

## Residents of Short Street in Harrisburg's Old Eighth Ward, 1880-1889

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As the name suggests, Short Street in Harrisburg's Old Eighth Ward was a small side street and one city block in length, suggesting it was not an affluent neighborhood. A study of the residents of Short Street reveals that individuals of many backgrounds lived there during the 1880s.<sup>1</sup> A variety of races lived on Short Street, and this supports the fabled reputation the Eighth has for being ethnically diverse.<sup>2</sup> As the years of the 1880s passed, great numbers of those employed in low-paying jobs moved onto and off of Short Street, giving a transitory quality to the neighborhood.

Most of the information for this study was obtained from the *Boyd's Harrisburg City Directories* for the years listed.<sup>3</sup> Because the data included within the directories relied upon the response of individual residents, it is undoubtedly incomplete. In an attempt to cross-reference the information pulled from the directories, the 1880 United States Federal Census has been used for Enumeration District 95, Roll T9-1123. The *Boyd's Directories* focused on listing heads of households and working adults within households, so using the 1880 census has allowed the inclusion of other family members, such as school-aged children and mothers.<sup>4</sup> In addition, the 1880 census provided the data on race and birthplace used in this discussion.

A racial and ethnic profile of Short Street can be built based on the 1880 census. Perhaps because it was the next side street after Tanners Avenue, a historically African-American alley,

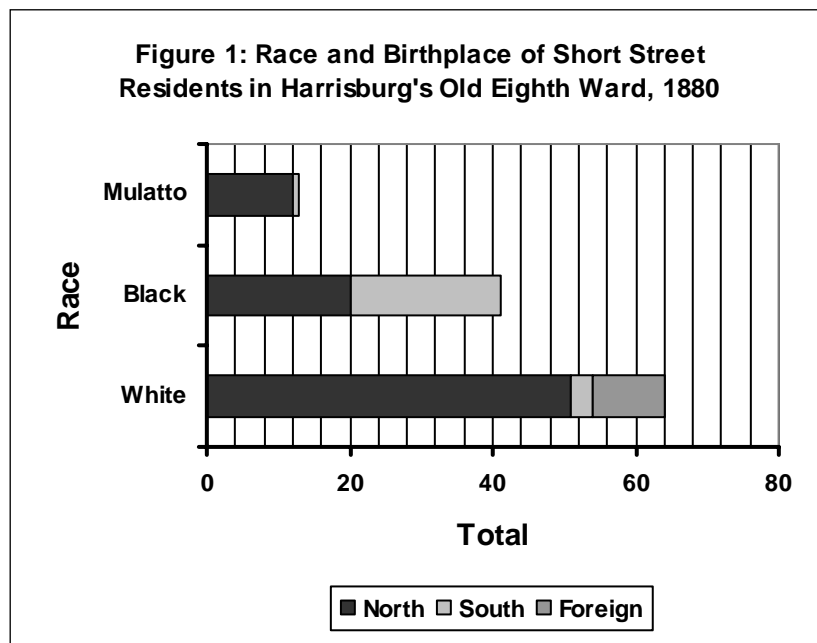
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1 This paper was researched during spring 2005 as part of Prof. Michael Barton's Nineteenth-Century America seminar and has been edited and expanded by Stephanie Patterson Gilbert, webmaster of *Harrisburg's Old 8th Ward* found at <http://www.old8thward.com>.

2 Michael Barton and Jessica Dorman, eds., *Harrisburg's Old Eighth Ward*, (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2002).

3 W. Harry Boyd, *Boyd's Harrisburg Directory: Names of Citizens, Map, and a Compendium of Government and of Public Institutions*, (Boyd's Cousins, 1880-1889). These directories were accessed at the Historical Society of Dauphin County in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, in April 2005.

4 Women during the period of study are underrepresented in the *Boyd's Directories* because many had no occupation outside of their homes.



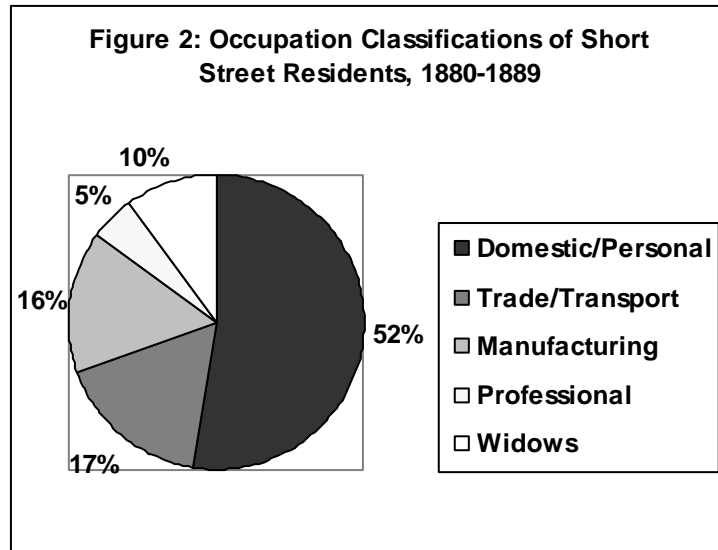
Short Street was nearly balanced in terms of its black-white ratio. Forty-six percent of the 118 residents who were listed in the 1880 census were black or mulatto while fifty-four percent were white (Figure 1). Nearly half of the black and mulatto population was born in the South, with

most coming from Virginia and Maryland. Harrisburg was the closest major northern city to those states and served as a railroad hub for four passenger railroads in the 1880s, making it accessible to blacks migrating north.<sup>5</sup> Most residents on Short Street were native-born Americans—ninety-two percent, and a majority of those were native-born Pennsylvanians—seventy-three percent. Of the eight percent of Short Street residents who were foreign born, all but one emigrated from Ireland or Germany. Based on this data, it appears as if the Old Eighth Ward's reputation for being racially diverse is accurate.

Using data from the Boyd's Harrisburg Directories between 1890 and 1889, an occupational summary of the residents living on Short Street can be developed. The Eighth Ward was a working-class neighborhood populated mostly by tradesmen, skilled and unskilled laborers, and factory workers. For the ten years covered by this research, ninety-five percent of

<sup>5</sup> Stephanie Patterson Gilbert, "General History of the 8<sup>th</sup> Ward," *Harrisburg's Old 8th Ward* website, found at <http://www.old8thward.com/generalhistory.htm> and accessed on 5 June 2005.

the occupations held by Short Street residents belonged in these three categories.<sup>6</sup> However, skilled or unskilled laborers involved in domestic and personal service jobs, such as servants and restaurant workers, were the majority of people living on Short Street during the 1880s (Figure



2). Manufacturing jobs and trade/transportation jobs were nearly tied for the second most prevalent types of occupations held by the street's residents at seventeen and sixteen percent, respectively, but the total of workers involved in these two categories of occupations does not equal two-thirds of those holding

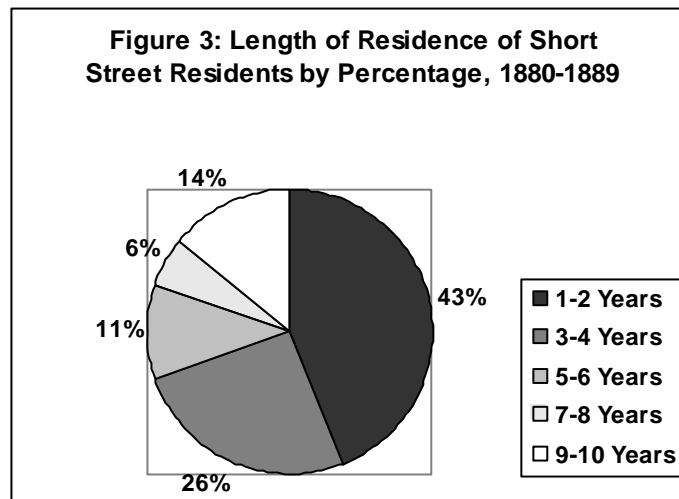
domestic and service jobs. And only five percent of residents on Short Street could be classified as having professional occupations, such as teachers and musicians. The rest of the street's residents were either widows or had no jobs listed. The largest number of Short Street residents was classified as "laborer," meaning they most likely had few marketable skills other than their strength. All of these laborers were men, and most of these men lived on Short Street for less than three years. The difficulty of finding work as a laborer probably dictated that these men move frequently--literally to wherever work could be found.

The large percentage of laborers living on Short Street for short periods of time contributed to the general transience of the neighborhood. Most residents on this street either lived on Short for the entire period of study or appeared and disappeared from the street in under three years. Only fourteen percent of residents listed as living on Short in the directories in 1880

<sup>6</sup> Occupations were classified by United States Census Bureau descriptions for 1890 as found in *Report on Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890, Part II*, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1897), 304-305.

could be found on that street in 1889 (Figure 3). Nearly seventy percent of Short Street residents lived on the street for less than four years, according to the city directories. The neighborhood's instability in terms of transience can be directly linked to the high number of low-paying, unskilled wage earners who lived there throughout the study period. Clusters of laborers lived in the same houses on Short, such as 110 Rear, where seven different laborers resided between 1880 and 1889. Adding to the shifting character of the neighborhood is the fact that some individuals who did reside on the street for longer periods of time changed jobs frequently. George Krause of 116 Short, for example, changed jobs five times, while George Douglass three doors down and Joseph Popel down the block changed jobs three times a piece. And William Popel, 137 Short, changed jobs three times and residences twice during the study period. So although all four of these residents resided on the block for ten years each, together they held fourteen different jobs during that time.

In summary, Short Street in Harrisburg's Old Eighth Ward between the years of 1880 and 1889 was racially diverse, with nearly as many blacks and mulattoes living on the street as whites. In terms of occupations, Short Street residents were mostly working-class men and



women who worked in menial jobs. Their low wage-earning power undoubtedly contributed to the generally transient nature of the neighborhood, where most residents lived on Short for less than four years during the study period. In terms of the greater Eighth Ward, Short Street in the 1880s appears to have been more diverse in terms of race and less diverse in terms of

occupations, leading to the assumption that Short Street was one of the poorer parts of the ward in which to live.

<b>Appendix A: Residents of Short Street in Harrisburg's Old Eighth Ward, 1880-1889*</b>							
<i>Address</i>	<i>Name**</i>	<i>Age in 1880</i>	<i>Race†</i>	<i>Occupation‡</i>	<i>Birthplace</i>	<i>Years of Residence</i>	
<b>Short n Walnut</b>	<b>Samuel Gardner</b>					<b>1882</b>	<b>1884</b>
	<b>Anna M. Powell</b>			<b>Domestic</b>		<b>1885</b>	<b>1886</b>
	<b>J.T.W. McLaughlin</b>			<b>Patternmaker H: 1204 North 6<sup>th</sup></b>		<b>1888</b>	<b>1888</b>
	<b>Martha F. Saunders</b>			<b>Widow of Singleton</b>		<b>1889</b>	<b>1889</b>
<b>100</b>	<b>Roger Sheehy</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>W</b>	<b>Ret. Stonemason</b>	<b>Ireland</b>	<b>1880</b>	<b>1887</b>
	Mary—wife	55	W	Keeping House	Ireland	1880	
	Amelia—dau	35	W	Domestic	PA	1880	
	Ella M. Lee—gdau	17	W	Domestic	PA	1880	
	John F. Lee—adson	19	W	Telegrapher	PA	1880	1882
	<b>Kate Williams</b>			<b>Housekeeper</b>		<b>1889</b>	<b>1889</b>
<b>102</b>	<b>Clark M. Brown</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>W</b>	<b>Shoemaker</b>	<b>PA</b>	<b>1880</b>	<b>1885</b>
	Eleanor—wife	40	W	Keeping House	Ireland	1880	
	John M.—son	19	W	Shoemaker	PA	1880	1882
	Maggie—dau	18	W	Domestic	PA	1880	
	Ellen—dau	15	W	Domestic	PA	1880	
	Frank—son	11	W		PA	1880	
	Bessie—dau	6	W		PA	1880	
	Annie—dau	3	W		PA	1880	
	William—son	2	W		PA	1880	
	<b>Charles Jacobs</b>			<b>Plasterer</b>		<b>1885</b>	<b>1886</b>
	Charles Lauer			Packer		1885	1886
	Charles M. Lauer			Foreman		1885	1886
	John K. Rupp			Plasterer		1885	1886
	<b>Stanley H. Rathvon</b>			<b>Laborer</b>		<b>1887</b>	<b>1887</b>
	<b>James H. McCullough</b>			<b>Moulder</b>		<b>1888</b>	<b>1888</b>
	<b>Emma J. Shearer</b>			<b>Operator</b>		<b>1889</b>	<b>1889</b>
<b>104</b>	<b>John J. Coleman</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>W</b>	<b>Machinist</b>	<b>PA</b>	<b>1880</b>	<b>1882</b>
	Bridget—wife	26	W	Keeping House	Canada	1880	
	William J.—son	5	W		NY	1880	1889
	Margaret—dau	3	W		PA	1880	
	John—son	7/12	W		PA	1880	
	Andrew Berkely			Laborer		1885	1886
	Richard Crowley					1885	1886
	Ellen McGinley			Housekeeper		1888	1888
<b>104 R</b>	<b>Elizabeth O'Donnell</b>			<b>Widow of John</b>		<b>1880</b>	<b>1882</b>
	<b>Thomas H. Thompson</b>			<b>Waiter</b>		<b>1889</b>	<b>1889</b>
<b>106</b>	<b>John Sample</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>Waitor</b>	<b>PA</b>	<b>1880</b>	<b>1884</b>
	Alexander—fthr	52	M	Porter	PA	1880	
	Frances—mthr	49	M		PA	1880	
	Peter—bro	28	M		PA	1880	
	Maggie—sislaw	22	M	Domestic	PA	1880	
	Francis—niece	2	M		PA	1880	
	Jefferson Graham			Waiter		1882	1884
	<b>Benjamin J. Foote</b>			<b>Porter</b>		<b>1884</b>	<b>1886</b>
	George B. Foote			Barber		1884	1886
	Henrietta Foote			Domestic		1885	1886

	<b>Marwood Lusk</b>			<b>Waiter/227 N Front</b>		<b>1884</b>	<b>1887</b>
	<b>George W. Felix</b>			<b>Confectioner Salesman/438 Market</b>		<b>1887 1888</b>	1889
	Mordecai Felix			Bottler		1887	1889
	Annie E. Mackey			Grocer		1887	1889
	Harry E. Cilley			Telegrapher		1887	1887
<b>106 R</b>	<b>Abraham Perry</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>M</b>		<b>PA</b>	<b>1880</b>	<b>1882</b>
	Ann B.—wife	66	M	Keeping House	PA	1880	
	Elmira—dau	28	M	Servant	PA	1880	
	Henrietta—gdau	12	M		PA	1880	
	<b>Robert Curtis</b>			<b>Laborer</b>		<b>1889</b>	<b>1889</b>
<b>107</b>	<b>Jacob Shartle</b>			<b>Harnessmaker</b>		<b>1885</b>	<b>1886</b>
	<b>Lewis Miller</b>			<b>Clerk</b>		<b>1887</b>	<b>1887</b>
	Janie Miller			Notions		1887	<b>1887</b>
	<b>Carrie E. Gardner</b>			<b>Shoe Fitter</b>		<b>1888</b>	<b>1889</b>
	William H. Gardner			Huckster		1888	1888
	Alfred Hake			Salesman/427 Market		1889	1889
<b>108</b>	<b>Ann R. Friver</b>			<b>Widow of Levi</b>		<b>1884</b>	<b>1888</b>
	<b>Clark M. Brown</b>		<b>W</b>	<b>Shoemaker</b>	<b>PA</b>	<b>1889</b>	<b>1889</b>
	Franklin N. Brown			Painter		1889	1889
<b>109</b>	<b>John Staab</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>W</b>	<b>Carpet Maker</b>	<b>PA</b>	<b>1880</b>	<b>1882</b>
	Samuel Strock	43	W	Printer	PA	1880	
	Mary E.—wife	28	W		PA	1880	
	<b>Samuel Gardner</b>			<b>Huckster/445 Walnut</b>		<b>1884</b>	<b>1887</b>
	William C. Wise			Laborer Huckster		1885 1887	1886
<b>110</b>	<b>James Blade</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>W</b>	<b>Laborer</b>	<b>Ireland</b>	<b>1880</b>	<b>1882</b>
	Bridget—wife	38	W	Keeping House	Ireland	1880	
	Kate E.—dau	20	W	Dressmaker	PA	1880	
	Mary B.—dau	19	W	Dressmaker	PA	1880	
	<b>Margaret Thomas</b>			<b>Widow of Austin</b>		<b>1882</b>	<b>1885</b>
	Hoan Pickney			Laborer		1882	1884
	William Stewart			Laborer		1882	1884
	<b>Clark M. Brown</b>		<b>W</b>	<b>Shoemaker</b>	<b>PA</b>	<b>1885</b>	<b>1887</b>
	James Hughes			Puddler		1885	1886
<b>110 R</b>	<b>John Jones</b>			<b>Laborer</b>		<b>1880</b>	<b>1887</b>
	John G. Jones			Laborer		1880	1885
	Thomas J. Thompson			Waiter		1884	1887
	Henry Herbert			Driver		1885	1886
	Joseph Porter			Laborer		1885	1886
	Elijah Braxton			Laborer		1887	1887
	Edward Parker			Laborer		1887	1888
	Joseph Venie			Laborer		1887	1887
	Samuel Wilson			Laborer		1888	1889
<b>111</b>	<b>Mary Herbermann</b>			<b>Housekeeper</b>		<b>1884</b>	<b>1889</b>
	Martin Hoelle			Hostler		1885	1886
	Elizabeth Gebhart			Domestic		1887	1888
	Peter Kaufhold			Houseman		1888	1888
	<b>Clemens A. Koppnagel</b>			<b>Reverend/St. Lawrence Catholic</b>		<b>1888</b>	<b>1889</b>
<b>112</b>	<b>Elizabeth Toop</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>Laundry Keeper/ Widow of William</b>	<b>PA</b>	<b>1880</b>	<b>1889</b>
	Henry—adson	15	M		VA	1880	
	Ellen Scrimmage	23	M	Servant	PA	1880	

	Lizzie Zondnick--bdr	25	B	Asst. Laundry	MD	1880	
	Jenny Linginfreid	25	W	Servant	PA	1880	
	Richard Carter			Porter		1880	1882
	Jesse Cannon			Laborer		1882	1884
	James H. Crothers			Moulder		1884	1885
	George Peters			Barber		1885	1887
	James Greshing			Laborer		1887	1888
	Charlotte Jones			Widow of Samuel		1887	1889
<b>112 R</b>	<b>James W. Edwards</b>			<b>Laborer</b>		<b>1884</b>	<b>1886</b>
<b>113</b>	<b>Sister Attala</b>			<b>Nun</b>		<b>1880</b>	<b>1882</b>
	<b>Sisters of Christian Charity</b>			<b>Catholic Convent</b>		<b>1884</b>	<b>1889</b>
<b>114</b>	<b>John D. Young</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>W</b>	<b>Express Messenger</b>	<b>PA</b>	<b>1880</b>	<b>1882</b>
	Ellie M.—wife	30	W	Keeping House	PA	1880	
	Lydia—dau	3	W		PA	1880	
	Edith E.—dau	6/12	W		PA	1880	
	<b>Eugene Reedy</b>			<b>Tailor's Shop H: 133 North 4<sup>th</sup> St</b>		<b>1880</b>	<b>1884</b>
	<b>George W. Felix</b>					<b>1884</b>	<b>1886</b>
	Annie E. Mackey			Grocer		1884	1886
	<b>George Free</b>			<b>Manager</b>		<b>1887</b>	<b>1889</b>
<b>116</b>	<b>John A. Krause</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>W</b>	<b>Teacher</b>	<b>PA</b>	<b>1880</b>	1889
	Susan—wife	46	W	Keeping House	PA	1880	
	George—son		W	Tobacco Laborer Fireman Horse Dealer Livery/316 Strawberry	PA	1880 1880 1884 1887 1889	1884 1886 1888
<b>118</b>	<b>Samuel Strock</b>			<b>Telegraph Compositor</b>		<b>1880</b>	<b>1885</b>
	<b>Martha Boone</b>			<b>Widow of Evans</b>		<b>1884</b>	<b>1886</b>
	Evans W. Boone			Blacksmith		1884	1885
	Gawin H. Boone, Jr.			Blacksmith		1885	1886
	<b>Harry Wilt</b>			<b>Bookbinder</b>		<b>1888</b>	<b>1888</b>
	Carrie Wilt			Book Sewer		1888	
	<b>Ida Feeman</b>					<b>1889</b>	<b>1889</b>
<b>119</b>	<b>George E. Douglass</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>Porter/Lochiel Hotel Janitor/Post Office Houseman/Lochiel</b>	<b>MD</b>	<b>1880 1884 1888</b>	<b>1889 1887</b>
	Elizabeth—wife	30	B	Keeping House	MD	1880	
	Margaret—dau	15	B		PA	1880	
	James—son	9	B		PA	1880	
	William Bedford--nph	17	B		PA	1880	
	John F. Cragwell			Barber/662 Broad		1887	
<b>120</b>	<b>John Sherger</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>W</b>	<b>Laborer</b>	<b>Germany</b>	<b>1880</b>	<b>1889</b>
	Kate—wife	32	W	Dressmaker	Germany	1880	1889
	Agnes—dau	8	W		Germany	1880	
<b>121</b>	<b>Samuel Jackson</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>Laborer</b>	<b>VA</b>	<b>1880</b>	1888
	Susan B.—wife	44	B	Keeping House	MD	1880	
	Ellen Dungen—dau	30	B	Widow of Jacob	MD	1880	1882
	Thomas Dungeon--gson	13	B		PA	1880	
	Susan Lee—gdau	10	B		PA	1880	
	Emma J. Lee—gdau	5	B		PA	1880	
	Stewart Packer—gson	7	B		PA	1880	



	Sarah Jackson—gdau	4	B		PA	1880	
	Emma Jackson	29	B	Servant Cook	MD	1880 1887	1888
	Baker Jackson			Laborer		1888	1888
	Jacob Allison			Laborer		1882	1884
	Fannie Gray			Widow of John A.		1882	1884
	Thomas B. Duckett			Laborer		1884	1885
	Richard F. Murdock			Laborer		1884	1886
	William Lindsay			Waiter		1887	1887
<b>122</b>	<b>Christopher Green</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>W</b>	<b>Laborer</b>	<b>VA</b>	<b>1880</b>	1882
	Mary—wife <b>Mary Green</b>	32	W	Keeping House <b>Widow of Christopher</b>	VA	1880 <b>1882</b>	1882 <b>1889</b>
	Leovetur Early			Waiter		1882	1885
	Ellen N. Lewis			Widow of John		1882	1884
	Samuel Adley			Waitor/Lochiel Hotel		1885	1887
	John E. Carr			Driver		1885	1886
	Frances Ford			Domestic		1885	1886
	William B. Mutzebaugh			Laborer		1885	1886
	Maria Barton			Widow of Isaac		1887	1887
	Daniel Green			Musician		1888	1888
	Peter Jones			Laborer		1888	1889
	Jacob B. Thorn			Musician		1888	1888
<b>123</b>	<b>Joseph B. Popel</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>Laborer Sanitary Police Cigars</b>	<b>MD</b>	<b>1880 1884 1887</b>	<b>1884 1886 1889</b>
	Charles S. Popel			Shoemaker/401 Spruce Waitor		1882 1889	1888 1889
	Joseph G. Popel			Barber		1884	1888
	Caroline Popel			Dressmaker		1887	1889
	Mary Popel			Teacher		1888	
	William H. Popel			Waiter		1888	1889
	<b>Caroline Covington</b>			<b>Widow of Theophilus</b>		<b>1884</b>	<b>1889</b>
	Joseph C. Covington			Barber		1885	1886
<b>124</b>	<b>John A. Smith</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>Waiter/U.S. Hotel</b>	<b>PA</b>	<b>1880</b>	<b>1886</b>
	Mary E.—wife	36	B	Cook/PA Railroad	PA	1880	1886
	Kate Rolen—sislaw	21	B		PA	1880	
	Josephine Boyd—cou	25	B	Dishwasher	PA	1880	
	<b>Charles Taylor</b>			<b>Waiter/Lochiel Hotel</b>		<b>1882</b>	<b>1888</b>
	Stanley Lindsey			Laborer		1887	1887
	James Speakes			Waitor/Lochiel Hotel		1887	1889
	<b>George W. Saunders</b>			<b>Barber</b>		<b>1889</b>	<b>1889</b>
<b>125</b>	<b>William H. Bond</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>W</b>	<b>Porter Grocer/502 South Porter</b>	<b>MD</b>	<b>1880 1882 1888</b>	1889 1887
	Margaret—wife	25	W	Keeping House	VA	1880	
	John W.—son	9	W	Stonecutter Barber	PA	1880 1888 1889	1889
	William—son	7	W		PA	1880	
<b>127</b>	<b>William H. Rudy</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>W</b>	<b>Conductor</b>	<b>PA</b>	<b>1880</b>	<b>1889</b>
	Sarah-wife	36	W	Keeping House	PA	1880	

	Bertie—dau	16	W		PA	1880	
	Carrie—dau	15	W		PA	1880	
	William H., Jr.—son	12	W	Messenger/PA Railrd	PA	1880 1887	1889
	Lilley—dau	9	W		PA	1880	
	Daisy—dau	6	W		PA	1880	
<b>129</b>	<b>George J. Vogt</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>W</b>	<b>Tobacco Shop</b>	<b>Germany</b>	<b>1880</b>	<b>1889</b>
	Sidney—wife	44	W	Keeping House	PA	1880	
	Elizabeth—dau	22	W	Chambermaid	PA	1880	
	Catherine E.—dau	12	W	Cigarmaker	PA	1880 1885	1886
	Guy—son	6	W		PA	1880	
<b>130</b>	<b>John Butler</b>			<b>Waiter/Grand Hotel</b>		<b>1887</b>	<b>1887</b>
<b>131</b>	<b>John W. Simpson</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>Shoemaker Shop Alderman</b>	<b>MA</b>	<b>1880 1884</b>	<b>1884 1885</b>
	Mary—wife	36	B	Keeping House	PA	1880	
	Marie—dau	14	B		PA	1880	
	<b>George W. Bell</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>Laborer</b>	<b>MD</b>	<b>1880</b>	<b>1889</b>
	Sarah J.—wife	35	B	Laborer	MD	1880	
	Alice—dau	8	B		PA	1880	
	Eva—dau	2	B		PA	1880	
	Edward—son	5/12	B		PA	1880	
	John Butler			Waiter		1884	1886
<b>133</b>	<b>Elizabeth Jones</b>			<b>Widow of Thomas</b>		<b>1880</b>	<b>1882</b>
	William Marshall			Laborer		1882	1884
	<b>John W. Simpson</b>		<b>B</b>	<b>Alderman</b>	<b>MA</b>	<b>1885</b>	<b>1887</b>
	Maria A.—dau		B	Artist	PA	1885	1887
	<b>John Butler</b>			<b>Waiter/Grand Hotel</b>		<b>1887</b>	<b>1889</b>
<b>135</b>	<b>John Napper</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>Laborer</b>	<b>VA</b>	<b>1880</b>	<b>1886</b>
	Mary J.—wife	58	B	Keeping House	VA	1880	1886
	<b>Mary Napper</b>			<b>Widow of John</b>		<b>1887</b>	<b>1889</b>
	Anna—dau	29	B	Servant	VA	1880	
	Charles—son	24	B	Porter Laborer Porter	VA	1880 1882 1884	1882 1884 1886
	Edmonia—dau	14	B	Teacher	VA	1880 1888	1889
	Minnie G.—dau	13	B		VA	1880	
	Mary E.—dau	10	B		VA	1880	
	Theodore—son	4	B		VA	1880	
	Thomas Gaskins			Laborer		1882	1884
	Peter Webb			Laborer		1882	1884
	<b>Ellen W. Lewis</b>			<b>Widow of John</b>		<b>1884</b>	<b>1889</b>
	Mrs. Frank Miller					1887	1887
	Charlotte Jones			Widow of Samuel		1888	1889
	David Montgomery			Laborer		1888	<b>1889</b>
	Annie Laurie					1889	1889
	Maggie Pack			Domestic		1889	1889
<b>137</b>	<b>William H. Popel</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>Servant Bartender Waiter/Lochiel Hotel</b>	<b>PA</b>	<b>1880 1880 1884</b>	<b>1884 1887</b>
	Laura—wife Laura Popel	31	B	Keeping House Teacher	MD	1880 1887	1889
	<b>Prudence Miller</b>			<b>Widow of George</b>		<b>1884</b>	<b>1889</b>
	Isaac Washington			Laborer		1884	1885

	Frank Thomas			Laborer		1887	1887
	Henry Washington			Laborer		1887	1887
	Robert Wickes			Laborer		1887	1888
	Robert Boone			Laborer		1889	1889
	Kate Fields			Domestic		1889	1889
<b>138</b>	<b>Augustus Tucker</b>			<b>Broommaker Shop H: 723 State</b>		<b>1887</b>	<b>1887</b>
<b>139</b>	<b>Albert Jones</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>Waitor</b>	<b>PA</b>	<b>1880</b>	<b>1882</b>
	Anna—wife	27	B	Keeping House	PA	1880	
	Oliver Reynolds—bdr	34	B	Laborer	LA	1880	
	<b>George W. Fry</b>			<b>Waitor</b>		<b>1882</b>	<b>1884</b>
	<b>Sarah Dockens</b>			<b>Widow of John</b>		<b>1884</b>	<b>1888</b>
	Henry L. Brown			Barber		1887	1888
	George L.A. Cabell			Waiter		1887	1887
	<b>Rosa Briscoe</b>			<b>Widow of John</b>		<b>1889</b>	<b>1889</b>
<b>141</b>	<b>Thomas P. Lego</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>W</b>	<b>Foreman</b>	<b>PA</b>	<b>1880</b>	<b>1882</b>
	Margaret—wife	40	W	Keeping House	PA	1880	
	Ida M.—dau	19	W	Cotton Mill	PA	1880	
	Anna—dau	17	W	Cotton Mill	PA	1880	
	Charles—son	15	W		PA	1880	
	Fanny—dau	13	W		PA	1880	
	Frank—son	9	W		PA	1880	
	Mary—dau	6	W		PA	1880	
	Thomas—son	4	W		PA	1880	
	<b>Henry Stewart</b>			<b>Laborer</b>		<b>1884</b>	<b>1885</b>
	<b>Mark Welcome</b>			<b>Laborer</b>		<b>1885</b>	<b>1886</b>
<b>143</b>	<b>Frisby C. Battis</b>			<b>Saloon Keeper</b>		<b>1884</b>	<b>1888</b>
<b>202</b>	<b>Charles Williams</b>			<b>Laborer</b>		<b>1889</b>	<b>1889</b>
<b>Short c South</b>	<b>Jackson Manufacturing Co.</b>			<b>Railway Supplies</b>		<b>1880</b>	<b>1882</b>
<b>Short c South</b>	<b>Joseph Duffen</b>			<b>Barber Shop</b>		<b>1882</b>	<b>1884</b>

\* Data from the Boyd's Directories and the 1880 Federal Census have been integrated for this table. Abbreviations in Address column: n=near, R=rear, c=corner

\*\*Presumed heads of household appear in boldface. Abbreviations for this column include: fthr=father, mthr=mother, bro=brother, sis=sister, dau=daughter, adson=adopted son, gdau=granddaughter, gson=grandson, sislaw=sister-in-law, neph=nephew, cou=cousin, bdr=boarder

†Abbreviations: W=white, B=black, M=mulatto

‡H=home