

ANNALS
OF
Augusta County, Virginia,
WITH REMINISCENCES

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE VICISSITUDES OF ITS PIONEER SETTLERS;

Biographical Sketches

OF CITIZENS LOCALLY PROMINENT, AND OF THOSE WHO HAVE FOUNDED
FAMILIES IN THE SOUTHERN AND WESTERN STATES;

A Diary of the War, 1861-'5,

AND A

CHAPTER ON RECONSTRUCTION,

BY

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[COUNTY SEAL.]

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P R E F A C E .

The basis of these Annals was prepared as a contribution to the "Historical and Geographical Atlas of Augusta County," issued by Messrs. Waterman, Watkins & Co., of Chicago. That sketch was executed very hurriedly, and the space allotted to it in the Atlas was limited. Therefore some errors appear in the work, and much matter then on hand was necessarily omitted. Moreover, the work was hardly in press before I found new matter, not known or not accessible to me previously. My interest in the subject having been quickened, information in regard to the history of the county came to me almost unsought, and often from unexpected sources. This augmented result is intended as well to correct former errors, as to relate the history more fully from the first settlement of the county, in 1732, to the year 1871.

The county of Augusta originally extended from the Blue Ridge to the Mississippi river, east and west, and from the great lakes on the north to the northern boundary of the present State of Tennessee on the south. The history of this vast region properly belongs to our Annals until the year 1769, when Botetourt county was formed. As the limits of Augusta were reduced by the formation of other counties out of her territory, from time to time, the scope of the history is simultaneously and correspondingly contracted.

I have taken the utmost pains to secure perfect accuracy. The errors in details of most writers who have alluded to our county affairs and people, are remarkable. The writers referred to have not only copied from one another without investigation, and thereby repeated erroneous statements, but some of them have contradicted themselves in the same volume. Even the statements of the public records, especially in respect to dates, often require to be verified. From the order book of the County

Court of Augusta, it would appear that the second term of the court was held in February, 1745, instead of February, 1746. Similar errors occur in the volumes of complete records of chancery causes, preserved in the clerk's office of the Circuit Court.

But while I have aspired to perfect accuracy, I do not flatter myself that the following pages are entirely free from error. I have stated nothing as a fact, of the truth of which I am doubtful. Many statements which I do not regard as certainly correct, are given on the authority of other writers, prefaced by the words, "It is said," or "It is related."

It has been my intention to give full credit to every writer whom I have quoted, and I think this has been done in the body of the work. I am indebted to the files of the *Staunton Spectator*, edited by Richard Mauzy, Esq., for most of the facts embraced in the last chapter, on "Reconstruction." To forestall any charge of plagiarism, I state that having at different times published in the columns of Staunton newspapers communications relating to the history of the county, I have copied from these without credit whenever it suited my purpose to do so. Through the kindness of Judge William McLaughlin I have had the opportunity of making extracts from the "History of Washington College," by the Rev. Dr. Ruffner; and "Sketches of the Early Trustees of Washington College," by Hugh Blair Grigsby, Esq. Both these interesting works are still in manuscript, and neither was completed by its author. To the following gentlemen I am indebted for assistance: John McD. Alexander and Wm. A. Anderson, Esqs., of Lexington; Hon. W. C. P. Breckenridge, of Kentucky; R. A. Brock, Esq., of Richmond; G. F. Compton, Esq., of Harrisonburg; Dr. Cary B. Gamble, of Baltimore; Armistead C. Gordon, Esq., of Staunton; Dr. Andrew Simonds, of Charleston, S. C., and John W. Stephenson, Esq., of the Warm Springs. I am also under obligations to Mrs. S. C. P. Miller, of Princeton, N. J.

I have not attempted to write a stately history, but merely to relate all interesting facts concerning the county, in a lucid style and in chronological order. Hence the title "Annals," has been adopted deliberately. Many trivial incidents have been mentioned, because they seem to illustrate the history of the times and the manners and customs of the people.

The present work was undertaken with no expectation of pecuniary reward. It has been to me a labor of love. From my

early childhood I have cherished a warm affection for my native county—her people, and her very soil. I have sought to rescue from oblivion and hand down to posterity, at least the names of many citizens, who, although not great in the ordinary sense, lived well in their day and are worthy of commemoration.

A representation of the seal of the County Court of Augusta, commonly called the County Seal, is given on the title page. When and by whom the seal was designed is not known. Possibly it was by a member of the faculty of William and Mary College, at the request of one of our colonial governors, who were required by law to provide seals for courts.

The motto is an accommodation of a passage in Horace, Book IV, Ode 2. This Ode expresses delight in the peace and prosperity which came after the long civil wars of Rome. Referring to Augustus, the poet says the heavenly powers ne'er gave the earth a nobler son—

“Nor e'er will give, though backward time should run
To its first golden hours.”

The Latin words are: *Nec dabunt quamvis redeant in aurum
Tempora priscum.*

The motto may be translated thus: “Let the ages return to the first golden period.” The allusion is, of course, to the fabulous “Golden Age” of primal simplicity and enjoyment; and the Roman poets held out the hope that this happy state of things would one day return.

It would seem that the seal was devised during the fearful Indian wars, when every one was longing for the safety and rest of former times. Full of such aspirations, the designer, in addition to the motto, delineated in the centre of the seal a tranquil pastoral scene, as emblematic of the wished for times. Such a scene would not ordinarily have been depicted in a time of peace, but during, or immediately after, the havoc of war. In peace, the minds of men gloat over the achievements of war, and in war they dwell upon “the piping times of peace.”

The name of the county, however, was suggestive of the motto and emblem, as the poet Virgil celebrated the Emperor Augustus as

“Restorer of the age of gold”

J. A. W.

STAUNTON, *November 1, 1886.*



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ANNALS
OF
Augusta County, Virginia.

INTRODUCTION.

THE SCOTCH-IRISH.

At different periods subsequent to the Reformation, many lowland Scotch people emigrated to the province of Ulster, north Ireland. There they prospered greatly, and maintained unimpaired the manners and customs and the religious faith of the country from which they came. They and their posterity regarded themselves—and were regarded by the Irish of Celtic blood—as Scotch in all essential particulars. Some of these settlers, before leaving their native land, goaded by persecution under the Stuart Kings, had borne arms against the British government, and were among the prisoners captured at Bothwell Bridge, in 1679. When the Revolution of 1688 occurred, the Scotch-Irish sided with William of Orange. The siege of Londonderry, in 1689, is one of the most remarkable events in history. Upon the march northward of the army of James II, says Macaulay, “All Lisburn fled to Antrim, and, as the foes drew nearer, all Lisburn and Antrim together came pouring into Londonderry. Thirty thousand Protestants, of both sexes and of every age, were crowded behind the bulwarks of the City of Refuge.” The ordinary population of the town and

suburbs furnished only about six hundred fighting men; but when the siege began there were 7,300 men armed for defence. Dissenters having been excluded from offices in the army, none of that class were fitted by previous military experience for command. Therefore a majority of the higher officers were of the Church of England. A majority of the inferior officers, captains and others, were Presbyterians; and of the soldiers and people generally, the Dissenters outnumbered the others by fifteen to one.

“Now,” says Froude, in his *History of Ireland*, “was again witnessed what Calvinism—though its fires were waning—could do in making common men into heroes. Deserted by the English regiments, betrayed by their own commander, without stores and half armed, the shopkeepers and apprentices of a commercial town prepared to defend an unfortified city against a disciplined army of 25,000 men, led by trained officers, and amply provided with artillery. They were cut off from the sea by a boom across the river. Fever, cholera and famine came to the aid of the besiegers. Rats came to be dainties, and hides and shoe leather were the ordinary fare. They saw their children pine away and die—they were wasted themselves, till they could scarce handle their firelocks on their ramparts.” Still they held on through more than three miserable months. Finally a frigate and two provision ships came in, and Derry was saved after a siege of eight months. The garrison had been reduced to about three thousand men. The Rev. Mr. Walker, a minister of the Church of England, was one of the prominent leaders. Enniskillen was successfully defended in like manner.

Yet, notwithstanding their loyalty to the Crown, as settled by the Revolution, and their heroic services, the Scotch Irish received no favors from the British government, except a miserable pittance doled out to their clergy after a time. They were proscribed because of their religion, being excluded from the army, the militia, the civil service, and seats in municipal corporations. Dissenters from the Irish Episcopal church were not allowed to teach school. Presbyterian marriages were declared illegal. The laws against Catholics were even more severe than those against Protestant dissenters—so severe, indeed, that they were not generally executed, public officers

revolting at their harshness. Presbyterians, however, were pursued unrelentingly to the extent of the law. The Presbyterian magistrates in Ulster, says Froude, were cleared out. Men having nothing to recommend them but their going to church, were appointed in their places. The power being now in their hands, the bishops fell upon the grievance of the Presbyterian marriages. Catholic marriages did not trouble them; but, in their view, a marriage ceremony by a Protestant dissenting minister was only a license to sin. It was announced that the children of all Protestants not married in a church should be treated as bastards, and in 1704 many persons of undoubted reputation were prosecuted in the bishop's courts as fornicators for cohabiting with their own wives. Ministers, for the offence of preaching the gospel outside of certain bounds, were arrested and held for trial, while their hearers were threatened with the stocks.

Yet the loyalty of the people to the Crown was unshaken, doubtless owing to the fact that the sovereigns generally were opposed to measures of persecution. William III had opposed them, and George I in vain urged the repeal of the obnoxious laws. Therefore when, in 1715, the rebellion in behalf of the Pretender, son of James II, began in Scotland, and an insurrection in Ireland was looked for, the Irish Presbyterians tendered their services to the government. In the emergency military commissions were distributed to them, although contrary to law, and many regiments were speedily raised. After the danger was over they were threatened with prosecution for even that service.

The chief agents of persecution were the bishops of the established church. Some of these prelates, during the earlier part of the eighteenth century, were not only High Churchmen of the most ultra sort, but at heart it was believed partisans of the Stuart dynasty. Dean Swift, no friend to Dissenters, sarcastically described the nominees to the Episcopal bench of Ireland, "as waylaid and murdered by highwaymen on Hounslow Heath, who stole their letters patent, came to Dublin, and were consecrated in their places." All the Irish prelates, however, did not deserve Swift's wholesale denunciation, notably Bishop Berkeley; and many of the parish clergy were worthy of all honor.

Every effort of enlightened statesmen to obtain a relaxation

of the stringent laws against Dissenters failed, and in 1719 the Protestant emigration to America recommenced. In addition to the restrictions on religion, Irish industry and commerce had been systematically repressed. Twenty thousand people left Ulster on the destruction of the woollen trade in 1698. Many more were driven away by the first passage of the Test Act. The stream had slackened in the hope of some relief. When this hope expired, men of spirit and energy refused to remain in the country. Thenceforward, for more than fifty years, annual shiploads of families poured themselves out from Belfast and Londonderry. England paid dearly for her Irish policy. The fiercest enemies she had, in 1776, were the descendants of the Scotch-Irish who had held Ulster against James II. The earlier emigrants were nearly all Protestants. The emigration of Catholics from Ireland to America, in large numbers, did not begin till the nineteenth century. Previously, when the Irish people of this class emigrated it was to France, Spain, or other European Catholic country. "There was," says Froude, "first a Protestant exodus to America, and then a Catholic, each emigrant carrying away a sense of intolerable wrong."

The people of Ulster had heard of Pennsylvania, and the religious liberty there enjoyed and promised to all comers, and to that province they came in large numbers. They were mainly farmers, tradesmen and artisans. But jealousies arose in the minds of the original settlers of Pennsylvania, and restrictive measures were adopted by the proprietary government against the Scotch-Irish and German immigrants. Hence many of both these races were the more disposed, in 1732 and afterwards, to seek homes within the limits of Virginia, and run the risk of the church establishment existing there. The Scotch-Irish drifted on in the wake of John Lewis to the present county of Augusta; the German people generally located in the region now known as Shenandoah, Page, and Rockingham. The two races did not keep entirely apart, and there was some commingling of them in the various settlements, and in a short time a few people distinct from either came into the Valley from lower Virginia.

Many of our people are descendants of the defenders of Derry. And to go back a little further, the list of prisoners captured at

Bothwell Bridge and herded like cattle for months in Grayfriars' Churchyard, Edinburgh, is like a muster-roll of Augusta people.¹

¹ An Appendix to the old Scotch book called "A Cloud of Witnesses," says: "Anno, 1679, of the prisoners taken at Bothwell, were banished to America 250, who were taken away by —— Paterson, merchant at Leith, who transacted for them with Provost Milns, Laird of Barnton, the man that first burnt the covenant, whereof 200 were drowned by shipwreck at a place called the Mulehead of Darness, near Orkney, being shut up by the said Paterson's order beneath the hatches; 50 escaped." The following were a part of the 250, the names of those who escaped being printed in italics: James Clark and John Clark, of the parish of Kilbride; *John Thomson* and Alexander Walker, of Shots; *William Waddel*, William Miller, James Waddel and *John Gardner*, of Monkland; John Cochran, John Watson and Thomas Brownlee, of Evandale; Thomas Wilson, of Cathkin; John Miller and John Craig, of Glassford; David Currie, Robert Tod, John White and Robert Wallace, of Fenwick; Hugh Cameron, of Dalnulhington; William Reid, of Mauchline; John Campbell and Alexander Paterson, of Muirkirk; James Young and George Campbell, of Galston; Thomas Finlay, William Brown, Robert Anderson and James Anderson, of Kilmarnock; William Caldwell, of Girvan; Mungo Eccles, of Maybole; Alexander Lamb and George Hutcheson, of Straiton; Robert Ramsey and John Douglas, of Kirkmichael; John White, of Kirkeswald; *Thomas Miller*, of Largo; Thomas Miller, Thomas Brown and James Buchanan, of Gargrennock; *Thomas Thomson* and *Andrew Thomson*, of St. Ninians; Andrew Young, John Morison and *Hugh Montgomery*, of Airlt; Thomas Ingles, Patrick Hamilton, John Bell, Patrick Wilson and William Henderson, of Dalmannie; James Steel and John Brown, of Calder; William Reid, of Musselburgh; James Tod, of Dunbar; James Houston, of Balmaghie; Robert Brown and Samuel Beck, of Kilmackbrick, *John Martin*, of Borque; *Andrew Clark*, of Luckrictan; John Scott, of Ettrick; *John Glasgow*, *William Glasgow*, Richard Young and *James Young*, of Cavers; Walter Waddel, of Sprouston; William Scott and Alexander Waddel, of Castletown. The fifty men who escaped from the shipwreck made their way to the north of Ireland, and were not further troubled.



CHAPTER I.

FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT TO THE FIRST COUNTY COURT.

As far as known, the country now embraced in Augusta county was never entered by white men until the year 1716. Six years earlier, however, some portion of the Valley of Virginia had been seen from the top of the Blue Ridge by Europeans. Governor Spotswood, writing to the Council of Trade, London, December 15, 1710, says that a company of adventurers found the mountains "not above a hundred miles from our upper inhabitants, and went up to the top of the highest mountain with their horses, tho' they had hitherto been thought to be unpassable, and they assured me that ye descent on the other side seemed to be as easy as that they had passed on this, and that they could have passed over the whole ledge (which is not large), if the season of the year had not been too far advanced before they set out on that expedition."—[*Spotswood Letters*, Vol. I, page 40.] It would seem that the adventurers referred to looked into the Valley from the mountain in the neighborhood of Balcony Falls, but no description of the country seen by them is given.

This portion of the Valley was then entirely uninhabited. The Shawnee Indians had a settlement in the lower valley, at or near Winchester, and parties of that tribe frequently traversed this section on hunting excursions, or on warlike expeditions against Southern tribes, but there was no Indian village or wigwam within the present limits of the county. At an early day, Indians, or people of some other race, had doubtless resided here, as would appear from several ancient mounds, or burial places, still existing in the county.

The face of the country between the Blue Ridge and the North Mountain was, of course, diversified by hill and dale, as it is now, but forest trees were less numerous than at the present time, the growth of timber being prevented by the frequent fires kindled by hunting parties of Indians. Old men living within the writer's recollection, described this region as known by them in their boyhood. Many acres, now stately forests, were then covered by mere brushwood, which did not conceal the startled deer flying from pursuit.

At the time of which we speak, wild animals abounded in this section. The buffalo roamed at will over these hills and valleys, and in their migrations made a well-defined trail between Rockfish Gap, in the Blue Ridge, and Buffalo Gap, in the North Mountain, passing by the present site of Staunton. Other denizens of the region at that day were the bear, wolf, panther, wildcat, deer, fox, hare, etc. It would appear that wolves were very numerous. There were no crows, blackbirds, nor song birds, and no rats, nor honey bees till the coming of the white people.²

The first passage of the Blue Ridge, and entrance into the Valley by white men, was made by Governor Spotswood in 1716.³ About the last of July, or first of August in that year, the Governor, with some members of his staff, starting from Williamsburg, proceeded to Germanna, a small frontier settlement, where he left his coach and took to horse. He was there joined by the rest of his party, gentlemen and their retainers, a company of rangers, and four Meherrin Indians, comprising in all about fifty persons. These, with pack-horses laden with provisions, journeyed by way of the upper Rappahannock river, and after thirty-six days from the date of their departure from Williamsburg, on September 5th, scaled the mountain at Swift Run Gap, it is believed. Descending the western side of the mountain into the Valley, they reached the Shenandoah River and encamped on its bank. Proceeding up the river, they

²The mocking-bird, common in Albemarle county, is still not found in a wild state west of the Blue Ridge in Augusta.

³It is claimed that several parties at different times, long before Spotswood's expedition, came from the falls of Appomattox, now Petersburg, crossed the mountains near the line of North Carolina, and penetrated as far as New River. The country traversed, although west of the mountain, is, however, no part of the Valley.

found a place where it was fordable, crossed it, and there, on the western bank, the Governor formally "took possession for King George the First of England." The rangers made further explorations up the Valley, while the Governor, with his immediate attendants, returned to Williamsburg, arriving there after an absence of about eight weeks, and having traveled about 440 miles out and back.⁴

The only authentic account we have of the expedition is the diary of John Fontaine, and that is very meagre. The gentlemen of the party were: Governor Spotswood, Robert Beverley, the historian, Colonel Robertson, Dr. Robinson, Taylor Todd, Fontaine, Mason, Clouder, Smith and Brooke. They crossed the Shenandoah river on the 6th of September, and called it Euphrates. The river is said to have been very deep, and "fourscore yards wide in the narrowest part." The Governor had graving irons, but could not grave anything, the stone was so hard. "I," says Mr. Fontaine, "graved my name on a tree by the river side, and the Governor buried a bottle with a paper enclosed, on which he writ that he took possession of this place in the name of King George First of England." The most astonishing thing related by the diarist, however, is the quantity and variety of liquors lugged about and drank by the party. He says: "We had a good dinner" [on the 6th], "and after it we got the men together and loaded all their arms, and we drank the King's health in champagne and fired a volley, the Princess's health in Burgundy and fired a volley, and all the rest of the royal family in claret and a volley. We drank the Governor's health and fired another volley. We had several sorts of liquors, viz: Virginia red wine and white wine, Irish usquebaugh, brandy, shrub, two sorts of rum, champagne, canary, cherry punch, cider, &c." Bears, deer and turkeys were abundant, and in the Valley the foot-prints of elk and buffalo were seen.—[Dr. Slaughter's *History of St. Mark's Parish.*]

⁴ In 1870 a silver knee buckle, of rare beauty and value, set in diamonds, pronounced genuine by competent jewelers, was found near Elkton, Rockingham county. It is believed that this buckle was lost by one of the Spotswood cavalcade. The silver was discolored by age, and the brilliants somewhat deteriorated by long exposure to the elements. It was found, and is now held by one of the Bear family.—[Letter from Charles W. S. Turner, Esq.]

It was in commemoration of this famous expedition that Governor Spotswood sought to establish the order of "Knights of the Golden Horseshoe." But the Governor's account of the expedition, as far as we have it, is very tame and disappointing. He was thinking chiefly of protecting the English settlements from the encroachments of the French, and apparently cared little for anything else. He also either misunderstood the Indians whom he encountered, or was grossly deceived by them in regard to the geography of the country. In his letter to the Board of Trade, under date of August 14, 1718, he said:

"The chief aim of my expedition over the great mountains, in 1716, was to satisfye myself whether it was practicable to come at the lakes. Having on that occasion found an easy passage over that great ridge of mountains w'ch before were judged unpassable, I also discovered, by the relation of Indians who frequent those parts, that from the pass where I was it is but three days' march to a great nation of Indians living on a river w'ch discharges itself in the Lake Erie; that from ye western side of one of the small mountains w'ch I saw, that lake is very visible, and cannot, therefore, be above five days' march from the pass afore-mentioned, and that the way thither is also very practicable, the mountains to the westward of the great ridge being smaller than those I passed on the eastern side, w'ch shews how easy a matter it is to gain possession of those lakes."—[*Spotswood Letters*, Vol. II, pp. 295-6.]

The country thus discovered by Governor Spotswood, and claimed by him for the British crown, became a part of the county of Essex, the western boundary being undefined. Spotsylvania was formed from Essex and other counties in 1720, and Orange from Spotsylvania, in 1734.

The expedition of the "Knights of the Golden Horseshoe," trivial as it may now appear, was at the time regarded as very hazardous; and it no doubt led to important results. The glowing accounts given by Spotswood's followers, if not by himself, of the beauty and fertility of the Valley, attracted immediate attention, and induced hunters and other enterprising men to visit the country. Of such transient excursions, however, we have no authentic account; and at least sixteen years were to pass before any extensive settlements were made by Europeans in this region.

At length John and Isaac Vanmeter, of Pennsylvania, in 1730,

obtained from Governor Gooch a warrant for 40,000 acres of land to be located in the lower valley, and within the present counties of Frederick, Jefferson, etc. This warrant was sold in 1731, by the grantees, to Joist Hite, also of Pennsylvania. Hite proceeded to make locations of his land, and to induce immigrants to settle on his grant. He removed his family to Virginia, in 1732, and fixed his residence a few miles south of the present town of Winchester, which is generally believed to have been the first permanent settlement by white men in the Valley.

Population soon flowed in to take possession of the rich lands offered by Hite; but a controversy speedily arose in regard to the proprietor's title. Lord Fairfax claimed Hite's lands as a part of his grant of the "Northern Neck." Fairfax entered a *caveat* against Hite, in 1736, and thereupon Hite brought suit against Fairfax. This suit was not finally decided till 1786, long after the death of all the original parties, when judgment was rendered in favor of Hite and his vendees. The dispute between Fairfax and Hite retarded the settlement of that part of the Valley, and induced immigrants to push their way up the Shenandoah river to regions not implicated in such controversies. In 1738 there were only two cabins where Winchester now stands. That town was established by law in 1752.

A strange uncertainty has existed as to the date and some of the circumstances of the first settlement of Augusta county. Campbell, in his "History of Virginia" (pages 427-9), undertakes to relate the events somewhat minutely, but falls into obvious mistakes. He says: "Shortly after the first settlement of Winchester (1738), John Marlin, a peddler, and John Salling, a weaver, two adventurous spirits, set out from that place" (Winchester) "to explore the 'upper country,' then almost unknown." They came up the valley of the Shenandoah, called Sherando, crossed James river, and reached the Roanoke river, where a party of Cherokee Indians surprised and captured Salling, while Marlin escaped. Salling was detained by the Indians for six years, and on being liberated returned to Williamsburg. "About the same time," says Campbell, "a considerable number of immigrants had arrived there, among them John Lewis and John Mackey. * * Pleased with Salling's glowing picture of the country beyond the mountains, Lewis and Mackey visited it under his guidance," and immediately all three located here.

Whatever the truth may be in regard to other matters, Campbell's dates are entirely erroneous. He would seem to postpone the settlement of Lewis in the valley to the year 1744, although he immediately refers to him as residing here in 1736.

Foote, in his "Sketches of Virginia," is silent as to the date of the settlement. He mentions, upon the authority of the late Charles A. Stuart, of Greenbrier county, a descendant of John Lewis, that the latter first located on the left bank of Middle river, then called Carthrae's river, about three miles east of the macadamized turnpike. Thence he removed to Lewis' Creek, two miles east of Staunton, where he built a stone house, known as Fort Lewis, which is still standing. According to Foote, Mackey and Salling came with Lewis, or at the same time, Mackey making his residence at Buffalo Gap, and Salling his at the forks of James river, below the Natural Bridge.

We are satisfied that Mackey and Salling did explore the Valley, but that it was about the year 1726, before there was any settlement by white people west of the Blue Ridge. Withers, in his "Border Warfare," gives the following account of Salling's captivity :

Salling, he says, was taken to the country now known as Tennessee, where he remained for some years. In company with a party of Cherokees he went on a hunting expedition to the salt licks of Kentucky, and was there captured by a band of Illinois Indians, with whom the Cherokees were at war. He was taken to Kaskaskia and adopted into the family of a squaw whose son had been killed. While with these Indians he several times accompanied them down the Mississippi river, below the mouth of the Arkansas, and once to the Gulf of Mexico. The Spaniards in Louisiana desiring an interpreter purchased him of his Indian mother, and some of them took him to Canada. He was there redeemed by the French governor of that province, who sent him to the Dutch settlement in New York, "whence he made his way home after an absence of six years."—[*Border Warfare*, page 42.] Peyton, in his "History of Augusta County," gives an account of the coming of Lewis to the Valley quite different from Campbell's version of the matter, and somewhat at variance with Foote's narrative. He says Lewis "had been some time in America, when, in 1732, Joist Hite and a party of pioneers set out to settle upon a grant of 40,000 acres

of land in the Valley. * * Lewis joined this party, came to the Valley, and was the first white settler of Augusta." Lewis is represented as coming, not from Williamsburg, but from Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and the date of his arrival here is given as "the summer of 1732." These statements and the authority upon which they are made appear conclusive of the matter.

John Lewis and his sturdy sons were just the men to battle with the adverse circumstances which surrounded them in this wilderness country. He was a native of Donegal county, Province of Ulster, Ireland, and of Scottish descent. He came to America from Portugal, in which country he had taken refuge after a bloody affray with an oppressive landlord in Ireland. It is stated, however, that upon an investigation of the affray, Lewis was formally pronounced free from blame. The story as related is briefly as follows: An Irish lord who owned the fee of the land leased by Lewis undertook to eject the latter in a lawless manner. With a band of retainers he repaired to the place, and on the refusal of the tenant to vacate, fired into the house killing an invalid brother of Lewis and wounding his wife. Thereupon, Lewis rushed from the house and dispersed his assailants, but not until their leader and his steward were killed.

It is a question what number of sons John Lewis had. Various writers state that he brought with him to America four sons, viz: Samuel, Thomas, Andrew, and William, and that a fifth, Charles, was born after the settlement here, but others mention only four, omitting Samuel. Ex-Governor Gilmer, of Georgia, a great-grandson of John Lewis, gives an account of the family in his book called "Georgians," printed in 1854, and is silent as to Samuel. Governor Gilmer's mother, a daughter of Thomas Lewis, lived to a great age, and it is hardly possible that she could have been ignorant of an uncle named Samuel, and that her son should not have named him if there had been such an one. All the others were prominent in the early history of the country, and we shall have occasion to speak of them often in the course of our narrative.

The permanent settlement of Lewis was in the vicinity of the twin hills, "Betsy Bell and Mary Gray," which were so called by him, or some other early settler, after two similar hills in County Tyrone, Ireland.

Concurrently with the settlement of Lewis, or immediately

afterward, a flood of immigrants poured into the country. There was no landlord or proprietor to parcel out the domain; the land was all before them where to choose, and for several years the settlers helped themselves to homes without let or hindrance. It is believed that all the earliest settlers came from Pennsylvania and up the Valley of the Shenandoah. It was several years before any settlers entered the Valley from the east, and through the gaps in the Blue Ridge. We may accompany, in imagination, these immigrants on their way from the settlements north of the Potomac, through the wilderness to their future homes. There was, of course, no road, and for the first comers no path to guide their steps, except, perhaps, the trail of the Indian or buffalo. They came at a venture, climbing the hills, fording the creeks and rivers, and groping through the forests. At night they rested on the ground, with no roof over them but the broad expanse of heaven. After selecting a spot for a night's bivouac, and tethering their horses, fire was kindled by means of flint and steel, and their frugal meal was prepared. Only a scanty supply of food was brought along, for, as game abounded, they mainly "subsisted off the country." Before lying down to rest, many of them did not omit to worship the God of their fathers and invoke His guidance and protection. The moon and stars looked down peacefully as they slumbered, while bears, wolves and panthers prowled around. It was impossible to bring wagons, and all their effects were transported on horseback. The list of articles was meagre enough. Clothing, some bedding, guns and ammunition, a few cooking utensils, seed corn, axes, saws, &c., and the Bible, were indispensable, and were transported at whatever cost of time and labor. Houses and furniture had to be provided after the place of settlement was fixed upon. In the meanwhile there was no shelter from rain and storm. The colonial government encouraged the settlement of the Valley as a means of protecting the lower country from Indian incursions. The settlers were almost exclusively of the Scotch-Irish race, natives of the north of Ireland, but of Scottish ancestry. Most of those who came during the first three or four decades were Dissenters from the Church of England, of the Presbyterian faith, and victims of religious persecution in their native land. They were generally a profoundly religious people, bringing the Bible with them, whatever they

had to leave behind, and as soon as possible erected log meeting houses in which to assemble for the worship of God, with school-houses hard by.

Although the Church of England was established by law throughout the colony, and a spirit of intolerance inseparable from such a system prevailed in lower Virginia, the Dissenters of the Valley, as far as we know, had comparatively little to complain of in this respect.

For about twenty years the immigrants were unmolested by the Indians. "Some," says Foote, "who had known war in Ireland, lived and died in that peace in this wilderness for which their hearts had longed in their native land." During this halcyon time, the young Lewises, McClanahans, Mathewses, Campbells, and others were growing up and maturing for many a desperate encounter and field of battle.

But the authorities at Williamsburg had by no means relinquished the rights of the British crown, as held by them, to the paramount title to the lands of the Valley. In assertion of those rights, and without ability on the part of the people of the Valley to resist, on September 6, 1736, William Gooch, "Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Colony and Dominion of Virginia," in pursuance of an order in council, dated August 12, 1736, and in the name of "George II, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith," etc., issued a patent for the "Manor of Beverley." The patentees were William Beverley, of Essex; Sir John Randolph, of Williamsburg; Richard Randolph, of Henrico, and John Robinson, of King and Queen; and the grant was of 118,491 acres of land lying "in the county of Orange, between the great mountains, on the river Sherando," etc. On the next day, September 7, the other grantees released their interest in the patent to Beverley. This patent embraced a large part of the present county of Augusta, south as well as north of Staunton.

William Beverley was a son of Robert Beverley, the historian of Virginia, and grandson of the Robert Beverley who commanded the royal forces at the time of "Bacon's Rebellion." He was a lawyer, clerk of Essex County Court from 1720 to 1740, a member of the House of Burgesses and of the Governor's Council, and County-Lieutenant of Essex. He

died about the first of March, 1756. At the time of his death, his only son, Robert, was a minor.⁵

The question is often asked, In what part of the county was Beverley's Manor? Readers generally could not ascertain from a perusal of the patent, and we have applied to several practical surveyors, the best authorities on the subject, for information. To Messrs. John G. Stover and James H. Callison we are indebted for the following description, which, although not perfectly accurate, will answer the present purpose: Beginning at a point on the east side of South river, about four miles below Waynesborough, thence up the same side of the river to a point opposite to or above Greenville; thence by several lines west or southwest to a point near Summerdean; thence northeast to Trimble's, three miles south of Swoope's Depot; thence northeast by several lines, crossing the Staunton and Parkersburg turnpike, five or six miles, and the Churchville road about three miles, from Staunton, to a point not known to the writer; and thence east by one or more lines, crossing the macadamized turnpike at or near Augusta church, to the beginning. The description given in the patent begins at five white oaks on a narrow point between Christie's creek and Beaver run (Long Meadow creek), near the point where those streams enter Middle river, and thence north seventy degrees; west, etc.

From the familiar mention in the patent of various natural features of the country—"Christie's Creek," "Beaver run," "the Great Springs," "Black Spring," etc., it is evident that the country had by that time, in the short space of four years, been explored and to a great extent settled. The grant, of course, covered the lands already occupied by settlers, who were in the view of the law and of the patentee, mere "squatters" on the public domain. Beverley, however, seems to have dealt towards the people with

⁵ Robert Beverley died near the close of the century, leaving several sons, two of whom, Robert and Carter, were his executors. Carter came to Staunton, and lived for some time in considerable style at the place now called "Kalorama." He, however, became involved in debt, and about the year 1810 his handsome furniture and equipage were sold by the sheriff under executions. He then left Staunton, and afterwards was prominently implicated in the famous charge of "bargain and corruption" preferred against Henry Clay and John Quincy Adams.

a liberal spirit; at any rate, there is no proof or tradition of anything to the contrary. On February 21, 1738, he conveyed to John Lewis 2,071 acres, a part of the Beverley Manor grant, the deed being on record in Orange county, within which the grant then lay.

In the spring of 1736, Benjamin Borden,⁶ the agent of Lord Fairfax, came up from Williamsburg, by invitation, on a visit to John Lewis. He took with him, on his return, a buffalo calf, which he presented to Governor Gooch, and was so successful in ingratiating himself with the Governor as to receive the royal patent for a large body of land in the Valley, south of Beverley Manor. The first settlers in Borden's grant were Ephraim McDowell and his family. His daughter, Mary Greenlee, related in a deposition taken in 1806, and still extant, the circumstances under which her father went there. Her brother, James McDowell, had come into Beverley Manor during the spring of 1736, and planted a crop of corn, near Woods' Gap; and in the fall her father, then a very aged man, her brother John, and her husband and herself came to occupy the new settlement. Before they reached their destination, and after they had arranged their camp on a certain evening, Borden arrived and asked permission to spend the night with them. He informed them of his grant, and offered them inducements to go there. The next day they came on to the house of John Lewis, and there it was finally arranged that the party should settle in Borden's tract.

As early as 1734, Michael Woods, an Irish immigrant, with three sons and three sons-in-law, came up the Valley, and pushing his way through Woods' Gap, settled on the eastern side of the Blue Ridge.

At an early day, the people living on the east side of the Blue Ridge received the soubriquet of Tuckahoes, from a small stream of that name, it is said, while the people on the west side were denominated Cohees, as tradition says, from their common use of the term "Quoth he," or "Quo' he," for "said he."

Beverley and Borden were indefatigable in introducing settlers from Europe. James Patton was a very efficient agent in this enterprise. He was a native of Ireland, was bred to the sea,

⁶This name is generally written Burden, but erroneously. From one of the family Bordentown, New Jersey, derived its name.

and had served in the royal navy. Afterward he became the owner of "a passenger ship," and traded to Hobbes' Hole, Virginia, on the Rappahannock river. He is said to have crossed the Atlantic twenty-five times, bringing Irish immigrants, and returning with cargoes of peltries and tobacco.— [R. A. Brock, "Dinwiddie Papers," Vol. I, page 8.]

Most of the people introduced by Patton were the class known as "Redemptioners," or "indentured servants," who served a stipulated time to pay the cost of their transportation.⁷ The records of the county court of Augusta show that this class of people were numerous in the county previous to the Revolutionary war. They were sold and treated as slaves for the time being. Up to the Revolution there were comparatively few African slaves in the Valley.

Missionaries, says Foote, speedily followed the immigrants into the Valley. "A supplication from the people of Beverley Manor, in the back parts of Virginia," was laid before the Presbytery of Donegal, Pennsylvania, September 2, 1737, requesting ministerial supplies. "The Presbytery judge it not expedient, for several reasons, to supply them this winter." The next year, however, the Rev. James Anderson was sent by the Synod of Philadelphia to intercede with Governor Gooch in behalf of the Presbyterians of Virginia. Mr. Anderson visited the settlements in the Valley, and during that year, 1738, at the house of John Lewis, preached the first regular sermon ever delivered in this section of the country.

The proceedings of Synod, just referred to, were taken "upon the supplication of John Caldwell,⁸ in behalf of himself and many families of our persuasion, who are about to settle in the back parts of Virginia, desiring that some members of the Synod may be appointed to wait on that government to solicit their

⁷Some persons of this class were well educated, and were employed as teachers. The maternal grandfather of the Rev. Dr. Baxter purchased a young Irishman, who called himself McNamara, and the father of the Rev. Dr. Alexander purchased another named Reardon, and to these, respectively, were Drs. Baxter and Alexander indebted for their early instruction in Latin, &c.

⁸Grandfather of John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina. Mr. Caldwell, however, never lived in the Valley, but in Charlotte county.

favor in behalf of our interest in that place.”—[Extract from records of Synod, quoted by Foote, First Series, page 103.]

Mr. Anderson was the bearer of the following letter :

“To the Honourable William Gooch, Esquire, Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Virginia, the humble address of the Presbyterian ministers convened in Synod May 30th, 1738. May it please your Honour, we take leave to address you in behalf of a considerable number of our brethren who are meditating a settlement in the remote parts of your government, and are of the same persuasion as the Church of Scotland. We thought it our duty to acquaint your Honour with this design, and to ask your favour in allowing them the liberty of their consciences, and of worshipping God in a way agreeable to the principles of their education. Your Honour is sensible that those of our profession in Europe have been remarkable for their inviolable attachment to the house of Hanover, and have upon all occasions manifested an unspotted fidelity to our gracious Sovereign, King George, and we doubt not but these, our brethren, will carry the same loyal principles to the most distant settlements, where their lot may be cast, which will ever influence them to the most dutiful submission to the government which is placed over them. This, we trust, will recommend them to your Honour’s countenance and protection, and merit the free enjoyment of their civil and religious liberties. We pray for the divine blessing upon your person and government, and beg to subscribe ourselves your Honour’s most humble and obedient servants.”

To this document the Governor replied, in a letter to the Moderator of the Synod, as follows :

“Sir,—By the hands of Mr. Anderson I received an address signed by you in the name of your brethren of the Synod of Philadelphia. And as I have always inclined to favour the people who have lately removed from other provinces to settle on the western side of our great mountains, so you may be assured that no interruption shall be given to any minister of your profession, who shall come among them, so as they conform themselves to the rules prescribed by the Act of Toleration in England, by taking the oaths enjoined thereby, and registering the place of their meeting, and behave themselves peaceably towards the government. This you may

please to communicate to the Synod as an answer to theirs. Your most humble servant, William Gooch."

The loyalty of the Scotch-Irish settlers of the Valley to the house of Hanover is not over-stated by the Synod in their address to the Governor. Indeed, that spirit was characteristic of their race. Froude remarks, in substance, that of all the people of Ireland, the Presbyterians of Ulster had most cause to complain of the severities of the British government, for while uniformly loyal they received no favors in return.

The Governor, in his reply, alludes to the "toleration" of Dissenters provided by law. This was on certain conditions. Their places of worship, or meeting-houses, were required to be licensed and registered in the county courts. In eastern Virginia the number of such places in a county was limited, but in the Valley there appears to have been no restriction of the kind. All ministers of the gospel were obliged to take divers and sundry oaths, and especially to abjure the "Pretender" to the throne of Great Britain, the Pope of Rome, and the doctrine of transubstantiation. The people were not liable to fine for not attending the parish churches, but they were compelled to contribute to the support of the established religion, and their ministers were not allowed to celebrate the rite of marriage. Until the year 1781 any couple desiring to be legally married had to send for or go to some minister of the Established Church, however far off he might live.

Governor Gooch is regarded as being averse to persecuting measures, yet he is supposed to have encouraged the settlement of the Valley chiefly from a desire to remove the frontier of civilization further from Williamsburg, and to place a hardy and enterprising race of people between the capital and the savage Indians.

Up to the time to which we have now arrived, the whole region west of the Blue Ridge constituted a part of the county of Orange. In the year 1738, however, on November 1, the General Assembly of the colony of Virginia passed an act establishing the counties of Frederick and Augusta. The new counties were so named in honor of Frederick, Prince of Wales, son of King George II, and father of George III, and his wife, the Princess Augusta. The act separated all the territory west

of the Blue Ridge, and extending in other directions "to the utmost limits of Virginia," from Orange county, and erected it into the two counties named. The line between them was "from the head spring of Hedgman's river to the head spring of the river Potomack." Augusta was much the larger of the two counties. It embraced, northward, the present county of Rockingham and a part of Page; to the south, it extended to the border of Virginia; and to the west and northwest, it extended over the whole territory claimed by Great Britain in those quarters. It included nearly all of West Virginia, the States of Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and, as contended by Virginians, a part of western Pennsylvania.

The act provided that the two new counties should remain part of the county of Orange and parish of Saint Mark until it should be made to appear to the Governor and council that there was "a sufficient number of inhabitants for appointing justices of the peace and other officers, and erecting courts therein." In the meanwhile, the inhabitants were exempted from "the payment of all public, county and parish levies in the county of Orange and parish of Saint Mark"; but no allowance should be made "to any person for killing wolves within the limits of the said new counties." The act further provided for the payment of all levies and officers' fees "in money or tobacco at three farthings per pound," and also for the election, by freeholders and housekeepers, of twelve persons in each county, to constitute the vestries of the respective parishes as required by the laws relating to the Established Church. As we shall see, the county of Augusta was not fully organized and started on its independent career till the year 1745.

The Presbyterians of Augusta continued their "supplications" to the Presbytery of Donegal for a pastor to reside amongst them. In 1739, they first applied for the services of the Rev. Mr. Thompson, who came and preached for a time. Next they presented a call to the Rev. John Craig. At a meeting of Presbytery, in September, 1740, "Robert Doak and Daniel Dennison, from Virginia, declared in the name of the congregation of Shenandoah, their adherence to the call formerly presented to Mr. Craig;" and on the next day Mr. Craig "was set apart for the work of the Gospel ministry in the south part of Beverley's Manor."

The Rev. John Craig was born in 1709, in County Antrim, Ireland. He was educated at Edinburgh; landed at New Castle upon the Delaware, August 17, 1734; and licensed by the Presbytery to preach in 1737. As stated, he came to Augusta in 1740. "I was sent," he recorded, "to a new settlement in Virginia of our own people, near three hundred miles distant."

At his death, in 1774, Mr. Craig left a manuscript giving some account of himself and the times in which he lived. Referring to his settlement in Augusta, he says: "The place was a new settlement, without a place of worship, or any church order, a wilderness in the proper sense, and a few Christian settlers in it with numbers of the heathens travelling among us, but generally civil, though some persons were murdered by them about that time. They march about in small companies from fifteen to twenty, sometimes more or less. They must be supplied at any house they call at, with victuals, or they become their own stewards and cooks, and spare nothing they choose to eat and drink."

It is interesting to learn how the Dissenters of the Valley managed their congregational affairs; and here is a copy of the obligation subscribed by the people of Tinkling Spring: "Know all men by these presents, yt us, ye undernamed subscribers, do nominate, appoint and constitute our trusty and well-beloved friends, James Patton, John Finley, George Hutchison, John Christian, and Alexander Breckenridge, to manage our public affairs; to choose and purchase a piece of ground and to build our meeting-house upon it; to collect our minister's salary, and to pay off all charges relating to said affair; to lay off the people in proportion to this end; to place seats in our said meeting-house, which we do hereby promise to reimburse them, they always giving us a month's warning by an advertisement on the meeting-house door, a majority of the above five persons, provided all be apprised of their meeting, their acting shall stand; and these persons above-named shall be accountable to the minister and session twice every year for all their proceeds relating to the whole affair. To which we subscribe our names in the presence of Rev. Mr. John Craig, August 11th, 1741."

One of the subscribers having failed to pay his subscription, or assessment, was sued in the County Court, and the commis-

sioners obtained a verdict and judgment against him for six pounds.

When James Patton located in the county he took up his abode on South River above Waynesborough, at or near the present Porcelain Works, and called the place Springhill. Beverley's patent embraced the land occupied by Patton, and the latter had no deed till February 21, 1749, when Beverley conveyed to him the tract, 1,398 acres, more or less, for the nominal consideration of five shillings [$83\frac{1}{2}$ cents].

Outside the large land grants to Beverley, Borden and others, patents were issued from time to time for small tracts to various persons. One of the earliest of this class, which we have seen, is dated September 1, 1740, and is signed in the name of King George II by James Blair, acting Governor. It granted to James Anderson 270 acres "lying in that part of Orange county called Augusta, on a branch of Cathry's river, called Anderson's branch," &c., in consideration of the importation of five persons to dwell within this our Colony and Dominion of Virginia, whose names are: John Anderson, Jane Anderson, Esther Anderson, Mary Anderson, and Margaret Anderson," and the further consideration of five shillings—provided the "fee rent" of one shilling for every fifty acres be paid annually, and three acres in fifty be cultivated and improved within three years. The tract is probably the same now owned by Thomas S. Hogshead, near Stribling Springs. But no stream in that neighborhood is known at this day as Anderson's branch.

The inhabitants of the new county discovered before long that living without payment of taxes was not desirable. Poor people could not be provided for; roads could not be cleared, nor bridges built; and, especially, the wolves were multiplying beyond all endurance. They, therefore, made "humble suit" to the assembly, and in accordance with their wishes, in May, 1742, an act was passed "for laying a tax on the inhabitants of Augusta county." The act provided that the County Court of Orange should divide the county of Augusta into precincts, and appoint persons to take lists of tithables therein, and that each tithable should pay two shillings ($33\frac{1}{2}$ cents) yearly to James Patton, John Christian and John Buchanan, to be laid out by them in hiring persons to kill wolves, etc., etc., in such

manner as should be directed by the court-martial to be held annually in the county.

What the people had to sell, and where they sold their products, are questions we cannot answer. Probably peltries and such live-stock as they could raise and send to market were their only means of obtaining money.

The state of the country and of society in the settlement, from its origin till the year 1745, was quite singular. The dwellings of the people were generally constructed of logs, and the furniture was simple and scanty. There were no roads worthy of the name, and probably no wheeled vehicles of any kind; horseback was the only means of transportation. There was no minister of religion till Mr. Craig arrived, except transient visitors on two or three occasions; no marriage feasts, nor funeral rites, and very few sermons on the Sabbath to call the people together. There were no courts and court days, except at Orange Courthouse, beyond the mountain. From allowances by the vestry for professional services to the poor, subsequent to 1747, we learn the names of several physicians who lived in the county at an early day. Drs. Foyles and Flood are mentioned in 1753, but we have no other information in regard to them. No lawyer was known in this bailiwick till 1745, when we find Gabriel Jones, the "king's attorney," residing on his estate near Port Republic. But the sturdy Scotch-Irish people pressed into the country, and by the year 1745 the Alexanders, Allens, Andersons, Bells, Bowyers, Breckenridges, Browns, Buchanans, Campbells, Christians, Craigs, Cunninghams, Dickinsons, Doaks, Finleys, Johnstons, Kerrs, Lewises, Lyles, Matthewses, Millers, Moores, McNutts, Mofetts, McPheeterses, McClanahans, McClungs, McDowells, Pattons, Pickenses, Pattersons, Pilsons, Poages, Prestons, Robinsons, Scotts, Sitlingtons, Stuarts, Tates, Thompsons, Trimbles, Wilsons, Youngs, and others abounded in the settlement. Other immigrants of the same races came in afterwards.

It has been thought that the German inscription on an ancient tomb-stone in an abandoned grave-yard near Conrad's store (now Elkton), in Rockingham county, proved that a settlement of German people existed in that part of the Valley at least as early as 1724.

The supposition was, that some of the Germans of Germanna followed on the track of Governor Spotswood, crossed the Blue Ridge at Swift Run Gap, and settled on the Shenandoah river at Elkton soon after the Governor's expedition of 1716. An account of Virginia, by the Rev. Hugh Jones, published about 1724, says: "Beyond Col. Spotswood's furnace, above the Falls of Rappahannock River, within view of the vast mountains, he has founded a town called Germanna, from some Germans sent over by Queen Anne, who are now moved up further." Colonel Byrd, in his "Progress to the Mines," in 1732, refers to these Germans as "now removed ten miles higher, in the forks of Rappahannock, to land of their own." The first colony of Germans came in 1714, and consisted of twelve families. In 1717 twenty additional Protestant German families arrived and settled near their countrymen. The names of some of these people were Spillman, Hoffman, Kemper, Fishback, Wayman, Marten, Hitt, Holtzclaw and Weaver. Finding Governor Spotswood a hard task-master, a portion of the people went off in 1718, and founded Germantown, in Fauquier. Others, previous to 1724, it would seem, moved up to the present county of Madison. There is no historical account, however, of the settlement of any of these colonists in the Valley.

The inscription on the old tombstone plainly exhibits the year 1724; but the question was, whether that was the date of death or of birth. The work was done by an illiterate stonecutter, or one who did not understand the German language. Some of the words are misspelled, others are compounded of several words, and others still are divided into several parts, so that the inscription is unintelligible to most scholars. But Professor Schele De Vere, of the University of Virginia, has kindly deciphered the hieroglyphics, and furnished translations in German and English. The German, he says, was intended to be—

Den ers: Novom: ist der Jacob B I geboren, aber der Gerechte ob er gleich zur Zeit auch stirbt, ist er doch in der Ruhe, dem seine Seele gefällt Gott da.

A literal English translation is as follows:

"The first November is the Jacob B I born, but the righteous although he at the time also dies, is (he) still in (the) rest, for his soul pleases God there."

The figures 1724 are at the top of the inscription, and appear to indicate the year of birth. Nothing, therefore, is proved by the inscription in regard to the date of settlement in the Valley. It is strange that the name of the deceased is not given in full, but it is supposed to be Jacob Bear.

Another proof, however, is said to exist of a settlement in the Valley earlier than 1732. Adam Miller resided at and owned the place now known as Bear's Lithia Spring, near Elkton, and the certificate of his naturalization, issued under the hand of Governor

Gooch, March 13, 1741, set forth that he was a native of Scherstien, in Germany, and had lived on the "Shenandoa" for fifteen years next before the date of the paper. Mr. Charles W. S. Turner, of Elkton, informs us that he has seen the paper, and if there be no mistake as to date, etc., Miller must have settled in the Valley as early as 1726. He and his associates may have been Germans from Germanna, but being few in number, and out of the track of the tide of immigration which afterwards poured in, they remained unknown, or unnoticed, by the English-speaking people.





CHAPTER II.

FROM THE FIRST COURT TO THE FIRST INDIAN WAR.

At length the time for the organization of the county had arrived. On October 30, 1745, Governor Gooch issued "a Commission of the Peace," naming the first magistrates for the county, viz: James Patton, John Lewis, John Buchanan, George Robinson, Peter Scholl, James Bell, Robert Campbell, John Brown, Robert Poage, John Pickens, Thomas Lewis, Hugh Thompson, Robert Cunningham, John Tinla (Finley?), Richard Woods, John Christian, Robert Craven, James Kerr, Adam Dickinson, Andrew Pickens, and John Anderson—in all, twenty-one.

At the same time, the Governor issued a commission to James Patton as sheriff of the county. John Madison was appointed clerk of the county court by "commission under the hand and seal of Thomas Nelson, Esq., Secretary of Virginia," and Thomas Lewis was commissioned surveyor of the county by "William Dawson, president, and the masters of the college of William and Mary."

In anticipation of the organization, William Beverley, the patentee, had erected a courthouse, no doubt a rough structure, on his land, and at the southwest corner of the present courthouse lot. On the day the commissions to the county officers were issued at Williamsburg, Beverley wrote from the same place to the justices of Augusta, informing them that he had erected the house referred to at his "mill place," and would before spring make a deed for the "house and two acres of land about the same to the use of the county to build their prison, stocks, etc., on." It will be observed that nothing

was said about Staunton as the county-seat. There were doubtless some dwellings and other houses here, but the spot was then only known as Beverley's "Mill Place."

The justices appointed by the Governor assembled at the courthouse on December 9, 1745, and took the prescribed oaths of office. Next, the commission of the sheriff was read, and he was duly qualified. Thereupon, "court was proclaimed," the following justices being on the bench: John Lewis, John Brown, Thomas Lewis, Robert Cunningham, Peter Scholl, John Pickens, Hugh Thompson, James Kerr, and Adam Dickinson.

Thus was started the County Court of Augusta, which continued without material change till the year 1852, when justices of the peace became elective by the popular vote. Previously, during a period of one hundred and seven years, the justices assembled in court nominated new members from time to time, as the exigencies of the county required; and the executive of the colony, and afterwards of the State, confirmed the nominations by issuing the necessary commissions.

The justices received no pay, except that after a time the system was introduced of conferring the office of high sheriff of the county, for a term of two years, upon the justices in rotation, according to seniority of commission; the sheriffs "farming out" the office to deputies who discharged all its duties. Upon the expiration of the term of office, the high sheriffs reverted to the position of justice of the peace, and awaited their turn for the lucrative office, which, however, very few obtained a second time.

The first business in order after the justices took their seats on the bench and the court was proclaimed, was to receive and approve the official bond of the sheriff. The clerk was also qualified; and William Russell, James Porteus, Gabriel Jones, John Quin, and Thomas Chew qualified to practice as attorneys-at-law.

On the next day, December 10, the commissions of Thomas Lewis, surveyor, and his deputy, James Trimble, were produced in court, and those officers were sworn in. The sheriff on the same day, "moved the court to be informed how he was to secure his prisoners, there being no prison." The provident Col. Beverley had not thought of that. The court, however, ordered

the sheriff to summon a guard, and "to provide shackles, bolts, handcuffs, etc." A committee was also appointed to "build a prison and erect stocks." Great importance was evidently attached in those days to "stocks." It was thought quite impossible for a well-ordered community to get along without them.

After a short session on the 10th, the court adjourned till the next court in turn. In pursuance of the Act of 1738, the court then met on the second Monday in each month.

The business of the county court, as indicated by the order books, was heavy and diversified. The first session of court was held, as stated, in December, 1745, and by the February term following there was a large docket of causes for trial. Single justices had jurisdiction of causes involving less than twenty-five shillings. In all other causes at law and in equity, civil and criminal, (not involving loss of life or member), the court had jurisdiction, there being, however, a right of appeal to the general court, which was then composed of the Governor and his council. Attendance at the county court every month became burdensome to the people, and in October, 1748, an act of assembly was passed, establishing quarterly courts for the trial of causes. Four or more justices were required to constitute a court.

We may mention that the first clerk of the county court, John Madison, was the father of the Rev. Dr. James Madison, for some time bishop of the Episcopal church in Virginia. John Madison, the clerk, Gabriel Jones, the lawyer, and Thomas Lewis, the surveyor, whose wives were sisters (Misses Strother, from Stafford county), lived in the same neighborhood, near Port Republic.

Among the first justices of the peace we find John and Andrew Pickens. One of these was the father of the distinguished General Andrew Pickens, of South Carolina. General Henry Lee states in his "Memoirs of the War" (page 594), that General Pickens was born in Paxton township, Pennsylvania, September 19, 1739. His parents were from Ireland. When he was a child his father removed to Augusta county, Virginia, and in 1752 to the Waxhaw settlement, in South Carolina. He was actively engaged in the Indian wars and the Revolution. He was conspicuous for his valor at the Cowpens, Haw River, Augusta (Georgia) and Eutaw; and Lee declares

that he contributed in an equal degree with Sumpter and Marion to the liberation of the Southern States. After the war he served in the Legislature of South Carolina and the United States Congress. "This great and good military chieftain," as General Lee styles him, died August 11, 1817, at his seat in Pendleton District, South Carolina, which had been the scene of one of his earliest Indian battles. "He was," says Lee, "a sincere believer in the Christian religion, and a devout observer of the Presbyterian form of worship."

The first will presented in the County Court of Augusta was that of Robert Wilson. It was executed November 3, 1745, and was proved and admitted to record February 11, 1746, not 1745, as the record is made to say by a blundering copyist.

The first deed recorded, dated December 9, 1745, was from Andrew Pickens to William McPheeters, and conveyed twelve and one-half acres of land in consideration of five shillings. Deed Books, 1, 2 and 3, are occupied almost exclusively by the conveyances of William Beverley to various persons.

Beverley no doubt made many deeds previous to 1745, which were recorded in Orange; and from 1745 to 1755, no less than one hundred and sixty six of his deeds were recorded in Augusta. He never conveyed the two acres promised to the justices in 1745; but in 1749 he donated much more land to the county, as we shall see.

From the papers in an early suit we have ascertained the prices in the county of several articles in the year 1745. Money was then, and for a long time afterward, counted in pounds, shillings, and pence, one pound, Virginia currency, being \$3.33 $\frac{1}{3}$.⁹ We state the prices here in the present currency. The price of sugar was 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ cents per pound, two nutmegs 22 cents, half a pound of powder 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ cents, one

⁹ We cannot account for the change in the currency. English settlers in Virginia, of course, brought with them the pound sterling of Great Britain, equal to about \$4.85. When, why, and how the Virginia pound of \$3.33 $\frac{1}{3}$ was introduced, we have not been able to ascertain. Governor Spotswood, in a letter to the Lords Commissioners of Trade, dated May 24, 1716, alludes to "Virginia money" as something different from English currency. The change was probably caused by the lesser value of Virginia currency in England, compared with gold and silver.

and a-half pounds of lead 19½ cents, and one ounce of indigo 25 cents.

The rates for ordinaries fixed by the court, March 10, 1746, were as follows: For a hot diet, 12½ cents; a cold ditto, 8⅓ cents; lodging, with clean sheets, 4⅙ cents; stabling and fodder a night, 8⅓ cents; rum, the gallon, \$1.50; whiskey, the gallon, \$1; claret, the quart, 83⅓ cents.

The ordinary proceedings of the County Court, as recorded in the order books, often illustrate the history of the times, and we shall make frequent quotations.

As soon as the court was established, taverns were needed at the county seat. Therefore, we find that on February 12, 1746, license to keep ordinaries at the courthouse was granted to Robert McClanahan and John Hutchinson. And on the same day it was "ordered that any attorney interrupting another at the bar, or speaking when he is not employed, forfeit five shillings."

On February 19, 1746, a court was held to receive proof of "public claims," and the losses of several persons by the Indians were proved and ordered to be certified to the general assembly for allowance.

While the white settlers and the Indians who often passed through the country were supposed to be at peace, and the more prudent settlers sought by every means to conciliate the savages, instances of robbery and massacre by Indians were not infrequent, as is shown by the records of the County Court and otherwise. Tradition tells of an Indian raid upon a homestead near Buffalo Gap, but at what date is not stated. The ancestor of the Bell family of that neighborhood lived some two miles from the gap, and the females and children who were at home, learned that a party of Indians were in the vicinity. Feeling insecure, they abandoned their house and sought safety elsewhere. The Indians would have passed the dwelling without discovering it, but were attracted to the place by the cackling of a flock of geese. They plundered the house, setting it on fire, by design or accident, and went off. From that day to the present no member or descendant of that family of Bells has kept geese.

A more disastrous raid occurred, however, in December, 1742. A party of Indians from Ohio came into the Valley,

and John McDowell, who lived on Timber Ridge (now Rockbridge) summoned his neighbors to watch, and, if need be, resist the savages. The whites fell into an ambush, near the junction of the North river and the James, and at the first fire McDowell and eight of his companions were slain. The Indians, alarmed at their own success, fled precipitately, and were not pursued. The people of the neighborhood gathered on the field of slaughter, and, says Foote, "took the nine bloody corpses on horseback and laid them side by side near McDowell's dwelling, while they prepared their graves, in overwhelming distress."

John McDowell's grave may still be found in the family burying ground near Timber Ridge church, marked by a rough stone. He has been mentioned heretofore as one of the first settlers in Borden's grant. His son, Samuel, was Colonel of militia at the battle of Guilford, and the ancestor of the Reids, of Rockbridge; and his son, James, who died in early life, was the grandfather of the late Governor James McDowell. His only daughter, Martha, married Colonel George Moffett, of Augusta, a gallant soldier of the Revolution, whose descendants are numerous in this county and elsewhere.

At the April term, 1746, of the County Court, John Nicholas having declined to act as prosecuting attorney, the court recommended Gabriel Jones "as a fit person to transact his majesty's affairs in this county." Mr. Jones was accordingly appointed, and duly qualified at the next court.

At May term, 1746, John Preston proved his importation from Ireland, with his wife, Elizabeth, William, his son, and Lettice and Ann, his daughters, at his own charge "in order to partake of his majesty's bounty for taking up land."

Foote speaks of John Preston as "a shipmaster in Dublin." Brock says he was a ship carpenter. He came to the county in the year 1740, with his brother-in-law, James Patton, who was a brother of Preston's wife. He resided for a time at Patton's place, Springhill, but about the year 1743 he removed to the tract known as Spring Farm, adjacent to Staunton, and there, in a house near the site of the present city water works, he lived and died. He and other Presbyterian people of Staunton and vicinity, of his day, worshipped at Tinkling Spring church, and

his body was interred at that place. His eldest daughter married Robert Breckenridge, the ancestor of several distinguished men. The second daughter married the Rev. John Brown, pastor of New Providence church, and from them descended John Brown, of Kentucky, and James Brown, of Louisiana, both of them United States senators, and the latter minister to France. William Preston was the father of a numerous family, male and female, and many of his descendants have been eminent in various walks of life. John Preston, the ancestor, appears to have been a quiet man, and without the bustling energy which characterized other pioneer settlers; but the traits which he and "his wife Elizabeth" transmitted to their posterity is a noble testimony that the pair possessed more than common merit. He died in 1747, leaving a very small estate, as far as appears. His wife qualified as administratrix, February 6, 1747, and executed a bond, with John Maxwell and Robert McClanahan as her securities, in the penalty of £100, indicating a personal estate of only £50.

On the day that John Preston "proved his importation," the court ordered that "Edward Boyle, for damning the court and swearing four oaths in their presence, be put in the stocks for two hours, and be fined twelve shillings" (\$2).

Till the year 1746, no vestrymen had been elected, as provided in the act of 1738. In that year, however, an election was held, and twelve persons were chosen to constitute the vestry of the parish, viz: James Patton, (Col.) John Buchanan, John Madison, Patrick Hays, John Christian, (Mr.) John Buchanan, Robert Alexander, Thomas Gordon, James Lockhart, John Archer, John Matthews, and John Smith.

From the first settlement of Virginia the Church of England had been established in the colony. The inhabited parts were laid off into parishes, in each of which was a minister, who had a fixed salary in tobacco, together with a farm (called glebe) and a parsonage. There was a general assessment on all the inhabitants to meet the expenses.

When a new parish was established, the vestrymen were elected by the qualified voters, but vacancies occurring afterwards were filled by the board. Two members were annually chosen to act as church-wardens, and these were more particu-

larly charged with all matters pertaining to religion and public morals. The minister, or rector, was *ex officio* president of the board.

Vestrymen were not merely ecclesiastical officers, but some of the duties now performed by supervisors were imposed upon them by law. They had the care of the poor, and attended to the important duty, as it was then, of "processioning lands." At a time when the boundaries of contiguous tracts of land were ill defined, to prevent or settle disputes, commissioners were appointed by the vestry to ascertain and fix the lines. This custom had fallen into disuse, and every law on the subject had disappeared from the statute books, till the destruction of many county records during the late war, led to an act of Assembly, in 1865-'6, reviving the practice. In England the vestry has also charge of all highways in the parish; but in Virginia, during colonial times, little or no concern was taken about public roads.

The vestry held meetings statedly, at least once a year, to count up and provide for the expenses of the parish. They laid the parish levy; and it is curious at this day to find that here, as well as elsewhere in the colony, glebe farms were bought, churches and parsonages built, ministers, readers and sextons paid, and even the sacramental wine provided, out of the public treasury.

All members of the vestry were required by law to take the various oaths imposed upon public officers generally, and, in addition, to subscribe a declaration "to be conformable to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England." It is quite certain that most of the vestrymen of Augusta parish in 1746 were Dissenters from the Established Church. How they could, with a clear conscience, subscribe the declaration referred to is a question. They probably pleaded the necessity of the case. Without vestrymen and a rector the local government could not be completed, the poor could not be cared for, lands could not be "processioned," and especially none of the young people in the county could get married without much expense and inconvenience. The Scotch-Irish vestrymen of Augusta parish, with James Patton at their head, very likely agreed "to be conformable," &c., with the understanding that it was only for the time being and in respect to

the particular public duties they undertook to discharge. They did not relax their interest in the dissenting congregations to which they belonged, and, as far as known, they did not incur censure nor lose respect by their conformity as vestrymen. Some Dissenters of the Covenanter stock no doubt compared the Presbyterian vestrymen and church-wardens to Naaman, the Syrian, bowing himself in the house of Rimmon, because the King leaned upon his hand. As will be seen hereafter, the practice of subscribing the declaration of conformity fell into partial disuse, and some persons elected vestrymen refused to subscribe when required to do so, and retired from the board.

The vestry of Augusta parish met for the first time in the courthouse, April 6, 1747. They elected John Madison clerk, and Robert Alexander and James Lockhart church-wardens. The Rev. John Hindman appeared with letters from the Governor, etc., recommending him for employment as "rector of the parish." The vestry, however, were not in a hurry, and proceeded to drive a bargain with Mr. Hindman. They agreed to accept him, provided he would not insist upon the purchase of glebe lands, etc., for two years, and would hold his services in the meanwhile in the courthouse, "and in people's houses of the same persuasion." Moreover, he was not to complain to the Governor in regard to the tardiness of his vestrymen. A glebe farm, however, was purchased, and a church building was erected in Staunton in the course of time. The farm was at the foot of North Mountain, about five miles south of Swoope's depot, and is now owned by the Thompson family. No church was ever built there, but farm buildings were erected, and an acre or more of land was laid off for a public burying ground. In common with other glebe lands, the farm was disposed of as directed by law, after the disestablishment of the Church of England in the State. The church in Staunton was built on land given by Beverley, April 3, 1750. It was begun in 1760, and finished in 1763.

Mr. Hindman's salary, payable in money, was £50 a year. Commissary Dawson, in a letter of July 11, 1749, to the Bishop of London, states that the parish was then vacant because of the death of Mr. Hindman. At a meeting of the vestry, on the day last named, Mr. Robert Clowseme, recommended by "Peter Hedgman, gentleman," sought the vacant place, but he was

rejected, the vestry "not being acquainted with him," and resolving to receive no minister "without a trial first had." For more than two years the parish was vacant, and then, in 1752, the Rev. John Jones was inducted on the recommendation of Governor Dinwiddie.

But we have anticipated the course of events. It is probable that on the day, in 1746, that vestrymen were elected, delegates, or "burgesses," to represent Augusta county in the colonial assembly were also elected. We find no trace of such election, however, in our local archives or elsewhere. The county was duly represented in the "House of Burgesses," nevertheless, and from several acts found in *Hening's Statutes at Large*, it appears that the county was required to pay the "wages" of her representatives. The name and fame of one of our earliest burgesses have been perpetuated by a stone erected in the glebe burying ground. We give a literal copy of the inscription :

HERE LY,S THE INTER,D BODY OF. CO^L, JOHN
WILLSON WHO DEPA^RTED THIS LIF. IN THE -
YARE - OF OUR LORD 1773 IN - THE 72- Y^R - OF HIS
EAG HAVING SERVD HIS COUNTY - 27 - YA - REPRES
- NTETIVE - IN - THE HONOURABLE - HOUS - OF BUR-
JESIS. IN VIRGINIA &c

Colonel Willson is not to be held responsible for the illiteracy and mistakes of the stone-cutter. We presume there is no mistake as to the date of his death, and the statement that he served twenty-seven years as a member of the House of Burgesses. He must, therefore, have been elected in 1746, and have served, upon repeated elections, continuously till his death.

R. A. Brock, Esq., Secretary of the Virginia Historical Society, has furnished to us the following partial list of delegates from Augusta in the House of Burgesses :

- 1751—John Willson and John Madison.
- 1752—John Willson and John Madison.
- 1757—John Willson and Gabriel Jones.
- 1758—John Willson and Gabriel Jones.
- 1759—John Willson and Israel Christian.
- 1761—John Willson and Israel Christian.

1768—John Willson and William Preston.

1769—John Willson and William Preston.

1771—John Willson and Gabriel Jones.

1773—John Willson and Samuel McDowell.

1776—George Mathews and Samuel McDowell.

In the interval, from 1761 to 1768, and probably at other times, Thomas Lewis served as one of the delegates from Augusta. James Patton also represented the county, for we find that at November term of the County Court, 1755, an allowance was made to his executor for "burgess wages." It is probable that Patton was Col. Willson's colleague from 1747 to 1751, and that he was a member of the House of Burgesses from 1752 to 1755.

We again revert to an earlier period in the history of the county. On May 21, 1747, George Wythe appeared before the county court and took the oaths required of attorneys. At the same time the grand jury presented five persons as swearers and two for Sabbath breaking.

On the 22d of May, 1747, the Rev. Samuel Black, a dissenting minister, appeared before the court and took the prescribed oaths. We have no further information in regard to Mr. Black.

The number of tithables in the county in 1747 was 1,670, and the tax per head as levied by the vestry, six shillings.

The following extract from the records of the court, of date May 20, 1748, is a part of the history of the times, and possesses some special interest: "On the motion of Matthew Lyle, yts ordered to be certified that they have built a Presbyterian meeting-house at a place known by the name of Timber Ridge, another at New Providence,¹⁰ and another at a place known by the name of Falling Spring." All these places are in the present county of Rockbridge, then part of Augusta. The record shows, among other things, the rapid settlement of the country.

"West of the Blue Ridge," says Foote [First Series, page 309] "the inhabitants were generally Dissenters, and coming

¹⁰There was a house of worship in Pennsylvania, near Norristown, called Providence. "From this many families emigrated to New Virginia, settled together, and built a meeting-house, which they called New Providence."—[*Life of Rev. Dr. Archibald Alexander*, page 6.

into the province such, there was always less difficulty in obtaining license for houses of worship than in those counties east of the Ridge, where no Dissenters, or but few, had settled, and those that appeared were converts from the Established Church." The early meeting-houses in Augusta, erected before the year 1745, were doubtless registered in Orange county.

Early in the century the American Presbyterian Church became divided into what were known as the "Old Side" and the "New Side." There was no question in regard to doctrine, but only as to the proper methods of promoting religion. The New Side Presbyterians, sometimes called "New Lights," were admirers and followers of George Whitefield, who traversed the country, and by his zeal and eloquence caused an extraordinary religious excitement. The Old Side party was composed of the more conservative and less aggressive element of the church, who feared excitement, and perhaps were not specially zealous. The various Presbyterians adhering to the Old Side were associated as the Synod of Philadelphia, and those of the New Side as the Synod of New York. There was no Presbytery in Virginia till the year 1755, when Hanover Presbytery was formed by authority of the Synod of New York, and was composed of New Side ministers and churches. This Presbytery consisted at first of only six ministers, including the celebrated Samuel Davies, of Hanover county; Rev. John Brown, of New Providence, and Rev. Alexander Craighead, of Windy Cove. The Rev. John Craig, of Augusta and Tinkling Spring, was not a member of it till the breach was healed, in 1758, and the two parties came together again. During the alienation most, if not all, the Presbyterian churches in the present county of Augusta adhered to the Old Side, and those in the region now composing Rockbridge county (New Providence, Timber Ridge, Falling Spring, Hall's meeting-house, afterwards Monmouth, or Lexington) to the New Side. While the strife lasted much bitterness of feeling was exhibited, and the cause of the Dissenters, and of religion itself, was no doubt greatly injured thereby. Missionaries were sent to Virginia by both the Northern Synods. A minister named Robinson, sent out by the Synod of New York, was preaching in the Valley, when one of the inhabitants of Augusta, going into the lower country for salt and iron, met some of the attendants upon Morris's meetings in Hanover, and recommended Mr.

Robinson to them. He was invited to visit them, which he did, and his visit led to the settlement of Samuel Davies in Virginia.

To show further how the Dissenters managed their affairs during colonial times, we mention that, in 1747, James Patton, John Christian, John Finley, James Alexander and William Wright, "chosen commissioners and trustees," received a deed from William and John Thompson for one hundred and ten acres of land for the use of "the Presbyterian congregation of Tinkling Spring." Many years afterwards an act of the Legislature authorized the congregation to sell as much of the tract as they wished, and expend the proceeds in repairing their meeting-house, or in building a new one.

It is stated that, as early as 1748, Colonels Patton and Buchanan and others, with a number of hunters, made an exploring tour to the southwest. They discovered and named the Cumberland mountain and Cumberland river, so called in honor of the Duke of Cumberland, who had recently gained the battle of Culloden, in Scotland.

And now, in the year 1748, we come to the first mention of the town of Staunton. During that year William Beverley laid off the beginning of the town, within his manor, and at his "Mill Place." The surveying was done by Thomas Lewis, the county surveyor, and the plot is highly creditable to the surveyor's skill. The number of town lots is forty-four, each, with a few exceptions, containing half an acre. The streets laid off and named are Beverley, Frederick and Johnson, running east and west, and Augusta, Water and Lewis, running north and south. A plot of twenty-five acres, east of Augusta street, and extending half a square north of Frederick street, was reserved for the use of the county. The inscription under the plot, signed by the surveyor, is as follows; "A plan of the town of Staunton, in Augusta county, each lot containing half an acre * * * laid out in the year 1748, and since confirmed by an act of the last session of assembly."

The plan was produced in court by William Beverley, February 27, 1749, and ordered to be recorded. It may be found in Deed Book No. 2, page 410.

It appears, however, that several streets and town lots were laid off by Thomas Lewis for Beverley, July 15, 1747, as we learn from the original plot which was not recorded. The

number of lots was only thirteen, so moderate was the expectation in regard to the town ; but by the next year it was thought advisable to extend the dimensions of the embryo city, and thirty-one lots were added in 1748. In the divisions of 1747, each lot contained half an acre, as in the plot of 1748. Lot No. 1 was between Spring Lane and the creek, west of Augusta street. The two squares north of Spring Lane and west of Augusta street were laid off, and each was divided into four lots. Lots 10, 11, 12, and 13 were west of Water street, and between Spring Lane and Frederick street, the north branch of Lewis's creek running through each of them. Beverley retained (in 1747) lots 2, 10, and 11, and sold off the other lots ; Joseph Bell purchased No. 3 (southwest corner of Beverley and Augusta streets, on a part of which the Augusta National Bank now stands) for £5, or \$16.66 $\frac{2}{3}$. Robert McClanahan purchased two lots, No. 7 (southeast corner of Beverley and Water streets—Old Central Bank, &c.), for £9, 15s. \$32.50,¹¹ and No. 12 (northeast corner of Beverley and Water streets—Lutheran Church, &c.), for £5. Other purchasers of lots were Samuel Wilkins, John Brown, William Lyndwell, Andrew Campbell, John Ramsey, David Stuart, and Patrick McDonal. In the plot of 1748, as recorded, the streets designated are named as at present ; in the original plot of 1747, Augusta was called Gooch street, Water was called William, and Beverley was called Cross street. Spring Lane was so called from the first, although now generally known as Irish Alley. The name Staunton was originally often written Stanton. It is generally supposed that Augusta and other parallel streets were intended to lie exactly north and south, but in the original plot those streets are represented as slightly departing from the meridian line.

Twenty five acres heretofore referred to, were conveyed by Beverley to the justices of the peace for the use of the courthouse, etc., April 21, 1749.

Why Staunton was so called has been a question for many years. We long ago saw a statement in print somewhere, that the new town was named in honor of Lady Gooch, wife of the Governor, who, it was said, was a member of the English family

¹¹ About one-half of this lot was sold at auction March 5, 1886, for \$13,300, the value of buildings being hardly estimated.

of Staunton, but we do not vouch for the truth of the statement. There is a small town of the same name near Kendal, Westmorland county, England.

The inscription by the surveyor alludes to an act of assembly establishing the town. No such act is found in Hening, but it appears from a proclamation issued by Governor Dinwiddie, April 8, 1752, that "An act for establishing a town in Augusta county, and allowing fairs to be kept there," was passed by the assembly in 1748. It was, however, for some unexplained reason, "disallowed" by King George II, and pronounced by the Governor "utterly void and of none effect." Thus the aspirations of Staunton were repressed, and the rising town had to wait for thirteen years for a new king liberal enough to grant her a charter.

Governor Dinwiddie, a native of Scotland, trained to business in a West India custom-house, and recommended for promotion by his detection and exposure of some gigantic frauds practiced by his official superiors there, arrived in Virginia early in 1752, and immediately gave offence by declaring the king's dissent to various acts which his predecessor had approved. The Assembly remonstrated against this exercise of the royal prerogative, but in vain.

The biographers of the celebrated Daniel Boone state that he came from Pennsylvania on an excursion to Augusta, about 1748-'9, with his cousin, Henry Miller. The latter returned to the county, and built on Mossy Creek the first iron furnace in the Valley.

From the proceedings of the vestry, August 22, 1748, it appears that John Lewis had contracted to erect the public buildings of the parish for £148, and it was ordered that he be paid £74 on "raising the said buildings, and the remainder on their completion." From a bond executed by Colonel Lewis, with Robert McClanahan as security, at the date just mentioned, but not recorded till November 28, 1753, it appears that one of the buildings was a dwelling house for the parish minister. According to tradition, this was the old frame house which lately stood on the southwest corner of Augusta street and Irish Alley.

We continue the extracts from the records of the court:

May 19, 1749.—"Ordered that James Montgomery and

Richard Burton, or any one of them, wait on the court of Lunenburg, and acquaint them that the inhabitants of Augusta have cleared a road to the said county line, and desire that they will clear a road from the courthouse of Lunenburg to meet the road already cleared by the inhabitants of Augusta."

Lunenburg and Augusta were therefore adjoining counties at that time.¹² It will be observed that here, as well as elsewhere, nothing is said about grading the road--it was only "cleared." Till many years afterward nothing else was attempted, and it was not till the present century that our road surveyors could be persuaded that the distance was as short round a hill as over it.

November 28, 1749.—"A commission to Robert McClanahan, gent., to be sheriff of this county during his majesty's pleasure, was produced in court," etc. Adam Breckenridge qualified as deputy sheriff.

Robert McClanahan was a native of Ireland, and came to Augusta at an early day. A brother of his, Blair McClanahan, was a merchant in Philadelphia, a prominent politician and member of Congress after the Revolution. The wife of Robert McClanahan was Sarah Breckenridge, and his children were four sons and two daughters. Three of the sons, Alexander, Robert and John, were prominent in the Indian wars, and Alexander was a lieutenant-colonel during the Revolution. One of his daughters married Alexander St. Clair, who came from Belfast, Ireland, and was long a prosperous merchant at Staunton, and an active member of the County Court. Mr. St. Clair also represented Augusta in the State Senate in the years 1791-'3.¹³

¹²In 1752 Halifax county was formed from the southern part of Lunenburg, adjacent to Augusta; and in 1753 Bedford was formed from the northern part, so that after 1753, for several years, Augusta was bounded on the east by the counties of Orange, Albemarle, Bedford and Halifax. New London, at first the county seat of Lunenburg, and afterwards of Bedford, is now in Campbell county.

¹³Robert McClanahan, after living at various places in Staunton, removed to his farm, a mile south of town, now (1886) owned by Mrs. Gay and her children. This farm was conveyed to McClanahan, in 1748, by Robert Beverley, and was left by the former at his death, in

The grand juries of the county were apparently determined to enforce the observance of the Sabbath day. In 1749, Andrew McNabb was presented for a breach of the Sabbath—in what way is not stated; in 1750, Jacob Coger was presented “for a breach of the peace by driving hogs over the Blue Ridge on the Sabbath;” and in 1751, James Frame was presented “for a breach of the Sabbath in unnecessarily traveling ten miles.”

At laying the county levy in 1750, allowance was made for two hundred and fifty-six wolf heads—the entire head had to be produced. In 1751 allowance was made for two hundred and twenty-four heads. In 1754 William Preston obtained an allowance for one hundred and three heads. They were hardly all trophies of his own skill, but most, if not all of them, were probably purchased by him. Indeed, wolf heads constituted a kind of currency.

The court and grand juries were extremely loyal. In 1749, Jacob Castle was arrested “for threatening to *goe* over to and be aiding and assisting of the French ag’st his Majesty’s forces.” In 1751, Owen Crawford was presented “for drinking a health to King James, and refusing to drink a health to King George.” The accused made his escape, and the presentment was dismissed.

Constables were appointed at various times on the Roanoke and New rivers.

The first classical school west of the Blue Ridge was opened in 1749, by Robert Alexander, two miles southwest of the present village of Greenville. The teacher was educated at Trinity College, Dublin. He emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1736, and to the Valley in 1743. How long Mr. Alexander conducted the school we do not know. He was succeeded by the Rev. John Brown, and the school was removed first to Old Providence, then to New Providence, and shortly before the Revolutionary war to Mount Pleasant, near Fairfield. It was latterly under the care of Hanover Presbytery.

1791, to his executors, Alexander McClanahan and Alexander St. Clair, to do with it as they pleased. The terms imply a secret trust. At any rate, the executors conveyed the farm to Robert McClanahan, the third of the name, and grandson of the first. In 1808, the last named Robert sold the farm to John McDowell, who built the present handsome brick dwelling on the hill, having lived in the meanwhile, as the first Robert McClanahan had, in a small house near the Greenville road.

The next extract from the records of the court is of peculiar interest. Under date of August 29, 1751, we find the following :

“Ordered that the sheriff employ a workman to make a ducking stool for the use of the county according to law, and bring in his charge at laying the next county levy.”

An act of assembly, passed in 1705, in accordance with the old English law, prescribed ducking as the punishment for women convicted as “common scolds.” The ducking stool was no doubt made as ordered, but we have searched in vain for an instance of its use “according to law.” The failure to use it was certainly not because there were no scolding women in the county at that time; for soon after the machine was constructed, or ordered, one Anne Brown went into court and “abused William Wilson, gentleman, one of the justices for this county, by calling him a rogue, and that on his coming off the bench she would give it to him with the devil.” Mrs. Brown was taken into custody, but not ducked, as far as we can ascertain. Nor was the failure to use the stool due to timidity or tender heartedness on the part of members of the court. They lashed women as well as men at the public whipping-post, and were brave enough to take Lawyer Jones in hand on one occasion for “swearing an oath.” After thorough investigation and mature reflection, we have come to the conclusion that the making of the ducking stool was an “Irish blunder” on the part of our revered ancestors. Having provided a jail, stocks, whipping-post, shackles, etc.—all the means and appliances necessary in a well-ordered community—they ordered a ducking stool without reflecting that there was no water deep enough for its use within reach of the court-house.

Let us now refer again to the Rev. John Craig and his narrative. The territory occupied by his congregation was “about thirty miles in length and nearly twenty in breadth.” The people agreed to have two meeting-houses, expecting to have two congregations, as afterwards came to pass. The people of the Augusta, or stone church neighborhood, amongst whom Mr. Craig lived, “were fewer in numbers, and much lower as to their worldly circumstances, but a good-natured, prudent, governable people, and liberally bestowed a part of what God gave them for religious and pious uses; always unanimous among themselves.” “I had no trouble with them,” says Mr.

Craig, "about their meeting house. * * * They readily fixed on the place, and agreed on the plan for building it, and contributed cheerfully, money and labor to accomplish the work, all in the voluntary way, what every man pleased." But the people of the other section were, according to Mr. Craig's way of thinking, a stiff-necked and perverse generation. He says: "That part now called Tinkling Spring was most in numbers, and richer than the other, and forward, and had the public management of the affairs of the whole settlement; their leaders close-handed about providing necessary things for pious and religious uses, and could not agree for several years upon a plan or manner, where or how to build their meeting-house, which gave me very great trouble to hold them together, their disputes ran so high. A difference happened between Colonel John Lewis and Colonel James Patton, both living in that congregation, which was hurtful to the settlement but especially to me. I could neither bring them to friendship with each other, or obtain both their friendships at once, ever after. This continued for thirteen or fourteen years, till Colonel Patton was murdered by the Indians. At that time he was friendly with me. After his death, Colonel Lewis was friendly with me till he died."

The feud between Colonel Lewis and Colonel Patton must have begun in 1741 or 1742. What it was all about, we do not know, but it probably related, in part, to the location of Tinkling Spring church. Mr. Craig himself was not a neutral nor lamb-like in that strife. He, and doubtless Colonel Lewis also, wanted the church built north of the site finally selected; while Colonel Patton and most of the people insisted upon Tinkling Spring as the place. Mr. Craig at last appealed to James Pilson, an aged man, to settle the controversy, and when the latter cast his vote for Tinkling Spring, the irate pastor is said to have exclaimed: "Are you too against me, Jimmy! Well, I am resolved that none of that water shall ever tinkle down my throat." And he kept his word.

It is said that Mr. Craig generally walked the five miles from his residence to the stone church. His morning service continued from 10 o'clock till after 12. The afternoon service lasted from 1 o'clock till sunset, and it was sometimes so late that the clerk found it difficult to read the last psalm. His only printed sermon is from 2 Samuel, xxiii, 5, and being on the

old-fashioned, "exhaustive method," contains fifty-five divisions and sub-divisions. He was once sent by Hanover Presbytery to organize churches among the settlements on New River and Holston, and on his return reported a surprising number of elders whom he had ordained. Being questioned how he found suitable materials for so many, he replied in his rich idiom: "Where I cudna get hewn stanes, I tuk dornacks." He was regarded as very orthodox, but somewhat lax as to church discipline.—[Davidson's *History of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky*, page 24.]

Withers, in "Border Warfare" [page 48], gives the following account of the discovery and first occupancy of the Greenbrier country:

About the year 1749 there was in Frederick county a man subject to lunacy, who was in the habit of rambling into the wilderness. In one of his wanderings he came to some of the waters of Greenbrier river. Surprised to see them flowing westwardly, he made report of it on his return to Winchester, and also the fact that the country abounded in game. Thereupon, two men, named Sewel and Martin, recently arrived from New England, visited the Greenbrier country, and took up their abode there. They erected a cabin and made other improvements, but an altercation arising Sewel went off a short distance and lived for some time in a hollow tree. Thus they were found in 1751—Martin in the cabin and Sewel in the tree—by John Lewis and his son, Andrew, who were exploring the country. They were, however, by that time on friendly terms. Sewel soon afterwards moved forty miles west, and fell a prey to the Indians, and Martin returned to the settlement.

After this brief excursion beyond the frontier, let us return to the county seat. We have several times alluded to the twenty-five acres of land conveyed by Beverley to the county, April 24, 1746. In 1750, the County Court employed Andrew Lewis as surveyor, to lay off the tract in town lots, extending several existing streets, and opening new ones. The first street opened by Lewis, east of and parallel with Augusta, was called New street. The four main squares, constituting the heart of Staunton, were fixed by this survey, each square containing two acres, and being divided into four lots of half an acre each. Three lots, of forty-eight poles each, were laid off between

Courthouse street and the creek. The court retained for the use of the county only two of the lots—the half acre on which the courthouse stood, designated on the plat as No. 2, and the lot of forty-eight poles, immediately opposite, across Courthouse street where the county jail now stands, designated as No. 1. The courthouse was at the southwest corner of the lot on which it stood, and the jail on the southeast corner of the same lot.

The court appointed Andrew Lewis, Robert McClanahan and Robert Breckenridge, commissioners, to convey the lots to purchasers. Thomas Paxton purchased three lots for £8, ($\$26.66\frac{2}{3}$), viz: the half acre at southwest corner of Beverley and New streets, the corresponding lot diagonally opposite, and the lot of forty-eight poles, southeast corner of New and Courthouse streets. Alexander McNutt purchased for £3 the lot of forty-eight poles adjoining and east of the present jail lot, where the Bell Tavern afterwards stood. The half acre lot, southeast corner of Augusta and Frederick streets, was purchased by Joseph Kennedy for £3. Robert McClanahan purchased two half acre lots—northwest corner of Beverley and New Streets, (where the Wayne Tavern afterwards stood,) and the northwest corner of Courthouse and New streets—for £2, 10s.

In giving possession of these lots, the old English custom of "livery of seizin" was practiced, the commissioners and purchasers going on the premises, and the former delivering to the latter a handful of earth in token of the delivery of the whole.

It is a question as to how the town was entered from the east in the early days of the settlement. The plots alluded to give no indication of a road or street leading, as at present, from the Virginia Hotel to the creek near the Valley railroad depot; and it is probable that the land between the points named was swampy and ordinarily impassable. If so, the road must have passed over Abney's or Garber's hill.

It appears that, in 1750, a man called Ute Perkins and others were perpetrating robberies in the county; but we have no information in regard to the matter, except several hints in the proceedings of the court. The following order was entered November 28, 1750: "On the motion of Peter Scholl, gent., it's ordered that the sheriff demand of Joseph Powell a saddle supposed to belong to Ute Perkins and his followers, and that John Harrison

deliver the several goods in his possession (supposed to belong to the said Perkins or some of his followers) to the said Scholl, he being one of the coroners, till further order." And again, February 19, 1751: "The petition of John and Reuben Harrison, praying a reward for killing two persons under the command of Ute Perkins, who were endeavoring to rob them, was read and ordered to be certified." The Harrisons lived in the northern part of the county, now Rockingham.

On the 29th of November, 1750, the Rev. John Todd, a Dissenting minister, appeared in court and took the prescribed oaths. Mr. Todd was a Presbyterian minister and lived in Louisa county. He never resided in Augusta, but his object was to qualify himself, according to law, for officiating here occasionally.

In the early winter of 1750, the country was visited by a storm of unusual violence, as we learn from a paper found in the clerk's office of the circuit court, having been filed in the old cause of *Stuart vs. Laird, &c.* There is no signature to the paper, but it is endorsed, "Hart's Field-Notes." In the answer the notes are called "Trimble's," and it is probable that the writing was scribbled on the back of his field-notes by the assistant county surveyor, who was caught out in the storm while on a professional excursion. He thus relates his dismal experience, and gives expression to his alarm, but, at the same time, deep piety:

"December 21, 1750, being fryday, and being the most dismal Judgment-like day that I have seen, the day before having been excessive great rain, &c., frost freezing on the trees and branches, as also 2 nights, and the snow beginning before day this morning, so overloaded the trees and branches, that their falling is as constant as clock-work, so that there seems to be scarce a whole tree left in the woods. Doubtless whoso lives to hear of the end of this storm thence will account of many men and cattle lost and killed; and this day was 8 years, was the Day that 8 corps killed by the Indians, was bury'd at Mr. Bordin's, where I am now storm-stead or weather bound, being 22 years since I was cast away, but through God's Great Mercy preserved on the windy Saturday in harvest, being the 24th of August, 1728. Blessed be Almighty God who has saved me hitherto from many Eminent Dangers. O Lord, Grant it may be taken as special warnings to me and others."

The following order of the County Court of Augusta was

entered February 19, 1751: "Catherine Cole being presented by the grand jury for having a bastard child and refusing to pay her fine or give security for the same according to law, it is ordered that she receive on her bare back at the public whipping post of this county twenty lashes well laid on, in lieu of said fine, and it is said to the sheriff that execution thereof be done immediately." Another woman was ordered at the same time to be punished in like manner for the same offence.

On May 30, 1751, John David Wilpert (the only man with three names, locally recorded to such date,) petitioned the court, setting forth that he had been "at considerable expense in coming from the northward and settling in these parts," and had rented three lots in the new erected town of Staunton, through which runs a good and convenient stream of water, and praying leave to build a grist and fulling mill. The petition was resisted by John Lewis, who had a mill within a mile of town, and the case was taken by appeal to the General Court. How it was ultimately decided we are not advised, but the petition no doubt indicates the origin of "Fackler's mill," which stood on the creek south of Beverley street and between Water and Lewis streets. Wilpert was afterwards prominent in the Indian wars, and received from the government six hundred acres of bounty land. He went to Kentucky and gave his name to a creek in that State, which has been changed, however, into Wolfert's creek.

In the year 1751, Governor Dinwiddie appointed James Patton, Joshua Fry, and Lunsford Lomax, commissioners, to meet the Indians at Logstown, on the Ohio river, sixteen miles below Pittsburg, and conclude a treaty with them. Under date of December 13, 1751, the Governor instructed Patton to proceed immediately to Fredericksburg, "and there receive from Mr. Strother the goods sent as a present by His Majesty to the Indians, and provide everything necessary for the gentlemen appointed commissioners on behalf of this government, to meet and treat with the Indians, and to order all to be laid down at Mr. George Parish's near Frederick Town." The treaty was concluded June 13, 1752, but was observed for a short time only.— [*Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. I, page 9.]

Several acts were passed by the Assembly of Virginia, in the year 1752, "for encouraging persons to settle on the waters of the Mississippi river, in the county of Augusta."

The vestry of the parish held no meeting during the year 1749. At their meeting on May 21, 1750, it was ordered that £64, 17s. 1d. be paid to Colonel John Lewis, the balance due to him on the glebe buildings.

On the 16th of October, 1752, Governor Dinwiddie wrote to the vestry introducing the Rev. John Jones "as a worthy and learned divine," and recommending him to them as their pastor, "not doubting but his conduct will be such as will entitle him to your favour by promoting peace and cultivating morality in the parish." Mr. Jones was accordingly inducted, November 15th, with a salary of £50 a year. The glebe buildings not being finished, Colonel Lewis, the contractor, agreed to allow Mr. Jones £20 a year in the meanwhile. A "Reader to this parish, to be chosen by Mr. Jones," was allowed pay at the rate of £6, 5s. a year. A cellar under the minister's house was ordered to be dug. Many poor children, male and female, were bound out by the church-wardens from time to time.

Of the Rev. John Jones we can obtain no information whatever, except from the records of the vestry. Bishop Meade, in his voluminous work called "Old Churches and Old Families in Virginia," gives sketches of many ministers, relating with perfect candor the bad as well as the good, but he could find little to say about Mr. Jones. Although the latter lived here and held a prominent position for more than twenty years, no anecdote or tradition in regard to him has come down to us. He was probably a bachelor, and a man of mature age when he settled at Staunton. We should judge that he was a kindly, good man, generally respected, though possibly, from physical infirmity, not very energetic. There is no record of the date of his death, and at the close of the old vestry book he disappears from view as mysteriously as he came, leaving no representative, successor, nor estate behind him.

Up to the year 1760, and indeed for long afterwards, there was no meeting-house for religious worship in the county, except those of the Presbyterian denomination. The Church of England, established by law, had a rector and vestry, as we have seen, but the building of a church was not begun till 1760, and the rector officiated in the courthouse and such dwellings as he had access to. The first meeting-houses of Tinkling Spring and Augusta were probably built before the year 1740.

At what date the present "Augusta stone church" was built is not known. It was some time between 1740 and 1755, and according to tradition, men, women and children labored at the erection, transporting sand from Middle river on horseback, and timber and stone in like manner. The current belief is, that the building was completed in 1748. The original log meeting-house stood in the old burying ground.

In the year 1746, the Rev. John Blair,¹⁴ a New Side minister from the north, visited the county and organized four Presbyterian congregations—Forks of James, Timber Ridge, New Providence, and North Mountain. The first named afterwards became Hall's meeting-house, then New Monmouth, and finally Lexington. North Mountain meeting-house was a little to the right of the road leading from Staunton to Middlebrook, about nine miles from the former, and on land now [1886] owned by Charles T. Palmer. No trace of the former use of the spot remains at this day, except the old burying ground, "where the forefathers of the hamlet sleep." There repose many Moffetts, Tates, Trimbles and others. North Mountain congregation never had a separate pastor, but depended during most of its existence on "supplies," and the labors of neighboring ministers. The Rev. Charles Cummings was pastor at Brown's meeting-house [Hebron] from 1767 till 1773; and the Rev. Archibald Scott, a native of Scotland, was pastor of Brown's meeting-house and North Mountain congregations from 1778 to about 1798. After the organization of Bethel congregation, through the influence of Colonel Doak, North Mountain was abandoned, the worshippers dividing between Bethel and Hebron.

Mr. Blair also visited the Big Calf Pasture in 1746. This beautiful Valley was occupied by emigrants, and the congregation of Rocky Spring was organized, in a short time after the first settlement of the county.

¹⁴The Rev. John Blair, a native of Ireland, while living in Cumberland county, Pennsylvania, made two visits to Virginia, the last in 1746. He officiated for a time as Vice-President of Princeton College, and died in Orange county, New York, in 1771. He was the father of the Rev. John D. Blair, the first Presbyterian minister in Richmond, Virginia. Another son, William Lawrence Blair, became a lawyer and settled in Kentucky.

The vestry of the parish met August 21, 1753, and ordered the church-wardens "to pale in a church yard one hundred feet square," and also "to pale and clear out a garden of half an acre at the glebe." At the meeting on November 28th, Robert Campbell, of whom the glebe land was purchased, acknowledged payment of £60 in full. Colonel John Lewis acknowledged payment to him of £148, the "full sum agreed on for building the glebe work according to bargain," and renewed his obligation to pay Mr. Jones £20 a year till the buildings should be finished, Mr. Jones consenting thereto.

The Colonial Assembly passed an act at their session which began in November, 1753, reciting that part of the county and parish of Augusta was within the bounds of the Northern Neck belonging to Lord Fairfax, and setting off this portion of Augusta and a part of Frederick to form the county of Hampshire.

The "returns" of the early sheriffs give us an idea of the state of the country and the times in which these officers lived. In the year 1751 the sheriff, on an execution issued in the cause of *Johnson vs. Brown*, made return: "Not executed by reason, there is no road to the place where he lives." Other executions were returned as follows: "Not executed by reason of excess of weather;" "Not executed by reason of an axx;" "Not executed by reason of a gun." In *Emlen vs. Miller*, 1753: "Kept off from Miller with a club, and Miller not found by Humphrey Marshal." In *Bell vs. Warwick*, 1754: "Executed on the within John Warwick, and he is not the man." In August, 1755, forty-nine executions were returned: "Not executed by reason of the disturbance of the Indians."

Major ANDREW HAMILTON was born in Augusta county in 1741. His parents were Archibald and Frances Calhoun Hamilton, who came to this country from Ireland. Archibald is said to have been a descendant of James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, who was regent of Scotland during the infancy of Mary Stuart.

The date of Archibald Hamilton's settlement in Augusta is not known. He was probably one of the first to come, and like other early settlers, located on the public domain, without legal title to his homestead. In 1747, however, he received from William Beverley, the patentee, a deed for three hundred and two acres of land on Christian's

creek, in Beverley Manor, for the nominal consideration of five shillings. He also acquired lands by patent from the government. He survived till about the year 1794. His children were five sons, Audly, John, Andrew, William, and Archibald, and a daughter named Lettice.

Andrew Hamilton married, in Augusta, Jane Magill, a native of Pennsylvania, and in 1765 removed to South Carolina and settled at Abbeville, in the neighborhood of Andrew Pickens, afterwards the celebrated General Pickens, who had gone with his parents from Augusta some years previously. Both Hamilton and Pickens entered the military service at the beginning of the Revolutionary war. The former served through the whole war, first as captain and then as major under General Pickens, and took part in nearly all the important battles in South Carolina and Georgia. At one time he was imprisoned in a block-house on his own estate.

After the war, Major Hamilton was elected to the Legislature of South Carolina, and continued to serve in that capacity till he was unfitted for it by old age. Then he was requested to nominate his successor, who was immediately elected.

The life of Major Hamilton was long and eventful. He died January 19, 1835, in the ninety-fifth year of his age, his wife having died April 20, 1826, in her eighty-sixth year. The remains of this aged and distinguished couple lie in the cemetery of Upper Long Cane Church, of which General Pickens and Major Hamilton are said to have been the first elders.

Major Hamilton is described as a strict Presbyterian in his religious faith and a man of inflexible will, dauntless courage, and superb physical development. He left many descendants, and among them are the Simonds and Ravenels, of Charleston, Parkers and Waties, of Columbia, Calhouns, of South Carolina and Georgia, and Alstons and Cabells, of Virginia. Some time before the year 1830, Major Hamilton and one of his daughters, Mrs. Alston, made a trip on horseback from South Carolina to Augusta county, to visit the spot where he was born and reared. It was his first visit—one of tender remembrance—since he had left the county in his youth. A brother of his went to Kentucky and was the founder of a wealthy and distinguished family.

The Rev. CHARLES CUMMINGS was born in Ireland and emigrated to Lancaster county, Virginia, where he taught school and studied theology with the Rev. James Waddell. He was licensed to preach by Hanover Presbytery at Tinkling Spring, April 17, 1766. As stated, he became pastor of Brown's meeting-house congregation in 1767. The elders present at his ordination were George Moffett, Alexander Walker, and John McFarland. In 1773 he was called to minister to two congregations on the Holston and settled near Abingdon. The call was signed by one hundred and twenty heads of families—Campbells, Blackburns, Edmondsons, Christians, Thompsons, Montgomerys, and

others. The country on the Holston was then exposed to Indian inroads, and Mr. Cummings was in the habit of carrying his rifle with him into the pulpit. On one occasion he was engaged in a deadly conflict with the Indians. In 1776 he accompanied the troops under Colonel Christian in their expedition against the Cherokees, and was the first minister that ever preached in Tennessee. He died in 1812.

The Rev. JAMES MADISON, D. D., was born August 27, 1749, near Port Republic, then in Augusta county. He was educated at William and Mary College, and first studied law, but soon abandoned that profession for the ministry. In 1773 he was chosen Professor of Mathematics in William and Mary, and going to England was there licensed as a minister by the Bishop of London. Returning to Virginia he resumed his place in the College, of which he became President in 1777. He presided as Bishop over the first Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Virginia in May, 1785. During the same year the degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him by the University of Pennsylvania. He died in 1815. His children were a son, James C. Madison, of Roanoke county, and a daughter, Mrs. Robert G. Scott, of Richmond.





CHAPTER III.

INDIAN WARS, ETC., FROM 1753 TO 1756.

From 1753, for more than ten years, war raged all along the frontier. We do not propose to give a history of the general war, and can only briefly sketch some of the principal events which immediately concerned the people of Augusta county.

Some account of the Indian tribes most frequently in contact with the white settlers of this region is appropriate here. Withers states, in his "Border Warfare" [p. 39], that when Virginia became known to the whites, the portion of the State lying northwest of the Blue Ridge and extending to the lakes was possessed by the Massawomees. These were a powerful confederacy, rarely in unity with the tribes east of that range of mountains; but generally harassing them by frequent hostile irruptions into their country. Of their subsequent history, nothing is now known. They are supposed by some to have been the ancestors of the Six Nations.

"As settlements were extended from the sea shore," says Withers, "the Massawomees gradually retired; and when the white population reached the Blue Ridge, the Valley between it and the Alleghany was entirely uninhabited. This delightful region of country was then only used as a hunting ground, and as a highway for belligerent parties of different nations, in their military expeditions against each other. In consequence of the almost continuous hostilities between the northern and southern Indians, these expeditions were very frequent, and tended somewhat to retard the settlement of the Valley, and render a residence in it, for some time, insecure and unpleasant. Between

the Alleghany mountains and the Ohio river, within the present limits of Virginia, there were some villages interspersed, inhabited by small numbers of Indians; the most of whom retired northwest of that river as the tide of emigration rolled towards it. Some, however, remained in the interior after settlements began to be made in their vicinity.

“North of the present boundary of Virginia, and particularly near the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers, and in the circumjacent country, the Indians were more numerous, and their villages larger. In 1753, when General Washington visited the French posts on the Ohio, the spot which had been selected by the Ohio Company as the site for a fort, was occupied by Shingess, King of the Delawares; and other parts of the proximate country were inhabited by Mingoës and Shawanees [Shawnees]. When the French were forced to abandon the position which they had taken at the forks of Ohio, the greater part of the adjacent tribes removed further west. So that when improvements were begun to be made in the wilderness of Northwestern Virginia it had been almost entirely deserted by the natives; and excepting a few straggling hunters and warriors, who occasionally traversed it in quest of game, or of human beings on whom to wreak their vengeance, almost its only tenants were beasts of the forest.”

We have no statistics of Indian population in 1753. A Captain Hutchins visited most of the tribes in 1768, and made the most accurate estimate he could of their numbers at that date. The Indian population was no doubt much greater in 1753 than in 1768; ten years of war having thinned their ranks considerably. In the latter year the statistics were as follows, as reported by Hutchins: The Cherokees, in the western part of North Carolina, now Tennessee, numbered about two thousand five hundred. The Chickasaws resided south of the Cherokees, and had a population of seven hundred and fifty. The Catawbias, on the Catawba river, in South Carolina, numbered only one hundred and fifty. These last, although so few, were remarkably enterprising. They are said to have frequently traversed the Valley of Virginia, and even penetrated the country on the Susquehanna and between the Ohio and Lake Erie, to wage war with the Delawares. The more northern tribes were the Delawares, Shawnees, Chippewas,

Wyandots, Miamis and other northwestern tribes, and had an aggregate population of about three thousand five hundred. The Shawnees, the terror of the inhabitants of Augusta county from the frontier to the Blue Ridge, in 1753, numbered only about three hundred in 1768. They then dwelt on the Sciota and Muskingum rivers, in Ohio.

Kercheval states that the Catawba and Delaware Indians were said to have been engaged in war at the time the Valley was first entered by white people, and that the feud was continued for many years afterwards. Several bloody battles were fought between these tribes on or near the Potomac. One of these occurred at the mouth of Antietam creek, in 1736, it is believed. "The Delawares," says Kercheval, "had penetrated far to the south, committed some acts of outrage on the Catawbas, and on their retreat were overtaken at the mouth of this creek, when a desperate conflict ensued. Every man of the Delaware party was put to death, with the exception of one who escaped after the battle was over, and every Catawba held up a scalp, but one. This was a disgrace not to be borne; and he instantly gave chase to the fugitive, overtook him at the Susquehanna river, (a distance little short of one hundred miles,) killed and scalped him, and returning showed his scalp to several white people, and exulted in what he had done." Other battles between these tribes occurred at Painted Rock, on the South Branch; at Hanging Rock, in Hampshire; and near the site of Franklin, Pendleton county. According to Kercheval, a few Shawnees continued to live in the lower valley till 1754, when they removed west of the Alleghany mountain.

According to tradition, a battle between Indians occurred on the Cowpasture river, near Millborough, Bath county, where there is a small mound supposed to cover the remains of the slain. In the spring of 1886 the floods washed away a portion of the mound, and exposed to view five large skeletons in a good state of preservation.

Europeans paid little or no attention to the claim of the Indians to the territory which they held, or roamed over. France held Canada and Louisiana, which latter was understood to embrace all the country west of the Mississippi river. The territory mentioned was conceded by England to France; but not content with this vast domain, the French claimed all the

territory watered by streams tributary to the Mississippi. In pursuance of their claim, they built Fort Du Quesne, where Pittsburg now stands, at that time, as held by Virginians, within the county of Augusta. In 1753, Governor Dinwiddie sent Major Washington to remonstrate with the French officer commanding on the Ohio, and to warn him that war was inevitable unless he withdrew. The French persisting in their claim, Dinwiddie began to prepare for the conflict, and invited the co-operation of the other colonies. The Indians, at first not specially friendly to either side, were conciliated by the French, and proved their faithful and efficient allies during the war.

Colonel James Patton was "County-Lieutenant," or commander-in-chief, of the Augusta militia, in 1754. In January of that year, Governor Dinwiddie wrote to him that he had determined to send two hundred men to reinforce the troops then building a fort on the Monongahela. He therefore ordered Patton to "draw out" the militia of the county, and from them obtain by volunteering, or drafting, fifty men for the purpose. The troops were to be "at Alexandria, the head of Potomack river, by the 20th of next mo. and if possible with their arms, &c." As the county was large, the number of men called for so small, "and the pay so very good," the Governor did not doubt that there would be a sufficient number of volunteers. They were to be commanded, he said, by Major George Washington. The company was no doubt raised and led by Andrew Lewis. At any rate, Lewis was with Washington, July 4, 1754, at the capitulation of Fort Necessity, and, although wounded and hobbling on a staff, by his coolness probably prevented a general massacre of the Virginia troops. Washington had been compelled to fall back to Fort Necessity, a rude stockade at Great Meadows. On the 3d of July, about noon, six hundred French, with one hundred Indians, came in sight, and took possession of one of the eminences, where, says Bancroft, [Vol. IV, p. 121,] every soldier found a large tree for his shelter, and could fire in security on the troops beneath. For nine hours, in a heavy rain, the fire was returned. At last, after thirty of the English, and but three of the French had been killed, De Villiers, the French commander, proposed a parley. The terms of capitulation which were offered were interpreted to Washington, who did not understand French, and, as inter-

preted, were accepted. On the 4th, the English garrison, retaining all its effects, withdrew from the basin of the Ohio.

In his book called "Georgians," to which we have heretofore referred, Governor Gilmer relates an occurrence near Staunton as follows:

"In June, 1754, a party of twelve Northwestern Indian warriors stopped at John Lewis's on their return from the South, where they had been satisfying their revenge upon the Cherokees for some injury received. Some of his neighbors happened to be there, whose families or friends had suffered from attacks of the Indians. They insisted upon the party remaining until night, and exhibiting their dances. Upon their consenting, they left and employed the time until dark collecting the neighbors who had suffered from Indian murders. A beef was killed, and a large log fire made, around which the Indians assembled, cooking and eating to their stomach's content. They danced and drank whiskey until their lookers-on were satisfied with the display of their antics, and then went on their way homeward as far as the Middle river, where they lodged in Anderson's barn. As soon as they were sound asleep the whites were upon them with their axes, knives and guns. Only one escaped. For that night's doings many Virginia wives were made widows, and mothers childless. The government of Virginia endeavored to punish the perpetrators. All fled to some distant part of the extended frontier of the colonies, except one by the name of King, who lived a skulking life for a long time, always keeping his gun near him. He sometimes would go to the old Augusta church, the great assembling place for worship of the Scotch-Irish of that part of the country, where, seated upon the sill of the door with his inseparable companion, the rifle, in his hand, he listened to the words of the preacher, so necessary to the comfort of the Irish spirit, whether Protestant or Catholic. He was suffered to work out his own punishment, avoiding all men, and avoided by all."

We presume this story is substantially true as related. Governor Gilmer's mother being a daughter of Thomas Lewis, the surveyor and burgess, the facts had to pass through only one or two hands to reach him. We, however, think it probable that the occurrence took place a year or two earlier than the time mentioned; and we find no evidence in the proceedings of

the County Court, or the voluminous correspondence of Governor Dinwiddie, of any effort to bring the perpetrators of the outrage to punishment.

Governor Dinwiddie, wisely or unwisely, precipitated the war between the English and French in America. After it began he threw himself into the fray with great ardor. He was indefatigable in recruiting troops, calling for help from neighboring colonies and England, writing letters, and scolding and blustering. He rivaled Horace Walpole, one of his correspondents, in the number, if not in the elegance, of his epistles. His voluminous correspondence, published by the Virginia Historical Society, and edited by R. A. Brock, secretary, &c., is full of interest to those who have a taste for such literature. He was too much pressed for time and space to write his words in full, and often it is difficult to read his productions. He set the rules of grammar and spelling at defiance—especially when in a passion he rebuked a military officer, or abused the savages. The latter suffered terribly at his hands, being denounced as “wicked murderers,” “insatiate cowards,” “villainous,” “banditti,” “infidels,” “vermin.” He was economical to the extent of parsimony, demanding an account of every pound of powder or lead he issued to the troops. Without military training or experience he planned campaigns, and undertook to instruct George Washington and Andrew Lewis how to fight the Indians. He was punctilious in etiquette, and informed Washington: “The method that you are to declare war is at the head of your companies, with three vollies of small arms for his Majesty’s health and a successful war.”

Many of the Governor’s letters were addressed to Augusta men, and others relating to events taking place here. We shall refer to some of them.

Writing to the Lords of Trade, July 24, 1754, Governor Dinwiddie gives a highly exaggerated account of the casualties at Fort Necessity. He reports the number of the enemy killed as three hundred, and “of our people,” thirty.

He set to work energetically to repair the disaster and to organize another expedition to the Ohio. By his order, Fort Cumberland was built at Wills’s creek where the city of Cumberland, Maryland, now stands, and Colonel James Innes was put in command of it. This gentleman was born in Scotland,

but came to Virginia with some troops from North Carolina. He was a favorite with the Governor, who addressed him in one of his letters as "Dear James." Notwithstanding "the intolerable obstinacy of our neighboring colonies," as Governor Dinwiddie expressed it, North Carolina had sent some troops. One of the companies, commanded by Captain Bryan, on their march towards Cumberland on the 27th of July, "mutinied at Augusta Courthouse," says the Governor, "and would march no further till a friend of mine advanced £40." Innes was expected to proceed across the Alleghanies and assail the French, and Washington, then a colonel, was to co-operate. Andrew Lewis was a captain in Washington's regiment, having been commissioned March 18, 1754.

Richard Pearis, whose name is also written Parris, or Paris, was located on Holston river, Augusta county, in 1754, in order to trade with the Cherokees and other southern Indians. The Governor utilized him as far as possible. Some Indian depredations had occurred in that quarter, and the Governor writes to Pearis August 2d, "I am surprised the inhabitants on Holstein river should submit to be robbed by a few Indians." He sends his thanks to a certain Chickasaw warrior for "resenting the murder of one of our people." "Let the Chickasaw know I greatly approve of his conduct, and have a real esteem for him." He wishes to know whether "the Emperor," or "Old Hop" is the head man of the Cherokees. He exhorts Pearis to stir up the Indians to prevent the building of forts by the French in that quarter. The trader wanted to obtain "the long island in Holston river," and is encouraged to hope he may get it.

As we have seen, Governor Dinwiddie was all agog for a campaign immediately against the French at Fort Duquesne [Pittsburg]. Washington was opposed to it under the circumstances. The force which could be raised was too small, and the season was too late for a march over the Alleghanies. The Virginia Assembly at first refused to vote a supply of money. Some members of that body had opposed the original measures of the Governor, which resulted in the war. They were not sure that England had a just title to the region around Fort Duquesne, which was held and claimed by the French.—[Irving's *Life of Washington*, Vol. I, p. 103.] Under the pretext of protecting all settlers on the waters of the Mississippi, a supply was finally

granted, and the Governor proceeded to raise a regiment of three hundred men, divided into six companies, of fifty men each. Joshua Fry was Colonel, and Washington, Lieutenant-Colonel; but the latter soon succeeded to the command, on the death of the former. Recruiting went on slowly, till bounty land on the Ohio river was promised to the soldiers. Early in August, 1754, Washington rejoined his regiment at Alexandria, and was urged by the Governor to raise the full complement of men, and unite with Colonel Innes, at Wills's creek.

Governor Dinwiddie wrote to the Earl of Albemarle, August 15, 1754, pleading for assistance from "home," as England was still called. Two regiments of regular forces, he said, would be absolutely necessary. To Earl Granville he wrote on the same day, that the French intended to build forts, not only on the Ohio, but on Greenbrier, Holston and New rivers, and "the back of North Carolina." On the 6th of September, he had heard "complaints from our frontier in Augusta county of many parties of Indians, &c., robbing and ill-treating our people." In another letter of the same date, he says: "The French and Indians are now making incursions among our inhabitants in Augusta county, threatening our people to depart from their plantations, and propose building forts on Holstein's, Green Brier's and other rivers."

"Therefore," wrote the Governor to Washington, September 11, 1754, "I now order you to give a detachment of forty or fifty men to Capt. Lewis. With them he is to march immediately to Augusta county, in order to protect our frontier from the incursions of small parties of Indians, and I suppose some French. Order him to march immediately, and to apply to Col. Patton, the County-Lieutenant, who will direct him where to proceed that he may be most usefull." A letter was addressed to Captain Andrew Lewis the same day—the first of a long series—of which we give a literal copy :

"Sir : I have order'd Colo. W. to give You a detachm't of 40 or 50 Men from his regim't; with them You are immediately to march for Augusta Co'ty. Apply to the Co'ty Lieut. for his direct'n, where You may be most usefull in protect'g the Frontiers of y't Co'ty. If You happen to meet with any Parties of French or Ind's; You are immediately to examine the Ind's, of w't Nat'n, and take them Prisoners, if they cannot give a proper

Acc't of themselves, and if any Party sh'd be obstrepolous and comit any hostilities on our Subjects, in y't Case You are to repell Force by Force, but I expect You will be very circumspect in Y'r Conduct, and behave with good Discipline of Y'r Men, and a proper Courage, so y't You may recomend Y'rself to the Service of Y'r Country. You are to apply to Colo. Patton, Y'r Father, or any other Person for Provisions for Y'r Men. I recomend Frugality on this Head, and'' [that you] "have Y'r Acc't thereon properly kept, and so just, y't You can swear to the Truth thereof, and it shall be p'd. You are to carry with You a suitable Qu'ty of Amunit'n, and if two or three Horses are wanted to carry the same, apply to Maj'r Carlyle, shew him this Let'r, and he will supply You therewith. You shall hereafter have my Orders w'n to return to join the other Forces. I now desire You to be as expeditious as possible in getting to Augusta, as I have several Letters of some Parties of Ind's, &c., Robbing and Plundering our People. Write me from Augusta. I wish You Health and Success in the Com'd You are ordered on, and I remain, Sir, Y'r Friend, &c."

On the 6th of October Captain Lewis was on his march to protect the frontier. He went somewhere west or south of Staunton, but to what point we cannot ascertain, and built a stockade fort there to check Indian raids—perhaps it was in the Greenbrier county, or it may have been Fort Lewis, near the site of the present town of Salem, in Roanoke county. He could not be spared, however, to remain there long, when an advance of the main army from Wills's Creek, or Fort Cumberland, was contemplated. The Governor wrote to him on November 5th: "You are to be in readiness to march to Wills's Creek on the first notice from Governor Sharpe" [of Maryland], "who now commands the forces, or by order of Colonel Stephens. I am now recruiting more men; if you can get any with you I desire you may enlist them, and if you want money for that service, if Colonel Patton or any other person advances it, draw on me, and I will pay it." It is matter of regret that we have no account of what Andrew Lewis did or suffered in this expedition.

In October, the House of Burgesses made a liberal grant for the public service, and during the winter of 1754-'5 ten thousand

pounds were sent from England. The Governor became more energetic than ever. He determined to increase the number of companies to ten, and to settle disputes among officers about rank he reduced all the commands to independent companies, so that there should be no officer in a Virginia regiment above the rank of captain. Washington, considering it derogatory to his character to accept a lower commission than he had held, resigned and went home.

Peter Hogg,¹⁵ born in Scotland in 1703, settled in Augusta with his brothers, James and Thomas, about 1745, and married here Elizabeth Taylor. He was a captain in Washington's regiment, having been commissioned March 9, 1754. He finally became a lawyer of some note in the Valley. In January, 1755, he was recruiting on the Eastern Shore, and on the 19th of that month Governor Dinwiddie wrote to him with characteristic bluntness: "When you had your commission I was made to believe you could raise forty men. You carried up to Alexandria only nine, and that at a very great expense. You have now been two months getting fourteen. There is not an ensign that has been recruiting but has had more success. * * The forces are all marched for Wills's Creek. I therefore order you to proceed directly with all the recruits you have raised either to Alexandria or Fredericksburg, and make what dispatch you can to join the forces at Wills's Creek." On the 1st of February the Governor wrote to Hogg: "I received your letter and am glad you have raised forty men, with whom I desire you to proceed the most ready way for Winchester and Wills's Creek, where I expect the rest of our forces are by this time." [In the foregoing extracts we have omitted most of the capital letters and written out many words in full.]

Andrew Lewis was left in Augusta till after February 12, 1755. The Governor wrote to him on that day: "I now order you to leave the Ensign, a Sergeant, or corporal, and eighteen private men at the fort you have built, and with the rest of your company you are to march immediately for Winchester, and there remain till you have further orders. * * If you can 'list some stout young men that will march with you to Winchester, they

¹⁵ Ancestor of the Hoges of Augusta.

shall, after review, be received into the service, and be paid their enlisting money."

The ensign left to hold the fort was William Wright. The Governor wrote to him on the 12th, instructing him "to keep a good look out," to be exact in his duties, to make short excursions from the fort, and to apply to Colonel Patton, in case of danger, to have some of his militia ready at an hour's warning.

The apathy of other colonies was a great affliction to the Virginia Governor. He wrote to Lord Halifax, February, 24, 1755: "But my heart is grieved, and I want words to express the obdurate and inconsistent behaviour of our neighboring colonies, not as yet awakened from their lethargy, North Carolina only excepted, who have voted £5,000 for the expedition. Maryland Assembly now sitting. Pennsylvania Assembly adjourned without voting one farthing."

Where Andrew Lewis was and what doing from February 12, 1755, till the fall of that year, we cannot ascertain. Although ordered by the Governor, in February, to proceed with most of his company to Winchester, he could not have accompanied General Braddock on his disastrous expedition. In a letter to Colonel Stephen, April 12, 1755, the Governor refers to Captain Lewis as if he were not then at Cumberland, but he was probably in the vicinity of that place. Writing to Lewis himself, however, July 8th, he says: "You was ordered to Augusta with your company to protect the frontier of that county. We have lately a messenger from thence giving an account of some barbarous murders committed on Holston's river, which has greatly intimidated the settlers. Colonel Patton being here he carries up blank commissions for officers to raise one company of rangers of 50 men, for the further protection of the inhabitants. I, therefore, desire you will correspond with the above gentleman, and if occasion is, he has orders to send for you to assist in defeating the designs of these wicked murderers." But in a letter to Colonel Patton, on the 8th, he says: "Inclosed you have a letter to Captain Lewis, which please forward to him. *I think he is at Green Brier*; and another letter to Lieutenant Wright, who I think is at Holston's river."

Lieutenant Wright seems to have gone from his former post—the fort built by Lewis—to Holston river, and the Governor was dissatisfied on account of the poor speed he made. Writ-

ing to the Lieutenant, also on the 8th, he says:—"I have been informed you was twenty-two days in marching six miles; this is not agreeable to the opinion I conceived of you."

General Braddock arrived in Virginia February 19, 1755, with two regiments of British soldiers, and proceeded to Alexandria, as the most convenient place at which to organize an expedition to the Ohio. Washington was summoned from Mt. Vernon, to act as one of the General's aides, and promptly undertook the duty. The command consisted of the two regiments of regulars, augmented by some Virginia levies selected for the purpose; two companies of "hatchet men"; six of rangers, from different provinces; and one troop of light horse. The whole composed an army of nearly twenty-five hundred men.

The Virginia recruits and companies were clothed and drilled to make them look like soldiers. They were ridiculed by young British officers, one of whom wrote: "They performed their evolutions and firings as well as could be expected, but their languid, spiritless and unsoldier-like appearance, considered with the lowness and ignorance of most of their officers, gave little hopes of their future good behavior." In a few weeks, however, the survivors of Braddock's army entertained a different opinion of the provincial troops.

The army set out from Alexandria April 20th, and proceeded by way of Winchester, Fredericktown and Cumberland. What Augusta men accompanied the expedition, we do not know. It is said that Peter Hogg was one of the Virginia captains, and we know nothing to the contrary. He was ordered by Governor Dinwiddie to repair to Alexandria, only a little before General Braddock arrived there. An humble member of the expedition was a negro slave named Gilbert, who died in Staunton, in 1844, at the reputed age of one hundred and twelve years.

Leaving General Braddock and his army to pursue their tedious and painful march, let us observe the course of a peaceful traveler who at the same time traversed the Valley of Virginia.

The Rev. Hugh McAden, a young Presbyterian minister, went from Pennsylvania to North Carolina on horseback in 1755. He kept a diary of his trip, which we find in Foote's Sketches of North Carolina. It appears from the diary that an excessive drought prevailed in the county during that summer.

On Thursday, the 19th of June, Mr. McAden set off up the Valley of the Shenandoah, of which he says: "Alone in the wilderness. Sometimes a house in ten miles, and sometimes not that." On Friday night (20th) he lodged at a Mr. Shankland's, eighty miles from Opecquon (near Winchester), and twenty from Augusta Courthouse. On Saturday he stopped at a Mr. Poage's—"stayed for dinner, the first I had eaten since I left Pennsylvania."

From Staunton he went with Hugh Celsey [Kelso?] to Samuel Downey's, at the North Mountain, where he preached on the fourth Sabbath of June, according to appointment. His horse being sick, or lame, he was detained in the county, and preached at North Mountain again on the fifth Sabbath in June, and in "the new courthouse" on the first Sunday of July. The diary says: "Rode to Widow Preston's Saturday evening, where I was very kindly entertained, and had a commodious lodging." The lady referred to was the widow of John Preston, and lived at Spring Farm, now Staunton Water Works.

On Monday, July 7th, Mr. McAden rode out to John Trimble's, more encouraged by the appearances at North Mountain than in Staunton. He went on Tuesday to the Rev. John Brown's, the pastor of New Providence and Timber Ridge. Mr. Brown had set apart a day of fasting and prayer "on account of the wars and many murders committed by the savage Indians on the back inhabitants," and vehemently desired the traveller to tarry and preach "in one of his places." He consented, and preached on Friday, July 11th, at Timber Ridge "to a pretty large congregation."

The diary proceeds: "Came to Mr. Boyer's [Bowyer], where I tarried till Sabbath morning, a very kind and discreet gentleman, who used me exceedingly kindly, and accompanied me to the Forks, twelve miles, where I preached the second Sabbath of July [13th] to a considerable large congregation. * * Rode home with Joseph Lapsley, two miles, from meeting, where I tarried till Wednesday morning [16th]. Here it was I received the most melancholy news of the entire defeat of our army by the French at Ohio, the general killed, numbers of inferior officers, and the whole artillery taken. This, together with the frequent accounts of fresh murders being daily committed upon the frontiers, struck terror to every heart. A cold shuddering possessed

every breast, and paleness covered almost every face. In short, the whole inhabitants were put into an universal confusion. Scarcely any man durst sleep in his own house, but all met in companies with their wives and children, and set about building little fortifications to defend themselves from such barbarians and inhuman enemies, whom they concluded would be let loose upon them at pleasure. I was so shocked upon my first reading Colonel Innes's letter that I knew not well what to do."

This was Braddock's defeat, which occurred on the 9th of July. On Wednesday, the 16th, Mr. McAden left Mr. Lapsley's in company with a young man from Charlotte county, who had been at the Warm Springs, and was flying from the expected inroad of savages.

The speed with which news of the disaster was circulated is wonderful. Colonel Innes was left by Braddock in command of Fort Cumberland. He wrote to Governor Dinwiddie on the 11th, giving him the first tidings of the defeat, and the letter was received by the Governor on the 14th, Cumberland being distant from Williamsburg 259 miles. It is hardly possible that this was the letter alluded to by Mr. McAden, who was more than 150 miles from Williamsburg; but Colonel Innes no doubt wrote also to the County Lieutenant of Augusta, and the direful news was speeded through the country.

Thackeray, in his novel called "The Virginians," gives an account of Braddock's defeat, and refers to the marvelous rapidity with which tidings of the disaster were circulated. Alluding to Eastern Virginia, he says: "The house negroes, in their midnight gallops about the country, in search of junketing or sweethearts, brought and spread news over amazingly wide districts. They had a curious knowledge of the incidents of the march for a fortnight at least after its commencement. * * But on the 10th of July a vast and sudden gloom spread over the province. A look of terror and doubt seemed to fall upon every face. Affrighted negroes wistfully eyed their masters and retired, and hummed and whispered with one another. The fiddles ceased in the quarters; the song and laugh of those cheery black folk were hushed. Right and left, everybody's servants were on the gallop for news. The country taverns were thronged with horsemen, who drank and cursed and bawled at the bars, each bringing his gloomy story. The army had been surprised. The

troops had fallen into an ambuscade, and had been cut up almost to a man. All the officers were taken down by the French marksmen and the savages. The General had been wounded and carried off the field in his sash. Four days afterwards the report was that the General was dead, and scalped by a French Indian."

We have further evidence of the widespread anxiety and alarm, in the sermons of the celebrated Samuel Davies, who then resided in Hanover county. On the 20th of July, 1755, he preached to his people from Isaiah, xxii, 12-14: "And in that day did the Lord God of hosts call to weeping and to mourning," &c. When he began to prepare his discourse, the news of the disaster had not been received, but full of forebodings the preacher, after referring to the peace and abundance lately enjoyed by Virginia, exclaims: "But what do I now see?—what do I now hear? I see thy brazen skies, thy parched soil, thy withered fields, thy hopeless springs, thy scanty harvests. Methinks I hear the sound of the trumpet, and see garments rolled in blood, thy frontiers ravaged by revengeful savages, thy territories invaded by French perfidy and violence. Methinks I see slaughtered families, the hairy scalp clotted with gore, the horrid arts of Indian and popish torture." So he proceeds for several pages, and then: "Thus far had I studied my discourse before I was alarmed with the melancholy news that struck my ears last Thursday. Now every heart may meditate terror indeed; now every face may gather blackness; now I may mingle darker horrors in the picture I intended to draw of the state of my country. For what do I now hear? I hear our army is defeated, our general killed, our sole defence demolished." The people are earnestly exhorted to rally and show themselves "men, Britons, and Christians on this trying occasion." "What," asks the preacher, "is that religion good for that leaves men cowards upon the approach of danger?" "And, permit me to say," he continues, "that I am particularly solicitous that you, my brethren of the Dissenters, should act with honor and spirit in this juncture, as it becomes loyal subjects, lovers of your country, and courageous Christians." At the close of the discourse he remarked: "It is certain many will be great sufferers by the drought, and many lives will be lost in our various expeditions. Our poor brethren in Augusta and other frontier counties are slaughtered and scalped."

Braddock's defeat occurred, as stated, on July 9, 1755. It was a slaughter, rather than a battle. Colonel Dunbar, the British officer who succeeded to the command on the death of Braddock, retreated, or rather fled, with the remnant of the army to Winchester; and fearing for his safety even there, retired with the regulars to winter quarters in Philadelphia. Washington and other Virginians who escaped the massacre, returned to their homes deeply mortified and indignant at the inefficiency of the leaders of the expedition.

The consternation was universal, and many of the settlers on the western frontier fled across the Blue Ridge, and even to North Carolina. Among the refugees to that province was the Rev. Alexander Craighead, with a portion of his congregation. Mr. Craighead came from Pennsylvania and settled on the Cowpasture river, near Windy Cove (now Bath county), in 1749. It is said he had a double motive for leaving Virginia—to escape the savages, and also the disabilities imposed here upon Dissenting ministers. He was a man of ardent temper, and could not brook the idea of holding the frontier and protecting the people of Eastern Virginia from savage inroads, while not permitted to celebrate the rite of marriage according to the ceremonies of his own church. He died in North Carolina in 1766.

The alarm about Staunton is described by the Rev. John Craig in his narrative. He says: "When General Braddock was defeated and killed, our country was laid open to the enemy, our people were in dreadful confusion, and discouraged to the highest degree. Some of the richer sort that could take some money with them to live upon were for flying to a safer part of the country. My advice was then called for, which I gave, opposing that scheme as a scandal to our nation, falling below our brave ancestors, making ourselves a reproach among Virginians, a dishonor to our friends at home, an evidence of cowardice, want of faith and a noble Christian dependence on God, as able to save and deliver from the heathen; it would be a lasting blot to our posterity." Mr. Craig urged the building of forts, one of which was to be the church. He says: "They required me to go before them in the work, which I did cheerfully, though it cost me one-third of my estate. The people readily followed, and my congregation in less than two months was well fortified."—[See *Foote's Sketches*, page 32.]

In the above extract, Mr. Craig seems to refer to the building of the present stone church, and to fix the date as not earlier than 1755; but the tradition in the congregation is, that the house was completed in 1748. Possibly his reference is particularly to the fortifications constructed around the building, the remains of which are still visible. Many families took refuge there upon occasions of alarm. The cattle were, of course, left on the farms, and the cows were likely to suffer by going un milked. It is said that the Moffett family, whose residence was miles away, had a negro female servant who displayed courage and fidelity at such times worthy of a heroine. Every night, mounted on a black horse, as less likely to be seen by a lurking foe than one of a different color, she rode home, relieved the swollen udders of the kine, churned the milk of the previous night, and returned with the butter to the fort before daylight.

Governor Dinwiddie, never wearied in denouncing and ridiculing Colonel Dunbar for going into winter quarters in mid-summer. Writing to Colonel Patton July 16th, he says: "I am sorry to hear a further dismal account of murders in your county, and I fear your people are seized with a panic in suffering the Indians in such small companies to do the mischief they do without raising to oppose them. Surely if they were properly headed and encouraged they would overcome them all. I have sent some powder, &c., to Colonel Stewart. I have ordered the whole militia of this dominion to be in arms, and your neighboring counties are directed to send men to your assistance on your application."

It is curious to discover that the people of Halifax county also were apprehensive of Indian invasion, but Halifax then extended westward to the Blue Ridge.

The Governor of Virginia found constant occupation during this time in writing scolding letters, but in writing abroad he stood up for the credit of the provincial troops. To Sir Thomas Robinson, referring to Braddock's disaster, he said: "All the officers and men raised here behaved well, but am sorry to hear the private men of the regulars were seized with panic, run away like sheep."

To Colonel James Patton, the Governor wrote, August 1st: "This day I have sent a cart load of ammunition, &c., to your Court House. How can you think I am able to order susten-

ance to the poor people that have left their plantations? I wish they had not been seized with such panic as prevented their resisting the few enemies that appeared in your county." At the date of this letter Colonel Patton was in his grave.

Foote's Sketches of Virginia, second series, contain a long account of the circumstances attending the death of Colonel Patton, and of the captivity and escape of Mrs. Mary Ingles. Dr. John P. Hale, of Kanawha, a descendant of Mrs. Ingles, in his work called "Trans-Alleghany Pioneers,"¹⁶ gives a still fuller and, doubtless, more accurate account, and we shall mainly follow the latter.

Thomas Ingles, says Dr. Hale, came from Ireland when a widower, with his three sons, William, Matthew, and John, and settled first in Pennsylvania. According to tradition, he, in 1744, accompanied by his son, William, then a youth, made an excursion into the wilds of Southwest Virginia, going as far as New river. On this occasion, it is supposed, he became acquainted with Colonel James Patton. The latter then or soon afterward held a grant from the British crown of 120,000 acres of land west of the Blue Ridge, at that time Augusta county, but in the present counties of Botetourt, Montgomery, &c. The old town of Pattonsburg, on James river, in Botetourt, was called for him, and the opposite town of Buchanan was so named for his son-in-law, Colonel John Buchanan.

During the same excursion, probably, the Ingleses for the first time encountered the Draper family, who had settled on James river, at Pattonsburg. This family consisted of George Draper, his wife, and his two children, John and Mary. While living at Pattonsburg, George Draper went out hunting, and was never heard of again. About the year 1748 the Ingleses, Drapers, Adam Harman, Henry Leonard and James Burke, removed from James river and settled near the present town of Blacksburg, in Montgomery county, calling the place Draper's Meadows, since known as Smithfield.

In April, 1749, the house of Adam Harman was raided by Indians, but, as far as appears, no murders were perpetrated. This is said to have been the first depredation by Indians on

¹⁶For the opportunity of reading some sheets of this work in advance of its publication, we are indebted to Major Jed. Hotchkiss.

the whites west of the Alleghany. It was reported to a justice of the peace for Augusta county, with a view to the recovery of damages allowed by law.

William Ingles and Mary Draper were married in 1750, and John Draper and Bettie Robertson in 1754. The marriages no doubt took place in Staunton, there being no minister nearer Draper's Meadow authorized to perform the ceremony.

In July, 1755, Colonel Patton went to the upper country on business, and was accompanied, it is said, by his nephew, William Preston. He was resting from the fatigues of his journey, and also seeking recovery from sickness, at the dwelling of William Ingles and the Drapers. It was on Sunday, the 8th of July, says Dr. Hale—but circumstances had led us to fix the date at least a week later—that an unexpected assault was made on the house by Indians. Preston had gone to Philip Lybrook's to engage his help in harvesting. William Ingles and John Draper were away from the house. Foote says they and others were at work in the harvest field; but if it was on Sunday the statement is quite certainly incorrect. Mrs. John Draper, being in the yard, was the first to discover the Indians. She hastened into the house to give the alarm, and snatching up her sleeping infant ran out on the opposite side. Some of the Indians fired upon her, breaking her right arm, and causing the child to fall to the ground. Taking up the infant with her left hand she continued her flight, but was overtaken, and the skull of the child was crushed against the end of a log. At the moment of the assault, Colonel Patton was sitting at a table writing, with his broadsword before him. Being a man of great strength, of large frame, and over six feet high, he cut down two Indians, but was shot and killed by others out of his reach. Other persons killed were Mrs. George Draper, the child of John Draper, and a man named Casper Barrier. The Indians plundered the premises, securing all the guns and ammunition, and setting fire to the buildings, immediately started on their retreat, carrying with them as prisoners Henry Leonard, Mrs. John Draper, and Mrs. Ingles and her two children—Thomas four, and George two years of age. The unarmed men in the field could only provide for their own safety. The country was sparsely settled, and some days elapsed before a rescuing party could be collected.

The Indians, on their hasty retreat, stopped at the house of Philip Barger, an old man, cut off his head and carried it in a bag to Lybrook's. Preston and Lybrook had gone back to Draper's Meadows by a different route from that taken by the Indians, and thus they escaped.

In letters written by Governor Dinwiddie on the 11th of August (nine letters were written by him the same day) he referred to Colonel Patton's death. To Colonel David Stewart, of Augusta, he wrote that Patton "was wrong to go so far back without a proper guard." He hoped the wagons with ammunition did not fall into the hands of the Indians; but he could not conceive what Patton was to do with ammunition "so far from the inhabited part of the country." Writing to Colonel Buchanan at the same date, he expressed regret that the men sent by Buchanan "after the murderers, did not come up with them." This is the only information we have of any pursuit.

Colonel Patton's will was admitted to record by the County Court of Augusta, at Staunton, at November term, 1755. It was executed September 1, 1750, and witnessed by Thomas Stewart, Edward Hall, and John Williams. The following are extracts:

"I commend my soul to God who gave it, hoping, through his mercy and the merits and intercession of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to be eternally happy. My body I commit to Providence, but if convenient to where I resign my last breath, to be buried at the Tinkling Spring, where my wife now *lays*. * * I order ten pounds to be paid to the Rev. John Craig, minister at ye Tinkling Spring, as his *stepans* due from October, 1740, until October, 1750, out of the money now due me by y't congregation, which money I have advanced for them to build their meeting-house, &c. Providing I do not pay s'd £10 before my death. I leave ten pounds out of the aforesaid debt when collected, to be *layed* out by the minister *onley* for a pulpit and pulpit cloth."

The testator divided his estate between his two daughters, Mary, wife of William Thompson, and Margaret, wife of Colonel John Buchanan, and their children. The Thompsons thus acquired Springhill and about 3,000 acres known as "Indian Fields," on the waters of Holston river. William Thompson and wife had a life estate in the property, with remainder to their

son, James Thompson. The Buchanans appear to have had only one child, a daughter named Mary.

The executors appointed were John Buchanan, William Thompson, William Preston, and Silas Hart. The last named declined to serve. Possibly he did not like the direction of the will, that any question arising between the executors about the estate should be finally settled by the minister and elders of Tinkling Spring congregation! The inventory of the estate shows that the testator was wealthy, independently of his lands.

It is unnecessary to say that Colonel Patton's request as to his burial place, was not complied with. It was impossible at that day to transport a corpse from Smithfield to Tinkling Spring. He was buried near the spot where he "resigned his last breath," and his grave was covered with loose stones. There is no slab or inscription. An idle report arose that a large amount of money was buried with the body, and the grave was desecrated a few years ago by vandals in search of the treasure.

Let us now briefly relate the adventures of Mrs. Ingles. On the third night out she gave birth to a female child, but was able to proceed the next day on horseback. She and the other prisoners were taken by the Indians to Ohio. Being a woman of extraordinary courage and tact, she ingratiated herself with the savages, making shirts for them and gaining their good-will in a hundred ways. Her two older children were, however, separated from her, and she then determined to escape, if possible. The narrative of her courage and sufferings on her trip home is almost incredible. She was absent about five months, of which time forty-two days were passed on her return.

With an elderly "Dutch woman," captured on the frontier of Pennsylvania and detained in servitude, Mrs. Ingles was taken by a party of Indians to Big Bone Lick, now Boone county, Kentucky, to make salt. This place was so called from the large number of mastodon bones found there—some of the ribs and tusks were so long as to be used for tent poles. She prevailed upon the old woman mentioned, whose name is not known, to accompany her in her flight. Her infant could not be taken along. It was therefore deposited in a crib and abandoned by its mother, whose grief may be imagined, but not described. Loading a horse with corn, the fugitives proceeded up the Ohio river. Before they reached the Big Kanawha the

old woman became frantic from exposure and hunger. She afterwards made an insane attack upon Mrs. Ingles's life, and the latter only escaped by outrunning her pursuer and concealing herself.

Mrs. Ingles finally came to the remains of some abandoned settlements and found a few turnips which had not been consumed by wild animals. She had now been out forty days and had traveled not less than twenty miles a day. Her clothing had been worn and torn by the bushes until few fragments remained. In this condition she reached a clearing made in the spring on New river by Adam Harman. He recognized her call, and hastened to meet and carry her to his cabin. Mr. Harman took her on horseback to a fort at Dunkard's Bottom, and there she was found the next day by her husband and her brother, John Draper, who had been making every effort in their power for the rescue of the captives.¹⁷

The old Dutch woman found her way to the settlements, and in course of time returned to Pennsylvania through Staunton and Winchester.

Mrs. Draper was released six or seven years afterward. George Ingles died in captivity while still a child. Thomas was redeemed by his father when he was seventeen years of age. He was unable to speak English, and is said to have been a perfect savage in appearance and manners. His father sent him to school, but he never became fully reconciled to civilized life.

But let us follow the fortunes of Mrs. Ingles somewhat further. As stated, she was taken on her return to a fort at Dunkard's Bottom, on the west side of New River, near Ingles's Ferry. Feeling insecure there, her husband took her twenty miles further east to Vass's fort, where the settlers of that region had gathered for safety. This fort was near the head of Roanoke river, about ten miles west of where Christiansburg now stands. Many of the forts, so called, were merely log pens, and others were log or stone dwellings, larger and stronger than ordinary, which, however, afforded shelter from savages unprovided with

¹⁷ Mrs. Judge Allen Taylor, of Botetourt, was a descendant of Mrs. Ingles. Other descendants, besides Dr. Hale, are the children of the late Mrs. William J. Gilkeson, and also Mrs. R. S. Harnsberger, Mrs. William D. Anderson, and others, of Augusta.

artillery. Vass's fort was a small structure erected by the settlers as a place of temporary refuge.

Still fearing an attack by Indians, Mrs. Ingles prevailed upon her husband to take her east of the Blue Ridge. On the very day they left Vass's, that fort was captured by Indians, and every one in it killed or taken prisoner. John Ingles, a bachelor, and the wife and child of his brother, Matthew, were killed in the fort. Matthew was out hunting when the attack was made, and hearing the firing hastened back. He shot one Indian, and clubbed others with his gun, till it was wrenched from his hands. He then seized a frying pan that happened to be near, and belabored his foes with the handle till he was wounded and overcome. The Indians carried him off, but some time after, being released or escaping, he returned to the settlement. He never entirely recovered from his wounds, however, and died a few months after his return.

The fort is supposed to have been destroyed by the Indians. In 1756, however, a stronger fort was built there at public expense, under the superintendence of Captain Peter Hogg, and the latter is the fort alluded to by Governor Dinwiddie in his correspondence as Vass's or Voss's fort.

From early in 1755 till he finally left the province and went "home," Governor Dinwiddie's letters flew thick and fast. On the 11th of August he wrote to Captain Andrew Lewis, recognizing him as next in command to Colonel Patton, in Augusta, and enclosing blank commissions for the officers of a company of rangers. He also sent him £200 to defray expenses. To Colonel John Buchanan he wrote, recommending the employment of dogs for finding out the Indians. By the 25th of August he had four companies of rangers in Augusta. In another letter of the same date he speaks of five companies on the frontier of the county. He still had an eye to economy, however, and took time to advise Captain John Smith that forty shillings was too much to pay for a coat to be given to some friendly Indian warrior. He never did get over the loss of the wagon which Colonel Patton had with him in his last expedition. In a letter to Washington, dated December 14, 1755, the Governor complained of Captain Hogg's extravagance as follows: "Captain Hogg sent a messenger here for money to pay for provisions for his company. The quantity he mentioned I think was sufficient for

twenty months, and charged £10 for a trough to salt the meat in, besides the barrels."

In pursuance of measures adopted by the colonial government, Washington was commissioned as Colonel and Commander-in-Chief of Virginia troops. The officers next in rank to him, chosen by himself, were Lieutenant-Colonel Adam Stephen and Major Andrew Lewis.

The records of the County Court always indicate the state of the times. At August court, 1755, Joseph Carpenter, having supplied several Indians with ammunition, whom he thought to be friendly, the court fearing they might be "allied to the French king," ordered the accused into custody till he should give security.

At October term, 1755, many claims were allowed for patrolling, for provisions for Captain David Lewis's company of rangers, for going on express, and for guarding the arms and ammunition sent for the use of the county. At November court a number of persons qualified as officers of foot companies.

A new courthouse was completed in 1755, and first occupied by the court August 21.

In several letters, Governor Dinwiddie expressed disapprobation of the conduct of Captain Dickinson, of the Augusta rangers, in allowing certain Indians to slip out of his hands. They were called "Praying Indians," because they professed to be Christianized, but were supposed to be partisans of the French. Some friendly Cherokees were expected at Staunton to be employed against the Shawnees, and the Governor wrote to David Stuart and Robert McClanahan to treat these allies well.

By October 11th, Washington was in command at Winchester, and at that date wrote to the Governor giving an account of affairs there. The utmost alarm and confusion still prevailed. The militia refused to stir. No orders were obeyed which were not enforced by a party of soldiers or the commander's drawn sword. The people threatened to blow out his brains. On one day an express, spent with fatigue and fear, reported a party of Indians twelve miles off, the inhabitants flying, &c. A second express ten times more terrified than the former, arrived with information that the Indians had gotten within four miles of town, and were killing all before

them. Only forty-one men could be mustered, and on leading them out the colonel found, instead of Indians, three drunken soldiers of the light horse on a carousal. A mulatto and a negro hunting cattle and mistaken for Indians, had caused the alarm at the further point. The inhabitants, however, pressed across the Blue Ridge, firmly believing that Winchester was taken and in flames. Captain Waggoner, who had arrived from Eastern Virginia, reported that he "could hardly pass the Ridge for the crowds of people who were flying as if every moment was death."

Washington had lately made a visit of inspection from Fort Cumberland, on the Potomac, to Fort Dinwiddie on Jackson's river. On the 14th of October Major Lewis arrived at Winchester.

Badly as the Governor thought or wrote of our forefathers of Augusta county, he did not think more favorably of the people elsewhere. In October he condoled with Lord Fairfax, County Lieutenant of Frederick, for having to live among such a set of people.

After so much strife and excitement, it is a relief to close this chapter and the year 1755 with a peaceful extract. At a meeting of the vestry of the parish, November 27th, it was "ordered that the Rev. Mr. John Jones preach at James Neeley's on Roan Oke; at John Mathews, Sn., in the forks of James river; at Augusta Courthouse; at Captain Daniel Harrison's, and at any place contiguous to Mr. Madison's, at such times as said Jones shall think proper." The forks of James river was in the present county of Rockbridge, and Captain Harrison and Mr. Madison lived in Rockingham.



CHAPTER IV.

INDIAN WARS, &C., FROM 1756 TO 1758.

Although the preceding chapter closed so peacefully, the war was not over. In fact the worst part of it was still to come, and for eight years longer there was no peace on the frontiers, and no feeling of security by any of the white settlers west of the Blue Ridge.

It is impossible to relate a tenth part of all the stories of adventure during these stirring times which have come down to us. Many of these are of doubtful authority, and others founded on fact are so marred by mistakes as to time, place, &c., that they have to be omitted. Nobody appears to have cared or thought at the time of making a record of passing events, and in the course of a few generations oral tradition became contradictory and unreliable.

Governor Gilmer and other writers relate that the house of Colonel John Lewis was assailed by Indians on one occasion when the sons and retainers of the family were absent. Though old and infirm, Colonel Lewis is said to have stationed himself at a port-hole and kept up a constant shooting at the Indians, whilst his wife reloaded the guns. His sons and servants hearing the report of guns returned home and drove the Indians off.

As related, this story is inconsistent with the authentic history of the times. It is not probable that any dwelling within two miles of Staunton was ever besieged or assailed by hostile Indians. We know, however, that before war had arisen, parties of Indians often traversed the country, calling at houses, and soliciting, and to some extent demanding, supplies, just as white "tramps" do now-a-days. Very likely, during this time, a party

came to the house of Colonel Lewis, and becoming troublesome, the doors were closed, and guns fired to frighten them away.

Here we may give some particulars in regard to the sons of Colonel Lewis, all of whom were men of mark, and very conspicuous in the early times of the county.

Of Andrew Lewis we have already said much, and shall say much more in these Annals.

Thomas Lewis, the county surveyor, was disqualified for military service by defective vision, but was a man of culture and influence, and held various important positions. He was a member of the House of Burgesses and of the State Convention in 1775, and commissioner in 1777 to treat with the Indian tribes on the Ohio. He died October 31, 1790.

William Lewis is said by some of his descendants to have been a physician [see *Peyton's History of Augusta county*], while others deny or question the statement. According to Governor Gilmer's testimony, he was as powerful in person and brave in spirit as any of his brothers, but less disposed to seek fame by the sacrifice of human life. Says Governor Gilmer: "He served in the army only when required. He was an officer under Braddock, and wounded at his defeat. He was an elder in the Presbyterian church, of the old covenanting sort."

The fame of Charles Lewis, the youngest of the family, has come down to us as that of a hero of romance. From all accounts he was an admirable man, and if his life had not ended prematurely would have achieved great distinction. At an early age he was reported to be the most skillful of all the frontier Indian fighters. Once, it is said, he was captured by Indians, whilst out hunting, and suffered the usual treatment at their hands, but made his escape. He was forced to go with the Indians many miles, barefoot, his arms pinioned behind him, and goaded on by knives. Upon coming to a high bank, he burst the cords which bound him and plunged down the steep into the bed of a stream. The Indians followed him, but when his strength failed he fell among some tall weeds, and his pursuers failed to discover him. Before he could rise and continue his flight, a new enemy was discovered. A rattlesnake was coiled near his face and apparently about to strike; but on his remaining still, the reptile glided away. A Captain Charles Lewis was a member of a general court martial at Winchester, May 2, 1756. Charles Lewis,

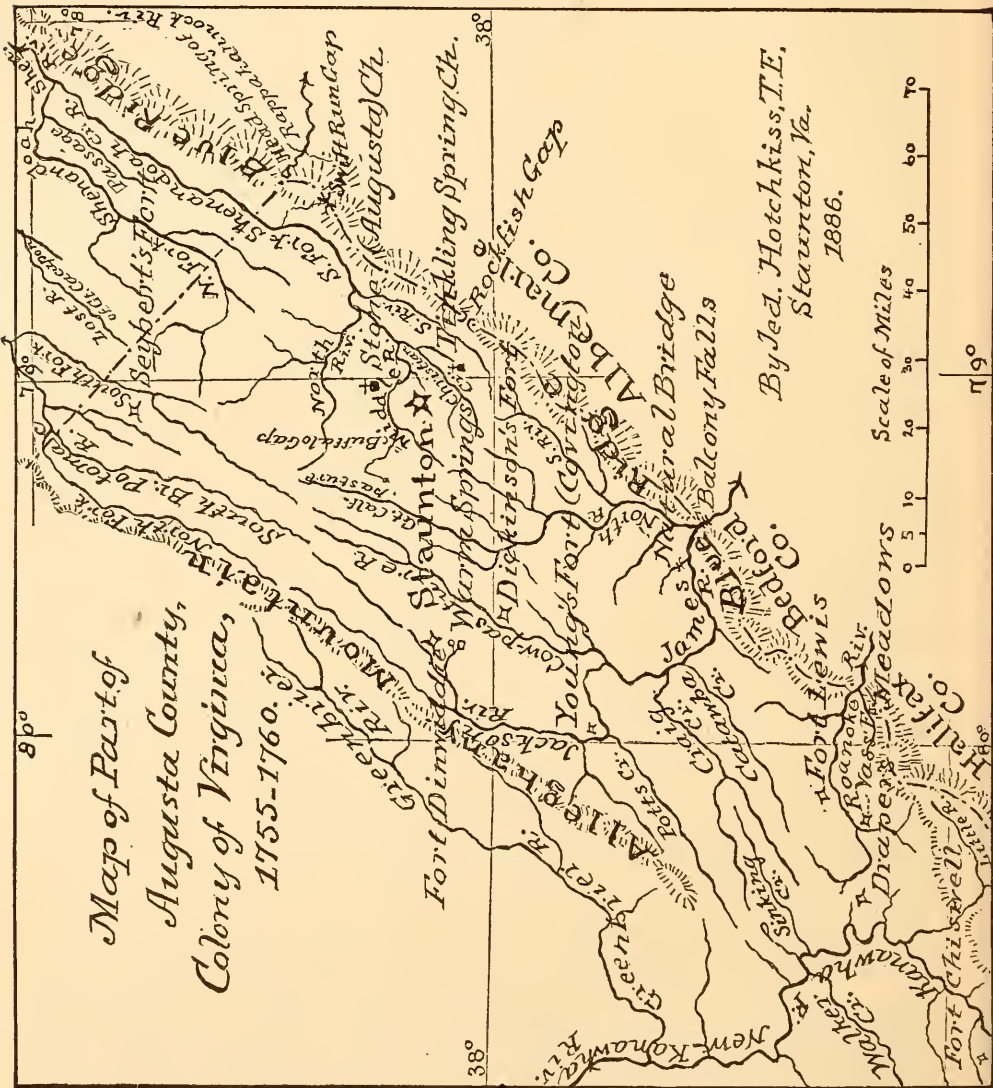
of Augusta, was then only twenty years of age. There was, however, another person of the same name, living at the time in Eastern Virginia, and he may have been the member of the court martial referred to.

During December, 1755, or earlier, Governor Dinwiddie planned an expedition against the Shawnee town supposed to be on the Ohio river, at or near the mouth of the Big Sandy. This expedition has been known as the "Sandy Creek Voyage." Washington did not approve of it, but at the request of the Governor, appointed Major Andrew Lewis to command. The distance from the settlements was too great; supplies for a large body of men could not be transported such a distance over so rugged a route, and the army could not find subsistence in the wilderness, and, moreover, it was doubtful whether there was any Indian settlement at or near the Big Sandy. But the Governor was full of his plans, and could not be dissuaded. He entertained high expectations, and wrote on the subject to nearly everybody—to Major Lewis and his subordinate officers, and to public functionaries in America and England.

In a letter of January 2, 1756, Governor Dinwiddie speaks of his efforts to conciliate the Cherokees, and says: "It had its proper effect, for they took up the hatchet and declared war against the French and Shawnesse, and sent into Augusta county one hundred and thirty of their warriors to protect our frontier. These people proposed marching to the Shawnesse town to cut them off. I agreed thereto, and ordered four companies of our rangers to join them."

As much doubt remains in regard to many facts connected with this famous expedition, as surrounds the wars between the Greeks and Trojans. Various writers state that the expedition took place in 1757, and that the men were recalled, when near the Ohio river, by order of Governor Fauquier; but the Dinwiddie papers show that it occurred early in 1756, and that the survivors returned home more than two years before Fauquier became Governor of Virginia. To this day, however, the number of men led out into the wilderness by Lewis is uncertain, and also how many companies there were, and who commanded them. Governor Dinwiddie, in his instructions to Major Lewis, not dated, says he had ordered Captain Hogg, with forty of his company, to march on the expedition; that a draft of sixty men

would be made from the companies of Captains Preston and Smith, to be commanded by the latter; and that Captain Samuel Overton's company consisted, he supposed, of forty men, and Captain Obadiah Woodson's of forty more. He says:



“One Capt. McMetz and some others proposed some men on a voluntary subscription.” “From the forementioned four companies,” continues the Governor, “the Cherokee Indians and the volunteers, making in all 350 men, I think will be sufficient for the expedition; but if you should think more men necessary, I leave it to you.” He appears never to have known the number of the men. In several of his letters he speaks of the Cherokees under Pearis as numbering one hundred and thirty, and in

another as eighty; while his statements of the number of white men vary from two hundred to three hundred. Among the captains usually mentioned are, Peter Hogg, William Preston, John Smith and Robert Breckenridge, besides Captains Overton and Woodson. These were captains of rangers, then employed in guarding the frontier. Archibald Alexander commanded a volunteer company, and, it is said, that Captains Montgomery and Dunlap led other companies also raised for this special service. Certainly there was no scarcity of captains, but the size of the companies was small, and we are not sure that all the persons named accompanied Lewis. Captain David Stuart acted as commissary.

Of Peter Hogg and William Preston we have already spoken. John Smith was the ancestor of the late Judge Daniel Smith of Rockingham, Joseph Smith of Folly Mills and others.

Dr. William Fleming was a lieutenant, but in whose company does not appear. From a letter addressed to him, February 6th, by Governor Dinwiddie, it seems that he acted also as surgeon of the expedition, and was to be paid for his "extra trouble." Medicines were furnished by Dr. George Gilmer, physician and apothecary in Williamsburg.

Captain Overton's company was raised in Hanover county, and was the first organized in the colony after Braddock's defeat. To this company the Rev. Samuel Davies preached, by request, August 17, 1755, from the text: "Be of good courage, and let us play the men for our people, and for the cities of our God," &c. 2 Sam. x, 12. The preacher asks: "Is it a pleasing dream? Or do I really see a number of brave men, without the compulsion of authority, without the prospect of gain, voluntarily associated in a company to march over trackless mountains, the haunts of wild beasts, or fiercer savages, into a hideous wilderness, to succor their helpless fellow-subjects, and guard their country?" But the sermon is memorable chiefly on account of a note by the preacher, in which he speaks of "that heroic youth, Colonel Washington, whom," he says, "I cannot but hope Providence has hitherto preserved in so signal a manner, for some important service to his country."

Archibald Alexander was the executor of Benjamin Borden, the patentee, and ancestor of the well-known Rockbridge family of that name, and the late Mrs. McClung, of Staunton.

The person referred to by Governor Dinwiddie as "one Captain McMet" was no doubt Alexander McNutt,¹⁸ a subaltern officer in Captain Alexander's company. He has been mentioned as the purchaser of a town lot in Staunton. It is stated that Lieutenant McNutt kept a journal of the campaign, which he presented to Governor Fauquier when the latter came into office, and which was deposited in the executive archives at Williamsburg. In this journal the writer reflected upon the conduct of Major Lewis, which led to a personal affray between Lewis and McNutt in Staunton,

For some years McNutt resided in Nova Scotia, but the popular belief that he was Governor of that province is unfounded. After the Revolutionary war began he joined the American army at Saratoga, and was afterwards an officer under De Kalb in the south. He died in 1811, and was buried in the Falling Spring churchyard, Rockbridge.

Major Lewis's command rendezvoused at Fort Frederick, which is stated by some writers to have been on New River, and by others, on the Roanoke, near the site of the present town of Salem. While waiting at the fort for horses and pack saddles, the Rev. Messrs. Craig and Brown preached to the soldiers.

In his instructions to Major Lewis, the Governor is very minute. Among other things, he says: "You are to do everything in your power to cultivate morality among the men, and that they may have dependence on God, the God of armies and the giver of victory." He does not omit to "recommend frugality."

To several of the captains, the Governor wrote also. Captain John Smith, it seems, wanted biscuit furnished for the expedition, but is told he must provide corn-meal or flour. Money to the amount of £100 was sent to the Captain, which "you must account for on your return," says the Governor. To one and all he recommended "care and diligence," "love and friendship." He sent £100 to Pearis, or Paris, reminding him, however, that it was to be accounted for, and enjoining "unanimity and friendship."

The Governor thought the expedition ready to start on Feb-

¹⁸ Ancestor of the Anderson, Glasgow, Paxton, and other prominent families of Rockbridge county.

ruary 6th, and so wrote to Governor Dobbs, of North Carolina, but in this he was premature; and finding out his mistake, he rebuked Major Lewis for his tardiness. At the same time he charged the Major to "take care [that] Mr. Pearis behaves well and keeps sober." The distance, he thinks, is 200 miles. He concludes as follows: "I have no further orders than desiring you to keep up good discipline and your people in good morality, forbidding swearing and all other vices, and put your trust in God, the protector and disposer of all things."

We pause to mention that in February, 1756, John O'Neil was examined by the County Court on the charge of speaking treasonable words and acquitted, but being convicted of "abusing the government and cursing the Bible" he was held for trial.

The expedition having started at last, Governor Dinwiddie turned his attention for a time to other matters. He indited a long report to the Lords of Trade on the state of the province. In this he broaches the idea of a chain of forts from the head waters of the Potomac, upon the ridges of the Alleghany, to the North Carolina line, for the protection of the frontier, and also the establishment of another colony west of the Alleghany, with such indulgences in matters of religion, &c., as would induce Protestant Dissenters to settle in that region.

In March, 1756, the Provincial Assembly passed an act providing for the construction of the forts referred to—"to begin at Henry Enoch's, on Great-Cape-Capon, in the county of Hampshire, and to extend to the south fork of Mayo river, in the county of Halifax."

In regard to the Dissenters in the province, the laws affecting them were always relaxed in times of war or public danger, and many of them were disposed to act as if all such laws were abolished. We find that the Rev. John Brown, of New Providence, was so imprudent as to perform the marriage ceremony twice in 1755 for members of his flock, but, discovering his mistake, he did not officiate again in that manner till 1781, when the law authorized him to do so.—[See list of marriages by Mr. Brown, published in *Staunton's Spectator* of December 18, 1866.]

We are not done, however, with Governor Dinwiddie's report to the Lords of Trade. He had been endeavoring for more than four months to raise a thousand men for the protection of the frontier, but had not been able to recruit above half that

number. He says: "They are a lazy, indolent set of people, and I am heartily weary of presiding over them." He estimated the population of the colony as 293,472—whites 173,316, and blacks 120,156. The number of white tithables in Augusta county in February, 1756, he states as 2,273, and of blacks only 40. Multiplying the white tithables by 4, as he did, the white population of the county was 8,992. All negroes, male and female, over sixteen years of age, were tithables, and therefore the black tithables were multiplied by 2, showing a total black population in the county of about 80.

After the departure of Major Lewis on his expedition, Governor Dinwiddie did not forget the enterprise. He continued to refer to it in his correspondence, and to express sanguine hopes. He had also sent commissioners, Peter Randolph and William Byrd, to conclude formal treaties with the Cherokee and Catawba Indians.

Major Lewis started from Fort Frederick on February 18, and reached the head of Sandy Creek on the 28th. Before the middle of March the supply of provisions began to run low, and soon afterwards some of the party were rescued from starvation only by the killing of several elks and buffaloes. On March 11 ten men deserted, and finally the whole body, except the officers and twenty or thirty of the privates, declared their purpose to return. It is related that on the westward march the raw hides of several buffaloes were hung upon bushes near a certain stream, and that on the return the men in the extremity of their hunger cut these hides into thongs, or tugs, and devoured them. From this circumstance, it is said, the stream referred to received the name of Tug river, which it still bears. Some writers state that a day or two after the retreat began a party of Captain Hogg's men went out from camp in pursuit of wild turkeys and encountered a dozen Indians in war paint, who fired upon them. According to these writers, two of the white men were killed, and the fire being returned, one Indian was wounded and captured. What was done with him is not mentioned. This story, however, like many other things related of the expedition, is of doubtful authenticity. Governor Dinwiddie's letters imply that no hostile Indians were encountered.

It required two weeks for the men to reach the nearest settlement, and during that interval they endured great suffering from

cold and hunger. Some of the men who separated from the main body perished.

At what date Major Lewis and other survivors of the expedition returned to the settlements, we have not found stated. Governor Dinwiddie alludes to their return, in a letter to Washington, dated April 8th. He takes no blame to himself, but indulges in sarcasm towards Lewis. "Major Lewis," he says, "and his men are returned, having done nothing essential. I believe they *did not know the way to the Shawnesse towns*. I expect him in town to give an account of his march, &c." To Governor Dobbs he writes, April 13: "The expedition against the Shawnesse proved unsuccessful. They were gone upwards of a month; met with very bad weather; a great part of their provisions lost crossing a river, the canoes being overset. They were obliged to eat their horses, and are returned, having taken the Frenchmen, who I believe are of the neutrals, bound to Fort Duquesne. The commissioners that went to the Cherokees, &c., are not returned, but write me the Cherokees and Catawbas are in good humor and profess great friendship. They are ready to assist us with their warriors, if they can have a fort built for their women and children."

Fifteen of the returned Cherokees visited the Governor at Williamsburg, and he endeavored to induce the whole party, reduced to sixty, to march to Winchester and join Washington.

Andrew Lewis made his peace with the Governor. At any rate, whether in wrath or as a token of favor, he was immediately ordered to proceed to the Cherokee country, now East Tennessee, and build the fort those Indians had stipulated for as a condition of their sending reinforcements. He was directed to enlist sixty men who could use saw and axe, "taking great care to be as frugal as possible," to be much on his guard "against any surprise from the enemy lurking in the woods," and to lose no time about the business. This order was issued April 24th. Of course it required some time for Major Lewis to get ready, and in the meanwhile he was the superior military officer in Augusta.

On the 27th of April, in consequence of a report that the French and Indians had invested Winchester, the Governor called out the militia of ten counties, and Major Lewis was ordered to speed the departure of the Cherokees under Pearis to join Wash-

ington. The reports from Winchester were greatly exaggerated, and the alarm in that quarter soon subsided; but some new cause of anxiety had arisen in Augusta. On the 5th of May the Governor wrote to Lewis, in a very sulky mood. He was surprised at "the supineness of the people of Augusta," who were "intimidated at the approach of a few Indians," and most shamefully ran away. "They are always soliciting for arms and ammunition. Of the first," said the Governor, "I have none, and powder and lead they have been supplied with more from me than any six counties in this Dominion, and as they have not exerted themselves in any action against the enemy I fear those supplies have been misapplied, but still if they want a little powder I can supply them if they will send for it, as the other counties do, but I have no lead." That unfortunate wagon lost by Colonel Patton the year before, was still on the Governor's mind, and he declares that the county must pay for it. Colonel Jefferson, of Albemarle (father of President Jefferson), was ordered to take half of his militia to Augusta; but Lewis was on no account to remain here. He was, with all possible dispatch, to proceed to the Cherokee country and build the fort there. No time was to be lost. Captain Hogg would assist the people of Augusta. It was hoped that the Cherokees were on the march to Winchester.

We do not know in what part of the country this alarm arose. Probably it was the disaster at Edward's fort, April 18th, mentioned in a note on page 111, Volume I, *Dinwiddie Papers*. This note states that Edward's fort was on the Warm Springs mountain, now Bath county, but Kercheval, who was more likely to be accurately informed, says it was on Capon river, between Winchester and Romney. In 1756, according to the note referred to, but in 1757, according to Kercheval, thirty or forty Indians approached the fort and killed two men who were outside. Captain Mercer, at the head of forty of the garrison, sallied out in pursuit of the enemy, but fell into an ambush, and he and all his men, except six, were slain. One poor fellow, who was badly wounded, lay for two days and nights before he was found, the whites not venturing sooner to collect and bury the dead.

The apprehension of the people, and the unwillingness of the men to enlist in the army, were natural and unavoidable. Au-

gusta men were always ready to go on any warlike expedition when their homes could be left in safety, but to abandon wives and children to the merciless savages, who came by stealth to slaughter or capture their helpless victims, was more than ought to have been demanded. It was no common danger, and one which no courage could guard against. Governor Dinwiddie, in his comfortable quarters at Williamsburg, was totally unable to appreciate the difficulties and the spirit of the people.

The Governor's vituperation of the people of Augusta did not impair the intense loyalty of the County Court, however others of the population may have been affected by it. This spirit was carried to excess, and rather absurdly exhibited at times. It was in 1756 that one Francis Farguson was brought before the court "by warrant under the hand of Robert McClanahan, gent., for damning Robert Dinwiddie, Esq., for a Scotch peddling son of a b——," and found guilty. He was discharged, however, on apologizing and giving security to keep the peace.

Major Lewis did not get off till the month of June. The Cherokees brought out by Pearis refused to go to Winchester, but went home, promising, however, to come back with a larger reinforcement of their tribe. The Governor, on the 12th of June, addressed a stately message "to the Emperor, Old Hop, and other sachems of the great nation of Cherokees."

It was determined by a council of war, held at Fort Cumberland, that Captain Hogg should have the care of constructing the forts provided for by Act of Assembly. Washington addressed instructions to Hogg, dated Winchester, July 21, 1756. The militia of Augusta were ordered out to assist. The forts were to be twenty or thirty miles apart, to the southward of Fort Dinwiddie, on Jackson's river. Lieutenant Bullet was to be left at Fort Dinwiddie, with thirty privates of Hogg's company, and the other forts were to be garrisoned by fifteen to thirty men each. Hogg was instructed not to divide his force, but to keep his men together, and build fort after fort, without attempting to construct more than one at the same time. This precaution indicates the danger of attack by the enemy. The building of the forts was a scheme of the Governor's, disapproved by Washington, and resulted in no good.

In a letter to Henry Fox, Esq., dated July 24th, Governor Dinwiddie says: "About one month ago, one hundred French

and Indians came into Augusta county, murdered and scalped some of the *unweary* and unguarded people, but I think the militia drove them over the mountains." It is tantalizing that we cannot ascertain the scene of this raid, and other circumstances; but it probably occurred on the frontier, and more or less remote from the western limit of the present county. In a letter to General Abercrombie, dated August 12th, the Governor alluded to the raid just mentioned, or another—we cannot tell which. He says: "About a month ago, a hundred of them" [Shawnee Indians] "with some French, came into the county of Augusta, in this Dominion, killed and carried away prisoners twenty-four of our people. We killed sixteen of them."

The record book of Courts Martial held by officers of Augusta militia, from 1756 to 1796, has in part escaped destruction. Both backs have disappeared, and some leaves also here and there, but a large part of the volume remains.

We find from this volume that "a Council of War" was held at Augusta Courthouse, July 27, 1756, by order of the Governor, to consider and determine at what points forts should be erected along the frontier for the protection of the inhabitants. The Council was composed of Colonels John Buchanan and David Stewart, Major John Brown, and Captains Joseph Culton, Robert Scott, Patrick Martin, William Christian, Robert Breckenridge, James Lockhart, Samuel Stalnicker, Israel Christian, and Thomas Armstrong. William Preston acted as clerk. The William Christian mentioned could not have been Captain Israel Christian's son of the same name, who twenty years later was a prominent man, unless he was a wonderfully precocious boy in 1756.

The Council unanimously agreed that forts should be constructed at the following places: "At Peterson's, on the South Branch of Potowmack, nigh Mill Creek," two miles from the northern county line; at Hugh Man's Mill, on Shelton's tract, 18 miles from Peterson's; "at the most important pass between the last named place and the house of Matthew Harper, on Bull Pasture" [the place afterwards designated was Trout Rock, 17 miles from Man's]; at Matthew Harper's, 20 miles from Trout Rock; and at Captain John Miller's, on Jackson's river, 18 miles from Harper's. The Council then say: "As the frontiers are properly protected by the forts of Captains Hog [Dinwiddie's],

Breckenridge and Dickinson, there is no want of a fort unto the mouth of John's Creek, a branch of Craig's Creek, at which place a fort is to be erected." John's Creek was 25 miles from Dickinson's fort. Fort William, 20 miles from John's Creek, and supposed to be the same as Breckenridge's fort, was deemed "sufficient to guard *that* important pass," and the next place to the southwest, 13 miles distant, designated for a fort, was Neal McNeal's. The remaining places named for forts are, Captain James Campbell's, 13 miles from McNeal's; Captain Vaux's [Vass's], 12 miles from Campbell's; and Captain John Mason's on the south side of Roanoke, 25 miles from Vaux's. From Mason's "to the first inhabitants in Halifax county, south side of Ridge," was 20 miles.

The Council ordered, subject to the approval of Captain Peter Hog, that Fort Vaux be at least one hundred feet square in the clear, with stockades at least sixteen feet long, and be garrisoned by seventy men. The other forts were to be sixty feet square, with two bastions in each. The garrisons, besides Vaux's, were to be as follows: Mason's and McNeal's thirty men each, Dickinson's forty, Dinwiddie's sixty, and each of the others fifty men.

The length of frontier to be protected was estimated by the Council as two hundred and fifty miles, and the number of men to garrison the forts as six hundred and eighty. The scheme was abandoned, however, only one or two new forts having been built.

The Courts Martial record book gives the names of the captains of militia in 1756. The captains of horse were Israel Christian, Patrick Martin and John Dickinson; of foot, besides those already named, Samuel Norwood, James Allen,¹⁹ George Willson, John Mathews, Joseph Lapsley, James Mitchell, Daniel

¹⁹Captain James Allen was one of the first elders of the stone church. One of his daughters married Captain James Trimble, and removed with her husband to Kentucky after the Revolutionary war. She was the mother of Governor Allen Trimble, of Ohio, and the late Mrs. James A. McCue, of Augusta, the mother of Major J. M. McCue. Another daughter of Captain Allen married the Rev. John McCue, the father of Mr. James A. McCue and others. Captain Allen's company, in 1756, consisted of sixty-eight men, and was composed of Walkers, Turks, Kerrs, Robertsons, Bells, Crawford's, Givenses, Craigs, Pattersons, Poages, and others.

Harrison, Abram Smith, Ephraim Love, Ludovick Francisco, and Robert Bratton.

The Governor had received no report from Major Lewis up to August 19th. Writing to Washington on that day, he says: "Col. Stewart, of Augusta, proposed and sent the sketch for fourteen forts, to be garrisoned by 700 men, but I took no notice of it, waiting for Captain Hogg's report of what he thinks may be necessary, and to be managed with frugality, for the people in Augusta appear to me so selfish that private views and interest prevail with them without due consideration of the public service, which makes me much on my guard with them." He appears to have cherished a bitter animosity towards Stewart, the name being then generally so written at that time, but now Stuart.

On the 20th, the Governor had tidings from Lewis, and was happy in the expectation of soon receiving a reinforcement of one hundred and fifty Cherokees and fifty Catawbas. He desired to have provisions for these allies at several points on their march to Winchester, and, not being acquainted with any person in Augusta he could confide in, ordered Colonel Clement Read, County-Lieutenant of Lunenburg county, to make arrangements for supplies at Roanoke and Augusta Courthouse. Colonel Buchanan had advised him that wheat could be bought at Roanoke for 2s. 6d., and if Read had "an opinion" of Buchanan, the latter might be employed to make purchases. Five chests of small arms and six barrels of gunpowder were sent to Roanoke for the Indians. To Lewis the Governor wrote on the 30th of August: "I have wrote Col. Washington that he may expect the Cherokees under your conduct, and I order you to march them with all possible expedition. They shall be supplied at Winchester with all sorts of ammunition, but no cutlasses to be had here."

Captain Hogg enjoyed the Governor's entire confidence, and was no doubt worthy of it—they were brother Scots. To him the Governor poured out his heart on September 8th:—"The behavior and backwardness of the militia in assisting you is unaccountable, or can I account for the dastardly spirit of our lower class of people in general, but that of Augusta county, I think, exceeds them all." Colonel Buchanan, commanding the Augusta militia, and probably then residing on the Roanoke

river, is accused of inefficiency; and it turned out that Colonel Read "has no influence but in his own county." By the date of this letter, the writer had changed his mind about the forts. He thought as many as three unnecessary, and the one Hogg was then building, enough. "Dickinson," adds the Governor, "is now here, and says he was sent for to the general muster when his fort was attacked. I told him he had no call to be there when he otherways was on duty, and he confesses his errors, but says he constantly kept centries and scouting parties from the fort for some months" [or miles] "round, and those that went after the Indians, he says, were militia under different officers, that he could not command them; that he had 120 pounds of powder and 200 pounds of lead when attacked. In short, I am of opinion, if there had been proper conduct they might have destroyed some of the enemy."

Here again we are ignorant of details. Dickinson's fort was on the Cowpasture river, some four miles below Millborough. Withers says [*Border Warfare*, page 75] the garrison was so careless that several children playing under the walls outside the fort were run down and caught by the Indians, who were not discovered till they arrived at the gate. He states that the circumstance occurred in 1755, but was no doubt mistaken in regard to the date. He, moreover, is silent as to an assault upon the fort; but in addition to the Governor's reference to one, there is a reliable tradition of an assault, during which a young girl aided in moulding bullets for the men. This young girl was the grandmother of Judge William McLaughlin. The incident mentioned of her may, however, have occurred in 1757, when Dickinson's fort was assailed again. Tradition also informs us that at one time, when a party of hostile Indians was believed to be at hand, a married woman, hastening with her family and neighbors to take shelter in Dickinson's fort, was seized with the pains of child-birth on the way, and was detained in the forest till her agony was over.

In September, 1756, the number of Indian allies expected by the Governor had grown to four hundred, and he was correspondingly elated. The Cherokees were highly pleased with their fort, but desired a small garrison of white men to hold it during the absence of their warriors. Captain Overton, with most of the

men sent to build the fort, had returned by September 18th. Major Lewis remained to bring in the Indian reinforcement.

At a Court Martial held September 11, 1756, Colonel David Stewart presiding, several persons were exempted from military duty, among them one man for the reason that two of his children were "natural fools."

The alarm in Augusta still continued. "One-third of the militia from Augusta," wrote the Governor on September 30th, "and some from other counties contiguous have been ordered out for protection of their frontiers, but they are such a dastardly set of people that I am convinced they do not do their duty, which is the reason of the late invasion there. They have neither courage, spirit, or conduct." Again, on the 26th of October, to Washington: "I received your letter from Augusta, and observe its contents. The behavior of the militia is very unaccountable, and I am convinced they are under no command. I ordered part of the militia to the frontier and there to remain till relieved by others, * * instead thereof, they go and come at their own pleasure, and many of them come here with large demands as if they had done the duty ordered in a proper manner: they are a dastardly set of people, and under no management or discipline, much owing to their officers, who I fear are little better than the private men."

At last Major Lewis returned from the Cherokee country, and brought in only seven warriors and three women, to the Governor's "great surprise and concern."

The French, it was feared, had been tampering with the Southern Indians, and had seduced them from the English. One of the seven was sent back to remind the Cherokees of their repeated promises, and the others in Augusta were exhorted by the Governor to accompany Major Lewis to Winchester.

The fort built by Andrew Lewis was called Fort Loudoun. It was on the south bank of the Tennessee river, at the head of navigation, and about thirty miles south of the present town of Knoxville. In 1760, when garrisoned by two hundred men, it was beleaguered by Cherokee Indians who had become hostile. Reduced to the point of starvation, and without hope of rescue, the garrison surrendered. Accounts vary as to the fate of the prisoners. One account states that the Indians fired upon the

whites and killed twenty-five or thirty of them the day following the surrender, but that the greater number effected their escape. Another account states that all the prisoners, except three, were massacred, and that the Indians made a fence of their bones. Captain Stuart, one of the three, was saved by a friendly Indian. The fort was destroyed.—[*Ramsay's Annals of Tennessee.*] The South-western boundary of Virginia was not defined at this time, and, until about twenty years afterwards, all the settlements on the Holston, even those now in Tennessee, were supposed to be in Virginia.

The middle of November, 1756, having arrived, Governor Dinwiddie, thinking there was no danger of invasion during the cold season, ordered Major Lewis to recall the men on the frontiers, and to reduce the Augusta companies in service to three. In the meanwhile, however, he was much concerned about the accounts sent in by the officers of militia in Augusta. Colonel Buchanan was instructed to scrutinize the accounts closely, with the assistance of Captain Hogg. These officers were to meet at Vass's fort, where Hogg was stationed. When December 23d came round, the Governor's wrath was particularly directed to Captain Robert Breckenridge, of Augusta, and Major Lewis was peremptorily ordered to "put him out of commission."

Early in January, 1757, Governor Dinwiddie was full of another scheme. This one was instigated apparently by Captain Voss, Vass, or Vance—the Governor writes the name all sorts of ways, but Vaux was probably the correct mode—and encouraged by Colonel Read and others. It seems that a number of persons calling themselves "Associators," proposed to raise two hundred and fifty to three hundred men for an expedition against the Shawnees. They were to choose their own officers, to be provided by the government with provisions, arms and ammunition, to have all the plunder, and to be paid £10 for every scalp or prisoner brought in. The provisions were to be carried to Vass's fort, and from thence on horses to the pass in the mountains, where the horses should be kept under a guard. The whole affair was to be kept as secret as possible, to prevent intelligence of it getting to the enemy. The Governor had the affair "much at heart," and on the 1st of February he wrote: "The expedition is very pleasurable." It is observable that he wrote to nobody in Augusta on the subject. On the 5th

of April he wrote to Colonel Read: "Last Thursday I arrived from Philadelphia, where I was much surprised after the sanguine expressions and assurances of three hundred men from Augusta, &c., entering an association to march against the Shawness towns is defeated by a presumption, they would not proceed with fewer than six hundred. This, I conceived, was intended to load the country with extraordinary expense, and to furnish arms, &c., for that number, which can't be done. * * I believe it's only a few persons that wanted command occasioned this hindrance, and I find it has been usual with the people of Augusta to form schemes of lucrative views, which, for the future, I will endeavor to prevent."

Thus another well-laid plan came to naught. Of course, the people of Augusta were responsible for the failure! By this time the Governor was clamoring to be relieved of his labors—he was weary and sick, and doubtless nearly all the people in the colony desired his departure, the people of Augusta most of all.

We find from the correspondence, that two parties of Indian tramps, professing friendship, were roaming about in Lunenburg and Halifax counties, and committing depredations. They scalped one of their number in Colonel Read's yard, and otherwise behaved in a "rude and villainous" manner. The Governor feared that Paris was "the ring-leader of all these enormities"; but advised caution in bringing the Indians to reason, as he greatly dreaded a war with the Cherokees.

The Governor's instructions to Washington, of May 16, 1757, state how sundry forts were to be garrisoned, &c. Fort Loudoun [Winchester], 100 men under Washington himself; Edward's, 25 men under a subaltern; Dickinson's, 70 men under Major Lewis; Vass's, 70 men under Captain Woodward. At the same time, as he wrote to the Lords of Trade, he had in service 400 Indians from the Catawbias, Cherokees and Tuscaroras. "I ordered them out with some of our forces," he says, "to observe the motions of the enemy, protect our frontiers, and go a scalping agreeable to the French custom." In another letter of the same date, he says: "I've ordered them out in parties with some of our men to discover the motions of the enemy and to scalp those they can overcome—a barbarous method of conducting war, introduced by the French, which we are obliged to follow in our own defence."

On the 18th of May, one hundred and ten of the Catawba allies were in Williamsburg, on their way home, "pretending they discovered the tracks of Shawnesse and Delawares marching towards their towns; that they must go to protect their women and children." They, however, brought the Governor two Shawnee scalps. On the 26th of May, only some Cherokees and eleven other friendly Indians remained on our frontiers. At that date the Governor complained of many disorders by the Cherokees, while marching through the country. They had killed a Chickasaw warrior, whose squaw, however, made her escape.

A party of thirty Cherokees was at Williamsburg on June 16th, on their way to Winchester, and the Governor was obliged to give them shirts, leggins, paint, &c. Old Hop promised to send out three other parties by way of Augusta.

From a letter written by Governor Dinwiddie to Washington, June 20th, we learn that there was a new alarm at Winchester. French and Indians were said to be marching from Fort Duquesne, probably to attack Fort Cumberland, and one-third of the militia of Frederick, Fairfax, and other counties, were called out. This apprehension subsided; but the Governor wrote to the Earl of Halifax: "I think we are in a very melancholy situation." On the 24th he wrote to Washington: "Major Lewis has been very unlucky in all his expeditions."

During the month of July there were "weekly alarms from our frontiers of the enemy's intention to invade us," and corresponding vigilance and activity on the part of the Governor. On August 3d he wrote to Colonel Read: "It surprises me that I have no account from Augusta of the terrible murders committed on the frontiers. * * I hope I shall have the news you write contradicted, or at least not so dismal as represented, though I am in great uneasiness till I hear from some of the commanding officers in Augusta."

We do not know the scene, and have no account of the circumstances of the disaster referred to in the letter just quoted. Perhaps, however, a letter of August 8th to Colonel Buchanan, colonel of Augusta militia, indicates the place. "Your letter of the 23d of last month," writes the Governor, "I did not receive till the 6th of this, so it was fifteen days coming to my hands. I am sincerely sorry for the many murders and cap-

tives the enemy have made, and I fear the people in pay do not execute their duty. Where was Captain Preston and the people at Hogg's?"—[the fort built by Captain Hogg, and known as Vass's, or Vaux's fort.] "Surely they ought to have been sent for, and repelled the force of the enemy, as the bearer assures me there were not above six attacked their house, and you must be misinformed of the number of two hundred at *Dickinson's fort*—that number, I conceive, would have carried their point, and I am informed Dickinson was not at his fort. This I leave you to inquire into, for I fear the country is greatly imposed on by neglect of the officers," &c. It seems that some people were captured and carried off by the Indians. "One thousand men," continues the letter, "could not cover the whole frontiers, and I am surprised the reinforcement from the regiment are not arrived in Augusta, as Colonel Washington had my orders the 18th of last month to send them directly, and I hope they are with you before this time. * * I am pretty well convinced the enemy must have returned to their towns before this. Let me know where Captain Preston is, and whether the men at Hogg's fort were apprised of the enemy's cruelties, and the reason they did not march against them. * * I am sensibly concerned for the poor people, and heartily wish it was in my power to give them a thorough protection." In a letter to Washington, on the 9th of August, the Governor refers to letters from Augusta, Halifax and Bedford, informing him that the enemy had murdered seven people and captured eleven.

At Dickinson's fort, in 1757, was a boy who in after years became quite famous. He was born in Augusta county, in 1742, and his name was Arthur Campbell. He had volunteered as a militiaman to aid in protecting the frontier. Going one day with others to a thicket in search of plums, the party was fired upon by Indians lying in ambush, and young Campbell was slightly wounded and captured. He was taken to the vicinity of the great lakes, and detained a prisoner for three years, when he made his escape and returned home. About six years before the Revolution, he removed to the Holston river, now Washington county, his father and family soon following. He was afterwards prominent in the assembly and the state convention of 1788, as well as during the Revolutionary war. One of his sons,

Colonel John B. Campbell, fell at Chippewa, where he commanded the right wing of the army under General Scott. General William Campbell,²⁰ the hero of King's mountain, also a native of Augusta county, was Arthur Campbell's cousin and brother-in-law.

By this time, Governor Dinwiddie was in an ill-humor with Washington, and wrote him a scolding letter on the 13th of August. Washington had sent in certain accounts, and the Governor complains that he could not tell whether the amount was £100 or £1000. "You have sent a detachment from the regiment to Augusta," says the letter, "but you do not mention the number, or do you mention the receipt of the small arms sent from this, or any account of the misunderstanding with the Indians at Winchester. You must allow this is a loose way of writing, and it is your duty to be more particular to me. * * I approve of your hanging the two deserters." Washington was directed, by the same letter, to give Paymaster Boyd, of the Virginia regiment, a small escort to Augusta Courthouse, where he was to deliver money to Major Lewis, for the men on duty in this county. Lewis appears to have been sent by Washington, with several companies of the Virginia regiment, from Winchester to Augusta, in pursuance of the Governor's order.

On the 15th of August, the Governor being much indisposed, Secretary Withers wrote to Major Lewis, leaving it discretionary with him as to abandoning Vass's fort. About one thing, however, the Major was left no discretion: he must forthwith suspend Colonel Stewart from command, "for raising false alarms, terrifying the people," &c. Stewart, or Stuart as now written, was a colonel of militia. He no doubt communicated to the Governor the recommendation of the Council of War in regard to the chain of forts, which, as we have seen, was contemptuously rejected.

The Governor had not forgotten Captain Dickinson. On September 19th, he wrote to Major Lewis: "Pray ask Captain Dickinson where he was when his fort was last invested. I hear

²⁰ William Campbell was born in 1745, and at an early age settled on the Holston. He died during the siege of Yorktown, at the age of thirty-six. He was the maternal grandfather of William Campbell Preston, of South Carolina.

he wasn't in it." The House of Burgesses had voted to raise three hundred rangers, and two hundred of them were intended for the Augusta frontier. The Governor desired Captain Hogg to command them, as he said in writing to Washington on the 24th. In this letter he accuses Washington of ingratitude.

The following extract from a letter of Dinwiddie to Washington, dated October 19th, though not a part of the Annals of Augusta, is too interesting to be omitted: "I cannot agree to allow you leave to come down here at this time; you have been frequently indulged with leave of absence. You know the fort is to be finished, and I fear in your absence little will be done, and surely the commanding officer should not be absent when daily alarmed with the enemy's intentions to invade our frontiers. I think you are wrong to ask it. You have no accounts, as I know of, to settle with me, and what accounts you have to settle with the committee may be done in a more proper time. I wish you well."

Captain Hogg was duly commissioned to command one of the new companies of rangers in Augusta, under direction of Major Lewis. The private men were to be paid twelve pence, about fifteen cents, a day, and find their own clothing. To Major Lewis, the Governor wrote, in October: "Recommend morality and sobriety to all the people, with a due submission and regard to Providence. Let swearing, private quarrels, drunkenness and gaming be strictly forbid."

The next victim of Governor Dinwiddie's displeasure was Colonel John Spotswood, County Lieutenant of Spotsylvania county. Some blank commissions had been sent to Colonel Spotswood to be delivered to company officers when appointed. Colonel Spotswood, however, had committed the offence of giving a colonel's commission to Benjamin Pendleton, and a major's to Charles Lewis. This was not, we presume, the Augusta hero of the same name.²¹ The offence was enhanced by the fact that

²¹ An act of the General Assembly, passed in 1769, in regard to certain entailed lands, shows that a John Lewis, who lived in Gloucester county, had a son named Charles. This Charles was probably the person referred to by the Governor. It is not likely that the County Lieutenant of Spotsylvania would have delivered a commission to Charles Lewis, of Augusta.

Pendleton had no estate in the county, and kept an ordinary. As to Lewis, whatever his fault may have been, he "deserves no commission from me," says the angry Governor. Moreover, Thomas Estis and Aaron Bledstone had been appointed captains, although they were insolvent and not able to pay their levies. "This conduct," says the Governor, "is prostituting my commissions entrusted with you, and pray what gentleman of character will role with such persons that have neither land nor negroes" !

The Governor's last letter to Major Lewis is dated December, 1757. In this parting shot, he denounced again the "many villainous and unjust accounts" sent in from Augusta. He said: "Preston and Dickinson are rangers, and so must Captain Hogg's; but I don't agree to have any militia in pay, for they have hitherto been pick-pockets to the country."

Here we take leave of rare Governor Dinwiddie. He took his departure from the country, in January, 1758. On account of the historical value of his letters we could have better spared a better man.

The vestry of Augusta parish had established a "chapel of care" at the forks of James river, and paid Sampson Mathews a small salary for his services as reader at that point; but in the fall of 1757, the greater part of the inhabitants thereabouts "having deserted their plantations by reason of the enemy Indians," it was resolved that the chapel referred to was unnecessary, and the services of the reader were discontinued.

At the same meeting, it appearing that the glebe buildings had not been completed, it was ordered that suit be brought against the contractor, Colonel John Lewis. Our ancestors believed in law-suits, and were no respecters of persons. For a year or more the vestry were engaged in litigation with another prominent citizen, Robert McClanahan, who had been High Sheriff and collector of the parish levy, without accounting therefor, it was charged.



CHAPTER V.

INDIAN WARS, ETC., FROM 1758 TO 1764.

Before the departure of Dinwiddie, the Earl of Loudoun, commander-in-chief of British forces in America, was commissioned Governor of Virginia, but it is believed he never visited the colony. Francis Fauquier was afterwards appointed, and arrived in June, 1758, the duties of the office being discharged in the meanwhile by John Blair, President of the Council.

It is stated that in the early part of 1758 sixty persons were murdered by Indians in Augusta county, but exactly where and when we are not told.—[*Campbell's History of Virginia*, page 500.] Possibly the allusion is to the massacre at Seybert's fort.

This fort was in the northern part of the present county of Highland, then Augusta. There the inhabitants of the surrounding country had taken shelter from the Indians. Between thirty and forty persons of both sexes and all ages were in the enclosure. No Indians having yet appeared, a youth named James Dyer and his sister went outside one day for some purpose, and had not proceeded far before they came in view of forty or fifty Shawnees going towards the fort. Hurrying back to provide for their own safety and give the alarm, they were overtaken and captured. The place was incapable of withstanding a vigorous assault, and the garrison was poorly supplied with ammunition. Captain Seybert, therefore, determined to surrender, and did so in spite of the opposition of some of the people. The gate was thrown open, and the money and other stipulated articles were handed over to the Indians. Thereupon, one of the most ruthless tragedies of Indian warfare was perpetrated. The inmates of the fort were arranged in two rows and

nearly all of them were tomahawked. A few, spared from caprice or some other cause, were carried off into captivity. Young Dyer was the only captive who ever returned.

He was taken to Logstown, thence to the Muskingum, and thence to Chilicothe, where he remained a prisoner nearly two years. Accompanying the Indians to Fort Pitt, he there concealed himself in a hovel, and after two years more returned home.

At a court-martial held at the courthouse May 19, 1758, upon the complaint of Edward McGary, the conduct of Captain Abraham Smith on a recent occasion was inquired into. Captain Smith was "out with a part of his company on the South Branch after Seybert's fort was burned by the enemy," and was accused by McGary, a member of the company, of cowardice. The court declared the charge without foundation and malicious. They then took McGary in hand, found him guilty of insubordination, and fined him forty shillings for that offence and five shillings "for one oath."

Another expedition for the capture of Fort Duquesne was set on foot early in 1758. It was under command of General Forbes, a meritorious British officer, but in a feeble state of health. Washington was still commander-in-chief of the Virginia troops, now consisting of two regiments, one led by himself and the other by Colonel Byrd. Forbes's command consisted of about 1,600 British regulars, 2,700 men contributed by Pennsylvania, and the Virginia regiments of 1,800 or 1,900, making altogether an army of more than 6 000 men, besides some Indian allies.

Washington gathered his regiment at Winchester, several of the companies being recalled from Augusta, and from that place was ordered to Fort Cumberland, where he arrived on the 2d of July, and was detained there till the middle of September. The troops being scantily supplied with clothing, Washington equipped two companies, under the immediate command of Major Lewis, in hunting shirts, and that style soon became all the fashion.

Colonel Bouquet, who commanded the advanced division of the army, took his station at Raystown, in the centre of Pennsylvania. General Forbes arrived at that place in September, and ordered Washington to join him there. Bouquet then made a further advance, and, while upwards of fifty miles from Du-

quesne, sent on a detachment under Major Grant to reconnoitre. This body consisted of eight hundred picked men, some of them British regulars, others in Indian garb, a part of the Virginia regiment, and commanded by Major Lewis.

Arrived in the vicinity of the fort, Grant posted Lewis in the rear to guard the baggage, and, forming his regulars in battle array, sent an engineer to take a plan of the works, in full view of the garrison. When he was completely thrown off his guard, "there was a sudden sally of the garrison, and an attack on the flanks by Indians hid in ambush. A scene now occurred similar to that at the defeat of Braddock. The British officers marshaled their men according to European tactics, and the Highlanders for some time stood their ground bravely, but the destructive fire and horrid yells of the Indians soon produced panic and confusion. Major Lewis, at the first noise of the attack, left Captain Bullitt with fifty Virginians to guard the baggage, and hastened with the main part of his men to the scene of action. The contest was kept up for some time, but the confusion was irretrievable. The Indians sallied from their concealment, and attacked with the tomahawk and scalping-knife. Lewis fought hand to hand with an Indian brave, whom he laid dead at his feet, but was surrounded by others, and only saved his life by surrendering himself to a French officer. Major Grant surrendered himself in like manner. The whole detachment was put to the rout with dreadful carnage."—[*Irving's Life of Washington*, Volume I, page 285.]

Captain Bullitt rallied some of the fugitives, and made a gallant stand. He finally drove off the pursuing Indians, and then collecting as many of the wounded as he could, hastily retreated. The routed detachment returned in fragments to Bouquet's camp, with the loss of twenty-one officers, and two hundred and seventy-three privates, killed and taken. Washington's regiment lost six officers and sixty-two privates.

The Highlanders of Grant's command were not acquainted with the Indian custom of scalping, and it is said that when Lewis was advancing with his provincials he met a Highlander flying from the field, and inquiring about the battle, was answered that they were "a' beaten, and Donald McDonald was up to his hunkers in mud, with a' the skeen af his heed."

No doubt many Augusta men were in the affair just mentioned; but Andrew Lewis is the only one of them whose name we know. Nor do we know how long Major Lewis remained a prisoner. He will not appear again in these Annals till 1763, when he was at home, but preparing to go to war.

The army of General Forbes resumed its march in November, Washington commanding a division and leading the way. Nearing Fort Duquesne, the ground was strewn with human bones, the relics of Braddock's and Grant's defeats. Arriving in sight of the fort, the place was found to be abandoned. The French, not exceeding five hundred in number, deserted by the Indians, and without a sufficient supply of provisions, had set fire to the fort and retreated down the Ohio in boats. On the 25th of November, Washington marched in, and planted the British flag on the smoking ruins. The fortress was repaired, and the name changed to that of Fort Pitt.

The officers and men of Forbes's army united in collecting the bones of their fellow-soldiers who had fallen in the recent battles and routs, and burying them in a common grave.

Washington soon retired from the army, and was not again engaged in war till called out at the Revolution. In 1758, he was elected a member of the House of Burgesses from Frederick county.

The County Court of Augusta and the vestry of the parish held regular meetings in 1758, but we find little that is interesting in their proceedings. The vestry appear to have been faithful in taking care of the poor, at least in burying them; and at every pauper burial there was a liberal allowance of liquor at public expense. At one time the parish collector was credited by six shillings expended by him, "for a poor child's burial, two gallons of liquor." At the same time credit was given for 5s. 8d. "for nine quarts of liquor at burial of William Johnson." James Wiley cost the parish, one year, £13, 1s. He seems to have been "a beggar on horseback," as John Young was allowed 10s. for keeping his horse, and 2s. for shoeing the same. He was also allowed 2s. 6d. for leather breeches, and 2s. 3d. for making a shirt. Possibly Wiley was an old ranger who had been disabled in the public service.

At the meeting of the vestry in November, 1758, James Lockhart moved to "lay a levy for building a church in the parish,"

but the proposition was defeated, the vote standing: for a church, James Lockhart, John Archer, Sampson Archer and John Matthews; against, Colonel Buchanan, John Buchanan, John Christian, Robert Breckenridge and John Smith.

From the close of 1758 till 1761, the people of Augusta appear to have been relieved from the alarms of savage warfare. We have no account of any massacre or raid during that time. The year 1759 is a blank in our Annals, affording not one item.

In 1760, however, a tragedy occurred in the present county of Rockingham, then part of Augusta, which must be briefly related. Two Indians came to Mill Creek, now Page county, and were pursued by three white men. One of the Indians was killed, but the other escaped with the loss of his gun. The fugitive encountered a young woman named Sechon, on horseback, near the site of New Market. Dragging her from the horse, he compelled her to accompany him. After traveling about twenty miles, chiefly in the night, and getting nearly opposite Keezeltown, in Rockingham, the poor girl broke down, it was supposed, and was beaten to death with a pine knot. Her cries were heard by persons in the neighborhood, and the next day they found her body stripped naked.

We are indebted to Kercheval (page 138) for this narrative. He has preserved accounts of many Indian massacres, but all of them, except the above, occurred outside of Augusta county, even as it was originally, and therefore do not come within the scope of these Annals.

In or about the same year, 1760, a party of eight or ten Indians crossed the Blue Ridge, and murdered some people living east of the mountain, in what was then Bedford or Halifax county. They took several women and children prisoners, and loading horses with plunder returned by way of the New River settlement. A man from the Ingles Ferry fort, who was out in search of strayed horses, discovered the Indians in their camp at night, six miles from that fort. William Ingles assembled sixteen or eighteen men, and, guided by the man who had made the discovery, proceeded to attack the Indians. The assault was made while the Indians were preparing their breakfast, and a sharp fight ensued. One white man was killed. Seven Indians were shot down, and the remainder escaped. All the captives and stolen property were recovered. This is

said to have been the last battle with Indians in that region.—
[Dr. Hale's narrative.]

The vestry of Augusta county, at their meeting in May, 1760, unanimously agreed to build a church in Staunton, on the ground laid off for that purpose. A committee was appointed to let out the work, which was to be done in "a fashionable and workmanlike manner." The dimensions of the building were 40 feet by 25 feet, and the total cost £499, or \$1,663.33 $\frac{1}{3}$. Francis Smith, of Hanover county, contracted to build the church, of brick, and to finish it by December 1, 1762. He entered into bond, with William Preston and Charles Lewis as his securities.

In 1761 the Indians renewed the war with all its horrors, if indeed it had ever been suspended. But from this time, for several years, there is much uncertainty in respect to dates and the scenes of occurrences which are related more or less circumstantially. Our chief authority for some two years is Withers's "Border Warfare," and we shall repeat the narratives of that writer without being able to elucidate the history.

Withers states that in the summer of 1761 about sixty Shawnee warriors penetrated the settlements on the head waters of James river. They avoided the fort at the mouth of Looney's creek, and passed through Bowen's gap in Purgatory mountain (near Buchanan, in Botetourt county). Coming to the settlements, they killed Thomas Perry, Joseph Dennis and his child, and made prisoner his wife, Hannah Dennis. Proceeding to the house of Robert Renix, who was not at home, they captured Mrs. Renix (a daughter of Sampson Archer, one of the vestrymen of Augusta parish) and her five children—William, Robert, Thomas, Joshua and Betsey. At the house of Thomas Smith, they shot and scalped Smith and Renix, and captured Mrs. Smith and a servant girl named Sally Jew.

George Mathews, of Staunton, and William and Audley Maxwell were on their way to Smith's house at the time of the assault. Hearing the report of the guns as they approached, they supposed there was a shooting match at the place; but on riding up to the house, they discovered the dead bodies of Smith and Renix lying in the yard. The Indians had concealed themselves in and behind the house when they saw Mathews and his companions approaching, and fired upon them as they wheeled

to ride back. The curl of Mathews's cue was cut off, and Audley Maxwell was slightly wounded in the arm.

The Indians then divided their party, twenty of them with their prisoners and plunder returning to Ohio, while the remainder started towards Cedar creek to commit further depredations. But Mathews and the Maxwells had aroused the settlement, and all the people soon collected at Paul's fort, at the Big Spring, near Springfield. Here the women and children were left to be defended by Audley Maxwell and five other men; twenty-one men led by Mathews, going in search of the enemy. The Indians were soon encountered, and, after a severe engagement, took to flight. They were pursued as far as Purgatory creek, but escaped in the night, and overtaking their comrades at the mouth of the Cowpasture river, proceeded to Ohio without further molestation. Three whites (Benjamin Smith, Thomas Maury and the father of Sally Jew) and nine Indians were killed in the engagement. Returning to the battlefield the next morning, Mathews and his men buried the dead Indians on the spot. The whites slain there, and those murdered on the preceding day, were buried near the fork of a branch in what was (in 1831) the Meadow of Thomas Cross, Sen.

Mrs. Dennis was detained by the Indians at Chilicothe towns till 1763, when she made her escape, as will be related. Mrs. Renix remained with the Indians till 1767.

The town of Staunton was at last chartered by act of assembly, in November, 1761. The first trustees of the town were, William Preston, Israel Christian, David Stuart, John Brown, John Page, William Lewis, William Christian, *Eledge* McClanahan, Robert Breckenridge, and Randal Lockheart. The act provided that two fairs might be held annually, in June and November, but positively prohibited the building of wooden chimneys in the town.

An aged man named James Hill, testifying in 1807, in the cause of *Peter Heiskell vs. The Corporation of Staunton*, gave some account of the town in 1762 when he settled here. Sampson and George Mathews kept store at the northeast corner of Beverley and Augusta streets. Sampson Mathews also kept an ordinary in the long frame building, a story and a half high, with dormer windows, which formerly stood on the east side of Augusta street below Frederick. The lot at the southwest cor-

ner of Augusta and Frederick was, in 1762, "Mathews's stable lot." Mrs. Woods lived on the west side of Augusta street, about midway between Beverley and Frederick. Mrs. Cowden lived on the west side of Augusta street, a little north of Beverley, and Daniel Kidd lived where the Lutheran church now stands. The deposition of Hill and the diagram which accompanied it show that most of the twenty-five acres donated by Beverley in 1749 to the county, was occupied by town lots and streets in 1762.

Sampson Mathews was the father in-law of the late venerable Samuel Clark, of Staunton, and of Mr. Alexander Nelson, whose descendants are quite numerous. George Mathews has already been mentioned, and will often appear again.

Colonel John Lewis, the pioneer, was a member of the Greenbrier Company, and acquired landed possessions in the region named. We have seen that he and his son, Andrew, were prospecting in that region in 1751. The Indian wars checked the proceedings of the Company, and retarded the settlement of the country, but a few families moved there and made two settlements, holding on in spite of the dangers to which they were exposed.

Colonel Lewis died February 1, 1762, having attained the age of eighty-four years. His will, executed November 28, 1761, and admitted to record November 18, 1762, expressed the writer's pious hopes. He was buried on the farm where he lived, two miles east of Staunton. The executors were the testator's three sons, Thomas, Andrew, and William. Charles is named in the will, but no mention is made of Samuel. In person Colonel John Lewis is described as having been tall and muscular, and he is said to have been the best backwoodsman of his day. He was born in the reign of Charles II, and lived through the reigns of James II, William and Mary, Queen Anne, George I, George II, and during two years of the reign of George III.

The proceedings of the vestry, in 1762, furnish to us several curious items. Samuel Craige was allowed £6, 2s. 6d. "for keeping a Dutchman;" and another item was allowed on account of "goods for the Dutchman." An order was entered in November, 1762, authorizing the purchase of one hundred acres of land, within ten miles from Staunton, on which to erect

a poorhouse. The buildings were to have wooden chimneys, and to cost not more than £30—\$100. In 1763, the building was postponed for a year, and the work was not resumed till November, 1764.

In 1762, Hugh Green preferred a bill against the parish for keeping Mary Leeper, a pauper, and for her funeral expenses. Among the items of the latter were three gallons of liquor, 9s; a bushel of flour for cakes, 3s.; and three and a half pounds of sugar, 2s. 11d.

In the same year an account of the widow Young against the parish was recorded in the Vestry Book as follows: "To laying-in, and charges with the attendance of two children; also half pound of pepper, and half pound of allspice, and three quarts and one pint liquor. I likewise acted as granny for Elianor Dunn—£2." Among the items of another account was one "for three pints of wine for sacrament—3s. 9d.

Dr. William Fleming was practising his profession in the parish in 1762, living in the part of the county which is now Botetourt. For professional services to paupers the parish was indebted to him £15, 11s.²²

The parish church at Staunton was finished early in 1763, and was accepted by the vestry June 25th. Two members of the vestry—Sampson Mathews and John Poage—voted against receiving the building, they "supposing the brick in the church to be insufficient."

Canada was conquered by the English in 1759, but peace between Great Britain and France was not formally concluded till 1763. The savage allies of the French, however, having acquired a taste for blood, continued the war on the English settlements until the latter part of 1764. Cornstalk, the cele-

²² Dr. Fleming was a native of Scotland. As has been seen, he was surgeon of the Sandy Creek expedition in 1756. It is said that he settled in Botetourt in 1760, and when that county was organized, in 1769-'70, he was one of the first justices of the peace. In 1774 he was colonel of the Botetourt regiment at the battle of Point Pleasant. He was long a member of the Virginia Assembly, and in 1781 was a member of the Council, during which year he for awhile acted as Governor. His wife was a daughter of Israel Christian, and one of his daughters was the wife of the Rev. Dr. Baxter. He removed to Kentucky, and a county in that State was called for him.

brated Shawnee warrior, appears in history for the first time in 1763. Nothing is known of his youth.

Mrs. Dennis, who was captured by the Indians, in 1761, on the upper James river (now Botetourt county), made her escape, as stated, in 1763. She left the Chilicothe towns in June of that year, under pretext of gathering herbs for medicinal purposes. When her flight was suspected, she was pursued and fired at by the Indians, but managed to conceal herself in the hollow limb of a fallen tree. Crossing the Ohio river on a log, and subsisting on roots, herbs, and wild fruit, she arrived, nearly exhausted with fatigue and hunger, on the Greenbrier river. There, after giving up all hope of surviving, she was found by Thomas Athol and others, and taken to the settlement at Archibald Clendenin's, called the Levels. Remaining at this place for a time to recuperate, she was then taken on horseback to Fort Young [Covington], from whence she was conducted home to her relations.

We have two independent accounts of the immediately succeeding occurrences—one by Withers, and the other by Colonel John Stuart, of Greenbrier, in his "Memoir of the Indian Wars." We shall mainly follow the latter.

A few days after Mrs. Dennis had gone from Clendenin's, a party of about sixty Indians, headed by Cornstalk, came to the settlement on Muddy creek, one of the only two white settlements in Greenbrier. It is supposed that these Indians were in pursuit of Mrs. Dennis. They professed to be friendly, and were treated hospitably by the white people, who imagined that the war was over. Small parties of them were entertained at the various cabins, until, to the astonishment of the unprepared settlers, the savages rose on them and tomahawked all except a few women and children, whom they reserved as prisoners.

From Muddy creek the Indians passed over into the Levels, where some families were collected at Clendenin's—numbering between fifty and one hundred persons, men, women and children. There, says Colonel Stuart, they were entertained, as at Muddy creek, in the most hospitable manner. "Clendenin having just arrived from a hunt, with three fat elks, they were plentifully feasted. In the meantime, an old woman with a sore leg, was showing her distress to an Indian and inquiring if he could administer to her relief; he said he thought he could, and

drawing his tomahawk instantly killed her and all the men almost that were in the house.

“Conrad Yolkorn only escaped, by being some distance from the house, where the outcries of the women and children alarmed him. He fled to Jackson’s river and alarmed the people, who were unwilling to believe him, until the approach of the Indians convinced them. All fled before them; and they pursued on to Carr’s creek [now Rockbridge county], where many families were killed and taken by them.

“At Clendenin’s a scene of much cruelty was performed; and a negro woman, who was endeavoring to escape, killed her own child lest she might be discovered by its cries.

“Mrs. Clendenin did not fail to abuse the Indians, calling them cowards, &c., although the tomahawk was drawn over her head with threats of instant death, and the scalp of her husband lashed about her jaws.

“The prisoners were all taken over to Muddy creek, and a party of Indians detained them there till the return of the others from Carr’s creek, when the whole were taken off together. On the day they started from the foot of Keeney’s Knob, going over the mountain, Mrs. Clendenin gave her infant to a prisoner woman to carry, as the prisoners were in the centre of the line with the Indians in front and rear, and she escaped into a thicket and concealed herself. The cries of the child soon made the Indians inquire for the mother, and one of them said he would bring the cow to the calf.” Taking the child by the heels he beat its brains out against a tree and throwing it in the path the savages and horses trampled over it. “She told me,” says Colonel Stuart, “she returned that night in the dark to her own house, a distance of more than ten miles, and covered her husband’s corpse with rails which lay in the yard where he was killed in endeavoring to escape over the fence with one of his children in his arms.” Mrs. Clendenin seems to have been partially crazed from the beginning of the massacre. That night, after giving what burial she could to her husband’s body, she was seized with mortal terror, thinking she saw a murderer standing over her. Upon recovering her reason, she resumed her flight, and reached the settlements in safety. Colonel Stuart states that the Indians continued the war till 1764, making incursions within a few miles of Staunton.

Thus the last vestiges of white settlements in the Greenbrier country were exterminated. The number of whites living there is believed to have been at least a hundred. From 1763 to 1769 the country was uninhabited. In the latter year John Stuart, whose narrative we have just quoted, and a few other young men, made the first permanent settlement there.

Withers makes no mention of either of the massacres of Kerr's creek. Stuart merely alludes to the first, in 1763, writing the name, however, "Carr's" instead of "Kerr's." For the only detailed account of these tragedies we are indebted to the Rev. Samuel Brown, of Bath county, who collected the incidents from descendants of the sufferers many years ago.

The settlement on Kerr's creek, says Mr. Brown, was made by white people soon after the grant of land to Borden in 1736. The families located there, consisting of Cunninghams, McKees, Hamiltons, Gilmores, Logans, Irvins, and others, thought themselves safe from the dangers of more exposed parts of the country.

The Indians who exterminated the Greenbrier settlements ^{in 1763} are described by Colonel Stuart as following Conrad Yolkom to Jackson's river, and there Mr. Brown's narrative takes them up. He says, some knowledge of their approach had been obtained, and they were met by a company of men under command of Captain Moffett, at or near the mouth of Falling Spring valley, in the present county of Alleghany. The whites fell into an ambush, were taken by surprise, and some of them slain. Among the slain was James Sitlington, a recent immigrant from Ireland. After this, the Indians went some miles down Jackson's river, and came up the valley of the Cowpasture, to the residence of a blacksmith named Daugherty. He and his wife and two children barely made their escape to the mountain, while their house and shop were burned. Daugherty removed to the South, and rose to considerable distinction, being many years afterwards mentioned by General Jackson, in one of his reports, as the "venerable General Daugherty."

From Daugherty's, the Indians passed up the Cowpasture to a point near the site of Old Millborough. There they divided their company, the larger party returning westward, and the smaller moving towards the settlement on Kerr's creek.

Let us, like Mr. Brown, first follow the larger band of Indians

on their retreat. After leaving Millborough, they killed a man whom they met in the narrows, at the Blowing Cave, and whose body fell into the river. They crossed the Warm Spring mountain and camped at the head of Back creek. In the meanwhile, a company of men hastily raised, under command of Captain Christian, was in pursuit of this band of savages, and came upon them at the place last mentioned. The assault was made by the whites prematurely; but, nevertheless, the Indians were routed, a number of them killed, and nearly all of their equipage was taken. Among the spoils, was the scalp of James Sitlington, which was recognized by the flowing locks of red hair. Captain John Dickinson, of Windy Cove, and John Young, who lived near the church since known as Hebron, were with Captain Christian, and also, it is said, some of the young Lewises of Augusta. Thomas Young, brother of John, was slain in the fight. His body was buried on the field, but his scalp, torn from his head by the Indian who killed him, was brought home and buried in the Glebe grave-yard.

The Indians who escaped from Christian and his men were again encountered by a company of white men coming up the south branch of the Potomac. More of them were killed, and the remainder driven into the fastnesses of Cheat mountain.

The smaller band of Indians made their descent upon Kerr's creek, on the 17th of July. Their number was twenty-seven, Robert Irvin having counted them from a bluff near the road at the head of the creek. Some weeks before, two boys, named Telford, reported that when returning from school they had seen a naked man near their path. This report was not much thought of till the massacre, when it was supposed that the man seen by the boys was an Indian spy sent out to reconnoitre.

Leaving the site of old Millborough, the savages passed over Mill mountain at a low place still called the "Indian Trail." Coming on the waters of Bratton's Run, they crossed the North mountain, where it is now crossed by the road leading from Lexington to the Rockbridge Alum Springs, and where there is a large heap of stones, supposed to have been piled up by Indians. From this point they had a full view of the peaceful valley of Kerr's creek. Hastening down the mountain, they began the work of indiscriminate slaughter. Coming first to the house of Charles Daugherty, he and his whole family were mur-

dered. They next came to the house of Jacob Cunningham, who was from home, but his wife was killed, and his daughter, about ten years of age, scalped and left for dead. She revived, was carried off as a prisoner in the second invasion, was redeemed, and lived for forty years afterwards, but finally died from the effects of the scalping. The Indians then proceeded to the house of Thomas Gilmore, and he and his wife were killed, the other members of the family escaping at that time. The house of Robert Hamilton came next. This family consisted of ten persons, and one-half of them were slain. By this time the alarm had spread through the neighborhood, and the inhabitants were flying in every direction. For some reason the main body of the Indians went no further. Perhaps they were sated with blood and plunder; most probably they feared to remain longer with so small a band. A single Indian pursued John McKee and his wife as they were flying from their house. By the entreaty of his wife, McKee did not wait for her, and she was overtaken and killed. He escaped. His six children had been sent to the house of a friend on Timber Ridge, on account of some uneasiness, caused probably by the report about the naked man.

The Indians hastened their departure, loaded with scalps and booty, and unincumbered by prisoners. As far as known they joined the party left at Muddy creek, in Greenbrier, without being assailed on the way.

“From one cause,” says Mr. Brown, “the lives of some were saved no doubt. A number had gone that day to Timber Ridge church, where services were conducted by the Rev. John Brown. During the intermission between the morning and evening sermons some alarm was given, but such reports were frequently started without foundation, and therefore not much attention was paid to this. The people went into the church for the second sermon, when a messenger arrived with the sad tidings from Kerr’s creek. All was immediately confusion and dismay. The congregation was dismissed, and fled in every direction it was thought would afford them safety.”

An account of the second and more disastrous raid upon Kerr’s creek, about a year after the first, remains to be given. The lamentable occurrence just related spread alarm throughout the county. Some persons residing in Staunton fled across the

Blue Ridge. Measures of defence were, however, immediately adopted. At the August court, Andrew Lewis qualified as lieutenant of the county, or commander-in-chief of the county militia; William Preston qualified as colonel, and the following persons as captains: Walter Cunningham, Alexander McClanahan, William Crow and John Bowyer. John McClanahan, Michael Bowyer and David Long qualified as lieutenants, and James Ward as ensign.

A fragment of a letter, which was probably written by Colonel William Preston to his brother-in-law, the Rev. John Brown, and preserved by Colonel John Mason Brown, of Kentucky, throws some light upon the state of the times. It is dated "Greenfield, 27th July, 1763." The writer says:

"Our situation at present is very different from what it was when we had the pleasure of your company in this country. All Roanoke river and the waters of Mississippi are depopulated, except Captain English with a few families on the New river, who have built a fort, among whom are Mr. Thompson and his family. They intend to make a stand till some assistance be sent them. Seventy-five of the Bedford militia went out in order to pursue the enemy, but I hear the officers and part of the men are gone home, and the rest gone to Reed creek to help in James Davies and two or three families there that dare not venture to travel.

"I have built a little fort in which are eighty-seven persons, twenty of whom bear arms. We are in a pretty good posture of defence, and with the aid of God are determined to make a stand. In five or six other places in this part of the county they have fallen into the same method and with the same resolution. How long we may keep them is uncertain. No enemy have appeared here as yet. Their guns are frequently heard and their footing observed, which makes us believe they will pay us a visit. My two sisters and their families are here and all in good health. We bear our misfortunes so far with * * * * and are in great hopes of being relieved. I have a thousand things * * * * Captain Christian can't wait * * * I give you joy."²³

The asterisks indicate parts of the letter torn out.

We have quoted Colonel John Stuart, of Greenbrier, and a

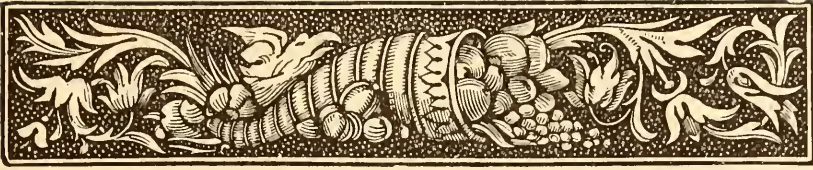
²³ For a copy of this letter we are indebted to Major Jed. Hotchkiss.

brief notice of him and his connections is appropriate here. Among the partisans of the house of Stuart in 1745, was a John Paul, who was killed at the siege of Dalrymple castle. He left a widow, niece of Colonel John Lewis's wife, and three children—John, who became a Roman Catholic priest and died in Maryland; Audley, who was active and prominent in the Indian wars in West Virginia, and Polly, who married George Mathews, of Staunton. When Governor Dinwiddie came to Virginia in 1752 he was accompanied by his intimate friend, John Stuart, the elder, who had previously, it is presumed, married the widow of John Paul. His children were John Stuart, known first as Captain and afterwards as Colonel Stuart, of Greenbrier, and Betsy, wife of Colonel Richard Woods, of Albemarle. John Stuart, the younger, married the second daughter of Thomas Lewis, the surveyor, and was the father of two sons—Lewis Stuart, of Greenbrier, and Charles A. Stuart, who for some years lived in Augusta, but spent most of his life in Greenbrier, where he died.

WILLIAM PRESTON was the only son of John Preston, and was born in Ireland in 1730. For some years he acted as clerk of the vestry of Augusta parish. During the Indian wars he became quite prominent as captain of a company of rangers, and many of the letters of Governor Dinwiddie in that stirring time were addressed to him. When the town of Staunton was incorporated in 1761, he was one of the board of trustees. In the same year he married Susanna Smith, of Hanover county. He represented Augusta in the House of Burgesses in 1768-'9, and was probably a member from Botetourt in 1774. Upon the formation of Botetourt in 1769, he removed to that section, and was one of the first justices of that county. At the first court he qualified also as county surveyor, coroner, escheator and colonel of militia. His residence was at a place called Greenfield, near Amsterdam. Fincastle county was formed in 1772, and Colonel Preston became its first surveyor. In 1773, he acquired the Draper's Meadows estate, removed his family there in 1774, and changed the name to Smithfield. He intended to accompany Colonel William Christian in his march to the Ohio, in the fall of 1774, but was detained at home by his wife's condition. The child born to him at that time was James Preston, who became Governor of Virginia, father-in-law of the first Governor Floyd and grandfather of the second. In 1780, Colonel Preston was engaged with Colonel Arthur Campbell and Colonel Christian in their respective expeditions against the Cherokees. The Legislature of North Carolina included him with

Colonel Campbell in a vote of thanks for their services in protecting the frontier. Throughout the war of the Revolution he was actively employed, holding important command in Southwest Virginia, and his official papers show that he was a man of more than ordinary culture. He died at Smithfield in 1783, leaving eleven children, of whom five were sons. One of his sons, General Francis Preston, was the father of William C. Preston, of South Carolina. His descendants are very numerous, and many of them have been highly distinguished.





CHAPTER VI.

INDIAN WARS, ETC., FROM 1764 TO 1775.

We now rapidly approach the end of Indian troubles in Augusta county. As white population advanced, the savages receded, and the people of Augusta, as it now is, were delivered from danger and alarm. Indeed, none of the massacres, of which we have given an account, occurred within the present limits of the county; but the scenes of disaster being, at the various times mentioned, parts of the county, the incidents could not be omitted in our history. We presume no reader will think we have devoted too much space to the history of these times. The events related were of thrilling interest. The narrative shows what toil and suffering our ancestors endured to obtain homes for themselves, and to transmit a goodly heritage to us. As we now sit under our vine and fig tree, with none to molest or make us afraid, let us devoutly thank God for present peace and safety.

In October, 1764, says Withers, [*Border Warfare*, pages 72, 73,] about fifty Delaware and Mingo warriors ascended the Great Sandy and came over on New river, where they separated—one party going towards the Roanoke and Catawba (a small stream in Botetourt county), and the other in the direction of Jackson's river, in Alleghany. They were discovered by three white men, who were trapping on New river—Swope, Pack and Pitman—who hastened to give warning, but the Indians were ahead of them, and their effort was in vain. The savages who came to Jackson's river passed down Dunlop's creek, and crossed the former stream above Fort Young. They proceeded down that river to William Carpenter's, where there

was a stockade fort in charge of a Mr. Brown. Meeting Carpenter near his house they killed him, and coming to the house captured a young Carpenter and two Browns, small children, and one woman. The other people belonging to the place were at work some distance off, and therefore escaped. Despoiling the house, the savages retreated precipitately by way of the Greenbrier and Kanawha rivers.

The report of the gun when Carpenter was killed, was heard by those who were away at work, and Brown carried the alarm to Fort Young. The weakness of the garrison at this fort caused the men there to send the intelligence to Fort Dinwiddie,²⁴ where Captain Audley Paul commanded. Captain Paul immediately began a pursuit with twenty of his men. On Indian creek they met Pitman, who had been running all the day and night before to warn the garrison at Fort Young. He joined in the pursuit, but it proved unavailing. This party of Indians effected their escape.

As Captain Paul and his men were returning they encountered the other party of Indians, who had been to Catawba, and committed some murders and depredations there. The savages were discovered about midnight, encamped on the north bank of New river, opposite an island at the mouth of Indian creek. Excepting some few who were watching three prisoners, recently taken on Catawba, they were lying around a fire, wrapped in skins and blankets. Paul's men, not knowing there were captives among the Indians, fired into the midst of them, killing three, and wounding several others, one of whom drowned himself to preserve his scalp. The remaining Indians fled down the river and escaped.

The three white captives were rescued on this occasion, and taken to Fort Dinwiddie. Among them was Mrs. Catherine Gunn, an English lady, whose husband and two children had been killed two days before, on the Catawba. The Indians lost all their guns, blankets and plunder.

²⁴Fort Dinwiddie was on Jackson's river, five miles west of the Warm Springs. It was called also Warwick's fort and Byrd's fort. Washington visited it in the fall of 1755, coming from Fort Cumberland, on a tour of inspection. There was no road between the two points, but the trail he is said to have pursued is still pointed out.

Young Carpenter, one of the prisoners captured on Jackson's river, came home some fifteen years afterwards, and became Doctor Carpenter, of Nicholas county. The younger Brown was brought home in 1769, and was afterwards Colonel Samuel Brown, of Greenbrier. The elder Brown remained with the Indians, took an Indian wife, and died in Michigan in 1815. It is said that he took a conspicuous part in the war of 1812-14.

We pause here to give the sequel of the above story, as related by the late Colonel John G. Gamble, premising that Colonel Gamble's mother was a sister of Colonel Samuel Brown's wife.

Colonel Gamble says: "The last time I visited Colonel Brown I met there Colonel Brown's aged mother, a Mrs. Dickinson, a second time a widow. She was a very sensible and interesting old lady, and at that time could think and speak only of her long lost first-born, who had been to see her some time before my visit.

"Colonel Brown's father had formerly lived in what is now Bath county, then a frontier settlement. In one of the inroads made by the Indians, they pounced upon a school-house near Mr. Brown's residence, killed the teacher, captured the children, and among them Colonel Brown's elder brother, then a little white-headed chap, and carried him off; and for more than fifty years afterwards he was not heard of. The child fell to the lot of an Indian who lived on Lake Huron, and thither he was taken. Some time afterwards a French trader, who had married and lived among the Indians, bought the boy, adopted him, and taught him to read. The lad, grown up, married a squaw and became a chief. He had remembered and retained his name of 'Brown,' and the circumstances of his capture were such as not to be obliterated from his memory. Fifty years afterwards, upon a meeting of the Indians and whites for the purpose of making a treaty, he met with a man who knew his family, and assured him that his mother was still living. The old chief at once determined to visit her, and, attended by a son and daughter and some of his warriors, came to his brother's, in Greenbrier, and remained some months with his family. What a meeting between the aged mother and her long lost son!

"Every effort was made to induce him to remain, but of course unavailing; for no Indian chief was ever prevailed upon to exchange his mode of life for a residence among the whites.

“His son and daughter were described to me as being fine specimens of their race, and the daughter as possessing uncommon beauty. Much persuasion was used to retain her; but the girl was in love, and was to be made the wife of a young chief on her return home. How could they expect her to remain?”

“At the death of their father Brown, the law of primogeniture was in force in Virginia, and the old chief was the legal owner of all the paternal property, which was in fact nearly all that Colonel Brown possessed. The old chief was made acquainted with his rights, and before his departure conveyed to his brother all his title in the property.”

It will be observed that Colonel Gamble makes no allusion to the taking off and return of the younger Brown. Moreover, the interval of fifty years between the capture and return of the older brother is inconsistent with the dates given by others. Without attempting to reconcile discrepancies, we resume our narrative.

Withers is silent in regard to an Indian raid upon Kerr's creek, in 1764, or at any time. He refers, as we have seen, to an assault upon the settlement on Catawba, in Botetourt, in October, 1764, but this, if he is correct, was by Delawares and Mingoës. The Rev. Samuel Brown states that the second Kerr's creek massacre was perpetrated by Shawnees, and in regard to this there can be no doubt, as the prisoners carried off, some of whom returned, would know to what tribe the Indians belonged. In his published narrative, Mr. Brown mentions October 10, 1765, as the date of the inroad; but he is now satisfied that it occurred at least a year earlier, probably in the fall of 1764.

The people on Kerr's creek had repaired the losses they sustained in 1763, as far as possible. For some time, says Mr. Brown, there had been vague reports of Indians on the warpath, but little or no uneasiness was excited. At length, however, the savages came, but more cautiously than before. They crossed the North mountain and camped at a spring in a secluded place, where they remained a day or two. Some one discovered their moccasin tracks in a corn-field, and then, from the top of a hill, saw them in their camp. Their number is supposed to have been from forty to fifty.

The alarm being given, the people, to the number of about a hundred, of both sexes and all ages, assembled at the house of

Jonathan Cunningham, at the "Big Spring." They were packing their horses in haste, to leave for Timber Ridge, when the savages fell upon them. A Mrs. Dale, who was hidden a short distance off, witnessed the awful tragedy. The terror-stricken whites ran in every direction, trying to hide; and the Indians, each singling out his prey, pursued them round and round through the weeds, with yells. The white men had but few arms, and in the circumstances resistance was vain. The wife of Thomas Gilmore, standing with her three children over the body of her husband, fought with desperation the Indian who rushed up to scalp him. She and her son, John, and two daughters, were made prisoners. The bloody work did not cease until all who could be found were killed or taken prisoners.

Very soon the Indians prepared to leave, and gathered their prisoners in a group. Among the latter were Cunninghams, Hamiltons, and Gilmores. An entire family of Daughertys, five Hamiltons, and three Gilmores were slain. In the two incursions, from sixty to eighty white people were killed, and in the second, from twenty-five to thirty were carried into captivity, some of whom never returned.

Late in the evening the Indians, with their captives, reached their first encampment near the scene of the massacre. Among the booty found at the "Big Spring" was a supply of whiskey. This was carried to the encampment, and that night was spent by the savages in a drunken frolic, which was continued until the afternoon of the next day. The prisoners hoped all night that a company would be raised and come to their relief, as the Indians could easily have been routed during their drunken revels. But there was a general panic all over the country, and those who might have gone in pursuit were hiding in the mountains and hollows. Some had fled as far as the Blue Ridge. The captives related that the Indians took other prisoners as they returned to Ohio. These, Mr. Brown thinks, were taken on the Cowpasture river, as it is known, he says, that some were captured there about that time. Withers, however, as already related, attributes the captures on the Cowpasture, in October, 1764, to another band of Indians.

During the march westward the savages dashed out against a tree the brains of a sick and fretful infant and threw the body over the shoulders of a young girl, who was put to death

the next day. On another day an infant was sacrificed, by having a sharpened pole thrust through its body, which was elevated in the air, and all the prisoners made to pass under it.

After crossing the Ohio, the Indians, elated with their success, demanded that the captives should sing for their entertainment, and it is said that Mrs. Gilmore struck up, with plaintive voice, the 137th Psalm of Rouse's version, then in use in all the churches—

“On Babel's stream we sat and wept.”

The Indians then separated into several parties, dividing the prisoners amongst themselves; Mrs. Gilmore and her son, John, fell to one party and her two daughters to another. The last she ever heard of the latter was their cries as they were torn from her. No intelligence was ever received in regard to their fate. After some time, the mother and son were also parted, she being sold to French traders and the boy retained by the Shawnees. Finally he was redeemed and brought back by Jacob Warwick to Jackson's river, where he remained till his mother's return, when they were united at the old homestead.

A number of other captives were eventually found and brought back by their friends, among them Mary Hamilton, who had a child in her arms when the attack was made at the spring. She hid the child in the weeds and found its bones there when she returned.

With this painful narrative we close our account of Indian massacres in Augusta county.

In the meanwhile a general war between the whites and Indians was raging. Colonel Bouquet defeated the latter, August 2, 1764, at Bushy Run, in western Pennsylvania. Soon afterward, however, the British government made various efforts to establish friendly relations with the Indians. Colonel Bouquet, commanding at Fort Pitt (now Pittsburg), issued a proclamation forbidding any British subject from settling or hunting west of the Alleghany mountains without written permission; and in the fall of 1764, proceeded with a body of troops to the Muskingum, in Ohio, then in Augusta county. On November 9, he concluded a treaty of peace with the Delawares and Shawnees, and received from them two hundred and six white prisoners. Of these, ninety were Virginians, thirty-two men and fifty-

eight women and children. Some of the captives, who had been carried off while young, had learned to love their savage associates and, refusing to come voluntarily, were brought away by force.

Mrs. Renix, who was captured on Jackson's river, in 1761, was not restored to her home till the year 1767. In pursuance of the terms of Bouquet's treaty, she was brought to Staunton in the year last mentioned. Her daughter died on the Miami; two of her sons, William and Robert, returned with her; her son, Joshua, remained with the Indians and became a chief of the Miamis.

A corps of Virginia volunteers accompanied Bouquet's expedition, and was assigned the places of honor on the march, a portion of them forming the advance guard and the remainder bringing up the rear. A part, if not all, of this corps were Augusta men. Charles Lewis and Alexander McClanahan were captains of companies, and John McClanahan was one of the lieutenants. As late as 1779, John McClanahan being then dead, his infant son was allowed two thousand acres of bounty land for his father's services in the expedition.

The County Court of Augusta did not meet in October, 1764. At April court, 1765, a vast number of military claims were ordered to be certified—for provisions furnished to the militia, for horses pressed into service, etc. William Christian, William McKamy and others presented claims "for ranging," and Andrew Cowan "for enlisting men to garrison Fort Nelson." The orders are curt and unsatisfactory, giving no clue as to when and where the services were performed.

Almost every neighborhood in the county has traditions in regard to Indian inroads, but all are vague and uncertain as to dates and circumstances. It is related that at one time the Indians came into the Churchville neighborhood, and carried off a boy named McNeer, who lived on Middle river, at the mouth of Jennings's branch. This boy was taken to Georgia, it is said, and lived and died with the Indians, visiting, however, his relations in Augusta repeatedly. A man named Clendenin, who lived near Shutterlee's mill, was shot in the shoulder by an Indian lurking in the tall weeds on the bank of the river, at some time now unknown. The Anderson farm, near Shutterlee's, is known as the "Burnt Cabin place," from the fact that

a cabin which stood there was burnt by the Indians. It is said also that, in 1763, the Indians captured and carried off one of the Trimbles from near the site of Churchville, seven miles northwest of Staunton.

The papers in a law suit, tried in the County Court of Augusta, in 1766, give some facts in regard to an Indian invasion of 1764, which do not appear elsewhere. It seems that in March, 1764, a party of Indians came into the upper part of the county, now Botetourt or Montgomery, and rifled the house of David Cloyd, carrying off upwards of £200 in gold and silver. They were pursued by a party of the militia, and one of them was killed on John's creek, at a distance of thirty miles or more from Cloyd's house. The dead Indian was found in possession of £137, 18s. A dispute arose among the militia as to whether the money belonged to them or to Cloyd, and until the question should be settled, the coin was deposited in the hands of James Montgomery. It was distributed by Montgomery to the militia, many of whom, however, returned their portions to Cloyd, to the amount of £106, 17s. 2d. Cloyd thereupon paid to each of the men who returned the money, the sum of thirty shillings (\$5), the reward he had previously offered, and sued Montgomery for the remainder—£31, 10d. The suit was decided November 27, 1766, in favor of Cloyd, but an appeal was taken to the General Court, and we do not know the result. Gabriel Jones was attorney for Cloyd, and Peter Hogg for Montgomery.

It is interesting to see the names of the coins then in circulation. The sum of £137, 19s. 8½d. was made up as follows: "13 Double Loons, 36 Pistoles, 1 Half Double Loon, 4 Guineas, 4 Loodores, 16 Round Pistoles, 3 Half Pistoles, 2 Half Johannas, 9 Dollars, and some small silver."

The pistole was a Spanish coin, worth \$3.60; the doubloon was also Spanish, and worth \$7.20; the guinea was English, and worth \$4.66; the louis-d'or, called loodore, was French, worth \$4.44; and the Johannas, called joe, was Portuguese, worth \$8.

The story of Selim, "the converted Algerine," falls in here; at least, it may be related here as well as elsewhere. It belongs in great part to Augusta county, and is too interesting to be omitted. For the earlier part of the narrative we are indebted to the Rev. David Rice, a Presbyterian minister who removed

from Virginia to Kentucky before the present century. Bishop Meade collected the latter part, and preserved the whole in his work called "Old Churches," &c.

About the close of the war between France and England, called in Virginia "Braddock's War" (probably 1763 or '4), a man named Samuel Givens, an inhabitant of Augusta county, went into the backwoods of the settlement to hunt. He took with him several horses to bring home his meat and skins. As he was one day ranging the woods in search of game, he saw in the top of a fallen tree an animal, which he supposed to be some kind of wild beast. He was about to shoot it, but discovered in time that it was a human being. Going up, he found a man in a pitiable condition—emaciated, evidently famishing, entirely naked except a few rags tied round his feet, and his body almost covered with scabs. The man could not speak English, and Givens knew no other language. He, however, supplied the forlorn creature with food, and when he had acquired sufficient strength, after several days, mounted him on one of his horses and took him to Captain Dickinson's, near the Windy Cove. There he was entertained for some months, during which the stranger acquired sufficient knowledge of English to communicate with the hospitable people into whose hands he had fallen.

He stated that his name was Selim, a native of Algiers, in Africa, and the son of a wealthy man; that he had been educated in Constantinople, and while returning to Algiers the ship he was aboard of was captured by a Spanish man-of-war. Spain was then in alliance with France, and the Spanish ship falling in with a French vessel, Selim was transferred to the latter and taken to New Orleans. After some time he was sent up the Mississippi and Ohio rivers to the Shawnee towns, and left a prisoner with the Indians. A white woman captured on the frontiers of Virginia, was held as a prisoner by the Indians at the same time, and from her Selim learned by signs that she came from the east. He was sufficiently acquainted with geography to know that the English had settlements on the eastern shore of the continent, and inferred that the woman came from one of them. He thereupon resolved to escape, and constantly keeping to the rising sun finally reached the border settlement of Augusta county, in the plight mentioned.

On a court day, Captain Dickinson brought Selim with him

to Staunton, where he attracted much attention. Among the throng of people was the Rev. John Craig, who immediately riveted the attention of the Algerine. The latter afterwards explained that in a dream a person like Mr. Craig had appeared to him as a teacher or guide, able to impart valuable instruction. He expressed a desire to accompany Mr. Craig to his home, and was kindly taken there. The minister of course sought to impart to the Mohammedan stranger the truths of the Christian religion, and his efforts were aided by Selim's knowledge of the Greek language, being thus able to read the New Testament in the original tongue. He soon professed conversion, and Mr. Craig, being satisfied of his intelligence and sincerity, publicly baptized him in the old stone church. He was afterwards seized with a desire to return to his native land, and his new friends could not dissuade him from it. Mr. Craig therefore raised a sum of money for him, and giving him a letter to the Hon. Robert Carter, of Westmoreland county, then living in Williamsburg, sent him on his way. Mr. Carter did all that was asked of him, furnishing more money to Selim, and securing for him passage to England.

Some time after this Selim returned to Virginia in a state of insanity. In lucid intervals he stated that he had found his way home, but had been rejected and driven off by his father when he learned that the son had abjured Mohammedanism and become a Christian. He came again to Captain Dickinson's, and from thence wandered to the Warm Springs, where he met a young clergyman named Templeton, who put a Greek Testament in his hands, which he read with great delight. From the Warm Springs he went to Mr. Carter's residence in Westmoreland. He awakened the sympathy of all who knew him. Governor Page, while a member of Congress at Philadelphia, took him to that city, and had his likeness taken by the artist Peale. From Philadelphia he went home with a South Carolina gentleman. He was also once, or oftener, in Prince Edward county, where he learned to sing Watts's hymns. For a time he was confined in the Lunatic Asylum at Williamsburg, but he finally died in a private house, where and at what time are not mentioned.

From 1764, for about ten years, no war or rumor of war disturbed the inhabitants of Augusta. They appear to have pur-

sued the even tenor of their way in comparative security. On court days Staunton was doubtless crowded with people. Litigation was brisk; the number of causes tried in the county court exceeded anything known in modern times. Hunting or trapping wolves was one of the most important industries. Every year the court granted certificates for hundreds of wolf heads, and for more or less winter-rotted hemp, for which also the law offered a bounty.

The last hostile inroad by Indians into the Valley occurred, it is said, in 1766.²⁵ We mention it because it was the last, although it did not occur in Augusta. A party of eight Indians and a white man crossed Powell's Fort mountain to the south fork of the Shenandoah river, now Page county. They killed the Rev. John Roads, a Menonist minister, his wife and three sons. A daughter, named Elizabeth, caught up an infant sister and escaped by hiding first in a barn and then in a field of hemp. Two boys and two girls were taken off as prisoners, but one of the boys and both girls were killed while crossing Powell's Fort. The other boy returned home after three years. The place where one of the lads was killed while endeavoring to escape is still called Bloody Ford.

At a court martial held by the militia officers of the county, April 11, 1766, Lieutenant Michael Bowyer was fined for appearing at the general muster on the 10th without a sword.

From the proceedings of the vestry of Augusta parish, and also from *Hening's Statutes at Large*, it appears that in 1752 an act was passed by the Assembly at Williamsburg on the petition of Mr. Jones, the rector, increasing his salary from £50 to £100. This act was repealed by proclamation of the king in 1762, and the rector's salary stood as before, at £50 a year. But until 1765 payment had been made at the rate of £100, and the vestry then refusing to pay more than the £50, Mr. Jones threatened to bring suit. At the meeting of October 21, 1765, it was ordered that Sampson Mathews "get of Mr. Gabriel Jones a

²⁵ We give the date as stated by Kercheval, but feel quite sure that it is not correct. Bouquet concluded a treaty with the Indians in November, 1764, and it is not probable that the massacre mentioned was perpetrated nearly two years afterwards during a time of peace. Most likely it occurred in August, 1764.

fair state of the case," to be laid "before Mr. Attorney and Mr. [Benjamin] Waller and get their opinion thereon." The "Mr. Attorney" referred to was Peyton Randolph, Attorney-General of the colony. Mr. Waller was a distinguished lawyer of Williamsburg. The opinion of Messrs. Randolph and Waller was laid before the vestry by Mr. Mathews, November 22, 1766, and it was ordered that each be paid £2 therefor. They advised that Mr. Jones's salary was only £50, and there the matter rested.

The trustees to purchase land for a poor-house, reported in November, 1766, that they had purchased a hundred acres on the waters of Christian's creek, from Sampson and George Mathews, for £40. A year later Daniel Perse and his wife were appointed keepers of the poor-house, on a salary of £35.

In November, 1767, a minute was entered in the vestry book, that all the members then present had subscribed a declaration "to be conformable to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England." At a subsequent meeting, several members entered their protest against the signing of the proceedings by Israel Christian and (Mr.) John Buchanan, they having refused to sign the declaration.

On laying the parish levy, November 21, 1769, the Rev. Mr. Jones was allowed, by agreement, a salary of £150. At the same meeting William Bowyer was elected a vestryman in place of Colonel John Buchanan, deceased, Thomas Madison was chosen in place of Captain Israel Christian, and Captain Peter Hogg in place of Major Robert Breckenridge, "the said Breckenridge and Christian having refused subscribing to the doctrines and discipline of the Church of England."

On the 22d of November, 1769, it was entered of record by the vestry, that the Rev. John Jones, being incapacitated by age and infirmity, consented "to accept of fifty pounds and perquisites in full of his salary for ensuing year, and to allow the residue levied for him by agreement to hire a curate to officiate in his stead."

No other meeting of vestry was held till November 22, 1771. This fact is not explained in the vestry book, but we find from an act of Assembly, published in Hening (Vol. VIII, page 438), why it was. This act, passed at the session which began in November, 1769, declares that a majority of the vestry of Augusta parish, being dissenters from the Church of England, the vestry

is dissolved, and that an election of vestrymen be held on the 20th of September, 1770, the freeholders elected being required, before serving, to take and subscribe in court the oaths prescribed by law, to take and subscribe the oath of abjuration, to repeat and subscribe the test, and also to subscribe the declaration to be conformable, &c. Oaths and declarations were never so piled up, till immediately after the late war, the Federal Government waked up to the immense efficiency of such things. But surely one would think there was ample time, after the passage of the act referred to, and before the 20th of September, for the sheriff of Augusta to give the required notice and hold the election ordered. The sheriff, however, did not think so, and probably the people were not unwilling to try the experiment of getting along without any vestry and parish levies. So it was for two years there was no meeting, because there were no vestrymen authorized to meet, and all parish officers and creditors, including Mr. Jones, the rector, had to do without their pay. This state of affairs was reported to the Assembly, and in July, 1771, another act was passed to correct the matter. Some apology for the failure of the election in 1769 was necessary, and therefore the act recites that, "owing to the remote situation" of Augusta county, the sheriff did not have notice of the act of 1769 in time to hold the election. He was, however, ordered to proceed, on the 1st of October, 1771, to have twelve freeholders duly elected as vestrymen, who were peremptorily required to swear and subscribe as directed by the former act. This election was duly held, and Augusta parish being again equipped with a full complement of public officers, taxes were levied, and the rector, sexton, &c., received their salaries as before.

The first division of the territory of Augusta county was made in 1769, when an act was passed creating the county of Botetourt. The new county embraced a part of the present county of Rockbridge—the North river, near Lexington, being the boundary line between Augusta and Botetourt—and also part of Alleghany and Bath, and all of Greenbrier, Monroe, &c.

The first County Court of Botetourt was held February 13, 1770, the justices commissioned being Andrew Lewis, Robert Breckenridge, William Preston, Israel Christian, James Trimble, John Bowyer, Benjamin Hawkins, William Fleming, John Maxwell and George Skillern. The five justices first named were

on the bench and constituted the court. John May having been appointed clerk by the proper authority at Williamsburg, was duly qualified. In like manner, Richard Woods was appointed and qualified as sheriff. James McDowell and James McGavock qualified as under sheriffs. The following attorneys were admitted to practice in the court: Edmund Winston, John Aylett, Luke Bowyer and Thomas Madison. William Preston qualified as county surveyor, coroner, escheator and colonel of militia, Robert Breckenridge as lieutenant-colonel, and Andrew Lewis also as coroner. On the third day of the term, additional justices were recommended to the Governor for appointment, viz: William Ingles, John Howard, Philip Love, James Robertson, William Christian, William Herbert, John Montgomery, Stephen Trigg, Robert Dodge, Walter Crockett, James McGavock, Francis Smith, Andrew Woods, William Matthews, John Bowman, William McKee and Anthony Bledsoe.

William Preston, Israel Christian and Robert Breckenridge removed to the "upper country" some time after 1761. In that year they resided at Staunton, and were members of the first board of trustees appointed for that town.

The county of Botetourt was named in honor of Norborne Berkeley, Lord Botetourt, who was Governor of Virginia in 1768. Israel Christian made a present of forty acres of land to the justices for the use of the county, and the town of Fincastle was built thereon. This town was established by law in 1772, and called after Lord Botetourt's county seat in England.²⁶

The new vestry of Augusta parish met November 22, 1771,

²⁶In 1772, Botetourt was reduced by the formation of Fincastle county, which embraced all southwest Virginia and also Kentucky. Fincastle, however, existed for only a few years. In 1776, its territory was divided into the three counties of Montgomery, Washington and Kentucky. During its short existence, its county seat was at Fort Chiswell, now in Wythe county. This fort was built in 1758 by the colonial government, and named for Colonel John Chiswell, who owned and worked the New River lead mines. Chiswell died in the jail of Cumberland county, while awaiting trial for murder, having killed his antagonist in a personal encounter. The property subsequently fell into the hands of Moses Austin, father of Stephen F. Austin, famous in Texan history.—[Hale's *Trans-Alleghany Pioneers*.

and ordered that the collector for 1769 pay to Mr. Jones one hundred pounds "which was then levied for a curate, as none such has been employed."

In March, 1772, it was "ordered that Mr. William Bowyer employ a curate for this parish to supply the curacy of the same as directed by the present rector." From subsequent proceedings, it appears that the Rev. Adam Smith was the curate employed for a few months. In 1783 he was the rector of Botetourt parish.

In November, 1772, Thomas Mathews was allowed £2 as sexton for one year. A reader "at the Dutch meeting near Picket mountain" was allowed £5, and the "clerk of the church, if one, he got" £6.

In August, 1773, the Rev. Adam Smith, late curate, was allowed £41, 13s. 4d. for officiating five months. William Bowyer, who had previously objected to paying Mr. Jones anything, on the ground that he was incapacitated, now objected to the deduction from Mr. Smith's pay as ungenerous. Michael Bowyer suggested that Mr. Smith might make up the lost time.

At the meeting, November 9, 1773, the Rev. John Jones agreed to receive the Rev. Alexander Balmaine as curate and to pay him at the rate of £100 a year, directing his attorney, Robert McClanahan, to pay the same out of his salary. The vestry ratified this arrangement November 18th, but ordered that the collector make payment of the £100 directly to Mr. Balmaine.

Mr. Jones appeared no more at meetings of the vestry. He had evidently become imbecile, and his business affairs were transacted by his attorney-in-fact, Robert McClanahan. But we imagine that his young and talented curate created quite a sensation in the parish on his appearance here.

Mr. Balmaine, says Bishop Meade, was born near Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1740, and educated at St. Andrew's with a view to the Presbyterian ministry. He and his brother, a lawyer, at an early day espoused the cause of the American colonies and, in consequence, found it necessary to leave Scotland. They went to London, and there became acquainted with Arthur Lee, agent of Virginia, who recommended Mr. Balmaine as a private tutor to Richard Henry Lee. While

waiting in London he took orders in the Church of England, and after arriving in Virginia, became curate to Mr. Jones. During his service in this capacity he paid several visits to the Episcopalians at Pittsburg, which was regarded as within his parish. At the beginning of the Revolutionary war, he entered the army as chaplain, and at the close became rector of Frederick parish, residing at Winchester for thirty years, till his death.

At the meeting of vestry, November 18, 1773, it was determined to build a chapel in the neighborhood of Cook's creek, now Rockingham. In November, 1774, we find those sturdy Scotch-Irishmen, Alexander St. Clair and John Hays, elected members of the vestry, and, more surprising still, John Lyle and John Grattan were elected church-wardens.

On the 18th of December, 1773, a number of the inhabitants of Boston, disguised as Indians, boarded the English tea ships in the harbor, broke open the chests, and emptied the contents into the sea. A boy from Virginia participated in that famous adventure. Christian Bumgardner, who lived in what is now Shenandoah county, was then in Boston with his wagon and team, accompanied by his son, Jacob. The youth was drawn into the scheme, and helped to throw the tea overboard. During the war of the Revolution, Mr. Bumgardner removed to Augusta, and settled on the farm near Bethel church, where some of his descendants now reside. Jacob Bumgardner was a Revolutionary soldier, and lived to a venerable age. He was the father of Messrs. Lewis and James Bumgardner.

The Rev. John Craig²⁷ died on the 21st of April, 1774. He had retired from Tinkling Spring ten years before, and that congregation had no pastor for about twelve years. They extended an invitation to the Rev. James Waddell, then living in Lancaster county, but he declined it. Mr. Craig was succeeded at Augusta church, but not till 1780, by the Rev. William Wilson, a native of Pennsylvania, but reared in that part of Augusta county now Rockbridge. He officiated at the stone church till 1814, when, owing to his infirmities, he retired, but

²⁷ Mr. Craig had four children, a son named George, who removed to Kanawha, and three daughters. From one of his daughters the Hamiltons of Tinkling Spring are descended.

his life was protracted till 1835. Mr. Wilson was considered an admirable classical scholar and an attractive preacher. Upon recovering from an illness at one time, he had wholly forgotten his native language, but his knowledge of Latin and Greek remained. Gradually he recovered his English.

But the happy days of peace did not last. In the early part of 1774 the Indians assumed an attitude of hostility towards the whites. The whole race was alarmed at the attempts of white men to occupy Kentucky. They were, moreover, not without provocation, on account of the ruthless conduct of encroaching settlers and hunters. Single murders, on both sides, were committed on the Ohio frontier; and finally, in the month of April, the family of Logan, a noted Indian chief, was slaughtered in cold blood, not far below Wheeling, by a party of whites. A general war immediately began, and Logan led one of the first of the marauding parties against the settlers on the Monongahela. Logan was so called after James Logan, the secretary of Pennsylvania. His Indian name is unpronounceable. He was the son of a celebrated Cayuga chief, who dwelt on the Susquehanna. Until the unprovoked slaughter of his family he was friendly with the whites. Then he became a fiend incarnate, carrying fire and death through the frontier settlements. He is described as an Indian of extraordinary capacity.

Colonel Angus McDonald, at the head of a small force, advanced from Wheeling into the Indian country, but returned without accomplishing any important result. The Indians continued hostile, and proceeded to form extensive alliances amongst themselves.

The government at Williamsburg then took steps to protect the western frontier. Lord Dunmore, the Governor, ordered Andrew Lewis, then a brigadier-general, and residing in Boteourt, to raise a force of eleven or twelve hundred men and march to the Ohio; while he at the head of a similar force raised in the lower valley, should move to Fort Pitt, and thence to meet Lewis at Point Pleasant.

Eight companies raised in Augusta county formed a regiment of four hundred men, commanded by Colonel Charles Lewis. His captains were George Mathews, Alexander McClanahan, John Dickinson, John Lewis (son of Colonel William Lewis), Benjamin Harrison (of the Rockingham family), William Paul,

Joseph Haynes, and Samuel Wilson. Colonel William Fleming, of Botetourt, commanded a regiment of about the same number of men, and one of his captains was Robert McClanahan, a native of Augusta, and brother of Alexander. Robert McClanahan's wife was the eldest daughter of Thomas Lewis, the surveyor. She afterwards married a Mr. Bowyer.

The Augusta companies rendezvoused in Staunton the latter part of August. Sampson Mathews's ordinary seems to have been headquarters. Here, no doubt, grog was freely dispensed for several days, but tradition states only one fact in connection with the gathering. It is said that the heights of the men of Captain George Mathews's company were marked on the bar-room walls, nearly all the men being over six feet two inches in their stockings, and not one under six feet.

Of the departure from Staunton and march to Camp Union (Lewisburg) we have no account. At the latter place General Lewis assembled his command about the 4th of September.

On September 11th, the command began the march to the Ohio. Captain Matthew Arbuckle, of Greenbrier, acted as guide. There was no track of any kind, and few white men had ever gone down the Kanawha valley. Of course wagons could not be employed, and provisions were transported on pack-horses. Many cattle also were driven along to supply food for the army. In nineteen days the command advanced from Camp Union to Point Pleasant, a distance of one hundred and sixty miles, averaging eight and a half miles a day.

Here we must repeat a story of the supernatural, as related by Governor Gilmer, without, however, vouching for its truth:

"About mid-day on the 10th of October, 1774," says Governor Gilmer, "in the town of Staunton, a little girl, the daughter of John and Agatha Frogge, and grand-daughter of Thomas and Jane Lewis, was sleeping near her mother, when suddenly she waked, screaming that the Indians were killing her father. She was quieted by her mother, and again went to sleep. She again waked, screaming that the Indians were killing her father. She was again quieted and went to sleep, and was waked up by the same horrid vision, and continued screaming beyond being hushed. The child's mother was very much alarmed at the first dream. But when the same horrid sight was seen the third time, her Irish imagination, quickened by inherited superstition, pre-

sented to her the spectacle of her husband scalped by the Indians. Her cries drew together her neighbors, who, upon being informed of what had happened, joined their lamentations to her's, until all Staunton was in a state of commotion.

"It so happened that the great battle of the Point between the western Indians and the Virginians was fought on the very day when all Staunton was thus agitated. And what was still more wonderful, John Frogge, the father of the child who saw in her dream the Indians killing her father, was actually killed by the Indians on that day." It is said that Captain Frogge was a sutler, but took a gun and fought with the rest. He was gaudily dressed in bright colors, and his hat was adorned with ribbons and feathers.

Of this extraordinary occurrence there is no tradition in Staunton. We may add that Mrs. Frogge's second husband was Captain John Stuart, afterwards Colonel Stuart.

Early Monday morning, October 10, the Virginians were suddenly attacked by a large body of Indians led by Cornstalk and Logan. The battle raged all day, and was one of the most noted conflicts that ever occurred between Indians and white men. Seventy-five of the whites, including Colonels Lewis and Field, and Captain Robert McClanahan,²⁸ were killed, and one hundred and forty were wounded. The loss of the Indians is unknown, but they were signally defeated.

Sundry articles captured from the Indians were sold at auction after the battle, and brought £74, 4s. 6d.

After burying the dead and providing for the wounded, General Lewis proceeded to join Governor Dunmore, in order to penetrate the Indian country in pursuance of the original scheme, but an express met him with orders from the Governor to return to the mouth of the Big Kanawha. The integrity of the Governor was suspected. The Revolutionary troubles having begun, it was believed that Dunmore was seeking to win the Indians to the side of Great Britain against the Colonies. The men of Lewis's command refused to obey the Governor's order, and continued to advance till he met them and made such

²⁸ Captain McClanahan left two sons, Robert and John, who went to Kentucky. Robert, however, was back in Augusta in 1808.

representations as to the prospect of peace as induced them to retire.

Dunmore went into Ohio, and halted his command eight miles from the Indian town of Chillicothe, calling the place Camp Charlotte. Eight chiefs, with Cornstalk at their head, came to Dunmore's camp, and in the course of a few days a treaty of peace was concluded. Interpreters were sent to Logan to request his attendance, but he refused to come, saying "he was a warrior, not a counsellor." His speech, which, it is said, the interpreters delivered on their return, is regarded as a fine specimen of untutored eloquence :

"I appeal to any white man to say if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him no meat; if ever he came cold and naked, and he clothed him not? During the course of the last long and bloody war Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate of peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen pointed as they passed and said, 'Logan is the friend of white men.' I have even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not sparing even my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it; I have killed many; I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not harbor a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one."

Mr. Jefferson, it is said, found this speech at Governor Dunmore's, in Williamsburg, and afterwards published it in his *Notes on Virginia*. The genuineness of the speech has been questioned, but it is generally believed to be authentic. The charge against Cresap, however, who was captain in the division of the army under Dunmore, appears to have been unfounded. Logan did not name him in the speech, or message, which he sent to Dunmore.

Of Cornstalk it is said: "If in the battle of Point Pleasant he displayed bravery and generalship, in the negotiation at Camp Charlotte he exhibited the skill of a statesman, joined to powers of oratory rarely, if ever, surpassed."

The news of the battle of Point Pleasant could not well have reached Staunton until about the 24th of October. The anxiety of the people at home, while waiting the result of the expedition, may be imagined.

There is no record or tradition in regard to it, but the County Court records indicate the state of feeling. The October term of the court began on the 18th, but no business was transacted, except the qualification of several new justices of the peace. The court met again on the 19th, but only to adjourn to the next term. The whole community was too anxiously awaiting intelligence from the west to attend to ordinary affairs.

When November court came round the surviving heroes of Point Pleasant had returned to their homes. One of them, Andrew Moore, appeared in court on November 15, and qualified to practice law. Alexander McClanahan sat as a magistrate on the County Court bench August 22, and then hurried with his company to Camp Union; he was on the bench again on November 16, soon after his return.

By January court, 1775, the men who were in the expedition had gotten up their accounts against the government for pecuniary compensation. Many were for "diets of militia;" some for "sundries for the militia;" others for "driving pack horses." William Sharp and others presented claims for services as spies. John Hays demanded pay for himself and others as "pack-horse masters." William Hamilton had a bill for riding express, and William McCune another as "cow herd."

Colonel Charles Lewis executed his will August 10, 1774, on the eve of his departure for Point Pleasant, and the instrument was admitted to record January 17, 1775. The testator seems to have been a man of considerable wealth. Four children survived him—John, Andrew, Elizabeth and Margaret, and one was born after his death. His wife was Sarah Murray, a half sister of Colonel Cameron, of Bath county.

We anticipate the course of events to relate briefly the fate of Cornstalk. A fort had been established at Point Pleasant, and in 1777 was garrisoned by a small force. The Indians having recently shown an unfriendly disposition, a larger force was ordered there, with a view to an advance into the Indian country, to overawe the savages. Colonel Skillern, of Botetourt, commanded several companies raised in Augusta and Botetourt,

and with him arrived a company of Greenbrier men. Captains Stuart and Arbuckle, of Greenbrier, were also present. Cornstalk, and another chief called Redhawk, came to the fort professedly to give warning that the Shawnees intended to take part with the British against Virginia, and were detained as hostages. Elinipsico, the son of Cornstalk, afterwards arrived to inquire about his father. This being the state of things at the fort, two young men, named Gilmore and Hamilton, from Kerr's creek, belonging to a company commanded by Captain John Hall, went across the Kanawha to hunt. On their return, as they approached the river, some Indians hid in the weeds fired upon them. Gilmore was killed and scalped, but Hamilton was rescued by some of his comrades. They brought the bloody body of Gilmore across the river, and no doubt instantly thought of the terrible inroads upon Kerr's creek, led by Cornstalk, it was believed, years before. The cry arose, "Let us kill the Indians in the fort!" Hall's men, with the captain at their head, rushed in, and, notwithstanding the intervention of Stuart and Arbuckle, accomplished their purpose.

The BRECKENRIDGES were driven by persecution from Ayrshire, Scotland, to the north of Ireland, during the reign of Charles II. In 1728 Alexander Breckenridge came to America, and after residing a few years in Pennsylvania, removed to Augusta county, and settled on a farm near the site of Staunton. As we have seen, he was one of the commissioners of Tinkling Spring congregation, August 11, 1741. He died in 1747, and his name does not appear again in our Annals.

The children of Alexander Breckenridge were a daughter, Sarah, wife of Robert McClanahan, and two sons, Adam and Robert. There was also a George Breckenridge living in the county in 1749, but whether he was a brother or son of Alexander is not known. The only mention of him we have found is the fact that he conveyed 245 acres of Beverley Manor land to Robert Breckenridge, May 16, 1749.

When Robert McClanahan was appointed high sheriff of the county, in 1749, his brother-in-law, Adam Breckenridge, qualified as deputy. The latter soon afterwards (in 1750, it is said) left the county and disappeared from history. It is thought likely, however, that he has descendants in Kentucky.

Robert Breckenridge remained in the county, living on a farm adjacent to Staunton, and became prominent during the Indian wars. He incurred the hostility of Governor Dinwiddie, and was roundly berated

by that irate letter-writer, for which we do not think the worse of him. The town of Staunton being incorporated in 1761, Major Breckenridge was named in the act as one of the trustees, in association with his brother-in-law, William Preston, his nephew, Alexander McClanahan, and others. Some time thereafter he removed to the "upper country," and when Botetourt was constituted, in 1769-'70, he was one of the first justices of the peace and lieutenant colonel of the militia of that county. He died in Botetourt in 1772.

The sons of Colonel Breckenridge by his first marriage were Robert and Alexander. Both these sons were officers in the Revolutionary army, and both removed to Kentucky soon after the war. Robert, Jr., was a member of the Kentucky Convention and Legislature, and the first Speaker of the House of Delegates. He died, an old and wealthy man, in Louisville some time after 1830. Major Alexander Breckenridge died comparatively young. Among his children was James D. Breckenridge, who represented the Louisville district in Congress about the year 1836.

Colonel Robert Breckenridge's second wife was Lettice Preston, daughter of John Preston, of Staunton, and her children were four sons, William, John, James and Preston, and a daughter, Jane, wife of Samuel Meredith.

William Breckenridge, son of Robert, married in Augusta, but spent most of his life in Kentucky. He was the father of the late John Boys Breckenridge, of Staunton.

John Breckenridge, the next son of Colonel Robert, was born on his father's farm, at Staunton, December 2, 1760, and removed with the family to Botetourt in 1769, or thereabouts. He was educated at William and Mary College, and while a student, before he was twenty-one years of age, was elected by the people of Botetourt a member of the State Legislature. Marrying Miss Cabell, of Buckingham county, he settled in Albemarle, on James river, and rapidly attained distinction as a lawyer. He was elected to Congress by the voters of Albemarle district, but declined the position. In 1793 he removed to Kentucky, and during the administration of President Jefferson was Attorney-General of the United States. He died in 1806, only forty-six years of age. One of his sons was Cabell Breckenridge, a distinguished lawyer, who died young, leaving a son, General John C. Breckenridge, late Vice-President of the United States. The other sons of John were the celebrated divines, Rev. Drs. John, Robert J. and William L. Breckenridge, the second of whom was the father of the Hon. William C. P. Breckenridge, now (1886) a member of the United States House of Representatives.

James Breckenridge, third son of Colonel Robert, spent his life in Virginia. He was long known as General Breckenridge, of Botetourt, and was distinguished as a lawyer and member of Congress. Among his children were Messrs. Cary and James Breckenridge, of

Botetourt, Mrs. Edward Watts, of Roanoke, Mrs. Henry M. Bowyer, of Botetourt, and Mrs. Robert Gamble, of Florida.

Preston Breckenridge, the fourth son of Colonel Robert, married a Miss Trigg, and died in middle life, leaving daughters, but no son.

ISRAEL CHRISTIAN was a merchant, and lived first at Staunton, and afterwards in the part of Augusta now Botetourt county. He was a representative of Augusta in the House of Burgesses in 1759-'61. One of his daughters married Colonel William Fleming, of Botetourt; one, Caleb Wallace, first a Presbyterian minister in Virginia, and afterwards a judge in Kentucky; another married William Bowyer, of Botetourt; and a fourth, Colonel Stephen Trigg, of Kentucky. Three counties in Kentucky were named in honor of his son, and two of his sons-in-law, respectively—Christian, Fleming and Trigg. He was the founder of the towns of Fincastle and Christiansburg.

WILLIAM CHRISTIAN, son of the former, was born in Augusta in 1743. He was a member of the House of Burgesses in 1774 (probably from Botetourt), and leaving Williamsburg he raised a company and hastened to join General Andrew Lewis, but failed to overtake him till the night after the battle of Point Pleasant. In 1775 he was chosen Lieutenant-Colonel of the first Virginia regiment, of which Patrick Henry was colonel. In 1776, however, he became colonel of the first battalion of Virginia militia, and commander of an expedition against the Cherokee Indians. The troops under his command consisted of two battalions from Virginia and one from North Carolina, which, with other men employed, composed an army of one thousand six hundred to one thousand eight hundred men. The campaign lasted about three months. Not one man was killed, and no one died. The Indians fled at the approach of the army, but many of their towns were destroyed and their fields wasted. On the return of the army to the settlements, Fort Henry was built at Long Island, in the Holston, near the present Virginia State line, and supplies were taken to it from Rockbridge and Augusta counties. The fort was then supposed to be in Virginia.

In 1780 he commanded another expedition against the Cherokees. In 1781 he was appointed by General Green at the head of a commission to conclude a treaty with the Indians, his Virginia associates being Arthur Campbell, William Preston and Joseph Martin. In 1785 he removed to Kentucky, and settled near Louisville. The year following he and others pursued a party of marauding Indians across the Ohio river, and overtook two of them near the spot where Jeffersonville, Indiana, now is. There he was shot and killed by one of the Indians, both of whom were instantly killed by Christian's companions. His body was carried home, and the inscription on his tombstone states

that he was killed April 9, 1786, aged 43. His wife was a sister of Patrick Henry. Colonel Bullett, of Kentucky, was his son-in-law. His only son died while a youth.—[*Grigsby's Sketches.*]

ANDREW MOORE was born, in 1752, at a place called Cannicello, then in Augusta, now in Rockbridge. In early life he made a voyage to the West Indies, and was cast away on a desert island, where for three weeks he and his companions lived on a species of lizard. He studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1774. In 1776 he entered the army as lieutenant of a company of which John Hays was captain. Nineteen men enlisted under him at a log rolling as soon as he received his commission. Nearly his whole military life was spent in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York. He with his company, as a part of Morgan's corps, participated in the battle at Saratoga, which resulted in Burgoyne's surrender. After a service of three years, and attaining the rank of captain, he resigned and returned home. He was a member of the Legislature from Rockbridge when it met in Staunton, in 1781, and continued to serve in that body till 1789. In 1788, he was a member of the State Convention which ratified the Constitution of the United States. Upon retiring from the Legislature he was elected a member of Congress by the Rockbridge District, and held the position during the entire administration of Washington. He was a member of the Legislature again from 1798 to 1800, and was again elected to the lower house of Congress in 1803. He was then elected United States Senator, and served till 1809. In 1810, he was appointed by President Jefferson United States Marshal for the State of Virginia, which office he held till his death, in 1821. At an early date he was made brigadier-general of militia, and in 1809 major-general. He was the father of the late Samuel McD. and David E. Moore, of Lexington.—[*Grigsby's Sketches.*]

When the Western District of Virginia was projected in 1801, Mr. Jefferson consulted Judge Stuart of Staunton as to the appointment of a Marshal. He wrote, April 25, 1801, that Andrew and John Alexander and John Caruthers, all of Rockbridge, had been recommended to him by different persons. Mr. Caruthers was appointed, but declined. On the 5th of August, 1801, Mr. Jefferson wrote to Judge Stuart, informing him of Mr. Caruthers's refusal of the office, and saying: "I have now proposed it to Colonel Andrew Moore, with but little hope, however, of his acceptance." The Western District was, however, not established at that time, and Colonel Moore was appointed Marshal for the whole State in 1810.



CHAPTER VII.

THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION, ETC., FROM 1774 TO 1783.

While the strife between the colonies and mother country was brewing in 1774 the port of Boston was closed by the British, and the people of that city, mainly dependent upon commerce for subsistence, were reduced to a state of destitution and suffering. The sympathy of the country was aroused, and contributions for their relief were made in various places. The remote county of Augusta sent her quota the very autumn her sons fought the Indians at Point Pleasant. Says the historian, Bancroft: "When the sheaves had been harvested and the corn threshed and ground in a country as yet poorly provided with barns or mills, the backwoodsmen of Augusta county, without any pass through the mountains that could be called a road, noiselessly and modestly delivered at Frederick one hundred and thirty-seven barrels of flour as their remittance to the poor of Boston." (Volume VII, page 74.) What a task the transportation was, may be inferred from the fact that nearly fifty years afterwards Bockett's stages took three days to make the trip from Staunton to Winchester.

Again, in 1777, the people of Augusta sent supplies to the destitute. From some cause unknown to us there was a scarcity of provisions in Washington county, southwest Virginia, and the records of that county show that Augusta contributed flour for the use of "the distressed inhabitants." [See Howe, page 501.]

But our Annals are designed to exhibit the contentions of men, rather than the charities of life. We come now to a curious episode in the history of the county. Lord Dunmore, the last

royal Governor of Virginia, and his Lieutenant, Connoly, figure therein somewhat as comic actors, it seems to us, although at the time the business was considered serious enough.

Virginia claimed, by virtue of her charter, all the territory between certain parallels of latitude, which included a part of western Pennsylvania about Pittsburg. Fort Pitt was abandoned as a military post in 1773, but the country was rapidly occupied by English settlers.

In January, 1774, Dr. John Connoly, a citizen of Virginia, but previously of Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, appeared at Pittsburg and posted a notice of his appointment by Governor Dunmore as "Captain-Commandant of militia of Pittsburg and its dependencies," etc., etc.

Governor Penn, of Pennsylvania, wrote to Dunmore, demanding an explanation. At the same time he wrote to the Pennsylvania authorities at Pittsburg urging them to maintain the rights of that province, and ordering the arrest of Connoly. The "Captain-Commandant" was accordingly arrested and committed to jail, but he prevailed with the sheriff to give him leave of absence for a few days, and instead of returning to prison came to Virginia.

On March 15, 1774, Connoly presented himself before the court at Staunton, and qualified as a justice of the peace for Augusta county, and commandant at Pittsburg.

Dunmore replied to Penn on March 3d, insisting upon the rights of Virginia, and demanding reparation for the insult to Connoly. The least that would be accepted was the dismissal of Arthur St. Clair, the clerk who "had the audacity to commit a magistrate acting in discharge of his duty." Governor Penn replied, and so the controversy continued.

Connoly returned to Pittsburg and gathered around him a body of armed men, a portion of the people claiming to be Virginians. He opened correspondence with the Pennsylvania magistrates, which proving unsatisfactory, he arrested three of them—Smith, Mackey and McFarland—and sent them to Staunton for trial. Upon arriving here they gave security and were discharged to find their way home.

The President of the Pennsylvania court informed Governor Penn of the arrest of his associates. He stated that Connoly, having at Staunton qualified as a justice of the peace for Augusta

county, "in which it is pretended that the country about Pittsburg is included," was constantly surrounded by an armed body of about one hundred and eighty militia, and obstructed every process emanating from the court.

Connoly reoccupied Fort Pitt, changing the name to Fort Dunmore.

The following order appears among the proceedings of the County Court of Augusta, under date of January 19, 1775: "His majesty's writ of adjournment being produced and read, it is ordered that this court be adjourned to the first Tuesday in next month, and then to be held at Fort Dunmore, in this county, agreeable to the said writ of adjournment."

The court was held at Fort Dunmore, under Captain Connoly's auspices, and several persons were arraigned before it for obstructing the authority of Virginia, as we learn from a Pennsylvania historian.—[*Creigh's History of Washington County, Pennsylvania.*] The record of proceedings is not on file at Staunton. The court could not sit in Staunton at the usual time in March, being on an excursion to Pennsylvania; but we next find on the order book the following: "His majesty's writ of adjournment from Fort Dunmore to the courthouse in the town of Staunton, being read, the court was accordingly held the 25th day of March, 1775."

A deed from six Indian chiefs, representatives of the united tribes of Mohawks, Oneidas, etc., to George Croghan, for two hundred thousand acres of land on the Ohio river, executed November 4, 1768, was proved before the court of Augusta county at Pittsburg, September 25, 1775—the land lying in the county. It was further proved before the court at Staunton, August 19, 1777, and ordered to be recorded.—[See Deed Book No. 22, page 1.] The consideration for which the Indians sold these lands embraced blankets, stockings, calico, vermilion, ribbons, knives, gunpowder, lead, gun-flints, needles, and *jews-harps*. The deed was also recorded in Philadelphia.

At length the Pennsylvanians kidnapped Captain Connoly and took him to Philadelphia, and thereupon the Virginians seized three of the rival justices and sent them to Wheeling as hostages.

By this time the war of the Revolution was approaching. The people of the disputed territory were alike patriotic, but

the distinction between Virginians and Pennsylvanians was still maintained. Each party held meetings separate from the other, and denounced the encroachments of the British government.

Captain Connoly, being discharged from custody, joined Lord Dunmore on board a British ship in Chesapeake Bay. He was at Portsmouth, Virginia, August 9, 1775, on which day he wrote to Colonel John Gibson to dissuade him from joining the patriot side. He then undertook a journey from the Chesapeake to Pittsburg, in company with a Doctor Smith, and in November, 1775, was arrested in Fredericktown, Maryland, for being engaged in treasonable projects. He was detained in jail, at Philadelphia, till April 2, 1777.

Finally, in 1779, each of the States appointed commissioners, and through their agency the dispute was quieted in 1780. The boundary was not definitely fixed, however, till 1785, when Mason and Dixon's line was established.

It is generally believed that Dunmore fomented the controversy about the boundary line, in order to embroil the people of the two provinces between themselves, and that Connoly was his willing agent. Connoly joined Dunmore at Fort Pitt, in the fall of 1774, and accompanied him in his march into the Indian country. In the summer of 1775, it is said, he was appointed colonel, with authority to raise a regiment of white men on the frontiers hostile to the cause of the colonies, and to enlist the Indians on the side of Great Britain. His arrest at Fredericktown defeated the attempt. After his release he joined the British army, and was with Cornwallis when he surrendered at Yorktown. By grant from Dunmore, he acquired a large landed interest on the Ohio river, where Louisville, Kentucky, now stands, John Campbell and Joseph Simon having an interest in the grant, and his share of the property was confiscated by act of the Legislature of Virginia, the territory then being a part of this State. The last we have heard of him was in 1788, when he came from Canada to Louisville, for the purpose professedly of making a business arrangement with Mr. Campbell, but the popular prejudice against him was such that he could not remain, and leaving the United States nothing further is known of him.—[See *Border Warfare*, page 134, and various acts in Hening, passed in 1780, 1783 and 1784, "for establishing the town of Louisville, in the county of Jefferson," &c., &c.]

In order not to break the connection we have anticipated the course of events, and return now to the early part of the year 1775.

The first patriotic meeting of the people of Augusta county, of which we have any account, was held in Staunton, February 22, 1775. The proceedings were reported as follows :

“After due notice given to the freeholders of the county of Augusta to meet in Staunton, for the purpose of electing delegates to represent them in Colony Convention at the town of Richmond, on the 20th of March, 1775, the freeholders of said county thought proper to refer the choice of their delegates to the judgment of the committee, who, thus authorized by the general voice of the people, met at the courthouse on the 22d of February, and unanimously chose Mr. Thomas Lewis and Captain Samuel McDowell to represent them in the ensuing Convention.

“Instructions were then ordered to be drawn up by the Rev. Alexander Balmaine, Mr. Sampson Mathews, Captain Alexander McClanahan, Mr. Michael Bowyer, Mr. William Lewis, and Captain George Mathews, or any three of them, and delivered to the delegates thus chosen, which are as follows: ‘To Mr. Thomas Lewis and Captain Samuel McDowell.—The committee of Augusta county, pursuant to the trust reposed in them by the freeholders of the same, have chosen you to represent them in Colony Convention, proposed to be held in Richmond on the 20th of March instant. They desire that you may consider the people of Augusta county as impressed with just sentiments of loyalty and allegiance to his Majesty King George, whose title to the imperial crown of Great Britain rests on no other foundation than the liberty, and whose glory is inseparable from the happiness, of all his subjects. We have also respect for the parent State, which respect is founded on religion, on law, and on the genuine principles of the constitution. On these principles do we earnestly desire to see harmony and a good understanding restored between Great Britain and America.

“ ‘Many of us and our forefathers left our native land and explored this once-savage wilderness to enjoy the free exercise of the rights of conscience and of human nature. These rights we are fully resolved, with our lives and fortunes, inviolably to preserve; nor will we surrender such inestimable blessings, the purchase of toil and danger, to any Ministry, to any Parliament, or

any body of men upon earth, by whom we are not represented, and in whose decisions, therefore, we have no voice.

“ We desire you to tender, in the most respectful terms, our grateful acknowledgements to the late worthy delegates of this colony for their wise, spirited, and patriotic exertions in the General Congress, and to assure them that we will uniformly and religiously adhere to their resolutions providently and graciously formed for their country's good.

“ Fully convinced that the safety and happiness of America depend, next to the blessing of Almighty God, on the unanimity and wisdom of her people, we doubt not you will, on your parts, comply with the recommendations of the late Continental Congress, by appointing delegates from this colony to meet in Philadelphia on the 10th of May, next, unless American grievances be redressed before that. And so we are determined to maintain unimpaired that liberty which is the gift of heaven to the subjects of Britain's empire, and will most cordially join our countrymen in such measures as may be deemed wise and necessary to secure and perpetuate the ancient, just, and legal rights of this colony and all British America.

“ Placing our ultimate trust in the Supreme Disposer of every event, without whose gracious interposition the wisest schemes may fail of success, we desire you to move the Convention that some day, which may appear to them most convenient, be set apart for imploring the blessing of Almighty God on such plans as human wisdom and integrity may think necessary to adopt for preserving America happy, virtuous, and free.”

In obedience to these instructions, the following letter was addressed by Messrs. Lewis and McDowell to the members of Congress :

“ To the Hon. Peyton Randolph, Esq., President, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison, and Edmund Randolph, Esqrs., Delegates from this colony to the General Congress :

“ Gentlemen,—We have it in command from the freeholders of Augusta county, by their committee, held on the 22d February, to present you with the grateful acknowledgment of thanks for the prudent, virtuous, and noble exertions of the faculties

with which heaven has endowed you in the cause of liberty, and of everything that man ought to hold sacred at the late General Congress—a conduct so nobly interesting that it must command the applause, not only from this, but succeeding ages. May that sacred flame, that has illuminated your minds and influenced your conduct in projecting and concurring in so many salutary determinations for the preservation of American liberty, ever continue to direct your conduct to the latest period of your lives! May the bright example be fairly transcribed on the hearts and reduced into practice by every Virginian, by every American! May our hearts be open to receive and our arms strong to defend that liberty and freedom, the gift of heaven, now being banished from its latest retreat in Europe! Here let it be hospitably entertained in every breast; here let it take deep root and flourish in everlasting bloom, that under its benign influence the virtuously free may enjoy secure repose and stand forth the scourge and terror of tyranny and tyrants of every order and denomination, till time shall be no more.

“Be pleased, gentlemen, to accept of their grateful sense of your important services, and of their ardent prayers for the best interests of this once happy country. And vouchsafe, gentlemen, to accept of the same from your most humble servants.”

The reply of the members of Congress was as follows :

“To Thomas Lewis and Samuel McDowell, Esqrs. :

“Gentlemen,—Be pleased to transmit to the respectable freeholders of Augusta county our sincere thanks for their affectionate address approving our conduct in the late Continental Congress. It gives us the greatest pleasure to find that our honest endeavors to serve our country on this arduous and important occasion have met their approbation—a reward fully adequate to our warmest wishes—and the assurances from the brave and spirited people of Augusta, that their hearts and hands shall be devoted to the support of the measures adopted, or hereafter to be taken, by the Congress for the preservation of American liberty, give us the highest satisfaction, and must afford pleasure to every friend of the just rights of mankind. We cannot conclude without acknowledgments to you, gentlemen, for the polite manner in which you have communicated to us the sentiments of your worthy constituents, and are their and

your obedient humble servants.”—[Signed by all the members of Congress from Virginia.]

The former colonial system having disappeared, all the functions of government were assumed and exercised by the Convention, in which Messrs. Lewis and McDowell sat as delegates from Augusta. The executive authority was entrusted to a committee of safety, consisting of eleven members—Pendleton, Mason and others—appointed by the Convention. To provide local governments until public affairs could be settled, the Convention passed an ordinance in July, 1775, requiring the qualified voters of each county to elect a county committee, to act as a sort of executive authority in the county for carrying into effect the measures of the Continental Congress and the Colonial Convention.—[*Henning*, Volume VIII, page 57.]

Silas Hart, an old justice of the peace, whose residence was within the present county of Rockingham, was chairman of the Augusta county committee. On October 3d this committee met at Staunton, and, pursuant to summons, Alexander Miller appeared before them to answer charges. Miller was an Irish Presbyterian preacher, who had been deposed from the ministry, and was accused of having denounced as rebellion, etc., the popular opposition to the measures of the British Government. He was solemnly tried and pronounced guilty. His punishment anticipated the recent policy in Ireland called “boycotting.” The committee subjected the offender to no restraint, and advised no violence toward him. They only recommended that “the good people of this county and colony have no further dealings or intercourse with said Miller until he convinces his countrymen of having repented for his past folly.”—[*American Archives*, Vol. III, page 939.]

The Annals of the county during the war of the Revolution are quite meager. This Valley was remote from the scenes of combat, and only once was there an alarm of invasion. The domestic life of the people and the business of the court were generally undisturbed during the war. Public business was transacted and writs were issued in the name of the Commonwealth of Virginia, instead of the king of Great Britain, and there was little other change. The abolition of the religious establishment in the course of time marked the most important departure from the old order of things. So far from danger was this region

considered, that the Continental Congress, by resolution of September 8, 1776, advised the Executive Council of Pennsylvania to send disaffected Quakers arrested in Philadelphia, to Staunton for safe-keeping. A number of Quakers, a druggist, and a dancing-master were soon afterwards brought to Winchester and detained there eight or nine months; but we have no account of any persons of the same class having been in Staunton. Several hundred Hessians, captured at Trenton, were, however, detained here for a considerable time, and there is a tradition that some of these were employed by Peter Hanger to build the older part of the dwelling still standing on Spring Farm, adjacent to the city water-works.²⁹

How invaluable would be a diary written, even crudely, by a resident of the county during the war, telling about the raising of troops, the departure of individuals and companies for the army, the rumors which agitated the community, and the simple events of common life! But nothing of the kind exists. We have, however, some extracts from the diary of a young Presbyterian minister who made two visits to the county in 1775. There is not much in them, and no reference whatever to public events; but the mere mention of a few people living in the county at that time is somewhat interesting. The minister referred to was the Rev. John McMillan, of Western Pennsylvania, afterwards the Rev. Dr. McMillan, the founder of Jefferson College; and a portion of his diary is found in a book called "Old Redstone" (Presbytery), by the Rev. Dr. Joseph Smith.

Young McMillan came from Pennsylvania, on his second visit, in November, 1775. He says:

"*Monday*.—Passed through Stephensburgh, Stoverstown, and Millerstown—crossed Shenandoah, and after travelling forty-eight miles, we came to a Dutchman's, where we tarried all night.

"*Tuesday*.—We rode this day thirty-five miles—crossed the North river, and lodged at Widow Watson's.

²⁹The Hessian fly, from which the farmers of the country suffered so severely for many years, is commonly believed to have been imported by the Hessian troops in their straw bedding, and hence the name. It appeared on Long Island during the Revolutionary war, and quite numerous in Virginia in 1796. It was, however, prevalent in the American Colonies long prior to the period of the Revolution.

" *Wednesday*.—About noon, came to Staunton; where, it being court time, I met with a number of my old acquaintances, who professed great joy to see me. I stayed in town till towards evening, and then rode to John Trimble's. This day I travelled about twenty-two miles.

" *Thursday*.—Continued at Mr. Trimble's.

" *Friday*.—Went to John Moffett's.

[John Moffett was buried in the North Mountain grave-yard. His grave is marked by a sandstone, but all the inscription, except the name, has worn out.]

" *Saturday*.—Returned to Mr. Trimble's; and, in the evening, Benjamin Brown brought me a pair of shoes, for which I paid him 8s. (Very cheap shoes.)

" *Sabbath* (the fourth in November.)—Preached at the North Mountain, and lodged with Matthew Thompson.

" *Monday*.—This day I rode in company with John Thompson about sixteen miles to see my uncle on Back creek; found them all well.

" *Tuesday*.—This morning proving very stormy, we thought it most convenient to return again to the settlements, and, accordingly, I took leave of my relations, and though it snowed excessively, we set to the road, and in the evening came again to Matthew Thompson's.

" *Wednesday*.—Went to Hugh Torbet's; from thence to Alexander Mitchell's, where I tarried all night.

" *Thursday*.—Came to Joseph Blair's.

" *Friday* (1st. December.)—Rode to John Moffett's in the evening. Got a tooth pulled by Wendal Bright. Tarried here until Sabbath.

" *Sabbath* (the first in December.)—Preached at the stone meeting-house, and in the evening rode in to Staunton in company with Mrs. Reed. Lodged at Mr. Reed's.

[Mrs. Reed afterwards, while a widow, became the second wife of Colonel George Mathews, from whom she was divorced. She lived to extreme old age in the low frame house which formerly stood on the south side of Beverley street, between Augusta and Water streets. A few persons still living remember her. She was generally called "Aunt Reed."]

" *Monday*.—I left town. Called at Mr. Trimble's and lodged with Mr. Moffett.

"*Wednesday*.—This day I moved my camp to William McPheeters's.

"*Thursday and Friday*.—Continued at the same place, spending my time chiefly in study."

On New Year's day, 1776, he preached at Peter Hanger's to a large assembly, and next day set out down the Valley.

The Rev. James Waddell came to Augusta from Lancaster county about the year 1776, and bought the Springhill farm on South River, originally owned by Colonel James Patton. The deed of James and William Thompson, Patton's son-in-law and grandson, describes the tract as 1,308 acres, and states the price as £1,000 (\$3,333 $\frac{1}{3}$). Dr. Waddell resided at Springhill, and preached at Tinkling Spring and occasionally in Staunton, while he remained in the county. One of the subscription papers circulated in Tinkling Spring congregation, for raising the pastor's salary, has escaped destruction, and is interesting as showing in some degree the state of the times. The subscribers promised to pay the Rev. James Waddell "the sum of one hundred pounds, current and lawful money of Virginia, for the whole of his labours for one year;" payment to be made "in clean merchantable wheat at three shillings (fifty cents) per bushel, or in corn or rye of like quality at two shillings per bushel, or in other commodities he may want at said rates." James Bell, Sr., promised to pay £3, os. 9d. (about \$10), the largest subscription on the list. Other subscribers were John Ramsey, Thomas Turk, John Ramsey, Jr., William Black, William Guthrie, John Collins, John Caldwell, Benjamin Stuart, Robert Thompson, A. Thompson, Thomas Stuart, and Walter Davis. The subscription for 1783 was £40 in cash for half the minister's time, the other half to be bestowed in Staunton.—[*Foote's Sketches*, First Series, page 376.]

In the early part of 1776, the county committee of Augusta adopted a memorial to the Convention, of which we have no account except in the journal of that body. The purport of the paper, presented to the Convention on the 10th of May, is thus awkwardly stated in the journal: "A representation from the committee of the county of Augusta was presented to the Convention and read, setting forth the present unhappy situation of the country, and from the ministerial measures of revenge now pursuing, representing the necessity of making the confederacy

of the united colonies the most perfect, independent and lasting, and of framing an equal, free and liberal government, that may bear the test of all future ages." This is said to be the first expression of the policy of establishing an independent State government and permanent confederation of States, which the parliamentary journals of America contain. It is curious, however, to observe how carefully "the representation" throws the blame of the measures complained of upon the British ministers, still seeking apparently to avoid censuring the king. The feeling of loyalty to the sovereign was hard to give up.

In October, 1776, the "several companies of militia and freeholders of Augusta" forwarded to the representatives of the county in the Legislature their "sentiments" on the subject of religious liberty. They demanded that "all religious denominations within the Dominion be forthwith put in full possession of equal liberty, without preference or pre-eminence," &c. The paper was signed by John Magill, James Allen, George Moffett, Alexander St. Clair, John Poage, John Davis, Alexander Long, William McPheeters, Elijah McClanahan, Alexander Thompson, Archibald Alexander, Robert Wilson, James Walker, Charles Campbell, Walter Cunningham, and others.—[*American Archives*, Fifth Series, Volume II, page 815.]

It is impossible to obtain any list or particular account of troops furnished by Augusta county during the Revolutionary war, and the names of only a few comparatively of the soldiers have escaped oblivion. As a general fact, we know that most of the younger men of the county were in the military service. One of them, William McCutchen, of Bethel neighborhood, who survived to a good old age, served three "tours" in the army. The first and longest was in New Jersey, when he was so young that the recruiting officer doubted about admitting him into the ranks. The second term of service was on the invasion of Virginia by Cornwallis, and the third was at Yorktown. Dismissed to return home from the Jerseys, after his time of service had expired, he received his wages in Continental money. "Soon after leaving camp, a landlord, supposed not favorable to the cause, refused him and his companion a meal of victuals for less than five dollars apiece in paper currency. The next landlord demanded two-and-a-half dollars. They determined to travel as far as possible in a day, and to eat but one meal. In

all the places along the road where they called for refreshments they were asked, 'Can you pay for it?' and 'In what can you pay for it?' In Winchester, where they purchased their last meal, the landlord took but half price of them, as they were soldiers—the first time any allowance was made in their favor—and charged only a dollar and a half. A week's wages would not pay their expenses, traveling on foot, a single day.'—[*Foote's Sketches*, Second Series, page 2c6.] The paper currency depreciated so greatly that it was finally called in, and funded at the rate of one for a thousand.—[Hening's introduction to Volume II.]

The regular army was recruited by bounties, by volunteers, and by drafts from the militia. For the assistance of North and South Carolina, as well as to repel the invasion of Virginia, the whole body of the militia might be called out, as provided by act of the Legislature.

The general officers were appointed by the Continental Congress; and early in the war Andrew Lewis was appointed a brigadier-general. It is said that Washington recommended Andrew Lewis for the post of Commander-in-Chief of the Continental armies. He commanded at Williamsburg early in 1776, and in July drove Dunmore from Gwynn's Island. It seems there was no opportunity for the display of the military talent universally attributed to him. He died during the war, in 1781.³⁰

From various ordinances of Convention and acts of Assembly, printed in *Hening's Statutes at Large*, we learn how the State raised her quota of troops, and incidentally what troops, or companies, Augusta furnished. We, therefore, give a synopsis of the ordinances and acts referred to.

The Convention, which managed affairs in Virginia from the time the old system of government disappeared till the adoption of the first Constitution of the State, in 1776, passed an ordinance July 17, 1775, for raising two regiments of regulars and for organizing the militia. The first regiment was to consist of

³⁰ General Lewis's wife was a Miss Givens, of Augusta. His sons were John, Samuel, Thomas, Andrew and William. John was captain of a Botetourt company at the battle of Point Pleasant. Samuel was a lieutenant-colonel in 1781. The death of General Lewis occurred at Colonel Buford's, eastern base of the Blue Ridge. He was buried on his estate called "Dropmore," near Salem, Roanoke county.

544 rank and file, with a colonel, lieutenant-colonel, major, 8 captains, 16 lieutenants, and 8 ensigns ; and the second of 476 rank and file, with seven companies and corresponding officers. The field officers were appointed by the Convention—Patrick Henry to command the first regiment, and Colonel Woodford the second. The companies were to consist of 68 men each, to be enlisted in districts, and to serve one year. The companies raised in the district composed of Augusta, &c., to be “expert riflemen.” The company officers were appointed by the members of the Convention from the district.

The whole State was divided into military districts, and the militia were ordered to be embodied as minute-men. The counties of Buckingham, Amherst, Albemarle and Augusta constituted one district. Each district was to raise a battalion of 500 men, rank and file, from the age of 16 to that of 50, to be divided into ten companies of 50 men each. The officers were to be appointed by committees, selected by the various county committees. The battalion was required to be kept in training at some convenient place for twelve days, twice a year ; and the several companies to be mustered four days in each month, except December, January and February, in their respective counties.

Every man so enlisted was required to “furnish himself with a good rifle, if to be had, otherwise with a tomahawk, common firelock, bayonet, pouch, or cartouch box, and three charges of powder and ball.” Upon affidavit that the minute-man was not able to furnish his arms, &c., they were to be supplied at public expense. The officers were required to equip themselves, and officers and men were liable to a fine for failure in this respect.

In December, 1775, the Convention passed another ordinance for raising additional troops. It provided for augmenting the two regiments already raised, by the addition of two companies to the first, and three to the second ; and also for raising six additional regiments, of ten companies each, and sixty-eight men to a company. One of the new regiments was to be made up of Germans and others, as the county committee of Augusta, West Augusta, Frederick, &c., should judge expedient. Captains and other company officers were to be appointed by the committees of the counties in which companies were raised, respectively. Two captains, two first and two second lieutenants, &c., were assigned to Augusta, and it was expected that their companies

would be raised in the county The men were to be enlisted for two years from April 10, 1776.

Arms, &c., for the new companies were to be furnished by the public; but until muskets could be procured, the men were to bring the best guns they had—riflemen to bring rifles and tomahawks. For smooth-bore guns and for rifles and tomahawks, private property, rent would be allowed at the rate of 20s. a year. Each soldier was allowed, out of his pay, "a hunting shirt, pair of leggins, and binding for his hat" (!) Pay of colonels, 17s. 6d. per day; captains, 6s. and privates, 1s. 4d.

The same ordinance provided for raising a Ninth regiment of seven companies, sixty-eight men to a company, for the protection of Accomac and Northampton counties. It was evidently contemplated that the Ninth regiment should be recruited in the counties named. By a subsequent ordinance, the Ninth was augmented by the addition of three companies, so as to make it equal with other regiments.

The same ordinance, of December, 1775, also provided that the committee of Augusta county should appoint officers to command a company of fifty men, to be stationed at the mouth of the Little Kanawha.

The State Constitution was adopted by the Convention June 29, 1776. The counties of "East Augusta and Dunmore" constituted a district for the election of a State senator. The name Dunmore was afterwards changed to "Shenando." West Augusta constituted another senatorial district.

The Legislature elected under the State Constitution met for the first time October 7, 1776, and soon thereafter passed an act for raising six additional battalions "on the continental establishment," and assigning two captains, &c., to Augusta.

Other acts for recruiting the army will be mentioned as we proceed.

Thus we find that a number of company officers were assigned to Augusta, with the expectation, of course, that the men should be enlisted in the county. The companies were no doubt raised, yet there is no record or tradition in regard to their assembling and marching off, nor even of the names of most of the officers. Our local archives furnish little information on the subject, and we have applied in vain at Richmond and Washington for the names of officers.

The act of the first Legislature after the adoption of the Constitution, referred to above, prescribed that the militia officers of each county, assembled in court-martial, should elect the company officers assigned to their county. The court-martial of Augusta militia met at the courthouse, December 3, 1776, to discharge that duty. Present, Colonels Abraham Smith and Alexander Thompson, and Captains David Bell, John Stevenson, James Ewing, Daniel Smith, Peachy Gilmer, John Young, David Laird, George Moffett, Alexander Robertson, William Anderson; and others.

The court proceeded to choose by ballot officers "to raise two companies of regulars according to act of assembly," and the following were chosen: First company—John Syme, Captain; Charles Cameron, First Lieutenant; William Christian, Second Lieutenant; and James Hamilton, Ensign. Second company—David Laird (a member of the court-martial), Captain; Andrew Anderson, First Lieutenant; William Smith, Second Lieutenant; and Michael Troutt, Ensign. The Lieutenant Anderson mentioned was no doubt the person known after the war as Colonel Anderson, who often represented the county in the House of Delegates.

At a court-martial held February 1, 1777, it was reported that Captain Syme had recruited twenty-eight men, Lieutenant Cameron, twenty, Lieutenant Christian, twelve, and Ensign Hamilton, ten, making seventy rank and file. There was no report from Captain Laird and Lieutenant Anderson, but it was believed they had nearly completed their respective numbers. Lieutenant Smith had enlisted seventeen men and Ensign Evans, ten. The last named appears to have been substituted for Ensign Troutt.

Governor Gilmer tells us that John, Andrew, and Thomas Lewis, sons of Thomas Lewis were officers in the Revolutionary army. He also mentions a Captain Hughes and a Captain McElhany, of the Continental army, both of whom married daughters of Thomas Lewis, and also Layton Yancey, another officer, who married another daughter. John Lewis, son of William, commanded a company at the battle of Monmouth. Robert Gamble, of Augusta, says Governor Gilmer, was an officer in the army very early in the war, and continued to serve to its close. He was always with the main army, and under the immediate command of Washington.

These and others whose names have not reached us were no doubt the officers of the various companies raised in the county. We shall have occasion hereafter to speak of Moffett, Tate, Doak, Stuart, Fulton, and others who served as officers in the field when the militia was called out at different times. Robert Doak, then a young man, was ensign of Captain Tate's company at the battle of Guilford.

But Augusta furnished at the outset at least two officers of higher rank than captain. Alexander McClanahan was appointed by the Convention, in 1775, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Seventh regiment, of which William Dangerfield was Colonel, and William Nelson, Major. Colonel McClanahan was at the battle of Great Bridge, near Norfolk, December 9, 1775, in which every British grenadier was killed, without loss to the Virginians. He served under General Andrew Lewis, at Williamsburg, in 1776, and was commissioned Colonel of the Seventh October 7, 1776. At that time General Woodford's brigade was composed of the Third, Seventh, Eleventh, and Fifteenth Virginia regiments.³¹

George Mathews was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the Ninth regiment, of which Thomas Fleming was Colonel, and M. Donavon, Major. This regiment was at first stationed on the Eastern Shore of Virginia, for the protection of Accomac and Northampton counties, but was afterwards a part of the main army under Washington. The date of his commission as Colonel is February 10, 1777. He commanded the regiment at the battle of Germantown, in which he and all his men were captured by the British.

Colonel McClanahan appears to have retired from the army before the close of the war, but in a "list of general and field officers of the late army of the United States who continued in service to the end of the war," George Mathews appears as the fourteenth name in the list of colonels.

By the erection of Botetourt county, in 1769, and the legal recognition of the district of West Augusta, in 1776, the county of Augusta was shorn of much the larger part of her original

³¹ Colonel McClanahan's children were two daughters, Mrs. Abney and Mrs. Austin, and a son, John, who died unmarried. His wife was a Miss Shelton, a sister of Patrick Henry's first wife.

territory. She was thus reduced to her present territory, with parts of the present counties of Rockbridge, Bath and Alleghany, and all of Rockingham, Highland and Pendleton.

The district of West Augusta appears to have been evolved, rather than created by law. Its existence was first recognized by the Legislature during the session which began October 7, 1776, when an act was passed "for ascertaining the boundary between the county of Augusta and the district of West Augusta." The boundary of the district is thus described: "Beginning on the Alleghany mountain, between the heads of Potowmack, Cheat and Green Brier rivers, thence along the ridge of mountains which divides the waters of Cheat river from those of Green Brier and that branch of the Monongahela river, called Tyger's valley river, to the Monongahela river; thence up the said river and the west fork thereof to Bingerman's creek, on the north side of the said west fork; thence up the said creek to the head thereof; thence in a direct course to the head of Middle Island creek, a branch of the Ohio; and thence to the Ohio, including all the waters of the said creek in the aforesaid district of West Augusta; all that territory lying to the northward of the aforesaid, and to the westward of the States of Pennsylvania and Maryland, shall be decreed, and is hereby declared, to be within the district of West Augusta."

The act proceeded to divide the district into the three counties of Ohio, Yohogania and Monongalia. The greater part of Yohogania fell within the territory of Pennsylvania, when the boundary line between that State and Virginia was established; and the residue was, by act of 1785, added to Ohio county, and Yohogania became extinct.

We may state that the rhetorical declaration about West Augusta, attributed to Washington, at a dark day during the war, is sheer fiction. What Washington said, in the simplest terms, was, that if driven to extremity, he would retreat to Augusta county, in Virginia, and there make a stand.

The State undertook to provide a navy, but the trouble was to obtain linen cloth for sails. Therefore, an act passed by the Legislature during its first session "in regard to the Virginia fleet," appointed Sampson Mathews and Alexander St. Clair, of Staunton, trustees, "to erect at public expense and superintend a manufactory at such place as they shall think proper, for the

making of sail duck," at a cost not exceeding one thousand pounds. We can imagine the reasons which induced the selection of this region for the purpose mentioned. Staunton was regarded as a place not likely to be invaded by the enemy; much flax was then and afterwards raised in the county; and there were many natives of the north of Ireland living here, who were skilled in weaving linen cloth. England having no rival industry, for a long time imposed no restriction upon the manufacture of flax and hemp in Ireland. The people of Ulster took advantage of their opportunity, and finally supplied sails for the whole British navy. The manufacture extended to England, however, and the Irish trade was thereupon crippled by a duty on sail cloth. This led to another flight of Ulster people to America a few years before the outbreak of the Revolution. We have found no other reference to the manufacture of sail cloth in this region.

The Legislature of 1776 passed an act repealing all acts of the British Parliament which made criminal the maintenance of any religious opinions, forbearing to attend church, or the exercise of any mode of worship. The act also exempted Dissenters from all levies, taxes, and impositions for the support of the "Established Church"—still so-called. But all Dissenters, as well as others, were required to contribute to the salaries of ministers and other parish dues, up to January 1, 1777. The vestries were to continue their care of the poor. Glebes, churches and chapels were to be kept for the use of the "Established Church," but all acts providing salaries for ministers were suspended.

At the meeting of the vestry of Augusta parish, in February, 1777, Mr. Jones, the rector, appeared by Robert McClanahan, his attorney. He was allowed £200 for the year 1776, and to February 1, 1777; but Mr. Balmaine, late curate, was to receive out of the said sum the balance due to him—£103, 10s. 10d. It was ordered that the collector pay to Robert McClanahan the remainder of the £200, he entering into bond to keep and maintain Mr. Jones, and save the parish any expense on his account for three years. Very likely, before the three years expired, the aged rector had departed this life. We hear no more of him. The Glebe was turned over to the vestry to make what they could of it. William Bowyer and Alexander St. Clair were elected church wardens.

At the beginning of the war, when the State first called for troops, the young and ardent men no doubt rushed into the army, and there was no difficulty in filling up the ranks. The officers were eager for military distinction, and others, not anticipating a protracted war, were anxious to participate in the frolic. As months and years rolled by, and the war still continued, the popular enthusiasm evidently cooled down. It was one thing to march out and shoot at the British and return home "covered with glory," and a different thing entirely to be kept from home indefinitely, marching about or lolling in camp, exposed to the weather, badly clad, and nearly all the time without sufficient food. Many men who had courage and patriotism to serve a campaign, hesitated about voluntarily taking upon themselves the sufferings mentioned. But the casualties of war depleted the regiments in the field, and recruits were demanded. Volunteers in sufficient number were not forthcoming, and drafting was resorted to.

The Legislature passed an act in May, 1777, "for completing the quota of troops to be raised in this Commonwealth for the Continental army." Any two militiamen procuring a recruit for three years, or the war, were exempted from draft and muster. To complete the six additional battalions already mentioned, drafting was ordered to be made on the 10th of August, unless the number of men required had previously enlisted.

At the session of the Legislature, which began in October, 1777, another act was passed "for recruiting the Virginia regiments on the Continental establishment, and for raising additional troops." It provided that Colonel George Gibson's battalion should continue in the Continental service in place of the Ninth Virginia regiment, which was captured at Germantown. It also provided for the speedy recruiting of the Virginia regiments in service, Augusta to furnish ninety-seven men by drafting, if a sufficient number of volunteers did not come forward. The drafting was to be made at the courthouse of each county on the second Monday in February, 1778, and only unmarried men were liable to be called out. Foote relates that a company of volunteers was made up at this time in Rockbridge, of which the Rev. William Graham was elected captain, but which was not called into service. We are informed, however, that the statement is not entirely correct.

The counties of Rockingham and Rockbridge were established by act of assembly passed at the session which began in October, 1777, the former being taken from Augusta, and the latter from Augusta and Botetourt. From that time till further reduced, Augusta consisted of her present territory, the county of Highland, and part of Bath.

The first session of the County Court of Rockbridge was held April 7, 1778, at the house of Samuel Wallace, the justices presiding being John Bowyer, Samuel McDowell, Charles Campbell, Samuel Lyle and Alexander Stuart. Other justices commissioned were Archibald Alexander, Andrew Reid, John Trimble and John Gilmore. Andrew Reid being appointed clerk, was sworn in. A commission from Governor Patrick Henry, appointing Archibald Alexander sheriff of the county during pleasure, was produced, and the sheriff executed bond and took the oath of office. Other county officers who qualified were Samuel McDowell, colonel; John Gilmore, Sen., lieutenant-colonel; Alexander Stuart, major; John Bowyer, lieutenant; and James McDowell, county surveyor. The surveyor was still appointed by the president and masters of William and Mary College.

The court sat April 18 and May 5, 1778, for the examination of Captain James Hall and Hugh Galbraith, "upon a charge of suspicion" of being guilty of the killing of Cornstalk and two other Indians in November, 1777, and they denying their guilt, and no one appearing against them, they were acquitted. On both occasions the sheriff made proclamation at the door of the courthouse for all persons who could give evidence in behalf of the commonwealth against the accused to come forward and testify, but of course no witness volunteered.

On the 14th of May the court sat for the trial of Mary Walker, wife of John Walker, who stood charged "with speaking words maintaining the power and authority of the King and Parliament of Great Britain over the United States of America." A jury was impaneled, consisting of Henry McClung, William Ramsey, John and Samuel Caruthers, Hugh Barkley, William Paxton, and others, and after due trial the accused was pronounced guilty of the charge preferred. Thereupon it was considered by the court "that she be committed to close gaol four days, and that the commonwealth recover against her fifteen pounds, ten shillings as damages," &c.

No attorneys appear to have qualified to practice in Rockbridge County Court till August term, 1778, when Harry Innis and Andrew Moore were admitted to practice. At April court, 1782, Archibald Stuart was recommended to the Governor as "deputy attorney for the State."

The town of Lexington was legalized and named before it existed, or had a local habitation. The act of assembly, which established Rockbridge county, provided that "at the place, which shall be appointed for holding courts in the said county of Rockbridge, there shall be laid off a town to be called Lexington, thirteen hundred feet in length and nine hundred in width." The act further provided for the condemnation of the land (only about twenty-seven acres), and payment for it out of the county levy. One acre was to be reserved for county buildings, and the residue sold by the justices.

Rockbridge was so called from the celebrated Natural Bridge, in the southeast part of the county, and Lexington after the town in Massachusetts, where the first battle of the Revolution occurred.

It is presumed that Rockingham county was named in honor of the Marquis of Rockingham, Prime Minister of Great Britain in 1765-'6. During his administration the Stamp Act was repealed by Parliament, which caused great rejoicing in America, and the Minister received more credit for the repeal than he perhaps deserved.

The County Court of Rockingham held its first session April 27, 1778, at the house of Daniel Smith, which was two miles north of the site of Harrisonburg. The justices commissioned were Silas Hart, Daniel Smith, Abraham Smith, John Grattan, Josiah Davison, George Boswell, Thomas Hewitt, John Thomas, William Nalle, Robert Davis, Henry Ewing, William McDowell, Anthony Ryder, John Fitzwaters, and Isaac Hinckle.

Silas Hart was the first sheriff; Peter Hogg, the first clerk of the court, called in the proceedings "clerk of the peace of the county;" and Thomas Lewis, the first county surveyor. The following military officers were nominated by the court to the Governor and Council for appointment: Abraham Smith, County-Lieutenant; Daniel Smith, Colonel; Benjamin Harrison, Lieutenant-Colonel; John Skidmore, Major. For some unexplained reason the last-named person was not appointed

Major by the executive, but the office was conferred upon William Nalle. John Grattan, John Thomas, and Daniel Smith, were appointed coroners. At May court, 1778, Gabriel Jones was appointed deputy-attorney for the commonwealth, with a salary of £40 a year.

We now take leave of Thomas Lewis, Gabriel Jones, Silas Hart, Peter Hogg, John Grattan, the Smiths, and others, as citizens of Augusta.

Thomas Harrison, of Rockingham, laid off fifty acres of his land in lots and streets, and the Legislature, in 1780, confirmed what he had done by establishing the town of Harrisonburg, without appointing trustees, as was usual.

We resume our narrative of events during the Revolution.

Still more soldiers in the field were needed. Therefore, the Legislature, in May, 1778, passed an act "for raising volunteers to join the Grand Army." A bounty of \$30, and a complete suit of regimentals, were promised to every soldier volunteering before August 1st to serve till January 1, 1779. To Augusta was assigned a captain, lieutenant and ensign; the captain to enlist twenty-four men; the lieutenant, sixteen, and the ensign, ten, making a company of fifty.

The vestry of Augusta parish held a meeting May 21, 1778, but transacted no business except in regard to the poor. Dr. John Jackson was then practicing medicine in the parish.

The court-martial of the county sat for a number of days in succession in October, 1778, Colonel Sampson Mathews presiding. George Moffett was then a colonel also, and a member of the court.

On October 21, sundry persons were reported to the court "as delinquents for not going out when drafted, August 25, 1777," and at other times.

The next day John Bratton, a soldier of Captain Thompson's company, was tried "for deserting from the detachment of militia of this county commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Bowyer, on their march to Fort Pitt to join General McEntosh," but was acquitted, and on account of bodily infirmity, exempted from military duty.

On the 23d of October, "William McCutchen, of Captain Samuel McCutchen's company, returned for not appearing at the place of rendezvous, 15th September, 1778, to join the said

company on the expedition commanded by General McEntosh, and for opposing Lieutenant James Buchanan and his guard by force of arms," was duly tried. It was ordered that the accused be fined twenty shillings and imprisoned twenty days.

The following day, it appearing that Sergeant John Barrett, of Captain Laird's company, Tenth Virginia regiment, had hired Campbell McCawly as a substitute, and that Colonel John Green, of the Tenth, had refused to receive the latter; Barrett and McCawly being brought before the court, and Captain Laird testifying that McCawly had "used some deceit" to induce Colonel Green to reject him, it was ordered that Barrett having "sore legs," and McCawly being fit for service, the latter should return to camp and be accepted in place of the former.

At the same term the court ordered that arms be furnished to various captains for members of their companies too poor to supply themselves.

In October, 1778, the Legislature passed an act for recruiting the Virginia regiments, requiring each county, *except Illinois*, to furnish the one twenty-fifth man of its militia by May 1, 1779, to serve for three years, or during the war. An act of May, 1779, reciting that the former act had not "produced the end proposed," ordered that the "one twenty-fifth man of the militia" be drafted for eighteen months.

By another act passed at the same session, a part of Augusta county was added to Monongalia.

At a court-martial, held April 15, 1779, Lieutenant-Colonel William Bowyer was fined £10 for not attending the court.

On the 17th John Woods, of Captain Simpson's company, "returned at the last court for deserting from his command when he was a substitute for Robert Wallace, who was drafted in Captain Bell's company, on the head of Greenbrier, about the last of September," was fined £4, and ordered to be imprisoned thirty days.

The storming of Stony Point occurred July 15-16, 1779. This famous incident of the war has a place here, because a company of Augusta soldiers participated in it. General Wayne commanded, on the Hudson river, New York, a brigade of four regiments, one of which was from Virginia. The field officers of this regiment were Colonel Febiger, Lieutenant-Colonel

Fleury, and Major Posey.³² One of the companies of the Virginia regiment was commanded by Captain Robert Gamble, of Augusta.

Stony Point is a hill which projects into the Hudson, a few miles below West Point. The Americans had occupied and partially fortified it, but retired before an overwhelming force of the enemy. The hill was then strongly fortified by the British, and garrisoned by about 600 men.

During the summer of 1779, Washington planned the capture of the place, and entrusted the execution of the scheme to Mad Anthony Wayne. Twelve hundred chosen men, led by Wayne, marched in single file over mountains and through morasses, starting after dark the evening of July 15. They depended on the bayonet alone, and not a gun was fired by them. The assault was made before daylight, on the 16th. The Americans were divided into two columns, for simultaneous attack on opposite sides of the works. One hundred and fifty volunteers, led by Lieutenant Colonel Fleury, seconded by Major Posey, formed the van-guard of the right, and one hundred under Major Stewart, the van-guard of the left. In advance of each was a forlorn hope of twenty men, one led by Lieutenant Knox, and the other by Lieutenant Gibbon of the Virginia regiment. It was the desperate duty of these men to remove the abatis and other obstructions. Of the party led by Gibbon, seventeen were killed or wounded. The Americans were close upon the works before they were discovered. The British pickets then opened fire, and aroused the garrison. The assailants rushed forward, heedless of musketry and grape-shot, using the bayonet with deadly effect. According to the account given by Irving, in his *Life of Washington*, Colonel Fleury was the first to enter the fort and strike the British flag, and Major Posey sprang to the ramparts

³² Colonel Christian Febiger was a native of Sweden. He went with Arnold to Quebec, and was conspicuous at Stony Point and Yorktown. After the war, from 1789 till his death in 1796, he was treasurer of Pennsylvania. Chevalier and Viscount Louis de Fleury, Lieutenant-Colonel, was a Frenchman, and a Marshal of France at the time of his death. He received the thanks of Congress and a silver medal for his conduct at Stony Point. Major Thomas Posey was subsequently known as General Posey, of Spotsylvania county, Virginia.

and shouted, "The fort is our own." They were instantly joined by Major Stewart. General Wayne, who led the right column, was wounded in the head, but insisted upon being carried into the fort, to die there; but soon recovered. The loss of the Americans was fifteen killed, and eighty-three wounded. Of the British, sixty-three were slain, and five hundred and fifty-three were taken prisoners.

General Charles Lee declared the storming of Stony Point the most brilliant achievement he was acquainted with in history. The part in the affair which Captain Gamble is said to have acted is related in a biographical sketch at the end of this chapter.

To Dr. Cary B. Gamble, of Baltimore, we are indebted for a list of the men led by Captain Gamble at Stony Point, who were, it seems, detailed from the Seventh and Eighth Virginia regiments. The paper is headed: "A return of the men of Captain Gamble's company when Stony Point was taken from the enemy, 15th July, 1779," and is certified at the end by "Robert Gamble, captain, Colonel Fibeger's Regiment." The names of the officers and men are as follows:

Robert Gamble, captain; David Williams, lieutenant; James Flauherty, sergeant-major; William Spencer, George Goimes and Richard Piles, sergeants; Randolph Death (*sic*), Samuel Glen and Jesse Page, corporals; John Farrell, drummer.

The privates from the Seventh regiment were: Joshua Haycraft, Mathias Martin, Alexander Dresdal, John Malvin, Peter Sheridan, Joseph Fox, Daniel Burcher, Thomas Roberts, Sylvester Hurly, William Gibbs, William Hinds, Daniel Rich, Aaron Redmond, Thomas Miller, William Campbell, Moses Plain, Peter Barret, Alexander Strickling and Charles Steward.

From the Eighth regiment: George Ward, John Bray, James Ball, Henry Denny, Henry Normand, Jacob Roads, William McCollum, Henry Denny (two of this name), John Trotter, George Sell, Michael Moore, James L. Masters, Richard Barlow, Stephen Smythers, John Bland, Marshall Burton, Peter Warren, John O'Harroh, Patrick Lyons, William Steward and John Hanson.

The captured property was sold or appraised, and the proceeds, or valuation, distributed to the officers and men, the share of Captain Gamble's company being \$4,751 $\frac{1}{3}$.

A fragment of the order book of Captain Gamble's company, while serving under Wayne on the Hudson, subsequent to the

storming of Stony Point, has been preserved and has come into our hands.³³ Much of it is illegible, the writing having faded out, and some of the sheets are mutilated. It was probably kept by the orderly sergeant of the company, who was an indifferent penman and worse scholar. How he made so many mistakes in merely copying orders, &c., is a mystery. But such as it is, it gives us a rare view of camp life during the Revolution, and we offer no apology for the extracts we shall make.

The first legible order—the date of which has disappeared, but it was some day in August, 1779—is as follows: “Colonels Meggs and Butler, and Majors Hull and Murphy, will attend at headquarters this afternoon, at five o’clock, to receive their dividend of money arising from the sale of the plunder taken in storming Stony Point July 15th, ’79.”

At a court-martial held August 24th, whereof Colonel Putnam was president, Lieutenant Smith, of Putnam’s regiment, was tried upon the charge of taking several articles of plunder from a soldier “the night of the storm of Stony Point,” and acquitted.

Lieutenant Manyard, of the Massachusetts regiment, was tried by court-martial, August 30, on charges preferred by Lieutenant-Colonel Fleury of disobedience to orders, want of respect to a field officer, and hindering him from visiting the night-guard. Manyard was the officer on duty, and detained Fleury a prisoner all night. The court found him guilty, and sentenced him to be privately reprimanded by the General. Thereupon, Manyard preferred charges against Fleury of ungentlemanly behavior, and abusing him when on duty. A majority of the court thought Fleury guilty, but in view of the provocation he had received, and the punishment of his arrest, the case was dismissed.

The General next issued an order, expressing his dissatisfaction at the wrangling amongst the officers, and the frequent arrests “in a corps that has acquired so much glory, as to become not only the admiration but the envy of many,” and exhorting the officers to cultivate harmony amongst themselves.

A regimental order, of September 1, sets forth that “the drummers and fifers, instead of improving themselves since they have been on this detachment, have *grone* a great deal *wors*,” and directs that Philip Goaf, fifer in the First battalion, and Wil-

³³Through the kindness of William H. Gamble, Esq.

liam Armstead, drummer of the Second, take out the drums and fifes of the regiment every afternoon, Sundays and rainy days excepted, to practice from 4 to 6 o'clock.

Captain Gamble was officer of the day, September 2d.

John Bowling and John Malvin were tried for disobedience to orders, absence from roll-call, and drunkenness, found guilty, and sentenced to receive fifty lashes each, but, in consideration of the former good character of the men, the colonel remitted the penalty. Thomas Roberts was sentenced to receive fifty lashes for absence from roll-call, and one hundred for stealing. The colonel thought one hundred enough for both offences, but ordered that they be "well laid on." James Black, a soldier of Captain Montgomery's company, Virginia regiment, was sentenced to receive fifty lashes on his bare back for stealing a ham of bacon, Major Posey commanding approving the sentence, and ordering it "to be put in execution at Retreat beating." Alas! alas! the heroes of Stony Point!—the patriots of the Revolution!

By a general court-martial, held September 5, William Mallock, of Captain Talbert's company, Colonel Butler's regiment, was convicted of several offences, including "attempting to go to the enemy," and sentenced to suffer death. General Wayne approved the sentence, and ordered Mallock to be shot to death at 6 o'clock the same evening, "the whole of the troops to assemble at that hour on the grand parade and attend the execution."

On the 12th of September the General ordered that the men should be kept in camp, as a movement might be made at any moment. A standing order, which was often repeated, required the men to keep on hand two days' rations ready cooked.

Captain Gamble was officer of the day again on the 14th of September.

The following appears under date of September 18, written by Captain Gamble himself in a beautiful hand: "William Askins, of my company, is appointed a Corporal, and is to be obeyed and respected as such." Signed: "R. Gamble, Captain First regiment light infantry."

Captain Gamble was president of a regimental court-martial, held September 19th. Little else appears to have been done, except to hold courts for the trial of officers as well as private soldiers.

On the 24th of September, the command being near Fort Montgomery, a ship, one or two galleys, and some boats appeared in view, and the General ordered that every officer and soldier should hold himself ready for action "in case any attempt should be made by the enemy, which is rather more wished than expected."

By a general order of September 29th the men are rebuked for their unsoldier-like appearance, and to remove any pretext for it the quartermasters are instructed to "call on Mr. Thomas, each for four pounds of sewing-thread and four hundred needles and immediately distribute them among the companies of their respective regiments."

A regimental order, on September 30, directed that return be made of the barefooted men "in a column by themselves." The Colonel further expressed his astonishment and sorrow that the men, "instead of taking a pride in keeping themselves clean and neat, are daily decreasing in this very necessary point, appearing on the parade *durty* and *slovenny*, with their caps *laped* and *sloughed* about their ears."

Captain Gamble did not trust the company's scribe to record his own orders, but entered them himself. In one dated Kakeyatte, 13th October, 1779, he gives directions in regard to the pay, &c., of three washer-women, who drew rations in his company.

A general order in October calls upon the officers to exert themselves in detecting marauders, reminding them that the army was raised to protect, and not to oppress the inhabitants.

Another general order, also in October, exhorted the men to furbish up their arms and clothing, as the corps would probably very soon "parade through towns and cities, from which they have been long excluded," and all eyes would be upon them.

On the 22d of October General Wayne expressed his concern that the Virginians were the only troops in the light infantry that had not "procured hair for their caps."³⁴ The colonel of the Virginia regiment thereupon repeated his order on the subject. He directed that no officer should mount guard or go on the grand parade without a cap, and "if he has not one of his

³⁴ Probably instead of plumes.

own he will *kind a nuff to borrow.*' So the copyist enters it in the company order book.

Next appears a company order dated October 24, in the handwriting of Captain Gamble. The Captain expressed his pleasure at learning from Ensign Phillips that notwithstanding the soldiers had drawn "two days' rum" the day before, not one of the company was drunk on the parade. The commissary, he said, would soon have liquor to issue, exclusive of what the State of Virginia had begun to supply, and as it would be most proper to draw several days at once "on account of the distance," Captain Gamble was fearful that soldiers "accustomed to get drunk" would fall victims to the vice. He declared his determination to suppress a practice destructive of good order and military discipline. The men who should be caught "disguised with liquor either on or off duty," should have their rum stopped for two weeks. For a second offence the punishment should be whatever a court-martial might inflict without favor to any individual.

A general order of November 5 says: "Some late intelligence renders it necessary for the corps to be prepared to seek or meet the enemy." Every man was to be in readiness to act. The commissary was ordered to send wagons immediately to bring the rum and other supplies from the landing. At the next general parade a gill of rum would be issued to each man.

Cold weather had come on by November 7, and a regimental order of that date, signed by Colonel Christian Febiger, directs about chimneys to the tents, and requires the officers to prevent the men from destroying the fences or any thing belonging to the inhabitants. A general order instructs the commissary to "engage all the roots and vegetables he can procure for the use of the troops, for which he will give beef in barter."

On the last page of the fragment Captain Gamble is mentioned as "regimental officer." He was then only about twenty-five years of age.

In October, 1779, an act of the Legislature was passed repealing all acts providing salaries for ministers. Such acts had only been previously suspended from time to time.

At a county court-martial, October 27, 1779, Colonel Moffett presiding, Lieutenant James Bell, accused by his captain, Alexander Simpson, of disobedience, "in refusing to impress a horse

to carry provisions for the use of the militia ordered out on duty in this county," was tried and found guilty. It was ordered that he be reprimanded, "which was immediately done by the president in presence of the court."

At the same session of the court, Ensign James Steele reported the desertion of sundry men from their station on the west fork of Monongahela, they being substitutes for Augusta militiamen. Many other substitutes were returned on the same day by Ensign Robert Christian for deserting from his command at Buchanan fort. Some of the alleged deserters were acquitted, and others convicted and sentenced to serve six months longer than their original time.

By act of May, 1780, the vestries in Augusta and several other counties were dissolved; and the election of five freeholders as overseers of the poor in each county was provided for. The vestry of Augusta parish held their last meeting on the 16th of May, 1780, but only entered some orders in regard to the poor.

Soldiers, however, were still needed. Therefore an act passed by the Legislature in May, 1780, provided that the several counties (except the *county of Illinois* and the territory in dispute between Virginia and Pennsylvania) furnish one fifteenth man of the militia, to serve in the Continental army till December 31, 1781. Staunton was appointed a rendezvous.

The last act on the subject during the war, passed at the session which began October 16, 1780, called for 3,000 men, and fixed the quota of Augusta as 80, Rockbridge 38, and Rockingham 49, to be drafted for eighteen months, if not furnished by volunteering.

At the same session an act was passed for supplying the army with clothes, provisions and wagons. Augusta was required to furnish forty-six suits of clothes, Rockbridge seventeen, and Rockingham nineteen.

By the court-martial which sat at the courthouse, October 24, 1780, six captains were fined £10 each for not returning rolls of their respective companies. Zachariah Johnston, a member of the court, was one of the delinquents, and forthwith paid his fine.

On the following day, John Massey was brought before the court on suspicion of being a deserter from "the detachment of militia ordered on duty from this county to the southward, under

the command of Captain Tate and Captain Buchanan." The court was of opinion that Massey's return home was not culpable under the circumstances; and he, acknowledging that he was a deserter from the British army, and would rather serve to the westward, was allowed to exchange places with James Buchanan, the latter to go south and Massey west.

From the proceedings of the Legislature in 1781, we learn that there had been some trouble in Augusta in reference to a draft; but the date, cause and extent of it are not stated. Probably the men called for were furnished without drafting.

The court provided for the families of soldiers out of the county levy. At November court, 1779, Mary Waugh and Mary Lendon, soldiers' wives, were allowed, the one forty and the other sixty pounds (\$133.33⅓ and \$200) for the ensuing year. The people were evidently almost unanimous in support of the American cause. We have heard of only two disloyal men in the county during the war. At a term of the court in 1781, William Ward and Lewis Baker were found guilty of treason in levying war against the commonwealth, and sent on for trial. The court on that occasion was composed of Elijah McClanahan, Alexander St. Clair, Alexander McClanahan, Thomas Adams and James Trimble.

In October, 1780, by act of the Legislature, all ministers of the gospel were authorized to celebrate the rites of matrimony on and after January 1, 1781; but Dissenting ministers, not exceeding four of each sect in any one county, were to be specially licensed by the County Courts. Ministers of the "Established Church," were authorized *ex officio* to perform the service. Notwithstanding a large majority of the people had become Dissenters long before this, the Legislature, elected by freeholders, clung to the establishment, and it was not till October, 1784, that all ministers were put upon an equal footing in respect to the matter referred to.

By act of the Legislature, in October, 1780, the Court of Greenbrier county was empowered to have a wagon road opened from their courthouse to the Warm Springs, or to the mouth of the Cowpasture river, the costs to be paid by the property-holders of Greenbrier, in money or "clean merchantable hemp." This act was suspended in 1781, but re-enacted in October, 1782. The last act authorized the justices of Greenbrier "to clear a

wagon road from the Warm Springs in Augusta to the Savanna." We presume the road was *cleared* soon afterwards. Previously, merchandise and baggage were transported from the east in wagons, to or near the Warm Springs, and from thence west on pack-horses, while the wagons returned loaded with venison, hams, &c.

Mention has been made of the Rev. Archibald Scott as the first pastor of Bethel congregation. Foote gives the following account of the origin of Bethel. The year succeeding Mr. Scott's settlement as pastor of North Mountain and Brown's meeting-house—that is, in 1779—"as he was riding through the neighborhood he came unexpectedly upon a company of men putting up a large log building. Upon inquiry, he found it was designed as a meeting-house. The people worshipping at the old North Mountain meeting-house, had been talking about a new church building and a new position, but nothing had been decided upon by the congregation. Fearing lest evil might spring from this sudden movement of one part of the congregation, the young pastor says: 'Are you not too fast, my boys?' 'No,' said Colonel Doak, 'we will end the dispute by putting up the church.' The church building was completed, and called Bethel, and the dispute was heard of no more." Mr. Scott lived six miles from Staunton, about where Arbor Hill now is. He died in 1799, and was buried in Hebron graveyard.³⁵

A member of Mr. Scott's flock was Mrs. Margaret Humphreys, who lived to an advanced age, near Greenville. "Her graphic descriptions," says Foote, "were full of interest, and conveyed the liveliest impression of the times when the Valley was a frontier settlement. Where now may be seen the beautiful farms and substantial houses in Bethel, her active memory recalled the log cabins, the linsey-wolsey, the short gowns, the hunting shirts, the moccasins, the pack-horses, the simple living, the shoes and stockings for winter and uncommon occasions, the deer and the rifle, the fields of flax and the spinning wheel, and the wool and looms, and, with them, the strict attention to religious concerns, the catechising of children, the regular going to church, the reading of the Bible, and keeping Sabbath from the beginning to the end, the singing of hymns and sacred songs,

³⁵ His descendants are Scotts, Sprouls, McPheeterses, &c.

all blended, presenting a beautiful picture of enterprise, economy and religion in laying the foundation of society.”³⁶

From an order of the County Court, of February 18, 1780, we learn that Sampson Sawyer's negro woman, Violet, was sentenced to be hung on the 4th of March for burning her master's dwelling house. What is curious, however, in connection with the matter is, that it was ordered also that after the body was cut down, the head should be severed and stuck upon a pole at a cross-road.³⁷

Governor Gilmer gives a picture of the times during the war in an anecdote which he relates, and which we cannot omit.

We have mentioned John Grattan as one of the church wardens of Augusta parish in 1774. He was, says Governor Gilmer, a Scotch-Irish Presbyterian of the old Covernanter's faith and practice, noted for his love of David's Psalms in long metre, and his long prayers at family worship. He settled on North river (now in Rockingham county), and built the first good flour mill in the Valley. He was also a merchant, supplying a wide extent of country with foreign goods. Little coin circulated here, and trade was generally managed by barter. The goods bought were paid for in cattle, ginseng, pinkroot, and bear and deer skins. These articles were disposed of in Philadelphia, and this part of the business was usually transacted by Mrs. Grattan. She went to Philadelphia on horseback, sold the cattle, &c., and bought new goods for her husband's store. She was very expert, and generally very successful; but on one occasion she suffered a woful defeat. Being in Philadelphia, during the war, on a trading expedition, she was offered Continental paper money for her cattle, at the rate of two dollars for one of coin. When she left home the depreciation was not near so great. So she took the paper, and set off home with it, exulting in her financial

³⁶ The Rev. Dr. William McPheeters, a native of Augusta, educated in Staunton and at Liberty Hall, was pastor of Bethel from 1805 till 1810, when he accepted a call to Raleigh, North Carolina.

³⁷ This custom seems to have been general in Virginia, at this, or an earlier period. The ghastly memorials thus set up were doubtless to inspire a wholesome dread in the minds of the negro slaves. They impressed themselves in many instances as local topographical designations. Witness: Negro-foot precinct, in Hanover county, and Negro-head, Negro-foot and Negro-quarter, in Amelia county.

shrewdness. Each day's travel lowered her anticipations of profit, until, when she reached home, three dollars in scrip were worth only one in specie.³⁸

Until some time after the Revolution, the merchants in the State were, with few exceptions, Scotch or Scotch-Irish.

The prices paid for labor, &c., in Staunton, in 1780, show the great depreciation of the currency at that time. The County Court allowed Jacob Peck £80 "for making a new door to the prison," and £287, 10s. "for building a bridge across the creek below Staunton." Alexander St. Clair was allowed £97, 10s. "for one pair of dog-irons for the courthouse," and £30 (\$100) were paid for the use of a wagon one day.

During the war, officers were sometimes transferred from one regiment to another. This was doubtless owing to the fact, that by the casualties of war regiments were often broken up, and new combinations were necessary. In a "list of officers on the establishment of eight regiments," found among the papers of Colonel Robert Gamble, furnished to us by Dr. Cary B. Gamble, of Baltimore, a grand-son of Colonel Gamble, we discover some familiar names. The date is not given, but we learn, incidentally, that it was after the battle of King's Mountain, which occurred on the 7th of October, 1780. It was therefore probably during the winter of 1780-'81. Thomas Posey is entered as major of the First regiment, and as "rendezvousing at Staunton." Christian Febiger is entered as colonel of the Second regiment, and commanding at Philadelphia. Robert Porterfield was a captain, and William Eskridge a lieutenant in the Second, and both were prisoners in "Charlestown." George Mathews, previously colonel of the Ninth, is here entered as colonel of the

³⁸One of Mr. and Mrs. John Grattan's daughters became the wife of Colonel Robert Gamble; another, the wife of Samuel Miller, son of Henry Miller, who founded the iron-works on Mossy creek in 1774; and a third married Colonel Samuel Brown, of Greenbrier, who, as we have seen, was carried off by the Indians when he was a boy, in 1764. Their youngest child was Major Robert Grattan, for some years a merchant in Staunton, of the firm of Gamble & Grattan, and afterwards, for many years, famous for his hospitality to travelers by Bockett's stage coaches, while passing his residence on North river, in Rockingham. He commanded a company of cavalry against the whiskey insurgents in Pennsylvania. An older son of John Grattan was an officer in one of the Virginia regiments during the Revolution, and died in service in Georgia.

Third, and a "prisoner on parole." Robert Breckenridge was a lieutenant in the Fifth, but a prisoner in "Charlestown." Andrew Lewis was a lieutenant in the Seventh, and at Fort Pitt. James Wood was colonel of the Eighth, Robert Gamble a captain, and John McDowell and Henry Bowyer lieutenants of the same regiment. Captains Andrew Wallace and Thomas Bowyer, of the Eighth, are entered as having been killed at King's Mountain.

The battle of the Cowpens, in South Carolina, was fought January 17, 1781. Part of Morgan's command consisted of Virginia riflemen. Captains James Tate and George Moffett, of Augusta, were in the battle, and probably commanded companies from the county. Captain Tate certainly did. The victory was one of the most remarkable of the war. Only twelve of the Americans were killed, and sixty wounded. Of the enemy, ten commissioned officers were killed, and more than a hundred rank and file; two hundred were wounded; twenty-nine officers and more than five hundred privates were taken prisoners, besides seventy wagons. The prisoners were turned over to the Virginia troops, whose time of service had just expired, to be conducted to a place of safety.

The result of this battle excited Cornwallis, the British commander in the South, to more vigorous efforts. He pressed forward into North Carolina, eager to come to battle with General Greene. The trial soon took place at Guilford.

While the Virginia troops were retiring with their prisoners, a call was made upon our Valley for reinforcements for Greene's army, and soon after their return home Captain Moffett and Captain Tate, each at the head of a company of Augusta militia, were on the way to the South again. A company from Rockbridge also went. Colonel Samuel McDowell commanded the battalion.

When the Augusta companies were about to start from Midway, the latter part of February, the Rev. James Waddell, of Tinkling Spring, delivered a parting address to the men. Many of them never returned. Captain Tate and a large number of private soldiers were killed at Guilford on March 15. Some who came back carried on their persons ever afterwards the marks of British sabres. Archibald Stuart, afterwards the judge, was a commissary, but fought in the ranks at Guilford. His father,

Major Alexander Stuart, who commanded the Augusta and Rockbridge battalion (Colonel McDowell being disabled by sickness), was captured. "His captors," it is said, "plundered him and left him standing in his cocked hat, shirt and shoes."³⁹ He was detained for some time on board a British ship. In the retreat, Samuel Steele, who died in his old age near Waynesboro, shot a British dragoon who followed him, but two others assailed him and he was forced to succumb. He refused, however, to give up his gun, which he afterwards succeeded in reloading, and then put his captors to flight. David Steele, of Midway, was cut down in the retreat and left for dead. He revived, and came home and lived to old age. Foote states that the scar of a deep wound over one of his eyes painfully disfigured him. Several persons who often saw the old soldier have informed us that his face was not disfigured at all. His skull was cleft by a sabre and to the end of his days he wore a silver plate over the spot. Colonel Fulton, who was at Guilford, and afterwards for many years represented Augusta in the Legislature, is said to have been disfigured as Steele is described to have been. One of the Wilsons, of Bethel, was probably the last survivor of Guilford in this region. The Rockbridge troops started from Lexington, February 26, and the survivors reached home again on March 23, following.⁴⁰

The scene of the battle, old Guilford Courthouse, is six or seven miles northwest of Greensboro', the present county seat.

³⁹ His sword, a somewhat uncouth weapon, presumably of local manufacture, was some years ago presented by his grand-son, Hon. Alexander H. H. Stuart, to the Virginia Historical Society, of which the latter is president. The sword is without scabbard, that having been lost during the late war between the States, in hiding the weapon from Federal invaders.

⁴⁰ Among the Revolutionary soldiers from Augusta, who died within the last fifty years, are the following: James Robertson, December 25, 1835, in the eighty-fifth year of his age; John Tate, August 6th, 1836; Samuel Steele, June 8, 1837; Major Samuel Bell, May 15, 1838; Lewis Shuey, January 22, 1839; Robert Harnsberger, February 7, 1840; Smith Thompson, May 12, 1840; Peter Lohr, September 21, 1841; Samuel Gardner, January 11, 1842; Francis Gardner, July 26, 1842; John Bell, Sr., October 17, 1842; Claudius Buster, November 20, 1843; Captain Robert Thompson, January 23, 1847; William McCutchen, June 29, 1848.

No relic or memorial of the battle remains on the spot, and even the graves of the slain have been obliterated.

After Cornwallis entered Virginia, a party of Tories raised the British standard on Lost river, then in Hampshire, now Hardy county. John Claypole, a Scotchman, and John Brake, a German, were the leaders, and drew over to their side a majority of the people in the neighborhood. Their object appeared to be to organize and march in a body to join Cornwallis upon his approaching the Valley. The militia of Shenandoah, Frederick and Berkeley were called out to suppress the insurrection, and a body of four hundred men was speedily equipped and mounted. General Daniel Morgan, of Frederick, being out of service and at home, was called to the command, and advanced with the troops into the disaffected region. Claypole was arrested, but released on bail, and Brake was punished by the army living at free quarters for a day or two on his cattle pens and distillery. No collision occurred, but one man was killed by a drunken attendant of General Morgan, and another, while running away, was shot in the leg. The militia were out only eight or ten days. The Tories soon became ashamed of their conduct, and several of their young men volunteered and went to aid in the capture of Cornwallis.—[Kercheval, page 199.]

In June, 1781, the first and only alarm of the war occurred in Augusta county. The members of the Legislature were driven from Charlottesville on the 4th, by the approach of Tarleton, a dashing commander of dragoons, and met in Staunton on the 7th, in the old parish church. But on the following Sunday, the 10th, as stated, a session was held to enter an adjournment to the Warm Springs. This proceeding was caused by a report that Tarleton was pursuing across the Blue Ridge. Some of the members of assembly took the road toward Lexington, and others went to the northwest part of the county. Patrick Henry was one of the latter, and such seemed to be the emergency that, according to tradition, he left Staunton wearing only one boot.

The cause of the alarm and stampede has been variously reported. The late Judge Francis T. Brooke, then a young lieutenant of the Continental army, gives one version of the matter in a memoir he left behind him. He was in Albemarle, in command of a detachment, and was ordered by his captain, Bohannon, if he could not join the Baron Steuben, to proceed to

Staunton, and thence to join the corps to which he belonged in the army of La Fayette. He says: "The next day I crossed the ridge about six miles to the south of Rockfish Gap. When I got to where Waynesboro' is, I found a large force of eight hundred men, or one thousand riflemen, under the command of General McDowell. He stopped me, saying he had orders to stop all troops to defend the gap. I replied that I belonged to the Continental army and had orders to go to Staunton, and said to the men, 'Move on,' and he let me pass. At that time I suppose a regimental coat had never been seen on that side of the mountain—nothing but hunting-shirts. I marched with drums beating and colors flying, and some one seeing the troops, carried the news to Staunton that Tarleton had crossed the mountain, and the Legislature then sitting there ran off again; but learning the mistake, rallied and returned the next day. In the morning I entered the town. There, for a few days, I heard Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, George Nicholas, and my neighbor, Mann Page, of Mansfield."

Judge Brooke's narrative proceeds: "When I arrived at Staunton, Colonel Davis, whom I found there, insisted on retaining me in that service, but Captain Fleming Gaines, who belonged to Harrison's regiment of artillery, ordered me to join my corps as speedily as I could in the army of the Marquis, and furnished me with his horses and servant to do so. In a few days I left Staunton, and took the road, by what is now called Port Republic, to cross the ridge at Swift Run Gap. A curious incident occurred: one of the horses was taken lame, and I stopped at a smith's shop to have his shoes repaired; the people were all Dutch, and spoke no English, and seeing me in regimentals, they took me for a British officer, and detained me for a time as their prisoner, until one of them came who understood English, and I showed him my commission, and he let me pass."—[From a communication by Major J. M. McCue, in the *Staunton Spectator*.]

Yet there was good reason for anticipating an inroad by Tarleton. The first rumor of it seems to have arisen on Saturday, but on Sunday the report was apparently confirmed. On Saturday, Mr. Scott was hearing a class in the catechism at Bethel, which he dismissed to spread the alarm. On Sunday, the people of Tinkling Spring congregation were assembled as

usual for worship, when a strange man, arrested in the vicinity, was brought to the church. This man was one of four who had been captured, but the others had escaped. He was dressed partly in the uniform of a British soldier, and was supposed to be a spy sent forward by Tarleton. The excitement at the church may be imagined. The pastor addressed the congregation, urging the men to obtain arms and hasten to Rockfish Gap. But what should be done with the prisoner? A guard of several men could not be spared, and a young man named Long, who had carried his trusty rifle to church, volunteered to bring the stranger to Staunton and lodge him in jail. By command of Long, the prisoner marched on before and moved obedient to orders till they arrived at Christian's creek. There, Long wished to take off his moccasins, but the spy persisted in coming on, wading the stream in his jack-boots. Long repeatedly warned him to stop, and finally shot him down. After a few days he died, confessing that he was a British soldier, and had been sent in advance by Tarleton. These facts were related to the writer by the late Joseph Long, who was a son of the young man who shot the spy.

The alarm having arisen, riders traversed the county to notify the people. From Lexington to the Peaked Mountain, now Massanutten, the people were aroused. The men hastened to Rockfish Gap, while the women and children hid their silver spoons and other portable articles of value. Two venerable men, who were children in 1781, many years ago related to the writer their recollections of the time. One of these remembered that his father came home from Tinkling Spring church and took down his gun, to the boy's great astonishment, as it was the Sabbath day; the other told of his anxiety to bury his only treasure, a little bar of lead. The wife of Colonel William Lewis is said to have dispatched her younger sons, mere boys, to the mountain—the older sons being with the Northern army—with the injunction to do their duty, or return no more.

By Monday morning the mountain at Rockfish Gap was lined with men. Some, who could not procure guns, provided piles of stones to hurl at the invaders. The force under General McDowell, encountered by Lieutenant Brooke, was doubtless composed of the hasty levies referred to.

On the day the alarm first arose, the Rev. William Graham,

of Lexington, was coming to Staunton. He heard the exciting report before he arrived here, and immediately returned home to call out the militia. With a company of men he went on the next day to Rockfish Gap. Finding that Tarleton did not come, part of the militia, accompanied by Mr. Graham, went in quest of the enemy, and joined La Fayette below Charlottesville. During a short stay with the army, Mr. Graham had evening prayers in the company to which he belonged. The services were not well attended, except on one occasion, when a battle was anticipated, then the men generally assembled, and appeared to listen with much attention.—[Foote, First Series, page 454.]

At some period during the war, an accusation was preferred by Thomas Hughes against Zachariah Johnston, one of the delegates from Augusta, of instigating opposition in the county to the act of assembly for raising troops. While the Legislature sat at Staunton, June 14, Mr. Henry reported that Mr. Johnston had uniformly recommended obedience to the law, and that the accusation was groundless.

On June 23, the assembly adjourned at Staunton, to meet in Richmond in October following.

At a court-martial held August 23, 1781, one man convicted of deserting from Captain McCutchen's company, while under command of Brigadier-General Campbell, was sentenced to serve an additional six months. Another was tried for not going with the twenty days' men ordered out under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Bowyer, and acquitted. The court was kept busy during this year trying men for desertion and other offences. An offence charged against some of the accused, was "failing to appear at the rendezvous when ordered under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Lewis, August 8, 1781."

On October 19, 1781, Cornwallis surrendered to Washington, at Yorktown, and the war of the Revolution ended, although peace was not formally concluded till 1783.

As a part of the history of the county, we mention that the Presbytery of Hanover, about the year 1773, determined to establish "Augusta Academy," and it was at first proposed to locate the institution at Staunton. At a meeting of Presbytery, in April, 1775, persons were appointed to solicit subscriptions in behalf of the academy, among whom were William McPheeters and John Trimble, at North Mountain; Thomas Stuart and Wal-

ter Davis, at Tinkling Spring; Sampson Mathews at Staunton; and George Mathews, George Moffett and James Allen, in Augusta congregation.

In May, 1776, the Presbytery determined to locate the school on Timber Ridge, "as there was no one in Staunton to take the management, and it was uncertain whether there ever would be." At the same time the Rev. William Graham was elected rector, and a young man named John Montgomery his assistant. Mr. Graham was born in Pennsylvania, in 1746, and was educated at Princeton College. Mr. Montgomery was born in Augusta, and graduated at Princeton in 1775. He spent the last years of his life as pastor of Rocky Spring church, in Augusta. Trustees were also appointed: Rev. John Brown, Rev. James Waddell, Thomas and Andrew Lewis, William Preston, Sampson Mathews, Samuel McDowell, George Moffett, and others.

In 1779, the school was removed to Lexington, and called "Liberty Hall." An act of incorporation by the Legislature was obtained in 1782, and the institution has now become "Washington and Lee University."

The subject of religious liberty occupied the attention of the people of Virginia as soon as the Revolutionary war arose. At a meeting of the Legislature, in October, 1779, all laws providing salaries for ministers were repealed, and it was generally understood that no denomination should be favored in that respect; but the scheme of a "general assessment," for the benefit of ministers of all sects, was proposed and advocated by Patrick Henry and others.

In April, 1780, Hanover Presbytery met at Tinkling Spring, and held a session on the 28th at the house of Mr. Waddell. A memorial, praying the Legislature to abstain from interference with the government of the church, was prepared, and Messrs. Waddell and Graham were appointed to request Colonel McDowell and Captain Johnston, the delegates from Augusta, to present the memorial to the assembly. Another memorial on the subject was adopted at Bethel, May 19, 1784, and still another in October, 1784. A convention of Presbyterians was held at Bethel, August 10, 1785, and a final memorial, drawn by Mr. Graham, was adopted on the 13th. The Legislature met October 17, 1785, and on December 17, Mr. Jefferson's bill "for establishing religious freedom" became a law.

Early in 1782 the Marquis de Chastellux, a French officer, traveled extensively in Virginia, and subsequently published an account of his trip. In April he visited the Natural Bridge, crossing the Blue Ridge at Rockfish Gap. On the eastern side of the mountain he was joined by an Augusta man on horseback who appeared "much at his ease," and who entertained him with an account of the battle of the Cowpens, in which he had participated. His description of the battle agreed with General Morgan's official report of it. One incident of the battle he did not know of, but it was related by Morgan himself. The old hero was accustomed to say in his latter days that people thought he never was afraid, but he was often miserably afraid. After arranging his troops at the Cowpens, he said, as he saw the glittering array of the British army coming on, he trembled for the result. Retiring to the rear he poured out a prayer to God and then returned to the lines and cheered his men for the fight. The French officer pronounced the battle of the Cowpens the most extraordinary event of the war.

The Marquis and his party forded South river, where Waynesboro now is, and put up for the night at a little inn kept by a Mrs. Teaze, of which Mr. Jefferson had told him. He says the inn was one of the worst in all America. A solitary tin vessel was the only wash-bowl for the family, servants, and guests. The travelers did not pass through Staunton, but hurried on to a better inn than Mrs. Teaze's, promised them near the site of Greenville. They were doomed to disappointment, as the landlord, Mr. Smith, had neither food for the men nor forage for the horses. The war just closed had impoverished the country to that extent. Mr. Smith encouraged the party, however, to expect supplies at a mill further on. The miller, who also kept a public house, was a handsome young man of about twenty-five years of age, and had a handsome wife. He was found to be physically disabled, and upon inquiry explained that he was still suffering from fifteen or sixteen wounds received at the battle of Guilford. This was David Steele, of Midway. His wife brought the piece of skull clipped from his head by a British sabre to exhibit. The most serious injuries were received after he was taken prisoner by the enemy. Mr. Steele kept no spirits, and his guests fared upon cakes baked upon the cinders, and butter and milk.

The Marquis spent a night at a Mr. Grigsby's, near the Natural Bridge, and says: "The other guests were a healthy, good-humored young man of eight and twenty, who set out from Philadelphia with a pretty wife of twenty, and a little child in her arms, to settle five hundred miles beyond the mountains in a country lately inhabited bordering on the Ohio, called the country of Kentucky. His whole retinue was a horse, which carried his wife and child. We were astonished at the easy manner with which he proceeded on his expedition." And the natural charms of the young wife, says the Marquis, "were embellished by the serenity of her mind."—[*Travels in North America*, pages 234, &c.]

We conclude this chapter with a synopsis of what seems now a curious act of the Legislature, passed in 1783. The act authorized the payment of one half of taxes in tobacco, hemp, flour and deer skins. Warehouses were established at Staunton, Winchester and the stone-house in Botetourt; and at those places flour was to be received at the rate of fourteen shillings per hundred pounds, with an allowance of two shillings and six pence for casks and inspection. At the same place, and also Louisville (Kentucky), deer skins were to be taken at the price of one shilling and eight pence per pound for gray skins, and two shillings for red and blue skins.

THE GAMBLE FAMILY.—About the year 1735, Robert Gamble left Londonderry, Ireland, his native place, and with other emigrants from the same section settled in Augusta county. The name Gamble had been prominently connected with the history of Londonderry, and one of the family died, or was killed, there during the famous siege in 1689. Robert Gamble was a married man when he came to America, and brought with him a son named James, who was born in 1729. He had another son named Joseph, who was probably the ancestor of the Gambles of Ohio and Missouri.

On the 6th of March, 1746, Robert Poage conveyed to Robert Gamble 306 acres of land, in consideration of £15. This tract lies about a mile northeast of the village of Springhill, and is the farm lately owned by Theophilus Gamble, and now by the heirs of R. B. Hamrick, deceased. James Gamble inherited his father's farm, and reared his family there. His children were two sons, Robert and John, and three daughters, Mrs. Agnes Davis, Mrs. Elizabeth Moffett and Mrs. Esther Bell. Mrs. Bell

left no children. Mrs. Moffett's descendants—Moffetts, Tates and others—are numerous.

Robert Gamble, the younger, was born on his father's farm, September 3, 1754. He received an unusually good education for the time, at Liberty Hall Academy. When he had just attained his majority, and begun the business of a merchant, the troubles with Great Britain culminated in war. At the first call to arms he was made first lieutenant of the first company raised in the county. He soon became captain of the company, but as promotion in the Continental time was slow, he appears to have remained in that position for some years.

Captain Gamble was in active service during the entire war, and participated in many battles at the north, including the battles of Princeton and Monmouth. As we have seen, he served under General Wayne on the Hudson, in 1779. It is said that he led one of the assailing parties at the storming of Stony Point. He with his men mounted the wall in the immediate vicinity of a cannon, and seeing the match about to be applied, barely had time to lower his head and order his men to fall flat before the gun was discharged. He was, however, permanently deafened by the concussion. His company immediately moved on, and were the first to enter the fort. Being busily engaged in securing prisoners, the British flag was overlooked, until Lieutenant-Colonel Fleury observed it and pulled it down. At this stage the Pennsylvania troops entered the fort.

General Wayne's report of the affair was unsatisfactory, and upon learning all the facts he wrote another, giving the Virginians the credit to which they were entitled. At that time there was much jealousy between the troops from different colonies, and before the revised report was published General Washington made a personal appeal to the Virginians to let the matter drop for the good of the cause. Such an appeal from such a source was irresistible, and the error was allowed to remain.

During the latter part of the war, Captain Gamble served under General Greene, in the South, and for a short time acted on the staff of Baron De Kalb. He was taken prisoner in South Carolina, and confined on a British vessel in Charleston harbor. He afterwards frequently complained of the treatment he received while a prisoner, his food consisting exclusively of rice. For many years before his death he was styled colonel, but he appears not to have attained that rank in the army, during the war, having been allotted pension lands for service as a captain only.

Colonel Gamble's wife was Catharine Grattan, daughter of Mr. John Grattan, who lived on North river, near the present village of Mount Crawford. On the 17th of May, 1780, James Gamble, and Agnes, his wife, conveyed to their son, Robert, a tract of four hundred and twenty-seven acres, adjoining the homestead of three hundred and six acres. Colonel Gamble made his home in the country on the farm thus

acquired by him, and there his children were born, in a house still standing. Not long after the war, however, he embarked in mercantile business in Staunton, in partnership with his brother-in-law, Robert Grattan. The store of Gamble & Grattan was at the northeast corner of Main and Augusta streets, in a low frame house then standing, and subsequently occupied during many years by the post-office. Colonel Gamble's town residence was the frame house on the west side of Augusta street, about midway between Main and Frederick streets. On the 17th of April, 1787, he was a member of a court-martial held in Staunton, as lieutenant-colonel of Augusta militia. In 1792, or early in 1793, he removed to Richmond, where he became a prosperous business man and influential citizen. His residence in Richmond was on the eminence called for him, Gamble's Hill, and his business was conducted in a large building at the corner of Main and Fourteenth streets. His sons, Colonels John G. and Robert Gamble, were his partners. Both the sons were officers in the war of 1812, and both removed to Florida in 1827, where they were prosperous and influential. One of Colonel Gamble's daughters was the wife of the celebrated William Wirt, and the other, of Judge William H. Cabell, who was Governor of Virginia in 1806-'8, afterwards a judge of the general court, and, finally, president of the court of appeals till his death, in 1849. After leaving Staunton, Colonel Gamble sold his Augusta farm, October 15, 1793, to his brother, John, who transmitted it to his son, William.

Colonel Gamble was in the habit of riding on horseback every morning from his residence to his counting-room. On the 12th of April, 1810, as he was thus on his way, reading a newspaper, some buffalo skins were thrown from the upper window of a warehouse he was passing, his horse took fright, started, and threw him, which produced concussion of the brain, and terminated his life in a few hours. Mr. Wirt said of him, in a letter to a friend: "He was a faithful soldier of the Revolution, a sincere and zealous Christian, one of the best of fathers, and honestest of men." His house in Richmond was the seat of an elegant hospitality, and within its walls were frequent gatherings of the veterans of the Revolution and others, including Generals Washington and Knox, and Chief-Justice Marshall. But he did not forget the friends of his early days and native county, and by them and their posterity his name and memory have always been revered and cherished.

John Gamble, Colonel Robert Gamble's brother, was also a soldier during the Revolution, but where or in what capacity he served is not known. He was called Captain Gamble, and in 1794 was captain of an Augusta militia company. His wife was Rebecca McPheeters, a sister of the Rev. Dr. McPheeters, and his children were James (a minister), William, Philander, Robert, Theophilus, Mrs. Ramsey and Mrs. Irvin. He died in 1831, on the farm where he was born. By his will, he left five hundred acres of land to his daughter, Rebecca, and granddaughter, Mary J. Ramsey. This land is described as "lying in the dis-

strict set apart for the officers and soldiers of the Continental line, on the waters of Little Muddy creek, in Logan county, Kentucky—granted to said Gamble the 15th of September, 1795.”

GEORGE MATHEWS was a son of John Mathews, who emigrated from Ireland and settled in Augusta county about the year 1737. He was born in 1739 and, therefore, was a mere youth when he was engaged in the Indian foray of 1761, as related on page 107. In 1762 he and his elder brother, Sampson, were merchants in Staunton. His first wife, according to one account, was a Miss Paul, sister of Audley Paul; according to another, a Miss Woods, of Albemarle. He was captain of one of the Augusta companies at Point Pleasant in 1774, and in 1775 was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the Ninth Virginia regiment. This regiment, though raised for the protection of Accomac and Northampton counties, was soon ordered to join the main army under Washington. Mathews therefore participated, in command of the regiment, in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown, and his conduct gained him great credit. At Germantown he and his whole regiment were captured by the enemy. He was confined in a prison ship in New York harbor, and not exchanged till late in the war. Then he was ordered to the south and joined the army under General Greene, as commander of the Third Virginia regiment. While serving in the south he purchased a tract of land in Georgia, to which he removed in 1784.

Colonel Mathews was elected Governor of Georgia in 1786, and again in 1794, and between those dates was the first representative of Georgia in the United States Congress after the adoption of the Federal Constitution. During his second term as Governor, a scheme, known afterwards as the “Yazoo fraud,” for disposing of the public lands of Georgia, was consummated. These lands embraced the present States of Alabama and Mississippi. The Governor, though he had opposed all such schemes, was induced to sign the bill passed by the Legislature. No sooner did the measure become a law than a popular clamor arose. All who had aided the scheme were accused of fraud and corruption. Stout as the Governor was, he was driven from Georgia by the storm and took refuge in Florida. It is not believed, however, that he was justly chargeable with any wrong. He died in Augusta, Georgia, September 30, 1812, while on his way to Washington city, and was buried in St. Paul's churchyard, of that city. Howe states that Mathews county, in Virginia, formed in 1790, was called for him, but others say it was called for Colonel Thomas Mathews, who was Speaker of the House of Delegates for many years.

He is described as a short, thick man, standing very erect, and carrying his head thrown back. His features were bluff, his hair light red and his complexion florid. He admitted no superior but Washington. John Adams, when President, nominated Mathews for Governor of Mississippi territory, but afterwards recalled the nomination. This

greatly enraged the Governor. He hastened to Philadelphia on horseback, dismounted at the President's door and stalked in, wearing his old army sword at his thigh and his three-cornered cocked hat on his head. He proceeded to administer a rebuke to the President, but being like Mr. Adams a hot Federalist, means were found to appease his wrath, and he returned home pacified. In 1812 he took exception to some act of President Madison, and was on his way to rebuke him, or to administer personal chastisement, it is said, when he died as stated.

His children were four sons and three daughters. One of his sons was an eminent judge in Louisiana. One of the daughters was the first wife of Andrew Barry, of Staunton (whose second wife was a daughter of Rev. John McCue). Another daughter was the wife of General Samuel Blackburn, and the third was Mrs. Telfair, whose son, Dr. Isaac Telfair, lived in Staunton many years ago.

After the death of his first wife, Governor Mathews married Mrs. Margaret Reed, of Staunton. They were, however, divorced for some cause, and she resumed her former name.

SAMUEL McDOWELL was a son of John McDowell, who was killed by Indians near the forks of James river, in 1742, as related on page 31. He was born in 1733. In 1773 he was a member of the House of Burgesses, and in 1775-'6 he and Thomas Lewis represented Augusta in the State Convention. At the close of the Revolutionary war he removed to Kentucky, and died there in 1817, aged eighty-four. His wife's maiden name was Mary McClung.

GEORGE MOFFETT was the son of John and Mary Christian Moffett. He had three brothers—Robert, John and William—and a sister, Mrs. Estell, the mother of the late Captain John M. Estell, of Long Glade, Augusta, and Judge Benjamin Estell, of Southwest Virginia. There is a reliable tradition that Mrs. Estell was once carried off by Indians, and was rescued by her brother George; but when and where cannot be ascertained. Colonel Moffett's wife was a sister of Colonel Samuel McDowell. He lived on the Middle River farm owned for many years past by the Dunlap family, called Mount Pleasant, and built the stone dwelling house still on the place. He was not only prominent during the Indian wars and the Revolution, but was so also in civil affairs, having been a justice of the peace, an elder in the Presbyterian church, and one of the first trustees of Washington College, Lexington. He is said to have been a man of commanding presence, and eminently religious. He died in 1811, aged seventy-six years, and was buried in Augusta church graveyard. His children were John, James McD., Samuel, William, Mrs. General McDowell, of Kentucky, Mrs. Dr. McDowell, of North Carolina, Mrs. Kirk, of Kentucky, and Mrs. James Cochran, of Augusta county. James McDowell Moffett was the father of the late Mrs. John McCue, and Mrs. Cochran was the mother of Messrs. John, George M., and James A. Cochran.

JAMES TATE, killed at Guilford, was one of four brothers who came with their parents from Pennsylvania to Augusta early in the eighteenth century. He lived in the neighborhood of the present village of Greenville, and left a widow and child who removed to the West. His son, John, died in Missouri, at an advanced age, about 1866 or 1868. A grand-son of this John is the Rev. John C. Tate of Kentucky. JOHN TATE, brother of James, also lived near Greenville. He represented the county in the House of Delegates at one time, and is said to have voted against the famous resolutions of 1798-'9. His sons went to the west at an early day; his daughters married, respectively, the Rev. John D. Ewing, Jacob Van Lear, Samuel Finley and John Moffett. WILLIAM TATE, third brother of James, was at the battles of Point Pleasant, Brandywine, and probably others. He removed to Southwest Virginia, and became a general of militia. His descendants are numerous. ROBERT TATE, the youngest brother of James, had three sons and six daughters, and from them the Tates and others of Augusta are descended.

The village of Greenville was doubtless so called by some of the Augusta soldiers who had served under General Nathaniel Greene in the South.

ARCHIBALD STUART, a native of Ireland, having been engaged in some disturbance in his native country, fled to America, leaving his family behind. After living in Pennsylvania for some time, he was relieved by a general amnesty, and sending for his family came with them to Augusta in 1738. His wife was Janet Brown, a sister of the Rev. John Brown, of New Providence. He died in 1759. His sons were Benjamin, Thomas and Alexander. The last named—the Major Stuart of the Revolution—was born in Pennsylvania, in 1735. He lived first on South river, about nine miles from Staunton, but spent the latter years of his life in Rockbridge. He was the father of Judge Archibald Stuart, of Staunton, and Judge Alexander Stuart, of Missouri, the grand-father of General J. E. B. Stuart.

Rev. SAMUEL DOAK, D. D., was born in Augusta county, in August, 1749. He graduated at Princeton in 1775, and was licensed as a preacher by Hanover Presbytery, October 31, 1777. His wife was Hester Montgomery, sister of the Rev. John Montgomery. After preaching for some time in Washington county, Virginia, he removed to East Tennessee, then a part of North Carolina, where, with other settlers, he had now and then to take arms against the Indians. He founded Washington College, Tennessee, and was distinguished as a preacher and teacher. His death occurred December 12, 1830.

The Rev. JOHN POAGE CAMPBELL was born in Augusta, 1767, and when about fourteen years of age removed with his father to Kentucky. He subsequently studied with the Rev. Archibald Scott, in his native

county, and graduated at Hampden Sidney College in 1790. Having been licensed to preach in 1792, he was for a time associated with the Rev. William Graham as pastor of Lexington and other congregations. In 1795 he removed to Kentucky, and on the 4th of November, 1814, died near Chilicothe, Ohio. Dr. Dwight, of Yale College, pronounced Mr. Campbell "a remarkably accomplished scholar and divine."

Rev. GIDEON BLACKBURN, D. D., was (according to *Sprague's Annals of the American Pulpit*) born in Augusta county, August 27, 1772. His father removing to East Tennessee, the son was placed under the instruction of the Rev. Dr. Doak. He was licensed as a preacher by Abingdon Presbytery in 1792 or 1795 (it is uncertain which). With his Bible, hymn-book, knapsack and rifle, he plunged into the wilderness of Tennessee, and made his first preaching station at a fort built for the protection of the frontier. He soon attracted attention as an unusually eloquent preacher. He also engaged in teaching at various places. From 1827 to 1830 he was president of Centre College, Kentucky. In 1833 he removed to Illinois, and established a theological seminary at Carlinsville, which bore his name. He died at Carlinsville August 23, 1838. He was a nephew of General Samuel Blackburn.

The Rev. Dr. GEORGE A. BAXTER, D. D., was born in 1771, in Rockingham, then Augusta. His parents were natives of Ireland, and, on coming to the Valley, settled near Mossy creek. He was educated at Liberty Hall, of which he became rector in 1798. Afterwards, for many years, he was president of Washington College and pastor of Lexington and New Monmouth congregations. During the last ten years of his life he was a professor in Union Theological Seminary, Prince Edward county. He was an able and eloquent preacher, but never appeared as an author. His wife was a daughter of Colonel William Fleming, of Botetourt. Dr. Baxter's death occurred April 24, 1841. His son, Sidney S. Baxter, was long Attorney-General of Virginia previous to 1850.

Until Rockbridge county was established, North river was the boundary between Augusta and Botetourt. In April, 1772, a child was born seven miles east of the site of Lexington, but on the north side of the stream mentioned, and therefore in Augusta, who became highly distinguished and widely known—ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER. He was a son of William Alexander, who was a son of Archibald (or Ersbel, as he was called,) a captain in the Sandy Creek expedition, and first high sheriff of Rockbridge. In his personal recollections, Dr. Alexander mentions as an instance of the privations of the Revolutionary war, that his school teacher found it difficult to procure a knife to make and mend the quill pens of his pupils. The teacher to whom he was indebted for his first acquaintance with Latin, was a young Irishman named John Reardon, an "indentured servant," or convict banished to America for crime, and purchased for a term of years,

in Philadelphia, by his pupil's father. Reardon enlisted as a soldier in Captain Wallace's company, and was desperately wounded in a battle in North Carolina; but survived, and returned to school-teaching on Timber Ridge. Young Alexander was further educated at Liberty Hall, under the Rev. William Graham. When not yet twenty years of age, he was licensed as a preacher by Lexington Presbytery, October 1, 1791, at Winchester. He states that among the hearers of his first sermon after he was licensed, was General Daniel Morgan. Returning to Lexington late in 1791, he stopped in Staunton. "The town," he says, "contained no place of worship but an Episcopal church, which was without a minister. It was proposed that I should preach in the little Episcopal church; to which I consented with some trepidation; but when I entered the house in the evening it was crowded, and all the gentry of the town were out, including Judge Archibald Stuart," [not then Judge.] "who had known me from a child." In course of time Dr. Alexander became President of Hampden Sidney College. From that position he was transferred to Philadelphia, as pastor of a church in that city; and after a few years was appointed a professor in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, New Jersey, where he spent the remainder of his life. He died in 1851. He was a voluminous author. His wife was a daughter of the Rev. Dr. James Waddell.





CHAPTER VIII.

FROM THE CLOSE OF THE REVOLUTION TO THE YEAR 1800.

Before the Revolutionary war many German people found their way to the new world, and several of our Valley counties were largely settled by them. They were, for the most part, Lutherans and Tunkers, or German Baptists, and have transmitted their religious faith, with their steady habits, to their posterity. They brought their German Bibles with them, and for several generations the language of the fatherland was used by them in their households. Indeed, many of the older people never learned to read or speak English. Before the close of the Revolution a considerable part of the best lands in Augusta county was occupied by people of this race.

Peter and George Hanger, the ancestors of the numerous family of that name, settled in Augusta in 1750, it is said, having been born in Germany, but coming here from Pennsylvania. The former lived at Spring Farm, near Staunton, and died there in 1801. In 1780 he was appointed a justice of the peace, but declined to qualify. One of his sons, of the same name, lived at the place on the Winchester road, since called Willow Spout, but formerly widely known as "Hanger's," during the days of Bockett's stages, Knoxville teams and militia musters.

The most numerous family in the county, and possibly in the country, is that known as Koiner, Coiner, and Coyner. Michael Koiner came to America, from Germany, between 1740 and 1745, and settled in Pennsylvania. He had ten sons and three daughters. Two of his sons—George Adam and Casper—came to Augusta county, and in 1787 were followed by their father, who

proceeded to purchase farms. His other sons—Martin, Philip, Frederick and George Michael—also came to Augusta, and settled and died here. The three eldest sons were soldiers in the Revolutionary war. The ancestor died in 1796, and was buried in Trinity churchyard, near South river.—[*Peyton's History of Augusta County.*]

Before the Revolutionary war arose, the descendants of the early Scotch-Irish settlers of Augusta began to scatter abroad. Some of the Lewises, Breckenridges and McClanahans went to Botetourt county. Andrew Lewis and Robert McClanahan, Jr., were living in Botetourt before the battle of Point Pleasant. Thomas Lewis,⁴¹ living near Port Republic, became a citizen of Rockingham after that county was organized. William Lewis⁴² removed to the Sweet Springs about the year 1790. Some of the family located in Bath county. Soon after the Revolution, several of the Breckenridges went to Kentucky, and from one of them descended the distinguished men of that name. Immediately after the war, in 1783, the Rev. Dr. Waddell, of Tinkling Spring, who came to Augusta from Lancaster county in 1776, removed to the neighborhood of Gordonsville, where he died in 1803. He sold the Springhill place, for which he had paid £1,000, in two parcels—one of 840 acres to Mr. James Powell Cocke for £1,050; and the remainder, or the greater part of it, called "Round Meadow," to Samuel Hunter for £1,200. To show the gradual enhancement in the price of land, we mention further that Mr. Cocke sold his 840 acres, Springhill proper, in 1793, to John Swisher, of Rockingham, for £1,600; and Swisher's heirs sold it in 1812 to John Coalter for £4,110. Thus the prices of the tract were in dollars, in 1783-'5, \$3,500; in 1793, \$5,333.33⅓; and in 1812, \$13,700.

Just before he removed from the county, Dr. Waddell was invited to preach one-half his time to the Presbyterians in Staunton, and it is curious to observe that the call on behalf of the

⁴¹ Thomas Lewis died in 1790. His sons were Andrew, Thomas, Charles and William B.

⁴² William Lewis died in 1812. His sons were John, a captain at Point Pleasant and an officer during the Revolution; Thomas, an officer in Wayne's army; and William I, who was a member of Congress from the Campbell District in 1815-'17.—[*Peyton's History.*]

town people was signed by Alexander St. Clair and William Bowyer, the last church-wardens of Augusta parish, of whom we have any account.

An anecdote in relation to Dr. Waddell, which has come down to us, gives some idea of the state of the times. During his residence here coffee was very little used in the county, but having been accustomed to it in lower Virginia, he continued to use it after he came to the Valley. Some of his flock were scandalized at his indulgence in such a luxury, and felt called upon to administer a rebuke. They, however, to strengthen their cause, made out of the matter a case of flagrant Sabbath-breaking. Therefore the minister was charged with the offence of having *hot* coffee on Sunday morning as well as other days! He met the accusation calmly, and asked, "What do you have for breakfast?" They replied, "Mush and milk." "But," he asked further, "is the mush hot or cold?" "Hot, of course," they replied. "Well," said he, "You have cold mush on Sunday, and I will have cold coffee."

Dr. Waddell was succeeded at Tinkling Spring by the Rev. John McCue, who, while living in the county, preached more or less stately in Staunton for some years. There was, however, no regular Presbyterian church organization in Staunton till 1804. The early Presbyterian settlers were generally engaged in farming and grazing, and sought rural shades in which to worship, turning away, apparently, from towns and villages. Hence, throughout the Valley, their country churches antedate those in the towns.

Colonel Robert Porterfield, a native of Pennsylvania, but living in Jefferson or Berkeley county when the Revolutionary war arose, settled here, on South river, near Waynesborough, at the close of the war. He attained the rank of captain in the Continental army, and was afterward made colonel and general of Virginia militia. Revolutionary soldiers, not exempt by age or physical infirmity from military duty, were enrolled in the militia at the close of the war. General Porterfield was a member of Captain Thomas Turk's company, and by a court-martial held November 25, 1787, was fined for failing to muster.

Archibald Stuart, a native of Augusta, but reared in Rockbridge county, located in Staunton, in 1785, to practice law. While a very young man he was elected by the people of Bote-

tourt to represent them in the State Legislature, residence of delegates in the county not being required at that time.

Jacob Peck, long an enterprising citizen, was living here in 1780, having come from Pennsylvania.

The first meeting of Free Masons in Staunton was "under dispensation," March 31, 1785. Staunton Lodge was chartered by the Grand Lodge of Virginia, at Richmond, October 28, 1786, "the charter names" being Alexander Long, William Chambers, and John Paris.

Jacob Swoope and John Boys came to Staunton from Philadelphia, in 1789, and embarked in mercantile business. Both of them married here, but the wife of the latter dying in a short time, he returned to Philadelphia, where he died in 1798. Mr. Swoope remained in Staunton, and acquired wealth and prominence.

Some time between 1785 and 1790, several persons came to Staunton from different places, all of whom were prominent and influential in their day, and some of whom reared large families. We refer to John Wayt (the senior of that name), Joseph Cowan, Andrew Barry, Peter Heiskell, Michael Garber, Lawrence Tremper, and a school teacher named Clarke. Mr. Wayt came from Orange county. He was a merchant, a magistrate, and high sheriff, several times a member of the Legislature, and long active in all affairs concerning church and state. He died in 1831, leaving no child. Mr. Cowan and Mr. Barry were natives of Ireland, and leading merchants; Mr. Garber came from Pennsylvania, and Mr. Heiskell from Frederick county. Lawrence Tremper was born in New York and married there. During the war he was a lieutenant in the Continental army. He was by trade a leather-breeches maker. During the administration of Washington he was appointed postmaster at Staunton, and held the office continuously till his death in 1841. He also retailed drugs, patent medicines, and candy. Mr. Clarke, the school teacher, came from Pennsylvania, like so many others. He left four sons, Samuel, John, William, and Thomas, who long resided in the county, and the first of whom, in a quiet way, filled a large space in the community for many years.

Three brothers came to Staunton from Nelson county, probably about the year 1790, Chesley, Jacob, and William Kinney. The first named was clerk of several of the courts which sat

here, and the father of five sons and a daughter. Jacob Kinney was a lawyer. His only child was a daughter, the wife of the late Erasmus Stribling, and mother of Dr. F. T. Stribling and others. William Kinney, Sr., was a bachelor, and pursued no regular business during the latter years of his life, but he was noted for genial traits which made him a welcome guest in many homes.

An act of assembly, passed November 6, 1787, added twenty-five acres of land belonging to Alexander St. Clair to the town of Staunton. This addition has always been known as Newtown. Other land, belonging to Judge Stuart, in the northeast part of the town, was added in 1811.

The earliest returns of commissioners of the revenue for Augusta county, found in our local archives, are for the year 1787. Parts of Bath and Pendleton counties were then included in Augusta. The commissioners of the revenue were James Ramsey, Joseph Bell, and Charles Cameron. Alexander McClanahan was clerk of the County Court. The number of horses and mules in the county was 7,747; cattle, 15,692; ordinaries, 5, kept by John Bosang, Windle Grove, Peter Heiskell, James McGonigle, and Thomas Smith; practicing physicians, 4, Drs. William Grove, Alexander Humphreys, Alexander Long, and Hugh Richie. It seems that lawyers were not taxed, as none were assessed. The number of gigs was two, owned by John Ermitage and Robert Richardson. There were no four-wheeled riding-carriages in the county.

Pendleton county was formed from Augusta, Rockingham, and Hardy in 1788.

In the State Convention of 1788, which ratified the Constitution of the United States, Augusta was represented by Zachariah Johnston and Archibald Stuart.

Zachariah Johnston was born in Augusta about the year 1743, near the present village of Fishersville. He is described as a man of a religious temper, of great simplicity of manners, and utterly void of hypocrisy. As we have seen, he was a member of the House of Delegates during the Revolution. He was also a member in 1785, and warmly supported the act for establishing religious freedom. While that act was pending, he is said to have delivered an effective speech in favor of it, declaring that he would leave his own church if it should become a State

church. Near the close of the convention of 1788, he delivered quite a long speech in favor of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, which may be found in the volume of Virginia Debates, page 460. We copy one paragraph. Mr. Johnston said:

“ It is my lot to be among the poor people. The most that I can claim, or flatter myself with, is to be of the middle rank. I wish no more, for I am content. But I shall give my opinion unbiased and uninfluenced—without erudition or eloquence, but with firmness and candor. And in so doing I will satisfy my conscience. If this Constitution be bad, it will bear equally as hard on me as on any member of society. It will bear hard on my children, who are as dear to me as any man’s children can be to him. Having their happiness at heart, the vote I shall give in its favor, can only be imputed to a conviction of its utility and propriety.”

Mr. Johnston removed to Rockbridge in 1793, and died there in 1800.⁴³

⁴³His children were: 1. *James*, who was born in 1763, and had a large family, among them Thomas, Zachariah, Polly, Mrs. Turk, &c., &c. 2. Dr. *John*, of Roanoke county, born in 1764, whose wife was a sister of the late James Bell of Augusta. He left five sons and three daughters. 3. *William*, born in 1766. 4. *Elizabeth*, born in 1768, wife of Robert McChesney. She had seven children, among them Zachariah J., Adam, James (killed by a lunatic,) Ann, wife of Colonel Isaiah McBride; Mary, wife of Matthew White of Lexington; Eveline, wife of George Moffett; and Betsy, wife of Daniel Brown. 5. *Zachariah*, born in 1770, and lived near Brownsburg. His descendants are Blakeys, Grays and Cultons. 6. *Thomas*, born in 1772. He had eight children, one of whom was the mother of Dr. Z. J. Walker of Rockbridge. Others of his descendants are Lewises, Armentrouts, &c. 7. *Ann*, born in 1774, wife of Joseph White, a merchant of Brownsburg, and brother of Robert and Matthew White. She had seven children, of whom William White of Lexington is the only survivor. One of her daughters married the Rev. Thomas Caldwell. 8. *George*, born in 1777, and drowned while young in Jackson’s river. 9. *Alexander*, born in 1779. Had one son and two daughters. One of the latter married Thomas Wilson, and the other a Mr. McClung. 10. *Margaret*, born in 1781, wife of Captain Robert White of Lexington. She had nine children, of whom George, Robert, Joseph and Mrs. McDowell survive. 11. *Jane*, born in 1783, and married James Sharpe of Tennessee.

Until the year 1789, the County Court was the only court of record which sat in Staunton. As stated heretofore, it had an extensive jurisdiction in law and chancery. The higher law tribunal, called the General Court, composed of gentlemen "learned in the law," sat in Richmond.

In 1777, a High Court of Chancery was constituted, consisting of three judges—George Wythe Edmund Pendleton and John Blair; but by a subsequent act the number of judges was reduced to one. From that time for twenty years George Wythe was the sole chancellor in the State.

In 1789 the Legislature passed an act establishing district courts of law. The counties were arranged in districts, in each of which two judges of the General Court were required to hold terms. Augusta, Rockbridge, Rockingham and Pendleton constituted a district, and the court sat in Staunton. Judges Mercer and Parker held the first court here. Judges Tyler, Carrington, Tucker (the elder) and others also sat here at different times.

The first clerk of the district court at Staunton was James Lyle. He was succeeded, in 1793, by John Coalter, afterwards judge; he by Micajah Coalter, and he by Chesley Kinney.

Kercheval, in his *History of the Valley*, states that after the French Revolution broke out, in 1789, breadstuffs of every kind suddenly became enormously high. For several years afterwards it was no uncommon thing for the farmer of the Valley to sell his crop of wheat from one to two, and sometimes two and a half dollars per bushel, and his flour from ten to fourteen dollars per barrel in our seaport towns.

In the latter part of the century the Presbyterian churches of the Valley were disturbed by dissensions in regard to psalmody. The version of the Psalms by Rouse⁴⁴ had been universally used, and when the smoother version by Dr. Isaac Watts was introduced, there was strenuous opposition to it on the part of many people. It is related that, in 1789 or 1790, the Rev. William Graham, a somewhat imprudent man, precipitated a controversy

⁴⁴Sir Francis Rouse was, in 1653, speaker of the British Parliament, called the Little Parliament, which he was instrumental in dissolving, and turning over the government to Cromwell. He was also a member of Cromwell's first Parliament in 1654, and one of the new Lords created by the Protector in 1658.

on the subject in New Providence congregation. Rouse's version had been used there as elsewhere, but Mr. Graham, while assisting the pastor at a communion service, without conferring with any one, introduced Watts's psalms and hymns. Some of the older members left the church immediately, and a schism occurred. The seceders repaired to Old Providence church, in Augusta, and reopened that place of worship, which had been abandoned for some time. Rouse continued to be used for twenty years longer at Tinkling Spring and other churches, but was gradually superseded by Watts.—[*Ruffner's History of Washington College.*]

The first Lutheran church in Augusta, was built in 1780, on South river, near Waynesborough, and called Trinity. The next was Mount Tabor, near Middlebrook, built in 1785. Nine others have been built during the present century, most of them since 1840.

The Tunker (German Baptist) church was first organized in the county about the year 1790. The German Reformed church in the county also dates back to the last century, but the place and exact date of the organization cannot be ascertained.

The first Methodist Episcopal church building in the county was erected, probably in 1797, in Staunton, on the site of the present church, although Staunton circuit does not appear on the minutes of the Conference before 1806.

Bath county was formed from Augusta, Botetourt and Greenbrier, in 1791, by which act Augusta was reduced to her present dimensions, about thirty-three miles long and twenty-nine miles wide. At its formation, and for more than fifty years afterwards, Bath embraced about one-half the present county of Highland.

The first County Court of Bath was held May 10, 1791, in the house of Mrs. Margaret Lewis, at the Warm Springs. The first justices were Sampson Mathews, Jr., Samuel Vance, John Wilson, Charles Cameron, John Bollar, John Dean, James Poage, William Poage, John Kinkead, George Poage, Jacob Warwick, John White, John Peebles, John Lewis, Samuel Shrewsbury, and John Oliver. John Dickinson and Alexander Crawford were appointed, but declined. Charles Cameron was the first clerk, and Sampson Mathews the first sheriff. William Poage was recommended for appointment to the office of surveyor. The follow-

ing persons were recommended as justices to fill vacancies : James Stephenson, George Messingbird, John Brown, James Robinson, William Crawford and Robert Sitlington. On the same day Archibald Stuart was "recommended to the attorney-general as a proper person to execute the office of deputy-attorney for this county." No lawyers qualified till the June term, 1791, and then John Coalter and James Reid were admitted as attorneys. At August term, 1791, the first entry is as follows : "Ordered that the court adjourn to some trees down the lane near the highway." Upon meeting under the trees, Archibald Stuart and William H. Cavendish qualified as attorneys.

The Staunton Academy, a high school for boys, was incorporated by act of the Legislature, December 4, 1792. The first trustees were the Rev. John McCue, Rev. William Wilson, Rev. Archibald Scott, Gabriel Jones, Alexander St. Clair, Sampson Mathews, Sr., Archibald Stuart, Robert Gamble, William Bowyer, Alexander Humphreys, David Stephenson, Robert Porterfield, James Powell Cocke, Alexander Nelson, John Steel, James Lyle, Robert Grattan, William Lewis, and John Tate.

At a meeting of the trustees of the academy, held May 23, 1793, Dr. Humphreys was appointed president of the board. The Rev. Charles O'Neal was elected principal, and the tuition fees were fixed as follows : for the learned languages or mathematics, one guinea the quarter ; writing, arithmetic, and rudiments of English, 10 shillings ; teaching English grammatically, £1.

In November, 1795, William Sterret offered himself as teacher of Latin and Greek, and the Rev. John McCue, John Coalter, Dr. Humphreys, and Archibald Stuart, were appointed a committee to examine him. The Rev. Hugh White, however, was "authorized to teach," August 27, 1796. Next, in 1800 and 1801, James Clarke and John McCausland taught in separate rooms under the auspices of the trustees. As yet no building had been erected for the academy, and rooms were provided by the trustees in the town.

An act of the Legislature was passed December 22, 1792, which, among other things, organized the militia regiments of Augusta, Rockingham, and Shenandoah as the Seventh brigade

A post-office was first established at Staunton in 1793. Previ-

ous to that date all letters received here were brought by travelers. As described of the "mail facilities" of east Tennessee in 1796, every horseman had in his saddle-bags, or portmanteau, a wallet, in which he carried letters. This was carefully opened and examined at the several places where the traveler lodged, and the letters delivered or forwarded as the case required. The inhabitants cheerfully performed the duty of forwarding letters thus brought into their possession. An endorsement "on the public service," secured the transmission of a letter by a volunteer express with the utmost fidelity.

The first postmaster at Staunton was Robert Douthat, whose accounts with the government began March 20, 1793. He was succeeded by William Chambers, who held the office from January 1, 1795, till October 1, 1796. At the latter date, Vincent Tapp became the postmaster, and he was succeeded July 1, 1798, by Lawrence Tremper. Mr. Tremper was postmaster nearly forty-three years. He died in January, 1841, and Norborne C. Brooks was appointed in his place, February 4, 1841. In 1789 the number of post-offices in the whole United States was only seventy-five.⁴⁵

Archibald Stuart, of Staunton, was elected a judge of the general court in 1799, and for some years presided, with an associate, in the district courts. At the time of his election he was a member of the Legislature.

The tide of Indian warfare had rolled back from Augusta county as white settlers located in the west, but it did not cease on the frontier till 1794. In August of that year, General Anthony Wayne, at the head of a considerable force, encountered and routed a large body of Indians at the rapids of the great Maumee river in Ohio. General Wayne had been distinguished during the Revolutionary war, but his last achievement made him a popular hero. He escaped becoming President of the United States by dying in 1796. He, however, had the honor of giving his name to divers and sundry places. Waynesborough, in Augusta county, which was founded about that time, was called for him. The Wayne Tavern, in Staunton, was another of his namesakes. This tavern, which stood at the

⁴⁵ In 1800 the number was 903, and in 1884, 50,017, of which 45 were in Augusta county.

northwest corner of Beverley and New streets, invited travelers to take shelter there by its old-fashioned swinging sign, on which a native artist exhausted his skill in trying to paint a likeness of "Mad Anthony." The Washington Tavern stood on the present site of the Virginia Hotel, and displayed on its sign a portrait of the Father of his Country.

John Wise, a soldier under Wayne at the Maumee, settled in Staunton before the close of the century. He was originally a printer, and at one time published a newspaper here.

While General Wayne was on his expedition against the Indians, the Whiskey Insurrection in Western Pennsylvania culminated. Not being able to transport their grain to market, the people of that region, as many others then and since, converted the products of their farms into whiskey. A horse could not transport more than four bushels of grain, but it could carry the product of twenty four bushels in the shape of "high wines." By means of this article the people obtained the other necessaries of life. Whiskey was then considered indispensable. Everybody used it more or less, and, as was remarked, "a man could not be born, married, or buried without it." Congress, however, passed an act laying a duty on distilled spirits, and the people of Western Pennsylvania rose in rebellion against the tax as unjust and oppressive. Politicians of the Republican party throughout the country sympathized to some extent with the insurgents, while Federalists supported the government. A military force of 14,000 men was raised, and under command of General Henry Lee, Governor of Virginia, marched into the disturbed district. These troops were from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and Virginia. There was no fighting, however, and most of the soldiers returned home in a short time.

A company of cavalry, or mounted infantry, from this section, composed a part of Lee's army. It was commanded by Robert Grattan, then a merchant of Staunton, afterwards Major Grattan, of Rockingham. In all probability Grattan's company were the soldiers referred to in the following anecdote related by the Rev. Dr. Ruffner in his *History of Washington College*. Alluding to the Rev. William Graham, founder of that institution, Dr. Ruffner says:

"Another illustration of Mr. Graham's bold and independent spirit was a scene which occurred at Harrisonburg at a meeting

of the Synod of Virginia, in the year 1794, when a company of soldiers arrived there on their way to put down the whiskey insurgents of Pennsylvania. The Rev. Moses Hoge, warm with patriotic zeal, moved that the Synod should adopt an address to the people, inculcating obedience to the laws. Mr. Graham opposed all Synodical action on the subject, and boldly avowed that the 'whiskey boys,' as they were usually called, were not rebels, but a suffering people, whose grievances ought to be redressed. Other members also opposed the motion, either because they sympathized with the 'whiskey boys'—whiskey being at that time a chief staple of the Valley, and the tax upon its manufacture was felt as a grievance. The address was carried by a small majority. The soldiers were exasperated against Mr. Graham and his party, and threatened violence against him, insomuch that he found it expedient to retire privately from the scene of tumult."

Captain Grattan's company performed another service, on the occasion of the captain's return to Staunton after his marriage, which is worth mentioning. Colonel John G. Gamble, in his unpublished account of the Grattan family, says: "I accompanied his troop of cavalry, which went out some eight or ten miles to meet their captain and escort his young bride to town."

The court-martial of the Thirty-second regiment of militia was held in Staunton, December 12, 1794. Lieutenant-Colonel Andrew Anderson presided, and Robert Doak was present as a captain. Smith Thompson was elected provost marshal. Joseph Bell, of Captain Turk's company, "charged with not performing his tour of duty against the insurgents when called upon," appeared and was acquitted. For the offence mentioned, however, John Armstrong was fined \$36, and Benjamin Grove, \$15. Other militiamen were tried on the same charge, some being acquitted and others convicted and fined.

Mr. Jefferson, while residing at Monticello, previous to his election to the presidency, turned his attention, among his various projects, to the manufacture of nails, and wished to establish an agency in Staunton. In June, 1795, he wrote to Archibald Stuart, his former pupil and personal and political friend, inclosing some "nail cards," which he wished put into the hands of a substantial and punctual merchant. He suggested a Mr. Stuart, Mr. St. Clair, or Gamble & Grattan. The next year, in January, he wrote again on the same subject. The

nail business was not prospering, evidently; but we are gratified to find that even at that early day Staunton was considered a better market, at least for nails, than Warren or Warminster. In February following, the price of nails had gone up in Philadelphia, and the "Sage of Monticello" was encouraged. He advised his Staunton correspondent to embark in the manufacture of potash, and assured him there were "millions in it." The tradesmanlike way he wrote about "penny brads," and the profits of potash, remind one of Dr. Johnson playing the business man at the sale of Thrale's brewery. From a letter, written at Philadelphia, June 8, 1798, Mr. Jefferson being vice-president, it seems that John McDowell was then the agent at Staunton. Mr. Jefferson was anxious for a remittance, as for six months he had been advancing money for nail rods. McDowell threw up the agency in 1799, and by that time it appears the "nailery" was near its end.

Before the close of the century some attempts were made to establish factories in the county. In 1790 an act was passed by the Legislature authorizing Alexander St. Clair, William Chambers, John Boys, Robert Grattan, Robert Gamble, and others, to raise by lottery three hundred pounds, to be applied by them in erecting a paper mill near Staunton, "for the use of Gideon Morgan and Peter Burkhart." And, in 1791, another act authorized trustees to raise four thousand dollars by lottery for repairing and completing Smith Tandy's "bleaching mill" near Staunton.

In the year 1796 Staunton was visited by Isaac Weld, an English traveler, whose book of *Travels through the States of North America*, etc., was published in London in 1799. In his pages we find some description of Staunton and the surrounding country at the date of the visit. He says: "As I passed along it" (the road traversing the Valley) "I met with great numbers of people from Kentucky⁴⁶ and the new State of Tennessee, going

⁴⁶ From the date of the first settlement of Kentucky, till near the close of the century, the most frequented route of travel from the north-eastern States to Kentucky was called the "Wilderness road," which traversed the Valley of Virginia, passing through Staunton, Fincastle, and Cumberland Gap. A northern route was also traveled to some extent, but it was exceedingly dangerous on account of the hostility of the Indians on the north bank of the Ohio river. In 1790 Mr. Charles

towards Philadelphia and Baltimore, and with many others going in a contrary direction, 'to explore,' as they call it, that is, to search for lands conveniently situated for new settlements in the western country. These people all travel on horseback, with pistols or swords, and a large blanket folded up under their saddles, which last they use for sleeping in when obliged to pass the night in the woods * * * Thirty miles further on'' (from Lexington) "stands Staunton. This town carries on a considerable trade with the back country, and contains nearly two hundred dwellings, mostly built of stone, together with a church. This was the first place on the entire road from Lynchburg, one hundred and fifty miles distant, and which I was about ten days in traveling, where I was able to get a bit of fresh meat, excepting indeed on passing the Blue Mountains, where they brought me some venison that had been just killed. I went on fifty miles further from Staunton before I got any again. * *

"In every part of America a European is surprised at finding so many men with military titles, * * * but nowhere, I believe, is there such a superfluity of these military personages as in the town of Staunton; there is hardly a decent person in it, excepting lawyers and medical men, but what is a colonel, a major, or a captain. * * * In Staunton there are two or three corps'' (volunteer military companies), "one of cavalry, the other of artillery. These are formed chiefly of men who find a certain degree of amusement in exercising as soldiers, and who are also induced to associate by the vanity of appearing in regimentals."

Weld relates that when he was in Staunton a party of Creek Indians arrived there on their way to Philadelphia, then the seat

Johnston started with Mr. John May, of Petersburg, on a business trip to Kentucky. They went through the wilderness from Lewisburg to the Kanawha, and about where Charleston now stands embarked with others in a flat boat to go down the Kanawha and Ohio rivers. When near the mouth of the Sciota the party was decoyed to the northern shore and assailed by Indians. Mr. May and a woman were killed, and the others captured. After several months young Johnston was redeemed by British traders at Detroit, and returned home. He was the father of Frederick Johnston, Esq, long clerk of the courts of Roanoke county, and grandfather of the Rev. Lewis B. Johnston, pastor of Hebron church, Augusta county.

of the United States Government. The next morning half of the Indians set off without the others, who did not follow till some hours afterwards. When the latter started, several of the townspeople on horseback escorted them part of the way. After proceeding along the road for some miles they all at once turned off into the woods, though there was no path. The people who accompanied them, surprised at the movement, informed them that they were quitting the road to Philadelphia and would miss their companions who had gone on before. The Indians persisted, however, asserting that they knew the way and the route taken by the others. Curiosity led some of the horsemen to go on, and to their surprise the first party of Indians was overtaken in the thickest part of the wood. Moreover, the route taken, as well as could be ascertained, was on an air-line to Philadelphia. This anecdote is quoted, in a note to Campbell's *Gertrude of Wyoming*, as an instance of Indian sagacity.

Rochefoucault, the French philanthropist, visited Staunton in 1797. He does not give a flattering picture of the place, but as a faithful annalist we reproduce it, protesting, however, that Staunton and its people are very different now-a-days. He says there were eight inns here, fifteen to eighteen stores, and about eight hundred inhabitants. Two market days were kept weekly, but badly furnished with provisions. Fresh meat sold at six-pence per pound (eight cents), flour at eleven dollars per barrel. A newspaper was published twice a week (?). The inhabitants, like the generality of Virginians, were fond of gambling and betting. The traveler witnessed here two miserable horse races. Manners were much like those of Richmond, nor were the people "actuated by a superior desire to discharge the debts which they contracted." During his stay at the inn he "saw great numbers of travelers pass by, merchants or sellers of land, going to Greenbrier and Carolina, or persons on their way to the medicinal springs." The goods sold by the storekeepers were brought from Baltimore or Philadelphia.

Rochefoucault states that at the time of his visit a Presbyterian church was going up in Staunton. He is clearly mistaken as to the denomination, as the Presbyterians had no building till twenty years afterwards, and it was no doubt the first house of worship erected by the Methodists that attracted his attention.

At the time the French traveler was in Staunton, Bob Bailey,

the noted gambler, made his headquarters here. He was an elegant gentleman, very insinuating, and very likely sought the acquaintance of the stranger. A few years afterwards he was in the hands of the district court upon the charge of "exhibiting faro," but fled to escape the penalty of the law.

The Rev. JAMES WADDELL was born in July, 1739, either in County Down, Ireland, or on the long passage across the Atlantic. His father was Thomas Waddell, who, it is believed, was a son of William Waddell, one of the prisoners captured at Bothwell Bridge, in 1679, as mentioned in a previous note. Thomas Waddell settled in Eastern Pennsylvania, near the Delaware State line. His youngest son, James, had his left hand nearly severed from the wrist during his early boyhood, by an axe wielded by an older brother, who was cutting into a hollow tree in pursuit of a hare; and although the hand, upon being bandaged, adhered to the arm, it was permanently disabled. He was educated at the school of the Rev. Dr. Finley, at Nottingham, Pennsylvania, then one of the most celebrated schools in the colonies, and finally became an assistant teacher. Dr. Benjamin Rush, of Philadelphia, was one of his pupils. When nineteen or twenty years old, in 1758 or 1759, young Waddell was proceeding on horseback to South Carolina, to engage in teaching, but on arriving in Hanover county he was prevailed upon by the Rev. Samuel Davies to remain in Virginia. His first employment was as a teacher with the Rev. John Todd, of Louisa county, with whom he also studied theology. While he was teaching in Louisa it is said that several of the young Lewises, of Augusta, were amongst his pupils. He was licensed as a preacher by Hanover Presbytery in 1761, and after preaching at various places, including Hat creek, in Campbell, he settled in Lancaster county, where there was a considerable congregation of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. His preaching soon attracted much attention. An aged man named Irvin, son of the first white settler in Campbell, many years ago wrote a history of Hat Creek church. After speaking of several other ministers who had preached at Hat Creek, the writer, alluding to Mr. Waddell, says: "And an eloquent one he was. It was said forty years back [probably about 1800] that of all the preachers who had preached at Hat creek, none was so much of an orator as Mr. Waddell." Colonel James Gordon, of Lancaster, kept a diary which, in part, has been preserved, and in it alludes to the sensation in that county caused by the young preacher. In Lancaster Mr. Waddell married a daughter of Colonel Gordon. Soon after the breaking out of the Revolutionary war, his health being impaired by the climate of the lower country, he purchased and removed to the Springhill estate, in Augusta. While living in Augusta he preached regularly

at Tinkling Spring, and occasionally in Staunton. He took an active part during and after the war in the movement in favor of religious liberty, and is said to have written one of the memorials of Hanover Presbytery to the Legislature on that subject. After the war he removed to an estate near the present town of Gordonsville, and there he spent the last twenty years of his life. During this period he was totally blind from cataract for several years, but partially recovered his sight after undergoing a surgical operation. He continued to preach while blind, chiefly in a log meeting-house he had built on his own land. He also often preached by invitation in the former parish churches of the establishment. Bishop Meade quotes from the parish records his formal invitations to fill such pulpits. Carlisle College, Pennsylvania, conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. His death occurred in September, 1805. He was buried on his plantation, and, by his direction, his remains were borne to the grave by his colored male slaves. Before his death he destroyed all his manuscripts, except a few fragments. His powers of oratory were testified to, not only by Mr. Wirt, but by Governor Barbour, Judge Stuart, the Rev. Dr. Baxter, the Rev. Dr. Alexander, and many others. The ornate style of Mr. Wirt's account of the "Blind Preacher" has caused many people to regard the piece as a fiction, and the person himself as almost a myth. Some of the details are certainly fictitious. It is said that Dr. Waddell never appeared in public in the costume described by Wirt. He is described also as a very old man, whereas he was only sixty-four, although his blindness and palsy probably caused him to appear older. Wirt represents himself as a stranger who had never heard of the preacher till he encountered him in the rustic meeting-house. They were well acquainted, however, years before the letters of the British Spy were published; and instead of no one in Richmond knowing of the preacher, he was well known by many people there. Other liberties were taken by Mr. Wirt, but to his dying day he declared that he had given a truthful account of Dr. Waddell's eloquence.

The children of Dr. Waddell who survived him were, James G., born in Lancaster; Mrs. Elizabeth Calhoun, Mrs. Janetta Alexander, and Ann H., born in Augusta; and Addison (M. D.), Sally and Lyttelton, born in Louisa, near Gordonsville.



CHAPTER IX.

FROM 1800 TO 1812.

Before the year 1800 Staunton was thronged every summer and fall with people going to and returning from "The Springs." The Warm and Sweet Springs were then much frequented by invalids and pleasure seekers.

Dr. William Boys, long a prominent physician in Staunton, and the first physician of the Western Lunatic Asylum, came here from Philadelphia about the beginning of the present century, having received his professional education in Edinburgh, Scotland. He was a cousin of John Boys, heretofore mentioned, and their wives were sisters, daughters of Alexander St. Clair.⁴⁷

From the books of the commissioners of the revenue for the year 1800 we obtain some interesting facts. The number of tithables in the county, including Staunton, was 3,236. The number of horses was 6,088. The cattle were not listed. Four-wheeled riding carriages were taxed, but gigs were not; and the number of the former in the county was exactly two, viz.: Thomas Martin's "stage," and Archibald Stuart's "chariot." The total tax was \$1,557.78.

⁴⁷ Another daughter of Alexander St. Clair was the wife of Captain Robert Williamson, a sea captain in the mercantile service, and by birth a Scotchman. Captain Williamson spent most of his life on the ocean, voyaging to and from China, Archangel, and other foreign countries. His family resided in Philadelphia till the war of 1812 banished trading vessels from the sea. He then removed to Staunton and engaged in merchandising, in partnership, at different times, with Mr. Cowan and Captain John C. Sowers. He is described as a man of vigorous mind, exemplary character, and ardently religious. His death occurred in 1823.

Twenty-five merchants doing business in the county, paid license tax the same year, and among them appear the still familiar names of John McDowell, Jacob Swoope, Andrew Barry, John Wayt, Joseph Cowan, Alexander St. Clair, Peter Hanger, and others.

Joseph Cowan was a conspicuous citizen of the county for many years, although he never held any public office, except that of treasurer of the Western Lunatic Asylum. He was a native of the north of Ireland, and possessed all the characteristics of his race in a prominent degree. There was no bank in Staunton during his time, and he acted as banker for many citizens of the county. His store was a favorite place of resort for elderly men. He was an elder in the Presbyterian church, and very rigid in his observance of the Sabbath day.

Dr. Alexander Humphreys, who died in Staunton, in 1802, and whose family afterwards removed to Kentucky, seems to have been the solitary practicing physician in the county in 1800. Still the lawyers were exempt from license tax. Surely there were lawyers here at the time. General Samuel Blackburn was living here, and was at the zenith of his fame as an advocate. He afterwards removed to his estate, called the Wilderness, in Bath county, where he spent the latter years of his life.

Another citizen of the county, in 1800, must not be omitted. The Rev. John Glendy, D. D., was born in Londonderry, Ireland, June 24, 1755, and educated at the University of Glasgow. For several years he was pastor of a Presbyterian church at Londonderry. When the rebellion of 1798 occurred, his course was obnoxious to the government, and an order was issued for his arrest. After concealing himself in various places, he gave himself up for trial. He always declared that he had taken no active part in the rebellion, but, nevertheless, he was convicted, and sentenced to perpetual banishment. He and his wife were compelled to embark for America in an old vessel, which, in distress, put in at Norfolk. This was in 1799. Mr. Glendy preached at Norfolk, and attracted much attention by his oratory. The climate of lower Virginia proved unfavorable to Mrs. Glendy's health, and by advice of a physician he came to Staunton. Here he was employed by the Presbyterians of the town and of Bethel congregation to minister to them temporarily. On the 22d of February, 1800, he delivered in Staunton a eulogy of Washington,

of which two editions were printed. By invitation of President Jefferson, he visited Washington city, and there delivered an address in the capital, which excited much admiration. Soon afterwards he became pastor of a church in Baltimore. He was chosen chaplain to the lower house of Congress in 1806, and to the Senate in 1815. About the year 1822, the University of Maryland conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. His style of oratory is said to have indicated his common nationality with Curran and Philips. His popular address and talents, in connection with the important places he occupied, and the fact of his being an exile from his native land, gave him easy access to the highest classes of society. He died October 4, 1832.

In the year 1802, another change was made in the judiciary system of the State. Four chancery districts were then constituted, and John Brown was elected by the Legislature "judge of the court of chancery for the upper district." At the time of his election, Judge Brown resided in Hardy county, but he immediately removed to Staunton, where he was required to hold terms of his court. He sat also in Lewisburg and Wytheville. The first chancery court was held in Staunton, July 1, 1802. Henry J. Peyton was the first clerk of this court, and William S. Eskridge was the second and last. William Kinney, Sr., was its "sergeant-at-arms." Among the lawyers who qualified to practice in the court, on the day it opened, were Edmund Randolph, James Breckenridge, Daniel Sheffey, Chapman Johnson and Edward Graham. Of these, only Mr. Johnson resided in Staunton. Mr. Sheffey lived at that time in Wythe, and did not remove to Staunton till some twenty years afterwards.

Judge Brown died in 1826. His successor was Judge Allen Taylor, of Botetourt, who presided in the court till 1831, when another change was made in the judiciary system.

In connection with the foregoing, we may state here that, in 1809, circuit courts of law, instead of district courts, were established by act of assembly. The counties of the State were arranged in circuits, and one of the judges of the general court was required to hold terms in every county. Judge Stuart then became sole judge of the circuit of which Augusta was a part. Chesley Kinney, by appointment of the judge, was clerk of the circuit court of law for Augusta county, till 1828, when his son, Nicholas C. Kinney, was appointed.

The system of two distinct courts, one of law and the other of chancery, continued till the year 1831.

From the year 1800 to the year 1860, emigration and immigration were the order of the day in Augusta county. The sons of farmers and others, descendants of early settlers, were enticed away by the low prices of rich lands in the west—Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri. Often whole families sold out their lands here, and left in search of new homes near the frontier of civilization; and sometimes several families, neighbors and friends, went together to form a congenial settlement elsewhere. The emigrants packed in wagons their provisions, clothing, bedding, and such cherished articles as they could not leave behind, and spent weeks on the road, camping out at night. The descendants of Augusta people in the States just named, must number many thousands. Some forty years ago, a citizen of Augusta was visiting relations in central Illinois, when two other citizens of the county arrived on horseback. The latter stated that after crossing the Ohio river, they had spent every night at the house of an Augusta man.

The places of the emigrants were taken by immigrants from Pennsylvania and the lower valley, generally people of German descent—the most thrifty of farmers—and thus the county suffered no loss in population.

For some years Mississippi was the Eldorado which attracted young men who desired to embark in business—lawyers, doctors and clerks; many of these, however, drifted back to their old homes. Our farming and grazing population were never much inclined towards the cotton growing States and territories.

In the fall of 1803 the people of Staunton and Augusta county were thrown into a hubbub of excitement in regard to a notorious character called Bob Bailey. A brief sketch of this man will be read with interest, and is not out of place here. He was born, according to his own account, in Culpeper county, in 1773. His father having been killed at the battle of the Cowpens, and his mother being poor, he was thrown upon his own resources at an early age. But he was industrious and enterprising, and got along remarkably well, with very little education, however. In 1791, when he was eighteen years old, he was employed as overseer by Major John Hays, of Hays' creek, Rockbridge. He was sent to Staunton for Dr. Humphreys,

and the conversation, during his ride back with the doctor, determined him to come to Staunton, possibly to study medicine. To Staunton he came, and attending a 22d of February ball had the Widow Bosang as a partner in the dance. As we have seen, John Bosang was one of the five ordinary keepers in Staunton in 1787. His tavern was on the northwest corner of Main and Lewis streets, near the Methodist church, where a brick dwelling house now stands. After his death his widow, who appears to have been a matron of good repute, continued the business at the old stand. In an evil hour for her she encountered the handsome young stranger, was captivated, and after a short courtship agreed to marry him, he being about nineteen years of age, and she twenty-eight or thirty. For a time the youthful husband devoted himself to tavern-keeping and prospered. He then concluded to become a merchant also, and went to Philadelphia with a lot of horses to barter for goods. There he was introduced to the gaming-table, was fascinated, and soon became an adept at card-playing. For about twenty years he pursued that nefarious business.

While he was living in Staunton, or claiming a residence here, the fall term of the district court, 1802, came on. The court opened on the 1st day of September, Judges St. George Tucker and Joseph Jones presiding. John Coalter, afterwards judge, was clerk of the court. Philip Grymes resigned the office of prosecuting attorney on an early day of the term, and Hugh Nelson was appointed in his place. Chapman Johnson, who had just settled in Staunton, qualified to practice as an attorney. A grand jury was impaneled, and among the members were Alexander Nelson, James Cochran, Robert Doak, Andrew Anderson, Henry McClung, and James Moffett. On the next day the jury brought in a presentment charging that Robert Bailey, at the house of William Chambers, in Staunton (the Wayne Tavern), "was the keeper and exhibitor of a certain unlawful gaming table called Pharaoh, or Pharaoh Bank." The case having been continued at April term, 1803, came on for trial in September of that year. General Blackburn appeared as counsel for the accused, who kept out of sight in another county. On the 3d of September the petit jury, John Poage, foreman, brought in a verdict of guilty. General Blackburn moved an arrest of judgment, and the court took time to consider.

Finally, on the 6th, the motion was overruled, and judgment was rendered that Robert Bailey be deemed and treated as a vagrant; that he be delivered by the sheriff to the overseers of the poor, to be by them hired out for three months for the best wages that could be procured, for the use of the poor; and that he give security in the penalty of five hundred dollars for his good behavior for three years. A *capias* for the arrest of Bailey was awarded, returnable on the first day of the next term.

Bailey was astounded when, at his hiding-place in Bath county, he heard the news from Staunton. What a punishment for a gentleman! He says he almost became a lunatic. He did not come forward to be hired out for the use of the poor, and evidently there was no particular desire to capture and detain him for three months in the community. Having, when flush of money, purchased a farm in Botetourt, his family removed there, and for a time he claimed a residence in that county. Wishing to obtain a writ of error he sought to employ Philip Grymes to appear for him in the court of appeals. In a letter to that gentleman, he charged that Judge Tucker had offered to compromise the prosecution against him in consideration of a hundred guineas. Mr. Grymes communicated the accusation to the judge, and he brought it to the attention of the Legislature, with a view to an investigation of his official conduct. Thus the charge became public, and all Augusta county was aroused. Many citizens sent down written testimonials as to the respective reputations of Judge Tucker and Bailey—General Blackburn, Judge Stuart, Alexander St. Clair, John Wayt, Sr., General Porterfield, Chesley and Jacob Kinney, Jacob Swoope, John McDowell, Joseph Bell, Sr., Judge Brown and others. Bailey, on the other hand, in person or by his friends, got up counter testimonials signed by two or three hundred respectable citizens—Major Joseph Bell, Jr., Captain Samuel Steele, William Moffett, Jacob Lease, Peter Hanger, John Tate, William Gilkeson, Lawrence Tremper, &c., &c. He showed also that he was captain of the Staunton Light Infantry Blues, “the finest uniformed company west of the Blue Ridge,” and that having been a candidate for the House of Delegates in April, 1803, he was voted for by two hundred and fifty-nine freeholders out of five hundred and sixty-four who voted. Many people evidently rather liked the man—his utterly reprobate character had not then been fully devel-

oped. He was free-handed with his money, and profuse in acts of kindness, and a large number of his acquaintances could not refuse to certify that as tavern-keeper, merchant, and private citizen he was just and fair in his dealings. They all admitted, however, that he was fond of gaming. Bailey published a pamphlet, in which he retorted upon his assailants, saying many hard things about some of them. Of some, such as General Blackburn and Mr. St. Clair, the worst he could say was that they had accepted his hospitality and received him as their guest. Judge Stuart and Judge Brown he affected to brush aside with supreme contempt. Daniel Sheffey, a member of the Legislature from Wythe at the time, was scouted as "a little cobbler." A committee of the Legislature investigated the matter, and Judge Tucker was exonerated, of course.

Bailey gained what was no doubt highly valued by him—increased notoriety. He entered now fully upon his career as a "sportsman"—a gambler he says he never was. A gambler cheats and he always played fair. He was a frequenter of various Virginia summer resorts, especially the Sweet Springs, and extended his operations to Richmond, Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Charleston, and New Orleans. He claimed to have visited London and Paris on the same business, but his contemporaries believed he had never been in Europe. At times he rolled in wealth, and moved about with such splendid equipage as to attract general attention. He was then munificent in his benefactions. At other times he was penniless, and depended upon his boon companions for another start in the world. He offered himself as a candidate for Congress in the Botetourt district, and, if he tells the truth, came within three votes of being elected. Although a most amiable man in his own estimation, he was often involved in broils. While living in Staunton he had a fight with Adam Bickle, Sr., and another with Jacob Peck. At the Sweet Springs he fought a duel and wounded his antagonist, but confesses that he was very much frightened. In Washington city he had a street fight with Colonel Isaac Coles, of Albemarle, President Jefferson's private secretary, Coles having ordered him out of the President's mansion at a levee. His fortunes waned when he was still in the prime of life. He had abandoned his family many years before, and at the age of forty-eight he wrote his *Life and Adven-*

tures in a cabin, the best abode he could then command. From a mutilated copy of this book we have taken most of his history as here related. It is as candid as the *Confessions of Rousseau*, giving many details too unchaste for these pages. He warns young men, with apparent sincerity, against ever playing cards. His life, as related by himself, is another proof of the Bible declaration that "the way of the transgressor is hard."

About the year 1818, Bailey was traveling about the country soliciting subscribers for his proposed publication, and came to Staunton, the first time for fifteen years. He ventured into the courthouse, and Judge Stuart, who was on the bench, recognized him and ordered his arrest on account of the affair of 1803. He hurried away, going to the tavern of the widow Mitchell, on the old Winchester road, and she aided him to escape by way of Rockfish Gap, while the sheriff was in search of him down the Valley. He remarks in his book that he did not obtain many subscribers in Augusta.

Between the years 1800 and 1812, the county received important accessions of professional and business men from abroad. Most of these located in Staunton, and became part and parcel of the county. John C. Sowers, the merchant, Briscoe G. Baldwin, Erasmus Stribling, and the Eskridge brothers came from Frederick county, or thereabouts. Chapman Johnson came from Louisa county, and the Waddells from the same section. John H. Peyton, the lawyer, and John Randolph, the Middlebrook merchant, came from Stafford county. James A. Frazier, a native of Ireland, was employed as a store boy at Jennings' Gap by Robert McDowell, who afterwards failed in business. Young Frazier held the position, and in the course of time built up an extensive business and one of the largest fortunes ever accumulated in the county. During the earlier part of his career, Augusta merchants dealt almost exclusively in Philadelphia. They generally made the trip to market, or "below," as the phrase went, twice a year, on horseback, two or more traveling together, carrying Mexican dollars in their saddle-bags.

For several years during the first decade of the present century, Jacob D. Dietrick published a newspaper in Staunton called the *Staunton Eagle*. We know of no complete file of this paper in existence, but several isolated numbers have fallen into our hands. It is almost provoking to find in them so little of local

interest. There is hardly ever a line of editorial, and no attempt whatever to report the county and town news. We, however, extract an item here and there from advertisements, communications, or marriage and death announcements. The wars of Napoleon were then in full blast, and the troubles between the United States and Great Britain, which led to the war of 1812, were brewing; and these matters of course occupied much space in the columns; but the editor had no idea of condensing a long article, and two or three dreary documents often occupied all the space devoted to news. The editor was classic and mythological in his taste, and the "make up" of the paper was fanciful and unique. He announced marriages under the head of "Hall of Hymen," and deaths under that of "Repository of Death." The poetry column was styled "Temple of the Muses," and the joke column "Temple of Hilarity." A wide circulation was sought for the paper, and a long list of agents was published, in nearly all the Valley counties in Virginia, and in the States of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, and South Carolina. Oh, for a file of the *Eagle* or the *Republican Farmer*, got up in the style of our present Staunton newspapers! But we will not be ungrateful, and thanking Mr. Dietrick for the few small favors he has granted us, we regret that more of his issues, such as they were, have not come to our hands.

We learn from an advertisement in the *Eagle* that in October, 1807, James Miller had a paper mill near Staunton. Lots in the town of New York (Albemarle county) were advertised for sale. Advertisements in the German language appeared in the paper. Miss Smith advertised her "Young Ladies' Academy," at Lexington—board for five months, \$50; tuition, \$10. In one issue, under the head "Hall of Hymen," appeared the marriage, by the Rev. Mr. Calhoun, of Mr. Abraham Smith to Miss Juliet Lyle, and of Lieutenant G. W. Sevier, of Tennessee, to Miss Catharine Chambers. In October, 1807, a friend of the editor, "traveling through this place," favored him "with a copy of the official return of members of the General Assembly for Washington county, Maryland." But not a word of county news in the issue.

In January, 1808, Mr. Dietrick began to issue a paper in German. In March, the same year, the town authorities were elected, viz: Chapman Johnson, mayor; John McDowell, re-

corder; and Jacob Lease, John C. Sowers, John D. Greiner, and Michael Garber, aldermen. John Coalter,⁴⁸ then a Staunton lawyer, afterwards judge of the court of appeals, published a communication advocating the election of Mr. Johnson to the House of Delegates, and answering the objection that he was an attorney. Madison and Monroe were then rival candidates for the presidency of the United States. The Republican politicians of the county were divided, and each faction had a committee of correspondence. The Madison committee were John Coalter, Chapman Johnson, and General John Brown, the chancellor. The Monroe committee consisted of Chesley Kinney, James Cochran, David Parry, Micajah Coalter, and a fifth whose name has been torn out of the newspaper.

The *Eagle* was Republican in politics, and supported the administration of Mr. Jefferson, as far as a newspaper so edited could support any side. It, however, did not survive long in the soil and climate of "Old Federal Augusta."

William G. Lyford started another newspaper, the *Republican Farmer*, in 1808, but soon sold out to Isaac Collett. In his first issue, Collett announced that he was "decidedly a Federal character." His paper was edited on the same plan as the *Eagle*, but survived, in his hands, for twelve or thirteen years.

Jacob Swoope, of Staunton, was the member of Congress from the Augusta district in the years 1809-1811. Party spirit ran high in those days. Mr. Swoope was leader of the Federalists,

⁴⁸ While a young lawyer, living at Staunton, Judge Coalter resided at the place then called Elm Grove, on Lewis's creek, half a mile east of town. His circumstances were so poor, that he had to return home every day in time to cut wood for family use; and not being able to keep or hire a horse, he walked to his courts, carrying his clothes and papers in a bag on his shoulders. Afterwards, when a distinguished judge of the court of appeals, he was in the habit of referring to this period as the happiest of his life. His last residence was a handsome seat, called Chatham, on the Rappahannock river, opposite Fredericksburg. He was born a little north of New Providence church, now in Rockbridge county. His first wife was a daughter of Judge St. George Tucker, sister of Judge Henry St. G. Tucker, and half-sister of John Randolph, of Roanoke. His last wife, who long survived him, was Miss Jones, of Spotsylvania.

and Judge Stuart of the Republicans. Both parties had balls in Staunton, to which their adherents in the county were invited, with their wives and children. Each had also street processions, headed by its chief. Mr. Swoope's competitor, when he was elected, was Daniel Smith, then a young lawyer in Rockingham. Swoope could speak German, while Smith could not, and the German people of the district generally voted for the former.

Mr. Swoope declined a re-election, and General Samuel Blackburn, then of Bath, was announced as the Federalist candidate. William McCoy, of Pendleton, came forward as the Republican candidate. The election was held on April court day, 1811. At that time, and for long afterwards, elections were not held as now, on the same day, throughout the State, or even district, but the people of each county voted at their April court. Augusta, Bath and Hardy, gave majorities for Blackburn, but Pendleton and Rockingham, the other two counties of the district, carried the day for McCoy, who was elected by a majority of one hundred and thirty-five votes. At the same time Chapman Johnson was elected to represent Augusta in the State Senate, and A. Fulton and A. Anderson were elected delegates. The whole vote cast in Augusta at the election was seven hundred and eighty-five, the right of suffrage being restricted to freeholders.

William McCoy held the seat in Congress till 1833. Daniel Sheffey represented the Wythe district in the House of Representatives from 1809 to 1817, and afterwards removed to Staunton. In due time he presented himself as the Federalist candidate against McCoy, but in vain. On election day in Pendleton, he was there to confront his adversary at home, but on his return reported that "it was nothing but Hiner, Greiner and McCoy," the first two being candidates for the Legislature.

Although the trustees of the Staunton Academy were incorporated in 1792, their school-house seems not to have been completed till about 1810. Judge Stuart gave the lot. A part of the funds employed was raised by general subscription in the county, and a part was donated by the State out of proceeds of sale of glebe lands. The Masonic fraternity also had an interest in the building, occupying an upper room as their hall. In the year last named, the principals of the academy were James G.

Waddell and Bartholomew Fuller. The former taught the classics, and the latter mathematics.

For nearly seventy years—until the building was turned over to the trustees of public free schools—a succession of teachers had charge of the academy. In 1833, Lyttleton Waddell and William D. Cooke became joint principals. The latter continued for a short time only, but the former conducted the school for more than twenty years. During most of that time, the institution was highly prosperous, attracting many pupils from abroad.

Colonel Robert Porterfield was elected brigadier-general of State troops in 1810, and appointed Mr. John H. Peyton his chief of staff.

The population of the county in 1810 was 14,338; Staunton, 1,225; Waynesborough, 250; Greenville, 162; and Middlebrook, 66. The number of slaves in the county was 2,880.

The Fourth of July was celebrated with much enthusiasm during the earlier years of the century. In 1810 William Clarke delivered the annual oration. From the *Republican Farmer* we extract the following account of the celebration in 1811: "The day was announced by one discharge from the artillery of Captain McCue's company at daybreak, and seventeen at sunrise. About 12 o'clock the artillery company and Captain Poage's troop of cavalry paraded the streets of Staunton, and marched to Mr. Peter Heiskell's spring, about a mile from town, when, after hearing a short address suitable to the occasion, delivered by Briscoe G. Baldwin, a soldier of the artillery company, they dined on an excellent barbecue." Then follows the toasts. In the evening the military returned to town, and performed "several interesting evolutions." "Seventeen discharges from the cannon," continues the *Farmer*, "closed the celebration of the day. The citizens, who did not belong to the military companies, enjoyed a barbecue feast at Mr. John McDowell's spring. At night a large and respectable company formed a dancing party at Mrs. Chambers's tavern. It was observed by a polite and intelligent stranger that he had never seen such a collection of beautiful ladies."

The *Farmer* of August 16, 1811, announced that the mail stage would leave Winchester every Friday at 7 A. M., and arrive at Staunton on Sunday at 4 P. M.; and leave Staunton every

Monday at 4 A. M., and arrive at Winchester on Tuesday by 10 P. M.

In the *Farmer* of September 6, 1811, we find an advertisement by General Porterfield in regard to the training of officers, and regimental musters of the various regiments of his brigade. James Brown was the brigade inspector.

Henry Miller, the founder of Miller's Iron Works, having died, his administrators, Samuel Miller and John M. Estell, advertised for sale, September 6, 1811, the furnace and forge, with eight thousand acres of land, "supposed to be the most valuable property of the kind in Virginia."

"A matter of common concern," was advertised in September, 1811. Robert Porterfield, William Boys, John Coalter, Erasmus Stribling and John Brown, managers, invited subscriptions to the stock of a company to construct a road from Rockfish Gap to Scott's landing, on James river. The capital of the company was \$60,000, shares \$25 each, dividends anticipated fifteen per cent! This scheme came to naught. Many years before, the justices of Augusta and Rockbridge counties were authorized by act of assembly to appropriate money for repairing the road over the Blue Ridge at Rockfish Gap.

George Alford advertised his "Universal Spelling-Book" in 1811.

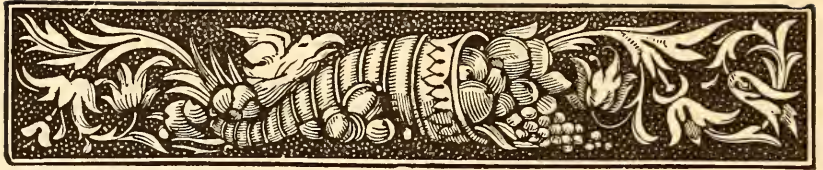
The market prices at Richmond were as follows: October 10, 1811, wheat \$1.09, superfine flour \$7.50, bacon 12½ cents, whiskey 54 cents; October 24th, wheat \$1.50, flour \$8.25, whiskey 44 cents.

The *Republican Farmer* of November 8, 1811, contained an editorial! It advocated the "Augusta Society for the Promotion of Agriculture."

The first number of the paper issued by Collett, published an extract from a speech by Daniel Sheffey, then a member of Congress from the Wytheville district, in opposition to the threatened war with Great Britain. But the war came on, notwithstanding. The militia of Rockbridge were full of patriotism and military ardor. One whole regiment of twelve hundred men, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel James McDowell, convened at Lexington, November 14, 1811, and offered their services to the president of the United States.

ALEXANDER NELSON was born in Ireland, January 14, 1749. He came to America when a boy of probably ten years of age, and lived first in Philadelphia, where he was patronized by the celebrated Robert Morris, the financier of the Revolution. From Philadelphia he came to Richmond, and there engaged extensively in merchandising. It is not known at what date he came to Augusta. Here his business was that of a farmer, owning and living on a large plantation on Lewis's creek, six miles from Staunton. From the frequent mention of him in the county archives, it is evident that he was a prominent and influential citizen. He died January 2, 1834. His wife was a daughter of Sampson Mathews, of Staunton. Their children were: Dr. Thomas Nelson, of Richmond; John M. Nelson, of Ohio; James Nelson, long one of the commissioners of the revenue for the county; Alexander Franklin Nelson, a highly respectable farmer; Lockhart Nelson, who died in Paris while a medical student there; Mrs. Mary Ann Bell, wife of Joseph Bell; and Mrs. Elizabeth Montgomery, wife of John Montgomery.





CHAPTER X.

FROM THE YEAR 1812 TO THE YEAR 1833.

A majority of the voters of Augusta county no doubt sympathized with Daniel Sheffey and other statesmen of the same school in their opposition to the measures which brought on the war of 1812; but when the war arose, no unpatriotic spirit was exhibited in the county. General Porterfield, Colonel Doak, and other officers, although staunch Federalists, exerted themselves to the utmost to prepare the Augusta militia for the field. The war, however, did not approach our borders, and very few of our people actually participated in the conflict. Nicholas C. Kinney and George Eskridge, young lieutenants in the regular army, served for a time on the northern frontier.

We quote from the files of the *Republican Farmer*, as far as we have them :

William Patrick, one of the overseers of the poor of Augusta county, published a card, stating that the glebe land was sold in 1802 for £800; that the money had been loaned out, and in January, 1812, amounted to £1,200, and asking the people of the county to decide what use should be made of the money, whether for the poor or the Staunton Academy.

As we learn from published military notices, in March, 1812, Christopher Morris was captain of the Staunton Light Infantry Blues, Moses McCue of the Staunton Artillery, and Briscoe G. Baldwin of the Staunton Infantry Company. We hear no more of Captain Morris and his company. John C. Sowers was first lieutenant of the Staunton Artillery, and soon became the captain. This company, and Captain Baldwin's, will appear again.

"A gentleman, direct from Washington city," informed the

editor, in April, 1812, that an embargo had been laid for ninety days. This important news was received at that day, no doubt, "in advance of the mails."

Lieutenant Allison, of the Fifth United States infantry, recruiting in Staunton, advertised a reward of \$10 for the apprehension of a deserter.

On April court day, 1812, Colonel Andrew Anderson and Colonel Robert Doak were elected to represent Augusta in the House of Delegates. Claudius Buster, another Federalist, was also a candidate, as was Captain William Abney, a Democrat, or Republican. Anderson received 535 votes, and Abney 299, which probably shows the relative strength of the two political parties in the county.

On the 19th of April, 1812, the *Republican Farmer* published Governor Barbour's general orders, calling for Virginia's quota of troops, twelve thousand men, to be organized and ready to march at a moment's warning. The Seventh brigade of militia was required to furnish seven hundred and thirty-five men. Five companies already organized, however—two in Augusta, two in Rockingham, and one in Shenandoah—of fifty men each, were credited to the quota called for from the brigade, leaving four hundred and eighty-five infantry of the line to be raised. The Augusta companies referred to were: Captain Steele's rifle company, and Captain McCue's artillery. Captain Steele was a nephew of the Revolutionary soldier of the same name, heretofore mentioned.

Major McCue's (as the Captain was then and afterwards called), stable was burnt, in May, 1812, and the editor was aroused to write a few lines about it, showing that he could write if he only chose to do so. See what he said: "It is to be hoped that the avenging spirit of unerring Justice, will yet drag from his covert the fiend-like incendiary, and immolate him upon the altar of violated rights."

Fortification and gunnery were taught at this time at the Staunton Academy.

General Porterfield issued brigade orders, May 20, 1812, for raising the quota of the Seventh brigade. The Thirty-second regiment was required to furnish ninety men, with two captains, one lieutenant, and one ensign; and the Ninety third, ninety-four men, with one captain, two lieutenants, and two ensigns. Major

William Bell, commanding the Thirty-second, ordered a regimental muster at Hanger's on the 2d of June. If the editor of the *Farmer* ever knew what took place at that muster, he kept it a profound secret. His readers could never learn from his columns.

All this while war had not been declared. But on the 25th of June, 1812, the *Farmer* published, in large type, the act of Congress, passed on the 18th, declaring that war existed between the United States and Great Britain.

During the month of June an effort was made to establish a military school at Staunton, but it did not succeed. Captain George Turner, however, taught military tactics here.

The Fourth of July was celebrated at Staunton by a salute in the morning from the field pieces of the artillery, commanded by Lieutenant Sowers, and a dinner at McDowell's spring; and at Greenville by a parade of Captain Abney's and Captain Doak's infantry companies, and Captain Dold's cavalry, and a barbecue on Thomas Jackson's land.

The recruiting officers of the United States army seem to have had a hard time of it. In July, Captain Page, of the Twelfth infantry, advertised a reward of \$10 cash for the arrest of two deserters from the station in Pendleton county; and in August, Lieutenant Camp, also of the Twelfth infantry, advertised a reward of \$40 for the arrest of four men who deserted between Lexington and Brownsburg, while on the march from Abingdon to Winchester. Captain Henry, of the Twelfth, advertised other deserters in September.

On the 21st of September, 1812, a State convention of the Federal party was held in Staunton, "for the purpose of recommending to the freeholders of Virginia twenty-five fit and suitable characters to serve as electors at the approaching election of president of the United States." The Convention continued in session three days. Only sixteen counties, however, were represented. No doubt the Federalists of Augusta enjoyed the implicit confidence of their political brethren throughout the State, and the latter did not think it necessary to attend here in any large number. Robert Porterfield and Jacob Swoope were the delegates from Augusta. The former was made president of the convention, and the latter headed the electoral ticket. Rufus King, of New York, was nominated for president, and William

R. Davie, of North Carolina, for vice-president. A State central committee was appointed, consisting of General Porterfield, Jacob Swoope, Dr. William Boys, Samuel Clarke, and Charles A. Stuart.

The presidential election took place November 2d, and the vote of Augusta stood: Federal, 396; Democratic, 244. The editor bemoaned that about four hundred voters stayed away from the polls.

On the 13th of November, the celebrated Petersburg Volunteers arrived in Staunton, being received near town and escorted by some local military under Captain Turner. On the next day the company partook of a barbecue prepared for the occasion, and on Sunday, the 15th, resumed their march to the northwest. The company consisted of one hundred and seventeen young men. They remained in service one year, and highly distinguished themselves at the battle of Fort Meigs on the 5th of May, 1813.

In March, 1813, the central committee appointed by the "Friends of Peace, Commerce, and no Foreign Alliance," nominated General Blackburn for Congress, and he accepted, but William McCoy was elected as before and afterwards. The committee consisted of Dr. Boys, Alexander Nelson, Moses McCue, and Samuel Clarke.

Colonel Robert Doak, who had commanded the Ninety-third regiment of militia for some years, and had recently been active in raising troops, expecting to go with them to the field, resigned his commission in March, 1813, the brigade commander having designated a junior colonel (Koontz) to command the force detached for service. No doubt the fact that Colonel Koontz was a younger man, led to his appointment by General Porterfield, instead of Colonel Doak. But the veteran of the Revolutionary war was unconscious of approaching age and infirmity, and, panting for renown on new fields, felt offended at the act of the general.

An issue of the *Republican Farmer* in April, 1813, announced that Captain Samuel Steele's company of riflemen had been ordered to Richmond immediately. This was the first company called from the county.

And here we are constrained to take leave of editor Collett, for while he continued to publish his paper for some ten years, we have not been able to find a single copy of later date than

the above. During the subsequent years, the series of essays written mainly by Dr. Speece, and republished afterwards in a volume called *The Mountaineer*, appeared in the columns of the *Farmer*.

Some time after the war began, barracks were established on the place now known as McAleer's, two miles east of Staunton, on the Waynesborough road. For many years this place was called the "Old Barracks," and it is still so called by some of our older people. Here the various companies raised in the county, and perhaps others, rendezvoused, and were drilled when called into service, and before being ordered off.

We have no account of the departure of any of the companies, and only such limited information as the muster and pay-rolls afford.

The first company called into service from the county was Captain SAMUEL STEELE'S infantry or riflemen, from the Ninety-third militia regiment. The subordinate officers were: Lieutenant, John Humphrey; Ensign, Jacob Bumgardner; Sergeants, James Boyd, William King, Edward Mulhollen and Jacob Hatton. Including corporals, the rank and file consisted of fifty-six men. Among the privates, the only familiar name is that of Jacob Vanlear.

The company was in the service of the United States at Camp Holly, under the command first of Major William Armistead, and afterwards of Colonel John H. Cocke, from March 28th to August 21st, 1813. Camp Holly was ten miles below Richmond, on the north of the Chickahominy, between that river and the Seven Pines.

The next call upon the county took four companies—Captains Baldwin, Baskin and Stuart, and Lieutenant Todd. These companies were in service from July 6 to September 28, 1813. Baskin's and Todd's companies were, however, broken up August 16, and most of the men enrolled in other companies. The pay-rolls state that they were at the "Flying Camp," commanded by Colonel James McDowell (of Rockbridge). The name "Flying Camp," which looks like a misnomer, implies that the command was on the wing; and we know only that it hovered somewhere in lower Virginia. Many years afterwards, when some allusion was made in a public debate to General Baldwin's military services, he replied that his company had made assaults on

oyster beds, but no enemy, from which it appears they were on tide-water. The officers of these companies were :

1. Captain, BRISCOE G. BALDWIN (afterwards General, and finally Judge Baldwin); Lieutenant, Joseph Houston; Ensign, Mustoe Chambers; and Sergeants, Alexander Douglas, Henry H. Crump, Edward Fulton and Thomas Harris. Among the privates, were John Guy, George Imboden, Henry McCadden, Joseph Peck, Bailey Shumate, James Mills and John Young. The number of men, including corporals, was seventy-one. They were enrolled at home in the Thirty-second and Ninety-third militia regiments.

2. Captain, JOHN C. BASKIN; Lieutenant, William Brown; and Sergeants, Ralph A. Loftus, John Yorkshire and James Black. The number of men, including corporals and drummer, was twenty, and they belonged at home to the Thirty-second regiment of militia.

3. Captain, ARCHIBALD STUART (afterwards Major Stuart); Lieutenant, William Brown (transferred from Baskin's company); Ensigns, John Steele and Frederick Golladay; and Sergeants, William Brooks, James Russell, John Yorkshire (transferred from Baskin's company), William Ashford and John Shannon. The men were drawn from the Ninety-third regiment, and the number of rank and file was seventy-one, including corporals.

4. Lieutenant, JAMES TODD; and Sergeants, William Lacoste, William H. Younger and Daniel McCutcheson. Including corporals, the rank and file numbered seventy two, and they were from the Ninety-third regiment. Why so large a company did not have a full complement of officers is not explained. A note on the company pay-roll says: "Most of these names appear on other pay-rolls of the 'Flying Camp.'"

Other companies at the "Flying Camp," and under command of Colonel McDowell, were as follows: From Frederick, two companies; Botetourt, four; Shenandoah, one; Rockbridge, four; Rockingham, four; Cumberland, one, and Bath, one.

The Staunton Artillery was the next company from the county called into service. The officers of this company were:

Captain, JOHN C. SOWERS; Lieutenants, William Young and Benjamin Brady; and Sergeants, Robert W. Carr, Thomas Sperry, James Coalter, John Temple and Alexander Shields; Musicians, Samuel Cupps, David Hiller, William Miller and

Henry Snyder. Including corporals and musicians, the company consisted of fifty-four rank and file. Among the privates were Adam Bickle, James Bickle, John L. Cowardin, Peter Kurtz, Abraham Laywell, John Merritt, John A. North, Joseph Points, Eli Parrant, Alexander Paris, Daniel Trayer, Joseph Trout and Anthony Weiford. They were in service, at or about Norfolk, from January 4th to April 13, 1814, being attached to a battalion of United States artillery. The men belonged to the Thirty-second regiment of militia.

Next four companies were called out from the county at the same time, viz: Link's, Givens's and Lange's infantry, and Dold's cavalry. We give such particulars as we have been able to obtain :

1. Captain, JOHN LINK ; Lieutenants, Jacob Burger and David Ross ; Ensign, Peter Hughes ; Sergeants, John Bush, Joseph Butler, William Johnson, Michael Coiner, Christopher Balsley and William Trotter. The number of men, including corporals, was seventy-six, and among them were Dalhouses, Fishers, McCunes, Patterson and Turk. They served from August 29th to December 28, 1814, as a part of the "Second Corps D'Elite, commanded by Colonel Moses Green, at Camp Charles City Courthouse."

2. Captain, ALEXANDER R. GIVENS ; Lieutenants, Samuel Crawford and Jonathan Eagle ; Ensigns, Philip Coyner and Jacob Coyner ; Sergeants (at different times), L. G. Beil, David E. Orr, Charles Dickerson, Alexander L. Saunders, John Gregory, James Coursey, David Miller and Abraham Eversole. The number of privates on the roll is one hundred and sixteen ; but many of the men obtained substitutes, and the names of principals and substitutes being kept on the roll, the list was swelled accordingly. Several deserters from the company are reported, but no one now known in the county. Among the privates were Charles Batis, Hatch Clark, Samuel Cline (who never joined the company and obtained a substitute), Conrad Doom, Henry Imboden, Franklin McCue, John McCue, James Patterson, Lyttelton Waddell and Ephraim Woodward.

The company served under Lieutenant Colonel James McDowell, from August 30, to ——— 30, 1814. The scruple of the Treasury Department at Washington, from which we obtained the muster-roll, or of a clerk who copied the roll, prevents our

stating at what date the company was discharged, or where it was stationed. We are quite sure, however, that the time of service was from August 30 to November 30, as Lange's company, which went in with Givens's, was discharged at the latter date. Both companies were no doubt discharged in Maryland, as Lange's was. It will be observed that the commander of the regiment or battalion to which the company was attached is here styled Lieutenant Colonel McDowell, while in 1813 he was styled Colonel.

It is related that when the company was organized, Captain George C. Robertson (afterwards well known as Colonel Robertson, of the Thirty-second regiment) was designated to command it. But Captain Givens (afterwards Colonel) having returned home after a temporary absence, claimed his right to command as senior captain, and accordingly went with the men to the field.

Colonel Givens, as many persons still living remember, was very soldier-like in his appearance and bearing. But while noted for his kindness to the poor, he had a masterful spirit, and was not likely to fill a subordinate position anywhere with comfort to himself or those above him in office. Tradition says he was under arrest all the time in camp upon the charge of insubordination, and therefore the muster-roll has it: "company of infantry," &c., "commanded by Lieutenant Samuel Crawford."

3. Captain, ABRAHAM LANGE; Lieutenants, Jacob Bear and Thomas Ruddle; Ensigns, James Gardner and John A. Douglass; Sergeants, Samuel Patton and Gilbert Ray. The number of privates on the roll is one hundred and twenty-four, including principals and substitutes. Among the privates were, James Guthrie, David Gilkeson, William C. McCamey, John McDowell, Andrew Thompson, Thomas Thompson, William Thompson, John Thompson, John Tate, John Christian, George Wilson, and Thomas Young. The company served as a part of the Fifth Virginia regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel James McDowell, from September 1 to November 30, 1814; and was mustered out "at Camp Cross-roads, near Ellicot's Mills," Maryland, by Major John Alexander, of Rockbridge.

4. Captain, JESSE DOLD (cavalry); Lieutenants, Matthew Link, Robert Brown and Jacob Clingenpeel; Sword-master, J. F. Whitcomb; Sergeants, Jacob Beard, Andrew Grove, John Tate and Robert Guy. The company was in service at Norfolk from

September 1st to November 12th, 1814. It numbered ninety-three men, including all officers, and the men when at home belonged to the Ninety-third regiment of militia. William McComb, of Barterbrook, who was a member of Captain Dold's company, died July 21, 1886, aged ninety-two years. He was the last survivor in Augusta of the soldiers of the war of 1812.

As far as we can learn, no other company from the county was in the service of the United States during the war, although other companies were organized. Chapman Johnson, highly distinguished at the bar, went to Richmond at the head of a company at some period of the war, but not being needed at the time they were not mustered in. The late John Cochran, of Charlottesville, then a youth living in Staunton, was a member of Mr. Johnson's company.

We cannot learn the character and extent of the services of General Porterfield and his staff during the war. Mr. John Howe Peyton, the eminent lawyer, was General Porterfield's aid-de-camp, and his services were recognized by the Government—a warrant for eighty acres of public land having been issued in 1852, after his death, to his minor children.

Captain Henry McClung, long a citizen of Staunton, but a resident in Rockbridge during the war, commanded a company of artillery from that county, which was in service at Norfolk.

None of the Augusta soldiers were called upon to face the enemy. Therefore we have no account to give of killed and wounded. But they faced a more insidious danger. In the lowlands of Virginia many of them fell victims to deadly disease. We have sought in vain for a letter from some soldier to his family at home, relating his experience in the army. Nothing of the kind from an Augusta man can be found. But we are not without some light on the subject. William Wirt, in command of an artillery company, was stationed, in September, 1814, at Warrenigh church, on York river. He was famous as a letter-writer, as well as in other respects, and many of his letters were preserved and have been published. In several, written in camp, he gives descriptions of military life at the time, and from them we take a few extracts.

Writing, September 9, 1814, Wirt says: "Your most seasonable supply, under convoy of our man Randal, came in last evening. The starving Israelites were not more gladdened by the

arrival of quails and manna than we were by the salutation of Randal. The fish would have been a superb treat had there been such an article as a potato in this poverty-stricken land. And yet the parish, according to the old inscriptions, is called 'Blissland.' The church was built in 1709."

On September 12, he wrote: "Your kindness and thoughtfulness have filled my camp with luxury. I fear we shall have no opportunity to become memorable for anything but our good living—for I begin to believe that the enemy will not attempt Richmond. They are said to have gone up the bay on some enterprise. If they are hardy enough to make an attempt on Baltimore, there is no knowing what they may not attempt. We are training twice a day, which doesn't well agree with our poor horses. We have a bad camping-ground—on a flat which extends two miles to the river—the water is not good, and the men are sickly."

The companies of Captains Givens and Lange were, probably, at the date of the above letter, on the upper Potomac, or in Maryland, for the defence of Baltimore.

On the 19th of September, Wirt wrote: "Our volunteers are becoming disorderly for want of an enemy to cope with. Quarrels, arrests, courts-martial, are beginning to abound. I have had several reprimands to pronounce at the head of my company, in compliance with the sentence of the courts. To one of these, James, our man, held the candle—it being dark at the time—and when I finished and turned around, the black rascal was in a broad grin of delight. I was near laughing myself at so unexpected a spectacle. My men are all anxious to return home—constant applications for furloughs, in which Colonel Randolph indulges them liberally. At present I have not more than men enough to man two guns. One of my sergeants deserted this morning; another will be put under arrest presently. So much grumbling about rations—about the want of clothes—about their wives—their business, debts, sick children, &c., &c."

Again, on September 26, Wirt wrote: "Still at Warrenigh, and less probability of an enemy than ever. We are doing nothing but drilling, firing national salutes for recent victories, listening to the everlasting and growing discontents of the men, and trying their quarrels before courts-martial. I have endeavored to give satisfaction to my company, so far as I could, compatibly

with discipline. My success, I fear, has been limited. In addition to their rations, which have been very good and abundant, I have distributed to the sick, with a liberal hand, the comforts which your kindness had supplied. The company is well provided with tents and cooking utensils, yet they murmur incessantly. Such are volunteer militia when taken from their homes and put on camp duty. One source of their inquietude is, that they thought they were coming down merely for a fight, and then to return. Being kept on the ground after the expectation of a battle has vanished, and not knowing how long they are to remain—looking every day for their discharge—they are enduring the pain of hope deferred, and manifest their disquiet in every form.’

Our last extract is from Wirt’s last letter in camp, dated September 28: “The Blues at Montpelier are suffering much from sickness. Murphy, your brother John” [Gamble] “and his friend Blair are all down. The other companies are almost unofficered—the men very sickly. I strongly suspect that if we are kept much longer hovering over these marshes, our soldiers will fall like the grass that now covers them. We hope to be ordered in a few days to Richmond. It is believed on every hand that the British, with their mutinous and deserting troops, will not attempt a march on Richmond through the many defiles, swamps, thickets and forests that line the road, where, besides the abundant opportunities for desertion, nature has formed so many covers for our riflemen and infantry.’”

“This little piece of history,” says Wirt’s biographer, “is a faithful transcript of some of the most characteristic incidents of militia warfare in nearly all the service of the war of 1812.” [*Kennedy’s Memoir of William Wirt*, Vol. I, pages 335-6-7 and 8.]

The privations during the war of 1812 were similar to those experienced in the late war. The mothers of our community were wont to tell how the price of common calico went up to a dollar a yard, and how at their tea-parties they had no tea and no cake, because sugar could not be obtained.

Peace was proclaimed by the president of the United States on the 18th of February, 1815, and was received with universal joy. People of all parties united in bonfires, illuminations, and every manifestation of delight. The victory at New Orleans on

the 8th of January was some compensation for the disasters of the early period of the war, and gave a feeling of triumph at its close. Dr. John K. Moore, afterwards for many years a citizen of the county, was present at that battle, but he then resided in Tennessee.

For many years there were two relics of the war left at Staunton. Captain Sowers's field pieces—six pounders—remained here until long after the gun-carriages had rotted away, but the town boys managed to load and discharge them every Fourth of July and Christmas day. It was not uncommon to find, just when the guns were required for action, that the enemy, in the shape of some mischievous urchin, had driven nails into the touch holes. The spikes were withdrawn, however, whatever the labor might be, just as the pieces were shifted from Garber's Hill to Green Hill, whenever the occasion made a change of position necessary. At length an extremely particular governor came into office, and by his order the guns were seized and taken to the State arsenal at Lexington. Many old Staunton boys must remember our feelings of bereavement and indignation at the ruthless act. But there was no help for it. Staunton was left defenceless, as far as artillery was concerned, and from that day there has been here hardly any observance of the Fourth of July.

By the year 1815, many of the elements of wealth in the county had increased very considerably, compared with 1800. Some of the statistics of that time strike us now as rather curious. In the year 1802 property in the town of Staunton was separately assessed for taxation for the first time, but the following figures of 1815 embrace the town as well as the two country revenue districts. The number of horses was 7,544; cattle, 17,987; ice-houses, 10; carpets over \$20 in value, 19; cut-glass decanters, 102; pianos, 17; Venetian blinds, 23; two-wheeled riding carriages, 50; and four-wheeled riding carriages, 13. There were five four-wheeled riding carriages in the first revenue district of the county, and the aristocratic owners of these vehicles were William Black, Sr., Rev. William Calhoun, Mrs. Nancy Kinney, James McNutt, and Edward Valentine. In the next year John McDowell appears as the owner of a "phæton." The owners of carriages and chairs (gigs) in the second district, the same year (1816), were Joseph Bell, Sr., Joseph Bell, Jr., Andrew Barry, Charles Dickenson, James A. Frazier, David

Golladay, John Harman, Peter Hanger, John Lawrence, James Marshall, and Rev. John McCue.

The number of merchants in Staunton in 1815 was thirteen, and the number of ordinaries, five.

The lawyers at the same time were Briscoe G. Baldwin, James Crawford, Samuel Clarke, William Clarke, Chapman Johnson, William Kinney, Jr., John H. Peyton, and Lyttleton Waddell. The town doctors were William Boys, Thomas Clarke, Edmund Edrington, William King, George C. McIntosh, and Addison Waddell. The country doctors who paid license tax were James Allen and James Wilson.

We anticipate our narrative so far as to give some of the statistics of 1883, for the sake of comparison with the foregoing. The following figures embrace the whole county, including Staunton: In the year 1883, the number of horses, mules, etc., was 8,688; cattle, 19,359; carriages of all descriptions, wagons, and carts, 4,432, and the value of pianos, organs, etc., as assessed for taxation, was \$41,359. The first cost of the musical instruments was probably \$80,000 to \$90,000.

For some time after the war the country enjoyed "flush times." Property of all kinds was readily salable at high prices, and every interest seemed to prosper. Political animosities were allayed. It was the "era of good feeling," when, it was said, "all were Federalists and all Republicans." A fall in prices and depression in trade came in due time.

In 1816 quite an imposing convention met in Staunton. The object was to devise measures for obtaining a State convention to amend the Constitution. Every county was entitled to two delegates, but only thirty-five were represented in the Staunton convention. It was called, doubtless, in the manner of the political conventions of the present day, but appeared to regard itself as clothed with higher authority than such bodies now assume. Among the members were William F. Gordon, of Albemarle; General Porterfield and Chapman Johnson, of Augusta; General Blackburn, of Bath; James Breckenridge and Allen Taylor, of Botetourt; James Marshall, of Brooke; William H. Fitzhugh, of Fairfax; Henry St. G. Tucker, of Frederick; James Pindall, of Harrison; William C. Rives, of Nelson; George Tucker, of Pittsylvania, &c., &c.

General Breckenridge was elected president and Erasmus

Stribling secretary. John Clarke was appointed door-keeper, and Henry Cease and Michael Forbes assistants.

The convention met Monday, August 19th, and sat from day to day for a week, not adjourning finally till Saturday, the 24th. Its proceedings were conducted with all the formalities of a legally constituted assembly. The contingent expenses were defrayed by the people of Staunton.

The particular matter complained of at that time was the basis of representation in the Legislature. A memorial was adopted by a vote of 61 to 7 in favor of a State convention to amend the Constitution. The memorial stated that the country west of the Blue Ridge, containing a white population of 212,036, had only four senators, while the district on tide-water, containing a white population of only 162,717, had thirteen senators.

A protest against the action of the convention, presented by Mr. Johnson and signed by six of the minority, was ordered to be spread upon the journal. The minority objected to the action of the convention only because it proposed to open the way for a general revision of the Constitution, while they wished an amendment only in respect to the basis of representation. General Blackburn was one of the minority, but did not sign the protest. The contest between "white basis" and "mixed basis" (counting negroes as well as whites) was not settled till 1850.

From 1816 to 1824-'5, nothing of interest occurred in the history of the county. Farmers delved, lawyers and doctors pursued their professions, mechanics toiled, and the ministers of religion were faithful to their calling.

In the year 1818, the Rev. John McCue, who had filled a large space in the county, was thrown from his horse and killed one Sabbath morning, while on his way to Tinkling Spring church.

Dr. Ruffner, in his *History of Washington College*, alluding to Mr. McCue, says: "He was a good man. When he chose—which was not often—he could tell comic stories in a manner irresistibly ludicrous."⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Mr. McCue's sons were James A., John, and Franklin, long prominent citizens of Augusta; Dr. William McCue, of Lexington, and Cyrus, a lawyer, who died young. His daughters were Mrs. Mathews, Mrs. Porterfield, Mrs. Barry, Mrs. McDowell and Mrs. Miller. Major Moses McCue was a brother of the minister, and father of Moses H. McCue, the first sheriff under the Constitution of 1850.

In or about the same year (1818) the Presbyterians of Staunton erected their first church building. The Methodists had long before had a church of their own. The Episcopalians, about 1811, re-occupied the old parish church, but had no regular rector till 1820, when the Rev. Dr. Stephens located here. For some fourteen or fifteen years the parish church was occupied by Episcopalians and Presbyterians on alternate Sundays.

During the time alluded to above, and for long afterward, the Presbyterian congregations of the county were served by a number of able and venerable ministers, such as are seldom found in close proximity. We can do little more than name some of them.

The Rev. William Calhoun came to the county in 1805, and till 1823 was pastor of the united congregations of Staunton and Hebron. Afterward, for many years, he was pastor of Hebron alone.

The Rev. Conrad Speece, D. D., a native of Campbell county, was pastor of Augusta church from 1813 to 1836. He cultivated general literature and wrote on a variety of subjects. He was eminent as a preacher, a public-spirited citizen, and no mean poet. The hymn beginning, "Blest Jesus, when thy cross I view," found in most church collections, was written by him.⁵⁰

The Rev. John Hendren, D. D., pastor of Mossy Creek and Union churches, was born in Ireland, but reared and educated in Lexington. He conducted a classical school at his residence in this county for many years, of wide-spread reputation, at which many prominent men were educated.

⁵⁰ The first school Conrad Speece attended when a boy was the New London Academy. At first he could not understand the Latin grammar, complaining to his teacher (Mr. Edward Graham) that he could never learn "that thing." Soon, however, he showed great aptness at acquiring knowledge. From New London he went to Lexington, and graduated there in 1796. After acting as tutor at Lexington for a year and a half, he studied theology, and was licensed as a preacher by Hanover Presbytery. In the course of time Princeton College conferred upon him the degree of D. D. He chewed tobacco excessively, even sleeping with a quid in his mouth. His figure was tall, heavy and ungraceful, and his clothes, always much too large for his burly frame, hung loosely on him. His voice was loud, deep and unmusical. He was very sociable, and full of droll humor and curious phrases. While a most able and interesting speaker, he did not excel as a prose writer. He never married.

The Rev. Francis McFarland, D. D., pastor of Bethel church, was also a native of Ireland, reared and educated in Western Pennsylvania.

The Rev. James C. Wilson, D. D., pastor of Tinkling Spring and Waynesborough, was a native of Rockbridge county.

All the ministers named were buried in the fields of their labor. Other denominations had ministers who were men of mark and influence, but none of them remained here long enough to become identified with the county.

The Rev. John A. Van Lear, a native of the county, was for some years pastor of Mossy Creek church, and a cotemporary of several of the ministers just named.

In 1823 Kenton Harper, a young printer from Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, bought the establishment of Isaac Collett, and converted the *Republican Farmer* into the *Staunton Spectator*, which he continued to publish until 1849. Some time before the arrival of Harper, Thomas J. Michie settled here to practice law, and in the course of time became widely known.

On March 8, 1824, the Legislature passed an act chartering the "Staunton and James River Turnpike Company," with a capital of \$200,000, for the construction of a turnpike from Staunton to Scottsville, in Albemarle. The company was formed, and the road was made in due time. This was the first graded road in the county, and was doubtless a valuable improvement. Previously, Augusta farmers wagoned their produce to Richmond, the trip requiring at least two weeks. Now Scottsville became the market town, and for a large part of every year the road leading to it was lined with Augusta wagons. The trip was shortened, and time was therefore saved; but the labor was hardly less than before. The road, especially in Albemarle, was often impassable, being cut into deep ruts by the wagons after every rain; and sometimes being through its whole extent a "Slough of Despond." The broken parts of wagons scattered along the route were like the *debris* of a battlefield. Over this road, or not at all, the Augusta farmer transported his flour, etc., to market. In order to concentrate the product, and aid transportation, much grain was sent to market in the shape of whiskey. The "Temperance Reformation" had not then arisen, and there was a distillery on nearly every large farm in the county.

The wagons used for transporting produce to market have

almost gone out of fashion, at least in this section of country, and a brief description of them is appropriate here. The "running gear" was very strong and heavy. The body was shaped somewhat like a boat, higher at the bow and stern than "mid-ship," and was spanned by hickory bows for supporting the covering of coarse canvas. An "end-gate" at the stern could be taken off for loading and unloading. The feed-trough was swung at the stern, and when in use was supported on the tongue by a simple arrangement. Every wagon was drawn by not less than four horses, and often six were employed, the horses being arranged two abreast. There was hardly any limit to the capacity of the wagon-body, and the loading was regulated by the strength of the horses and the condition of the roads. With good roads four horses were required to draw "forty hundred" pounds, including forage for the trip, and six horses "sixty hundred" pounds. The usual load for four horses was about sixteen barrels of flour (three thousand four hundred and twenty-four pounds). A train of these wagons, from five to twenty in a line, creeping along a public road, the white canvas covers conspicuous at a distance, was always an interesting spectacle. The teamsters made themselves as jolly as possible around their camp-fires at night, and on the road many of them betrayed much pride in their horses and equipments. The sight of one of the Kellers of Augusta, driving his team through the streets of Richmond, as most of our farmers did, suggested to St. Leger Carter, a member of the Legislature, his lines called "The Mountain Wagoner." The first stanza is as follows :

I've often thought if I were asked
 Whose lot I envied most,
 Which one I thought mostly lightly tasked
 Of man's unnumbered host;
 I'd say I'd be a mountain boy,
 And drive a noble team—Wo hoy!
 Wo hoy! I'd cry, and lightly fly
 Into my saddle seat;
 My rein I'd slack, my whip I'd crack,
 What music is so sweet?

But the life of the wagoner was not without its temptations, as well as hardships. The undue use of liquor often caused trouble. Dr. Speece was accustomed to say that some men who were

staid church-members at home, left their religion on the Blue Ridge when they went east with their produce.

In the year 1825, January 22d, the Legislature passed an act establishing the Western Lunatic Asylum. Five commissioners were appointed to select the site, General B. G. Baldwin being one of them, and after considering other places, the asylum was finally located at Staunton. The act provided for only four acres of land, and restricted the expenditure for land and buildings to \$10,000. A further appropriation was made in 1827. As stated heretofore, the first physician was Dr. William Boys; but during his term of service the appropriations were small, and the asylum was kept on a very moderate scale. Afterward the Legislature became more liberal, and during the incumbency of Dr. F. T. Stribling⁵¹ as superintendent, the institution was greatly enlarged and improved.

One improvement generally leads to another; and the Scottsville turnpike having been made, the people thought it desirable to extend the road westward. Accordingly, in 1827, an act of the Legislature was procured authorizing a company to raise \$50,000 by lottery to construct a road from Staunton "to the State road between the waters of the James and Kanawha rivers." L. L. Stevenson and James Points were the agents of the company for conducting the lottery. Such schemes are now wisely prohibited by law, but the country had not then waked up to the evils attending them. Some years earlier a lottery was announced in Staunton, to be superintended by two Presbyterian elders, who, before they died, considered the lottery a deadly sin. The road was made only from Staunton to Buffalo Gap, and those ten miles afterward became a part of the Staunton and Parkersburg turnpike.

On October 5, 1829, a convention of delegates to revise the State Constitution, assembled in Richmond. The delegates were elected by districts, and those from the district including Augusta were Chapman Johnson, Briscoe G. Baldwin, Samuel McD. Moore and William McCoy. Mr. Johnson had then removed to Richmond, but during his life he was identified with Augusta

⁵¹Dr. Francis T. Stribling was born in Staunton, January 20, 1810. As Superintendent of the Western Lunatic Asylum for many years, he became widely known and highly distinguished. He died July 23, 1874.

county. The convention adjourned January 15, 1830, and the new Constitution was afterward ratified by the vote of the people. The right of suffrage was extended to housekeepers and heads of families who had duly paid their taxes, but the number of voters was not thereby greatly increased.

The Constitution of 1829-'30, made another change in the judiciary system of the State. The district courts of chancery were abolished, and law and chancery jurisdiction were vested in the same judge. The first session of the "Circuit Superior Court of law and chancery for Augusta county" was held May 20, 1831, Judge Lucas P. Thompson, of Amherst county, presiding. John H. Peyton was appointed prosecuting attorney (which office he had previously held), and Nicholas C. Kinney clerk. Samuel Clarke and Thomas J. Michie were appointed commissioners in chancery. Judge Thompson removed to Staunton some ten years after his elevation to the bench, and spent the remainder of his life here.

The Harrisonburg and Warm Springs Turnpike Company was chartered by the Legislature January 29, 1830. This road passes through the northwest part of Augusta, and the charter provided that it should pass through Jennings's Gap and by Miller's iron works. By some means, however, Jennings's Gap was left out of the line of improvement.

The subjects which chiefly interested the people of Augusta in 1831, were the proposed Valley railroad and the abolition of slavery.

The agitation in regard to the railroad was kept up for several years, and, in 1836, was vigorously renewed, but the scheme came to naught.

The people of the county seem to have been ripe, in 1831-'32, for the gradual abolition of slavery. John McCue, one of the delegates from Augusta, presented a memorial to the Legislature in December, 1831, signed by two hundred and fifteen ladies, praying for emancipation. Similar petitions, numerous, were gotten up in the county. In presenting the memorial of the ladies, Mr. McCue delivered a vigorous speech in opposition to slavery. The contrary sentiment prevailed in the State; but at the next election, April court-day, 1832, John McCue was returned to the Legislature from Augusta. His colleague was Thomas Jefferson Stuart.

The institution of slavery never had a strong hold upon the people of Augusta. The Scotch-Irish race had no love for it, and the German people were generally averse to it. Most farmers cultivated their own lands with the assistance of their sons. In 1840, out of a total population of 19,628, the number of slaves in the county was 4,135. In 1860, the last census year before emancipation, the number of negroes, slave and free, was 6,202, while the total population was 27,749. The institution, as it existed in the county, was as mild and beneficent as possible. The slaves seemed contented and happy. Many privileges were granted to them here which were denied to those of the same class elsewhere. Every farmer who owned slaves had a head-man, who was next to his master in authority on the plantation. He wagoned the produce to market, sold it, and received the money, acting generally as confidential agent. The holidays and pastimes of the slaves were numerous and hilarious. A corn-shucking at night was an occasion to be enjoyed by participants and spectators alike. Scores of hands attended from far and near, and a large crop of corn was usually shucked in a few hours. The work was enlivened by songs, and at the close there was a bountiful supper.

Early in 1832 politics were very lively in Augusta. The followers of Henry Clay took steps to bring him forward as a candidate for the presidency. Among the active Clay men in the county were Judge Stuart and his sons, General Porterfield, Samuel Clarke, General Baldwin, the Kinneys, Waddells, Bells, Eskridges, Crawfords, McCues, Guys, Pattersons, Cochrans, Sowers, Michie, Harnsberger, and others. The supporters of General Jackson, though less numerous, were equally active. Among them were some who afterwards became Whigs, such as Mr. Peyton, W. W. Donaghe, Colonel Robertson, and Captain Sterrett. But some of those who proved life-long adherents to the Democratic party were then on hand in behalf of Old Hickory. A few of them were Michael Garber, John Randolph, William A. Abney, L. L. Stevenson, Lewis Harman, James Points, the Bayers and the Heiskells. Dr. Speece was a Jackson man, as far as he meddled in politics, and some of the other party sought to weaken his influence by attributing his partiality to the fact that Jackson was a Presbyterian. The Jackson men held a meeting February 8, 1832, and passed resolutions de-

nouncing Clay and Calhoun for voting in the Senate to reject the nomination of Van Buren as minister to England "as a most disgraceful attempt to overthrow a patriotic rival."

General Jackson's route from the Hermitage to Washington was through Augusta, but he is said to have avoided Staunton because of the popular opposition to him here.

Colonel Robert Doak, a soldier of the Revolution, long a delegate in the Legislature from Augusta, a justice of the peace and high sheriff of the county, and elder in Bethel church, died March 12, 1832.

A political convention met in Staunton July 15, 1832, which was regarded as very imposing and influential. It was largely attended, by young men especially, from every part of the State. Charles James Faulkner, of Berkeley county, presided. The members called themselves "National Republicans." Resolutions offered by Lyttelton Waddell, of Augusta, recommending Mr. Clay for the presidency, were adopted.

Samuel Miller, of Augusta, was on the electoral ticket nominated by the convention. Smith Thompson was door-keeper of the convention, with George D. Lancaster, David Brown, William Carroll and Jacob Carroll as assistants.

General Jackson, then president, lodged at Waynesborough Friday night, July 27th, on his way to Tennessee. As usual, he avoided Staunton. His custom was to arrange his trips so as to spend a Sunday at Lexington. He always attended church, and was particular to sit in the pew of James McDowell, afterwards the governor.

Mr. Clay, on his way to Kentucky, arrived in Staunton Sunday evening, July 29th, and, remaining till noon on Monday, was called upon by many citizens. At the presidential election in November he was defeated, General Jackson being elected a second time.

The venerable Judge Stuart died in 1832. When quite a young man, he was elected Professor of Mathematics in William and Mary College, but declined the position. He was one of three commissioners appointed by the Legislature to run the dividing line between Virginia and Kentucky. From 1808 to 1828, inclusive, on six occasions, he acted as presidential elector. As a judge, he maintained much of the ancient etiquette in the court-room. At the beginning of his judicial service, it was

customary for the high sheriff, carrying a drawn sword, to escort the judges from their lodgings to the courthouse at the opening of each term. Judge Stuart never entirely laid aside the dress worn by gentlemen in the early days of the Republic. His hair was usually combed back from his forehead, and ended in a queue, and till a short time before his death he wore breeches that buckled at the knee, and fair-top boots. His children were four sons—Thomas Jefferson, Archibald P., Gerard B., and Alexander H. H. Stuart.

SAMUEL BLACKBURN was born about the year 1758, and, it is presumed, somewhere in the bounds of Augusta county; possibly, however, in the lower Valley. His parents probably removed to the Holston region, near the Tennessee line, at an early day. He was educated at Lexington, and in 1785, some years after he left Liberty Hall, the degree of A. B. was conferred upon him by that institution, along with Moses Hoge, John McCue, William Wilson and others. He served more or less as a soldier in the Revolutionary war, and was at the battle of Guilford Courthouse. At the close of the war he became the principal teacher of an academy in Washington, Georgia. While thus employed, he prepared himself for the practice of the law. In August, 1785, he married the oldest daughter of Governor Mathews. During Governor Mathews's second term, in 1795, General Blackburn was a member of the Georgia Legislature. He voted against the famous "Yazoo Act," but was accused of otherwise promoting its passage, and was therefore bitterly assailed in the popular clamor which arose. It is not believed that there was any just ground for the assault upon his integrity; but he quitted Georgia in disgust, and removed to Staunton. While residing here, he lived in the house on the west side of New street, north of Frederick, and opposite the Augusta Female Seminary. Some years afterwards he removed to a farm in Bath county, called the Wilderness. He was several times a candidate for Congress in the Augusta and Bath district, but never elected. He, however, repeatedly represented Bath in the Virginia Legislature. He was the author of the anti-duelling law of the State, said to be the first law of the kind passed in the country.

General Blackburn was one of the most successful orators and criminal lawyers of his time in Virginia. Governor Gilmer says of him: "His fine voice, expressive features, noble person, perfect self possession, keen wit and forcible language, directed by a well-cultivated and powerful intellect, made him one of the most eloquent men of his time. He was a Federalist in politics. His strong abusive denunciations of the Republicans, when he was a member of the Virginia Legislature, made him long remembered by the parties of the State."

Many anecdotes in regard to him are still current. The late William H. Terrill, of Bath, related that when he settled in that county Judge Stuart was on the bench of the Superior Court, and General Blackburn was at the bar. The judge presided with much more formality and ceremony than are observed at the present day. Term after term, the grand jury, after being instructed by the court, retired, but speedily returned with the report that they had no presentments to make. This became almost a matter of course, and a part of the performance consisted in General Blackburn, with a most devout manner and voice, exclaiming aloud: "Thank God, we live in so well-ordered a community!" One night, however, the judge was kept awake by the card-playing members of the bar assembled in an adjoining chamber, and when the jury came in the next day with their usual report, he administered to them a stern rebuke for their failure to present the gamblers. The general's thanksgiving was, of course, a sarcasm upon the jury.

Judge Stuart and General Blackburn were antipodes in politics. Both were men of strong convictions and ardent feelings, and very likely some degree of mutual dislike grew up between them. But not long before Judge Stuart's death, General Blackburn paid him a visit, and was cordially received. They were both visibly affected by the interview, and the general, in his emotion, forgot his hat and went out bareheaded.

Governor Gilmer states that on one occasion he met General Blackburn at Rockingham court, and heard him defend with great power a criminal eighty years old, who had, when in the county poor-house, killed another inmate of about the same age in a fight about a cucumber, the only witness being a man ninety years old. He says: "The trial of such a criminal for such an offence, proved by such a witness, and advocated by such a lawyer, made a strong impression upon my memory."

General Blackburn, by his will, liberated his slaves, about forty in number, on condition that they would emigrate to Liberia, and they were taken to that country at the expense of his estate. He also left five hundred dollars to the Staunton Bible Society. He said in his will: "I die, as I trust, a Christian, believing as I must in the doctrine of the atonement by the death, the suffering and mediation of the Lord Jesus Christ, as delivered to us in the gospel by his evangelists and apostles, into whose hands I wish with humble confidence to commit my soul and body with all their vast concerns till it shall please Him to reanimate them in a new and I trust highly improved mode of existence." He goes on to declare himself a Presbyterian, but to express the utmost charity for all professed Christians. He died March 2, 1835, his mind and physical powers having been impaired for some years previously. His widow survived him about five years, and died in Staunton. He had no posterity, and an adopted son, George M. Barry, died before attaining manhood. His nephew, Samuel Blackburn, Jr., lived

with him for many years. Another nephew was the eminent preacher, Gideon Blackburn, D. D., of Tennessee, who was greatly admired by his uncle. General Blackburn's handwriting was so illegible that his correspondents sometimes repaired to him with his letters to learn their contents, and he could not always read them himself. He obtained his title from service in the militia.

Every town has amongst its population one or more odd people, who are well known by all the other inhabitants, and, like gnarled shrubbery in a park, though not attractive to look upon singly, often enhance the general picturesqueness of the place. During the decade from 1830 to 1840, Staunton had several persons of the sort referred to. Lawrence Tremper, the postmaster, was one of the eccentric men of the time. He was long a childless widower, and for many years there was no one with him in his dwelling except his colored servant, a mulatto named Remus, and the wife of the latter. He was generally surly and unaccommodating, at least the children who went on errands to the post-office thought so; and only now and then he relaxed into a smile, or gave expression to a good-humored remark. Nobody ever thought of complaining of him to the department. He had been appointed in the administration of Washington—that gave a sort of sanctity to his right of possession—and the post-office was conceded to him as his private property, to do as he pleased with it. Remus was his prominent assistant in the office as well as in all domestic affairs. Strange to say, Mr. Tremper seemed to feel no pride in the fact that he had been a Revolutionary soldier. He never took part in Fourth of July celebrations, and was unknown in street processions, except of the Masonic fraternity.

Another old man, a bachelor, taller and stouter than Mr. Tremper, was known as James Berry Hill, although his name originally was James Berryhill. He was born in Rockbridge while it was a part of Augusta, but spent most of his life in Staunton as the keeper of a retail liquor shop on Main street, a door or two west of Augusta street. At the north-west corner of those streets was a deep well with a pump in it, which supplied many families with water. Mr. Hill constituted himself the Cerberus of the pump, and many times a day did he order off servants and children who tarried at the corner to play or gossip.

Michael Puffenbarger lived on the west side of New street, about midway between Frederick and Main, and had an open well in his back yard. He was a patron of Hill's shop, or some similar establishment, and very often was overcome by his potations. On one of these occasions he fell into his well. The news flew through town, and in a short

time nearly the whole population assembled in the yard. With much trouble the half-drowned man was brought to the surface, dripping wet but somewhat sobered. Seeing the crowd of people on his premises he fell into a rage, and declared that things had come to a pretty pass when a man could not fall into his own well without stirring up a mob.

Smith Thompson was by birth a Scotchman, and in his vigorous manhood a barber by trade. During the Revolution he was a soldier in the American army, but where he served and for how long we have been unable to ascertain. Unlike Mr. Tremper, however, he was fond of "shouldering his crutch," &c., &c. After he became too feeble to walk in procession, nothing pleased him better than to be drawn about the town in a carriage on the Fourth of July. Having been reared in the goodly town of Glasgow, he, of course, knew all the people of the place, and is said to have claimed a particular acquaintance with Bailie Nicol Jarvie, of Rob. Roy fame.

In our catalogue of notable people we must not omit to mention a certain female resident of Staunton. An Irishman and his wife, named McCausland, but called Macaslin, lived here for many years, and conducted a school for small children. After the husband's death his wife continued the school, and of her only the writer had any personal knowledge. She lived in an old wooden house on the southeast corner of New and Courthouse streets, opposite the Washington tavern. There, for long years, she "ruled her little school," teaching only spelling and reading, if, indeed, she taught anything. The lower apartment of the house served her for kitchen, parlor, chamber and school-room. In the loft she kept stored away many articles of old-fashioned jewelry, and wearing apparel of divers fabrics. Well does the writer remember toddling after her up the stairway, to be indulged, as a reward of merit, with the sight of her "gold-and-green" silk gown. Her official baton was a short stick, having leather thongs tacked to one end, called "cat-o'-nine-tails." Every urchin stood in wholesome dread of this implement, but Mrs. Macaslin was not unmerciful in the use of it. She was lamed for life by the act of one of her pupils, who pitched an axe at her while she was attempting to chastise him. For at least fifty years she flourished in Staunton, during which time nearly every boy and girl reared here passed through her hands. Such teachers as she, have passed away. We ne'er shall look upon her like again.

Another character, known by everybody, was Pea Johnny, or Johnny Pea, so called, because he first came to Staunton to sell blackeye-peas. He was a half-witted white man, who had a home in the country, twenty miles off, but spent most of his time in Staunton. Now and then he did a little field-work for small pay, but generally subsisted on charity. When sober he was inoffensive, and had free access to every kitchen in

the town. Many cold winter nights he presented himself at the doors of citizens and begged to be taken in. Often he entered without permission, and ladies were sometimes aroused from sleep at night by his efforts to rekindle the fire in their chambers. But Johnny was too fond of a dram, and sometimes became intoxicated. Then the boys teased him, and he became dangerous, throwing stones, and defending himself with the utmost vigor.

The chief tormentor of Johnny Pea was a poor waif, a strapping young negro woman called Crazy Nance, who, however, was probably a born idiot. She was claimed by nobody, could not be induced to do any work, nor to remain at the poor-house, and roamed at large according to her own fancy, except when confined in jail. Where she was born, or properly belonged, we have never ascertained. She was generally harmless, but sometimes became mischievous, and being very stout, the person she picked a quarrel with was liable to suffer serious injury. Johnny Pea and she occasionally came in conflict, and engaged in pitched battles in the public streets. These two unfortunates long ago passed away.





CHAPTER XI.

FROM 1833 TO 1844.

Let us now endeavor to take a view of Staunton, and to some extent of the county, in 1833, or we may say from 1823 to 1843, for as far as we can ascertain, the condition of things during that period remained substantially unchanged.

Whatever the people of Staunton may think of it at this time, in 1833 the town was very shabby and unattractive, in respect to its streets and buildings, public and private. Very few of the sidewalks were paved, and pedestrians floundered in the mire at almost every step. The sidewalks of some of the streets had been railed off, to protect people on foot from vehicles and cattle, but most of the rails had fallen off, so that only a remnant remained, with here and there a post. The town authorities discouraged the planting of trees, and therefore the aspect of the town was bare and bleak. The courthouse stood in the yard still used for that purpose. It was an unsightly stone structure, nearly square, and two stories high. The entrances were on the north and south sides. The lower story was occupied exclusively as a court room. The ceiling and upper floor were supported by wooden columns, which were ornamented with iron clamps, in which the hands of criminals were confined, in order to be branded as rogues, etc. The upper story of the courthouse was divided into jury rooms.

The County Court clerk's office was a long one-story brick building near the southwest corner of the lot, and south of the courthouse. On the north side of the lot adjoining the alley and Augusta street, was a brick house of two stories, where the clerks' offices of the Chancery and Circuit Courts were accommo-

dated. This house was entered through a two-storied porch on its south side, fronting the courthouse.

The county jail occupied the site of the present prison, and was as plain and unsightly as the courthouse. The town market-house was a large shed with roof supported by posts, and no side walls, on the corner of the jail lot next Augusta street. In the rear of the market-house stood the whipping-post and pillory.

Augusta street terminated a short distance south of the creek. The top of "Gospel Hill" was the eastern terminus of Beverley street, and the main Winchester road entered town over that hill, Coalter street being an extension of the road.

The people of Staunton obtained water for drinking and cooking from a half dozen public wells, and the labor of carrying water to distant points no doubt retarded the growth of the town. There were few houses on the hills.

There were three churches. The old parish church had disappeared and a small new Episcopal church had taken its place. The other churches were the Methodist and Presbyterian, and all three were without ornamentation.

A new house was seldom built, and an old one quite as seldom repaired.

The taverns were the Bell, the Eagle, the Wayne and the Washington. The widow Mitchell kept a country inn half a mile from town, on the Winchester road.

It will be observed that there were no "hotels" in those days, at least in this part of the country; but all houses of public entertainment were called taverns, as at an earlier day they were styled ordinaries. One prominent piece of tavern furniture has entirely disappeared. Whatever else was wanting in the equipment of the house, every tavern in town had a large bell suspended in some convenient place, which was used to summon guests to their meals. The bells were rung twice before each meal—first, to notify guests to get ready; and, secondly, after an interval of twenty or thirty minutes, to come to the table. Thus, morning, noon and evening there was a great clatter in the town. These bells, as well as the courthouse bell, were also rung to give the alarm when a fire occurred. As early as 1797 Staunton could boast of possessing a Chinese gong. In that year, Judge Stuart, not yet having been promoted to the bench, received a

gong as a present from Mr. Jefferson, at that time vice-president of the United States ; and for many years afterwards it often reverberated through the town at dinner time, to summon Judge Stuart's "hands" from the fields. A town clock was procured and placed in the tower of the newly-built Lutheran church, in the year 1851 or '2. Previously, the tavern bells served a generally useful purpose by indicating to the people the hours three times a day.

The Wayne tavern is always associated in the writer's mind with Indians. Before the removal of the southern Indians west of the Mississippi, Staunton was on the direct route from their country to Washington, and Cherokees, Chickasaws and Choctaws frequently passed through town on their way to visit the "Great Father."

Another familiar sight in Staunton, in 1833, was the "Knoxville teams." At that time the merchants of East Tennessee transported their goods from Baltimore in wagons, and every spring and fall many lumbering wains passed through town, traversing the county, going and coming. The horses were generally decorated with bells. After the extension of the James River canal to Lynchburg, Knoxville teams were seen in Staunton no more. The United States mails for southwestern Virginia and east Tennessee were brought through Staunton in stage coaches. The mail bags were changed here from one set of coaches to another, and many of the bags daily thrown off at our post-office were labelled "Abingdon," where there was a distributing office. The Staunton boys of that era had an idea that Abingdon was a place of immense importance.

About the year 1833 there was a great tide of emigration from eastern Virginia and North Carolina to Ohio. Forlorn looking people, with horses and carts to correspond, and a train of flax-headed children, frequently came along, and when asked where they were going, never failed to reply: "To the Ohio." But while the east was thus peopling the west, Ohio, and especially Kentucky, sent annually to the eastern markets immense droves of hogs. Every fall, drove after drove came through Staunton, till it seemed there must be a surfeit of swine's flesh east of the Blue Ridge. At the same time, little carts drawn by little horses brought over sweet potatoes from Nelson county and oysters from Fredericksburg.

Staunton was also a great thoroughfare for travelers going to and returning from the Virginia springs. During the "springs season," the town was alive with stage coaches, besides the private carriages in which many wealthy people traveled. Some of the latter and all of the former were drawn by four horses, and occasionally there was quite a display of liveried servants. The western line of coaches extended from Staunton to Guyandotte, on the Ohio river, and afforded the only mode of public conveyance for travelers from nearly all parts of Virginia and portions of other States, to the Mississippi valley. Bawcett (pronounced Bocket) long the proprietor of the Winchester line, had retired from business in 1833. He was succeeded in turn by Belden, Porter, Boyd, Farish, Ficklin, Harman, Trotter and others. But at last the railroads drove the stage coaches from the field.

The Fourth of July was often celebrated with great zest, especially when General Porterfield could be induced to come up to town and take part. At other times the people had to put up with Smith Thompson, the Scotch barber, one of the few surviving soldiers of the Revolution in Staunton, who was helped into a carriage and drawn about the streets. An old negro man named Tom Evans, who had been a body servant of Major Willis, of Orange, at Yorktown, dressed up occasionally in a suit of Continental uniform, which he had carefully preserved, to the great delight of the small boys. Old Gabriel, too, who was at Yorktown, as well as at Braddock's defeat, was generally on hand to tell of his exploits.

The district court of the United States sat in Staunton twice a year, and brought many strangers to town every May and October. Sometimes there were exciting trials of mail robbers and forgers of United States coin. The judges remembered by the writer were, Caldwell, of Wheeling; Pennybacker, of Harrisonburg; and Brockenbrough, of Lexington. James Points, of Staunton, was the United States marshal.

The courthouse was generally thronged with people, not only on the first day of each monthly County Court, but during nearly the whole of every term of the Circuit Court. The county levy was laid annually by the County Court at June term, the 4th Monday in the month, and it was the duty of all the justices to be present. Generally, from thirty to forty attended. They overflowed "the bench," and many had to sit in places usually

occupied by jurors and others. On these occasions the court presented the appearance of a legislative body, and the proceedings were often enlivened by animated debates. James Bell, Esq., for many years the senior justice, nearly always presided at June court.

Every now and then a case of general interest arose in the Circuit Court, such as the Patrick will case, or a criminal trial like that of Naaman Roberts for forgery; and the whole population became enlisted on one side or the other. The speeches of Johnson, Sheffey, Peyton, Baldwin, and other lawyers, were talked about all over the county and at every fireside.

The meeting-house, the school-house, and the courthouse, have always been the great educational institutions in Augusta.

A large proportion of the people of Augusta have always been noted church-goers. Men, women and children have been in the habit of flocking to their various country churches in large numbers. Many of them went with a devout spirit to worship; others, we must confess, attended from force of habit; some, to tell and hear the news; and some, to show off their fine clothes or fine horses. During the period of which we are now speaking, the roads generally were ungraded and rugged, and there were comparatively few family carriages in the county. Buggies, now so common, were almost unknown. People of both sexes and all ages came to town and went to church on horseback. Young girls cantered along the highways on spirited steeds, and their beaux, on even more fiery chargers, escorted them home, and remained for dinner or supper. Sedate matrons went about in like manner, on well-broken horses, however, and it was not uncommon to see one thus mounted carrying an infant in her arms, and with an older child sitting behind her on the same horse.

For many years there were only two militia regiments in the county—the Thirty-second and the Ninety-third. The former mustered annually at Hanger's, and the latter at the Cross Keys, a tavern not far from Greenville. A third regiment, the One-Hundred-and-Sixtieth, was afterward formed, and then the Thirty-second mustered at New Hope, the Ninety-third at Middlebrook, and the One-Hundred-and-Sixtieth at Springhill. The officers of the various regiments met in Staunton during the month of May, and were drilled for three days preceding the

regimental musters by Major George Eskridge, the brigade inspector.

The militia officers did not pay much attention to their costume. The colonels and majors and some of the captains, wore, when on parade, coats of ancient pattern, not later certainly than the war of 1812--dark blue cloth, long swallow-tails, and brass buttons, with epaulets. When, therefore, the Staunton Light Infantry appeared in the field, every private in uniform and carrying a musket, an admiring crowd followed the company wherever it marched. After a time some variety was demanded by the popular taste, and Captain Hemphill's rifle company was thereupon organized. The privates of this company wore hunting shirts and carried the regular old-fashioned rifles. Captain Robert S. Brooke's rifle company arose and flourished for some years, long after Hemphill's was disbanded. Every militia company was required to muster twice a year, and also to attend the regimental musters. The late John B. Watts was for some time captain of the Staunton militia, and a few persons still survive to tell how gallantly he handled his men, and with what skill he put them through "the boa-constrictor movement."

The volunteer companies mustered on one Saturday in every month. They also paraded on the 4th of July, the 22d of February, and on other occasions when their services were required. At one time, by invitation of a military company in Lexington, the Staunton Light Infantry marched to that town and the Natural Bridge on a visit. A year or two afterwards the Lexington company returned the visit, and went, accompanied by the Staunton troops, to Weyer's Cave. On their return to Staunton, all the way-worn veterans were feasted by the ladies at a supper in the courthouse yard.

Henry Snyder, a painter by trade, was the chief drummer in the county for many years. When a boy he was one of Captain Sowers's musicians in the war of 1812. His assistant was William Suthards, a gunsmith, and the principal fifer was George Orebaugh, a farmer of the Long Glade neighborhood.

In the course of time there was a great improvement in the costume of the militia officers of the county. J. Marshall McCue, a very young man and full of military ardor, was appointed adjutant of the Thirty-second regiment, before the One-Hundred-and-Sixtieth was formed, and came out in a complete uniform of

the modern style, including a cocked hat and plume and red sash. The example was contagious, and in a short time all the officers of high rank were similarly costumed. Still, most of the captains and lieutenants wore their every-day clothing on parade, which caused them to appear less warlike and decidedly less attractive to the little boys.

The town of Staunton was, of course, a good deal enlivened by the celebrations, stage coaches, courts, musters, etc., which we have mentioned. During the dreary winter months of 1831-'3, it was kept awake by General Baldwin's law classes. This school was attended by some sprightly youths, who sometimes gave employment to the solitary police officer of the town. Dr. Waddell instructed the classes in medical jurisprudence. In his advertisement of the second session, beginning December 1, 1832, General Baldwin said: "The department of Medical Jurisprudence will again be conducted by Dr. A. Waddell, a gentleman of eminence in his profession, whose instructive and entertaining lectures were received with entire approbation by his class at the last session."

Although Staunton was apparently so unprosperous about the year 1833, many branches of industry were prosecuted here then, which have greatly declined, or are entirely unknown at the present day. The labor and cost of transportation, required the manufacture at home of many articles now obtained from the great factories abroad. It was so, no doubt, in most inland towns. But in 1833 Samson Eagon and Henry Stofer, in Staunton, and James B. Trimble, at his place, called "Bustleburg," supplied the countryside with wagons; David Gilkeson manufactured cabinet furniture and sold it widely; Jacob and Peter Kurtz were the great manufacturers of chairs, spinning-wheels, etc.; Staunton supported three hatters' shops; Pitman made earthen crocks and other articles of that kind; and Williams had a rope-walk in Newtown, where he spun all sorts of cordage. Armistead Mosby, John Kennedy and Absalom Brooks supplied, not only the home demand, but a portion of eastern Virginia, with saddlery, leather and tinware, making frequent trips to the south of James river, in wagons, to sell or barter the products of their shops. Tailoring was also an important industry in Staunton before the introduction of ready-made clothing, and several establishments employed many journeymen and apprentices.

Some branches of household manufactures flourished in the county. Big and little spinning-wheels—the former for wool and the latter for flax—were found in almost every country dwelling. Nearly every farm had its loom-house or loom-room. All the clothing for servants, and the common every-day wear of most of the white people, was manufactured at home. The wool was generally prepared at carding machines, but spun and dyed and woven at home, and the cloth was sent to a fulling mill to receive the last finishing stroke. The cutting out and sewing were done at the family hearth. Stout, heavy jeans was made for the men, and a lighter article of linsey for the women. Both had cotton warps. The knitting of socks and stockings of yarn and cotton was universal. Every female practiced the art. For summer wear by females, striped cotton cloth was woven. All-wool blankets and flannels were made in large quantities, and of superior quality. Much flax was raised in the county, and the little spinning-wheel produced the thread for sewing and weaving linen. Stout “tow-linen” was woven for negro men’s shirts, and quantities of toweling and sheeting were also manufactured. Many a thrifty housewife still takes pride in exhibiting the blankets, sheets and towels which her mother or grandmother made and transmitted to her.

Some account of the fashionable costumes of the people, and also of the current money, in 1830-’33 and thereabouts, may interest a portion of our readers, although neither costume nor currency was peculiar to Augusta county.

In regard to costume, the cocked hats, short breeches, and knee and shoe buckles, formerly worn by gentlemen, had disappeared. A few aged men continued to wear long hair gathered in a queue at the back of their heads, and tied with black ribbons. But most men and youths wore their hair cropped. Their heads were covered with tall black hats, at first of genuine fur, and quite costly, and afterwards of cheaper silk. Coarse wool hats were extensively worn by laboring people. The faces of the men were clean shaven, except those of members of the Dunkard church. Now and then a young man, who aspired “to look like a bandit,” braved public sentiment by turning out his mustache, but he was viewed askant by staid people, and hardly tolerated in society. The necks of middle-aged and old men were enveloped in white cravats. Others wore black silk cravats,

or tall and stiff "stocks." Shirt bosoms were often adorned with ruffles. Dress coats were always of dark blue broadcloth, with high collars, swallow tails, and brass buttons. Frock coats were never worn except as surtouts. Vests, or "waistcoats," as they were generally called, were made of black velvet or satin. Pantaloon were of any kind of cloth the wearer had a fancy for, but always of a lighter shade than the coat, and in summer time generally of nankeen. Men who rode horseback, as nearly all did, more or less, wore leggings in winter time, or when the roads were muddy; and as they often walked about the streets thus equipped, city people visiting here sometimes enquired why so many men had their legs in bandages!

The bonnets of the ladies were large and towering, of whatever material made, and the lace collars were ample in size. The dresses, or "frocks," probably contained less materials than those now worn, and less work and trimming were expended upon them. The dresses were low-necked, and capes or collars were always worn, at least on the street and at church. No lady appeared in public except in prunella or morocco slippers and silk stockings. Upon one feature of female costume much thought and attention were bestowed, and that was the sleeves. These were what was called "mutton-legged," small at the wrist, but swelling largely to the shoulder, the larger the better. To make them stand out fully and exhibit all their proportions—a foot and a half to two feet in diameter—they were, in cold weather, stuffed with feathers. In summer time stiff milinet took the place of feathers. Bustles and hooped-skirts, which came in afterwards, never attracted as much attention as the mutton-legged sleeves. This fashion went out in Paris and New York long before the fact was known in Staunton. Finally, however, a lady from abroad, wearing closely fitting sleeves, appeared in our streets. She was stared at as a curiosity, and really looked very odd; but, nevertheless, the big sleeves speedily disappeared.

Until the decimal silver currency of the United States was issued, the small change current here, as elsewhere in the country, consisted of Spanish or Mexican dollars and other smaller pieces. By the year 1833, the pound, Virginia currency, had fallen into disuse, but lesser sums of money continued to be stated in shillings and pence. We had no five and ten cent pieces, nor quarters, so called, but a Spanish coin called "four-

pence ha' penny," another called "nine pence," and a third called "eighteen pence," or "one-and-six," that is, one shilling and six pence. Merchants marked their goods, and people counted money in dollars, shillings and pence. The nomenclatures and values were as follows: four pence, &c., $6\frac{1}{4}$ cents; nine pence, $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents; a shilling, $16\frac{2}{3}$ cents; eighteen pence, 25 cents; two-and-three-pence, $37\frac{1}{2}$ cents; three shillings, 50 cents; three-and-nine pence, $62\frac{1}{2}$ cents; four-and-six-pence, 75 cents; five-and-three-pence, $87\frac{1}{2}$ cents; six shillings, \$1; seven-and-six-pence, \$1.25; nine shillings, \$1.50; fifteen shillings, \$2.50.⁵² Cord wood was then unknown in Staunton, and the universal price of a four-horse wagon load of long wood was nine shillings. Nobody said a dollar and a half, as now-a-days, but nine shillings; and a quarter, or twenty-five cents piece, was always called eighteen pence. "Fifteen shilling lawyers," were those whose fees rarely exceeded \$2.50.

Many things now deemed essential to comfortable living were unknown in 1830—cooking stoves, lucifer matches, gum overshoes, and a hundred others. Reapers and mowers, movable threshing machines, grain drills, buggy rakes, gleaners, sewing machines, breech-loading guns, revolvers, and percussion caps had not been invented. Every gun had a flint lock, and merchants kept flints for sale along with powder and shot. The

⁵²In note 9, on page 29, we have alluded to the currency of Virginia as differing from that of Great Britain. Mr. Jefferson, in his *Notes on Virginia*, Query XXI, says: "How it has happened that in this as well as other American States the nominal value of coin was made to differ from what it was in the country we had left, and to differ among ourselves, too, I am not able to say with certainty." He says, however, the first symptom of the depreciation of Virginia paper-money" was that of silver dollars selling at six shillings, which had before been worth but five shillings and ninepence." The trouble about the currency arose as early as 1631. In 1645 the House of Burgesses established "the Spanish piece of eight" (\$1) at six shillings, as the standard of their currency. In 1680 they sent an address to the King, in consequence of which, by proclamation, in 1683, he fixed the value of "pieces of eight" at six shillings. Other regulations were made in 1710, 1714, 1727 and 1762.

Thus the Spanish dollar, the standard of Virginia currency, being made to consist of six shillings; each shilling, the one-sixth of a dollar, being $16\frac{2}{3}$ cents; and twenty shillings, here as in England, making one pound, the Virginia pound got to be $\$3.33\frac{1}{3}$.

barns on some large farms, prior to 1840, had stationary machines for threshing, but most of the grain was beaten out with flails, or trodden out by horses. The only fertilizer imported was plaster of paris, which was used extensively by farmers.

About 1835, a silversmith named Paine, living at Waynesborough, manufactured small brass rifled-pistols, which were thought to be very superior to any other weapon of the kind. "Paine's pistols" were highly valued and much sought after.

Among the prominent citizens of Staunton, during the period of which we are speaking, was Dr. Alexis Martin. Dr. Martin was a native of France, and spoke very broken English. He claimed to have been a surgeon in the French army during the reign of Napoleon. In person, he was somewhat under the medium stature, rather stout, and of a florid complexion. He lived in a queer old frame house, which stood on the lot opposite the Augusta street African Methodist church premises. There he built an extensive bath house and cottages for the patients who for some years flocked to him. Miss Myra Clark, afterwards Mrs. General Gaines, was one of his patients. His chief remedies were "vapor sulphur baths" and a liquid called "Le Roy." He seldom appeared in public on foot, but often hurried through the streets on his black horse, "Cuffee," a natural pacer, so that the children of the town regarded him as a sort of centaur. Opinions differed materially as to Dr. Martin's merits. Many intelligent people considered him an eminent physician, while others thought him a mere pretender. The native physicians unanimously entertained the latter opinion. Dr. Martin's judgment of his three town rivals is said to have been, that the first was a physician, the second a gentleman, the third neither physician nor gentleman. He spent the latter days of his life at the Blue Sulphur Springs.

In 1835 the old courthouse of Augusta, and other buildings in the yard, were taken down, and the present courthouse and clerk's offices were erected. The present jail was not built till some years afterward.

In the same year occurred a famous contest for a seat in Congress, between Samuel McD. Moore, of Rockbridge, and Robert Craig, of Roanoke. The polls were kept open in Augusta for three days, and the county gave Moore a large majority, but Craig was elected.

Early in 1836 the commissioners appointed by act of assembly to receive subscriptions to the capital stock of the "Staunton and Potomac Railroad Company," met in Staunton and appointed agents throughout the county. Much interest was kept up in regard to the scheme until late in the year, when it was superseded by the excitement of the presidential election. At August court, Mr. Alexander H. H. Stuart addressed the people on the subject, and at that time fifty-eight persons had subscribed \$65,000.

James Brownlee, about one hundred and six years of age, died in the neighborhood of Tinkling Spring, March 18, 1836. He was a native of Scotland, born in 1730, and came to this county early in the Revolutionary war.

In 1836 war was raging between the United States and the Creek Indians; and by act of Congress the President was authorized to accept the services of ten thousand volunteers. An attempt was made to raise a company in Augusta. A meeting was held at Greenville, June 11, to promote the object, which was called to order by James Bumgardner. Captain Robert Lynch presided, and Captain Harper and Doctor Austin made speeches. But a sufficient number of volunteers could not be obtained.

A State Convention of the opponents of Martin Van Buren was held in Staunton on the 4th of July. Colonel James Crawford, of Augusta, was president of the body, which nominated General Harrison for president of the United States and John Tyler for vice-president.

The Fourth of July this year was celebrated, as the *Staunton Spectator* expressed it, "with more than usual pomp, festivity, and glee." The citizens assembled at the Presbyterian church, where "the Declaration of Independence was read by Chesley Kinney, Esq., prefaced by some beautiful and appropriate remarks, and an oration pronounced by William Frazier, Esq., which has elicited universal commendation for its classic style and elegance." In the afternoon, a procession formed on Main street and proceeded to a spring near town where a dinner was provided. The dinner was spread on tables under a long arbor constructed for the purpose, in what was then known as "Bushy Field," northeast of town, near, if not on, the road now leading from the old Winchester road to the macadamized turnpike. Mr. Peyton presided at the dinner, assisted by General Baldwin,

David W. Patteson, William Kinney, and Colonel George C. Robertson. The members of the Harrison Convention, the Staunton Light Infantry, and "the orators of the day" were invited guests. Many toasts were offered and drank. At night there was a ball at the Wayne tavern.

One incident of the celebration was not mentioned by the *Spectator* in its voluminous and glowing account of the proceedings. At that time Fannin's massacre in Texas had recently occurred, and it was feared that John S. Brooks, a native of Staunton, was one of the victims. He had gone to Texas a year or two before, and was in the Texan army. Being well known and highly esteemed here, much solicitude was felt in the community in regard to his fate.

Another native of Staunton had also been absent for many months, but where he was few if any persons knew. This was Elijah Calvert, a tailor by trade, commonly called "Lige." We mention his name with no unkindly feeling. On the contrary, we cherish for him a sort of gratitude for the amusement he afforded for many years to everybody in town. He was an incorrigible wag, full of practical jokes, good-natured, and willing to be laughed at if other people found enjoyment thereby. He had been a member of the Staunton Light Infantry, and was therefore a soldier. His appearance and bearing were eminently military. Anticipating the celebration of the Fourth in Staunton, he arranged it so as to return from his tramp and make his advent here on that day. Accordingly, just at the close of the dinner in Bushy Field, he presented himself to the admiring throng. He wore a slouched hat, not common in this region at that time, but associated with our ideas of wild frontier life, and that had evidently gone through the wars. He had on also a military coat, which might have been the uniform of a major-general. This latter, as well as the hat, was worn with the most delightful negligence, as if the wearer were accustomed to it, but rather tired of the costume. His countenance was extremely solemn, and his manner in the highest degree dignified. His face plainly said: "I have recently passed through too many scenes of carnage to indulge in the least hilarity." He said little, but left much to be inferred. Immediately the information spread through the crowd that Lige Calvert had just returned from Texas, where, of course, he was the hero of a hundred desperate

battles. He was plied with questions about John Brooks, but evaded them as far as he could. The captain and men of the Light Infantry gathered around him, eager to do honor to their former comrade, and planning how he should be introduced to the crowd. Lige, however, could not stand much ceremony—at any rate, he knew better than any one else how to do the thing; so, breaking away from the self-constituted committee of arrangements, he went forward on his own responsibility. Starting at one end of the arbor, he proceeded to the other, waving his hat over his head and saluting the crowd with inimitable grace and dignity. The finest gentleman present, however trained in courts and camps, could not have exhibited himself half so well. During his progress from the head to the foot of the arbor, the war-worn veteran was greeted with shouts of applause. In a few days—before the next *Spectator* was issued—it leaked out that the hero had been quietly working at his trade in various towns, and had not been near Texas.

The *Spectator* of August 11, published a full and authentic account of Fannin's massacre. John Brooks, who was aid to Colonel Fannin, with the rank of Captain, being unable to walk, was taken out by the Mexicans in a blanket and shot in cold blood.

Three or four years afterwards, the Fourth of July was celebrated in a different manner. There was a grand procession of Sunday-school children and others, and addresses were delivered in the Methodist church by Messrs. Lyttelton Waddell, Thomas J. Michie and Chesley Kinney.

In September, 1836, General Harrison was in Staunton, on his way to visit his early home below Richmond. He was invited to partake of a public dinner here, but declined. Many of his political friends dined with him, however, at the Washington tavern. At the election, the vote of Augusta stood, for Harrison, 801; Van Buren, 302; Hugh L. White, 20. There were only six voting places in the county—Staunton, Waynesborough, Middlebrook, Mount Solon, Mount Sidney and the Pastures.

Robert Craig was re elected to Congress in 1837, and at the same time Alexander H. H. Stuart and William Kinney were elected to represent Augusta in the House of Delegates. David W. Patteson represented the county in the State Senate.

In March, 1838, the Valley Turnpike Company was chartered,

to construct a macadamized road from Staunton to Winchester. The capital stock was three hundred thousand dollars, of which the State subscribed three-fifths. The remainder was promptly subscribed by the people immediately interested, and the work was vigorously prosecuted. Early in the same year the Staunton and Parkersburg turnpike was located, and the road was made, in course of time, at State expense. These great improvements gave a considerable impetus to Staunton.

During the night of October 4, 1838, an extensive conflagration occurred in Staunton. The Wayne tavern, then unoccupied, five other houses, three shops and six stables were consumed. The tavern stable had been rented and supplied with forage for the horses belonging to the members of the Presbyterian Synod of Virginia, then meeting in Staunton, and seventeen of these horses perished in the flames.

On November 1, 1838, the hundredth anniversary of the organization of the county, was celebrated. The Staunton Light Infantry, Captain Harper, and Captain S. D. Coiner's troop of cavalry, paraded in town, and salutes were fired morning and evening from the old field pieces. There was also a dinner at the Washington tavern, Mr. Peyton presiding.

The subject of supplying the town of Staunton with water, by means of iron pipes leading from a spring in the country, was introduced in the town council as early as 1833, but nothing was accomplished till 1839. The Legislature in that year passed an act for supplying the Western Lunatic Asylum with water, and the town united with the asylum in bringing water from Kinney's Spring. The county contributed one thousand dollars to the cost. The quantity of water furnished, however, proving inadequate to supply both town and asylum, the former, in 1848, piped the "Buttermilk Spring." Dwellings soon sprang up on the hills surrounding the town. The contract for the present extensive city water works was awarded July 27, 1875.

In July, 1839, Cyrus H. McCormick gave the first exhibition of his reaper in the county on the farm of Joseph Smith. The machine was advertised to cut one and a-half to two acres an hour and required two men and two horses to work it. The price was fifty dollars.

The Institution for the Deaf and Dumb and the Blind was opened in Staunton the latter part of 1839 in rented quarters.

The corner-stone of the building, erected by the State, was laid with much ceremony, July 9, 1840. James McDowell, of Lexington, a member of the board of visitors, delivered an oration, and there was a dinner at the Eagle tavern.

During the summer and fall of 1840, politics were the absorbing topic throughout the country. The supporters of General Harrison, the Whig candidate, organized "Tippecanoe Clubs," built log cabins, and drank hard cider, to help on the cause. The people of Augusta were thoroughly aroused, a large majority of them supporting Harrison, but a "Spartan band" of the "unterrified Democracy" in the county was equally zealous. A two days' meeting was held in Staunton, August 24 and 25, Ex-Governor Barbour, John S. Pendleton, and S. McD. Moore were the speakers on the Whig side; and William Smith, afterwards Governor, Thomas J. Randolph, and John Letcher represented the Democracy.

Early in October a great mass-meeting was held in Richmond, on which occasion Daniel Webster delivered several speeches. The Whigs of Augusta attended the meeting in large numbers. On September court-day the "Augusta Banner" was displayed at the courthouse in Staunton. General Baldwin made a speech and delivered the "Banner" to John Wise, who was with Harrison under Wayne at the Maumee, to bear it in the procession at Richmond. General Porterfield was in town and at the courthouse, and the people escorted him to his lodgings.

The *Staunton Spectator* of October 1, announced that one hundred and fifty Augusta farmers had recently crossed Rockfish Gap, in their wagons, on their way to the Richmond meeting. John Wise was, however, stolen from them at Richmond, and made to carry the "Maumee battle-flag."

At the election, Augusta county cast 1,206 votes for Harrison, and 461 for Van Buren.

In the spring of 1841, Alexander H. H. Stuart, of Augusta, was elected to the United States House of Representatives, over his competitor, James McDowell, of Rockbridge. The preliminary canvass was noted for the ability and dignity with which it was conducted by the candidates. It is a little remarkable that only two citizens of Augusta—Jacob Swoope and Alexander H. H. Stuart—have ever sat in Congress, and they only for one

term each, notwithstanding many eminent men have resided here from the earliest period in the history of the county.

At the session of the Legislature of 1841-'2, General B. G. Baldwin, of Staunton, was elected by the Legislature a judge of the Supreme Court of Appeals. Mr. Peyton was at that time the State Senator from Augusta.

Staunton was from an early day the seat of a high school for the education of females, under a succession of teachers. In 1831 the widow and daughters of Daniel Sheffey opened a boarding school for girls, at their residence, called Kalorama, and conducted it prosperously for many years. In 1842 the Presbyterians of the county founded the Augusta Female Seminary. Soon afterward, the Episcopalians founded the Virginia Female Institute, and the Methodists the Wesleyan Female Institute. Lastly, the Staunton Female Seminary was founded under the auspices of the Lutherans.

General Porterfield died on Monday, February 13, 1843, in the ninety-first year of his age.

In October, 1843, two attempts at balloon ascensions were made in Staunton. John Wise, of Pennsylvania, a famous aeronaut, advertised an ascension on the 3d of October. He began to inflate his balloon in the Academy lot, around which a high and close fence had been built, spectators being admitted at so much a head, children half price. But the wind was very high, and Mr. Wise, with the concurrence of the crowd, abandoned his project, promising, however, to renew it at some future day. The second attempt, on Saturday, the 14th, although by a man named Cramer, was in fulfillment of the promise, and was open to the public. Multitudes of people came in from the surrounding country, and even from neighboring counties, to witness the spectacle. It was a beautiful October day, and the sight of the immense crowd in Stuart's meadow and on the side of the adjacent hill, including many females in gay shawls and dresses, was most picturesque. This time, however, there was not gas enough to inflate the balloon. Cramer detached the car, or basket, and sat astride the ropes; he stripped off his coat, his hat, his shoes, and nearly all his clothing, but was still too heavy to ascend. The balloon occasionally leaped up a few yards, but before the crowd could raise a shout it was down again. Partly floating in

the air, and partly borne by several men, who every now and then tried to toss it up, it traversed Stuart's hill, the eager throng following after. Finally everybody became exhausted, and the people dispersed, well pleased with the sport. A successful ascension could not have afforded half the entertainment. Previous to this date paper balloons, inflated with heated air, had frequently been sent up at night.

Some description of the four great lawyers of Staunton, who are mentioned in the early part of the preceding chapter as cotemporaries, will not be out of place here.

Major Sheffey, as he was called, is described by persons who remember him, as a short, stout man, very near-sighted, having a decided German accent in his speech, and a habit of twirling his watch seal while addressing a court or jury. His extraordinary ability was universally conceded. He was a native of Frederick, Maryland, and originally a shoemaker. Settling at Wytheville to pursue his trade, he studied law, and soon became distinguished at the bar, in the Legislature, and in Congress. His home at Staunton was at the place called Kalorama. He died in 1830.

Mr. Johnson was a native of Louisa county, and was educated at William and Mary College. He was a tall and portly man. His features were regular and handsome, and his countenance was benignant. He always dressed well, and as he rode on horseback to and from his country seat, Bearwallow, every beholder recognized him as a man of mark. His speeches in court were long and loud, but always very able. He died in 1849.

Mr. Peyton was born in Stafford county, and educated at Princeton College. He, like Mr. Johnson, was tall, large and erect, and dressed neatly. He also rode on horseback to and from Montgomery Hall, a mile west of town. His speeches were never very long, and never wearied the listener. As a prosecuting attorney he was considered unrivalled. To many persons he probably appeared haughty; but to those he approved of, however young or ignorant, he was very genial and kind. He died in 1847.

General Baldwin—so called till he was elected a judge of the Supreme Court of Appeals—was born in Frederick county, and educated at William and Mary College. His residence at Staunton was at Spring Farm, less than a mile from his office. He was a large man, of rather ungraceful figure, and very indifferent about his costume, though not slovenly. He rarely appeared on horseback, but generally walked to and from town, carrying his papers in a green bag, and apparently ab-

sorbed in thinking over some important matter. He was a man of great benevolence, and in his private circle of friends distinguished for his affectionate disposition. He was considered an eloquent speaker, but was more eminent as a writer. His popularity in the county was unbounded. He died in 1852. He was major-general of militia.

All these distinguished lawyers were adherents of the Episcopal church.

Dr. Addison Waddell held no conspicuous public office, and his name seldom appears in our Annals. The writer, however, may say of his father, what all who knew him admitted to be true, that he was a learned and wise physician, and a deeply-read metaphysician and theologian. Born near Gordonsville in 1785, he was educated at Hampden-Sidney College and in Philadelphia, and lived in Staunton from 1809 till 1855. Unambitious for himself, he spent his life in endeavoring to help the suffering and needy.

“More bent to raise the wretched than to rise.”

He “walked with God” as did Enoch; and, on the evening of June 18, 1855, “he was not, for God took him.” His brother, Lyttelton Waddell, Esq., died March 11, 1869, and his son, Dr. J. Alexander Waddell, July 23, 1883.





CHAPTER XII.

FROM 1844 TO 1860.

The political canvass of 1844 was conducted in Augusta, as well as elsewhere, with nearly as much ardor as was displayed in 1840. The Whigs were active in their efforts to secure the election of Henry Clay, but failed of success.

A second newspaper was established in Staunton, in 1845, as the organ of the Democrats of the county: It was first called the *Augusta Democrat*, but the name was subsequently changed to *Staunton Vindicator*.

When the war between the United States and Mexico arose, in 1846, the State of Virginia furnished a regiment of volunteers, to which Augusta county contributed a company. The commissioned officers of the company were Kenton Harper, Captain, and Robert H. Kinney, Vincent E. Geiger and William H. Harman, Lieutenants. The Virginia regiment was employed on the northern frontier of Mexico, and, the war having shifted to other parts of the country, never encountered the enemy in battle. The Augusta company returned home in August, 1848.

In the meanwhile the subject of internal improvements occupied much attention in the county. A meeting of the people was held in October, 1846, and resolutions were adopted in favor of the extension westward of the Louisa railroad, then completed to Gordonsville. A convention of delegates from several counties met in Staunton on the 30th of the same month, and passed resolutions of similar purport. Another more imposing convention was held in Staunton in October, 1848, which took action in favor of tunneling the Blue Ridge, and extending the railroad to Covington. We cannot follow the history of this railroad, afterwards

called the Virginia Central, and now the Chesapeake and Ohio. The road was completed to Staunton, and opened for travel in 1854.

On March 9, 1848, an act of the Legislature was passed authorizing the extension of the "Howardsville and Rockfish turnpike" from Martin's Mill, in Nelson, to Greenville, in Augusta, the State to pay two-fifths of the cost, not exceeding fourteen thousand dollars. The turnpike was subsequently extended from Howard's Gap to the Staunton and Middlebrook road, about a mile from the latter place.

The "Junction Valley Turnpike Company" was chartered March 17, 1849, to make a macadamized road from Buchanan to Staunton, through Lexington, with a capital of sixty thousand dollars, of which the State subscribed three-fifths. This road was graded and planked, but not macadamized.

On Monday, February 11, 1850, occurred what was designated at the time as the "Irish Rebellion." The Irish laborers on the Central Railroad were "Corkonians," but a party of "Fardowners" [north of Ireland people] came to work on the section near Fishersville, and with their wives and children took possession of a large frame house. The "Corkonians" at the Blue Ridge tunnel warned them off, and finally, on the 11th, marched through Waynesborough, two hundred and thirty five in number, and assailed the "Fardowners" in their quarters. They beat the men, broke into boxes, tore up clothing, burnt down the house, and then returned to the mountain. The neighboring country people were afraid to approach near enough to ascertain the true state of affairs, and the most exaggerated and alarming reports were brought to town. We heard that many persons had been killed, and that human heads were rolling about like pumpkins. The civil authorities called upon the military for assistance; the drum was beat, nearly all the young men in town fell into ranks, and about dark a large company, well armed, marched off to the scene of disturbance. Every one fully expected a fight with the rioters. Several mounted men started in advance of the infantry, and finding on their arrival at the burnt house that the enemy had retired, crossed over to Fishersville to meet the main body. When the latter came up, the force pushed on to Waynesborough. The company arrived there at eleven o'clock, and after resting awhile, proceeded to the mountain to

make a night attack. A house in which some of the Irish lodged, was surrounded, and the inmates surrendered without resistance. Other suspected Irish were arrested in Waynesborough and on the road—in fact, every stranger whose tongue betrayed him as a native of the Emerald Isle—so that about fifty prisoners were secured and brought to Staunton. They were examined by several magistrates during two or three days, but it was impossible to identify many of them as rioters. Only two or three were finally convicted and punished. The expedition and subsequent trials furnished many entertaining and comical incidents. The prisoners displayed their native wit on all occasions, and seemed to enjoy the sport as fully as others. Finally the community lost sight of the lawlessness of the occurrence in the amusement over the affair; and what at first appeared a dreadful tragedy, ended in general laughter.

The "Middlebrook and Brownsburg Company" was chartered March 17, 1851, to make a turnpike from Staunton to Lexington, by way of Middlebrook and Brownsburg. The capital stock was thirty-seven thousand five hundred dollars, of which the State subscribed three-fifths. The road was made as contemplated.

The first bank opened here was established in 1847. It was a branch of the "Bank of the Valley in Virginia," at Winchester, and was known as the "Valley Bank, at Staunton." The Central Bank of Virginia, an independent institution, was established here in 1853. The funds of these institutions were unavoidably converted into Confederate currency and securities during the war of 1861-65, and the capital of both was found to be worthless at the end of the war.

The Mossy Creek Academy, a high school for boys, was established in 1850, by Jed. Hotchkiss. A handsome and convenient building was erected, and the school flourished for a number of years. Many of its pupils became prominent and useful men. The war of secession closed this school, as it did most others. During a part of the war the building was used as a Confederate military hospital, and was accidentally destroyed by fire. The portions of the building not consumed were used in the construction of a public free school-house on or near the site of the academy.

The subject of calling a convention to revise the State Constitution was agitated for several years previous to 1850. In that

year the convention was called; the members from Augusta were David Fultz and Hugh W. Sheffey, and the new Constitution was ratified by the people at the polls in 1851. The changes in our system of government were numerous and radical. Suffrage was extended to all white male citizens, and judges, justices of the peace and all county officers were made elective by the people.⁵³

The last session of the County Court of Augusta under the old system was held July 26, 1852. Lyttelton Waddell was the last of the high sheriffs, but held the office for only a few months. George M. Cochran, Sr., would have succeeded him, if there had been no change in the Constitution. Both these gentlemen had served as members of the County Court for many years without compensation. The people, however, retained most of the former county officers. Judge Thompson was elected judge of the Circuit Court, Nicholas C. Kinney clerk of that court, and Jefferson Kinney clerk of the County Court. Moses H. McCue was elected sheriff, and William H. Harman commonwealth's attorney.

Under the Constitution of 1850, justices of the peace were elected for a term of four years, beginning July 1, 1852. The first County Court was held by the new justices on the fourth Monday in July of that year. Colonel James Crawford was elected president of the court. His successor was Nathaniel Massie, and other presiding justices were, in the order named: Robert Guy, J. Marshall McCue, and Robert G. Bickle.

Alexander H. H. Stuart, of Staunton, was called to the cabinet of President Fillmore in 1850, as Secretary of the Interior.

⁵³The justices of the peace and members of the County Court at the time the change was made were Shelton S. Abney, Jacob Baylor, David S. Bell, James Bell, Samuel H. Bell, James Berry, John B. Breckenridge, Robert P. Brown, George M. Cochran, James A. Cochran, Samuel D. Crawford, James Crawford, Benjamin Crawford, Joseph D. Craig, Dr. John A. Davidson, John G. Fulton, Theophilus Gamble, David Griffith, Robert Guy, William Guy, Samuel Harnsberger, Dr. Isaac Hall, William Harris, Samuel Harris, Kenton Harper, Porterfield A. Heiskell, James Henry, Elijah Hogshead, David Kerr, Samuel Kennerly, James M. Lilly, Nathaniel Massie, Edward G. Moorman, Archer M. Moore, John McCue, J. Marshall McCue, John A. Patterson, William Ramsey, Joseph Smith, James M. Stout, Gerard B. Stuart, William M. Tate, Dr. A. Waddell, Lyttelton Waddell, John Wayt, Thomas P. Wilson, William Willson, Luke Woodward, Lewis Wayland, and William Young.

After the adoption of the Constitution of 1851, Staunton was usually selected as the place in which to hold State conventions of the Democratic party, to nominate candidates for governor, lieutenant-governor and attorney-general. Here Joseph Johnson and Henry A. Wise were successively nominated for the office of governor, by large and tumultuous assemblies.

We must not omit to mention the great snow storm of January, 1857, which is still often referred to in conversation, and by the newspapers. Snow began to fall about 7 o'clock Saturday night, the 17th, and continued without cessation for twenty-four hours. All day Sunday, the 18th, the mercury stood at zero, and the wind blew in a gale from apparently every point of the compass, driving the snow into houses through every crack, piling it up many feet deep in some places, and in others sweeping the earth bare. The running of trains on the Virginia Central railroad was suspended for ten days, and as there was then no telegraph line to Staunton, the people of the town and county were cut off from communication with the outside world. But never did good-fellowship and all the social virtues prevail so generally in the community. Two issues of the Staunton newspapers were brought out during the embargo, and the editors were put to the trumps for copy. At length after dark Tuesday evening, the 27th, the town was startled and elated by the unaccustomed sound of an engine whistle, and a large part of the population rushed to the depot to learn the news. Did Richmond, Washington and New York survive, or had they been smothered to death by the snow? The train proved to be only an engine with one car attached, bringing the passengers who had started from Richmond on the 18th. The regular western train of that day was arrested by the storm at Louisa Courthouse, and the passengers were detained there till the 21st. They then worked their way by some means to Gordonsville, where they had to remain till the 25th. Starting again, they spent a night in the railroad car, and reached Staunton, as stated, on the 27th. They brought no mail nor news except the account of their own adventures. At 4 o'clock Wednesday, January 28th, the first train from Richmond arrived with thirty bags of mail for the Staunton post-office.

The John Brown raid at Harper's Ferry occurred in the fall of 1859. Many military companies were assembled at that place by

order of Governor Wise, among them the West Augusta Guard of Staunton, Captain W. S. H. Baylor. This fanatical affair was like "the letting out of waters," comparatively trifling in itself, but tending to the desperate strife which arose in less than two years thereafter.

CHURCHES IN AUGUSTA COUNTY.

A history of religious denominations is an essential part of the annals of a county, and we regret that we cannot give a more detailed and satisfactory account of the various churches in Augusta. Efforts to obtain information, however, have signally failed. There has been a strange neglect on the part of the officers and members of most congregations to preserve the history of their respective organizations.

The first settlers of the county having been almost unanimously Presbyterians, the congregations and meeting-houses of that denomination ante-date all others by many years. We have given such accounts as we have of the earliest Presbyterian congregations—Augusta (or Stone Church), Tinkling Spring, Hebron (or Brown's Meeting-house), Rock Spring, and Bethel. Mossy Creek church was organized in 1767. All these congregations have had a succession of worthy, and in some cases eminent, pastors, besides many heretofore mentioned, including the Rev. William Brown, Rev. F. M. Bowman and Dr. Handy, of Augusta church; and the Rev. Messrs. B. M. Smith, R. L. Dabney, C. S. M. See and G. B. Strickler, of Tinkling Spring. There was no regular Presbyterian church organization in Staunton till 1804. At first the Presbyterians living in town were connected with Tinkling Spring. From 1804 to about 1824, or 1825, Staunton and Hebron united in the support of a pastor. The first church building of the denomination in the town was erected in 1818. Before the Revolution, Presbyterian ministers preached occasionally in the courthouse, and after the war, up to the year 1818, they officiated on alternate Sundays in the old parish church. The Rev. Joseph Smith was the first pastor of the Staunton church, when it became a separate, or self-sustaining, organization, from 1826 to 1832. The present house of worship was erected in 1871, the old church being then turned over to the Augusta Female Seminary.

A second Presbyterian church was organized in Staunton in 1875, and its church building erected in 1876.

The first Presbyterian church in Waynesborough was erected about 1798, which was superseded by another in 1824. Until 1847, Waynesborough was associated with Tinkling Spring in the support of a pastor. In that year, however, a separate church was organized there, with the Rev. William T. Richardson as pastor.

Other Presbyterian churches in the county, with the dates of their organization, are as follows: Union, 1817; Shemeriah, 1832; Mt. Car-

mel, 1835; Mt. Horeb, 1857; and Loch Willow, at Churchville, 1866. There are also several chapels in the county connected with various congregations.

The many "Mounts" in the county are supposed to be an importation from "the old country." The prefix of Mount to names of places is common in the north of Ireland.

The Church of England being established by law in the colony till the Revolution, vestrymen for Augusta parish were elected in 1746, and a rector was appointed during 1747. The erection of the parish church was not begun, however, till 1760. The building was finished in 1762, the rector officiating in the meanwhile in the courthouse and private dwellings. Mr. Balmaine, the curate in 1775, entered the army as chaplain at the beginning of the Revolutionary war, and did not return to Staunton to reside. It is said that a minister named Chambers officiated here for a short time, in 1788, and then removed to Kentucky. From that time, till about 1811, there was no regular Episcopal service in the church. In the meanwhile, several prominent gentlemen from Eastern Virginia had settled in Staunton, and having been reared in the Episcopal church, they naturally desired to reinstate here the modes of worship to which they were attached. It is said also that fears were entertained lest the heirs of William Beverley might successfully claim the lot if the Episcopal service were permanently discontinued, and thus alienate not only the church but the common burying-ground of the town. At that time Mr. William King resided in Staunton. He was a zealous member of the Methodist church, and a man of exemplary character. Originally a cooper by trade, Dr. Boys gave him some instruction in surgery, and he then practiced medicine upon a system peculiar to himself. At the instance of Mr. Peyton, and others, Bishop Madison, in 1811, licensed Mr. King as deacon, to read the Episcopal service in the church. He officiated in this manner for some years. In 1815 he paid tax as one of the physicians of the county.

The Rev. Daniel Stephens, D. D., a regularly educated minister, settled in Staunton, in 1820, as rector of the parish and principal of the Staunton Academy. He remained for a few years only, going to the west in 1827. The next rector was the Rev. Ebenezer Boyden, who took charge of the church in 1831. Mr. Boyden was a gentleman of literary taste and culture, and was the first person in the county to pay particular attention to the cultivation of the grape-vine. He married in Staunton the oldest daughter of Major Daniel Sheffey.

The original parish church was taken down in 1831 and a new church built. The latter gave way to another, which was superseded by the present structure. There are two Episcopal chapels in the county, one called Boyden, five miles southeast of Staunton, and the other called Trinity, two miles west of town.

About the year 1748 the Presbyterians began to hold service in a meeting-house two miles northwest of Midway, or Steel's tavern.

They called the place "Providence," probably after a church of the same name in Pennsylvania, but in the course of time it was designated "Old Providence," to distinguish it from New Providence in Rock-bridge. In or about 1765, the population on Walker's creek, Rock-bridge, having increased, and the membership being chiefly in that neighborhood, Old Providence was abandoned as a place of worship. When the schism occurred at New Providence in 1789 or 1790 on account of psalmody, a portion of the congregation reopened the Old Providence meeting-house, and it became an Associate Reformed, or "Seceder" Presbyterian church. They built a stone church in 1793, which still stands, but is disused, a brick church, built in 1859-60, having taken its place. The Rev. Horatio Thompson, D. D., was pastor of Old Providence for many years.

The first Lutheran church in the county, called Coiner's, or Trinity, on South river, was built in 1780. Mt. Tabor church in Riverheads district, was built in 1785; Mt. Zion, six miles west of Middlebrook, was organized in 1830; Mt. Hermon, at Newport, in 1850; Bethlehem, near Fishersville, in 1843; Mt. Zion, near Waynesborough, about 1845; Staunton Lutheran church, in 1850; Salem, near Mt. Sidney, in 1845; and the Churchville church, in 1850. Bethany, near Waynesborough, and Pleasant View, between Staunton and the village of Springhill, are other Lutheran churches.

A Methodist church was built in Staunton before the close of the last century, probably in 1797, although the name of "Staunton circuit" first appears on the minutes of the Methodist Episcopal church in the year 1806. Mr. Samson Eagon, who lived on the top of the hill, southwest corner of Main and Coalter streets, was one of the founders of the church in this community. He was a zealous and good man, universally respected, and held religious services at times in his wagon-maker's shop, which stood in the same lot as his dwelling. Hence the eminence on which he lived was called "Gospel Hill." The present church building in Staunton is the third which has occupied the same spot. There is now a Methodist church at nearly every village in the county, the number of churches and chapels being eighteen, besides several colored Methodist churches.

The German Reformed church in the county dates back to the last century. For many years this denomination held jointly with the Lutherans, St. John's church, near Middlebrook, St. Peter's, at Churchville, and Zion's, near Waynesborough. The Rev. John Brown ministered to these churches many years, till 1833. From 1835 to 1858 the Rev. J. C. Hensel officiated at St. John's. New Bethany church, at Newport, was founded in 1845, and a church was built at Mint Spring in 1882.

The Tunker, or German Baptist church, was organized in the county about the year 1790. Its places of worship are known as Mt. Vernon,

Barren Ridge, Valley District and Moscow, with branches at several places.

The United Brethren have fifteen organized churches in the county, and eleven houses of worship.

The Catholic church in Staunton was built in 1850. A school connected with the church is conducted by Sisters of Charity.

A Baptist church was organized in Staunton in 1853 and the present house of worship was built in 1855. There are now six Baptist churches of the same connection in the county—at Waynesborough, Greenville, &c.—besides two colored churches in Staunton.

VOTE OF AUGUSTA COUNTY IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS.

1844.	For Clay.....	1,398	For Polk.....	665
1848.	“ Taylor.....	1,341	“ Cass.....	720
1852.	“ Scott.....	1,674	“ Pierce.....	1,388
1856.	“ Fillmore.....	1,904	“ Buchanan.....	1,499
1860.	“ Bell, 2,553; for Douglas, 1,094; for Breckenridge, 218.			
1868.	(Southern States not allowed to vote.)			
1872.	For Greeley.....	1,943	For Grant.....	1,008
1876.	“ Tilden.....	4,137	“ Hayes.....	1,317
1880. }	“ Hancock (D.)..	3,377	“ Garfield.....	1,401
	“ “ (Read.)	724		
1884.	“ Cleveland....	4,103	“ Blaine.....	2,971

For want of a more suitable place, we may mention here three of our county-men who achieved more or less distinction abroad.

John Hall was born in Augusta in 1769. He removed to North Carolina, and became a judge of the Supreme Court of that State. His death occurred January 29, 1833. He was an uncle of the late Alexander S. Hall and Dr. Isaac Hall.

James Haggerty was a poor boy, born in Staunton. Colonel Robert Gamble found him working in a brickyard, took him into his store, first in Staunton, and afterwards in Richmond, trained him to business, and sent him to England. He became a prosperous merchant in Liverpool, and in 1841, was appointed United States Consul at that port.

Joseph G. Baldwin, a nephew of General Briscoe G. Baldwin, was reared in Staunton. He went to Alabama to practice law, wrote and published two popular books—“Flush Times in Alabama” and “Party Leaders”—and at the time of his death was a judge of the Supreme Court of California.



CHAPTER XIII.

AUGUSTA COUNTY AND THE WAR OF SECESSION—1860-'2.

It is not expected that we should give here a history of the recent war, from 1861 to 1865; but a brief account of the state of affairs in the county during that period will be attempted. Much has been written and published about the battles of the war and the life of soldiers in the field; we propose to relate succinctly how the people at home fared, what they saw and heard, what they thought, and how they felt.

Until the war actually arose, the sentiment of the people of Augusta, with the exception of a few individuals, was earnestly in favor of maintaining the Union. At the Presidential election, Breckenridge, who was regarded as the secession candidate (although most of his supporters denied that he was), received only 218 votes in the county, while Bell received 2,553, and Douglas, 1,094.

As soon as the result of the election was known, the people of South Carolina took steps to secede from the Union; and thereupon many citizens of Augusta published a call for a county mass-meeting on Saturday, November 17, to consult as to what course was necessary "for the preservation of the Union in the present alarming condition of our country." The meeting was held in the courthouse on the day named, and was large and enthusiastic. Alexander H. H. Stuart presided, and John L. Peyton acted as secretary. It was resolved to appoint a committee of thirteen to report to a meeting at November court such resolutions as they might deem proper for the people of Augusta to adopt. By vote of the meeting, Mr. Stuart was made chair-

man of the committee, and the other members were Hugh W. Sheffey, George Baylor, John B. Baldwin, John L. Peyton, Kenton Harper, John D. Imboden, George M. Cochran, Jr., Joseph A. Waddell, John McCue, Benjamin Crawford, Gerard B. Stuart, and Robert Guy.

On November court day (the 26th) the courthouse was crowded with people anxious to participate in the proceedings, and never were more interest and anxiety exhibited by a popular assembly. A series of resolutions, written by Hugh W. Sheffey, and with some modifications adopted by the committee of thirteen, was reported to the meeting. One of the resolutions declared the Constitution of the United States to be "the easiest yoke of government a free people ever bore, and yet the strongest protector of rights the wisdom of man ever contrived." Another expressed sympathy with the people of the extreme Southern States in their aggrieved feeling at the election of Lincoln, but appealed to them to unite with Virginia "in testing the efficacy of remedies provided by the Constitution and within the Union." The last resolution was as follows: "That our senator and delegates be requested, in the discharge of the responsible duties which will soon devolve upon them, in the spirit of harmony and conciliation attempted to be expressed in these resolves, to bend all their energies to keep Virginia to her moorings as 'the Flag Ship of the Union,' and to induce her, placed as she is between the North and the extreme South, with moderation, forbearance and wisdom worthy of her ancient renown, to exert her power and influence to preserve, on the one hand, the known and equal rights of her own people as citizens of a common country, and, on the other, the harmony of the Union and the integrity of the Constitution."

Every attempt to change the resolutions was voted down, and they were adopted by an overwhelming majority. A resolution in favor of a State Convention, to be called by the Legislature, was also defeated, Union men considering that a step in the direction of secession. Thus the people of Augusta took their stand in favor of the Union, and against every measure which it was feared might tend to its dissolution. But while in favor of the Union, they were opposed to all measures of coercion by the Federal Government, regarding an enforced union of States, by means of military power, as inconsistent with our theory of gov-

ernment, and not to be desired. They preferred to allow any State, resolved upon secession, to try the experiment without let or hindrance. For themselves, they proposed to remain in the Union. And although seeking peace, they reserved the right to determine on which side they would fight, if fight they must.

During the months of December and January, the course of events was watched with intense anxiety. President Buchanan having appointed Friday, January 4, 1861, as National Fast Day, on account of the disturbed condition of the country, the occasion was observed in Staunton in a remarkable manner. The whole people appeared to feel the solemnity of the crisis. All the stores were closed, and business generally was suspended. Sermons were preached in the various churches by the respective pastors at 11 o'clock, A. M., and at 3 a Union prayer-meeting was held in the Lutheran church, which was crowded to overflowing. Vain was the help of man—God was earnestly entreated to interpose and save the country from ruin.

Contrary to the wishes of the people of Augusta, the Legislature passed an act providing for a State Convention. The election was held on the 4th of February, and Alexander H. H. Stuart, John B. Baldwin and George Baylor were chosen, as Union men, to represent Augusta county.

The Convention met in February, and, being largely composed of men opposed to secession, if it could be avoided, for two months labored to prevent disunion, and restore peace to the distracted country. It seemed to our people that a corresponding spirit was not exhibited by the Federal government and the North generally. A great revolution was in progress in many of the Southern States, but the authorities at Washington persisted in treating it as the ebullition of a mob. President Lincoln having been inaugurated, formidable military and naval preparations were set on foot. Finally, Fort Sumter having surrendered to the Carolinians, the President issued a proclamation on April 15th calling for seventy thousand volunteers. Virginia was asked to furnish her quota of troops, and Staunton was named as one of the places of rendezvous. The proclamation precipitated the action of the Convention, and an ordinance of secession, subject to the vote of the people, was passed April 17, 1861. From that day, however, a state of war between Virginia and the United States was recognized as existing. Our people almost unanimously

took side with the Southern States. Which side—North or South—was to blame, we shall not discuss here, but the people of Augusta, and, indeed, of the whole State, have always felt that they were not responsible for the conflict.

Much military enthusiasm prevailed throughout the State after the "John Brown raid," and many volunteer companies were organized in this county. When the war began we had about a dozen, one artillery, two cavalry, and the remainder infantry. All the infantry companies were armed, and the artillery had four pieces of cannon. The West Augusta Guard, of Staunton, the oldest of the organizations, was completely equipped.

On the 13th of April the commissioned officers of seven of the organized companies in the county met in Staunton to form a volunteer regiment, to be designated the Fifth, as provided by law. The following field officers were elected: William S. H. Baylor, Colonel; Absalom Koiner, Lieutenant-Colonel; Franklin F. Sterrett, First Major, and Rudolph Turk, Second Major. Other companies in the county were invited to join the regiment. The organization of the regiment was, however, not completed, the various companies being ordered to the field a few days afterwards and a different arrangement consummated.

April 17, 1861, was a day of intense excitement in Staunton. People from the country poured into town, and all business and labor were suspended. An order had been received by telegraph from Richmond—irregularly issued, it was afterwards ascertained—requiring the various military companies of the county to prepare to march. Late in the afternoon of the 17th, the West Augusta Guard, Captain William S. H. Baylor, and the Staunton Artillery, Captain John D. Imboden, went eastward by a special railroad train, and it soon afterwards appeared that their destination was Harper's Ferry, by way of the Alexandria and Manassas Gap railroad.

On the 19th the companies from Springhill, (Captain Doyle), Greenville, (Captain Newton), and Middlebrook, (Captain Williams), marched down the Valley. Captain Patrick's troop of cavalry, and Captain Koiner's company of infantry also marched on the 19th without passing through Staunton. The West View company, (Captain Roberts), the Mt. Solon company, (Captain Grinnan), the Mt. Sidney company, (Captain Stuart M. Crawford), commanded by Lieutenant William P. Johnston, the cap-

tain being sick, and Captain A. W. Harman's company, organized at Staunton, speedily followed the others down the Valley.

Kenton Harper, Major-General of militia, was ordered by the Governor to proceed to Harper's Ferry and take command. He was, however, superseded by Colonel Thomas J. Jackson before the close of the month.

Eight infantry companies from this county and two more from the lower valley, were organized at Harper's Ferry as the Fifth Virginia regiment. This regiment became a part of the "Stonewall Brigade," and served during the war, at the close of which very few of the original members survived. The first field officers of the regiment were Kenton Harper, Colonel; William H. Harman, Lieutenant Colonel; and Wm. S. H. Baylor, Major.

Staunton soon became an important military station, and a great depot for army supplies. M. G. Harman was the first quartermaster of the post, with the rank of major. He, on going to the field, was succeeded for a short time by A. W. Harman. Finally, H. M. Bell was appointed to the office, and held it during the last two and a half years of the war. The first commissary of the post was Captain F. H. Henderson, who was succeeded by Captain E. W. Bayly. Wm. M. Tate, of Augusta, afterwards commissioned commissary, with the rank of major, was stationed at Staunton as agent for the purchase of army subsistence. Extensive hospitals for sick and wounded soldiers were also organized and maintained here during the war. The first surgeon in charge was Dr. J. Alexander Waddell, and afterwards, successively, Dr. Hay and Dr. A. M. Fauntleroy.

During the latter part of April, sixty-nine wagons laded with guns from the Lexington arsenal, arrived in town. Day after day troops also arrived and departed. On May 18, seven companies, under command of Colonel John Echols, were temporarily quartered here. The ladies were then busily at work making soldiers' garments.

The ordinance of secession was voted on by the people May 23, and ten votes against it were cast in the county. The vote for the ordinance was 3,130. At the same time Hugh W. Saffey, William M. Tate and James Walker were elected to the House of Delegates. Bolivar Christian represented the county in the State Senate.

On June 4, news of the encounter with the enemy at Phillipa,

Barbour county, was received. The Churchville cavalry, Captain Sterrett, was there, which increased the anxiety felt in the community. A considerable body of Virginia troops was soon collected in the northwestern part of the State, beyond the Alleghany mountain, and most of the supplies were forwarded from Staunton. For this purpose, in addition to government wagons and teams, many others belonging to farmers were temporarily pressed into service.

Captain R. D. Lilly's company, organized at Staunton, and four other companies from different counties, started to the northwest on June 7. Regiment after regiment and company after company arrived and departed in like manner.

The militia of the county were called out on the 28th of June. On the 15th and 16th of July we had tidings of the disaster in the northwest, and of the death of General Garnett.

From a diary kept by the writer at Staunton during the war, we shall now make sundry extracts, as more likely to interest the reader than any other statement of facts. A contemporary account, written on the spot, will, perhaps, to some extent, enable readers to view things as they were seen by the writer. We quote:

Saturday, July 20, 1861.—We have had a horrid view of war since my last. On Thursday evening two wagons full of sick soldiers arrived from Monterey, Highland county. Before these could be provided for, others were brought in. The sick men were taken out of the wagons and placed in the sheriff's office and courthouse, many of them on the floors. The sight was a sickening one—one man gasping with asthma, another burning with fever, and another shaking with chills. There are now at least one hundred and fifty sick soldiers in town. The citizens are doing what they can for them. * * * The Arkansas regiment left for the northwest yesterday. Two other regiments left this morning, and a fourth will go to day. The men of one of the companies sang as they moved off: "We'll stand the storm," etc. * * * George M. Cochran, Jr., arrived from Winchester yesterday evening, and says General Johnston has gone across the Blue Ridge to reinforce Beauregard at Manassas. * * *

Evening.—The sick soldiers have been coming in all day in crowds, and are lying about in every place, suffering for food, etc. * * *

On the 19th we heard by telegraph of some fighting in Fairfax county, which was the beginning of the "First Battle of Manassas."

Monday, July 22.—The telegraph reported yesterday that the fight

near Manassas Junction had been renewed, and this morning there is intelligence of a great battle, lasting from 8 A. M. till 6 P. M. The victory is attributed to our side. The enemy were said to be retreating, pursued by our cavalry. Total loss (on both sides, it is presumed,) ten thousand to twelve thousand. Most of the volunteers from this county were on the field, and we know that at least a part of General Johnston's command was in the engagement. The utmost desire, not without apprehension, is felt to obtain full particulars.

At night the telegraph announced that one member of the Staunton Artillery and two of the Guards (William H. Woodward and Joab Seely) had been killed, and that seven men in both companies were wounded.

Tuesday, July 23.—The town is overflowing with sick soldiers and stragglers from the Northwestern army. There are probably three hundred in hospital. No arrangements yet for their comfort at the Institution.

The State Institution for the Deaf and Dumb and the Blind had been occupied as a hospital for sick and wounded soldiers; but some time was required for making suitable arrangements.

Wednesday, July 24.—The streets are full of soldiers, many of whom are lying against the houses and on store boxes. A free negro woman took three of them home with her to get something to eat and a place to lie down. They had arrived from Monterey, broken down and destitute.

Thursday, July 25.—A letter was received last night from Lyttelton Waddell, Jr. [of the Staunton Artillery]. He began the letter Sunday morning (21st), and in the first part gives an account of the march from Winchester and the arrival at Manassas. In the midst of a sentence he breaks off to say that he heard the report of cannon and must go to his post. At 5 o'clock P. M. he resumed and told about the battle; but at the close of the letter could not say definitely what was the result. On a separate piece of paper he states that General Johnston had come along and announced a victory! More troops arrived last night, and a second North Carolina regiment this morning. Others are still here.

Friday, July 26.—The booty captured after the battle near Manassas is said to be immense. The Federalists seem to have anticipated an easy march to Richmond, and were provided with all sorts of conveniences and luxuries. Many females and children accompanied their army, and female apparel and even children's toys were found scattered over the ground.

Monday, July 29.—Two railroad trains arrived yesterday with troops, Tennesseans, I believe. Part of them went on immediately by way of Millborough to the Northwestern army. * * General Lee arrived in the mail train late this evening, and was saluted by a Georgia artillery

company stationed on the left of the Middlebrook road, half a mile from town.

Tuesday, July 30.—A Tennessee regiment went off last night. There are still, however, many soldiers about town. The drum is beating nearly all the time. The camp fires on Garber's hill Sunday night were very beautiful. * * No paper has been issued from the *Spectator* office for two weeks, Mauzy and all his hands being in the militia. A long line of cavalry came in just before dinner from towards Winchester. There seemed to be three or four companies. McDonald's Legion they call themselves. The Georgia artillery company left town late this afternoon. More troops passed to-day on the railroad—two trains. I cannot keep count of them.

Wednesday, July 31.— * * The militia have been greatly exercised for more than two weeks past. The number of men remaining to be furnished by this county, to make up the ten per cent. called for, was, on yesterday, three hundred and fifty. * * One or two more cavalry companies belonging to McDonald's Legion came in last evening. The whole number is said to be seven or eight hundred.

Friday, August 2.—Troops! troops!! They have been pouring in yesterday and to-day, principally from Southwest Virginia and Tennessee. They are rough-looking fellows, very free and easy in their manners, but generally well-behaved. The Rockbridge militia, some eight hundred strong, arrived day before yesterday. They have arranged to furnish their quota of volunteers, and the remainder will return home. The militia of Augusta, outside of Staunton, have also raised their quota, I believe; but the two town companies are still wrangling. * * There must be from one thousand to twelve hundred volunteers at this place, recently enlisted, besides regiments stopping *in transitu*.

Wednesday, August 7.—The soldiers passing through town make themselves very much at home, and sometimes make ludicrous mistakes. A party of them called at Mr. S.'s the other day and asked for food, which was given to them. An officer afterwards made his appearance, called for a room and dinner, and announced that he would be back to supper, leaving directions as to what he would have prepared. On taking his departure at night, when pay was refused for his entertainment, he discovered that he was not in a boarding-house, and expressed great mortification. He saw so many going there to eat he was sure it was a house of public entertainment.

The Augusta militia was discharged on the 7th of August, the quota of volunteers called for having been made up. The Fifty-second Virginia regiment was organized at that time. The field and staff officers were, John B. Baldwin, Colonel; M. G. Harman, Lieutenant-Colonel; John D. Ross, Major; Dr. Livingston Waddell, Surgeon; George M. Cochran, Jr., Quartermaster, and Bolivar Christian, Commissary.

On August 20 the price of salt had gone up to \$10 a sack, and on the 24th the price of coffee was forty cents a pound.

Thursday, August 22.—It was rumored in town on yesterday that St. Louis had been burnt, and that our troops in Northwest Virginia had captured fourteen hundred of the enemy with the loss of General Loring. Neither report could be traced to any reliable source.

Monday, August 26.—Yesterday afternoon the Rev. Dr. Armistead, of Cumberland county, preached to the soldiers camped on the Institution grounds. There was no pulpit, but the preacher stood under the trees or walked about, while the soldiers and others stood, or sat, or lay at full length in the grove. * * * The ladies are bent upon nursing at the hospital. Perhaps they agree with the *Spectator* (No. 193) "that there is in military men something graceful in exposing themselves naked." I hear some ludicrous stories of their performances. Mrs. — was very anxious to "do something," and went fussing round till she found one of the doctors. He gave her two prescriptions, which she hastened to administer, but was alarmed afterwards upon discovering that she had given a dose of calomel to a typhoid fever patient. It is said these ladies rub the fever patients and dose the rheumatics. One man had his face washed by one lady after another till he was perfectly clean or very tired of it.

This extract refers to a few good women who were entirely unfitted for the business of nursing; many others proved "ministering angels" in the hospitals here and elsewhere.

Tuesday, September 3.—About one hundred Federal prisoners arrived last night from the west by railroad. They were taken in the affair at Gauley river between our troops under Floyd and the Federalists under a Colonel Taylor. Most of them are from Ohio.

Friday, September 6.—The regiment lately organized here (Baldwin's) is preparing to start, but there is some trouble in the ranks. Moreover, many of the men are absent without leave. * * * The jailor of this county informs me that the Union men brought from Beverley when our army retreated from that place, and since then confined in our jail, are in miserable plight—some of them half naked. There are twenty-one of them. We continue to hear sad accounts of the sickness at Monterey. Eight deaths there yesterday or the day before.

Clothing and other necessaries were soon provided for the prisoners referred to above.

Saturday, September 7.— * * * Last night sixteen prisoners were brought down on the western train, most of them Ohio volunteers. One of them had neither hat, shoes, nor stockings, and his feet looked white and tender. I sent him a pair of shoes and a pair of stockings, somewhat worn, but better than none. * * * We had an illustration

yesterday evening of the difficulty of getting true accounts of military operations. On the arrival of the western train the baggage master told A. F. Kinney that Wise's troops had recently killed four hundred of the enemy, with only a small loss on our side. I did not believe that, but on my way home I encountered Richardson, who came down on the train, and he informed me that John H. McCue, just from the region where Wise is, had come in with him, and told him that Wise had a fight in which fifty of the enemy were killed, with no loss on our side, and that the sixteen prisoners brought down were taken in that affair. I have learned this morning that there is no truth in either story, yet neither of the persons mentioned would tell a falsehood. The prisoners were taken by Floyd.

Wednesday, September 11.—The Fifty-second regiment left town about 2 o'clock yesterday. Main street was lined with people for an hour or two beforehand. One of the soldiers, who was detailed as wagon-guard, sat on a stone by Morris's corner, and his wife clung to him to the last. She was greatly distressed, but he appeared unmoved. Seven of the companies are from this county, viz: Skinner's, Long's, McCune's, Lambert's, Hottle's, John Lilly's (late Mason's), and Dabney's; and three from Rockbridge, viz: Miller's, Morrison's, and Watkins's.

Monday, September 16.—We have been agitated for several days past by rumors from General Lee's command, without being able to obtain any definite information. The express has not come in since Friday morning. Saturday night one or more persons arrived with the corpse of a Georgia soldier, and stated that an attempt made by our force at Greenbrier river against the enemy on Cheat mountain had failed.

Wednesday, September 18.—Many rumors from the northwest current for several days past—one, that General Lee had reached Huntersville; another, that he had captured fourteen cannon, and afterwards lost six; another, that four hundred of his men had been killed; another, that the enemy had routed a body of our men at Petersburg, in Hardy county. None of these are authentic. * * * Twenty-six wagons were sent out on yesterday, six to-day.

Friday, September 20.—A train of wagons has just arrived from Greenbrier river, bringing the remnant of Captain Bruce's company, Twentieth regiment. Thirty odd men are left of about ninety who went out a few months ago. The regiment was at Rich Mountain when the disaster occurred there, and is completely broken up. Many of the men were captured by the enemy, some disabled by wounds, many died of disease, and some, I presume, killed. Most of the men left of Bruce's company go into the hospital.

The Confederate army operating in northwest Virginia depended for subsistence almost entirely upon supplies collected at Staunton, and transported thence in wagons. Most of the wagons

thus employed were hired, or "pressed," for the purpose, the owners being paid \$4 a day for a four-horse team and driver, and \$2.50 for a two-horse team, &c. The government, however, owned a large number of horses and wagons, and for these drivers only were hired. On September 24th, thirty-two wagons were sent out, and thirty-six on the 25th. Thirty wagons went out on the 28th, loaded for Monterey and Huntersville.

Friday, October 4.—An express boy, riding in great haste, arrived to-day at the Quartermaster's office. He brought news that 5,000 of the enemy attacked our force, 2,500 to 3,000, at Greenbrier river [on the Staunton and Parkersburg turnpike, in Pocahontas county] yesterday morning, and were repulsed with heavy loss, after a fight of three or four hours. The Fifty-second regiment did not get up in time to participate in the battle.

On October 17 there were seven hundred and fifty patients in the Staunton hospital, and notice had been received to prepare for five hundred more from Greenbrier river.

Thursday, October 24.—The Fifty-eighth Virginia regiment has at last started west. It has been here for many weeks. Most of the companies are from Bedford county. The ranks are thin from sickness, &c.

Eighty-one wagons with army supplies were started to Monterey on October 21, and others on the 2d of November.

Thursday, November 7.—Yesterday was election day for president of the Confederate States, members of Congress, etc. There was no opposition to Jefferson Davis for the presidency. The refugees from the Wheeling district, who voted here for congressman, under the Governor's proclamation, seemed more interested and excited than any other persons. At the courthouse they gave Russell three votes and Kidwell two.

November 11.—Salt is now held here at \$18 a sack. Baldwin was elected to Congress in this district. Have not heard the result in the Wheeling district. John N. Hendren was elected a member of the State Convention in Baldwin's place.

Thursday, November 14.—The North Carolina regiment, Colonel Lee, which passed through Staunton some months ago, returned to-day on the way to Manassas. The men generally look rather soiled and badly. The ranks, however, are not as much reduced as I would have expected. From the manner in which the men ran over the town to procure bread I presume they were suffering from hunger. They carried their bread, cakes, etc., in very dirty hands. They came down by railroad, and went on after a delay of two or three hours. Other regiments from the west are expected in a day or two to go to Manassas or Winchester.

During the latter part of November, Staunton was crowded with soldiers, generally stragglers from the northwestern army. Many regiments were moving from the mountains, and officers and men seemed to think it not improper to come on in advance. The diary remarked on the 28th: "The whole northwestern army seems demoralized."

Monday night, December 2.—After vibrating on the road near McDowell, Highland county—one day ordered forward, and the next back—the troops lately at Greenbrier river, or a part of them, have proceeded towards Manassas by way of Harrisonburg. Last Saturday it was reported that a large body of the enemy was advancing this way from Cheat Mountain, and another approaching Monterey from Petersburg, in Hardy county, while a third force was marching upon Winchester. * * We are sending large quantities of supplies to Monterey and other points, for the troops left in that region.

December 11.—Several trains of empty wagons have gone out to bring away the army stores which have accumulated at various points in Highland county since last spring. War is a costly business. Five teams from the lower part of Rockingham cost more than \$250, eleven days' hire, probably more than the lading was worth.

Saturday night, December 14.—The town was startled this morning by the news of a battle, yesterday, on the Alleghany, an express having arrived during the night. It is stated that two deserters from our side informed the enemy of the very small force (under General Edward Johnson) we now have on the mountain, which induced the Federal general to collect all the men he could for an assault upon our camp. The enemy had, it is said, 5,000, while we had 1,200 effective men. The former were repulsed with a reported loss of eighty killed. Our loss is given as twenty killed and eighty wounded. The fight lasted several hours. * * Notwithstanding the Yankees are thus aggressive, the movements still indicate that all our troops are to be withdrawn from Pocahontas and Highland. The town was full of wagons to-day—some having arrived from the west with supplies taken out heretofore with vast labor and expense; and others going out empty, to bring back similar loads.

Monday night, December 16.—The streets as full of soldiers to-night as ever. Guards with fixed bayonets constantly walking about. * * Teams going and coming all the time, and a constant rush of team-owners, wagon-masters, teamsters, &c. Old or broken down horses are coming in from the army in droves nearly every day, and better ones are sent out as fast as they can be procured. Since dark a crowd of worn out artillery horses arrived from Huntersville.

The Virginia Hotel stables, in Staunton, were destroyed by fire on Wednesday morning, December 18, and forty-seven or

forty-eight horses were burnt up—most of them belonging to individuals, and the remainder to the government.

By the 25th of December, army supplies were going by wagon from Staunton to Winchester. Many teams from Buckingham and Appomattox counties had been pressed into service.

December 26.—Money was never so plentiful. Confederate States treasury notes, State treasury notes, bank notes of all sorts and sizes, and “shinplasters” issued by corporations and anybody who chooses. Gold and silver coin are never seen.

Friday night, January 3, 1862.—We had exciting news to-day from almost every quarter. At 2 o'clock an express arrived from the Alleghany mountain, beyond Monterey, with intelligence that the Federalists in large force were at Greenbrier river, and also at, or near, Huntersville. An attack was anticipated, and reinforcements were requested. We hear that large reinforcements have been moving up to-day from Richmond towards Centreville, beyond Manassas, in anticipation of an attack from the enemy in that quarter. General T. J. Jackson has moved with his division from Winchester towards Romney, and we hear of skirmishing in that region. One or two regiments passed yesterday evening, by railroad, for the Greenbrier region, from which our troops were lately withdrawn.

During the months of January and February the diary is full of the reports about Mason and Slidell, the Burnside expedition, the Confederate expedition to Romney, the disaster at Roanoke Island, the fall of Fort Donelson, &c., &c.; but there is little of local interest, or pertaining to the annals of the county. News came on February 16th of a splendid victory at Fort Donelson—ten thousand men and one hundred cannon captured. This was contradicted on the 17th, and on the 18th we had tidings of the fall of Donelson. On the 19th the diary says: “It is impossible to describe the state of feeling in the community—the depression and anxiety.” Things looked brighter on the 20th, but on the 22d everything was gloomy again. There was no salt in town for sale, and persons were going round to borrow a little for table use. Authentic intelligence from Tennessee was not received till the 24th, and then it was said the Confederate loss at Fort Donelson was from twelve thousand to fifteen thousand men; but in a day or two the number was reduced to seven thousand.

Wednesday night, March 5.—For a week or two past we have had rumors that our army stores were to be removed from Manassas, Cen-

treville, &c., to Gordonsville, where extensive store-houses have been erected. Many wagons, moreover, have been impressed in Albemarle and other eastern counties to go to Manassas. This morning forty four-horse government wagons started from Staunton for the same place. There was a rumor this morning that Winchester would be evacuated in a day or two by our troops, but stage-passengers, who afterwards arrived, contradicted it.

Monday night, March 10.—The Richmond newspapers bring a proclamation of the Governor, calling upon the militia to go at once to various points named, and report to our generals. The militia of this county are to report at Winchester. The Confederate authorities have called for 40,000 men from Virginia, and cannot wait the operation of the act lately passed by the Legislature.

Thursday, March 13, 1862.—Intelligence came last night that the enemy have occupied Winchester, General Jackson having withdrawn his army.

Sunday night, March 16.—Jackson's army, when last heard from, was at Woodstock. A portion of the rolling stock of the Manassas Gap railroad arrived yesterday over the turnpike.

The militia of the county having been called out again to reinforce General Jackson, they assembled in Staunton, and on March 17 proceeded down the Valley. The ranks of the companies were very thin, nearly all the able-bodied men of the county being in the army already. The diary states that "when Company A, One-Hundred-and-Sixtieth regiment, was ordered into line, —— marched out, solitary and alone. He was afterwards joined by several others."

Wednesday night, March 19.—About 2 o'clock to-day seventy odd men were brought in, having been captured by our cavalry scouts in Pendleton or Hardy. Ten or eleven of these are from this county, and the remainder from Rockingham. They were endeavoring to make their way in small parties to Ohio, to escape military duty. Some, if not all of them, are simple-hearted, inoffensive people, belonging to the Dunkard church, whose tenets forbid going to war. They will be sent to Richmond to-morrow, and are confined to-night in the courthouse, every door and window being guarded by a sentinel. * * There is something pitiful in the case of these people, flying as they were to escape conscription, and being taken like partridges on the mountains. The whole crowd had a pocket pistol between them, and no other arms.

Thursday night, March 20.—Early this morning I met Sam Baskin, who had just returned from Jackson's army. He said the enemy had mustered 70,000 strong at Winchester, but after laying a double-track railroad to Strasburg, had gone off, leaving only 3,000 men behind. Soon afterwards I met Sandy Garber, just arrived also. He said the

enemy had seventeen regiments at Winchester, and that none of them except pickets had been out of the town in this direction. Such are the contradictory reports constantly brought to us.

Saturday night, March 22.— * * * While in the country yesterday I could but observe the quietude of the scene. The cattle in the barn-yard, the sheep in the field, and all nature seemed perfectly composed. What a contrast to the rage of men! Coming home, I met a man and asked him the latest news. "Nothing special," he replied; "not many getting off, but I did." The ruling thought with him was about the "Board of Exemption" from military duty.

March 23.—One of the Augusta militia, who was discharged and sent home, gives the following account of things: "The army seemed to be in a high state of enjoyment, but glad to receive the reinforcements from this county. The volunteers—the men composing the army—were dressed in every conceivable style. Some wore slouched hats, some caps of their own manufacture, and others the old-fashioned high-crowned beavers. They were, however, uniformly dirty. Many wagons were employed in bringing the army stores from Mount Jackson to New Market. The loads were emptied in great haste and the teams hurried back for more, as the enemy were approaching. The people of the country round were flying with what property they could carry off, some having their chickens tied on the wagons. But the men, old and young, were coming to the army with their guns. The hurry and tumult were kept up nearly all night. The next day (21st), the Augusta militia were marched down near Mount Jackson, meeting our army coming this way, and quartered on the Meem farm. The cavalry were between them and the enemy, who had advanced to Woodstock, and a battle was considered certain. The next morning (22d), our army was suddenly put in rapid motion toward Woodstock in pursuit of the retreating enemy."

On March 29, the price of sugar in Staunton was thirty-three and one-third cents a pound. Salt could not be bought at any price. Supplies were again going out to our military force on the Alleghany mountain.

News of the battle of Kernstown, near Winchester, was received on the 25th, and for several days afterward there were various conflicting reports from that quarter. The troops composing Jackson's command were all Virginians—that is, Virginia regiments. They did not exceed 3,500 in number, it was said. The wounded Confederates were brought to Staunton, including Colonel John Echols.

About April 1, General Edward Johnson's force at the Alleghany mountain was withdrawn to the Shenandoah mountain. Under date of April 3, the diary says (the writer having recently

been in Highland) that the withdrawal of the army "has caused a great panic in Highland, Bath, and Pendleton counties. Many of the people were flying to get away from the Yankees. It was really painful to witness the anxiety of the women. * * * Recruits and returned furloughed soldiers are going down (to Jackson) from here every day in large numbers."

Monday night, April 14.—The town was full of rumors this morning—one, that 4,000 Yankees, commanded by Fremont, were at McDowell, Highland county; another, that a Yankee army of 20,000 was crossing the Blue Ridge from Culpeper, to get in the rear of General Jackson at New Market; a third, that we had captured the whole Federal army near Corinth, Mississippi.

Tuesday night, April 15.—It is evident that General Jackson is about to make some important movement. He sent up last night for ambulances, and the sick soldiers are to be removed from Harrisonburg. The general belief is, that Jackson, if worsted in another battle, or pressed by overwhelming numbers, will retire to the base of the Blue Ridge, near Waynesborough. Staunton cannot be defended. Upon the further advance of the enemy up the Valley, Johnson must leave the Shenandoah mountain and unite with Jackson. These events may occur in the next week.

Thursday morning, April 17.—Just a year ago the two volunteer companies of this place started to Harper's Ferry. The war then began, as far as we were concerned. What momentous events have occurred since then! In Virginia, the battles of Bethel, Hainesville, Manassas, Drainesville, Laurel Hill, Cheat River, Carnifax Ferry, Greenbrier River, Alleghany Mountain, Kernstown, and innumerable skirmishes. Out of the State, Springfield, Lexington, Boston Mountain, Fishing Creek, Fort Henry, Donelson, Shiloh, Pittsburg, &c., &c. At this time there are nearly a million of men in the field, including both sides. The enemy is coming nearer and nearer to Staunton. Large portions of the State are devastated.



CHAPTER XIV.

SECOND YEAR OF THE WAR—1862-'3.

On Thursday night, April 17, 1862, the report came that Jackson was attacked that morning by thirty-five thousand men and one hundred cannon, and was in full retreat toward Staunton. At that time there were in Staunton clothing for ten thousand or twelve thousand soldiers, ammunition, cannon and other arms, besides the ordinary quartermaster and commissary stores. On the 19th, it being understood that General Jackson had ordered the evacuation of Staunton, the convalescent patients at the hospital and a portion of the military stores were sent by railroad to Charlottesville. The money, etc., of the Staunton banks, the records of the courts, etc., were also sent to Charlottesville. At the same time, General Johnson's command, in his absence, fell back from the Shenandoah mountain to the village of Westview, in Augusta. It turned out, however, that Jackson had given no orders for these movements, and a degree of confidence was speedily restored. But by the 24th, some of the enemy had appeared on North mountain, at Buffalo Gap, and also at Jennings's Gap. On the 28th the enemy occupied Harrisonburg, "and helped themselves to whatever they wanted." There were conflicting reports as to the movements of Jackson and Ewell, but it was evident that they had withdrawn from about Harrisonburg toward the Blue Ridge.

On Saturday, May 3, the news came that Jackson was crossing the Blue Ridge at Brown's Gap, leaving Ewell at Swift Run Gap, and the way open for the enemy from Harrisonburg to Staunton. Sunday, May 4, was a day full of rumors and excitement. Among other reports, it was stated that 10,000 of the

enemy were advancing upon Johnson, at Westview, seven miles west of Staunton. In the afternoon, however, several trains of railway cars arrived from the east, crowded with soldiers. Pickets were immediately posted on all the roads leading from town toward Harrisonburg, and no one was allowed to go in that direction. General Jackson and his staff arrived, on horseback, before night, and it was soon found that the army had entered the Valley again, through Rockfish Gap. Train after train arrived on Monday, and a part of the command came on foot. Jackson's old brigade (known as "Stonewall") encamped two miles east of town. In the evening the town was full of country people, who were permitted to come in, but not to go out. On Tuesday, the 6th, we had news that the Federal army at Harrisonburg, had started down the Valley, in a hurry, the day before; we also learned that Johnson's command had moved westward, but where to we did not know.

Wednesday night, May 7.—Jackson's army started to-day, all the First brigade (except the Fifth regiment), and the artillery, passing through town, and marching towards Buffalo Gap. We are entirely at a loss to know the destination of the command; but presume it will soon turn and move down the Valley. The force which has passed through since Sunday, numbers at least 10,000; and this is exclusive of Johnson's brigade, which is from 4,000 to 5,000 strong.

A portion of Ashby's cavalry, about 800, passed through town in the afternoon, and camped on the Buffalo Gap road.

Thursday night, May 8.—General Johnson surprised the Federal scouts—some two hundred cavalry—on yesterday at Ryan's, in the Pastures, killing from six to ten (variously reported), and capturing two. They left their tents behind them. * * Cannonading was heard to-day from early morning till 4 o'clock, P. M., in the direction of the Shenandoah mountain. * * J. D. Imboden has arrived with authority to raise companies for guerilla service in western Virginia.

On Friday morning, May 9, tidings came of the battle of McDowell, in Highland county. A number of the wounded in the battle were brought in on the 10th, and also the corpses of eight or ten of the slain. "These poor fellows were from Georgia, and their comrades are sending the remains home."

Sunday night, May 11.—Jackson's recent movements, which were so incomprehensible to us, are now all explained. On last Sunday we heard that 8,000 or 10,000 of the enemy were threatening Johnson at Westview, only seven miles from Staunton. This proved untrue, and we

became incredulous as to reports of any Federal troops advancing from the northwest. It turns out, however, that the enemy in considerable force were advancing from the direction of Romney, through Pendleton county, and no doubt with the expectation of assailing Johnson by surprise and overwhelming him; Jackson being advised of their movement, countermarched as he did to reinforce Johnson, and coming upon the enemy suddenly at McDowell, scattered them to the four winds. * * "Yankee shinplasters," or sutler's tickets, are very abundant in Staunton.

Friday night, May 16.—Part of Jackson's army is at Stribling's Springs. Some of the cavalry is in town.

The command moved down the Valley on Tuesday morning, the 20th.

Tuesday morning, May 27.—Yesterday morning we had news that Jackson had routed the enemy under Banks, and chased them beyond Winchester, taking 2,000 prisoners, and capturing all their military stores.

Wednesday, May 28.—A number of Staunton people have gone to Winchester to buy goods, having heard that the town was well supplied with many articles very scarce here. An order has come for all the wagons in the county and adjoining counties to go down to remove the captured stores.

Some four thousand prisoners, captured in the lower Valley, were taken to Charlottesville, without passing through Staunton. On the 29th there were about thirteen hundred sick and wounded soldiers in the military hospitals here.

Monday night, June 2.—Intelligence of the renewal of the battle near Richmond on yesterday. Seventy-five thousand men on each side engaged. * * The whole Federal army on the Richmond side of the Chickahominy. Five hundred of our men drowned; some say, however, that the drowned men were Federal soldiers. * * Two hundred and seventy-five wagons expected to-morrow with the stores captured at Martinsburg.

Wednesday, June 4.—It seems to be true that Jackson has retired far up toward Harrisonburg, before a large force of the enemy. * * A large number of wagons, sent down the Valley to bring up the captured stores, returned to day, many of them empty. The enemy pressed too closely for us to bring off all the supplies. Upward of 3,000 Federal prisoners were at Mt. Crawford to-day waiting till a bridge could be built across North river.

Thursday night, June 5.—A day of rumors. We heard that the Federal prisoners at North river (Mt. Crawford) had refused to come across. Then it was said they were not at the river, but at Harrisonburg. The first report was next repeated. Imboden started down about 2 o'clock with his three small cannon and two larger pieces.

Many laborers, white and black, went also to aid in building the bridge. Late in the afternoon we heard that Shields (Federal) was at or near Port Republic, that our men had burnt the bridge across the Shenandoah at that point, and that Shields would probably advance upon Staunton by way of Mt. Meridian. Next it was circulated that Jackson had come through Harrisonburg and gone towards Port Republic to attack Shields, and that large reinforcements had come over to Jackson from Gordonsville.

Friday, June 6.—Jackson's army is at Port Republic. The enemy, under Fremont, are said to be near Harrisonburg, variously estimated from 17,000 to 40,000. Shields is on the east side of the Shenandoah with from 10,000 to 18,000 men

On the 7th we heard "the sad news that Ashby had been killed near Harrisonburg."

On Sunday evening, the 8th, we had the first tidings of the battle of Port Republic. A body of demoralized Confederate cavalry dashed into town, proclaiming that our army was defeated. They were put under arrest by Major A. W. Harman, acting commandant of the post. Further news of the battle was received on the 9th. Many soldiers of the two regiments from Augusta were wounded, and one (Doom,) was killed.

Monday night, June 9.—A report this morning that Fremont was routed yesterday and Jackson was assailing Shields to-day. * * The cannonading was heard in town till past 9 o'clock and then ceased. About 10 o'clock a courier arrived with intelligence that Jackson had ordered a retreat across the Blue Ridge. This news flew through town and caused great depression of spirits. About 11 o'clock another courier arrived with the report that Fremont was hastily retreating towards Harrisonburg, blockading the road behind him, and that Shields was in a fair way of being captured. Of course there was universal rejoicing. In the afternoon, however, it was ascertained that Fremont had not retreated, but was still on the field with (according to one report) 60,000 men. It was stated at the same time that Jackson had defeated Shields this morning. Late in the evening several citizens and one or two wounded soldiers arrived from the army. Shields was driven back with a reported loss of 500 men and eight cannon, while Fremont's army was drawn up on the west side of the Shenandoah, unable to give any assistance. Jackson crossed the river this morning to attack Shields and destroyed the bridge so that Fremont could not follow. It is impossible for me to record the incidents related, or to describe the scenes in town.

Wednesday night, June 11.—A rumor this morning that the Yankees were coming this way, crossing North river at Mt. Crawford, and

another, that Fremont was retreating. From 9,000 to 11,000 reinforcements are on the way to Jackson.

Thursday night, June 12.—A report this morning that Fremont was marching up North river with a view this way. At the same time it was said he had 40,000 men, while Jackson's effective force amounted to only 15,000. During the day there were vague rumors that the Federal army had passed through Harrisonburg, going down the Valley. Late in the afternoon these last rumors were confirmed by persons from Harrisonburg. The Yankees went off last night in haste, burning their baggage and committing many depredations upon the property of our people. They even destroyed the gardens as far as they could. It is reported that their whole number was 15,000—that is, Fremont's column.

A letter from a Michigan girl to her brother, a soldier in the Federal army, picked up down the Valley, begs the latter to beware of poisoned springs

Friday night, June 13.—Many Federal soldiers are said to be wandering in the woods, and some have been brought in every day since the battle (of Port Republic). Twenty of them surrendered to one of our men.

Saturday night, June 14.—Six or seven railroad trains full of soldiers arrived this evening from Richmond—General Whiting's command. * * For several days past it has been reported that Andrew Johnson, the Union Governor of Tennessee, was assassinated at Nashville. Also that Butler, the Federal general in command at New Orleans, was killed.

Sunday, June 15.—More troops arrived to-day by railroad. Four regiments left town this morning, moving down the Valley turnpike, viz: the Eleventh Mississippi, Sixth North Carolina, Fourth Alabama, and Fourth Texas. These regiments constitute Whiting's brigade. Many of them are good-looking young men, although roughly clad, as usual. They all seem glad to get up to this region.

Tuesday night, June 17.—Many troops arrived yesterday and others to-day. Whiting's brigade and others are encamped on the Valley turnpike three miles from town. There are large encampments on the hills to the left of the Middlebrook road, near the railroad, and a small one on a hill north of town. A Texas brigade is here to which the Staunton artillery is attached. * * Soldiers are constantly going from house to house applying for something to eat. They threaten us with famine, and to-night I was obliged to refuse a request for supper, lodging, and breakfast for five who applied in a batch. The commissary is well enough supplied, but the men like something better than camp fare. The more respectable soldiers fare worse than others, as they do not forage to the same extent.

Wednesday night, June 18.—To the surprise of everybody, the troops near town began to move off this morning in the direction of Waynes-

borough. The Texas brigade (Hood's) started at 5 o'clock, A. M. Whiting's brigade retraced their steps through town between 8 and 9 o'clock, and marched down the Waynesborough road. Several artillery companies moved in the same direction. Lawton's brigade, several detached regiments, two or three artillery and two or three cavalry companies were still about town late in the afternoon; but at 6 o'clock two railroad trains, full of soldiers, were getting ready to start. * * We hear that Jackson's whole command was to-day moving to Waynesborough, to cross the Blue Ridge. General Jackson was in town nearly all day, but no one found out the purpose of the movements mentioned. There was a large number of wagons in connection with the various brigades. Many of our regiments are very much reduced in numbers. One company of the Forty-fourth Virginia had, a few days ago, five officers and six privates. * * A member of the Thirty-first regiment, from northwest Virginia, came into our office this evening, and meeting there an acquaintance from the same region, told with great glee that in the Monday's fight near Port Republic, he had shot the major of the First Virginia regiment in the Federal service. He manifested a savage joyousness in relating the fall by his hand of his fellow-townsmen. * * Brown sugar now sells by the barrel at 45 cents a pound; bacon 30 cents.

Thursday night, June 19.—Everybody wondering to-day the cause of Jackson's movement across the Blue Ridge. Some suggest that he is going to Richmond, intending to fall upon McClellan's rear. * * Several persons arrived to-day from Buckhannon, Upshur county, having come through without interruption. That route has been closed for more than a year.

Saturday night, June 21.—Still no intelligence from any quarter. * * Twenty-five or thirty Yankee prisoners were in the courthouse yard this evening, having been brought up from Harrisonburg. All but three wounded, and all but three Dutch.

Monday night, June 23.—We have scarcely had a rumor to-day. Neither railroad trains nor mails from Richmond for several days. Several thousand cavalry in the Valley. No other troops.

Tuesday, June 24.—No railroad train yet, and all the news we have had from the east for about a week has been brought by persons traveling on horseback.

On the 26th and 27th we heard heavy cannonading, indicating a conflict near Richmond.

Friday, June 27.—The battle was renewed this morning, and at the last account (by telegraph) was raging all along the line. At least one hundred thousand men are arrayed on each side. What multitudes are now passing into eternity, and how many more are at this moment writhing in pain on the bloody ground!

Monday afternoon, June 30.—The battle near Richmond was con-

tinued on yesterday. Cannonading distinctly heard in this place. We have no details of the fight since Friday, but telegraphic dispatches received to-day state that the Federal army was retreating towards James river. The reports are encouraging for our side. Eight members of the Staunton Guard wounded, besides the captain, Burke. Three of the Staunton Artillery reported killed.

Wednesday morning, July 2—Very heavy and rapid cannonading was kept up yesterday evening till long after dark. We heard it distinctly at our house. [The distance by air line is about a hundred miles.] A telegraphic dispatch between 9 and 10 o'clock last night stated that the enemy was defeated again on Monday, and that there was every prospect of capturing, or routing, the whole army. But the newspaper accounts never come up to the telegraphic reports. The battle has been raging for a week. The railroad train came through from Richmond yesterday.

Friday morning, July 4.— * * I am certain of this only, that the enemy has been repulsed, losing several thousand men in killed, wounded and prisoners, and some cannon, &c.; and that our loss is also heavy.

Monday morning, July 7.—A great variety of reports from Richmond since Friday, but no reliable intelligence. At one time we hear that the greater part of the Federal army is surrounded and will certainly be captured, [there was a rumor yesterday that 50,000 had been taken], and immediately afterwards it is asserted that it has effected its escape. The latter I believe to be true. McClellan has, no doubt, at last reached a position on James river, where his transports and gunboats are, his columns a good deal shattered, but not seriously reduced in numbers. We have about five thousand prisoners (besides the wounded left on the field), including one Major-General and four or five Brigadiers. No estimate has yet been made of the slain.

Tuesday, July 8.—Yesterday a poor woman who lives in town heard that her husband, a soldier in the Fifty-second regiment, had been killed. Her wailings, which were kept up for an hour or two, were most distressing.

Monday, July 14.—For several days we have had no intelligence in regard to the war, from any quarter. Yesterday afternoon, however, a report came by railroad that the Yankees were in considerable force at Culpeper Courthouse.

Thursday, July 17.—The town as quiet all this week as if no war were raging in the land. No railroad train since Monday, and no news from any quarter. Brown sugar selling in Staunton at 75 cents a pound. No coffee here for sale, but selling elsewhere at \$2 a pound.

Friday, July 25.—A report this morning of skirmish at Luray yesterday, in which we captured twenty five men, ten wagons, &c. * * To all appearance Richmond is more closely invested now than before the late battles.

Monday, July 28.—The prisoners, &c., captured at Luray arrived last evening. Jackson has been collecting his forces in the neighborhood of Gordonsville. He is said to have about 15,000, but receiving reinforcements. His ranks very much reduced by sickness, "absence without leave," &c.

Friday morning, August 1.—This morning, while sitting in my office, I heard a sound of lamentation. Upon going out I found the noise proceeded from an upper room in the courthouse. A negro woman informed me that it was a soldier crying because he had to go to the war! He was brought in under the conscript act. Poor fellow! Although I pitied him, there was something very ludicrous in his wailings. Several men and women stood in the street, some laughing and others denouncing the recruit.⁵⁴

Saturday, August 9.—According to report, Jackson's army is pressing towards Culpeper Courthouse, the enemy falling back. Federal officers are said to be rigidly enforcing Pope's order in the lower Valley, requiring all persons over fourteen years of age to take the oath of allegiance to the United States, or move outside the Federal lines, with their clothes only.

News of the battle of Cedar Mountain was received on August 10, but, as usual, reliable details were not obtained till several days afterwards. Several railroad trains with wounded soldiers arrived on the 12th and 13th, among them fifty Federal soldiers. A young man named Baylor, of this county, was killed, and William H. Gamble lost an arm.

Monday, August 11.—Passing the courthouse yard a while ago, I observed a number of persons standing before several "blue jackets" stretched upon the grass. These latter turned out to be deserters from the Yankee army in the lower Valley. A dozen of them arrived here last evening.

Wednesday, August 13.—Twenty-one deserters from the Federal army came in to-day.

Monday, August 18.—We hear that troops are pouring in to both sides on the line of the Rapidan. * *. There is a great stir among persons liable to military service under the conscript act.

Wednesday, August 20.—A number of Marylanders, who have come off in consequence of the draft ordered by the Federal government, have arrived here. Quite a cavalcade of them came into town a while ago. The railroad trains being again used for army transportation, we have had no regular mails for a week.

⁵⁴The ancient Romans would not have considered the lamentations of the young recruit at all ridiculous. Julius Cæsar relates that even the veterans of his Tenth Legion bewailed aloud and shed tears when ordered to march against the Germans.

Friday, August 29.—We hear of vigorous movements in northwest Virginia by our rangers, &c. Imboden has 800 men now, and Jenkins more than 2,000. They have been joined by large numbers in consequence of the Federal draft.

Monday, September 1.—Many rumors for several days past, but no reliable intelligence. A report last night that a battle occurred on Friday at Manassas.

This was the bloody battle of "Second Manassas." Among the slain were William S. H. Baylor, Colonel of the Fifth regiment; Edward Garber, Captain in the Fifty-second regiment; William Patrick, Major of cavalry; Preston Byers and others from Augusta county.⁵⁵

By September 8, the Confederate army was in Maryland, and recruits were again passing through Staunton. Jackson captured Harper's Ferry with many prisoners, etc., and the battle of Boonsboro was fought.

Wednesday, September 24.—All the wounded men who can walk have been creeping up from Winchester, trying to get to their homes. Staunton is full of them. Many look very forlorn, hands and arms hurt, faces bound up, badly clad, barefooted and dirty.

September 25.—Last night the town was overflowing with wounded soldiers from the army and recruits going down.

Saturday night, September 27.—Late this evening nearly five hundred Yankee prisoners were brought up from Winchester. They marched four abreast. It was pitiful to see so many human beings led or driven along like sheep. Troops have been moving down the Valley from this point nearly every day this week. Most of the wounded who have arrived here have been forwarded to Richmond. Others continue to come, however. Night before last the town was alive with them. They were fed, as far as possible, by citizens.

Thursday, October 2.—An ambulance train laden with wounded sol-

⁵⁵ Colonel Baylor was the only son of Jacob Baylor, Esq., and was born in 1831. He was educated at the Staunton Academy and Washington College, Lexington, and studied law at the University of Virginia. For some years he was commonwealth's attorney for the town of Staunton. When killed he was in command of the Stonewall brigade, and it is said would soon have been commissioned Brigadier-General if he had lived.

Major Patrick, son of Mr. Charles Patrick, was born on South River, Augusta, in 1822. He was a farmer, an intelligent gentleman, and a gallant soldier.

Captain Garber was a son of Mr. Albert J. Garber of Staunton, and a young man of great promise, as was Preston Byers.

diers has come in from Winchester. From the number of Northern vehicles in the train one might suppose that the Federal army was passing along. * * The number of ambulances arrived and on the road this side of Mt. Sidney is said to be two hundred and twenty-five.

Wednesday, October 8.—The scene at the railroad depot this morning was in striking contrast to those of former times. Many wounded soldiers were going home on furlough or discharge—some on two crutches, others on one, and several supported by two men each. A poor fellow came limping along, using a rough staff in place of one of his legs, which was wounded. One leg of his pants was cut off at the knee, and the other was slit open so as to expose the bare limb. What clothing he had on was dirty, as usual with most soldiers returning from the army.

Monday, October 13.—There was a distribution of public salt to-day. Considerable crowd and pressure. One pound allowed to each individual. Several wagons went through town to-day on their way to Kanawha county for salt. News was received on the 13th, of Stuart's cavalry excursion into Pennsylvania, capture of Chambersburg, etc.

Saturday, October 18.—A dreadful railroad accident at Ivy, Albemarle county, a few days ago, to a train bringing soldiers up this way. Seven or eight men killed and sixty or seventy wounded. But what of this at a time when men are killed by hundreds and thousands every day! Soldiers still pressing through the town to the army. Provisions of all kinds scarce and prices high. Flour, \$14 per barrel; butter, 75 cents per pound; clothing very difficult to get.

Wednesday, October 22.—We have more to fear from the scarcity of subsistence and clothing than from the Federal armies. * * Felt hats sell for \$10 to \$15. The price for *making* a pair of common shoes is from \$5.50 to \$6. The cannon of twenty-three dismantled artillery companies have been sent to Staunton. Up to a few days ago, 13,000 recruits for General Lee's army had passed through town since the battles in Maryland.

Friday, October 31.—Rumors for several days past that our army is falling back from Winchester or going into eastern Virginia. It is said that Jackson is to remain in the Valley this side of Winchester. Troops still going down.

Friday, November 7.—A long train of ambulances with sick soldiers just arrived from Winchester. * * General expectation that the war will close in a short time, either from European intervention, or a change of feeling in the Northern people.

Wednesday, November 12.—Yankees said to be at Shenandoah mountain, twenty-six miles from Staunton. * * The South Carolina cavalry regiment, which has been in the vicinity of town for some time past, went out just now to see after the enemy. They passed through town and made an imposing display.

Monday, November 17.—Our cavalry have returned from Highland (across the Shenandoah mountain), and report that no Yankees are in

that region this side of the Alleghany mountain. * * More than a hundred Yankee prisoners were brought up the Valley yesterday. A hundred or more on the 13th.

Thursday, November 20.—Yankees in Highland—Millroy and Kelley—committing great depredations in Crab Bottom. Several Yankee prisoners on parole are walking about our streets—one strapping fellow in Zouave uniform—red pants, &c.

Tuesday, November 25.—The scene has greatly changed. The enemy under Burnside are opposite Fredericksburg, demanding the surrender of the place. General Lee is there commanding our forces. Jackson and D. H. Hill have moved from the Valley in the same direction.

Intelligence of the battle of Fredericksburg was received on December 12th, 13th, and continuously to the 23d.

Tuesday night, December 23.—As an incident of the times, I mention that a milliner of Staunton went to Baltimore recently to purchase goods, taking a female companion with her. The goods had to “run the blockade,” in other words, to be smuggled across the lines, and the two women returned, each concealing a large number of bonnet frames under her hood and wearing any quantity of dresses and cloaks.

Thursday night, December 25.—Upon joining a crowd near the courthouse, I learned that the sentinels had last night halted citizens on the streets, and ordered them not to pass unless they were going to their homes. We all agreed that it was a high-handed usurpation, which should not be submitted to. So we addressed a communication to Colonel D., the commander of the post, inquiring if the guard had acted in pursuance of orders, and if so, whether the proceeding was to be continued to-night. He stated in his reply that the guard were inexperienced and had misunderstood their instructions. The paper sent him, however, showed that the Provost Marshal was present at one of the street corners, and required the sentinel to use his gun when necessary to arrest passers-by.

Friday night, December 26.—At a sale near town to-day, corn went off at \$3.60 a bushel, oats \$2.05, bran \$1.05 and other things in proportion.

Sunday night, January 4, 1863.—Returning from the cemetery this morning, I walked over the hill and through the grounds where deceased soldiers are buried. The number of graves has greatly increased since I was there last. It was almost appalling to see the rows of graves recently dug, waiting with gaping mouths for the still living victims. The sight brought before me vividly the sufferings of the soldiers dying in military hospitals, far from home and kindred, and all the horrors of a time of war.

Friday night, January 30.—A general impression that the war will soon be over.

February 7.—A number of deserters from the Federal army opposite Fredericksburg have arrived here within a few days past.

February 23.—The money value of a day's rations for one hundred soldiers, formerly about \$9, is now at market prices more than \$123. Coffee \$3.50 to \$4, and sugar \$1 a pound; butter \$1.75.

By March 11th, flour had gone up in Staunton to \$25 a barrel, bacon \$1 a pound, indicating "either a time of famine or an utterly ruinous depreciation of the currency."

Early in 1863, the people of Staunton relied upon "Confederate candles" for light in their dwellings at night. Candlewick was dipped in melted wax and resin, and wrapped around a stick, one end being passed through a wire loop fastened to the stick. The end of the wick burned freely when lighted, but the illumination was very feeble, and unless the candle was watched, and the wick drawn through the loop and trimmed every few minutes, the whole affair was soon aflame.

March 27.—At an auction sale yesterday, common dinner plates brought \$3.75 a piece. Many persons have had their glass and china-ware broken up since the war began, and there is a great demand for such articles.

Saturday, April 11.—The Thirty-first and part of the Twenty-fifth Virginia regiments arrived to-day and go to join Imboden at the Shenandoah mountain. The remainder of the Twenty-fifth is expected to-night. It is probable that a movement is on foot to procure cattle in the northwestern part of the State.





CHAPTER XV.

THIRD YEAR OF THE WAR—1863-'4.

The third year of the war opened with rather bright prospects for our people. Certainly the general feeling was hopeful and comparatively cheerful. It was however very difficult to procure necessary articles of subsistence in this community, and families who had previously lived well, were reduced to bread and water.

The casualties in the Fifty-second Virginia regiment were reported April 28, 1863, as follows: Killed in battle or died from wounds, 54; died of disease, 68; died from causes not known, 15. This statement does not include the men permanently disabled by wounds and sickness.

The first rumor of the battles of Chancellorsville came by telegraph on May 1st. On the 4th, it was reported that our army was occupying the camp of the enemy, that we had taken ten thousand prisoners, and that General Jackson was wounded. Charles Calhoon was mortally wounded, and Joseph N. Ryan lost a leg. Ninety-five Federal prisoners taken in Hardy were brought in on the 2d, and forty-seven more from the northwest on the 8th.

But we continue the extracts from the diary:

Monday, May 4.—A telegraphic rumor this morning that Jackson had defeated the enemy at Port Royal, capturing 5,000 of them. * * After night the railroad train brought the report that the Yankee army had been driven seven miles beyond the Rappahannock, that our army was occupying the camp of the enemy, that we had taken 10,000 prisoners, and that General Jackson was wounded, one person said severely, others said slightly.

Tuesday, May 5.—While we were enjoying the good news received

last night, a dispatch came this morning stating that 12,000 Yankees, cavalry and artillery, under General Stoneham [Stoneman], were in Louisa county on their way to the James river canal. It is said that this division, as they came on last week, took our cavalry entirely by surprise, capturing 2,000 of them, and scattering the remainder; that Fitzhugh Lee with 500 men followed them, and fought them while they were breaking up the railroad, but having such superiority of numbers they were able to brush Lee off and go on with their work. * * General R. E. Lee states in his official dispatch that he gained a great victory, but says that General Jackson was severely wounded. Another account says he was wounded in the arm, and did not leave the field. Some members of the Fifth regiment, wounded in the recent battle, arrived this evening.

Wednesday night, May 6.—Very few additional particulars in regard to the recent great battle—chiefly repetitions of the statement that we gained a decided victory. But General Jackson has lost his arm, the injury being so serious as to render amputation necessary.

Thursday night, May 7.—A man from Harrisonburg stated this morning that the Yankees were coming up the Valley. As the telegraph made no such report, it was considered an idle rumor. But after dark an army surgeon arrived with the sick soldiers from the Harrisonburg hospital. He said the road between Harrisonburg and Staunton was full of people, with their cattle, &c., flying before the Yankees supposed to be coming. We have a force of 800 men below Harrisonburg. Afterwards I learned that a telegraphic dispatch had been received, stating that 2,100 of the enemy were nine miles below Harrisonburg.

Monday, May 11.—A report of General Jackson's death was current this morning, but most persons hoped it was not true. Between 1 and 2 o'clock, however, the telegraph operator stepped into the room where I was writing, and handed me a dispatch from the War Department at Richmond, to be forwarded to Lexington by express, announcing the fact. There is universal lamentation in this community. It is like "the mourning at Hadadrimmon, in the valley of Megiddon," when King Josiah was slain.

Wednesday night, May 13.—Persons from Shenandoah give some particulars of the recent advance of the enemy through that county. They were about 2,000 in number, and came only a mile this side of New Market. All accounts state that they were very timid, and suddenly hurried back upon receiving some intelligence by courier from Winchester, the officers not waiting to eat the dinner that was preparing. * * The slain have been arriving ever since the battle, as well as the wounded.

Wednesday night, May 20.—General Jenkins's brigade of cavalry is collecting at Staunton, and an inspection takes place to-morrow near town. Jenkins is to command in the Valley, Jones, and perhaps Imboden, having been ordered to join Lee.

Saturday, May 23.—The expedition to northwest Virginia brought off about 3,000 cattle, it is said.

Wednesday, May 27.—* * About sixty women and children from northwestern Virginia arrived in town last night. They were sent off by the Federal authorities for sympathizing with the South, and were allowed to bring only necessary wearing apparel and \$100 each.

Saturday night, June 6.—No railroad train from Richmond this evening. Reason not given, but it is presumed that General Lee's army is moving. It is believed that Lee is advancing north of the Rappahannock.

Saturday night, June 13.—Rumored this evening that General Ewell's corps was near Winchester, *en route* for Pennsylvania.

Tuesday night, June 16.—Passengers by stage from Winchester report that General Ewell has captured a large number of Yankees at that place. * * It is evident from the large quantity of ordnance and other stores coming to Staunton, that the Valley will be the scene of protracted operations.

June 17.—We learn from Winchester that our army has crossed the Potomac at three points. All the Federals at Winchester, except Millroy and his body-guard, were captured. The number is given as five thousand.

Friday night, June 19.—Staunton is again a great thoroughfare for the army—many soldiers passing through town to join their various commands.

Monday night, June 22.—About 10 o'clock this morning upwards of sixteen hundred Yankees, taken at Winchester, arrived. They were guarded by the Fifty-eighth Virginia infantry. * * The prisoners were much better clothed than the Confederates who guarded them. They were immediately put aboard a railroad train, which started for Richmond in the evening. * * Large numbers of our soldiers have been passing through town for several days past, coming from the east by railroad, and going down the Valley on foot.

Tuesday night, June 23.—Nineteen hundred more Yankee prisoners were brought up to the vicinity of town to-day, and a part of them sent off to Richmond by railroad this evening.

June 24.—The guard of the prisoners—a North Carolina regiment—although generally dirty, and some of them ragged, looked stouter and more hardy than the Yankees. Several of our poor fellows were bare-footed.

June 25.—A number of female Northern camp followers have been brought up from Winchester and sent to Richmond to be passed beyond our lines.

June 26.—The whole number of prisoners who have arrived here this week is 4,321, including forty-five women and children.

Tuesday night, June 30.—The main body of our cavalry under Stuart, has been fighting constantly on the Virginia side of the Potomac. * *

Wagon trains going from Staunton to Winchester are now required to be guarded. A train is waiting till a guard of five hundred men can be formed of convalescent soldiers.

July 4.—A number of wagons loaded with hardware, stationery, etc., purchased by our quartermasters in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, arrived to-day. Northern merchants have been excluded for so long from the Southern market that they are way behind the times in regard to prices. For example, hand-saw files, which sell here at \$3 each, they sold to our quartermaster at 25 cents, Confederate currency.

July 7.—The atmosphere seemed full of exciting rumors yesterday. Great battles at or near Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, were reported.

Wednesday, July 8.—The following is given as a specimen of the current reports during the war: * * Later in the day, Towers came into my room, with a glowing face, to tell that Mr. Phillips told him that Judge Thompson told him that Stump (telegraph operator) told him that in a battle on Sunday we had a glorious victory, some forty thousand to sixty thousand of the enemy laying down their arms. George E. Price went to the telegraph office to inquire about the matter, and reported on his return that Stump said the news must have come by some other line. Next, Major Tate came in—David S. Young had just told him that Judge Thompson said, etc. Then Major Bell informed me that Stump denied having authorized any such report. Coming home to dinner, I encountered Mr. Michie and John B. Baldwin. Mr. Michie had seen McGuffin, etc. Baldwin said he had seen Judge Thompson, who had given him the news in full. Mr. Michie believed the report—he was determined to believe it. Stump, he said, had communicated to Judge Thompson confidentially what he had no liberty to divulge, and was now endeavoring to repair damages by his denials, while the Judge was relating the news in strict confidence to everybody he met.

Thursday night, July 9.—Blue! blue! The Richmond newspapers of this morning publish a dispatch from General Johnston, dated Jackson, Mississippi, July 7th, stating that the garrison of Vicksburg capitulated on the 4th.

Friday, July 10.—Soldiers wounded at the battle of Gettysburg give fearful accounts of the slaughter of our army. Pickett's division annihilated. Many persons known to us were killed. A disastrous affair. The news received by us is, however, in many respects unintelligible. As far as we now see the tide is running fearfully against us. The road leading into town from Winchester is lined with wounded soldiers coming up from the battlefield. * * It is a sad sight to see so many poor fellows dragging themselves along to get nearer home. They are of course those who are comparatively slightly wounded.

July 11.—Wounded soldiers have come into town to-day in a constant stream; some of them in vehicles and some on horseback, but most on foot. Many of them are without shoes.

July 12.—The stream of wounded men arriving has been uninter-

rupted, and not a third part of those disabled has arrived yet. It is now said that comparatively few were killed.

By the 16th, General Lee's army was back on this side the Potomac. On the 18th, nearly four thousand prisoners were brought in. On the 20th, a long train of ambulances loaded with wounded or sick men arrived.

July 25.—Crowds of sick and wounded soldiers have been arriving in ambulances, wagons, and on foot; and many of the inhabitants of the lower Valley, with all the property they could bring off.

General Lee had left the Valley and gone east of the Blue Ridge.

July 28.—Wounded and sick soldiers and refugees still coming in.

Monday night, August 24.—I was aroused at 5 o'clock this morning and informed that the Yankees were at Buffalo Gap, ten miles from town. Was surprised upon going down street to find everything quiet. As the day advanced, the convalescent patients in the hospitals were armed, the citizens formed companies, and Imboden's command—said to be 1,000 men—came up from their camp three miles below town. Cannon were planted on the hill west of town, and other defensive preparations were made. Towards 10 o'clock most persons concluded that no enemy was near. People from Buffalo Gap had heard nothing of the Yankees till they came to town, and a man from Highland reported that they had gone towards Pocahontas. Afterwards scouts came in and reported that no Yankees were near Buffalo Gap.

Thursday, August 27.—On Tuesday we heard that the Yankee raiders, from 4,000 to 5,000, had driven Colonel Jackson across the Warm Springs mountain, that he was retreating to Millborough, and that Staunton was threatened again. We next heard that the Yankees were "going back," and that Jackson was "after them."

Wednesday night, September 30.—On Monday last (court day) General Smith, ex-Governor and Governor elect, and Senator Wigfall, of Texas, addressed the people of this county on their duty at this crisis. The people "resolved" that they would sell produce at the rates fixed by the government to all consumers.

In September, peaches were abundant and sold at \$23 to \$25 a bushel.

Tuesday night, October 15.—I have been engaged for several days past in the great work of having a suit of clothes made. My wife bought the cloth several weeks ago at the factory near town. It is gray jeans, and cost \$10 a yard, but similar cloth sells now at \$14. Four yards of unbleached cotton cloth were furnished by my wife (where

from I know not) for pockets, sleeve-lining, &c. She also produced a piece of black alpaca, which her brother had worn as a cravat, for skirt and back lining. I bought two yards of osnaburg, at \$2.50 a yard, and have engaged buttons from the manufacturers in town. The Lushbaughs turn buttons out of maple wood. The suit will cost from \$130 to \$150.

The Augusta "Raid Guard," otherwise called Home Guard, were summoned to the Shenandoah mountain November 12, as the enemy was supposed to be advancing. The various companies were organized as a regiment on the 11th—John B Baldwin, Colonel; Kenton Harper, Lieutenant-Colonel; J. M. McCue, Major; Dr. J. Alexander Waddell, Surgeon; C. R. Mason, Quartermaster; N. P. Catlett, Commissary, and J. C. Marquiss, Adjutant.

Friday, November 13.—Seven or eight companies of the Raid Guard were on parade to-day. It was encouraging to see that we had so many men left. They are mounted infantry, except a company of artillery raised in town.

The alarm of invasion proved unfounded, and the companies were dismissed for the time. The price of flour had risen to \$80 a barrel on November 16.

Saturday night, November 21.—There is a general feeling that the war will be interminable. All round the horizon there is not a glimmer of light. Yet the war does not weigh as heavily on the spirits of the people as it did for many months after it began. The recollection of the security and abundance formerly enjoyed seems like a dream. I picture to myself the scenes in our streets three years ago—piles of boxes before every store door, shelves and counters within filled and piled up with goods; merchants begging customers to buy; groceries running over with molasses, sugar, coffee, tea, cheese, fish, etc.; confectioners making the most tempting display of fruits, candies and cakes; wagons loaded with country produce calling at every house, and farmers earnestly inquiring who wished to purchase flour, corn, potatoes, beef, pork, apples. Now the stores—still so-called by courtesy—will furnish you thread, buttons, pins and other light articles which have "run the blockade," cotton cloth of Southern manufacture (at \$3.75 a yard), vessels made of clay instead of glass or chinaware, and occasionally a few yards of calico or linsey; the confectioners' saloons are like "banquet halls deserted," and you will be lucky if by dint of entreaty, and as a special favor, a farmer will sell you a barrel of flour or a few bushels of corn. In consequence of this state of affairs, each family manufactures

and produces its own supplies, as far as possible. People are willing to pay any price in "currency" for what they need; "money" is plentiful, but alas! it cannot be used as food or clothing.

But I discover no change in female attire; most of the ladies seem to "dress" quite as much as formerly. How this happens I do not know. Perhaps woman's ingenuity: "Gars auld claes look amaist as weel's the new." But from the sensation caused by a new bonnet at church I suppose the sex do feel the pressure of the times in regard to fashions. Men dress in homespun or in broadcloth of antique cut, without regard to style. Our ladies, however, are just as eager as formerly for the "fashions" from Philadelphia and New York. Every now and then some female comes "through the lines," and the patterns of her bonnet, cloak and dress are speedily adopted by the whole sex. As apropos to this, see No. 277 of the *Spectator*. In the time of Queen Anne, French fashions were imported into England by means of dolls dressed in the latest styles, and during the hottest period of the war between the two countries the dolls continued to come.

November 29.—Flour is up to \$95 a barrel. At this rate of depreciation we shall soon have no currency at all, as the money we have will buy nothing. Many persons, however, have no more of the depreciated currency than they formerly had of good money.

November 30.—It is reported that the loss of men from this county, killed and wounded, in the late fight on the Rappahannock, was one hundred and fifty.

Friday night, December 11.—Another raid reported. The Home Guard called out.

The Home Guard went to the Shenandoah mountain to meet the enemy on the 13th. During the night of the 13th, there were wild reports from various quarters. It was said that Imboden had been skirmishing with the enemy at the Shenandoah mountain, and that Echols had been driven back from Lewisburg. On the 15th, several railroad trains filled with soldiers, under General Early, arrived from the east, and went through to Buffalo Gap, and General Fitz. Lee's cavalry was in the vicinity of town.

December 17.—When I awoke this morning, it was raining hard, and the trees were covered with ice. I wondered how it was possible for human beings to endure long-continued exposure to such weather. * *. At 10 o'clock, Lee's division of cavalry passed through town, and went up the Greenville road. None of them knew where they were going. The men were dripping wet, but seemed in fine spirits. The horses generally are in good condition. The Home Guard returned to-day, having been dismissed to assemble again at a minute's warning.

December 18.—All the troops returned from Buffalo Gap last night,

in the rain. They were marched two miles from town on the Greenville road, and spent the night without shelter. * * During the morning, we learned that part of the troops were to go to Millborough to intercept Averill. At 1 o'clock, Thomas's brigade was marched to the depot, to meet a railroad train, which, however, did not arrive till after dark. * * As soon as the men found they would not start immediately, they had blazing fires in the open space between the American hotel and the depot. * * The crowds of dusky, clay-soiled and smoke-begrimed men gathered in the dark around the fires, cooking their rations as best they could, was a picturesque scene.

On Saturday, the 19th, there was a rumor that a Federal force was coming up the Valley, and was near Harrisonburg. After ten o'clock that night a cannon was fired on one of the hills in town to summon the Home Guard of the county. In a short time the regular troops arrived from their camp, and were marched out towards Harrisonburg. "The soldiers seemed to be in high spirits, calling for the Home Guard, and cracking jokes at one another as they passed along."

The Home Guard started Sunday evening, the 20th, and being mounted, they overtook and out-stripped the regular infantry. The Federal force at Harrisonburg, hearing of the approach of the Confederates, hurriedly retreated, and there was a lively race to New Market. From that point the Guard returned home, General Early with his troops moving down in the direction of Woodstock.

The portion of the diary from January 1 to June 5, 1864, was lost—most probably destroyed, having been in a house burnt by a party of Federal soldiers. In February, 1864, it was officially reported that two hundred soldiers of the Stonewall brigade were without shoes.



CHAPTER XVI.

FOURTH YEAR OF THE WAR—1864-'5.

The writer recalls no local event of special interest from January 1 to June 5, 1864. In the month of May the battles of the Wilderness, or Spotsylvania Courthouse, between Generals Grant and Lee, occurred. Colonel James H. Skinner, commanding the Fifty-second regiment, was severely wounded and permanently disabled on the 12th at Spotsylvania Courthouse. On the 15th of the same month General Breckenridge defeated a considerable Federal force at New Market, many Augusta people participating in the battle.

No resident of Staunton then living and over the age of infancy will ever forget Sunday, June 5, 1864. For a week or more we had heard that a Federal force under General Hunter was coming up the Valley, and that Generals Crook and Averill were pressing in from the west with another large force. Imboden, with two skeleton regiments and a company of artillery, was in the Valley, while McCausland and Jackson, each with a small force, were between Staunton and Crook and Averill. The reserves (men over forty-five and boys under seventeen years of age) were also with Imboden; and during the previous week all the men in the county able to bear arms—detailed workmen, farmers, etc.—were hastily collected and formed into companies, and joined him at North river, near Mount Crawford. On Thursday and Friday troops arrived from the southwest under General William E. Jones, probably twenty-five hundred men. General Jones joined the force at North river on Saturday morning and assumed command. The enemy finding our men strongly posted and intrenched, moved toward Port Republic

and crossed North river to the Augusta side. During Saturday night our army fell back to a point between New Hope and Mount Meridian, near the village of Piedmont. Skirmishing began early on Sunday morning.

From eight or nine o'clock in the morning till three in the afternoon, many citizens of Staunton were on the hills observing the smoke arising from the battlefield. For several hours no one of them imagined that a battle was in progress only eleven or twelve miles off, but the smoke was supposed to arise from the conflagration of mills and barns burnt by the enemy. We had often heard the reports of cannon from below Richmond, but the noise of the battle of Piedmont did not reach our ears till quite late in the day, when a few explosions of cannon were indistinctly heard.

In the meanwhile, diligent preparations for departure in case of disaster were going on at the various government depots and offices. Railroad trains and wagons were loaded up, and all hands connected with the quartermaster and commissary departments were ready to start at a moment's warning. Information of the battle was received by mid-day, but our people were generally hopeful, especially as persons recently observing on the hill-tops reported that the smoke was receding, showing, as they thought, that our men were driving the enemy back. Late in the afternoon, however, the writer learned the result of the battle from the excited remark of a citizen:⁵⁶ "General Jones is killed and our army is routed!" Such was the intelligence from the field.

The army wagon trains and many citizens immediately left town, going up the Greenville road and crossing the Blue Ridge into Nelson county at Tye River Gap.

It is not proposed to give here an account of the battle. The Augusta men, hasty levies as they were, are said to have acquitted themselves with marked gallantry. One wing of the enemy was repulsed, but the other overwhelmed the Confederate force opposed to it, and the men not killed or captured came pell-mell into Staunton Sunday night. The county had to mourn the loss of several esteemed citizens, and many more were seriously wounded. Robert L. Doyle, acting as captain, Harvey

⁵⁶ William B. Kayser, Esq.

Bear and John W. Meredith were killed on the field. The more experienced soldiers said the raw troops did not know when they were whipped, and kept on fighting when they should have retreated. But nearly every man of them was, to some extent, a trained soldier. Brigadier-General Vaughan succeeded to the command of the defeated army, and drew off to the Blue Ridge at Rockfish Gap.

Sunday night passed away at Staunton without incident. On Monday, June 6, the Federal troops entered the town. Very few men were left in town, but many Confederate soldiers, absent from their commands, lingered till the last moment. One daring youth, when exhorted to make his escape, declared his purpose to remain till he could capture a horse. And he actually accomplished his purpose. Almost in the presence of a large body of Federal cavalry, he singled out a man in advance, and presenting his gun ordered him to dismount. Leaping into the saddle, he made his way with horse and prisoner to Waynesborough, where he joined his command.

From a letter written at Staunton, by a lady, on the 6th and several subsequent days, we make the following extracts. After describing the alarm in her family on the entrance of the Federal troops, the writer says: "We got through the remainder of the day and the night without much alarm and without being much annoyed, except by so many Yankees coming to the hydrant for water and to the kitchen for food. * * Tuesday morning early, the burning commenced—railroad depot, steam mills, government workshops, Trotter's shops and stages, woollen factory, Garber's mills, etc. * * He (General Hunter) agreed that the workshops should not be burnt, if the citizens would bind themselves to pull them down, which they did; but still the fire was applied, without notice having been given. All the interior of the shoe factory was destroyed. It must have been ludicrous to see Mrs. — flying across the street, axe in hand, to assist in the work of destruction, and thus escape the danger of fire.

"After the houses were consumed, the Yankees began to pack up for a move, and we could hear them saying to one another, 'bad news!' but could not quite learn what, until it leaked out that there was a report of the capture of their wagon train. Before they began to pack up, some of the houses were searched

for provisions, but a stop was put to it, and by dinner time not a Yankee was seen in town. Our scouts were on the hills in a little time, and we felt too happy to think whether the enemy would return. * * By four o'clock the town was perfectly alive with blue coats again. I learned from some of the men that they had gone to reinforce Averill. On Wednesday Crook and Averill came, and it seemed to me that the locusts of Egypt could not have been more numerous. Our yard and kitchen were overrun all the while, and the streets were filled from end to end. * * The house-searching began in good earnest on Wednesday." The officer who searched the lady's house "was very gentlemanly, and went through it as a matter of form," without taking any of her limited supplies.

"N. K. Trout" (mayor of the town) "and B. F. Points were arrested, and kept in confinement till this morning, or last night. Mr. Trout was accused of concealing arms, and Mr. Points of showing pleasure when the Federal troops left town on Tuesday. George W. Fuller was arrested as a spy, and held for some time, because he returned to town bringing letters from Confederate soldiers to their families. Our people captured at Piedmont were cooped up in an old guard-house, and we all made bread for them.

"*Friday.*—Most of the Yankees left this morning. Since dinner a regiment has passed, just arrived from Martinsburg. I understand most of the troops took the Lexington road. * * Our servants were such a comfort to me. They could not have behaved better, and I really feel thankful to them."

Many of the Federal soldiers who were in Staunton seemed to be gentlemanly persons, having no heart for their business; others were mere plunderers, and robbed blacks and whites alike. At night the town was perfectly quiet, and the citizens felt safe. During the day, however, the soldiers were permitted to roam about, and there was a reign of terror. Federal soldiers, dressed in Confederate uniform, called "Jesse Scouts," traversed the county, and strong parties of cavalry visited nearly every house. They boasted that some of their men were in Staunton Sunday evening while the stampede was going on, and even on the previous Friday.

General Breckenridge came from the east to Rockfish Gap with reinforcements, and for several days there were frequent

skirmishes about Waynesborough and on the road to Staunton. On the 12th the writer counted twelve dead horses, on the road between Staunton and Waynesborough. The railroad as far as Fishersville was torn up, and the bridges were burnt. Another person, who came down the Middlebrook road a few days afterwards, reported many graves of Federal soldiers killed in skirmishes with Jenkins's cavalry, and puddles of blood here and there. The Donaghe, Opie and Taylor farms, adjacent to Staunton, were almost denuded of fences. R. Mauzy's printing office, *Staunton Spectator*, was broken up.

The Federal army proceeded up the Valley towards Lexington, part going by the Greenville route and the remainder by way of Middlebrook and Brownsburg. Jenkins was in advance of the latter, skirmishing as he was driven back by the superior force of the enemy. Breckenridge broke up at Rockfish Gap, and hung upon the Federal rear. Several citizens of Staunton, in charge of government supplies at a point in Nelson county, were surprised and captured by a party of Federal soldiers. The Rev. R. H. Phillips, acting as quartermaster, and William D. Candler, were taken to Ohio, and spent many weary months in a military prison.

The diary was resumed, and we continue our extracts :

Thursday, June 16.—We heard this morning that Hunter was at Buchanan, and Breckenridge in Amherst county. Still no mail, and no reliable intelligence from any quarter. It is said the Yankees shot one man and hung another in Lexington. Reported that Crook or Averill brought off Mr. David S. Creigh from Lewisburg, and when they got to Rockbridge hung him, and left his body suspended to a tree. The town has been as quiet every day as on Sunday. Stores and shops closed; a few men sitting about on the streets and talking over the events of the last two weeks; and even the little children are less noisy than usual. Everything looks like a tornado had swept over the country and left the stillness of death in its track. Many farmers having lost their horses are unable to work their corn.

Saturday, June 18.—The telegraph is up again, and working from Richmond to Staunton. * * Accounts we have from Lexington represent the treatment of that place by the Yankees as much worse than Staunton suffered. * * The Yankees while here threw a number of bombshells into the creek, and the town boys have been fishing them up and opening them to get the powder. One exploded to-day while a negro man was opening it, killing the man. The fragments flew to a great distance.

Sunday night, June 19.—Reported this morning that Hunter got near enough to Lynchburg to throw two shells into the city, one of which killed a boy; that Early attacked him yesterday evening, and defeated him; that the Confederates advanced this morning, but found the Federal army retreating in confusion; and that Breckenridge was in a position to intercept the retreat. * * While the Federal army was here, an officer rode up to the sentinel stationed at the Confederate workshops, corner of Frederick and Lewis streets, and handing him written orders from General Hunter, as he said, told him to shoot down any man who should set fire to the buildings. The Rev. S. D. Stuart was present and heard it all. In a few minutes the sentinel was withdrawn, and the buildings were in flames. * * Several of our people suffered severely at the hands of "Jesse Scouts," taking them for Confederate soldiers, and telling them where they had property hid, &c. Dr. Davidson even took some of them into the woods to see a fine horse he had secreted there in charge of a negro boy. Horse and boy were both taken off.

Wednesday night, June 20.—Many reports during the day, some of which came in a Lynchburg newspaper received this evening. * * Too much good news for one day! We now have a mail from Charlottesville three times a week. The railroad trains come up to Christian's creek, and from there a stage runs to Staunton. * * Legh R. Waddell, who was in John L. Opie's company at the battle of Piedmont, says he did not know the Confederates were defeated till they had retreated some distance. He was on the right wing of the Confederate army, which was successful, the left being broken and routed. After the company, which was at the rear of the retreating column, had proceeded some miles, Mr. Waddell became suspicious in regard to the movement, and remarked to a comrade that the Yankees were probably at that time in Staunton. This remark was regarded as very absurd, as the company generally thought the movement was for the purpose of "heading the enemy." Upon arriving at Hermitage, the company was halted, and it was announced that all the farmers had permission to go home to take off their stock. [This is mentioned as another instance of how little a private soldier knows about a battle.]

June 24.—We had most flattering reports this morning of the capture of a good part of Hunter's army and the dispersion of the remainder; but by evening what seemed to be more truthful accounts were received. Nearly the whole concern will escape towards Kanawha.

Sunday night, June 26.—General Early, commanding Ewell's corps, has arrived within a few miles of town, from towards Lexington, and the soldiers from this county have been permitted to visit their homes. We did not know that Early was coming till he had almost reached town. * * I hear that Federal officers, recently here, said the ladies of Staunton did not insult them, nor at the same time give them any countenance; that no where had they been treated with such cold

politeness. * * During the occupation, several young men belonging to the cavalry in General Lee's army, who had come home for horses, called at John Hamilton's, on Christian's creek. While they were at dinner a dozen Yankees came upon them. They, of course, resisted capture, and one of them killed a Yankee. One was captured, and the others escaped. The dead man was taken by his comrades into Hamilton's house and laid upon a bed. They ordered Hamilton to bury him, which he refused to do, and after insulting and endeavoring to intimidate him they went off, promising to send another squad. The second party came and left without burying the corpse, and Mr. Hamilton had to do it at last. Two or three of our cavalymen, at home on furlough, dashed upon the Yankee pickets near the Lunatic Asylum, and killed one, and came near stampeding the whole army. While here, the Yankees seem to have been in a state of great trepidation.

Tuesday evening, June 28.—Early's army has been passing through town since daylight, off and on. The infantry have gone down the Valley turnpike, the artillery down the New Hope road, and the cavalry around the western part of the county, without coming through town. * * The soldiers, generally, seemed in good spirits. * * Early is supposed to have from 20,000 to 25,000 men. I was aroused early this morning by the music of the troops who were marching out of town. They had plenty of music, such as it was. One of the bands played, "When this cruel war is over." * * As far as dress, &c., are concerned, they are a woe-be-gone looking set. As usual, multitudes of them have been calling at private houses for something to eat. We thought the Yankees had left no surplus in the county, but it is impossible to refuse a morsel to our own men, notwithstanding the beggars are generally stragglers.

Sunday night, July 10.—At last accounts, Early was at Frederick City, Maryland. His object, according to current report, is to release our men held as prisoners at Point Lookout.

Monday, July 11.—We are at last getting some authentic particulars in reference to the case of Mr. Creigh, of Greenbrier. It was said by some that a negro woman shot the Yankee who was threatening outrage to Mrs. Creigh and her daughters; by others, that Mrs. Creigh's mother shot the man while Mr. Creigh was struggling with him on the floor. A letter from Lewisburg states, however, that he was killed by Mr. Creigh in defence of himself and family, and that his body was thrown into a well. This occurred six months ago. When the Federal troops were recently in Greenbrier, a negro informed upon Mr. Creigh, and he was arrested and brought to Staunton. After a mock trial he was condemned, and hung near New Providence church, in Rockbridge. Averill and Crook were opposed to his execution, it is said, but it was ordered by Hunter. A Federal chaplain named Osborne, from Pennsylvania, testified that Creigh was "a good man, if there ever was one," and that the soldiers said he did right in killing the ruffian.

Wednesday night, July 13.—We have no intelligence from Early, except through Northern newspapers. Great excitement in the North.

Friday, July 15.— * * * The government offers \$30 a bushel for wheat! Surely the public debt will never be paid.

Monday night, July 18.—Our army has left Maryland and crossed to the south side of the Potomac, near Leesburg.

Saturday, July 23.—A dispatch was received this evening from Richmond, stating that a baggage car on the Danville railroad was burned this morning, and that the books, papers, &c., of the two banks of Staunton were destroyed. The effects of the banks were taken to Danville to preserve them from the enemy, and were on the road back when the catastrophe occurred. [This report caused a panic in the community, but it turned out that the loss was not great.]

Tuesday, July 26.—Seven hundred and forty Yankee prisoners were brought into town yesterday, and sent off by railroad. They were taken in Maryland and down the Valley.

July 30.—We have no lights at night. Candles are so high in price that I cannot buy them. * * * Very heavy cannonading heard all morning.

Monday, August 1.—News by the train last night that Grant sprung a mine at Petersburg, on Saturday. * * * The Reserves of the Valley District are in town to-day, in obedience to an order requiring them to report here for organization. [They were chiefly men from forty-five to fifty-five years of age.]

Tuesday, August 2.—Early is said to be at Bunker Hill, near Winchester. * * * Our loss at Petersburg on Saturday is reported as 1,200; the loss of the enemy is said to be about 3,000, including 1,100 prisoners. The slaughter of the enemy is said to have been terrible. [The enemy's loss was afterwards reported as 5,000.]

August 3.—A rumor to-day that 40,000 Federal troops were at Harper's Ferry.

August 4.—Northern newspapers report that McCausland has been to Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, and burnt the town.

Tuesday, August 9.—One or two persons who were with McCausland at Chambersburg have arrived in town. They say that McCausland, by order of General Early, made a demand on the town for a hundred thousand dollars, to reimburse the owners of property destroyed by the Yankees in Virginia. The people laughed at the demand, which was made at intervals three or four times, accompanied by a threat to burn the town if it was not complied with. As the people persisted in disregarding the demand, the town was finally set on fire. Our men say the affair was extremely painful to them. There is every reason to believe that Henry K. Cochran, of Staunton, was killed at Chambersburg, and he probably fell a victim to popular rage.

Saturday, August 13.—We hear that a large force of the enemy is

pressing Early up the Valley. * * Heavy cannonading was heard all the morning from six to eleven or twelve o'clock.

August 14.—Reported that our army and the enemy were confronting each other at Strasburg on yesterday. * * A large number of army wagons came in to-day, probably 140 to 150 in all.

Wednesday night, August 17.—Yesterday evening about 6 o'clock I heard the cannonading below Richmond very distinctly. The Reserves were sent to Richmond on Monday.

Friday night, August 19.—News from the lower Valley this morning that the Yankee army was retiring, and burning barns and mills as they went. Early had passed through Winchester in pursuit.

Wednesday night, August 24.—Four hundred and fifty prisoners from the lower Valley brought in this evening. They are to be detained here till further orders from General Early.

August 31.—I am again engaged in the arduous labor of getting up a coat and vest. Five yards of coarse cloth, which I obtained by a trade, would have cost in our currency at least \$200. Having procured the cloth, the difficulty now is about trimmings and making. Two yards of skirt lining will cost \$30. My jeans coat, made last year and lost at Hubbard's, in Nelson county, on the 11th of last June, was lined with an old cravat. Alas! everything of that kind is now used up, so I must make the back of an old vest serve another "tour" to help out the new one. The usual charge of a tailor for cutting out a coat and vest is \$15, and a woman charges \$33 for making. These prices are not high considering what the currency is worth. For coat buttons I must rob an old garment.

Saturday night, September 3.—The Yankee prisoners sent up the Valley by Early, have been forwarded to Lynchburg. While detained here they were bivouacked on the Middlebrook road two or three miles from town. A sergeant-major preached to his fellow prisoners once or twice on last Sunday. They frequently held prayer-meetings, and their singing was heard all round the country. Twelve of them, from New Jersey, expressed a desire to take the oath of allegiance to the Confederacy, and all declared themselves heartily tired of the war.

Saturday night, September 4.—Mrs. C. sent for me this evening to direct a letter to her husband, who is a prisoner at Camp Chase, Ohio. Such letters go from Richmond, by the flag-of-truce boat. While I was at Mrs. C.'s two children came in, and, inquiring who they were, I was told that their father also was a prisoner in the enemy's hands. In a few minutes another little girl entered, and Mrs. C. remarked that her father, too, was a prisoner.

Tuesday, September 20.—Our army defeated yesterday below Winchester. * * A deep feeling of gloom seems to pervade the community. Life has no charms at present, and there is little to hope for the future. It is like walking through the valley of the shadow of death.

September 21.—Still very few particulars in regard to the recent battle. Stage passengers report that our loss was three thousand, killed and wounded—comparatively few killed—and that the enemy's loss was very large. They say the enemy was repulsed twice and driven back two miles, but continued to bring up fresh troops. Early brought off his wagons and 400 prisoners taken during the battle. Our army was at Fisher's Hill, and there is a rumor of skirmishing there this morning.

Friday evening, September 23.—A report got out about 2 o'clock that Early had been driven from Fisher's Hill, with the loss of twelve pieces of cannon. * * I thought we had reached the lowest stage of despondency on yesterday, but there was still a "lower deep." Anxiety was depicted on every countenance. Some persons report that the enemy is 70,000 strong, while Early has only 7,500 infantry. Edward Waddell arrived yesterday, badly wounded in the right hand. * * Reported that thousands of our soldiers are without arms, having thrown their guns away. Guns have been sent from Staunton since the battle of Winchester.

Saturday, September 24.—A dispatch from General Early this morning assured the people of Staunton that they were in no danger—that his army was safe, and receiving reinforcements. He, however, ordered the detailed men to be called out. * * This county is now rich in all that is needed to sustain an army, and if the enemy comes the loss will be irreparable. General Early's dispatch has not quieted apprehension.

About 10 o'clock at night, September 24, General Early sent an order to evacuate the town, as he was compelled to retire from the Valley to Brown's Gap, in the Blue Ridge. During that night there was little rest or sleep to persons connected with the various government depots, and as early as possible the next day all army stores were started eastward by railroad and wagon trains.

The Federal army, some 3,000 men, under General Torbert, entered Staunton on Monday evening, September 26, and, passing through, camped on the Waynesborough road. A part of them went to Waynesborough on Tuesday, during which day the remainder of them occupied Staunton. They entered very few houses and committed no depredations of any consequence. They impressed all the negro men into their service, and took them down the railroad to destroy the track and bridges. The colored people were very indignant, and did much less damage to the railroad than they could have done.

On Wednesday, the 28th, the whole Federal command moved to Waynesborough, and late that evening they were attacked

by a party of Confederate cavalry from Brown's Gap. The enemy were driven off, leaving about forty dead and more than eighty prisoners. They returned through Staunton late Wednesday night, in great haste and some disorder, and went down the Valley as they came up, by the Springhill road. They appeared to spend Thursday and Thursday night in burning barns in the direction of Middle river, the whole heavens being illuminated until a late hour.

Confederate cavalry entered Staunton on Thursday, the 29th. General Early afterwards moved his infantry from Waynesborough towards Mt. Sidney, and for several days North river, from Bridgewater to Port Republic, was the line between the two armies.

John N. Hendren, of Staunton, was appointed Treasurer of the Confederate States in the fall of 1864.

Monday night, October 10.—The *Richmond Dispatch* of this morning says that the *New York Herald* of the 5th published a letter from Grant to Sheridan, ordering him to burn every house in the Valley, to destroy every mill, kill every horse, cow, sheep, and hog; that he is determined to make the Valley a wilderness. * * It is said that when the Yankees were here recently an officer made an address to the negroes after they had finished tearing up the railroad track near town. He was anxious for the young men to go off with them, but would not advise the old men to leave their homes; if, however, the latter chose to go, they would be taken to Washington city where arrangements would be made by which they could work for a living. "Humph," said an old negro, "plenty work here."

Wednesday night, October 12.—At this usually abundant season of the year, people heretofore accustomed to live in luxury are scuffling for the necessaries of life. Since dark we have been listening to the noise of a mill grinding sugar cane (sorghum), there it is, still, after 10 o'clock, probably half a mile off. Something sweet—molasses, if not sugar—is eagerly sought after. At Waynesborough, the other day, I drank at supper and breakfast "rye coffee" without sugar.

October 15.—Nothing talked of except the recent order calling into service all detailed men. One order has followed another in rapid succession from the adjutant-general's office. It seems that almost every male from seventeen to fifty years of age not in the army is to be taken to Richmond with the view of going to the field. The recent orders take millers from their grinding, but men sent from the army undertake in some cases to run the machinery. Farmers are ordered from their fields and barns and soldiers are detailed to thresh the wheat. All men engaged in making horseshoes are ordered off, so that our cavalry and

artillery horses will have to go barefooted. The officials at Richmond are apparently in a state of panic.

Thursday night, October 20.—This afternoon it was announced that Early had attacked the enemy near Strasburg, and captured 1,500 prisoners. Before the first glow of satisfaction at this good news had left my face, we heard that Early had lost his cannon, and was retreating before the enemy.

October 21.—A number of officers and men who were engaged in the affair down the Valley, and many ambulances with the wounded, have arrived. They say the enemy was attacked early in the morning and completely routed, being driven a long distance, with the loss of cannon, wagons, about 4,000 men—in fact, almost everything. Early ordered a halt, and immediately his men scattered to plunder. The enemy rallied, and, another corps coming up, attacked our men while they were dispersed. At the same time the Federal cavalry attacked the wagons in the rear of the army. The result was, that we were routed, and lost more than was gained at first, except in prisoners.

October 22.—A large body of prisoners was brought in this morning and sent off by railroad. The number was stated to be 1,340, but I thought it at least 2,000.

Throughout the war the courts were open, and their authority was respected. In November of this year, several "detailed farmers," called into military service, sued out writs of *habeas corpus*, and brought their cases before Judge Thompson at Staunton. He decided that they were not liable to serve as soldiers, and ordered their discharge.

Thursday, November 10.—From the means employed to provision Early's army it must be in great straits for subsistence. Commissaries and quartermasters, with details of men, are traversing the county in search of supplies. The mills are watched, and every barrel of flour is taken up as soon as it is turned out.

Thursday, November 24.—A large part of Early's army is in this county.

December 7.—Two divisions of Early's corps are on their way to Richmond, having reached Waynesborough.

Rodes' division passed through Staunton on the 15th, and Wharton's division on the 17th. Rosser went into quarters with his cavalry, near Buffalo Gap, and the infantry and artillery left under Early were stationed near Fishersville. General Early had his headquarters in Staunton.

A report on the 20th, that the enemy was coming up the Valley, brought Early's small force up from Fishersville, and sent

them down the Winchester road. By the 22d the alarm was over, and our men were back in their quarters. At 3 o'clock, on the morning of the 23d, the cavalry were roused in their camp, and brought to town. The weather was bitter cold, the ground covered with snow, and the roads were slippery. The men were chilled and hungry, and went from house to house for breakfast.

Saturday night, December 31.—The last night of a dreary year, full of wretchedness. * * Forage is very scarce, and many horses are dying.

Thursday night, January 12, 1865.—The State sells *salt* to citizens at a less price than the market affords, and I have secured all I am entitled to, as the best investment of Confederate money. Some time ago the article was distributed to the people of the town at the rate of 25 pounds to each person, and I then obtained 275 pounds. Another distribution was made to-day, and I received 220 pounds more. * * A lady's dress, which formerly cost \$10 to \$15, now costs \$400 to \$500.

Monday night, January 16.—Rosser has been to Beverley, Randolph county, and has captured 600 or 700 Federal soldiers.

January 18.—Pins sell in town at \$12 a paper, and needles at \$10. Flour in Richmond at \$1,000 a barrel. Confederate currency is almost worthless.

Friday night, January 20.—Many persons were encouraging themselves to-day with reports about foreign intervention. * * The prisoners captured by Rosser at Beverley (600 or 700) were sent off by railroad to-day. They have suffered greatly from cold and hunger, as our soldiers have. Several of them died on the way to Staunton, and others will probably not survive long. After the train started I saw one of the prisoners lying on the pavement at the corner of the courthouse yard. A crowd was around him, some of whom said he was dying. He was taken to the Confederate military hospital. All the prisoners are from Ohio. One of them boasted, it is said, that he had been in many of the houses about here.

Tuesday, January 31.—Early has had his headquarters in Staunton for some time, and Fitzhugh Lee moved up from Waynesborough a few days ago.

Thursday, February 9.—Two soldiers, convicted of desertion and robbery, were shot to-day near town.

Friday, February 24.—General Crook entered Staunton this afternoon under very different circumstances from his visit in June last.

He was brought in by McNeil's men, who kidnapped him in Cumberland, Maryland, although there were two Federal regiments in the town.

The people of Augusta, who assembled at February court,

contributed a large amount of provisions for the maintenance of the Confederate army.

Tuesday, February 28.—We were startled this morning by an order from General Early to pack up. The enemy in large force was coming up the Valley, and had arrived at Mt. Jackson.

This was Sheridan's command of mounted men, which swept through the Valley without tarrying at any point. They burnt Swoope's depot, Swoope's mill and barn, Bell's barn, etc., on March 2.

General Early retired with his small force to Waynesborough, where he made a stand, but he was surrounded by a host of enemies, and his men were killed, captured or scattered. William H. Harman was killed there, while acting as volunteer aid. The General narrowly escaped capture. On Saturday, the 4th, a body of the enemy returned to Staunton with their prisoners, 600 to 800, and the same day proceeded down the Valley, while the main body crossed the Blue Ridge at Rockfish Gap. Sheridan had no wagon train, but subsisted upon the country, his men plundering, consuming and destroying as they went. While they were in Staunton they seized cooked food wherever they found it, and on the 2d the writer's family had nothing to eat during the day except some potatoes which a servant smuggled into the house and roasted in the dining-room. For several weeks afterwards there was no communication by railroad or telegraph between Staunton and Richmond.

Early Monday morning, April 3, the news of the evacuation of Richmond flew through the streets of Staunton, and from house to house.

April 6.—All things indicate that the days of the Confederate States are numbered.

On Tuesday morning, April 11, vague reports of General Lee's surrender reached Staunton.

Friday, April 14.—We heard last night from an authentic source that General Lee had certainly surrendered himself with his army. * * O'Ferrall is still operating in the lower Valley. The Federal commander in that quarter notified him that he was violating the terms of Lee's surrender, and O'Ferrall has sent to Staunton for information. * * Pierpoint, the Governor of Virginia, recognized by the Federal government, has been in Richmond. He was elected by a few votes in

Alexandria, Norfolk, and possibly some other places occupied by Federal troops during the war. Another State, called West Virginia, is presided over by Governor Bowman, or Boreman. Nothing remains for us but submission.

Sunday night, April 16.—Authentic intelligence to-day that two persons have arrived in Charlottesville from Richmond, sent by Lincoln in search of Governor Smith, to invite him to return. At last accounts the Governor was flying from Richmond, on the tow path of the James river canal.

Monday night, April 17.—Four years ago this day, the two military companies started from Staunton, and the war began. Now the war is virtually over, and we are—what shall I say?

LIST OF AUGUSTA MEN

WHO SERVED IN THE FIELD AS CAPTAINS, MAJORS, ETC., IN THE CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Antrim, George T.—Captain of Company H, Fifth regiment Virginia infantry. Disabled at Kernstown.

Arehart, Abraham.—Captain of Company D, Fifty-second infantry.

Baldwin, John B.—Inspector-General of State troops; colonel of Fifty-second infantry. Disabled by sickness.

Balthis, William L.—Captain of Staunton Artillery, succeeding John D. Imboden. Disabled at Malvern Hill.

Bateman, Elijah.—Captain of Company G, Fifty-second infantry, succeeding Samuel McCune. Lost arm in battle, May 6, 1864.

Baylor, William S. H.—Major of Fifth infantry, lieutenant-colonel and colonel. Killed at second battle of Manassas, commanding brigade.

Berkeley, Frank B.—Chief of staff of Brigadier-General Imboden, with rank of captain.

Brown, S. Bradford.—Captain of cavalry; General Lee's body guard.

Bucher, David.—Captain-quartermaster of Fifth infantry.

Bumgardner, James, jr.—Captain of Company F, Fifty-second regiment, succeeding Joseph E. Cline.

Burke, Thomas J.—Captain of Company L, Fifth infantry, succeeding James H. Waters.

Byers, John S.—Captain of Company C, Fifty-second infantry, succeeding Wm. E. Dabney. Disabled by wound.

Christian, Bolivar.—Captain-commissary of Fifty-second infantry. Afterwards on special service with rank of lieutenant-colonel.

Cline, Joseph E.—Captain of Company F, Fifty-second infantry. Retired from disability.

Cochran, George M., Jr.—Captain-quartermaster of Fifty-second infantry.

Cochran, James.—Captain of Company I, Fourteenth Virginia cavalry, succeeding F. F. Sterrett. Promoted colonel.

Coiner, C. Benton.—Captain of Company G, Fifty-second infantry, succeeding Elijah Bateman.

Curtis, E. L.—Captain of Company I, Fifth infantry, succeeding O. F. Grinnan.

Dabney, William E. (of Albemarle).—Captain of Company C, Fifty-second infantry. Killed at Fredericksburg, December 13, 1862.

Davis, Robert C.—Captain of Company A, Fifty-second infantry, succeeding Edward Garber.

Dempster, John J.—Captain of Company E, Fifth infantry, succeeding L. Grills.

Dold, James A.—Captain of Company H, Fifty-second infantry, succeeding J. D. Lilly. Killed at Bethesda Church, below Richmond, 1864.

Doyle, Robert L.—Captain of Company C, Fifth infantry, lieutenant-colonel of Sixty-second infantry. Killed at Piedmont while acting as captain of reserves.

Fultz, Alexander H.—Captain of Staunton Artillery, succeeding A. W. Garber.

Garber, Asher W.—Captain of Staunton Artillery, succeeding W. L. Balthis. Promoted major.

Garber, Edward.—Captain of Company A, Fifty-second infantry, succeeding J. H. Skinner. Killed at second battle of Manassas.

Gibson, James W.—Captain of Company H, Fifth infantry, succeeding G. T. Antrim.

Grills, Lycurgus.—Captain of Company E, Fifth infantry, succeeding J. W. Newton. Died in service.

Grinnan, Oswald F.—Captain of Company I, Fifth infantry.

Hall, William.—Captain of Company G, Fifth infantry, succeeding R. Simms. Killed at Wilderness, May 5, 1864.

Hanger, Henry H.—Captain of Company I, Fourteenth cavalry, succeeding Joseph A. Wilson.

Hanger, Marshall.—Captain and major on staff of General J. E. B. Stuart

Harman, Asher W.—Captain of Company G, Fifth infantry, colonel of Twelfth Virginia Cavalry.

Harman, John A.—Major and quartermaster of Second Corps Army of Northern Virginia.

Harman, Lewis.—Captain of Company I, Twelfth cavalry.

Harman, Michael G.—Lieutenant-colonel and colonel of Fifty-second infantry, succeeding J. B. Baldwin.

Harman, William H.—Lieutenant-colonel and colonel of Fifth infantry, succeeding K. Harper. Killed at Waynesborough, 1865, acting as volunteer aid.

Harper, Kenton.—Colonel of Fifth infantry.

Hotchkiss, Jed.—Major and topographical engineer of Second Corps Army of Northern Virginia.

Hottle, Joseph F.—Captain of Company D, Fifty-second infantry.

Humphreys, John F.—Captain of Company I, Fifty-second infantry, succeeding Samuel Lambert.

Imboden, George W.—Colonel of Eighteenth Virginia cavalry.

Imboden, John D.—Captain of Staunton Artillery; colonel of independent command; brigadier-general.

Koiner, Absalom.—Major of Fifth infantry, succeeding W. S. H. Baylor.

Lambert, Samuel.—Captain of Company I, Fifty-second infantry. Died in service.

Lilly, John D.—Captain of Company H, Twenty-fifth infantry. Promoted lieutenant-colonel.

Lilly, Robert D.—Captain of Company D, Twenty-fourth infantry. Promoted lieutenant-colonel, and brigadier-general. Lost an arm at Winchester, 1864.

Long, William.—Captain of Company B, Fifty-second infantry. Killed at McDowell, May 8, 1862.

Mason, C. R.—Commissioned first as a post-quartermaster with the rank of captain; afterwards as lieutenant-colonel of engineers in the field.

McClung, James A.—Captain-quartermaster of the Fifty-seventh Virginia regiment.

McClung, Thomas.—Captain of Company E, First Virginia cavalry, succeeding William Patrick.

McCoy, Charles D.—Captain of Company D, Twenty-fifth infantry, succeeding R. D. Lilly.

McCune, Samuel.—Captain of Company D, Fifty-second infantry.

Merritt, C. G.—Captain-quartermaster of Twenty-fifth infantry.

McKamy, William. C.—Captain of Company D, Fifth infantry, succeeding W. H. Randolph.

Newton, James W.—Captain of Company E, Fifth infantry. Promoted major. Lost a leg in service.

Patrick, William.—Captain of Company E, First Virginia cavalry. Promoted major. Killed at Second Manassas.

Randolph, William H.—Captain of Company D, Fifth infantry, succeeding H. J. Williams. Killed at Cold Harbor.

Roberts, St. Francis.—Captain of Company F, Fifth infantry. Disabled by wounds in battle.

Simms, Richard.—Captain of Company G, Fifth Infantry, succeeding A. W. Harman. Killed at Second Manassas.

Skinner, James H.—Captain of Company A, Fifty-second infantry, lieutenant-colonel, and colonel. Wounded and disabled, May 12, 1864.

Sterrett, F. F.—Captain of Company I, Fourteenth cavalry.

Thompson, James.—Captain of Company B, Fifty-second infantry, succeeding William Long.

Trevey, J. M.—Captain of Company C, Fifth infantry, succeeding R. L. Doyle.

Trout, E. Stribling.—Captain of Company H, Fifty-second infantry, succeeding J. A. Dold.

Waters, James H.—Captain of Company L, Fifth infantry. Captain and commissary of regiment.

Weller, Charles L.—Captain of Company C, Fifty-second infantry, succeeding J. S. Byers.

Williams, Hazel J.—Captain of Company D, Fifth infantry. Promoted lieutenant-colonel.

Wilson, Joseph A.—Captain of Company I, Fourteenth cavalry, succeeding James Cochran. Lost an arm in battle.

Wilson, Peter E.—Captain of Company F, Fifth infantry, succeeding St. F. Roberts.

The following natives of Augusta, who, however, were not living in the county when the war arose, were officers in the military service :

William D. Stuart, son of Thomas J. Stuart, Esq., of Staunton, born about 1830, and educated at the Staunton Academy and the Virginia Military Institute. Was principal of a school in Richmond, in 1861. Appointed by Governor Letcher, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Fourteenth Virginia regiment. At the reorganization in 1862, was elected colonel of the Fifty-sixth regiment. Mortally wounded at Gettysburg, and died in Staunton.

James A. Walker, son of Mr. Alexander Walker, of South river. Educated at the Virginia Military Institute. While practicing law in Pulaski county was appointed lieutenant colonel of the Thirteenth Virginia regiment, commanded then by A. P. Hill. Became successively colonel, brigadier-general, and major-general.

Briscoe G. Baldwin, Jr., son of Judge B. G. Baldwin, educated at the Staunton Academy and the Virginia Military Institute. Appointed lieutenant colonel of artillery and assigned to ordnance duty in Richmond.

John H. McCue, son of John McCue, Esq., was practicing law in Nelson county in 1861. Appointed commissary of the Fifty-first regiment, Colonel Wharton. Was with General Floyd's command at the fall of Fort Donelson. Captured at Waynesborough in March, 1865, while acting as volunteer aid and detained a prisoner till July.

John L. Peyton, of Staunton, was appointed, early in the war, agent of the State of North Carolina in England, and running the blockade in October, 1861, he resided abroad during the remainder of the war.

In the battle near Winchester, July 20, 1864, General R. D. Lilly, while commanding Pegram's brigade, was wounded three times—first, in the left thigh by a shell; next, his right arm was shattered near the shoulder by a minie-ball; and, lastly, a minie-ball went through his already injured thigh. Being entirely disabled by the second injury, he dismounted, and as his horse was galloping to the rear he received the third wound. Weak and faint he laid down under a tree. A portion of the Federal army passed over him, and a soldier stopped long enough to take off his field-glass. Left alone for awhile, he crawled to a shady spot among rocks and leaves. Soon a Federal straggler came up and robbed him of his watch, pocket-book, hat, gold ring and pocket knife. Next, an Irishman in the Federal army came along, inquired about his injuries, and went nearly a mile to procure water for him. Finally, several of Averill's cavalry gathered near him, and while they stood there a moccasin snake glided across his forehead and stopped near his face. He called to the soldiers, and they killed the reptile. His arm was amputated at the shoulder by a Federal surgeon, and the wounded thigh was properly treated. The stolen watch was recovered through the agency of the surgeon and a Federal colonel.

Clement R. Mason was one of the most remarkable men of his day. He was born a poor boy, early in the present century, and reared in Chesterfield county. At an early age he was thrown upon his own resources, without the advantages of education. After pursuing various avocations, he turned his attention to the construction of railroads, and a large part of the Chesapeake and Ohio railroad was constructed by him. By a mental process peculiar to himself, he made the most intricate calculations in mensuration, with promptness and accuracy. He accumulated several fortunes during his life, and lost nearly as many by his liberality. He was transparently honest, and, with much worldly wisdom, as guileless as a child. For about the last thirty years of his life he resided in Augusta county. When the war arose in 1861, he raised a company for the Fifty-second regiment, but his services were more needed otherwise. He was first commissioned as quartermaster, with the rank of captain. Soon, however, General T. J. Jackson attached him to his person and employed him in constructing roads and bridges, obtaining for him the commission of lieutenant-colonel of engineers. An anecdote is related to show his energy and skill: One evening General Jackson notified him to hold himself in readiness to construct a bridge over a river they were at. The regular engineers sat up all night, drawing the plan, and in the morning Mason was sent for to receive instructions. He presented himself at headquarters, with the announcement that the bridge was up! His death occurred in January, 1885, when he was about eighty-two years of age. Up to the time of his last sickness he was actively engaged in constructing railroads in Pennsylvania, Kentucky and elsewhere.



CHAPTER XVII.

AFTER THE WAR—1865.

The war closed when General Lee surrendered at Appomattox Courthouse. For many days afterwards all the roads in the State were full of weary men wending their ways homeward. Many homes were devastated and poverty-stricken. The armie of the Confederate States had wasted away, and not only so, but the people were impoverished. Some food was left in the country—more, indeed, than was generally known of a few weeks before—and the pressing need was for articles of clothing. Railroads had been torn up, factories destroyed, farms laid waste, towns wrecked, the banks were all broken, and there was literally no currency in the country. Farmers set to work to do what they could, and a few other people found employment. Most white people were idle from necessity, and the negroes asserted and proved their newly acquired freedom by leaving the farms and flocking to town. The recuperation of the country, which began at once and has been so far consummated, is one of the marvels of the age.

It was not anticipated at the close of the war that the Southern people generally would be subjected to pains and penalties. Edmund Burke said: "It is impossible to frame an indictment against a whole people." But the fate of many regarded as leaders was for some time in suspense.

We continue our extracts from the diary :

April 19.—No rumors to-day of any consequence. Yesterday there was a report that Lincoln had been assassinated.

April 20.—The report of Lincoln's assassination was renewed this evening. * * There is general regret in our community. * * We

are now in a condition of anarchy. Bands of soldiers are roaming about and taking off all cattle, sheep, horses, etc., they suppose to be public property.

Having borne the heat and burden of the war for so long, it is not strange that returned soldiers, having come home in a state of destitution, should feel that they had a peculiar right to Confederate property, nor is it strange that they sometimes mistook private for public property.

Friday night, April 21.—I hear that a lady arrived this evening from Washington with a newspaper giving an account of Lincoln's assassination. Seward was assailed in his chamber at the same time and wounded.

April 22.—The assassin was an actor, named John Wilkes Booth. He and twenty or thirty others associated with him escaped down the Potomac on the Maryland side. He was not considered a Southern sympathizer, having left Richmond early in the war to go North. Rumor says that some persons at the North attribute the murder to the ultra-abolitionists, who are disaffected on account of Lincoln's supposed leniency to the South. Vice-President Andrew Johnson has been sworn in as President of the United States, and has made several speeches, in which he announced vengeance against "traitors." He has withdrawn the invitation, or permission, for our Legislature to meet at Richmond.

Monday night, April 24.—The Pierpoint government is established at Richmond, and we will doubtless be required to recognize it as legitimate. * * The County Court was busy to-day trying to devise means for maintaining law and order.

April 25.—We have no mails, no newspapers, and no regular communication with the world. Occasionally some person arrives with a Baltimore or Richmond paper. * * There were many exciting rumors to-day. Among them that Andrew Johnson had been killed, and that Washington, Philadelphia and New York were in flames. Also, reported by some one who came up the Valley that Grant had been killed, and that fighting was going on in Washington city. * * Trouble, suspense, anxiety—a time when we have no government, and know not what will be on the morrow.

April 27.—Reported that Andrew Johnson had not been poisoned, as was said, but was under arrest as an accomplice in the assassination of Lincoln!

Saturday, April 29.—Several companies of the Twenty-second New York cavalry, under Colonel Reid, arrived to-day from Winchester. They came in very cautiously, having scouts on the hills before they entered. They evidently feared an ambush! Their camp is near the cemetery. * * It was a curious spectacle this afternoon to see Federals and Confederates mingling on the streets. Everybody seemed

to be at ease. Jesse Scouts were in town considerably in advance of the main body.

Sunday night, April 30.—The day passed off quietly. Many Yankees were riding and walking about unarmed. Four officers and two other soldiers attended the Presbyterian church in the forenoon. The Episcopal church was not open, because Mr. Latané was apprehensive of trouble if he omitted to pray for the president of the United States. Surely these are evil times when churches are subject to military control. * * Our town police arrested a drunken Yankee soldier last night and put him in jail.

Monday night, May 1.—Negroes are flocking to the Yankee camp, some of them having come from home on horseback. * * The Yankees gave up stolen horses to their owners when called for. * * The officers have told everybody that they did not wish the negroes to go off with them, and would furnish to them neither transportation nor rations, but they were not at liberty to send them home. This afternoon, however, the soldiers began a system of treatment which must have been discouraging to "American citizens of African descent." A number of tents had been taken from the military hospital to the Yankee camp, and some of them were spread upon the ground and used as blankets for tossing up the colored friends. Men, women and children were thrown up at the risk of cracking skulls or breaking necks. One woman having been tossed up several times fell on her head, and at last accounts was lying insensible. * * This evening a Confederate and Yankee had a fist-fight in the street. The former got the better of his opponent, but both were put in jail.

Tuesday, May 2—The Federal troops started early this morning down the Valley. Many negroes, men, women and children, accompanied them. The negroes can't realize that freedom is possible in their old homes. One old man started, but soon returned, saying it was too far!

Thursday night, May 4.—A movement was on foot this morning for a public meeting on Monday next, with a view to the reorganization of the State government under the Constitution and laws of the United States.

Sunday night, May 7.—Information that a considerable body of Federal troops is on the way from Winchester. * * General Smith, our fugitive Governor, is in town to-night, and has sent round notice that he will deliver an address at the American hotel.

Monday night, May 8.—The county meeting came off to-day, and was attended by many people. A committee was appointed to go to Richmond and confer with the authorities there, civil or military, and ascertain what liberty will be allowed in regard to the re-establishment of the State government. The committee are Alexander H. H. Stuart, William M. Tate, John B. Baldwin, M. G. Harman and Hugh W. Sheffey.

Governor Smith approved of the meeting. Resolutions were adopted declaring that the contest is ended; that a State Convention should be held, &c. The Governor goes armed with a brace of pistols, and his servant carries a gun or two. He has returned to Lexington.

Tuesday night, May 9.—The Federal troops entered town this morning. First came three or four scouts, next the cavalry (three regiments), and then three regiments of infantry. Brigadier-General Duval commands. Their principal camp is on the Parkersburg road, near town. The headquarters are at the Virginia hotel. They have about 150 wagons, and supplies for thirty days. As the first infantry regiment marched in the band played "Hail Columbia." The private soldiers seem good-natured enough, but they are a low order of people, much inferior to our men, who have always whipped them when not outnumbered more than three to one. The officers are a spruce, dapper-looking set.

Wednesday night, May 10.—The committee appointed by the county meeting on Monday called upon General Duval this morning. He was extremely civil; said the only instructions he had were to restore order by suppressing guerilla parties, and to parol Confederate soldiers. He had no instructions in regard to civil government. [There were no guerillas in the country.]

Friday night, May 12.—We are tasting the bitterness of a conquered people. The Yankees are evidently trying to worry us because they are not taken into society. No disrespect is shown to them, but cold politeness. The officers ride and walk about, decked off in shining coats, and evidently desire to attract the attention of the ladies. General Duval is not satisfied with the temper of the people—"they are still defiant." He has therefore resorted to various petty annoyances. * * Yesterday he alleged that several persons had been murdered within four miles of Staunton—"Union people," who had recently come back. Nobody else had heard of it, and the statement is utterly false. * * Citizens are not allowed to be on the streets after 10 o'clock at night. * * This morning a Yankee soldier was found dead near town, but, strange to say, the "Rebels" are not charged with having killed him. Yesterday a body of four or five hundred cavalry came in from Charlottesville to open an office for paroling, not knowing that any troops were here. They returned this morning. We hear that the Yankees at Winchester have the negro men, who lately went off from this place, working on the streets, guarded by soldiers, and that the women are begging from door to door.

May 14.—Reported on the streets that President Johnson has issued a proclamation declaring the property of all aiders and abettors of the "rebellion" confiscated, declaring all public offices vacant, and setting aside all sales of real estate made since 1860. Pierpoint is recognized as the Governor of Virginia, of course.

May 15.—A sentinel has been promenading to-day before N. K.

Trout's residence, because, the Yankees allege, the girls "made mouths," or hissed at the band as they entered town a week ago. The girls deny the charge. But what if they did?

May 16.—Many persons in town have been making what money they could out of the Yankee soldiers. Betty, a colored servant girl at ——'s, thought she would try her hand, although her mistress is suspected of being a secret partner in the venture. At any rate, Betty went out to the camp with a lot of fresh pies to sell on reasonable terms. In due time she returned, greatly elated with her success—she had a handful of notes. But, alas! the rascality of the Yankees, and, alas! Betty's ignorance of United States currency. Upon examination, it turned out that the papers for which she had exchanged her pies were bottle labels, advertising cards, etc., without a cent of money among them. Betty probably told very freely where she lived, and during the day some Yankees called at the house and inquired if they could get any pies there.

Thursday, May 18.—A pistol or gun was fired in one of the streets last night, and General Duval imagined that he was shot at. Early in the morning the town was surrounded by pickets, and no one was allowed to come in or go out. Every house was searched for fire-arms, and every weapon, however rusty and useless, was triumphantly seized and carried off. It is said and believed that a gun in the hands of a Federal soldier was accidentally discharged. But General Duval firmly believes that the "rebels," having sacrificed the head of the nation, are trying to kill him, the next great man. * * The soldiers have been tossing negroes in blankets at their camp, and it is reported that one was killed and buried yesterday.

May 19.—Several stores have been opened in town by army sutlers and others. The report of President Davis's capture is repeated.

May 20.—A second public meeting was held to-day in the courthouse by General Duval's permission, and another committee was appointed to go to Richmond, &c., &c. It was a sham affair. * * Yesterday no one was allowed to leave town unless he had taken the oath of allegiance. All restrictions were removed to-day, but no one is permitted to be on the streets after 8 o'clock P. M.

Sunday, May 21.—This morning, after the Presbyterian congregation had assembled for worship, through some bungling, a Yankee chaplain was escorted to the pulpit where the Rev. Mr. Baker was seated. The chaplain only wanted to give notice that he would preach elsewhere in the evening, but persons outside, hearing of the intrusion, as they regarded it, spread the report that he had usurped the pulpit and intended to preach by force of arms. The affair caused great indignation at first, but afterwards much amusement. The scene which outsiders imagined was exhibited in the church is described by Walter Scott in "Woodstock," when the Rev. Nehemiah Holdenough was thrust from his pulpit by one of Cromwell's soldiers and his comrades, who exclaimed:

"We will pluck yon Jack Presbyter out of his wooden sentinel box and our own watchman shall relieve guard and mount thereon, and cry aloud and spare not." According to report, some of the Federal officers don't spare the chaplain. They asked him if he had preached to-day, and he replied: "No, neither preach, pray, nor sing." He did sing, however, at the Presbyterian church.

Monday night, May 22.—Pierpoint is recognized by the Washington authorities as the legitimate Governor of Virginia. We are apprehensive that no one will be allowed to vote or hold office unless he purges himself by oath of all sympathy with the "rebellion," and thus nearly the whole people will be excluded. No doubt some will swear they never did sympathize. The applicants for office upon the restoration of the monarchy in the person of Charles II were not more debased than some people now-a-days.

Monday night, May 29.—Yesterday evening United States flags were hung out at several street corners, so that persons going to the Episcopal church should have to pass under them, and a small paper flag was suspended over the church gate. This morning a small flag was found pasted to the portico of A. F. Kinney's house, and Ned Kinney, who first discovered it, took it down. For this act of treason he was arrested and threatened with banishment to a Northern prison. A large flag was then put at Kinney's gate.

Tuesday night, May 30.—The Pierpoint's Constitution of Virginia, framed at Alexandria during the war by sixteen men, and never voted for by anybody else, is to be imposed upon us by Federal bayonets. It wipes out slavery now and forever, &c., &c.

May 31.—Most of the county committee, No. 1, have returned from Richmond. Pierpoint insists upon his Constitution with its provision restricting the right of suffrage to those who can, *or will*, take what is called "the iron-clad oath" But it seems that the Legislature may remove the restriction.

Thursday night, June 1.—General Duval's flags are spreading themselves. Another string of them is stretched across Augusta street, near Main. The General says the flags were not put up by his order, but being up they must be respected.

Friday night, June 2.—The "last agony" from Washington appeared this morning—President Johnson's proclamation of pardon to rebels on certain conditions. There are so many proclamations and oaths of one sort and another that it is hard to keep the run of them. All military officers above the rank of lieutenant, all civil officers of the "pretended," or "so-called," Confederate States, and all persons worth more than \$20,000 are excluded from the benefits of the oath last prescribed by the president. Persons belonging to these classes must file petitions to his excellency for pardon, and he promises to be liberal. Why persons worth over \$20,000 are specially guilty is hard to see. Many a flagrant "rebel" is not worth a dollar in ready money.

June 4.—There is a good deal of talk about emigrating to Brazil. But it is not worth while. No doubt the first man met on landing would be a Connecticut vender of wooden nutmegs.

June 5.—A man in a sulky, while passing under the flags on Saturday, cut at them with his whip, for which grave offence he was put into the guard-house and kept there until to-day.

June 6.—The flag farce has reached the *ne plus ultra* of absurdity. Yesterday two soldiers went to O. C. Morris's and demanded a flag they said he had. He stated that he knew of no flag on his premises, and the men rushing by him found a negro child having a little red rag tied to a switch, which it had been playing with at the kitchen window. Full of patriotic ardor, the soldiers seized the rag, and tearing it in pieces warned Morris that his whole family would be put under arrest if the offence were repeated.

Monday night, June 12.—Two regiments of infantry, under a Colonel Stewart, arrived to-day, from Winchester, to relieve Duval's command.

Tuesday night, June 13.—The two infantry regiments of Duval's command marched out this afternoon, on their return to Winchester, followed by an immense train of negroes. The other infantry regiment was sent to Harrisonburg several weeks ago. The officers of the Ohio regiment, which left to-day, are apparently gentlemen, and we are sorry they did not remain, as we are still to have Federal troops here. Colonel Duval (no relation of the General) and Lieutenant-Colonel Wilson have always conducted themselves as sensible and liberal men, and have freely expressed their disapproval of the General's fooleries. The General's coach was a luxurious vehicle, drawn by four elegant gray horses. It is said the cavalry have gone also.

June 14.—United States treasury notes, called "green backs," and national bank notes constitute our paper currency. Very little current, however.

Tuesday night, June 20.—The poor negroes flock to town as if they could not be free in the country. One small tenement, in which an old couple lately lived, is now occupied by thirty.

June 21.—A report that four hundred Yankee negro troops, in Texas, demanded the surrender of some Confederates, and were attacked and all but sixty killed. As we are now a part of the United States, the way of telling this news on the street is: "The Rebels have whipped our people again."

Monday night, June 26.—A military order is posted in the streets to-day, requiring "Rebel" soldiers to take off all insignia of rank, brass buttons, &c. The days of "the '45," when the Highland plaid was proscribed, have come back again. * * The "so called" Legislature of Virginia—the Senate composed of four men, including the Lieutenant-Governor—has met at Richmond, and passed an act allowing persons to vote without taking "the iron-clad oath." There can be no courts till October.

June 29.—Many stores in Staunton. Goods said to be very cheap—that is, it seems so because we have not forgotten Confederate prices.

July 2.—Federal soldiers have been enforcing the order for Confederates to strip off military clothing. Some of them have stood at street corners with shears to cut off brass buttons, &c. Every negro, even, wearing an old Confederate coat or jacket has lost his buttons. Most of our poor fellows have nothing to wear except their old uniforms.

Wednesday, July 5.—The negroes gave the Yankee officers a dinner yesterday at their barracks. The town was full of negroes of both sexes, who celebrated the Fourth by walking about. A number of drunken soldiers were also on the streets. At night there was quite a mob of them in town.

Wednesday night, July 19.—The first election for county officers under the new order of things was held yesterday. The vote was quite full, contrary to expectation. Most of the late incumbents of the various offices were re-elected, but the present attorney-general has published an opinion, received here after the election, in which he lays it down that all persons who have held office under the "so-called" Confederate States government are ineligible to office, which will probably cut out many of the successful candidates. * * "Loyal" men are so much afraid of acknowledging the Confederacy that they generally preface it by the words "so-called."

Saturday, July 22.—The Fifty-eighth Pennsylvania regiment came here last week from Richmond, or somewhere east. The men are discontented and lawless. * * We have no mails, although the railroad trains and stage-coaches run regularly.

Tuesday night, July 25.—The two regiments under command of Colonel Stewart started down the Valley this evening. Everybody regrets the departure of Stewart. We expect nothing good from the Pennsylvania regiment which remains here. The officers seem afraid of the men. It is currently reported that a soldier gave his captain a whipping a few days ago.

August 13.—Governor Pierpoint has ordered new elections of county officers in place of those recently elected, who had held Confederate offices. The county magistrates elected on the 18th July met recently and adjourned over to the regular court day in this month. The corporation election took place last week, and I believe the military have made a formal surrender of the town to the civil authorities.

Monday night, August 28.—The first session of the new county court was held to-day. Some routine business was transacted. * * Mr. A. H. H. Stuart was nominated by a public meeting for Congress. Candidates for the Legislature were also nominated.

September 10.—Notwithstanding we now have civil courts, our provost-marshal continues to try all sorts of cases. He generally decides in favor of the negroes whenever they are parties before him.

An election for members of the State Legislature was held

October 12. Nicholas K. Trout was elected to represent Augusta county in the Senate, and John B. Baldwin, Joseph A. Waddell, and George Baylor were elected members of the House of Delegates. Mr. Stuart was at the same time elected a member of the United States House of Representatives.

The Circuit Court for Augusta county, Judge L. P. Thompson presiding, was held at the usual time in November. But although civil authority was then professedly restored, some Federal troops were kept in Staunton till January 12, 1866, when they were finally taken away. They were accused of exciting much disorder in the town, and their departure caused general rejoicing in the community.





CHAPTER XVIII.

RECONSTRUCTION—1865-'71.

At the close of 1865, our people flattered themselves that they would be left to attend to their own affairs, under the Constitution of the United States, without further molestation. They had in good faith "accepted the situation," and had no thought of future resistance to Federal authority. We shall see how far they were disappointed.

Congress and the Legislature met in December, on the same day. Mr. Stuart could not take the prescribed oaths, and he and all Southern men were excluded from the halls of Congress. This was a strange spectacle. The war was waged for four years to compel the Southern people to return to the Union, and now their representatives, although prepared to swear allegiance, were denied all participation in the government. For four years more Virginia had no representative in Congress.

The Legislature, however, proceeded comparatively untrammelled. John B. Baldwin, of Augusta, was elected speaker of the House of Delegates, and his influence was commanding and most salutary. There was little in the proceedings of the Legislature during either session—the winters of 1865-'6 and 1866-'7—which has a place in these Annals. Some of the business was of general importance, and much of it was merely routine. Federal politics were avoided as far as possible. Many acts of incorporation were passed, and amongst them one for chartering the Valley Railroad Company.

Under the Alexandria Constitution, "so called," judges of the higher courts were nominated by the Governor, and ratified or rejected by the Legislature. The Court of Appeals consisted of

three judges, and the counties were arranged in circuits, as previously. In February, 1866, Judge Lucas P. Thompson, of the Augusta Circuit Court, was nominated by the Governor and confirmed by the Legislature as one of the judges of the Court of Appeals. His health, however, was then declining, and he died in the following April, without having taken his seat on the bench of the highest court. In like manner, Hugh W. Sheffey, of Staunton, became the judge of the Circuit Court of Augusta and other counties.

Mutterings of the coming trouble were heard early in 1866. The few "original Union men" in the State were dissatisfied with the restoration of "Rebels" to place and power; and a few of them, under the lead of John C. Underwood, held a meeting in Alexandria, in February, and adopted a memorial asking Congress to set aside the State government and organize a territorial government for Virginia. The proposition was generally regarded as preposterous; but Underwood and his faction having the sympathy of the dominant party in Congress, in order, if possible, to forestall hostile action, the people of Augusta, in a public meeting, on February court day, reaffirmed the resolutions adopted by them May 8, 1865.

On the 4th of April, 1866, a convention was held in Staunton, in behalf of the Valley Railroad enterprise, eight counties being represented. The company was organized under the charter granted by the Legislature, and a president and directors were elected.⁵⁷

A proclamation of the Secretary of State of the United States at Washington, dated December 18, 1865, set forth that the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which prohibited slavery in the United States, had become valid, having been ratified by thirty-three States, exclusive of Virginia. To this amendment there was no opposition in this section of country, our people generally having no desire to perpetuate the institution of slavery. But the Thirteenth Amendment was no sooner adopted than the Fourteenth was proposed. This amendment, among other things, disfranchised every person, who, having previously, as a public officer, taken an oath to support the Constitution of

⁵⁷ The road was completed to Staunton in March, 1874, and to Lexington in November, 1883.

the United States, had engaged in rebellion, unless relieved of such disability by a vote of two-thirds of each house of Congress. It also prohibited the payment by any State of any debt incurred in aid of rebellion. The agitation of this matter led to another meeting of the people of Augusta, at their June court, 1866, at which J. M. McCue presided. Resolutions were adopted protesting against amendments to the Constitution proposed by "the body of men now assembled at Washington, and which claims to be the Congress of the United States." They further expressed opposition to the amendment, but declared that no proposition of the sort could be considered by the people till all the States were represented in Congress.

While our people were kept in a state of unrest and discomfort by the measures proposed by politicians at Washington, nothing of special interest occurred in the county during the remainder of 1866.

On the 4th of January, 1867, a bill to establish and incorporate the "Augusta County Fair" was introduced in the House of Delegates by John B. Baldwin. This bill was duly passed, and, as required by it, the County Court appointed directors of the Fair at their June term, 1867.

Until the early part of 1867, it was expected that a Governor would be elected during that year to take office January 1, 1868. Mr. Stuart and Colonel Baldwin were the only citizens prominently named in connection with the office; and if the election had been held, it is almost certain that one or the other of them would have been chosen to preside over the State.

The Legislature was called upon to consider the proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and on the 9th of January, 1867, the Senate unanimously, and the House of Delegates with only one dissenting vote, declined to ratify it.

The party controlling Congress had, however, been at work devising measures to constrain the Southern States to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment, and on the 20th of February the "Shelbarger Bill" was passed. This bill provided, that whenever the people of any one of the "Rebel States" should adopt a Constitution framed by a convention of delegates elected by "the male citizens of said State, twenty-one years old and upwards, of whatever race, color, or previous condition," &c., &c., "except such as may be disfranchised for participation in rebel-

lion," &c., &c., and when, by a vote of the Legislature of said State, the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution should be adopted, then senators and representatives therefrom should be admitted into Congress, &c. This act was vetoed by President Johnson, but became a law by a two-thirds vote of Congress. Another act was passed over the president's veto, March 22d, which provided for the registration of voters and the call of State conventions contemplated by the Shellebarger Bill. These measures caused a feeling of deep depression in the State, as they indicated, it was believed, an intention to place the commonwealth in the hands of the freed negroes, to the exclusion of nearly all other people.

General Schofield, of the Federal army, commanded the troops in Virginia, or "Military District No. 1," as it was called. He issued an order, April 2, suspending all elections by the people until the registration of voters required by act of Congress should be completed. In the meantime, vacancies in office were to be filled by military appointment of persons deemed "loyal," or who would take the prescribed oath, commonly known as "the iron-clad oath." Registration officers in the various counties were appointed by General Schofield from the same class.

The Legislature adjourned finally on the 29th of April.

Confederate Memorial Day was observed in Staunton by the people of Augusta for the first time on the 10th of May, the fourth anniversary of the death of General Thomas J. Jackson. Colonel Charles T. O'Ferrall delivered an address in the Methodist church, and a procession of people, nearly a mile in length, moved from the town to Thornrose Cemetery, where there were appropriate ceremonies.

The registration of voters, under the act of Congress, was begun June 22, and completed July 20. The number of voters registered in the county was 4,690, of whom 3,484 were white people, and 1,206 colored. This system of registration, and the secret ballot coupled with it, were innovations on the ancient custom in Virginia. We had now seen the last of the old, and, as many still think, better plan of voters proclaiming their choice at the polls.

Everything in relation to the proposed convention was arranged and ordered by the Federal officer in command of "Military District No. 1." General Schofield directed that Au-

gusta county should have two delegates, and the district of Augusta, Albemarle, and Louisa, one, and that the election should take place October 22. The voters had the privilege of voting for or against the Constitution, as well as for delegates to serve in case the majority in the State was in favor of a convention.

Nearly all the white people in the State were arrayed in opposition to the measures of the extreme "Republicans," who controlled both branches of the United States Congress. The former styled themselves "Conservatives," and called the other party "Radicals." A public meeting of the Conservatives of Augusta was held in the courthouse on Saturday, October 12, to nominate candidates for the Convention, the assembling of which, however, they intended to vote against. The nominees were Joseph A. Waddell and Powell Harrison to represent Augusta county, and James C. Southall to represent the district, and these gentlemen were elected on the 22d by large majorities over their Radical opponents. The vote stood in the county, for convention, 1,257, including 1,024 negroes and 233 whites; against convention, 1,655, including 1,646 whites and 9 negroes. The total number of votes cast in the county was 2,912. Thus, of the registered voters, 1,788—nearly all white people—did not exercise the right of suffrage on this occasion. Very many of the people were discouraged, and indisposed to wage what they felt was a useless contest with the Congress of the United States, supported by the military power of the government. So it was in the State generally. The vast majority of the white people who went to the polls voted against the convention, but very many did not vote at all, while the negroes generally attended and voting for the convention, the majority in favor of it was 45,455.

At November court a public meeting was held in the courthouse to appoint delegates to a State Conservative Convention. This body convened in Richmond on the 11th of December, and was presided over by Mr. Stuart, of Augusta. Among its members were many of the ablest and best known citizens of the State, all or nearly all of whom, however, were disfranchised by act of Congress. Its proceedings, though important, constitute no part of the Annals of Augusta County.

The Constitutional Convention, in session at the same time,

was in striking contrast to the body just mentioned. It met on Tuesday, December 3, 1867, in the Hall of the House of Delegates, at Richmond. The ruling spirit of the body was John C. Underwood, the President of the Convention, and also Judge of the United States District Court. It is therefore known in history as the "Underwood Convention." From a Richmond letter, dated January 16, 1868, published in the *Staunton Spectator*, we take the following account of the convention :

Of the members in attendance (104), twenty-five are colored men, varying in complexion from the bright mulatto to the blackest African. Among those classed as colored men, is one who is said to be an Indian of almost pure blood. This is "Mr. Morgan," of Petersburg, whose person is quite imposing, and whose deportment so far has been eminently respectable. Indeed, I must, in justice, say that most of this class conduct themselves in a manner which shows they were well brought up—that is, they are polite and unobtrusive. Of course they are uneducated and ignorant, and the idea of their undertaking to frame a State Constitution would be too ridiculous to be credited, if the spectacle were not presented to us daily in the capitol of Virginia. But some five or six of the negroes aspire to statesmanship and oratory, and discuss the most difficult questions with all the self-complacency that Daniel Webster could exhibit. White men unaccustomed to speak in public usually betray some embarrassment in addressing an audience—not so these negroes. The most practiced speakers are not more composed and self-satisfied than they. The official reporter is giving an utterly false version of the debates, as far, at least, as the negro orators are concerned. A speech delivered by one of them several weeks ago was entirely without meaning, a mere string of words having no connection or sense, but the stenographer has put forth in its place quite an elegant effusion.

The white Radicals are a motley crew. Some of them have apparently little more intelligence than the negroes, and have doubtless come from the lowest ranks of the people. The leaders, with three or four exceptions, are Northern men who came to this State with the Federal army in the capacity of petty officers, chaplains, commissaries, clerks, sutlers, &c. Others were probably employees of the Freedmen's Bureau, and when that institution dispensed with their services were left here stranded like frogs in a dried-up mill-pond. Having no other resource they plunged into politics. They are now jubilant in the receipt of eight dollars a day from the treasury of the State, and happy in anticipation of the fat offices they are to get by means of the same voters who sent them to the Convention. In regard to the latter particular, however, they may be disappointed. The negroes have their eyes on the same places for themselves, and will probably claim them. "Dr.

Bayne" would not hesitate to take a seat on the bench of the Court of Appeals.

The Conservative members of the Convention number about thirty-four. They are generally men of intelligence, but only a few of them have any experience or skill in legislative business. The opinion is often expressed here that there is too much speaking on their side of the house. The impulsiveness and imprudence of some of these gentlemen, it is thought, injure the cause they seek to maintain.

The president of the Convention is, apparently, a gentleman of great amiability. When I observed the other day the suavity of his deportment in the chair, and thought of the shocking harangues he was lately wont to deliver to his grand juries, I was reminded of Byron's description of one of his heroes—"as mild-mannered man as ever scuttled ship," &c.

A Conservative looker-on is filled with indignation, disgust, and amusement all at one moment. I have seen several gentlemen from the North who have visited the Convention, and they seemed aghast at the spectacle.

The Radical members of the Convention were of course elected by the votes of negroes, the whites yielding to apathy in many counties where it might have been otherwise. Some of the Northern leaders were men of good talent, but all were, more or less, possessed by a spirit of vindictive hostility to everything distinctively Virginian, and sought to frame all the institutions of the State according to the New England pattern.

A pen-and-ink sketch of the Convention on the 29th of January, drawn from life on the spot, by the writer of the letter just quoted, may be tolerated here.

Since the date of my last letter, the farce of "High Life Below Stairs" has been performed daily in the capitol before an admiring crowd of idle blacks who fill the galleries of the hall. At twelve o'clock precisely, the president, having already since sunrise undergone the labors of Hercules in his court-room, takes the chair, and in the blandest tones calls the Convention to order. The burly and apparently good-natured secretary is safely ensconced behind his desk. The chaplain, who is exceedingly meek and sleek in appearance, goes through his part of the performance, occasionally remembering in his petitions the "ex-Confederates." The assistant secretary next proceeds to read the journal of the previous day, getting over printed matter quite readily, but stumbling sadly over manuscript. All this being done, a hundred resolutions, more or less, are forthwith precipitated upon the chair. A score of members, white and black, shout "Mr. President!" all at once, and at the top of their voices. A dozen more, led on by the white mem-

ber from Norfolk, "rise to *pints* of order." The sergeant-at-arms raps vigorously with his mallet, and calls, "Order, gentlemen!" "order, gentlemen!!" looking very fierce, and making more disorder than everybody else. By this time the president is grievously perplexed. He tries to decide the various points of order. Sometimes "the chair is in doubt," and asks to be advised. At another time he announces his decision, or at least "the chair is inclined to think so." Forthwith one dozen copies of Jefferson's Manual are drawn upon him. The chair begins to hesitate—he "believes the gentleman is right," takes back his decision, retracts incontinently—and looks as humble as Uriah Heep. Thus the business begins, and proceeds day after day.

At this moment the subject of taxation is under consideration, and gives rise to much debate. This subject, as you are aware, has occupied the attention of the ablest political economists and statesmen for many centuries, and I congratulate the world that its true principles are about to be settled at last by a competent tribunal. Dr. Bayne (whether M. D., D. D., or LL.D., this deponent sayeth not,) has recently enlightened us on the subject. The question presented no difficulties to his clear and vigorous intellect. He spoke for a good hour, shedding a flood of light upon a great variety of subjects. He told us about the "bears and panthers" in the Dismal Swamp near Norfolk, where the Doctor lives, and declared his determination to have free schools established there.

Another topic upon which the Doctor enlightened us during his speech on taxation, was the mode of constructing pig-pens and chicken-coops in Massachusetts. He had rusticated for a time in the Bay State. Taking up a printed document which was lying before him, he bent it into the shape of a model, the original of which was no doubt brought over by the Pilgrim Fathers in the May Flower, along with all other useful institutions. I am satisfied that our new Constitution should provide for the introduction of the Massachusetts pig-pen and chicken-coop into this State without delay. Dr. Bayne informed us that in the Bay State one little boy fed all the pigs, while here it took four men and five women, and "old master" to boot.

And now Mr. Frank Moss, of Buckingham county, gets the floor on the same subject. *White Radical*: "Will the gentleman allow me a minute?" *Mr. Moss*: "No; I aint gwine to low you nary minit." The very black gentleman proceeds to say that he "has sot here and hern em talk about taxation," &c. He goes for laying the burden on land. So do all the colored members, and some of the whites, avowedly expecting by this means to force the owners to sell or give away a part of their lands. If I understood Dr. Bayne, however, taxing the lands heavily will cause pigs to grow much faster and larger.

Another member—and a white man this time—advocates a capitation tax, but is entirely opposed to a poll-tax! A mischievous Conservative politely asks the speaker to explain the difference, and we are told that

"a capitation tax is on the head," and "a poll-tax is for roads—that's the way I understand it, sar!" These are our Constitution-makers!

I have a suspicion that some of the white Radicals are getting sick of their black allies. The white leaders expected the blacks to be a very tractable set of voters, so excessively in love with "the old flag," and so thoroughly "loyal," as to give all the good fat places to the pale faces. But genius will assert itself—the star of Africa is in the ascendant, and the light of its civilization is dawning upon us. The new era, beginning with "equality before the law," has now reached the stage of "manhood suffrage," and the consummation of no distinction *anywhere* "on account of race or color" is hastening on. No, not exactly that—there is to be distinction, for the blacks seem to claim the honors and emoluments without bearing the burdens of government. The black speakers scold and hector their white associates, whom they suspect of an indisposition to toe the mark. Some of the latter cower and cajole, and do everything possible to conciliate. Others of the whites, however, are evidently restive. They have caught a Tartar.

Governor Pierpoint's term of office expired January 1, 1868, and no successor had been elected. In point of fact, a governor was entirely unnecessary, as all the functions of the office were exercised by the Federal military commander. General Schofield, to keep up appearances, however, issued an order, April 4th, appointing Henry H. Wells governor of the State, and requiring that he be "obeyed and respected accordingly." Wells was a Northern man, who settled in Alexandria at the close of the war.

The Underwood Convention adjourned April 15, having completed its work. It must be admitted that the Constitution proposed was, in some respects, better than could have been anticipated. But it prohibited from voting all persons who, having held any civil or military office, afterwards participated in "rebellion," and imposed the "iron clad oath" upon all persons appointed or elected to public office, thereby disfranchising nearly all the white people in the State.

The Convention designated June 2 as election day for ratification or rejection of the Constitution. General Schofield, however, issued an order, April 24, postponing the election indefinitely, alleging want of funds to meet the expenses.

The possibility of having such a Constitution, with all its restrictive clauses, imposed upon the State, aroused the white people from their lethargy. The general feeling was expressed

by the *Charlottesville Advocate* in a few words. Speaking of the Constitution it said: "The thing is coal-black. It is an ebony Constitution, with an iron-clad oath. It is not Jamaica, but Hayti, and Hayti with the felon's ethics as the fundamental law." The *Petersburg Index* said: "We do not intend to mollify Radical wrath, or propitiate Republican patronage by a base surrender or compromise of the cause of Virginia. We will cling to her in her fallen fortunes with the love of love. We will turn upon her enemies with the hate of hate. We are not careful in this matter. There are crises in human affairs when who-soever would save his life shall lose it."

The policy of the Conservatives was to vote down the Constitution, if possible. But as a governor and other State officers were to be elected whenever the Constitution should be submitted to the vote of the people, and as the instrument might be foisted upon the State, it was important to have acceptable candidates in the field for the offices referred to. A State Conservative Convention was therefore called. It met in Richmond, May 7, and was largely composed of the best men in the Commonwealth. John B. Baldwin, of Augusta, presided, and would have been nominated for Governor if he had not positively refused the position. Under the terms of the new Constitution he was ineligible to any office. Robert E. Withers was nominated for Governor, James A. Walker (a native of Augusta, living in Pulaski county), for Lieutenant-Governor, and John L. Marye, for Attorney-General. Canvassers were appointed in the various counties, who were expected to arouse the people to defeat the adoption of the Constitution, but at the same time to vote for the candidates presented by the Conservative Convention.

In June, General Stoneman succeeded General Schofield as commander of "Military District No. 1," and was therefore practically governor of Virginia.

The question of a county subscription of \$300,000 to the stock of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad company was submitted to the voters of Augusta on the 27th of August. Not more than half the registered voters went to the polls. It required a majority of three-fifths of the votes cast to carry the proposition, and it was defeated—yeas, 1,205; nays, 1,077.

The first Augusta County Fair was opened on Tuesday, October 27, and continued on Wednesday and Thursday. The

dedication address was delivered by Mr. Stuart. In the midst of the general depression, on account of our political affairs and prospects, the Fair was enjoyed as an agreeable and seasonable pastime and relief. The Fair ground was then along Lewis's creek, a mile east of Staunton.

On the 3d of November, the presidential election took place in the Northern States. The people of Virginia were not permitted to vote.

In December, 1868, what was afterwards designated as "The New Movement" was started by Mr. Alexander H. H. Stuart, with other citizens of Staunton co-operating. Mr. Stuart and his associates wrote to many prominent men in various parts of the State, inviting a conference in Richmond, on Thursday, December 31, in regard to the state of public affairs. About forty gentlemen met at the time and place appointed. At that time it was understood that Congress, in order to compel the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment and the Underwood Constitution, would soon pass an act vacating every office in the State, leaving them to be filled by the classes known as "carpet baggers" and "scalawags." The former were people of Northern birth, who had recently come into the State to obtain what spoils they could, bringing all their worldly estate in hand-satchels. The latter were native white people who claimed to have always been Union men, but were believed by others to have prostituted themselves for the sake of office.

The conference in Richmond, without presuming to represent the people of Virginia or the Conservative party, proposed to consent to universal suffrage as the means of getting rid of the disfranchisement clauses of the Constitution. They regarded negro suffrage as inevitable. A committee was appointed to go to Washington and negotiate with Congress a compromise on the basis of "universal suffrage and universal amnesty." The committee consisted of Messrs. Stuart and Baldwin, of Augusta; John L. Marye, Wyndham Robertson, William T. Sutherland, William L. Owen, James F. Johnson, James Neeson, and J. F. Slaughter, and soon became famous as the "Committee of Nine."

The press of the State, with few exceptions, opposed the movement, and the members of the committee were for a time covered with opprobrium, as surrendering the whole field. They

repaired to Washington early in January, 1869, and their movements, conferences with leading politicians, &c., were eagerly and widely reported by the newspaper press. On the 18th they submitted to the Judiciary Committee of the Senate, a letter stating the modifications of the Constitution proposed by them—to strike out certain clauses and modify others. Congress was, therefore, expected virtually to frame a Constitution for the State, which to some extent it undertook to do. The “Committee of Nine” merely dealt with circumstances as they existed.

Joint resolutions were passed by Congress, January 23, declaring that all persons holding civil offices under the “Provisional Governments” of Virginia and Texas, who could not take the oath prescribed by act of July 22, 1866, should be removed, and their places filled by District Commanders by the appointment of persons who could take the oath. Hardly any other qualification for office was required except that the appointee was willing to swear he had not engaged in rebellion against the United States.

During the month of February, the “New Movement” was the absorbing topic throughout the State. The Committee of Nine were assailed by argument and ridicule, but they persevered in their course, and public opinion began to change in regard to the propriety of their movement. It was a common remark at the time, uttered or written somewhat ironically, “The Committee of Nine has done a great deal of good.” President Johnson, whose term expired March 4, was at open war with the majority in Congress, and it was well understood that they would favor whatever he opposed. It was therefore suggested that the committee induce him to promise in advance to veto a bill embracing their scheme, as a means of securing its passage. Senator Boutwell was represented as enquiring, whether, if all disabilities were removed, the people of Virginia would sustain or oppose the Republican party; and the Committee was represented as replying, they “could do a great deal of good.”

The justices of the peace elected by the people of Augusta, were removed from office, in February, and others appointed by General Stoneman. At February court a new sheriff, also appointed by Stoneman, qualified and assumed the duties of the office.

A State Convention of the Radical party was held in Peters-

burg, March 10, which nominated Henry H. Wells for Governor, J. D. Harris (a negro) for Lieutenant-Governor, and Thomas R. Bowden for Attorney-General. A portion of the members seceded, headed by Franklin Stearns, desiring, as they said, to "rescue the Republican party of Virginia from the management and control of designing and selfish politicians." They organized and nominated a State ticket—Gilbert C. Walker for Governor, John F. Lewis for Lieutenant-Governor, and James C. Taylor for Attorney-General. This was popularly designated "the Newest Movement." This party called themselves "Liberal Republicans."

In March, the judge of the Circuit Court of Augusta, and the clerks of all the courts sitting in Staunton, were removed, and the offices filled by military appointments. David Fultz was appointed judge in place of Hugh W. Sheffey. Mr. Fultz was one of the few citizens of the county who never gave in their adhesion to the Confederate government, and who, therefore, could take the prescribed oaths without forfeiting entirely the respect of the people. Samuel A. East was appointed clerk of the County Court in place of William A. Burnett, but declined to qualify, and the office was conferred upon Samuel Cline, a worthy member of the Dunkard church, who could take the oath honestly if any resident here during the war could. Robert D. Sears was appointed clerk of the Circuit Court in place of Joseph N. Ryan, and the Rev. Samuel J. Baird, clerk of the Hustings Court of Staunton, in place of James F. Patterson. Messrs. Baird and Sears resided at the North during the war, and were therefore out of the way of giving aid and comfort to the "rebellion." These appointments of clerks were merely nominal, however, the former incumbents, under the name of deputies, continuing to discharge the duties and receive the profits of the offices. John R. Popham, a resident of Bath county, was appointed commonwealth's attorney for Augusta, there being no resident lawyer *qualified* according to the existing requirement. All the commissioners in chancery were removed, a military appointee undertaking to perform their various functions. Thus all the old officers were deposed, and new men, many of them strangers, installed in their places.

The farce of having a governor, "so-called," played out on the 27th of March, when a military order was issued, announcing

that Henry H. Wells, "Provisional Governor," was removed, and that all the powers of the chief executive were assumed by General Stoneman.

General Grant was inaugurated president of the United States March 4, 1869. Before, and after his inauguration, he gave his countenance to the "Committee of Nine" and the "New Movement." On the 9th of April, Congress passed an act authorizing the president to submit the "Underwood Constitution" to the qualified voters of the State, and to submit to a separate vote such clauses thereof as he might deem proper. The president was authorized to fix the day of election, at which time also State officers and members of Congress and the Legislature should be elected. The "Committee of Nine," therefore, finally obtained all, or nearly all, they sought.

The State Executive Committee and County Superintendents of the Conservative party met in Richmond, April 28, and withdrew Messrs. Withers, Walker and Marye from the field, with their consent. They nominated no other candidates, and it was understood that the Walker ticket would be supported by the party.

President Grant, on May 18, issued a proclamation appointing July 6 as election day in Virginia, and requiring a separate vote to be taken on several clauses of the Constitution.

During the month of May, General Canby became military governor in place of General Stoneman.

Before the election a new registration of voters was made. The number registered in Augusta county was 5,788—4,426 white, and 1,362 colored.

At the election, on the 6th of July, the new Constitution was ratified by the vote of the people, the clauses specially submitted being, however, stricken out. Gilbert C. Walker was elected Governor, and the Conservatives and Liberals secured a large majority in both branches of the Legislature. Joseph A. Waddell was elected to represent the district of Augusta and Highland counties in the Senate, and the delegates elected in Augusta were Henderson M. Bell, Marshall Hanger,⁵⁸ and Alexander B.

⁵⁸Augusta has furnished more speakers of the House of Delegates than probably any other county. Hugh W. Sheffey served in that capacity during the war. John B. Baldwin in 1865, to 1867, and Marshall Hanger from 1871 to 1877.

Cochran. William Milnes, of Page county, was elected to represent the district of Augusta, Page, &c., in the lower house of Congress.

In pursuance of a proclamation issued by General Canby, the Legislature met on the 5th of October. Both Houses were speedily organized, and the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States were formally ratified. After the election of United States Senators, the Legislature adjourned to await the further pleasure of Congress.

The stockholders of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad Company met in Richmond in November, 1869, and ratified a contract previously entered into by the directors with Huntington and others, by which the completion of the road to the Ohio river was secured.

The proceedings of the Legislature being so far satisfactory, a bill to admit Virginia into the Union was passed by Congress January 24, 1870. The theory of "Union men" had been previously that the act of secession had not taken the State out of the Union. This theory could not be ignored consistently, and therefore the bill referred to was styled "An act to admit the State of Virginia to representation in the Congress of the United States." The people, however, did not care to criticise phraseology. They congratulated themselves upon the prospect of peace and quietness at last, although they felt irritated at the ungracious conduct towards them of the party in power. The course of this party was entirely illogical, to say the least of it. If the State was out of the Union in October, 1869, how could its Legislature ratify the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments? If it was in the Union, what right had Congress to meddle with her affairs?

The Legislature met again on the 8th of February, and proceeded to organize the State government under the new Constitution. Joseph A. Waddell was elected president *pro tem.* of the Senate. Judges and other public officers were elected as speedily as possible. William McLaughlin was elected judge of the Circuit Court of Rockbridge, Augusta, &c.; John N. Hendren judge of the County Court of Augusta, and Alexander B. Cochran judge of the Hustings Court of Staunton. The last named declining the office mentioned, J. W. Green Smith was finally elected in his place. In accordance with the provisions of the

Constitution and an act of the Legislature, the town of Staunton was erected into a city.

The Shenandoah Valley Railroad Company was organized in March, 1870.⁵⁹

The last County Court of Augusta county, held by justices of the peace, sat April 1, 1870, and the last orders of the court were attested by William J. Nelson, president *pro tem*. At the next term the bench was occupied by Judge John N. Hendren.

On the 27th of April, the great disaster at the capitol in Richmond occurred, by which sixty-two persons were killed and many others wounded. Among the wounded was Henderson M. Bell, one of the delegates from Augusta.

The first election in Virginia of supervisors took place on the fourth Thursday in May, and in Augusta the following persons were elected: John Paris, Joseph D. Craig, John G. Fulton, Thomas W. Shelton, William T. Rush and Henry B. Sieg.

The people of the county voted, August 6th, upon a proposition to subscribe \$300,000 to the stock of the Valley Railroad Company, and it was defeated by a decisive majority. During the following year the vote was taken upon a proposed county subscription of \$200,000 to the Valley Railroad and \$100,000 to the Shenandoah Valley Railroad, and it also was defeated.

On the last three days of September heavy rains fell in a large portion of the State. The water courses were swollen beyond anything ever known before, and in the valleys of the James and Shenandoah the destruction of property was unprecedented. Many lives also were lost.

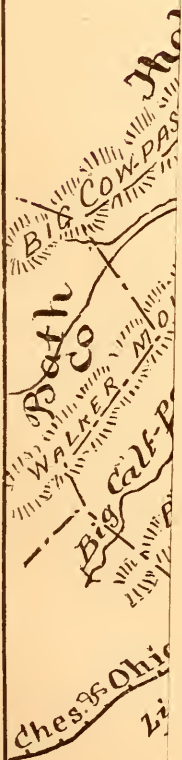
County officers under the Constitution were elected in Augusta November 8th, viz: James Bumgardner, commonwealth's attorney; William L. Mowry, sheriff; Samuel Paul, county treasurer; Joseph N. Ryan, clerk of the Circuit Court; William A. Burnett, clerk of the County Court; and John D. Lilly, county surveyor. At the same time, John T. Harris, of Rockingham, was elected to Congress.

And here, at the close of 1870, we close our Annals.

⁵⁹ The road was completed to Waynesborough in April, 1881, and the first train went through to Roanoke City in June, 1882.

JOHN BROWN BALDWIN was the oldest son of Judge Briscoe G. Baldwin, and was born near Staunton, January 11, 1820. His mother was a daughter of Chancellor John Brown. He was educated at the Staunton Academy and the University of Virginia. In 1841 he was admitted to the bar, and the following year married the oldest daughter of John H. Peyton, Esq. As soon as he attained the prescribed age, he was elected by the people of Augusta a member of the House of Delegates, and served one term in that body with Nathaniel Massie, Esq., as his colleague. Having a fondness for military affairs, he became captain of the Staunton Light Infantry, and, finally, colonel of the One-hundred-and-sixtieth regiment of militia. At an early age he acquired distinction as a lawyer and as a political speaker. In 1859 his friends brought him forward as a candidate for judge of the Court of Appeals, the judges being elected by districts, but his competitor, Judge William J. Robertson, obtained a majority of the votes cast. The steps in his subsequent career have been noted in the course of our narrative. Being thoroughly identified with the people of Augusta and highly appreciated by them, his death, which occurred September 30, 1873, caused universal lamentation in the county.

STAUNTON BANKS. The first banking institution in Staunton after the war, was opened by Hugh W. Sheffey and William Allan, known as Allan & Co., brokers and bankers. The firm began business in July, 1865, and continued till the First National Bank was started in November of the same year. Hugh W. Sheffey was the first president of the latter, and William Allan, cashier. The capital was \$100,000. The National Valley Bank of Staunton was chartered in November, 1865, but did not engage in business till January following. Of this bank, John Echols was president, and Edwin M. Taylor, cashier. Capital, \$100,000. Alexander H. H. Stuart became president of the First National Bank, and in July, 1866, M. Harvey Effinger was made cashier in place of William Allan, resigned. Edwin M. Taylor resigning as cashier of the Valley Bank, in February, 1868, was succeeded by William C. Eskridge. In 1875 the two banks were consolidated under the name of the National Valley Bank of Staunton—John Echols, president, and M. Harvey Effinger, cashier, succeeded by Thomas A. Bledsoe. Capital, \$200,000. The Augusta National Bank, of Staunton, was organized in 1875—Hugh W. Sheffey, president, and N. P. Catlett, cashier. Capital at first, \$50,000, but soon increased to \$100,000.



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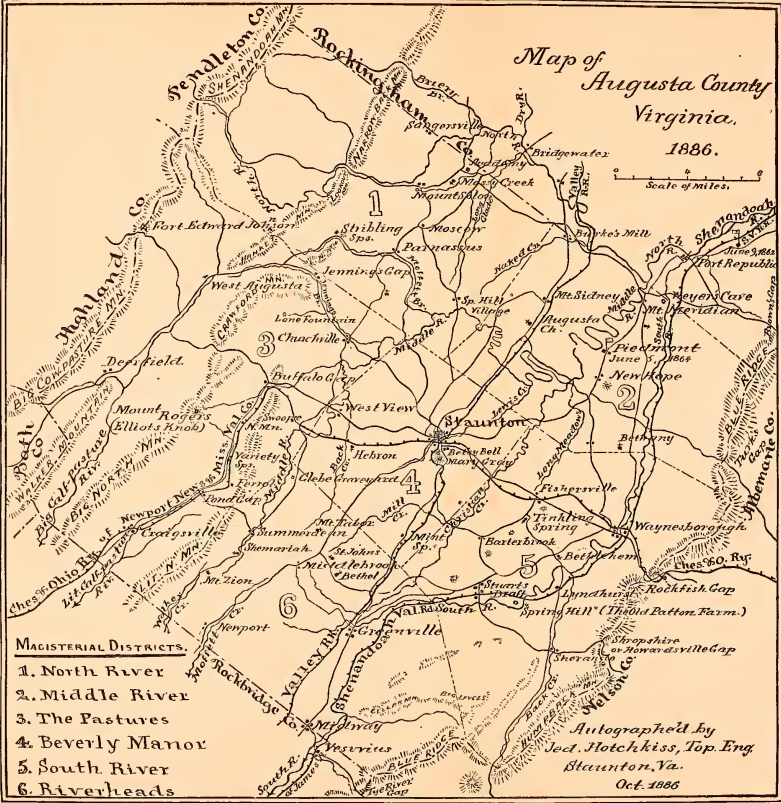
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Map of Augusta County Virginia.

1886.

Scale of miles.



MAGISTERIAL DISTRICTS.

1. North River
2. Middle River
3. The Pastures
4. Beverly Manor
5. South River
6. Riverheads

Autographed By
Jed. Hotchkiss, Top. Eng.
Staunton, Va.

Oct. 1886



APPENDIX.

BESSY BELL AND MARY GRAY.

During the time over which we have passed in the course of our Annals, one generation of men after another has flitted by "like shadows o'er the plain." "The fathers, where are they?" Old houses, too, and nearly all the ancient works of man, have been rapidly disappearing. It is only here and there that a structure associated with the early times of the county remains.

But some objects in and around Staunton have remained the same year after year, substantially unchanged and unchangeable. These old hills, who does not love them? The pioneer settlers in Beverley's Manor saw them as we see them now, and no "native to the manor born" can ever behold or think of them without feelings of almost filial affection. The dwellers in level countries cannot appreciate many parts of the book of Psalms. When they read of "the mountains round about Jerusalem," no chord in their heart vibrates; and those other words, "I will lift up my eyes unto the hills from whence cometh my help," so pleasant to us, excite no emotion in them.

Pre-eminent among our Staunton hills stand Bessy Bell and Mary Gray. We prefer the original Scotch spelling and pronunciation of the former name. "Betsy," as people call it now, is harsh and crabbed, but "Bessy" "is soft as is Apollo's lute."

As far as we know there is nothing remarkable in the structure or products of the two hills. We presume the soil continues to produce annual crops of huckleberries and chincapins, as it did in days of yore. One of the former productions of that region, however, has long since disappeared. Seventy or eighty years ago the boys and girls who went there for berries and nuts re-

turned with an ample supply of ticks, the little insects now quite unknown in this part of the country.

It must be confessed that Bessy Bell and Mary Gray cannot boast of the cedars of Lebanon, the dew of Hermon, or "the excellency of Carmel." Even the prospect from the higher peak does not fully compensate for the toil of climbing the rugged ascent. Bessy Bell is no Pisgah; but of her it may be said emphatically,

'Tis distance lends enchantment to the view,
And robes the mountain in its azure hue.

People living in Staunton, northwest of Bessy Bell, never see how beautiful she appears at sunrise; but all of them who love the picturesque must have observed and feasted upon the entrancing beauty sometimes presented after a shower of rain, by the rays of the setting sun lingering of a summer's evening upon her leafy summit. And then, when the clouds gather around her head, and "Bessy Bell puts her nightcap on," we see her in another phase scarcely less attractive. Ben Nevis and Snowden are doubtless goodly mountains, but what are they to Bessy Bell and Mary Gray! Surely no Staunton boy, coming home from his wanderings, ever fails to look out for the old familiar hills, and to hail them at first sight with feelings akin to rapture.

It was once currently reported that Bessy Bell and Mary Gray were young girls murdered near Staunton by the Indians; but there is no foundation for the story. The names are of Scottish origin. According to the tradition, Mary Gray's father was laird of Lednoch, and Bessy Bell's of Kinvaid. An intimate friendship existed between the girls, and while Bessy was on a visit to Mary Gray, in 1645, the plague broke out in the neighborhood. To escape the pestilence, they built a bower near Lednoch House, and lived there for some time. But the plague raging with great fury, they caught it from a young man who was in love with both of them, and who had brought them their food. They died in their bower, and were buried near the river Almond, half a mile from the house of Lednoch, which is seven miles northwest from Perth. Their sad fate became the subject of a ballad, which commenced thus:

O Bessy Bell an' Mary Gray!
They were twa bonnie lasses—

They biggit a bower on yon burn-brae,
 An' theekit it ower wi' rashes.
 They theekit it ower wi' rashes green,
 They happit it round wi' heather:
 But the pest cam' frae the burrows-toun,
 An' slew them baith thegither.

The remainder has been lost, except the concluding stanza :

They thought to lie in Methven Kirk,
 Beside their gentle kin;
 But they maun lie in Dronach haugh,
 And beak fornent the sin.
 O Bessy Bell and Mary Gray!
 They were twa bonnie lasses—
 They biggit a bower on yon burn-brae,
 An' theekit it ower wi' rashes.

Allan Ramsey's ballad on the same subject is a modern production. He adopted only the first four lines of the old ballad, and appended to them a new song of his own, which, instead of lamenting the fate of the "bonnie lasses," celebrated the witcheries of their charms. Thus :

O Bessy Bell and Mary Gray,
 They are twa bonny lasses,
 They bigg'd a bower on yon burn-brae,
 And theek'd it o'er wi' rashes.
 Fair Bessy Bell I loo'd yestreen,
 And thought I ne'er could alter;
 But Mary Gray's twa pawky e'en,
 They gar my fancy falter.

Now Bessy's hair's like a lint-tap;
 She smiles like a May morning,
 When Phœbus starts frae Thetis' lap,
 The hills with rays adorning:
 White is her neck, saft is her hand,
 Her waist and feet's fu' genty,
 With ilka grace she can command,
 Her lips, O wow! they 're dainty.

And Mary's locks are like a craw,
 Her eyes like diamonds glances;
 She's ay sae clean, red up and braw,
 She kills whene'er she dances;
 Blyth as a kid, with wit at will,
 She blooming, tight, and tall is;

And guides her airs sae gracefu' still,
O Jove! she's like thy Pallas.

Dear Bessy Bell and Mary Gray,
Ye unco sair oppress us;
Our fancies jee between you twae,
Ye are sic bonny lasses:
Wae's me! for baith I canna get,
To ane by law we're stinted;
Then I'll draw cuts, and take my fate,
And be with ane contented.

When a new proprietor took possession of Lednoch, about the year 1781, a heap of stones, almost covered with thorns and briars, was shown to him as the burial place of Bessy Bell and Mary Gray. He removed all the rubbish, made up the grave double, planted flowering shrubs around it, and enclosed the spot with a wall, in which he fixed a stone, bearing in engraved letters the names of Bessy Bell and Mary Gray.

These names were carried from Scotland to Ireland, and applied to two mountains in County Tyrone, near the town of Omagh; and by our Scotch-Irish ancestors they were brought to the Valley of Virginia.⁶⁰

As introductory to the following lines, written in his youth by the Rev. James A. Waddell, D. D., we state for the information of readers not acquainted with the locality, that the Western Lunatic Asylum is at the western base of Bessy Bell, and the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb and the Blind is on a neighboring knoll, in full view:

TO BESSY BELL.

Now Bessy Bell, why should you swell,
With such a *towering* air?
Why thus look down on all the town,
And frown upon the fair?

'Tis true, you're tall, but that's not all—
You're ugly, big, and bold;

⁶⁰Other early settlers in this region called another hill Betsy Bell, showing how they cherished the associations of their former life in the old country. This hill is in Bath county, on the Cowpasture river, about a mile below Windy Cove church. It is said that the Indian name for the beautiful Cowpasture was Wallawhatoola.

You're bald and bare, and some e'en dare
To whisper you are *old*.

Grizzly old maid, you're much decayed
(My pencil shall not flatter),
And one may guess, your style of dress
Can never mend the matter.

Your taste prefers a *cap* and *spurs*
To all the forms of fashion,
And you must own a heart of *stone*,
Insensible of passion.

But, dear Miss Bell, the Muse must tell
Your virgin boast and pride—
How minds that roam find health and home,
And welcome by your side.

Reason beguiled, like a lost child,
By Fancy's false pretences,
Upon your lap just takes a nap,
And wakes up in her senses.

The *Deaf* and *Blind* have found you kind,
The *Dumb*, too, speak your praises ;
The *weather-wise* neglect the skies
To watch your varying phases.

All, all, speak well of you, Miss Bell ;
Nature her favor shows,
Washing your face with earliest grace
And spanning thee with *bows*.

Now, Bessy, sure, you'll frown no more,
Since lovers are not few ;
At least you'll smile at morn a while,
When *Sol* begins to woo.

And Day grown old, with tints of gold,
Perhaps may light thy face ;
And silvery Night may crown thy height
With ornaments of grace.



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