The Fulling Mill at Mountain Falls, Virginia: An Ethnographic History

Cassandra Faye Richard

College of William & Mary - Arts & Sciences

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.wm.edu/etd

Part of the Social and Cultural Anthropology Commons, and the United States History Commons

Recommended Citation


https://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21220/s2-820e-1p08

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses, Dissertations, & Master Projects at W&M ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects by an authorized administrator of W&M ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact scholarworks@wm.edu.
THE FULLING MILL
AT MOUNTAIN FALLS, VIRGINIA:
AN ETHNOGRAPHIC HISTORY

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of the Department of Anthropology
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

by
Cassandra Faye Richard
1987
APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Cassandra Jana Barka

Author

Approved, May 1987

Norman F. Barka

Vinson H. Sutlive

James P. Whittenburg
THE FULLING MILL AT MOUNTAIN FALLS, VIRGINIA

Inscription on back of photograph reads: "'The Old Mill' 1927 Holiday Greeting: Do you recognize the Mill? Please write its history. John L. Shrum" (Courtesy Naomi H. Richard)
DEDICATION

-Daddy, who lived in that old stone house by the Run?

-No one. That was the old mill. I remember Papa throwing me and a sack of grain on the back of a wagon. We'd ride down here to the mill, have the grain ground, and then go back home.

HARRY ELIJAH RICHARD

who introduced his little girl to the mill.

KATHERINE VIRGINIA LEWIS RICHARD

who scrubbed floors; cooked meals; washed dishes; and listened to droning monologues on gears, nomothetic paradigms, and truth in research—in order that her adult child might write this history.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE OF CONTENTS</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF FIGURES</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>xii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION: METHODOLOGY</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 2: EARLY HISTORY</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 3: TECHNOLOGY</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 4: SOCIAL HISTORY OF 1853</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 5: THE COMPANY MILL</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 6: THE GRISTMILL</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 7: PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE MILL SITE</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 8: THE COMMUNITY</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 9: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION: AN ANALYSIS OF METHODOLOGY</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX 1: HISTORICAL MAPS.</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX 2: WILL AND INVENTORY OF HENRY RICHARDS</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1793)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX 3: WILL AND INVENTORY OF HENRY RICHARDS</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1853)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX 4: INTERVIEW WITH BRIAN RICHARD</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX 5: INTERVIEW WITH ANNIE BRILL</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX 6: INTERVIEW WITH CHARLES S. KEFFER</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX 7: INTERVIEW WITH PAUL RICHARD</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Contrary to Arthella's comment, Brian was of great help, as were many others. The late Annie Brill, Charles Keffer, Hurl Himelrite, the late Brian Richard, and Paul Richard kindly provided their time and knowledge in order that more could be learned about the Mill and their community.

I do not believe that I have any relative who was not a part of this thesis in some way. I have mercilessly subjected them to this thesis in such diverse places as funeral parlors, doctor's offices, and Thanksgiving Dinners. They mercifully put up with me. My parents support was unceasing. Greg Richard gathered information from a graveyard. Special thanks to Uncle Paul and Aunt Laura who made sure I was safe while I lived alone in the hills. Linda and Annie forced me to relax by kidnapping me one day. Dawn organized my study area and helped wade through eighteenth- and nineteenth-century newspapers. Sissy, perhaps unknowingly, showed me what it means to be a Southern white in a Yankee United States, a lesson that has spread to Mexico and Finland. My aunt, the late Lois Lopez, edited the manuscript though weak and in pain. Gary Green provided encouragement and valuable sources and information (forgive me for not pursuing all the sources).

My fellow students, Bruce Larson, Jeff Chewning, Mark Wittkofski, Chris Grebey, Linda France Stine, and Susan Winter Frye, freely exchanged ideas during my stay at William and Mary. Indeed ideas were so freely and openly exchanged that it is impossible to know the originator. If I have stolen from any of you, please forgive me; it was not done intentionally. Linda and Susan were especially helpful. Linda gave advice on themes and thesis statements. Susan helped with mapping, graphics, courthouse records, and trips to mills in four states.

My professors, Norman Barka, Nathan Altshuler, Carol Ballingall, Edwin Dethlefsen, Darrel Miller, James Whitten-
burg, and Cary Carson are a part of this work. I have been repeatedly surprised at how many times I have returned to class notes and references during this research. Thanks to Anne Yenstch who first directed me to the Valley for my research. My committee, Drs. Barka, Whittenburg, and Vinson Sutlive, encouraged me to finish this thesis, in spite of the fact that anthropological theory is ombrophilous to me.

Many institutions were used during this project, but two must be emphasized. The personnel in the Archives Room at Handley Library in Winchester were always encouraging; they ever suggested that I use original documents instead of microfilm! The personnel in the Clerk's Office of the Frederick County Courthouse were patient and forgiving. Many times I forgot to pay for xerox copies; they never once yelled at me. I believe my bill is now paid.

Many friends have provided support and guidance. Kitty, Rob, and Becky Lawson offered me a quiet vacation during which time I was able to develop the basic outline that has remained intact, though expanded. Catherine Hardy answered many legal questions that arose. Kathleen Miller helped with mapping. Dr. and Mrs. Talivaldis Smits made this effort easier by unexpectedly offering the use of their computer.

The present owner of the Mill, Jake Miller, gave me permission to map the site. James Hutton, Jr. provided the information on the population census.

A special tribute goes to Babe Ruth, Knute Rockne, and the late Molly. They proved that a thesis cannot be written without a Beagle.

Several famous novelists have played an important role. Jane Austen influenced me; Sigrid Undset inspired me; Carlos Fuentes challenged me; Carolivia Herron consistently exaggerated my abilities and printed the final copy (with generous help from I. J. Corsano).

Muchisimas gracias a José José. Su composición, "Si Alguna Vez," me inspiraba a mí continuar.

Finally, praise be to God who heard my cry in the desert and brought me to a land flowing with milk and honey.
LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frontispiece. The Fulling Mill at Mountain Falls, Virginia</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Site map showing mill complex with dams and raceways</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Diagram comparing methodology of Rhys Isaac to that of this paper</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. A clapper mill may have been used to separate flaxseed from dirt and sticks</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. A fanning machine for separating dirt from flaxseed could have been used at the Mill</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. A stamping mortar, similar to this one, would have been used to crush the flaxseed before pressing</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. By roasting, in an apparatus similar to this one, more oil could be expressed from the seed. It was a lower grade of oil than that obtained by cold-pressing</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. An oil press, composed of a series of blocks and wedges, was used to express linseed oil from crushed and roasted flaxseed</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. The &quot;'hairs' were leather-backed hair mats that were wrapped around the sack of crushed, roasted flaxseed to facilitate oil flow during pressing.&quot;</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Diderot's diagram of fulling. The workman to the left is fulling by hand; the workman seated at the right is shearing the nap. The original caption under the plate claims that the central workman is carding a cap; it would be more correct to state that he is shown raising the nap, or teaseling</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
10. Fulling by foot ....................................47

11. Earliest picture of water-powered fulling mill .......................49

12. Oliver Evans' diagram of a fulling mill with cams raising the fulling hammers ......................50

13. Fulling mill with tappits raising fulling hammers .........................51

14. Rotary milling machine ..................................53

15. Diderot's picture of workman raising the nap or teaseling ................63

16. Diderot's diagram of wool-carders. The wool was carded placing fibers between two "brushes" and drawing one "brush" over the other, thereby aligning the fibers in the same direction ....................72

17. Water-powered carding machine at Old Sturbridge Village, Sturbridge, Massachusetts ..................72

18. Will Keffer (1876-1948) ..................................107

19. 1937 U.S.G.S. topographic map showing residences of people who had grain ground at the Fulling Mill ...........112

20. Oil painting of Mill by Laura Lemley, date unknown ..................114

21. The Fulling Mill from Route 600 ................................123

22. Addition of sandstone abuts the southwest corner of original limestone building ....................123

23. North wall showing fireplace and chimney ......................125

24. Remains of stairway on north interior wall ..................127

25. East wall, interior view ..................................129

26. Axle bearing in south wall showing protective lead layer with grooves from the turning axle ....................132

27. Map of Mill and miller's house ................................133

28. The south exterior wall shows that a larger wheel replaced a smaller wheel ..........................134

29. West wall, interior view ..................................136
30. Interior west wall showing boards for second story floor joists. ........................................ 138
31. Pieces of the grinding mechanism. ................................. 139
32. Wooden pegs show construction techniques used in the grinding equipment. ........................................ 139
33. The burrs are still in the Mill ........................................ 140
34. Dam 4 is located between the Mill and existing miller's house. It formed the wall for a holding pond. ........................................ 143
35. Remains of sluice gate at Dam 1 ........................................ 143
36. The existing miller's house ........................................ 146
37. The Mill from Route 600 after the east wall was destroyed ........................................ 146
38. The levels of community as reflected in the life of Henry Richards who died in 1793. Arrows show the Mill's relation to the community; the dashed line indicates Henry's life ........................................ 148
39. Levels of community in 1825 ........................................ 154
40. Summary chart of history of the Fulling Mill ........................................ 163
41. The life of Henry Richards (died 1853) as it fits into the methodology. The dashed line shows the boundaries of his life; the solid arrows show the steps of the author's analysis ........................................ 168
42. "Map of Virginia" by James Madison, 1807 ........................................ 177
43. Map by Charles Varle, 1809 ........................................ 178
44. "Map of the State of Virginia" by Herman Boye, 1825 ........................................ 179
45. "Shenandoah Valley" by J. F. Gilmer, 1864 ........................................ 180
47. "Back Creek Magisterial District," 1885 Atlas ........................................ 182
48. "Frederick County - City of Winchester" by Eugene M. Scheel, 1974 ........................................ 183
ABSTRACT

For centuries water-powered mills were a common feature of rural communities. By focusing on the history of a single mill, the history of a rural community can be learned. The mill chosen for this study was the Fulling Mill on Duck Run in Frederick County, Virginia and was a part of the rural community of Mountain Falls.

The primary sources of information were archival papers and oral histories. These data were analyzed by using the methodology described by Rhys Isaac in Transformation of Virginia. In that methodology, specific action statements were examined to identify concepts that formed the basis of a society's world view.

The author began this study with the assumption that the individuals associated with the Mill were a part of the community; but in the end she realized that actually the community—or the idea of community—was a part of the individuals' lives and personalities. It is not known to what extent the individuals' ideas or concepts of community were shared with neighbors or others in the region.

The evidence from the individuals' lives suggest many conclusions including the following: 1) Many levels of community (local, regional, national, and international) existed throughout the history of the mill. 2) Slaves were a business commodity in which the slaves were rented out to other people. 3) Water power was replaced by the gasoline engine. 4) Cultural change occurred after or when the "change" had become stable.

In summary, the methodology of Isaac proved to be a successful way of analyzing the data, especially the oral histories; and the acceptance of the idea that the community was part of the individual's life made abstract concepts more personalized.
THE FULLING MILL
AT MOUNTAIN FALLS, VIRGINIA:
AN ETHNOGRAPHIC HISTORY
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: METHODOLOGY

In front of her, across the creek, she could see the wavering slopes of the North Mountain; no roads up there, just a few wheel-tracks through woods that never ended. Cabins, miles apart; corn patches and potato patches; pumpkins, maybe. Till believed the poor white trash up there lived mostly on the squirrels they shot, and the pig or two they fed on acorns.

-Willa Cather

The negative attitude of Willa Cather's character, Till, toward people and culture in the hinterlands is a reflection of attitudes, generally inferred, of researchers toward small water-powered mills in rural communities. Occasionally this negative attitude surfaces in scholarly analysis. For example, Louis Hunter wrote that "industrial villages in the proper sense, as distinguished from crossroads villages with a miscellany of mills, workshops, stores, are of much greater interest and importance" (1979:178). Thus we see that small mills and their communities are often considered unimportant. In spite of this opinion, the tens of thousands of watermills used in various industries played an important role in the lives of
most people living in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The underlying theme of this research is contrary to Hunter's statement. The history of a crossroads village is as important and as interesting as that of a larger industrial town. Based on this theme, the goal of this document is to present an ethnographic history of a rural community.

Because even a small rural community is too complex to be completely studied, the extent of research was contained by studying a single water-powered mill within the community. Specifically, by focusing on the history of the Fulling Mill on Duck Run, insights can be gained into the history of Mountain Falls, Virginia, a village in the Shenandoah Valley (Fig. 1).

**Selection of Mill**

This Mill was first selected primarily by interest and convenience. I was inspired by a fellow graduate student, Susan Winter Frye, to study a single mill in hopes that I might learn a part of what she knew. I then looked at mills in the area of my ancestors—Frederick County, Virginia.
The Mill used by my family was an obvious choice because of the possibilities of data. Several individuals with direct access to the Mill or to people associated with the Mill were sources for oral histories. Also someone who heard of my interest in the Mill provided access to a nineteenth century day book for the Mill. Realizing that I had much information, I decided to pursue an intense study of the Mill on Duck Run.

Early in the research I was disappointed to learn that the nineteenth-century day book could not possibly be from the Mill on Duck Run. The day book was for a merchant mill, but the deeds and maps made it clear that during the nineteenth century the Duck Run Mill was a fulling mill.

I decided to continue the research for the Duck Run Mill. First, I did not know the location of the mill for the daybook. Second, I felt the oral histories could provide information that would otherwise be lost. Third, I wanted to know what a fulling mill was; it had become apparent that while there was a rather large body of information on gristmills, there was very little on fulling mills.

It was admittedly a gamble. I gave up the definite information acceptable to all researchers, i.e., the day book, for oral histories. Not only are oral histories sometimes considered less acceptable, but I did not know
how much—or how little—information I would get from the informants.

Community

A study of definitions of "community" found that most researchers were "in basic agreement that a community consists of persons in social interaction within a geographic area and having one or more additional ties" (Hillery quoted in Kaufman 1966:89). The writings often list several characteristics of communities, but the two ideas that consistently appear are collective identity, usually identified with a geographical area, and common concerns that could lead to collective action (Caplow 1964:24; Kaufman 1966:89-90; Redfield 1960:4).

Caplow wrote that "the smallest community is a household. The largest is a nation" (1964:24). For this thesis, four levels of community were examined: 1) local (the area within a few miles of the Mill), 2) regional (the area beyond a few miles but within the lower Shenandoah Valley, 3) national (area beyond lower Valley but within the colonies or states).

The fourth level is not mentioned by Caplow: the international community. Latin America and the Third World could be called international communities. Also the commu-
nity of a single nation can extend beyond its geographical borders. For example, the Cuban community extends to stu-
dents in the Soviet Union, soldiers in Angola, and expatri-
ates and refugees in Spain, the United States, Venezuela
and other countries.

Although some evidence was found for all levels of
community, this research concentrated on the local communi-
ty of Mountain Falls. Perhaps the best definition of the
Mountain Falls community came from an unidentified resident
of the community. A friend, who had volunteered to help me
map the Mill site, thought she had lost her way; so she
stopped at a house for directions. She asked the man who
answered the door, "Where is Mountain Falls?" He respond-
ed, "Mountain Falls is all around here. Who are you look-
ing for?" (Kathleen Miller, personal communication).

**Ethnographic History**

In the scope of this research, ethnography is "the
study of the way of life of a people" (Communication Re-
search Machines 1971:339) and is the foundation for social
and cultural anthropology. History is the study of the
past—including people and events. Ethnographic history,
then, is the study of the way of life of a past people or
society.
This ethnographic history is based on oral histories and written documents, both primary and secondary sources. The interpretation of these interviews and documents provides the insights into the community.

Oral Histories

There are obstacles to interpreting oral histories. These have been the subject of much discussion, and many scholars have questioned the validity of oral histories in research (Montell 1970:iix-xi). One argument is that researchers can make nothing of [oral histories] of any positive value, in the absence of corroboratory evidence of a documentary, archaeological, or other kind, for the simple reason they cannot be traced to their origin. And without knowledge of origins the ordinary critical tests cannot be applied. (Hockett quoted in Montell 1970:iix)

However, the problem of origins is minimized in the oral histories of this research because for the most part the informants talk about their own experiences--what they did and saw. But the fact that these informants are a primary source does not eliminate discrepancies.

This raises the second issue of whether oral histories can be considered trustworthy. "The argument of several people is that folklore takes facts and adds to them to reflect the people's world view, aspirations, customs,
etc. But studies of Russian historical songs show that these songs are 'excellent sources of history'" (Montell 1970:xi-xiii). Indeed, studies like that of the Russian songs have made some critics "recognize a recent rapprochement between local history and folklore" (Montell 1970:ix).

Oral history "can serve as a historical record in those areas where written accounts have not been preserved" (Montell 1970:viii). And this is true for the Fulling Mill at Mountain Falls. For example, the only operator for whom we have any documentation is Bowman, whose name appears on a Civil War map (Fig. 45 in Appendix 1) and for whom we have no further information. Another operator whose name appears in the deeds is Will Keffer; but while we know that Will owned the Mill, there is no written evidence that he operated the Mill. Only through the oral histories do we know that Will ran the Mill. All other operators are identified only through the oral histories.

Often the informants do not know the value of their knowledge of the past. Their knowledge may be good enough to tell in "stories" to friends and relatives, but it is not important beyond the family and close friends. Several informants made statements to the effect of "I don't know much about the Mill". Yet it is obvious that they had much
to contribute to the Mill's history as well as the history of the community.

In the final analysis, the problem of interpreting informants' comments is no different from that of interpreting written documents (Redfield 1960:97). For example, one Civil War map (Fig. 46 in Appendix 1) refers to Mountain Falls as "Cottontown". But there is no evidence that the village ever went by that name. Also none of the manufacturing schedules (1820, 1850, 1860, and 1880) list any cotton production--either agricultural production or cloth manufacturing--in Frederick County, it is not likely that this name reflects any production at the Mill or in the village. In this case, the written documents do not reflect the truth.

In short, one cannot approach historical sources presuming that one source is necessarily more truthful than another. The data must be examined, shifted, and re-examined in order to develop a valid interpretation. Perhaps the following is one of the most astute statements written about research:

All this is reasoning to the limit from a scattering of clues, but if we are to get anywhere in our quest to understand the worlds of obscure men..., we must assume the searching keenness of Sherlock Holmes rather than the stolidity of Dr. Watson. (Isaac 1982:341)
Methodology

The methodology used in this report is modelled on that of Rhys Isaac as discussed in *The Transformation of Virginia: 1740-1790* (1982). In the last chapter of that work, Isaac provides an example of his methodology. By studying the diary of Landon Carter, events and interactions between individuals (i.e., action statement) are identified. It is at this point that the Sherlock Homesian detective technique is used to sort, resort, and analyze the various ways the action statements may fit together. This analytical technique helps the researcher to identify underlying concepts. These concepts are then used to show the world view and changes in the world view of eighteenth-century Virginians.

As Isaac sought the underlying cultural ideas of eighteenth-century Virginia by studying Carter's diary, so I seek the history of a small community by studying a mill. By focusing on the Fulling Mill, various people, events, and interactions (i.e., action statements) are identified. The detective work of sorting and resorting produces various concepts that provide an ethnographic picture of a past community. Figure 2 shows the parallels between the two works.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FOCUS</th>
<th>ACTION STATEMENTS</th>
<th>DETECTIVE TECHNIQUE</th>
<th>CONCEPTS</th>
<th>RESULTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Landon Carter</td>
<td>Landon Carter</td>
<td>Exchange</td>
<td>Significant Other</td>
<td>World View</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Simon</td>
<td></td>
<td>Deference</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mangorike Will</td>
<td>&quot;Reasoning to the</td>
<td>Condescension</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Betty</td>
<td>Limit&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>Etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landon Carter's</td>
<td>Significant Encounters</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diary</td>
<td>Capture</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Concealment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Richards</td>
<td>Henry Richards</td>
<td>Commodity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fulling Mill</td>
<td>Benjamin Williams &amp; Sons, Co.</td>
<td>Stability</td>
<td>Manifest Destiny</td>
<td>Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Slaves</td>
<td></td>
<td>Change</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inheriting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Selling</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2. Diagram comparing methodology of Rhys Isaac to that of this paper.
Miscellaneous Specifications and Circumscriptions

As stated above, even small communities are too complex to be studied completely, and limitations must be made. While limitations are necessary, they do have drawbacks. Conscious limitations imposed by the research design or thesis statement will prevent gathering data in certain areas.

The limitation of gathering data only as it related directly to the Fulling Mill\(^1\) on Duck Run caused unanswered questions. For instance, several manufacturing schedules were examined in the hope that entries for the Mill would be found. However, no specific entry could be definitely identified with the Fulling Mill. It is possible that specific entries for the Fulling Mill could be identified by studying all fulling mills in Frederick County. While gathering data for other mills may have provided more data on the Fulling Mill, it would have meant focusing on mills outside the scope of research.

\(^1\)The Mill studied in this thesis has gone by many names. In the deeds the land is referred to as "the Fulling Mill property" or "the Fullen Mill property". Also throughout this document, but especially in the "Technology" Chapter, it is necessary to differentiate other fulling mills from the Mill of this study. For these reasons, the Mill on Duck Run will be referred to as the "Fulling Mill", even after it was converted to a gristmill.
Because of the limitations it may be good to state what this study is not. It is not a history of technology, or the history of the linseed or textile industries. Technology of various industries is examined, but it is presented in order to give a picture of the technology that one could reasonably expect to find at the Mill at various times.

Several historical maps are repeatedly referenced throughout this document. For the reader's convenience, all maps have been placed in Appendix 1. The maps are placed chronologically from the earliest to the most recent.

The oral histories found in Appendices 4 through 8 are edited versions of original interviews recorded on tape. During the course of the interviews, subjects not related to the Fulling Mill were discussed, for example, a vacation to Michigan or a letter received from a cousin. Such subjects were edited out for this document. But every attempt was made to retain all relevant information and to preserve the personalities of the informants and the rhythm and flavor of the language.

All legal records used are from the Frederick County Courthouse in Winchester, Virginia. Rather than identify the Frederick County Courthouse at each reference, only the
appropriate Deed Book, Chancery Record, or Will Book and page number is referenced. For example, "DB 15:325-326" refers to the Frederick County Courthouse, Deed Book 15, pages 325-326.

One point of concern with the oral histories is that I am related to several informants. The extent to which nepotism in research is a crime is unknown, but based on the principle that "Truth is best", the relationships are disclosed. The closest relative is Paul Richard, an uncle. The next closest is Charles Keffer who is a second cousin once removed. The final relative is the late Brian Richard who may have been a third cousin twice removed. There are no known relationships with the late Annie Brill or Hurl Himelrite (though the late Mrs. Himelrite's nephew is married to an aunt).

The relationships were considered more of a blessing than a curse, perhaps too much blessing on occasion. During some interviews information was given that could cause personal problems if the information was made public. This information did not pertain to the Mill and has been deleted.
The social fabric of a society or community can be difficult to uncover. Perhaps an appropriate analogy can be found in wool cloth. Wool thread is composed of several strands of fiber that are twisted together that can be woven into a cloth. But wool can also be felted together. In felting, the scales forming the wool fiber become interlocked with other fibers forming a felted cloth; the cloth is not woven but is an entangled mesh.

So it is with culture. When one thinks one is looking at a single thread of a community's life, one realizes that a thread can be composed of strands of many fibers: individuals' personalities, technology, and economics.

Then one may think that one is studying a woven cloth made up of threads with various strands only to discover the community is "felted". It is impossible to follow any threads.

So it is with the community of Mountain Falls. In the following pages the history of this community will be examined. In some areas, a beautiful woven cloth will be found; but in other areas, a felted mesh of fibers will obscure the community.
CHAPTER 2

EARLY HISTORY

Well, I don't remember that. That was back before my time.
-Paul Richard

The western edge of the beautiful Shenandoah Valley of Virginia is formed by the easternmost edge of the Appalachian Mountains. In Frederick County, this easternmost edge is formed by the Great, or Big, North Mountain rising to a height of 2,844 feet above sea level at a point known as High Knob. It is at this western edge of the Valley, among the foothills of the Great North Mountain, that the village of Mountain Falls is located.

The Village

Mountain Falls has never been big, even as a village. At the most it contained several houses, a store, a post office, and a gristmill. At one time it was fortunate enough to have a doctor (Cartmell 1908:482). But this was Mountain Falls at its most expansive state. Like any rural community, the physical limits of the village did not re-
fleet the actual community which included the surrounding unspecified area.

Mountain Falls was also known as Dumb-Furtle (or Dumb Fuddle) (Cartmell 1908:116; Scheel map). At what point the name changed or even how it got the name Dumb-Furtle is not known. The name does not appear on any official records or maps and may be a past, local "nickname".

The official name, Mountain Falls, comes from the waterfall which is located directly one mile north of the crossroads but two miles north by road. The waterfall is located between the Great North Mountain and Fall Ridge (or Falling Ridge) on the stream called Fall Run (or Falling Run).

The earliest description of this falls was made by Kercheval:

Some thirteen or fourteen miles southwest of Winchester and within about two miles of the residence of Moses Russell, Esq.,...is to be seen what is called the Falling Fun. Between what the neighboring people call Falling Ridge..., and the Great North Mountain, pretty near the summit, on the east side of the mountain, a fine large spring rises, forming a beautiful lively stream of sufficient force to work a grist mill. This stream pursues its serpentine course through a glen several hundred yards in width, of gradual descent, between the mountain and Falling Ridge. Pursuing its course in a northerly direction from its fountain, for about one and a half miles, it makes a pretty sudden turn to the east, and shoots over a solid granite rock probably not less than one hundred feet high. The first eighteen or twenty feet of the rock over which
the water passes is a little sloping, over which
the water spreads and covers a surface of fifteen
or sixteen feet, from whence the fall is entirely
perpendicular, and strikes on a mass of solid
rock; it then forms an angle of about forty-five
degrees, rushing and foaming over an undulating
surface of about ninety or one hundred feet; from
thence is a third fall of about the same length,
and then pitches into a hole of considerable
depth; from thence it escapes down a more gradual
descent, and suddenly becomes a gentle, smooth,
placid current, as if it is pleased to rest from
the violent agitations and turmoils through which
it had just passed. At the first base reached by
the water, a perpetual mist arises, which, viewed
on a clear sunshiny day, presents to the eye a
most interesting and beautiful sight. The whole
fall is little if any less than three hundred
feet. (1925:314-315)

Many decades later another historian would also de-
scribe the Falls. It is apparent that he, also, was excit-
ed by what he saw during his visit.

One feature of this section, worthy of notice is
a cataract found near the Old Furnace, near the
eastern base of the Big North Mountain, locally
know as Mountain Falls. We find this beautiful
cataract but little known to the outside world,
though only about fourteen miles southwest from
Winchester. The Falls as they are called, are
formed by a beautiful little mountain stream,
coming from a large spring near the summit. The
stream grows very restless and bold, as it finds
its way through a mountain gorge and through a
glen between the mountain and Falling Ridge,
raining in a northerly course for more than a
mile from the mountain spring, where it suddenly
swings to the East for its first plunge over a
solid mountain granite rock, about one hundred
feet high. At this point it is about twenty feet
wide; then a second plunge is made. The last
water-fall shoots entirely free from the perpen-
dicular wall of granite; more than one hundred
feet in length is the granite bed of the stream,
which falls away in slopes for a final plunge,
thence it passes with gradual descent, and at
once becomes a smooth and quiet stream, supplying
Mr. R. M. Cooper's farm with abundance of water.
The mist rising from the base of the fall and
many other features, impress the beholder. Read-
er, go see this Niagara in miniature! (Cartmell 1908:46)

With such a dramatic topographical feature nearby, it is no surprise that the closest village eventually took the name of the waterfall.

Just when the village received this name is unknown. Kercheval in describing the Falls did not refer to "Mountain Falls". Instead he referred to the Falls as being "within about two miles of the residence of Moses Russell, Esq." (Kercheval 1925:314). In describing another feature of the area, he writes that Pembroke Springs "are situated about one mile south of the residence of Moses Russell, Esq." (Kercheval 1925:326). Finally, when discussing the location of Indian raids, he again uses the phrase "near the present residence of Moses Russell, Esq." (Kercheval 1925:79). As far as Kercheval was concerned, Mountain Falls was "the residence of Moses Russell, Esq."

Maps offer some information (see Appendix 1). The 1825 Boye map calls the crossroads "Pembrook"; the 1864 Gilmer map does not give a name; the Official Military Atlas of the Civil War calls the village "Cottontown". Not until the 1885 Atlas is the village referred to as "Mountain Falls". By 1885 the village had finally settled upon the name that has continued to be used to the present.
The little information that has been uncovered about early days of Mountain Falls deals primarily with Indian raids. Kercheval writes:

Jacob Hately and several of his family were killed near the present residence of Moses Russell, Esq., at the eastern base of the North Mountain, fifteen or sixteen miles southwest of Winchster. Dispennet, and several of his family, and Vance and his wife, were also severally killed by the same party of Indians, in the same neighbor. (1925:79, see also pp. 81-82 and 85, and Cartmell 1908:74)

Kercheval tried to verify a date for these raids and writes that Moses Russell thought that "these people were killed in the summer or fall of the year, 1756. [But Kercheval found] it impossible to fix the dates of the various acts of war committed by the savages." (1925:79)

Mode of Living

Based on Kercheval's History, one could easily conclude that the early settlers spent most of their time fighting Indians, Frenchmen, and Tories; but he does include a four-page chapter entitled "Mode of Living of the Primitive Settlers".
Clothing

The clothes of the early settlers were plain and usually of cloth made by themselves.

The men's coats were generally made with broad backs, and straight short skirts, with pockets on the outside having large flaps. The waistcoats had skirts nearly half way down to the knees, and very broad pocket flaps. The breeches were so short as barely to reach the knee, with a band surrounding the knee, fastened with either brass or silver buckles. The stocking was drawn up under the knee-band, and tied with a garter (generally red or blue), below the knee, so as to be seen. The shoes were of coarse leather, with straps to the quarters, and fastened with either brass or silver buckles. The hat was either wool or fur, with a round crown not exceeding three or four inches high, with a broad brim. The dress for the neck was usually a narrow collar to the shirt, with a white linen stock drawn together at the ends, on the back of the neck, with a broad metal buckle. The more wealthy and fashionable were sometimes seen with their stock, knee and shoe-buckles, set either in gold or silver with brilliant stones....

The female dress was generally the short gown and petticoat made of the plainest materials. The German women mostly wore tight calico caps on their heads, and in the summer season they were generally seen with no other clothing than a linen shift and petticoat-- the feet, hands, and arms were bare. (Kercheval 1925:150-151)

One of the problems with Kercheval's work is the lack of dates. There is no way to tell if the above description of clothing is from the 1750s or the 1790s. Whatever the time period, the description lacks any reference to Indian influence in the dress style.
Architecture

Buildings built by the settlers were described as follows:

The first houses erected by the primitive settlers were log cabins, with covers of split clapboards, and weight poles to keep them in place. They were frequently seen with earthen floors; or if wood floors were used, they were made of split puncheons, a little smoothed with the broad-axe. These houses were pretty generally in use since the author's recollection. There were, however, a few framed and stone buildings erected previous to the war of the Revolution. As the country improved in population and wealth, there was a corresponding improvement in the erection of buildings. (Kercheval 1925:150)

Although buildings were improved after the Revolution, Kercheval claimed that the best building on the German farm was the barn. The farmer "was sure to erect a fine large barn, before he built any other dwelling-houses than his rude log cabin" (Kercheval 1925:151).

With regard to mills, Kercheval wrote that the introduction of the water-powered sawmill did not completely replace hand sawing (or whip-sawing) "until several years after the war of the Revolution" (1925:150). This statement may indicate an increase of water power in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. This increase certainly would correspond with the earliest possible date of erection of the Fulling Mill at Mountain Falls.
The Mountain Falls area had several industries in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that are not found today. Not only were there gristmills and sawmills, but also there were flour mills, a fulling mill and carding factory (which this paper studies), a tannery at the nearby village of Star Tannery, and iron works. The iron works are perhaps the most famous industry of the area because of their association with Isaac Zane.¹

The growth of Mountain Falls was probably related to the fact that it was on the main road between what is now Moorefield, West Virginia and Winchester.

...the Frederick and Hardy Grade,—or Moorefield and Winchester Turnpike (See Acts of Assembly March 8, 1846 and March 1847 amended Feb. 22nd, 1848 and March 15, 1849) Charter was granted to construct a turnpike from Moorefield via Wardensville, to enter Frederick County at a point near Cold Spring, and to intersect the Northwestern Turnpike [U.S. Route 50] about five miles west from Winchester, the State was called upon for

¹Zane's Furnaces are far beyond the scope of this work, but one needs to be aware that there were two "Zane's Furnaces". The best known was located at Marlboro on Cedar Creek. However another furnace that Zane seems to have been involved with is located north of Mountain Falls near St. John's Lutheran Church on Route 600. An individual by the name of Mordecai Bean "was interested in several of the Zane projects for making iron from the rich ores found on his land. Of the many shipments of foundry produced by Zane, mention is made that the iron was produced at "Bean's Smelter". This afterwards became know as the Taylor Furnace." (Cartmell 1908:437). The 1825 Boye map refers to Taylor Furnace as "Zanes old furnace". The author knows of one study on Zane's Furnace in which the data from both locations were analyzed with the assumption of one location.
aid, which was given to the extent of three-fifths of the capital stock $33,000.00, and together with private subscriptions, the road was made ready for travel, and for a number of years it was used as the route to Capon Springs, a mountain resort attracting hundreds of far-away city people—who would take stage lines at Winchester over the new road, making the first halt at the popular hotel under the brow of the Big North, where the genial host Mr. James A. Russell, gave his guests such hearty welcome, that a few survivors to this day delight in recalling his entertaining anecdotes and traditions of his mountain country. "Pembroke Springs" also is on this route. A new hotel, kept by Dr. William Keffer, and "Cold Springs," were other places where the travelers could be refreshed. (Cartmell 1908:57)

Obviously a village located on a main road at the first stop of a popular journey would increase in importance. And indeed it may be that the development of the Frederick and Hardy Grade led to the construction of the store and post office. And this construction may have been the impetus that changed "the residence of Moses Russell, Esq." to Mountain Falls.

This picture of the Shenandoah Valley and the area that was to become Mountain Falls is the backdrop against which the Fulling Mill was established. The Mill would be built on Duck Run, a tributary of Cedar Creek, a mile from the village of Mountain Falls, and within sight of the Frederick and Hardy Turnpike.
Establishing the Mill

In "April in the year of Our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-two,...Robert Marney of the County of Hampshire and Colony of Virginia [sold to] Henry Richards2 of the County of Frederick and Colony aforesaid...a certain Tract or parcel of Land situate lying and being on Duck Run in the County of Frederick aforesaid" (DB 15:325-3263). In "September in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy three...John Lee late of England and Henry Richards of the Parish and County of Frederick in the Colony of Virginia" exchanged two pieces of land; the land Henry Richards received from this exchange was also on Duck Run (DB 16:215-218). By these two transactions Henry Richards became sole owner of an undeveloped mill site on which would be constructed a mill. This Mill operated into the 1930s and would stand until 1985 when a different owner needed a patio.

Henry Richards knew that he was buying a mill site. With these two tracts of land he controlled both sides of Duck Run. When he realized he could own the mill site, he

2 Two families in the Mountain Falls area have similar surnames: Richards and Richard. The former is of English stock; the later of German (Cartmell 1908:494). Both surnames appear in this report, but there is no kinship between them.

3 Page 325 of the deed is incorrectly marked "335"—CFR.
moved quickly and bought the two tracts in less than a year and a half. Although he owned the land for twenty years, until his death, there is no conclusive evidence that Henry Richards built the Mill.

Cartmell claimed that Henry Richards left his estate to his wife and son and that "his estate consisted of several tracts of land, mills, and large family of slaves" (1908:495). But neither the will nor the inventory of 1793 mention a mill (WB 5:432 and 511; Appendix 2).

In the 1793 will, two pieces of property are listed: a plantation where a son-in-law, Frederick Cooper, was living, and "the Land Town". "The Land Town" was given to his two sons with their mother having the use of it for her natural life. It is not known where Henry Richards was living at the time of his death. He instructed his son John, to "build his Mother a compleat House twenty Feet Square with a Stone Chimney and well flowered and a Seller under one half of said House at the Expense of my Estate". This suggests that while he owned at least one house, the one that Frederick Cooper was living in, and probably another in town, he had enough money to build still another.

The total wealth of Henry Richards was £525 9s 4p. It is not known how this value compares with that of other people in Frederick County or how he fit into the economic
and social strata. But the estate of one William Erwin that immediately precedes that of Henry Richards in the courthouse records had a value of £59 12s 7-1/4p.

The 1793 will shows that Henry Richards had at least seven slaves. That is less than "the ten or more that might make the beginnings of affluence and the possibility of a certain genteel rank" in Tidewater Virginia (Isaac 1982:21). This suggests that while Henry Richards may have been wealthy, he may not have been in the select genteel society. However, the slaves, the town land, and the plantation indicate that he was not a poor backwoodsman.

Perhaps Henry Richards was among the genteel in the Valley. The Valley never completely accepted the culture of Tidewater Virginia. And while Henry's wealth certainly does not equal that of Tidewater gentry, it is possible that he was among the gentry of the Valley. If that is the case, then it is affluence of a different kind from that of traditional Tidewater. Whatever his social rank was, his wealth formed the foundation on which his son, Henry, would certainly claim gentry status.

As previously stated, there is no evidence that Henry Richards built the mill. No mill is mentioned in his will or inventory. It is not until 1809 that any conclusive evidence for the Mill's existence is found.
Two maps give some evidence of the Mill's existence. The first, an 1807 map by James Madison, is important for what it does not show: there are no mills located on Duck Run. In fact, no mills are located on Cedar Creek of which Duck Run is a tributary. The only industry identified on the Cedar Creek drainage is Zane's Furnace at Marlboro. (See Appendix 1)

The second map was made by Charles Varle in 1809. Eighteen mill locations are identified on the Cedar Creek drainage; two of those are on Duck Run. The mill closest to the mouth of the Run is the location of the Fulling Mill. Therefore, the Mill had definitely been built during the first decade of the nineteenth century. (See Appendix 1)

I believe that the Mill was built before 1809. First, Henry Richards knowingly bought a mill site twenty years before his death. Secondly, it is improbable that almost twenty mills would be built on the same drainage in two years. Most of the mills, including the Fulling Mill, shown on the 1809 map were probably in existence in 1807 and before.
CHAPTER 3

TECHNOLOGY

A little farther... they plainly discovered... six huge fulling mill hammers, which interchangeably thumping several pieces of cloth, made the terrible noise that caused all Don Quixote's anxieties.

"It might happen as really it is that I had never seen a fulling mill before though thou, like a base scoundrel as thou art, wert born and brought up among such mean implements of drudgery."

-Miguel de Cervantes

Just as there is more written information regarding famous and rich people compared to the poorer, commonplace people, so it is that in the history of technology the commonplace technology has been ignored. Compare, if you will, the information on New England textile mills with that on fulling mills. Although written about the colonial period, Hunter's following statement is applicable long after the Revolution:

Colonial records contain a wealth of information on the introduction, increase, and spread of water mills but throw little light on the manner of their construction and equipment. Who troubles to document the commonplace? Of the types of waterwheels used, the manner of their construction, the linkage with the driven machinery, and
the means used to accumulate and direct the flow of water to the mill, the record, with infrequent exceptions, is silent. We do not know what variations upon Old World forms and arrangements may have been introduced, whence and by whom, what modifications in the details of design, construction, and practice may have been promoted by colonial conditions and needs. (1979:104)

Industrialization was associated with progress. Water-powered mills were interesting only as a step towards more progressive industrialization. There was no need to record what was common or what was becoming obsolete.

While the 1809 map shows that the Fulling Mill had been constructed, there is no evidence of what its function was. It is not until 1825 that the first evidence of the Mill's purpose is found.

That evidence is Herman Boye's "Map of the State of Virginia" (Appendix 1). This map, like the 1809 Varle Map, shows two mills on Duck Run. One is shown to be a sawmill; but the other, which is closest to the location of the mill in this study, is labeled "fulling & oil". This clarifies the Mill's purpose, assuming that one knows what fulling and oil mills were.
OIL MILL

The word "oil" on the 1825 map is the only reference to the Mill ever having had this function. This causes some frustration because no other facts can be found to verify or negate this one word on a map.

Compounding this frustration is the small amount of information to be found on water-powered oil mills. Hunter (1979) mentions linseed-oil and cloverseed-oil mills, but most of his references to oil mills are inclusions on lists of various types of water-powered mills.

The study of the oil mill at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania is the most detailed work found (Litchfield, et. al. 1984). But the Bethlehem mill is primarily an eighteenth-century mill whose oil milling function ceased in 1814 (Litchfield, et. al. 1984:32), eleven years before the evidence for the oil mill on Duck Run. The result is that a definite temporal correlation cannot confidently be made.

Another problem is determining the kind of oil produced at the Fulling Mill. There were various kinds of oils. One source mentions linseed and cloverseed oil (Hunter 1979:4); another olive and poppy oils (Reynolds
Litchfield lists linseed oil, hempseed oil, sunflower oil, and cottonseed oil as well as experiments with "Peach Kernels, Cabbage Seed, Walnuts, Hickory-nuts, Poppy Seed, Laurel Seed, Pompion Seed, [and] Sallad Seed" (1984:27).

There is evidence that linseed (flaxseed) was grown in Frederick County. There was a Hemp and Flax Factory on Piccadilly Street in Winchester, but dates for this factory are not given (Cartmell 1908:153; Morton 1925:117). Jonah Hollingsworth also built a flaxseed mill (probably in the eighteenth century) (Light 1976:21). In 1790, John Trimble placed an advertisement in the Virginia Centinel-Winchester Mercury stating that he had hired "a young man from Europe, regularly bred to the different branches of milling and dressing...Flax". As the flax used in these mills was probably locally grown, it is probable that it was linseed oil that was produced at the Fulling Mill.

It is assumed that linseed oil was processed at the Fulling Mill and that the oil-producing equipment and process described for the Bethlehem Oil Mill are applicable to the Fulling Mill. Neither assumption may be valid.

Linseed oil is a by-product of flax. The seed of the plant contains an oil that can be obtained when the seed is crushed under great pressure. Besides being used in paints
and as a wood preservative, "the oil was also burned in lamps, used in the formation of printing inks, and served as an ingredient for certain medicines". (Litchfield, et. al. 1984:19)

The steps in producing the oil were cleaning, crushing, roasting, and pressing. The seed needed to be dry to prevent mildew or mold. If the seeds were damp, the miller would spread the seed on the mill floor. After drying, the seeds would go through a sieve to remove dirt, sticks, etc. Sometimes, as in the Bethlehem mill, a fan would be used to blow away unwanted matter. Next the seed would be crushed; oil was easier to extract from the crushed and broken seeds. Then the resulting meal would be heated or roasted in an oven; this helped to break down the cells containing oil. The final step was the actual pressing of the crushed seed. (Litchfield, et. al. 1984:48-50).

---

1Roasting could be by-passed and a lower yield of "cold-pressed oil" was obtained. This resulting oil was of better quality than that of roasted seed. (Litchfield, et. al. 1984:48)
Cleaning

There were two ways to clean the dried seed. The first was the use of a grain sieve (Fig. 3); this machine would "get rid of both the fine (dust, dirt, broken seeds) and the coarse (sticks, stones, leaves) impurities" (Litchfield, et. al. 1984:48). But the Bethlehem Oil mill also contained a fanning machine (Fig. 4). This machine was used for cleaning the grain for the groat mill that also operated in the Bethlehem Oil mill. With this machine, the grain was sifted, and a fan blew against the grain to remove dust, dirt, and loose hulls (Litchfield, et. al. 1984:58). Both the fanning machine and the clapper mill (sieve) were used to clean the flax seed.

The author's opinion is that only the sieve was found at the Fulling Mill. Based on references to the Mill, the primary function of the Mill was textile-related. The fanning machine is more complicated and required more power than the simple clapper mill would. Assuming that oil production was not the primary focus of the Fulling Mill, the simpler machinery would have been more likely.
Figure 3. A clapper mill may have been used to separate flaxseed from dirt and sticks. (from Litchfield, et. al. 1984:59)

Figure 4. A fanning machine for separating dirt from flaxseed could have been used at the Mill. (from Litchfield, et. al 1984:58)
Crushing

Once cleaned, the flaxseed was crushed. Litchfield (1984:48) describes one possible type of stamping mortars (Fig. 5). The machine was relatively simple. There were two major pieces: a heavy wooden stamping pole and a hollowed-out wooden mortar block. The tip of the stamping pole was covered with metal and towards the upper end, a side arm was attached. A cam raised the side arm, thereby raising the stamping pole. The pole then dropped into the mortar. The hollowed mortar block had a piece of curved metal placed in the bottom of the mortar.

The stamping pole could be disengaged using a rope, lever, and peg. The operator would pull a rope attached to the lever, thereby raising the lever against the peg which was attached to the stamping pole. By raising the peg, the stamping pole was also raised high enough that the side arm was out of the range of the rotating cams.

Note that in Figure 5, the stamping machine bisects two floors with the shaft located on the upper floor. As there is only evidence of a wheel shaft on the bottom floor of the Fulling Mill (see chapter 7), the gearing mechanism at Mountain Falls would have been different.
Figure 5. A stamping mortar, similar to this one, would have been used to crush the flaxseed before pressing. (from Litchfield, et. al. 1984:48)
Roasting

The next step was the optional one of roasting. The roasting apparatus is found in Figure 6. "Constant mechanical stirring was always employed to avoid charring the seed with consequent oil loss". (Litchfield, et. al. 1984:48)

Although there is no evidence for or against roasting equipment in the Fulling Mill, it could have been eliminated. First, a better quality oil could be produced if roasting were omitted. (This assumes a better quality oil was desired.) Second, the main structure of the Bethlehem mill measured approximately 66 feet by 30 feet (Litchfield, et. al. 1984:45), much less than the Fulling Mill which was about 27 feet by 23 feet. The space for equipment would have been limited by the building's size.

Pressing

The next step was to actually press the oil out of the flaxseed. The press (Fig. 7) was generally comprised of a series of wedges and blocks. The press at the Bethlehem Oil Mill

...consisted of a large wooden beam...with a rectangular trough hollowed out of the center.
Figure 6. By roasting, in an apparatus similar to this one, more oil could be expressed from the seed. It was a lower grade of oil than that obtained by cold-pressing. (from Litchfield, et. al. 1984:49)
Figure 7. An oil press, composed of a series of blocks and wedges, was used to express linseed oil from roasted flaxseed. (from Litchfield, et. al. 1984:50)

Figure 8. The "'hairs' were leather-backed hair mats that were wrapped around the sack of crushed, roasted flaxseed to facilitate oil flow during pressing." (from Litchfield, et. al. 1984:93)
The bags of roasted seed\(^2\) were wrapped in leather-backed horsehair mats (the "hairs") [Fig. 8] and then placed between heated iron plates at each end of the trough. The remaining space between them was filled with two wooden wedges and several spacer blocks. One of the wedges was pointed downward so that blows on its top surface would produce lateral pressure to express the oil. The other was an inverted wedge that would release the press components when it was hammered downward. Heavy wooden stamping poles were positioned above each wedge.

With the press thus assembled..., the idle pressing stamper was engaged with its lifting cam...so that it was repeatedly lifted and dropped upon the pressing wedge. Some forty to sixty blows on that wedge compressed the bags of roasted seed enough to cause linseed oil to trickle downward and drain into collector pans beneath the base log. After this oil flow stopped, the releasing wedge was pounded several times with the releasing stamper; and the press could then be disassembled and another run started. The oil produced was then poured into wooden kegs for storage and shipping. (Litchfield, et. al. 1984:49-50)

The pouches containing the linseed meal would be removed after the press was disassembled. The meal was often processed a second time to get more oil. "The cake from this second pressing was then ground and used for either cattle feed or fertilizer" (Litchfield, et. al. 1984:50).

The Bethlehem mill was built and run by Germans and the technology naturally reflected German technology. In the Shenandoah Valley, the large German population would also reflect central European technology. However, the

\(^2\)The author assumes the same process was done to un-roasted seeds.
Richards family was English (Cartmell 1908:494). Several possibilities of influence exist: Richards building and operating a mill based on English technology, hiring a German to build and operate a mill, an intermingling of English and German technology, etc. No description of the English technology of oil milling was found; therefore, no comparison can be made.

Litchfield claims that linseed oil was a wintertime activity. Crushing started after the harvest in late October or early November. It continued until spring when "all the seed was processed". (Litchfield, et. al. 1984:50)

Linseed oil production "requires a large investment in seed pressing machinery and considerable mechanical power, it has been mostly an industrial rather than a home operation" (Litchfield, et. al. 1984:19). Using the mill equipment, "two men could process ten bushels (352 liters) of flaxseed per day to produce 14 to 17.5 gallons (53 to 66 liters) of linseed oil" (Litchfield, et. al. 1984:51). However these figures are for Bethlehem, not Mountain Falls where seed production, numbers of workers, and number of machines are unknown.

It is difficult to apply the information from the Bethlehem Oil mill to the Fulling Mill. The basic equip-
ment would have been a sieve for cleaning, a stamper for crushing, and a press.

If the 1825 map is complete, the Fulling Mill was one of four mills providing oil to the Frederick County-Winchester area. It certainly provided oil to the immediately surrounding environs of Mountain Falls and the community.

**FULLING MILL**

As stated previously, the 1825 Varle map shows the Mill on Duck Run to have been a "fulling and oil" mill. The fulling process seems to have been the main function of the Mill as it is listed on maps as a fulling mill and it is referred to as the Fulling Mill property in deeds throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the past, the village was apparently known for its Fulling Mill (Cartmell 1908:237).

Fulling is a process that is unknown to most people today. It is a finishing process for wool cloth. Cloth woven by hand or at home would be loose, uneven, and dirty. Fulling was a process by which the woven cloth was cleaned and finished and the weave evened out.

There have been different methods for fulling. Diderot's Encyclopedia shows a fuller working by hand
(Fig. 9). But the most common, non-mechanized method was treading on the material similar to treading on grapes for wine (Tunis 1965:35; Reynolds 1983:82). In Roman times "the cloth was placed in a trough, the fuller rested his hands on the side walls, by which he supported and raised himself, and so tramped and tramped on the cloth at his feet" (Ponting 1951:436) (Fig. 10).

The word "fulling" derives from the Old French word "fuler" meaning "to tread". From this comes the surname "Fuller". But also the surname "Walker" is associated with the fulling process. "The terms fulling mill, walk mill and tucking mill all mean the same thing. Fulling seems to be the oldest form. We find the term walker applied to workmen in the fulling mill at Chester in 1414. And 'towkyn mill' occurs in Cornwall in 1589...". (Scott 1931-1932:50)

Equipment

Slowly "human feet were replaced by two wooden hammers which alternately fell on the cloth as it lay in the trough, and so for the first time something driven other than purely manual power was introduced into cloth making." (Ponting 1951:436). "The earliest generally accepted evidence of a water-powered fulling mill comes from Lodi, near Milan, around 1008" (Reynolds 1983:82);
Figure 9. Diderot's picture of fulling. The workman to the left is fulling by hand; the workman seated to the right is shearing the nap. The original English caption claims that the central workman is carding a cap; it would be more correct to state that he is shown raising the nap, or teasing. (1959, plate 311)
Figure 10. Fulling by foot. (from the Magasin Pittoresque, 1839:235 as shown in Scotts 1931-32:30)
this invention had spread to Scandinavia and England by the twelfth century. The earliest illustration of a fulling mill is found in Novo Teatro di Machine et Edificii by Vittorio Zonca, published in 1607 (Fig. 11).

The first water-powered fulling mill to be built in colonial America was in 1643 at Rowley, Massachusetts. By the early nineteenth century, there were 1,682 fulling mills recorded in the U.S. And although the industrial factory would replace the fulling mill, there were "still some 1,000 fulling mills left" as late as the 1880s. (Zimiles 1973:102).

The general design of the fulling mechanism was simple. "A shaft was connected to a waterwheel at one end and had a set of cams at the other that raised a large wooden hammer. These were released into troughs containing the cloths and solutions. As the hammers hit the cloth they turned it, constantly changing the area being struck. This was a long and tedious process..." (Zimiles 1973:100). Oliver Evans' diagram of a fulling mill fits this description (Fig. 12).

Rather than having a shaft with cams, a wheel with tappits could be attached to the shaft; the tappits would be placed alternately on both sides of the wheel (Fig. 13). After that the tappits of this wheel would raise the hammers of the stocks. (Scott 1931-1932:40) In
Figure 11. Earliest picture of water-powered fulling mill. (from Novo Teatro di Machine et Edificii by Vittorio Zonca, 1607)
Figure 12. Oliver Evans' diagram of a fulling mill with cams raising the fulling hammers. (1795:plate XXIV)
Figure 13. Fulling mill with tappits raising fulling hammers. (from Scott 1932-32:40)
the diagram, the tappit wheel is placed in a pit; there is no evidence of a similar pit at the Fulling Mill on Duck Run.

In the early nineteenth century, there was an apparent change in the taste and demand in cloth. "The changes in design and character of woolen and worsted cloths affected fulling, because the newer fabrics did not require the lengthy vigorous action of fulling stocks. An entirely new type of machine to give a more continuous and superficial was well as quicker fulling action was required" (Scott 1931-1932:44).

This need was met by the rotary mill called a "milling" or milling machine which was designed by John Dyer in 1833. With this machine (Fig. 14), the ends of a long piece of cloth were sewn together so that there was a continual rope of fabric. This rope of cloth would go through holes in the "knocking off board". The cloth then went through a mouthpiece and in between squeezing rollers and into a spout. The cloth would gather in this spout until it was pressed out into the trough below. The trough was curved in such a way that the cloth slipped down without becoming knotted or ravelling. (Scott 1931-32:44-50)
Figure 14. Rotary milling machine. (from Scott 1931-1932:46)
The purpose of the "knocking off board" was to automatically shut down the machine in case of any ravelling or knotting in the cloth. The cloth was designed to go through two holes in the knocking off board. If a knot or ravel would go through the hole, it would lift up the knocking off board. And this caused "the belt to move onto a loose pulley or else a clutch is operated". (Scott 1932:47)

It is difficult, if not impossible, to know what equipment was in the Fulling Mill. As stated above there is no evidence of a pit for a tappit wheel at the Mill on Duck Run. It is likely that the fulling stocks were operated, at least before 1833, by a shaft with cams. After 1833 it is possible that a rotary machine was installed. However, fulling stocks were in use as late as the 1880s and 1890s in Great Britain (Scott 1931-32:51) and in the United States until as late as the 1880s (Zimiles 1973:102). Thus, it is possible that only fulling stocks were used at the Mill.

**Process**

Fulling machines, whether they were stocks or rotary machines, were used to scour, full, and wash pieces. Scouring was apparently the removal of the grease and natural oils in the wool. The oils and grease were added to
the wool as part of the weaving process. "The most common scouring agents were water and hard soap, plus urine, or potash, or hog dung, or Fuller's Earth" (Riznik 1964:32).

The scouring was described by Elijah Bemiss in 1815:

For the first milling or scouring the filth and grease out of the cloth, to fifty yards of broad cloth or eighty pounds weight, take two pounds pearlash, dissolve in one gallon of warm rain or river water; then take eight gallons of well fermented urine, mix it together, sprinkle it carefully and evenly over the cloth till the liquor is all in, then lay it in the mill, let run one hour, take out, handle over, and speedily lay it in again, let it run one and an half hours; take it out and stretch the cloth all over; lay it in again, run till it forms in a proper body for milling; then turn into the mill gradually five or six pails full of warm water, as warm as you can bear the hand in; when it is all in a lather, let the cold water run on the cloth, till all the sig. filth and grease is washed out. (Riznik 1964:32-33)

The second milling was apparently to remove the scouring agents and to wash the cloth.

White hard soap as made at Roxbury without rosin, as the rosin is injurious to the cloth; it gluts and hardens the wool, that it will not appear fine. Take of white soap, six pounds shaved up fine, put in a tub, add seven gallons of hot water, (but not boiling), stir till the soap is all dissolved; when it is as warm as you can bear the hand, sprinkle it carefully over the cloth by little and little; lay it in the mill, let it run one hour; if not wet enough add a little more soap, but be cautious and not have it too wet as it retards the milling and the cloth will not be as firm; have it so wet that you may easily wring out the soap with the thumb and finger; as it dries and requires soap, add more; frequently handling over and stretching the cloth, that it may not grow or adhere; have your eye at the mill, handle over whenever it does not turn well, stretch once in an hour and a half or two hours, and add soap as it is wanted, till all the soap that is prepared is on if required.... (Riznik 1964:33)
There are many descriptions of the physical changes to the wool cloth as a result of fulling (Riznik 1964:33; Reynolds 1983:82; Wingate 1970:314,320). The following summarizes the effect of this process.

In a prolonged operation combining pounding with washing, fulling freed the rough-woven cloth from the natural grease in the fibers and the oil used in carding and spinning wool. The pounding action of heavy wooden stocks or beaters in soapy water had the even more important effect of compacting the cloth, increasing its strength and durability, a process accompanied by a reduction in dimensions. (Hunter 1979:22)

While we may not know exactly the types of equipment and mechanisms found in the Fulling Mill, it must have been quite noisy when in operation.

The weight of each foot is 2-1/4 cwt. and the number of blows per minute is about 40....When feet were made entirely of oak, they weighed about 1-1/2 cwt.... (Scott 1931-1932:39)

Certainly that much weight falling forty times a minute (or more if the forty blows per minute are for each foot!) would produce considerable noise. It is no wonder Don Quixote was frightened.

Assuming that the Mill had a seed crusher similar to that of the Bethlehem mill, more noise could be added.

The sound of the stamping poles falling every few seconds made the oilseed mill a noisy place. Anyone working there for a number of years probably suffered from "oil miller's disease" (partial deafness) as a result. (Litchfield, et. al. 1984:51)
To this noise add that of the turning waterwheel and shafts and the cams or tappits striking the arms of the stocks or stamping pole. Such noise hardly fits the picture of an idyllic rural community.

Besides fulling, other things happened at fulling mills such as dyeing, napping, and shearing.

Cloth finishing was the processing through which almost all woolen cloth passed after it left the hands of a farmwife or craftsman-weaver. The initial step in finishing involved fulling, which improved the wearing quality and practical insulating value of the woven cloth. Dyeing, napping, and shearing, the finishing processes meant to beautify woolen fabrics by coloring, raising a pile, and cropping any irregularities, followed cloth fulling. All these steps, costly because of the time and skills required, were performed by small mills in rural New England. It has long been a tradition to call the finishing mills "fulling mills", but it is apparent that in the period from 1790-1840, the majority of New England "fulling mills" accomplished all the cloth-finishing steps. (Riznik 1964:29)

Dyeing

According to late eighteenth-century newspaper advertisements in Winchester, fullers were involved in the dyeing business. This verifies that more than simply fulling was going on at fulling mills.³

³In the Winchester Political Repository (November 1799) and Virginia Gazette-Winchester Advertiser (November and December 1790) David Tullis advertised a fulling and dyeing business on Cedar Creek; even though he was near
Families often would dye their own yarn and various articles. "But most rural communities would turn to the finishing mill to color yards of newly woven woolen cloth, and apparel like knitted stockings and a faded greatcoat" (Riznik 1964:35). While a housewife got many of her dyes from the field around her, professional dyers and fullers needed more stable coloring and these included copperas, redwood, potash, madder, and fustic (Weiss and Ziegler 1957:50), as well as "walnut and butternut hulls, the bark of local butternut, hemlock, alder, yellow oak,...imported indigo, [and] cochineal" (Riznik 1964:37). Tunis lists "logwood for brownish-red; peachwood (brazil wood) for red and purple; quercitin bark (black oak) for yellow;...indigo for blue...[and] a mix of logwood and quercitin yielded black" (1965:36).

Marlboro on Cedar Creek he offered to pick up any work in Berkley County. Jonah Hollingsworth and George Mathews advertised a fulling and dyeing business near Winchester (Virginia Centinel-Winchester Mercury, September-December 1788). Jonah Hollingsworth advertised again he had a fulling and dyeing business (Virginia Gazette-Winchester Advertiser, November-December 1789). Apparently George Mathews had left the Hollingsworth establishment sometime between 1788 and 1789 because at the end of 1789 we find advertisements for a fulling and dyeing business in Berkley County (Virginia Centinel-Winchester Mercury, November-December 1789 and January 1790). John Trimble advertised a fulling and dyeing business at his plantation near Rock-Town about seven miles from Winchester (Virginia Centinel-Winchester Mercury, September-October 1789; Winchester Political Repository, November 1789; Virginia Gazette-Winchester Advertiser, 1791). William Bailey was working at Trimble's fulling mill. John Trimble also advertised his fulling and dyeing business which included hemp dressing and weaving (Virginia Gazette-Winchester Advertiser, October-December 1790 and January 1791). S & D Hollingsworth are reported to have had a fulling and dyeing mill (Morton 1925:120), but no dates were mentioned.
Mordants were also part of the dyeing process.

The mordant not only made the dye permanent, but also influenced the color that was produced. By reason of this, a variety of colors could be obtained with a single dye stuff by changing the mordant. (Weiss and Ziegler 1957:49)

Mordants included copperas, alum, vitriol, tartar, potash, and verdigris" (Riznik 1964:35).

In the mid-nineteenth century, the means were found to produce dyes that were not from plants. "Dyes could be obtained from benzine, naphthaline, etc., the distillations of coal-tar products. As a result, vegetable dyes were supplanted by aniline dyes that were in large use by 1858." (Weiss and Ziegler 1957:49-51)

Early handbooks by dyers provide a description of the equipment and process of dyeing.

They suggested a building sixteen to twenty feet square, or larger. They advised that the size of the blue dye or indigo vats should be five feet high, about thirty inches in diameter, and constructed of pine staves one and a half to two inches thick. Rum hogsheads and brandy pipes were sometimes used to dye blue on cotton and linen in cold dye. Vats were bound with either iron or wooden hoops and set two or three feet into the earth floor of the dyehouse. Because of the extreme fire danger, earth floors covered with leached ashes to make them hard were used. The top of the vat was covered tightly by a thick lid to hold in the heat of gallons of scalding liquid conveyed from the copper by a spout or trunk, but the top also contained a small lid to permit stirring the blue dyebath while it was fermenting. One or two sixty-gallon copper kettles, in which dyestuffs were prepared, were set into low brick furnaces situated near the center
of the dyehouse. Iron caldrons were also used to boil some dyestuffs. Balances, in the form of steelyards or scales, would be found in good dyehouses. Ellis, at his West Brookfield, Massachusetts, dyehouse, used a wooden reel, or winch, on which he turned woolen cloth in the copper to keep it from spotting; other fixtures and tools in Ellis' dyehouse included screens and crossbars for use in the vats, and rakes, handlers, and hooks used for stirring dyebaths and catching hold of the cloth. A cooling board, about nine feet long and a foot wide, was also set up in a dyehouse near the copper kettles; freshly dyed cloth was folded on the board to cool before it was dyed again and rinsed and napped. (Riznik 1964:38-39)

Dyeing, along with the other finishing steps, was expensive due to the cost of the ingredients, the time involved, and the skill needed to do it. Preparing an indigo blue vat "required over forty hours; and if one prepared a home vat of urine and indigo for yarn and small-piece dyeing, as many as ten days of attention were required before the dye was ready to use". The preparation of the vat required close control because of the fermentation that would go on in the vat. (Riznik 1964:39)

"The early nineteenth-century cloth finisher had to act as a bacteriologist without knowing anything about bacteria. Bran, urine, and madder each contributed its own ferments and bacteria; one ingredient might give a quick reducing action whereas another material might be slower but last longer. Only through long experience could a dyer tell when the conditions were right. He was constantly frustrated by irregularities in his dyestuffs and mordants. (Riznik 1964:40)

The cost of finished wool varied. In 1791, a Connecticut fuller charged 45 cents a yard. In 1809, another fulled cloth at 34 cents a yard. Two dyers in Connecticut
"charged 11 to 30 cents a yard for blues, 15 to 30 cents for blacks, 20 to 30 cents for greens, and 20 to 34 cents for browns." Another mill in 1810 had charges which included the entire cloth finishing process of between 67 cents and $1.25 a yard. "Despite their prices, families kept the finishing mills busy in order to have warmer and more pleasing looking apparel and furnishings. Cloth lots sent to the finishing mill were rarely larger than 10 yards, but many rural mills averaged over 5,000 yards a season. (Riznik 1964:40-41)

We can be fairly certain that the dyeing process went on at the Fulling Mill. If this is the case, the equipment in the Mill included a couple iron cauldrons, a couple copper kettles, and a reel, at a minimum, along with the fulling and linseed gear. We are getting a very crowded mill.

**Teaseling**

Teaseling, or napping, is the process by which a nap is raised on fulled woolen cloth. It was originally done with the head of *Dipsacus fullonum*, also know as "fuller's thistle" (Gentry 1969:1). The plant's "heads are oblonged, hooked, acumminated stiff brats. The strong hooked brats give the head its value for raising the nap on woolen cloth." (Weiss and Ziegler 1957:42)
The use of teasels has a long history. The teasel was used in Greek and Roman times. Diderot in his *Encyclopedia* has a picture of the teaseling process (Fig. 15). Note the teasel frame that the workmen are holding. Rees in his *Cyclopaedia* described the teasel frame as follows:

A number of teasels are put into a small frame, which is composed of a handle eight or ten inches long, having a small stick passed through it at one end about eight inches long, which is split into two at each end nearly all its length. There is also another similar stick, which is passed through the handle near the middle of its length; the two split sticks are perpendicular to the stem or handle, and parallel to each other. The space between them is filled with teasels, which are jambed in very fast between them, and also in the clefts of the split sticks, where they are secured by strings extended between the ends of the split sticks, and twisted, until they draw the sticks forcibly together, and bind the teasels very fast. This frame filled with teasels forms a tool, which very much resembles the curry-comb used to clean horses, and is used in a
Figure 15. Diderot's picture of workman raising the nap or teaseling. (1959: plate 312)
similar manner, to scratch over the whole surface of the cloth, and draw out all loose ends of the fibers of the wool, which are not firmly confined by the entanglement of the felting. (Riznik 1964:43)

Teasing can be done to pieces of cloth (Fig. 15) or it can be done to a piece of apparel such as a cap (Fig. 9).

Although the teaseling process seems rather simple, it does require skill. The fabric was placed on a padded board (one source writes that it was "a convex surface, covered with velvet" (Scott 1931-31:51)). The fabric was held in place to keep "the proper tension and evenness" (Gentry 1969:7). The cloth was hung in a vertical position. As one area of the cloth was teased, it would be moved to a new area.

The first time the cloth is dressed it is wetted with water; it is worked three times over in the wet state by strokes in the direction of the length of the piece, and then it is worked again three times in the other direction; by this means all of the fibers are raised..." (Rees quoted in Riznik 1964:43)

It was the fuller who determined by experience and desire and the type of cloth how much nap would be raised on the cloth.

---

4Regarding Figure 9: In the caption in Diderot's Encyclopaedia, a comment is made that the cap is being carded. Carding is a process, as we will see later, where the fibers are prepared for spinning into thread; it is not something that needs to be done to a completed piece of cloth or apparel.
The above procedure was mercifully replaced by rotary machines for teaseling. These rotary machines were developed as early as the fifteenth century in Europe. These machines were called "gig mills" and Leonardo da Vinci had a sketch of two gig mills in 1490. Gig mills were used in eighteenth-century England and were probably known to the immigrating colonists who came over sometime after the Revolution. The first patent issued in the United States for a gig mill was to Walter Burt of Willbraham, Massachusetts in 1797. (Gentry 1969:7; Riznik 1964:43-44; Weiss and Ziegler 1957:45)

The basic design of most gig mills was to insert many teasels in a row within a long thin frame. Many frames would be attached to a cylinder. The cylinders would then revolve and the cloth would be passed by the rollers so that the cloth would come into contact with the teasels. The cloth would then be wound onto a cylinder below. (Riznik 1964:44; Cole 1926:129) Gig mills saved considerable time. "These machines could be managed by one man and two boys which replaced the work of eighteen men and six boys" (Gentry 1969:9).

It can be assumed that the Fulling Mill on Duck Run had a gig mill. Another machine can be added to the equipment, along with that for oil milling, fulling, and dyeing.
Shearing

Teasing did not raise an even nap; shearing made the nap even. This step was done originally by hand with a pair of very long bladed scissors or shears that weighed about sixty pounds (Fig. 9). The cloth would be placed over a cylinder and the blades would be cut along the cloth as it reached the apex of this cylinder. Then the cloth would be moved on and cut again. It was a slow, tedious job that required considerable experience so as to cut the nap evenly without cutting the cloth. Hand shearing was used until at least 1800. (Riznik 1964:46)

The first mechanical shear was patented by Samuel G. Dorr of Albany, New York in 1792. It was a "wheel of knives" with "blades at first placed parallel to the length of a cylindrical frame, though almost at once wrapped spirally around the cylinder and working against a stationary blade." (Cole 1926:130; Riznik 1964:46-47)

The revolving shears are plates of steel wound spirally round a small cylinder, their length being equal to the widest cloth to be shorn. These blades are sharpened on the foremost corner of the outer edge, and when working, sweep obliquely across the sharp corner of the straight blade beneath them, the progressive motion of the revolving blades along the stationary edge being similar to that of closing the blades of ordinary shears. The cloth is wound upon a roller and the end passed over a square corner directly behind the cutting edges of the shears, and fastened on to another roller on the other side; this last roller has a slow revolving motion given it which winds the cloth upon itself, and draws it from the first roller and over the corner mentioned,
which keeps the cloth tight and equally up to the shears, and these clip off all the projecting wool to an equal length as it is thus presented to them. (Craik 1870:397-398)

The machines "were added to the equipment of the country fulling shop and so with the carding machine and spinning jenny served as a prop for the household manufacturer as well as an aid in the factory production" (Cole 1926:131). These shearing machines cost about $75 and the napping machines cost about $45. As a result by 1820 most fulling mills had the new machinery (Riznik 1964:47).

The time saved was also remarkable. "It is estimated that an early helicoidal machine could crop between thirty and sixty yards an hour. This was at least three times more cloth than a skilled shearmen could crop by hand—and the new machine could keep it up all day, if necessary." (Riznik 1964:47)

**Tentering**

After the cloth is fullered and completely washed clean, it is taken out of the fulling trough and is placed on a tentering frame or tentering bars to dry. This frame allows the cloth to dry in such a way that it keeps a straight, even shape on the edges. According to David Craik, the tenter frame or bars need to be placed in an
area with freely circulating air and "frequently in the open air" (1870:396). Tenter bars

...are composed of two tiers of scantling, about four inches square, placed upon posts six feet high above ground. The upper tier of bars is fastened to the top of the posts in a straight uninterrupted line; but the other tier, the breadth of the cloth below these, is jointed together by a double tenon made on one end, and a single one on the other, which is placed between the two, with a pin inserted through these at the centre, which forms the hinge. Tenter hooks are driven into the ranges of bars, about three inches apart and the entire length, to hook the edges of the cloth on to; the hooks are of galvanized or tinned iron to prevent rust, which would stain the cloth. The lower bars are fitted to slip freely up or down on slats, four inches wide and an inch thick, which pass through mortises in each bar, opposite the posts; the upper and lower ends of these slats are fastened to the posts, the middle being left free for the bars to move upon. To place the cloth upon the tenter bars it is neatly folded (not rolled up) and carried upon the left arm, the end is hooked on to both bars at the corners, and the piece is carried along and hooked at intervals to the bars by the right hand until spread out to its full length; the operator then commences at the first end, and stretches both edges out lengthways, and fastens upon every hook; he then passes along and crowds the lower bar down, and slips a pin through it into each post, which keeps it down and stretches the width of the cloth. It is left in this position until dry—the length of time depending more on the circulation of the air, and the presence or absence of moisture in it, than on the temperature; as the cloth will dry well, although it be frozen hard all the time, provided the air be dry and circulate freely. (Craik 1870:396-397)

According to Riznik, the tentering of cloth occurred at various stages in the finishing process though he does not specifically state when tentering occurred. He quotes Ellis as saying "After the cloth is well milled, dyed and
napped, you must tenter, or strain it on a rack, which is made for the use, called tenter bars" (Riznik 1964:49).

Riznik makes an interesting statement: "Just how and when the tenter bars were supplemented by drying houses heated by brickwork flues is not known" (1964:49). But there is no discussion of these brickwork flues. This differs from Craik who claims that open air was needed even if the cloth would freeze.

Tentering probably occurred at the Fulling Mill, but there is no evidence of any drying house or accompanying brickwork.

Pressing

Pressing was the final stage in cloth finishing and it gave "the cloth a smooth and glossy finish, and improved the texture as well as the appearance" (Craik 1870:399). This was done after the cloth was sheared and after the nap was all brushed in one direction. The actual structure of the cloth press was described by Craik:

The structure and fitting up of the cloth press are simple; the frame consists of two strong posts of hard wood about eight feet long, with two equally strong beams framed across between with double tenons, the top of the lower about twenty inches above the floor; the upper beam, in the centre of which the nut of the screw is sunk, is placed a little more than the length of the screw above the other one. A strong cast-iron socket or follower is fixed under the round pivot
of the screw, to which it is attached by a swivel. This iron follower is bolted to a wooden one of strong plank, with a tenon on each end. These tenons traverse up and down in grooves cut in the posts for that purpose; this allows the plank to follow the screw up or down, but prevents it from turning as the screw is turned. Two holes through, near the butt end of the screw, at right angles with each other, admit of a bar being thrust through, by which it is worked. (Craik 1870:399-400)

Ellis described the process:

The plate of the press should be two inches and a half thick. The upper side smooth. When ready for use, spread on it a little fine sand; then draw over it the straight edge of a board, to render it level. Next, lay on about twenty press-papers, as a fence to preserve the cloth from the plate, while pressing.

The plate should be equally brought to such a heat as may gently repel water, when it is thrown upon it.

The cloth being papered for pressing, is to be put upon the plate, and for the first pressing screwed moderately; so that the last pressing may take out the scuttles, or seams caused on the edge of the papers, by the folds. Thick cloths should not be kept too hot in the press, lest they be stiff and hard, like buckram; they should come from the press soft and pliable. (Riznik 1964:49-50)

Ellis wrote in 1798 and Craik wrote in 1870. This may account for some discrepancies. Craik does not mention any screws or scuttles.

Based on the 1825 Boye map, the activities at the Mill were varied. There would have been considerable equipment: the stamping pole and press for linseed oil, the
fulling stocks or rotary machine, kettles for dyeing, napping machine, shearing machine, tentering bars, and press. If all these activities and equipment were found in this small Mill, it probably was crowded with equipment. The machinery would have made it noisy, and the dyes and mordants would have made it smelly.

Carding Factory

Between 1825 and 1885 there is no definite information about the activities at the Fulling Mill. In part this is due to not being able to identify any entries of the various manufacturing schedules with the Fulling Mill. But in 1885, an Atlas of Frederick County was published; it identifies the Fulling Mill as a "carding factory". (Appendix 1)

"Carding is the process of straightening and untangling the fibers of a material, wool or cotton for example, before yarn can be spun" (Zimiles 1973:102). For centuries carding was done with the use of two or a pair of wire-toothed brushes (Fig. 16). After the wool was carded which involved removing short broken fibers and aligning the longer fibers, the wool was ready to be spun into yarn. This hand carding took a great deal of time and was done in the home.
Figure 16. Diderot's diagram of wool-carders. The wool was carded placing fibers between two "brushes" and drawing one "brush" over the other, thereby aligning the fibers in the same direction. (1959:plate 306)

Figure 17. Water-powered carding machine at Old Sturbridge Village, Sturbridge, Massachusetts.
Hand carding was replaced by "the carding machine [which] consisted of a series of rollers of different sizes. These rollers were covered with leather and stuck full of fine wire teeth" (Zimiles 1973:103). These rollers ran in opposite directions against each other thereby aligning the fibers. Some of these machines were operated by hand but most were water-powered. (Fig. 17)

The carding machine was originally invented for the cotton industry. But eventually it was adapted to the wool industry (Cole 1926:87). However, it was not until 1793 that John and Arthur Scholfield built the first wool carding machine in Newburyport, Massachusetts (Cole 1926:88; Zimiles 1973:103). The carding machine took carding out of the household and put it in a mill. It did this by shortening the time required for carding. The figures from England "show that whereas it took a man ninety-six hours to card seventy-five pounds of wool by hand, a machine tended by a child (perhaps a youth) would work the same in fourteen hours" (Cole 1926:95-96).

The effect of the carding machine was summed up by Cole:

The immediate effect flowing from the introduction of this machine was not, however, a strengthening of the factory system. The operation of carding by machine was not a difficult
one to learn passably well; and the machine itself neither was expensive nor required an exceptional amount of power. Accordingly, proprietors of fulling mills could easily add this apparatus to their equipment, and others could set up small shops for the sole object of carding by power. The diffusion of the carding machine, which, as we have seen, did take place quickly, was indeed antagonistic to the development of the factory system. It imparted an added virility to the household production. Each locality, except apparently the seaboard towns, now had its carding engine, adequate to fulfil its need for wool-carding. This arduous process was withdrawn from the household, to be more effectively carried through in the shop of the custom carder; and, being thus assured of a superior finished product, the household manufacture of wool fabrics was enabled to compete to better advantage with the rising factory production. Moreover, the expanding western settlements were given additional strength by means of which to render themselves self-sufficient and to resist the encroachments of the eastern mill products. (Cole 1926:97)

Carding machines are not listed in the 1820 or 1850 manufacturing schedules for Frederick County. But they do appear in every entry in the 1860 and 1870 schedules.

If we are correct in assuming that the Bayley and Bowman Mill listed in the 1850 census is the Fulling Mill, then three carding machines were in the Mill. Benjamin Williams & Sons in the 1870 census had two carding machines; however, this entry may be for the mill on Abrams Creek near Winchester.

As is discussed in Chapter 5, the Fulling Mill probably ceased operating as a carding factory after 1880. It
apparently was closed until 1916 when it was converted to a gristmill. Because much has been written about gristmill technology and equipment, it will not be discussed here.
CHAPTER 4

SOCIAL HISTORY OF 1853

If necessary to pay debts and legacies or if my wife requests it I direct my Executor to sell the fulling mill and a tract of the land most convenient to the mill & least injurious to the other Land...

-Henry Richards, 1853

Between 1825 and 1853 there is no definite information on the Fulling Mill. But in September 1853 Henry Richards, the son of Henry who died in 1793, wrote his will. The following December the inventory for his estate was completed. Between the will and inventory, it is possible to gain some knowledge of the social history of the Richards family and its relationships. (WB 23:508-510; WB 24:250-251; see Appendix 3.)

Henry Richards died a very wealthy man. His land holdings included not only the Fulling Mill and tract (valued at $3,000) but also a Merchant mill and 10 acres ($2,000), three farms ($4,500, $1,500, and $5,000 respectively), the "New Town Hotel & Lot" ($2,500), and a "Middle tract" ($4,500). The total value of these holdings was
$23,000. Due to inconsistencies between the will and inventory, it is impossible to precisely determine the number of slaves; but Henry could have owned as many as 31 slaves.

Family of Henry Richards

Henry Richards fathered eight children. His daughter, Harriet Long had two children. The changed surname indicates that she had been married and was widowed. She and her two children lived with Henry and Sydie. Henry directed his wife, Sydie, "to provide for and support comfortably" Harriet and her children in Sydie's home as long as Harriet remained single. If she married, her mother was to "give [Harriet] such portion of the household property as [Sydie thought] proper." Harriet also inherited the slave Hetty and her child, along with $1,500.

Here is a situation, presumably brought on by the death of the son-in-law, in which the daughter apparently could not support herself. She has come home. Her father wrote in a later paragraph that Harriet was in need of money. Henry acted to provide for his daughter. The conditions surrounding her inheritance should she marry meant that Sydie had some control if she did not approve of Harriet's choice of a husband. But Henry's language was milder than that of his father who in his 1793 will required
his daughter to have her mother's approval or have the inheritance reduced from fifty pounds to twenty shillings.

Another daughter, Eliza Blakemore married Thomas S. Blakemore. She inherited only $2,000 and no slaves. However, one slave bequeathed to Sydie was to go to Eliza's daughter, Alice, upon Sydie's death. If Alice died before she was 21 and without issue, the slave was to go to Eliza. Eliza was mentioned, with Harriet, as being in need.

Paragraph #15 of the will indicated how blunt Henry Richards could be. "All the property of every description" given to Eliza was to be given to James Richards, the executor, to be put in a trust "for the separate use of my daughter Eliza during her marriage". If Thomas S. Blakemore died before Eliza, her inheritance was "to be hers in absolute right". If she died first, the inheritance/trust was to go to her children and descendants. Although the reason behind this action is not known, it is very apparent that Henry Richards did not want Thomas S. Blakemore to have access to Eliza's inheritance. No other son-in-law was treated in this manner.

One daughter is not identified by her name and had probably died; and her sons, Henry Lacy and James Rush Lacy, inherited her share. These grandsons inherited $2,550 worth of slaves plus $1,000 to be divided equally
between them. They inherited more slaves than any of the other children. And the value of the slaves was more than that received by the others.¹ Henry stipulated that if either brother died without issue, the survivor would inherit all. Why these two brothers received so much is not known. No mention is made of need, as it was with the boys' aunts; but Henry bestowed them well.

A fourth daughter was Margaret E. Smith. She had two sons by her first husband, surnamed Spengler, and a daughter by her second husband, Smith. She inherited a slave valued at $900 but no money. Her children inherited $500 each. A total of $2,400 went to her and her children.

Jane Kiger and her son Thomas were the next listed in the will. They received $500 each. At the death of Henry's wife, the property Sydie had received for life was to be sold and the money divided among the children. Jane's share was to be divided between her son and her two sisters "not because of any want of affection for [her] but because she is well provided for and her sisters Harriet & Eliza stand in need of it."

¹The Lacy brothers inherited five slaves according to the will. All five are accounted for in the inventory. But besides these five, one is listed in the inventory with two children. Probably the two children were too small to be separated from their mother. If true, then these two brothers inherited seven slaves.
A note in the column of the Will Book refers to the original will for Paragraph #8. There is no way of knowing what was in this paragraph or what was bequeathed. However Moses Richards, mentioned later in the will, is the only child not receiving a paragraph dedicated to him alone. His inheritance was probably listed in this paragraph.

Paragraph #9 concerns the inheritance of a son, Henry Richards. He was the third individual having that name in his family. He was then living in Ohio, and he had apparently been in financial need at some time in the past. His father had requested that another son, James, lend his brother this money, which James did. But James had not been repaid. The father made sure that this bill was paid by deducting $100 from his son's inheritance of $500; and this deduction was to go to James. Since Henry was living in a non-slavery state, it is not surprising that he did not inherit any slaves. What is interesting is that his father did not compensate his son for this. Indeed he was the only child mentioned in the will that did not receive a share of the money to be gained from the sale of Sydie's property at her death. (Jane's share was given to her son and sisters; but Henry did not get a share to be given away.) The evidence suggests there had been a rift between the father and son. This rift may have caused or been the cause of the son's move to Ohio.
The last child mentioned is James R. Richards who inherited two slaves and was executor of the will. His slaves were valued at $1,500. Apparently Henry valued his son's ability to handle situations, and James must have been economically secure. This interpretation results from his being selected for executor of his father's large estate and the fact that the father had asked him to lend the money to his brother. (It is surprising that the father had not made the loan himself.)

Henry's wife, Sydie, inherited "the house farm containing about 614 acres and the fulling mill tract containing about 100 acres" and six or seven slaves. She also received the furniture, horses, carriage, wool wagon, cattle, sheep, hogs, and poultry. He valued her judgement enough to let her decide how much of her household property Harriet would receive should her daughter marry. It is interesting to note that while he could foresee Harriet remarrying, he did not expect his wife to remarry. While we do not know her age or health, there is evidence that Sydie lived another nine years. That is certainly enough time for a widow to respectfully remarry.

The will provides insights into family relationships and conflicts. There were conflicts with a son and a son-in-law. But with those conflicts, Henry tried to be equitable, taking into consideration each child's abilities,
personality, economic situation, and family situations. He realized or assumed that his primary responsibility was to provide for his widow. His success or failure at achieving fairness may have been viewed differently by his wife and children.

Henry was concerned about the relationships between his children. He recognized that he appeared to be unfair to Jane, and he wanted Jane and her sisters to know that this slight was not because he did not love her less than her sisters. He wanted to lessen or prevent any strain between the sisters that might have resulted from this slight.

The father wanted no strain to exist between his two sons over borrowed money, especially since he asked James to lend the money. The father ensured that the principal with interest was paid. James was to lose nothing as a result of the father's request or his brother's financial trouble or refusal to pay. Also his son, Henry, would be released from his debt and could face his brother at least debt-free, if not guilt-free.

In this family, we see geographic mobility. One son had moved to Ohio, but other offspring had remained in the area. This moving or staying is a reflection of cultural change and cultural stability.
Fulfilling the Manifest Destiny was not just an idea or an adventure. As this family shows, it impacted people and families personally, socially, and economically. Familial stresses, lack of economic opportunity, etc. may have caused the son to move to Ohio; but it may have been that his move caused the economic and social problems.

Assuming that all eight of the children had been married, three out of eight nuclear families had experienced the death of one parent. A lot of factors go into making this significant or not. The age of the parents and children at the time of death will be important. Harriet's two children were unmarried and living at their grandparent's residence. Margaret was of child-bearing age when her first husband died, because she had at least one child by her second husband. This suggests that her two sons were under age when their father died. Regarding the Lacy brothers, we know only that they had not had children at the time of their grandfather's death. It may be that they were of a majority but unmarried. If this experience was usual, almost twenty per cent of nuclear families could expect to lose one parent before the children were of age.

Not everything mentioned in the will is listed in the inventory. Some slaves listed in the will are not listed in the inventory. Henry directed in his will that slaves
not bequeathed were to be hired out; therefore more slaves are expected to be in the inventory than the will. While several examples can be cited, one will suffice. Harriet was to inherit "Hetty and her child". The inventory does not list "Hetty" but does list "Lucy (bequeathed to Mrs. Long)". Thus it becomes difficult, if not impossible, to know precisely what was inherited or what Henry owned that could be inherited.

**Personal Economy**

Henry Richards was worth a total of $40,938.68. This total breaks down to: $23,000 (56%) for real estate; $13,850 (34%) for slaves; $2,467.43 (6%) for financial transactions (notes, bonds,\(^2\) hiring of servants); and $1,621.25 (4%) for tools, carriages, livestock, etc.

As stated before Henry Richards had about thirty slaves. At most nineteen slaves were bequeathed to individuals, the remaining slaves (about one-third of the slave force) were to be hired out. The inventory has seven en-

\(^2\)It is not clear from the inventory if the bonds and notes reflect money owed to Henry Richards or owed by him. However two of the listings in the inventory are listed under the Credit page of the ledger for Henry Richards' merchant mill. Based on these two entries I assume that all entries are amounts owed to Henry. Therefore I have treated all the sums as assets in figuring Henry's total worth. [One entry has the figure of $416.67 listed three times; in calculating Henry's worth, I used the figure only once.]
tries for the hiring of servants which means that at least seven slaves were hired out. This indicates that slaves were not just a labor force (Morgan 1975:295-315), nor were they just a product in the business of slave trading. They were also a commodity or business as much as the Fulling Mill, merchant mill, or the New Town Hotel. This agrees with findings that slave owners had more slaves than could be used on their plantation (Warren 1987:57-58).

Henry's will directs that all property not given to his wife be sold and the proceeds used to pay debts and legacies. The kept property included the house farm ($5,000), the Fulling Mill & Tract ($3,000), and slaves (13,850). Excluding the bequeathed slaves the value of the "hired-out" slaves was $6,550. Of the commercial interests, Henry kept the two most valuable: the Fulling Mill and the hired-out slaves (indeed all the slaves).

Slaves

Most of the insights regarding the social relationships of the slaves are expected. Each mother was kept with her children. There are three examples of this in the

3Net and two children were valued at $1,100. If "Net" is really the Hetty mentioned in the will (where it is stated that she had one child), then her value should be deducted from the "hired-out" slaves. The value of the "hired-out" slaves would then be $5,450; this is still more valuable than any of the other businesses or land holdings listed on the inventory.
will. Sydie inherited Charlotte and her youngest child; Harriet received Hetty and her child; the Lacy brothers, Phoeba and her four children. It is possible that other mother-child relationships were broken, and, of course, not reflected in the will and inventory.

An interesting item in the will is the preservation of one nuclear family. Thorton is identified as being married to Charlotte, and the child is identified as "their youngest child". This means that at least a segment of their nuclear family was kept together. If Fanny, Hannah, Rachel, and/or Butler (who remained with Sydie also) were also their children, perhaps all or a large part of their family stayed together.

Henry did not sell any of his slaves. He gave instructions to sell land and businesses if needed, but slaves were to be inherited or hired out—not sold. While it is true that the new owners could have sold these slaves, Henry, like his father in 1793, made the conscious decision to keep all of his slaves attached to his family.

This is significant in trying to interpret black/slave interrelationships. As the slaves were not sold but kept

4The will is difficult to read immediately before the name Thorton. One translation could be "old farming hand Thorton". But it could also be "old (first name) (second name) Thorton", in which case we may have the surname of a slave family.
in the family, it would be more likely that they would maintain contact with other family members.

Summary

In summary the inventory and will of Henry Richards provides insights into family, economic, social, and slave relationships. Henry tried to equitably bequeath his possessions to his children. He had problems of unknown cause with his son, Henry, and his son-in-law. But he wanted no strain between his sons after his death.

He made some effort to keep at least one nuclear family among his slaves intact and he ensured that none would be sold. This meant that while some families might be separated, it would not be a complete separation.

The westward movement of people to the frontier affected this family. But most of the children stayed in the area of their father and grandfather. This means that the same factors Bissell (WMQ, 3rd, XXXI:79-110) found true for seventeenth-century Connecticut were true in nineteenth-century Virginia. Basically, individuals tend not to break away from their extended family; but rather the generational ties hold people to the family and the area.
Slaves were not to be sold, not even after Sydie's death. (This does not mean that his children and grandchildren could not have sold their slaves; but it is apparent they would be going against his example.) It would be interesting to compare Henry Richards to other slave owners of his day. He did not view slaves as simply part of his personal property. As much as possible, or as long as convenient, the families should be kept together.

But along with Henry's humanity we also see another side to his innermost being. Henry was a slave to slavery. The Russian philosopher, Nikolai Berdyaev wrote:

Plato truly said that the tyrant is a slave. The enslaving of another is also the enslaving of oneself...The master knows only the height to which his slaves raise him. (1944:61)

There are two facts that make Richards' enslavement especially poignant. Farmers in the Valley needed few slaves for the various crops that were raised, unlike the farmers of Tidewater Virginia who need slaves for tobacco and other cash crops (Warren 1987). Secondly, with the anti-slavery sentiment among part of the people of the Valley, Henry knew he had other options.

Henry had more slaves than he needed to operate two mills, three farms, a hotel, and another tract of land. The surplus slaves were hired out and became a commodity. The slaves were surplus wealth. He did not need them to be
wealthy, but they did increase his status and, according to Berdyaev, his sense of power.

One of the causes of enslaving enchantments lies in this that they give man a greater feeling of power. While making himself the slave of an idol he feels himself exalted on high. Man becomes a slave but without slavery he would feel himself upon a still lower level. (1944:170-71)

Henry Richards was a very wealthy man. He owned much land and several businesses, and more slaves than usual. Indeed he owned more slaves than he needed to operate his two mills, hotel, and three or four farms. His surplus slaves he converted into a commodity by hiring them out, thereby giving himself still another business.
CHAPTER 5

THE COMPANY MILL

...Near the eastern base of the Big North, a Fuller's Mill... stands silently watching progressive events.

-T. K. Cartmell

Until 1859 the Richards family owned the Fulling Mill. The ownership of the property had lasted through the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812; it was not to last through the Civil War. The Mill was to become part of a larger textile business. The new firm was not so much a family that owned a business as it was a business headed by men who happened to be related. This ownership would last until 1904.

Owners and Operators

During this period there are several entries in the Frederick County Deed Book 85 related to the Fulling Mill property (DB 85:521). First, James R. Richards, acting as executor of his father's will, sold the Mill to Joseph B. Lacey. It is not known if the Mill was sold as a result
of financial difficulties in meeting the legacies of the will or by the death of Sydie, his mother. Both options were provided for in Henry's 1853 will. Six years had passed since Henry Richards' death, enough time to pay any legacies.

Joseph B. Lacey may have been related to the Lacy brothers mentioned in Henry Richards' 1853 will. The surnames are spelled differently and this may or may not indicate familial relationship. If Joseph was not related to the Richards family, this marks the end of the Richards ownership. Otherwise family ownership would last a few more years.

The dates of the deed are problematical. The deed is dated September 30, 1862 but it states that the property was sold on January 1, 1859. Finally the deed was not presented to the courthouse until November 11, 1865. The delay between September 30, 1862 and November 11, 1865 was undoubtedly caused by the Civil War; but the delay between 1859 and 1862 is unexplained. There was certainly enough time (over two years between the selling of the property and the shots of Fort Sumter) to enter the deed at the courthouse. The Fulling Mill was sold for $2,000, that is $3,000 less than the 1853 value listed in the inventory. Were fulling mills decreasing in value? Was James Richards in a hurry to sell? Or was there some other reason?
Another transaction was originally written on September 30, 1862 and submitted to the Frederick County Courthouse on October 1, 1865. This also reflects the instability caused by the Civil War. But it is noteworthy that at least some business dealings went on as normal. Joseph and Rebecca Lacey sold the Fulling Mill to "Benjamin Williams, Philip B. Williams & James W. Williams together constituting the firm or copartners in the Fulling & woolen manufactory business of Benjamin Williams & sons" for the sum of $2,750. Joseph B. Lacey made $750.

An interesting addition to these documents is an entry from two Justices of the Peace from Warren County dated October 1, 1862. It states that the Justices have seen the Lacey-Williams deed. Rebecca and Joseph had gone to them in Warren County and Rebecca having been examined by us privily & apart from husband & having had said writing fully explained to her she acknowledged the same to be her act declared she had willingly executed the same & wished not to retract it. (DB 85:522)

It is not known if this was simply a required legal step or if there was a problem. Whatever the case, action was taken to ensure that Rebecca's interests were protected. Even though the Fulling Mill had been sold to her husband alone in 1859, as his wife she was entitled to a share in the ownership. The society of Rebecca Lacey, at
least in this case, took legal action to ensure that 1) her interests were protected and 2) her society knew that her interests had been protected.

Up to this point the owners of the Mill have been discussed, but there has been no definite evidence of the operators. At the time of the Civil War this changes. While we still have the records of owners as a result of the deeds, maps and oral histories provide the names of operators.

The first operator is identified on the 1864 Gilmer map (Appendix 1), where the Fulling Mill is identified as the Bowman Mill. The surname "Bowman" is not reflected in any of the deeds, wills, or inventories for the Fulling Mill. However the Bowman surname is an old one in the Valley. The original Bowman was a son-in-law to Joist Hite (Kercheval 1925; Cartmell 1908:261), and the Bowman name is associated with mills in the area. But no information of the Bowman who ran this Mill has been found. On the Gilmer map, Bowman is shown as living next to the Mill. This means that Bowman was living in the miller's house (which no longer exists; see Chapter 7).

Various population censuses for the Back Creek District of Frederick Count provide some information. In the 1850 census, Benjamin Williams, 52 years old, and Burr
Williams, 34 years old and presumably Benjamin's son, were listed as millwrights. No Cammer, another operator, is listed. In the 1860 census, neither Benjamin Williams nor Cammer are listed. In the 1870 census, there is an entry for "John C. Camarver", 34 years old, a woolen manufacturer with a real estate value of $300, a wife (Emily C., 26 years old) and three children (Martha, six years old; Charles A., four years; and John W., two years) (James Hutton, Jr., personal communication).

The information from the deeds and censuses suggest that Benjamin Williams may have rented or operated the Fulling Mill while Henry Richards owned it. By 1860 Benjamin Williams may have moved across Cedar Creek into Shenandoah (Appendix 5), but had not yet hired John Cammer who came "before the [Civil] war just started" (Appendix 4). But by 1870 John Cammer had settled in.

At this point the problem of written versus oral history raises its Cerberean head. Working with the oral histories may be compared to having two picture puzzles mixed up in the same box, without knowing what either puzzle looks like. This means that one must separate the two puzzles before putting either of the puzzles together. At the same time the easiest way to separate them is to put together those pieces that fit together. So that one is constantly jumping back and forth between separating the
two and putting pieces together. So with history, one must weed out the valid facts from other comments and then interpret those that you consider valid. At the same time those "valid" facts may be considered so because they fit with other facts that you consider valid.

While there is a tendency to accept written over oral history, it is my opinion that in the case of the Civil War operators of this Mill there is not enough evidence to support one over the other. The most definite thing that can be written is that at some time before April 9, 1865, John Cammer became the operator of the Fulling Mill.

Civil War

Perhaps it is merely coincidental that the confusion about oral and written history appears during the Civil War, a time of great stress. Certainly the stress was felt in the Lower Valley where there were at least 112 engagements. Based on one diary, "Winchester was tossed back and forth between the two armies no fewer than seventy-two times"; other sources place the number at a minimum of sixty-eight and a maximum of eighty-four transfers. (Morton 1925:148, 193)

Elsewhere were heavier battles, fought by larger armies..., but in no district of equal size were the actions so many and distributed over so long a period of time. The aggregate of casualties to the armies contending here was not less than 50,000; a number that equals the combined losses
at Gettysburg, the greatest single battle of the entire war. (Morton 1925:149)

Thus far the only evidence we have had of the War's effect on the everyday life of the people is the lag between writing deeds and entering those deeds in the courthouse. With the oral histories we get more evidence of the Mill and its people during this trauma.

The Civil War has formed the focal point around which much of Southern oral histories are told. This has led to accusations that most of the stories are not true. But given the background of military action in the Lower Valley, it is not unlikely that such stories are based on truth.

In analyzing this story, it is best to begin by stating the story:

John Cammer was working in the Mill. When he stepped outside the door to cross the road to his home, a bullet went passed his head and struck the door. At other times this happened at his house. The Yankees were watching to see when he would leave. Sometimes he would have to spend the night in the Mill. His wife would watch the Yankee movement from the house. When it was clear, she would wave a lantern from the house signaling to Cammer in the Mill that it was safe to come home. (Based on interview with Brian Richard, Appendix 4.)

As is apparent in the interview (Appendix 4), there are two people telling this story: Brian Richard and his sister, Arthella Anderson, with whom he lived. The story
was told after I had asked Brian if his grandfather ever told him stories about the Mill. His response was "the only thing he told me...". Arthella, who is about twenty years younger than Brian, heard the story from her mother: "Mama said...", "now I've heard Mama tell that a hundred times ...hundreds of times". Brian heard the story from the one who had experienced it; Arthella heard it second hand through her mother.

Questions rise concerning the number of times this happened and whether or not Cammer was shot at in the Mill. I believe that Cammer was shot at and that his wife, watching from the house, signalled to him that it was safe to come home by waving a lantern.

With all the military activity that went on in the area, one can be certain that soldiers from both sides were moving in and out of the area. Since the Fulling Mill was within sight of the main road between Winchester and Moorefield, West Virginia, it is possible that more than one incident occurred.

Before leaving the Civil War period, it is necessary to address the Official Civil War Atlas of 1865 (Appendix 1). This map shows the Fulling Mill and it shows Mountain Falls as "Cottontown". While the village has been called Mountain Falls, Dumb-Fuddle, and Dumb-Furtle, there is no
evidence that local people called it "Cottontown". As it is the Official Civil War Atlas, the best explanation may be that Northern soldiers familiar with the cotton mills of New England assumed that the Mill was related to cotton textiles and passed the name on to the village. Perhaps there is some other reason lost in the annals of time or the humor of a soldier long dead.

**Function of the Mill**

The actual function of the Mill during the second half of the nineteenth century is unclear. The Official Civil War Atlas identifies the Mill as "Fulling Mill" and the 1885 Atlas refers to it as a "carding factory". Finally Brian and Arthella emphatically declare that "the whole cloth" was made at the Mill. Interpretation of these conflicting reports is based on weighing and balancing several inferences.

Undoubtedly the Mill was a fulling mill. There are too many references to "fulling mill" in the deeds, maps, and histories for it not to be true.

But as was shown in Chapter 3 more than fulling took place in a fulling mill. The 1850 Census of Manufactures shows a new development in the wool textile industry of Frederick County; all seven entries for Frederick County
have looms and spindles. The same is true for the 1860 census. While we do not know which entries are for the Fulling Mill, we can be sure that cloth was being made at the Mill by 1850. Finally, the 1870 population census refers to "John C. Camarver" as a "woolen manufacture" (James Hutton, Jr., personal communication). This evidence supports Brian and Arthella's statements that the Mill was used for the manufacture of wool cloth.

But there is evidence to support the claim of a carding factory. First, in the 1880 population census, "John Cammerer" is listed as a "wool carder" (James Hutton, Jr., personal communication). Secondly, Annie Brill's grandfather bought the Mill in 1904 when she was ten years old and she was in the Mill before he removed the equipment.

I can remember when it had those things in it and wool and it had plugs of some kind. I don't remember if the wheels had iron plugs. I think they were wooden though...where they processed this wool at first... (Appendix 5)

This description of what Miss Annie saw in the Mill could not be for a carding machine which has many nails protruding through leather which was wrapped around cylin-

1Theoretically, a carding factory is an establishment where wool was carded. But just as fulling mills did more than full, so it seems that, at least at Mountain Falls, that more than carding took place. All the evidence from the oral histories indicates that, at a minimum, thread was made at the Mill. Therefore, both carding and spinning of wool probably occurred at the "carding factory" on Duck Run.
ders (see Chapter 3). But it could describe the bobbins onto which the thread was spun.

The final conclusion is that the functions of the Fulling Mill shifted throughout the nineteenth century. During the first half of the century, it shifted from cloth-finishing to cloth-making. During the second half, it changed from cloth-making to thread-making. But before the century ended, the Mill would be closed.

The opening quotation to this chapter tells that the Fulling Mill had closed and the wording hints that it had been closed for a while (Cartmell 1908:237). The 1880 census indicates Cammer was at the Mill at that time, and Brian Richard claimed that John Cammer left the Mill around 1880 or 1881. The 1885 Atlas suggests that the Mill was operating in 1885. There simply is no conclusive evidence for any specific closing date. The most accurate statement would be that it closed sometime during the last two decades of the century.

The Mill and the Court

It was not uncommon for legal battles to center around mills. Most of these legal confrontations concerned water
rights, flood damage, etc. This does not occur with this Mill.

However, there were financial problem between the Williams and the court.\(^\text{2}\) It is difficult to ascertain the reasons for the litigation; but several items helped to make this a complicated problem. First, James W. Williams was to have made three payments on the property but only two payments were made.\(^\text{3}\) Second, the documents mention back taxes on the property of Benjamin Williams & Sons from 1875 to 1884 for a total of $228.78. Third, one record states that James W. Williams and B. F. Williams were the "surviving partners of the late firm of B. P. Williams & Sons". The final picture is one of a company or family having financial difficulties dating from 1875 that were complicated by inheritance laws.

In the end, a Special Commissioner was assigned to "ascertain and report on the real and personal property owned by Jas. W. Williams". In June 1903 the court declares that the tract be sold by public auction. The auc-

\(^{2}\text{Stated simply, the legal documents in this case are many and confusing. Rather than flood two paragraphs with references of courthouse documents, I have decided to include them in one place: Chancery Records Book 22:173; 23:26, 41, 273, 281, 314, 325, 444, and 453; 24:54, 120.}\)

\(^{3}\text{On September 19, 1890, James W. Williams bought the Fulling Mill tract sold to him and his family by Joseph B. Lacey and his wife. This sale does not appear in the deeds, probably because Williams never made the final payment. (Chancery Records Book 24:120)}\)
tion is to be advertised in the newspapers or by handbills for thirty days "once a week for four successive weeks". No newspaper advertisements for the sale were discovered, so it is assumed that the sale was advertised by handbills. On March 30, 1904 the Special Commissioner sold by public auction the Fulling Mill tract to Sydney B. Sales (DB 125:433).

While operations at the Mill had ceased years before, the selling of the Mill to Syd Sales would end all association with the textile industry or its people. Shortly after buying the Mill, Sales would remove the equipment.
CHAPTER 6

GRISTMILL

Trabajan los molinos de agua, los molinos tirados por caballos y los molinos de viento, gracias, Dios mío...
- Carlos Fuentes

In the previous chapters the function of the Mill was centered around the textile industry. With the demise of water-powered mills, this should have been the end of the Fulling Mill. But unlike most mills, this one would open its doors once more.

As stated previously, Sydney Sale bought the Mill for $364 as a result of the court-ordered public auction. This was paid in two installments. The first was paid on November 3, 1903 for $121.65; in March 1904 he paid the balance of $248.31. (DB 125:433)

It might seem that the Mill's problems of the latter half of the nineteenth century would cease with the buying of the Mill by Syd Sale; but this was not so. On January 10, 1905 Sydney B. Sale sold the Fulling Mill tract to his

103

The Men

The deeds do not give information on why the Mill was sold and resold so many times. But the oral histories do shed some light on the personalities involved.

Sydney B. Sale: Annie Brill was the granddaughter of Syd Sale. She remembers the Mill being idle with equipment still in it. She remembered "seeing them before they taken 'em out".

Miss Annie said, "My grandfather was wealthy but when he died he didn't own very much. He'd do anything [his children] wanted him to do or buy anything." Her comments could be reflected in the fact that Syd Sale sold, rebought, and resold the Mill to various daughters and sons-in-law. However, Brian said that Syd got hard up and had to sell the Mill, so he sold it to Anderson.
Ben Anderson and Roy Miller: Ben Anderson and Roy Miller married two of Syd Sale's daughters. Ben married Lillie and had two sons, Russell and Paul. The attitude toward Ben Anderson was not favorable. Miss Annie claimed that her uncle "wasn't a very industrious man". And Brian Richard declared that Ben "wasn't no account at all". The only good thing said about Ben Anderson was that he "married the best lookin' woman in the country they say. Lillie Sale was considered a fine looking woman at one time" (Brian Richard). Other sources besides those of the oral histories agree with these claims.

Roy Miller married Carrie Sale, Lillie's sister. Brian claimed Roy Miller "wasn't much better [than Ben]. I'm going to tell ya the fact about it". Miss Annie agreed, requoting in part, "Ben Anderson wasn't a very industrious man. And Miller wasn't either."

Brian is the only one to give insight into why the men were not of much account: "Some people grows up and they ain't no count, you know. And other people grows up, it's all right." Whatever the reason, nothing was done to operate the Mill. After Syd Sale removed the textile equipment, the closed Mill stood empty until Keffer bought it.
Will Keffer: Will Keffer (Fig. 18) was a man of many talents, a jack of all trades. At various times, he repaired and converted the Fulling Mill to a gristmill; he owned a store at Stephens City where a traction engine was used to grind; he farmed; he built a house; and, according to Paul Richard, he may have done some blacksmithing in the basement of the Fulling Mill.

He apparently was an intelligent man that knew something about the art of millwrighting, because he is reported to have designed a waterwheel and then constructed it for the Fulling Mill. "He drew plans off up there on the floor, on the upstairs floor for the waterwheel" (Charlie Keffer). This wheel was constructed in 1924 after he had started grinding.

Will Keffer married Miss Annie's mother and they lived in the old miller's house. Later Will and Ella separated. Will moved out of the old miller's house and built a second miller's house on the same side of old Route 600 as the Mill was on (and across the old road from the first miller's house).

Miss Annie had some unkind words for her stepfather: "He was the stingiest man I ever seen. He didn't want you to have enough to eat. He was terrible. He'd eat things that was mouldy. Mama couldn't stand it." She also said
Figure 18. Will Keffer (1876-1948). (Courtesy Charles S. Keffer)
Will Keffer did not take credit. "Because if he had a cent acomin' to him, he was going to have that cent. If it was a half cent, he wanted a half. He was too tight to eat what he wanted." When it comes to this kind of comment it has to be put into the perspective of the problems that Miss Annie's mother had with Will.

While this description of Will may be true, other informants were not willing to criticize him. There seems to be an attitude that while there may have been problems between Will and Ella, it was more of a personality conflict than a problem in character. Even fifty years after the separation and with both Will and Ella dead, the community did not strongly condemn Will Keffer.

**Converting the Mill**

When Will bought the Mill it was in some disrepair. This was to be expected since it had been idle from the 1880s to 1916. According to Will's brother, Charles Keffer, Will repaired the outside walls, some of which had "fell out". He spent a hundred dollars "fixin' that up". Besides fixing up the outside walls and repairing the Mill, Will also built a third or top floor. This additional floor made the Mill look similar to other gristmills. The original two floors were built of stone and Will's third floor was of wood. (Frontispiece)
Charlie Keffer stayed with Will for two summers. The first summer was in 1923; and by that time, Will and Ella had separated. As a result Will and Charlie lived in the third floor of the Mill while they built the new miller's house.

In the summer of 1924, Charlie again lived with his brother. This time they lived in the new house and cut out the material for the twenty-four foot wheel. This is the wheel Will designed by drawing the plans on the floor. Charlie described the waterwheel as having "a steel shaft, but the arms was wood...where the water went in it was wood."

Operating the Mill

Keffer operated a gristmill, not a flour mill. He ground corn, buckwheat, barley, and rye; but "he mostly ground feed for hogs 'n stuff" (Paul Richard).

Like most millers, Will took out a toll for his work. Charlie says Will took "toll out for grinding out of the feed. I don't know what he did for cornmeal and buckwheat."
The evidence indicates the Fulling Mill generally ran year around. Miss Annie says that the Mill would run in winter. If the ice formed, it would be broken off to allow the warmer, unfrozen water to run through it. Paul Richard said, "Of course when it got real cold that race and that waterwheel would get so much ice on you couldn't operate it. Water would run down over and freeze on it... like a real zero day." He added, "I've seen the water dripping out there and freeze that solid from the ground ...clean down to the ground just freeze like a big white icicle." But it did not happen "too often".

Freezing, then, was an occasional problem, but not the problem it was in New England. The warmer climate allowed milling to proceed in the winter. Only during brief periods of very cold weather would ice prevent operation of the Mill.

For the many decades of textile-related manufacturing, there is no information on customers; this changes when the Fulling Mill is operated as a gristmill. Through the oral histories the names of customers are recorded. These are Brian Richard, Edward Richard, John Cammer, John Loomis Heishman, Frank Hulver, Ben Hulver, Harry Richard, Edgar Richard, Paul Dodson, Staton Cooper, Paul Glen, Gilbert Brill, Roy Triplett, Lawson Triplett, Loney White, and Hurl Himelrite's father. We also get general comments such as
"the whole community" (Brian Richard) and "pretty near everybody around the country here went there when Will run it" (Paul Richard).

Fig. 19 shows the residences of the people listed above. Of that list, Himelrite lived the farthest away, that being 5.2 miles (in a straight line). The next farthest distance was 2.5 miles from the Mill.

However, Hurl Himelrite stated that his father did not regularly use the Keffer Mill. There were other mills that were closer than Keffer such as Dorsey Brill's mill at Marlboro.

This indicates a trade network of generally 2.5 miles surrounding the Fulling Mill. But this trade network may not be circular. In other words, the Mill might not be in the center of the community of customers. For example, the mill at Gravel Springs is 2.75 miles from the Fulling Mill. In terms of gristmill products, the line dividing the trade networks of these two mills is probably somewhere between. That line would be determined by distance, topography, water level of the creeks, etc.
Equipment, Gears, and Dams

The photograph by Shrum (Frontispiece) and the oil painting by Laura Keffer Lemley (Fig. 20) show how the Fulling Mill looked on the exterior. These show the building as square or rectangular with a three gables that gave the roof a "T" shape. But these pictures do not address the equipment inside the Mill.

In describing the equipment used in the gristmill, the normal scholar would simply state what the equipment did and where it was located. I have decided to use a more radical method.

The words of the last operator of the Mill, Paul Richard, give a vivid description of the Mill and its equipment. The problem is that in interviews a subject is discussed, dropped for another, and picked up later. I extracted all his statements related to the various pieces of equipment and organized them to follow a grain going through the Mill, from its arrival to bagging. By this method the following composite of the inside of the Mill was developed.

You'd back a wagon up to [the porch] and put the grain off on his porch. Then you take a two-wheel bag cart 'n wheel it inside or carry it in. [The porch] was higher than a wagon bed. It
Figure 20. Oil painting of Mill by Laura Lemley, date unknown. (Courtesy Charles S. Keffer)
was quite a bit higher than a pick-up bed. I would guess at least four feet or better off the ground, maybe five. And that was come out level with the door or with the middle floor. This porch did. And they had these two-wheel carts with handles on. You could come out there and put a couple sacks on that and wheel it inside.

[The grain would be dumped out.] There was a box there, dump it in. And these elevators just run in the side, 'n these buckets would pick 'em up. In other words, they were bucket elevators you would call 'em. They had buckets fastened to a belt. And when it got up to the top [floor] it would dump it out and run it in a bin, just run it out on the floor like in a bin. They had places up there to change it to dump it so it would come down one chute maybe one in one of the mills...one of the grinders, you know, and another chute. They had a wise up there, they call 'em. You turn the paddle that way, it'd go down this chute and you turn it this way and it'd go down this chute. And maybe if he was grinding', they'd run it in the hopper where the grinder was. He'd have a bin here for corn and one for wheat...stuff like that. Then when he wanted to draw it out and grind it he'd open one of them chutes and it would roll..come right down to where you'd grind.

He had a hopper on top of that mill, the burr mill, it was a stone is what it was. I don't know if you've ever seen one of 'em or not; it was big round stone 'bout as around as this table or bigger. It was kinda like a saucer. It was a little higher in the middle, and then another stone right on top of it. This bottom one sit still and the top one turned, I think, the way it was. One of 'em, the bottom one was rough. They had hammers; they would take and cut little grooves from the center down. Well, the top stone...had a hole in it like that and the grain would go down. 'N he had a wooden box on top of there to feed the grain down in there. 'N one of 'em set still and one of 'em turned and the grain was there and he had ways to tighten it, make 'em closer together, just almost rub, you see. So they'd grind this grain. 'N as it ground it'd keep pushin' it out the side. When it got down to the bottom it would fall out. It'd go down in the bin underneath, down on the bottom floor. And then the elevator there would catch it. That would take it upstairs 'n he'd put it wherever he wanted it then.
[The ground grain] would go up there and dump in the thing that turned with cloth on it, real fine cloth. This thing that turned; it was about twenty inches, I would say, around. Well, it was just like a round wheel made maybe ten..twelve feet long. It was just a wooden thing with a shaft through it. And then spokes came out like a wheel. There were strips went from one end to the other on these wheels like, and then the cloth would go around that tight. And then see, as the stuff went in it and this thing kept turn-in' it would go up and fall down, go up and fall down. And the fine stuff would sift out through. It would keep working down, you see. And the stuff that didn't go through, it then would go out in another pile, in another bin. [One] end was open for the stuff to go in, and [the other] end for the hulls to go out.

The chute went on down to the middle floor then. And they would fill up this pipe that goes down. All them chutes was made out of six-inch boards. They was just six-inch square with a hole in 'em. And he'd stick a sack under there and pull his chute out. If he was baggin' it in five..ten pound, he'd have the scales there, his bag sitting on the scales. He'd set it five..ten pounds 'n if he got a little too much, he would take a little out and put it in a box. Had a little scoop there. And if he didn't have quite enough, he'd scoop in the little box and put a little in the scales til his scales balanced. (Composite of statements made by Paul Richard, Appendix 7.)

The above description would fit any mill constructed along the design of Oliver Evans. The burrs, hopper, bins, elevator belts, and chutes were all a part of grismills since the late eighteenth century when Evans' well-known book was published. Only the bolting cloth reflects more recent developments, and the rolling bolter had replaced the shifter long before the twentieth century.
Besides the grinder or burrs, there was also a corn sheller. Will Keffer's sheller "mashed up the corn, cob and all". The corn cobs and grain would be screened. "All the corn would go through..'n the cobs would be bigger pieces and they wouldn't go through."

The Shrum photograph (Frontispiece) shows an overshot waterwheel which had a 24-foot diameter. The waterwheel "had a big shaft come on through..and gear wheels off of this shaft would turn other shafts". And, "of course, the elevators went down there because there's where they turned from."

As will be discussed in Chapter 7, the network of water works was complex. Based on the oral interviews, the Mill had a dam on Duck Run plus two mill ponds. Actually, there are remnants of two dams on Duck Run along with the two holding ponds. The history of construction of these dams, ponds, and races is unknown. It may be that this complex water storage system, in part, explains the long history of the Mill.

Decline of the Mill

The informants claimed that, at one time, Will Keffer was very busy at the Mill. But eventually business declined. Will Keffer left the Fulling Mill to run a store at
Stephens City, and he then rented the Mill to Paul Richard. Paul described his operation of the Mill this way:

I made a little cornmeal and buckwheat flour after I took it over. But I didn't do a whole lot of custom work cause that wasn't my regular business, ya know. Now somebody maybe bring some feed there and leave it on the porch and I'd grind it that night or somethin' like that, put it back outside.

Will usually worked by himself but occasionally Paul would help him. This way Paul learned from Will how to operate the Mill and was able to run it part-time when Will moved to Stephens City.

The Mill, as a gristmill, was an anachronism from its gristmilling beginnings in 1916. This was a time when watermills were dying, not beginning. It only had a life of about twenty years before Paul Richard would operate it part-time. Perhaps Will Keffer was also an anachronism, but his old-fashioned ways supported him for a while and met the needs of the community during the final days of water power.

But the Mill was also influenced by the happenings that have affected American culture. The incursion of national markets, culture, and laws would aid in the final demise of the Fulling Mill. This Mill is an example of Reynolds' statement:

All that remained by the 1920s and 1930s were a few very small-scale grist mills operated, often,
by conservative millers [who had] affection for the old prime mover..." (Reynolds 1983:348-349)

The final coup de grace came from Henry Ford. It was the gasoline engine that replaced Will Keffer's water power—not steam or electricity. "The first power they had after that that I'd seen was gasoline engines...That's when they began to do away with the water" (Paul Richard). "Then I got a mill of my own...with a gasoline engine. But I got it because it was handy...and you could grind it right here" (Hurl Himelrite). These two quotations show that it was the development of gasoline engines that ended water power in the Mountain Falls area.

This differs from Reynolds who writes "...what finally rendered even high efficiency overshot and breast wheels obsolete was the emergence of electrical power generation and transmission between 1880 and 1900" (1983:348). This would have been true of the Fulling Mill on Duck Run, but electricity did not come to Mountain Falls until 1949 (Laura Richard, personal communication). That was about ten years after the Mill had ceased operation.

Although the gasoline engine was the final blow, other factors were involved. In her study of mills along the Antietam drainage in Maryland, Frye noted that while merchant mills handled more wheat than custom mills did, the custom mills averaged more bushels per mill than merchant
mills. "This reversal can be expected as a primary function of the custom mill was to grind cereal crops of neighborhood farmers and to produce feed meals. Corn by far was the most common of these other grains". (Frye 1984:61)

Although we have no way of knowing whether Will did grind more corn than other grains, Paul Richard seems to agree that Will "mostly ground feed for hogs 'n stuff".

"The decline of the custom mill followed the increasing penetration of national markets into rural areas and the stringent sanitary laws enacted in the 1930s" (Frye 1984:76). While there is no direct evidence of this occurring at the Fulling Mill on Duck Run, it undoubtedly played a role in the demise of the Mill. The demise of local water-powered mills occurred at the same time that changes in transportation made long-distance traveling easier.

The Chain-of-Title Since Keffer

On August 29, 1942, Will sold the Mill to his sister, her husband, and his brother, i.e., Laura Lemley, George Lemley, and Charlie Keffer (DB 186:8). At this point the Mill had already stopped operations. On July 9, 1959 Laura Lemley, widow, Mollie Hildebrand, widow, and Charles Keffer sold the Mill to Hammond Gunnel, Jr. and Alvin Plaugher (DB 258:304). Later in January 1976, Plaugher gave his one-
half interest to his daughter, Sherie Gayle Plaugher (DB 454:618) who nine months later sold her interest to Gunnell (DB 472:484). By this action Gunnell had full interest in the property. Then in 1977 he had the land subdivided into lots. On May 5, 1977 he sold Lot #1 which actually contains the Mill to Jake Miller, the present owner (DB 472:500).
CHAPTER 7

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE MILL SITE

It was built beautiful. It's still got beautiful rocks in it.
- Annie Brill

Before June 1985 most of the four stone walls of the Mill were standing, though the wooden third floor no longer existed. At that time, the present owner knocked down the east wall to use the stones in building a patio. This chapter describes the Mill as it was before June 1985.

As stated previously, the Fulling Mill is located approximately one mile southwest of Mountain Falls, Frederick County, Virginia on State Route 600. The remains of the Fulling Mill stand on the north side of Duck Run and are easily seen from Route 600. The structure is only a few feet from the pavement. (Fig. 21)

The Mill was constructed of limestone with an occasional sandstone. The dressed stones are the product of fine workmanship. A sandstone wall, about six and one-half (6-1/2) feet long, abuts the west end of the south wall and
Figure 21. The Fulling Mill from Route 600.

Figure 22. Addition of sandstone abuts the southwest corner of original limestone building.
does not have the same fine workmanship (Fig. 22). It is definitely an addition to the original structure, but when and by whom is not known.

There are different kinds of mortar showing various repairs. I did not note any shell mortar, but there is some sand mortar and "concrete"-like mortar. It is sometimes difficult to ascertain mortar from the plaster because the plaster has occasionally eroded away from the rock surface but remains in the crevices.

**North Wall**

The Mill originally had two stories of stone with a third wooden floor added later (See Frontispiece and Fig. 20). Only the north wall shows evidence of a third story (Fig 23). The fireplace was originally constructed along with the Mill, and it is entirely of stone construction for the first and second stories. The stone chimney extends a little above the second story but then changes to brick for the third story. The fireplace is located on the ground floor, and on the second there is a small hole for a stove pipe.

According to Charlie Keffer, Will Keffer had a stove on the third floor. Because of the height of the wall, it was not possible to clearly determine evidence of such a
Figure 23. North wall showing fireplace and chimney.
hole. This is one of the problems of studying a third story section of chimney from the first floor.

The chimney is widest at the base and narrows as it moves upward. At ground level the fireplace extends from the wall a little over three feet (3'2") and is eight feet eleven inches (8'11") wide. On the right side of the fireplace and about thirty inches (30") above, the chimney narrows to form a shelf whose purpose is unknown. The chimney narrows to seven feet (7').

On the second story level, the chimney narrows forming a ledge to provide support for the second floor. The stone work continues a short space above the second floor stone walls, but these stones do not appear to be as finely dressed as those of the wall.

These cruder stones form part of the third floor section of the chimney. Above these stones, the chimney is made of brick. This is the only brick found in the structure.

Continuing the description of the north wall, to the left of the fireplace on the first floor wall is a board with notches that is attached to the wall diagonally. This marks the location of stairs leading from the ground to second floor. (Figs. 23 and 24)
Figure 24. Remains of stairway on north interior wall.
128
Some plaster remains on the wall.

From outside of the north wall,

one can see wooden

boards or logs that are probably the remnants of the third
floor wall.
point,

The height of the stone wall,

is a little over thirteen feet

at a center

(13 13") .

The height

from the ground to the chimney top is about twenty-seven
feet

(271) .

This wall is in excellent condition as no

section has fallen in.

East Wall

The east wall faces Route 600 and is the wall that has
now been destroyed.
feet

(16') high.

The exterior was approximately sixteen

There were large stones in this wall; one

measured three feet six inches by one foot six inches

(3'6"

x l 16").

There were three openings in the east wall,
dows and a gap where the wall had fallen
window was positioned over the other.
measured three feet
half inches

high.

One

The bottom window

The second story window seem­

ed to have the same measurements.

window were located

25).

(3') wide and five feet seven and one-

(5'7-1/2")

the sills in place.

(Fig.

two w i n ­

These windows still had

The gap was where the door and third
(Frontispiece).

The stone work at the

bottom of the gap was finished from the ground up to the


Figure 25. East wall, interior view.
level of the top of the first floor window. It was not possible to tell from the remains that a third window existed over the door.

There was a board built into the east wall and in line with the top of the first floor window. The holes for the second floor supports (joists) were immediately above this board.

Between the door and the window, a hand-hewn log was built in the wall. There were holes for wooden pegs in this log and in one hole were found the remains of one peg.

There was a sawed board that had been nailed to the left of the first floor window. The end of one of the logs or beams that supported the second floor was still in place, though the other end had fallen in and was on the ground.

There was plaster on the walls of both floors.

South Wall

The south wall of the Mill had the waterwheel. On the inside, the wall height at the wheel axle is about eleven feet. (This is the lowest section in the south wall). The height of the exterior of the wall at the axle is over
eighteen feet. (This measurement is from the bottom of the wheel pit to the top of the wall at the location of the axle.)

The ends of boards are in place in the interior wall marking the location of second floor joists.

The steel bearing in which the waterwheel axle rested is still in place. One can also see the softer lead that was poured around the axle to prevent the axles from wearing into the iron; fine circular groves made in the lead by the turning axle are seen (Fig. 26). Beneath this axle, limestone has been added to provide more wall support for the weight of the wheel (Fig. 27).

The exterior of the south wall provides interesting information regarding the wheel. At the bottom of the wall below the axle is a layer of concrete. Next one sees the stone work typical of the Mill structure. Then one finds stone work indicating that an opening had been filled. Immediately above this filled area is a large stone upon which the wheel axle rested. Immediately above this stone is the hole for the waterwheel axle. This change in the stone work is evidence that a smaller wheel was replaced by a larger wheel. (Fig. 28)
Figure 26. Axle bearing in south wall showing protective lead layer with grooves from the turning axle.
Figure 27. Map of Mill and Miller's House.
Figure 28. The south exterior wall shows that a larger wheel replaced a smaller wheel.
Beneath the axle is the wheel pit, of course. The wheel pit measures six feet nine inches (6'9") from the wall and runs parallel to it for at least twelve feet ten inches (12'10"). At the highest point, the remaining wheel pit wall is four feet two inches (4'2") above the wheel pit.

One final comment on the south wall. An Extension has been built to the west end of the wall. The stone masonry is not of the fine quality found elsewhere in the Mill. This extension is six feet seven and one-half inches (6'7-1/2") long and one foot six inches (1'6") wide. It probably provided support for the water trough, sluice gate, etc. (Fig. 20).

West Wall

The porch seen in Lemley's picture no longer exists. Before June 1985, this was the most deteriorated wall of the Mill. Very little of the second story exists (Fig. 29); only the stone work near each corner remained. However the finished stonework on the northern edge of this wall is evidence of a second story door opening to the porch. This finished dressed stonework begins at the bottom of the second story and continues almost to the top of the wall.
Figure 29. West wall, interior view.
Another point regarding the second story of the west wall is that between the second story door and the north-west corner there is a portion of board attached to the wall. The end of this board is angled similarly to the board marking the stairs on the first story. If so, this could be the location of the second story stairs, leading to the third story.

At the other end of the west wall toward Duck Run more boards in the wall show exactly where the second floor was (Fig. 30). Between parallel boards are two holes for floor joists.

A window is located in the first story. It measures three feet (3') by five feet nine inches (5'9") and is similar to the other windows.

General Comments on the Structure

As is apparent from the pictures, there is much debris lying on the floor. There are various metal and wooden parts including pieces of the grinding mechanism (Fig. 31) and wooden plugs/pegs (Fig. 32). Amazingly the burrs are still in the Mill (Fig. 33) as are some elevator belts and a wooden pulley. Wrought finishing nails are in place
Figure 30. Interior west wall showing boards for second story floor joists.
Figure 32. Wooden pegs show construction techniques used in the grinding equipment.
Figure 33. The burrs are still in the Mill.
around windows; and there are also wire nails in other boards and logs.

The logs show various manufacturing techniques. As stated above there are hewn logs in the building. There is also at least one hewn log on the Mill floor. Other logs have straight saw marks occasionally crossing each other; some logs have circular saw marks.

Lemley's painting (Fig. 20) clearly shows that the final section of the headrace was supported by trusses. Four definite piles of rocks were found in an alignment between the Mill and race (Fig. 27). From the southwest corner of the Mill this alignment extends to the north-west direction. There may be two more truss foundations. The one that would be closest to the Mill is too obscure to identify as there is much rock debris surrounding it. Another may be covered by dense grass.

**Dams, Races, and Ponds**

This Mill is unusual because it has four dams and two races (Fig. 1). One millrace connects with Dams 1 and 2 and carries water to the Mill. The second millrace connects Dams 2 and 3; its purpose is to fill Dam 2. Dams 1 and 3 are on Duck Run.
The largest millrace (Dam 4) was constructed of stone and at the end nearest to the Mill the wall of the raceway is about four feet tall (Fig. 34). The millrace wall is so large that at first one may think it is a mill dam and pond.

Following the millrace away from the Mill, the first dam encountered is Dam 2. It lies parallel to the main race (Fig. 1). Dam 2 is made of stone and dirt, with most of the stones being covered. There is an opening where the sluice gate was and the course of the second millrace can be followed from that point. As stated previously, the millrace leads to Dam 3.

Dam 3 has the fewest remains of the three dams. The raceway runs into one end of a stone alignment on the north side of Duck Run. Across the Run there are stones that probably mark the remains of the other end of this dam.

Dam 1 is about 1,400 feet up Duck Run from the Mill (based on USGS topo map). This is the largest and best preserved of the three dams. This dam is constructed of stone. This is easily seen on the north side of Duck Run. The dam on the south side extends into a hillside. The most exciting feature about this dam is the well-preserved sluice gate (Fig 35). Although the metal and wood are gone, it is clear from the remaining stone construction that this
Figure 34. Dam 4 is located between the Mill and existing miller's house. It formed the wall for a holding pond.

Figure 35. Remains of sluice gate at Dam 1.
was indeed the sluice gate and it was not a simple wooden structure. The mill race leads from this gate towards Dam 2.

Dam 2 is smaller and at first seems to be a dirt dam but there are stones in it. Probably it was constructed by digging the pond area and piling the dirt and stones in the appropriate area for the dam. At the northern end there is a low spot marking the location of the sluice gate. At this point water from Dams 1 and 2 join to flow to the Mill. Also from the sluice gate of Dam 2, one can follow the second headrace to Dam 3. Like Dam 2, Dam 3 is on Duck Run, but it has the fewest remains of the three dams. There is a thirty-foot (30') stone alignment on the north side of the Run, but there is only an obscure stone pile on the south side marking the location of the remainder of the dam.

The Miller's House

Figure 1 shows the location of the original miller's house across the old road from the Mill. Route 600 was changed to its present location, and the original miller's house was destroyed as a result.

After Will Keffer and his wife separated, he built a second miller's house. It is on the same side of the old
Route 600 as the Mill and above the Mill and race (Figs. 1 and 36). There is one spot on the house that shows in layers the original white clapboard covering, brown Bricktex siding, and the present wood panelling.

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, the above is a description of the old Fulling Mill before June 1985. At that time the east was destroyed but the remaining walls still stand (Fig. 37).
Figure 36. The existing miller's house.

Figure 37. The Mill from Route 600 after the east wall was destroyed.
CHAPTER 8

THE COMMUNITY

They're all gone now. There ain't none of 'em anymore. Ya got to go to Winchester.
-Hurl Himelrite

All the data has been presented; now we must search for the community within the data. By using a chronologi­cal approach, we can catch a glimpse of the Mountain Falls community as it changed through time.

1772-1793

Kercheval's History (1925) and the 1793 will and in­ventory of Henry Richards (WB 5:432 and 511; Appendix 2) provide the basis for the small ethnographic picture of the early community. By studying Henry's life, various levels of community are revealed; and we can see how the Mill fit into the community (Fig. 38).

The clothing described by Kercheval fits closer to that of a Quaker than a backwoodsman dressed in fringed
Figure 38. The levels of community as reflected in the life of Henry Richards who died in 1793. Arrows show the Mill's relation to the community; the dashed line indicates Henry's life.
leather. The early houses were log cabins covered with split clapboards. Although we do not know the precise time period to which these descriptions belong, it is very apparent that there was little, if any, acceptance of Indian culture.

As a whole the diversity of people, religions, attitudes towards slavery, etc. that was known to exist in the Valley is not truly reflected in the information that was gathered for this study. Kercheval's picture of the Valley is one of Indian fights and massacres; the author could not find one reference to "slave" or "slavery" in Kercheval's book. But the 1793 inventory and will of Henry Richards shows conclusive evidence of slavery. Kercheval's work may describe the time period between the French and Indian War and the Revolution. If so, these differing pictures may reflect temporal changes in culture as much as they reflect cultural diversity.

Henry's slaves were inherited by his sons, John and Henry. Five slaves were to be appraised, "John to have his first Choisse and the fifth Negro to be divided by lot". Two more slaves were bequeathed to Henry's wife, Jean "as long as she Remains my Widdo or her life and then to return back to my tou Sons".
Henry's will shows similarities and differences with the will of his son, Henry, in the inheritance of slaves. In both cases, though sixty years apart, the slaves were kept in the family. But in 1853, slaves were inherited by both sons and daughters. Also in 1853, there was some effort to keep slave families together.

The "Georgian mind-set" is a term used to describe the development of attitudes that reflected individual privacy rather than communal living. This is reflected in things as diverse as architecture and dishes. (Deetz 1977). There is one small bit of evidence that Henry Richards had accepted the "Georgian mind-set". He owned eleven pewter plates. Evidence that people sitting down at Henry's table would have their own plate instead of eating out of a communal bowl.

The "tou weir Seives...Dutch oven...[and] tou Iron pots" indicate that Henry's meals were cooked in an open fireplace and not in or on a stove. Henry's meals were not fried or baked.

As stated earlier, there is no conclusive evidence that Henry constructed the Fulling Mill. There are certainly no advertisements in Winchester newspapers for a Fulling Mill on Duck Run. Perhaps the Mill's customers were in Shenandoah and Hardy Counties.
If the information from advertisements for other fulling mills is applicable to the one at Mountain Falls, we do have some insight into the market of fulling mills. Specifically, the late eighteenth-century mills of Frederick County served more than just those families closest to a mill. For example, David Tullis on Cedar Creek, the southern boundary of Frederick County, advertised for customers in Berkley County to the northeast of Frederick County (Winchester Political Repository, Nov.-Dec. 1799; Virginia Gazette-Winchester Advertiser, Nov.-Dec. 1790). Orders were often left at a store to be picked up by the fuller, the order filled and taken back to the store where the customer could then pick up his fulled and/or dyed cloth. This means that a "custom" mill was not necessarily the "local" mill. Therefore, the marketing area of the Fulling Mill would have reached out much farther than Mountain Falls and adjacent communities.

Finally, in 1793, and for sometime afterwards there was no actual village of Mountain Falls. Houses, businesses, and churches were scattered over the landscape.

Any community, society, or culture is too complex for even a member of that community to understand everything and to know and be aware of everything within the individ-
ual's society. It is especially difficult to make any correlation between an actual person in the past and the technology that affected them. The reason being because we tend to be directly affected by the product of the technology rather than the actual technology. This is also true today.

Most of us know very little or nothing about the technology behind such things as micro-chips for computers, quartz crystals for watches, the processes for making awful-tasting instant potatoes, or the technology behind electricity. But while we do not know the technology behind it, we are still affected by it. The "humanization" of technology, i.e., being able to apply the technology to the community, is made more difficult by this gap. For example, one can look at the wills and inventories of people and make direct interpretations from those documents about the people. One can find their attitudes towards relatives, relationships that they had with people, and a reflection of the ideas and workings of that community and culture. It is not easy to do that kind of interpretation with technology as it is with wills and inventories, because there is that gap between the actual technology and the product of the technology.

Based on the 1825 Boye map, we know that an oil and fulling mill existed. While Chapter 3 gives a general idea
of what was done at the Mill, there is no evidence of the types of activities and equipment actually in the Mill.

Also we do not really know how often an individual or family went to the Fulling Mill. Hunter (1979:22) wrote that only the best clothes, the Sunday-go-to-meeting clothes, were fulled. Yet Riznik (1964:40-41?) claimed that the families kept the New England finishing mills busy. However, based on data from other fulling mills, it can be assumed that the Fulling Mill was a part of the local and regional communities (Fig. 39).

As stated above, the "Georgian mind-set" is used to describe attitudes towards privacy as reflected in architecture and material culture. (Deetz 1977). The one thing that is apparent in studying the Mill and its technology is that the "Georgian mind-set" never affected the Mill. Regardless of how much the people may have accepted this "mind-set" in their housing, eating implement, or segregated their private worlds, that mind-set is not reflected in the Mill. There is a dichotomy between the private and public sections of a person's life.

In 1825 we do not have a small village but a community that is spread out over the landscape. The landscape included the Mill that was pounding seeds and dropping full
Figure 39. Levels of community in 1825.
ing stocks on wool cloth. The noise of the Mill may well have been heard for miles around.

1853

The 1853 will and inventory of Henry Richards provide insights into a wealthy family and their community. There were conflicts between Henry Richards and a son and son-in-law. With Henry, the grandson, we see how the Manifest Destiny impacted families that remained behind as well as those families that moved West. In this case, it affected inheritance, specifically no slaves were inherited and no compensation in the form of money was made. Financial problems stemming from borrowing money caused strain between members of the family. Though the details differ, the problem of mobility, family relationships, and inheritance are often found in today's society.

If this family is indicative of other families, two out of eight families could expect to lose at least one parent before the children reached majority. That reflects a change from today where it is probable that parents will live to see their children reach the age of twenty-one.

By being hired out to other individuals, the slaves were also a commodity in and of themselves. Perhaps these slaves were millers or had some other trade. This hiring
meant that people in the community or society had access to slaves and slave labor though they might not own slaves. Or they needed more slave labor than they owned.

With regard to slave families, both in the 1793 and 1853 wills and inventories, no slave was to be sold. In the 1853 will it is very clear that Henry Richards wanted to keep one nuclear family together. In both estates, assuming that the white family maintained some form of contact among themselves, it sets up the possibility that even though the slave family might have been separated into different white families, there may not have been a complete break. The slave families could possibly have maintained contact through they were living on different plantations or in different homes. This would enable slave families to maintain some kind of family contact.

In less than ten years after Henry Richards' 1853 will was entered in the courthouse, the Emancipation Proclamation would come into effect (January 1, 1863). Assuming that most of the slaves stayed in the Richards family during that ten years and that family members were able to maintain contact, it is possible that at the time of the Emancipation Proclamation that the slaves went into freedom in family groups that could extend beyond the simple mother and children families.
In 1825, the Fulling Mill was probably a business for cloth-finishing; but twenty-five years later, the Mill's functions had probably expanded to cloth-making. This is based on the 1850 census of manufactures. Although it is not known which entry belongs to the Fulling Mill, all entries show looms and spindles were part of the mills' equipment.

1859-1904

With the acquisition of the Mill by Benjamin Williams and Sons, the Mill is no longer a part of a wealthy family operation; it is part of a corporation. In 1885, this corporation owned at least one other mill on Abrams Creek near Winchester. This shift suggests that the Mill was becoming part of a larger market that did more than custom work.

Between the time of the Civil War and the end of the nineteenth century, the Mill became part of the national market. The national market drew it in, but then also led to its demise as a textile mill. In a sense this agrees with what Cole wrote (1926:97): the real effect of many of the inventions, such as the carding machine was to prolong local/home industries. It kept the local mill alive longer.
If it is true that there was a shift from wool cloths-making to carding of wool and spinning of thread, then at this definite location, Boorstin's statement is true that "Machines, not men, became specialized". (1968:33-34).

In the literature on mills and mill sites there are references to the many legal battles and conflicts over use of the stream, flooding, etc. However the only litigation found stems from James W. Williams' failure to make final payment for the Mill. If it is true that this is the only time that the Fulling Mill was ever involved in litigation then it probably reflects the low density of mills on Duck Run and low rural population.

The society protected the interests of the wives. This is seen in the legal transactions of the Mill that took place when Joseph Lacey sold the Mill to the Williams company. His wife was taken aside by the Justice of the Peace, had the transaction explained to her, ensuring that she understood what she was doing in agreeing to the sale. The Justices of the Peace ensured that her rights were protected and the recording of that action in the legal documents ensured that the society knew that the wife's interests had been protected.

There is some evidence of impact from the Civil War on the Mill or community. First, the deeds were not filed
until after the War. Second, one operator was shot at while in the Mill or trying to leave the Mill. Certainly the Civil War had an impact because of the amount of military activity that went on in the Frederick County area.

As was stated in the Company chapter, John Cammer was handicapped; he had one arm partially amputated. While he was able to be productive, at the same time this deformity planted itself in the minds of those around him. For example, the first thing Hurl Himelrite said of John Cammer was "He was a one-armed man." This points out that when it comes to handicaps or deformities people have not changed. People often notice deformities or differences rather than similarities.

Small incidents, such as cleaning a pipe, could lead to infection that would require amputation. The lack of penicillin prevented him from conquering the infection. And he was probably subjected to the bold stares of children and the askance glances of adults.
When Syd Sale bought the Mill, it is not known what he had planned for it. He probably had some plans that required removing the textile equipment which he did shortly after buying the Mill. But his plans would not come to fruition, unless he planned to have the property bounce back and forth between him and his children. Not until 1916 would the Fulling Mill be converted into a gristmill.

The oral histories provide glimpses of the personalities of specific individuals in the Mill community. Some would argue that Syd Sale was controlled more by his heart than his brain when it came to his children. Syd's sons-in-law, Anderson and Miller, were considered "not industrious" by family and community.

In Will Keffer, we have a man who had some knowledge of many trades: construction, millwrighting, mill operation, engineering, store operation, etc. But in his personal life, he had problems that led to a separation from his wife. His step-daughter claimed that he was very stingy. While her description may be true, the community treated those problems, at least in the interviews, as personality problems rather than character deficiency.
Whereas with Ben Anderson and Roy Miller, the community considered their problems to be character deficiencies.

The community that used the Mill generally lived within a radius of 2.5 miles. This is unlike the inference made for the earlier Fulling Mill. In the late eighteenth century the market for the Mill extended miles into other counties. The trade network became smaller with the gristmill though regional and national markets were expanding.

The general pattern of the mills seems to fit into the pattern portrayed by Frye for the Antietam drainage in Maryland. The Mill and its water power was a viable business until the national marketing system gained in-roads (Frye 1984). This included not only the national market of the flour industry but also the national market of the gasoline engine.

The community had water power as a stable power or energy source until it was replaced by another stable energy, in this case the gasoline engine. It was not steam, nor turbine, nor electricity. So on the whole this community fits the picture of the national marketing system expanding into rural areas, but it had its own version of that expansion. This does bring out the fact that cultural change is usually a shift from one form of stability to another form of stability.
A summary of the history of the Fulling Mill is provided in Figure 40. The owners/operators, dates, and major changes are listed.

After the Mill closed, the next major change in the property occurred in April 1977, when the owner at that time, Gunnell, had the land subdivided into lots. The people who owned these lots in 1983-4 for the most part lived in Washington, D.C. and North Carolina and the lots had been bought for speculation. Another owner was living on the lot containing the Mill and miller's house.
Figure 40. Summary chart of history of the Fulling Mill.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Owner/Operator</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Henry Richards</td>
<td>1772</td>
<td>Purchased first tract on Duck Run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1773</td>
<td>Exchanged land for second tract on Duck Run adjacent to first</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Post 1773</td>
<td>Constructed Fulling Mill on Duck Run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1793</td>
<td>Henry Richards died</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Richards</td>
<td>By 1825</td>
<td>Expanded Fulling Mill to include oil milling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>By 1850</td>
<td>Expanded Fulling Mill to a wool manufacturing establishment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1853</td>
<td>Henry Richards died</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Lacey</td>
<td>1859</td>
<td>Purchased Fulling Mill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benjamin Williams &amp; Sons</td>
<td>1862</td>
<td>Purchased Fulling Mill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Cammer</td>
<td>Civil War</td>
<td>Hired John Cammer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Cammer</td>
<td>1870</td>
<td>Listed as woolen manufacturer in census: therefore cloth making continuing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1880</td>
<td>Listed as wool carder in census: therefore specialization to carding factory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1885</td>
<td>Mill continued as carding factory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Mill ceased operation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sydney Sale</td>
<td>1904</td>
<td>Purchased Mill through public sale required by the Court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lillie Anderson</td>
<td>1905</td>
<td>Purchased Mill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sydney Sale</td>
<td>1909</td>
<td>Purchased Mill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ben Anderson &amp; Roy Miller</td>
<td>1913</td>
<td>Purchased Mill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Keffer</td>
<td>1916</td>
<td>Purchased Mill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1916</td>
<td>Converted Mill to grist-mill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1935</td>
<td>Will moved to Stephens City and Paul Richard operated Mill part-time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul Richard</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td>Mill slowly ceased operating</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION: AN ANALYSIS OF METHODOLOGY

El hombre es el ser maravilloso de la Naturaleza.
-Armando F. Valladares

When I first read Isaac's *Transformation of Virginia* (1982) in 1983, I was sure that I had found the methodology needed for this thesis. The methodology of "reasoning" (à la Sherlock Holmes) through various "action statements" to reveal "concepts" offered a solution to handling my data, especially the oral histories.

For example, by analyzing the various action statements made by the informants concerning individuals who used the gristmill for meal and feed, it was determined that most of Will Keffer's customers came from within a radius of 2.5 miles. This led to the concept that the Mill was most "local" when the customers were actually becoming part of the national economy/community.

Any limitations that I encountered were not as a result of the methodology but resulted from the lack of data,
the imposed limitations of the research design, or my inability to interpret the data. For example, no information has been found for one operator of the Mill, Bowman, whose name appears on the 1864 Gilmer map and the 1974 Scheel map (Appendix 1).

But most limitations were caused by studying only one mill. Had all the fulling mills of Frederick County been studied, it may have been possible to determine which of the entries in the manufacturing censuses were from the Fulling Mill on Duck Run. Identifying the Mill's entries would have provided economic and technological information.

Regarding the technology of the Mill, it is not known exactly what equipment was used in the Mill. It is possible that archaeological excavation would provide information on questions of what equipment and technology was used; when the Mill was constructed; and when and how the complex of mill ponds, dams, and races were constructed.

In most ethnographies, there are various sections on economy, technology, social structure, etc. Originally I wanted to organize this chapter similarly, but I often found that what I wanted to say crossed into different categories. For example, the concept of the gasoline engine replacing water power relates to technology, economy, local community, and national community. In addition, it
became apparent that any attempt to include most of the findings would be disorganized and repetitive. As a result, I decided to address only some of the conclusions (concepts) citing examples (action statements).

**Community Within the Individual**

One frustration that I often faced was not knowing to what extent the concepts applied to the community; it seemed to me that any ideas I developed related clearly to the individual but not so clearly to the community. I did not know to what extent the community shared in the concepts found in the lives of various individuals associated with the Mill. For example, Miss Annie's view that her step-father was stingy was not repeated by any of the other informants. Because it was possible to compare informants' comments, I concluded that Will's problems with Miss Annie's mother were the result of a personality conflict and not a character deficiency. The community was not willing to criticize Will Keffer—even though the informants agreed that Ben Anderson and Roy Miller had severe problems.

Another example is based on the 1853 will of Henry Richards in which the evidence suggests that two of eight families would experience the death of one parent before the children reached majority. However, I did not know to
what extent that fact was applicable to other families in the community, region, or nation.

I had assumed that I would move from a specific mill to the "higher" level of the community, but my "higher" concepts and conclusions kept bringing me back to specific people. Finally the obvious occurred to me: the community—or the idea of the community—exists within the individual. There is not, never has been, and never shall be any real or organic existence of a community. I had accepted the idea that Berdyaev calls "the sociological doctrine of man" that claims that socialization has created the man (1944:102). But this thesis made me realize that the community, society, or culture was an idea that had no true reality except in the minds of individuals. Because something is more abstract does not mean it is more real. The community, nation, culture, and its accoutrements of courthouses, elected representatives, or whatever exist only because the idea exists in the minds of people. Berdyaev wrote of the significance of the individual over the state in the following way:

The death of one man, even the most insignificant of men, is of greater importance and is more tragic than the death of states and empires. It is to be doubted whether God notices the death of the great kingdoms of the world; but He takes very great notice of the death of an individual man. (1944:144)

The implications of this thinking are diagrammed in Figure 41. All parts of the methodology (the focus, action
Figure 41: The life of Henry Richards (died 1853) as it fits into the methodology. The dashed line shows the boundaries of his life; the solid arrows show the steps of the author's analysis.
statements, concepts, and results) are part of the individual's life and personality, except for the "reasoning to the limit". The "reasoning" has been excluded from the personality, not because the individual lacked reasoning, but because within this thesis the reasoning is mine. The dotted line shows the boundaries of personality and bisects the various entries because no individual exclusively has any item within his/her life. The diagram is an example and covers only part of the information for the life of the second Henry Richards.

Levels of Community

Throughout the history of the Mill, there is evidence of various kinds of communities: local, regional, national, and international. In examining the life of the first Henry Richards (Chapter 2), Henry's life involved the local community when he bought the mill site and constructed the Fulling Mill. Next, if we apply the advertisements for other fulling mills in the region, the work performed at the Fulling Mill was not only local but regional as well; fullers were seeking the business of people living across the county or in other counties. Finally, Henry's eleven pewter plates indicate acceptance of the Georgian mind-set which reflects a national and international community.
The dominance of one or another level of community shifts through time and often overlaps. For example, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the Mill became part of the regional business of Benjamin Williams & Sons. The wool would be carded at the Fulling Mill and then sent to other mills associated with Benjamin Williams & Sons to be made into final products that probably were sold to people in Mountain Falls as well as possibly being sold in a national economy.

The dominant level of community reflected in the Mill might not reflect the dominant level of community in the individuals' lives. It is well known that the national economy/community dominates the lives of twentieth-century Americans. But the Fulling Mill operated in the most "local" manner of its history at the same time that the people of Mountain Falls were becoming dominated by the national community. In its capacity as a gristmill, the Mill served only the local community. At all other periods of its history, it was a part of the local and regional communities.

**Slaves as Commodities**

The 1853 will of Henry Richards directs "that all my slaves not specifically bequeathed shall be hired out and the inventory for his estate lists seven entries of indi-
Indi\-viduals who owed money as a result of hiring Henry's slaves (Appendix 3). As stated in Chapter 4, this evidence shows that one third of Henry's slave force was related to this business commodity.

This commodity was part of the local and regional communities. Of the nine names listed in the seven entries, two are names associated with the Mountain Falls area (Lemley and Tewalt); the other names are assumed to be within the region but could be local. Obviously other individuals in the region were part of the commodity business as renters. But the extent of the acceptance of this commodity was certainly limited by the anti-slavery sentiment known to have existed in the Valley.

This business was part of the economy just as equipment rental businesses or the hiring of individuals through a temporary agency are a part of our economy today. The value of the hired-out slaves was sixteen percent of Henry's total value at the time of his death. These slaves formed a significant part of Henry's personal economy as well as a part of the local and regional economy.

(These slaves could have affected technology depending on the work they did. It is possible that they worked in mills, repairing equipment and changing the technology.)
The fact that Henry had surplus slaves indicates that these slaves were not needed for Henry's basic survival—even the basic survival of a rich gentleman. Henry was not only a slave to slavery (the more comfortable side of slavery), but also to power, status, and wealth. It is doubtful that the surplus slaves added to his personal comfort except by increasing his wealth, power, and status as viewed by himself and others.

Gasoline Engine Replaced Water Power

There were many well known reasons for the decline and replacement of water power. In the final analysis it was replaced by more efficient prime movers, but one not usually listed is the gasoline engine. Both Paul Richard and Hurl Himelrite said that they bought gasoline engines to grind their feed rather than use gristmills.

Technology played a role in the demise of water power. New prime movers such as steam, turbines, and electricity became dependable and more efficient. Certainly the handwriting was on the wall; had the Mill continued to operate, it would have changed its prime mover from water power to electricity after the latter reached Mountain Falls in 1949. The gasoline engine merely speeded up the process.
The switch to gasoline engine indicates the individual was again part of the local, regional, and national communities. Feed grinding had become individualized by the farmer doing it himself. Gasoline (a national or international product) was bought locally at the general store or service station, although many farmers would eventually have gasoline tanks and pumps constructed on their farms. With trips to the local stores or to stores in Winchester for flour and meal, the people were now buying another national product within the local and regional areas.

Cultural Stability and Cultural Change

Anthropologists and archaeologists often address cultural change and the processes of cultural change. While there is no doubt that cultures change, "the prevailing behaviour is one of inclination toward dominant stability, so that their normal change is gradual" (Krober 1948:72).

The carding machine is an example of rapid change. It was quickly accepted because it produced a superior product in a little more than one-tenth of the time as hand carding.

Another change occurred when Benjamin Williams & Sons bought the Fulling Mill as part of their regional wool business. The products of this business could well have
been part of the national economy. But the change to a national market occurred only when changes in transportation and technology allowed affordable manufactured goods to get to consumers over greater distances.

In the case of the Fulling Mill on Duck Run, water power was replaced by the stable gasoline engine. If one looks at the mills throughout the shift from water power to any other primer mover, the new primer mover was not so much innovative as it was stable. There was a point at which these new prime movers were innovative, but these were not fully accepted until they became stable (or were at least viewed by the people as stable).

By focusing on the Fulling Mill on Duck Run, I inadvertently focused on the lives of a few people who were and are a part of the Mountain Falls community. By looking at these people, I learned that the community for which I was searching could not be found outside of them.
APPENDIX 1

MAPS

Figure 42. 1807, James Madison
Figure 43. 1809, Charles Varle
Figure 44. 1825, Herman Boye
Figure 45. 1864, J. F. Gilmer, Shenandoah Valley
Figure 46. Official Civil War Atlas
Figure 47. 1885 Atlas
Figure 48. 1974, Scheel
Figure 43. Map by Charles Varle, 1809
Figure 45. "Shenandoah Valley" by J. F. Gilmer, 1864
Figure 46. The Official Military Atlas of the Civil War by Maj. George B. Davis, Leslie J. Penny, and Joseph W. Kenleley
Figure 47. "Back Creek Magisterial District," 1885 Atlas
COUNTY AND WINCHESTER.
Northern Neck of Virginia, granted
of his cavaliers in 1649, the grant
Lord Fairfax in 1719. Possibly
nor and Council of Virginia had
man and Quaker settlers from
had to be litigated. Frederick
County was named for Fred-
present Virginia counties of
Warren, counties
as a town
was given
res).

Figure 48. "Frederick County - City of Winchester"
by Eugene M. Scheel, 1974
Will Book 5, Page 432:

I, Henry Richards of Frederick County and State of Virginia being weak in Body, but of sound Mind and Memory. Thanks be given unto God for the Same and calling to mind the mortality of my Body and Knowing that it is appointed for all men once to die. I therefore recommend my Soul to God who gave it and do order and ordain this my last Will & Testa­ment in manner and Form as followeth,---

1st Imprimis I will that all my just Debts and Funeral Expences be Paid and Discharged by my Executors hearafter named. 2nd Item I give and Bequeath unto my beloved wife Jane two Cows and four Sheep and a riding Horse and a new Saddle and Bridle and the Plantation where one Frederick Cooper now lives unto her Living her Natural Life or my Widdo and it is my Will that my Son John build his Mother a compleat House twenty feet Square with a Stone Chimmney and well flowered and a Seller under one half of said House at the Expence of my Estate. 3rd I give and bequeath unto my beloved Sons John and Henry Richards all the Land Town to them thier Heirs and Assines forever only their Mother dower during her natural Life. It is my Will that if my two Sons Should not agree, one the Division John shall have his first Choisse. then they shall call three Indrefrent men of thier Neighbours to settle the Division. Item I give and Bequeath unto my beloved Daughter Elees the wife of John Sheiver the Sum of twenty Pounds in twelve Months after my decease. Item I give and Bequeath unto my beloved Daughter mary the Wife of Archibald Hamilton the Sum of fifty Pounds he the said Archi­bald Hamilton Giving Security that the said Money should be for the use of the said Mary and her Children In twelve Months after my decease. Item I give and Bequeath unto my beloved Daughter Hannah the wife of Frederick Cooper the Sum of fifty Pounds that is to say twenty Pounds on Cash and the other thirty Pounds in Stock as it will sute the Execu­ tors. Item I give and bequeath unto my beloved Daughter Ann Richards the Sum of fifty Pounds that is to say she the said Ann marrying to her Mother's Will and if the said Ann disobeys then to have Twenty Shill­lings to be paid in fifteen months after my decease Item I will and order my wife Jane to have a Bed and furniture and a Chest and Table and three Chairs. Item I give and Bequeath unto my beloved Wife Jean the tou little Mullatto Girls to wit Sarah and Ledey to her use as long as she Remains my Widdo or her life and then to return back to my tou Sons. Item it is my Will that my black Peppol should be devied be­tween my tou Sons to wit Nanny Philes Fan Rachal Sam to be appraised and my tou Sons to Re them the said Nanny Philes Fan Rachel and Sam at the first apprassment John to have his first Choisse and the fifth Negro to be devided by Lot. Item it is my Will that my tou Sons shall have the stock They paying the Debt and Luegays above mentioned Save my Wife dour. Item I give and Bequeth unto my beloved wife the Sum of thirty silver dollars to be for Pocket Money for her own use after my decease. Also I nominate constitute and appoint my loving Son John Richards Joseph Faurith the Son of Jesp, Robt Jamison to be my whole and Sole and Sole Executors of this my last Will and Testament and I do hereby revoke and disannall and utterly make void all former Wills by me in anywise made. Ratifuing and confirming this and no other to be my Last Will and Testament. In witness whereof I have thus set my hand and Seal this thirty-first Day of July one Thousand seven hundred andninety three 1793. Sined Sealed and delivered Pronounced and Published.
In the Presence of

Jacob Ualft
In English Jacob Wall Senior

Larance x Garote

Jacob Wolf Junior

At a court held for Frederick County the 1st day of October 1793

This last Will and Testament of Henry Richards dec. was proved by the Oaths of Jacob Wolf Senior, Laurence Garrot, and Jacob Wolfe Jr. Witness thereunto and ordered to be recorded and on the Motion of John Richards and Robert Jameson Executors therein named who made Oath according to Law, Certificate is granted them for obtaining a Probate thereof in due form giving security. Whereupon they with Benjamin Fry Jr., and Moses Russell their Security entered into and acknowledged bond in the penalty of two thousand Pounds Conditioned for their due and faithfull administration of the said decedents Estate.

By the Court

Ja Keith CC

Will Book 5, Page 511:

A Inventory of the goods and Chatties of Capt. Henry Richards late of Frederick County and State of Virginia decesd taken by the Subscribers by order of Said Court at October turn and return as followeth this fifteenth day of Said Month 1793

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tou Stacks of Hay on the lower meddow</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tou Ditto 90/ three Ditto 120/ three Ditto 160/</td>
<td>18 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to 21 Head of Horned Cattle at 45/ each</td>
<td>47 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tou young Calved 9/a field of Rie on the ground 77/</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His Ridding horse a Black Roan</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a Black Mare three years Ole</td>
<td>8 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a Red Roan mare Colt</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a Sorrel Mare Colt one year old past</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a old black mair and a Spring Colt</td>
<td>3 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a Bay stallion 2 years old last Spring</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a Stack of Hay in the old meddow</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a large white Steer</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a large red Brin ole Steer</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a red Cow and tou Calves</td>
<td>3 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tou Stacks of Hay of the first Crop in the old meddow</td>
<td>7 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto tou Stacks of Second Crop hay in Ditto</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a Waggon and four Horses and Gears and furniture</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 Head of Sheep</td>
<td>6 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indon Corn in Crib</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a Stacke of Oats Supposed to be 40 Bushel @ 1/3/b</td>
<td>2 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a Stake of Ry in the year <em>de</em> Supposed to be 45 bush @ 2/b</td>
<td>5 12 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheat in the Barn Supposed to 100 Bushel @ 2/b</td>
<td>12 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a But of a Stack of Ry Supposed to 5 bushel @ 2/b</td>
<td>12 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a Cutting knife and box 5/ a Windmill @ 50/</td>
<td>2 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hay in the Barn <em>mau</em></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Plows and <em>?</em> and furniture</td>
<td>2 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a Grubing hoe 5/ tou axes 10/ a spraunting hoe 1/3</td>
<td>16 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a Iron tooth Harrow 15/ four weeding hoes 6/</td>
<td>1 1 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38 Hogs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item Description</td>
<td>Value</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro Nanny</td>
<td>18&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro Phillies</td>
<td>30&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto Fan</td>
<td>40&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rachel</td>
<td>25&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro Sam</td>
<td>30&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto Sal</td>
<td>15&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto lid</td>
<td>10&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a Syth and Hangings</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a Silver watch</td>
<td>4&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a Blunder bush 5/ a Smooth bored gun 4/</td>
<td>9&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a Spaid 5/ a bed and furniture in the litter room 60/</td>
<td>3 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His wearing apparel and pocket money</td>
<td>23 3 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a bed and furniture in the big room</td>
<td>2 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tou Chests</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a looking glass and five</td>
<td>1 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a hand Saw 2/ three augers and a Chisel 4/</td>
<td>6 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tou tables 8/ a Chest 5/ a Bed and Furniture 25/</td>
<td>1 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tou weir Seives 12/ a Dutch oven 4/6 tou Iron</td>
<td>1 6 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tou tables 8/ a Chest 5/ a Bed and Furniture 25/</td>
<td>1 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a eleven pewter plates and three pewter Basins</td>
<td>&quot; 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eight Casks</td>
<td>1 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Barrels flour---@ 22/</td>
<td>11 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a Sett of dog Irons with Brassheads</td>
<td>&quot; 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto a Sett of Pig Iron Dogs</td>
<td>&quot; 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We the Subscribers Having Duly Appraised the within estate of Henry Richards Decsd. and do report the Said Inventory to be Just and true as witness our Hands to the Above

Elias Harkley  
Philip P. Bueher  
his  
Mordkia M O Bean  
mark

At a Court Held for Frederick County the 7th day of October 1794 This apprasiment was returned into Court and Ordered to be recorded.

By the Court  
Jas. Keith CSC
WILL AND INVENTORY OF HENRY RICHARDS (1853)

Will Book 23, Page 508:
I Henry Richards of Frederick County do make my last will and Testament as follows

1st I direct that all my Just debts be paid and subject my Estate to the payment thereof And I direct that all my real Estate except that devised to my wife for life shall be sold by my executor for the payment of my debts and legacies And I authorise my Executor to sell at public or private sale as he may think best and on such terms and at such times as he may think most advantageous.

2 I give to my wife Sydie during her natural life the house farm containing about 614 acres and the fulling mill tract containing about 100 acres and the following slaves to wit Old ____ Thornton and his wife Charlotte & their youngest child Fanny Hannah Rachel & Buttler also my household and kitchen furniture or such of it as she may choose to keep my carriage & harness two sorrel mares, a bay buggy horse and a young grey horse six milch cows one beef twenty sheep 10 fattening hogs & 10 stock hogs all of her choice, all the poultry all the provisions laid in for the use of the family as much corn as she may choose to keep flour for one year, my wool waggon and ____ and gears for 4 horses My wife is to provide for and support comfortably at house, my daughter Harriet Long and her children so long as said Harriet remains single, and if she shall marry during my wives lifetime she is authorised to give her such portion of the household property as she may think proper.

3 I give to my said daughter Harriet Long my negro woman Hetty and her child and fifteen hundred dollars.

4 I give to my daughter Eliza Blakemore two thousand dollars.

5 I give to my grand children Henry Lacy and James Rush Lacy my negro woman Phlake and her four children viz. Henry Betty Ellen and Hannah and one thousand dollars to be equally divided between them.

6 I give to my daughter Margaret E. Smith my negro boy Jim, and to her two sons by her first husband John Spengler and Philip Spengler and to her daughter Angelina Smith each five hundred dollars.

7 I give to my daughter Jane Kiger five hundred dollars and to her son Thomas W Kiger five hundred dollars.

8 Note: See original will for paragraph #8

9 I give to my son Henry Richards living in Ohio five hundred dollars out of which is to be deducted one hundred dollars which my son James R. Richards lent to him at my request with the interest thereon which is to be paid to my said son James R. Richards

10 I give to my son James R. Richards my negro man John & Allen The money legacies hereby given are to be paid as soon as convenient after my debts are paid, and they are to bear interest from the end of one year after my death and if the land directed to be sold with the other property provided to pay my debts and legacies are not sufficient then
the residue is to be paid out of the residuary paid after the death of my wife but in that event the legacies are not to bear interest until my wives death.

11t I direct that all my slaves not specifically bequeathed shall be hired out by my Executors until the death of my wife the ? to be applied to fray debts and legacies.

12t At the death of my wife I give to my grandchild Alice McKim Quincy Blakemore the negro girl Hannah and any issue she may bear but if my said grandchild dies under 21 years of age without issue, the said negro girl and her issue are to belong to my daughter Eliza Blakemore.

13t At the death of my wife the land devised to her for life with the personal property (except negroes) are to be sold by my executor and the proceeds of sale and negroes left to my wife for life and their and those directed to be hired out with their increase except Hanna & her increase and any other property not disposed of by me are to be divided as follows 1st any balance of debts & legacies to be paid as before directed then one share to my daughter Margaret Smith one share to my son James R. Richards, one share to my son Moses R. Richards, one share to Henry Lacy & James R. Lacy jointly one share to Harriet Long and one share to Eliza Blakemore and the share that would have fallen to my daughter Jane Kiger I give one half of it to her son Thos w. Kiger & the other half to my daughters Harriet & Eliza to be equally divided between them. I do this not because of any want of affection for my daughter Jane but because she is well provided for & her sisters Harriet & Eliza stand in need of it.

14t If either of my grandchildren Henry Lacy & James Rush Lacy shall die without issue the survivor shall take his share.

15t All the property of every description in present right or remainder, herein given to my daughter Eliza Blakemore I give to my son James R. Richards in trust for the separate use of my daughter Eliza during her marriage if she out lives her husband T S Blakemore there to be hers in absolute right but if she dies during her husbands lifetime to pass to her children and descendants ?.

16t If necessary to pay debts and legacies or if my wife requests it I direct my Executor to sell the fulling mill and a tract of the land most convenient to the mill & least injurious to the other Land to be laid off by my Executor not exceeding 50 acres to be applied to pay debts & legacies.

17t I appoint my son James R. Richard Executor of this my last will and Testament. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 30t day of September 1853.

Signed Sealed & _______ ? by the  Henry Richard Ss Testator as his last will in our presence who in presence of the Testator & of each other have subscribed our names as witness James A. Russell P. Williams

In a Court held for Frederick County the 5th Day of December 1853 This Last will and Testament of Henry Richards deceased was proved by the oaths of James A Russell and Philip Williams the Witnesses thereto and ordered to be recorded and in the motion of James R. Richards the Executor therein named who made oath according to law certificate is granted him for obtaining a probate thereof in due form on his giving Security whereupon he with Moses R. Richards Thomas S. Blakemore Thomas W. Kiger James P Riely Samuel M Spengler Robert M Marshall and Isaac A Buck his securities entered into and acknowledged based in the penalty of sixty Thousand dollars conditioned for the faithful discharge of the duties of his said office of Executor.
List of appraisement of the property belonging to the estate of Henry Richards, made December 20, 1853.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Axle tree &amp; 2 wheels</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Lot old shovel ploughs</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Set Smiths tools &amp; old irons</td>
<td>35.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Harrow</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Iron Beam plough</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 McC plough</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Lot old Wagon Bed</td>
<td>8.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 &quot; &amp; Wagon tongues &amp; wheels</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Running gear Wagon</td>
<td>8.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Waygon &amp; Bed</td>
<td>30.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Running gear</td>
<td>35.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Wheat Machine</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Road Wagon</td>
<td>125.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-1 house wagon &amp; harness</td>
<td>30.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Buggy &amp; Harness</td>
<td>125.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Axes</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Broad Axe</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 X cut saw</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Forks</td>
<td>.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Hoes Weeding</td>
<td>.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Mattocks</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Shovels &amp; hand axe</td>
<td>.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Crow bar &amp; Sledge</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pr. Strechers</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 &quot; breast chains and Bolt</td>
<td>.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 &quot; fore gear</td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Waggon Saddle</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Housings</td>
<td>.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 lot of Harness</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Black Horse</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Bay mare</td>
<td>75.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Grey do. (Locke)</td>
<td>20.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Sorrel Horse</td>
<td>20.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Do. mare (Fashion)</td>
<td>40.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Bay Horse Bob</td>
<td>80.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Coal Bed</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Bay colt</td>
<td>65.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Grey Do</td>
<td>65.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Red cow</td>
<td>18.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 White Do</td>
<td>16.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Do Muly</td>
<td>16.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 (Blk) Do &amp; calf</td>
<td>20.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Red do &amp; do</td>
<td>20.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Spotted cow</td>
<td>18.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Red Muly Do</td>
<td>18.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Speckled cow</td>
<td>18.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Bull</td>
<td>30.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Stock cattle</td>
<td>50.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 do do 2nd size</td>
<td>40.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Calves</td>
<td>20.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hay in Mow</td>
<td>50.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Rifle &amp; Pouch</td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Smooth Bore</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 Sheep</td>
<td>90.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 ditto</td>
<td>25.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Fat Cattle</td>
<td>125.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Slaves

Tom 250.00
Thornton 400.00
Butler 500.00
Peter 800.00
Willison 700.00
Lucy (bequeathed to Mrs. Long) 450.00
Bet (child) of Phoeba 250.00
Harry Do 500.00
Phoeba & 2 children 1,000.00
Net & 2 children 1,100.00
Oscar 1,200.00
Oliver (?) 1,000.00
Abel 800.00
Allen by will to J. R. Richards 1,000.00
John same 700.00
Ellen 800.00
Susan 700.00
Jim (by will M. E. Smiths) 900.00
Louisa 800.00

Gravel Spring farm $4,500 Middle tract
$4,500
Merchant Mill & 10 acres $2,000 Windle farm
$1,500
Fulling Mill & Tract $3,000 Home Farm $5,000
New Town Hotel & Lot $2,500

Bonds & Notes

Henry Cooper and John Cooper note 416.67
dated 1st April 1852 payable 12 months
after date, this note subject to credit
not ascertained
Henry Cooper &C note dated 1st April 1852
payable 2 years after date 416.67
Same &C note dated 1st April 1852
payable 3 years after date 416.67
John Orndorff's note dated 4 May 1853 payable
on demand 71.87
Wm. L. Stephens note dated Dec 1852 payable
on demand 32.00
Isaac Brill note dated 15th Mar. 1853 payable
on demand 17.00
Cath Strother &C note dated 19th Dec 1850
payable on demand after date 18.95
John Orndorff note dated 15th March 1851
payable on demand 236.44
Samuel Willis note dated 12 Apl 1853 payable
15 Apl 1853 100.00
Sam (note dated 12 Apl 1853 payable 15 April
1854 50.00
Same note dated 12 Apl 1853 payable 15 Apl.
1855 50.00

Amount brought over

Saml Orndorff note dated Sep 24. 1853 payable
on demand 18.50
Conrad Garrett note dated 12 February 1853
on demand 237.05
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Note Date</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Joel Williams note - 1st Oct. 1852</td>
<td>48.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob S. Boehm note - 1st Oct. 1850</td>
<td>76.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Richards note - 24 Sep. 1853</td>
<td>18.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lewis Orndorff note - 23 Mar. 1853</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Brill note - 12 Mar 1851</td>
<td>39.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jno. Hemiliright note - 5 Sept 1853</td>
<td>94.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob Fishell note - 4 Dec. 1854</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alfred Orndorff note - 5 Nov. 1852</td>
<td>142.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Blower note - 12 Dec. 1853</td>
<td>25.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob Thrasher note - 8 Mar 1853</td>
<td>18.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas A. Jackson note - 13 Oct. 1853</td>
<td>20.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrison Tibett note - 1st Feb 1851</td>
<td>27.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob Baker note - 9 Feb 1850</td>
<td>45.30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes for the Hire of Servants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Servant</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C Rivers &amp; G. W. Lemley</td>
<td>44.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Tewalt &amp; H. Hoover</td>
<td>85.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James F. Seach (?) &amp;C</td>
<td>91.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. F. Pepper &amp;C</td>
<td>32.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stephen Castleman</td>
<td>48.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph E. Payne</td>
<td>44.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jas. H. Hollingsworth</td>
<td>87.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cr. By
APPENDIX 4

INTERVIEW WITH
BRIAN RICHARD

on
July 20, 1983

Arthella Anderson¹: My mother was a Cammer.

Cassandra Richard: Your mother was a Cammer?

AA: uh huh.

CR: Gary² says that the Cammer was the one that ran..he worked down at that Mill³ below Uncle Paul's⁴.

AA: That was our grandfather.

CR: Your grandfather?

AA: Yeah, that was my mother’s father that ran..down below Paul.

CR: What was his name?

AA: Well now, just wait a minute. My land, what was Grandpa Cammer’s name? Was it Charles. [To Brian] What was Grandpa Cammer’s given name?

Brian Richard: John Cammer.

AA: John, John, John, I shoulda known. Now he ran a tannery. He made clothing for the Confederate Army. [To Brian] He made..He made cloth for the Confederate Army for uniforms, didn’t he, Brian? Grandpa Cammer, isn’t that what he made there?

BR: He made the Army clothes.

AA: He made the clothes or the cloth? I thought he made the cloth. He didn’t make the clothes; he made the cloth.

BR: No, I think he made the clothes, didn’t he?

AA: No, I don’t think so.

BR: What did they buy all that wool for?

¹Arthella Anderson is the youngest sister of Brian Richard. Brian lived with her until his death.
²Gary Green is a nephew to Brian and Arthella.
³This is the Fulling Mill on Duck Run at Mountain Falls, Virginia.
⁴Paul Richard.
AA: He made the cloth to make the uniforms. But he didn't make the uniforms; he made the cloth.

BR: Well, maybe it was.

CR: But he didn't own the Mill. He...he...

AA: Oh, he owned it then. They lived there. [To Brian] Did he own it, Brian?

BR: Yes, he owned the Mill there.

AA: And the house too?

BR: Yeah, I think he owned the house.

AA: See they lived there. All right, who did he sell it to? John Keffer? Was it sold to old Mr. Keffer then? Or who owned it after Grandpa Cammer?

BR: I though Syd Sales or some of them...

AA: Well, I don't know. I'm askin' you.

BR: Don't you know? I just don't know who he sold that to.

AA: Well, that's a shame you can't help this girl.

BR: It seems to me like it was some of Sales bought it.

CR: I know Syd Sales owned it before..

AA: All right then, he bought it from Grandpa Cammer.

BR: But I won't say for sure who he sold it to.

AA: Yes. She said Syd Sales owned it.

BR: Yeah, I think they did. Well as I remember they...to hear them talk about it...I think that the Sales bought the place. And he [Cammer] moved back there...you know...He lived there above us...And...he...when he moved back there, I think they already sold that place over there.

CR: Syd Sales moved above you?

BR: hunh?

CR: Oh, Cammer moved above you?

BR: Yeah.

CR: Where your house is?

BR: Yeah.

CR: OK. After he left the Mill. Now do you remember your Grandfather Cammer?

BR: Well, I reckon.

CR: You do.

BR: I remember him well.

CR: What was he like?

BR: How was he like?
CR: What was he like? Did he ever tell you stories about the Mill?

AA: He was also a Commissioner of Revenue.

BR: Only thing he told me ... I don't remember much. He stepped outside the door and two bullets went right by his head.

AA: The Yankees were watchin' him. They'd watch for him. They watched him.

BR: ... went right by his head, two bullets did.

AA: They'd stand up on that hill and watch him.

CR: Which hill's this?

AA: Well, that was the ridge, wasn't it? That ridge where there was trees over there back of it.

CR: Back behind the Mill?

AA: Back behind the Mill. Mama said they stood up on that ridge and watched him. They'd watch him to leave. Cause he would come out that side and come around..from the Mill. And they would watch for him. And Grandmother Cammer if he worked at night..worked over there, he'd work until dark. He wouldn't take any chance on it. And if everything was clear, she'd take the lamp. She'd go to the house..to the door and wave back and forth if he could come home. And then he would leave the Mill and come to the house. Because they were trying to kill him..for makin' the cloth..see..for the soldiers.

CR: OK...Cause I've been wondering..I've been reading about the Civil War and I thought, well, if he was making cloth up there, weren't the Yankees around.

AA: Oh indeed, indeed, they surely were and they watched him. They tried to kill him. I think there could be more times than one myself. I remember ...

BR: They came near killin' him a couple times. They was shootin' pretty close to him.

AA: Yeah, they tried to kill him several times.

CR: Now that ridge...

BR: It seems to me like that he said. Well, maybe I'm mistaken but it looked like they was shootin' from him from about where Jake Lineberg lived. Above the ..above where Grandpa Cammer lived.

CR: OK. I know that..where the Mill is now, the Cammer house doesn't exist anymore, does it? OK, but you're goin' from the Mill and you go toward the Cammer house...

BR: Where Grandpa Cammer lived, he lived in that Sale's house and I thought it was up the road there toward where Jake Lineberg's house. Paul [Richard] bought that Jake Lineberg house.

CR: Yeah, before..Uncle Paul lived in it before he built the..uh ..brick house.

BR: Yeah, Keffer lived in a little house right across the road.

CR: Yeah, Keffers..between Uncle Paul's old house and the Mill.

BR: And Will Keffer..Bill..Will Keffer, he built a little house right across the road from the Sale's house.
AA: Then Grandpa Cammer lived in a house right across the road from the Mill.

BR: Yeah, he lived right across from the Mill. Wasn’t a hundred yards across there.

AA: All right, she would wave...the light. Now I’ve heard Mama tell that a hundred times...hundreds of times. That she, Grandma, would go to the door or the window and wave...uh...she could see where the Yankees watched him. Now she could see ‘em. And apparently they camped there somewhere.

BR: I always had it in my mind that Grandpa Cammer. Well, he used to...he used to say they would shoot from...they’d be standing up here and they’d shoot down this way. And this house was over here.

AA: Why no, they shot at him in the Mill.

BR: hunh?

AA: They shot at him in the Mill.

BR: I know.

AA: They didn’t shoot at him down here at the house. They shot at him at the Mill. Here’s the Mill.

BR: Yeah, they shot at him there in the...

AA: House too?

BR: house. When he opened the door and stepped out he had these two bullets went right by his head, right in the door.

AA: All right then, they probably had to shoot from up in here and...somewhere up in here then. Either back here or up in here. But I understood Mama...I don’t know why I got that...I always heard her say they was over there on the ridge or on the hill or something. And they would watch for him. And Grandma Cammer...now I’ve heard her tell this many times...would go to the door in the evening and wave the lamp to tell him. Cause she could see ’em. Cause she was out and she could see ’em. And tell him if it was clear and many a night he stayed all night in that Mill. Now I’ve heard her tell that many, many times.

CR: hum.

AA: [To Brian] Now Mama has told that many time that Grandpa Cammer stayed all night in that Mill because he couldn’t leave it.

BR: I know.

AA: The Yankees were all around there.

CR: How long did he work in the Mill?

BR: Aw...He...worked there a couple years. It seems...It seems to me like he worked there in the Mill about ’80 or ’81.5

AA: Aw no, he was there during the Civil War.

CR: ...there up to ’80 or ’81.

AA: Ah...until ’80 or ’81. I thought you said he went there in ’81.

BR: No, he went there, I think...before the war. Before the war just started.

---

5 This and following statements refer to 1880 and 1881.
AA: Where was he when he lost his arm?

BR: He was home there.

AA: Up at our house?

BR: Yeah.

CR: How did he lose his arm?

BR: He lost his arm. He run a wire in it...in his hand someway. And got blood poison and he had to have his arm taken off. He had his left arm taken off. That was after the war a little bit. And...And he had blood poison started in his hand and the doctors was scarce in them days. And they didn't have much ____ get to a doctor, you know, or anything. And he run a wire in his hand and blood poison started. And before he could get to the hospital or anything. They had to...they had to take his hand off. Take his hand off right about here.

CR: OK. Between the wrist and the elbow.

BR: Yeah.

CR: OK.

BR: He had it...his arm taken off but still he could use his arm pretty good. Even if he had a pitch fork or something like that _ (he'd hold it like that?)_. And he did a lot of pitchin' and things.

CR: Did he keep records of what he did down there?

BR: hunh?

CR: Did he keep records of what he did down in the Mill?

BR: I don't know.

AA [in background]: See, we don't know where any of Grandpa Cammer's things are.

BR: But seems to me like...seems to like...he talked about...I was young then, you know. He talked to me a lot and he made clothes and rolled it up for...seems to me like he did it ____ and then rolled it up. And I don't know just how it was done. But I think they rolled it up and Lee and them came and got it.

CR: hum.

BR: I think ____ seem to have most everything went on there.

CR: uh huh.

BR: They brought wool clean back to Romney and up to Moorefield and back up in there. They had wagons. They went and hauled this wool in.

CR: And they would haul it as far away as Romney?

BR: hunh?

CR: They would bring in the wool from as far away as Romney and Moorefield?

BR: Yeah. He bought wool at Moorefield and he bought wool back towards Romney. I heard him tell about they had wagons. I think Lee would bring most of that wool in. But sometimes he [Grandpa Cammer] would have to go and haul some of it in.

CR: Now, who's Lee? Robert Lee, Robert E. Lee, or the Confederates, ...
BR: Yeah, Robert E. Lee. He was the head of the Mill I think. I think Lee was mostly the head of everything there.

CR: Lee would bring the wool up to the Mill?

BR: I think that’s...He had to do most of the haulin’ I think.

AA: Who did? Grandpa Cammer?

BR: Yeah, I think that...

AA: Do you ever remember General Lee being in the area at all?

BR: Oh, I think they...I heard Grandpa Cammer talk about Lee.

AA: That he came there to the Mill?

BR: I think so. I think he come there to the Mill. That’s the way I understood.

AA: Well...

BR: Of course that’s been long ago. I was young and wasn’t interested in things like that.

AA: That’s a shame, a shame.

BR: Yeah, like I have today.

CR: What did the Mill look like? Do you remember any of the old equipment?

BR: Well, spur of the Mill...

AA: Was standing.

BR: He had a wooden big wheel outside to...

AA: The waterwheel.

BR: run the machinery.

AA: The waterwheel.

BR: Yeah, the waterwheel run the machinery. And he had it fixed in there so the waterwheel would run everything inside.

CR: uh huh.

BR: And he...it was fixed pretty nice there. Uncle Jim Cammer told me more about it in later years than Grandpa Cammer did.

CR: What did Uncle Jim say?

BR: He...Uncle Jim lived in Fairmont, West Virginia. He come in there a few...aw...it was several years ago and sat down there and told about...He was born and raised down there.

AA: Well, that was Mama’s brother.

BR: Yeah.

CR: OK.

BR: And he was born and raised down there and he told me...

---

6 There is no record of Lee being in the Winchester area during the Civil War.
CR: Down there at the Mill?

BR: Yeah, he told me something about the Mill then. He told me how it was operated and things.

CR: uh huh. What did he say?

BR: I don't know. He used to tell me about some of the machinery and how they cleaned the wool. He said they had a thing that cleaned the wool and then they weave it...they'd weave it together someway and roll it up. The way I understood it.

CR: Oh, so they would...they did weaving down there at that Mill?

AA: Oh, they...they made the cloth.

CR: They made the whole cloth there?

AA: They made the whole cloth.

BR: I think so.

CR: uh huh.

BR: Way I understood. Now Grandpa Cammer never did tell me a whole lot about it. But Uncle Jim did tell me a right smart about it.

CR: Well...

BR: Uncle Jim was old enough to know...to help him a little bit there in the Mill and he... he told me some things about it. An' I don't remember much about it how it was operated (or run?) or anything.

CR: Well, how many floors were in the old Mill?

BR: Two...two floors...I think, yeah, I think there was two floors. There was a floor in that and then...ah...I think they worked on the ground down below. I don't think there was any floor down below. And I think there was a floor upstairs and then they worked on the ground down below, I think. Well as I remember... Well, I (that was the way?) Uncle Jim told me a few things about it.

CR: Well... did... was it mostly the...ah...machinery to make things run up on the floor above in the basement or was there actually any equipment down...

BR: Yeah, I think most of the machinery was upstairs...

CR: OK.

BR: ...on the floor, I think. I think most of the machinery was and just the belts and things mostly downstairs.

CR: uh huh.

BR: That's what...

AA: The way Mama said that they, you know, what they washed the cotton...I mean the wool...combed and everything. Now that was my impression of it. Brian, the way I heard Mama that they washed the wool and whatever you do to it, comb it or...ah...spin and clean it and wash it and spin it on the spools and made the thread and then they made the cloth. Now that was my impression of it. That Grandpop...Grandpa did it all and made the cloth. Or did he buy it on the spools? Did he buy the wool? Did he buy the wool?

BR: Yeah.

AA: All right then, he did the whole...
CR: He did everything.
AA: He did everything. I'm sure of that.
BR: I think there for a while he went and bought the wool. They sent him back towards...
AA: All right but what I'm saying is when he bought the wool, then he made the cloth and the thread. He made the thread from the wool and then made the cloth or whatever.
BR: Yeah, well...
AA: He had to do it all himself. This is what I'm..what she wants to know.
BR: I think he did about all of it hisself.
CR: Did he have any..How many people worked there with him?
BR: No, nobody worked with him, I don't think.
AA: Aw, he had help.
BR: Well..
AA: Maybe Uncle Jim and Uncle Phil, Uncle Phil and Uncle Jim.
BR: Yeah, I think Uncle Jim told me that..
AA: And maybe Aunt Mattie helped. She was oldest.
BR: I think Uncle Jim told me he was (when he was here?) that time, you know.
AA: Well, he was in here every summer.
BR: I think he told me that he was old enough to help his father.
AA: ..help him. Undoubtedly he had help to, I expect. He would've had to, Cassandra, I'm sure.
BR: I think they couldn't get much help then.
AA: Then, no, everybody was in the War.
BR: Yeah.
AA: I imagine the boys were all.. Uncle Jim and Uncle Phil and Uncle Cleve. They were all big enough to help then I should think.
BR: Uncle Phil and..
AA: And Uncle Cleve and Uncle Jim, all probably...
BR: Uncle Cleve...
AA: He was younger. He was pretty young. He was the youngest, I think.
BR: (He was too young to help?) Uncle Phil and Uncle Jim, they helped 'im some.
CR: How many children did your Grandpa have?
BR: Aunt Liz.
CR: Aunt Liz.
BR: And Phil and Jim.
AA: Cleve.
BR: Cleve.
AA: And Mama, Molly.
BR: Mama and Uncle Cleve, he died here a few years ago.
AA: Uncle Phil and Uncle Cleve both died of heart attacks and there was Uncle Will. Now Uncle Will was the oldest man.
BR: Yeah! Yeah!
AA: He helped too.
BR: That's right.
AA: He was the older one. He and Aunt Mattie.
BR: Along with Charlie, Uncle Charles.
AA: And Uncle Charlie. Far more than you thought. So I'm sure Uncle Charlie and Uncle Will helped and Uncle Jim did because Uncle Phil and Uncle Cleve were younger. Uncle Cleve was the youngest in the family. He was only forty-seven when he died.
BR: Yeah.
AA: And I remember that, see I was young then. So...ah...yes, they did.
BR: They had a beautiful daughter I want to tell you.
CR: Uncle Cleve had a beautiful daughter?
BR: Yeah.
AA: Uncle Jim had two pretty daughters, too.
BR: Yeah, I'd like to see them girls.
AA: They lived in Fairmont...Yes, you saw Virginia.
BR: No, I never seen her.
AA: Well, I thought you did.
BR: No.
AA: But I'm sure of course Uncle Phil...my goodness Uncle Will, he was older than Mama. He was...Uncle Mattie. Aunt Mattie and Uncle Will were the two oldest.
BR: Yeah.
AA: And Uncle Charlie. So I'm sure he had plenty of help in the Mill.
CR: uh huh.
AA: That's quite a few of 'em.
CR: How many's that?
AA: That would be six, wouldn't it?
CR: Six?
Charlie, Will, Cleve, Phil, Jim. No, that woulda been seven. Seven? Seven. But I do know that Aunt Mattie was the oldest of all.

CR: uh huh. OK. Now in the basement...in the...in what’s left, there’s a fireplace down in the basement.

AA: Oh, is that right?

CR: Now was there a fireplace down there that you remember?

BR: In the Mill?

CR: In the Mill.

BR: I don’t know. I don’t remember about it.

AA: Well, he probably needed hot water. They probably needed hot water to clean the wool with. It’s oily.

CR: Yeah.

AA: To wash the wool, maybe that’s where they washed the wool.

CR: That’s a good point. I know in gristmills they rarely have...uh...

AA: fireplaces.

CR: fireplaces. Because everything is so combustible that...combustible that it would burn too fast. That was always a problem with gristmills. But I was trying to figure out if the same thing holds true for woolen mills.

AA: And he dyed the cloth. So he would have to have had water to dye the cloth with. Cause it would dye blue. Your wool is white so you dye the cloth, right? I’m sure he would have probably had large kettles to dye the wool with.

CR: Well now, did the Yankees ever take that Fulling Mill over?

AA: No, no, no, not to my knowledge. [To Brian.] The Yankees never took that Mill, did they?

BR: hunh?

AA: The Yankees never took that Mill?

BR: No, no.

[END OF SIDE ONE OF TAPE.]

BR: ? They married Mr. Sales sisters and went on then. And Mr. Sales got right hard up and decided to sell...to sell (this here place out?). These two men, they was the son-in-law and...and went on then. And they...they tried to pay for the place. And they couldn’t get money enough to borrowed money to go on paying for the place and just have to (throw it up?). And I don’t know what the...how what they ever done about it. But then Dorman Sales take the place over then?

CR: I don’t know. Not that I know of.

7If all the names given are accurate, there were eight children: Liz, Phil, Jim, Cleve, Will, Charlie, Mattie, and Molly. These are not in chronological order.
AA: Dorman? John Dorman's father?

BR: No.

AA: How about Ben...Ben Anderson? Maybe he took it over then.

CR: No. Will Keffer took it over once the Andersons and the Sales were through with it. What did y'all call the old Mill? Did you have a name for it?

AA: The tannery.

CR: You just called it the tannery.

AA: Brian, it was always called the tannery. That's all I ever heard it called.

BR: Well...

AA: "Over at the tannery", that's all Mama ever said. I've ever heard that from the time I was a little girl. I never heard it called anything else. Did you?

BR: No, Cammer house, Cammer Mill.

AA: Cammer Mill?

BR: Yeah.

AA: Well, maybe that would sound better if you said Cammer Mill. But I never heard it called anything except the tannery and that's what Mama always called it.

CR: When Will Keffer owned it, how many...was it a busy place down there? Were there a lot of people that came in with grain to be ground?

BR: At one time I want to tell you that Will Keffer had a lot of grain ground there.

CR: He ground a lot of grain.

BR: Yeah, he did...He ground a right smart grain there. He had a right good outfit there.

CR: Well, do you remember anyone that...who went down to Will Keffer's Mill?

BR: I taken a lot of grain down there I want to tell ya.

CR: You did.

BR: Yes, I did. I hauled a lot of grain down there.

CR: Who else?

BR: Oh everybody..The whole community I think hauled some grain down there.


AA: How about John Loomis Heishman?

BR: Oh, I guess John Loomis hauled some grain down there.

AA: How about Cousin Harry Richard? Would he have taken grain there?
BR: I guess so. I don’t know. I guess the whole community around hauled their grain.
AA: Would Frank Hulver have taken any down there?
BR: ?
AA: Well, I remember Frank Hulver quite well.
BR: ?
AA: How about Ben Hulver then?
BR: Well...
AA: How about Rueben [Hulver]?
BR: I think the whole community hauled grain down there.
CR: hum. OK...OK...What do you remember about Will Keffer as a person?
BR: hunh?
CR: What do you remember about Will Keffer as a person?
BR: What do I remember about Will? Aw..I guess he was a pretty good fellow.
CR: [laugh] You guess he was, huh?
BR: I guess so.
CR: Annie says he wasn’t very industrious.  
BR: He wasn’t too industrious but he got along pretty well. I think (he passed around a right smart of the work?) . And he wasn’t too..He worked a lot for Papa a little bit.
CR: At his Mill.
BR: Yeah, a little bit. I don’t remember that was before my time. But I heard Papa talking about Will Keffer helpin’ in some way. I think Will wasn’t too bad a fellow. I don’t think he was too bad. I don’t think he was too industrious but..but he got along pretty fair. I tell you Will done a lot of grinding’ over thare at one time. He ground buckwheat flour and things like that.
CR: uh huh. Do you remember Ben Anderson? Now what was he like?
BR: [laughter]
CR: You’re goin’ to laugh about that.
BR: I know about ol’ Ben. He married the best lookin’ woman in the country they say. They tell me he did.
CR: That was Lilly Sale.
BR: Yeah, yeah, she was considered a fine looking woman at one time. I’ve heard people talk about that when I growed up.
CR: uh huh.
BR: But old Ben..ol’ Ben wasn’t no account at all.

---

8Annie Brill did not say that Will Keffer was not industrious; she said that Anderson and Miller were not industrious.
CR: Oh, he wasn't?
BR: No, he wasn't no account. *(he wasn't worth?)*
CR: What was his problem?
BR: What was his problem? Orneriness.
CR: Orneriness?
BR: Yeah.
CR: What made him ornery?
BR: *[laugh]* Some people grows up and they ain't no count, you know. And some people grows up, it's all right.
CR: hum. What..Did you know Roy Miller?
BR: Yeah.
CR: What was he like?
BR: He wasn't much better. I'm going to tell you the fact about it. Roy Miller..he run a garage over at..Front Royal and Roy Miller married..Sales girl. Oh, I know her name. Let's see what was her..Lil.
CR: Carrie.
BR: What? Carrie, Carrie, yeah, I knewed Carrie right well. And she went with a right popular fellow and they thought..everybody thought they were going to married right away. She went with Dave Moore for a while. And they felt sure she was gonna get married right away. And Dave stopped and Roy Miller went with her once or twice or just two or three times and they went and got married.
CR: Who..Like after the Civil War who did your Grandfather Cammer..did he..uh..make cloth just for the community or did it go..did he make cloth...
BR: He made cloth for the army; he didn't make no cloth for the community.
CR: Oh, he didn't?
BR: No, he made cloth just for the army.
CR: What..What happened after the Civil War?
BR: Well, Lee just shut things down *(take it away?)*. He [Grandpa Cammer] moved away. He moved back there and bought a place out there beside of us.
CR: OK. So after the Civil War he didn't..uh..run that woolen factory?
BR: No, they just closed up everything. The army just closed up and I guess he didn't have no money either. And he just went back..went back there and bought a place beside of us. His boys went to work and they done pretty good. He done pretty good as long as he lived.
CR: uh huh. Now earlier you said that he..uh..I thought you said that he worked at the old Mill until 19..1880 or 1881. But he stopped after the Civil War? Cammer?
BR: I think he closed up there after the Civil War. I don't think that he...I don't think that he worked anymore. I mean that he bought that place back there..back there.
CR: uh huh.
BR: Right after the Civil War a little bit.

CR: OK. Well, did his boys continue working the Mill?

BR: I think the (boys worked some at the Mill?). Now I don't know much about...Uncle Jim was I mean...a few...several years...No, it been several years ago and he told me something about workin' there in the Mill a little bit.

CR: uh huh.

BR: I heard Uncle Will and Uncle Charlie...They was older and I don't know whether...They never told me much about ever workin' in the Mill. I don't know.
APPENDIX 5

INTERVIEW WITH

ANNIE BRILL

on

May 17, 1985

[Annie Sale Brill talks about Will Keffer, her stepfather. Will Keffer and Miss Annie’s mother married but later separated.]

Annie Brill: Yeah, he was the stingiest man I ever seen. He didn’t want you to have enough to eat. He was terrible. He’d eat things that was mouldy. Mama couldn’t stand it. Now see John Keffer was his father, and he’s [Will Keffer] the one that started the gristmill there, Will Keffer.

Cassandra Richard: Will Keffer started the gristmill?

AB: Yeah, he started it. He started to grind corn and grains. He never made no flour that I know of but cornmeal and wheat and..But he made good corn meal. And he bought that off my grandfather I’m sure, S. B. Sale.

CR: Yeah, S. B. Sale bought it originally in 1904.

AB: Well, this was about 1909 when Keffer got it, I think. Somewhere near that.

CR: ’bout 1916?

AB: No, he didn’t, he had it sooner ’en that. Let’s see, my brother ..well, he was born in 1909..yeah, it might’ve been.

CR: Well now, one thing I found out in the courthouse..in 1904 S. B. Sale bought the Mill. And in 1905 he sold it to Lillie Anderson?

AB: That was his daughter, married Anderson--she was Lillie Sale.

CR: But the Mill I guess, in 1909 it went back to S. B. Sale and Emma Sale?

AB: Yeah.

CR: And then they sold it back in 1913 to B. L. Anderson and R. A. Miller?

AB: Yeah. Roy Miller and Ben Anderson. Benjamin was his name. He was Aunt Lil’s husband. Yes, Lillie Sale’s husband. Roy Miller was Aunt Carrie’s..she was Carrie Sale and married Roy Miller. They had one ..Lillie Anderson had one girl...No, she had two boys, Russell and uh..oh..Paul. And Aunt Carrie married Roy Miller and she had one girl and her name was Genevieve and I don’t know who she married. I never did get that in my mind right. I never seen her after she married. She just....And my brother was born in 1909 and Will Keffer owned
that..I don't know how long after that. It wasn't too long til he bought it.

CR: Well, did he buy it or did he run it?

AB: He bought it I think. He might of rented it a little bit but then he bought it. Because the old race went down there that run the Mill. It had a waterwheel on it 'n it run it. It gave it all the power it had. There was no electricity er nothing about it. And that race came right down by where he built that new house and on down to the waterwheel. He built that house there, Bill Keffer did. Him and...George Lemley, married Laura Keffer. That's his sister and uh...They built that house and after he died, she moved to Strasburg, her and Richard 'n Charlie. Richard and Charlie was the twins. And she moved to Strasburg after Lemley died. And Will bought it or rented it for uh...anyway in the end he bought it. I don't know if he rented it for a year or two before he bought it or not. But he's the one that commenced to runnin' the gristmill.

CR: Was it a fulling mill when your grandfather owned it?

AB: Yes, but it wasn't arunnin' then. When it was first built they processed wool into yarn. That's what give it the name..And it sat idle for a while and then they made a gristmill out of it.

CR: OK. So when your grandfather owned it then, was it pretty much sitting idle?

AB: Yeah, it was idle when..It might not been when he first owned it. I was quite small then..And I mean I don't know nothin' only what I saw and got in my own mind. I never talked to him about it.

CR: uh huh.

AB: Because they objected to my mother marrying Pleas [Pleasant] Sale. They didn't think she was good enough because she was a poor girl. And they never paid much attention to us children. So that way it was kinda bad.

CR: uh huh. What do you remember about the old Mill?

AB: Well, I just re..I can remember when it had those things in it and wool and it had plugs in it of some kind. I don't remember if the wheels had uh...iron plugs. I think they were wooden though. Far as ..I've tried to get it in my mind what kind they were. Where they processed this wool at first. 'N I don't know who' built it. I heard my grandfather say one time. But I can't get that back in memory to save me. It was built beautiful. It's still got beautiful rocks in it.

CR: Do you know why..ah..like this in the courthouse, S. B. Sale sold it to Lillie Anderson who sold it back to S. B. Sale who sold it back to Anderson and Miller. Do you know why they went back and forth?

AB: No, I don't. Miller and Anderson couldn't pay for it in the first place. My grandfather was wealthy but when he died he didn't own very much. He'd do anything [his children] wanted him to do or buy anything...and he couldn't... Anderson didn't make it. He came from back ..way back in West Virginia. But Ben Anderson wasn't a very industrious man..and Miller wasn't either. Miller came from over here in Clary. I forget what his parents' name was. But I was just eight, nine, ten years old around then.

CR: Now were they trying to make a go of the Fulling Mill?

AB: Well, I don't think they ever got into that. They might've fixed it up a little to start it to turn it into a gristmill. They didn't do no grindin' that I know of. And I lived in an old log house right
there where that trailer is. I give that to my son. That was my little property there.

CR: uh huh.

AB: I bought it off of Sales. [Speaking to her dog, Smokey] Come on, come on and behave...Get up here and behave yourself now...before I smack you. Lay down, down!

CR: Or there's a map the realtors of Winchester or Frederick County put together [the 1974 Scheel map] and they call that Mill the Bowman Mill.

AB: The Bowman.

CR: Do you know where it got that name?

AB: No, I don't..No, I don't.

CR: And then there's another mill over at Mountain Falls called the Russell mill?

AB: The what?

CR: The Russell mill.

AB: That was a sawmill wasn't it...and a planing part... thing?

CR: Is that the one near that big house there at Mountain Falls?

AB: Yeah.

CR: It was right down the hill from it?

AB: Yeah, and they had still house there in that cellar. They made apple brandy. Old Jack McIlwee. But it was bought off o' someboby.

CR: And they had the still in the basement of that house?

AB: Yes, sir. And made apple brandy, I'll never forget it as long as I live. Apple brandy and peach brandy and had the post office right up over it! And that there house has got about nine or ten bedrooms the size of..That's a big house. He had two girls. He married a Huff..I forget what her name was, McIlwee's wife. He was a big, fat man and rough man, oh, rough talkin'. Had Mary and Zoe. And Zoe Piper married my father's brother John Sale...Yeah, I know all them people. I used to go in that post office. And I never will forget him makin' that brandy there. And then they had that mill. As well as I can remember it was a planing or lumber mill like, it run..run with a waterwheel.

CR: OK. Well now, this is an 1885 map..and it's got a gristmill..

AB: There at Mountain Falls?

CR: At McIlwee and I'm wondering if..something happened and they closed that gristmill down and is that when they switched this Mill over to a gristmill?

AB: Well, they might have now that could have been a gristmill too. But they planed some lumber there. But it run with a waterwheel..down ..They called 'em races. They were about that wide [approximately one yard]. 'N they was air tight, cemented so the water wouldn't run out. 'N they run it down in the wheel. You know how the wheel's made?

CR: uh huh.

---

1This is the original miller's house which is no longer standing.
AB: Like buckets in it. 'N that's all..it holds water. And it was run by waterwheel, too. I remember that quite well.

CR: But it was used as a sawmill as far as you can remember?

AB: It seems to me like it had a little planeing machine or something. Now I know they did. But I guess they done some grindin'. I remember the wheel so well and the old race that come down there.

CR: Well, they had water-powered sawmills, too.

AB: Yeah, so they had..they done some planeing or sawing or something there. McIiwee did or some help he had. He never done no work himself. He made brandy...They run a little store there, too. Up there. The store across from that house,.Jack McIiwee built that little store and he run it... him and Mary, his daughter, together. And...They had a doctor's office in there. I forget what that doctor's name was. Only time we ever had a doctor in Mountain Falls.

CR: Hollis.

AB: That's right. Doctor Hollis. You're right. I can remember that little office he had in a corner of that building...Cause Mama would send us to the store. She knew what she wanted and she gave us some money. She always paid for her groceries. She wouldn't buy a thing on time, my that was a disgrace she thought. And we were poor people. We had a time keeping things going but we did.

CR: Do you remember who used this Mill down here? [i.e., the Fulling Mill.]

AB: only gristmill. I remember of 'em grindin'...I don't remember nothing about the uh..wool. But I remember, I seen the machinery before it was taken out. That's the reason I told you I didn't know for sure whether it was wooden pegs or iron pegs. I think they were wooden pegs on a wheel some way or other. Of course I don't know, I don't remember all about it. I couldn't a been over eight years old. I guess, if I was that old. But I remember seeing them before they taken 'em out.

CR: Well, once they turned it into a gristmill, did you ever go down there then?

AB: Yes, I used to go down there. Mama used to buy a little cornmeal there. He made good cornmeal. And people would bring their wheat and barley there to get it ground for their stock. He had a good lot of customers.

CR: Do you remember any names of customers?

AB: Well, Paul Richard's father one. [James E. Richard]

CR: uh huh.

AB: Let's see, who did come and..Little Ed Richard back there, brought his grindin' there.

CR: There was ah..The last people that I know of that.. They owned the Mill before your grandfather and that was the Williams.

AB: Was who?

CR: Benjamin Williams and Sons ran the Mill. And I can't remember...I don't have all their names, the sons names. Do you remember anything?

AB: Do you have any of the sons' names, Williams'.

CR: Not with me.

AB: Charlie 'n Phil.
CR: Oh yes, I do...Let's see here.

AB: That's the only ol' Williams that I knewed 'n he had two sons, Charlie 'n Will...The one I knew now.

CR: Let's see...Benjamin Williams, Phillip Williams, James W. Williams.

AB: Well now that's Charlie. That's Phil I know, he had a boy Phil and Charlie that I know. I don't know if Charles was his first name or not, but they called him Charles. He didn't have no girls, did he?

CR: Well, it just says here "Benjamin Williams, Phillip B. Williams and James W. Williams together constituting the firm or copartners in the fulling or woolen manufacturing business of Benjamin Williams and Sons".

AB: Well, I knew a Williams lived way down there on the crik. You had to cross the crik on a swingin' bridge. They were very old people and they had two boys I knew. They were old, the one boy as me or as old and he had two boys, Phil and Charlie. I can remember them as well as if it was yesterday. But I don't really know what the old man's name was.

CR: uh huh...On this 1885 map.

AB: Yeah.

CR: They've got down here by the carding factory...

AB: uh huh.

CR: OK. Well, here's the...the Mill and across the road they've got a B. Williams living there. And I guess that's Benjamin Williams but I don't know.

AB: I don't know if the old man's name was Ben or not. But I know he had two boys, the one I knew. He was an old man and he had Charlie and Phil. He never had no girls that I knew of...Let's see, Phil's dead. I don't think Charlie is dead, but I forgot where he is now. Did know where they lived. He married a Ryman [sp?]. Ryman, married Dorothy Ryman. They had two or three boys. They didn't have no girls. But I don't know where any of them is anymore. I've lost sight of 'em. But I remember that old Williams that had them two boys and lived on down on the crik. And Bill Butler owned a nice farm next to them and Holtzman, Marvin Holtzman got ahold of the Butler farm. And I don't know who ever bought the Williams' place. But they had a right good farm but it was on the opposite side of the crik. It was in Shenandoah, you see, which the crik's the county line between Frederick and Shenandoah. And they was on the other side of it. You'd have to cross the swinging' bridge to walk across there. You'd have to go way, miles down to get across with a vehicle...where they lived.

CR: The gristmill. Were people always hangin' around the gristmill?

AB: Good bit. And he...They did a lot of grinding. Bill Keffer, he done an awful lot of grinding. He was busy most of the time.

CR: Did they do it year round?

AB: Yeah, anytime that you wanted any grinding done. Sometimes they'd get big chunks of icicles on them wheels. 'N they take a pole 'n break them off so it would run. It would freeze fast, you know. I can see them doing that yet.

CR: So they would run it even with the icicles forming on the wheel?

AB: That's right. It couldn't run. It didn't have no power, you see. 'N knock them off to get it runnin' again. Get the water to it and the ice wasn't heavy and the fresh water run in 'n it would melt
it. It would be warmer than the ice. And they'd drop off. Then they had plenty of power.

CR: In some of...the ledger books I've seen of mills...they'll have ah..an entry charged to a certain person. You know, like to Joe Blow.

AB: Yeah, yeah.

CR: By order of John Smith. And was that a way of...ah,..for Joe Blow to pay a debt to John Smith? Or something like that? Would people pay debts like that?

AB: Who you mean?

CR: Well...

AB: Keffer or who?

CR: Yeah, would someone..Let's see, I owed you something and ah..so I would take some grain to Keffer.

AB: Yeah.

CR: And have him grind it up for you. Did things like that happen?

AB: Well, I suppose a lot of that happened. I mean..They called it credit they give you...I don't remember much about it. I remember everyone around having credit though. Credit at the stores. They'd pay 'em up once a month.

CR: I see, OK.

AB: But I know Keffer didn't..anything charged he didn't get. Because if he had a cent acomin' to him, he was going to have that cent. If it was a half cent, he wanted a half..He was too tight to eat what he wanted....

CR: Where did people go around here for flour, wheat flour? Did they...

AB: Oh, they'd buy it out of the stores 'n we used to have a..well..I think they still make a little of it out from Winchester. What do they call that old mill?

CR: Millwood? Bartonsville?

AB: Yeah, everybody lately, that I know, in the last years has had their flour made there. 'N then they got so they just bought it out of stores. Sold their wheat 'n bought the flour.

CR: Well, did they, did people here ever go down to the flour mill at Star Tannery?

AB: Oh yes, Luther Brill run that. My land I've hauled. I used to bake up one hundred 'n ninety-six pounds of flour every month. You may not believe that but that's the truth. We couldn't get a loaf of bread 'n we boarded eight men, sawmill men. I had to bake all the bread. I'd ride an old horse over there...man saddle..pair of pants..on straddle. And he'd fill a hundred pound bag in front of me 'n bring it home. He used to tell me I wouldn't live to be thirty years old. I was aworkin' too hard. I only weighed one hundred 'n eight pounds. I never will forget poor Luther. He had..There was two of them, Luther 'n..what was the other one's name? George. Two boys run the Star Tannery mill. 'N it never was run much..Pitt Sager run it..'n made some feed. But he never made no flour. Some feed 'n cornmeal after that but that's all. When Luther Brill died, it wasn't run no more. T'was sold.

CR: Well, did more people buy their..ah..flour from..Luther Brill or from a store out here?
AB: Well, I guess they bought more from Luther. I don’t know, he sold an awful lot of flour, cornmeal ‘n buckwheat flour. He made cornmeal ‘n he made buckwheat flour..and graham flour. You know the difference?

CR: What’s graham flour?

AB: It’s got some bran in it. A lot of people eat it. Say it’s healthy. I never liked it myself....I don’t like rye bread. My daughter does but I don’t.

CR: Well, if...Let’s..take my grandfather, for example, if he would come down to the Keffer Mill..to Will Keffer to have feed fer, ya know, animal feed. Would he go over to Luther Brill’s for flour or would he go into town for flour?

AB: No, he would usually go over there for flour. He sold a lot of feed. Now see, when you make flour, you got two grades off of it. Bran ‘n mixed bran’n I forget what they called the. outside of the wheat ‘n things, you know, when they bleach your flour ‘n fix your flour up.

CR: Is that called middlin’s.

AB: Yeah, middlin’s ‘n bran comes off of it, see. He had a lot of it he’d sell for the stock. He had a lot of customers. People come from way, even Clary over here..to the Mill. Cause that’s the only one ..Bartonsville..that I know that’s been around for years well..that I know of.

CR: I think they closed that one down a couple years ago now.
APPENDIX 6

INTERVIEW WITH
CHARLES S. KEFFER
on
June 22, 1983

Cassandra Richard: Did your brother, Will Keffer, operate any other mills besides the one up there at Mountain Falls?

Charlie Keffer: Well, he bought that...he had a mill down there at the store. He had a traction engine and a mill down there for a while...before he went up...before he bought that.

CR: Where was that at?

CK: That was back down there where the store...

CR: What store?

CK: The one down there where Dewey Hulver...I don't know who he bought that lot off of there. So then he built a store there and it burnt down.

CR: Up there at Mountain Falls?

CK: Yeah.

CR: Oh, there by McIlwee's?

CK: No, that was McIlwee's store. He went down the road from McIlwee's. But of course now he...uh...he just like he did up there. He...uh...he spent money on that. Well, some of the walls was out when he bought that.

CR: Some of the walls?

CK: He had that put in. Fixed it...put in. Some of it fell out.

CR: Some of the walls had fallen out? Outside walls or inside walls?

CK: Yeah, outside. He spent a hundred dollars on that. Fixin' that up. Then he put that top on...He put that on and of course that's...it's all fell in now. But...uh...

CR: So when he bought it, then it was just the stone part?

CK: I don't know if the burr was in there or not. He...ground...buckwheat and rye. He had a burr...It's a stone. That's what they called it. He had...un...I don't know whether that was already in there or not. He had that...I think he had that put in. So he uh...he didn't grind no flour. He just ground buckwheat flour and cornmeal. He only ground cornmeal and buckwheat flour...on that burr...stone...It was a stone...rye chop...feed that he ground. That's all. He didn't ground no regular flour...except cornmeal and buckwheat. Was all he
Chopping it?

He had to take it up and swing it around so you could get to it. He...uh...I don't know how long. Now he was...He had a water-wheel up in trunks and was grinding wheat. He had hogs and chickens and he went and bought another horse and bought a field over there and went plowing. I meant to go to plowing, too. Trying to farm and run a mill. He tried to be two people. You can't do it. You can't run a mill and people come around and he was over in the field.

Well, was the Mill kept pretty busy?

So that's...I don't know a whole lot about it except that he ground cornmeal 'n buckwheat and rye chop. That all the ground. He had good...buckwheat flour and good cornmeal. But if he'd just stayed there and tended to it 'stead of trying to farm too...I stayed with him two summers.

Do you remember what years you were with him?

I was with him '23 and '24...Yeah, it was just about that time.. '23 and '24. So we stayed up there the first summer. We stayed up there in the Mill. He went up there. He drew plans off up there on the floor, on the upstairs floor for the waterwheel.

He drew plans for the waterwheel on the floor upstairs?

He drewed plans for...on the floor for it...to make the wheel. I don't know how he done it. I didn't have sense enough to do that. People would come along and wonder what I was doin'. They said "Well, you ain't got sense enough to do that." I said, "No, I haven't." I said, "I'm just doin' what he wants me to do." He laid it off up there on that floor...plans for the wheel, the waterwheel.

Well, how many floors...how many floors were in that old Mill?

There was three with the basement.

Three. What was on the basement?

They had...the basement there. He had the machinery in there. But the burr was up on the second floor where they grind the feed...Turned the waterwheel in the basement in the lower part. The wheel was there.

It was a fulling mill before Will Keffer bought it. I mean he bought it from Sales but...ah...before...I don't know that Sales did anything...any grinding. He didn't convert it...It's my understanding that Will Keffer converted it over to a gristmill.

Yeah, that's right, yeah.
CR: And... But... It was a fulling mill in the eighteen hundreds and I don't know. I think it just sat idle... you know, before Will Keffer bought it, there, for a while.  I think it was a fulling mill while Sales had it.

CK: Well, it sat there for a good while... Let's see... I don't know how... I didn't help him when he first started. I helped him build a house. First year we stayed up there and built a house... And then next year we lived in the house and next year we cut that stuff out for a 24-foot waterwheel. And he had a steel shaft, but the arms was wood... Where the water went in it was wood. Yeah, it was wood.

CR: Now the race way or trough was it all above ground? Or was there any part that was in the ground?

CK: What's that?

CR: From the dam... you know how water would come down from the dam down...?

CK: It come down in front of the house over there. He had a dam up there on Duck Run. It brought the water over. I don't know how far up the dam was... The water would come down in front of the house (and went in the trunks there?)

CR: What was on the third floor of the Mill?

CK: That's where we had... We had pulleys go up there and pull that cornmeal, buckwheat. He had that to pull that up and bring the flour down. We slept up there and ate up there in the summer.

CR: That was in '23? The first summer you were there?

CK: '23, yeah.

CR: That's where you lived on the third floor.

CK: Yeah... He built that on top. The stone didn't go up that high. But, uh, there wasn't a whole lot in the basement, down in the basement.

CR: Well, is ah... Laura's picture of the Mill is that pretty accurate? Is that what it looked like? [see Fig. 20]

CK: Yeah, that's what it looked like.

CR: Well, has the road changed?

CK: Yeah, see they put this new road down through there.

CR: Now does the road come more like this now?

CK: Let's see... This is the old road. I don't see nothing of the new road. That's the field over there. This here's next to the house.

CR: OK. Now the house would be over here?

CK: Yeah, be over here.

CR: And the new road or the existing road doesn't it come straight down like this?

CK: Yes, I believe it is. Let's see... Now the road now goes along here somewhere... But that's what it looked like when he was arunnin' it. She's got that wagon backed up there and he's standing on the porch... Laura... This here... looks like somebody had corn in there.

CR: Where was the house he lived in before the... uh... this one?
CK: That's over here. It'd be over here that house...up farther. It's up farther...There's the trunks right there.

CR: Yeah, I was looking at that. She's even got the...stands underneath it...

CK: Laura gave me this picture. That's the way the Mill looked when he was arunnin' it. And that's...We stayed up there. And that's there's the main floor there cause we had the grinding in there...that porch there...And this here is a place __?__. But uh I can't see which way...the road's over here. It comes right here at the bottom. This is the old road.

CR: Did your brother keep any log books of the Mill?

CK: Well..

CR: Any accounts, any day books or log books?

CK: No, I don't think so. I don't know it...whether he did or not.

CR: But you don't have any or know of anybody that has?

CK: No, I don't.

CR: Do you remember the names of anyone that came down to that Mill...to use it?

CK: What? To have feed ground?

CR: uh huh.

CK: All different ones around. There was Little Ed Richards some of them came around and different ones around there. Well, the Tripplets.

CR: Tripplets.

CK: You goin' to find out somethin' else about that? Who built it? Can't get that. What did Annie Brill tell ya?

CR: Ah...Well, she told me that it ran all year and she could remember the ice forming on the wheels and having to break the ice off. And ah..

CK: She's older than I am.

CR: She is?

CK: Yeah, I don't know how old she is, but I know she's older than I am. She uh well her mother..Will married her mother.

CR: Yeah.

CK: Ellen Sales and he lived in that old house there. It's not standing there now.

CR: Well, when your brother and...uh..Annie's mother separated, is that when he built the house?

CK: Yeah, he and I built the house in one summer. Now Laura...Somebody livin' in it now, ain't there?

CR: Yeah.

CK: Well, she said that...she reckoned termites when she moved out of it.

CR: That the house was full of termites?
CK: She said the floor had gone down and George had...he had to take the floor up and put sills under it in one room. She said the floor had gone down...before they left...before they moved out.

CR: Well, did you ever hear of a Bowman?

CK: Bowman?

CR: uh huh. The realtors of Frederick County drew up a map of old historic places in Frederick County and the Keffer Mill they've got down as the Bowman Mill.

CK: They have?

CR: And I haven't found anything or anyone that knows...has ever heard of a Bowman.

CK: I haven't either...I don't know anybody by that name...by Bowman. So I don't know much about that. Who had that place before I don't know. Have you been able to find out who run that Mill? I mean what was it? A knitting mill or what? Did you find out who ran that before he turned it into a gristmill?

CR: Well, there's a Benjamin Williams and Sons that were woolen manufacturers that...

CK: Williams?

CR: uh huh, Benjamin Williams and Philip Williams. When the Mill was operating, ya know, was it busy most of the day?

CK: ...Well, actually most of the day except when he went to...when he started farming.

CR: If he hadn't gone to farming could he have continued...would he have been busy at the Mill, grinding or...?

CK: Well, yeah...people...he had a bunch of hogs there and chickens he was afeeding... The toll he got...He took some of that toll out for grinding out of the feed. I don't know what he did for cornmeal and buckwheat.

CR: So he would take so much of what he ground as payment?

CK: Yeah, the toll out of the bag. Of course that's the reason he told me not to...Of course after that I don't know how much he took out. I did know when I was there and weighed it out. He had scales and uh...But now I forgot now how much he took out in toll. That's been a good while that was back in...

CR: twenties.

CK: twenties, yeah...When I was twenty...twenty-two, I passed off for eighteen. If I tell anybody I was twenty-two they'd tell me I was tryin' to put my age up...But I...There ain't nobody that believes that I'm as old as I am now.

CR: No, you don't look eighty-three to me. In the Mill that's standing now, what's left...there's a fireplace there.

CK: Yeah.

CR: Was there a fireplace in it when you were there?

CK: Down in the basement, yeah.

CR: Why would anyone have a fireplace there?

CK: I don't know...what they had that for.
CR: Did y'all use it?
CK: Yeah...He had it there...?... Chimney went up there and we had a stove upstairs there...We cooked on it when we stayed up there.
CR: Was that the third floor or the second floor?
CK: Third floor where we stayed. And second floor was where he had the...where burr was where you grind the feed and everything.
CR: So you had a fireplace in the basement and...
CK: I don't know what they use that for, I don't know.
CR: And they a stove on the third floor...Well, did he just put that in while he was living there?
CK: I don't know...That was already...It was already there...I rec-kon...I don't know what it was in there for unless somebody stayed there.
APPENDIX 7

INTERVIEW WITH

PAUL RICHARD

on

August 18, 1983

Cassandra Richard: Can you tell me what equipment was on each of the floors in the Mill?

Paul Richard: Well, on the bottom floor the gear wheels, see, the big waterwheel turned; and it hooked into other wheels underneath. It was sorta the machinery room I guess you would call it. And that run then..ah..all that turned and that turned all the other stuff upstairs. You had..ah..belt elevators..belts with buckets on 'em to take the grain up into feed and dump it out different places.

CR: OK. Now did the elevators go down to the basement?

PR: Yeah.

CR: From first floor..is that where they picked up the grain?

PR: Yeah, they went down there, and the belt turned 'em down there. They went from there clean up to the top. Then they would take it up to the top and dump it in a wooden chute; it came down on the middle floor then.

CR: OK.

PR: Now the...That's about all that was down there was the gears where all the belts and...Of course, the elevators went down because there's where they turned from, see. If you'd had an electric motor, you'd 've had it up above.

CR: Now where'd the elevator pick up the grain at?

PR: Well, on the middle floor.

CR: On the middle floor.

PR: It would dump out...there was a box there...dump it in..in these elevators just run in the side, 'n these buckets would pick 'em up. In other words, they were bucket elevators you would call 'em. They had buckets fastened to a belt. And when it got up to the top it would dump it out and they had places up there to change it to dump it so it would come down one chute or maybe one in one of the mills..one of the grinders, you know, and another chute. And they had a wise up there, they call 'em. You could..ah..pull a paddle and..and it would come down one chute and pull it the other way and it would go down another chute.

CR: OK, and the wise would determine which chute it went in?
PR: uh huh, see, in other words, you turn the paddle that way, it'd go down this chute and you turn it this way and it'd go down this chute. And maybe if he was grindin', they'd run it in the hopper where the grinder was. Then what would come out of the grinder it would.. ah.. it would go down one of these things. And if you was gonna bag it.. sack it right then, they you'd just hook a sack on the chute and it would go up here and fall down that chute.. run in the sack.

CR: OK, so if you were going to sack, then they had an elevator that took it back up to the floor.

PR: Yeah.

CR: And then it would go down the chute to the second.

PR: Out of the mill where it was grinding, it would go down in the elevator. It'd go down, run down in one of these bucket elevators. And wherever he wanted it then he would change it to run into there. Like if he was grindin' for me and was gonna bag it, he'd run it up 'n run down the chute. And it woulda.. when you got a bag full you'd push a gate in 'n shut it off until you got that back off and another bag on. Then you pull out the chute and let it run in the sack.

CR: OK. Now how many elevators...

PR: Now like if you was gonna take grain there to sell it, he would buy it and he would run it in ah.. in one of these elevators. And it would maybe go upstairs and run it in a bin, just run it out on the floor like in a bin.

CR: The ground meal or flour or buckwheat?

PR: Yeah, any kind.

CR: Any kind.

PR: And also upstairs was.. ah.. the screen that screened the cornmeal and the buckwheat flour out. He'd grind it and it would go up there and dump in the thing that turned with cloth on it, real fine cloth. And it would sift the fine flour out. And when it got to the end the rough stuff or the hulls would come out there.

CR: Now how did the bolting cloth work?

PR: Well, it was just like a round wheel made maybe.. ten ..twelve feet long. And it had this cloth around it, and it was hollow inside, see. And it was fixed so it'd just keep turnin' on a little slope. And.. er.. after he ground the stuff, the hulls and all would go in one end of it and it would keep.. keep turning and the flour would sift through this cloth. Everything that went through the cloth would go in the bin and the bin was made like that in a.. a chute went down to the middle floor. So when he bagged it out down there, you see, he'd bag it in maybe ten pound bags or five pound bags or twenty-five pound bags in paper bags. For.. That was the cornmeal and the buckwheat meal. I don't believe he ever made any wheat flour there. But.. ah.. they had to be a little finer probably.

CR: What was the bolting cloth made out of?

PR: Well, it wasn't screen but it was.. but it was.. It was on the order of screen only it wasn't made out of metal. It was made.. just cloth. They used to call it cheesecloth. Was ah.. Had holes.. Had larger holes in it than your shirt has, see?

CR: Right, so it was like...

PR: It was woven like that.

CR: So it was more like cheesecloth?
PR: Well, it was something like the cheesecloth, but I think it was finer. It had different...different grades like so many holes to the inch. It was real fine, you know...fairly fine. Wasn't nothin'...Well, you know, I don't know if you ever ate cakes, it was almost like flour. It wasn't quite as fine maybe as wheat flour, but it was real fine cloth. Only it wasn't like cloth fine as you clothes is made out of.

CR: OK.

PR: But it looked something like real fine screen, but it wasn't. They might've used screen later on, but what I seen up there...This thing that turned; it was about twenty inches. I would say, around. It was like a long...ah...and it was just a wooden thing with a shaft through it. And then spokes came out like a wheel. And then this cloth...There were strips went from one end to the other on these wheels like, and then the cloth would go around that tight. And then see, as the stuff went in it and this thing kept turnin' it would go up and fall down, go up and fall down. And the fine stuff would sift out through. And then when you got down to the...It would keep working down, you see. And the stuff that didn't go through, it then would go out in another pile, in another bin, you see, you have another petition here. See, there was a bin here. This end was open for the stuff to go in, and this end was open for the hulls to go out.

CR: And then what you wanted would go in the middle?

PR: All right, the middle stuff was the fine flour.

CR: OK, and then if he wanted to bag that...he had a bin..or chute?

PR: Well, he had a bin...they were made like thin. And they'd come down to maybe a four or five-inch hole. And then he...the chute went on down to the middle floor then. And he had a gate he stuck in to cut it off, and he could run there til his bin up here got full. And they would fill up this pipe that goes down. All them chutes was made out of six-inch boards. They was just six-inch square with a hole in 'em. And he'd stick a sack under there and pull his chute out. If he was baggin' it in five..ten pound, he'd have the scales there, his bag sittin' on the scales. He'd set it five..ten pounds 'n if he got a little too much, he would take a little out and put it in a box. Had a little scoop there. And if he didn't have quite enough, he'd scoop in the little box and put a little in the scales til his scales balanced.

CR: Do you remember how many elevators all total there were?

PR: Well, yeah, he had quite a few of those. It was, I guess, five or six of 'em, each one of them bins upstairs for different stuff. Now some of them like if he would have these bins there with wheat in them or corn, he'd have one to them, and it would run down. He could run it down right in his grindin' hopper, see? And when the hopper built up that would shut it off and as it ground went down it would..keep runnin' down.

CR: Now did he...

PR: But all them elevators down on the floor...he had a slot in 'em with a board stick in there to shut it off. And then if he like when he wanted it to run out he'd just pull that slot out and let it run out what he wanted to. But he had I don't know how many of those chutes all of 'em bin upstairs. He'd have a bin here for corn and one for wheat...stuff like that. Then when he wanted to draw it out and grind it he'd open one of them chutes and it would roll...come right down to where you'd grind. He had a hopper on top of that mill, the burr mill, it was a...a stone is what it was. I guess you know..I don't know if you've ever seen one of 'em or not; it was big round stone 'bout as around as this table or bigger. It was kinda like a saucer. It was a little higher in the middle. and then another stone
right on top of it. And...ah...this bottom one sit still and the top one turned, I think, the way it was.

CR: OK, but this...the bottom one is raised a little...

PR: Both of 'em was made like a saucer. One saucer slipped down over the other.

CR: OK, so this...the bottom one was kinda was what do they call that convex or something...

PR: Yeah, they...

CR: or concave.

PR: Both of 'em was like...and one of 'em the bottom one was rough. They had sharp...They had hammers; they would take and cut little grooves from the center down. Well, the top stone...ah...was hollow. It had a hole in it like that and the grain would go down. 'N he had a wooden box on top of there to feed the grain down in there. 'N one of 'em set still and one of 'em turned and the grain was there and he had ways to tighten it, make 'em closer together, just almost rub, you see. So they'd grind this grain. And they...were sloping, sloping like a saucer 'n as it ground it'd keep pushin' it out the side. When it got down to the bottom it would fall out in the...it'd go down in the...in the bin underneath down on the bottom floor. And then the elevator there would catch it and take it up wherever he wanted it.

CR: OK...OK...So after it was ground it went down in the basement?

PR: Yeah, it went down in the basement in a...well, it went down there in one of these elevators. That would take it upstairs 'n he'd put it wherever he wanted it then.

CR: OK.

PR: If he wanted to bag it, he would just go up there and dump it out in a chute 'n come back down on the middle floor 'n you'd bag it out there.

CR: What did his bags look like? Were they paper?

PR: Well...if he just grind feed, he would put 'em in these bags...cloth bags...burlap. And the...the bags that he had the flour in would be paper bags with cornmeal on 'em or buckwheat meal. And if somebody just wanted...ah...take home maybe he would just put it out in a cotton bag, maybe all of it in one bag or somethin' like that. You know, a family'd get...they'd get forty...thirty, forty pounds of cornmeal or buckwheat meal it would do 'em quite a bit. They'd bake cakes out of it, ya know.

CR: What's buckwheat meal made out of?

PR: Buckwheat? D'ya ever see buckwheat?

CR: No.

PR: It's three cornered...the grain is. And it's bla...when it's ripe it's black, but inside it's white. And it's just got a hull on it but they're...they're three cornered. They grow...the grain grows right out on the stalk. It grows...say you plant it in July and you cut in September...somethin' like that. And it grows up bushy. You sow it just somethin' like wheat or barley, you know. But it grows the same season. Most your wheat or barley takes longer for them to grow. You're suppose to sow them in the fall, ya know, and harvest them in...ah...June...July. But the buckwheat you sow it...ah...I would say after corn plantin' they use to maybe depend on the weather. If it was a good season they'd plant it in June maybe. 'N it'd take it about sixty days. They'd aim to cut it before frost and...them days you cut
it with a cradle. And they would...the straw would be kinda green yet when they cut it. But after all the grain would get dark, it would have some bloom on it 'n green grains and... when they got through bloomin' they'd look like all the grains had formed, then they'd cut it and set it up in a little shock peakked-like. They'd get maybe about that high from the table up. And when it dried then they would thrash it. Before they had the thrashin' machine they'd flail it out they'd call it. You'd lay it on the...somethin' like...well, they use to build up a thing out of rails and then put finer poles on top of it 'n lay it on there and pound it and the buckwheat would fall through. And throw the straw away and then they'd finally have to get the leaves 'n all. They could run it through a windmill, over a windmill and blow that chaff 'n straw out. You'd wind up with good clean grain that way. Then he'd take that and grind up that and them black hulls wouldn't grind up fine. See, they would just kinda crack up and be...the outside, but the inside would grind up fine like...real fine. Now it'd mash it up. It was softer, you know. Same way with wheat and corn, too, see. The wheat you'd have the skin; what they used to call bran or feed. It was the hulls was bran and they would feed that to stock then, them hulls. Now the buckwheat hulls was just black but they would...ah...the grain instead of being oblong like the wheat grain he's just three-cornered. About I'd say a quarter...well, from an eighth to a quarter of an inch maybe in diameter, something like that.

CR: What did they do with the hulls of the buckwheat?

PR: Well, they would mix it in sometime with other grain...other feed and just feed it to cattle but it wasn't too much...ah...they didn't like it too well by itself. But you'd mix it in with ground corn or wheat they would eat it then that way, more of a filler than it was a body builder, I guess. [Laugh.]

CR: uh huh...OK. How big was the waterwheel?

PR: Well it was...probably fifteen feet in diameter straight up and down. That would make it forty-eight feet around it or fifty around it. And even...it would have...like buckets on it. They'd make 'em outta wood. Say it would be two feet wide. And...uh...fifteen...eighteen feet high. Round. It would maybe have about every foot it would have one of those buckets. So maybe you'd have fifty of those buckets. So the water would run through or a little bit. But soon as they'd fill up these buckets, these buckets had a hole bored in one...and that run out of one end to the other to start it, you see. After it got started. After you got there and it would fill up the top bucket and it had a inch hole or so it would keep runnin' in one til it got...When it got weight enough then the wheel would start turnin'. Then you'd put water enough..if you wanted it to turn fast, you'd put all the water to keep them buckets full fast.

CR: OK, so you could control the speed of the wheel?

PR: But you'd have say...say each one of them buckets would hold five gallons and you had twenty-five of 'em on that wheel. Fifty back here'd be empty and the front fifty 'd be full of water, you'd have a thousand pounds of weight goin' down there to turn that wheel. And maybe more than that five gallons...twenty-five, five times twenty-five is a hundred and twenty-five gallons at eight times eight pounds to the gallon, you see...would be...ah...eight...twelve hundred, almost a thousand pounds or somethin' like that.

CR: What was...or do you remember what the drop was? Sometimes they'll talk about, you know, a mill having a twenty-foot drop or a nine-foot drop or...

PR: Well, this 'n down here the water came right out maybe six or eight inches or a foot over the wheel and of course as it went back down. If it's a fifteen feet high, the wheel, it would dump it out at the bottom, see, and that bucket would come back up empty.
CR: Right.

PR: See, here goes the full bucket. It fills her up here and she goes down and when it gets down it runs out and the empty one comes up. And it keeps fillin' one as it empties one it fills another.

CR: OK. How far away was the dam?

PR: Well, he had a couple of 'em--dams. He had a dam right there at his house...say a hundred feet from the Mill. Then he had a wooden trough that went from this dam down to the waterwheel. It was up on legs. It put...uh...built it up. It was high down where...see, it got fifteen feet high off the ground down at the Mill. But the Mill was lower than the dam so the water would run down these...this trough like a big trough. It was...It was about thirty inches wide and ah probably twenty-four inches high, the sides was. Well, that would be almost on a level with the dam, see. And ah, other words, you'd have that thing say two foot of water in it. 'N then you maybe open a crack down here or a gate six inches for it to run out to turn the wheel and maybe if you wasn't grindin' too hard or didn't have too much hooked to it. See, its mill, the hardest thing was the mill and then you had all these little elevator things hooked to it which they didn't run too hard..That dam it wasn't over thirty feet wide I guess there at the house. And it was maybe a hundred feet long, went on up toward Duck Run. Well then on up there where it come out of Duck Run he had another dam, see. But he had..all them was higher than the one down at the...

CR: Well, was this like a pond down here?

PR: Yeah, just like a pond that's all it was. But he had...he had one side built up to keep it from runnin' down, you see, like it was on a hillside. Well, then he had to go up the Run to get elevation to bring the water run outta Duck Run up there out. But up there where he brought it out, he dammed up the Run, and he run it out there to another dam or pond, you would call it really. That's just what it was. And ah..he'd just dig out this hole and then..he had a ditch from that second dam down to the dam here at the house or down here at the Mill. So that way he could gain water over night, fill up this dam and that dam, see?

CR: OK, so he had...

PR: Then if he was usin' more water than the Run would furnish he would have this stor..this storage in those ponds.

CR: So he had the dam that was on Duck Run plus two mill ponds?

PR: Well, yeah, well..ah..the Run all he done was put some logs across the Run to make the water run down this ditch he had.

CR: OK.

PR: And then when it built up so high it would go over this log. It wasn't more than so high..just a foot..just enough to make it go down in the ditch. He opened up the ditch from the Run down into the first pond.

CR: OK.

PR: Then he had a ditch from that pond down to the next...the second pond and this went from this pond into the race, they call it the race...the trough that went from that pond into the. Now like someplace there they call 'em dams they would dam across the whole river maybe or a stream and let it back up there for maybe a couple acres. But his wasn't that big, see, and of course the reason he had the first one up there he could store water there he...The one down here by the house if it built up over so high it would run out over the side, ya see. So he could catch it up there in that other and he had a gate up there to feed it out slow what he'd need, ya see. And he'd fill both
of them up overnight. They'd both fill up overnight and then
he'd use it out through the day and if he'd run out before late
he'd have to cut off a hour or so and wait till it run in out of the
Run and fill 'em back up 'n put some in 'em so he could run. Now
ordinarily when the Run was...had a lot of water in it, it would
run...be plenty of water to run it but a dry time like this, they
wouldn't, ya see?

CR: OK, but if it was as dry, I haven't looked at Duck Run down here
to see how much water's in the Run, but is there enough water there to
fill up the two dams overnight?

PR: Yeah, most of the time it would be, ya see. And he wasn't maybe
always that busy, you know, sometimes. But certain times of the year
like..ah..most I guess his busiest time was about harvest time. And
then on in the winter he'd ground a lot of feed for people to feed
their stock, you know, like corn and stuff. He had things to shell
the corn to and then separate the cob from it.

CR: Oh, really? How did that work?

PR: Well, you just throw the ear in 'em. They have 'em today the
same way. They throw the ear in and mash it all up and the cobs
stay...Well, some corn shellers then just a wheel with knots out 'n it
would rub all the corn off that cob and leave the cob whole. But then
they got so they crushed it all up coarse and the crushin' up would
knock all the corn off the cob. Well, they had a screen in say
half-inch mesh screen and all the corn would go through those
half-inch. 'N the cobs would be bigger pieces and they wouldn't go
through.

CR: I see, OK.

PR: I used to have a corn sheller you could turn by hand. You'd
stick a ear in...We got one over here now. 'N they had different
kinds but ..ah..they all was..a wheel with knots out on it and that
would turn on a ear would go down an' them knots would knock the grain
off. An' the cob would go down. It wouldn't hurt the cob wouldn't
mash it up, just knock the cob off of it. You just had a hole there
for the cob and this wheel would turn it say that there little bunch,
little knots would be stickin' out on it 'bout a half-inch peakked 'n
they would knock that corn off, see. And turn it at the same time.
When it got all the way round, they had a hole 'bout the size of a cob
it would just keep on goin' down.

CR: OK.

PR: But it wouldn't go down with the corn on it cause the hole wasn't
that big.

CR: OK, and then..was that..that was water-powered too or the mill
operated the corn sheller?

PR: Yeah, what he had is a thing that mashed up the corn cob and all.

CR: Aahh, OK, and then it went through the screen and separated?

PR: See, and then separated _. These others you, well, you could
just be a...you could just shell one ear at a time. So if you had
quite a bit of it you see...But they..ah..they had a grinder. It just
mashed 'em up you might say and ah..When you..The corn gets pretty
loose on the cob when it gets dry, you know. A lot of people shell it
by hand.

CR: Right. Yeah, I've done that.

PR: We used to shell a lot for chickens and stuff by hand too.

CR: OK. Well, who would come down here to use the Mill?
PR: Well, pretty near everybody around the country there when Will run it. When Will Keffer, he's the...Somebody run it before that. He owned it, I don't know who...he didn't...I don't know who had it. Mighta been a man by the name of Lockmiller or somethin' like that. I'm not...But anyway, he run it...what I remember and everybody farmed around and kept stock would deal there, you know, and...wherever the closest mill here. If you didn't go here, you'd have to go..well, up at Star Tannery there they had one up there a flour mill and all. It was really done more business than this un because it made flour. And this un, he mostly ground feed for hogs an' stuff. And he would be pretty busy lots of times, you know. Of course when it got real cold that race 'n that waterwheel would get so much ice on you couldn't operate it. Water would run down over and freeze on it...like a real zero day or something, ya know.

CR: How often did that happen?

PR: Well, not too often but water would run outta this..this trough he had made out of boards. And they wasn't tongue an' groove or anything. They was just...But they wouldn't leak too much. But I've seen the water drippin' out there and freeze that solid from the ground..clean down to the ground just freeze like a big white icicle.

CR: huh!

PR: When it got down close to that waterwheel it would be freezing ice from the maybe fifteen feet high down there. And it was off the ground up here at the dam it started there right...right on the ground and it come on maybe from two feet on to fifteen feet down there til it got where the Mill was. And it was...

END SIDE ONE OF TAPE.

CR: Was there a fireplace in the basement of the Mill?

PR: I believe, yes, sir! and he blacksmithed. He also had a blacksmith so he could blacksmith down there.

CR: Will Keffer did?

PR: uh huh..fireplace and a place for the coal and burner turn it and he'd heat irons, you know.

CR: Wouldn't that be dangerous with all the flour?

PR: No, down in the basement, it was damp down there even water on the floor, I guess...some. It was low, you know.

CR: uh huh.

PR: And it wasn't no danger. It was dirt floor, nothin' to catch fire, stone walls. So it would have to 've got up to the middle floor or somethin' to set it afire.

CR: OK. Well, was the third floor wooden?

PR: Up stairs, u p...Yeah, it was all just wood. Made out of wood.

CR: Now Charlie Keffer said that they..When ah..he and Will lived up there for a couple summers while they built the house. And..ah..they had a fireplace up there or a chimney. Was it there later?

PR: Well, the same chimney went on up and..uh..I think the middle. I don't remember seein' a fireplace in the middle floor. I guess if he wanted fire there he..ah...But the flue went from the ground up, see. An' he..it was open down below and..uh..the smoke went on up through. He mighta had a stove on the middle floor. I believe, in the winter time. An' then upstairs...I wasn't upstairs too much til he quit and
I went. They wouldn't live up there then. They just lived up there awhile til he built that house. And..eh..he was room up there. And when he didn't have a lot of grain up there, there was room up there to live. It was sealed up enough that they could keep warm, you know. Have a bed and a place to cook. It was pretty good size up there both...Well, the floor up there was as big as the floor in the middle..the middle floor.

CR: Now on the picture that Laura Keffer painted of the old Mill, she has like where the old road is and she's almost standing almost in front of the Keffer house, I think, or the probably been in that direction. And she shows a porch like between the Mill on the house side ..on the side of the Mill toward the house.

PR: Yeah.

CR: Now was it..and the building looked 'L'-shaped.

PR: Was what?

CR: It looks 'L'-shaped in the picture.

PR: Well, it wasn't. The building was pretty well square. It was not quite, I would say, it was a little..ah..longer than it was wide say from the house to the road. But I guess it was..I would..it was probably twenty by thirty feet. Each floor was that size. But down underneath they didn't have no floor. But they had posts there to hold up the machinery, see. All these shafts that went through aturning' with wheels on..pulleys on to...They put belts on to turn different stuff.

CR: Well, then did the porch go across one whole end of the...?

PR: No, it was just a porch. It was up about as high as your head. You'd back a wagon up to it and put the grain off on his porch. Then you take a cart, a two-wheel bag cart 'n wheel it inside or carry it in. But it was up..not as high as your head. But..it was higher than a wagon bed. You'd have to lift...Most of them had wagons. It was..It was quite a bit higher than a pick-up bed. I would guess at least..ah ..four feet or better off the ground, maybe five. And that was come out level with the door or with the middle floor. This porch did. And they had these two-wheel carts with handles on. You could come out there and put a couple sacks on that and wheel it inside.

CR: Like a wheelbarrow?

PR: No, it was a two-wheel cart with a handle. You ever seen one of 'em? They call 'em bag carts. They were made somethin' like a wheelbarrow only...they were...the handles were up here. Then it had two small wheels down on there. They were about that wide. So you had a little foot there. You could set a sack of grain on that. And if you wanted to set another on top of it, you could put two or three sacks on.

CR: Aaah, OK, kinda like those carts in grocery stores or in stores today or to move furniture.

PR: Well, I..You've never seen them have things to carry refrigerators and...Well, that was..that was just like that.

CR: OK.

PR: Like the handle..If they bring your refrigerator, they'd have a cart and they'd strap it..strap the refrigerator on. Well, these wasn't quite that big, but they..they would come up to here. The handle was up here so you could stack sacks on it up here to the handle. Handle 'd turn out. And then..ah..down at the bottom it turned out about a foot. You could sit things..set a sack on. Then they had a axle through to these two wheels little wheels on about that big a-round. And then when you put that on, you'd pull it back and kinda
balance it. And you could push it right on in. Other words, it worked something like a wheelbarrow only they were bag carts, they called 'em.

CR: Yeah, OK.

PR: You can still buy 'em. They still have 'em around.

CR: Yeah. Now then goin' back to the porch. If this is the building and let's say the road's here, the old road...

PR: Comin' up beside the end..OK.

CR: comes around here. And the...

PR: And the house is up here. Where's the house?

CR: Will Keffer's house..I'm putting it here.

PR: The house there now.

CR: Yeah.

PR: OK, well now you had a door to go in here. Now wait. This is the main road, ain't it?

CR: Yeah, this is the dirt road.

PR: Oh, the dirt road come down front.

CR: Yeah, and today it goes like this.

PR: OK, right, OK. You go right in here.

CR: uh huh.

PR: There was another road come right down along here.

CR: uh huh.

PR: A little higher than this..say this one was down in the..a little bank down here couple feet high. But you had a road you could also go down in the main road, in the main road from here. But you'd back up here. A little porch right here then.

CR: So the porch was just kinda on the corner here.

PR: Yeah, right. It had steps down here.

CR: Steps here?

PR: uh huh. And you could back..mostly backed into this end here and take the grain in 'n in the door here.

CR: OK. And then this part of it was just..ah...

PR: The waterwheel was over here, see. And your trough came down from up here at the house..from here down to here.

CR: OK.

PR: There's the waterwheel was there. And it had a big shaft come on through here and gear wheels off of this shaft would turn other shafts in there. And these other shafts would have these pulleys on it that you put a belt on and that would run..You'd change it from one over to another or somethin' like that.

CR: Were all the gears wooden?
PR: No, I believe that iron shaft had iron...ah...cast iron probably.

CR: OK.

PR: Cog just sittin' here. It had a cog wheel and it would gear into others and that would turn different shafts in there. It woulda turned different things. See, it come on back in here and then he'd run the...He had the gear wheel on this come in here and then he had a gear wheel here and it would run another shaft. And this other shaft would have then a wooden pulleys on that you'd put belts on and that would turn one up here, see.

CR: uh huh.

PR: And say this one had a big wheel on and this un' up here a little wheel. That would give it more power, more speed, ya see. The big wheel would turn the little wheel much faster.

CR: Right.

PR: There's where it got its power and speed. You would have a big wheel here hooked into a little wheel up here. And everytime this big wheel turned around once it would turn this one three or four times. That's the way they...same way you do it on motors now. If you want a electric motor to run somethin' faster you put a bigger pulley on it.

CR: OK. Did anyone ever talk about how many horsepower...?

PR: I never heard what they were. Wasn't no way much to tell. They would hook...they learned what it would turn, you know. Maybe his water'd be low and he couldn't turn too much stuff that day. He'd just turn one; hook up what it could pull. His main thing was his grinder to grind that grain. But some of that stuff didn't turn hard like runnin' them elevators; they didn't turn so hard, you see.

CR: uh huh. Well, why did he quit grinding?

PR: Well, when he left down there, he bought a store...run a store. That's when I rented it from him. I lived in the Keffer house across there. It's tore down now. That's right after we got married. There's where we went to housekeepin'.

CR: You mean the old Sales house over here?

PR: Well, we lived there and about...huh?

CR: The old house over here?

PR: uh huh.

CR: OK.

PR: So we lived in that and when he...he was agettin' ol, you know. But he had a chance to rent a store over at Stephens City over where the Stephen's City lime kiln is. So he run that store and he lived in that store, I think. And...he rented me his place. I rented his place and I bought a few cows. 'N he had a little land in them fields over there then and farmed 'em. I just forget what I give him. I don't remember. It wasn't too much dollar wise. But then I run the Mill some. I ground some feed, mostly for myself and for a few people. But I was truckin' too. I had a truck, you know, I hauled...I used to haul cord wood over the lime kiln when they used to use wood to burn lime with. So I would of a night and times I would grind some for people. Grind their cow feed and stuff.

CR: Now who was living in the Keffer house then?

PR: Well after...ah...I rented the place I lived...I moved...we moved out in the Keffer house, see.
CR: OK. So you lived in the old brown house for a while.

PR: Oh, we lived there for several, quite a while.

CR: Well, did you ever live...

PR: I lived there til I bought that place from John\(^1\) over there, see.

CR: OK, the Lineberg house. Well, do you remember anything or hear...remember hearing anyone talk about the old Kill when it was a fulling mill?

PR: Well, that's the name what they called it. That's what...kinds they made...weaved cloth or somethin', wasn't it?...er...ah...I think that's what it was...it started out with. They always called it the old Fullin' Mill. But I think it meant some kind of...They had stuff there that they run to make thread or cloth or somethin' like that.

CR: I think they did the whole process of cloth making there, from talking to Brian.

PR: Well, I don't remember that. That was back before my time. I don't really remember too much about it til I moved down there. And I'd go around there with Will, when I wasn't busy and watch him and help him a little.

CR: Do you remember the names of any of the people that you ground for after Will moved to Stephens City?

PR: That I ground for? Oh, I guess most all the people around here that had some feed. I'd guess the Whites, Loney and Aunt Duck, and them and...ah...Little Ed Richard...Heishmans. They all...That's only way they had to grind their feed. Now later on some...they got some mills that they run theirselves...run with a tractor when they got power. But they didn't have no power at home then, you see. You used kerosene lights and...ah...you didn't have nothin'. The only thing most them days beside water power was steam engine. And nobody had them unless he was runnin' a thrashin' machine or...uh...sawmill. So the only power you had on the farm was the pitchfork and shovel. Manpower.

[Laughter.]

CR: Manpower, real manpower.

PR: But I would say...ah...everybody round here kept any stock or farmed any would bring grain in there to grind.

CR: OK.

PR: Now see when I...after I got it, it began...people began to get tractors and stuff then and you could get mills to run with the tractor. Just a small inexpensive thing would grind the feed up for the cattle. But it wouldn't...you couldn't make no meal that way, cornmeal or flour or anything like that. So I made a little cornmeal and buckwheat flour after I took it over. But I didn't do a whole lot of custom work 'cause that wasn't my regular business, ya know. Now somebody maybe bring some feed there and leave it on the porch and I'd grind it that night or somethin' like that put it back outside. I forget I believe you'd take 'n get about a seventh of it or certain amount for toll. You'd weigh it or measure it and take out so much for grindin' it. Put the rest back. __?__ I don't remember ever taking any money for grinding. But it was a certain...certain amount you'd take for grindin'. Maybe ten pounds out of a hundred or seven

---

\(^1\)His brother, John Richard.
pounds...seven pounds out of a hundred or somethin' like that.  
[Laugh.]  Seem to me like. 

[Laughter.]  

CR:  But I don’t know who was running it [before Will Keffe].  It could have been someone else [besides S. B. Sale] was running it.

PR:  I don’t know either. That was before. I never heard anything about that. Of course somebody older than I am would know more about it.  But...ah...I know when I was little we used to...I used to take...bring some grain down there on a wagon or somethin’ ‘n unload an’ Will would grind it. Then when I...After I got married and lived there, well, then I was around there right smart and see, you know. I’d help him some. On rainy days when I wasn’t out working or somethin’ I’d...I would be around there. But...ah...

CR:  Well, did he usually work by himself?

PR:  He, yeah, he...aw...at times...in the Mill he did. He never hired nobody there. But sometime he’d hire help out on his farm...out on the farm. He farmed some, raised some corn. He raised hogs. He had some cattle and stuff too. He would cut some lumber to saw for to make...keep his buildings up, stuff like that.

CR:  But did he saw down here at this Mill?

PR:  No, he’d hired saw...a regular sawmill. He owned this land over in there up in there and it had some timber on. And when he needed it some for to fix his race...his trough that went down water trough and stuff, why he would cut some logs and take ’em to sawmill and have ’em saw it.

CR:  OK. Well, in my studies or investigations, comparing this area to New England most of the water-powered mills were going out by, well, at the latest the late 1800’s, 1880’s or somethin’ and most of ’em before that. They usually put 1850 as the change.

PR:  Yeah, the first power they had after that that I’d seen was gasoline engines. They were one and two cylinder. They were just a thing that sat there an’ run with a flywheel on it. They’d hook a belt on a flywheel (it would?) turn the machine. That’s when they began to do away with the water.

CR:  Well, why was it so late or do you have any ideas as to why water power lasted so long back up here?

PR:  Well, they never had...they wasn’t as busy like they were out around a city or somewhere, you see. They didn’t have as much to do and they didn’t have to spend no money for it; that’s the big thing. If you had a gasoline engine you had to buy gas. And the water you had. All you had to do was let her run in there. It would do the same job as the other. But now like if something would go...wash out their dam or somethin’ that would cost ‘em money maybe it would be cheaper then to buy a gasoline engine. But the gasoline engine in them days it probably wouldn’t last long and...ah...they’d take gas. They were more expensive. You’d have to pay out actually to grind it. With water you didn’t have to put out no money at all. You could probably do all your work yourself. And...ah...even a man runnin’ a Flour mill he’d have to have a big mill if he hired hands. But some of the bigger ones after later on where they made flour and bag flour year around, you see, they would maybe hire a man or two.

CR:  Now if people in this area wanted flour, wheat flour, would they go down to Luther Brill’s at Star Tannery?

PR:  Yeah, we used to...you could take enough wheat there to do your flour the whole year and then go get your wheat...your flour as you needed it. It would take about six bushels of wheat to make they called it a barrel, a hundred and ninety-six pounds of flour. So when
you took that there he would just credit you with that wheat. Now if you wanted to take 100 pounds flour now and every month go back and get another hundred, well, you could do that long as your...your wheat held out.

CR: OK.

PR: He would take it and store it for you. And you could get it then like that.

CR: Where would they store it?

PR: Oh, he had...Well, you take that mill up there at Sager's, they put that upstairs. They could put thousands of bushels up there in that thing. Of course today thousands ain't much. But a thousand around here would be a whole lot, you know. Take maybe a man would raise a hundred...a hundred maybe two hundred bushel he'd be a big farmer. [Laughter.] Well, If say he needed so many barrels of flour to do him a year, he could take wheat there enough for that flour a whole year...to do him the whole year. And he could go back there say every month and get what he needed for that month. And he would just put it on his book and what he had to start out with 'n deduct off when he'd get some'. In other words you'd get so much flour and so much as feed back from say a hundred pounds of wheat. They'd take so much for manufacturin' it or makin' the flour 'n grindin' it.

CR: Now did Will Keffer ever store any wheat or corn or grain down here to grind on demand?

PR: Not too much actually I don't believe. Most of the people just take there what they wanted and get it and take it back home with 'em, outside the buckwheat flour. It would take a little longer for that. If he had some buckwheat flour in the bin, he'd give you so many just go ahead and give it to you then. Which he mostly would. ___(Take?)__ cornmeal and buckwheat flour, he would have some in there and if you wanted to bring so much buckwheat and get so much for flour, he'd just give it to you; you'd take it on back home with ya.

CR: Well, if you had say...say a bushel of buckwheat to be ground, how long would it take normally for it to get ground?

PR: Well, if he wasn't say if he was grinding' feed and all he may not grind it til he had a day and then just grind it all at one time. That's the reason, then he'd make...have some in his bin you see. And if you bought in some and wanted, he'd give you whatever you bought in...a bushel, he'd give you so many pounds of flour for it. But he might save that back and wait til he got a whole lot, you see. I mean actually if you was gonna take buckwheat flour home you wouldn't bring too much. You wouldn't...twenty-five pounds 'd make your cakes for a month or more, ya see. So say you had a hundred pounds of buckwheat you wanted for flour. If he had flour already made outta other buckwheat, he'd just set yours back and give you the flour. Then when he'd take a day when he got a bunch of that up he'd take a day and make it all at one time. Say he had ten people come in with a hundred pound a piece, he'd have a thousand pounds of buckwheat there. Well, he'd make all that flour ___(and left?)__ in his bin and when he used that up he'd make some more what was brought in. But he wouldn't grind that...make that flour the same day you brought it in. Not very often because he'd mostly have some already made.

CR: Did...Did people just hang around the old Mill?

PR: Not too much, no, now on a rainy day they'd bring their feed in there and wait til it was ground. Lots of times they'd just bring it

---

2Pitt Sager presently owns the mill once owned and operated by Luther Brill.
there and unload it on the porch and come back that evening and get it or somethin'.

CR: OK, so it wasn't a place with people sitting around just chewing the fat.

PR: No, very little of that. No, the only thing would be maybe on a rainy day two or three of 'em would come at a time and then they'd set around there and talk while he ground it. The first man'd get his and go on home. The next man be there. I never seen. I have seen maybe three or four there on a rainy day.

CR: OK. There's an eighteen sixty-four map...Civil War map that calls this Mill the Bowman Mill.

PR: The Bowman Mill?

CR: Do you know anything about that?

PR: Nyah, that was back...long...fifty years before I was born, I guess.

CR: Yeah, more than that. Cause I can't fine...ah..I found..I find references to the Bowman Mill but I can't find any connection other than the map.

PR: Well, I don't really...does it ever show what it was? What was it when it first started out?

CR: It was a fulling mill as far back as I can...

PR: Fulling mill, fulling mill, uh huh, well, that's where they done...they weave somethin'. I guess some kinda cloth, is that what...?

CR: Wool from what I can tell.

PR: They had gins or whatever them different...I don't know what all...

CR: A Henry Richards with an "s"

PR: uh huh.

CR: not our ancestors, bought both sides of Duck Run and built...from what I can tell he built the Mill.

PR: He did.

CR: And it was built...
APPENDIX 8

INTERVIEW WITH
HURL HIMELRITE

on
August 17, 1983

Cassandra Richard: So do you remember anything about it being a fulling mill?

Hurl Himelrite: No, only what I heard my father say it was the Fulling Mill property. But I don't know what they done...er...there...or not...anything about it. But then I know that he had Will Keffer to do some grinding for him. I was just a kid. I was up there with him.

CR: About how old were you then?

HH: I'm seventy eight...eighty-seven.

CR: Yeah, but how old were you then?

HH: Then?

CR: Then.

HH: Oh, I well, really I don't know. I was just a boy.

CR: Do you remember when Will Keffer converted the Mill over to a gristmill?

HH: I know in about that time but I couldn't tell you now the year.

CR: Do you remember what the old Mill looked like?

HH: Yeah, it's built outta rock. Oh, I've been by there myself. I have been laid off to look in but it's fallen down. It don't look like it's safe to go in and look around.

CR: No, unh unh. Do you...When you were a kid you went inside it?

HH: Oh, yeah.

CR: Do you remember what was on each floor?

HH: No, I don't.

CR: Do you remember how many floors was in it?

HH: I thought two.

CR: Well, do you remember what was on the first floor?

HH: No, that would've been downstairs. I don't remember. I was just...
CR: So when you went in you were on the top floor you thought.

HH: I think that's the way it was.

CR: OK. Do you remember a wooden third floor?

HH: It was awful tall. I guess it did have a third floor but I don't remember too much about that.

CR: Well, do you remember anyone...Well, let's go back here. Do you remember how it was situated on the road? The road has changed since then, hasn't it?

HH: Yes, it's changed but it's still right close to the road.

CR: Yeah.

HH: The road used to come in by Paul's and over by Paul's old house over there and come down right by this and turn on the other road and go towards Star Tannery or Mountain Falls either one. But uh now it comes round...the new road comes right along below it, goin' towards Star Tannery.

CR: Was there an old porch or an entrance?

HH: I don't think there are now.

CR: There's not now but was there...?

HH: I don't know if there ever was or not. They claim it run by water, but I sworn I think when Will Keffer ground when we was up there it was gasoline. I don't...I don't know.

CR: hum..OK..Well, now when you compare this Mill to say the mills up in New England, according to...Talkin' to Charlie Keffer and the uh courthouse records, somewhere between 1916 and 1922 is when Will converted it over to a gristmill. OK. When you compare that to what was going on in New England that was awful late to be starting a gristmill. Do you know why he would've...why a gristmill would've been started that late down here?

HH: Well, I didn't think it ever got too late.

CR: It never got too late [Laugh.] Well, that's a good point.

HH: I know about when he started that there. It was about two years before I went into the army.

CR: When was that?

HH: 1918.

CR: OK.

HH: And I know when he started it. I can remember it, but it's just hard for me to tell what year it was.

CR: OK, but he started it before you went into the army?

HH: 1916 would've been before that.

CR: Yeah, because he bought it in 1916 according to the courthouse records. And so he was operating the Mill then before 1918?

HH: Yeah.

CR: OK, yeah, OK. That puts it earlier. Because Charlie Keffer had been saying that they did some repairs on the old Mill about 1922.

HH: Probably Mr. Keffer done that, I guess.
CR: But...About that time then he built that house there. I guess that's the time he and Annie Brill's mother separated and he built that house. But it was runnin' before.  

HH: ...Whatever it was doin' before that I don't know what they done there with the fuller property, you know, and...uh..it was always called the Fuller Mill.  

CR: Do you remember Brian Richard's grandfather, John Cammer?  

HH: Oh, yeah, he was a one-armed man. He ran a needle in his arm when he was pushing something out of his pipestem and he lost his arm. Yeah, I knew all of 'em. Will Cammer 'n his father 'n Charlie Cammer 'n Ed Richard and Brian.  

CR: Brian said that John Cammer ran the Fulling Mill during the Civil War.  

HH: Do you reckon it was this John?  

CR: Well, I guess. You know, I have no reason to doubt it. He said his grandfather's name was John Cammer and that he ran the Fulling Mill during the Civil War and afterwards. How far away did people come from to go to that Mill to use it?  

HH: Oh, well, in them days...they'd go eight to ten miles. Used to be a gristmill down here at Mr. Neil Snapp...on 600. I took grindin' down there. Just put it in sack of grain across a horse. They're all gone now. There ain't none of 'em anymore. Ya got to go to go to Winchester. We get our feed down there at uh...Where is it? On down Martinsburg Pike down there...Clearbrook. Ain't no place. I guess Southern States, they grind some too in there but you can't get no little one-horse mill around anymore.  

CR: Now where was this one that you took..the other Mill where you took grinding to?  

HH: Mr. Snapp, Neil Snapp.  

CR: Neil Snapp. Now where did he live?  

HH: It's on 600. Must uh oh it's three miles from here, I guess.  

CR: Now where on 600 would it be..today.  

HH: Well, you go back here to the crossroads, you know where the red barn is there?  

CR: Right.  

HH: Turn to your right and it's on the left hand side. You go down there about a mile from the red barn over here and uh it's all gone though now. They done tore the whole buildings down. Been sold..He passed away. He was an old man when I knew him. Later on...I knew him a long time. But..ah..he run that Mill til he just couldn't hardly run it. But he had gasoline engine.  

CR: OK.  

HH: But he had a big stone burr and he could..I don't know whether..He didn't have any way to bolt his meal. But you know you have to have a boltin' cloth if you wanna make buckwheat flour or wheat flour. It comes in silk. I can't tell you just how it works. But you have to have a boltin' cloth before you can get good flour, you know. I never seen 'em..I never seen it work but..uh..I know that..I know Mr. Keffer had one.  

CR: He had a boltin' cloth?
HH: Yeah, he couldn’t make flour..buckwheat flour without one. You see they grind the grain, and the hulls and all together. And then you got to get somethin’ to take them hulls out of it, ya know. ‘N that’s what the boltin’ cloth does. It takes all the black out and..well it leaves a little. If you want good buckwheat cakes you outta have a little black in it.

CR: Yeah.

HH: But Mr. Snapp couldn’t make..I guess he couldn’t do it.. grind cornmeal if you sift it yourself. But he didn’t have anyway to..uh..to sift it. I don’t think he made any for people to use. He’d grind it for hog feed.

CR: So Mr. Snapp just ground basically feed?

HH: Yeah..he run a blacksmiths shop and gristmill.

CR: Do you know who owns the land now?

HH: Yep, a young man and his wife bought it. [To wife..] What’s them people? Claude ? goes down there on 600 to see..before you get to (Marpole?) McIlwees, you know, there at the Neil Snapp place. I got the name right on the end of my tongue but I can’t call it.

CR: Rosenbergers?

HH: No, old man, Charlie Rosenberger run a mill on down ‘bout a mile farther. A gristmill. I remember goin’ there with my daddy when I was about that tall. And..uh..It was water-powered, too.

CR: Was that down there close to the Rosenberger’s house?

HH: Do you know where Tom’s Market is?

CR: Yes.

HH: Right there.

CR: Right this side?

HH: This big house here this side was his daddy’s home.

CR: uh huh.

HH: Charlie Rosenberger.

CR: OK.

HH: And he had..uh..one of these mills there in the flat and it run with water power.

CR: OK, which side of the road was it on? Was it on the same..?

HH: Same side the store’s on.

CR: OK, but then Snapp’s mill was a mile further down? Farther down toward this way?

HH: Yeah, you mean..yeah, Neil Snapp’s..It was just a little ways on up the road. Not much over half a mile from where Rosenberger’s mill was. But I don’t know whether Mr. Neil Snapp was agrindin’ when Rosenberger had a mill down there I don’t know. I guess he was because he lived there all his life. He blacksmithed and that’s the way he made a living. Blacksmith and grindin’ a little. Then there’s other mills around made flour, you know, for bread. Dorsey Brill down Marlboro..he had a big flour mill there. Back at Whitacre they had feed and flour mill back there.
CR: Now when y’all wanted flour did you go, like to, over to Marlboro or did you go over to Star Tannery?

HH: Yeah, we got our flour over till he... He broke up over there, Dorsey Brill. He... I don’t know he had a good trade but he broke up. But we always went there and got our flour. Half a barrel, a barrel at a time and then didn’t have to go so often.

CR: Now would that have been closer than goin’ over to Star Tannery to Luther Brill’s?

HH: Luther run a mill too up there at Star Tannery. Brother to Dorsey. They were brothers.

CR: Oh, they were brothers?

HH: Yeah.

CR: OK.

HH: No, it wasn’t... it woulda been farther... you’d have to cross Cedar Creek a couple times before you got there.

CR: To Marlboro?

HH: No. To Marlboro, if you went by Marlboro to go to Start Tannery, you’d have to... probably would have to go to Lebanon and hit 55 to go to Star Tannery. Luther Brill’s mill was not far from the church up there just down road a little way.

CR: Now did y’all go to the Marlboro or the Star Tannery Mill for your flour?

HH: We went to Marlboro mostly. Well, they... before... till he broke up. And then I went over to the store at Bartonsville and put wheat in over there for flour. You could put your wheat in and then draw your flour as you wanted it... ya know. If you wanted a half a barrel of flour, your wheat would already be in the mill, all you had to do was go get your flour.

CR: OK. So they kept a record then of how much...

HH: Well, what was comin’ to ya. Ol’ Mr. Stover hasn’t been dead too long. I think he was 91 years old.

CR: And what’s his name?

HH: Stover.

CR: S-T-O-V-E-R?

HH: Yeah, J. I. Stover.

CR: He ran the Bartonville Mill?

HH: He owned it.

CR: Now what would be the... Who would make you decide to go. If you had some... something to grind, how would you decide whether to go down here to Snapp’s or over to Keffer’s?

HH: Which ever was the nearest. You had to go with horses then you didn’t have no automobiles or trucks then. Wasn’t none. I know when there wasn’t no cars on the road used horses.

CR: Well, then did you take most of you stuff over to Snapp’s?

HH: Mostly down here closest, ya know... Then I got a mill of my own and ground my own, you know, with a gasoline engine.
CR: How many people got their own mills then?

HH: Well, a right smart of 'em would get a little burr mill, ya know, and grind their feed.

CR: Was that...did you get that as the mills died out or stopped run-

ning?

HH: Well, there was some of 'em runnin' yet. But I got it because it was handy, ya know, and you could grind it right here.

CR: Well, what kind of...you had your burr?

HH: You had steel burrs you get with these here little mills, you know. They're right good size. They grind (tolerable?) fast.

CR: How big are they?

HH: Well, they...I would say they hold...three bushel if you filled it full, ya know. You keep puttin' in as it goes down. I think Brian Richard has one up there in that barn yet. If I ain't mistaken.

CR: I'll have to get in touch with Brian. You don't have yours any-

more?

HH: No, I got rid of it.

CR: That's interesting. Do you know if Will Keffer worked year a-

round?

HH: I suppose__? _There was___.I think Will Keffer's brother or his sister married and lived in the house right up above Bill there.

CR: Lemley, Laura Lemley.

HH: Lemley, that was the name. Yeah, I guess that was his sister?

CR: uh huh, Laura.

HH: I remember well when they lived there. Well, that ain't been too awful long ago.

CR: Can you remember the names of any of the other people that would've used the old Mill, the Keffer Mill?

HH: Well, ah, Dodson, Paul would be ah my first guess because he's not far from there. People always wants some grindin'. And they didn't all have mills around to get their wheat grindin' done. And all of 'em..There was Staton Cooper and Paul Glenn and ah the Ri..'n Brian's..two Richards. Richards there, you know. There was lots of people up there, you know, that would have grindin' done. But they've all gone now. But Brian and Paul Dodson is older. Gilbert Brill and them__?

CR: Could people have gone into town for their flour? Or was that just too far away to be convenient?

HH: Well, I...they could but ah I don't know just...I don't know whether they...you could put flour or wheat in the mill in Winchester at the beginning of this up here. I don't know whether they really run mill there in town. But after we got so we had to put it in some other mill we put it in the milling company here in Winchester. And we'd go in there and get flour, too. But ah.

CR: But did you start taking flour in there before the mills out here closed down?

HH: No, no, we dealt with Dorsey Brill down there til he went out of business for years.
CR: Why did he go out of business?
HH: He broke up, ya know.
CR: He just quit?
HH: Well, he had to, you know. When you run outta money, you have to quit.
CR: OK, he wasn’t earnin’ money then.
HH: Well, I don’t know why he went down in business like that. (I don’t know what the trouble was?) He used to buy hogs from my daddy and haul hogs. In fact he owed him a little for hogs when he broke up. He never got any of that.
CR: Now the...ah...old Fulling Mill...on an 1864 map. That was the time of the Civil War. They’ve got it down as the Bowman Mill. Did you ever hear anyone talk about any Bowmans?
HH: No.
CR: I can’t find anything on Bowman, not a thing.
HH: I just thought about that Fullin’ Mill last night.
CR: Now I asked you...mentioned this to you yesterday. Ah...But there were Williams that owned it. They bought the old Fulling Mill in 1862.
HH: A Williams?
CR: A Williams and the name of the country...of the company was Benjamin Williams and Sons and they owned apparently several old woolen mills and fulling mills. And there was a Benjamin Williams and a Phillip B. Williams. And Phillip B. Williams I think he was...at the time of the Civil War. What about a James W. Williams?
HH: I don’t know of any James W., old like that. I know James A. Williams. He used to live up here at the Williams farm above St. John’s Church.
CR: So you don’t think there’s any connection between the Williams around here...?
HH: I doubt it.
CR: and the Williams that owned that.
HH: I doubt it.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Frederick County Deed Books
Frederick County Will Books
Frederick county Chancery Records Books

1807 Map of Virginia by James Madison
1809 Map by Charles Varles
1825 Map of the State of Virginia by Herman Boye
1864 Shenandoah Valley by J. F. Gilmer
1885 Atlas, Back Creek Magisterial Dist., Frederick County

Virginia Centinel-Winchester Mercury
Virginia Gazette-Winchester Advertiser
Winchester Political Repository

1820 Census of Manufactures schedules, Frederick County, Virginia
1850 Census of Manufactures schedules, Frederick County, Virginia
1860 Census of Manufactures schedules, Frederick County, Virginia
1870 Census of Manufactures schedules, Frederick County, Virginia

Secondary Sources

Berdyaev, Nicolai

Bissell, Linda Auwers
Boorstin, Daniel J.

Caplow, Theodore

Cartmell, T. K.

Cole, Arthur Harrison

Craik, David
1870 *The Practical American Millwright and Miller.* Henry Carey Baird, Industrial Publisher, 406 Walnut Street, Philadelphia.

Communications Research Machines, Inc.
1971 *Anthropology Today.* Communications Research Machines, Inc., Del Mar, California.

Deetz, James

Diderot, Denis

Evans, Oliver

Frye, Susan Winter

Gentry, Mary Jane Jordan

Hofstra, Warren
1986 "The 18th-Century Origins of an Antebellum Free

Hunter, Louis C.

Isaac, Rhys

Kaufman, Harold F.

Kercheval, Samuel

Kroeber, A. L.

Light, Mary Jane

Litchfield, Carter, Hans-Joachim Finke, Stephen G. Young, and Karen Zerbe Huetter

Montell, William Lynwood

Morgan, Edmund S.

Morton, Oren Frederic
Ponting, K. G.  

Redfield, Robert  

Reynolds, Terry S.  

Riznik, Barnes  

Scott, E. Kilburn  

Tunis, Edwin  

Weiss, Harry B. and Grace M. Ziegler  
1957 The Early Fulling Mills of New Jersey. New Jersey Agricultural Society, Trenton, New Jersey.

Wingate, Isabel B.  

Zimiles, Martha and Murray Zimiles  
VITA
CASSANDRA FAY RICHARD

I was born in Riverdale, Maryland, 16 September 1949. I graduated from Bladensburg Senior High School, Bladensburg, Maryland in 1967 and received a B.A. from the George Washington University in 1971. Course work for this thesis was completed during the 1981-82 academic year at the College of William and Mary in Virginia. Archaeological work experience includes seven years with the Bureau of Land Management in New Mexico and Washington, D.C.; I have held various positions (from crew member to lab director) for several archaeological projects.