HISTORY OF HARDY COUNTY of the Borderland

By

COMMANDER ALVIN EDWARD MOORE

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This book is dedicated to the future youngsters, free-born, of the hardy counties of rural America.

Commander Alvin Edward Moore
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CHAPTER I

The writer has been asked: “Why write a history of a thinly populated mountain county and town?”

If an atomic war or other catastrophe should destroy large-city civilization, such towns as Moorefield, which since 1777 has clung to the eastern slope of the West Virginia mountains and given impetus to the movement of westing man, probably would be seed for a new beginning.

Such an experience would not be entirely new to Moorefield. In the late 18th and early 19th Centuries, when it was part of Old Virginia and on the western frontier of white civilization, westing man paused here, and adjusted himself to a new set of frontier conditions:—high mountains; cold; small, individually owned and worked farms, spaced apart by hills and mountains; competition among races, religion, race social groups, and geographic areas.

In 1898 Frederic Jackson Turner, American historian, first enunciated what is now commonly called the frontier theory of history — that the receding frontier, with its continual rebirth of human institutions, had been the major cause of the development of American democracy. But long before this, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento of Argentina presented an almost exactly opposite frontier theory of history. He said that in South America the frontier had been the place of origin of the hard-riding, hard-swearing, hard-drinking gaucho caudillos, who so often had set themselves up as dictators and hampered the development of South American freedom; and to counteract their influence he advocated much immigration from Europe.

There are several types of borders. One is the frontier, expanding type, generally referred to by Sarmiento and Turner; these two historians seem to be correct in one argument they have in common: this
frontier type of border—between civilization and the wilderness—is of great importance in history. Another type is the peacemaking borderland between two strong, conflicting forces of civilization.

It so happens that Hardy County comprises one of the few localities in the United States—or the world—that have been both of these types of border country. Hardy County changed from a frontier between the (somewhat) civilized white race and the primitive Indian people, to a border area between two struggling, nearly equal groups of the white race—the North and the South of middle North America. It was its fate to be at the line of struggle between the Whites and the Indians, on the line of fission between West Virginia and Virginia, and on the Civil War battle line between the North and the South.

Was there a change in the people of the County as it moved from one type of border to another? The answer to this question may be significant.

Present-day Hardy County is made up of a number of parallel mountain ridges, less than 3,000 feet high, with rivers between the ridges which flow generally northeastward to the Potomac. Immediately to the west of the county lies Grant County, which was divided from Hardy in 1866; the high Allegheny Mountains are there, and, in the southwestern corner of Grant County, part of the great eastern American divide, with waters on the west flowing toward the Ohio and the Gulf of Mexico, and on the east toward the Potomac and the Atlantic. In other words, old Hardy County, which for generations included the Grant County area, was part of a natural, physical dividing place—both for waters and for man. It was a natural borderland; with Rich mountain, where an important civil war battle occurred, only a few miles distant. Here in this border zone at the “Allegheny Front”, the wave of Old South

1 West Virginia Encyclopedia, 1929.
the fartherest north of the neo-classical houses that were created by the man-on-horseback and the slave-with-the-hoe still exist. And here those antebellum mansions were met by the family-farm cottages of the North.

In present-day Hardy County two principal rivers flow toward the Potomac—Lost River, which rises in the southern part of the county, flows north to a place near the town of Wardensville, and then goes underground at the base of a mountain, to emerge two and a half miles farther as the Cacapon River; and the South Branch of the Potomac River, which for two centuries frequently has been called the South Branch River. In the western third of Hardy County a small river, known as the Moorefield River, joins the South Branch River. On the flood plain of this river junction, 820 feet above sea level, lies the town of Moorefield.

The country of these rivers was part of a great seventeenth-century British territory. In 1609 King James I of England granted to the Virginia Company a tremendous area in the New World, extending on the Atlantic Coast from a point 200 miles south of Old Point Comfort to a point 200 miles north of it and "west and northwest" to the Pacific Ocean, including not only present-day Virginia, West Virginia and part of North Carolina, but most of the Great Lakes, Northwestern United States and the Canadian Northwest.

Forty years later, in 1649, after the execution of Charles I by the Cromwellian revolutionists, Charles II granted more than 5,000,000 acres of this vast domain of "Virginia" to Lord Thomas Culpepper and some of his associates. Thus by a stroke of the pen a king of the white race, not generally accepted by his people and country, several thousand miles distant from America, granted Northern Virginia and the Eastern Panhandle of West Virginia, populated by tribal savages, to a few Cavalier followers, as a place of retreat from a revolutionary storm.
architecture, advancing up the Potomac River, spent itself against the mountain. In this county some of

In 1691 these five million acres were granted in their entirety to Thomas Culpepper’s son; and this son’s daughter, Catherine, brought the claim, by dower, to the fifth Baron Fairfax. At this time not a white man lived in the present-day Eastern Panhandle of West Virginia. The country was occupied and fought over by Indians with neolithic weapons and tools. Lord Fairfax had a theoretical claim to the Eastern Panhandle, but Indians had it by right of immemorial possession. How could Fairfax take it from the Indians? How did the white race take it from them?

In the Eastern United States area there were three main groups of Indians. The most numerous group was the Algonquins, who occupied the Atlantic coastal region north of James River, Virginia, and as far west as the Rocky Mountains, and included the Delawares, of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and the Shawnees, south of the Ohio Valley and east of the Alleghenies in the present-day eastern panhandle of West Virginia. Another principal group was the Iroquois, consisting of five tribes (including the Senecas) of the Mohawk River Valley and the region between the Hudson River and Lake Erie and the considerably separated sixth tribe, the Tuscaroras in North Carolina. The third main group was the relatively advanced Muskogean of the South, including the Gulf Coast Indians, the relatively intelligent and energetic Cherokees who owned both sides of the southern Appalachian Mountains, and the Catawba tribe of North and South Carolina. In 1715 the Tuscaroras were driven out of North Carolina to the area of present-day Berkeley County, West Virginia; they then united with the “Five Nations” of the Iroquois; and thereafter the Iroquois group was known as the “Six Nations”.

1 Kercheval, S; A History of the Valley of Virginia; 1833-1902; p. 40.
The South Branch Valley of that time was part of a frontier battle ground, fought over by the Algonquin Shawnees (who, after being driven westward by the Iroquois to the Ohio Valley from New York and Pennsylvania, apparently had turned back eastward and crossed the Alleghenies), the Catawbas, and possibly the Cherokees of the Muskhoheans and the Tuscaroras and Senecas of the Six Nations.

The Catawba tribe had a trail or warpath from New York to the Carolinas, which crossed the Cheat River near the line between Preston and Monongalia Counties, West Virginia, and went up the Tygart River Valley. From this path the intersecting Warrior Trail went to South Ohio and Kentucky. The Eastern Trail ("Great War Path") extended from South Branch of the Potomac westward to Preston and Monongalia counties and to Ohio.

The site of the present town of Moorefield was at an intersection of two of these old Indian trails. One, the Shawnee (or Seneca) Trail went up the South Branch Valley and the North Fork of the South Branch (which joins the South Branch proper southwest of Moorefield), up Seneca Creek, across the Allegheny divide, and to an end near Huttonsville, Randolph County. The other of the Moorefield trails, which later became known as the McCullough Traders' Trail, extended westward from Moorefield, up Patterson's Creek, over the Alleghenies at Greenland Gap, to the North Branch of the Potomac, to the Upper Youghiogheny River, and to the Cheat River and a point near Pennsylvania. (Another trail, which became the North Branch Trail [connected at Elkins, Randolph County, with the Shawnee Trail and via the latter with Moorefield] led from Elkins via Leading Creek, Horse Shoe Run, Lead Mine Run and Backbone Mountain to the headwaters of the North Branch, near the site of the Fairfax Stone).

In their 1897 book "History of Hampshire County," Hu Maxwell and H. L. Swisher wrote that such
Indian paths “nearly always followed the best grades to be found, and modern road makers have profited by the skill of savages in selecting the most practicable routes. These paths led long distances and in a general direction unvarying from beginning to end, showing that they were not made at haphazard, but with design. Thus, crossing West Virginia, the Catawba Warpath led from New York to Georgia.”

The Indians, who used such paths for war and rude commerce, were few in number. The population of the great “Six Nations” has been estimated never to have been more than 25,000 (never more than five times their present number), the population of the Catawbas as about 8,000 (of which 2,000 were warriors). James Mooney has estimated that at the time Columbus discovered America the total Indian population of what is now the United States was 846,000—comprising one Indian to about every $3\frac{1}{2}$ square miles. These figures may be contrasted to the present population of more than 45 persons per square mile in this region. If it is part of the vast scheme of things for mankind to expand and subdue the wild, and take out of existence some of the wild’s immemorial cruelty to the individual, of every species, the Indian’s way of life had to pass. Confronted by a civilization greatly superior, at least technically and probably in a number of other respects, the Indian obviously had to change himself very quickly or lose control of America.

Samuel Kercheval has pointed out that more Indian relics were found on the South Branch of the Potomac and the two main branches of the Shenandoah than anywhere else in that general region, and that on the South Branch, a few miles from Moorefield there was a relatively large Indian settlement. In this area there were natural openings, or prairies, in the forest, which are still called “Indian Old Fields”. The limestone soil, well suited, then as now, to the growing of grass, as good grazing ground for

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game, and as clearings for the cultivation of corn and tobacco and a few other Indian crops, probably was the reason for the Indians’ preference for this country. Many Indian graves, skeletons, arrow-heads and articles of pottery have been found in this region. Kercheval wrote also of the discovery in a bank of the South Branch River of a giant human jaw bone, with peculiar teeth, which might have been similar to the remains of the giant Heidelberg Man and of other large Early Men found in various places in the world. Many other signs of early human settlements were found up and down the South Branch Valley from Moorefield, including wood ashes and charcoal buried several feet deep in deposited earth.

Kercheval referred to numerous Indian battles in this general region. One took place at Hanging Rocks on the South Branch, in Hampshire County. A marauding band of Delawares, returning with Catawba prisoners from the Catawba country of the south, halted there to fish. Catawba warriors overtook them, surrounded them on all sides excepting that of the cliffs of the Hanging Rocks, and attacked. Apparently several hundred Delawares were killed, and only a few escaped to the northward. Kercheval referred to “signs of a bloody battle having been fought at the forks of the Wappatomaka” (of the South Branch near Moorefield), of the report of an aged Indian in the Shenandoah valley of the killing of his whole tribe except himself and one other boy by “the Southern Indians”, and of numerous accounts of battles between and raids on each other of the Delawares and Catawbas.

From these and other accounts of early record, one can imagine Moorefield and the South Branch, about 1720.

A Delaware warrior, rising and standing in the dull glow of the campfire, to the side of the warpath —listening; his life depending on how well he lis-
tended. Distant wolves howling in an eerie chorus. Not far away, on the banks of the Wappatomeke, a panther’s scream, as it sprang. Reassured, the Indian put some broken deadwood on the fire and lay back down in the gathering dew... Lying down on a leathern rope, tied at its ends to adjacent trees. Near the end of the line that was opposite from the fire-mender there was another warrior, also lying on the rope; and between the two men, lying on her back, with the rope tightly fastened about her feet and hands, lay a recently captured Catawba maiden.¹

Human existence on the South Branch about 1720 was thus raw and frequently ruthless: the rule of tooth-and-claw, bow and arrow, spear, tomahawk, and war dance. A life that led to such Indian names as Ohio, meaning Bloody River; and Kentucky, meaning The Dark and Bloody Ground.

In 1725 a Delaware war party moved southward through Hardy County to invade the Catawbas. With them went a white man, one John Van Meter, a New York Indian trader of Dutch ancestry. In the Pendleton County area the Catawbas surprised the Delawares and Van Meter, and defeated them in a bloody battle. John Van Meter escaped; and after he returned to New York he advised his sons, if ever they moved to Virginia, to secure land in the South Branch Valley—and if possible land just to the south of “the Trough” — about where Moorefield now stands.

And so it happened that, about 1736 or 1737, one of his sons, Isaac Van Meter, made a “tomahawk improvement” of some of this land just south of the Trough. But he went back to New Jersey, and when he returned to the Moorefield area he found another man, Coburn, living on the land that he had selected.

Coburn belonged to the group of four families that, in 1735, first settled the Hampshire and Hardy County area—nearly the present town of Springfield, in

¹ A description of the binding of a captured maiden in this fashion appears on p. 34 of Kercheval.
Hampshire County. They were the Coburns, Howards, Walkers and Rutledges, immigrants from Pennsylvania, mainly of Scotch-Irish descent.

In 1736 Peter Casey, the Foremans, Abraham Hite, William Miller, the Pancakes and others, with their families, moved to the Hardy County area. William Miller settled on 500 acres of land about two miles from Moorefield.

Isaac Van Meter paid Coburn for his rights of possession, returned to New Jersey, and in 1744 moved his family to this Moorefield area.

The process of conquering the frontier wilderness of this Hardy County region, thus begun by a hardy people, was thoroughly individualistic. Usually the highest authority of law and order on this extreme western fringe of white-man's country was the head of the family. Occasionally brothers or cousins settled near each other and reinforced each other's maintenance of their rights as they saw them. As for colony or county law: even if there had been legal specialists on this frontier they might not have known for sure as to whether to report to Virginia, Maryland or Pennsylvania, as there were conflicting claims to the region by the three colonies, which were not settled until long after the Revolutionary War.

Always the western horizon beckoned. There the hunting and fishing and trapping were better. There nearly complete freedom existed—the dangerous freedom of near anarchy, of a forested wilderness penetrated only by water courses and the trails of wild animals and Indians, where the price of life was constant alertness against the bear, the panther, the rattlesnake, the eagle, the hawk, and savage man—where "thine own right hand can save thee". This hazardous freedom and its great but risky possibilities of improving one's economic status attracted the healthy, vigorous male—and especially one of a numerous family who had completed his legal term.
of service in his father’s establishment, became a “man of his own” at twenty-one, perhaps had married, and was looking for a place for his own family.

Often the pioneer would camp on his chosen site for the first year or so. In 1744, the year Isaac Van Meter moved his family to the South Branch Valley, James Hampton left the Eastern Shore country of Maryland, with two sons, selected some land near Berryville of the Shenandoah Valley, Virginia, and lived nearly a year in a hollow sycamore tree. 2

Often one would come with his family leaving the settled region, moving along a river or large creek or forest trail, until he found soil and game and fish that suited him. In this neighborhood he would see a little spring branch flowing toward the creek or river. Following it uphill to its source, he would select a building site, fell small trees, and build the walls of a one or two room log cabin. Roof poles would be laid on the walls and covered with roof clapboards, about three feet long, split with a froe, sometimes by firelight. Weight poles laid on the clapboards held them on the roof. Floors were made of puncheons that were formed by splitting logs and hewing the split side of the half logs into a roughly planed surface. For cooking and heating, a fireplace big enough to prevent excessive chopping of firewood was built—with a “cat-and-clay” chimney, of sticks covered with clay. In the area selected for the first field very large trees were girdled, so that they would die with the trunks still in the air, and small trees were chopped down, cut into lengths about fifteen feet long, and, if there were neighbors not too far distant, rolled into piles for burning, in a community log-rolling. A few hogs were turned loose in the woods to “root-hog-or-die”; and one or two cattle; and the woman kept an eye peeled for hawks and eagles after the chickens. Who can adequately describe the labor of that first year of a pioneer fam-

2 Keroheval, p. 52.
fly? From before dawn until after dark, when, nearly exhausted, they sank into their beds of straw, subconsciously alert to a noise of their few animals which would indicate a raid on them by bear, panther, wolf, mink, or fox.

After the place was a little developed the man, if he was still vigorous and adventurous, might sell their "improvements" and move on westward. But a few stayed, and helped to develop further the community. And so in time it changed from the patriarchal and clan stage to the county-law stage of social development.

This was the general process of white settlement of Hardy County, and of most of America.

In 1744, representatives of Virginia, Pennsylvania and Maryland had a conference with the Iroquois Indians at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, with the intention of buying the Iroquois' (or Six Nations') claim to the land in the western parts of these three colonies.

On June 28, 1744, the Virginia commissioners said to the Indians: "We may proceed to Settle what we are to give you for any right you may have or have had to all the Lands to the Southward and Westward of the Lands of your Brother the Governor of Maryland, and of your Brother Onas, though we are informed the Southward Indians claim these very Lands you do."

At the last session of the meetings, according to the Pennsylvania Colonial Records, "the Commissioners of Virginia presented the Hundred Pounds in Gold, together with a Paper containing a Promise to recommend the Six Nations for Further favor to the King, which they received with a Yo-Hah, and the Paper was given by them to Conrad Weiser to keep for them . . . .

1 Boughter, I. F., and Pence, J. W., West Virginia History and Government told by Contemporaries; 1928, pp. 15-16; and Pennsylvania Colonial Records, IV—715-36.
"Then the Commissioners of Maryland presented their Hundred pounds in Gold, which was likewise received with the Yo-Hah.

"Chief Conassatego said: 'We mentioned to you yesterday the Booty you had taken from the French, and asked you for some of the Rum, which we supposed to be a part of it, and you gave us some, but it turned out unfortunately that you gave it to us in French Glasses. We desire now you will give us some in English Glasses.'

"The Maryland Governor made answer: 'We are glad to hear you have such a Dislike for what is French. They cheat you in your Glasses as well as in everything else. You must Consider we are at a Distance from Williamsburg, Annapolis and Philadelphia, where our Rum stores are; and although we brought up a good quantity with us, you have almost drunk it out. But notwithstanding this we have enough left to fill our English Glasses; and will Show the Difference between the Narrowness of the French and the Generosity of the English towards you.'

"The Indians gave in their Order five Yo-Hahs, and the Honorable Governor and Commissioners, calling for some Rum and some middle-sized Wine Glasses, drank Health to the Great King of England and the Six Nations; and put an End to the Treaty by three loud Huzzahs, in which all the Company joined."

Thus was bought, by Virginia, for one hundred English pounds, the dubious claim of a tribal confederation which had conquered but been unable to hold against the southern Indians the disputed territory that is now Hardy, Grant, Pendleton, Hampshire and Mineral Counties and the Ohio Valley lands to their west. What happened to the claims of those "Southward Indians" which the Virginia commissioners had made plain were known to them?
CHAPTER II

"Six years before these northern negotiations, Thomas Chaukley, Quaker minister and leader, wrote the following advice to a pioneer colony of sixteen families of Quakers that had migrated from York, Pennsylvania to the Virginia Shenandoah Valley:

"Virginia at John Cheagle's,
"21st—5th Month, 1738.

"To the friends of the monthly meeting
at Opequon:

"Dear friends who inhabit the Shenandoah and Opequon:—

"... Being in years heavy, and much spent and fatigued with my long journeyings in Virginia and Carolina, makes it seem too hard for me to perform a visit in person to you; therefore I take this way of writing to discharge my mind of what lies weighty thereon; and

"First: I desire that you be careful (being far and back inhabitants) to keep a friendly correspondence with the native Indians, giving them no occasion for offense; they being a cruel and merciless enemy where they think they are wronged or defrauded of their rights...

"Second: as nature had given them and their forefathers possession of this continent of America, or this wilderness, they had a natural right thereto, and no people, according to the law of nature and justice, and our own principle which is according to the glorious gospel of Christ, ought to take away or settle on other men's lands or rights without consent, or purchasing the same by agreement of parties concerned; which I suppose in your case is not yet done."
Third: Therefore my counsel and Christian advice to you is, my dear friends, that the most reputable among you do with speed endeavor to agree with and purchase your lands of the native Indians or inhabitants.

Fourth: Who would run the risk of the lives of their wives and children for the sparing of a little cost and pains? I am concerned to lay these things before you, under an uncommon exercise of mind, that your new and flourishing little settlement may not be laid waste.

Fifth: Consider that you are in the province of Virginia, holding what rights you have under that government; and the Virginians have made an agreement with the Indians to go as far as the mountains and no farther; and you are over and beyond the mountains; and therefore out of that agreement.

Sixth: If you believe yourselves to be within the bounds of William Penn's patent from King Charles the Second, which will be hard for you to prove, you being far southward of his line; yet if done, that will be no consideration from the Indians without a purchase from them.

Thus spoke the conscience of Western, Christian man. But little heed was paid to it. Preoccupied with carving homes out of a wilderness, the Quakers, like the other pioneers of this general region, purchased almost no lands from the Indians of Virginia.

these pioneer Quaker families moved on into the west—some into Hardy County.

The earliest settlers of the Hardy County area were mainly of Scotch-Irish, German, English and Holland-Dutch ancestry. In the western and southern parts of the county German-speaking people seem to have been in the majority. George Washington's journal of his 1748 trip over the mountains, in surveying work for Lord Fairfax, emphasized this fact.

Lord Thomas Fairfax, a 54-year-old bachelor, apparently disappointed in love, in 1747 came to America, to reside on the vast grant of land to which he was heir — as the only permanent resident of America with an English noble title.

In the preceding summer a surveying party had laid out the western, back line of this great tract north and northwest of the Rappahannock River, and placed the Fairfax Stone at the head spring of the North Branch of the Potomac, which stone became a western corner of Hampshire County, and later a western corner of Hardy County after it was formed from part of Hampshire, and still later a western corner of Grant County after it was formed from Hardy.

During the summer of 1747 Lord Fairfax stayed with his cousin and agent, William Fairfax, whose daughter, Ann, was married to Lawrence Washington, and thus was the sister-in-law of George Washington.

In 1748 Lord Fairfax sent a surveying party, led by James Genn, Virginia certified surveyor, to lay out two great areas that he called manors — the South Branch Manor, of 55,000 acres, and the manor uphill to the west called Patterson's Creek Manor, of 9,000 acres. The chainmen of this party were: George Fairfax, young cousin of Lord Fairfax; Henry Ashby; Robert Taylor; and George Washington, then sixteen years old, brother-in-law of George Fairfax's sister.
By this time many pioneers lived in the South Branch Valley. They had been as loath to secure legal claim to the lands they had conquered by purchase from a far-distant English lord as from the nearby Indians.

The beginning of George Washington’s long-continued diary pertained to this journey.

In his fifth entry, written near Winchester, he wrote “... we got our Supper and was lighted into a Room, and I not being so good a Woodsman as the rest of my Company stripped myself very orderly and went in to the Bed, as they called it, when to my Surprise I found it to be nothing but a Little Straw — Matted together — without Sheets or any thing else but one thread Bear blanket, with double its Weight of Vermin, such as Lice, Fleas, etc. I was glad to get up (as soon as the Light was carried from us). I put on my Clothes and Lay as my Companions. Had we not been very tired I am sure we should not have slept much that night. I made a Promise not to sleep so from that time forward, choosing rather to sleep in the open Air before a fire...”

The following night young George, according to his entry of the 16th, slept at a Winchester Inn, after “Wine and Rum punch in Plenty”, in “a good Feather Bed, with clean sheets”.

His entries of March 21st and 23rd are:

“Monday, 21st. We went over in a canoe and traveled up Maryland side all the day, in a continued Rain to Collo Cressups, right against the Mouth of the South Branch, about 40 miles from Polks; I believe the worst road that ever was trod by Man or Beast.

“Wednesday, 23rd—Rained till about two o’clock, and Cleared, when we were agreeably surprised at the sight of thirty-odd Indians coming from War with only one scalp. We had some liquor with us, of which we gave them Part. It elevated their spir-

1 Fitzpatrick, J. C., ed; The Diaries of George Washington; 1925. Vol.1, p. 5
its, put them in the Humor of Dancing, of whom we had a War Dance. Their manner of Dancing is as follows: Viz., They clear a Large Circle and make a Great Fire in the middle, then seat themselves around it. The Speaker makes a grand speech telling them in what Manner they are to Dance. After he has finished the best Dancer jumps up, as one awaked out of a Sleep, and runs and Jumps about the Ring in a most comical Manner. He is followed by the Rest. Then begins their Musicians to Play. The Music is a Pot half (full) of Water with a Deer-skin Stretched over it as tight it can, and a gourd with some Shott in it to Rattle, and a piece of an horse’s Tail tied to it to make it look fine ...”

His entries pertaining to present-day Hardy County follow:

“Saturday, (March) 26th. Travelled up the (Patterson’s) Creek to Solomon Hedges, Esquire, one of his Majesty’s Justices of the Peace for the County of Frederick, where we came to Supper there was neither a Table nor a knife to eat with, but as good luck would have it we had knives of (our) own.

Sunday, 27th. Travelled over to the South Branch, attended with the Esquire (Hedges), to Henry Van Meter’s, in order to go about Intended Work of Lots.

Monday 28th. Travelled up the Branch about 30 miles to Mr. James Rutledge’s, Horse Jockey, and about 70 miles from the Mouth.

“Tuesday 29th. This Morning went out and Surveyed 500 acres of Land, and went down to one Michael Stumps on the South Fork of the Branch. On our Way Shot two Wild Turkeys.

“March 29th. Surveyed for Mr. James Rutledge the following, a piece of Land ... “

“Wednesday 30th. This morning began our Intended Business of Laying Off Lots. We began at the Boundary Line of the Northern 10 Miles above
Stumps, and run off two Lots and returned to Stumps . . . Lot the first—Peter Reed's . . .

"Thursday 31st. Early this morning one of our men went out with the Gun and soon returned with two Wild Turkeys; and then went to our Business. Run off 3 Lots and returned to our Camping place at Stumps . . .

"Saturday April 2d. Last Night was a blowing and rainy night. Our Straw caught a Fire, that we were laying upon, and was luckily Preserved by one of our Men's awaking . . . We run off four Lots this Day, which reached below Stumps . . . Lot 10th—Michael Calb Liveron . . . Lot the 11th—Leonard Nave . . . Lot 12th—Michael Stumps . . .

"Monday 4th. This morning Mr. Fairfax left us with Intent to go down to the Mouth of the Branch. We did 2 Lots and was attended by a great Company of People—Men, Women and Children that attended us through the woods as we went, showing their Antic tricks. I really think they seemed to be as Ignorant a Set of People as the Indians. They would never speak English, but when spoken to they speak all Dutch. This day our tent was blown down . . . 4th . . . Lot 14th—James Simson's . . . No. 17 . . . opposite to Henry Harris's house. No. 26 . . . opposite Philip Moore's house . . .

"Tuesday 5th. We went out and did 4 Lots. We were attended by the same Company of People that we had the day before.

"April 5th. Lot the 15th—Philip Moore . . . Lots the 16th and 17th—Widow Wolf's and Henry Sheplar's, a Blacksmith by trade . . . Lot 18th—Jeremiah Osborne's . . .

"Wednesday 6th . . . This day was attended by our aforesaid Company until about 12 o'clock, when we finished. We travelled down the Branch to Henry Van Meter's. On our Journey was caught in a very heavy Rain. We got under a Straw House until the Worst of it was over, and then continued our Journey.
"Thursday 7th. Rained Successively all Last night. This morning one of our men Killed a Wild Turkey that weight 20 pounds. We went and Surveyed 1500 acres of Land, and Returned to Van Meter’s about 1 o’clock. About two I heard that Mr. Fairfax was come up, and at one Peter Casey’s about 2 miles off in the same (Indian) Old Field. I then took my Horse and went up to see him. We... slept in Casey’s House, which was the first Night I had slept in a House since I came to the Branch.

"Friday 8th. We breakfasted at Casey’s and Rode down to Van Meter’s to get all our Company together... We Rode down below the Trough, in order to lay off Lots there. We laid off one this day. The Trough is (a) couple of Ledges of Mountains, Impassable, running side and side together for above 7 or 8 miles, and the River down between them. You must Ride Round the back of the Mountain for to get below them. We camped this Night in the Woods near Wild Meadow where was a Large Stack of Hay. After we had Pitched our Tent and made a very Large Fire we pulled out our Knapsack in order to Recruit ourselves. Every (one) was his own Cook. Our Spits was Forked Sticks; our Plates was a Large Chip..."

"Saturday 9th... Rode Down to John Collins, to set off next Day homeward.

"Sunday 10th. We took our farewell of the Branch, and travelled over Hills and Mountains to one Coddy’s on Great Cacapehon, about 40 miles."

Here we have a picture, by a sixteen-year-old, realistic boy, of Hardy County in 1748. Lord Fairfax’s representatives were laying off large areas of the choicest soil for tenants, most of which were Scotch-Irish, English and Irish, with one of Holland-Dutch and one, probably, of German origin. Wild turkey abounded, and wild meadows of grass. In the background were curious and probably anxious German-speaking people—German migrants from Penn-
sylvania, who were securing no leases of Fairfax-claimed lands, with their obligations to pay quit-rents. Thus, in the eyes of Fairfax, they remained, as they had been, squatters.

After this survey many people, and especially people of German and Scotch-Irish ancestry, left the South Branch Valley and went on over the mountains into the Ohio River Valley, out of the region claimed by Lord Fairfax.

The French were more successful in dealing with the Indians than were the English. The economic interests of the French were mainly in trading with the Indians, and although their policy eventually led to increased competition and warfare among the Indian tribes for furs, the Indians sensed that the French were not trying to displace their half-wild way of life.

Several years after the conference-rum was drunk in the English Glasses the Northern Indians, in 1749, allowed the French to enter the Ohio Valley, under the command of Celoron de Blainville. At the mouths of the tributaries of the Ohio River the French buried engraved leaden plates, claiming the Ohio basin. Several of these plates have been found, including one, found in 1846, where the Kanawha River flows into the Ohio.

The issue was being joined for a three-way conflict—for a long intra-racial white-men’s conflict; and a much longer inter-racial struggle, between whites and Indians.

In this same year of 1749 King George II of England chartered the Ohio Company (of which George Fairfax, Lawrence and Augustus Washington were members), and granted the company 500,000 acres between the Kanawha and Monongahela Rivers. On the western frontier of Virginia this company established fur trading stations, which later were converted into forts. The first of these stores was opened on the south side of the Potomac near the present town
of Ridgeley, with Abraham Johnson of Patterson Creek as proprietor. In addition to trading for furs of the Indians, the store exchanged liquor, blankets, "red-shroud" and "half-thicks", for hogs, cattle, grain and tobacco of the white settlers.¹

For about 15 years the settlers of this area had been complaining of the great distance to their county (Frederick County) courthouse at Winchester. Lord Fairfax now decided to back the proposal for a new county; and in 1753 the Virginia General Assembly authorized the formation of the county of Hampshire, from parts of Frederick and Augusta Counties.

According to tradition, Lord Fairfax one day saw a large group of hogs being driven through Winchester, and on being told that they were from the west he said that if a new county should be formed there it ought to be called Hampshire, after Hampshire County, England, famous for hog raising.

The principal bases of commerce in the Hardy and Hampshire County area at this time were cattle, horses, hogs, skins and furs.¹

In the competition for furs of the Indians of the Ohio Valley the British were able to outbid the French. But in 1753 a French expedition built Fort Presque Isle on Lake Erie and Fort le Boeuf on French Creek, near Lake Erie, and took the British trading post of Venango, where French Creek flows into the Allegheny River.

In 1753 Major George Washington passed through Hampshire County on his mission of protest for Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia to the French authorities. He delivered the following warning of the Governor to the French commandant at Fort Boeuf on the Ohio:

"The Lands upon the River Ohio, in the Western Parts of the Colony of Virginia, are so notoriously the Property of the Crown of Great Britain that it is a Matter of equal Concern and Surprise to me to

¹Kercheval pp. 54-55.
hear that a Body of French troops are erecting Fortresses and making Settlements on that river... The many repeated complaints that I have received of these acts of hostility lay me upon the necessity of sending George Washington, Esquire, to complain to you of the encroachments thus made, and of the injuries done to the subjects of Great Britain...”

Washington received the following reply for Governor Dinwiddie:

“As to the Summons you send me to retire, I do not think obligated to obey it... I am here by Virtue of the Orders of my General; and I entreat you, Sir, not to doubt one moment that I am determined to conform myself to them with all the Exactness and Resolution which can be expected from an Officer.”

In January, 1754, Governor Dinwiddie wrote to Lord Fairfax:

“I, therefore, with the advice and consent of the council, think proper to send immediately out 200 men to protect those already sent there by the Ohio Company, to build a fort and to resist any attempts on them. I have commanded Major George Washington, the bearer thereof, to command 100 men to be raised in Frederick County and Augusta... Captain William Trent has my command to enlist 100 men among the traders.”

The first fight of the war, on May 27, 1754, was described by George Washington in part of his journal, which eventually was captured by the French (the French translation of it was kept and later retranslated into the English).

“The 20th. I came to the house of Colonel Cresap to dispose the detachment and on my route had notice that the fort (Fort Dinwiddie) was taken by the French...

“April 23rd. A council of War was held at Will’s Creek...
"May 27th . . . About eight in the evening I received an express from the Half-King (an Indian leader), who informed me that, as he was coming to join us, he had seen along the road the tracks of two men, which he had followed, till he was brought to a low-obscure place; that he was of the opinion the whole French party was hidden there. That very moment I sent out 40 men . . . All night we continued our route, and on the 28th about sunrise we arrived at the Indian Camp, where, after having held a conference with Half-King, we concluded to attack them together . . . We killed M. de Jumonville, the commander of that party, as also 9 others. The Indians scalped the dead and took away the greater part of the arms."

The French accused Washington of the murder of de Jumonville, claiming that he was on a peaceful mission. Washington pointed out that instructions on de Jumonville’s body were that he should "reconnoitre the country, roads, Creeks, South to Potomac, which they were about to do."

Washington hastily built Fort Necessity, which the French captured in July of 1754.

Of the several hundred forts erected by the French and English in the frontier country during the French and Indian War seventy-five or more were within the boundaries of present day West Virginia, Kentucky, Southwest Pennsylvania and the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia; and most of these were on the North and South Branches of the Potomac, the Shenandoah, the Greenbrier and New Rivers. Four of these forts were in Hardy County—Fort Pleasant at Indian Old Fields (near Moorefield), Town Fort, north of Moorefield; Fort Butter-milk, south of Moorefield; and Fort Riddle in Lost

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2 Boughter and Pence; p. 35.
Moorefield by this time was a “typical frontier settlement.”

On the land of Isaac Van Meter near Moorefield, Fort Pleasant, “A strong stockade with a block-house”, had been erected.

Another fort—Fort George—was built in 1754 on the opposite side of the South Branch from and near the site of the present town of Petersburg in Grant County.

In his 1912 History and Government of Virginia, V. A. Lewis described a typical fort of those days as follows:

“A range of cabins usually formed at least one side of the fort. Partitions of logs separated the cabins, one from another. The walls of these cabins on the outside were ten or twelve feet high, the slope of the roof being turned wholly inward. The block-houses were built at the corners of the fort and projected about two feet beyond the outer walls of the cabins and stockades. The upper stories were about 18 inches larger in diameter than the lower one, thus providing an opening at the commencement of the former to prevent the enemy from gaining a position under the walls. In some of these forts, instead of block-houses the corners were finished with bastions. The fort was always near a spring or stream of water, and a large folding gate next to it, made of thick slabs, was the only point of entrance or exit. The walls were furnished with port-holes at proper heights and distances . . .”

For many years a band of Shawnee Indians had had their village at Indian Old Fields of the Moorefield area. Their chief, Killbuck, had seemed to be a friend of the whites.

Early in 1753 this band and other Indian bands of the South Branch Valley were visited by Indians of western tribes. When the white settlers began to

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see suspicious Indian scouting parties they became anxious. Then the Shawnees left Old Fields.¹

Killbuck became the war leader of the Shawnees and other tribes of the Ohio Valley; and, in alliance with the French, set out to destroy the white settlers west of the Blue Ridge Mountains.

CHAPTER III

In 1754, the year Hampshire County was formed and the Indian War broke out, there were almost no white men living between the Hardy County area and the Monongahela River to the west. A few people lived in Patterson Creek in what is now Grant County; and in the year before that David Tygart and Robert Foyle temporarily had settled in the Tygart River Valley—in the Randolph County area, west of Hardy. Among the pioneer families living near Moorefield was that of William Zane, apparently of Danish descent. In 1753, William Zane and several of his family were captured by Indians. One of these prisoners, Isaac Zane, nine years old when captured, remained with the Indians for many years.

The 1754 population of the Virginia frontier (including the Shenandoah Valley) has been estimated at 10,000 whites and 400 negroes.¹

After the disastrous defeat and death of Braddock, as his troops marched northward, attempting to capture French Fort Duquesne at the present location of Pittsburgh, Washington took command of the Virginia frontier forces, and built a fort at Winchester. The frontier settlers braced themselves for sudden attack by the French-led Indians.

In a letter of October 11, 1755, to the Governor of Virginia, Washington wrote: "The men I hired to bring intelligence from the South Branch returned last night with letters from Captain Ashby, and other parties there. The Indians are gone off. It is believed their numbers amounted to about 150, that 71 men are killed and missing, and several houses and plantations destroyed. I shall proceed by quick marches to Fort Cumberland in order to strengthen the garrison. Besides these, I think it is

absolutely essential to have two or three companies of rangers to guard the Potomac waters. Captain Waggoner informed me that it was with difficulty he passed the Blue Ridge for crowds of people who were flying as if every moment was death. He endeavored, but in vain, to stop them. They firmly believed that Winchester was in flames.”

The next month, Washington wrote: “I think could a brisk officer and two or three sergeants be sent among the militia stationed on the South Branch, they would have probable chance of engaging many, as some were inclined to enlist at Winchester.”

In a letter dated April 7, 1756, he wrote: “Mr. Parish, who commanded a party, is returned. He relates that, upon the North River, he fell in with a party of small Indians, whom he engaged, and after a contest of an hour put them to flight.”

Washington had ordered an officer and 20 men to augment the force at Edward’s Fort of the Capon area.

In a letter of April 22, 1756, to the Governor of Virginia, Washington wrote: “Your Honor, you may see to what unhappy straits the inhabitants and myself are reduced. I see inevitable destruction in so clear a light that unless vigorous measures are taken by the Assembly, and speedy assistance sent from below, the poor inhabitants that are now in fort must unavoidably fall, while the remainder are flying before the barbarous foe. Ashby’s letter is a very extraordinary one. The design of the Indians was only, in my opinion, to intimidate him into a surrender, for which reason I have written him word that if they do attack him he must defend the place to the last extremity, and when bereft of hope to lay a train to blow up the fort, and retire by night to Fort Cumberland.”

In the spring of 1756, about fifty Indian warriors, led by a French captain, came down east from
the Alleghenies, killing and laying waste the properties of the white settlers. They took as prisoners a Mrs. Horner, mother of seven or eight children, and a teen-age girl, named Sarah Gibbons. Mrs. Horner never returned to her family. Sarah was held as prisoner eight or nine years; and at last returned.

At the headwaters of the Capon River, the raiders were met by twenty frontiersmen, led by Captain Jeremiah Smith. After five of the Indians and the French captain were killed, the Indians fled. Two of the Virginians were killed. Papers were found on the French captain’s body which ordered him to join another party of Indians at Fort Frederick, Maryland, and attack the fort.

The other party of the Indians was found well down the North Branch of the Capon River by nineteen Virginians, led by Captain Joshua Lewis. After one Indian was killed, the others fled.

Dividing into small groups the Indians terrorized the frontier settlements, killing the isolated people and burning their houses. 1

As stated before, just north of Moorefield the South Branch River enters “the Trough”, a seven-mile stone canyon comprising opposite steep mountains that rise near the edges of the river. Here was fought the “Battle of the Trough”.

In that spring of 1756, one of the marauding groups of Indians, of about sixty or seventy warriors, said to be under the leadership of Shawnee Chief Killbuck, raided a home about 15 miles up the “South Fork of the River Wappatomeake”, 2 killed and scalped one woman, a Mrs. John Brake, and took another, a Mrs. Neff, prisoner. They “cut off Mrs. Neff’s petticoat up to her knees, and gave her a pair of moccasins to wear.” 3

1 Kercheval; pp. 69-73.
2 The Indian name of the South Branch River.
3 Kercheval; pp. 71-75.
Near Town Fort, about one and a half miles below Moorefield, the Indians formed two parties to watch the fort, and left Mrs. Neff under the guard of an old Indian.

During the night Mrs. Neff observed that the old man was asleep, and slipped away. Presently, she heard a shout behind her, and the firing of a gun. The guard had awakened. She ran toward the fort, between the two parties of Indians. The gates were opened and she was quickly admitted.

Early in the morning about sixteen or eighteen men rode out of the fort, and found the Indians in the canyon of the Trough, camped near a spring. After a heavy rain, the river was flooded and nearly impassable. The white men dismounted and moved quietly toward the Indians, hoping to trap them between the mountain and the river.

But a dog that had followed them found a rabbit. When he began barking, the Indians realized the situation. They quietly slipped up a ravine, got around the white men, between the horses and the whites, and opened fire.

Thus, the white raiders were in the situation in which they had hoped to place the Indians. Nearly half the whites were killed, a number were wounded, and an unknown number of Indians were shot down. The surviving white men who were able to swim escaped, apparently by swimming the swollen river. Dr. Charles A. Turley of Fort Pleasant stated that the wounded who were unable to swim the river took cover near the river bank and fought until they were tomahawked.¹

Isaac Van Meter, then an old man, witnessed this battle from a distant high ridge. After the defeat he hurriedly rode back to the fort with the news.

Another instance of the merciless, no-quarter nature of this war with the Indians (conducted as

¹ Kercheval, p. 73. According to another account, presented by Kercheval, the white men in this battle were from Fort Pleasant.
part of the war against the French) was the fight of a pioneer farmer of Patterson's Creek Valley named Williams. When the Indians came, Williams and the few others who lived in his general vicinity went to Fort Pleasant for security. After being several days there, Williams and seven other men returned over the mountain to visit their homes. At Patterson's Creek, Williams left the others, went to his farm, and began putting out salt for his cattle.

A party of seven Indians, led by Killbuck, appeared and demanded that he surrender.

Williams shot and killed one of the Indians, ran to his log house, and barred the door.

The Indians attacked. Their bullets perforated the doors and windows. From behind a hominy block, Williams fired through cracks between the logs. He killed four more. Only two were left. One was Killbuck. They sneaked up to the side of the house that had few lower cracks. One climbed on the other's shoulders, fired through a high crack between two logs, and killed the lone defender.

They quartered Williams' body, hung a quarter at each corner of the house, and impaled his head on a fence stake at the entrance. Thus died the father of Colonel Vincent Williams, and of Edward Williams, the Clerk of Court of Hardy County until 1830. Many years later, Colonel Williams visited Killbuck, then old and blind, in Ohio. "Your father was a brave warrior," the Indian said.

Even during the French and Indian War people migrated to the South Branch Valley. In 1758, John Jackson, of Scotch-Irish ancestry, born in England, who first had settled in Cecil County, Maryland, moved his family to a homestead near Moorefield. He was the great grandfather of Thomas, "Stonewall" Jackson. In 1769, he moved on westward over the mountains to nearby Buckhannon Creek. He

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and his sons, George and Edward, served in the American Revolutionary Army; George was a captain.\(^1\)

After the battle of the Trough, the whites suffered another defeat at a fort seven miles above Romney. They retreated into the fort.

Samuel Bingaman lived near the site of the present town of Petersburg. One morning just before daybreak seven Indians attacked his log-cabin home. Bingaman, his young wife and his father and mother were sleeping in the lower part of the cabin; and a hired man was in the loft.

One of the Indians fired from outside, and the bullet went through Mrs. Bingaman’s left breast. Bingaman ordered everybody of the lower story to get under the beds, and yelled for the hired man to come down. But the latter placed a high value on discretion. He stayed in the loft.

The Indians came in the room. In the darkness, Bingaman clubbed them with his rifle. The gun stock broke; the breech broke; but with the long barrel he continued fighting.

Dawn began to break. Five Indians lay dead on the floor, and the other two were running across the field. Bingaman grabbed a gun left by the attackers, shot and wounded one of the fleeing Indians, then ran after him and tomahawked him.

By now, his anger was thoroughly aroused and he went after the hired man who had failed to come down. The loft-sitter’s life was saved due to the entreaties of Mrs. Bingaman.

According to an unauthentiated tradition, the one Indian that escaped from Bingaman’s one-man army returned to camp and reported a fight with a demon, who would kill all the rest of them if they went after him again.\(^1\)

\(^1\)Kercheval, p. 86.
Such violent, unreasoning rages sometimes served a defensive purpose on the wild frontier. Some men fought calmly against attackers, others in a rage.

During the Indian warfare men would leave the forts at harvest time, and together do their harvesting. As they slept in a meadow, harvesters from the fort in the Petersburg area were ambushed. Two were immediately killed; four were scalped and died; and three escaped. One of those who escaped, an old man named Kuykendall, lay quietly, under the shade of an elm, out of the bright moonlight, until the Indians were gone, chasing the other white men.

In the Lost River Valley, at Riddle's Fort, a white man named Chesner was killed by the Indians; and at Warden's Fort, William Warden and a man named Taft were killed.

On South Branch Mountain an avenging and rescuing party of eighteen or twenty white men, including a young man named Day, overtook a band of Indians who had killed several members of Day's family and taken two of his sisters with them. The girls, whose skirts had been cut to their knees, had left a trail of broken branches and pieces of white cloth torn from their clothes. After one of the Indians was killed, the others fled, and the girls were rescued.

Many others were not so fortunate. Jacob Fisher, a boy twelve or thirteen years old, was slowly and intermittently burned to death in a ring of fire around a tree to which he was tied, while his captors became drunk, the squaws tormented him further by sticking him with sharp poles, and his captive father and brothers were compelled to watch.

After being kept a prisoner for three years, a Mrs. Smith escaped to her home and husband, bringing with her her illegitimate son by an Indian chief, who grew up, and enlisted in the American Revol-
utionary Army. Mary Painter, captured at the age of nine, who eventually and rather reluctantly re-
turned to civilization and married an Indian trader, 
had forgotten how to speak English, and although 
she learned a little of it again, talked to her husband 
in her adopted Indian tongue. Another woman named 
Williams, taken prisoner at eighteen months of 
age, who married Uriah Blue of the South Branch 
Valley, could never pronounce correctly some words 
of her native language.

The frontier of these years was a hardening in-
fluence for white settlers. A Mrs. Owen Thomas of 
the South Branch Valley could tell without a tear 
the details of the Indians’ slaying of her husband 
and some of her children, and her escape, without her 
captured surviving children, by floating down the 
South Branch River while the Indians were crossing 
it with their captives.

After nine years of warfare, which was mainly 
without quarter on the western frontier, then cen-
tered in the neighborhood of Hardy County, the 
Treaty of Paris of 1763 ended the war with France. 
But the most important war on the Allegheny fron-
tier was not over—the fighting between the Indians 
and the advancing white American settlers.

In 1763 Pontiac organized his well-known anti-
British confederacy of almost all the Indian tribes 
of the frontier between the Great Lakes and the Gulf 
Coast. His plan to massacre the garrisons failed. But 
in the attempt to stop such troubles, the British 
Government then established the Proclamation Line 
of 1763 as the boundary line of western settlement. 
This border extended along the Alleghenies through 
the area that later would be part of Hardy County. 
It was a frontier line, and was not respected by the 
land-seeking settlers.

In 1774 an important Mingo-tribe chief, named 
Logan, and his family were murdered by a group of 
white men, led by a man named Daniel Greathouse. 

1 Kercheval, p. 79
This massacre led to Dunmore's War against the Shawnees, instigated it was said by Lord Dunmore, the Governor of Virginia. The Indians were defeated and forced to agree not to hunt south of the Ohio River.

In the Revolutionary War, as pointed out by Kercheval, the English "associated with their own means of warfare against the Americans, the scalping knife and tomahawk of the merciless Indians ... From early in the spring until late in the fall, the early settlers of the western parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania had to submit to the severest hardships and privations. Cooped up in little stockade forts, they worked their little fields in parties under arms, guarded by sentinels, and were doomed from day to day to witness or hear reports of the murders or captivity of their people, the burning of their houses, and the plunder of their property."

It was the same general situation as already had prevailed in Virginia just west of the Blue Ridge for a generation; but now most of the fighting took place over the Alleghenies. The violent interracial frontier had shifted out of the Hardy County area.

During the Revolution by Act of the Virginia General Assembly of October 20, 1777, the Hardy County area, together with other territory, was taken from the western part of Augusta County and added to Hampshire County.

Soon thereafter, in October, 1777, the following act for establishing the town of Moorefield as the fourth town in present-day West Virginia, was passed:

"Whereas it hath been represented to this present General Assembly that the establishing of a town on the lands of Conrad Moore, in the County of Hampshire, would be of great advantage to the inhabitants, by encouraging tradesmen, to settle amongst them:
"Be it further enacted by the General Assembly, that sixty-two acres of land belonging to the said Conrad Moore, in the most convenient place for a town, be, and the same is hereby vested in Garret Vanmeter, Abel Randall, Moses Hutton, Jacob Read, Jonathan Heath, Daniel McNeill, and George Renneck, gentlemen, trustees, to be by them, or any four of them, laid out into lots of half an acre each, with convenient streets which shall be, and the same is hereby established a town, by the name of Moorefield.

"And be it further enacted that after the said sixty-two acres of land shall be laid off into lots and streets, the said trustees, or any four of them, shall proceed to sell the said lots or so many of them as they shall judge expedient, at public auction, for the best price that can be had, the time and place of sale being previously advertised for three months in the Virginia Gazette, the purchasers respectively to hold the said lots subject to the condition of building on each a dwelling . . . eighteen feet square at least, with a brick or stone chimney, to be finished within two years from date of sale; and the said trustees, or any four of them, shall, and they are hereby empowered to convey the said lots to the purchasers thereof in fee simple, subject to the conditions aforesaid, and pay the money arising from such sale to the said Conrad Moore, his executors, administrators and assigns.

"And be it further enacted that the said trustees, or the major part of them, should have power, from time to time, to settle and determine all disputes concerning the bounds of the said lots, and to settle such rules and orders for the regular and orderly building of houses thereon as to them shall seem best and most convenient; and in any case of the death, removal out of the county, or other legal disability of any of the said trustees, it shall and may be lawful for the other trustees to elect and choose so many
other persons, in the room of those dead, removed, or disabled, as shall make up the number, which trustees so chosen shall be to all interests and purposes vested with the same power and authority as those in this act particularly mentioned.

"And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the purchasers of the lots in the said town, so soon as they shall have built upon and saved the same according to the conditions of the respective deeds of conveyance, shall be entitled to, and have and enjoy all the rights, privileges, and immunities which the freeholders and inhabitants of other towns in this state, not incorporated by charter, have, hold and enjoy.

"And be it further enacted that if the purchaser of any lot shall fail to build thereon within the time before limited, the said trustees, or the major part of them, may thereupon enter into such lot, and may either sell the same again and apply the money towards repairing the streets or in any other way for the benefit of the said town, or they may appropriate the said lot or part of it, to any public use for the benefit of the inhabitants of the said town."

In October, 1785, an act was passed establishing Hardy County.

The first entries in the Hardy County Court Record Book, 1786-1791, are as follows:

"At a meeting of the Justices of Hardy County at the house of William Bullett's in the Town of Moorefield, the 7th day of February, 1786.

Abraham Hite, Gentleman, Present.
Garret Van Meter, Gentleman, Present.
Jonathan Heath, Gentleman, Present.
Vincent Williams, Gentleman, Present.
Robert Rangee, Gentleman, Present.
Stephen Ruddle, Gentleman, Present.
William Vance, Gentleman, Present.
Felix Seymour, Gentleman, Present."
Abel Randall, Gentleman, Present.

Robert P. — Gentleman, Present.

and took oaths subscribed by law as Justices of the County Court and as the Court of Chancery and oyezied termer. W. Joseph Nevill entered into bonds and took the oath of a sheriff. Then the court proceeded to the choice of a clerk—W. Andrew Woodrow, and Edward Williams and Jacob Fisher offered themselves for the Clerk's place. It appeared that there was six votes for Edward Williams and five for Andrew Woodrow—and Edward Williams was appointed Clerk—and took the oaths according to Law.

"Ordered that next March Court will be held at the House of W. William Bullets (or Bullitt's) in the town of Moorefield. Joseph O'Bannian took the oath of a Deputy Sheriff under Joseph Nevill.

"Ordered that Court be adjourned until Court in Course.

"Garret Van Meter."

On pages numbered 1 to 3 of the Hardy County Court Record Book, the following records were made:

"At a Court Held for Hardy County at the House of William Bullett's (or Bullitt's) the 7th day of March, 1786—

"Jonathan Hite present, Garret Van Meter, Jonathan Heath, Stephen Ruddle, Abel Randall, Job Wilton and Vincent Williams, Gentlemen Justices for this County, now sitting—

"Ordered that the county of Hardy be laid off into three Districts. The First District is to begin at the county line, up the Lost River to Rockingham Line, and up the South Fork as high as Brake's Mill, up the South Branch as high as Anthony Badgley, including all the waters that run below the described places. Second District from Brake's Mill up to the County Line, all above Badgley's ford including Lune's Creek—up to the County Line. Third Sacramento Branch

Genealogical Library
District—all the waters of Patterson's creek and New Creek, including all the rest of the County.

"Ordered that an election for Overseer of Poor be held by the Freeholders and Housekeepers only, at the House of William Bullitt in the town of Moorefield on Friday the fourteenth of next month for the first district; that an election be held for overseer of Poor by the Freeholders and Housekeepers on Saturday the eighth of next month at the place known by the name of Wilson's Mill; that an election be held for Overseer of Poor by the Freeholders and Housekeepers at the House of John Douthets on Saturday the Eighth of next month.

"Ordered that Abel Randall, Gentleman, be appointed to superintend the first district, Job Wilton in the Second District and William Vance in the Third District.

"Ordered that the Sheriff make publication by advertisement in each District. A Deed of Mortgage . . . ordered to be Recorded. Andrew Woodrow, in open Court, Resigned his appointment; and ordered to be certified.

"Ordered that Christian Simon be appointed Constable and Summoned Accordingly.

"Ordered that Amos Branson be Appointed Constable and Summoned Accordingly.

"Ordered that Jacob Fisher be appointed Constable and Summoned accordingly.

"Ordered that Jonathan Wilton be appointed Constable and summoned accordingly.

"Ordered that Adam Moses be appointed Constable and summoned accordingly.

"Ordered that Benjamin Bean be appointed Constable and summoned accordingly.

"Ordered that William Braughton be appointed Constable and summoned accordingly.

"Ordered that Robert Johnson be appointed Constable and summoned accordingly.
"W. Robert White and W. Charles McGill having produced their licenses were admitted by the Court to take the oath prescribed by Law for an attorney.

"Ordered by the Court that W. Robert White be recommended to the Attorney General as a fit person to fill the place of Deputy Attorney."

Other names, appearing on the first three pages of the County Record Book are: John Snider; Henry Rule; William George Wilson; John Nevill; Christopher Strader; Frances Strader, deceased, of whose estate Christopher Strader was appointed administrator by the Court; Jacob Peterson; Robert Cunningham; Henry Land; Valentine Cooper; John Decker; Charles Bruce; Thomas Dean; James Parsons; McKinny Robinson; John Robinson; Sylvester Ward; Robert Higgins; John Higgins; Peter Higgins; Thomas Parsons; Wm. Norman; Henry Clark; Robert Cunningham; Thomas Cade; John Scott; John Westfall. And on page 4 the following names appear: Adam Cautezman; Joseph Scott; George Lee; Leonard Stump; John Sears; and William Sears. Names on the fifth page (numbered 6) are: John Westfall; David Smith; Jacob Roban; Joseph Petty; James Cunningham; Abel Westfall; Daniel Richardson; Samuel Jacobs; Jacob Moor, son of Philip Moor, deceased; Charles Lynch; John Smith; John Wolf; Magdalen Wolf and Valentine Post.

On page 6 there are included the following entries:

"Ordered that the Sheriff summon twenty-four freeholders to serve as Grand Jury at May Court.

"Ordered that the Public Building be built in the Town of Moorefield on Lot No. thirty four.

"Ordered that the Sheriff let the Court House at the next April Court to the Lowest Bidder, and to be Built of Logs, with Diamond Corners, and to be hewn down inside and outside, 26 by 22, one story and one half high, with a stone or brick chimney, agreeable to a plan to be made out."
Ordered that the sheriff let out the gaol at the next April Court to the Lowest Bidder, to be built by Logs, with Diamond Corners, to be hewed down inside and outside; the first story, underground, to be built of Stone or Brick with Timber mixed in the wall, twelve foot square; the upper story twelve by fifteen; with a brick or stone chimney to be rabbeted above and below and lined with inch-and half plank—with a good shingle roof, a strong door, crossed with iron and rabbeted, with a strong iron grate two feet large one way and one foot and a half the other way.

Ordered that court be adjourned until tomorrow morning, 8 o'clock.

This was in March 1786, apparently on March 7, 1786, the date the court met, and certainly before March 18, 1786.

The minutes pertaining to the meeting of the County Court on March 18, 1786, on page 8, record appointments or mention of the following men as overseers of county roads, with authority to collect the "Tythes" (taxes) of people on the roads:

John Ryan; Reuben Benny; John Higgins; William Janny; Jacob Van Meter; Simon Cochran; Jacob Tucker; Jacob Harness; Christopher Strader; George Nafe; Thomas Hicks; Richard Seymour; Charles Wilson; Jeremiah Ozbourn; Peter Buffinberry; Jacob Peterson; David Miles; Alexander Simpson; Conrad Carr; and George Sikes.

In the beginning of the Hardy County Record Book, the town of Moorefield is spelled Moorfield. The first notice of the town with its present-day spelling is on page 63 in the minutes of the Court meeting of June 11, 1787. The common spelling of the Moore Family of Moorefield at that time also is indicated by these records to have been Moor.

The struggle between the white and Indian races for control of West Virginia and the Ohio Valley did not end with the Revolution. For ten years afterward this inter-racial war continued.
In 1793 a mission of the United States Government tried to induce the Indians to allow settlement in the Ohio Valley.

In 1792 President Washington placed “Mad Anthony” Wayne (who had won his soubriquet by leading his troops in an attack over the walls of a Revolutionary war British fort) in command of the Western Army. In the next year a mission of the Federal Government tried to induce the Indians to allow settlement in the Ohio Valley.

Then, in 1794, about 15 miles from the present site of Toledo, General Wayne, backed by 2,000 men of the regular army, and 1,000 mounted volunteers, mainly from Kentucky, made a final attempt to treat with the Indians in peace. After he was rebuffed, he moved his army forward ready for battle.

The Indians, numbering about 2,000 warriors, selected a place for their stand which was typical of their way of life. Near where the Miami River flows into the Ohio, a storm had blown over many trees of the forest, and among these barricades made by nature, which they hoped would prevent the white men from having effective use of their cavalry, the Indians lay, in a two-mile-long line, at right angles to the Miami River, in ambush.

The volunteer cavalry which first encountered the Indians were driven back. Wayne ordered an attack by the regular cavalry, and an advance by the front line of infantry. Following the cavalry, the infantry fired at short range; and charged with the bayonet.

The Indians, with many of their chiefs killed, broke and ran. The whites chased them several miles until they came to a British fort. After this the Indians of that region apparently realized that their struggle was hopeless; and in the next year the Treaty of Greenville gave the United States whites the formal right of settlement of the Ohio Valley.

Thus was extinguished in the battle of Fallen
Timbers in 1794, after more than half a century of fighting, the claim of the “Southward Indians” referred to by the Virginia commissioners in dealing with the Six Nations. It was extinguished by the white man’s long rifle, bayonet, powder and ball—by his relatively compact society, with superior industries—steel, lead, gunpowder and other chemicals.

The country was free for development from a way of life which supported one Indian to every three and a half square miles to one, with its faults as well as its virtues, which supports over 45 people per square mile. No longer would the settlers of West Virginia, of the South Branch Valley, of Hardy County—working on the “new-ground”, harvesting forest-ringed crops and the wild meadow; hunting in the hills—need to strain eye and ear in the attempt to sense the approach of half-wild men of the forest. The power of the eastern Indian had “gone west”, which, in the parlance of a people already used to having men lose themselves on the western horizon, meant: disappeared, died.
CHAPTER IV

After the Indians were driven out of Hardy County peace still did not come to its people. An intra-racial, intra-national struggle developed.

In 1791, at the instigation of Alexander Hamilton, an excise act, taxing whiskey, was passed by the Congress. Due to lack of transportation and specie in the frontier country of western Pennsylvania, western Virginia and western North Carolina, whiskey, produced mainly in small stills, was the chief article of barter. At this time there was much resentment on the frontier against the Government's failure to vigorously and successfully prosecute the Indian war; the high prices of land held by eastern speculators; the advantages of easterners in voting, taxation, and accessibility to representatives of the law; and the Federal Government's failure to provide for free navigation to the mouth of the Mississippi. This indignation was concentrated and symbolized in opposition to the excise tax on whisky. Men arrested in the west and held for trial under the new law had to travel long distances to federal courts in the east; and often the expense of such a trip and trial would amount to more than the value of a western farm.

Violence broke out in western Pennsylvania. The home of General John Neville, of the Shenandoah and Occoquan Valleys of Virginia, regional excise inspector for the United States, was burned by the tax opposers; and Henry Lee was ordered by President Washington to command of an army that was designated to put down the insurrection. Part of Lee's troops, under the command of General Biggs, were ordered to Moorefield.

A new United States law had been passed, enabling more-accessible state courts to try persons accused of such excise offenses; and Lee was able to quell the insurrection without loss of life.
But the underlying grievances of the West remained, and were to be an important influence in the turbulent history of the next century.

Before we further consider this new struggle of the west, relative to Hardy County, let us try to ascertain in what ways the preceding struggle had changed the residents of this region.

During this struggle all the atrocities and acts of bad faith (according to civilized man's code of action) were not of the Indians. The whites learned quickly from the barbaric red man; those that survived usually were down-to-earth realists; many of them killed Indians on sight; and it was a general saying of the frontier that: "The only good Indian is a dead Indian." According to the story of an old resident of Hardy County, white men have been known to play the following ruthless trick on Indians. A frontiersman, being watched by a curious Indian while he split logs with an ax and wedges, would get the Indian to put his fingers in the opening of a half-split log; and then quickly knock out the wedge. While the Indian was thus trapped the white man killed him.\(^1\)

A standing governmental bounty was paid for Indian scalps; sometimes there were arguments as to which man in a party was entitled to collect for an Indian's scalp.\(^2\)

In this white man's return to the extreme primitive there was little opportunity for intelligent work in the fine arts, scholarship, philosophy or religion. Nevertheless, the early Hardy County area was a competitive borderland concerning basic religion and philosophy. In it, the great and underlying philosophic competition was between: the Christian religion on one side with its ideal tenets of a single God, who was a force for good in life which ultimately would triumph over the forces of evil that were a

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\(^1\) Mrs. Ralph E. Fisher, column "Old Timer" in Moorefield Examiner.

\(^2\) Kercheval, p. 103.
heritage of man's past—of gentleness, love of God, god-like love of others and the golden rule; and, on the opposing side, the religion of Indians and primitive white converts to the Indian way of life—of paganism, shamanism, witchcraft, belief in the possibility of miracles of evil being performed by devils, ancestor worship, and superstition. These made up the dark and ancient way of life that Christianity earlier had met, in Europe, and largely had overcome. In their dealings with other white people, most white men were able to hold at least to the rudiments of Christianity, although those rudiments at times were the merest outline, altered by each individual as he saw fit, in accordance with the necessities of a hard life.

Francis Asbury, the second bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the first in the United States, for more than thirty years rode over the eastern half of the United States, preaching some 17,000 sermons and ordaining more than 3,000 Methodist ministers. In a letter of 1776 to one of his friends, he wrote as follows about the Virginia people of Dinwiddie County (south of Richmond).

"Ignorance of the things of God, profaneness and irrelegion then prevailed among all ranks and degrees. So that I doubt if even the form of godliness was to be found in any one family of this large and populous parish. My doctrines were quite new to them, and were neither preached nor believed by any other clergyman, so far as I could learn throughout the province.

"My first work was to explain the depravity of our nature, our fall in Adam, and all the evils consequent thereon, the impossibility of being delivered from them by anything which we could do, and the necessity of a living faith, in order to our obtaining help from God. While I continued to insist on these truths and on the absolute necessity of being

1 Asbury, F.: Journal of the Reverend Francis Asbury; Vol. 1, p. 158.
born again, no small outcry was raised against this way as well as him that taught it . . .

"The common people, however, frequented the church more constantly, and in larger numbers than usual. Some were affected at times, so as to drop a tear. But still for a year or more, I perceived no lasting effect; only a few were not altogether so profane as before. I could discover no heart-felt convictions of sin, no deep or lasting impression of their lost estate."

In the same letter Bishop Asbury referred to a later great revival of religion, beginning, significantly, with the outbreak of war.

"It began in the latter end of 1775 but was more considerable in January, 1776, the beginning of the present year. It broke out nearly at the same time, at three places, not far from each other. Two of these places are in my parish; the other in Amelia County, which had for many years been notorious for carelessness, profaneness, and immoralities of all kinds. Gaming, drunkenness, and the like were their delight while things sacred were their scorn and contempt . . .

"The outpouring of the Spirit which began here soon extended itself, more or less, through most of the circuit which is regularly attended by the traveling preachers, and which takes in a circumference of between four and five hundred miles." (Hardy County was within this circuit, about 200 miles from Dinwiddie County.)

"... And scarce any conversation was to be heard throughout the circuit but concerning the things of God—either the complainings of the prisoners, groaning under the spirit of bondage to fear; or the rejoicing of those whom the Spirit of adoption taught to cry, "Abba, Father." The unhappy disputes between England and her colonies, which just before had engrossed all our conversation, seemed now in most companies to be forgot, while
things of far greater importance lay so near the heart."

In his diary entry of May 7, 1776, he wrote: "There is another thing which has given me much pain—the praying of several at one and the same time. Sometimes five or six, or more, have been praying all at once, in several parts of the room, for distressed persons. Others were speaking by way of exhortation, so that the assembly appeared to be all in confusion, and must seem to one at a little distance more like a drunken rabble than the worshipers of God. ... But this is a delicate point. It requires much wisdom to allay the wild, and not damp the sacred fire ... As this abated, the work of conviction and conversion usually abated too."

Near "Manakin-town ferry", about 35 miles from Petersburg, on May 9, 1780, a conference of Bishop Asbury and the Methodist ministers of Virginia occurred on the question of whether the Methodist Episcopal Church in Virginia should continue in its recent decision to be divided from the Episcopal church.

On May 4th, Bishop Asbury wrote: "Prepared some papers for the Virginia conference. I go with a heavy heart, and fear the violence of a party of positive men."

During the morning of Tuesday, May 9th, Bishop Asbury argued for the union, and delivered a sermon.

"In the afternoon, we met;" he wrote, "the preachers appeared to me to be farther off; there had been, I thought, some talking out of doors. We, Asbury, Garrettson, Watters and Dromgoole. ... withdrew, and left them to deliberate on the conditions I offered, which was to suspend the measures they had taken for one year. After an hour's conference, we were called to receive their answer, which was: they could not submit to the terms of union."

Bishop Asbury's first recorded visit to the North Branch and South Branch Valleys was in June, 1781. Among the entries in his journal pertaining to this country are the following:

June 7, 1781—"I set out for the South Branch of the Potomac, a country of mountains and natural curiosities . . . We found some difficulty in crossing Great Capon River; three men very kindly carried us over in a canoe, and afterward rode our horses over the stream, without fee or reward. About five o'clock we reached W. R.'s. I laid me down to rest on a chest, and using my clothes for covering, slept pretty well. Here I found need for patience.

"Friday, 8. Not being able to cross the South Branch, we had to bear away through the mountains, and to go up one of about 200 yards elevation. In some places the breaks in the slate served for steps; in other parts of the ascent there were none. We at length reached the place appointed and preached to about twenty, as I think, prayerless people . . .

"Sunday, 10. I preached at 11 o'clock . . . I then rode to R. Williams's. On my way I had a view of a hanging rock that appears like a castle wall, about 300 feet high, and looks as if it had been built with square slate stones. At first glance a traveler would be ready to fear it would fall on him. I had about 300 people; but there were so many wicked whiskey drinkers, who brought with them so much of the power of the devil, that I had but little satisfaction in preaching.

"Monday, 11th. . . . From Williams's, I crossed the South Branch and went to Patterson Creek. I came to a Dutch (German) settlement. The people love preaching but do not understand class-meeting, because they are not enough conversant with the English tongue . . . Could we get a Dutch preacher or two to travel with us, I am persuaded we should have a good work among the Dutch. I love these people; they are kind in their way . . .
"I am now in a land of valleys and mountains, about ten or fifteen miles from the foot of the Allegheny, a mountain that at this part of it is two days' journey across. Thither some of our preachers are going to seek the outcasts of the people.

"Monday, 18th. I was led to wonder at myself, when I considered the fatigue I went through — traveling in the rain; sleeping without beds; etc.— and in the midst of all I am kept in health.

"Wednesday, 20th. We had hard work crossing the Fork mountain, being sometimes obliged to walk where it was too steep to ride. I was much blessed in speaking to about ninety Dutch folks, who appeared to feel the word. Here is a spring remarkable for its depth, and the quantity of water it discharges, sufficient for a mill within 200 yards from the source.

"... In journeying through this mountainous district, I have been greatly blessed, my soul enjoying constant peace. I find a few humble, happy souls in my course; and although present appearances are gloomy, I have no doubt that there will be a glorious Gospel day in this, and every other, part of America.

"There are but two men in the society at Lost River able to bear arms. They were both drafted to go into the Army. I gave them what comfort I could, and prayed for them.

"Saturday, 30th. I got alone in a barn to read and pray. The people here appear unengaged. The preaching of unconditional election and its usual attendant, antinomianism, seem to have hardened their hearts.

"Sunday, July 1. More people attended preaching than I expected. ... I retired to read and pray in the woods, the houses being small, and the families large.

"Monday, 16th. We set out through the mountains for quarterly meeting. It was a warm day, and
part of our company stopped after 30 miles of traveling. Brother William Partridge and myself kept on until night overtook us in the mountain, among rocks and woods, and dangers on all sides surrounding us. We concluded it most safe to secure our horses and quietly await the return of day. So we lay down and slept among the rocks, although much annoyed by the gnats."

About a year later, he wrote the following entries, beginning on Wednesday, June 26, 1782:

"We crossed the mountain at the Gap, near my bed where I slept last summer, and riding up to North River made our journey near 20 miles. When we came there, we found that the people had gone to bury our old friend S—, so that we had 7 miles farther to go. Arriving, we found them hanging about their stink-pots of mulled whiskey. We have, not infrequently, to lodge in the same room with the family, the houses having but one room, so that necessity compels to seek retirement in the woods—this with the mighty disagreeables of bugs to annoy us, shows the necessity of crying to the Lord for patience... O how many thousands of poor souls have we to seek out in the wilds of America, who are but one removed from the Indians in the comforts of civilized society, and considering that they have the Bible in their hands, much worse in their morals than the savages themselves...

"Sunday, July 7th. In recrossing the mountain, on my way to Mill Creek, I was obliged to walk up and down its sides, and was greatly tired. I delivered a short discourse, with pleasure, to about 300 people... It rained before and after preaching, but held up while we worshipped by the side of the stream, for want of a house. After preaching, we rode to the Branch, making a Sabbath day's journey of nearly forty miles..."

"Thursday, 11th. At Patterson Creek, I struck at the root of Antinomianism, while speaking at
Jones's. Certain sectarianists were not well pleased at this; once in Christ and always safe—this is a favorite morsel to some.

"Friday, 12th. Rode to the North Branch, crossed the Nobbly Mountain. At its foot we stopped, ate a little bread, drank fine water, prayed, and then went forward to Cressaps . . . Here Colonel Barrett met me, and conducted me two miles up the Allegheny. We were riding until near ten o'clock; the road was dreary, and the night dark; I wanted rest and found it. We had nearly 200 people to hear in this newly settled country. They were attentive and I hope God will do something for them. After preaching on John 7-17, we set out on our return. I was much fatigued, and it rained hard. My poor horse, too, was so weak from the want of proper food that he fell down with me twice. This hurt my feelings considerably—more than any circumstance I met with in all my journey beside.

"Sunday, 14th. Was rainy. However, it cleared away time enough to get to Williams's on the South Branch . . . Since Thursday we have ridden sixty miles along incredibly bad roads, and our fare was not excellent. Oh what pay would induce a man to go through wet and dry, and fatigue and suffering, as we do!

"Tuesday, 16th. We proceeded along to Great and Little Capon, over rough and stony roads.

"Wednesday, 17th. We went on through devious roads, and arrived at Guess's. Here I set on a scheme to prevent my horse from falling lame, that had yesterday lost a shoe. It was to bind round his foot a piece of bull's hide. My contrivance answered the purpose well."

"Sunday, November 8th. Preached to a wild, hardened people at the Old Church, in King and Queen County . . ."

The following entries in the Bishop's Journal of 1783 to 1792 are of interest to one trying to under-
stand the nature of the early residents of this fronti­er country:

"Saturday, June 21, 1783. Preached to a few people in Winchester. For several days past I have had to ride the whole day, and to preach without eating, until five or six o’clock in the evening, except a little biscuit. This is hard work for a man and horse; this, however, is not the worst—religion is greatly wanting in these parts. The inhabitants are much divided; made up, as they are, of different nations, and speaking different languages, they agree in scarcely anything except it be to sin against God."

"Thursday, July 1, 1784. We began to ascend the Allegheny, directing our course towards Red­stone. We passed the Little Meadows, keeping the route of Braddock’s Road for about 22 miles, along a rough pathway. Arriving at a small house and halting for the night, we had, literally, to lie as thick as three in a bed . . .

"Friday, 2nd. I was amongst a dull, kind people. I spoke closely, and perhaps labored in vain . . .

"Sunday, 4th. At Cheat-River, we had a mixed congregation of sinners, Presbyterians, Baptists, and, it may be, of saints . . . I think God will bring a people to himself in this place . . .

"Three thick on the floor—such is our lodging —but no matter; God is with us."

"Saturday, 31 July, 1784 . . .

"Richard Williams, on the North Branch of the Potomac, was taken prisoner by the Indians . . .

"A few days before Braddock’s defeat, nineteen Indians beset the house; killed his father, his moth­er and one of his brother’s sons. Williams and his child they secured as prisoners, and took them away to Fort Pitt (Pittsburgh) tying his hands to a tree every night to prevent his escape. The child he fed with wild cherries or service berries. But it was taken from him at the fort."
"On the day of Braddock's defeat he was taken across the Ohio River, and guarded to Detroit, where he found the (French) garrison reduced to the extremity of eating horseflesh. After staying some time at Detroit, he made his escape, taking with him a Frenchman's gun and ammunition; and pushed homeward, first by curved lines, and then in a more straight direction.

"The Indians pursued and headed him, which obliged him to alter his course. Wading through a deep stream, the water went over his head, and wet his powder. For three days he traveled on, until being pressed by hunger, he stopped to dry his powder. But on examination he found it all dissolved away.

"His next shift was to dig sarsaparilla for sustenance. He went on, and by good fortune, found a fish which a bird had dropped, and ate that.

"Continuing on, he came to a large river, where he saw two canoe loads of Indians pass; from these he hid himself. The Indians being out of sight he made a raft of two logs, and by this contrivance gained the opposite shore.

"After this he was three days without eating or drinking, and reduced to extreme suffering. He saw an Indian, and escaped him; and came to a stream of water, of which he drank, and soon after a plum tree, some of the fruit of which he took along with him. The day following he fared something better, having found part of a fawn, which he roasted, picking the bones and the marrow, and carefully preserving the meat for future need. After the venison was all eaten, on each succeeding day, for three days, he found a squirrel. He afterwards caught and ate a pole-cat. At another time he saw a hawk fly up, and going to the spot, he found a wild turkey.

"Traveling on, he came to the Ohio, and waded it. Near this place an Indian threw his tomahawk at him. He tried to escape by climbing up a wild cherry tree, but found himself too weak. And he fell into
the hands of two Frenchmen and five Indians, and thus found himself once more in the power of his enemies.

"With these he feigned derangement. They, however, took him along with them to Fort Pitt. On the way he tired, and they threatened to kill him. He told them he was willing to die.

"Arriving at the fort, an Indian charged him with being a prisoner from Detroit. He was forthwith put under guard, and a council held in the French language... The sentence of the general was that he should be shot. To this some objected, saying that his spirit would haunt them if he was killed there, and advised his being taken to the island and buried in the sand. He was told that he would eat no more meat; that the crickets would eat him.

"He behaved himself as though he understood nothing they said; yet he knew the general purport of their conversation... One morning before day, the guards being both asleep, he climbed up the high wall, and clambering over the spike palisades, got out, safe. Having still to pass the sentinels and not knowing where they were placed, he was discovered just as the cock crew for day. The sentinels mistook him for a comrade and let him pass. At this time he felt a conviction that his wife prayed for him...

"Escaping thus, he made the best of his way without interruption until the evening, when he heard a gun fired at some distance behind him; presently another. These were his pursuers, who had found his track in the woods. He strove to run, but he was too weak. Another gun yet nearer to him went off. He made what way his strength would allow; and when he came to places where he left no track, he made zigzag courses to deceive them... but there were so many of them they would soon discover his track again. Thus he struggled on until seven guns were fired, the last of which he supposes to have
been within two or three hundred yards from him. Now his heart began to fail, and he thought he was gone. Yet he resolved to labor onward as long as he had life.

"At the firing of the last gun his pursuers crossed his track and got ahead of him. Taking advantage of this circumstance, he turned out of the path, letting the Indians who were behind tread in the footsteps of those before. Following the direction now taken, he had not gone far until he came to a path which led to a settlement of the whites. This he did not long keep, and going round the head of a ravine, laid himself down, concluding that if his track was again discovered, he would be favored by darkness. The Indians did get his track twice . . . He went on in the dark as well as he could, sometimes feeling the bushes with his hands; among the rocks, he often fell down from weakness. Having gained smoother ground, he stopped and lay down until day.

"His enemies . . . had not given up the pursuit. He had not long left his hard lodging when he heard the report of two guns. But coming to a hill where no mark of a footprint could be traced, he steered his course for Bedford; and came on a trading path in which he kept. Five days he lived on acorns. Afterward he found some wild cherries; but lo! while he was eating, up comes an Indian.

The Indian . . . gave a whoop, when presently others joined him. By these he was kept a prisoner . . . He appeared bold, was active in cooking, and by his cleverness got the favor of the Captain (Chief), who praised him and said he could do everything like an Indian. He had more than he needed to eat. The Captain, however, was very careful to secure him every night, by making him lie down in one corner; here he drew a cord over some hoop poles and tied deer’s hoofs to the end, so that if Williams pulled open the poles they would rattle, and the deer’s hoofs would strike the Captain’s face.
"With these Indians, Williams stayed a long time. They went to war and left him to provide deer for the squaws. At last he found an opportunity of escaping, which he improved, and arrived safely at his own home. He is now a faithful man—his wife a pious woman."

"Tuesday, 11 August, 1790. I had an attentive, well-behaved congregation at Squire Vanmeter's.

"At Doctor Naves, formerly Hyder's, I applied, 'O Ephraim, how shall I give thee up!' I felt a vast weight upon my spirits for these people.

"Wednesday, 12th. We had about 40 miles to ride to G—, and Brock's Gap, over a severe mountain... I viewed and pitied the case of the people on the South Fork of the South Branch of the Potomac. They are Germans and have no preaching in their own language, and English preaching is taken from them... I am of the opinion that if a preacher would come and continue amongst them for one year, riding up and down the river, preaching from house to house, it would answer a very good purpose."

"Friday, 26 May, 1792. We rode 26 miles to the Little Levels. O what a solitary country this is! We have now one hundred and twenty miles before us, fifty of which is a wilderness.

"Saturday, 27... This, I think, equaled, if not exceeded any road I had ever traveled. We at length reached Tygers (Tygart) Valley. We stopped at Captain S—'s, where there were several families crowded together, for fear of the Indians. The upper end of the valley has been depopulated. One family has been destroyed since I was last here. The Captain's wife was decent, kind, and sensible. Thence we went to W—'s... Thence a few miles to —, where the woman of the house was kind and attentive; but a still, a mill, a store, cause much company, and some not of the most agreeable kind."

After twenty-five years of nearly continuous riding over the eastern half of the United States, Bishop
Asbury made the following entry in his journal, on December 19, 1796, in North Carolina:

"We had to ride early. My horse trots stiff; and no wonder when I have ridden him, on an average, five thousand miles a year for five years . . ."

"Ignorance of the things of God, profaneness and irreligion," Bishop Asbury had written; and then at other times:

"The religious assembly appeared to be all in confusion and must seem to one at a little distance more like a drunken rabble than the worshippers of God."

. . . "The violence of a party of positive men" . . . "About twenty as I think, prayerless people." . . . "I love these German-descent people; they are kind in their way" . . . "I find a few humble, happy souls in my course" . . . "handing about their stink-pots of mulled whiskey" . . . "poor souls . . . in the wilds of America, who are but one removed from the Indians in the comforts of civilized society, and, considering that they have the Bible in their hands, much worse in their morals than the savages themselves." . . . "a wild, hardened people." . . . These are significant statements by the Bishop about the people of the Virginia frontier, and mainly about those of the South Branch Valley. Of course, he was a minister, and from relatively civilized England; and, although he came to know very intimately the early American frontier, his picture of the half wild country should be toned down a little. But we need to remember that the young and somewhat worldly George Washington had described in matter-of-fact fashion the same general type of life on the frontier.

One writer referred to a general improvement in cleanliness of Indian housekeeping due to the white people who were captured by Indians and forced to live in Indian wigwams. Some white captives became respected leaders in Indian tribes, sometimes softening the commonly merciless attitude of Indians toward those they captured. For example:
In 1792 a company of Virginia rangers, that had been encamped at the mouth of Fishing Creek on the site of the present town of New Martinsville, West Virginia, made a scouting expedition into Indian territory. They were on a manhunt. Discovering two Indian camps, they divided into two attack groups. But the lieutenant in charge of one of these groups gave orders to withdraw when he realized that the camp that he was supposed to attack was larger than expected.

One of the men, however, was posted some distance from the others, and did not get the word. While his comrades were retiring, he continued to hold his station. Then, seeing a squaw come from the camp, he shot her and thinking he was leading his comrades, charged alone into the Indian camp.

He was captured.

A white man, who apparently was chief, came forward. It was his daughter who had been shot; her wrist was slightly wounded. Nevertheless, the white chief conducted the ranger from the camp and guided him back to a spot near the rangers' encampment.

This chief was Isaac Zane from the Moorefield area. After his capture by Indians from his home near Moorefield, he had never returned. He married an Indian woman and became a chief—a strange one who never made war on the white man. Of a Quaker family, he adapted some of the Quaker principles to Indian life. His bridge between the Indian's vengeance and the Quaker's non-violence must have been a hard one to construct.

Zane's treatment of the white men who had fired on his home camp was very different from what the white men did at their camp.

At the encampment the other group held some Indian prisoners they had taken from the first-discovered Indian group. Some of the rangers were so disappointed and angered at the outcome of the raid that they murdered their redskinned prisoners.¹

In this rugged land of hardship the wild thus presented unusually strong competition to Christian principles, and especially to organized Christian religion, with its mass belief, and formalized idealism concerning human conduct, divorced from savagery. Nevertheless, early efforts were made to establish churches in Hardy County.

There was also early competition among Christian creeds, especially between the Calvinistic belief in predetermination and salvation by faith alone, and the Arminian creed of salvation by faith and good works. This competition was briefly indicated in Methodist Bishop Asbury's journal. The Anglicans, Episcopalians and Methodists were Arminians; the Presbyterians and Baptists were Calvanistic.

In 1740 some of the earliest settlers of the South Branch River Valley petitioned to the Donegal Presbytery of the Synod of Pennsylvania for religious service. In his diary of 1753 George Washington referred to a log church, erected in 1752, near Pearisal's Fort, in the vicinity of Romney, and in 1768 a Presbyterian Church, named Concrete Church, was organized at Moorefield.¹

The Reverand Moses Hoge of Cedar Creek, Virginia was pastor of Concrete Church from 1782 to 1787. He left Moorefield to become pastor of a church at Shepherdstown. Here in 1786 he witnessed the successful trial of one of the first steamboats in the history of the world, invented and built by James Rumsey. Rumsey's boat utilized a form of jet propulsion; a steam-driven water pump drew water in at the bow of the boat and ejected it astern. With George Washington among the spectators, a generation before Fulton's Clermont was built, this West Virginia boat moved up the Potomac at several miles an hour.

In 1822 by invitation of a number of residents of the Moorefield area, including Isaac Van Meter and William Cunningham (who later became members

of the Moorefield Presbyterian church), the Rev. William N. Scott, a 33-year old native of Augusta County, became domestic missionary of the area, preaching at Moorefield, Old Fields (Fort Pleasant) and Petersburg (Mount Zion). The Union Church of Hardy, comprising members at these three places, totaling 16, was formed in 1825. The Reverend Mr. Scott's territory extended from above Petersburg to Reynolds's Gap; his salary was $500 a year. Thirty-two years later, because of ill health, he resigned from his work at Moorefield and Fort Pleasant.

He died in 1857, and was buried at Petersburg.\(^1\)

The Anglican (Episcopalian) Church was supported by Virginia taxes until the American Revolution. At that time Hardy County and Moorefield were part of the Anglican Parish of Hampshire. There have never been any appreciable number of Roman Catholics in Hardy County. This county and the remainder of the Eastern Panhandle have long been part of the Catholic Diocese of Richmond. They did not become part of the Diocese of Wheeling when it was divided from the Richmond Diocese in 1850. Hardy County then became a border area between the two Dioceses.\(^2\)

Most of the people of German descent who migrated southward into this region were: Lutherans, Mennonites, Dutch Reformed Church members, with a few Dunkers. For a while they held strongly to their religions, languages and customs.\(^3\) At the time of the census of 1790 about 15,000 people of western Virginia were born in Germany or were of German parentage, and the state government still issued laws and orders pertaining to the frontier in both the English and German languages.\(^4\)

In time the German language and religion slowly passed, with amalgamation of the various white ancestral groups.

3 Kercheval p. 55.
The question of what happened to the religion of the Quakers who migrated from the Shenandoah Valley westward past North Mountain presents an interesting historical problem. We have seen something of what happened to the Quaker Zane family. They became leaders in exploration, frontier settlement, and the struggle with Indians and primitive nature. Although they tried to be fair to the Indians, they were able fighters against Indian attackers; and one became an Indian chief.

Another Quaker pioneer settler of Hardy County was Lionel Branson, who about 1751 apparently made the first wagon trail from the Shenandoah Valley via Rockbridge and Mill Gap to Lost River Valley. He settled at the site of Lost City, built and operated one of the first water mills in Hardy County. One of his descendants, William M. Branson, was a member of McNeill’s Confederate Rangers, who ably fought in the Eastern Panhandle as guerilla soldiers. From a tremendous urge toward peace to a ranger’s violence; thus did the humane, idealistic religion of the Quakers lose ground in Hardy County. It probably lost out in the hard struggle of the Indian wars.

During the Revolutionary War all organized religious activity in the Hardy County area apparently came to a low ebb. Bishop Asbury wrote nothing about finding any organized church there in 1781 to 1784, although we know that Concrete Presbyterian Church, with its few members, was in existence. It was led by Reverend Moses Hoge, who also served as a private schoolmaster.

No record has been found of an Anglican or Episcopal Church in Hardy County during nearly a century after the Revolution. It seems probable that Methodism, which at first was a variant of Anglicanism, largely replaced the Anglican-Episcopalian religion in this region.

Some time after 1770, when the Church of the Brethren, of Mennonite origin, was formed in Pennsylvania, the present-day Hardy County church of
this denomination was established. As Bishop Asbury made no mention of this church it probably was not formally organized until after 1790.

In the later eighteenth century Christian religious competition seems to have been mainly between Calvinistic Presbyterianism, with its belief in God's predestination of man, and Methodism, with its Wesleyan, evangelistic Arminianism — its apparent rejection of absolute predestination of the individual and the belief in salvation not only by repentance and faith but by continued good works. To this competition of theological positions there was later added that of the Church of the Brethren, with its belief in the literal interpretation of the Bible, sabbatarianism, baptism by complete immersion, divine healing and non-resistance.¹

CHAPTER V

Very early the people of Hardy County demonstrated their dislike of paying taxes to or being otherwise controlled by an eastern Virginia government.

In 1781, Hampshire County Lieutenant Van Meter led a militia company to enforce the payment of taxes and recruitment of men for the cause of the Revolution in Lost River Valley and the “South Fork” area, “about fifteen miles above Moorefield”. The identification of this area by the Federal Writers’ Project group who wrote “Historic Romney” as the Petersburg area apparently is correct, since Kercheval, as stated before, referred to the killing of John Brake’s wife by Indians at her home on the South Fork of the Wappatoomaka or South Branch, and also referred to Brake’s residence at the time of the Tories’ armed resistance as being “about fifteen miles above Moorefield, on the South Fork of the River”.

In the South Fork valley Van Meter was told by a defiant group of fifty armed men, led by John Brake, that they would pay taxes only to Great Britain, and that they would not serve in the American Army, but were going to join the British Army. Van Meter tried in vain to dissuade them from their purpose, then returned to Romney, and reported the situation to Thomas Jefferson, Governor of Virginia.

At the home of John Brake the Tories organized a company and elected John Claypole of the Lost River valley as captain.

Of the outcome of this situation Kercheval wrote:

“When General Morgan was taking a little needed rest near Winchester, after defeating Tarleton at the battle of the Cowpens, the General was informed of a nest of Tories holding out in some force on Lost

River and South Fork in Hardy County, and was re-
quested to lead an expedition to that section and quell
the rebellion. The old warrior was soon on the march;
arriving in the Lost River Valley, he found that John
Claypole and his two sons were defying the authori-
ties of that county. They were suppressed; and the
expedition proceeded to the stronghold of the other
insurgents on the Fork, about 15 miles above Moore-
field, where they found John Brake, a well-to-do Ger-
man, well fortified and determined to resist an at-
tack. Brake and his insurgents had previously with-
stood several attacks from the militia, and had become
very bold and his band had increased in numbers.
But they were now confronted by men who had come
to subdue and not to parley. The house was surround-
ed; many Tories escaped to the woods, however, and
were not captured; but the moving spirit, Brake,
capitulated, and Morgan and his little army feasted
on the products of the old Tory's farm, mill, distillery,
beefes, pigs, lambs and poultry—while their horses
enjoyed the unknown meadows, oat fields, etc."

A few of the rebels against Virginia regimenta-
tion refused to surrender and were killed. Others
were imprisoned.

Several months later insurgents or Tories filed a
petition to the newly elected Governor of Virginia
(Thomas Nelson), and an eloquent plea for clemency
for them was made by Captain Peter Hogg. The
Governor pardoned them; and then many of them
enlisted in the American Army. Some of them died
in the line of duty.

The lives of women on the western frontier were
spent almost entirely at work — gathering and cook-
ing food, gardening (including the raising of herbs
and flowers, usually from seed or cuttings grown by
them or their neighbors), raising chickens, geese,
ducks and turkeys, feeding hogs, milking cows, spin-
ning, weaving, sewing, washing clothes on a rub-
board, scrubbing puncheon floors with the aid of
sand, soap-making, candle-making, bearing and raising many children (usually one right after another during the child-bearing period), serving as nurses, midwives and practical doctors, working (like their husbands and children) "from daylight till dark". The property that they helped acquire, by ancient English common law, was owned by their husbands, except for their dower right. Legally, their status was but little better than that of chattel slaves; but actually, due to the much larger number of men than of women on the frontier, they occupied a position of love and great respect, so long as they did not contravene the general authority of the male heads of households. This leadership was mainly exercised in matters outside the house. There was thus a rough division of authority in the family; each sex had its sphere of dominance.

Few women actually fought against Indians. When they were in houses or forts that were attacked they usually stayed under cover (as did the wife of Bingaham, referred to above) or they aided the men by loading their one-shot, "muzzle-loader" rifles or making bullets.

A. S. Withers in his Chronicles of Border Warfare (1895) wrote the following account of the heroism of a younger sister of Col. Ebenezer Zane, who was born in Hardy County. It was during the last battle of the Revolutionary War, when, months after the battle of Yorktown, Indians attacked Fort Henry, at the site of present-day Wheeling:

"The supply of powder, deemed ample at the time, by reason of the long continuance of the savages, and the repeated endeavors made by them to storm the fort was now almost completely exhausted, a few loads only remaining. In this emergency it became necessary to replenish the stock from...Colonel Zane's house... It was proposed that one of their fleetest men should endeavor to reach the house, ob-
tain a keg and return with it to the fort. It was an enterprise full of dangers; but many chivalric spirits, then pent up within the fortress, were willing to encounter them all.

"Among those who volunteered to go on the enterprise was Elizabeth, the younger sister of Colonel Zane. She was then young and active and athletic; with precipitancy to dare danger, and fortitude to sustain her in the midst of it. ... When told that a man would encounter less danger by reason of greater swiftness, she replied: 'And should he fall his loss will be severely felt. You have not one man to spare; a woman will not be missed in the defense of the fort.' Her services were accepted. Divesting herself of some of her garments ... she stood prepared for the hazardous adventure; and when the gate was opened, she bounded forth ... Wrapped in amazement, the Indians beheld her spring forward; and only exclaiming 'a squaw—a squaw', no attempt was made to interrupt her progress. Arrived at the door, she proclaimed her embassy. Colonel Zane fastened a table cloth around her waist; and, emptying into it a keg of powder, again she ventured forth.

"The Indians were no longer passive. Ball after ball passed whizzing ... She reached the gate, and entered the fort in safety."

In the earliest Hardy County records little or no mention of Negro slaves has been found by this writer. In the 1790 United States Census statistics, however, 3,364 white residents and 369 slaves are indicated—about one slave to every nine persons.

A remarkable thing about these data pertaining to the 1790 Hardy County Census is the fact that they indicate 411, free, non-white persons—that is, 42 more than the 369 slaves. Hardy County apparently was the only county in Virginia that thus had more free colored people than slaves. Neighboring Hampshire County, for instance, had 13 free colored persons and 454 slaves (one free non-white to about 35 slaves);
and Fredrick County in the Shenandoah Valley had 116 free colored persons to 4,240 slaves (one free non-white to about 36 slaves). Virginia as a whole had one free colored person to less than 23 white persons.¹

What is the explanation of this odd excess of free colored people over slaves in 1790 Hardy County? A few of these free persons of color might have been Indians in white households, but in view of the tendency of Indians to continue to live in tribes and the fact that by 1790 most of the Indians had been driven west to the Ohio Valley, it is probable that most of these 411 persons were freed or escaped slaves. It is possible that freed or escaped slaves in Virginia made their way, if possible, up the Potomac Valley to the mountainous border country, which at least to a certain extent had been conquered from savages and the wild, in search of non-conforming freedom of the individual in the vast wilderness spaces. To the west and southwest of Hardy County lay the wild Indian country, still largely hostile to whites and blacks; to the north, lay Hampshire County; and to the north and west of that lay the western corner of Maryland, a slave-owning state.

Two good accounts of the personal appearance of individual frontiersmen of the South Branch Valley were made by early writers.

One is of the renowned scout and Indian fighter, Jesse Hughes, whose birthplace is unknown, but who migrated westward to the upper waters of the Monongahela River about 1769, apparently from the South Branch Valley, as he came with his brother Thomas, who is known to have been from the South Branch Valley.²

This Indian fighter and hunter who carved a home out of a mountain wilderness was "slight in proportions and light and active in his movements. He possessed a form as erect as that of an Indian, and had endurance and fleetness of limb that no man of his day surpassed. His height was about 5 feet and 9 inches, and his weight never exceeded 145 pounds. He had thin lips, a narrow chin, a nose that was sharp and inclined to the Roman form, little or no beard, light hair, and eyes of that indefinable color that one person would pronounce gray, another blue, but which were both and neither. They were piercing, cold, fierce, and as penetrating and restless as those of the mountain panther.

"He never worked, but spent his time in hunting and scouting. His clothing was colored from the ooze made from the bark of the chestnut oak; he would wear no other color, this shade harmonized with the forest hues and Indians. When scouting, his dress consisted only of the long hunting shirt, belted at the waist, open leggings, moccasins, and a brimless cap or a handkerchief bound around his head."

Jesse was married early in life to a young woman of the frontier, who was a good helpmate to her buffalo-hunting, Indian-killing, homesteader on an old Shawnee village site; but his fierce temper was a handicap to domestic harmony—when he was at home.1

In The Border Settlers of Northwestern Virginia, L. V. McWhorter described John Reger, of German ancestry, a frontiersman born in Hardy County in 1769, as follows:

"He stood six feet two inches in his moccasins, with well-rounded and muscular proportions . . . He married Elizabeth West, 'Little Bettie' as she was called, a daughter of Edmund West, Sr., of West's Fort. The wedding took place after the bride's father was killed by the Indians, December 5, 1787. At the
ceremony the bride sported a 'store gown', to procure which the bridegroom-elect walked from the Buckhannon settlement to Winchester and back with rifle on shoulder. . . .

"John Reger's nature was as kindly as his physical strength was great . . . He could easily swim the flood-swollen rivers in his excursions, holding his gun, shot pouch and clothing high and dry in one hand. He was a noted hunter and many are the accounts of his daring feats and great endurance. On one of his hunting trips he killed a yearling bear in the morning and, after taking out the entrails, he slung the carcass over his shoulder and carried it with him during the entire day's hunt.

"As a bear hunter he excelled. . . .

"At another time the dogs engaged a bear in a cavity made by an upturned tree, and when Reger came to the brink of the pit, the earth suddenly gave way. . . . and he was precipitated onto the struggling mass of bear and dogs. As he went down he caught with one hand a bush growing on the brink; and, the other arm coming in reach of the bear, the enraged animal sank its claws into the sleeve of his strong homespun hunting shirt. The dogs had fastened on the bear's hams and were pulling with all their might in the opposite direction, while the bear, with equal energy was endeavoring to drag the hunter's hand within reach of its fangs . . . at times the bear was lifted clear off the ground by the opposing efforts of hunter and dogs. More than once Reger felt the hot breath of the infuriated brute upon his hand, so nearly did it succeed in overcoming the iron sinews of the man . . . Fortunately for him one of the dogs let go its hold and seized upon the bear's jaw; when it released its hold on Reger's arm to box away its tormenter, Reger soon ended the fray with his knife."

Sixty years after Jesse Hughes moved to the

1 McWhorter, L. V.: "The Border Settlers of Northwestern Virginia";
Buckhannon Settlement, he was living with his daughter. He was then probably more than eighty years old.

In the fall of 1829 the old man took his long rifle and went out to hunt again in the forest. When he failed to return men scouted through the woods to look for him. At length they found him peacefully half-lying, half-sitting, against a large tree. He was dead. His death symbolized the passing of the wild frontier of the South Branch area. It went quietly, with a long rifle in its hand.

In 1820 the center of the population of the United States was in Hardy County, near the town of Wardensville. The wild frontier had passed. But Hardy County (with Pendleton County to its south) was becoming another borderland between sharply opposing ways of life.

It has been observed that the interests of a region lie in the direction of flow of its major streams. To the north flowed Hardy County's streams—the South Branch, the Moorefield River (or South Fork of the South Branch) and the North Fork of the South Branch. For a while those waters flowed north; and then they turned east with the Potomac; and finally they flowed southeast. If nineteenth-century Hardy County had to choose (or had a choice), which direction of its streams would it hold to—to the north or the southeast?

Most of the early commerce of this area, other than that of trail herds of cattle and horses, was via the South Branch River. Moorefield was at the head of navigation on the South Branch. From it cargoes on flat boats were guided down the river to the Great Falls of the Potomac, near Washington and, with portages, to Washington, Alexandria and Chesapeake Bay. One of the principal items of this water-borne commerce was iron from Hardy County mines and furnaces.

1 Lambert, O. D., Ph.D.
2 Callahan, J. M.; p. 60, and photograph opposite page 60.
There was a public ferry across the South Branch at the homestead of Isaac Parsons, another from John Pancake’s place to that of Jacob Earsom and another at the home of Conrad Glaze. The legal toll rate was six cents for a man or horse at Glaze’s and Parson’s ferries, and five cents per man or horse at Pancake’s.¹

In 1827 the Virginia House of Burgesses passed an act providing for the private establishment of the Northwestern Turnpike (toll road), which had been proposed by Revolutionary War General Daniel Morgan and other Virginians in 1748 and considered by George Washington in 1784. Subscriptions for the privately owned road company were authorized at Winchester, Romney, Moorefield, Kingwood and other places through which the road was to go.

Surveyed by Col. Claude Crozet of France, who had built Napoleon’s road to Italy, it was to extend from Winchester to Romney, and thence, via the part of Hardy County which is now Grant County, toward the west. But almost insurmountable natural obstacles to putting the route through Kingwood (in Preston County) were encountered; and sales of road stock dwindled.

In 1831 another act was passed, organizing a road company headed by the Governor of Virginia, as president and a member of the board of directors, with power to borrow money on state credit, to build the road to “some point” on the Ohio to be situated by the principal engineer, and to establish toll gates for every twenty miles. The road, which was completed to Parkersburg in 1838, and partly macadamized in 1848 went through the Grant-County area of Hardy County via Patterson’s Creek and New Creek. Moorefield was connected with this road via Romney.

By 1845 fast stage coaches were driven three times a week from Romney to Parkersburg, with connections at Romney of stages from Winchester,

¹ Maxwell and Swisher: “History of Hampshire County”; p. 300.
Moorefield and Green Spring. By means of horse power, Moorefield and Hardy County at last were regularly in communication with the outside world.

By acts of Virginia of 1846, 1847, 1848 and 1849 a new company was chartered, with three-fifths of its capital stock subscribed by the state to "construct a turnpike from Moorefield via Wardensville, to enter Fredrick County at a point near Cold Spring, and to intersect the Northwestern Turnpike about five miles west from Winchester."

This road, known as the Moorefield and Winchester Turnpike or the Fredrick and Hardy Grade, as well as the Fredrick-County part of the Northwestern Turnpike, was described by F. L. Cartmell as follows:

"... For a number of years it was used as the route to Capon Springs, a mountain resort attracting hundreds of far-away city people—who would take a stage line at Winchester over the new road making the first halt at the popular hotel under the brow of the Big North, where the genial Mr. James A. Russell gave his guests such hearty welcome that a few survivors to this day delight in recalling his entertaining anecdotes and traditions of his mountain country. 'Pembroke Springs' also is on this route. A new hotel kept by Dr. William Keffer and 'Cold Springs' were other places where the travelers could be refreshed. Just above Cold Spring, a mountain road led off from the Pike to take stages over the Big North and down into the cove and the West side, where the Capon Springs 'Mountain House' suddenly loomed up before the smoking teams, announcing their sudden approach by blasts from the stage horns. The writer recalls many such scenes; but those that impressed him most, as a boy, were the passing of those stage lines along the Northwestern Turnpike, in full view of his old home near the Round Mill. Here he often saw 4 stages, each drawn by 4 fine horses—(two

2 Cartmell, F. L., "Shenandoah Valley Pioneers".
competitive lines)—sweeping into Hoop Petticoat Gap, where they soon entered the new graded road for Capon. Stages full of passengers—many on the outside with the drivers to better enable them to enjoy the landscape—stage horns blowing; whips cracking, in the hands of good lusty fellows; horses all aglow with excitement and foam; gave a charm to the rapidly passing picture repeated every day through the ‘Spring’s season’.

The 1850 road to Moorefield...

Just north of the Potomac River ran the competitive National or Cumberland Road, completed in 1818, from Washington to Wheeling on the Ohio River. With the connecting road from Washington to Baltimore, this national highway, 60 feet wide with a central strip of more than twenty feet of crushed stone, was a means of communication between Baltimore and the Ohio Valley, over which passengers moved by stage coach and freight by the large, lumbering Conestoga Wagons.

Still more competitive with the Northwestern Virginia and the Moorefield and Winchester turnpikes for the traffic of the expanding west was the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, built to Cumberland in 1842 and to Wheeling in 1852, which crossed from Maryland into Virginia at the mouth of the Shenandoah, and traversed the northern three counties of the present Eastern Panhandle of West Virginia before going back into Maryland at the Hampshire County line and which crossed the Northern Panhandle before reaching Wheeling.

The people of Hardy County who desired overland communication with the Atlantic coastal region utilized passenger travel or freight shipment via horse-drawn vehicle to Winchester, and from there via stage coach or Conestoga wagon to Washington or Richmond—or, via the Winchester and Potomac railroad, to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, to Washington, Baltimore or other places of the East. Via horse-drawn vehicle to Romney and Parkers-
burg, and steamboat on to the Ohio River, communication was had with Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky and the Mississippi Valley.

Under the Virginia Constitution of 1776 each county, no matter how large or small, had two delegates in the Virginia General Assembly. The counties of the west were large, of rapidly expanding white population, those of the east small and with a nearly stationary white population. The representation from out-dated Virginia senatorial districts was also very unbalanced between the east and the west. Thomas Jefferson, from the western part of Virginia, wrote: “The 19,000 men below the falls give law to more than 30,000 living in other parts of the state, and appoint all the chief officers, executive and judiciary”.

Western Virginia protested against counting non-voting slaves in the apportionment of representation in the Virginia House of Delegates.

In 1794, Jefferson stated the case of the west, including Hardy County, against the east in another particular: “The majority of the men in the state who pay and fight for its support are unrepresented in the legislature, the roll of freeholders entitled to vote not including the half of those on the roll of the militia or of the tax gatherers”. Realizing that the slave-owning tobacco planters of the east were in the saddle in the Virginia government, the Staunton Convention of 1816, comprising delegates from Hardy County and thirty-six other counties between the Blue Ridge and the Ohio River, met in protest. They presented a petition to the legislature for a constitutional convention to consider constitutional changes to equalize representation of the parts of the state.

But it was not until about thirteen years later that the agitation of the west achieved some results. Even then, when the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1829-30 was held at Richmond, only twenty

eight of the ninety-six delegates were from Hardy County and the other counties of the Shenandoah Valley and further western part of Virginia. These twenty-eight represented 319,518 white persons, whereas the other 362,745 white people were represented by considerably more than twice this number of delegates, and from eastern Virginia came delegates who were renowned statesmen—Madison, Monroe, Marshall, Randolph, Tyler, Tazewell and others.

John Randolph said: “I will do nothing to provide for change. I will not agree to any rule for future apportionment or to any provision for future changes called amendments to the constitution.”

Delegate Leigh of Chesterfield County said: “If any plague originate in the North, it is sure to spread to the South, and to invade us sooner or later; the influenza—the small pox—the varioloid—the Hessian fly—the Circuit Court system—Universal Suffrage—all came from the north; and they always cross above the falls of the great rivers...”

The major changes desired by the delegates from the West Virginia region were voted down—a purely white basis for representation; popular election of governor, county courts and sheriffs; provision for future constitutional amendments; universal white male suffrage; free public education for all children. The westerners were not satisfied with the Virginia Literary Fund which had been established in 1810, for it was apportioned among the counties for the education only of children of the poor. The proud people of the mountain country, although often poor, objected to the stigma of legal declaration of poverty to secure public-supported education.

In the ensuing voting throughout the state pertaining to ratification of the new constitution, which comprised a few minor changes desirable to the west, Hardy County and every other county of present-day

West Virginia except Hampshire and Jefferson Counties voted against the document. Nevertheless, it was ratified by a small majority.

Twenty years later another Virginia Constitutional Convention (of 1850-51) was held at Richmond. By this time the white population of the Shenandoah Valley and West Virginia was almost 100,000 more than that of the east. The debates between the equally opposed parties were bitter, and might have led to no positive results except for the fact that eastern Virginia was alarmed at the rapid westward migration of its white population and worsening economic condition of Virginia as a whole, and except for the repeated threats of the west to dismember the state if some equality of representation were not secured by elimination of the counting of Negroes in apportioning legislators.

Inasmuch as many slaves were owned in the Shenandoah Valley by this time, Hardy County found itself on the border between the slave-owning and free-labor sections of the state.

A compromise at length was worked out, whereby the west at last had white manhood suffrage, reapportionment of representatives every ten years, and control of the House of Delegates; and the east retained control of the Senate, and secured a constitutional provision that slaves under twelve years of age would not be taxed and those over that age would be assessed at a fixed rate of $300 apiece.

In the ratification election this time the majority of the voters of eastern Virginia voted against the new constitution, but it was ratified by a large statewide majority.

Western Virginia thus had won most of its major points. But extremists of the west—especially in the northwest—still were dissatisfied. They pointed out that the numerically smaller people of the east controlled the Senate, due to the fixed num-

ber of senators per county, and that the wealthier east had an unfair privilege of freedom from taxation of a good portion of its property (of young negro slaves) and of unfair reduction of taxation on another substantial portion of its property (due to the flat rate of assessment of adult slaves). Also the Virginia system of voting by voice was disliked by many westerners.

The average price of adult slaves at the time of this Convention was about $1,200 each. The price had risen from that of $300 before the cotton gin was invented, and was continuing to rise. By 1860 it was $1,400 to $2,000.\(^1\) Many of the tobacco-growing Virginia counties, finding their lands impoverished and a considerable surplus of slaves on hand in the first quarter of the Nineteenth Century had turned to the business of raising slaves to sell to cotton growers of the Deep South. They were now taxed little on the young ones that were sold, and on the adults that were retained on an assessment of only one-fourth of their actual worth. Slaves were encouraged to have many children; and mothers were rewarded for new births by small gifts, such as pigs.\(^2\)

For ten years there was relative peace in mountain-divided Old Virginia. Then a time of violent crisis came to White man of Middle America.
CHAPTER VI

Most of the eastern counties of present West Virginia were against secession from the Union, and against division of the state. Although protesting their economic handicap due to exemption of slaves from taxation, they were not strongly opposed to the institution of slavery.¹ This was to be expected, in view of the location of this part of Western Virginia, with the many slaves of the Shenandoah Valley nearby and the prospect, if secession, war and state-division came, of being exactly on the border between the North and South.

On the other hand, the people of the Northern Panhandle and other sections of the Ohio Valley whose commerce was almost entirely with the North and West, who would find themselves on the violent border if war came and Virginia seceded and remained undivided, although also against secession, were strongly against slavery, and for division of the state if Virginia seceded. Only in the Northern Panhandle was Lincoln appreciably supported by Virginians in the election of 1860.²

When the Virginia Convention met in Richmond on February 13, 1861, to determine whether the state would remain in the union or join the states to the south that had seceded, the people of Virginia as a whole were very much in doubt as to the proper course to take. But the large majority of the delegates were against coercion of Virginia by either North or South—and for states’ rights. Emissaries of the seceding states appealed to this feeling.³

The representatives of the Shenandoah Valley voted against secession. This action, which has been

² McGregor, J. C., p. 67.
called "peculiar", by representatives of counties that were to suffer extremely from the war is understandable—as an attempt to avoid having their homeland become a violent border in a fratricidal war. Four members of the Convention did not vote: Thomas Maslin, of Moorefield, the delegate of Hardy County; Paul McNeill, representing two other of the border counties of present West Virginia, namely, Pendleton and Pocahontas Counties; A. M. Barbour of Jefferson County, on the Potomac, through which the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad passed; and Benjamin Wilson of Harrison County. It may be significant that, with the exception of Wilson, these men who abstained from voting were from counties that remained in the Union but bordered directly on the seceding South, and had many residents in sympathy with the South. Hardy County at this time had the sixth largest number of slaves among West Virginia Counties—1,073. Of these four non-voters, Barbour and McNeill later signed the Ordinance of Secession. But Maslin of Moorefield and Wilson did not sign.

Almost all the other delegates from the northern border counties of the West Virginia region voted as did the Shenandoah Valley, probably for the same reason, against secession.

No representatives from the border counties of Hardy, Pendleton, Pocahontas and Greenbrier were present at the first convention in Wheeling, of May, 1861, to consider the advisability of seceding from the seceding state of Virginia. Hampshire County, however, had a representative.

While Virginia peace commissioners tried to compromise peacefully the differences between the Upper North and the Deep South, the majority of the delegates, apparently against secession, kept the convention from voting on secession. But it became

1 Callahan, J. M.: p. 274.
obvious that the peace efforts would fail; and President Lincoln coldly but courteously notified representatives of the Virginia Convention: "In case it proves true that Fort Sumter has been assaulted, as is reported, I shall perhaps cause the United States mails to be withdrawn from all the states which claim to have seceded . . . I consider the military posts and property situated within the states which claim to have seceded as yet belonging to the Government of the United States . . ."

Feeling against the Union for seeming coercion of sister states' rights now arose in Virginia, and the Union majority in the convention began to dwindle.

"On the morning of April the 17th," wrote Waitman T. Willey, U. S. Senator, and delegate from the Trans-Allegheny Region, "Mr. Wise rose in his seat, and drawing a large Virginia horse-pistol from his bosom, laid it before him, and proceeded to harangue the body in the most violent and denunciatory manner . . ."

It was learned that Henry A. Wise had just given the order for armed secessionists to take the Union ships and powder magazine at Norfolk.

In secret session and amidst emotional confusion, the convention then decided by voice-vote to secede from the United States.¹

In the meantime the people of Hardy County, who significantly had not voted either way in the convention, were trying to make a fateful decision. Nearly every man of property and influence, nearly every adventurous young man who was thinking of enlisting as a soldier, needed to make his decision then and there on what was to be a violent borderland; and the decision was a matter of life and death. Of fighting of kinsmen against kinsmen.

In the Common Law Order Book of the Circuit Court, having common-law judicial jurisdiction of Hardy County, the entry for the September term of 1861 begins as follows:

"At a Circuit Court held for the County of Hardy at the Court House thereof on Wednesday the 18th day of September in the year 1861, the said County of Hardy being a part of the 12th Circuit and 6th Judicial District of Virginia.

"Present, James W. F. Allen (the same justice as in the April, 1861, term), Judge of said Circuit, sitting as a Court of Common Law.

"A. H. Scott, M. D., Robert W. Gilkeson and Alexander Summerville, who being first duly sworn by the Court and appointed to inspect the jail of this county, returned their report which, being inspected and approved by the Court, is ordered to be filed, and a copy thereof returned to the County Court of Hardy County."

The record ended with an order for adjournment "until the first day of the next term."

The next term, however, was not the usual April term, but was on September 19, 1862, at the Hardy County Court House, with the same justice, James W. F. Allen.

Its record ends with a note about the inspection of the jail by a committee appointed by the Court—H. M. Gamble, M. D., James W. Berry, and Gerard Lobb—and with the usual statement that the court was adjourned "until the first day of the next term."

The next item of these common-law records (on the other side of the page from the above quotation) begins as follows:

"At a Circuit Court held for the County of Hardy at the Court House thereof on Monday the 21st day of May in the year 1866 . . . the said County of

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1 Records of the Virginia Court for the District of Hampshire, Hardy and Pendleton Counties—Judicial Circuit 22—at Hardy County Courthouse, Moorefield, W. Va.
Hardy being a part of the 11th Judicial Circuit of the State of West Virginia.” Edward C. Bunker was then Judge.

John M. Duffy already had been appointed Clerk of the new Court; and an entry appears concerning the appointment of Charles Lobb as Deputy Clerk.

There is a list of cases of “the Commonwealth” against various accused persons, and then the statement of the attorney for the Commonwealth of West Virginia that “with the assent of the Court” he “will not further prosecute the above causes.”

Nearly five years had passed without records of circuit-court, common-law justice. How did Moorefield and Hardy County secure legal justice during these tragic years?

The record of the life of Thomas Maslin, Hardy County representative of the Virginia Secession Convention, who had refused to vote, aye or no, is very important in this period of Hardy County history. So is the record of Abijah Dolly of the Grant-County part of the Hardy County of the Civil War.

The first reference to Thomas Maslin as a “Gentleman Justice” of the Hardy County Court is in the record of the Court’s proceedings of May 6, 1850.

Eleven years later, in 1861, he was still on the rolls of the justices of the County Court, which “court” under the ancient Virginia county system of government, had local executive and legislative powers as well as limited local judicial powers, and in fact ruled the county. At nearly all the court’s sessions for the last nine years he had been presiding justice.

On March 3, 1861, the Court took the following action:

“Ordered that all the Acting Justices of the Court be summoned to appear here on the first day of the next term to take into consideration the propriety of appropriating means for the purpose of arming and equipping the Volunteer force of the
History of Hardy County, of the Borderland 83

County of Hardy as authorized by a special act of the Legislature of Virginia." Maslin, Hardy County delegate to the Virginia Conference, was not present.

The justices of the Special Court of April 1, 1861, were: Charles Williams, Cyrus Welton, Aaron Baker, Alfred Taylor, John Bowman (or Bruman?), J. C. B. Mullin, John Michael, Job W. Hutton, James Davidson, William F. Piper, A. W. Smith, Hugh McKurn (?), Samuel Harper, Milton Taylor, P. M. Taylor, Samuel Bean, M. D. Neville, Abijah Dolly, Edward Williams, Jacob W. May and William S. Cunningham. Tribal leaders — leaders of the clans—thus had gathered in this ancient Anglo-Saxon type of "court" to consider arming themselves for war.

These men of a possible violent borderland were very cautious, loath to commit themselves to one side or another. They voted, nineteen to two, against an appropriation at that time for arming a Hardy County militia of Virginia.

Another session was held in April and two in May. Thomas Maslin easily could have returned from Richmond after the secession vote of April 19th in time to have been present at the two May sessions, but he was not present. It seems to this writer, in view of Maslin's failure to vote at the secession convention, that he probably was at home debating about the vital questions before him and his neighbors. Justices John Michael and Abijah Dolly also probably were doing much thinking in the process of making their later historic decisions.

Abijah Dolly was born in the part of Hardy County which became Grant County in 1866, near the Pendleton County line. His grandfather, John Dahle (who anglicized the spelling of his name) was a Revolutionary-war Hessian soldier, a member of a select company which served under the command of Lord Cornwallis, who after the war settled in Pendleton County on what was then the far frontier
of white man's Virginia. John Dahle (Dolly) had a
dozen sons who settled in various parts of the United
States and the world.

Of these, Andrew Dolly, married Susanna Smith,
and lived on the north fork of the South Branch
river. He belonged to the Methodist Episcopal
Church.

In 1861, Abijah Dolly, forty-four years old, son
of Andrew and Susan, lived at strategic Greenland
Gap. He had been married twenty-three years to
Jamima Michael, who bore him the first of his two
groups of nine children. Of his five sons by this first
marriage three became Federal mounted rangers,
two of them died in this service which was first or­
ganized in 1832, as an auxiliary of the regular army
in the Black Hawk War.¹

One of the Hardy County justices soon made up
his mind as to which course to take. The name of
John Michael soon appeared on the rolls of the sec­
ond convention of northwestern Virginia at Wheel­
ing as delegate from Hardy County. Like many of
the other so-called delegates he probably was largely
self-appointed. Apparently there is no record of his
having been elected in Hardy County.

This convention met from June 11th to June 25th
and from August 6th to August 21st, 1861. Two
courses to its desired goal of a separate state of West
Virginia were debated. One was openly to avow its
revolutionary nature and goal, by secession from
Virginia and setting up a new state by outright force
of arms. The other, favored by some constitution
and law-minded members, was to set up a new or
"restored" government of Virginia; appeal to Con­
gress for its acceptance as the legal government, in­
stead of the duly elected Richmond Government;
after such acceptance to secure the constitutionally
necessary permission of the new (alleged) Virginia
government for the partition of the state into two

¹ Debates and Proceedings of the First Constitutional Convention of West Vir­
ginia; 1940; vol. 1; pp. 70-71 of the "Introduction".
states; and then to secure the necessary approval of Congress. The first course clearly would be against the Constitution of the United States, and thus probably would not lead to acceptance of the revolutionary state of West Virginia. The other course, whose essentially revolutionary nature was veneered by a specious legality, was accepted by the Convention. West Virginia, calling itself the government of all Virginia, was to try to give itself legal permission to form the State of West Virginia.

The "First General Assembly" of the "Restored Government of Virginia" met at Wheeling, July 1, 1861. The erstwhile Virginia county court justice John Michael was "Delegate" from Hardy County. James Carskadon of Hampshire County allegedly represented Hardy, Hampshire and Morgan counties as Senator.

Concerning the election of May 22, 1862, by which Francis H. Pierpont was alleged to have been elected Governor of Virginia, no votes from Hardy or any of the other counties bordering on old Virginia were recorded. Of the nearby counties, Randolph cast 78 votes and Tucker 104 votes for Pierpont; to the eastward, Fairfax and Alexandria Counties recorded considerably more votes for Pierpont—248 for Fairfax and 198 for Alexandria.1 Another instance of the borderland not voting in this time of change.

On November 26, 1861, the First West Virginia Constitutional Convention met at Wheeling. By this time Abijah Dolly had made his decision; by the aid of Union soldiers stationed at Keyser (New Creek)2, he had been elected by a few people as representative of Hardy County at the Convention. In the roll call of the first meeting he reported present.

1 Lewis, V. A., ed.: Second biennial report of W. Va. Dept. of Archives and History: 1908; p. 175.
2 Debates and Proceedings of the First Constitutional Convention of W. Va.; vol. 1; pp. 70-71. This publication is authority for all succeeding factual statements pertaining to the events of the Convention.
Sheets reported present. He was only twenty-seven years old, had been an employee of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and was commissioned by Governor Pierpont of the revolutionary Virginia government to recruit militia for the defense of the railroad.

That afternoon a second delegate from Hampshire County, T. R. Carskadon, was seated. He was an idealist and a reformer. Although his father was a slave owner and a member of the Virginia General Assembly, he had advocated the abolition of slavery to the extent of having to flee from Virginia for his life. Like Dolly, he was elected as a delegate to the convention by the aid of Federal soldiers of New Creek (Keyser). Later in life he became the leader of the Prohibition Party of West Virginia.

There were no delegates from Pendleton County to the south of Hardy, or Morgan County to the north of Hampshire County, or from any of the other present-day eastern border counties of West Virginia. Thus this whole tier of border counties was represented only by a Baltimore and Ohio Railroad man, a very young, idealistic, southern abolitionist, and a politician from the western part of Hardy County, which later was divided from the county. Here was another instance of the border people's "lying low", anxiously watching the catastrophic events.

On November 27, 1861, Abijah Dolly was made a member of the committee on Fundamental and General Provisions, and, on December 2, a member of the Committee on the Boundaries of West Virginia. George Washington Sheets of Hampshire also was a member of this important boundary committee.

On December 6, 1861, A. J. Wilson, delegate of Ritchie County (near the Ohio River), native of Randolph County (the western neighbor of Hardy),
introduced the following resolution: "That it shall be the duty of the Legislature of this State to make suitable provisions to district and lay off the counties of this Commonwealth in School Districts for free schools, to be supported by such portion of the Literary Fund of the State of Virginia as the State may be entitled to, all moneys accruing to the State by fines ... and all moneys accruing to the State from confiscation of property of rebels residing within the boundaries of this state, and two-thirds of the capitation tax ... shall be applied to the establishment and support of public free schools."

This was the third resolution of this nature, the other two having been introduced on December 27th by A. Parker, a native of Massachusetts, and H. Sinsel, grandson of a captured Hessian soldier in the service of the British during the Revolutionary War. Another resolution for free schools, proposed by William E. Stevenson of Wood County, an abolitionist, a native of Pennsylvania of Scotch-Irish ancestry, who in 1868 became Governor of West Virginia, made no reference to confiscated property of confederates. And in the Report of the Committee on Education, which was approved on February 12, 1862, no reference to such confiscated property was made.

There was a prolonged, contentious debate over the location of the eastern boundary of the state. Some delegates wanted to make the Allegheny Mountains the eastern boundary, limiting West Virginia to "the thirty-nine counties", others wanted to have forty-four counties, including the four counties east of the Alleghenies through which the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad passed (Jefferson, Berkeley, Morgan and Hampshire), and Hardy County as a buffer county, whose rivers and trade moved northward toward the Baltimore and Ohio. Others, including Abijah Dolly of Hardy, wanted to add Pendleton County, Hardy's southern neighbor, to
the list, or else Pendleton, Pocahontas and Greenbrier counties. Another group, led mainly by James H. Brown of Charleston, Kanawha County, also including Abijah Dolly, argued that the boundaries should comprehend the counties of Pocahontas, Greenbrier, Monroe, Mercer, McDowell, Buchanan and Wise. And some, including J. H. Brown, proposed to add the following counties in present-day Virginia (in addition to Buchanan and Wise, already proposed): Lee, Scott, Russell, Tazewell, Bland, Giles, Craig, Allegheny, Bath, Highland, London, Alexandria, Fairfax, Northampton and Accomac.

On December 6, 1861, James H. Brown said...

"We stand here, as we may say, on the confines of two great confederacies... These southern people claim that the Union is already severed and that you never shall spread the flag of the country over them again. The question no longer is a matter of right but of power—can you restore the Union?... We are along its border. Suppose the people of the free states should demur, and the Union, at the end of some two or three years of expensive and ruinous warfare to the whole nation... should say: We have found ourselves utterly... incompetent to restore this union as we expected; we are tired of this business;... we will turn our members out of Congress and send men there who will make a treaty with these confederates... Where would we be if we are to have a mountain barrier here, and that hostile foe on this side of that mountain? Our fellow citizens along the River (the Ohio) may feel somewhat secure, but when you go back to the counties of Wyoming and Nicholas within these bounds of the thirty-nine counties—ask those people what security they will have with hostile armies all around their border and in their midst... I say, sir, if we are to have security and peace to our homes and firesides except along the border where you can cross the river when the foe shall come; and I have
no doubt some of the gentlemen here who are opposing the introduction of these counties as our security crossed the river recently to save their bacon when the foe was at hand. But those of us too far from the river have too long a race to run at every driving in of the pickets... why hesitate... when we know the feelings of the Union men (in these border counties) are with us—while we know, too, the secessionists are with us nowhere? In my county, although they (the secessionists) are in the minority I can say candidly they are as honorable as any man anywhere, and would not stoop to do an unworthy act... They conscientiously and honestly believe secession is right, and that you are doing wrong in attempting to coerce them...

Here we have the plea of the borderer: try to understand the other side of the border; be as tolerant of it as possible without giving up your basic principles; prepare for possible compromise with it—in the interest of self-preservation and your own evolving ideas, which may change in the light of debate and the heat of conflict with opposing ideas; if you have to choose sides between extremists, still try to live-and-let-live as much as you can.

Some discerning reader may say that delegate Brown's county of Kanawha is not near the Virginia border; but at the time Brown made this speech it was about twenty-five miles from the proposed southeastern boundary of West Virginia; and in it there were many slave-employing plantations.

In speaking on December 9th against the admission of many of the proposed additional counties, Reverend J. S. Pomeroy, native of Pennsylvania, delegate of Hancock County (at the extreme northern tip of the Northern Panhandle of West Virginia) said: “Take the oath? I would as lief swear a rattlesnake never to bite again and let it go as to swear one of these fellows (secessionists).... They are in a dreadful predicament. They are engaged in a re-
bellion that they do not see the end of, and they are surrounded by circumstances that might very strongly influence them in taking such an oath, and to come out here and say, yes, we are loyal to the government; and we are loyal to it as we understand it . . . I think the members of this convention . . . will vote against this amendment . . . It may be that it will be necessary to take out Hampshire and Hardy from this other group of (excluded) counties. It may be that owing to the peculiar circumstances that surround them it will be necessary to take them out of the group. I do not know that that will be done; but I do hope that this convention is not going to do that which will materially injure the prospects of the new State at the city of Washington. A man would . . . say: Why these people say that . . . they are just about like we are over in Ohio . . . he will look along and find a certain county included that has more slaves in it than white people. Why, I have been voting for years against this principle and yet you ask me to vote for it . . . You introduce a disloyal element—introduce men that have been warring against us all the time . . ."

Here we have the frequent intolerance of the deep, safe, non-understanding interior.

Delegate P. G. Van Winkle of Wood County, a railroad promoter and president, pointed out that in all the counties considered for inclusion in the new state slaves were only $8^{1/2}\%$ of the population. The percent of slaves, he said, "cannot characterize the State one way or another—alter its character, its pursuits or its business . . . It can never be devoted to cotton or rice or sugar planting; and it must be an agricultural state; and we all know that where agriculture, food growing, is the main business, that institution (slavery) does not continue to flourish. Let it be, sir; it will die naturally. By the very fact that slave labor is not profitable in an agricultural country it will diminish faster than any human
laws can make it diminish ... I hope in consideration of the numerous material interests that are involved in saving, as it were, for ourselves this great highway between the East and West (the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad), gentlemen will find their interests bound up with the bringing in of those counties ..."

With reference to “the counties embracing the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad at their northern border”, Van Winkle said: “Last spring, we know, from more than one of these counties delegates were sent here, and some were thrown into prison and prevented from coming. Hardy and Hampshire are represented here. Morgan had appointed delegates, but I do not know whether they have got here. But other information we can get all leads us to believe the Union feeling in these counties, whether in the majority or not, is yet very strong, and that they would probably choose to unite with us.”

This debate as to what counties tentatively to include and as to whether or not a vote of the people of the selected counties on the subject would be held, and if so the type and time of the vote, went on and on. Several hundred printed pages of the convention’s debates pertain to the problem.

On December 10th, a vote was taken as to whether or not the district consisting of the counties of Lee, Scott, Wise, Buchanan, Russell, Tazewell, Bland, Giles and Craig would be included “if a majority of the votes cast within each of said counties” were in favor of joining the new state. Seventeen, including Dolly of Hardy and Carskador and Sheets of Hampshire, voted for the resolution to include the counties; and twenty-eight voted against it.

Then the question of the other proposed additional counties was again considered.

Reverend Gordon Battele of the Methodist-Episcopal Church, abolitionist, native of the State of Ohio and delegate of Ohio County, said: “I am desirous, or at least willing, that the railroad coun-
ties should be identified with this new state, and Hardy which is not a railroad county . . . notwithstanding we expect eastern Virginia to become in a certain sense loyal, yet it will be her policy, I apprehend, in the future, as it has always been in the past, to embarrass this great line of improvement (the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad), which is so indispensable not merely to northwestern Virginia, but . . . to all West Virginia . . . I desire, for one, to have every rod of that great improvement within the lines of this new state . . . ”

W. T. Willey, of Monongalia County, moved to strike the name of Allegheny County from the resolution. He said: “By including it we not only do violence to the wishes of the people of that county, but we would saddle upon ourselves a considerable part of the public debt of Virginia” (due to several million dollars spent by Virginia on internal improvements in Allegheny County).

P. G. Van Winkle then made a long speech in which he said that for years he had visited Richmond in the interest of railroads with which he was connected. “My principal business there, sir, besides endeavoring to get some legislation for our company (the Northwestern Virginia Railroad) has been to fight off in the best way I could the attempts that were made in every session of the legislature . . . to place restrictions on this Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. The whole course of legislation towards it has been characterized by a spirit—I hardly know how to characterize it, for it would dignify it to call it by the name of rivalry, competition or jealousy—or something else that could not bear to see prosperity in a rival city in another state to which that road was contributing.” Pointing to the economic advantages to the whole state of West Virginia provided by the railroad line, he argued eloquently for approval of the counties.
On December 12th, a vote was taken on the resolution: "That the district comprising the counties of Jefferson, Berkeley, Morgan, Hampshire, Hardy, Pendleton and Frederick shall also be included in, and constitute part of, the proposed new State—provided a majority of the votes cast within the said district ... and a majority of the said counties, are in favor of the adoption of the Constitution to be submitted by this Convention." Thirty-three, including the delegates from Hardy and Hampshire, voted in favor of the resolution, and eleven against it.

By this involved process, Hardy and Pendleton counties thus tentatively were included in West Virginia, despite the lack of a delegate from Pendleton County. Apparently the presence of Abijah Dolly at the Convention was an important factor in this decision.

On December 13th, Delegate Sheets of Hampshire moved that Hampshire and Hardy counties be admitted peremptorily to the state, without any vote by the people of the counties on the State Constitution.

His colleague, Delegate Carskadon, opposed the resolution. Carskadon said: "We have about 14 precincts in our county. We opened polls at two precincts, and there was less than sixty votes cast at the two precincts. At the precinct at which I was elected ... there was but 39 votes cast, I think. Seventeen were against division of the state ... Because they were afraid ... that we would be included without a chance (of the new state's boundary) to go to the Blue Ridge ... They object to being the border, the tail end, of the new state."

Delegate D. Lamb stated: "There were in Hampshire County 16 votes against at Piedmont precinct and 179 votes at the other precinct in favor of the new state, amounting to 195. The voters of that county include two thousand. I have been told
that of the 179 votes which were cast at New Creek precinct 100 were cast by a company of soldiers stationed there.”

Mr. Carskadon then said: “I was at New Creek during the whole two days’ election . . . there was not over 39 votes cast of citizens of that vicinity who had a right to vote for delegates for this convention. The rest were soldiers.”

C. J. Stuart of Doddridge said: “. . . Let me say to the gentleman from Hardy that my vote will be influenced by whatever his views are on this subject.”

Then Abijah Dolly made one of his few speeches; it consisted of two sentences. “Mr. President, I am here to represent Hardy, and my constituents wish to come into the new state. I was sent here to answer for them; and I would wish my vote to be taken according to the amendment.”

The resolution was defeated, with Dolly’s and Sheets’ votes on the losing side.

Dolly and Sheets thus obviously were doubtful whether the result of a plebiscite in Hardy and Hampshire counties would be in favor of the new state, in which they aspired to be leading citizens. But young Carskadon of Hampshire apparently had a more democratic and unselfish view of the problem; he wanted the majority of the people of each doubtful county to decide it.

On Dec. 11, 1861, W. T. Willey of Monogalia County, self-taught orator and a conservative, born in a West Virginia log cabin, said:

“And now, sir, I make this proposition: that we want all the territory to be included in this new state embraced within the counties of Pendleton, Hardy, Hampshire, Morgan, Fredrick, Berkeley and Jefferson . . . I believe that if we cannot include this territory our new state enterprises will be crippled in all its future efforts to increase in population, in wealth and in power, as a state. Sir, the Baltimore
and Ohio Railroad is the great artery that feeds our country... We cannot do without it... And, sir, when we shall have separated from eastern Virginia, with feelings of hostility intensified by the conflict that is now going on between us, will it be likely that the hostility of the legislation of Virginia towards this road will be any less hereafter than it has been heretofore?... Baltimore is the competitor of the favorite cities of eastern Virginia... for the very purpose of building up their own interests and of crippling the prosperity and overpowering influence of the great competitor in Maryland, Baltimore, they will be induced to interpose all possible impediments on the good working of this road... unless we keep this road perfectly within our borders, and cut it off from all control of their legislation, its great benefits to us as a road and as a means of connection with our past market in the world, will be greatly crippled and diminished...

"Moreover, sir, this territory is a very valuable territory to us. The physical formation of the country all tends toward the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. The market of this portion of the state we propose to include is Baltimore. Its streams flow to this road—cut them off from us and our friends as they are, and where will they find any market at all. They will never cross our mountains to come down here to the Ohio River..."

Later that day Delegate Parker stated: "If our state fails to go through Congress it will be on account of slavery... The valley (Shenandoah Valley of Virginia) for the last fifteen years has been growing slaves to sell, and then at a large profit. New York and New Jersey...never had that chance. If they had it they probably would have availed themselves of it as soon as the valley of Virginia...

"... The first question would seem to be: Do the people want to come?... Now, the evidence is that the people over there do not want to come..."
The invitation is plain—that ordinance which has been published, and stood here for the last five months. We know that they have seen that ordinance and read it. What response has Highland, Pendleton, and those counties up there? Not one word except our friends are here—two or three—three I think—two from Hampshire and one from Hardy. Well, how far have those gentlemen got along towards coming up to what we want? Why they said last night they had come up here, but were not ready to come in. They must have some four or five months more to see if the rest of the adjoining counties would come in with their counties. It seems to me, taking the whole evidence, the preponderance of it is that they do not want to come in.

"... The gentleman from Monongalia remarks that the influence of this (Baltimore and Ohio) corporation at Washington would carry our new state right through there. I have heard it stated that several of the leaders of the Baltimore road were strong confederate men ... if that fact be so, why then of course they would hurt more than benefit us.

"... Show that we are diverse precisely from this old slave oligarchy ... when the people are ready and want to come we could go to the Blue Ridge ... The Blue Ridge then would be our boundary. We would not zig-zag around here with a frontier like a saw ... When that comes why it would be a practicable thing. But as it is now, ... the whole work of this committee ... seems to be an impracticability."

Later, Delegate Van Winkle stated: "I only wish to say, sir, in addition, that if we are to take any part of these counties and exclude another, there is one consideration which should induce us to retain Pendleton (in addition to Hardy), at least. If gentlemen will look at their maps they will find a ridge of high land, forming the boundary of High-
land County; the rivers in that valley, between the Shenandoah mountains and the Allegheny, run north and south through Highland county. Therefore, it seems that Pendleton would be necessarily connected with the counties to the north of it; and to separate it from them would not do it justice. It is a county that is free from one objection, at least—it has very few slaves.”

In the meantime what had happened in Hardy County? What course had Thomas Maslin and other leaders decided to take? The last Hardy County Court attended by Justice Abijah Dolly was that of May 6, 1861. As stated before, Thomas Maslin was not present.

In the records of that session the following passage appears: “Ordered, all the acting Justices of the County having been previously summoned and a majority of them being actually present and concurring, that the sum of three thousand dollars be appropriated for the equipment of volunteer military companies of the County; that county bonds be issued to that amount redeemable as follows—one third thereof in six months; one third in eighteen months; and the residue in thirty months; said bonds to bear six per cent per annum interest, to be paid annually on such of them as may not be redeemed in said six months; and that Thomas Maslin, John Ligget, M. D. Neville, William F. Piper, A. M. Wood and Charles Williams, who are hereby appointed a committee for the purpose, do superintend the issuing of and sale of said Bonds, and the expenditure of the funds arising therefrom for the purpose aforesaid. It is further ordered that funds be provided for the redemption of said bonds as follows—one third thereof in the levy of the present year and the residue in the levies of the next two succeeding years. One-fourth of the whole of said funds to be raised by a capitation tax on the tithable persons
of the county and the remaining three-fourths by a tax upon property."

In the next court, of June 3, 1861, Thomas Maslin was presiding justice again. He thus had made his decision and contrary to that of Alijah Dolly, it was in favor of the South; since the record of Maslin's life, including the long list of his loans at the time of his death, indicates that he greatly valued money and liked to work with it, it appears that his appointment to be in charge of the fiscal committee might have been an important factor in bringing him back to the fold.

According to the historical documents pertaining to Hardy County seen by this writer and the oral traditions heard by him, during the Civil War the great majority of the people of the present-day territory of Hardy County allied themselves with the South; and apparently most but not all of the residents of present-day Grant County sided with the North. Hardy County thus was split in sentiment, with the dividing line in the mountains west of Moorefield.

The meetings recorded in the County Court Record Book ended with that of March 3, 1862, at which Thomas Maslin was presiding justice.

However, there are at present in the County Clerk's office loose leaves of records of Old Virginia County Court meetings held on: Nov. 3, 1862, at the County Courthouse; May 4, 1863, at the Courthouse; Aug. 3, 1863, the Courthouse; May 2, 1864, "held at the house of John Mathias on Lost River"; April 3, 1865, at the County Courthouse; and May 15, 1865, at the Courthouse. There also might have been records of other county courts in this period, which have become lost. The tops of some of these loose leaves are very much darkened and fly-specked, as though they long have been partly exposed in some other than the Courthouse archives.
At each of the above-mentioned courts Thomas Maslin was presiding officer. Other justices were: William S. Cunningham; Charles Williams; John C. B. Mullin; Alfred Taylor; Edward Williams; Samuel Harper; Alman Jenkins; John Bowman; Jacob May; Job W. Hutton.

On April 3, 1865, Maslin and Cunningham served on the court, and on May 15, 1865, the last recorded Hardy County Court of Old Virginia was held. The justices were: Thomas Maslin, Charles Williams and Alfred Taylor.

It is possible that when the Union Army was in control of Moorefield and Hardy County, martial law prevailed, and that when the Confederates again wrested control of the much-fought-over area Thomas Maslin and whatever other justices that he could find came out of their hiding places, or from behind the Confederate lines, and held court again. Once Maslin made up his mind, he held to his side with a grim persistence that one may divine in the formal records as a grim adherence through years of war to the task of providing Old Virginia civil justice and administration in his county.

After the bill for admitting the new state of West Virginia was passed by the Congress, amended to exclude slavery in the new state, President Lincoln debated as to whether or not to sign it. On December 23, 1862 he wrote to the six members of his cabinet: . . . "I respectfully ask of each of you an opinion in writing . . . : First, is the said act constitutional? Second, is the said act expedient?" Four members replied in the affirmative, but the Attorney-General, the Postmaster-General and the Secretary of State voted against the act.¹

At length, on December 31, 1862, Lincoln signed the act. He stated: "... It is said that the admission of West Virginia is secession and tolerated only because it is our secession. Well, if we call it by that

¹ Doughter and Pence: p. 55.
In the vote of West Virginia on March 26, 1863 on the proposed Constitution of West Virginia as recently amended regarding slavery, 76 votes were cast in Hardy County for the Constitution and none against it; in Hampshire 75 for and 9 against it; in Pendleton 181 for and none against it; in Randolph 167 for and 13 against it. These very low total numbers of votes—and especially the almost nonexistent negative votes in this border region, from which a large number of men had gone into the Confederate armed forces—clearly indicate that the majority of the people of this area did not vote and possibly would not have voted to be included in the new state.

But, on paper, they were included in it. The question then as to whether they actually would be included in West Virginia became an issue of the battlefield.
CHAPTER VII

About 7,000 West Virginians fought on the side of the South. One of the twelve companies of West Virginians that were in the famous Stonewall Jackson Brigade was from Hardy County. Another was from Hampshire County; two were from Berkeley; and four from Jefferson County. The Eastern Panhandle thus was strongly represented in this Brigade, as well as in other units. As might have been expected, most of the Confederate soldiers of West Virginia were from the border area of the Eastern Panhandle and the Kanawha River Valley.¹

In 1862 “Stonewall” Jackson and the men under his orders, including the company from Hardy County, won immortal fame in western Virginia and in nearby Maryland. Thomas Maslin and the other Southern sympathizers of Hardy County must have felt proud of their fighting men, and the brilliant West Virginia-born military leader whose consummate military skill and qualities of leadership led them to perform feats of endurance and courage that probably were beyond their ordinary ability.

In 1862 Confederate General Loring, under Stonewall Jackson’s orders, militarily controlled much of the South Branch Valley from his headquarters in Romney. Then, to Jackson’s disgust, the Confederate Secretary of War ordered that Jackson have Loring fall back from Romney to Winchester. “Stonewall” obeyed, but wrote to Governor Letcher of Old Virginia: “... As the order was given without consulting me and is abandoning to the enemy what has cost me much preparation, expense and exposure to secure, and is in direct conflict with my military plans, and implies a want of confidence in my ability to judge when General Loring’s

¹ Bougher and Pence: Chapter 4, p. 33.
troops should fall back, and is an attempt to control military operations in detail from the Secretary's desk, at a distance, I have, for the reason set forth in accompanying paper, requested to be ordered back to the Institute (Virginia Military Institute); and, if this is denied me, then to have my resignation accepted."

Jackson later was persuaded to have his tentative resignation withdrawn from the Confederate War Office files.

In 1862 part of Hardy County Cavalry Company B, of the 11th Battalion of General Turner Ashby's Brigade in Jackson's Army, was ordered to go to Moorefield to get information about Federal soldiers that might be moving towards the Shenandoah Valley and about a reported organization of spies in parts of Hardy County that reported movements of Confederates to the Federal Army.

Commanded by Captain W. H. Harness, this company proceeded via Lost River and Howard's Lick to a hidden encampment at Gunpowder Springs, near Moorefield. There they secured information that the spies or informers they sought probably were the "Swamp Dragons" on Brake's Run, far up the "South Fork". This was the region where, four score years before, the Revolutionary-War Tories led by John Brake had lived.

Captain Harness, who was well known in that area, then placed another man in command of a detachment which went to Brake's Run. Years later, this man, T. K. Cartwell, wrote: "It is well known that Federal scouts wore gray uniforms and it was deemed best to approach the house owned by Brake and play the 'Jesse Scout' trick of war. This was regarded by some as reckless, as the detachment might be ambushed. The writer was allowed to try the experiment of deception. A few men found in the house readily accepted the situation and eagerly told what they knew about Rebels, expressing a de-
sire that we would some day capture that Captain Harness, Samuel Alexander, Jim Lobb and several others, members of our company. They had just returned from the Federal camp and had heard this scouting party had gone in that direction, and were fully prepared to expect their arrival any hour. This was a bit of news that had to be heeded; and the party was preparing to move off, when Brake the owner of the property insisted the boys have dinner. This was hastily taken by a few, the remainder standing guard to give notice of the approach of Federals. Brake was informed that he and his party must accompany the detachment to camp, and there be identified as loyal and true.

The strategy of the Union Army in northeastern West Virginia was to maintain control of the vital Baltimore and Ohio railroad. The strategic value of the railroad and the geographic position of Hardy County thus placed the county in the middle of a battleground. The seesaw fighting there is indicated in many documents, for example:

In a telegram of August 22, 1861, Federal Colonel R. L. McCook at New Creek advised John Michaels, representative of Hardy County in the new Virginia legislature, that two days before that date fifty Confederates had entered northern Hardy County to capture James B. Babb, were stopped on a mountain trail by twenty Hardy County federal home guards, and that 44 of the Confederates were killed. He stated that he was ordering foraging parties to take supplies for the federal soldiers at Monterey (Highland County), reported that eight miles south of Petersburg there was a force of 48 Confederates, and urged that arms be provided for the Federal "home guards" of Hardy County.

On October 25, 1861, Captain Daniel C. M. Shell of the Hardy County Federal Home Guards tele-

graphed Governor Pierpont from Oakland, Maryland, wanting to know if the Governor was going to send clothing and ammunition which was so badly needed by the "home guards."

In a telegram from Paw Paw, Virginia, February 22, 1862, to Governor F. H. Pierpont, Union General Lander referred to the possibility of some Virginia houses having been burned without his orders, and stated that he was being conservative in his military operations. But, he said, if the Governor so desires, I will "clean everything as I go from here to Winchester or to Moorefield."

Peter C. Harshborger of Federal Army Camp Durfee in Hardy County on April 17, 1862, wrote Governor Pierpont, protesting against the removal of Federal Home Guards of Western Virginia from their home localities. He said that the men enlisted with the understanding that they would stay in western Virginia, that they felt that they were already out of this location, and wanted to know if they could be ordered still further away from their homes.

In entry No. 711 of the F. H. Pierpont papers there appears an age-old plaint about war and its aftermath of suffering. On May 19, 1862, Magdalene Hamsted of Greenland Gap, Grant-County area of Hardy County, wrote to Governor Pierpont that her son of the Greenland Company of Union soldiers had been captured, held in prison at Richmond, contracted measles there, and had become blind. Stating she had spent all she had to get her son out of prison, she requested that the state pay for the expense of removing him to and treating him at the Institute for the Blind.

1 The West Virginia Historical Records Survey: Calendar of the Francis Harrison Pierpont Letters and Papers: 1940; entry 324.
2 Calendar of the Francis Harrison Pierpont Letters and Papers: entry 329, p. 89.
3 F. H. Pierpont Papers; entry 628.
4 F. H. Pierpont Papers; entry 711.
In June, 1862, Federal Colonel Harris ordered the Tenth Virginia (Federal) Volunteers to leave new creek (Keyser) for duty in the West. On June 18th James H. Jarbor and A. W. Barclay wrote to Governor Pierpont from New Creek, protesting this removal, stating that the men were told when the company was organized that their duty would be in Hampshire, Hardy and adjacent counties.¹

On October 18, 1862, General B. F. Kelley sent a telegram from Cumberland, Maryland, to Governor Pierpont, stating that he was receiving frequent reports of the approach of Confederate troops via Moorefield and Romney.² On December 4th, Kelley again telegraphed Governor Pierpont, reporting an engagement at Moorefield. The Union force consisted of part of the Ringgold battalion and a company of the First Virginia Union Regiment; the Confederates comprised two companies of “Jeb” Stuart’s cavalry. Kelley reported that the Federals had attacked and routed the Confederates, killed and wounded several, and captured a Confederate captain and nine men. One Union soldier was wounded and three horses were killed.³

In a letter from Moorefield dated December 17, 1862, Lieut. John McAdams (camped at Moorefield) sent some Confederate papers taken at Wardensville, and requested a leave of ten days, so that he could return to his home in Wheeling and help his family prepare for the winter.⁴

In this winter of 1862-63, Major-General John C. Fremont, famous explorer, relieved General Rosencrans as Commander of the Federal Army in West Virginia. Long afterward, in 1891, Francis H. Pierpont wrote about his association with General Fremont at Wheeling. Pierpont said that General Fremont was dominated by his wife, daughter of

¹ Pierpont Papers, entry 761.
² F. H. Pierpont Letters and Papers; entry 1162.
³ F. H. Pierpont Papers; entry 1251.
⁴ F. H. Pierpont Papers; entry 1274.
Thomas Hart Benton, famous Missouri Senator—an “elegant, accomplished woman, with large information on the political history of the country.” Pierpont also stated that there was much complaint of the Americans of the Federal Army about the fact that nearly all of General Freemont’s staff officers were young Germans and Frenchmen who did not understand English very well.

He referred to a story that was told of one of Freemont’s experiences in Hardy County. Near Petersburg, General Freemont ordered General Clousaret, a French member of the staff, to proceed with several regiments, in search of a Confederate force reported to be about eight or ten miles away. Clousaret was gone only a few hours. When Freemont demanded an explanation it was said that all he could understand of Clousaret’s reply was: “De language so; I took the road; I could no understand.”

After 1862 most of the fighting in and near Hardy County was of the guerilla type, with both sides at times taking property from the residents.

McNeill’s Confederate Rangers, including many men from Hardy County, became famous for their exploits in this guerilla warfare—including a remarkable raid by sixty rangers on Cumberland, Md., then surrounded by a Federal army of about 8,000 men, and the successful capture of two Federal generals—General George Crook and General B. F. Kelley.

“In 1863,” wrote Maxwell and Swisher, in describing another raid of McNeill’s Rangers, “General Milroy was moving his army down the South Branch from the direction of Pendleton County, and had advanced into Hardy without meeting any rebels. He had a large wagon train which moved in the middle of his army, half his troops being behind and half in front. Captain McNeill, with sixty men,
was a few miles below Moorefield, and conceived the idea of attacking Milroy ... He well knew that the Federals would make quick work of his men if given the opportunity. He accordingly selected a spot near Old Fields (near Moorefield) where he could attack and escape."

When half of Milroy’s army had passed, and the wagons were exposed, McNeill’s men made a descent upon them, and captured 47 horses before a general alarm was given. The Union troops were taken as much by surprise as if an enemy had dropped from the clouds. Some of the teamsters were panic-stricken and cut their horses from the wagons and mounting them, fled along with the rebels, in their confusion mistaking them for friends. Several were thus taken prisoners.

“McNeill made his escape.”

This incident was somewhat typical of many such raids by McNeill’s rangers — often in Hardy County.

If the civil-war-enduring sons and daughters of Hardy County could have gone to sleep and lived again, in dreams, the experiences of their ancestors of one hundred years before, the struggles of the Indian fighters would have seemed more primitive and savage and bitter, but still similar to their own violent time of trouble. These years were spent in the travail of trying to “make a living” with war all about them, in hiding property from raiders (who were mainly Federal in the present-day part of their Hardy County), in raiding and being raided.

During the civil war fifteen minor battles were fought in Hardy County. Nine of these were at Moorefield, four at Wardensville, one on the South Fork and one at Lost River Gap.\(^1\) Hardy County thus was still a violent borderland—but now it was on the warring border between two nearly equal opposing forces of white man’s alleged civilization.

Major George Alfred Lawrence, British lawyer and novelist, author of the popular Guy Livingston (1857) and enemy as he said of "purely Republican institutions, desirous of adventure and service in the cause of the American Confederacy," came to the United States and, in 1863, tried to slip through the Union Army lines, to join the Confederate Army. He tried to get through at Greenland Gap, where lived Abijah Dolly.

In his book Border and Bastille (London; 1863) Lawrence wrote that in the early spring of 1863 he left Oakland, Maryland. After crossing a bridge over the North Branch River and swimming his horse over the South Branch on the night of April 3rd he stopped at a cabin, got further instructions and went on through a "new-ground." He wrote:

"Now, an up-country pasture, freshly cleared, is a most unpleasant place to cross, after nightfall: the stumps are all left standing, and felled trees lie all about—thick as boulders on a Dartmoor hill-side; then, however, a steady moon was shining, and Falcon picked his way daintily through the timber; hopping lightly, now and then, over a trunk bigger than the rest, but never losing the faint track; we got over the high bars, too, safely—hitting them hard. The wood path led out upon a clearing after a while; here I was fairly puzzled. There was no sign of human habitation, except a rough hut, some hundred yards to my right, that I took to be an outlying cattle shed, nor a glimmer of a light anywhere.

"I have not yet written the name of the man I was seeking; contrasts of time and place made it so very remarkable, that I venture to break the rule of anonyms. Mortimer Nevil. Who would have dreamt of lighting on, perhaps, the two proudest patronymics of baronial England, in a log-hut crowning the ridge of the Alleghenies?

"While I wandered hither and thither in utter bewilderment, my ear caught a sound, as of one hewing timber; I rode for it, and soon found that the
hovel I had passed thrice was the desired homestead. Truly, it was fitting that the possible descendant of the King-maker should reveal himself by the rattle of his axe.

"It is needless to say, that I was received courteously and kindly. The mountaineer promised his services readily; albeit he spoke by no means confidently of our chances of getting through. The company of Western Virginians that had recently marched into Greenland, was said to be ususally vigilant; only the week before, a professional blockade-runner had been captured, who had made his way backwards and forwards repeatedly, and was thoroughly conversant with the ground. The attempt could not possibly be made till the following evening. Till then, Nevil promised to do his best to make Falcon and me comfortable.

"How well I remember my night in the log-hut. It consisted of a single room, about sixteen feet by ten; in this lived and slept the entire family—numbering the farmer, his wife, mother, and two children. When they spoke, confidently, of finding me a bed, I fell into a great tremor and perplexity; the problem seemed to me not more easy to solve than that of the ferryman, who had to carry over a fox, a goose, and a cabbage; it was physically impossible that the large-limbed Nevil and myself should be packed into the narrow non-nuptial couch; the only practicable arrangement involved my sharing its pillow, with the two infants, or with the ancient dame; at the bare thought of either alternative I shivered from heel to heel. At last, with infinite difficulty, I obtained permission to sleep on my horse-rug spread on the floor, with my saddle for a bolster. When this point was once settled, I spent the evening very contentedly, basking in the blaze of the huge oaken logs; if stinted in all else, the mountaineer has always large luxury of fuel. I was curious to find out if my host knew anything of his
lineage; but he could tell me nothing further than
that his grandfather was the first colonist of the
family. Oddly enough, though, in his library of
three or four books, was an ancient work on herald­
dry—his father had been much addicted to studying
this, and was said to have been learned in the
science.

"At about 10 p.m. Shipley knocked at the door—
fearfully wet and cold. The smith had accompanied
him to the ford, so that he could not go astray, but
his filly hardly struggled through the deep, strong
water. Our host found quarters for him, in the log­
hut of a brother, who dwelt a short half-mile off.

"I spent all the fore-part of the next day in
lounging about, watching the sluggish sap drain out
of the sugar-maples, occasionally falling back on the
female society of the place; for The Nevil had gone
forth on the scout. It was not very lively; my host­
ess was kindness itself, but the worn weary look
never was off her homely face; nor did I wonder at
this when I heard that, besides their present troubles
and hardships, they had lost four children in one
week of the past winter from diphtheria; it was
sad to see, how painfully the mother clung to the
two that death had left her; she could not bear them
out of her sight for an instant. A very weird-look­
ing cummer was the grand-dame—with a broken,
piping voice—tremulous voice and hands—and jaws
that, like the stage witch-wife's, ever munched and
mumbled. She seldom spoke aloud, except to groan
out a startlingly sudden ejaculation of 'Oh, Lord,'
or 'Oh, dear'. These widows' mites, cast into the
conversational treasury, did not greatly enhance its
brillancy.

"The blue sky grew murky-white before sun­
down, and night fell intensely cold. The Nevil, who
guided us on foot, had much the best of it, and I
often dismounted to walk by his side. If He who sang
the praises of the 'wild north-wester' had been with
us then, I doubt if he would not have abated of his
enthusiasm; the bitter snow-laden blast, even where thick cover broke its vicious sweep, was enough to make the blood stand still in the veins of the veriest Viking. After riding about ten miles, we left the rough paths we had hereto pursued, and struck across country. For two hours or more we forced our way slowly and painfully through bush and brake—through marshy rills and rocky burns—demolishing snake-fences whenever we broke out on a clearing. Shipley led his mare almost the whole way; and I, who think the saddle the safest and pleasantest conveyance over ordinarily rough ground, was compelled to dismount repeatedly.

"It was about one o'clock in the morning of Sunday, the 15th of April; we were then crossing some tilled grounds, intersected by frequent narrow belts of woodland. Our course ran parallel to the mountain-road leading from Greenland to Petersburg; the former place was then nearly three miles behind us, and our guide felt certain that we had passed the outermost pickets. It was very important that we should get housed before break of day; so, we were on the point of breaking into the beaten track again, and had approached it within fifty yards, when suddenly, out of the dark hollow on our left, there came a hoarse shout:

"'Stop! Who are you? Stop, or I'll fire.'

"Now I have heard a challenge or two in my time, and felt certain at once that even a Federal picket would have used a more regular formula. The same idea struck Shipley too.

'Come on,' he said, 'they're only citizens.'

"So on we went, disregarding a second and third summons in the same woods. We both looked around for The Nevil; but keener eyes would have sought for him in vain; on the first sound of voices he had plunged into the dark woods above us, where a footman, knowing the country, might defy any pursuit. Peace and joy go with him! By remaining he would
only have ruined himself, without profiting us one jot.

"Then three revolver shots were fired in succession. To my question if he was hit, my guide answered cheerily in the negative; neither of us guessed that one bullet had stuck his mare high up in the neck; though the wound proved mortal the next day, it was scarcely perceptible, and bled altogether internally. One of those belts of woodland crossed our track about 200 yards ahead; we crashed into this over a gap in the snake-fence; but the barrier on the further side was high and intact. Shipley had dismounted and had nearly made a breach by pulling down the rails, when the irregular challenge was repeated directly in our front, and we made out a group of three dark figures about thirty-five yards off.

"'Give your names, and where you are going, or I'll fire.'"

"'He is very fond of firing', I said in an under-tone to Shipley, and then spoke out loud. (I saw at once the utter impossibility of escape, even if we could have found our way back, without quitting our horses, which I never dreamt of.)

"'If you'll come here, I'll tell you all about it.'"

"I could not have advanced if I had wished it; in broad day the fence would have been barely impracticable. I spoke those exact words in a tone purposely measured and calm, so that they should not be mistaken by our assailants: I have good reason to remember them, for they were the last I ever uttered on American ground as a free agent. They had hardly passed my lips, when a rifle cracked; I felt a dull numbing blow inside my left knee, and a sensation as if hot sealing-wax was trickling there; at the same instant, Falcon dropped under me—without a start or struggle, or sound besides a horrible choking sob—shot right through the jugular vein.
"Before I had struggled clear of my horse, Shipleys hand was on my shoulder, and his hurried whisper in my ear.

"What shall we do? Will you surrender?"

"Now, though I knew already that I had escaped with a flesh-wound from a spent bullet, I felt that I could not hope to make quick tracks that night. Certain reasons—wholly independent of personal convenience—made me loth to part with my saddle-bags; besides this, I own I shrank from the useless ignominy of being hunted down like a wild beast on the mountains. So I answered rather impatiently—

"What the devil would you have one do—with a dead horse and a lamed leg? Shift for yourself as well as you can."

"Without another word I walked towards the party in our front, with an impulse I cannot now define; it could scarcely have been seriously aggressive, for a hunting-knife was my solitary weapon; but for one moment I was idiot enough to regret my lost revolver. I was traveling as a neutral and civilian, with no other object than my private ends; the slaughter of an American citizen, on his own ground, would have been simply murder, both by moral and martial law, and I heard afterwards that our Legation could not have interfered to prevent condign punishment. But reason is dumb sometimes, when the instincts of the 'old Adam' are speaking. I suppose I am not more truculent than my fellows; but since then, in all calmness and sincerity, I have thanked God for sparing me one strong temptation.

"Before I had advanced ten paces the same voice challenged again.

"'Stop where you are—if you come a step nearer, I'll shoot.'"

"I was in no mood to listen to argument, much less to an absurd threat.

"'You may shoot and be d--d,' I said. "'You've got the shooting all your way tonight. I carry no fire-arms'—and walked on.
"Now, I record these words, — conscious that they were thoroughly discreditable to the speaker—simply because I mentioned them in my examination before the Judge Advocate (after he had insisted on the point of verbal accuracy), and from his office emanated a paragraph, copied into all the Washington journals, stating that I had cursed my captors fluently, I affirm, on my honor, that this was the solitary imprecation, that escaped me from first to last.

"So I kept on advancing: they did not fire, and I don't suppose they would have done so, even if they had had time to re-load. I soon got near enough to discern that among the three men there was not a trace of uniform; they were evidently farmers, and roughly dressed 'at that.' So I opened parley in no gentle terms, requiring their authority for what they had done, and promising that they should answer for it, if there was such a thing as law in these parts.

"'Well, if we ain't soldiers,' the chief speaker said, 'we're Home Guards, and that's the same thing here; we've as much authority as we want to back us out. Why didn't you stop, and tell us who you are, and where you're going?'

"By this time I was cool enough to reflect, and act with a purpose. For my own, as well as for his sake, I was most anxious that Shipley should escape. I knew they would not find a scrap of compromising paper on me; but he was a perfect post-carrier of dangerous documents, and a marked man besides—altogether a suspicious companion for an innocent traveller. So I began to discuss several points with my captors in a much calmer tone—demonstrating that from the irregularity of their challenge we could not suppose it came from any regular picket—that there were many horse-thieves and marauders about, so that it behoved travelers to be cautious
that it would have been impossible to have explained our names, object, and destination in a breath, even if they had given more time for such reply: finally, making a virtue of necessity, I consented to accompany them to the regular out-post of Greenland, stipulating that I should have a horse to carry me and my saddle bags; for my knee was still bleeding, and stiffening fast.

"All this debate took ten minutes at least, during which time my captors seemed to have forgotten my companion's existence, though they must have seen his figure cross the open ground when they first fired. Long before we got back to the horses, Shipley had 'vamoosed' into the mountain, carrying his light luggage with him; only some blank envelopes were lying about, evidently dropped in the hurry of removal.

"I knelt down by Falcon's side, and lifted his head out of the dark red pool in which it lay. Even in the dim light I could see the broad bright eye glazing; the death pang came very soon; he was too weak to struggle; but a quick convulsive shiver ran through all the lower limbs, and, with a sickening hoarse gurgle in the throat, the last breath was drawn.

"My good, stout, patient horse! Few and evil were the days of his pilgrimage with me; but we had begun to know and like each other well. I cannot remember to have borne a heavier heart, than when I turned away from his corpse, half shrouded already in a winding sheet of drifting snow flakes — seeing nothing certain in my own future, save frustrated projects and exhausted resources.

"I threw my saddle bags across Shipley's saddle, and rode slowly down, three miles, into Greenland. The filly's head drooped wearily, as she faltered on through the half frozen mud and water; but no one guessed, till daylight broke, that she had then got her death wound.

"When we reached the hovel that was the head-
quarters of the detachment, only two or three soldiers were lounging round the fire, but the news of a capture roused most of the sleepers, and the low, dim room was soon filled, suffocatingly, with a squallid crowd, in and out of uniform; prominent, in the midst, stood the long, lank, half-dressed figure of the lieutenant in comand. Neither he nor his men were absolutely uncourteous, when they once recognized that I was not a Confederate spy, or a professional blockade-runner; but they were exultant, of course, and disposed to indulge in a rough jocularity, during the necessary inspection of my person and baggage.

“The surgeon was a coarse edition of Maurice Quill; when he had examined my knee, and dressed it — not unskillfully — (the conical point of the Sharp’s bullet had just reached the bone), he took great interest in the search of my saddle-bags; desiring to be informed of the precise cost of each article. When I declined to satisfy him, he became exceedingly witty—not to say sarcastic.

“Here’s a mighty curious sort of a traveler, boys; as don’t know what nothing costs that belongs to him, nor how he come by it.”

“Now I was getting tired, and bored with the whole business, and stifled with the close atmosphere laden with every graveolent horror; besides, I had not escaped from London ‘chaff’ and Parisian persiflage, to be mocked by a wild Virginian. So I said, quite gravely:

“’It’s very simple; but I don’t wonder it puzzles you. You have to pay, when you buy, out here, I dare say. I haven’t paid for anything for twenty years. But, if I had known I was going to meet you, before I came away I would have—looked at the bills.’

“Perhaps my face did not look like jesting; anyhow, he took every word for earnest, and I remained silent for some time; when ruminating, I suppose, on the grand simplicity of such a system of commerce.

“This occupied their attention for a consider-
able time; when a party did start in pursuit of my companion, under the guidance of Dolley—the man who fired the last fatal shot—I reflected, with some satisfaction, that the fugitive had a strong two hours' 'law'. The guard-room cleared gradually; and before daybreak, I got some brief, broken rest—supine on the narrowest of benches, with my crossed arms for a pillow.

"In spite of wound, and weariness, and discomfiture, I have spent a drearier time than the morning of that same Sunday. After the first awkward feeling had passed off, my captors showed themselves civil, and almost friendly, after their fashion. They were very like big school-boys—those honest Volunteers—prone to rough jokes and rude horse-play among themselves, which the commanding officer not only sanctioned, but personally mingled with; good-fellowship reigned supreme, to the utter subversion of dignity and discipline.

"There were some lithe, active figures among them, well fitted for the long forced marches for which both Northern and Southern infantry is renowned; and two or three rawboned giants topping six feet by some inches; but not one powerful or athletic frame; in many trials of strength, in wrist and arm, I did not come across one formidable muscle.

"About three o'clock—the weather had become bright and almost warm before noon—I was lounging about on the bank of the trout stream that ran past the door, with my guard at my shoulder, when I saw a group of several figures approaching. When they came nearer, one man lifted his cap on his bayonet's point, and the others shouted. I could not catch the words; but I guessed the truth; they had run down Shipley, after all. He was so utterly exhausted, both in mind and body, when first brought in, that he could hardly speak: he was not of a hardy constitution, and he had undergone fatigue enough
—to say nothing of the fearful weather—to have broken down a more practised pedestrian. Dolley’s party were not the actual captors, though they were hard on the fugitive’s trail; another squad, sent to search for some Confederates supposed to be hidden in the neighborhood, had come upon some tracks in the snow leading to a farm-house, and there discovered my unhappy guide, sleeping the sleep of exhaustion. This was twelve miles from the spot where we parted, and he had struggled on till strength would carry him no further.

"The lieutenant’s face grew longer than Nature had left it, as he perused, one after another, the documents found on Shipley. Though his demeanour towards myself remained quite amicable, it was clear that he judged me, to a certain extent, by my associations; and his simple joviality was somewhat clouded by an uneasy sense of responsibility. Nevertheless, the evening passed quickly enough round the guard-room fire; the men sang those simple chants, and the deep, rough voices sounded not unmusically. Once more, I preferred a single plank to the nameless abominations of the bunks, above and below stairs; and, consequently, awoke with aching bones, but flesh intact.

"The next morning we bade farewell to the Greenland detachment, in no unkindness. I was really sorry when I read in the papers, a month later, of their capture by Imboden’s division, after an obstinate defense in the church, which was burned over their heads before the survivors could surrender.

"New Creek, the head-quarters of Colonel Mulligan’s brigade, was our destination. We had a sufficient escort, and besides, the valiant Dolley accompanied us, in the character of chief witness, as well as chief captor. His ‘get up’ was very remarkable, consisting of a pair of brown overalls, an old blue, uniform coat, about three sizes too small for him, and the very tallest black hat, that, as I think, I
ever beheld. Slight as my wound was, it had quite crippled me for the time; a farmer, however, for a moderate consideration, found me a pony that saved my legs, at much peril to its own; for it stumbled miraculously often. Shipley began by walking, but was glad to avail himself of a chance animal half way. Dolley and two of his friends were mounted; the soldiers kept pace with us gallantly on foot.

“When we started, I bore no sort of malice to that same Dolley; but, before we had got through the twenty-three miles that brought us to New Creek, I hated him intensely, as one hates the man—friend or foe—that bores you to death’s door. That he should be puffed up with vain-glory, was neither unlikely nor unreasonable. His own shots were the only ones he had ever seen fired in anger. It was natural, too, that he should overestimate the importance of his capture; he had suffered from the war, in purse if not in person, and had lost two sons in the Northern army from disease, one of whom had been imprisoned for six months by the Confederates. After his first excitement had passed away, he bore himself not unkindly towards me; though, at Greenland, he did greatly bewail the darkness that had caused him to take a costly life instead of a worthless one; Falcon would have fetched five hundred dollars in those parts; even at my own valuation I could not have been appraised so highly. So I listened to him twice or thrice with great patience, while he told how well he had deserved of his country; but, when he persisted in repeating the same tale, not only to me, but to every creature he encountered, the iteration became simply ‘damnable’. He spoke of his dead sons in the same pompous tones of self-exaltation, with which he reckoned all other items standing to the credit side of his patriotism. Fortunately for my equanimity, I was not present when he told his own tale at New Creek; it must have been a grand Romance of History.
"Yet my poor Dolley made a bad night's work of it after all. His three days' fame in local papers cost him dear. Immediately on getting out of prison, I heard—not without a savage satisfaction—that Imboden's horsemen had harried his homestead thoroughly in their last raid; Dolley only saving his life by 'running like a hare.' The Southerners know everything that goes on near their lines, and are wonderfully regular in settling scores with any registered debtor.

"At New Creek I was confronted with Colonel Mulligan. His attire was anything but military; black overalls crammed into high butcher boots, and a Garibaldi shirt of the brightest emerald green; but his bearing was unmistakeably that of a soldier and a gentleman. He treated me with the utmost courtesy. I also met with no small kindness from the adjutant of the artillery corps, an old Crimean. Unluckily, Colonel Mulligan could not deal with my case, so after a brief examination, and liberal refreshment, Shipley and myself were forwarded by rail to Wheeling, two hundred miles further west, where the district Provost Marshal was stationed."

With a letter of April 1, 1864, Abijah Dolley was sent a United States check for two hundred dollars and commended for his "noble, patriotic, and unselfish service."

Dolley was a delegate in the second and fourth West Virginia legislature and a senator in the fifth legislature. He was one of the chief advisers of the first governor of West Virginia, Arthur I. Boreman, radical Republican. He also served as supervisor and a justice of the peace in Grant County, which, apparently due to differences in politics and geography was divided from Hardy County in 1866.

After the death of his first wife, he re-married, in 1874, at the age of 57, to Ruhama George, who bore him his second group of nine children. He then changed his church membership from the Methodist Episcopal church to the Church of the Brethren.
Suffering financial reverses, he was unable to collect from the Federal Government for supplies he claimed to have furnished Federal troops, and lost much of his property at Greenland Gap. In 1894 he moved to a mountain farm of Grant County, owned by his wife, where, in poverty, he died. He was buried in Knobley Cemetery of the Church of the Brethren.  

Abijah Dolley and Thomas Maslin seem to symbolize the Civil War division of loyalty in Hardy County, which led in time to the political division of the County.

Despite the fact that Maslin chose the lost cause and Dolley the victorious one, Maslin’s end appears to have been more fortunate than Dolley’s.

Only when the South surrendered did Maslin cease holding the sessions of the Old Virginia Hardy County Court. The issue had been decided on the battlefield. West Virginia, of revolutionary origin, was to be a separate state; and Hardy County, despite the fact that a majority of its citizens east of the present-day Grant County line had been in sympathy with the South, was to be a part of West Virginia. The county was divided into New England type townships and, no longer ruled by a “County Court”.

“From a strictly legal standpoint” said U. S. Senator Olivier of Pennsylvania in a speech of 1910, “it is hard to justify the movement by which the Pierpont government was set up, although able arguments were presented to the Convention. It was revolution, pure and simple; and it required success to make it even respectable. It was justified by the dire emergency which confronted the loyal people, and by that alone.”

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1 Hall, A. D.: The Two Virginias 1915: pp. 7-8.
CHAPTER VIII

The wearers of the gray returned home to Hardy. In a way they were lucky, for they returned to a state which was not ruled by the conquering armies. In a way, they were unlucky, for they had lost many of their rights as citizens, including the right to vote.

In time a West Virginia reaction set in, spearheaded by the Confederate veterans and their families, who were especially numerous in the border counties, aided by their neighbors and friends who had sympathized with the North but who understood the problems of the disfranchised people among whom they lived.

In 1869 the Fifteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution, giving negroes the right to vote, was approved by the West Virginia Legislature; and the agitation for removal of the restrictions against the voting of Confederate veterans gathered strength. In that year William E. Stevenson, a liberal and progressive Republican, was elected governor. In 1870 he proposed an amendment to the state constitution to eliminate the disfranchisement of the constitutional amendment of 1866.

In 1869, a rather bitter contest arose for the judgeship of the judicial circuit comprising Hardy, Grant, Hampshire and Pendleton counties.

On June 7th, J. G. Isenberg, Prosecuting Attorney of Grant County, wrote to Governor Stevenson against the candidacy of G. L. Cranmer who received the endorsement, by petition, of a large number of Hardy County citizens.

"I don't suppose there was a Union Man on that petition," he wrote. "I did not see the names nor did I hear who signed it, but this I know, that John W. Duffy and William Champion are the only Union men in Moorefield."
"I lived there during the years of 1867 and 1868; and I can say in truth that if the salvation of the town depended on the presentation of righteous men, the fate of Moorefield would be awful. —It will be more tolerable in the final day for Sodom and Gomorrah than for Moorefield. Have a bad set of rebels to deal with; therefore want a straight out radical judge to smile on radical efforts." He requested the appointment of James T. Hoke.

On June 14th George Harman, a Republican of what is now Grant County, wrote to Governor Stevenson opposing the appointment of Hoke, as a bitter politician who would cause dissension among the Republicans and the Confederates, requesting the appointment of Cranmer—without further delay and increased dissension in the Republican party.

Two days later John C. Glenn of Capon Iron Works, Hardy County, indorsed Cranmer for the position.

It is fitting that a son of the borderland led the first strong Democratic struggle for post-Civil-War political control of West Virginia. By the election of 1870 the pendulum was swinging back fast from extreme-Republican, anti-Confederate control. John J. Jacobs, son of the Revolutionary soldier of the same name who was the first, or nearly the first Methodist minister who resided in Hardy County, was the Democratic candidate for governor.

In the election of 1868 the majority of the voters in each of Hardy and Hampshire Counties had voted for the Democratic candidate. Now, in 1870, the majority of each county again voted for the Democratic party, for John J. Jacobs. Mineral County joined Hampshire and Hardy; but Grant and Pendleton Counties remained Republican. Jacobs won the election by a majority of more than 2,000 votes over Stevenson. Then, in 1871, the proposed consti-
A constitutional amendment to restore the vote to Confederate veterans was ratified by a majority of 17,223 of the people of West Virginia.

Nevertheless, the Democrats called a constitutional convention, which met at Charleston in 1872. In April, 1870, the state capitol had been moved from Wheeling to Charleston, which was more Democratic and Southern in sympathy. Southern sympathizer, Thomas Maslin, by then an old man, was the Hardy County Delegate to the Convention.

On January 20, 1872, Delegate George Davenport of Wheeling, possibly half-facetiously, introduced the following resolution in this convention of reaction from the radical measures of the war: "Resolved that the names of the counties of Grant and Lincoln be changed to those of Davis and Lee." It was referred to the Committee on County Organization,¹ and three days later the Committee reported they deemed the proposed change "inexpedient."

On January 19, 1872, three days after the Convention began, Thomas Maslin presented the following motion:

"Resolved, that the Legislative Committee inquire into the expediency and propriety of providing that no minister of the gospel, or priest of any religious denomination, should be capable of being elected a member of either House of the General Assembly."² This resolution was similar to a provision of the 1851 constitution of Old Virginia.

On April 9th, Maslin presented another motion: "Resolved, That the Legislative Committee be instructed to inquire into the expediency of providing that each county in the State shall have at least one Delegate in the Legislature."

Although Maslin thus seemed to want every county to have at least one representative in the lower house of legislature, about two months later he

¹ "Journal of Constitutional Conventions Assembled at Charleston, W. Va., Jan. 16, 1872": Charleston, 1872; p. 34.
indicated that, in common with some others of the convention, he wanted fewer legislators. On March 13, 1872, Delegate Mathews (one of three members from the District of Greenbrier, Monroe and Summers Counties) offered a resolution to reduce the number of members of the House of Delegates to fifty or some number intermediate between that and sixty; and to reduce the number of Senators to one-third of the number which may be recommended by the committee as the number of members of the House of Delegates.

There was some debate on this resolution, and “Mr. Maslin moved to amend the resolution by striking out the word “fifty” and inserting “forty”, which was accepted by Mr. Mathews.” The vote against this resolution was 56 to 8.

Although the Governor was a borderer and there was considerable sympathy in most of the state for the voteless white men, especially in view of the fact that freed Negro slaves would have the vote, the border people apparently realized that such additional white voters still would leave them decidedly in the minority in West Virginia; and thus they sought to reduce the number of legislators so that their minority would have a better chance to be heard.

On January 24th, Delegate Johnson of Wood County moved to increase the proposed daily pay of doorkeepers from four to seven dollars, by adding after the word “dollars” the following phrase: “and three dollars additional per day for acting as janitor to the Convention”.

The amendment was not approved.

Delegate Maslin “moved to amend by adding, after the word ‘dollars’, ‘and two dollars additional as janitor’.”

This amendment was adopted.

In the subsequent consideration of the compensation of pages, Delegate Maslin again indicated his
economy in the spending of public money. He moved to strike out “two dollars” (as compensation for pages) and insert “one dollar and fifty cents”. His amendment was not adopted.¹

On January 25th the following resolution was presented:

“Resolved, That the Sergeant-at-Arms be directed to have inscribed upon the flag of the United States the words: ‘West Virginia Rescued from Tryanny,’ and said flag placed over the hall of the Convention at such times as the same may be in session.” Maslin of course was strongly opposed to this motion. He and thirty-two others voted for indefinite postponement of the resolution, but forty-one voted against them. After this there was considerable debate; and: “Mr. Knight then offered the following preamble and resolution as a substitute for the original resolution:

“A flag of the United States having been offered to this Convention, by Henry Pike, Esquire (of New York), therefore,

“Resolved, that the thanks of this Convention be returned to Mr. Pike for the same, and that the Sergeant-at-Arms be directed to raise the same over the house where this Convention is sitting.”

“Mr. Maslin moved to amend the substitute by adding, at the end thereof, these words: ‘Provided the same can be done without public expense’.”²

On April 8th Delegate Johnson of Wood again rose to present a resolution:

“Whereas, Hon. Thomas Maslin, a member of this body, has presented to the Convention a pen made from a quill which, with his own hand, he plucked from the pinion of the American eagle, with which pen he desires the new Constitution shall be signed;

“Resolved, That the Convention thankfully accept the pen . . . and direct that the new Constitution

¹ Journal of the 1872 Convention, p. 51.
be signed therewith, and that the Secretary of this body is directed to place said pen in the office of the Secretary of State, there to be preserved among the archives of the State."

This resolution was adopted.¹

On April 9, 1872, Thomas Maslin presented the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the cordial thanks of this Convention are due to the citizens of Charleston for the warm welcome and uniform courtesy and hospitality which they have extended to us; and that we hereby tender to them our warmest wishes for their continued prosperity and peace."² The former presiding "Gentleman Justice" of a Virginia County Court thus indicated his pleasure in the southward move of the capitol.

Maslin apparently thought the work of the Convention so much in conformity with basic principles of American freedom that it was fitting that it be signed by a quill from an eagle's wing. What important provisions of West Virginia government were made in the Constitution that was legalized by a signature from this Hardy County eagle quill?

During the war West Virginians—and especially those of the borderland—had learned, by bitter experience, the arbitrary nature of martial law. The following section thus was placed in the first article of the Constitution:

"Standing armies in time of peace shall be avoided, as dangerous to liberty. The military rule shall be subordinate to the civil power; and no citizen unless engaged in military service of the State, shall be tried or punished by any military court, for any offense that is cognizable by the civil courts of the State . . . ."

The township system was replaced by the old Virginia county court system, with a president and two justices, having judicial, police and fiscal powers.

¹ Journal of the 1872 Convention p. 306.
² Journal of the 1872 Convention p. 316.
The seeming mistake of this return to unseparated judicial and executive powers was corrected about seven years later, by a constitutional amendment which eliminated judicial powers of the county court and designated its officers as commissioners.

The word "white" was omitted from the qualifications of suffrage; and it was provided that citizens would not be required to register or to make test oaths in order to vote, and could vote by open, sealed or secret ballot.

Persons paid by foreign governments, sheriffs, constables, clerks of court, persons convicted of infamous crimes, and salaried officers of railroads were prohibited from being members of the legislature. Thus the Baltimore and Ohio influence in the Wheeling Convention of ten years before had boomeranged.

The lengths of the terms of the state executive and legislative officers were doubled.

The inalienable rights of the people were summed up in the following phrase: "the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and of pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety". The last section of the Bill of Rights was the following: "Free government and the blessings of liberty can be preserved to any people only by a firm adherence to justice, moderation, temperance, frugality and virtue, and by a frequent recurrence to fundamental principles."

When Thomas Maslin returned home in 1872 he must have felt that his loyalty to the South at last had won some results—by compromises concerning the West Virginia Constitution of 1851 and the Civil War amendments to the United States Constitution.

Perhaps it was then that he took the weathered loose sheets of records of the Civil War County Court from their hiding place and placed them in the Hardy County Court Record Book.

He slowly prospered. According to tradition in
Hardy County, he had no Confederate monies or bonds when the South at last surrendered, but had spent or converted them into other property.

He lived about six years after the 1872 Convention. When he died he owned lands in the Allegheny Mountains, lots in Moorefield, other real estate, and a long list of personal property, which in the appraisement of the Maslin estate in the Hardy County Will Book included about five large pages of listings of notes of people who owed him money and about one and half pages of listings of other personal property. Each of his nine children (by his two wives) inherited about twenty thousand dollars.

So passed a stubbornly persistent, stubbornly loyal, old-fashioned man of Hardy County. A man of the eagle's feather.

CHAPTER IX

For a quarter of a century after the election of John J. Jacobs as Governor the Democratic Party had a majority in each of the houses of the Legislature. In every election for Governor from 1882 to 1912 the majorities of each of the border counties of Hardy, Pendleton and Hampshire voted for Democratic Party nominees. In every one of the same elections the majority of the voters of Grant County voted for Republican Party nominees; Thus the new line of division continued to definitely divide the old Hardy County, both geographically and politically. It clearly had marked a border.

Except for the fact that it had taken place over a period of two or three generations, the change in the borderland of Hardy, Hampshire and Pendleton probably would have been bewildering to Hardy County residents. From a wild western frontier of westering white men it had shifted to an eastern borderland between the north and west on one hand and the south and east on the other; in the Virginias; and in the United States. Their 1870-

1 Hardy County Will Book: pages 266 et seq.
1872 efforts at winning toleration and civil rights for their Confederate veterans—and for the Southern, usually politically-conservative, outlook of the people just over the eastern line of Hardy County—illustrates the toleration and tendency toward compromise that are born of conflicting opinions on the two sides of a borderland.

After Grant County was formed the population of Hardy County, in 1870, was 5,518. In the next decade it increased by 1,276, and in the next three decades by an average of about 790 per decade. The population of each of Hampshire and Pendleton Counties likewise increased fast from 1870 to 1880, and then by only small increments until 1910. In 1910 the population of Hardy was 9,163.

By that time Hardy County had become part of another border. The new borderland, far-flung and not of contiguous boundaries, was and is that between the new specialized scientific, mechanically-powered way of life and the old, handicraft, generally non-specialized, animal-powered, largely agricultural type of man’s existence.

The machine age arrived late at Moorefield. There was no railroad there until the short Hampshire and Southern line, which later was to become a branch of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, came in 1910.¹

As pointed out by Jacob Burckhardt, the great Swiss historian, the nature of a people often may be understood as well from their arts as their historical documents. Hardy County has had little time or energy to spare from its struggles against primitive nature and man for the usual type of fine arts. In the few towns and villages there are some very cultured people, including historians, educated musicians and pictorial artists. But the greatest artistic contribution of the county seems to have been in folk song.

¹ Moorefield Examiner files.
As one of the last strongholds of the handicraft way of life in America, it also, appropriately, has been one of the last sources of the ancient, oral-tradition ballad. For the first quarter of the Twentieth Century the work of the old-time bards, minstrels, skalds and minisgers of western man was carried forward in this borderland. The kind of songs found there and their alteration by the generations there are significant.

Of the 185 folk-songs, with 335 listed titles of their different versions, collected in West Virginia and published by John Harrington Cox, Ph.D, Litt. D. in Folk Songs of the South (1925), fourteen were collected in Hardy County, mainly by Mr. J. Harrison Miller of Wardensville. More of these songs were found in Hardy than in any of the nearby counties, and more than double the average for the counties of the state. In Pocahontas County, south of Pendleton County, on the border, eleven songs were found; and in Randolph County ten.

The following excerpts of a Hardy County version of the ballad "Earl Brand" indicates the clan spirit and semi-wild clan law which so long ago held sway in the West Virginia mountains. A suitor had taken a girl away from her home without parental permission.

"Get you down, get you down, Lady Margaret,
And hold my steed for a while;
While I fight your seven bold brothers,
And your father, a-walking this day."

She held; she held; she better had a-held;
And she never shed a tear,
Until she saw her seven brothers fall,
And her father she loved so well.

He mounted her on the milk-white steed,
Whilst himself on the dapple gray;
He drew his buckles down by his side,
And away he rode, bleeding, away.
“O Mother, O Mother, O make my bed,
Make it both long and wide,
And there I’ll lay my weary head,
And die, with my lady at my side.”

The violence of passion in the early frontier country also was indicated by its preservation of the ballad: “The Brown Girl”, which Mr. J. Harrison Miller of Hardy County said in 1916 had come down to his mother from her grandmother, and which probably had been sung in his family for about two hundred years. Various versions of this ballad also were found in neighboring Mineral County, and in Nicholas, Webster, Roane, Barbour, Harrison and Braxton Counties.

He rode up to Fair Ellen’s hall,
And knuckled at the ring;
There was none so ready as Fair Ellen herself
To rise and let him in.

“O what is the matter, my dear?” she said,
“O what is the news of thee?”

“I bid you to my wedding tomorrow;
May the Lord have mercy on me.”

She dressed herself in scarlet red,
And her seven maids in green;
At every town that she passed through,
She was taken to be some queen.

He took her by her lily-white hand,
And led her through the hall;
And out of four and twenty ladies fair,
She was the fairest of them all.

“Is this your wife, Lord Thomas?” she said.
“I think she’s wondrous brown!
And you could have had as fair a lady
As ever was known in town.”

1 Cox, J. H., Ph.D. Litt. D.: “Folk-Songs of the South”; Cambridge, Mass., 1925: p. 18; with slight changes of wording by the present writer.
The brown girl had a pocket knife,
The blades were keen and sharp;
Between the long ribs and the short
She pierced Fair Ellen’s heart.

Lord Thomas had his sword in his hand,
And walked up through the hall.
He cut off the brown girl’s head
And kicked it against the wall.

The change in the song “The Ocean Burial” in crossing the mountains with the westward moving pioneers is significant. With a continental wilderness before them, they turned from the great eastern ocean to the vast wild spaces of the west. In the beginning, exploring men died, away from home, on the sea; and then pioneer men died, away from home, in the unconquered western country. They “went west”.

“The Ocean Burial”, as found in Morgantown, West Virginia, ended with the following verses:

“In the locks she has twined shall the sea snake hiss,
And the brow she has pressed shall the cold wave kiss?
For the sake of that loved one, waiting for me.
O bury me not in the deep, deep sea!”

“She has been in my dreams—” his voice failed there;
They gave no heed to his dying prayer;
They lowered him low o’er the vessel’s side;
And o’er him closed the dark, cold tide.

There to dip the light wing, the sea birds rest,
And the blue waves dance o’er the ocean’s crest;
Where the billows bound and the waves roll free,
They buried him there, in the deep, deep sea.

1 Cox, J. H.; pp. 45-54; slight changes of form by present writer.
As Phillip Barry pointed out in his Ancient British Ballads, the American song "The Lone Prairie" is adapted from "The Burial at Sea" (or "The Ocean Burial").

The last two verses became:
"O bury me not—" and his voice failed there.
We heeded not to his dying prayer;
In a narrow grave just six by three,
We buried him there on the lone prairie."
Where the coyotes howl on the lone prairie,
Where the night owl hoots so mournfully,
Where the buffalo roams and the wind blows free,
We buried him there on the lone prairie.

Variants of this song, under the title of "The Dying Cowboy", were found in Wayne and Kanawha Counties. And in Hardy County there was found a slightly similar song, entitled "The Wild Cowboy," in which a cowboy that had been shot is referred to as dressed in his "buckskins"; this seems to refer to the early buckskin-wearing cowboy on the ranges of Hardy County, who drove cattle in herds to market at Winchester, Baltimore and other places of the east.

The ballad "Fair Charlotte", versions of which were found in Hardy as well as neighboring Pendleton County and other counties, illustrates the cold that early settlers in the mountains and hills had to combat.

Young Charlotte lived by the mountain side,  
In a wild and lonely spot;  
No dwelling there for miles around  
Except her father's cot.  
And yet on many a winter's night  
Young swains were gathered there,  
For her father kept a social board,  
And she was very fair.

At the village, fifteen miles away,
Was to be a ball that night;
And though the air was piercing cold,
Her heart was warm and light.

How brightly beamed her laughing eye,
As a well-known voice she heard,
And dashing up to the cottage door,
Her lover's sleigh appeared.

With muffled beat so silently,
Five miles at last were passed,
When Charles with few and shivering words
The silence broke at last.

"Such a dreadful night I never saw;
My reins I scarce can hold."

Young Charlotte faintly replied,
"I am exceeding cold."

He cracked his whip and urged his steed
Much faster than before,
And thus five other dreary miles
In silence were passed o'er.

Spoke Charles: "How fast the freezing ice
Is gathering on my brow!"

And Charlotte still more faintly said,
"I'm growing warmer now."

They reached the door, and Charles sprang out,
And held his hand to her;
He asked her for her hand again
But still she did not stir.

He took her hand in his,
'Twas cold and hard as stone;
He tore the mantle from her face,
And the cold stars o'er it shone.

Then quickly to the lighted hall
Her lifeless form he bore;
Young Charlotte's eyes had closed for aye,
And her voice was heard no more!
There have never been many Jews in Hardy County. Some lack of tolerance for a people nearly unknown there is indicated by the following brief of the ballad, "The Jew's Daughter", handed down by an old-time Hardy County lady of Scotch-Irish ancestry, to her daughter, and by the latter to her son, Mr. R. E. Hyde of Martinsburg. It was also found in many other counties of West Virginia, including Pocahontas, Tucker and Morgan Counties.

"At first they tossed their ball too high,
And then again too low
Down into the Jew's garden it went
Where none would dare to go.

Out came the Jew's daughter,
All dressed in spangles of gold.
"Come in, come in, my lad." she said,
"And you shall have your ball."

"I won't come in, I daren't come in,
Unless my playmates can;
For they that enter this garden here
Can never come out again."

At first she showed him a nice red apple,
And then a gay gold ring,
And then a cherry as red as blood,
To entice the little boy in.

She took him by his little hand
And led him through the hall,
And then into the cellar below
Where no one could hear him call.

* * * * * *

"O, lay my prayer-book at my feet,
My Bible at my head;
And if my playmates ask for me,
Tell them that I am dead."

1 Cox, J. H. J pp. 121-27.
Another illustration of a lack of tolerance for largely unknown types of people is found in the polemic against the rich and for the poor of the ballad "The Orphan Girl", found in nearby Pocahontas and other counties.

"No home! no home!" pleaded a little girl,
   At the door of the rich man's hall,
As she, trembling, stood on the polished steps
   And leaned on the marble wall.

"I'll freeze," she said, as she sank on the steps,
   And strove to cover her feet,
With her tattered dress, all covered with snow,
   All covered with snow and sleet.

The rich man sleeps on his walnut couch
   And dreams of his silver and gold,
While the poor little girl, on her bed of snow,
   Whispers, "So cold! So cold!"

The hours pass by, and the midnight change
   Rang out like a funeral bell;
The earth was wrapped in a wintry sheet,
   And the drift of the snow still fell.

The morning dawned, but the poor little girl
   Still lay at the rich man's door;
But her soul had fled to a home in heaven,
   Where there's room and bread for the poor.

Obviously these and other poems of this collection comprise the essence of great poetry. The words and music of these folk-songs, tested by the ear of generations, are as far superior to the current "Tin-Pan-Alley", so called "Hill-Billy", imitations as solid early American furniture is to mass-produced, cheaply mass-ornamented-and-veneer furniture of some present-day factories. This is written with no intention to decry those song writers and furniture builders of this specialized age who have the ability and perseverance to do excellent artistic work . . .

1 Cox, J. H.; pp. 446-47.
The specialized, mechanical-powered way of life, now at the threshold of Hardy County, requires large variety and amounts of materials, for inanimate power, machine tools, and the mass-produced things that power tools can make. It requires specialized, long-continued and expensive education. And especially it requires powered means of communication and mass transportation of specialized men, tools and materials.

The frontier of this advancing type of human living is always in the "back country"—i.e., in the country back from the main means of powered mass transportation—in such a location as Hardy County now is found. On this irregular frontier there exists the usual tendency of the borderland—which comes to understand both sides of the controversy in its midst, and usually points out or indicates the good points of both—toward the golden mean of tolerance and compromise. If the opposing forces are too alien to each other, and too ruthless and uncompromising, one or the other side wins completely, and the border between them ceases to exist. Thus it was in Hardy County of the Eighteenth Century. Despite the efforts of the white borderland to understand the Indian way of life—even to the point of some intermarriage and much borrowing of Indian knowledge and methods of dealing first-hand with the wild—the Indians were driven out. The two ways were too far apart for effective compromise.

In 1870 to 1872 the situation there was different. Slavery was gone; but nearby Old Virginia—and elements in eastern and southern West Virginia—stood for some other things— for individual and local-government freedom, for instance, caution against too rapid change (which might be inspired by mob emotion of the moment), and relatively long terms of responsibility of elected officials (which would give them the opportunity to plan and do good
from an over-all point of view). The oceanward borderland of West Virginia in 1872 sought and found an acceptable compromise between the radical constitution of 1863 and some principles strongly believed in to the east of the border.

In the present opposition between the “machine civilization” and handicraft rural life, can such areas as Hardy County, on the border between the two systems, find a compromise between the hurried existence of powered-life—the tension, the tendency toward a mass psychology and regimentation not conductive to creative work of the lone individual—and the hard drudgery, lack of conveniences, and sturdy, independent freedom (which at times becomes deleterious license) of the old-fashioned American farmer? For example, can the border between this opposition of forces, select the proper number and kind of small power-driven tools and the proper proportion of purchased, power-worked materials to adapt mechanical power to life of the rugged and free American farmer, without losing the latter’s virtues in American society? And can people like those of Hardy County who are on the border of the giant factory system aid in finding a golden mean in the present-day clash between state regimentation (of the individual and of philosophy) and the free-born and freedom-aspiring individual?

It is possible that the ancient individual freedom that Hardy County so long has stood for might be lost in another time of foreclosed mortgages and Federal financing of and interference with local political and economic management. But it seems to this writer that if such a grim crisis should come again—and perhaps before it can come—it is more probable that another middle way will be found by the border, with economic and political security against the worst of life’s accidental misfortunes for the individual, and with preservation of the valuable basic freedoms of the individual—freedoms which
lead to creative experimentation and thus to overall efficiency in man's adjustment to his changing environment.

CHAPTER X

From 1736 to the 1870's—over one and one-third centuries—we have now followed the course of this sturdy people of the First American West. At this point we have reached a good place for analysis of Hardy County history thus far—that is to the end of the Civil War violence and its aftermath of vengeance and radical change that has been called the "Reconstruction." This portion of the history may be briefly summarized as follows:

1736-1795: Frontier status; white man versus red man; Christianity versus witchcraft and shamanism; Arminian Christianity versus predestination Christianity; whites learning some bad and some good things from the Indians; Indians nearly exterminated.

1796-1861: Culture of the aristocrat and the slave and the saddle horse and the hoe versus the culture of the family farm and free labor of the mountains and the North—of the horse-drawn plow and the steam engine; the Old Virginia county system of local government versus the Northern township; the borderland sought compromises—in 1820-21, 1833, 1850 and 1860-61.

1861-1865: The people of Hardy County, like those of Kentucky, briefly try to be neutral; then they choose sides and fight for survival.

1866-1880: Hardy County, as part of the borderland, resumes the search for peaceful compro-
mises; the Democratic-Party reaction; the pendulum swings backward toward some of the Old Virginia ideas; checking the pendulum’s swing in 1879.

With illustration from primary historical sources, it has been pointed out above that the chief historical significance of the early part of this history lies in the changing role in Virginia, West Virginia and the United States played by Hardy County. At first its South Branch valley area was a cross-section of the expanding early American frontier, where a white, so-called civilization forced back an Indian, so-called savagery beyond the great mountain ridges of the Appalachians. This was a barbaric struggle between extremes that were so far apart in culture and so unequal in strength that the white men sought not the golden mean of a peaceful border, but pressed on to conquer completely the other side.

Then the area became part of a long border strip across the United States from Missouri to Delaware, which lay between two nearly equal forces of white Americans—between the Upper North, with its protective tariff and Abolitionism, and the Lower South, with its free trade and slaveholding. In 1820-21, 1833 and 1850 very important compromises, that are well-known in history as the Missouri Compromise, the Tariff Compromise of 1833 and the Compromise of 1850, were advanced and supported by this long borderland. For a while they led to an uneasy peace.

In the meantime the people of the Hardy County area, with other western Virginians, fulfilled a part of the American frontier’s role which was explained by historian Frederick Jackson Turner—that is, they agitated for and gradually received more democracy in government. In order to avoid the long trips of westerners back to eastern courts (which were dominated by easterners), new counties of the

west were formed—including the chain of successive counties having jurisdiction of the Hardy County area—Orange County in 1734; Hampshire County in 1753; and Hardy County in 1786. Early Hardy County, like other Virginia counties of the time, was virtually ruled by the County Court—the “gentlemen justices”, who were not elected but appointed by the Governor from “the gentlemen” of the county. Recommendations for appointments to the County Court were made by the court itself. It had executive, judicial and to a minor extent even legislative powers. It nominated one of its own justices as sheriff, who was appointed by the Governor. It appointed road supervisors and nominated the coroner, the tax assessors (known as the commissioners of the tax and later as commissioners of the revenue), and, after the Virginia literacy fund act of 1818 was passed, appointed county school commissioners and supervised education.¹

By 1851, when the new Virginia Constitution was approved, the west, including Hardy County, had secured considerable democratization of Virginia government: more representatives for the west in the state government; election, instead of appointment, of the county court justices and all other county officers except coroners and road supervisors. But the county court still retained its mixed executive, judicial and legislative functions.

Another decade passed, and the Great Crisis came. The attempted compromise of 1860-61 was lost in the intransigence of both extremes. The people of Hardy County made a brief attempt to be neutral, and then with tragic suddenness had to choose sides. Roughly split down its middle in sentiment—having

¹ The U. S. Historical Records Survey, U. S. Works Progress Administration: “Grant County, W. Va.”; Charleston W. Va., 1938; pp. 6, 7, 71, 73, 75, 89.
a mountainous line between the “North” and the “South” within its own small limits—Hardy County fought—and fought hard.

A revolution was in violent existence. Many changes occurred, including the type of local government. In the first West Virginia Constitution, of 1863, the county court was abolished, and many of its functions were taken over by officers of the newly created townships. Justices of the townships served only as trial judges. Other officers of the township were: a member of the county board of supervisors, the clerk of the township, a roads surveyor for each precinct, a constable, school commissioners, and an overseer of the poor.

Shortly after the Civil War, Grant County was divided from Hardy County. The border that was established between the two counties was about the same as the combat and ideological line that had split the old county during the Civil War. After the war, for many years, the majority of the people of Grant County were Republicans and the majority of the people of Hardy County were Democrats. Grant County was oriented politically and economically to northwestern West Virginia; Hardy County to the Eastern Panhandle of West Virginia, the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, and the South. Division of Old Hardy County seems to have been inevitable. It occurred in 1866.

A new charter of Moorefield was passed by an act of the West Virginia Legislature of February 9, 1872. It provided for the annual election from among the residents and voters of Moorefield of a mayor, recorder and five councilmen, to be a corporate body known as “the town of Moorefield”, and set forth the boundary lines of the town.

In the South-oriented reaction of 1870-72, culminating in the new West Virginia Constitution of 1872, the Old Virginia county court system of local

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1 U. S. Historical Records Survey; “Grant County”; p. 7. 2 West Virginia Constitution, 1863; Art. 7. Secs. 2-4. 3 West Virginia Code, 1868; Ch. 45. Sec. 51.
government was restored, except that the county justices no longer had authority over the county schools. As in all other counties of West Virginia, the Hardy County Superintendent of Schools was still elected, and the township board of education received another name—the district board. Other local elected officials were: the prosecuting attorney, sheriff, assessor, surveyor of lands, and constables.¹

The main political results of this 1870-72 reaction or counter-revolution, in which Hardy County and the rest of the borderland adjacent to Virginia played a leading part, were: a restoration of the political rights of West Virginia Confederate veterans; a resurgence of the Democratic Party and establishment of the political power of its white primaries; reestablishment of the county court system, with loss of a few of its manifold functions.

In 1879 other modifications of the county government were effected. By then parts of the state were becoming industrialized, while Hardy County and various other areas remained largely agricultural. To the new-industry people, the township type of government seemed adapted to the needs of an industrialized, urban population. To them and others the county court justices appeared to have too much power. For impartial justice, specializing judges, who were not also county executives, were deemed necessary. So, in 1879, constitutional amendments eliminated the judicial authority of the county court in cases of law and chancery. The duties of the three elected commissioners who served on the county court were limited to financial matters, roads, administration of estates and of the county's poor. Hardy County and other justices of the peace ceased to be members of the county courts, and became judges of the lower courts. Thus, by reaction and compromise, was local government improved. A combination of the Old Virginia

¹ Historical Records Survey; "Grant County"; pp. 9-10; West Virginia "Acts", 1873; Chapter 123, Sec. 2.
county court system with the new township idea from the North had been achieved.

Let us now consider the 1880 situation of Hardy County in three other important fields of human endeavor: in economics; education; and religion and philosophy.

When Mrs. Eliza Miller, born in Hardy County in 1862, was an old woman, she described the nearly self-sufficient economics of her girlhood, of the period of about 1880. Her family grew flax and made it into thread and linen. They made dyes of different colors from hickory bark, cedar bark, indigo plant and smartweeds (water peppers), made almost all their clothes, shoes and blankets, and grew almost all their food. Until she was fifteen years old all her clothes and shoes were made at home. At that time she made some money by stripping off leaves and young growth of sumac before the plant bloomed, drying them, and selling them to "Billy" Harper who had a store at Lost River. Jake Miller, who lived near Lost City, was glad to have her clear his land of sumac. Thus she got enough money for her first calico dress and store-bought pair of shoes. Almost the only foods her family bought were coffee and cheese. They made maple sugar and sometimes traded some of it for cane sugar at the store.

Slavery—the slave with the hoe—was gone. But drudgery of the non-specializing farm and household was still in Hardy County.

In an editorial in the Moorefield Advertiser in February, 1870, the Editor supported an advertisement of Wheeling merchants as follows:

"... As we are all interested in building up our State, it is obviously our duty to foster and encourage her manufacturing interests. So long as we depend upon the North for our supplies we must pay tribute to those gigantic Northern monopolies who now shape and mold the legislation of the Coun-

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1 Scrapbook of "Old Timer", Moorefield Examiner columns, of Mrs. Ralph E. Fisher. Moorefield, West Virginia.
History of Hardy County, of the Borderland

try to subserve their ends. And just so long will we be behind in all that renders a State great and prosperous, and so long will we be wanting in the elements of wealth and influence.”

Eight years later, on June 8, 1878, the Editor of the Moorefield Weekly Examiner described his recent trip through the eastern part of Hardy County. Crops were good, but money was scarce, times were hard, and the Capon Iron Works was temporarily out of operation. He advocated voting for the Greenback Party, which had been formed at Indianapolis a few years before, and stood for printing-press money.

“Wardensville is a small village,” he wrote, “situated in the eastern part of the county, in the Capon Valley. It has two very excellent churches, a good hotel . . .”

Before 1880 there was no labor union activity in Hardy County. Nevertheless, it was involved in one of the earliest labor strikes in American history. About 1876 or 1877 the Hardy Guards were organized. John J. Chipley, a former soldier in “Stone-wall” Jackson’s Confederate brigade, was their Captain; and Hugh Barr, also a Confederate veteran who had served with Jackson, was First Lieutenant. Their uniform was gray, like that of the Confederacy, and they had gold buttons and velvet stripes on their trousers. Although their arms were mainly muzzle-loading muskets, some in poor condition, their Saturday afternoon parades lent color and interest to Moorefield. Soon after their organization, in July, 1877, a strike of employees of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad led to violence and death at Martinsburg, West Virginia, and in Pittsburgh, Altoona and Johnstown, Pennsylvania. The Hardy County Guards were called out by Governor Mathews, received new rifles at Martinsburg, and for about two weeks were on duty at Sir John’s Run. They had no significant part in dealing with the riots.

Before 1880 most of the expense of schools was borne by the parents of the school children. In the one-room schoolhouses, comforts were almost non-existent and education was rather rudimentary. Nevertheless, the simple things that were learned—"the three r's"—were thoroughly learned, for the teacher's discipline was severe and wasting of time in school was uncommon. About 1869 the first free school of the area, under the new, government-supported school system of West Virginia, was organized at Oldfields. But advertisements of the 1870's indicate that most of the students still attended private schools. For example, an 1873 prospectus, printed by the Courier and Advertiser of Moorefield for the "Hardy County High School", of which H. L. Hoover, a graduate of the University of Virginia, was principal, advertised the institution as an excellent "English, Classical and Mathematical School in Moorefield, a beautiful village in the famous South Branch Valley," with the following charges for the scholastic year of September to June.

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<th>Department</th>
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<td>Classical</td>
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<td>Higher English</td>
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<td>Principal's family</td>
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<td>(or &quot;in good private</td>
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<td>families&quot;)</td>
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And in the Moorefield Weekly Examiner of August 31, 1878, the 12th Session of the Moorefield Female Seminary was advertised with rates of $20 to $30 for junior to senior pupils; and in the same issue there was a notice of a proposed Moorefield Classical School for boys.

It is an unusual and striking fact that Hardy County has been so repeatedly and in so many different ways a border zone between opposing forces.

1 Daisy Halterman; "The Old Fields Schoolhouse," West Virginia Review, Moorefield Examiner files.
2 Moorefield Examiner files, 1873.
As pointed out above, this area changed from a violent borderland or frontier between two unequal strength races and types of social and governmental organizations to a compromising, harmonizing border force between two opposing groups of white civilization. Likewise, the County has been in two very different kinds of competitive border zones between religious and philosophical groups. At first it was an area of struggle between, on one hand, those white men who nominally were Christians and, on the other hand, the Indians and primitive white converts to the Indian way of life—paganism, shamanism, witchcraft, ancestor and sun worship. Later the zone of religious competition was between Calvanistic Christians, who believed in God's predetermination of the life of the individual, and Arminian Christians, with their belief that absolute predestination of the individual would indicate that God was the author of sin and their belief in the salvation of man's soul by repentance, faith and continued good works.

The predestination branch of Christianity was represented by the Presbyterian Church, people of Scotch-Irish and Scottish ancestry, who came mainly from Pennsylvania and western New York (some via the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia); and by other groups largely from Pennsylvania and New York, mainly of German and Holland Dutch ancestry—Lutherans, Dutch Reformed and United Brethren members.

The Arminian group, or believers in good works as a means of salvation, on the other hand, included the Episcopalians, and later the Methodists, mainly from Old Virginia.

Until the Revolutionary War it seems that, although the Episcopal Church was maintained by the Colony of Virginia in the frontier area of Hardy County, and provided parishes which had certain legal duties with respect to the poor and unfortunate, the Presbyterian, German and Dutch churches
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seemed to include, nominally, most of the residents of the area, possibly due to the fact that most of them had belonged to these churches before leaving their north-eastern homes. Actually, however, it seems that in this rough and remote region Christianity as a whole was losing ground to the Indian, pagan way of life. This apostasy is clearly indicated by Bishop Francis Asbury, first American Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, perennial horseback rider through the early South Branch Valley. We have seen that in his diary he repeatedly recorded such frontier phenomena as: “Ignorance of the things of God, profaneness and irreligion...” “About twenty, as I think, prayerless people...”; “Handing about their stink-pots of mulled whiskey...”; “poor souls... in the wilds of America, who are but one removed from the Indian in the comforts of civilized society, and, considering that they have the Bible in their hands, much worse in their morals than the savages themselves...”; “a wild, hardened people”. Bishop Asbury also indicated, both by positive statement and lack of statement, a lack of ordained ministers in the upper South Branch Valley when he first began making missionary trips through it.  

The gradual apostasy of Christians of that region also is indicated by slight reference to churches there by George Washington in his diaries and by the fact that no present church of Hardy County has definite church records before 1782. The Moorefield Presbyterian Church, beautiful in its simplicity of architecture, which celebrated its centennial in 1937, is one of the oldest churches in the county. The Historical Committee of this church is authority for the statement that an earlier Presbyterian Church, called “Concrete Church”, was organized in 1768.  

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1 Asbury, F.; “Journal of the Reverend Francis Asbury”; 1821.  
2 Centennial Historical Committee, Moorefield Presbyterian Church; “Early History of Presbyterianism in the South Branch Valley,” 1937.
torians of West Virginia placed the earliest date of the church as circa 1780, but stated that “the first mention of the organization is in 1782, when Reverend Moses Hoge, an ordained minister of the Presbytery, on his way to Kentucky stopped in Moorefield, and being greatly pleased with the people, remained for nine years as a preacher.”

A Virginia Assembly Act for the establishment of Hampshire Parish of the Church of England in Virginia took effect on May 1, 1754. This was a large parish, with a territory comprising the present counties of Hampshire, Mineral, Hardy and Grant and parts of Pendleton and Morgan Counties. There are very few records of this church parish before 1772, when Reverend Nathaniel Manning, M. D., whose wife was a niece of Abraham Hite and his wife, Rebecca Van Meter Hite, became rector.

The first record of an Arminian church in Hardy County after the Revolutionary War is of a Methodist Episcopal Church in Bishop Francis Asbury’s diary. While Bishop Asbury and the Reverend William Patridge, a young Methodist preacher, were at Old Fields and Fort Pleasant, Hardy County, plans were made for a Fort Pleasant church. Later, in 1812, Fort Pleasant Meeting House, now known as Old Fields Church, was built on land of Isaac Van Meter, who, according to tradition, donated nearly all the money for its construction. Although it was deeded, in 1815, by Isaac and Elizabeth Van Meter to a board of trustees of the Methodist Church, by agreement its use for the education of young people of any denomination could not be prohibited; and for more than a century the church was used by Methodist and Presbyterian denominations.

One of the first ministers of this church, and probably its first minister, was Reverend John J. Jacobs, who had been a general in the Revolutionary

1 Historical Records Survey West Virginia: "The Church Archives of West Virginia: Wheeling", 1939, mimeographed, entry 320.
2 Rev. G. J. Cleaveland, the Episcopal Church. Moorefield Examiner files.
War. He was a member of the first board of trustees of the church, and was teacher at the school there, in which each pupil was required to pay about a dollar—or the equivalent in farm products, board, laundry, home-made shoes or the like—for each quarter term. As pointed out above, Reverend John J. Jacobs was the father of John J. Jacobs, West Virginia's first Democratic-Party governor (of 1871 to 1877).

As teacher, Reverend Jacobs was succeeded by Philip W. Peck, who kept a dairy at Oldfields, in four volumes—Jan. 1, 1826, to Sept. 30, 1845.

The earliest record of a Protestant Episcopal Church in Hardy County is of the Emmanuel Church of Moorefield, organized in 1875. The building of this church was begun in 1876. It is possible that if any members of the state-supported Anglican Church remained in Hardy County directly after the American Revolution they changed over to the Wesleyan Methodist group that divided from the Episcopal Church.

No record of a formally organized Lutheran or Mennonite or Brethren church of the German and Dutch Hardy County residents of the 18th century has been found. Bishop Asbury referred to their not having ministers. In 1895, Conrad's Union Church (mainly of Lutheran and United Brethren members) was built at Rio in the extreme northern end of Hardy County.

The present Wardensville Presbyterian Church was organized in 1883. The present Ivanhoe Presbyterian Church at Lost City was organized in 1899; but the first Presbyterian church in that neighborhood apparently was organized about 1768; and the first church building there was erected on Cove Run

in 1797. Known as Lost River Church,¹ it was built of logs by the people of the community, and apparently was to be used by both Presbyterians and Baptists.² The Fort Run Presbyterian Chapel near Moorefield was established in 1911; and Oakdale Memorial Presbyterian Church in 1913. No records have been seen by this writer of the dates of organization of one of the present two Methodist churches of Moorefield or of the other churches of Hardy County.

In time the chief borderland of Hardy County competition in religion and philosophy came to be that between the orthodox Christian religion of America's origin and the near neo-pagan, restless, materialistic philosophy of many youngsters of the machine age. This conflict of ideas came with the late arrival of the industrial revolution in Hardy County (to which later reference will be made); and to date the churches there seem in a better position in it than are churches in many other localities.

¹ Historical Records Survey, W. Va.; "Church Archives of W. Va."; Mimeographed: 1941 Entry 311.
² F. B. Chrisman; "History of Early . . . Lost River Community." Moorefield Examiner Files.
Second of Moorefield's four Court Houses.
Built in 1850 and used until 1915.
Brake Falls on State Route 7.
S. A. McCoy, former editor of Moorefield Examiner.
Hauling wood in 1908.
The Arthur Wood home in the background.
Pool and bath house at Lost River State Park
4 miles from Mathias.
Inskeep Hall on fire, 1927. Rebuilt and used by the Moorefield Volunteer Fire Company and the Municipality.
Last reunion of McNeill's Rangers, 1908.
CONRAD MOORE
FOUNDER OF
MOOREFIELD
BY ACT OF THE
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF VIRGINIA
OCTOBER 1777

Monument to Conrad Moore, founder of Moorefield. Erected in 1911 by the Conrad Moore Memorial Association, a group of business men.
Laying tracks for Hampshire Southern Railroad, 1910.
Small boy in foreground, Joe B. Chipley.
View of Moorefield from Cemetery Hill, 1886. Public school in foreground.
"Sis" Tevebaugh, last of a pioneer family and singer of ballads.
Died about 1928.
rafting crossties on the South Branch of the Potomac in the early 1900s.
Main Street in Moorefield, 1880.
Looking north from Alexander's Store.
OLD STONE TAVERN—Tradition says stone part oldest structure in Moorefield and home of Philip, father of Conrad Moore.
South Branch Valley National Bank, erected in 1909. Note carriage stile at right in front of Mullin Hotel.
CHAPTER XI (1880 - 1936)

(Gradual development of political centralization—until 1936. The specializing machine age slowly comes to Hardy County. The great drought of 1930. Early Hardy County efforts to cope with the Great American Depression.)

Until 1880, as we have seen, the conflict for political and legal authority in West Virginia was largely between the old-English and Old-Virginia county court system of government and the new England type of township system. But now there rose a new contender for power, which threatened both county and town governments. This was the centralizing power of the state—and later of both the state and the United States.

An Act of the West Virginia Legislature in 1881 illustrated the gradual way political centralization began to develop. That act provided for a county health board and health officer for each county. With the consent of the county court, the State Board of Health was to appoint three persons (one being a practicing physician) as the county board of health for each county that desired such a board. The county health officer was to be appointed by the State Board of Health, on recommendation of the county court.

The first Hardy County Board of Health apparently held office in 1885 and had the following members: M. D. Williams, M. D.; James Kuykendall; and Thomas Bean. Dr. Williams was then Hardy County Health Officer.

In the appointment of these Health Board members and those of other county health boards the foot of political centralization was placed within the county's door. Appointment by the State Board of Health, on consent of the County Court.

According to the Constitution of 1863 three commissioners on each township board of education were elected and the county superintendent of schools was elected.

After 1872 the township boards were called district boards of education. Each board had authority to appoint a district supervisor as executive officer, for enforcing school laws and managing schools.

In 1933 an elected county school board was substituted for the district boards of each county. The superintendent of schools is the executive officer of the board; he is appointed by the board. The board and superintendent of schools are subject to the regulations of the State Board of Education. Here was another instance of slight, distant control of local officers.1

In 1909 the county courts lost part of their jurisdiction over roads, ferries and bridges when the State Road Commission was established and charged with the building and maintenance of primary roads. In 1933 the trend toward centralized state control of roads was completed when the State Road Commission was given authority over all secondary as well as primary roads in the state.2

The road fund of West Virginia now is apportioned by the state in accordance with the “Class A” mileage in each county. In 1930, for instance, the state allotted $192,513 to Hardy County. The expenditure of this sum was controlled by the state.3

In the 19th Century economic relief of the poor in Virginia and West Virginia was supervised by the overseers of the poor. Until 1863 three overseers were elected by the voters of each county; they could buy and sell land, establish poorhouses, hire managers, and take measures to keep the poor from

1 Historical Research Survey: “Grant County.”
In 1863 the West Virginia Constitution provided for yearly elections in each township of an overseer of the poor. And in 1872 the new Constitution provided for appointment of overseers of the poor by the county courts. The Superintendent of the Infirmary (Workhouse) before 1863 and after 1872 was appointed by the County Court. Poor persons were put on the rolls of the Infirmary by written order of the County Court or the Overseer of the Poor. Thus did old Hardy County control, at the local government level, all its charity to the poor and unfortunate, and to the poor and shiftless. The overseer of the poor and the county court members usually knew whether an applicant for relief was poor due to misfortune or due to shiftlessness — whether he or she was a chronic or an occasional charity case.

In 1936, after the onslaught of the Great Depression in America and the passage of the federal welfare and social security acts, a West Virginia Department of Public Assistance and State Director of Public Assistance were established. State legislation also established in each county (or group of counties) a county public assistance council and county director of public assistance. Four members of the County Council were appointed by the Governor from a list submitted by the State Director of Public Assistance, with the approval of a state advisory board. Seemingly as a gesture to the County Court, the fifth member of the county assistance council is the President of the County Court.

The county public assistance council appoints the county director of public assistance from a list of persons submitted by the state advisory board as qualified for the office.

In this maze of interlocking appointments one thing is clear: control of public welfare assistance of the poor in Hardy County and West Virginia, as in most other counties and states, is in the hands of the state government and bureaucracy, and, more
indirectly and to a certain extent, in the power of the United States Government and bureaucracy.

Hardy County has been more divorced than most counties in the control of relief to its poor in that it has combined with two neighboring counties, Grant and Pendleton, to form one public assistance council for the area involved, which has offices at Petersburg, Grant County, and one local director of public assistance, who directs economic relief work in the three counties and manages the infirmary or workhouse in Pendleton County for the three counties.

The authority and duties of locally elected officials in this important sphere of local government (in the determination of monetary and work assistance to the poor) thus have become practically defunct.\(^1\)

After 1936, applications for assistance by periodic payments of money for United States citizens over 65 years old, blind and needy citizens over 21 years old and dependent children under 16 years of age were made to the appointed County Director of Public Assistance. He conducted investigations of the applicants and if he decided they needed aid, he determined the amount they required for healthy and decent existence.\(^2\) It seems obvious that such powers over the relief of widespread want in a time of great economic depression could be used to build up a political machine by politically appointed wielders of the power.

The Hardy County Farm Bureau, a voluntary cooperative organization of farmers, was organized in 1918.\(^3\) After passage by the Congress of the United States of the “Smith-Lever Act” of 1914,

\(^1\) Historical Records Survey; “Grant County”; pp. 85-90. W. Va. Constitution 1863; Article 7, Section 2. W. Va. Constitution 1873; Article 9, Sec. 2. W. Va. Code, 1931, Chapter 9, Article 1, Section 3.  
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encouraging agricultural extension work by state colleges of agriculture, the West Virginia Legislature, in 1915, provided that, on filing with a county court of a "memorandum of understanding" between the county farm bureau and the University Extension Division, an agricultural agent would be appointed for the county to demonstrate improved methods of farm and home management and advise farmers about scientific agriculture.

The county agricultural agent is appointed by the State University Extension Division, subject to approval by two-thirds of the County Farm Bureau Executive Committee. For about 19 years the county farm agents were paid partly by the county court, with the county Farm Bureau paying part of the agent's expenses. But in 1934 an act was passed providing that salaries and expenses of county farm agents be paid by the state from funds to which the U.S. Government contributed.

Although the state legislature and code refer to the work of the county home demonstration agent as part of that of the county farm agent, usually two separate officers have those duties. The county home demonstration agent, usually a woman trained in home economics and rural club work, is appointed by the county court after recommendation by the Extension Division. She organizes women's clubs and demonstrates methods of cooking, canning, sewing and other work in homes.

The first Hardy County Extension Service

Agent was H. R. Cokeley, with an office in Moorefield, who began work there on May 1, 1917.¹

The County Agent came as a representative of the scientific, specialized, urbanized, machine civilization which then was crowding against the outlying environs of rural, handicraft Hardy County. Not quite seven years had passed since the first and only railroad had come to the county—a short line extending from the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad to a rail head at Petersburg, Grant County, originally known as the Hampshire and Southern Railroad.

In a letter to the Editor of the Moorefield Courrier and Advertiser of 1875 a reader voiced pessimism then extant about the possibility of securing a railroad for Hardy County. “We suppose the last effort has been made, and if a failure is the result we may now give up all hopes of attaining railroad facilities for this valley for the next decade. If the golden opportunity which has recently presented itself to secure this desirable road shall have passed unimproved or unheeded, we may as well abandon all future expectations of deriving any benefits from the vast mineral deposits which underlie our now valueless mountain lands.”²

Thirty-three years later—in 1909—construction of the Hampshire and Southern Railroad was begun. The 25-mile line between Romney and Moorefield was opened for traffic about July 1, 1910; and the section on to Petersburg was opened October 6, 1910.³

The new short line was bought by the Moorefield and Virginia Railroad in December, 1911; and by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in November, 1912.³

² Moorefield Courier and Advertiser: December 10, 1875.
In 1917 the chief industry of Hardy County apparently was still logging and lumbering. Many of the logging front and sawmill laborers were also part-time farmers.

H. S. Riggleman, native of Pendleton County, had worked in the first sawmill in Hardy County, about 1878. It was brought into the county and operated by a Mr. Guessins of Florida, who also operated the first steam threshing machine in Hardy County. This first mill cut timbers for the first tannery at Petersburg.¹

The first tanyard in the Lost River area of Hardy County was on Still Run; its process required a year for the tanning of a hide. The first steam tannery at Lost City apparently was built by Thomas J. Cover about 1892. It utilized tannin made from chestnut oak bark of the Lost River Valley area. Hides were hauled on wagons from the railroad at Broadway, Virginia, and leather was thus returned to Virginia. About 1902 the Potomac Tannery was built near Moorefield by the owners of the Lost City Tannery—Cover, Drayton and Leonard.

In 1905, faced with an increased difficulty in getting hides, Cover, Drayton and Leonard sold their tanneries to the United States Leather Company, which organized the Union Tanning Company.² Thus, in 1905, the combining of Hardy County business in centralized units began. But there was little further development of this kind for a generation.

The first County Extension Service Agent, H. R. Cokeley, did much of his work in the county by riding on horseback or in a buggy. Many times he would travel thus a week at a time, visiting one farmer after another, advocating improved farming methods.

¹ "Old Timer" column, Moorefield Examiner, scrapbook of Mrs. Ralph E. Fisher, Moorefield, W. Va.
² Moorefield Examiner files.
From March, 1920, to May, 1921, H. C. Willey was County Agent. In his few months on the job, he led in organizing the first successful Farm Bureau Cooperative association in the county and building a Farm Bureau warehouse at Moorefield. In the following year, on August 22, 1922, H. P. Muffly became the third County Agent. He organized the first Hardy County farm women's clubs and increased the 4-H Club activity in the county.

In his first report as the Hardy County Extension Service Agent, Muffly stated that the Hardy County Farm Bureau (with membership among the farmers of Hardy County) had been in existence four years, that there were sixty community farmers' clubs in Hardy County, three of which he had helped organize during the period of the report; and that of the sixty only three were organized so as to include the farmers' wives and children in the membership. He reported: demonstration of improved methods of culture of corn, wheat, alfalfa, rye, vetch, lespedeza, soy beans, Irish potatoes, and orchard trees; demonstrations of fertilizers; and the raising of cattle, horses, hogs, sheep, poultry and other livestock. In the county there were, in 1922, four pure-bred stallions, one pure-bred jack, 40 pure-bred beef bulls, 50 pure-bred boars, 55 pure-bred rams, and 120 pure-bred ewes. For the protection of livestock from insects, there was only one dipping vat. He stated that, due to his influence, four registered bulls, nine registered boars and 15 registered rams were secured in the county during the period of the report, that 70 farmers had consulted him about the use of fertilizers, that he had induced 40 farmers to take better care of manure and two to construct new silos, and that twelve swampy acres had been drained by tiles, and 170 by ditch.

In the accompanying Annual Report of the County Club Agent, the following club projects were stated to be in existence:
Corn Club Project
Potato Club Project
Sow and Litter Club Project
Dairy Calf Club Project
Dairy Heifer Club Project
Beef Club Project
Sheep Club Project
Poultry Club Project
Canning Club Project
Bread Club Project
Clothing Club Project
“Own Your Own Room” Club Project;
and the following 4-H Clubs to be in existence:
Moorefield Boys, with enrollment of 10
Luxemburg Boys, with enrollment of 7
Pleasant Dale, with enrollment of 17
Camp Branch, with enrollment of 7
Arkansas, with enrollment of 13
Peru, with enrollment of 9
Wardensville, with enrollment of 9
Durgon, with enrollment of 11

In the first report of County Agent S. L. Dodd, Jr., for 1926, he referred to a considerable growth of interest in scientific dairying in the county, and also emphasized the treatment and improvement of sheep and poultry. He stated that two additional dipping vats had been built during the year, making a total of four, that there were two Farm Women's Clubs—the Lost City Club, with Mrs. J. F. Miller as president; and the Capon Valley Club, at Wardensville, with Mrs. Bernice Heishman as president. He also referred to: the one civic club of Moorefield that was functioning well when he arrived — the Women's Club of Moorefield; the Moorefield Boosters Club (of men) which was organized during the year; efforts of these clubs and himself to establish a milk plant at Moorefield, and efforts of the Women's Club to improve the lighting of Main Street and conditions at the poor farm, and to teach cooking and sewing to Moorefield colored girls.
By 1928 the machine age had made considerable progress in opening communication with Hardy County. In the Moorefield Examiner of February 2, 1928, a reader, J. B. Ferguson of Salem, Virginia, reported that on his first visit to Hardy County, in 1899, he had to transfer from the railroad to a buggy at Mt. Jackson, Virginia, to Mathias, Hardy County, and that in 1927 he had made the same trip, in his Hupmobile, in six hours and thirty minutes.

In this year of 1927, the Moorefield Chamber of Commerce was organized. And in the next year, 1928, a motion picture theatre in Moorefield—McCoy's Grand Theatre—was opened to the public.

Under the heading of: "Moorefield Going Places! Already Metropolis of South Branch Valley," the following items of industrial strength were listed by the Moorefield Examiner: a daily milk car to Philadelphia; the Potomac Tannery, which had 100 employees; the South Fork Lumber Company, employing 125 or more men, with 130,000 acres of virgin oak and 25 miles of logging railroad; an annual market of four million dollars worth of livestock, which would be worth six million dollars if processed and packed; increased interest of packers in the possibility of locating plants at Moorefield.

Moorefield boosters — struggling for the industrial revolution at one of its remote and latter-day frontiers. "Going places!" In 1928. To the Great American Depression.

After 1927, and the significant formation of the first Chamber of Commerce at Moorefield, one of the most important parts of the history of Moorefield and Hardy County seems to be the struggle of this area to adapt itself to the new world of science, powered machines, and specialized, quantity production of the material needs of man. Part of this struggle, of course, is philosophical, involving a turning away from unobservant following of mere tradition and instinct and superstition to scienti-
tific, inductive, experimental thought, and its willingness to test new methods of performing man's work. But the major part of this latter-day struggle that is evidenced by the record of the county is the materialistic portion.

This late struggle for adaptation to the industrial revolution began, appropriately and soundly in a largely agricultural county, with attempts to transform agriculture, from the handicraft, back-humping, daylight-to-dark drudgery of man, woman and child and the soil-mining, natural-resource-wasting methods of the primitive past to the labor-saving, resource-conserving agricultural methods that have been developed by science and engineering in the Twentieth Century.

In 1929, the Herd Improvement Association of the South Branch Valley, was organized by the U. S. Department of Agriculture Experimental Station and dairy farmers, including the Misses Gilkeson (Martha and Demaris), T. R. Alt and Brother, D. G. Bean, S. L. Harper, P. W. Inskeep, J. W. Fisher, K. C. Van Meter and H. H. Vetter. In November, 1929, the three highest-rated herds, in monetary returns per cow for the owners, were those of T. R. Alt and Brother, S. L. Harper, and P. W. Inskeep.¹

The business of the cooperative Hardy County Farm Bureau Warehouse for the first eleven months of 1929 was larger than in any previous year, amounting to $50,591.59, including the sale of 75 carloads of dairy, poultry and mixed feeds. In 1929, a motion was passed by the Farm Bureau organization, without dissent, to federate with the state chain of Farm Bureau warehouses. In December, the Moorefield warehouse was sold to the West Virginia Farm Bureau Company Department Association and about $16,000 worth of stock in the state cooperative chain was sold.

In his report to the County Agent for 1929, the Farm Bureau Warehouse Manager stated; "Collect-

¹ Moorefield Examiner, January 16, 1930; page 2.
tions are not at all what they should be and quite frequently we are hampered in buying by not having sufficient funds to carry the complete stock that is necessary to a successful business."

Poor collections, and a tendency toward centralization; a groping toward more efficiency in a time of incipient depression.

During 1929 the West Virginia Veneer and Lumber Company opened a veneer plant at Moorefield. Employing about forty men at the plant and others in the woods and on log trucks, it made veneers of whiteoak, walnut, reoak, maple and poplar.¹

In 1929, the Moorefield Chamber of Commerce began a campaign for a reduction in railroad freight rates in Hardy County. The support of organizations in Petersburg and Romney was secured; an attorney was employed to meet with the attorneys of the railroad; and the railroad's representatives then met the committees of South Branch Valley citizens. A small reduction of the high rates thus was obtained, saving several thousand dollars a year to shippers of the region.¹

In the 1929 Hardy County Agent's Report more emphasis was given to cattle than any other kind of livestock. However, reference was made to the "increasingly large number of commercial poultrymen", the possibility of establishing, at Moorefield, a poultry marketing plant for the South Branch Valley, and the suitability of the mountainous section of the county more to the raising of poultry than any other agricultural work.

In January, 1930, Hardy County had 17 4-H Clubs. Fifty-nine boys were enrolled in the following projects: dairy-calf—7; sheep—5; poultry—12; corn—3; home beautification—5; potatoes—5; gardening—5; handicraft—4; turkeys—1; young natu-

¹ Hardy County Agent's Report, 1929, unpublished. U. S. National Archives.
The beginning of the Great Depression, in 1930, the chief industrial plants of Moorefield and Hardy County were: the veneer plant of the West Virginia Veneer and Lumber Company; the Potomac Tannery; and the sawmill and logging facilities of the South Fork Lumber Company. After some slackening in their operations, all were working full time in February, 1930.

But 1930 was a bad year in the struggle of the Hardy County pioneers of the machine age to raise the material standard of living of their people. Due to drought, falling prices, and the necessity to sell livestock on the already greatly deflated market because of the lack of feed for animals, the farmers' income drastically dropped; and the rest of the business of this agricultural county depended mainly on farm incomes.

A Hardy County drought relief committee was formed, which held meetings and made surveys in the communities, trying to determine relative needs for drought relief. By December, 1930, twenty carloads of grain and hay were sold at cost in the county.

Beginning with a meeting at Moorefield, the women of the church and civic organizations of the county organized into one body called Associated Aid, to pool charitable aid, centrally investigate the requests and give aid from only one source. This move toward centralization of the greatly expanded welfare work seems to have been made necessary by the emergency.

2 Moorefield Examiner, February 27, 1930: page 3.
3 Hardy County Agent’s Report, 1930.
At the end of 1930 there were 90 members of the Moorefield Chamber of Commerce — comprising a relatively large proportion of the population of a town the size of Moorefield. The organization was active, especially in advertising the county, restocking its streams with fish, and preserving game.

Farmers became more interested in the efficiency of their work and the quality of their products.

"This is one of the years," the county agent wrote, "when farmers will cooperate, especially when they need help badly."

On November, 1930, Hardy County Agricultural Agent Dodd made a talk at Wardensville on: "After the Lumber, What?" The Moorefield Examiner of March 13, 1930, referred to a realization of "the situation that our lumber operations were nearly over and that our farmers were not producers, but were engaged in the lumber business."

Five major objectives were selected by the people then assembled at Wardensville: "potato growing; dairying; poultry raising; livestock; and tourist trade". An organization to further these objectives was formed, with J. Perry Heltzel as President, and Mrs. Joseph Frye as Secretary. Another meeting of the group was held at the Court House at Moorefield on March 12th.

It has been interesting to this writer to learn that of these five objectives set forth by representative people of the county the county has succeeded in one better than the other four; and in a way, as pointed out below, which seems to be significant in American life.

1 Hardy County Agent's Report, 1930.
2 Moorefield Examiner, March 20, 1930: page 1.
The following United States Census data pertains to the crisis year of 1930, compared with the 1920 Census-year:

### Hardy County Districts

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<th>1920 Census</th>
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<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>9816</strong></td>
<td><strong>1094</strong></td>
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The population of Moorefield in 1930 was 734; and the population of Wardensville was 189.

During the decade ending 1930, the number of Hardy County farmers had decreased by 232 and the population had increased by 215. The value of farm implements and machinery in Hardy County decreased from $441,953 in 1920 to $309,218 in 1930. In 1930 about one-fifth of the farms of Hardy County were of less than 50 acres, whereas more than half were over 100 acres.

These data seem to indicate a slight change toward more industrialization, and urbanization.

Indicative of the trend toward the adoption of powered machinery was the installation, in August, 1930, of a new linotype machine in the shop of the Moorefield Examiner. Miss Katherine McCoy, the daughter of the owner of the paper, took a course in New York on the operation of this complicated typesetting machine.

From time to time in the last half of 1930 references were made in the Moorefield Examiner to the great drought of that year, to falling farm produce prices, and the need of unemployed and drought-handicapped people for work on roads and other state projects.

1. Moorefield Examiner, June 5, 1930; page 1.
In his County Agent’s Annual Report for 1929, S. L. Dodd, Jr., referred to the “hot dry summer” of 1929. And in his report for 1930 he again referred to “the very dry weather” due to which nearly all the Extension Service crop demonstrations were failures. After “seven fat years” (1922 to 1929) “lean years”, which proved by a remarkable coincidence to be also about seven, had come to the United States.

On September 3, 1930, Republican U. S. Representative Frank L. Bowman of the Second Congressional District of West Virginia, State government officials and fifty bankers from Hardy County and the other counties of the Second Congressional District met at Romney. N. T. Frame, Director of the West Virginia University Extension Work, who presided, expressed the hope that “out of the series (of meetings, of which this was the first) might come establishment of agricultural credit corporations, which the farmers, bad hit by the drought, might find financially helpful.”

This conference, on a local scale, seems to be typical of the efforts being made nationally and locally in the United States during the first onslaught of the Great American Depression. Like the larger-scale conferences that President Hoover was having at the time, it was a meeting of government and financial leaders, intent on relieving economic difficulties by adjustment of currency and credit. It seems that it was a sound, but long-term, possibly long-delayed remedy that was being sought by these leaders, whereas the accelerated economic distress of great numbers of American people — including many in Hardy County — caused them to grope toward more direct and immediate measures.

Due to the drought, the total 1930 county crop production was about 7% less than that of 1929, and about 13% less than the average for the previous ten years. Ordinarily such conditions would have

led to higher prices for farm produce, but the Moorefield Examiner pointed out, “the amazing thing from the farmers' standpoint was the sweeping decline in prices”.

The farmers of Hardy County did not clearly understand the nature of the calamity that had struck them. Neither did most people of the urbanized civilization, down the rivers and eastward and westward of Hardy County, that was just arriving at the Moorefield portals of the mountain country, thoroughly understand the economic forces of this catastrophic period. Drought merely added to the individual farmer’s miserable condition, brought about by an unlucky combination of unfortunate circumstances in man’s adaptation of himself to his relatively new, machined environment — including: the lack of sufficient currency; the drying-up of surpluses of products from factories and, despite the drought, from farms; the lack of sufficient specialized jobs for people who had learned to live as specialists; excessive tariff walls and, possibly, immigration barriers; and so forth; through the complex list.

In the midst of the first phase of this economic cyclone the Hardy County Agricultural Agent, still S. L. Dodd, began in 1931, his regular “County Agent's Column” in the Moorefield Examiner. By this means, he and the newspaper publicized the advantages of scientific farming and forestry with the aid of centralized research and business.

The Hardy County exponents of the scientific, specialized, industrialized way of life thus were not quitting under fire, but, probably unconsciously, were continuing the struggle to better adapt Moorefield and the county to the dominant environment of the outer world—even through that environment then was obviously itself out of adjustment, with hard-to-diagnose, severe growing pains, and disease.

1 Moorefield Examiner, January 15, 1931.
In his 1931 report the County Agent stated that during late 1930 "the drought stricken families over the county began to apply to the County Agent for help, and he had nothing to give them. As the days went by these calls for help increased manyfold."

In response to a request of the County Agent, the American Red Cross sent a representative to Moorefield, and a local Red Cross organization was formed, with the County Agent as Chairman and the Home Demonstration Agent as Secretary. The Associated Aid organization tied in its work with the Red Cross.

Because of widespread hunger in the county the Red Cross diverted a railroad carload of food, which had been intended for another location, to Hardy County.

"With this year's work," wrote the Hardy County Agent in 1931, "extension workers have had an unusual opportunity to study human nature . . . We have found that many who seemed well off a year or so ago are now very poor and in fact have received aid through this office, through the seed, feed and fertilizer loans that were made."

At the end of 1931 the Farm Bureau membership of Hardy County was the largest in the state—427.

During 1931 the price of milk paid to Hardy County dairymen by the Supplee-Wills-Jones Milk Company of Philadelphia dropped to $1.50 a hundredweight. Many dairymen, led by the County Agent, joined the Interstate Milk Producers' Association of Philadelphia, a cooperative, with the purpose of getting better prices for their milk. In order to deal successfully with a large and distant buyer, they felt the need of a specialized, collective bargaining spokesman. It seemed that no private entrepreneur would or could fill this need; so they joined an existing cooperative.

1 Moorefield Examiner, March 26, 1931.
"The poultry business has been hit like all the rest during the past year," wrote the County Agent, "yet we have some men that are keeping right on and by carefully culling their flocks, feeding properly and housing properly they are making some money from their poultry. We have one man that has installed a hot water heating plant in half of his laying house, after properly preparing the building, and now has 2,500 broilers just about ready for market. His plan is to go ahead with this number of broilers three times each year, and see if it will pay him better than the laying hens. If it should prove better he will change over to all broilers."

Here we have a picture of people turning two ways in the dilemma that confronted them. On the one hand, in the attempt to survive, many were turning to centralized, wholesale (and it so happened largely cooperative) buying and selling of commodities, through the Farm Bureau and the Interstate Milk Producers' Association. And, on the other hand, an individual grower was experimenting with a new type of Hardy County chicken (broiler) business—using individual initiative in the hope of securing a better living in those troublous times.

But one of the chief handicaps of the experimenting individual in business at this time was the continual and accelerating decrease of credit. By October, 1931, the directors of the Hardy County Bank believed that two banks in Moorefield were too many. They voted to have their bank taken over by the South Branch Valley National Bank.¹ This is a further illustration of the current strong tendency toward centralization. The economic centralization involved, however, was usually one of mergers of worsening business. Machine-age business as a whole was in a period of deflation and retreat—fast retreat at its costly frontier. And Hardy County was still at this frontier between the powered and the handicraft ways of life—in a border-

¹ Moorefield Examiner, October 15, 1931.
land of poor roads, no large-scale water transportation, a small branch railroad, little developed mechanical power, and high freight rates. But it had one advantage: A border, exposed to different ways of life, is a place of considerable experimentation.

Hardy County in the Great Depression, although mainly agricultural, had begun to specialize in agriculture—and especially in the raising of livestock with the aid of purchased feed. In 1930, as briefly indicated above, a combination of drought-damaged pastures and fields and lack of credit for purchased feed had forced farmers to sell livestock on the falling-price market with losses that were disastrous, not only to themselves but to the commercial private business of the county. By that time production (which was still largely by individuals, using individually owned land and facilities), buying and selling, and credit were sufficiently linked together that a failure in one affected the other three. Failures in both production (due to the drought) and credit (due to the national and international depression, as well as the drought) had occurred. Buying and selling of course also were in the doldrums.

As in the “seven lean years” of Egypt, people of the county, struggling for survival, looked for help from representatives of large government, which had a treasury of money and credit. Stopgap loans and aid of the American Red Cross proved insufficient; and the U. S. Department of Agriculture seed, feed and fertilizer loans did not provide enough credit. The County Agent, chief exponent of the machine age and centralization in their midst, worked hard.

The producers of the county, mainly individual farmers, who comprised the large majority of the population, needed more credit. They also needed to become more self-sufficient on their farms, more efficient in the production of quality produce for the highly competitive market, and to secure lower-
ed costs by mass buying, and more efficient and less costly means of selling their produce. The situation was described in the 1932 report of the Hardy County Agent as follows:

"Going back five years we find that we were stressing production and paying very little attention to the marketing of the commodity produced, because the marketing end of the business did not seem to need much attention. On the other hand, at the present time we find ourselves ever busy with one form of marketing association or another. This has led us to organize cooperative marketing associations for livestock selling; it has led us to pay more attention to the cooperative purchasing of the farmer's needs and also to try to find markets for some of the other things which he produces and has trouble to get on the market. This has made it necessary that we stress the production of quality products... At the present time... it is virtually impossible to sell inferior products, but quality products will bring the top market price, even though demand is poor.

"We have seen such a marked change in the financial condition of our farm folks during the past three years, and which seems as yet to be getting worse. This has made it necessary that the Extension workers become directly interested in the great question of finances. We have seen our well-to-do farmers become poor and the middle class go on the rocks. The seed loans made by the U. S. Department of Agriculture have helped many farmers, and we have cooperated to the fullest extent possible to make this move a success. We have... obtained money for our cattlemen to purchase feeder cattle... We have also come to the place where it is absolutely necessary that our dairymen be given as much help as possible in the marketing of their products, and we have made some progress along this line, but not as much as is needed. We have also had to
change our plans so as to permit helping in relieving the distress among the very poor farmers of the mountain sections of our county. They have had three years of severe drought, and now are at a place where they must have some help from other sources or starve.”

Driven by necessity, the farmers thus were turning to experimentation with an old form of economic organization—the non-profit cooperative, in which each member owns the same number and value of shares of stock as every other, and gets as much return for increased efficiency (or as little) as every other, and in which, as evidenced by the historical record (especially relative to producers’ cooperatives), there often has been little incentive for employees’ work that is harder and better than the average, other than love of mankind and desire to be respected. Like privately owned companies, there are five kinds of cooperatives—the producers’, credit-supplying, consumers’ (buying), marketing (selling), and philanthropic or other general service types.

Producers’ cooperatives, from the time of Robert Owen’s early 19th-Century colonies to the New Llano cooperative in West Louisiana, had never been successful. But Hardy County farmers, with their generations-old tradition of individual farm ownership, would not turn to cooperative agricultural production except as a last resort, if at all.

Led by the County Agent, the farmers began to experiment with buying and selling cooperatives. The Hardy County Farm Bureau, the cooperative which locally sponsored the County Agent’s work, had the oldest cooperative warehouse in West Virginia. An attempt to expand its distribution business was made. By the end of 1932 the number of its members had increased from the 63 of 1927 to 432. By that time the recently formed Cooperative South Branch Valley Livestock Marketing Associa-
tion and the milk producers’ association also were in existence. The milk producers’ association not only aided in selling milk but was an educational and propaganda association.

In the 1932 Hardy County Agent’s Report, for the first time, the poultry business was given the dominant place of emphasis, following the introduction.

“Poultry raising, the County Agent reported, “is rapidly coming to be the largest followed vocation in the county. Much of our land is poor, too poor to be farmed, but is just fine for the production of poultry . . .

“Today we have many commercial poultrymen in the county . . . We have quite a few that are producing broilers on a large scale, and during the past year the county agent has been directly responsible for increasing the size of flocks kept in twenty-three cases . . .

“... I think that it would be safe to say that during the past five years the income from poultry in this county has increased one half. This increase has taken place mostly in small producers taking on larger units—or more profitable units.”

He also referred to the facts that the dairymen had learned to test their cattle to determine which were milk producers and which were “boarders” and to grow as much of their feed as possible, including legume hays which benefited the soil, that farmers in general were realizing more the value of lime in reducing soil acidity and of legumes as soil builders instead of robbers, that high class marl (crumbly limestone) beds in the county had been discovered and developed, that much lime was being burned in small kilns on farms, and that in 1932 permanent buildings on the Tri-County Fair Grounds at Petersburg (for Hardy, Grant and Pendleton Counties) had been built.

1 Hardy County Agent’s Report—1932.
“During the past three years with values dropping more and more and with the buyer becoming more and more discriminating,” he reported, “our farmers have come to their senses and found that they must produce what the market demands if they want to get the highest market returns. This refining process, hard though it seems, has helped to get the livestock industry on a better and firmer basis for the future.”

In 1932 the livestock business of the South Branch Valley was still the largest business of the area. Local livestock men, the county agent, and U.S. Farm Board officials had secured loans for the purchase of young “feeder” cattle for South Branch pastures from the National Feeder and Finance Corporation of Chicago. The first loan amounted to $10,400.

In the conservation efforts of 1933, 4,100 red pine seedlings, supplied by the West Virginia Forestry Division, had been planted in Hardy County by 4-H Club members. Miss Bessie M. Conklyn had been appointed as a full-time assistant to the County Agent, as leader in club affairs.

In 1932, 200 Hardy County families were being supplied with flour and children’s clothing from American Red Cross stores.

The economic system was badly out of joint. But despite widespread want in the county the people were becoming more efficient in much of their work. Then came 1933, and major changes in American life.

1 Hardy County Agent’s Report for 1932.
CHAPTER XII (1933 - 1949)

The depression, "New Deal", and further centralization of governmental power. Local officials and business leaders turn to the Federal Government for aid; Federal and State control of economic life develops in Hardy County; the seeming emergency-dictated welding in Hardy County of local welfare activities, credit control and big government; farmers' relief and parity. Hardy-County, borderlike, experiments, under the guidance of the U. S. Extension Service, in the middle economic way of cooperatives; the struggle between cooperatives and private enterprise; the R.E.A. versus-private-power-company struggle. Some cooperatives are moderately successful; others flatly fail; reasons for their success or failure.

The Great American Depression continued. In January, 1933, Red Cross workers were turning away many applicants for flour and clothing.¹

A statement was issued by a bank official to the effect that the two banks of Hardy County were in "healthy condition", with demand deposits of $170,147.16 and time deposits of $307,053.98, and that although their business was less than that of December, 1931, is was increasing.¹

In early February, 1933, due to lack of funds, most of the Hardy County schools were closed. Only a few were kept open until the end of the month.²

Soon after the country's banks were closed and then allowed to re-open by newly inaugurated President Franklin D. Roosevelt, both banks of Hardy County re-opened. Deposits exceeded withdrawals.³

The Natwick flooring plant at Moorefield closed for several months in early 1933, but re-opened in April.⁴

¹ Moorefield Examiner, January, 1933.
² Moorefield Examiner, February 8, 1933.
³ Moorefield Examiner, March 15 and 22, 1933.
⁴ Moorefield Examiner, April 5, 1933.
On a Saturday afternoon in April, for the first time in nearly half a century, full-strength beer, legalized by the nation, state, county and town, went on sale at Moorefield.¹

In April the Potomac Valley Power Corporation was ordered by the West Virginia Public Service Commission to lower its rates for electricity in the Moorefield area.²

An announcement was made that, as an agricultural relief measure, sixteen unskilled laborers of Hardy County would be given work in West Virginia forests.³

In March, 1933, a plan was made whereby South Branch Valley poultry raisers cooperatively would ship to New York and sell a refrigerated carload of eggs a week. The first car was in Moorefield for one day in May.³ The project failed.

The Tri-County Fair (for Hardy, Grant and Pendleton counties) was further improved in 1933. A high board fence around the grounds and new livestock accommodations were built, some of the general and 4-H Club exhibit booths were re-built, and new and better-lighted stands were built.

Canning exhibits were double those of the preceding year. 49,000 cans of food, of a value of $5,000, were canned by 165 families attending canning demonstrations during 1933. In 1933 the rural families did “not have the money to put into calves, lambs, pigs, or other projects that require cash outlay.”⁴

The effects of this lack of cash and of the extremely keen competition of this year were evidenced in many ways—in increased canning of food, interest in efficient canning processes, lapsing of Farm Bureau membership dues, more subsistence gardens sponsored by the County Extension Ser-

¹ Moorefield Examiner, April 19, 1933.
² Moorefield Examiner, April 26, 1933.
³ Moorefield Examiner, March 22 and May 3, 1933.
⁴ Hardy County Agent’s Report, 1933.
vice, and competition between the cooperative marketing associations and individual and company dealers. During this year the Hardy County Farm Bureau lost over a hundred of its previous-year's 432 members.¹

In his report of 1933 the County Agent stated: "The volume of livestock marketed cooperatively from this county ... increased, but we have more producers that are shipping direct to the Eastern and not through the local association ... When prices are as low as at present it is hard to get a man to go through the local (cooperative) when he is trucking his own stock right to the market. Some of the very best farmers on the Branch are shipping to the Eastern, but they take their stuff right to their yards in their truck or bill direct to them by rail. A solution for this has not been worked out and the county agent would be very glad to have someone give some help. Our most progressive farmers are the ones that are going direct . . .

"One of the principal sources of competition to co-op marketing has been the truckers who are buying and trucking to the old line commission firms. These men are paying more for the lambs right at the man’s farm, without any driftage or freight, than can be secured by marketing through the cooperative channels. Many times these truckers lose money in so doing, but . . . as soon as one trucker fails another is ready to take his place. Our farmers in the mountain like to sell their lambs at the scales and get cash for them at that minute."

Here, set forth incidentally, by a strong believer in farmers’ consumer and marketing cooperatives, probably without analyzing the basic philosophical, governmental and economic problems entailed, is one of the most important issues of the Twentieth Century. Can cooperatives of the type known to date, with equality of ownership for all persons, a service motive, and a lack of extra pay for the individual

¹ Hardy County Agent’s Report for 1933.
for extra individualistic effort, be as efficient in the economic service of man as individual business men or companies, owned and managed by people with a strong individualistic stake in the service involved? What are the actual results of Twentieth-Century competition between cooperative associations that are not driven by such a dictatorship as the Soviet Union Communist Party and private-enterprise business? In the historical documents concerning Hardy County a good record of a cross section of this important competition has been found by this writer. How well did farmers' cooperatives, sponsored by the U. S. Department of Agriculture and the state government, succeed in Hardy County?

In 1933, according to the above statements of their exponent, the County Agent, individual enterprises were gaining in this competition. I shall return to this subject from time to time in the remainder of this history.

The County Agent worked hard in 1933 to secure loans for Hardy County farmers, paying his own expenses for trips to Washington and Baltimore. By dint of struggling with a great deal of "red tape", he secured livestock, dairymen's crop production and poultrymen's loans; and he observed: "There is one thing that should be done by the Federal loan agencies if they expect to give real help to farmers and that is to get rid of some of the useless red tape which they consider so necessary in order to do any thing. It takes too much time to get loans through and you never know when you are through."

Red-tape delays and minutiae of large government and large corporations! These hindrances constitute one of the problems of the Twentieth Century. Are they inherent in large-scale centralization?
Although some relief of those hard hit by the depression was continued by the Red Cross, most of this great task was taken over in 1933 by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (R.F.C.) of the United States, and, toward the close of 1933, by the U. S. Civil Works Agency. In addition to being Relief Chairman of the Red Cross, County Agent S. L. Dodd was now the Case Committee Chairman of the R.F.C., and during the year he had been put in charge of the subsistence gardening program by the County Court and Welfare Board.

In 1933 there were five Hardy County farm women's clubs.

Contracts for the U. S. Wheat Acreage Reduction Campaign of 1933 were made with individual farmers.

"When we saw that if a man went in on the contract he would cut himself short for home use," reported the County Agent, "we advised him to stay out."

During 1933, cattle that were bought in 1932, "fed through the winter and sold as fat cattle late this fall, lost their owners as much as $14 per head, without counting the cost of feed or pasture". An inspector of the Pennsylvania Board of Health came to Hardy County dairies, unannounced, and, without consulting local authorities, who regularly inspected the milk, made a report in Pennsylvania which led to a ban there on milk from the Moorefield area. "It would seem, wrote the County Agent that the State of Pennsylvania would like to construct a fence around its boundary that will let milk out, but not in."

In 1934, aided by the Dairy Division of the U. S. Department of Agriculture and the Governors of West Virginia and Pennsylvania, the Hardy County dairymen secured a re-opening of their Pennsylvania market. And a month after winning this struggle the price of Hardy County milk in Pennsylvania was

1 1933 County Agent's Report.
about doubled. A factor in this success was the work of the Moorefield local chapter of the dairymen’s general-service cooperative, The Interstate Milk Producers’ Association, with headquarters in Philadelphia. By the end of 1935 every dairymen in Hardy County was a member of the Moorefield Local. The income of the dairymen who supplied milk to the Moorefield milk station of the Supplee-Wills-Jones Milk Company of Philadelphia (including some dairymen of adjoining counties) then was about $25,000 a month.

In 1933, poultry-raising was still forging ahead—especially in the mountains and hills, where few or no mine props and cross-ties were then being purchased. Some growers of turkeys were then annually raising 500 to 1000 turkeys each.

In trying to help solve the emergency, the U. S. National Recovery Administration, with its Congress-authorized but seemingly fascist tendencies, began to throw its weight around—in the back country as well as the city. Because of the economic crisis and the driving force of its colorful leader, General Hugh Johnson, it was then preponderant. For several weeks in late 1933, in order to comply with the restrictions of its leather production code, the tannery at Moorefield was in operation only half the time.

Near the end of 1933 the U. S. Civil Works Agency program in Hardy County was under way. More than a thousand people of Hardy County had registered as in need of work; 100 men were working on federal reforestation projects; about 500 in jobs in the county; and it was estimated that by January 1, 1934, 800 Hardy County men would be at work on U. S. projects.

1 Hardy County Agent’s Report for 1935.
2 Moorefield Examiner, November 22, 1933.
3 Moorefield Examiner, December 20, 1933.
U. S. crop production loans to 25 farmers in 1934 amounted to $910. During the autumn, payments on these loans were "very good". All 1933 Hardy County loans for purchases of "feeder" cattle were paid in 1934.¹

During 1934, the County Agent, an ex-officio member of the Hardy County Credit Council, was meeting monthly with the Council, at its request, attempting to settle unpaid loans by compromise between creditors and debtors.¹

Two new farm women's clubs were organized in 1934—one at Mathias and one on Culler's Run—making a total of seven farm women's clubs and one civic club in the county. The Moorefield Women's Club had selected as its chief project the improvement of the community library at Moorefield, which had been recently begun with 300 books, and the establishment of branch libraries in other parts of the county, operated by farm women's clubs. By the end of the year the main library had over 5,000 books, and reading-circle books were being sent to rural schools.¹

The eight women's clubs were also very active in working in and the teaching of cooking, canning, sewing, remodeling of old clothing for further service (often for more needy people), the making of quilts, gloves, rugs, the renovation of old furniture, better purchasing, and home landscaping. They also found time for picnics and camping, including a centralized meeting of about 140 members of five of the farm women's clubs at Lost River State Park.

More and more farmers were turning to the raising of poultry—and especially of broilers. Demonstrations by the Extension Service of the culling, feeding, housing and treatment of poultry were still being conducted.

Much of the County Agent's time in 1934 was spent in the U. S. Agricultural Adjustment Admin-
istration’s (A.A.A.) programs for limiting the production of wheat, corn and hogs. The Grant-Hardy-Pendleton Association for determining quotas and effecting controls was formed. By the end of 1934 wheat-limiting-program contracts had been made with sixty-four farmers in Hardy County, 25 in Grant County and 58 in Pendleton County; and over 400 contracts in the corn-and-hog quota program had been made in the three counties. At this time the following first U. S. Government payments on the corn-hog program had been made: $8,670.55 in Hardy County, $6,114 in Pendleton County, and $4,093.95 in Grant County. And in 1933 and 1934 the Government paid nearly $8,000 on the wheat program in the three counties. These payments considerably helped business men in Hardy County.

After the 1934 Tri-County Fair all debts owed by the fair association were paid. Despite the increasing cooperation of the three counties involved, there was still no telephone communication between Moorefield and Pendleton County.

Pertaining to the competition between marketing cooperatives and private-enterprise markets, County Agent Dodd stated, in his Annual Report for 1934:

"The local buyers gave very keen competition this year and while some of them lost, and lost heavily, yet they made their contracts good. The County Agent attended the livestock roundups at Clarksburg, and for the first time heard shipping managers from some of the sections sound a real alarm. In former meetings we have told of competition in this section; and Mr. Creech, Mr. Hively and others have told us that the trouble was with us, and that if we were sold on the plan and would push it our marketings would increase. The South Branch Valley is not far from several Eastern markets, and we do have a real competition..."
Mr. Dodd reported that the local director of the cooperative livestock marketing association (Mr. H. C. Welton) took an active part in the shipping of both lambs and cattle. "He not only made cooperative shipments of lambs and cattle, but bought where the owners would not ship co-operatively... The truck competition is very keen on lambs, and it is hard to ship lambs cooperatively that will net the producer as much as the dealer will pay locally. Mr. Welton went through to Baltimore with several shipments in order to learn more about the grading on the market, but he found the grading to vary so much depending on the market that he could not keep up with it. Mr. Welton is thoroughly convinced that unless cooperative marketing will net the producer more for his livestock than he can get at home the farmers will be slow in using this method."

It appears that Mr. Welton was learning so much about the livestock marketing business that he soon would be in position to earn more money in a business where individual initiative brought more individual returns. Already he was buying, apparently on his own account, when the livestock owners would not ship cooperatively.

In rural rehabilitation, the County Agent pointed out that "the real job is to make proper selection of the case. There are so many that present themselves for rehabilitation that are not fit subjects. Possibly they are not capable of getting along or are chronic relief cases."

As chairman of the Hardy County Rehabilitation Committee, he pointed out that: "It is hard to get Committees who will function properly and who know the people. The paid investigators of the relief administration do not know the people and fail to get the facts about so many cases."

Here we find the seemingly usual tendency of large, centralized organizations — governmental or economic—to employ subordinates who do not know and have little interest in the applicant or the cus-
tomer, and who make decisions on the basis of red-tape rules which they can not change and usually do not want to be changed.

The Hardy County work of the "paid investigators" in this instance happened to be in charge of a bureaucrat who apparently was a wise, understanding and fair man. But the power of this representative of the U. S. Agricultural Extension Service in the hands of another type of man could have been used arbitrarily and with favoritism.

In 1934 the following aid was extended to needy farmers: 7 horses; fertilizer to ten farmers; wheat seed to seven; grass seed to two; roofing to two; an incubator to one; an artificial limb to one; and loans. And, with the advice (control) of the Hardy County Agent, from December, 1934, to December, 1935, the Romney Production Credit Association extended loans of $20,000 to farmers.

By the end of 1935 three of the county's poultry raisers annually were raising more than 1,000 chickens each. There were then 71 turkey growers, selling about 125 to 200 turkeys each.1

In commenting on the work of making wheat, corn and hog quota contracts, County Agent Dodd pointed out that the "work of interviewing each man and working out the details of his application and contract involved a tremendous amount of detail work because each step had to comply with detailed rules and regulations laid down by the authorities in Washington." Nevertheless, he was still laboriously overcoming the red tape, and getting some useful results. In 1935, twenty-three new 4-H Clubs were organized. The cooperative marketing of lambs and hogs increased that year; but few cattle were cooperatively sold.1

Sam A. McCoy, Editor and Publisher of the Moorefield Examiner for 34 years, died on December 31, 1935, and was buried on New Year's Day.

1 Hardy County Agent's Report for 1935.
1 County Agent's Report of 1935.
In the following year his daughter, Katherine, and her husband, Ralph E. Fisher, moved to Moorefield and began managing the Moorefield Examiner. Ralph Fisher, a Naval Reserve Officer, who had been a highly placed Standard Oil Company official in Southeastern United States, had compared his life, of flying and telephoning over long distances, many conferences, high-pressure executive and sales work, with a life in rural, peaceful Hardy County, with its mountains and unpolluted bass and trout streams and hunting of wild game, and the possibility of exerting much influence over a small area; and he chose to be a big frog in a little pond. As editors, Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Fisher soon became prominent members of Moorefield's growing group of boosters—exponents of the specialized machine age and of individual incentive and initiative.

In March, 1936, another disastrous flood of the South Branch River occurred. Moorefield was shut off from communication with the world for two days. One hundred people were reported dead, and the property damages were estimated at over 150 million dollars. In spite of this tremendous setback for the town and county: the first Hardy County garden tour was held in May; and in that year of 1936 it was reported that the Moorefield area milk producers were the first local group of Philadelphia milk shed producers to have cattle completely free of tuberculosis, mastitis and bang's disease.

The County Agent was continuing his battle with red tape. He was now cooperating with: the Federal Land Bank, the Romney Production Credit Association, the Crop Production Loan Office, and the Resettlement Loan Administration. During 1936, due to increased prosperity of farmers, the amounts of new crop-production loans were greatly decreas-

1 Conversations between the writer and Mr. Ralph E. Fisher, Moorefield, 1949.
2 Moorefield Examiner, March 17, 1936.
ed. There were outstanding in Hardy County $25,000 worth of loans of the Resettlement Administration.

This was the year that the U. S. Supreme Court threw out as unconstitutional the production controls and processing taxes of the "New Deal's" Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933. Except as a means of survival in a desperate time, Hardy County farmers probably never had much use for those external dominations. After the historic decision, county matters pertaining to the crop-control were quickly brought to an end. But bureaucracies and governmental controls do not die easily. And some of the farmers were still badly in need of help. So, in April, 1936, the new Federal agricultural land-conservation and basic-crop-storage programs were launched in Hardy County. The number of farmers who made contracts under the new program were smaller than was expected by the County Agent's office.

During the five years ending in 1936 poultry raising in Hardy County had increased over 150 per cent. Commercial turkey raising was increasing more rapidly than chicken-raising.1

During 1936 a rural electrification project for Hardy County was planned by the U. S. Rural Electrification Administration. This was done in cooperation with the hard-working County Agent. The latter stated in his 1936 report: "It is interesting to note that the Power Companies operating in this county took absolutely no interest until they were certain the project would go through, and then they actually surveyed lines... in an effort to gain the territory for themselves. So far they have not been successful, nor do we think that they will be able to hinder us in any way from now on. The superintendents from these respective power companies called on the county agent recently in an effort to get the farmers to drop the cooperative project they have

1 Hardy County Agent's 1936 Report.
begun, and accept in its stead a proposition which they have to offer. The county agent has refused flatly to consider dropping the present plan until we have reached a satisfactory conclusion."

In 1936 the cooperative shipments of lambs and hogs slightly decreased. This was doubtless because of the privately operated livestock auction that had been established at Moorefield the preceding year. The County Agent reported in 1936 that: "The prices at the auction this year have been very satisfactory. In many cases their net returns to the producers have been greater than if they had shipped cooperatively. On the other hand, many times it has paid to ship cooperatively rather than to go through the auction. Particularly has this been true of hogs. Our local (cooperative) manager, Mr. H. C. Welton, has many times attended the auction and purchased livestock, which he shipped to the Eastern, and the returns made him a satisfactory profit. In 1936 the auction has handled much more livestock than during 1935. Their facilities are better, their management improved . . ."

The livestock marketing cooperative seemed about to fail. And, having acquired superior ability, the cooperative manager understandably was using it more where his initiative and ability might secure good returns to himself.

In 1936 the total annual income of the town of Moorefield was $3,500 a year and its expenses were about $6,500 a year. At a mass meeting of Moorefield citizens Mayor J. Harry Dolan stated: "Since the enactment of the tax limitation amendment in 1932 Moorefield's revenue has not been sufficient to meet town expenses."

In February, 1937, U. S. Rural Electrification Administration Project West Virginia—8 (estimated to cost $172,000; for 573 farm homes in Hardy County) was approved by federal government auth-

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1 Moorefield Examiner, July 29, 1936.
And the Potomac Light and Power Company refused to deal with the R.E.A.¹ In May, the $133,694 bid of Hess and Barton, Inc., to build the power lines of the local Rural Electrification cooperative (of the Hardy County Light and Power Association) was accepted.² The established power and light company was closely watching these developments, and later began a struggle to delay them.

In June about seventy employees of the Potomac Tannery (a branch of the Union Tanning Company) were given a bonus of one-fourth of a cent an hour for all hours worked during the past fiscal year.³ Thus the growing large-company custom of providing bonuses or dividends for employees in years of good economic returns had come to the big-business frontier at Moorefield. And soon thereafter the tannery began spending $30,000 for plant modernization. These were indications that the worst of The Great Depression was over.

But in June, the dairymen and business leaders of the county were shocked by a report that the Moorefield milk-receiving plant of the Supplee-Wills-Jones Milk Company of Philadelphia, established in 1926, had been sold to the Kraft Phenix Cheese Corporation. This milk plant had been the means of bringing into the area an average of about $56,000 of cash annually for about eleven years.³ These regular payments had greatly helped county farmers and business men to survive economically during the hard struggle of the depression years.

In July, the Kraft Phenix Cheese Corporation took charge of the plant, by lease, and, overnight, began changing it to a cream cheese plant. The dairymen suddenly had to adjust themselves to a greatly changed market. The new cheese plant made arrangements to buy milk, and quickly began making about 1,500 pounds of cream cheese a day. Much

¹ Moorefield Examiner, February 10, 1937.
² Moorefield Examiner, May 5, 1937.
³ Moorefield Examiner June 2, 1937.
of this cheese was sold in the South Branch River Valley.¹

In the next year, 1938, there came more signs of returning economic prosperity in the outside world, and there was further adjustment of Hardy County people to the new conditions. In March the centralized superintendent of building of the Kraft Phenix Cheese Corporation arrived with orders to supervise construction and remodeling work at Moorefield, with the installation of equipment having a daily capacity of 40,000 pounds of milk.² And also in March the first unit of the centralized American town-and-business booster clubs was organized in Moorefield. The charter meeting of the Lions Club of Moorefield was held on March 15.²

Despite these evidences of increased prosperity and opportunity—at least in business, factory and dairy work—the wheels of the “New Deal”, federal government machine kept turning.

U. S. Civilian Conservation Corps officials again established at Moorefield the railhead for C. C. C. Camp Hardy.³ This re-establishment of the railhead of course pleased local residents. But it came due to an outside bureaucratic decree; and the selection of the young men of Hardy County who were given work in the nearby national forest also was a U. S. bureaucratic matter. The work that these equally-paid young men, organized on a quasi military basis, did in making forest trails, bridges, thinning trees, etc., if accompanied with sufficient discipline, might have been quite useful and even efficient. This historian has not examined the record in this respect, but merely is pointing out that this incoming federal organization was another example of the centralizing, bureaucratic movement of the nineteen thirties.

During March, 1938, approximately 13.5% of the people of Hardy County were “on relief” of the

An allotment of $4,573 for reconditioning Hardy County Court House had just been granted by the U. S. Works Progress Administration. And later in the year a $114,329 W.P.A. project for the improvement of Hardy County schools was approved. But, strangely for those times: concerning the latter proposal the local authorities did not arrange to provide the county's required percentage of the cost of the project; and so it was not begun.

1937 to 1941 were years of considerable progress in Hardy County's adaptation to the machine age—and to centralization of government and economics. In March, 1937, sportsmen of Hardy, Hampshire, Grant and Pendleton Counties organized the South Branch Game and Fish Association, to secure more game fish for the South Branch River. U. S. officials promised to establish a bass hatchery for the area if an acceptable site for it was furnished to the Government free of charge. Centralization of effort—local citizens looking to the U. S. Government for aid—even in recreational return to the primitive.

In July, 1937, a Hardy County delegation turned to the state government for help in their development. They went to the state capital to request a prison road camp for the county. As boosters of the county they realized that good roads and transportation were a highly important part of that specialized machine-age way of life they sought to advance in the county; and that to get them they needed to wait, hat-in-hand, at State and/or U. S. Government offices. Shotgun-guarded state convicts were their best bet; convicts' labor costs the state little; and, although they were slow and inefficient, the roads they finally built were very good.
The same general centralization trend is indicated by the 1937 protest of county citizens against an order of the U. S. Post Office Department eliminating a mail contract with the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Fearing that the railroad might discontinue express service over the local branch line, they went to the U. S. Government for indirect aid. The march toward better material conditions continued. By July, 1937, a new sewer line in Moorefield was nearly built; it was completed in March, 1938. In November, 1937, U. S. Bureau of Fisheries officials approved the construction of a bass hatchery for the South Branch Valley on a site on the lands of the Misses Gilkeson, just north of Moorefield. In July of that year, a County 4-H Camp near Wardensville was opened with 100 members present. And by the end of October, eleven miles of the R. E. A. cooperative electric lines were completed. But breakers lay ahead.

In September, 1937, a legal dispute between the West Virginia Public Service Commission (backed by the Potomac Light and Power Company) and the Hardy County Light and Power Association, as to whether or not the local R. E. A. cooperative was a public utility, was given a court hearing at Charleston. The result was that the State’s Public Service Commission obtained a temporary injunction against further development of the United States Rural Electrification Administration cooperative on the basis of the State’s charge that the association was a public utility which had not complied with the regulations of the Commission and had no Commission certificate permitting operation. In January, 1938, this temporary injunction was upheld by the Supreme Court of West Virginia, restraining the Hardy County R. E. A.-organized cooperative from completing its power project until the case could be decided by the Circuit Court of Hardy County, by

1 Moorefield Examiner, March 30, 1938.
2 Moorefield Examiner, January 5, 1938.
Judge Harlan M. Calhoun. The West Virginia Public Service Commission and the West Virginia Attorney General claimed that the R. E. A. cooperative “was scheming to evade the law” by setting up “business in sections already served by utility firms”.¹

Here we have, in essence, a legal struggle between two forms of governmental centralization—one of the Federal Government, backing the R. E. A. cooperative association; the other of the State Government, which was backed by a monopolistic private-enterprise power company. In its opposition to the cooperative, the Potomac Light and Power Company claimed that the cooperative would encroach on a rural territory already occupied by the company, which territory could not support two competing power lines.

In the meantime the competition between the loose combination of local businessmen and farmers and the cooperative buying and selling associations sponsored by the U. S. Agricultural Extension Service, although not so dramatic as the struggle in the courts, also continued. And under the impact of the continued depression the controls of the Department of Agriculture over Hardy County farmers were extended.

The Farm Security Administration cooperated with the Hardy County Agent in lending money to farmers who ostensibly could not borrow from private banks or individuals.² The County Agent’s support was very important in securing one of these loans. It probably was usually wisely given, by a wise and fair-minded appointee; but the power was in the hands of the County Agent, whether he was wise or not, and in the hands of distant, bureaucratic caretakers of big-government red-tape.

Near the end of 1938 the County Agent estimated that there were only about 125 farmers in Hardy

¹ Moorefield Examiner, January 12, 1938
² Hardy County Agent’s Annual Report, 1938.
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County who were not under crop-controlling, soil-improving contracts with the U. S. Government; there were 1,021 members in the Agricultural Conservation Association.

At that time, individual initiative in economic enterprise was making its strongest stand in the county in two ways: in the marketing of livestock, by aid of the Moorefield auction; and in the acceleratingly fast growth of the poultry business, which was growing fastest in the poorer, mountainous parts of the county. County Agent Dodd, inveterate backer both of the cooperative and of the specialized, scientific way of life, reported how the poultry farmers secured capital, feed and marketing services for their mushrooming enterprise. These things were not secured from the Federal Government or a cooperative sponsored by the U. S. Agricultural Extension Service. A farmer who wanted to begin raising chickens would build chicken houses and fences, and then make a contract with a feed dealer, feed mill, hatchery or huckster. According to this contract the feed dealer or the like would supply the farmer with baby chicks, equipment, feed, and requested advice; the farmer would raise the chickens; the financing entrepreneur would then market the chickens: the farmer would receive 50 to 75 percent of the net monetary gain, after deducting all costs; and the dealer would get 25 to 50 percent of the net gain. About 90 percent of the poultry-raising arrangements were of this general nature, with the farmer usually getting 75 percent of the net proceeds.\footnote{Hardy County Agent’s Reports for 1938 and 1942.}

Here we see the ancient, typically Western economic way of life functioning strongly at the grassroots level.

The unnamed enterprising individual casually referred to in the County Agent’s report of 1931, as beginning to experiment in the raising of broilers
for the market, really launched a tremendous enterprise. Whether or not Jesse Bean of Bean Settlement (northeast of Moorefield) was that individual, this one of the numerous Hardy County Beans is usually given credit for a major part in the development of this enterprise. At any rate, he pioneered in the mass poultry-raising business in the rather poor lands of his section of the county.

Another important factor in this development was the long-continued educational work of the County Agent and his staff in helping teach the farmers scientific poultry raising, and especially the value of correct feeding, disease and parasite prevention, treatment and culling.

In 1938 Hardy County poultrymen secured baby chicks from large hatcheries at Harrisonburg, Virginia, and from a smaller hatchery at Moorefield.

Despite this resurgence of private enterprise, the centralizing control of agriculture by the federal “New Deal” was proceeding apace. In April, County Agent Dodd published a list of approved soil-building practices and the credit units counted for them in the earning by each farmer of “the payment set up for his farm”. For instance, an acre of alfalfa, “approved” red clover, alsike, crimson clover, annual lespedeza, or annual rye grass, “seeded in conformity with good farming methods”, counted as one unit. Units of credit also could be secured by the application of certain amounts of lime or fertilizer, or the turning under of legumes or other "green manure" crops.

The specializing machine-age places considerable materialistic value on time. Part of its scientific philosophy seems to many, and especially to many younger people, to be contrary to a belief in religious miracles or ancient statements of religious mystics who are reputed to have been inspired by
God. During the machine-age development pointed out above, these and other factors apparently reduced the amount of church attendance in Hardy County.

Nevertheless the Presbyterian church at Moorefield, whose white building looks like an architectural gem from some ancient, idealized New England green, in August, 1937, held a centennial anniversary celebration. And during 1938 the ancient Old Fields Church—small, of brick and a simple, box-like design—was being restored under the auspices of the local Farm Woman’s Club of that area.

All the while that this machine age development was rolling on and the struggle between two types of economic organization of the machine age was developing the pull back toward the primitive—toward the call of wild nature in this hunting and fishing country, and toward the old way of life in general—did not cease to exist.

The wild turkey in the Twentieth Century is a very rare game bird, but hunters in Hardy County in 1929 killed 193 wild turkeys; in 1937, 164; in 1938, 150; and in 1940 more than 400—about half the wild turkeys killed in the whole state. At the middle of the century they were still plentiful. The bear is another rare game animal in continental United States, but reference is occasionally made in the Moorefield Examiner to the killing of a bear. Hardy County residents are proud of what they claim is “the longest unpolluted stream east of the Mississippi”—the South Branch River above Moorefield. In 1929 the Moorefield Examiner published a news item that a wildcat attacked one of two brothers on Little North Mountain and was shot by the other brother. The cat weighed thirty pounds. As pointed out above, part of the movement toward the machine age was the formation of the Lions Club of

1 Moorefield Examiner, August, 1937.
2 Hardy County Agent’s Report for 1938.
3 Moorefield Examiner.
Moorefield in 1938. But one of the first activities of the new Lions Club was partly due to the pull back toward the primitive—to sponsor and aid, beginning in March, 1938, the South Branch Valley Fish and Game Association in their project for a bass hatchery near Moorefield.¹

In February, 1938, “The Old Timer” column was begun in the Moorefield Examiner. For years this column has comprised articles about the very old people of the county, and their reminiscences about the past, with its handicraft, nearly self-sufficient way of life. Many of them were children during the Civil War and have told of harrowing experiences of those times of violent struggles in this border country. Every one of these many reminiscences about the Civil War examined by this historian has been made by a person whose family was allied with the South and the Confederacy during that fratricidal war. “The Old Timer” column also has comprised articles on the history of various places in Hardy County.

During most of 1938 the battle between the R.E.A.-sponsored Hardy County cooperative and the Potomac Light and Power Company, and the legal dispute between the cooperative and the West Virginia Public Service Commission, continued.

In March the Circuit Court ruled on the case, requiring the cooperative to subscribe to the control of the Public Service Commission.² This meant that the cooperative had to establish facts showing that its proposed rural territory was not adequately served by the private power company—if it was to get a certificate of necessity from the Public Service Commission.

In August, 1938, the Potomac Light and Power Company made an offer to the cooperative Hardy County Light and Power Association to take over

² Moorefield Examiner, March 9, 1938.
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the R.E.A. program in the county. The R.E.A. officials rejected the company's offer.¹

On August 26th a stormy public mass meeting at Hardy County Court House was held. John M. Carmody, National Rural Electrification Administrator, came to the meeting from Washington and charged that the Potomac Light and Power Company intended to scuttle the R.E.A. program in Hardy County, that a "spite line" already had been built in Lost River Valley. C. E. Nethken, representing the West Virginia Public Service Commission, stated that "he resented the implication that the Commission was dishonest".

Vincent D. Nicholson, Chief Counsel of the R.E.A., quoted from court records, stating that many farmers were unsuccessful in efforts to secure electrical service until the R.E.A. projects were begun, and that then the power company became very active in building rural lines. The Potomac Light and Power Company officials that were present made no official statement. By a nearly unanimous rising vote the people there decided to continue the R.E.A. project in the County.²

On November 1, 1938, the West Virginia Public Service Commission, sitting in Moorefield, made its decision in the case. It granted to the cooperative a certificate of necessity and convenience, and the right to construct all the lines it desired in Hardy County except in territory already served by the Potomac Light and Power Company. Thus ended the two-year fight between the cooperative and the power company, with victory for the cooperative and the "New Deal". In the meantime, however, the power company had extended its lines in rural territory. By a queer sort of competition (between regulatory government and Moorefield private busi-

¹ Moorefield Examiner, August 24, 1938.
² Moorefield Examiner, August 31, 1938, pp. 1, 8.
ness) the farmers had gained. And so it happened that in December, 1938, the first ten miles of the electric lines of the Hardy County Light and Power Association were energized.

The machine age continued to advance in the county. In the fiscal year of 1938 the assessed valuation of Hardy County property increased nearly half a million dollars, with a 1938 total of $9,540,445. Ralph E. Fisher and C. Robert Powers, who owned a small airplane, formed the Moorefield Flying Club, and advocated an airport. A site was leased by Powers and Fisher, in the name of Moorefield, but at the expense of the air travel enthusiasts.

This airport project thus was begun as, and it continued partly to be, the result of private, local initiative. But the airport boosters—the Flying Club, the Moorefield Examiner, Fisher and Powers—turned to the U. S. Government for aid. They requested and secured a U. S. National Youth Administration project for clearing the airport land of trees, stumps and rocks. The Boy Scouts, State Roads Commission and local farmers aided. One of the results was that Moorefield's first official airmail pickup service occurred on May 19, 1938. With 38 airplanes and about half the people of the county present, the new “Class-2” airport was dedicated on September 21, 1941. The dedicatory address was delivered by a famous, young, “New Deal” Congressman, Jennings Randolph, Representative of the Second Congressional District, which included Hardy County.

The South Branch Air Service, Inc., organized by Messrs. Fisher and Powers in 1941, obtained the state-wide agency for the sale of light airplanes of a well-known make, and sold thirty of these aircraft before World War II caused deliveries to cease.

1 Moorefield Examiner, November 2, 1938.
2 Moorefield Examiner, December 21, 1938.
3 Moorefield Examiner.
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Also in 1941: the first paved road to the east of Moorefield over the mountains (between Moorefield and Baker) was completed — about the time that the United States went under the dark cloud of World War II;¹ and in November, 1941, the Thompson Mahogany Company leased the planing mill building owned by Snyder Brothers, for use as a warehouse for veneer.²

The struggle between centralization and local control—between the specializing machine age and local self-sufficiency — is clearly indicated by the political fight over the school system which developed in the nineteen-thirties. In March, 1930, led by a Moorefield Chamber of Commerce committee, a movement for a larger, more centralized high school for Moorefield was begun.³ Then in the early thirties, the Board of Education of Hardy County prepared, for the U. S. Works Progress Administration, building and other plans for a W.P.A. project for the expansion of county high school facilities. Approval of the project in Washington was secured—with the provision that the county would provide part of its cost. But local funds then could not provide for current county expenses; and the proposed new buildings were postponed.

In 1938 the proposals for new buildings were reconsidered.⁴ In February of that year, L. B. McNeill, former president of the Hardy County Board of Education, presented his argument against the proposed new bond issue for the erection of high schools at Moorefield, Wardensville and Mathias, including the following:

"... If our Board of Education would use this $3,500 or $3,600 (annual) building fund to build new one and two room country school houses through the county districts for the next eight or ten years,

¹ Moorefield Examiner, November 19, 1941.
² Moorefield Examiner, November 28, 1941.
³ Moorefield Examiner, March 20 and 27 and April 10, 1930.
⁴ Moorefield Examiner, January 12, 1938.
the Board of Education would serve the school system of this county much better than by using this money to build only three school buildings; and, further, if this school bond issue carries, what in the world is going to become of our one and two room county school-houses during the next thirty years, when many of these one and two room school-houses need replacing with new buildings right now?"

The old way of life against the new; de-centralization versus centralization; rural life versus urban life.

With the advent of Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Fisher as publishers of the Moorefield Examiner the Hardy County newspaper began to change part of its policy. Mrs. Fisher's father, S. A. McCoy, for many years had followed the policy of presenting facts, trying to keep the paper from strong partisan positions in local issues over which the people were greatly divided. But when the issue of centralized high schools versus county schools arose the new publishers decided to take a strong stand in this matter that was so important to them and all other parents of the county. So it was that the newspaper very strongly advocated voting in the election of February, 1938, for the proposed new bond issue for centralized high schools.

About 67 percent of the ballots cast in the election were for the new high school program. School Superintendent G. R. Kiracofe then announced that negotiations would be commenced "immediately with government agencies to secure a grant of money to match the funds raised by sale of the school bonds."

Most of the people thus had concluded that their best interests would be served by larger, better-equipped, better-staffed schools, with 45 percent of the costs paid for by the federal government. Probably most of them thought little of the centralized-power versus local-controls issue that was involved.
But, in effect, the 67 percent majority was voting for one of the many facets of specialized centralization.

In July, 1938, Congressman Jennings Randolph announced that the President had approved a W.P.A. project in Hardy County costing $114,329 for the construction and improvement of school buildings and grounds. So it was determined that back-country Hardy County would get new schools. “Presidential approval” had been obtained.

The new high school in Moorefield was another of those specialized-age projects of Hardy County that were completed just before World War II. Appropriately it was dedicated on May 26, 1941, with a speech by an idealistic, persistent, often-criticized advocate of New-Dealism—criticized as one who was rather un-realistic in standing for aid to the common people from paternalistic big government (which also might control them and certainly would collect much from them). The first graduating class of the new school and about 5,000 people heard Mrs. Franklin D. (Eleanor) Roosevelt say: “... This generation will have to meet and beat the problems facing our government. You will have to keep this country a democracy, so that the rest of the world can turn to America and say: Democracy is worthwhile; Democracy has been able to solve the problems of government; and Democracy is worth fighting for.”

The issue of centralized urban versus one-and-two-room rural schools was very important, for it involved the question of whether or not the next generation would be trained in a centralized, specialized way and environment, for leading Hardy County in a further adaptation to the scientific way of life. But probably a still more important phase of this Hardy County struggle between centralization and local controls was in the still undecided economic

1 Moorefield Examiner, July 20, 1938.
2 Moorefield Examiner, May 28, 1941.
issue of government financing and control of agriculture and business (to a large extent in Hardy County and other rural areas by the use of non-profit cooperatives) versus private-enterprise freedom, initiative, incentive and profit-seeking (or extra-pay-seeking) industry and skill.

One of the functions of the U. S. Federal Farm Board, established in 1929, which in 1933 was renamed the Farm Credit Administration, was to encourage cooperative associations for the marketing of farm products and the purchase of farm supplies and services.

In Hardy County the Farm Bureau was the pioneer and, from the County Agent's point of view, most important of the cooperative associations. Its membership decreased from 432 in 1932 to only 75 by the end of 1940. In 1939-40, its cooperative warehouse was bought back from the state-wide Cooperative Farm Services. Then, in 1941, its cooperative buying (managed by the Hardy County Cooperative, Inc., a subsidiary of the Farm Bureau) was the largest in its history, with an increase of 30 percent over that of 1940, and a total volume of $51,000, dealing in seeds, fertilizer, feeds and other farm and home supplies. A dividend of six percent and a patronage dividend were paid.

Thus this cooperative warehouse had been centralized and then de-centralized; and apparently it was more successful in the purchase and distribution of farmers' supplies while it was de-centralized.

Although a competitive cooperative store — of the Southern States Cooperative, Inc. — was established in Moorefield, the business of the Farm Bureau cooperative warehouse further increased in 1942 —to $65,000.  

1 Hardy County Agent's Report for 1940.  
2 Hardy County Agent's Report for 1942.
The R.E.A. cooperative (Hardy County Power and Light Association) is essentially a consumer’s cooperative—buying and distributing electrical current to farmers. As seen above, it came into the rural fringe of a territory dominated by a state-controlled monopoly; and it had difficulty both with the state and the monopoly. Due at least partly to its competition, by 1939 two hundred and sixty miles of new electric power lines had been built in the rural areas, of which 123.89 miles were managed by the R.E.A. cooperative.\(^1\) In other words, a little more than half of the new rural lines were built by the private-enterprise power company. My conclusion in this matter is that the R.E.A. cooperative has been a good force in the machine-age development of Hardy County—in providing competition for a monopoly. But if the monopoly business originally had been satisfied with smaller profit (or pay) in rural areas and had properly expanded its business the cooperative might not have gained a foothold.

In the year ending in early December, 1943, the Farm Bureau’s Hardy County Cooperative, Inc., had a business of between $90,000 and $100,000. On December, 1943, there were 208 members of the county Farm Bureau.\(^2\)

It is thus a fact that consumers’ cooperatives, purchasing and distributing farmers’ supplies and electric current, have been somewhat successful in Hardy County.

Producer cooperatives of the standard, usually unsuccessful type, which have equality of ownership of voting in and dividends from a manufacturing or farm-operation enterprise, have been given almost no trial in Hardy County. In July, 1949, the owners of the Moorefield Examiner leased the building, equipment and business of this newspaper to a partnership of several employees of the paper, who

\(^1\) Hardy County Agent’s Report for 1939.
\(^2\) Hardy County Agent’s Report for 1943.
were to share the work of the journal and apparently equally share the net proceeds. This partnership was in essence similar to a small producer’s cooperative and probably was the nearest thing to such a cooperative that Hardy County has known. The writer was not surprised to learn, in 1962, that the multiple ownership of the newspaper had not succeeded and that Mr. and Mrs. Ralph E. Fisher again were its owners and publishers. This failure is in accord with the history of equal-ownership, producer’s cooperatives, of the type, for instance, of the New Llano farming experiment of this century in West Louisiana. All of them known to this historian have failed.

But in America there also have existed cooperative Producer-controlling (fascistic) associations established by the “New Deal”. Both the N.R.A. and the A.A.A. were associations of this type, which sought to control quantity, quality, and prices of products, and both were invalidated as unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court. Thereafter, one of the principal results of the A.A.A.—namely, U.S. Government control of agricultural surpluses and prices—was secured by the soil-conservation program, which carried on part of the work of the A.A.A. association. But there is this difference: control of the individual farmer’s actions is not now in the hands of a cartel of individual neighbor farmers; this control in essence, is now in the hands of Department of Agriculture appointed officials, by virtue of their ability to make contacts with the farmer whereby he will be paid federal funds for doing what the officials think is best for his farm and for the nation.

The natural-resource and farmers’-aid results of this “soil-conservation” program probably are good. In the 1940 Hardy County Agent’s report it was pointed out that 758 farmers were receiving checks “for compliance in the 1940 program and 804 farms

were visited by the supervisors in checking compliance,” and that the results of the 1940 Hardy County program were:

“342 farmers used 194.8 tons of AAA triple superphosphate;
47 farmers used 65.8 tons of superphosphate;
325 farmers used 5,268 tons of lime;
80 farmers seeded 359 acres of alfalfa;
4 farmers seeded 14 acres of crimson clover;
69 farmers seeded 327 acres of lespedeza, red top and timothy;
558 farmers seeded 5,645 acres of clover;
58 farmers turned under 399 acres of green manure crops;
4 farmers planted 14 acres forest trees;
47 farmers improved 193 acres of forest stand.”

These concrete results in conserving natural resources and trying to prevent the United States from following the course of the people of the Yellow River of China (yellow with thick mud from eroded and ruined farms) obviously are of value to Hardy County and the nation. Also on the credit side of the U. S. agricultural policy ledger there should be recorded the securing of some justice to the farmer, who was long handicapped by often having to sell in a cheap world market and to buy in a tariff-controlled market.

But on the other side of the ledger there must be written the considerable costs in money (the 1940 figures of which are not available to this writer) and the intangible costs, if any, of damage to the American spirit of freedom of the individual — of tolling the farmer, traditionally the most sturdily and persistently independent individual in the American scene, into direct or indirect cooperation with bureaucratic control of the political party in power, and, possibly but not certainly, with later to-be-developed more fascistic control.
The possibility of this last-named cost cannot now be clearly examined. The 1949 program of the U. S. Secretary of Agriculture might have been a move away from this situation of potential danger to the individual; but it has been criticized as involving many additional government employees and possibly involving a subsidy to the farmer, mainly by the hard-pressed middle economic class, which pays the bulk of the income taxes; and it seems temporarily at least to have failed to secure a trial.

The success of marketing cooperatives in Hardy County, persistently encouraged by the U. S. Agriculture Extension Service, has been very poor. The same type of failure in establishing such organizations among the farmers as has been pointed out above in connection with the record of the nineteen-thirties is indicated in the Hardy County Agent’s Reports of 1940 to 1943. At the end of 1941 the County Agent reported: “We have not been able to get many farmers to market their lambs cooperatively during the past year... The sheep men sell most of them through the auctions at Winchester, Harrisonburg or Moorefield.” In the report for 1942 he indicated that although a few more lambs were sold cooperatively than in previous years their total number was still small, and that the business of the cooperative Wool Marketing Association in Hardy County was not very good. In the report for 1943 there appears the following statement: “We still have a few livestock men that are marketing their livestock through cooperative channels when possible... Some of our men shipped lambs through the coop at Petersburg, but we had few that signed up in the wool pool and delivered wool at Petersburg...”

These statements clearly indicate the continued general failure of livestock marketing cooperatives in competition with adequate individual, private-enterprise marketing.
CHAPTER XIII (1939-1949)

Success, at least for the time being, of Federal financing activities. The resurgence of private enterprise in development of the principal middle-Twentieth-Century business in Hardy County. World War II's effect. The machine-age development continues. Unionization of labor in some industrial plants; closing of one plant. The war with insects. Interstate efforts to solve the flood problem; the flood of 1949; turning to the U. S. Government for aid. Integrated social-sciences study of Moorefield by American University. The atomic age and the future of Hardy County.

In the field of financing, the centralizing and controlling tendencies of the federal government of the two decades preceding the middle of the Twentieth Century apparently made their greatest gains. Uncle Sam is no exception to the general rule that bankers tend to exert influence and control over those to whom they lend money. By R.F.C., F.C.A. F.F.M.C., F.S.A., AAA (soil conservation), F.H.A., C.W.A., W.P.A., R.E.A., C.C.C. (Commodity Credit Corporation), feed, seed and fertilizer loans, allotments for this and for that, the alphabetical agencies of the early 20th-Century federal government (at times, as in the cases of the two F.S.A.'s, the two F.C.C.'s and the two C.C.C.'s duplicating alphabetical names), have advanced financial aid to local groups and individuals, and in the process secured, at least temporarily, considerable bureaucratic control of groups and individuals. Hardy County, as pointed out above, has been no exception to this general course of American life.

But in one respect Hardy County during these decades presented a remarkable example of the present-day worth of individual initiative and incentive in private enterprise.
In this excellent natural habitat of the wild turkey for untold centuries, this example is the rapidly-developed, large-scale poultry business. By the end of 1939 "nearly every farm east of Branch Mountain, many on the South Fork and many on the South Branch side" were commercial poultry-raising farms. Many of these poultrymen were selling annually 20,000 to 25,000 broilers apiece. Many had large flocks of turkeys. A large hatchery, with a capacity of 7,000 chicks twice a week, had been built at Moorefield, by private business. And in 1943, over 3,000,000 broilers were marketed by Hardy County poultrymen.

Five years later, four million poultry broilers and 100,000 turkeys were being marketed annually in Hardy County. On August 5, 1948 a "poultry field day", under the auspices of poultry growers of six West Virginia and Virginia counties, with speakers from West Virginia University, the Virginia Polytechnic Institute, the Winchester Area Poultry Council and other organizations, was held near Wardensville, Hardy County.

There are many economic and other benefits to the county and lessons for the county and nation in this relatively big business of Hardy County of the Twentieth Century.

The business has brought a large amount of money into the county, much of which was distributed where it was needed most, in the plateau and mountain country, where much of the soil was poor, disintegrated rock, the roads were poor, and the machine age had had little chance for progress. This money meant the purchase, by individuals, of construction materials, fertilizers, powered farming and other tools, automobiles, electricity and household conveniences. These things have led to some improvements of roads and of the poor standard of living of the rugged back country—and some ame-

1 Hardy County Agent's Report, 1939.
2 Hardy County Agent's Report, 1943.
3 Moorefield Examiner, August 11, 1948.
lioration of the vicious economic circle of ignorance, poverty and shiftlessness and the bad philosophical circle of ignorance, fear and superstition.

One of the good side benefits is the use of chicken manure in improving the poor soil on most of the poultry farms—in soil conservation and upbuilding that are not due to a paternalistic Government but are because of the farmer's and small business man's initiative and energy.

It seems to this historian that after all the paternalistic (and in the emergency often useful) efforts of the federal administration at Washington to improve the purchasing power and standard of living of the people of this mountainous county, it is a significant and useful example to the nation that when the chief economic development of the last two decades came it was mainly the result of the free, uncontrolled enterprise of the Hardy County individual, whose typically poor home is still his castle. This material progress was a haphazard but effective local-initiative growth of feed dealers, feed mills, low-income farmers, hatcheries, hucksters, and cross-road stores. The U. S. Agricultural Extension Service's part in the development was that of the farmer's scientific friend and guide, to whom the farmer turned, not for control of quotas and methods, but for aid in acquiring scientific knowledge and skill. In the field of finance the government through the F.S.A., lent some money for the purchase of poultry houses, but the great bulk of the financing of the development was by private entrepreneurs.

Perhaps there is a lesson here, not only for the U. S. Government in its well-intended effort to help the hard-pressed American farmer, but also for the United States and United Nations in their attempts to raise the standard of living of the so-called "economically backward" countries of the world. What would thousands of United Nations (or United

1 Hardy County Agent's Report for 1942.
States?) “county agents” achieve for individual initiative and freedom in conjunction with local farmers and small business men in Upper Africa, India, Southeast Asia and Latin America? Not just a few men per nation—as the Truman “point-four” policy has provided, but one mature, dedicated, technically trained and experienced agricultural expert (like Agent Dodd of Hardy County) in every county-size area of these undeveloped regions. These teachers and guides could be called United Nations Agents. The “Peace Corps” youths could report to these older leaders.

In the late forties the county competition between private enterprise and cooperatives continued. In 1943 the County Agent aided in launching another cooperative venture in Hardy County. Nearly 200 poultry raisers of the area, most of whom were Hardy County residents, joined the Rockingham Poultry Marketing Cooperative, which operated a poultry killing and refrigeration plant at Timberville, Virginia. The chief arguments for the cooperative were that it would guarantee a market for broilers and turkeys when needed and requested by the members, and that it might establish a poultry plant at Moorefield. Such a plant was established at Moorefield, with fair success; in 1949 it employed about 75 or 80 women to dress chickens.

My general conclusion from the history of non-profit, equalitarian-ownership, equalitarian-voting cooperatives of Hardy County is that to this date they seem to have failed wherever adequate, large-scale, non-monopolistic, private-enterprise, extra-pay-motive facilities have existed. Where such facilities have not existed, cooperatives, for a while at least, have been fairly successful. Since in the electric power supply business of 1936 a state-controlled...

1 Hardy County Agent's Report for 1943.
2 Statement of Mr. Ralph Fisher, Editor, Moorefield Examiner, to the writer, July, 1949.
private monopoly existed which had not built lines in the back country, where economic returns for electrical service would be small, a cooperative, financed by the federal government had a chance. Then, due partly to its competition, the regular power company also built new rural lines—in time over half the new rural lines. Likewise, in 1918 there was no competition among large-scale dealers in farm supplies; so the newly organized Farm Bureau consumer's cooperative had a good field for its business. The early nineteen-forties brought healthy competition to this cooperative—in the form of another cooperative—the Southern States Cooperative, Inc.

For livestock marketing, on the other hand, there were adequate, large-scale, non-monopolistic, private-enterprise facilities—especially after the establishment of the livestock auction at Moorefield. And so we find that the conscientious County Agent repeatedly reported the failure of his persistent efforts to establish livestock and wool marketing cooperatives. "It is very hard to interest the livestock men in the Valley," he wrote in his 1942 annual report, "when they have a livestock auction at Moorefield."

In the dairy business the farmers sold milk to a private company; but they organized a cooperative to aid in holding to a community standard of quality, and to speak for them to a large-scale buyer. Similarly, after the poultry business was developed on a private-enterprise basis a processing and refrigeration plant was secured at Moorefield, due to the fact that private enterprise there had not built such a plant, and also because of the expansion of business of a well-managed Virginia cooperative.

Cooperatives in Hardy County thus seem to have succeeded not so much as money-making producer's organizations, but as means to fill, at least temporarily, an economic vacuum, where means for
competitive, large-scale sales of goods and services are lacking and are needed.

During World War II, Hardy County produced, with less manpower than usual, greatly increased amounts of agricultural, forest and leather products. In accordance with the military traditions of the county, beginning with the Indian Wars, many of its young men volunteered for service in the armed forces, although many also, in accordance with the trend of the times, waited for the call of the draft board. The war came as an interruption to the development of a machine-age environment in the county; and after the violence had passed this development was again accelerated. But in the first year after the war—1946—the most profitable single-unit business in Hardy County was State Liquor Store No. 3 at Moorefield. It sold $210,787.35 worth of liquor, nearly double the amount of its 1945 sales. Was this great increase of drinking in a rural county only a temporary, war-explained phenomenon? Or did it indicate that Americans were in a “time of troubles” of the type referred to by historian, Arnold J. Toynbee? Or did it merely mean that, in boom times, returned armed-service men were dulling bad memories?

At any rate, postwar prosperity came to Hardy County—and with it came labor unions.

Workers’ unions are a form of cooperative—of the general, service type of the milk producers’ association which the Hardy County dairy farmers joined. They usually come with the development of the machine age—with the establishment of big business, and the banding of employees together in order to bargain collectively with the company-united individuals who are their employers and managers.

At the time of the 1940 U. S. Census there was not a labor union in the county. As late as 1946 the

1. Statement of Mr. Ralph Fisher, Hardy County director of 1940 Census, to the writer, July, 1949.
employees of the Keystone Tannery and Glue Company, by a decisive majority of 25 to 15, voted against joining a union. But a few months later, in July, an announcement was made, of a "harmonious" contract for 1946 between the Thompson Mahogany (veneer) Company and its workers, who then were organized in Local No. 296 of the United Furniture Workers of America of the C.I.O. The Hardy County employees of the Rockingham Poultry Marketing Association, itself a cooperative, organized a local labor union unit. And in 1947 a bare majority (34 of 64 voting employees) of the workers of the flooring business of J. Natwick and Company voted to join the United Furniture Workers of America of the C.I.O., making the third local union in Moorefield.

In 1948 the union of the veneer company secured a wage increase of five cents an hour for all employees. And in the next year, this union demanded a second wage increase, of fifteen cents an hour. At first, the company refused to accede to the demand, but after considerable dispute it yielded. Its employees returned to work; making veneer from mahogany timber imported from Latin America. But after all the logs on hand were made into veneer the company closed the factory, and sold the machinery to an African organization. It is believed by some Moorefield residents that this union had demanded more pay than the economic situation of the business would permit.

A significant item in the recent history of Hardy County is the announcement, in 1946, that, for the first time, pasteurized milk products were available for purchase by South Branch Valley residents. For generations raw milk had been consumed there; now

1 Moorefield Examiner, July 17, 1946.
2 Moorefield Examiner, January 22, 1947.
4 Moorefield Examiner, February 16, 1949.
5 Moorefield Examiner, September 11, 1946.
it (and its bacteria—good and bad—and its vitamins and enzymes) were to be subjected to and at least partly killed by machine-age heat. This brings up a vast and complicated and very important subject—the question of whether or not man and his semi-artificial environment can survive in the ruthless war now going on between man and the small forms of life—insects and disease germs.

The Hardy-County record of man's victory in the ancient war against large wild animals is nearly complete. As indicated above, the South Branch Valley is one of the last United States frontiers in this earlier war. Although a few species, including the skunk, thrive well, the killing of an occasional wildcat or bear now makes front-page news in Hardy County. But what about the insects? Many of the species of wild animals and birds that have been almost exterminated by the machine-age civilization (directly by hunting or indirectly by destruction of wild-life plant cover) kept insect life, with its tremendous reproductive ability, to a somewhat balanced proportion of life as a whole.

Now, the records of the County indicate the worsening state of a relentless war between man (and his animals and plants) and the insects. The increasing importance of efforts to control parasites of sheep, cattle, poultry and crops is continually indicated in the annual reports of the Hardy County Agent and the files of the county newspaper. As man's animals and plants are bred more and more for specialized functions in man's environment—away from the wild environment where they were less specialized but more able to defend themselves—more and more poison against insects has become necessary. Specialists of the United States and the West Virginia Departments of Agriculture and insecticide companies are working on this problem, which apparently can be solved only by centralized effort, such as the 1949 statewide campaign against
Japanese beetles conducted by the West Virginia Department of Agriculture and the U. S. Department of Agriculture's experiments in the breeding of animals and plants for sturdiness.

In the associated and more important problem of individual man's struggle for his own life against certain bacteria and the like, poisons and antitoxins are becoming more effective, for the time being. And the method of breeding for resistance by the ancient competitive selection of mates by the two sexes still is of great importance. But sexual marriage competition among people mal-adjusted to environment merely secures the survival of the least mal-adjusted. In the last analysis, this war, in Hardy County as elsewhere, probably will be won by the better adjustment of human individuals to the new machine-age environment — where abstinence-requiring plenty has replaced the old, slenderizing want of the hunting-age of Hardy County; and where more and more air-conditioned shelter of man and his domestic circle of animals and plants seems to be necessary.

Part of the history of Moorefield is a cross-section of the story of man's struggle against floods. Situated on the "flood plain" of the junction of the South Fork and of the main South Branch River, occasionally throughout its known existence, sudden freshets have avalanched on it from the mountains of two directions. In writing of the life of Hardy-County octogenarian William Russell Tross, son of a Negro slave, the "Old Timer" columnist stated that Tross was thirteen years old when the flood of 1877 came. "His grandfather's cabin was on the side of a hill and they had to pull out in the night and go up on Turkey Knob to avoid the water which was pouring through the house. They stuck blankets on poles for shelter. The next morning when they looked out toward Petersburg there was water as far as they could see. All along where the Tannery now

is there was a solid sheet of water and Bill says all down the Valley there wasn't any hay or corn — ‘nothing on the river’. The flood had swept it clean.”

Another example of these disastrous floods was that of 1936, to which reference was made above. After the 1936 flood, efforts were made by representatives of West Virginia, Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania and the District of Columbia to form a cooperative, inter-local-government, Potomac river development authority. Led by Maryland State Senator L. H. Sothoron, an Interstate Commerce Commission on the Potomac River Basin was formed, with G. H. Williams, J. E. Offner and John I. Rogers representing West Virginia. The Commission was at first mainly an advisory group which sought to plan and coordinate laws for the prevention of pollution of the Potomac River, but there was much hope that it might give rise to an interstate pact and authority to dam and otherwise develop the Potomac River for flood control, navigation and power, as an interstate experiment, not controlled by the Federal Government.¹

By 1943 U. S. Army Engineers had made plans for 14 flood-control and power dams on the Potomac; and many people who wanted to avoid Federal encroachment on the rights of states in the Potomac Valley development were nevertheless afraid that the cooperative development would be too slow. As pointed out by Senator Sothoron: “One of the difficulties in carrying forward any multiple-purpose project in conjunction with water resources is that political sub-divisions and private organizations have a reluctance to assume their rightful share of the costs . . . desiring that the funds be provided by the Federal Government.”¹ This is the old major difficulty in any kind of voluntary-action, undisciplined, cooperative association.

During the first half of the Twentieth Century, this development, partly due to World War II, was quite slow, and rather unfruitful. Then almost at the middle of the century—in June, 1949—there came another disastrous flood. It was in Grant, Hardy and Hampshire Counties. In the early morning of a dark and rainy night cascades of water avalanched on the Petersburg and Moorefield area. A cloudburst then came. In two and a half hours 4.3 inches of rainfall fell. Human lives, livestock, crops, buildings, roads, fences, telephone and power lines were destroyed or damaged. Officials of the American Red Cross, Army, National Guard, police and health departments struggled to supply food, shelter and clothing to refugees.

Another, less dramatic but very important effect of the flood was described by an agricultural specialist, Harold M. Rhodes. "The bottom lands along the smaller streams were either generally scoured or covered with rubble or coarse sand. The streams made new channels in many places, thus creating more waste lands... Hard rains took a thin layer of the top soil off most of the uplands... Vast quantities of it... are deposited in the Valley, all the way from Petersburg to Romney and beyond. Numerous new gullies from 6 to 12 inches deep can be seen on the cropped fields. In natural draws, where the water concentrated, all the topsoil and some subsoil was removed. Sheet erosion was prevalent over most of the pastures. Small landslides were apparent here and there on many pastures; slips have not been common in this area in the past. The woodlands gave up large quantities of coarser material such as rocks, rubble and sand.

"The loss of these basic materials, not including the lime and fertilizer, in dollars and cents would be staggering. The effects of this damage to the..."
land will be felt in these areas for a long time to come.”

United States Representative H. O. Staggers, of the Second West Virginia Congressional District, swung into action. He introduced in Congress a bill to provide emergency relief for flood victims in Hardy, Grant, Pendleton and Tucker Counties, and another bill providing that the U. S. Army Engineers survey and study means for flood protection in the area involved. The R.F.C. promised to expedite loans for the rehabilitation of property damaged by the floods; and the U. S. Department of Agriculture stood ready to make emergency loans to farmers for the repair of flooded property.

Here is the phenomenon again of people who highly value personal liberty and local government rights turning to the federal government for aid in an emergency, realizing that the United States at least had the centralized power to accomplish the needed results, which in this instance were clearly within the scope of the federal government, if, in its unwieldy nature, it could be influenced to take the necessary action. This would be especially difficult because Potomac River flood control involved interstate navigation and the interests of three states and the District of Columbia. The need for interstate control of this river had been an important, direct cause of the establishment of the United States in the late 18th century; yet still, in the middle of the 20th century, no positive action toward stopping the rampaging waters was taken. After the ugly flood, the beauty of the river returned; and it flowed on, undammed, free for future devastation.

But “in spite of hell and high water”—in spite of the delays and losses of war and floods—the exponents of the machine-age, specialized way of life kept hammering at their frontier construction work in Hardy County. Their task not only involved ma-

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1-2 Quoted by G. Sharpe, Moorefield Examiner, July 6, 1949, p. 8.
jor items of progress but also a large number of
details of minor improvements, such as the follow­
ing, of 1948: A new town ordinance providing for
an improvement and extension of the Moorefield
water supply system;¹ and the replacement of out­
of-date telephones in Hardy County, urged by a
committee headed by State Senator Ralph J. Bean.
In this year of economic progress, the Rev. Charles
W. Kernan, Pastor of Moorefield Presbyterian
Church, observed a decrease of interest in church
and Sunday school activities. Bothered by this de­
cline, he suggested that a study of Moorefield be
made by the West Virginia University. Town and
Chamber of Commerce officials became interested
in and broadened the proposed project. West Vir­
ginia University forwarded the request to Ameri­
can University of Washington, D. C. Dr. Paul F.
Douglass, energetic President of American Univer­
sity, had been talking with officials of Rockville,
Maryland, about an integrated social-sciences study
of that town. The formally expressed interest of
Moorefield authorities in such a project interested
him; and in October, 1948, at Moorefield, he accept­
ed the job for The American University, the cost of
the project being estimated at a minimum of $30,
000, and to be borne by Special Foundation grants
to the University.²

A Moorefield Citizens' Committee to aid in the
project, with Circuit Court Justice Harlan M. Cal­
houn, as chairman, was formed. Dr. Paul F. Douglass
and Dr. Austin van der Slice of the University at­
tended the first few meetings of the Committees. Dr.
vander Slice, Undergraduate Dean of the School of
Social Sciences and Public Affairs and Chairman of
the Department of Sociology, was placed in charge
of the project for the University and its President.

At the second meeting the method of adminis­
tration of the survey was determined, and the fol­
¹ Moorefield Examiner, April 7, 1948.
² Moorefield Examiner, October, 1948; and American University files, 1948 and
1949.
ollowing study topics were announced: (1) a 1949 Census conducted by the University; (2) a history of Moorefield; (3) transportation; (4) schools; (5) social organization; (6) churches; (7) recreation and leisure time activities; (8) participation in community activities; (9) political leadership; (10) land use and housing; (11) annexation of adjoining areas. With approval by President Douglass, the present writer was selected by Dr. Ernst Posner, Director of the School of Social Sciences and Chairman of the Department of History, Dr. van der Slice and Dr. Donald Derby, Professor of History and Assistant to the President of the University, with the guidance of Dr. Derby, to conduct the historical research and write the history of Moorefield. As this history can hardly be separated from that of the rather homogeneous county of which Moorefield is the county seat, the writer has expanded his task into a history of Hardy County.

In beginning the research of the Post Reconstruction part of the history of the county, the writer expected to find a record of the people’s seeking some middle ground, some compromise on this border of the economics struggle between rugged individualism and centralization. And this he has found in their above-described experimentation with cooperatives. A very successful compromise they apparently have not yet found, but at least, border-like, they have been seeking one.

On July 9, 1949, at Hotel McNeill in Moorefield, West Virginia, Governor Okey L. Patterson met and dined with the South Fork Road Committee (of Hardy County boosters). The Committee urged that the Governor allocate state road funds, in addition to those available for Hardy County road construction and repair, for the completion of the road from Moorefield south, up the South Fork of the South Branch River, through Bass, Peru and Milam.
of Hardy County and through Pendleton County to the Virginia state line. They requested that he establish a camp of convicts near the proposed highway for the labor of building the road.

This highway was planned to penetrate one of the least accessible areas in Hardy County. The southern part of the current roadway was indicated as "unimproved" on the 1948 Official West Virginia Highway map. It went along the Moorefield River (the South Fork of the South Branch), a picturesque rugged-banked, natural, unpolluted stream, where American fishing is at its best.

Why did the boosters of Moorefield and the machine-age want this improved road? More people, with their usual desecration of natural beauty in their haste after the dollar, probably would pollute that unpolluted stream. The noise of the added machinery would startle the birds, the wild turkey, the deer, the squirrel, and the rabbit. Why?

As residents of a long-continued borderland, the Hardy County leaders appear to have been pursuing their destiny. Their remote predecessors exterminated the Indian culture, with its kinship to wild nature, and its maintenance of one person on three and one-half square miles of ground. Later predecessors found themselves on another violent border, between, on one hand, the culture ahead of the steam engine, and the horse-drawn plow and reaper and their freemen operators and, on the other hand, the slave-and-the-hoe and the owner-on-horseback. And the slave owner lost; and old Hardy County was divided; and new Hardy County sought a compromise, providing some justice to those of the shattered Southern way of life. And now in the middle of the Twentieth Century these men on the border between the horse-and-plow and handicraft culture to their rear and the machine-age way of life ahead, sought to move toward the specialized, scientific way of life; and yet all the while they strove for a re-
stocking of their beautifully half-wild Moorefield River with trout, and for a preservation of game in nearby state and national forests. With a look backward to wild nature from time to time, and trying to compromise with the past and to retain some of the desirable things of the past, these men of the machine-age frontier were advancing — for their own interests — against the lingering poverty and drudgery of a handicraft age.

And in the meantime: a newer, atomic age was being born, far from the confines of Hardy County.
THE FUTURE OF HARDY COUNTY

If certain prophets of gloom and fear should be right and machine-age civilization should be destroyed by the atomic bomb, Hardy County, on the economic frontier, would be in a position to suffer less destruction than the great cities. Then, with its still existent handicraft-wise people, it could survive, while it began once more a weary climb toward a machine civilization.

But this writer is not among these prophets of disaster. More likely it is, I think, that mankind will go on—perhaps with temporary continued mass-killing-of-men interludes—to a more perfected, nature-controlling, machined environment—to a more god-like state of kinder human supervision of life on earth. If this belief should be correct, Hardy County would continue to develop a mechanically powered, centralized environment, while it sought a way also to preserve its deep-seated, experiment-preserving, life-adjusting, competitive freedom of the individual.

At this stage of man's existence it is hard to understand the probable nature of such a successful middle way. It is probable that one element of future Hardy County life will be the individual's and small group's decentralized power, such as electricity, gas (for instance, from the relatively new natural gas line going through Hardy County from Charleston, West Virginia, to Baltimore), compressed air, atomic power, or the like.

The dominant economic organization satisfactory to this county on the frontier of the machine age apparently would not be socialism of the type.

of the recent experiments in England. This type of socialism is tried out mainly in the highly specialized areas of the machine age, such as coal mining and steel manufacturing regions—and not in individual-farm regions. Moreover, due to the fact that its organizations, if not in a dictatorship, are subject to political pressure and control by large labor unions, it increases the cost of manufacture by wages that are raised considerably above the agricultural pay scale, and this increased cost is paid for by the consumers of the nation—that is to a large extent by farmers. Farmers thus are usually not in favor of state socialism; and the record of Hardy County, with its generations-long tradition of individual ownership and freedom, shows no tendency of its becoming an exception to this general rule.

As to the other type of democratic socialism—of communal ownership on a local level, as represented by equal-ownership, freely-competitive cooperatives—Hardy County has indicated a definite tendency to experiment with it; and to date, as pointed out above, apparently has learned that where a vacuum exists in private-enterprise operation of needed services the cooperative can be used, at least temporarily, to fill it. But its experience seems to indicate that cooperatives, with their equality of ownership, are not efficient enough, at least in this age, to compete successfully with private enterprise, supplying a non-monopolistic service on a large scale. Thus it would appear that although certain consumer’s and specialized-service cooperatives seem to be a part of the economic course ahead of Hardy County they are not a major part.

Hardy County people apparently have found that for certain types of large-scale machine-age projects a centralized supply of credit is necessary. For such individually owned and operated businesses as the county’s poultry business, it has been demonstrated that ordinary credit — risk capital seeking
more than banking returns—is very efficacious. But for large-scale, small-profit projects in the rapid development of the economic frontier—such as flood relief and control, the new road south, competition for the monopolistic light and power company, the bass hatchery and the agricultural experiment station—federal financing apparently has been found to be desirable by the people of the county. What they seem to want is big-government financing without its bureaucratic control.

There is at least a possibility of laws providing that state or federal loans could be automatically and non-politically secured by any community which presented certain factual specifications, without political pressure, with local control, and only periodic inspection by bureaucratic agents to see if the legal requirements attached to the financing are carried out. And where the possibility of sufficient profits (that is, payments for self-denial and management) are involved the necessary private-risk capital for the needed expansion of the business of the machine age could be secured by another device of the middle economic way which Hardy County apparently has found desirable. This is the enforcement and operation of minimum insurance systems—such as the U. S. Social Security system, the work of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (in preventing panic-caused runs on banks), and the operation of the former Federal Crop Insurance system, which was very popular with the county’s wheat farmers in 1941 and 1942.

With compulsory low-limit insurance to ameliorate the worst of life’s accidents to the individual, the federal or state financing of necessary services which are not adequately supplied by private business (including atomic power, resource conservation, flood control, and competition for monopolistic companies), and with certain proven types of cooperatives in the role of adjustment of certain in-

1. Hardy County Agricultural Agent’s Reports for 1941 and 1942.
equities, the private-enterprise system probably will carry on successfully the development of the machine age, and in so doing it will help preserve those vital freedoms of the individual and of local self-government that are so valued by most Americans, and especially by the people in Hardy County and other largely rural counties.

The rural people of Hardy County and other mainly agricultural areas have a stabilizing effect on the philosophy of America in that they counteract the ultra-specializing tendency of the city. It is too early, in safety, for extreme specialization; but because of it many city dwellers tend to become too divorced from the basic actualities of life—from the violent life-and-death struggle that is still at the base of earthly existence. Although we have gone a long way in its elimination, it is still there—for example, in the war without quarter between man, with his animals and plants, and the insects that tend to destroy them. The shelter of the megalopolis seems temporarily safe from this struggle. In consequence, city people often tend to be too idealistic—too given to wishful thinking—too little prepared to contest for their rights and for the half god-like state that man at last has achieved in a largely hostile world. Still liking to eat meat, for instance, they cannot tolerate the thought of hunting or otherwise killing animals. They become unmindful of the fact that they, with other men, are still competing with other forms of life in an imperfect world.

But the man in the country does not forget this competition. In a way, he tends to be more superstitious, but also in a way he is more realistic. He is used to the present-age, hard necessity for the killing of animals and the defending of his property against the wild. He sees the mouse, for instance, as a detestable pest to mankind and not as a glorified movie cartoon character who wins over the cat, or magnanimously and unrealistically becomes a fra-
ternal friend to its mortal enemy. And he sees the rabbit not as the cocksure creation of a city cartoonist, speaking hard-boiled Brooklynese, but as the rabbit really is—a quiet, timorous little animal, always quick to run for its life, nearly afraid of its shadow. To the country dweller life hasn’t ceased to be a realistic, competitive struggle. And if war comes he forms the strong, hardy, staunch core of the armed services.

This rugged, frequently self-sufficient, usually non-college man of the farm country thus combines with the cultural, specializing, sometimes soft, unrealistic man of the city to keep life advancing, but not dangerously moving away from basic realities. In towns like Moorefield, on the border between the two ways of life, the two types work together.

With the further development of the machine age in Hardy County, science, with its rejection of superstition and unsubstantiated pure mysticism, and its belief in inductive, flexible thinking and experiment, is bound to gain more adherents. But at the same time there probably will be a growth of belief in basic Christianity, somewhat divorced from deductive authoritarianism, but still with a sense of the mystery of existence and its creative and controlling force. This mystery, which is especially realized by people who live close to nature, like most Hardy County residents, does not pass with the advancement of science, but is merely shifted by the scientific known to farther frontiers.

The End
EPILOGUE (1950-1963)

Thirteen years have passed since I completed the basic manuscript of the first history of Hardy County, now slightly revised for publication. The peculiar manner in which this work is being published, in a community, do-it-yourself way, and what happened to the publicized “Moorefield Project” that gave rise to the history seem worthy of being recorded.

Thornton Perry of the Eastern Panhandle learned of the work and had a copy of it made for his collection of West Virginiana. When the Civil War Centennial came, he was made an official on its West Virginia Committee, and in this capacity made a speech in Hardy County, at Moorefield. In it he stated that the only history of that county had not been published; and several of his hearers were immediately interested. One of these, Mrs. Ralph (Katherine) Fisher, an editor of The Moorefield Examiner, asked him to write to me and inquire on what terms the manuscript could be printed. I replied, sending a copy of my letter to the Examiner, whose editors (Comdr. and Mrs. Fisher) had helped me in my Moorefield research in 1949. I stated that I would be pleased to have the history published in serial form by the newspaper, without payment to me, and then published as a book by some Hardy County group, on a non-profit basis, supplying me fifty complimentary copies (for The American University, myself, columnists and others). I indicated that I would retain the copyright to possible future editions, which probably would still be published on a non-profit basis.

1. From Mrs. Elizabeth Coovden Williams of West Virginia. Chief Librarian of Dolly Madison Library, Fairfax County, Virginia.
In February, 1961, Mrs. Fisher wrote me that in Moorefield they had not known what happened to the University's integrated-social-science "Moorefield Project" of 1949, that: "After the survey was completed, the only section we had a report on was that of Transportation . . . We also saw a brief mention of the survey in CORONET—aside from that, silence. We even wrote the University . . . but did not receive an answer." She said that she and her husband were interested in the proposed publication, but would investigate its costs.

In my reply, I tried to soften the effect of my university's failure to complete the project. As I advised Comdr. and Mrs. Fisher, there was some excuse. For about the time the "Moorefield Project" study was due to be finished, and perhaps published, The American University changed ownership and presidents, and so the project as a whole was allowed to die in the pressure of reorganization of a large and expanding institution.

Although Comdr. and Mrs. Fisher were veteran newspaper publishers, they had no experience in the specializing book-publishing field. But after securing advice, they concluded that, with the help of a printer, Kenneth McClain of Parsons, just over the Allegheny Front, they could manage the job, as a public service to the county. Mrs. Fisher wrote me that they had decided to publish the book, with profits going to the Hardy County Library. I was pleased to donate any royalties I might have had on the first edition to this library, which badly needed funds. For rural libraries, which have the least money of all book-lending groups, are perhaps the most valuable in the Freeworld scene.

And so the book is coming into existence, in a local community, lift-yourself-by-your-own-bootstraps manner, which is in accord with some other details of recent county history which will appear in this epilogue. Occasionally, during the past year,
the editors of the paper would print the names of people who had sent in orders at the pre-publication price—long in advance of the printing—to help the project. Many of these subscribers live in places far distant from Hardy County. Apparently migrants from the county carry a loyalty to it thru considerable stretches of time and space. Grass-roots patriotism runs strong.

In a letter of November, 1962, Mrs. Fisher briefly outlined some developments in Hardy County during the last decade:

"The Rural Electrification Administration is still functioning and there is an REA telephone company which took care of sections of the county that never had telephone service. There have been labor strikes; there was a recent murder—still unsolved; and the Presbyterian Church celebrated One Hundred and Twenty-Five Years on Mam Street. We have a new post office and are about to make delivery; ... We have an annual Poultry Festival to boost our industry ..."

She also referred to two other significant facts. One was that black-and-white integration in the county’s schools had occurred without “need to call in the state militia.” This was to be expected, for the percentage of Negroes in the Hardy County population is small. The current hard problems in such integration seem to arise where there are masses of Negroes—as in the Deep South, the larger, industrialized cities of the North and West, and South Africa. Moreover, there is an inherent, peace-providing separation or segregation of people on farms. The color of a farmer’s skin and his racial mores do not determine his success in the agricultural market place. The question boils down to: How efficient in farming is he?

Among indications of economic "growth," Mrs. Fisher referred to the story of a group of men of the county who formed the Moorefield Development Company, each supplying a thousand dollars of its capital. This I had already concluded was probably the most significant business development during the last decade there, and under an appropriate subheading I later will refer to the efforts of these thirty men to lift the county's economics by their own strength, as their ancestors got together to roll the logs off a field and build a house.

Through most of 1962 I have received copies of the Moorefield Examiner, and taken clippings from it of items that I considered to be significant in history. Some of its editorials I thought were considerably superior to the average in weekly newspapers. It was not until after I had complimented a number of these that I learned, in November, that for the fifth successive year Ralph Fisher of the Examiner had won the editorial award for weekly newspapers that is annually given by the West Virginia Press Association. The 1962 editorials were judged by the Journalism School of the University of West Virginia, and first-place was won by Mr. Fisher for his "Horatio Alger, Hardy County Style." This editorial, in the Examiner of March 14th, was written because in the 1960 U. S. Census both West Virginia and Hardy County had a decrease in population:

"We are getting tired of the defeatist attitude on the part of many West Virginians . . .

"We started checking . . . In 1940 the assessed valuation of Hardy County was $5,730,580, last year it was $19,279,845. The total assets of the two banks totaled $1,020,485, and the last statement of the two banks totaled $3,952,912 . . . We went up and down Main street and just casually checked on forty some businesses started by young men since the 1940 date. And they are doing all right too! Only eight of the
other businesses were older than that and two of them were chain stores. The managers of those aren't exactly on relief... We can think of at least two dozen young men in the county who are very successful farmers and who certainly didn't have much to start with...

"There are four industrial firms in Moorefield that weren't in existence in 1940 and all four of them have openings for bright young men willing to work but most of all to think. Every professional man in town started from scratch... Maybe they aren't millionaires but they eat regularly and complain about paying taxes. And do they complain!...

"Why then the decline in our population? The three largest communities in the county haven't declined but on the contrary have grown. The decline comes from the folks who tried to farm a mountain farm that should never have been farmed in the first place. It was ridiculous to try to dig a living out of land that produced twelve bushels of grain to the acre when it should be growing trees, or at least grazing land. But again, there are some prosperous farmers on those mountain farms. They made it out of broilers, turkeys, laying flocks, sheep and cattle. It is amazing just how much our farmers make, especially when they get to be about age 60 and start thinking about social security.

"... All pastures other than our own look greener. That doesn't mean there isn't gold left to be dug from these West Virginia hills. The proof lies all around you..."

In closing this editorial in the dawn of spring, he spoke hopefully of a development of big government just south of the county line—the giant radio telescope installation that the Navy was building on a mountain top—as an illustration of a nearby place where excellent opportunity beckoned.

But in the fall he was again turning mainly to the state's and county's own efforts for its pro-
motion. He humorously suggested that the name of West Virginia be changed to Virginia Occidental: “Just think how much more glamorous it sounds . . . than just plain old West Virginia . . . With a change like that we’d have the entire nation wanting to come to Virginia Occidental. The census bureau just announced that our state has lost another 4.7% of our population in the past two years. The only state in the fifty to lose population. Perhaps it is time for a change. Certainly we gotta change something and polishing up our name just may be the turning point. If the name change accomplished nothing else we would escape that perennial insult when asked what state we hailed from. No one would ask if we knew so and so in Richmond! . . .”

I noted that the Examiner’s continued accent on tourism for Hardy County was buttressed by two December articles in the New Orleans States-Item. One was about one of the worst problems of the great city or megalopolis, not shared by rural counties—the scarcity of ground. Under the title “No Place To Go But Up . . .”, Harold Sheehan optimistically wrote from New York about “people-packing” in cities and the increasing construction toward the sky of big-city buildings over streets, crowded automobile freeways, subways, railroads, and approaches to bridges. And the other item was a column of advice to retired persons by Paul Hightower, in which he recommended the West Virginia mountains as a desirable place for retirement. He said that the winter cold there should not deter retired people (who do not need to go through snow to work), and that a retired person could contribute a lot in the life of a small West Virginia town.

In the attempt to ascertain the 1963 position of Hardy County in its evolution, I classified and

studied items of its history from April to December, 1962, under the following categories:

1. The Old-Type Life in Hardy County;
2. Education and the Younger Generations;
3. Economic Progress;

In preface to my resulting analyses, I should like to point out that these current matters of a thinly-populated inland county are of far more importance to the country as a whole than is generally understood. Despite the expansion of the great cities, there are still fifty-four million people living in American rural areas, and these supply nearly all the food and control most of the land in the nation. There are a great many hardy rural counties in this country.

THE OLD-TYPE LIFE IN HARDY COUNTY

In 1962, Americans have been much interested in echoes from a hundred years ago—in trying to fathom why and how such a mass tragedy as the Civil War between the United States occurred—and in appreciation, in the North and the South, of the stubborn heroism shown in four years of continual violence and destruction. One of these echoes published at Moorefield during the year was an old account of guerilla fighting in and near Wardensville—in a beautiful, lower-mountain region where today such things as guerilla-war violence seem utterly alien. But . . . on 7 May 1862 a party of Union soldiers proceeded into that area, bound for retaliation and momentary conquest. A few days before, another party of Federal soldiers, mostly convalescent, going from Winchester to Moorefield, had been attacked by Confederates in the vicinity of Wardensville.

In his report, the Union leader of the retaliatory action, Lieut. Col. S. W. Downey, called the Confederates "guerillas"; and doubtless they were; but let us see what the Union "regulars" did. They surprised the Confederacy-sympathizing community at sunset and quickly took military charge of it. Apparently most of the Confederate armed-force men fled, but one man was shot and some prisoners were taken. Colonel Downey declared that, according to hearsay, the one who was killed, named Hanson, "was a very bad man, and one of the participants in the late attack upon Dr. Newhane and his party."

From Wardensville, the Federal men went across a mountain, stealthily surrounded the farmhouse of John T. Wilson, and surprise-attacked the inmates. They killed a Confederate soldier, Captain Umbaugh, who held a commission from Governor John Letcher of Virginia, who had opposed secession until it was an accomplished fact. Colonel Downey stated that, when killed, Captain Umbaugh had on clothing taken from the corpse of a Union man "killed in the skirmish of Grass Lick" a month before.

The Colonel went on to say, laconically, that his force surprise-attacked "several small parties...some of whom we wounded and captured; others escaped. Not a man of my command was killed or wounded. We killed four, wounded four, and took twelve prisoners. Some of the latter are probably innocent. I shall examine them as soon as possible, and release those who prove to be innocent."

A Southerner or Hardy County citizen might ask: "Innocent of what? Of sympathizing with and harboring visitors of their own kith and kin, who had quickly rallied to the colors of Virginia, from Hardy County of Virginia? Moreover: How many that, on examination, the Colonel would have considered "innocent" had been killed from ambush?"

Colonel Downey stated that he had warned the citizens of Wardensville that they would be held

strictly accountable for any further demonstrations of guerilla warfare, and that “the only way” they could save their homes from being burned to the ground was for them “to defend their territory against incursions of all lawless bands of guerillas.”

It apparently never occurred to this loyal soldier of the North that his own tactics, which he had just reported, were closely similar to guerilla warfare. And in May, 1862, to threaten the civilians of eastern Hardy County with house-burning if they didn’t resist Confederate guerillas was like declaring a blockade without nearby ships to back it up. In the see-saw warfare that plagued those mountains the people naturally dreaded the approach of any unknown armed group—Northern, Southern, or bandits. They hid their valuables in the walls, floors and under ground, and drove their few surviving cattle, sheep, goats and hogs into neighboring thickets.

In the November, 1962 issue of the magazine Playboy, there was an interesting fictional story called “The Deadlier Bruise.” It was about a Confederate guerilla soldier in the South Branch Valley, in the vicinity of Moorefield.

At Beckley, in southwestern West Virginia, there is a large amphitheatre where a spectacular Civil War drama has been presented by a sixty-actor cast of students from West Virginia University, West Virginia Wesleyan, Marshall University and other schools. The story deals with the sudden formation of the state and is embellished with lighting effects, dancing and folk songs. Critics, including the editor of the Moorefield Examiner, have enthusiastically praised the performance; but Ralph Fisher somewhat humorously reported that he “didn’t take kindly” to the fact that “a Southerner is the villain of the piece”, that he guessed the Yankees were victorious but: “The South Will Rise Again.”

Moving more toward the present, I noted a reprint of a 1932 item about the death of Colonel Wil-
lard D. Vandiver, a native of Moorefield. He had been a Congressman from Missouri, president of the Missouri Society, Sons of the American Revolution, and for nine years the Assistant Treasurer of the United States. He is credited with having originated the famous saying: "I'm from Missouri, you've got to show me!"

And, as a continuing item of the thinly populated American regions, there was a complete whiskey still, recently captured, on exhibition in the Coal Town Museum at Stotesbury, early home of U. S. Senator Robert Byrd, who is well known to his constituents in Hardy County. Editor Ralph Fisher reported that the caretaker of this interesting device was a character named "Sam", an expert on the subject of mountain stills. Expert because he had owned and operated one himself during the Great Depression (Sam said he had to eat). He had reassembled the parts of the still and camouflaged it according to the custom of the woods. It had a 120-gallon pot, with a cap, sealed to the pot during the distilling process by a compound called Red Dog. Red Dog is a paste of flour and other materials which bakes into a hard seal. The spirits from the mash went thru a pipe to the "thump keg"—"an old fashioned wash boiler."

Sam said still-tending "wasn't so bad if you were 'in' with the law but you didn't make much thataway. And if you weren't 'in' with the law you had to keep looking, up the holler and down the holler and you were a nervous wreck before you were through."

The old-time occasional violence of nature still struck hard at the county. In early March, 1962 a snow that was the "heaviest in memory" swiftly fell. During two nights and a day of the continuous onslaught 30 to 35 inches descended on Moorefield. At Kimsey's Run, according to the column of Mary

H. Wilkins, the storm began on the fifth, ended on the seventh, and they didn’t get “shoveled out” until the evening of the tenth. In some other places “the storm and flood waters were terrible and lives were lost.”

Then, on 23 May, a severe hailstorm struck Moorefield. It was a mere prelude to further disaster. On the next day came the “worst hail storm in memory.” Tornado-like, twisting winds came in from the southwest, and hurled icy missiles as large as golf balls at the town. Gardens were destroyed, crops and screens riddled, and windows struck so hard that clean holes were driven through the panes.

Shortly before this storm of the 24th an unknown aircraft “was seen going in and out of that big thunderhead.” In the column “The Examiner Says”, the writer wondered if the craft could be a cloud-seeding airplane employed by orchardists near Winchester. This does not seem likely, for the twisting cloud was coming from the southwest of Moorefield and was forty miles from Winchester to the northeast. This account is similar to the “flying saucers” sighting reports that have been rather common during the last fifteen years.

A month and two days later another severe storm hit the county. According to Viola Mauck, it was a “terrific wind and hail storm”, which struck East Wardensville in the afternoon. On the same day an electrical storm hit Washington, D. C.; and “a bolt of lightning” struck a worker on a construction job—Chester Crawford of Mathias, Hardy County.

The reporters of the Examiner—and especially those who wrote columns from outlying communities—were very conscious of the weather. For example: On June 16th, Mrs. Lester Tusing wrote her column at Branch Mountain; it was rural, mainly peaceful, but with some reference to far-off places and bad luck, taken in stride: “We have had rain
and fog all week . . . until yesterday, it partly cleared up and the sun out in spells. Today is fairly good, but chilly of morning. We hope for clearer weather soon. Bad time on hay that is mowed down. Vance and Grover Funkhouser both had hay down last week, but were lucky enough to get it in last Saturday.

"Nelson Mathias and two daughters, Ann and Jo, Tiffin, Ohio, Joseph Mathias, Clarksburg, Mrs. Ollie Henderson, Mt. Rainier, Md., and Mr. and Mrs. William Anderson, Washington, D. C., are all spending the weekend at the Mathias homeplace. They arrived in time to kill a copper snake at the kitchen door . . . Francis Anderson, Highview, was seriously injured . . . last week when a barrel of spray material he was opening exploded, breaking his leg and putting out one eye."

On June 24th, Mary Wilkins wrote in her column from Kimsey’s Run: "We are having extremely hot weather the past few days and plenty of rain too. It was really bad on the folks having hay mowed down. Since it has cleared, they are getting their hay in and some are busy getting cherries picked, as there seems to be quite a crop of them this year, for which we are all thankful." And on July 1st, Lil- lian Bradfield of Baker wrote: "We had cool, pleasant, dry weather last week. The farmers really made hay." Then by August, according to Viola Mauck of East Wardensville, the weather was "getting pretty dry," when: "This community was visited by a fine rain ... badly needed." Also there was a report from Wardensville, on August 6th: "We had a thunderstorm and a heavy downpour. We are very thankful for the rain. We have had a good season and everyone we can hear of has an unusual amount of vegetables. Many would like to share, and if anyone does not have, they should make it known."

There were many other village columns of this
tenor . . . Earth and sky—sunshine and rain—the simple but vitally important things about the magic of growing crops, animals and children — plain homes that mostly never knew an architect but are fairly comfortable to people who have not lived in high-priced city houses—green hills and mountains, threaded by the silver bands that are streams—life that is mainly under instead of over nature. These are the things the rural columnists write about, and that draw people like the big weekend Mathias household back to places like Hardy County. In nostalgia, those who return from the city forget that "Nature" also can put a deadly copperhead snake at your kitchen door, can give you diseases from being out too much in dark weather (such as the "pneumonia" that killed George Washington after one last day's ride beneath an overcast and snowy sky), can break all the windows on two sides of your house with stones of ice, and then circle, as a Moorefield resident reported re the 1962 hailstorm, and knock out all the other windows on the other two sides. And this reverse, hard aspect of nature makes men band together in cities to try to control the wild. To try—but in them the pull pack to the old life is a million years strong. A happy medium is to be desired.

Another thing that is akin to the ancient way of American life that is frequently referred to in the local newspaper is hunting in the wooded hills and mountains. For instance, on October 24th, the Examiner had a long item about the hunting of wild turkeys and another about squirrel hunting. Pointing out that "the bulk of the West Virginia wild turkey population is concentrated in the eastern counties, the writer said: "When searching for a flock, remember that your quarry usually will be found in the older timber sections, especially near 'flats' where the soil is rich and deep. The scratchings made by turkeys in the leafy ground cover when feeding, are good indicators of their presence. Stay
close to covers and gaps, the 'highways' of turkey traffic . . .” And part of the advice about squirrel hunting was: “Try to locate yourself a den tree. The most commonly used trees are white oak, beech and maple, with black gum the out-and-out favorite. A ‘house-kept’ den is easily recognized by the cutting marks made in the bark and wood around the entrance” . . . And a little later, timed with the passing of the seasons, came “Quail Hunting Tips”: “. . . It doesn’t take much shooting to make the birds learn to stay down out of man’s way. The bob-white . . . does most of its feeding and living on the ground. It must have gravel and fresh water to exist . . . The quail, like the grouse, lives within a mile or so of the spot where it was born.”

The thousand-year-old poacher is still in the woods. On October 31st, the Examiner reported the arrest of six Virginians and two persons from Clarksburg for “spotlighting deer”; and, harking back to the days of Robin Hood, another Virginia man had killed an adult doe with a bow and arrow.

Also, in the county section picturesquely named Bears Hell, another hunter, William Coon, Jr., killed a doe; but, perhaps for the first time in history, the doe had buck-like horns. Her antlers had eight points. So, in the animal world also the female was donning the male’s garments; and Mr. Coon wasn’t blamed for failing to show old-time deference and protection for the female of the species. He was not punished; and the wardens allowed him to keep the strange deer.

Since there is still considerable illegal hunting in Hardy County, some of the bucks killed doubtless are not reported in the state’s game statistics. These show that from 1951 to 1960 hunters there had killed 20,944 deer—more during each year in Hardy County than any other county of the state. But in 1961 neighboring Hampshire County led in this competition—with 666 bucks against Hardy’s 564.
In 1962 game conservation officers found 30 deer that had died of starvation in the county, and state biologists, aided by the hunters, were studying the problem of aging deer.

Before we leave this primordial world of hunting, let's see what Hardy County farmer Raymond Orndorff did in it. Raymond decided he would use some modern methods in the wild, and so: He brought in a bulldozer and bulldozed roads through his woods; and he set up stands at deer crossings and fed and housed hunters; and furthermore, he used a walkie-talkie radio to advise them when bucks were coming, and when there were only does. His farm became popular with city hunters.

Lawlessness of an ancient type was not restricted to hunting. On August 31st, cattle rustlers, apparently using a truck, stole six cattle from S. L. Harper, Jr., and a Holstein heifer from D. P. Harper.

In May, a huge, old-time serenading horse fiddle, furnished by Oce Leatherman, was on display in a window of the Examiner. It was so large that two hands were necessary to operate its clacking bow. The big man who played that probably wasn't driven off the moonlit porch by many bridegrooms.

In 1962, old-fashioned handicraft was being strongly revived in Hardy County. In April the entire space of the Moorefield Firemen's Hall was devoted to a handicraft show and sale. Forty-one craftsmen of Hardy and three neighboring counties exhibited nearly four hundred items of old-time handicraft. One buyer there was from New Jersey and he had a shop in New York City. What drew this man from the megalopolis to these remote hills and mountains—almost like another world?

Simple early-American things—each with a few errors—but not machine-made—no other just like it—with the soul and hands of an individual human maker reflected in it. And also the chance to make
money because of America’s accelerating interest in such handicraft.

By December, in getting ready for the county’s part in the 1963 West Virginia Centennial as a state: Mrs. Helen Hahn, president of the Farm Women’s Council, was weaving rag rugs such as her ancestors made; and the Misses Ora and Lynn Tusing of Branch Mountain were making home spun yarns and woven coverlets of the general type of a century ago.

In 1912, “Pokie” Randolph, who lived on a Hardy County farm, carved his initials and the date on the back of a land turtle. Some thirty-eight years later the turtle was found. And again in 1962, fifty years after the initial carving, it was found—on the same farm—near the same house. My thoughts on reading this item were: Life, including man, changes slowly, and is stubbornly, strongly persistent. In spite of the atomic bomb poised in threat: Even if urban man were burned off the earth, life in this back country probably would go on.

EDUCATION AND THE YOUNGER GENERATION

Napoleon, as an older dictator, was greatly disturbed when he learned that one who had tried to assassinate him was a very young and idealistic man. Whatever were his faults and virtues, Napoleon was leader enough to realize that if the youth of Europe turned against him, in mass, his power probably would be lost.

As elsewhere, the future of Hardy County is largely in the hands of its youth. Let us examine what has recently happened there to the young people and their education. It is mainly but not all good. Since closely knit rural societies have a strong tend--
ency to shield their young from formal publicity—especially concerning sexual offenses — doubtless some of the youngsters got into troubles that were not reported in the newspaper. But all I could find in the 1962 period under study that might have been to the discredit of the county's youth were five items. And I do not believe that youthful guilt was involved in two of these.

In the dark hours of the early morning of September 7th, an intruder (or group) tried to enter a side window of Dan McNeill's Army and Navy Store, north of Moorefield. Failing there, the burglar moved to the front door, where he broke the glass and piled it neatly outside the door. Entering thru the broken hole, someone stole a rifle, revolver, thirteen boxes of shells, a compass, and a belt and field pack. Police theorized that the thief was a youngster because the hole in the glass was too small for a man to go thru. The goods were recovered, but four days later the thief was not yet found.

On the same day as the store burglary, glass windows were "shot" out of a trailer near Moorefield, and four youngsters were arrested for vandalism. Judge H. Gus Muntzing warned all four against future destruction, and placed one on probation. On the next day, in the afternoon, four children, only seven to eleven years old, allegedly "left a trail of destruction and vandalism . . . at the new Paul B. Bailey Lumber Company yard. The four youths pushed over a pile of roofing rolls, opened the cans of tar and sacks of nails in the rolls, pouring them around, filled the grease journals of a box car with rocks and gravel, managed to pull the main electric switch to start a power saw and sawed several boards. The ingenious youths even connected the battery cable to a tractor, started it, and drove it around inside the new building. From the Bailey Lumber Company the youngsters wandered on to the Branch Mountain Lumber Company and tried to
start the huge diesel motor, but settled for pouring what they thought was oil in the crankcase. State Police Trooper A. J. Wade easily found the four miscreants with tar still on their hands. The badly frightened youngsters readily ‘fessed up’ to their shenanigans and were turned over to their parents for punishment.”

What kind of punishment? In the old days it would have meant “the rod” or the rawhide belt in the woodshed. There are still many woodsheds in Hardy County.

In 1962, the Mayor and Town Council of Moorefield decided that children were becoming too much of a nuisance in their Hallowe’en ultimatums of a “trick or treat.” So they decreed that in their town the trick-or-treat routine could be only for one night, only for little children, under twelve years of age, and that they would have a ten o’clock curfew.

To some readers these decisions may seem to be high-handed; but we should remember that they were for the training and discipline of children, some of whose parents in the first place had not taken necessary action for the good of the community. And the mandates apparently achieved good results. The editor who wrote “The Examiner Says” on 6 November said: “... We noticed that the soaped words on the store windows were cleaned up this year and we saw practically none of the four letter words found on windows in former years.” Moreover, in approving the edict, he wrote: “It is a ticklish situation to have a masked adult call on you at night.”

Although the wave of youthful automobile speeding and immaturity-asinine racing in the deadly game of “chicken” on American highways has receded somewhat, it still exists; but I doubt if it ever had much force in Hardy County. The only 1962 reference I found to the auto-killing of youngsters was in the August 13th column from Wardensville by Mrs. Ota McKeever:

“Our valley was shocked Sunday morning when we heard of one of the worst tragedies that has ever happened here. Four of our teen-agers were killed when their car went over a bank into a tree limb, while coming home from a drive-in theater in Winchester, Virginia, Saturday night. The Virginia State Police could not find they were speeding and a dense fog was blamed for the accident. All four occupants of the car were dead when found later, and there was no one to tell how it happened.”

There might have been a little too much speed in the bad-driving situation, but the police probably were right. The “dense fog”, and whatever caused it were more responsible for this tragedy—of a sadly common type in twentieth-century America—than were these students of Wardensville High School. The early deaths of Harold Good, Jr., Otthnial Richards, and two girls from the Arkansaw community, unnamed in Mrs. McKeever’s report, were a grave loss to the county—but doubtless not due to juvenile delinquency.

Some time between the 10th of June and noon of the 13th, a strange vandalism and burglary occurred on the lonely top of Branch Mountain. There the State Police had a slave radio station in a radio shack. The front-door glass was broken; and a thief went inside and stole a single-channel, crystal-controlled radio receiver, costing several hundred dollars, but seemingly of no use to any ordinary person. About the same time the door lock to another building, used by the Valley Television Cooperative, was broken, and a television test meter was stolen. It would be a rare thief also who would find use for this meter. So the thefts were blamed on “vandals”, and probably they were believed to be youths, for that is the usual conclusion of the finders of vandalism. If it is unexplained, blame the dog—or the children.
It is true that many youngsters destroy property for no sensible reason—other than immature, undisciplined vitality; but the record, before and during 1962, shows little of such destruction in Hardy County. I believe this fact is largely due to the work that most of the county's children do—on farms and in the small towns and villages—keeping them busy, and is due in part to the tradition of discipline in the homes. It is a mistake to think that children object to such discipline, if it is basically kind. Even a dog loves his kind human trainer the more if occasionally disciplined back into the line of useful effort. The wisely disciplined child, with work to do does not feel alone in a world whose natural wildness attracts him and yet, secretly, is a source of some fright, which largely he will overcome.

So much for the debit side of the youthful ledger. It is not very bad. Let us look at the other side.

In the eight months of this study, the number of outstanding accomplishments in the state and elsewhere by the young people of this lightly-populated county is remarkable. For examples, in the field of beauty:

On August 1st, the annual beauty contest of the West Virginia Poultry Association was held during a carnival at Moorefield that included old-time jousting by men-on-horseback. Two weeks before the selection the Examiner published half a page of photographs of some of the contestants, from Hardy, Grant and Hampshire Counties. When one closely examines the pictures of these girls he realizes that they are all beautiful. They needed few or no artificial "aids" (covers, such as heat-dried curls or rubber busts) for the glow of their youth. A recent survey by McCall's magazine showed that west of the Mississippi River 61 percent of the women wore "falsies", but that east of the Mississippi only 48 percent wore them. Wondering if the "healthy beauties" of the contest were not better than this eastern aver-
The contest was won by a Moorefield girl with the old-fashioned name of Deborah—Miss Deborah Sindy. She was crowned by John Kelly, Treasurer of West Virginia; and the parade was led by Miss Judy Barton of Knoxville, Tennessee, “Miss Majorette of America.” The second-place winner in the beauty contest was also from Hardy County: Miss Kay Judy Harper of Moorefield.

On August 15th, at Petersburg, Grant County, Miss Gloria Ann Seldon of Mathias won the contest for Queen of the Tri-County Fair.

The county’s youth shone other than in its beauty. On April 11th, for instance, Ralph J. Bean, Jr., of Moorefield, president of Student Government at West Virginia University, was the first speaker to welcome Dr. Paul Ausborn Miller at the ceremonies inaugurating him as the new president of the University. In August the Hardy County 4-H Poultry Judging Team (Carol Mathias, Wendell Cochran, Donald Litman and Charles May) won second place in the State contest at Lewisburg.

About the first of September, at the State Fair, the Hardy County 4-H livestock judging team won the state championship in judging the breeding and market classes of cattle, hogs and sheep. The members of this team were: Roger Kessel, Bernadette Halterman, Robert Clark, and Linda Inskeep; their coach was the County Extension Agricultural Agent, William L. Clark. About the same time, Roger Kessel, of Old Fields, 20 years old, won another honor. Using the Australian shearing system, he became the State Champion in sheep shearing. About the same time, Miss Dorothy Leatherman, young teach-

1. Moorefield Examiner, 8 and 29 August 1962.
er from Moorefield, flew to Germany after being selected to teach in the U. S. Army's school program for soldiers' dependents. And in the latter half of September, at the West Virginia 4-H and F.F.A. Feeder Calf Show, Miss Betty Leatherman won the Junior Girls' Showmanship Contest.

Came October, and at the Northeastern United States Poultry Producers Council in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, Miss Barbara See of Mathias, representing West Virginia, won a blue ribbon for her demonstration of the value of sanitation as a control of poultry diseases. Poultry is a standard item of American food in this meat-eating age; and, as the ancient Hebrews learned, it can be kept freer of the devils of disease than pork. It was a matter of the degree and the method of such purification that young Barbara See was expounding; therefore, her presentation was of some importance to nearly every person in America.

In December there was another news item about Ralph Bean, Jr.: He had been chosen by the Rhodes Scholarship State Selection Committee as one of the two West Virginia candidates to compete for a scholarship against students selected from six other states and the District of Columbia.

And back in May, in high school scholarship, three prizes in an essay contest on Communism, conducted by the Moorefield Women's Club, were won by Ronald Brill, Diana Hazard and Danny Sherman. I have not read the third-prize essay, but the essays of Ronald Brill and Diana Hazard show a realistic understanding of the Communists' false, wreckers' lure of the poverty-stricken masses of the "underdeveloped" countries and danger to the basic principles of Freeworld individualism. Ronald Brill wrote:

"... Communism appeals to the masses of un-educated, semi-civilized peoples of the world... The masses are led to believe that they will have
plenty to eat, good pay, short working hours, and inferiority to no one, for all will share the cultural and economic profits of Communism equally ... A way of life such as these goals suggest would be adequate for a time ... until it reaches a certain social and cultural level. After that, it would fail to raise further or even maintain such a level ... "... Under Communism, one would have little incentive to work hard ... It would make no difference whether a man worked hard or not; he would still receive the same reward ... Technological, scientific and industrial advances would come slowly as a result of lack of incentive and pressure ...

"... Competition, not possible under Communism, tends to strengthen economy and increase industrial production.

"... Undoubtedly, Democracy facilitates creative thinking and originality in writing, philosophy and the arts. To think creatively and originally, one must have a free mind ...."

And Miss Diana Hazard, presenting an historical summary of some communistic writings from 800 B.C. to the 1848 Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels, said that in "extremely impoverished countries," the "destitute people find the communist promises indeed attractive," pointed out dangers of Communistic infiltration into labor unions, and stated: "Even though many people are forced to accept Communism, there are many others who adopt the Communist doctrine because of false promises Communists spread ...."

If we consider how Communism appears to be slowly failing in the Soviet Union and China in nearly all productive effort except dictator-whipped-and-rewarded activity such as in high-powered rockets, and how the poorest Cubans have been Pied-Pipered into a loss of freedom that is similar to slavery, we realize how wise are these youngsters. One aspect of the problem, however, to which they

did not specifically refer, is important in their home area: Communism apparently has failed worst in agriculture.

In October, the Moorefield High School Boosters held a festival comprising a parade, a high school football game between Moorefield and Keyser, the crowning of the ubiquitous “Queen”, a dinner, and speeches. Its purpose was to raise money for the club’s scholarship, given each year to an outstanding Moorefield student, and for their donations to activities of the school, including those of the Science Department.

Another — and the most important — historical item concerning 1962 education in the area was a pioneer experiment conducted by the school system of Hardy County in instruction by television. No public money was budgeted in 1962 for the cost of this program, one of the first of its kind in West Virginia. Apparently the television sets that were used in three schools were bought by local parent-teacher associations. Television instruction in science, art and music for the second to the sixth grades in those schools was received from the Virginia educational television station, via Harrisonburg. Stanley Hawse, Assistant Superintendent of Hardy County Schools, was in charge of the program; and the second to sixth grade teachers involved, although untrained in television instruction, enthusiastically cooperated. In June, after the end of the first scholastic year of the experiment, Hawse reported the results in an article in the Examiner. He said that in the three experimenting schools and also the other schools of the county standard science tests had been given to the students of the fifth and sixth grades, and that resulting scores “indicate that fifth graders who had tv instruction scored 13 points higher than the other fifth graders, and that sixth graders with tv instruction scored 10 points higher than those who did not have television
... This seems to be sufficient evidence to believe that the tv experiment was a success... It is the conviction of the writer that the traditional self-contained classroom will steadily decline...

"The State Department of Education is working toward a state television program... Hardy County is a year ahead!"

By the end of June five other West Virginia counties had studied the Hardy County television results and planned to begin a similar program. On September 14th, Hawse spoke at a meeting of the Parent-Teachers Association of Old Fields, site of the first free, government-supported school in the county. After listening to his talk, the members voted to buy a television set and put the new system in the Old Fields School.

Shortly before this the State Department of Education announced that teaching with television was becoming popular in West Virginia, and that the number of counties to engage in the program next year had expanded from the original two (the border counties of Hardy and Hancock) to three, by the addition of Ohio County. Hardy County led in the program for next year; it would have seven television-using schools, half of the total in the state.

In October, Gregg Van Camp and R.D. Shiffbauer, of the West Virginia University Broadcasting Department, came to the county, conferred with Stanley Hawse, and made films for a documentary television program on the county’s television experiment.

By the middle of September, 123 of the recent high school graduates of the county had entered college—at West Virginia University, Shepherd College, Potomac State College, Wooster College (in Ohio), and Bridgewater College (in Virginia). Wardensville High School, which had graduated only 16 last May, had 11 of these 123 college freshmen—nearly 69 per cent of the class.
How can we explain the above-average success of the county’s youngsters in various fields? Heredity — environment — heredity and environment — which? In my opinion, heredity is a factor, but another important factor is an environment that encourages work and ambition of children. The great creators and developers of the strength of America have seldom come from wealthy households. It is a generally accepted fact that most of them were reared in farm-and-small-town areas.

The rural people pay for the education of their sons and daughters, and then a large percentage of the most adventurous and intelligent graduates move to the city. As in all rural areas, this migration of youth is a serious problem in Hardy County.

On June 20th, the Examiner published a list of the thirty-eight graduates of Moorefield High School in the Class of 1947 and a brief resume of what had happened to each of them.¹ I have tabulated their present location as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hardy County</th>
<th>Cities of the U.S.</th>
<th>W. Va. Small Towns and Villages Outside Hardy County</th>
<th>Small Towns and Villages Outside West Virginia</th>
<th>In U.S. Army</th>
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<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3*</td>
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*One of these career soldiers is listed also as being in a city.

Ten or about 26 percent of the thirty-eight students went to fairly large cities scattered over the country—five to Maryland cities; one to Meriden, Connecticut; one to Raleigh, N. C.; one to New Orleans; one to Huntington, W. Va.; and one to Hammond, Indiana. In other words, these ten migrants to the city went northeast, southeast, southwest, and northwest. They scattered like flushed quail. Only 60 1/2% of the class remained in Hardy County. And

¹ Moorefield Examiner. 20 June 1962 (article written by Mrs. T. S. (Leona) Reynolds); and letter from Mrs. Reynolds, Managing Editor of the Examiner, to Alvin E. Moore, 1 February 1963. She is a member of the above-mentioned Class of 1947.
of these twenty-three, only one, Robert Keller of Fisher, is now on a farm.

Moorefield, largest town in the county, doubtless had more attraction for its graduates than the locations of the other county schools for those they graduated. Moorefield offers more varied opportunities for work than the other Hardy communities, but not enough to hold very many of its young people. Of those 1947 classmates who still live in the county, four are employed by the state and county governments, two travel from their homes in Hardy County to work at Allegheny Ballistics, Rocket Center, and one works outside the county as a nurse’s aid. Other than the lone farmer, only one, John Paul Halterman, owns his business.

The 1960 Census showed that the density of the Hardy County population (9,308 in 1960) had dropped from 18½ per square mile in 1940 to 15.9 per square mile in 1960. Of the four magisterial districts, only one, the Moorefield (town) district, had a slight increase in residents. There was a large increase in the percentage of the county’s population that was over 45 years of age, and a very steep increase in the percentage over 65. These data show that the younger generations have been leaving their rural home area. And apparently not for lack of love for it because the village columnists repeatedly refer to visitors who come home from distant places. For examples, according to the June 27th columns by Nettie Garrett of Mathias and Mrs. Oliver Heishman of Sperry’s Run: In the Mathias community there were weekend visitors from numerous places outside Hardy County in West Virginia and Virginia, including Winchester, Vienna (near Washington, D.C.), Roanoke and Baltimore. Some of the Mathias residents had been visiting relatives and friends in out-of-county places, including Wheeling, West Virginia, and Falls Church, Vir-

1 Edna Barbe, Minnie Jo Burch, Mortimer Gamble IV, and Charles Vance.
ginia; and former Mathias residents were mentioned as being in hospitals in the cities of Washington and Martinsburg. And in her column from very thinly-populated Sperry's Run, Mrs. Heishman mentioned people of Harper's Ferry, Petersburg, Alexandria and Winchester, Virginia.

The major problem of the county presented by these facts—how to attract and hold its younger generations—is ancient in civilizations. Rome fell mainly because of its continued use of slavery, but also because Romans flocked too much to their cities (the name city comes from the Roman or Latin civitas), and there became too soft and luxury-loving, leaving most of the hard work to the captive hinterland and the slaves they brought from it to Rome. And yet, in the city's favor: In the late Middle Ages it sponsored individual freedom.

Robert Louis Stevenson, who wandered over the face of the earth trying to avoid tuberculosis and who finally died of apoplexy and was buried in the South Sea islands, far from his Scotland home, seems to have felt keenly the sadness of this question of the wanderer and the man who remains at home. In Will o' the Mill, he wrote of a native of an inland country that was similar to Hardy County: "The Mill where Will lived with his adopted parents stood in a falling valley between pine woods and great mountains. Above, hill after hill soared upwards... Below, the valley grew ever steeper and steeper... where the river turned and shone... It chanced that over this valley there lay a pass... so that, quiet and rural as it was, the road that ran along beside the river was a high thoroughfare...; and of all the carriages that Will saw go by, five-sixths were plunging briskly downwards... like the river...

"... Whither had they all gone?... Whither the water of the stream...? Even the wind blew oftener down the valley... It seemed like a great..."
conspiracy of things... only he, it seemed, remained
behind... It sometimes made him glad when he
noticed how the fishes kept their heads upstream."

Through most of his young manhood, Will longed
to follow the river, see its mills, go to the low-
lands, the cities and the sea. "The open road, as it
went turning and vanishing faster and faster down
the valley, tortured him with its solicitations."

But he had work to do—in the mill and later in
the inn which his adopted father founded; and at
length one of the guests, a fat, amiable young man
who had known city life, argued against it: "Did
you ever see a squirrel turning in a cage? and an-
other squirrel sitting philosophically over his nuts?
I needn't ask you which of them looked more like a
fool."

And at another time: "Those who go down into
the plains are a very short while there before they
wish themselves heartily back again. The air is not
so light nor so pure; nor is the sun any brighter.
As for the beautiful men and women, you see many
of them in rags and many of them deformed with
horrible disorders..."

After Will inherited the mill and the inn, he still
had the impulse to go down the valley to the cities,
and he could have gone. But in a long life he never
went down the river. Instead, he worked at the mill
and inn, and rurally philosophized to his guests, and
"his fame was heard of in the cities of the plain;"
and young people of the cities came to him.

And when he was very old, one of his guests
was adamant that Will had to journey with him. It
was Death. And so at last Will went away from his
mountain home.

It seems to me that the basic key to Will's adult
decision to live in the hills lay in his work. He had
an inn and a mill to operate. The solution to the
problem of cityward migration from Hardy and
other rural counties is to bring more mills and inns
into the back country. Then the loveliness of its nature will have more holding effect on the stream of human life from the hills.

And so we come to the important question of the county’s recent economic development.

**ECONOMIC PROGRESS**

Money (in property, income and spending) is still a roughly accurate measure of the economic side of man’s evolution. The 1960 Census of Housing showed that there were 2,918 houses of an average value of $5,900 for the 9,308 people of the county. Of these, 2,564 buildings were occupied.

Thus, there was an average of only about three and one-half persons in each house, and the house was of a fairly good value. This is a far cry from the crowded little cabins reported long ago by Bishop Asbury, George Washington, and Major George Lawrence. But how many houses had enough indoor plumbing to qualify their inmates for what I once heard called “the bathtub society”? A little over half (52.8%) of the homes had hot and cold running water, 49% had flush toilets, and about 47½% had bathtubs or showers.

In other words, over 52 of every hundred people in the county still took baths in old-fashioned washtubs, some 47 of these heated the bath water—if it was heated—on stoves or heaters, and most of these 47 doubtless brought in the water from outside their houses. This is not necessarily a bad set of conditions; the strength of Rome did not improve as it built more and more Roman baths. But neither does plumbing necessarily make a people soft. Doubtless, most of the approximately 4,886 people of the county who had no specialized baths—and nearly all the women among them—would be pleas-

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ed to stop bathing in the laundry washtub. Probably some of these, by 1963, have done so; and there will be more. If the per capita income of the county is sufficient there will be substantial business in this item—for the merchants, plumbers, and perhaps a new porcelain industry.

In comparison with the average for the state and nation, this income is rather good. In 1961 the estimated per capita income of the United States was $2,250, and that of West Virginia was $1,722. Hardy County's estimated per capita income was $1,935—$315 lower than the United States average, but $213 higher than the average in West Virginia. Only two counties of the state, Ohio and Jackson, exceeded the national income. Among the other 53 counties, Hardy County was the sixth highest, and only two dollars a year lower than two of the higher-rated counties, Cabell and Kanawha, which tied with average incomes of $1,937.

During 1961, forty-six of the fifty-five counties had increases in retail sales. Among these was Hardy County, with an increase of $622,000, to a total of $9,966,000. These income and sales statistics add up to a good economic position, as compared to that of the average West Virginia county.

Other aids to the county's economic expansion in the near future are indicated in the following facts, based on the 1960 Census: 69.3 percent of the occupied homes were owned by occupants (there were only 51 trailer homes in the county). In the field of transportation, 55 percent of the households had automobiles, and 14 percent had two or more. In communication, a little over half of the households (50.2 percent) had telephones, and nearly all (over 91 percent) had radios. Also a very large percentage (85.7 percent) had washing machines. On the other hand, only a little over 4 percent had clothes driers, 22 percent had home food freezers, and only 4.8 percent had air conditioning. In analy-
sis of these figures, we see that in the county’s further movement into the Machine Age its people have shown a preference toward the purchase of the following things, and in the order given below: (1) radios; (2) washing machines; (3) homes; (4) automobiles; (5) means to supply hot and cold running water; and (6) telephones. None of the other Census-listed “modern conveniences” is owned by half of the people. The positions in this listing of automobiles and telephones (fourth and sixth in preference) may surprise some people. Probably the reasons for these low preferences are: Automobiles are relatively costly; and telephone service, like electric power, depends on massive capital and equipment.

COMMUNICATIONS

Although this field of man’s control of his environment — in radio service—ranks highest in county usage, the building of extensive telephone facilities in this largely mountainous county has been a long, hard task. Because of the large expense of installing and maintaining lines and the expected small number of customers in the less-populated areas, the General Telephone Company never provided service for such small communities as Fisher, Rig and Kessel. In consequence, the county again turned to the federal government and its Rural Electrification Administration (the R.E.A.) for aid. By means of a loan from it, a cooperative, the Hardy County Telephone Company, was formed. Doomed to failure, some people prophesied; but instead it grew very fast, and by May, 1962, was about five years ahead of its scheduled expansion. But there was no cooperation with it by the General Telephone Company. In consequence, if a person in Moorefield, for instance, telephoned some one only a few miles up the South Fork, the call went by...
long-distance transmission through Romney to Cumberland, Maryland, and Winchester, Virginia, and so, roundabout, to the Cooperative's dial station at Lost River. Such a call, between the two competing lines, to a point only a few miles away thus traversed several hundred miles.

In July, the first serious efforts to remedy this inefficient lack of united service were made when the Moorefield Lions Club invited representatives of both telephone companies to meet at the club. Representing the General Telephone Company were Division Traffic Manager W. G. Shepherd of Mercer County and Division Manager James Spangler of Romney; and from the Cooperative came Ervin B. Souder, its president, and Manager Wayne Strawderman. In introducing the speakers, State Senator Ralph J. Bean said that he understood that countywide telephone service would cost Moorefield subscribers of the General Telephone Company a slight increase in rates, but that there would be no increase in the Cooperative's rates. Manager Spangler of the older company stated that it was willing to cooperate for improved service to the public. The Cooperative also agreed to the proposal; and in writing of the meeting a reporter of the Examiner stated: "This is the first time two telephone companies have ever voluntarily proposed to subscribers that facilities be combined to render additional service without toll."

Such cooperation between the two main types of Freeworld economic organizations—the profit-paid, incentive-providing capitalistic company and the equal-divided, service-oriented cooperative—has been experienced to a certain extent in Scandinavian countries, but apparently is nearly unknown in America. It is far different from the knock-down-and-drag-out legal fight in Hardy County of the nineteen-thirties between the old-line electric power company and the R.E.A. electric power cooperative.
It is another indication of the unconscious seeking of the middle road by the people of the county.

Another recent development in the field of communication is the establishment of a new post office in Moorefield. With it came such things as formal naming of century-old streets and the putting up of house numbers and post office boxes for the first door-to-door mail delivery in the town. In September, Postmaster Glenn Evans stated that before accomplishment of this improved service some of the residents still needed to install boxes and improve their sidewalks, so that the carriers could perform their traditional all-weather delivery.

"We have your number," enthusiastically advertised one store. "... Come in now and get your house numbers from our chart, and a mail box for your house." But at least one other resident, who wanted the new service, had some misgivings about some of the accompanying, alleged "improvements". Mrs. Katherine Fisher wrote in "The Examiner Says":

"For over half a century we have lived between Town Run and Main Street, and Town Run has been called that for nearly a hundred years. Before that it was the Old Morgantown Pike and before that it was a river bed. Now that they are naming the street for postal door-to-door delivery someone came up with the high falutin' name of River Road Drive for Town Run. Cat Alley became Potomac Avenue and Duffy's Alley became Rose Mary Lane. River Road Drive indeed!"

And at another time she wrote somewhat nostalgically but with no serious desire to turn back from "progress" road:

"One of the things Moorefield residents did not have in those days before War came to shake them out of their complacency, was noise. No airplanes to break the sound barrier; no radios or tv to fill the air waves with sound; no (or at least only a few)
automobiles to go chugging up and down the uneven streets and frighten the horses tied in front of Gilkeson's Store or the Mullin Hotel; no frozen foods—no refrigerators—to make housekeeping easier; no furnaces; no electric lights; telephones were a rarity and hung on the wall and had to be cranked—as late as the 1920's the operator was not in the office after nine o'clock.

"The train made one trip each day, and it was quite usual for people to go to the station to see it come in and see who was traveling. The Mullin Hotel Hack met the train but townspeople walked up for the exercise and excitement. A trip on the train was quite an experience and people would go to Cumberland to spend the night, just to ride the train . . .

"Parents probably were aware of the storm clouds building up in Europe from 1910 on; probably they thought when the Arch Duke of Austria was assassinated in 1914 that it was just another tempest in the Balkans . . . They could have had no concept of the fact that an era was coming to an end. That Moorefield would never more be a drowsy, peaceful village. It is still a village but the haste and pressure of the outside world has reached into the quiet valley and Peace has fled from these hills.

"This is no attempt to say that the old days were better than today. Progress comes and must be accepted with the cutting down of the trees along Main Street and even, I suppose, with the dumping of sewage into the South Branch. It is merely a moment of stopping in the midst of running from one committee meeting to another to look back on a day when women had no meetings to go to except the Aid Society or the U.D.C., and to wonder if we would be happier without all the do-gooding of the present day. I expect not, but Peace! It was wonderful!"

O. Henry, the short-story-writing genius, never made a truer witty saying than his reference to streets “damaged by improvements.”

In the border region of which Hardy County is the center, one of the most significant recent developments of communication occurred in Pendleton County, near the headwaters of the Moorefield (or South Fork) River. There, on a mountain top at Sugar Grove, the Navy planned to build the world’s largest radio-telescope. Its diameter was to be six hundred feet—nearly an eighth of a mile—and its reflecting surface would cover seven acres. It was designed to probe the mysteries of space, including, I surmise, satellites not put up by the United States, and the strange radio waves or signals that are continually coming from off the earth.

Down the stream a few miles the Navy planned to build a naval station, where four to five hundred workers at the radio-telescope would be housed. And the Government of West Virginia, alert to the tourist-attracting features of this out-of-this-world activity, went to the newly established U. S. Area Redevelopment Administration (the A.R.A.) and asked for funds for the construction of a space-age tourist center, near the “Big Ear.” Having appropriated $100,000, the state requested a large grant to complete payment for the planned two-million-dollar center, which would have a costly reproduction of the heavenly bodies and exhibit of the latest means for space research and communication. The Navy Department agreed to pipe outer-space sounds from the “Big Ear” into a large auditorium, where tourists could hear them while looking at the giant skyward instrument.

By the end of June the Navy and Defense Department had spent over forty-one million dollars of the taxpayers’ funds, and Congress had approved about eighty-four more million dollars for the project. Then, on July 4th, the Moorefield Examiner
reported what seemed to be good news to the county: The A.R.A. had “granted” the state $1,477,000 for the construction of the mountain-top tourist center. West Virginia and the border region had high hopes of using the “Big Ear” in the 1963 centennial of the founding of the state. Albiet expensive, these seemed to be good plans of Bigness—and especially to the people of Pendleton, Hardy, Grant, Hampshire, Randolph and Pocahontas Counties. But, Big Government’s left hand frequently does not know what its right is doing; and shortly thereafter came a lefthanded blow.

The Defense Department decided that the Big Ear was going to cost too much for what it would be worth to national defense, and so, suddenly, scrapped it.

Concerned about this terrific black eye to the economic hopes of his border region, Publisher Ralph Fisher went to a press conference with Secretary of Commerce Luther Hodges at the state capital. After his return, he reported that the only hope for continuation of the project was to get another federal agency—the National Science Foundation—to take charge of it.

Nevertheless, in September, U. S. Senator Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia was still trying to get the Navy to revive the project—on a less ambitious scale. He referred to the radio-quiet zone which had been created with cooperation of the state, the facts that even the surrounding forest roads had been routed to shield the installation from the electronic noise of forest rangers’ automobiles, an excellent road to the facility had been built, a good water supply provided, an electric power plant nearly completed, and one 60-foot radio-telescope already had been installed. He thus was arguing from the point of view of waste of human resources already provided. But he was addressing men used to budgeting not so much in dollars as in “megabucks”—in
one-million-dollar units. To the armed-service budgeteers—backing and filling—getting approval here and confirmation there—with individual concern nearly submerged in Bigness—only some forty-two of their Big-Money units were involved. I have not yet learned the outcome of Senator Byrd’s campaign—whether forty-two million dollars will rot and rust in the mountains just south of Hardy County, or some scientific use will be made of the work already done.

At least, as pointed out by the Examiner, the people of the area are “no longer near a target for intercontinental missiles.”

TRANSPORTATION

In the field of transport I have one important county item of recent history. In June, M. E. Martin, president of the Superior Bus Service, Franklin, announced that once-weekly bus service would be established from Harrisonburg, Virginia, via Franklin, Moorefield and Romney to Cumberland, Maryland. He stated that later this service would be expanded if there were sufficient economic demand for it. Another thing, that could be of great economic consequence, is the hope in the county to have U. S. Interstate Highway 66 go through it. This great highway will come through Front Royal and Strasburg, Virginia. Whether it is to go from there to Charleston or to Clarksburg and Parkersburg, its direct and practical course would be through Hardy County.

AGRICULTURE

At the depression-born Wardensville meeting of 1930, we recall, representatives of the people set forth the following basic fields of effort to advance
the business of Hardy County: (1) growing potatoes; (2) dairying; (3) raising poultry; (4) livestock; and (5) tourists' trade. Appropriately, in this area, all but one pertained to that mainstay of man as a land-evolved mammal: Agriculture.

The still basically rural nature of the county is indicated by its 1962 newspaper advertisements. As a random sample of these, let us consider the issue of the Examiner of May 14th. On page 9 there were several block advertisements. Two were of the products of huge, national companies—a refrigerator and one of the cheaper cars; one was of fishing supplies—wading boots, rods and reels, outboard motors and sleeping bags; one was of Lang's Pharmacy (in which worked Guy Lang who in the next month was to receive two honors: the presidency of the Moorefield Lions Club; and a citation by the West Virginia Pharmaceutical Association as the pharmacist with the most outstanding record of community service in the state); and the other three advertisements (nearly half of the seven) were of food (in a grocery store) and the application of science and engineering to farming (seeds, including the remarkable science-developed hybrid corn; fertilizers; garden and lawn tools; steel and electric fencing; and multiple-power tractor drives).

The next page, devoted entirely to advertising, was even more indicative of the farming backbone. Of the ten classified advertisements, five pertained to the farm—about the sale of birds, milk goats, Angus bulls, cabbage plants, and a plow. Of the 25 block advertisements on the page, one was about a high school play (by the very sophisticated but thoroughly free-individualistic writer, Ayn Rand), one about a West Virginia periodical "for mountain people" called the Hillbilly, and one about a church. Of the remaining twenty-two block notices, ten concerned farms, their buildings, tools and products. One was about scientifically bred hybrid pullets,
one about the sale of twenty-five bulls and eight female Hereford cattle; and the largest ad on the page was about a "Special Grass Cattle Sale" by county farmers, sponsored by the South Branch Stockyards, Inc., and the West Virginia Department of Agriculture.

But here also a few of the advertisements are of national scope: Of automobiles; refrigerators; deep freezers; gas stoves; washing machines; a state farm insurance company; and the ubiquitous twentieth-century aspirin.

These pages indicate the growing influence of the machine age on the farmer in his field and market place. With the help of machines, fertilizer, and scientific plant and animal breeding and control of diseases, the American farmer of the early 1960's was able to produce food and fiber for 26 people; whereas, a century before he could only provide for some five persons—that is, about what the Russian farmer can do today, or only two people more than were fed and clothed by the Egyptian farmer of five thousand years ago. In other words, science and machinery have expanded the power of the farmer to produce in Hardy County and other rural areas of America by over five hundred per cent in a century.

The dominant status of agriculture in the county was further indicated by the fact that in June, 1962, a visitor from Northeast Africa came there to study agricultural, 4-H Club and Youth Extension Service projects. In a program sponsored by the Government of Sudan and the U. S. Agency for International Development (AID in the new alphabet of the United States), Sir El Khatim Hassan Ali toured the county, learning the methods of agricultural education utilized there under the guidance of West Virginia University. Other visitors of his exploratory group were in neighboring Pendleton and Mineral Counties and in Marshall County.

Of the four branches of agriculture listed as possible success fields by the group at Wardensville, the first (potato growing) has not been very important. The second (dairying) has about maintained its formerly important place in the county's economics; and so has the fourth listed activity (livestock, raised for meat). It is in the third field (poultry-raising) that a remarkable expansion has occurred. This has been recognized in the state, national and foreign-trade scenes. In a leaflet mailed in 1962 by the Travel Division of the West Virginia Department of Commerce, apparently prepared by Moorefield people, an invitation was extended to "come to Moorefield, Poultry Capital of West Virginia, in the heart of the South Branch Valley, for the Poultry Festival, July 30-August 4, 1962." And in the late summer, the Moorefield plant of the Rockingham Poultry Cooperative, together with the other Virginia branches of this organization, received the Presidential "Big E" flag and award for expanding the agricultural exports of the United States. This Moorefield establishment is now the only plant in West Virginia that can fly the white "E" flag of such a Presidential citation; and its cooperative is one of only nine groups in America to receive this award.

Turning now to the fifth of the Wardensville objectives (tourism), we find that in 1962 there were some indications of the county's awakening to the value of its scenic and historical attractions for the urban world. The South Branch poultry festival at Moorefield was one; another was in several of the 1962 editorials of the local newspaper. The most interesting of these was an outcome of the wanderings of Mr. and Mrs. Ralph E. Bryner of Parkersburg. During the summer of 1962 the Bryners made a long fishing and sightseeing trip through northern and eastern West Virginia, and were especially intrigued by the Lost River. He
wanted to see the spot where Lost River goes under the mountain—and presumably to see also its waters gushing out of the ground two miles to the north, reborn as the Cacapon River. He felt the lure of the lost—whether it be a lost sheep, mine, town buried under millenia of dust, or a lost river. And Hardy County’s Lost River is really lost—even losing its name when it goes within the earth.

But Bryner had a job locating it, for there was almost no road-advertising about it. Under the headline “Lost River Too Lost, Wood Tourist Finds,” the Parkersburg News printed his letter calling attention to the state’s and county’s neglect of this natural attraction:

“At the spot where the river vanishes there isn’t even a decent path leading down to the ravine, and anyone venturing into it must climb over huge boulders and wade ankle-deep mud.

“A clean little state park is located below the rusting iron bridge that spans the chasm, but a good substantial walkway . . . is sorely needed. Also adequate signs and advertising.

“One out-of-state couple told me they had driven past Lost River for miles before someone gave them proper directions.”

The state “is passing up a golden opportunity,” Bryner wrote. In consequence, “at the present time it (Lost River) is almost overlooked and forgotten.”

Half facetiously, but with an undercurrent of what-are-we-going-to-do-about-it feeling, the editor of the Examiner referred to Bryner’s letter:

“We might inform Mr. Bryner that he only found a little of the stuff Hardy County keeps well hidden. We have some of the most fascinating falls in the state only a couple of hundred feet away from the highway up the South Fork. These Brake Falls cannot be seen from the road, and the path up . . . is well hidden. There is no sign . . .

1. Moorefield Examiner, 1 August 1962.
“Moorefield has three court houses still standing and all were in use during the past 150 years. There is no sign to indicate this interesting fact . . .

“Helmick Rocks and the saddle are one of the easiest landmarks to see from all over the South Branch Valley. No sign points out this spectacular rock formation . . . Just south of Helmick Rocks is a breathtaking view of the South Branch Valley. If you see it, it is sheer accident for no sign points this out.

“There are fourteen caverns or caves in Hardy County . . . No signs . . .

“Washington slept up the South Fork and had some pithy comments to make about the people up there. He also surveyed all over the county and spent nights below Moorefield and in Wardensville. No signs . . .

“A section of the Lost River Valley remained loyal to King George the Third during the Revolutionary War. There are no signs to indicate this interesting bit of historical lore.

“There is a monument on the road to Helmick Rocks made up of stones from the fireplace of Stonewall Jackson’s grandparents’ cabin. The place is overgrown with weeds . . .

“There are Indian Forts galore in the county but it is next to impossible to locate them . . .

“The whole idea, Mr. Bryner, is that Hardy County wants to keep these interesting places and things a secret. If they were located in any part of New England, in Virginia, or any of the southern states there would be a plethora of signs and directions. We just might get so annoyed by the flatland touristers asking questions that we’ll get around to putting up markers and signs but until then you’ll just have to be nosey and find these things out for yourself.”

1. Moorefield Examiner, 1 August 1962.
Both the state and the county have neglected these tourist attractions of the First American West. Like some other back-country residents, the people of the county have been so intent on "making a living" that they have been slow to realize the values, both spiritually and economically, of their heritage. Appropriately, early efforts to advertise these attractions have come from local residents—the editors of the Examiner and some thirty others of the county. If the South Branch Valley's publicity of the future attracts the desired influx of urban visitors it will not be replicas of blatant city advertising. The city dweller's continual trek to the old-time peace of places like Williamsburg and the Grand Canyon indicates that he is weary of much of his environment; and perhaps the most intrusive aspect of it is the immaturely boastful shouting from glaring signs and over the television waves. If the county's signs are in keeping with the early American atmosphere that lingers in the valley and mountains they will be rustic, and simply, sincerely worded.

Ralph Fisher, actively encouraged by his wife, has remained one of the power houses of promotion of the county and the South Branch Valley. He has led, for instance, in the establishment and operation of the Moorefield Development Company. In 1956, he and twenty-nine other Hardy County men formed this development and civic organization, each person investing $1,000 in cash.

The first important thing they did was to buy the land and houses of the F. C. Cook flooring company, which had ceased operations after a disastrous fire. They sold the houses at book value and on terms to the occupants, and sold some of the land to lumber firms. The money for this undertaking came from the sale of stock and loans from the shareholders and a local bank.

Then the Moorefield Plywood plant became
bankrupt, and title to it also was acquired by the Development Company. With the help of the electric power company, the developers got the Raygold Manufacturing Corporation to move into the old plywood premises and manufacture kitchen cabinets. This operation converted a community stumbling block into a half-million-dollar annual payroll. In 1962, the promoters sold the plant to Raygold at book value, and borrowed more money to finance its expansion.

The thirty new-pioneers also have aided the Rockingham Poultry Marketing Cooperative to raise funds to improve its Moorefield plant, helped the Pierce Pre-Cooked Foods company to expand its plant for precooking chickens, sold a site for a new sawmill in Moorefield, arranged for a railroad siding for three enterprises, paid for the erection of three historical markers and for tourist literature, and contributed to the Little League and the Hardy County Library.

In this age of running to Washington for money, the most important feature of this county-developing work lies in the following unusual facts: Not a cent of federal or state monies was used in these improvements; all were accomplished by local bootstraps-lifting. Although the shareholders expected and still expect some monetary returns, local patriotism also must have actuated them, for: In the first six years of its operation, the company has paid no salaries except a small amount for bookkeeping and accounting; and it has paid only one ten-cents-per-share dividend. So far the monetary profits thus have been nearly non-existent. But they have the satisfaction of doing important creative work, and so far without being beholden to government. These developments are in the Hardy County tradition from away back. The pioneers in the Indian wars wanted governmental aid; but in their beleaguered forts they got little of it. They made
their own bullets, and their houses of log and stone.

In the summer of 1962, Ralph Fisher, as local Economic Development Chairman, went to a conference at Romney for seven counties of the Eastern Panhandle. This meeting for the advancement of land use, recreation, agriculture, forestry and rural industries was sponsored by the West Virginia Rural Development Committee.

Other straws in the recent winds of county economic history are: The U. S. Army Corps of Engineers actively planned a great flood-control dam up the South Branch River. Although it will be in Grant County, the flood-control and tourist-travel aspects of the new lake also will benefit Hardy County. Construction of another dam by the state and the U. S. Conservation Service is about to take place on the upper water of the South Fork or Moorefield River; here again the benefits to Hardy County, although substantial, are indirect. Having successfully drilled several gas wells on the other side of the Virginia border, the United Fuel Gas Company began the drilling of a well in Hardy County, north of Mathias. And, pioneered by Professor Geza Teleki, head of the Department of Geology at George Washington University, geologists of the University, the U. S. Geological Survey and some foreign countries have discovered that the mountainous areas of the upper Lost River Valley are outstandingly rich in fossiliferous and other interesting rocks. Whether or not they discover valuable ore, they have found the beauty of those little-known hills.

CENTRALIZATION
versus
INDIVIDUALISM AND LOCALISM

Some titanic questions of our time and space are: Will the people on this globe become slaves to
dictatorships behind iron and bamboo and concrete walls? Can we of the Freeworld peacefully adapt those ways of Big Government, Big Business and Big Unions that have accompanied the machine age and combine them with our basic freedoms? Who will have sufficient will power and persistent freedom from industrial, union and centralized-police powers to choose and adapt, and say to the growing forces of bigness: You serve and will not be masters?

Runaway bureaucracy began in America during the First World War. It gathered power and momentum as a supporter of idealism. And to the American who is conscious of history there still is some pride in considering the idealistic happenings of that time—for instance, the 1917 raising of a large American flag that was bought by the voluntary contributions of Hardy County people. It was raised over the patriotic—but naturally ill-smelling—Moorefield tannery. This was deep grass-roots support of America’s new crusade to make the world’s individuals free. But what has this crusade done to our own freedom? Where does this representative of the rural counties of the country stand now concerning this expensive, half-century-old movement?

The more I study this county, in which I have never lived, the more I see of its middle-of-the-road character. For example, and almost symbolically, in geography: The highest point in West Virginia is Spruce Knob (4,860 feet high) in Pendleton County; and the lowest point is at Harper’s Ferry (247 feet above sea level). If you place a ruler across these two geographic extremes you find that Hardy County is along its line, and in the middle between these extremes. What can this and the other rural counties of the borderland between great industry and government and the free but undeveloped back

country do to help find a middle position between these other extremes? Without losing freedom of the individual.

In this connection, the first thing one is apt to think of is taxes. With the federal government now paying ten billion dollars a year in interest alone on its past debts, and piling up more and more of a mountain of indebtedness that may volcano-slide upon us, even the low-paid rural people are feeling its big take from their pocketbooks. And, like most city residents, they are bothered by the minutiae of detailed reports to the state and federal governments about their income and expenses.

In April, 1962, the ruleitis of these reports and the burden of income taxes struck hard at Hardy County, along with the rest of West Virginia. The February decree of Wood County Circuit Court, outlawing the West Virginia income tax law as unconstitutional, was then set aside by the West Virginia Supreme Court. The people of the county hastened to fill out still more complicated forms at the same time that the federal government also was requiring them to render detailed accounts to it. During this "botheration" the Editor of the Examiner observed an amusing happening. The hard-working U. S. Internal Revenue Service, which has been called the "Infernal Revenue Service," had a man at Moorefield to help the citizens in their annual headaching chore. But the people wouldn't go to him for aid. Instead, true to their individualistic, private-enterprise background, they were swamping the lawyers' offices for help in coping with the newly increased ruleitis of centralized government. The philosophical editor observed that attorney Lewis Moomau had a waiting line at his office of the red-tape compliers while at "the same time just forty feet away was an income tax man, twiddling his thumbs waiting to help people make
out the forms, and who does an honest job . . . finally gave up in disgust and left.”

In August, Vernon Crider, owner of about an acre of land near Wardensville, drove 160 miles, from Rockville, Maryland, to pay his tax bill at Moorefield. At the Sheriff’s office he was advised by Miss Pattie Chrisman that he needed to drive to Mathias to pay his taxes to Deputy Sheriff George Mathias because his acre was in the Capon District. In other words, go to George and let George do it. Mr. Crider argued that it was lacking in common sense to send him to a distant deputy when he was in the head sheriff’s office. But Mr. Crider was up against the Rules. And there is no stricter enforcer of the Rules than the average woman clerk. After all, they have been her mainstay, as in a quite minor sense the weaker one, for ten thousand years. Miss Chrisman correctly advised him that the Rules dictated that only delinquent taxes could be accepted at the county seat. This encouraged Mr. Crider a little, because: Half of his taxes, $6.72, really were delinquent. This, she agreed, he could pay — but: He couldn’t pay another $6.72, making $13.44, to include the current year. He argued a little longer, then peremptorily wrote out a check for the $13.44, left it on the counter, and strode from the room.

The Editor of the Examiner, who was present, surmised that the Sheriff’s office would return the $6.72 due for the current year. The editor himself was there to struggle against ruleitis. He had underfigured his taxes by one cent because, according to the accurate and industrious Miss Chrisman, he had taken a 2½ percent discount on various items, including one of a 27-cents tax—when the Rules decreed no discount on an item less than 40 cents. Actually, the editor pointed out, the item was double 27 cents, for the whole year’s taxes. But the Rules are the Rules; and he lost the argument — and he paid the extra one cent.
The editor was mainly there to protest another matter. To straighten a property line, he had swapped a bit of land with Mr. Hink Fisher. Neither received any money in the transfer; and yet, because the transaction was recorded, an extra assessment of 100 dollars was made against the editor. He was advised that his only recourse would be a decision by the Board of Equalization. But the Board had met before the extra assessment, and would not meet again for nearly a year. Again he had lost—or had he? At least, he had protested against rule­itin.

It is often the little irritations that build up, on top of the great worries—and build up—and build up—until the burden bearer explodes—or else in laughter scoffs at himself and his environment. Some of the other little 1962 annoyances of central­ization in the county are indicated in the following happenings:

In October, Foster See carried a sign on the front of his car which, for Foster’s own undisclosed reasons, said: “Will work if not disturbed by the police.”

As in other towns where car owners strive to find a place to park on streets, the police in Moore­field were pestering motorists by putting tickets between their windshields and wipers. But Moore­field tried a unique experiment in attempting to soften these petty nuisances. Among the many rural areas of the state, Hardy County has one of the best records in the donation of blood to the Red Cross; and a drive was on to keep its top place. In view of this, the Moorefield town leaders ruled that parking tickets would be remitted if the violators donated a pint of blood at the Bloodmobile. The Examiner published the story; and it was so strange in an urban world, weary of traffic summonses, that it was repeated around much of the world—through­out western United States, including Alaska and
Hawaii, apparently in Australia (by the British Reuter news service), and as far as the South China Morning Post of Hongkong. However, after all this publicity, only about a dozen people paid ransom with their blood.

The long and loud-music television commercials, which to this writer and most of his friends are mainly juvenile claptrap, nearly utterly devoid of any sensible description of the goods concerned, were uninteresting also in Hardy County; but one of the Examiner’s editors philosophized: “You have plenty of time to get that drink of water or cup of coffee and almost time for a shower at the breaks.”

Some other things of Centralism that were found to be displeasing were: The “down-right nasty notices and threats of fines and penalties and so on” by the West Virginia Department of Weights and Measures against merchants who are late in getting state inspection stickers on their scales; and the fact that, “although the U. S. Department fines manufacturers for short-weighting packages,” “in the post office where you deal in half ounces and fractions of ounces there was nary an inspection sticker.”

Bothersome as were these various annoyances, they were gnat-bites compared to the U. S. Treasury’s eagle’s slash. But occasionally a man far up in the mountains knows how to deal with eagles:

Under the heading of Montani Semper Liberi, (Mountaineers Are Always Free) the local editorial of May 22 tells his story. Every year at income tax time, this mountaineer leaves his aerie on a Hardy County mountain top. He either walks or rides a horse or mule because these are the only ways one without a helicopter can go to or from his cabin among the high rocks and trees. This rugged individualist doesn’t make nor need much money; but, cutting wood and the like, he does earn enough to

have a forty or fifty dollar bill for federal income taxes. So in the spring he goes to town and hires a lawyer to make out his tax return.

After all the red tape is taken care of, the attorney advises him to mail the document, with his forty or fifty dollars.

The Examiner continues the story:

"'Oh no,' replies this rugged individualist, "I'll just send them five dollars." And he does.

"Of course our hardy mountaineer gets letters from the tax people, demanding further payment and threatening consequences if he doesn't pay. Finally a harassed tax collector is dispatched to run down the delinquent taxpayer. He, the tax collector, has to drive as far as he can over a rough mountain road, and eventually has to walk and climb the rest of the way to the delinquent taxpayer's cabin. That's an awful effort for a guy who rides a car for his transportation and who works at a desk in his job.

"It is unlikely that our mountaineer is home which means the frustrated tax collector has to wait until evening to see the mountaineer. The tax collector is courteously received, the mountaineer readily admits he owes the money and makes a payment of not more than five dollars on his delinquent income tax.

"What can the poor tax collector do? There is no fraud . . . everything is in perfect order except that our mountaineer says he doesn't have the money and does pay what he can, and when the tax collector catches up with him. The tax man is gravely thanked for making the long trip up to the mountaineer's cabin, is invited to share the simple meal, offered a drink of cold spring water or even a glass of cider—but never a swig of mountain dew.

"... After one or two trips the frustrated tax man gives up and says send somebody else up to that place for he'll be blank-blanked if he is going to climb up that mountain again. We don't know what will
be the end of this situation. Obviously the government isn’t going to make a federal case for a mere twenty-five bucks that the guy admits he owes and there certainly is no point in trying to send a character like that to the penitentiary.

“Breathes there a taxpayer who reads these lines who wouldn’t give half a year’s pay to exchange places with this contented character on April 15?…”

One fact about this story I believe was not mentioned. Apparently, the mountaineer did not own the craig where he lived — or else it was nearly worthless—and his cabin also must have been without market value. If he owned anything worth the unpaid taxes and the cost of a lawsuit the federal government would take it away from him. He may be a squatter, like the people that George Washington saw up the South Fork so long ago . . . And that is how far back into old-time hard living an American must go nowadays to escape high taxation. Is there any middle course between these extremes of ruinous taxation and equally ruinous inflation? It might be in the federal government’s return to some ancient ways that people have found to be fairly safe—one of which is indicated by the folk saying: A penny (or a megabuck) saved is a penny (or a megabuck) earned.

Also hard to oppose was another seeming invasion of the immemorial rights of the free individual by centralized majority rule and specializing bureaucracy. Some people of the county thought a mistake had been made by the state legislature; but in any event they were sure that their ancient self-defense rights had been violated. Thousands of hunters come to Hardy County every hunting season, some with illegal spot lights on deer at night; and many of these trespass on farmers’ lands. In the past the landowner had his basic Anglo-Saxon right, as an individual citizen, of arresting the tres-
passer and taking him to the sheriff’s office. But under the 1961 law that created a new Department of Natural Resources in West Virginia the landowner wanting to arrest a trespasser must have a state conservation officer or trooper, or a sheriff, deputy or constable to make the arrest. Unless the law is changed, he has lost his common-law right to “the citizen’s arrest.”

In arguing that the Legislature should reconsider the law, the Editor of the Examiner half-facetiously said: “Can you imagine a more ridiculous situation than asking a trespasser for his name and for him to stand still until an officer of the law can be found to arrest him? Why these spotlighters would be three states away before law enforcement officers could get to the scene . . . We can think of two immediate solutions, one is to be named a constable . . . the other is to shoot the trespasser.”

The serious effect in Hardy County of this state-decreed change is indicated in the number of landowners’ posted notices. Ten of these, for instance, were advertised in the newspaper on 24 October 1962.

About the end of summer the Hardy County Public Library Association had one of the most important meetings of its existence. Since the library was founded in the 1920’s, as a Woman’s Club project, it had got by on locally collected funds, including help from the County Court. Without federal or state aid, it had grown until, using a second-hand station wagon and boxes of volumes from its fairly well stocked shelves, it was able to lend books throughout the county. But the problem of raising money for expanding service was becoming harder, and this special meeting was to take a vote as to whether or not the library was to become affiliated with the state’s regional library service. The latter would furnish the rural areas a full time librarian, a

bookmobile, a choice from many thousands of books. If they voted yes, and the County Court secured inclusion of the county in the larger system, the local library would lose its $700 a year from the Court, and lose the prestige of its county-wide delivery service. But library service for the most rural areas would be improved, and, seemingly, the county alone would not be bearing the burden. It is hard for a local group to stand against such a wave, with money on it, that appears to be from the outside world. When actually most of it, including the drift, is from your own shore. Unanimously, the members voted for the increased centralization. Another move away from local control thus had been made.

An example of the often hard-to-see, inflationary costs of these shifts toward centralization appears in the following item of the county’s 1962 history: In October, pointing out the Examiner and its employees had presented only one, ten-dollar claim against the Workmen’s Compensation Fund of the state, the Editor complained against a doubling of their rate of payment into the fund: “One week the federal government tells us our postage rates are going up and now the state government tells us our Workmen’s Compensation rates are being doubled simply because we are small. If we weren’t too old we’d give up and go to work for the government—for pay.” Instead, he later raised the cost of a subscription to the 117-year-old paper from three to four dollars a year, blaming the raise entirely on increased governmental expenses.

There were other signs of calling for a halt to increased taxes, privacy-invading inspections, red-tape reports, and growth of bureaucracy. In October, a “general lack of compliance” with the new state law requiring property owners to report improvements to the assessors was noted. And in the November elections Hardy County voted against every proposed type of increased bureaucratic control over
the affairs of the individual citizen and his immediate representatives.

By overwhelming majorities, four of the five proposed amendments to the state constitution were rejected by the county. The first proposal was entitled “Alcohol Beverage Control”. This appears at first glance to provide for more freedom of the individual, for it would enable him to buy alcoholic liquor at places other than the state liquor stores. But on studying it we see that not all restaurants, hotels and clubs would be allowed to sell drinks under the amendment. Before such establishment could sell liquor it would have to be approved by the state liquor control commission, and “properly licensed” by the commission and state. In other words, red-tape reports, inspections and bureaucratic control were involved. Of course prohibitionists voted against this amendment, but it was rejected by a county majority of over four to one. I doubt if half the 2,647 who voted against the amendment were “drys”.

The second proposal was the “State Executive and Budget Amendment.” It would give a single official, the governor, the power to prepare the budget, and moreover would allow the governor to succeed himself in office. It thus was a move toward centralization, and possible dictatorship. Similar to this was the third amendment, which would have allowed a sheriff to succeed himself. Obviously, a boss-minded sheriff might be tempted by it to shade the law in favor of his political machine.

The fourth rejected proposal, the “Legislative Amendment”, would have prevented any person holding a lucrative office or employment of the state or federal government from being a member of the state legislature. The centralizing feature of this proposal was more obscured than that of the others. But it would have removed some of the local voter’s control over who would be his direct representative,
from the county polls to centralized committees and the Rules. It would have involved reports or affidavits from those running for the legislature, and probably more of the common “investigations” of our time. The county’s citizens decided that they would retain their power to say whether or not they would be represented by one of their schoolteachers, state liquor store workers or state highway employees.

The only proposed change the county people approved was the “Fair Representation Amendment.” This would limit the House of Delegates to 100 members, and insure that each county, however thinly populated, would have at least one delegate. Under most of the legislative reapportionment plans that had been advanced Hardy County would lose its right to have its own delegate, but would share one with Grant County. By vote of nearly three to one, the citizens were in favor of this amendment, which at least would allow the county to retain its own individuality as a voting unit in the legislature.

In the Examiner of December 5th there was an article by Delegate D. P. Sheriff Given of Webster County, who accused propaganda from the cities and apathy or ignorance of the rural voters of the state for the failure of the amendment. He said that people in the rural counties who voted against it “deprived the people from small counties a direct voice in the legislature,” tended to “turn complete control of our state over to the metropolitan areas,” and helped “the cause of centralization of government.” This accusation did not apply to the large majority of Hardy County’s voters. Their record concerning all five of the proposed constitutional amendments of 1962 was consistently against further centralization of political power.

I observed the same 1962 trend in another rural county, nearly a thousand miles away — Hancock

1. Moorefield Examiner. 1 August, 31 October and 7 November 1962.
County, Mississippi, where I now live. Here also, voting on Mississippi constitutional amendments, the citizens of a largely rural county indicated their resistance to further governmental centralization and red-tape controls.

In rural Hardy County the question of whether or not the so-called aid to farmers is to be extended — with more rigid controls of the farmer's work — is of course the most important bureaucracy and centralization issue. In 1962 the wheat farmers of the country (including those of Hardy County) again voted for continuation of federal aid and controls of their crops, but with the smallest margin in all such elections since 1941. Under the law for crop price supports two-thirds of the voting farmers had to approve the program if its quotas were to be continued, and in 1962 only 68.4 percent voted yes. 74,454 of the nation's wheat farmers were against the controls; if only 4,112 of the remaining 161,242 farmers had voted against the program it would have been rejected. Since in the preceding year 87.4 percent of the voters approved the quotas, the 1962 drop away from controls support was 19 percent of the voters. If a further drop of only two percent should occur in 1963 the present U. S. wheat program would be a dead letter. Unwanted controls and subsidies would not be forced on more than a third of the wheat farmers of the country. In all, 55 million acres of rich soil, nearly a fourth million wheat farmers, and hundreds of millions of tax dollars are involved in this question, which is closely allied to the problems of other staple crops.

An indication of the direction wheat farmers' opinions about these controls are moving is also found in the 1962 actions of two farmers' organizations—the Farm Bureau Federation and the National Farmers Organization. Representatives of the Farm Bureau, which has been strong in Hardy

1 New Orleans States-Item, 31 August 1962.
County, met in Atlanta, and voted to oppose the program of the National Administration for stricter “supply management” in 1963 of wheat and other staple farm products. Apparently, President Charles Shuman and other leaders of the Farm Bureau have concluded that such controls are an accelerating thing. Mere control of the number of acres planted will not lower surpluses, for intelligent farmers will turn more to scientific methods — more and better fertilizers, hybrid and other improved seeds and plants, more irrigation or drainage, scientific feeding and care of livestock, and so forth. Truly effective controls (getting more and more dictatorial) eventually would have Uncle Sam telling the farmer what kind of seed and how much and what quality of fertilizer to use and, as national columnist John Chamberlain has implied, dictatorial Sam would need to put a cut-off valve on the rain.¹

Slowly, the farmers, tied more and more by the red tape of complicated governmental reports and gobbledygook, are beginning to realize these facts. Some 1962 examples of these bothers, mentioned in the Examiner's news items, are: In March Chairman A. R. McNeill of the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Committee of Hardy County helpfully reminded those farmers who were still “thinking it over” about taking part in the 1962 feed-grain program that they had only until the sixteenth to report their acreage to his office. The minimum diversion of corn and sorghum land to soil-conserving use by one who reported and signed-up was 20 percent of his farm's “base acreage.” In April Chairman McNeill reminded another group about red tape and conformity. The smaller-acreage wheat farmers needed to realize that the 1962 marketing quota exemption was not the same as in 1961. The quota exemption had been lowered from the previous fif-

teen acres; and here is the language that the farmer, busy with his spring plowing and chores, needed to ponder: "Under the 1962 wheat program, farms subject to marketing quotas are those on which the acreage exceeds the smaller of (a) 13.5 acres, or (b) the highest acreage the farm had for harvest in the three-year period 1959, 1960, and 1961. Wheat farmers may therefore avoid marketing quota penalties on their 1962-crop wheat by complying with (1) their farm wheat allotment, or (2) their wheat quota exemption (if this is larger)."

And the federal force that backed up this edict also was stricter: "For 1962, the penalty will be 65 percent of parity . . . ; previously, it was 45 percent. And the amount of wheat subject to penalty will be twice the farmer's normal yield on all of the acres in excess of the wheat allotment (or wheat quota exemption if the farm has no wheat allotment). This amount may be reduced if the proved 1962 actual yield is less and a request is filed by a stipulated deadline."

Interpretation and requests and permits and penalties and rewards for conformity—here we see controls and their red tape moved down to the deepest of the grass roots.

In June the turkey growers voted on whether they also were to have marketing quotas. Again conscientious Chairman McNeill tried to help: "The Chairman explained that each eligible producer (eligible to vote) must certify the liveweight volume of his turkey marketings in 1961." This volume had to be more than 3,600 liveweight pounds. A "contract producer" also could vote if in 1961 he had a "risk-of-loss contract in turkeys produced by a producer-grower."

T. R Hash, a West Virginia University turkey expert, also tried to help. He wrote that in the twelve

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1. Moorefield Examiner, 25 April 1962; this and the following quotations are from this newspaper, but doubtless depend squarely on the wording of the agricultural law and the rules.
days left before election time, the turkey growers needed to learn "many new terms, such as 'set aside,' 'base periods,' 'producer-grower,' 'producer-handler,' and many others will be used in discussing proposals. In many respects this is a new language, and turkey industry folks will need to be acquainted with the meaning of these terms . . . The proposed order provides for management of national turkey supplies."

The apparent name of this new language is based on the gobbling of turkeys. It is a word coined by a U. S. Representative with the peculiarly fitting name of Maverick. The new, bureaucratic language, now doubly associated with turkeys, is gobbledygook.

Moving away from subsidies and their accompanying controls, another farmers' organization in 1962 tried an alternative road to improvement of the farmer's pay. Borrowing the technique of labor unions, the National Farmers Organization (NFO) organized and carried out a strike of livestock raisers against the meat packers. Pointing out that the N. F. O. program was well planned and executed, the Editor of the Examiner stated: "Yet, in Hardy County, and also in the midwest, farmers still brought their pigs and cattle to market . . .

"Was and is the holding action effective? Yes, in the sense that even non-complying feeders are now fully aware of their organizational potential . . . The packers must have meat or find another business . . .

"These NFO backers, clearly a minority group, are at least realistic . . . They're sold on organization and fearless of being branded 'crackpots' and 'radicals'. They're sold on going the way the industrial world has gone for the past hundred years and more. Industry has by now virtually overthrown the pure ideas of free enterprise . . .

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"The farmer can . . . sign contracts and fix prices and insure himself against the future as well as against the present cost-price bind. Contracts are two-way instruments though, and the organized farmer must be ready to risk penalties above and beyond normal risks of an uncertain profession. He must be ready to tie himself down, and this is the sticker . . .

"The livestock producer held out for freedom longest and he's still holding out. How long can he do so? . . ."

This editorial is an able summary of this labor-union-like attack on the problem. Hardy County farmers whose principal income is from livestock and poultry are deeply involved in the agricultural question as a whole, which boils down to: The American farmer has been handicapped for generations by the long-continued high-tariff policy, coupled in the last thirty years with indirect governmental support of centralized labor unions, which have compelled him to buy in an artificially high-priced domestic market while he sold to a large extent in the low-priced world market; how can he now be aided to rise to parity with the factory worker? And without losing the heritage of American freedom?

We have looked at two possible ways above, both of which involve increasing centralized control of the individual farmer's business. A third possibility was partially outlined by Henry Ford. This has been given the name of chemurgy—the making of industrial materials from organic products, and especially those of the farm. Actually the process is quite old, for the ginning and spinning of cotton, the making of linseed oil from flax seed and of alcohol from wood are old-time examples. Some recent successes in chemurgy are the use of soybean and tung-nut oils in paints and varnishes, of South-
ern pine for paper pulp, and the development of stretch cotton, which can compete with other resilient fibers.

In 1962, a subcommittee of the U. S. House of Representatives, headed by Jamie Whitten of Mississippi, made an official study of a proposed expansion of the work of agricultural research laboratories. Four of these, working in the interesting field of chemurgy, are at present in operation, at Chicago, Peoria, Philadelphia and New Orleans. Hardy County and other rural people doubtless will be strong supporters of such long-range aid to the farmer. This could be accelerated by federally guaranteed loans to pioneer companies which seek to reduce to practice inventions in chemurgy.

Another aid to the farmer is the present-day move of industry into the country. The man already there can sell some of his land at good prices, and he or his relatives can work in the factories. The work of the Moorefield Development Company is in this direction. Such efforts also might be accelerated by federally-guaranteed loans.

Except for such loans, which on the average are paid off, the trouble with all federal aids is that they cost money — our money. But this we don't usually object to if we get the assistance.

Hardy County received the following federal aids in 1962: Large outstanding loans from the REA to the Hardy County electric power cooperative; existing loans and a 1962 loan of $48,000 to the REA County telephone cooperative; $2,089.31 for aid to schools in the county; $93,500 for Moorefield sewers and sewage treatment; and hundreds of thousands of dollars in Social Security and veterans' payments. Moreover, indirect federal help to the county will occur in the near future in river flood control. In June, Assistant State Forester Jack Warden flew over Hardy and other counties of the Eastern Pan-

handle, photographing the progress of the U. S. Soil Conservation Service's building of earthen dams on the Potomac headwaters. State Forester Lester McClung stated that the usual water behind these dams will be much lower than that held back in a flood. These expensive dams should help prevent a recurrence of the disastrous floods that have plagued Hardy County in the past.

Other 1962 values being received by Americans from the federal expenditures were pointed out in an editorial and in columns by U. S. Senator Robert Byrd in the Examiner. Some of these are: Better fitting ready-made apparel; medical research against cancer, deafness and muteness; painless dentistry; pressurized space-age suits for aid to stroke victims; anti-radiation means; seaweed flour; infra-red food preservatives; long-lasting paint; aluminum soldering; new metals & plastics; small, transistor radios; high-speed travel; and (perhaps) control of rain and storms. (Maybe Uncle Sam will yet devise that rain-cut-off valve.)

To their lists I would add perhaps the best of the federal services: Enforced, minimum Social Security for old age. In April, 1962, an agent of this helpful bureaucracy came to one of its last frontiers. Social Security service then was set up in Lost River.

Yes, we do get considerable valuable returns from the huge federal taxes and inflationary debt. But both factors of the cost are so enormous that it is hard to visualize them. In 1961 the federal government's debt was about 290 billion dollars. If we subtract from this its gold reserves, worth only about 17 billion dollars (and shrinking), its vast national forest acreage (nearly 186 million acres, estimated at about forty dollars an acre to be worth seven and a half billion dollars,) its 14 billion dollars worth of strategic materials and agricultural surpluses, and the market value of its military and naval installa-
tions and other facilities (worth, let us say, roughly no more than fifteen billion dollars), we still have an astronomical debt of about 236 billion dollars, for which we have no national assets except taxes on ourselves and our children of the future. How long will these maturing youths of the future tolerate such an increasing burden without throwing it off—by runaway inflation and/or repudiation? As the post-World-War-I generation in Germany did, with great suffering to the Germans and the Freeworld.

I believe that the worrisome burden of these facts and questions may be lessened by a movement back toward common sense and basic American freedom of the individual—to some middle ground—and that this change, according to current indications, some of which have been noted above, may be spearheaded by the ruggedly individualistic voters and representatives of the thinly populated regions. Although they are experiencing some of the effects of centralization, they are still a stronghold of individual freedom. From it, such people as the livestock raisers of Hardy County still can select what is good in centralism and reject what is bad.

By some such process we need to find a somewhat stable borderland between the following sets of extremes in American life: Big Government, and local government; the sometimes tyrannical power of bureaucracy, and the free (sometimes too free and lawless) individual; the sign-glaring, engine-roaring megalopolis, and water-toting, unmodernized farms; huge mechanized industry, and time-consuming but beautiful handicraft; the dictatorship of Big Union leaders and majorities, and the hard struggle of the sometimes exploited lone individual; the highly but one-sidedly trained city specialist, who fails to see some overall things, and the jack-of-all-trades on the manual-labor farm, who probably is no genius but may glimpse the infinite. The megalopolis, with
bureaucracy; and the back-bowing struggle of the untamed woods and rocks and roaring river: One of these sets of extremes has been called “the curse of bigness;” one aspect of the other set has been loved by Jack London and many others as “The Call of the Wild,” and another of its sides has been referred to in such terms as jungle ferocity, unsolved crime, floods and pestilence.

I once wrote an essay entitled “Shall the Village Save Us?” Since then I have not changed my opinion of the good value in American life of the small town, borderland between the steel-and-concrete city and the beautiful but undeveloped back country. Moorefield — Wardensville — Mathias — Fabius — McNeill — Rig — Milam — Peru — Bass — Old Fields — Lost River — Lost City — Rockoak — how aptly named are these villages and small towns. These and other, new-pioneer communities should be developed, with the aid of migrating industry from the big city, handicraft, and tourists from the densely populated areas.

Millions of searchers from the city yearn for the quieter, more stable ways of bygone times. This fact is indicated, for instance, in the widespread love of antique furniture and vehicles, handicraft, folk songs and dances, writings about early America and the Civil War, antebellum mansions and the Old West, stone and log houses, hand-hewn beams, dimly lit from rustic fireplaces. A showing of some of these and other values of the rural country — of common-sense adjustment to environment and its improvement, with slow change in form and almost none in basic principles — of glimpses of the lingering beauty of the old-time wilderness: Such could be a good service by this and the other hardy counties of rural America.

1 Alvin E. Moore, “Shall the Village Save Us?” Overland Monthly and Out West Magazine, September 1932.
ERRATA

APOLOGY—The staff of the Moorefield Examiner is unaccustomed to book publishing, as Commander A. E. Moore pointed out in his history. We read proofs under pressure of a weekly deadline and are not professionals along that line. Consequently, we have made many mistakes for which we apologize. All of us have worked on this History and have spent hundreds of hours as a contribution to our community. We hope you will forgive us for our sins of omission and commission and enjoy the "History of Hardy County, of the Borderland."—Mr. and Mrs. R. E. Fisher, Mrs. T. S. Reynolds, W. W. Vance, G. C. Charlton, Forrest Wolfe.

Page 9 Line 19: "rights'" should be "rights,"
Page 9 Line 24: "coloniz-ies" should be "colo-niz-ies"
Page 10 Line 19: "walls'" should be "walls,"
Page 10 Line 37: "eagles'" should be "eagles,"
Page 11 Line 4: "pan-ther" should be "pan-ther"
Page 13 Line 20: "Indi-ans'" should be "Indi-ans,"
Page 14 Line 17: "mountains'" should be "mountains,"
Page 17 Line 21: "Sunday" should be "Sunday-
Page 17 Line 23: "Monday" should be "Monday
Page 21 Foot note should be "1 Kercheval"
Page 22 Foot note 1 should be "1 letter . . ."
Page 22 Foot note 2 should be "2 Sabin's Report . . ."
Page 22 Foot note 3 should be "3 Dinwiddie Papers . . ."
Page 23 Line 21: Foot note number should be "1"
Page 23 Foot note 1 should be Boughter and Pence. Other 2 foot notes should be eliminated.

Page 32 Line 28: "Revolutionary" should be "Revolutionary"
Page 34 Line 6: "inter-racial" should be "inter-racial"
Page 39 "r" omitted from "BORDERLAND"
Page 39 Line 12: "admi-nistrator" should be "adminis-trator"
Page 42 Line 13: comma after "gone west" rather than Period
Page 45 Line 25: "Irreligion" should be "Irreligion"
Page 46 Line 56: "Abba, Father" should be "Abba, Father"
Page 49 Line 35: "families" should be "families"
Page 51 Line 2: "favorite" should be "fa-vorite"
Page 51 Line 34: no quotation marks after "well"
Page 52 Line 13 No quotation marks after "God"
Page 52 Line 28: No quotation marks after "us"
Page 55 Line 28: quotation marks before "The Indian"
Page 56 Line 6: no quotation marks after "woman"
Page 56 Line 21: no quotation marks after "purpose"
Page 58 Line 15: "com-rades" should be "com-rades"
Page 59 Line 1: comma should appear after "hardship"
Page 59 Line 8: "Christian" should be "Chris-tian"
Page 59 Line 15: "Calvinist" should be "Calvinist"
Page 59 Line 21: "The Reverend" should be "The Reverend"
Page 62 Line 25: delete second comma after "Jefferson"
Page 72 Lines 12 and 13: "Fredrick" should be "Frederick"
Pages 74-75 Line 71: "twenty eight" should be "twenty-eight"
Page 73 Foot notes—semi-colons should be after "J. C." in all three
Page 79 Line 7: "other" should be "others"
Page 79 Foot note 3—semicolon after "J. C."
Page 80 Foot note: semi-colon after "J. C."
Page 86 Line 29: "catas-trophe" should be "catas-trophe"
Page 94 Line 29: "Monongalia" should be "Monongalia"
ERRATA (continued)

Page 94 Line 35: "Fredrick" should be "Frederick"
Page 96 Line 14: "prepond-erance" should be "preponderance"
Page 96 Line 21: "Confedate" should be "Confederate"
Page 96 Line 27: "boun-dary" should be "boundary"
Page 98 Line 38: insert "place" after "other"
Page 99 Line 25: "admitting" should be "admitting"
Page 103 Line 14: quotation marks after "true"
Page 105 Line 3: "now creek" should be "New Creek"
Page 105 Lines 34 and 35: "Freemont" should be "Fremont"
Page 106 Lines 6, 10, 11, 15: "Freemont" should be "Fremont"
Page 109 Line 2: "descen-dant" should be "descendant"
Page 109 Line 30: "ususually" should be "unusually"
Page 110 Line 4: "heral-dry" should be "heraldry"
Page 111 Line 32: quotation marks before "Come on"
Page 112 Line 6: "stuck" should be "struck"
Page 113 Line 3: quotation marks after "what" and after "surrender"
Page 113 Line 9: "toth" should be "tooth"
Page 113 Line 29: "truculant" should be "truculent"
Page 113 Line 35: quotation marks should not be after "shout"
Page 116 Page 7: "comand" should be "command"
Page 116 Line 37: delete "I" before "remained"
Page 120 Line 29: "legislature" should be "legislatures"
Page 120 Line 35: comma should be after "geography"
Page 120 Line 24: delete comma after "and"; place it before "and"
Page 121 Line 34: Foot note reference should be 2
Page 122 Second foot note should be numbered 2
Page 125 Line 11: delete quotation marks after "Delegates"
Page 125 Line 14: "fifty" and "forty" should have single quotes
Page 126 Line 10: "Tryanny" should be "tyranny"
Page 126 Line 14: "postponement" should be "postponement"
Page 128 Line 16: "boo-meranged" should be "boom-eranged"
Page 128 Line 32: "1851" should be "1861"
Page 129 Line 32: Insert "a" before "half pages"
Page 129 Line 15: "Persistant" should be "persistent"
Page 129 Line 20: Insert comma after "Governor"
Page 131 Line 23: delete the word "so"
Page 131 Line 25: "par-entall" should be "parental"
Page 134 Line 9: delete quotation marks after "prairie"
Page 137 Line 30: "so called" should be "so-called"
Page 141 Line 15: "conqueror" should be "conquer"
Page 148 Line 15: "Calvanistic" should be "Calvinistic"
Page 149 Line 34: "Historical" should be "Historical"
Page 150 Line 2: "circa" should be "circa"
Page 150 Line 22: "Partridge" should be "Partridge"
Page 153 Line 9: "new" should be "New"
Page 156 Line 3: "Bur-eau" should be "Bu-reau"
Page 160 Line 31: "per iod" should be "peri-od"
Page 161 Line 37: "wo-men's" should be "wom-en's"
Page 162 Line 7: after Mt. Jackson the words "and that it took until the next day to travel from Roanoke", were omitted
Page 162 Line 39: "superstitution" should be "superstition"
Page 165 Line 29: "representative" should be "representative"
Page 169 Line 35: "through" should be "though"
Page 170 Line 17: the dash ( - ) was omitted in "County"
ERRATA (continued)

Page 172 Line 2: "railroad" should be "railroad"
Page 172 Line 22: "occurred" should be "occurred"
Page 175 Line 9: quotation marks should be after "raising"
Page 176 Line 18: "1933" should be "1932"
Page 177 Line 8: "Service" should be "Serv-ice"
Page 177 Line 10: should have a dash (-) after R.E.A.
Page 177 Line 22: "is" should be "It"
Page 178 Line 32: "eviden-ced" should be "evidence-d"
Page 178 Line 38: "Serv-vice" should be "Serv-ice"
Page 180 Line 6: "that are not driven by such a dictatorship as the Soviet Union Com-
Page 181 Line 12: "Women's" should be "Women's"
Page 183 Line 25: "Serv-ice" should be "Serv-ice"
Page 186 Line 8: "Serv-ice" should be "Serv-ice"
Page 186 Line 10: Second foot note should be omitted
Page 187 Line 1: "In the following year" should be "In 1936"
Page 188 Line 14: period after April should be comma
Page 189 Line 18: "were" should be "was"
Page 189 Line 38: "authorities" should be "authorities"
Page 191 Line 22: "in this respect" should be "in that respect"
Page 192 Line 20: "spe-cialized" should be "specialized"
Page 194 Line 20: division of Service again
Page 196 Line 16: Foot note 1—date should be "1949"
Page 197 Line 16: comma after "developing"
Page 199 Line 23: only one period after "County"
Page 200 Line 15: "Initative" should be "Initiative"
Page 200 Line 20: "Roads" should be "roads"
Page 200 Line 22: "service" again
Page 204 Lines 34-35: "Bu-rea" should be "Bu-rea"
Page 205 Line 11: an extra period after "cooperative"
Page 205 Lines 17-18: "ori-ginally" should be "orig-inally"
Page 206 Line 15: "Producer" should be "producer"
Page 206 Line 22: "surpluses" should be "surpluses"
Page 206 Line 30: "contacts" should be "contracts"
Page 208 Line 5: "criticized" should be "criticized"
Page 208 Line 23: extra period after "Moorefield"
Page 209 Lines 33-34: "pre-sent" should be "present"
Page 210 Lines 28-29: "distri-buted" should be "distributed"
Page 214 Line 22: delete comma after "historian"
Page 214 Line 25: "bad memories" should be "dull memories of violence and death"
Page 216 Line 2: "were" should be "was"
Page 217 Line 11: "sexual marriage" should be "sexual or marriage"
Page 218 Line 28: comma instead of period after "concentrated"
Page 219 Line 29: "prev-alent" should be "prev-alent"
Page 220 Line 2: foot note 2 should read "Moorefield Examiner April 7, 1948"
Page 220 Line 32: "Committee" should be "Commission"
Page 220 Line 36: "University" should be "University"
Page 222 Line 20: "Post Reconstruction" should be "post-Civil War Reconstruction"
Page 222 Line 23: "bor-der" should be "bor-der"
Page 222 Line 31: "Patterson" should be "Patteson"
Page 223 Line 10: comma after "picturesque"
Page 223 Line 22: "extermin-ated" should be "exterminated"
Page 227 Line 14: "po-litical" should be "pol-itical"
Page 228 Line 8: "of Hardy County and other mainly agricultural areas" should read
Page 229 Line 33: "The End" should not be here—since the Epilogue follows
Page 230 Line 5: "pub-li-shed" should be "pub-lished"
ERRATA (continued)

Page 230 Line 7: double quotation marks after "Project"
Page 230 Line 32: "published" again
Page 237 Line 14: "stealthily" should be "stealthily"
Page 238 Line 36: "victo-rious" should be "victo-rious"
Page 240 Line 23: "saucers" should be "saucer"
Page 241 Line 15: "mat-erial" should be "mat-erial"
Page 242 Line 34: quotation marks after "counties"
Page 248 Line 14: comma after "it"
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