling was a flourishing city enjoying industrial prosperity. On December 14, 1852, the Intelligencer proudly announced that "in a few short weeks the long looked for connexion of the city of Wheeling with Baltimore, by the Iron Horse, will be completed." This latest step in the urban rivalry of Wheeling and Pittsburgh illustrates the commercial prosperity of the young metropolis in the ante-bellum period.

There was only one apparent storm cloud on the horizon. Numerous advertisements for the sensational best seller "Life at the South" or "Uncle Tom's Cabin" foretold coming troubles. In December, 1854, an announcement of the building of a Custom House on property valued at $20,000 appeared in the Intelligencer. The now famous Custom House would be the site nine years later for the severing of the umbilical chord to Richmond.

The Christmas entries in the Intelligencer for 1854 represent a strange mixture of rugged youthful urban virulence and gentle Christian forgiveness. An entry on December 25, 1854, warned:

"Boys be careful of the use of gunpowder and fire arms. Such things are dangerous, and besides, there is a law against their use in the streets. You had better avoid them altogether, and enjoy yourselves in some other way."

The same issue contains an example of the lasting meaning of Christianity:

Christmas gifts. The best thing to give your enemy is forgiveness; to your opponent, tolerance; to a friend, your heart; to your child, a good example; to a father, deference; to your mother, conduct that will make her proud of her son; to yourself, respect; to all men, charity; to God, obedience.
After you have done these, you can bestow as many gifts as your inclinations and means will allow.
Although the Civil War threatened the country, citizens of Wheeling suffered the added anxiety of living in a divided state. Yuletide Joy was apparent to the editors of the pro-Union Intelligencer as reported on December 27, 1861:

Christmas—We have had a merry Christmas. The big hearts of the people in the face of all the turbulence of the times would swell out, and the result was most happy. On the streets the hilarity was remarkable, and proved ill-gained of cynics. Nervous people must have stuffed cotton in their ears and taken refuge in the remotest part of their cellars and back buildings. The streets were like the Ohio River in a freshet-bank full—and the jostling was immense. In hundreds of happy homes the hands of parents prepared for their little ones the joyous offerings ascribed to St. Nicholas or Kris Kringle.

For all these things let us be thankful. Neither Bull nor rebellion can permanently mar our prosperity. The American eagle still soars above us, and Providence still protects the home of liberty.

The Christmas season of 1862 concluded with a New Year that saw the birth of a new state. Jacob Blair wrote enthusiastically to Governor F. H. Pierpont that:

I have just returned from the President. He has made memorable to the people of West Virginia the first day of the New Year by signing the new State bill. I saw his signature to the bill. Let all the people rejoice!

J. B. Blair

Yuletide, 1863, witnessed elaborate celebrations by the citizens of Wheeling. The Wheeling Intelligencer commented that "Every year brings forth some new specimen of artistic skill....of other ingenious contrivances..."

At Washington Hall, the English Lutheran Sunday School Entertainment featured "a large Christmas tree, built of gas pipes, by Messrs. Hunter, Keller & Co., New York brilliantly illuminated with gas and beautifully decorated."

This first Christmas as a separate state was an essentially festive event for the tide of war had turned in the favor of the Union. The Intelligencer reported:

"the streets were covered with exploded Jackson crackers, torpedoes and all sorts of explosives, and the city presented the appearance of the scene of a miniature battle. The usual business of the city was entirely abandoned and men, women, and children thronged the streets during the whole of the day. In the evening, at many public places, there was music and dancing and at private residences there were social gatherings and merry making."
Christmas of the Centennial year was happily greeted by the citizens in a variety of ways:

"Christmas Briefs--The saloons were full; customers ditto. Turkey was seized by a large majority. Hot drinks, eggnog and 'straights' were in good demand. Hydrants about town gave ready made ice-water. Moustache owners wore icicles as ornaments. Stoves all red-hot - a sign that it was a cold day. The suspension bridge was ignored, and everybody crossed the river on the ice. Street car conductors ran alongside their cars, or put in the time dancing jigs on the rear platform. Business was very generally suspended. The banks were all closed and no public business was transacted. The majority of the saloons were closed in the afternoon and evening on account of the large number of drunken and disorderly men on the streets."

NOTES

1. J. H. Newton, ed. History of the Panhandle, being historical collections of the counties of Ohio, Brooke, Marshall and Hancock, W. Va. (Wheeling, 1879)
COPING WITH INVISIBILITY:

A REACTION TO EUGENE GENOVESE'S ROLL JORDAN ROLL

William McCool
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Historians sometimes lose sight of the human condition. While concentrating on theories and the construction of a base of arguments for those theories, historians seem to forget that they are dealing with men's lives. Sometimes the historian forgets that many men live under some form of oppression (some forms extremely worse than others) and that oppressed people often manage to underline forces and values that are important for all of humanity. Eugene Genovese, in his book Roll Jordan Roll, has tried to show that the black slaves of the antebellum South gave something to the world that has not largely been seen by historians.

Like the hero of Ralph Ellison's novel, Invisible Man, the slaves have been "invisible" because historians have refused to see them. But Genovese, unlike those before him, has tried to picture the slaves as men who share the hopes, sympathies, and frustrations that are common to all men. The slaves were not Sambos, nor were they special types of black laborers with an internalized Protestant work ethic. Rather, the slaves, through their "demonstration of the beauty and power of the human spirit under conditions of extreme oppression" became men and women, not because of slavery, but in spite of it.

Under any form of oppression or slavery it is possible for a man to live and grow spiritually. The physical life can be filled with hardship, suffering, and a daily possibility of swift and instant death. Still, it is possible for a man to feel deep within himself his own human essence. It is these feelings of human worth and importance (and not necessarily just his own importance) that enable a man to struggle for life though all of life's essentials, common bonds of humanity and justice, are being denied to him and to those around him. Hence, the slaves clung to life with a passion that cannot be ignored. Genovese states that through their religion, work, and families the slaves asserted their right to life as human beings. Theirs was not a spontaneous revolution leading to a declaration of rights. Rather, it was a day to day revolution of keeping alive the value of human life.

But this has not been the common view adopted by most historians. Instead, slavery has been seen as a machine-like environment, totally controlled by the masters, with the slaves becoming the logical products of its system. In his book, Slavery, Stanley Elkins assumed that since the institution of slavery was so harsh and cruel (i.e. a Nazi concentration camp), its only product could have been the infantile Sambo of legend. Other historians, such as Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman, in their attempt to banish the Sambo type to final obscurity, have gone to the other end of the spectrum and made the slaves black Ben Franklins with an internalized Protestant work ethic.

According to Fogel and Engerman, the master who was businessman rather than stormtrooper, could never have produced the Sambo of Elkin's concentration camp. Rather, the slaves were efficient and hard working laborers. The slaves were exploited; but they were also given enough positive reinforcement (food, clothing,
housing, gardens, medical care and family life) for their labor to insure a profit for the master. This living space, provided by the master for his own business ends, was large enough for the slaves to become men instead of Sambos, but only because of the master's need to protect his property. But, both of these approaches, the Sambo and the positively reinforced black laborer, ignore the slave's ability to shape his own world within certain limits.

These stereotypes are not real men. They are only pathological responses to their situations. Hence the slaves become more product than anything else. When people are viewed as nothing more than responses to their environment their humanity becomes lost to us. They become true for us only to the extent that they fulfill our theories of their lives. This is what has happened in the literature on slavery. The slaves have become everything but men and women who were able to survive an inhuman situation with a significant degree of autonomy. Theirs is not the failure to assert themselves as men and women, but rather, ours is the failure to see them as such.

This is the reason why Genovese's approach in Roll Jordan Roll is new and far more important than that of the historians before him. According to Geneovese, southern slave society was characterized by a "paternalism accepted by both masters and slaves -- but with radically different interpretations." The slave was never the complete extension of the master's will. The master-slave relationship was never the same as the relation of our minds to our hands and fingers, even though as much was demanded of the slaves. The slave had reasons of his own for doing or not doing what his master required. The South may have been the slaveholders domain, but it was also "the world the slaves made."

This distinction is important. Southern slavery was essentially a dialogue between master and slave with each side trying to protect its "rights." The slaves for their part in the dialogue had less power behind their argument than the masters -- but the slaves were still able to influence the masters somewhat. The observation of the Christmas holidays by both masters and slaves provides a small example.

Perhaps because of feelings of benevolence on their part, the masters gave the slaves holidays from work at Christmas -- but the slaves saw these holidays not so much as gifts, but as privileges to be expected. Indeed, the masters rarely refused the Christmas celebration; for to do so would have created unrest among the slaves. The slaves looked forward to these holidays for reasons of their own and Genovese quotes many slave narratives that point out these special feelings. Fanny Berry, a slave in Virginia, recalled the special holiday preparations -- the food, the party clothes, the general air of excitement. People rushed to and fro to finish their work, while "husbands hurry home to see dey new babies. Ev'body happy."

These special times of joy, showed the slaves drawing together as family and friends, in a life affirming faith in each other. It is these aspects of life that have been overlooked by historians. But I do not mean, nor does Genovese mean, to romanticize the aspect of a holiday within slavery. History is a search for meaning -- and the meaning here to be underlined is that the slaves tried within the narrow limits of the institution to concentrate on those aspects of life, such as families and friends, because of the importance that anyone would place upon loved ones and would have resisted the removal of those aspects of life.
Thus, because of the different interpretations of paternalism, privileges were given and expected at the same time. The result was an unspoken compromise that neither side could have looked into too deeply without violent consequences. Yet, ironically, it was this unspoken compromise that allowed the slaves to shift their attention away from confrontations with the man, to the life-affirming attributes of their community.

That rushing husband, mentioned earlier, is an example of one of those life-affirming attributes. There is a special quality in a man, any man, who hurries home to see his new baby, that should never be forgotten or ignored. A baby not only symbolizes new life, but also, an affirmation that through it all life is worth living. When this kind of an idea is asserted by a slave, who by all reason should be the last to affirm life, the idea rises above ordinary experience becoming an important value for all of humanity that should not only be written, but shouted about. These are poetic feelings about human worth that have their place in the writing of history. Genovese, with his excellent handling of plantation records and slave narratives, has seen and captured these feelings as no historian before him. Yet, his work is incomplete and necessarily so. The slaves are and always will be "invisible men." But the meaning of their lives, "their demonstration of the beauty and power of the human spirit under oppression," is what Genovese has seen and what should never be forgotten.
A HISTORY OF BROOKE COUNTY

by

Nancy L. Caldwell

with the editorial assistance of Catherine Manion

This attractive volume of local history was a bicentennial project of the Brooke County Historical Society which published it. It summarizes much of the early history of the county and adds much new information covering the last few decades. The colorful cover done by Thomas D. Wylie contains sketches representing county, regional, and state industries, modes of transportation, and historical sites. It is also illustrated with pictures of such unique Brooke County landmarks, some no longer standing, as the tollhouse and a covered bridge on the Bethany Pike and one of the tunnels on the same road, the Wellsburg ferryboat, St. John's Episcopal Church, the Stone Chapel Church, the Gist one-room school, the Alexander Campbell home in Bethany, the Pfister Mill near Follansbee, the Weirton Steel general offices, and the recently reconstructed Peter Tarr iron furnace. A county map is also included.

Two general divisions divide the book. Chiefly historical, the first section reviews such topics as early history, inns, hotels, fairs, camp meetings, education, libraries, brief histories of the municipalities and the impact of the War of 1812 and the Civil War in the county. The second section concentrates on industrial development and transportation and includes descriptions of the early mills, river transportation and boatyards, cabinetmaking and other activities which have all but disappeared. Other sections describe the paper industry, the glass industry, and the steel industry which all still play an important role in the economy of the county. In addition there are sections on the developments in such areas as library service and parks and recreation which have been greatly expanded in recent decades.

Typical of its genre, this book will be of special interest to residents of the county and of the upper Ohio Valley. It is available at the office of the county clerk, Court House, Wellsburg, West Virginia, 26070. Cost $4.

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