Men and Events of the Revolution in Winchester and Frederick County Virginia

VOLUME IX - BICENTENNIAL ISSUE OF THE WINCHESTER-FREDERICK COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY PAPERS

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Winchester, Virginia
1975
BRIG. GEN. DANIEL MORGAN
From a miniature by Trumbull in Yale School of Fine Arts,
New Haven, Conn.
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Foreword

The Winchester-Frederick County Historical Society is pleased to publish in celebration of our Nation's Bicentennial a publication which reflects the contribution of the early citizens of Winchester and Frederick County, Va. to the founding of our country.

Unsung heroes are a part of every movement and it as a tribute to their memory that we dedicate this volume.

Benjamin Belchic, Pres.
The Frederick County Resolves

by J. Dallas Robertson, Ph.D.
Assoc, Professor of History, Shenandoah College

The act of the British Parliament closing the port of Boston in May, 1774, brought a quick response from the revolutionary committees throughout the American colonies. Resolutions condemning the action of Parliament, and vowing American determination to import no English goods nor export any goods to England were drawn up and passed from one committee to another in the colonies. The idea of a general non-importation and exportation resolution seems to have been first suggested in a letter of Paul Revere to the committee of the city of Philadelphia on May 21, 1774.1

In Winchester, Virginia, a crowd of Frederick County patriots gathered on the evening of June 8, 1774, to take some action on the matter. The crowd was so large it had to move from the courthouse to the Established Church to hold its meeting. The meeting was chaired by the Rev. Charles Mynn Thruston, rector of Frederick Parish and chairman of the revolutionary County Committee of Association.

The original copy of the Frederick County Resolves is apparently no longer in existence, but the Resolves were printed in the New York Journal or General Advertiser of June 23, 1774.2 The copy of the Resolves reprinted here is taken from The American Archives, as edited by Peter Force.1

The resolves adopted in Winchester were copied by the Shenandoah County patriots in a meeting held at Woodstock on June 16, 1774, which was chaired by the Rev. Peter Muhlenberg.3 The text of the Frederick Resolves follows:

The Reverend Charles M. Thruston Moderator.

A Committee of the following gentlemen, viz: the Reverend Charles M. Thurston, Isaac Zane, George Rootes, Angus McDonald, Alexander White, George Johnson, and Samuel Beall,3d, were appointed to draw up Resolves suitable to the same occasion, who, withdrawing for a short time, returned with the following votes, viz:

Voted, 1st. That we will always cheerfully pay due submission to such Acts of Government as his Majesty has a right by law to exercise over his subjects, Sovereign of the British Dominions, and to such only.

2d. That it is the inherent right of British subjects to be governed and taxed by Representatives chosen by themselves only; and that every Act of the British Parliament respecting the internal policy of North America, is a daring and unconstitutional invasion of our said rights and privileges.

3d. That the Act of Parliament above mentioned is not only in itself repugnant to the fundamental law of natural justice, in condemning persons for a supposed crime unheard, but also a despotic exertion of unconstituional power, calculated to enslave a free and loyal people.

4th. That the enforcing the execution of the said Act of Parliament by a military power, will have a necessary tendency to raise a civil war, thereby dissolving that union which has so long happily subsisted between the mother country and her Colonies; and that we will most heartily and unanimously concur with our suffering brethren of Boston, and every other part of North
America, that may be the immediate victims of tyranny, in promoting all proper measures to avert such dreadful calamities, to procure a redress of our grievances, and to secure our common liberties.

5th. It is the unanimous opinion of this meeting, that a joint resolution of all the Colonies to stop all importations from Great Britain, and exportations to it, till the said Act shall be repealed, will prove the salvation of North America and her liberties. On the other hand, if they continue their imports and exports, there is the greatest reason to fear that fraud, power, and the most odious oppression, will rise triumphant over right, justice, social happiness, and freedom.

6th. That the East India Company, those servile tools of arbitrary power, have justly forfeited the esteem and regard of all honest men; and that the better to manifest our abhorrence of such abject compliance with the will of a venal Ministry, in ministering all in their power an increase of the fund of peculation; we will not purchase tea, or any other kind of East India commodities either imported now, or hereafter to be imported, except saltpetre, spices, and medicinal drugs.

7th. That it is the opinion of this meeting that Committees ought to be appointed for the purpose of effecting a general Association, that the same measures may be pursued through the whole Continent. That the Committees ought to correspond with each other, and to meet at such places and times as shall be agreed on, in order to form such General Association, and that when the same shall be formed and agreed on by the several Committees, we will strictly adhere thereto; and till the general sense of the Continent shall be known, we do pledge ourselves to each other and our country, that we will inviolably adhere to the votes of this day.

8th. That Charles M. Thruston, Isaac Zane, Angus McDonald, Samuel Beall, 3d, Alexander White, and George Rootes, be appointed a Committee for the purposes aforesaid; and that they, or any three of them are hereby fully empowered to act.

Which being read, were unanimously assented to and subscribed.

Footnotes to Frederick County Resolves

1. (Williamsburg) Virginia Gazette, June 18, 1774. Reports that Mr. Paul Riviere (sic) of Boston had suggested that the Philadelphia Committee adopt a general non-importation and exportation and agreement in support of Boston. Philadelphia prefers to call a general meeting reserving the boycott as “a last recourse”.
3. Force, Peter, ed. American Archives, Vol. 4, Series I, 392-393. The Force manuscripts, from which the American Archives were compiled, are in the Library of Congress and show that Force got his information on the Frederick Resolves from the New York Journal article previously cited.
4. In addition to Muhlenberg the Shenandoah (then Dunmore) County committee was composed of Francis Slaughter, Abraham Bird, Tavener Beale, John Tipton, and Abraham Bowman. See (Williamsburg) Virginia Gazette, no. 430, August 4, 1774.
James Wood, Jr.

James Wood, Jr., the son of the founder of Winchester, was born in Frederick County, Virginia, on January 28, 1741. His father was the County Lieutenant and held various important judicial and military offices. James Wood, Sr., accompanied Washington in the ill fated reconnaissance mission against the French in the Ohio River Valley area in 1754, and left an interesting account of the expedition in his notebook. It has been speculated that James Wood, Jr., accompanied his father on this campaign, but that is unlikely, since he was but thirteen years of age at the time, and there is no mention of him in the notebook.

His father died in 1759, and on February 5, 1760, James Wood, Jr., was sworn in as Deputy Clerk of the Court. He had just turned 19 years of age. He was also elected the Clerk of the Vestry of Frederick Parish (1764). From 1766 until 1775 he was the representative from Frederick County to the Virginia House of Burgesses.

During Lord Dunmore's War against the Indians, James Wood commanded an infantry company. Having furnished many of the company rifles at his own expense, he petitioned the Virginia Convention on December 23, 1775, for reimbursement and was awarded 28 pounds, 11 shillings.

Noting that James Wood had been sent at the direction of the House of Burgesses in 1774 to negotiate a peace with the Indians, and stop their British-incited attacks on the frontier settlers, the Convention voted that James Wood be paid an additional 250 pounds "for the great service he hath done this colony". The Convention noted that at great personal risk James Wood had secured the Indian treaty "Whereby peace and safety was restored to this colony".
The Virginia Convention of 1776 appointed James Wood one of the Commissioners authorized to sell or rent the property which Lord Dunmore owned in Berkeley County. Lord Dunmore, the British Governor of Virginia, had left Virginia and joined the British Fleet off New York.

James Wood was the Lieutenant Colonel of the Frederick County Militia, and no doubt he attempted on his return to bring the Militia up to the standards laid down by the Convention. The Militia was considerably below strength, numbering perhaps fewer than 900 men.

On February 4, 1777, James Wood resigned his militia office to accept a commission from the Continental Congress as Colonel of the 12th Virginia Regiment, Continental Line. Raising his regiment as rapidly as he could, Colonel Wood led his troops northward in the spring to reinforce Washington's army near Morristown, New Jersey. On July 20, 1777, he wrote his wife, Jean, that "the tents are now struck and the men paraded to march off without anyone knowing whether to the North or the South". The confusion was occasioned by the intelligence that the main British army under General William Howe was shipping out of New York and Washington did not know its destination.

Howe's army disembarked at Head of Elk, the northernmost landing on the Chesapeake Bay, on August 25, and began to move toward Philadelphia. At Brandywine Creek on September 11, 1777, the American troops rushing south, and the British moving slowly northward, collided. The Americans formed on a ridge with the divisions of Stirling, Stephens (to which Wood's regiment was attached) and Sullivan opposing this British attack. The first British assault scattered Sullivan's division, leaving Stirling and Stephen's divisions to hold the oncoming British, who out-numbered the Americans two to one. The fighting was very heavy, and often hand to hand, before the Americans were forced to withdraw. Colonel Wood was cited for his "conspicuous gallantry" at Brandywine.

The American army having been unable to stop the British advance, the way to Philadelphia lay open. "The General (Washington) has given up all thoughts of saving Philadelphia," wrote James Wood, "The enemy has passed us and are, I dare say, before this time in possession of it. We have had several skirmishes since the battle of the 11th (Brandywine) in all of which we have been worsted."

Washington determined to try one more time, however, and directed a concerted attack by his exhausted forces against the British camp at Germantown, a suburb of Philadelphia. The battle (October 4, 1777) may best be described as a draw, with heavy losses on both sides. "Our loss at the last battle (Germantown) is computed at one thousand, that of the enemy much more. It was a busy day. I think much warmer than the last..." commented James Wood. He was writing home to reassure his wife that he was all right,
because it had been reported that he was missing in action. He added: “General Stephen has mentioned me with great respect to the commander in chief as the last Regiment who left the field.” After some sharp but inconclusive skirmishes along the Delaware, the British settled down in Philadelphia, while the remnants of Washington’s army endured the hard winter of 1777–1778 at Valley Forge.

The following spring and summer there were a number of engagements involving Wood’s regiment in New Jersey and New York. By the fall of 1778 there were widespread rumors that the British were about to give up the American campaign, and James Wood tried to tender his resignation, but Washington refused to accept it. In September, 1778, Wood was elected by the officers of the Virginia Line to represent them in the General Assembly meeting at Williamsburg. James Wood was instructed by General Washington to do all in his power to get the Virginia legislature to bring the state’s regiments up to their full strength, Wood’s wife, Jean, met him at Williamsburg, but being in a poor state of health after the recent death of their little daughter, she returned to Winchester before the Colonel left Williamsburg to rejoin his regiment at Middlebrook, New Jersey.

The next summer (1779) Wood’s regiment was stationed at Paramus, New Jersey. A successful attack was launched from this base against the British encampment at Paulus Hook in August. After the summer engagements in the north, James Wood returned to Winchester in October or November, 1779, for a brief leave before assuming his next command.

In the winter of 1779 or spring of 1780, James Wood was appointed to take charge of the Convention troops consisting principally of Hessian and British soldiers captured at Saratoga, then being held in the vicinity of Charlottesville, Virginia. The increased activity of the British under Cornwallis in North Carolina persuaded the American authorities to move the Hessians to Winchester and the British prisoners farther north for possible exchange. Colonel Wood had the active support of Governor Thomas Jefferson, who kept him advised of the movements of Cornwallis, and who aided him in supplying the needs of the prisoners. In 1781 and 1782 Wood was in charge of all prisoners of war detained in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. His humane treatment and deep concern for the well-being of the Convention troops won him the praise of the prisoners of war as well as Congress.

In 1782 the Continental Congress resolved to effect a general reorganization of the Army, permitting some officers to resign, promoting others, and consolidating regiments. James Wood was appointed President of the board charged with the arrangement of the Virginia Line. He accomplished this difficult task in January, 1783, and forwarded his recommendations to the Congress.

A treaty of peace having at last been concluded with Great Britain, James
Wood returned to Virginia to resume an active role in the leadership of his native state. He was commissioned a brigadier general of the state troops in 1783 and directed a campaign against the Indians who were again harassing the frontier settlements.\textsuperscript{25}

James Wood was an active supporter of the new federal constitution. In July, 1788, his home was the terminus of a grand parade and barbecue in celebration of American independence and Virginia's ratification of the Constitution.\textsuperscript{26} The following year as one of the Virginia members of the electoral college he cast his vote for his old friend and commander in chief, George Washington, to be the first President of the new nation.\textsuperscript{27}

Since 1784 James Wood had served continuously as a member of the Executive Council of Virginia, and in 1796 the General Assembly elected him Governor of the Commonwealth.\textsuperscript{28} He served as Governor of Virginia until December, 1799. He remained on the Executive Council until his death.

James Wood was active in the Society of the Cincinnati, the organization of former officers of the Revolutionary War. He served as President of that body from 1802 until his death.\textsuperscript{29}

In the post-Revolution period James Wood and his wife, Jean, maintained a home in Richmond. James Wood died there on June 16, 1813, and was buried with full military honors in historic St. John's churchyard.\textsuperscript{30} His wife survived him by ten years and was interred in a family burial ground within the bounds of present day Byrd Park, Richmond, Virginia.\textsuperscript{31}

\textbf{Footnotes for James Wood Article}

1. \textit{James Wood Notebook}, Xerox copy in the possession of Ben Belchic, President, Winchester-Frederick County Historical Society. For a sketch of his life, drawn from various sources, see the work by Katherine Glass Greene, \textit{Winchester, Virginia, and Its Beginnings, 1743-1814}. Strasburg, Virginia: Shenandoah Publishing House, 1926 (reprint ed., 1973?), p. 133 ff. Referred to hereinafter as Greene.\textsuperscript{4}


Charles Mynn Thruston

At noon we arrived at Winchester and were quartered in several inns... There is an English church here, but there has been no service for a long time. Mr. Thruston, the shepherd of this congregation, has taken up the sword..."
Parish and officer in the Continental Army.

Thruston was a native of Gloucester County, Virginia. He was born at the Thruston family home, "Landsdowne", near Gloucester Point, on November 6, 1738. He was the child of John Thruston and Sarah Mynn Thruston.2

Charles Mynn Thruston attended William and Mary College. On the recommendation of his local church vestry, Petsworth Parish, he journeyed to England about 1764 to complete his education and to be ordained by the Bishop of London. He then returned to Gloucester County and served for a year or two as the rector of Petsworth Parish.3

In 1768 Thruston decided to move to Frederick County. He appeared rather unexpectedly before the vestry of Frederick Parish at their meeting on March 2, 1768, and "motioned the Vestry that he be inducted into this Parish as Rector."4 But the vestry had a local candidate in mind for the vacant pulpit, and therefore temporarily rejected Thruston's bid. He came back on November 18, 1768, and this time was received by the Vestry as the minister of Frederick Parish. The Vestry specified that he was to hold services "regularly" on a rotating basis at four churches (including Winchester) and at the three outlying chapels twice a year.5

Thruston was not a complete stranger to Frederick County and some of its more distinguished residents. He had served as a Lieutenant in the regiment commanded by Col. William Byrd, III, in the 1758 (Forbes) expedition against the French and Indians. The regiment spent several weeks in the Winchester area before pushing out into the wilderness to skirmish with the Indians and eventually to occupy Fort Duquesne (Pitt).6 Thruston later sold his warrant for land, awarded him by the Crown for this service, to Lund Washington, and had some disagreement with Washington over the transaction.7 Thruston was welcome at Mount Vernon and visited there on February 18, 1768, on his way to the Frederick Parish Vestry meeting.8

Warner Washington, a cousin of George Washington, was a close friend and associate of Thruston. Warner Washington was from Gloucester County and a vestryman of Petsworth Parish. He resigned as vestryman on the same day Thruston resigned as rector and moved to Frederick County, to his new home, "Fairfield".9 After 1768 George Washington quite often recorded in his diary visits by Warner Washington and Mr. Thruston, or contacts with them in the Winchester or Berkley Springs areas.10

The new rector of Frederick Parish soon revealed his strong pro-revolution sentiments. He was chided by the vestry for not devoting enough time to his ministerial duties at Winchester, presumably because of his increased activities in behalf of the burgeoning American independence movement.11 He became the Chairman of the Committee of Safety of Frederick County, which meant that he not only supervised local revolutionary activities, but was in touch with revolutionary leaders through the state and the colonies. On
June 8, 1774, Thruston served as moderator of a large meeting held at the Established Church, Winchester, to protest the closing of the port of Boston. The citizens adopted the Frederick Resolves, which pledged them to boycott British goods.12

Thruston had no difficulty persuading his vestrymen of the need to secure arms to protect the frontier. Memories of the savage Indian attacks of the 1750's were still fresh in many minds. On July 10, 1775, Thruston sent a letter to the Committee of Safety of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, by an agent, Andrew Cox, ordering two hundred rifles "for the use of this county".13 The letter promised prompt payment on delivery, presumably from church or other public monies.14

The defeats suffered by Washington and his little army in 1776 spurred patriots like Thruston to redoubled efforts. Resigning his pastorate in 1776, he began to recruit a volunteer company to go to Washington's aid. It was one of three such companies being raised in the lower Shenandoah Valley area at the time.15

Thruston's friend, William Alexander, more popularly known as Lord Stirling, commanded a division in Washington's army and wrote Washington on Thruston's behalf, urging that he be appointed Colonel in command of the three companies being raised. Washington replied that he could not appoint Thruston a Colonel because it was already being charged that he (Washington) was commissioning too many Virginians.16 With the letter Washington wrote Thruston on the subject, he sent Thruston a special hand-written commission as "Captain Commandant" of the three companies being raised in the Winchester area, and ordered the companies to "act in battalion" under Thruston's command for the duration of the war.17

Late in 1776 Thruston led his small contingent on their long march northward. The exact size of the unit is not known, but the statement of the Hessian prisoner mentioned earlier sets the number under Thruston's command at 100 men.18 This is probably correct, since the average company of the day numbered thirty or forty men, and Thruston's battalion was composed of three companies.

There has been much confusion about the time and place of the engagement (or series of engagements) in which Thruston's battalion fought, and the circumstances under which he was wounded. Among the places at which the engagements are said to have occurred are New Brunswick, Amboy, Quibbletown and Trenton, all of which are in New Jersey.19 A letter of Lord Stirling to Robert Morris on January 8, 1777, suggests that Thruston's battalion had been joined by some Maryland troops and that they were on that date at the head of the Chesapeake Bay on their way to Philadelphia.20 If this reference really is to Thruston's unit, we may retrace their line of march on contemporary maps to conclude that they went by way of Wilmington to
Philadelphia, then north and east paralleling the Delaware River through Trenton and Princeton, finally crossing the Raritan River over a bridge situated about two miles southeast of the British stronghold at Brunswick, New Jersey.

Just across the Raritan, in the little county seat town of Piscataway, Thruston’s small force encountered a British force, and a brief but sharp fight ensued. General Washington described it in a letter to the governor of New Jersey:

3 March 1777

Captain Thruston with the 3 Volunteer Companies from Virginia and some Maryland Militia had an engagement near Piscataway on the 1st Instant; the Effect has not yet reached me; the Captain was much wounded in the Arm, 3 of his Party were killed and 7 wounded

The engagement at Piscataway is also described in a deposition filed many years later on behalf of a soldier in Thruston’s battalion. No doubt the British force consisted of several hundred men, since the British posts at Amboy and Brunswick were under virtual siege conditions that winter, and it was not unusual for them to send out foraging parties numbering as many as one thousand men.

As Washington indicated in his letter, Thruston’s wound was severe. He had been hit by a musket ball in the left arm, and the arm had to be amputated. Thruston returned to Virginia to recuperate.

Early in 1777 the Congress had decided to authorize the formation of additional regiments of the Continental Line. Washington had Thruston in mind as the Colonel of one of these regiments. On March 15, 1777, General Washington wrote his brother, Samuel Washington, that he would commission Thornton Washington (Samuel’s son) an Ensign “in the new Regiment I shall give Col. Thruston the raising of . . .” Thruston was commissioned a colonel but was unable to engage in active recruiting because of his wound. Washington wanted Angus MacDonald, the old Indian fighter and a member of the Frederick Parish Vestry during Thruston’s administration, to serve as the lieutenant-colonel of the regiment, but he refused. Washington then appointed Thornton to do the recruiting, and others as well, but the recruiting went very slowly.

In the fall of 1777 Thruston wrote what was probably a very discouraging letter to Washington, indicating that there were very few prospects for raising the regiment. Washington took the letter to be the final word on the regiment and as being tantamount to a resignation on Thruston’s part. But in the fall of 1778 Thruston attempted to resume his army service, claiming that his earlier letter had been misunderstood by Washington. Washington wrote to inform him that he regarded the regiment as having failed and Thruston as having resigned and suggested that he file a claim for service as a colonel until the end
of January, 1778. Washington's letter concluded:

I assure you, Sir, I sincerely regret the failure of your Regiment, both on your own and on a public account. On the most favourable opinion of your merit, my appointment to your late command was founded, and the same opinion makes me lament you could not have had an opportunity of serving your country at the head of your Regiment. With great personal regard.

I am sir
Your most obed, Ser.
G. Washington.

The men already enrolled by Thruston were transferred to Gist's Regiment.

After the Revolution Thruston was once again very active in state and county politics. He served as one of the justices of the Frederick court system for many years. In 1785 and again in 1787 he was elected a member of the House of Delegates from Frederick County. He ran for election to the Virginia convention to ratify the constitution, but was defeated. In a letter to the Providence Gazette of January 12, 1788, Thruston predicted that Virginia would ratify the Constitution because "The signature and approbation of our great Washington will give it a preponderancy to weigh down all opposition."

Thruston never again returned to his career as a minister. Under military and state warrants he was awarded several thousands of acres of land in Kentucky, and visited that area on a number of occasions. He also served as one of the Virginia commissioners for awarding lands in the Ohio Territory.

In 1794 he wrote Washington to advise him that there was a strong dissident element in Kentucky which favored uniting with Great Britain because they believed Britain would control the Mississippi. Thruston recommended that General Daniel Morgan be commissioned to lead an American army into the territory to bring the rebellious Kentuckians back into line. Washington replied thanking him for the intelligence and the recommendation of Morgan, but expressing his own opinion that Kentucky would remain with the United States voluntarily and no military force would be needed.

Thruston and his family lived for a time in Kentucky, then about 1808 moved to Louisiana. He purchased property and built a home near New Orleans, where he died on March 21, 1812.

Footnotes to Thruston Article


4. Vestry Book of Frederick Parish, 1764-1772, (Photostat copy), Manuscript Collection, Winchester-Frederick County Historical Association, Winchester, Virginia, p. 42.
5. Vestry Book of Frederick Parish, p. 42.
10. GW Diaries, I, 336; 340; 361.
11. Vestry Book of Frederick Parish, p. 52. That his growing involvement in the revolutionary movement caused his alleged lack of attention to church duties is speculated by a number of writers, see Bishop William Meade, Old Churches. Ministers and Families of Virginia. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1857, I, 323ff.
12. See article on the Resolves elsewhere in this volume.
14. Ibid.
15. William Morgan and George Scott were the captains of the other two companies. See Letter of GW to Major General Lord Stirling, 25 February, 1777.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
22. GW Writings, VII, 229.
23. Wayland, Historic Homes of Northern Virginia, pp. 84-85.
26. GW Writings, 7, 295.
30. See entries in Frederick County Court Order Book 19, 386; 26, 335.
Robert White was the son of John White, one of the justices of the Frederick County Court when it was first formed in 1743. Robert was born in 1749, and was only sixteen years of age when he enlisted in a Revolutionary War unit.

There has been some confusion as to the military service of Robert White, perhaps because the name is so common in this period, but it is quite certain that he was a private in Captain Hugh Stephenson’s volunteer rifle company. This company rendezvoused at Col. William Morgan’s on June 10, 1775, before marching to the relief of Boston. They reached Boston on August 11, 1775, and attracted much attention because of their legendary marksmanship and their appearance (they wore homespun hunting shirts with “Liberty or Death” embroidered on the front, and carried long knives, rifles, and tomahawks).

The Virginia rifle companies enlisted for only a short term, and most soon returned home, including Stephenson’s company. Robert White may have joined another unit at this time, but in any case, he was at home by the end of 1776.

James Wood, Jr., of Winchester was commissioned to raise a new regiment, and Robert White became a Second Lieutenant in this unit, the 12th Virginia Regiment, Continental Line, on March 1, 1777. The regiment marched north to assist Washington by harassing the British outposts left behind in New Jersey by General Howe. Washington was encamped at Morristown, trying to avoid any large-scale engagements until he could acquire reinforcements.

Finally, on June 26, 1777, the British generals, Cornwallis and Vaughan, moved in force to try to encircle the American army in the vicinity of Morristown. The 12th Virginia and other regiments which formed Lord Stirling’s Continental Division blocked the way at Short Hills. In the course of the heavy fighting Second Lieutenant Robert White had his leg broken by a musket ball and also suffered a severe head wound. He was captured by a British officer, given medical aid, and exchanged in the fall of 1777. In the meantime (September 1, 1777) he had been promoted to First Lieutenant of the 12th Virginia Regiment, but he was physically unable to rejoin his unit.
Robert White returned to his Virginia home for a long period of convalescence. Accounts by some biographers that he fought later under Darke's command at Germantown, or that he commanded a troop of cavalry at Philadelphia, are incorrect. According to a deposition filed by his commanding officer, Col. James Wood, Robert White "received a dangerous wound (in June, 1777) which disabled him in such a manner as to render him totally incapable of service during the remainder of the war". After his return from Continental service, Robert White was commissioned Captain, Major, and finally Lieutenant Colonel of the Frederick Militia.

For several years Robert White studied law with his uncle, Alexander White, and was admitted to the bar in December, 1782. This was the beginning of a distinguished career as lawyer, member of the Virginia General Assembly, and circuit court judge. In 1793 Robert White was appointed judge of the General Court, with headquarters in Richmond. He held this post until his death.

Robert White was an active member of the Society of the Cincinnati, maintaining his ties with his old comrades in arms. Although he was one of the five living members of Hugh Stephenson's rifle company at the time of their fiftieth anniversary, he was too feeble to attend the reunion at Col. Morgan's on June 10, 1825. He had suffered a stroke earlier that spring while on his judicial circuit in Loudoun County, and never fully recovered from it. He died in Winchester on March 16, 1831, at the age of seventy-two.

Footnotes—Robert White Article


4. The Virginia companies, as was the case with nearly all other units, had enlisted only until the end of 1775. Daniel Morgan's company was the only one to participate in the Canadian expedition of 1776. See Ward, Revolution I, 166. The information that Robert White remained in active service in 1776 comes from the anonymous article "Robert White", in the Southern Literary Messenger, Vol. IV, 1838, pp. 431-432, and cannot be substantiated from any other source. Cited hereinafter as SLM.

Major Peter Helfenstein

Peter Helfenstein, the son of a Lutheran minister, was born at Cologne, Germany, on June 17, 1724. He was a student of surveying and a graduate of the University of Bonn. He emigrated to America in 1743, and according to local tradition, assisted George Washington in his surveying for Lord Fairfax in the Winchester area at various times between 1749 and 1752.1

Peter Helfenstein was a leading member of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Winchester. His name appears sixth in the list of heads of families which was placed in the cornerstone of the church on April 16, 1764, and church records show he was a member of the Church Council in 1771.2

Helfenstein was the promoter of a petition from the “Inhabitants of Frederick County and Others to the Westward of the Blue Ridge” addressed to the General Convention at Williamsburg December 6, 1775, seeking an upward adjustment of their payments for supplies furnished to prosecute “the late Indian War”.3 The reference was to the frontier expedition known as “Lord Dunmore’s War” (1774). Helfenstein had served in Dunmore’s expedition.4 The petition was favorably received by the Convention and additional compensation given.5

By the beginning of 1776 the Virginia Convention took steps to start raising a number of regiments for the approaching struggle with Great Britain. The
Convention minutes of January 12, 1776, record the following: "Resolved, that Peter Muhlenberg, Esq. be appointed Colonel, Abraham Bowman, Lieutenant Colonel, and Peter Helphinstone, Esq., Major to the eighth or German regiment". The Virginia Convention nominees were almost unanimously approved by the Continental Congress, and Helphenstein was commissioned a Major of the Eighth Virginia Regiment, Continental Line. He worked rapidly to recruit men for the regiment, equipping many of them at his own expense, and appeared with the other field officers at Williamsburg on April 6, 1776, to receive his Commission.7

The Eighth Regiment was ordered to Suffolk to join the forces of the Southern Command under the colorful General Charles Lee. The regiment reached Charleston, South Carolina, on June 23, 1776, and was at once engaged in some sharp skirmishes on Long and Sullivan's Island in defense of the port.8

Helphenstein was not wounded in the actions around Charleston, but, like many other men from the Valley, was taken ill with a fever contracted while fighting in the hot swampy harbor islands.10 Since a certain amount of mystery has surrounded Helphenstein's reason for returning to Winchester, his own explanation, put forth in a letter to the Virginia House of Delegates on November 1, 1776, is reproduced here:

Also a petition of Peter Helphinstine, setting forth, that on the march of the regiment to which he belonged, to South Carolina, a horse valued at twenty pounds died through hard service, that after the defeat of General Clinton at Charleston he was seized with a violent disorder which prevented him from marching with the regiment to Georgia; and on that account obtained leave of General Lee to resign; that his return home was attended with considerable expense and praying the House will make him such compensation as they shall think just and reasonable.11

His resignation was dated August 7, 1776. Helphenstein died in Winchester sometime that fall, probably in October or November.12 He was buried in the grounds adjoining the Lutheran Church, now within the gates of the Mt. Hebron Cemetery. In his will be left to his widow and children four town lots and his house, which was located on the southwest corner of the intersection of Cecil and Cameron Streets.13

Footnotes: Peter Helphenstein Article

3. Helfenstein's signature appears first on the petition. See Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XIX, 161-164. Cited hereinafter as V.
7. Wust, p. 81.
8. Wust, p. 81. See Christopher Ward, The War of the Revolution, II, 673ff. (cited as Ward, Revolution) for a description of the battle and the role of Muhlenberg's regiment. Although the fighting subsided after the unsuccessful British attack on Fort Moultrie on June 28, 1776, British ships and troops remained in the area for nearly a month.
9. The incorrect statement that Helfenstein died of wounds comes from the touching tribute paid by the Masons of Winchester to their revolutionary war veterans on the occasion of their reorganization in 1785. See W.M. Brown, Freemasonry in Winchester, Virginia, p. 47.
10. Wust (p. 81) reports that 147 men and three officers were sick and had to remain in Charleston when the Eighth Regiment was ordered to Savannah.
12. Heitman, Francis B. Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army During the War of the Revolution, April, 1775, to December, 1783, Washington: Rare Book Shop Publishing Co., 1914, rev. ed., p. 284. The date of his death cannot be fixed with certainty, but he did not serve with the new brigade raised by Muhlenberg in 1777, despite the statement of T.K. Cartmell, Shenandoah Valley Pioneers . . . Berryville Chesapeake Book Co., 1963, p. 100.

General John Smith

John Smith, the son of John and Mary Jacqueline Smith, was born at “Shooter's Hill”, the family plantation near Locust Hill, Middlesex County, Virginia, on May 7, 1750. For some years he lived with an aunt at “Fleet's Bay”, Northumberland County, Virginia.

In 1773 John Smith moved to Frederick County and acquired a tract of land from Robert Rutherford. Smith joined a unit from this area and served in Dunmore's War against the Indians in 1774. Returning from this service, he began the building of his stone mansion known as “Hackwood” or “Hackwood Park”, completing the building about 1777.

Active in political and military affairs, Smith was commissioned one of the King's justices in 1773. On January 8, 1776, the revolutionary Council of Safety of Virginia appointed him a Colonel of the Association forces to be raised. He was recorded as a Lieutenant of County Militia on February 4, 1777, with the formal commission issued by Governor Patrick Henry on March 6, 1777. Smith had resigned his post as County Lieutenant, an office
initiated under British rule, to accept the commission as Lieutenant of Militia.4

Smith rendered an important service during the Revolution by supervising the guarding and care of the Convention troops sent to Winchester after Saratoga. The Continental Congress in December, 1777, authorized a draft on the Board of War in the amount of 20,000 dollars to be furnished Lt. John Smith "to defray the expenses of building barracks for prisoners of War."5 Smith is also said to have had some responsibility for the supervision of the Quakers who had been exiled to Winchester from the Philadelphia area.6

John Smith and Isaac Zane were elected representatives from Frederick County to the Virginia House of Delegates in 1779. From 1792 until 1795 Smith was the State Senator representing the district comprising Frederick, Berkeley and Hampshire Counties.7 Governor Henry Lee commissioned him Lieutenant Colonel Commandant on March 6, 1793.8 Smith was also a judge of the Frederick County Court during a part of this period.9

Lt. Col. Smith ran for Congress in 1800 and was elected on the Democratic ticket. He served as a Representative of his district in Congress continuously from 1801 until 1815.10

Governor James Monroe commissioned Smith a Brigadier-General of state troops on December 21, 1801. On January 26, 1811, Smith was commissioned a Major General and given command of the Third Division of Virginia State Troops. He retained this commission until his death.11

Smith had married Anna Bull, of Norristown, Pennsylvania, on February 10, 1781. They were the parents of eight children.12

After his service in Congress and in the War of 1812, John Smith attempted to conduct a fairly large scale farming enterprise at Hackwood. During the last years of his life he struggled to keep afloat financially by numerous sales of portions of his property. He even suffered a brief sentence in jail for non-payment of a debt.13

Dispirited by the tragic death of his son in a duel, General Smith retired to the home of his granddaughter, Mrs. Isaac Hite, Jr., near Middletown. He died on March 5, 1836, and was buried at Hackwood. In 1890 his remains were reinterred in the Mt. Hebron Cemetery in Winchester, Virginia.14

Footnotes: John Smith Article

2. BDC, p. 1619; Quares, Frederick Homes, p. 270.
3. Quares, Frederick Homes, p. 272.
John Holker

Consul General of France and Agent of the Royal Marine

John Holker came to America in 1778 to coordinate the French efforts to supply material to the American army and navy, prior to the formal treaty concluded in that same year. He was instructed to act as an intelligence agent for the French foreign minister to report on the strength of the American forces, the condition of the British Army, and the determination of the American people and Congress to fight the British. He received these directions in November, 1777, after word of the American defeat at Ticonderoga reached France. Holker did not reach America until March, 1778. In the meantime the American victory at Saratoga had convinced the French to intervene; therefore, intelligence reports from Holker were no longer needed.

Holker and his father were noted manufacturers in France, according to John Adams, who knew both men. During the period of their secret support of the American cause, the French had supplied arms and other goods through various dummy corporations and factories set up for this purpose. Holker was to continue this effort by personal participation in American-based import-export firms, which would act as channels for French goods.

Holker was introduced to the American leaders by a letter from Silas Deane, the famous American agent in Paris, to Robert Morris, “the financier of the Revolution”.

Paris, Dec. 24, 1777

(To Robert Morris)

Dear Sir,

I wrote you two days since by my Brother. This serves to introduce to your acquaintance Mr. Holker, and to apprise (sic) you that I am very happy in the thought of your having with you a person of his character and qualities on whose information you can place the fullest confidence as to our situation here, whether of a public or private nature. Mr. Holker as well as his father have been very great benefactors in this kingdom in introducing manufactures... Accordingly, I can but flatter myself that Mr. Holker, whom I now have the honor of presenting to you will be equally so to America, and that he will be able, assisted by your knowledge of the country and of commerce, to (work) out something which may at once be for the good of the public as well as individuals.

I have the honor to be with much affection, dear sir, your most obedient servant.

Silas Deane

Holker invested in some Robert Morris enterprises, including a one-sixth share in Morris' attempt to corner the indigo market in South Carolina. In addition, Holker became a partner in the firms of Turnbull, Marmie and company of Philadelphia, with Duer and Parker in New York, and Pringle and Company, Baltimore. He was apparently the sole owner of the Alliance Iron Works near Pittsburgh.

Holker's role as an agent of France was eclipsed rather early by the appearance, in July, 1778, of M. Conrad Alexandre Gerard, the first ambassador to be received by the infant American nation. But when the French decided to step up their American aid in 1779, Holker again became a key figure in the French-American alliance. George Washington relied on him for information about the location of the French fleet, and, through Holker sent information concerning the navigation of American waters to Admiral D'E斯塔ing. Holker purchased supplies, principally flour, in America for use in the French fleet. He also purchased horses for the use of Rochambeau's army.

On the 20th of May, 1780, George Washington wrote to General Lafayette: "I could wish that Gentleman (Holker) might accompany you to camp. His knowledge of the country and intelligence in business, will enable him to be useful in the arrangements we shall have to make."

Despite his "intelligence in business", Holker was plagued with business failures and financial losses throughout his American career. He severed his partnership with Robert Morris in 1784, after taking considerable losses. One of his partners, Daniel Parker, absconded with company funds to Paris, and Holker and his other partner tried in vain to recover their losses from him. Holker also failed to collect large sums which were owed him by the Continental Congress.
At some time in 1792 Holker and his family moved to the Winchester vicinity (the first letter addressed to him at Winchester is dated October 19, 1792). He acquired the home known as Springsbury, near Berryville, and tried to get his financial affairs in order.

Although he was of French Huguenot background, Holker is credited with having been the principal benefactor of the struggling Roman Catholic congregation in Winchester, and the largest contributor to the construction of the stone church built by the denomination at sometime between 1806 and 1810. His daughter, Maria, is believed to have been the first person interred in the old Catholic burying ground (1794).

John Holker, the colorful entrepreneur and French supporter of the American independence cause, died in 1822. He was buried in the cemetery at the Old Chapel near Millwood, and his grave is marked by an added inscription on the marker above Maria’s grave, which was moved to the Old Chapel in the early part of this century. While many of Holker’s business ventures had ended in failure, he attempted to leave his business affairs in order. In an interesting and carefully itemized trust agreement, Holker sought to settle his debts by conveying property to his creditors in the United States and in France, as well as to provide for his wife and children.

Footnotes—John Holker Article

2. John Holker Manuscript Collection, Volume 40, Microfilm Reel 17. Library of Congress. Cited hereinafter as Holker MS. This item is a formal statement by Holker and his lawyer against Robert Morris in which it is stated that “Mr. Holker did not arrive in this country until after the first of March (1778)”.
3. Perkins, *France in the American Revolution,* p. 231. The sequence of events proves that the French decision to conclude a formal alliance with the United States was not brought about because of Holker’s favorable report, nor was he an agent of Beaumarchais, as is incorrectly stated by Charles Randolph Hughes. *Old Chapel: Clarke County, Virginia.* Berryville: Blue Ridge Press, 1906, p. 24.
Daniel Roberdeau, the only son of Isaac Roberdeau, a French Huguenot, and Mary Cunnyngham of Scotland, was born on the island of St. Christopher, British West Indies, in 1727. In his childhood the family moved to Philadelphia. He was educated in England and America.\footnote{Griffith, Early Estates of Clarke County, p. 31.}

As a young man he established a thriving import-export business in Philadelphia, dealing principally in West Indies products. He began to be active in various social and political organizations in the city as early as 1749. He was elected to the first of many terms in the Pennsylvania Assembly on October 15, 1756, representing the County of Philadelphia. After five terms in the Assembly, Roberdeau withdrew his candidacy in 1760 to devote more time to his business interests.\footnote{Quarles, Churches of Winchester, Virginia: A Brief History of Those Established Prior to 1825, Winchester: Published by Farmers and Merchants National Bank, 1960, pp. 5-7. See also Lacina, Thomas M. and William C. Thomas, ed. A History of Sacred Heart Parish, Boyce, Virginia: Carr Publishing Company, 1953, pp. 28-29.}

In 1761 he married Mary Bostwick, the daughter of a Presbyterian minister in New York. Roberdeau was a Presbyterian, and an Elder of the Second Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia.\footnote{Holker's date of death has been incorrectly reported as 1820. Records in Clarke County show it occurred sometime between January 12, 1821 and April 24, 1822, most probably in 1822. See Griffith, Early Estates of Clarke County, p. 32.} He was also a friend and admirer of the Methodist evangelist, George Whitefield.\footnote{Ibid.}

Roberdeau was a staunch foe of the Stamp Act and predicted that “there will be a deluge of blood from one end of the continent to the other before they (the American people) will submit to the Stamp Act”.\footnote{Ibid.} He was a leader in the non-importation movement even before the closing of the port of Boston in 1774 caused the movement to spread throughout the colonies.\footnote{Griffith, Early Estates of Clarke County, p. 31.
By June, 1775, the Philadelphia revolutionary party had organized three battalions of volunteers to defend the colony. Roberdeau was elected Colonel of one of these battalions, who were known as the Associators. The leaders of these battalions were political activists as well and they pushed to have the Provincial Assembly replaced by a Convention to write a State Constitution. A mass meeting to force this change was held on May 20, 1776. The chairman was “the fire-eating Colonel Daniel Roberdeau of the city battalions….” The mass meeting, which attracted the attention and support of the back country was important in the movement to secure a state constitution.

As an officer of the Associators, Roberdeau was in 1775 and 1776 actively cooperating with his counterparts in New Jersey to prepare defenses along the Delaware. He also invested large sums in outfitting privateers which harrassed British shipping.

On the 4th of July, 1776, acting on a request from Congress, representatives of the Associators met to elect two brigadier-generals to command the 53 battalions comprising that military organization. Roberdeau was elected the First Brigadier-General. In view of the critical situation of the American Army in that summer, John Hancock ordered all Pennsylvania militia forces (including the Associators) into New Jersey to support Washington. Roberdeau led his militia force into the confusing New Jersey situation, trying to act in concert with Washington as best he could under the circumstances.

Late in the fall of 1776 General Roberdeau fell victim to an infectious influenza-like disease which raged in the camps. He was rescued by the Pennsylvania Council of Safety which ordered a carriage to go pick him up and bring him to Lancaster to recover his health. His wife contracted the disease and died on February 15, 1777.

Before he had fully recovered his health, General Roberdeau was elected to the Continental Congress, along with Benjamin Franklin, Robert Morris and James Wilson and others. He served two terms including one with the Congress in “exile” in York during the occupation of Philadelphia by the British. Roberdeau served on a number of congressional committees, including the hard-pressed Board of Treasury. He was a signer of the Articles of Confederation.

In 1778 Roberdeau was given leave to develop a lead mine and foundry to make bullets in western Pennsylvania. He established a fort on the Juniata to protect these works, and it acquired the name of Fort Roberdeau. It was a stockade fort intended mainly to hold off Indian attacks. Roberdeau experienced difficulty in getting workers to come to the area or militiamen to man the fort. He appealed to Washington for aid. The Commander in Chief was reluctant to detach soldiers for employment in industry, but recognizing the importance of the work, he sent a Sgt. Harris (apparently an experienced lead worker) and issued a General Order to see if a few others could be
found. The lead mine was operated at least through 1779.

Roberdeau turned his business talents to various enterprises to further the war effort. He continued to engage in privateering and was at one point engaged in setting up a shoe factory. He apparently was a great patriotic orator and frequently made speeches to stir up support for the American cause.

In 1785 General Roberdeau moved to Alexandria, Virginia, where he engaged in general merchandising and shipping. He was one of the signers of a petition to the House of Delegates from the merchants of Alexandria asking that an inspector of flour be appointed to the port. He had remarried in 1778 and built a home for his wife, the former Jane Milligan of Philadelphia, at 316 South Lee Street on the waterfront in the old town. The house is still standing.

General Roberdeau's health began to decline rapidly in 1794, and perhaps thinking a change from his location on the banks of the Potomac to a higher altitude might be beneficial, he moved to Winchester in the spring of that year. On April 29, 1794, when apparently at the point of death he made a will which he had to mark with an “X” because he was too weak to sign his name. He appended some codicils to affirm the original will, indicating that he had recovered his health completely by July, 1794. He died on January 5, 1795, and was buried in the cemetery of the Presbyterian Church. The remains were later moved to the Mt. Hebron Cemetery nearby, and the gravesite is marked by a large horizontal marble slab.

Footnotes—Roberdeau Article


3. Buchanan, p. 49.


7. DAB, 646; Buchanan, p. 60.


9. Buchanan, p. 65; 63-64.


According to McAllister, *Virginia Militia in the Revolution*, p. 106, General Roberdeau was at Amboy in 1776-1777. This was one of the British strongholds. According to Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army*, p. 468, Roberdeau was Brigadier General of the Pennsylvania Militia from July 4, 1776 until March, 1777. Cf. *Buchanan*, p. 69.

14. *Buchanan*, pp. 72-78; *DAB*, 646-647.
22. This is speculation. There are no letters or other records giving his reason for moving to Winchester.
23. *Frederick County Will Book* No. 6, pt. 1, p. 50; 54.

**Robert Rutherford**

On January 13, 1744, Thomas Rutherford, the first High Sheriff of Frederick County, swore in a new deputy sheriff, his son, Robert. Robert Rutherford was only sixteen years of age when he accepted this first public office; he was to serve in many local offices, including that of justice in the county court system.

The Rutherford home place adjoined that of James Wood in Winchester, but the family also owned land in Berkeley County, which became their second residence. Thomas Rutherford was one of the original trustees of Berkeley County when it was formed in 1772.

During the French and Indian War Robert Rutherford became acquainted with George Washington, who had command of the troops in the Winchester area. Robert formed a unit known as “Rutherford's Rangers”. His actions against the Indians and his knowledge of the frontier won the admiration of Washington. Other officers wanted Rutherford in their command, and Washington had a constant struggle to keep him from being transferred from the frontier.

Robert Rutherford, along with Adam Stephen, was elected a delegate from Berkeley County to the first session of the revolutionary Virginia Convention which met at Richmond on March 20, 1775. In the Convention he was appointed a member of the committee which drew up resolutions and ordinances in response to the proclamations and military actions of Lord
Dunmore in the Norfolk area. Robert Rutherford represented his county in all the succeeding Conventions through 1776.\(^5\)

Although he apparently was not in military service during the Revolution,\(^6\) he rendered very significant service to the revolutionary cause by his work in the Virginia Senate after 1776. He was particularly interested in maintaining patriot strength along the frontier. He wrote George Washington on June 6, 1778, to urge the establishment of a string of forts from Winchester to Augusta County. The forts were to be manned by militia companies, who would keep communications open in the Valley and prevent Indian incursions.\(^7\)

Rutherford was elected to the Continental Congress in 1788, which he attended and served with some distinction.\(^8\)

He made a journey of ten months duration through the “Southwestern frontier” in 1790. He wrote his friend, President George Washington, about the situation in this region as he observed it. Reflecting the perennial concern of an old Indian fighter, he urged the establishment of a fort at the lower end of Lake Michigan and other forts between the lake and the Ohio River. Washington sent him an appreciative and friendly reply.\(^9\)

Rutherford was elected to the Third and Fourth Congresses of the United States as a Representative (March 4, 1793 to March 3, 1797).\(^10\) He ran for a third term in 1796, but was defeated by General Daniel Morgan.\(^11\) Thereafter, he was less active in public life, retiring to his home near Charles Town, where he died in October, 1803.\(^12\)

Footnotes—Rutherford


2. His name appears in the Court Records of the period. Also a letter from one Charles Thompson of Philadelphia, dated November 6, 1765, expressing an interest in a plaintiff in Rutherford’s court, has been preserved. See Sol Feinstone MSS Collection, Micro reel 3, Item 1365, Alexandria Public Library.


4. On October 5, 1757, Washington wrote Dinwiddie that Robert Rutherford was held in high esteem all along the frontier and could raise men rapidly for a Ranger company. (See Fitzpatrick ed. *Writings of Washington*, II, 140). In 1758 he wrote twice to keep Rutherford from being transferred (*GW Writings*, II, 184; 194). On June 17, 1758, Washington wrote Fauquier to inform him that Captain Rutherford was sick and had been given leave to consult Dr. Gustavus Brown, Washington’s personal physician. (*GW Writings*, II, 214).


6. One Robert Rutherford is reported as a private in William Morgan’s Company (1776), but this can hardly be the same Robert Rutherford who was that year a delegate to the Virginia Convention and who had formerly been a captain. Rutherford was 48 years of age in 1776. See


8. His service in the Continental Congress is overlooked by BDC, but a pay voucher signed by Thomas Pinckney, President, dated May 24, 1788, for 13 days attendance and 9 days travel, has been preserved in the So1 Feinstone MSS Collection, Reel 3, Item 1163.


11. See Norris, p. 250. He has the election dates confused but tells us Morgan was Rutherford's opponent.


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**Joseph Holmes**

Joseph Holmes built and operated a general merchandise store at Stephens City on land purchased from Isaac Zane. As Continental Deputy Commissioner General of Prisoners, he built barracks for 2100 prisoners of war near Winchester. He was Captain, Major, Lt. Col. and then Colonel of 2nd Battalion, Frederick County Militia, and led volunteer unit south to Fredericksburg to counter British invasion of Virginia, March, 1781. He was awarded a military land grant in Ohio territory and represented Frederick County in Virginia General Assembly 1781, 1789 and 1790. He was High Sheriff of Frederick County, 1784.

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**Footnotes—Joseph Holmes**


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**Isaac Hite, Jr.**

Isaac Hite, Jr., a grandson of the Valley pioneer, Yost Hite, was born on February 7, 1758, at "Long Meadow" near Middletown. He attended William and Mary College. He was a charter member of Phi Beta Kappa and the Society's treasurer. On April 24, 1778, he resigned as treasurer and left the college to prepare to join the Continental Army.

Hite was commissioned Ensign in 1780 and Lieutenant in 1781. He was an
officer in Muhlenberg's reorganized 8th Virginia Regiment. Hite accompanied Muhlenberg on the Yorktown campaign and helped draw up the Articles of Capitulation for the British surrender.\textsuperscript{4} He remained in the Army until peace was signed in 1783.

Hite began work on his mansion, "Belle Grove" in 1794. He was married twice, first to Nelly Conway Madison, sister of James Madison and after Nelly's death to Ann Tunstall Maury, daughter of Rev. Walker Maury.\textsuperscript{5}

Hite was appointed a Major of the Frederick Militia in 1785.\textsuperscript{6} He served as a Justice of the county court, and in many other public offices and activities. He was a member of the Virginia Constitutional (Ratification) Convention of 1788.\textsuperscript{7} He was a charter member of the Society of the Cincinnati.

Isaac Hite, Jr., died on November 24, 1836, and was buried in the family graveyard at Long Meadow.\textsuperscript{8}

\textbf{Footnotes Isaac Hite, Jr.}

4. "Notebook of Major Isaac Hite, Jr.," \textit{William and Mary Quarterly}, Volume 10, Series 1, pp. 120-122.
5. Quarles, \textit{Frederick County Homes}, p. 145.
8. Quarles, \textit{Frederick County Homes}, p. 145.

\textbf{Dr. Robert Mackey}

Winchester physician and surgeon, Dr. Robert Mackey, was active in politics and business. He was closely associated with the Fairfax family and witness to Lord Fairfax's will\textsuperscript{1} and also executor of the estate of Isaac Zane.\textsuperscript{2} He served as Surgeon of 11th Virginia Regiment, Continental Line, November, 1776, to December, 1777.\textsuperscript{4} He settled his account with the Continental Congress for back pay, 1783, but received no land.\textsuperscript{4} He was visited by Dr. Robert Welford, Surgeon to Virginia troops traveling through Winchester on way there to put down the Whiskey Insurrection, 1794.\textsuperscript{5} He was an investor in public tobacco warehouse built in Winchester, 1825.\textsuperscript{6}

1. \textit{Frederick Will Book, IV}, 583; \textit{Virginia Magazine of History and Biograph} XXXIV, 45-46, 56.
2. \textit{Frederick Court Order Book}, XXVI, 454 (May, 1796).
Strother Jones

Strother Jones was born in 1758, the son of Gabriel Jones, the colorful Valley lawyer and early political supporter of George Washington. He was educated at William and Mary College and was an officer in the Frederick County Militia. A letter from George Washington (14 May 1777) commissioned him Captain of a company which he was to recruit. Jones was empowered by Washington to appoint lower grade officers within the company. His company was attached to Grayson’s Regiment, later made a part of Gist’s Additional Continental Regiment (April 1779). He was charged with beating a sentry and a corporal and tried under terms of Washington’s General Order of 8 May 1778, acquitted and released by order of Washington but was cautioned by Washington not to administer personal beatings but to use regular military punishments in the future.

He retired from the army, 1 January 1781. He was a member of the Society of the Cincinnati. He built a mansion named “Vaucluse” in Frederick County. He received a military land grant of 4000 acres. He was justice of Frederick District Court, listed as “removed to Kentucky” (5 May 1790). He died in 1790 and was buried in the family graveyard at Vaucluse.

Footnotes—Strother Jones


5. Quarles, Frederick County Homes, p. 180.


7. Calendar of Virginia State Papers, V, 149.

8. Quarles, Frederick County Homes, p. 182.
The Revolutionary Prisoners Of War In Winchester And Frederick County

By Lewis N. Barton

In the long existence of the human race the concept “Prisoner of War” is a relatively recent one. Neither Homer nor the writers of the Old Testament mention any fate for the vanquished but flight or death. Caesar mentioned that captives in battle were sold into slavery, and this applied to the entire population in some cases. During the Middle Ages the concept of holding rich prisoners for ransom developed, and with the advent of mercenary armies, this developed into treating even privates with consideration and humanity.

In selecting a place for keeping prisoners of war there were three things to be considered: First; Security, the place of internment should be far enough removed from the scene of fighting, that there would be no chance of rescue, and if in a location where flight was difficult or dangerous, the work of the guards would be made easier. Second; Subsistence, the prisoners had to be fed, and sometime clothed, and, due to transportation difficulties at that time, should be kept in a region of comparative plenty. Third; Housing, which, while not elaborate, should be adequate and furnish shelter from the elements.

The lower Shenandoah Valley answered two of these requirements. Flight on the part of prisoners from the region toward the east meant a journey of at least one hundred and fifty miles before reaching an area where there was any hope of finding British forces; while to the north, west and south the way led into Indian Territory. The rich harvests of the region could furnish subsistence, for which neither the State of Virginia nor the Continental Congress could pay with money of any value. This left only requisitioning as a means of securing the necessary subsistence. This meant that the State took what was needed and promised to pay when and if it could. Neither Winchester nor Frederick County had an answer to the housing problem, except to the extent that the old barracks at Fort Loudoun might be serviceable.

In 1775 Fithian (Journal, page 13) described Fort Loudoun as being in bad repair. Perhaps the partial destruction of the palisade around it gave this impression, for the Rev. Andrew Barnaby (Barnaby, pages 51-64) mentioned that ten years before he had been entertained by Colonel Churchill at his quarters in the fort, and in 1780 Lieutenant Anburey stated these barracks were able to hold “with ease and comfort, near 500 men, but upon an emergency would contain twice that number.” (Anburey II, pages 416 & 417)

A secure location did not furnish all the security necessary. When prisoners were moved from place to place, guards had to be furnished. There were no Continental Troops available for this purpose, so whenever a State boundary, or in some instances a County boundary, was crossed, a fresh set of guards
was needed. And at the place of internment guards were also necessary. An attempt was made to enlist a force for this purpose, but this met with only partial success. Consequently, the burden of furnishing these guards fell on the citizens, who all belonged to the militia. The burden of requisitions for supplies fell almost exclusively on the farming community, and led to further complaints from the farmers. Congress did try to alleviate these hardships by frequently ordering all prisoners sent north in hopes that they could be exchanged. This relieved the subsistence problem, but greatly increased the guards necessary, except in those cases where recruits for the Continental Army were being sent north, and could be used as guards. (Letters I, page 112)

The fighting in the Revolution in Virginia started as a sort of private war between Lord Dunmore, the Governor, and the Colony of Virginia, with Dunmore’s seizure of the powder from the “Powder Horn” in Williamsburg. The Hanover County militia, led by Patrick Henry, marched to Williamsburg and demanded the return of the powder, but had to settle for payment of its value. However, the situation became so tense that Lord Dunmore moved himself and family to the “Fowey”, a British warship anchored in the York River, and later sailed away. For several years Dunmore waged war against the Colony, burning the city of Norfolk and suffering a humiliating defeat at Gwynn’s Island. The Virginia Legislature retaliated by changing the name of Dunmore County to Shenandoah County. (Ward II, pages 845-849; Howe pages 376-378 and 467)

By May 3, 1776 the Virginia Colony had captured Col. Alexander Gordon, whom Dunmore had appointed Colonel of a Loyalist Regiment. Col. Gordon’s position was rather ticklish and Dunmore suggested an exchange of prisoners. The exchange was agreed to, and it was further agreed that prisoners should be exchanged grade for grade, but in cases where there were no prisoners of the proper grade, they were to be exchanged according to a scale, which valued a colonel as worth eight privates, and the scale ran down until a sergeant was worth two privates (Letters, I, page 108). After the Declaration of Independence Congress took the exchange of prisoners on its own shoulders, and on Dec. 12, 1776 requisitioned for all prisoners in the State of Virginia to be sent to Brunswick, N.J. (Letters, I, page 75). This was the first of many similar movements of prisoners north. In all other cases Frederick County Militia furnished guards as far as the Potomac River, and in some cases as far as Frederick Maryland, and in one case as far as the Pennsylvania border. (Letters, I, page 112, page 347, II, page 358 & 359, page 409; Calendar, I, page 583).

In the spring of 1776 the Virginians captured the British ship “Oxford”, which had on board some Scotch reinforcements for Lord Dunmore’s army. Altogether 195 men, 10 women and 3 children were captured and on June 14th, 1776 these were distributed among various Virginia Counties for
keeping. Frederick County received 13 men, and the Town of Winchester 2 cadets and 9 sergeants. As far as we know these were the first prisoners sent to Frederick County and Winchester, and Winchester was the only town in Virginia to receive any of these prisoners. (Letters I, note on page 149). All future allocations of prisoners mention only Winchester and not the county, although many were housed in the county on their arrival. (Note: The practice of having women with the armies was usual in those days. It is on record that Braddock left most of the women with his force at Fort Cumberland, and ordered the remainder to stay with Colonel Dunbar, when he (Braddock) pushed ahead. These women were the wives of soldiers and did laundry work and also acted as nurses. The American Army also had them. One, Mary McCauley, won a place in history as “Molly Pitcher”. (See Webster page 937) These prisoners should have been sent north as requisitioned above.

It might be well to introduce at this time those who were responsible for the guarding and care of the prisoners at Winchester.

John Smith of “Hackwood” was appointed Colonel of Militia January 6, 1776, and County Lieutenant of Frederick County March 6, 1777. As County Lieutenant he was responsible for calling out the militia under Morgan and Muhlenburg. (Letters I, page 80)

Joseph Holmes was appointed Justice of Frederick County Oct. 19, 1776, and later became Commissary of Prisoners for Frederick County. As such he was responsible, under Colonel Smith, for housing, subsisting and guarding the prisoners while they were in Frederick County, and for delivering them to the next authority when they were moved. Later he became Continental Deputy Commissary General of Prisoners. (Letters, I, page 57; Cartmell, page 271; Calendar, I, page 560.)

Colonel James Wood, Jr. was Commissary of the Convention Prisoners, who were housed in barracks at Charlottesville for about two years and later moved to Winchester; and from there to Frederick Maryland, and finally to Pennsylvania. His commission was from the Continental Congress, and not from the Virginia Legislature.

These three men were responsible at various times for caring for, subsisting, and guarding the prisoners held here. Colonel (later General) Daniel Morgan outranked all of these and when at home exercised some control over the prisoners. (Graham Chapter 6, pages 66 et. seq.)

In addition to these Governor Jefferson wrote Major Hyrne, who was conducting the Cowpens prisoners north, advising him to turn them over to Mr. Boush, Deputy Commissary of Prisoners at Winchester. This is the only reference we have to Mr. Boush, who was apparently substituting for Joseph Holmes, who was absent with the militia. (Letters; II, page 359)

In the early morning of December 26th, 1776, the Americans under
Washington surprised the British garrison at Trenton, N.J. Many of the garrison were still in bed, recovering from the Christmas festivities of the day before. The rain and snow soon rendered the firearms useless and after a confused fight, those of the garrison, who had not escaped, surrendered. The prisoners included 916 Hessian rank and file, and 32 commissioned officers. (Ward I, page 297-302)

Among the prisoners was First Lieutenant Andreas Wiederholdt of the Fusilier Regiment von Knyphausen of Hesse-Cassel. Lieutenant Wiederholdt amused himself during his captivity by keeping a diary, which has been published in German, in Americana Germanica, Vol. IV, No. 1, 1901. We are indebted to the Iron Worker, Autumn 1973 for the information gleaned from this diary. (The Iron Worker is the house organ of the Lynchburg Foundry, Lynchburg, Va., by whose permission we are allowed to use this information, taken from an article by Mr. Ralph S. Walker, which appeared in it. We wish to take this opportunity to thank Lynchburg Foundry for permission to use this material). Twenty eight badly wounded prisoners were paroled and left at Trenton, the balance were marched thru Philadelphia, and the enlisted men were sent to the neighborhood of Lancaster in the Pennsylvania Dutch Country, while the officers were sent to Dumfries in Virginia.

August 14th. 1777 the British Fleet carrying Sir William Howe's expedition against Philadelphia, by way of Head of Elk at the top of Chesapeake Bay, arrived off the Virginia Capes. The later passage of this fleet up the Chesapeake led Congress to order the removal of the Trenton prisoners from Dumfries and Lancaster to Winchester. By October 23rd. a total of 750 prisoners were at Winchester. The Board of War ordered that they be dispersed by sending 100 prisoners to Martinsburg, 100 to Shepherdstown, 100 to Stobers (Stovers) Town (Strasburg) and 100 to Miller's Town (Woodstock), the balance to be left at Winchester. It also ordered that log barracks with a stockade yard be built near Winchester so that all could be accommodated there. The County Lieutenants were invested with the power of calling out what guards might be needed. (Letters I, page 197) At this time Lieutenant Wiederholdt and his fellow officers were sent to Fredericksburg, Virginia and are removed from our story (Iron Worker Autumn 1973) We have not been able to find out when these 750 prisoners were removed from the Valley.

The Continental Congress, having assumed responsibility for the War Prisoners and finding that there were not accommodations for even 750 at Winchester, Moved to correct the situation, for an entry in the Journal of the Continental Congress, dated Dec. 31, 1777 reads:

"Ordered That a warrant on the treasurer in favour of the Board of War for 20,000 dollars to be transmitted by the said Board to John Smith, Esqr. county lieutenant of Frederick in the State of Virginia, to
defray the expenses of building barracks, purchasing Provisions for prisoners of war in the county aforesaid, and for guards over them, and also for the paying of the guards, it being agreeable to his excellency Governor Henry's letter of the 23 October, to William Kennedy, the said John Smith to be accountable." (Letters I, page 198).

There was no breakdown to show how much of this money was to go for guards, and for provisions for guards and prisoners, or for the erection of barracks. Where the barracks were to be built we do not know, but the following throws some doubt on whether they were ever built. A letter from Governor Jefferson to _______ dated Williamsburgh June 18, 1779 from Continental Papers (Ms Papers in Library of Congress III, pages 487-489, as quoted in Letters II, pages 11 & 12) states.

"It is with concern we find that the continent is likely to lose by the inconsiderate omission of Colo. Kennedy to take security from the undertaker. Upon the best measures which may now be pursued, & from gentlemen in whom we confide, we would take the liberty of recommending that Mr. Hobday the undertaker be immediately prosecuted for not complying with his contract; that the whole management be put in the hands of gentlemen near the place who may be relied on to have the work executed on the best terms possible, for we must observe for very obvious reasons that no one will undertake it for a fixed sum, and that you send a proper plan for the barracks, as we learn egregious blunders in this way would have been committed had the former contract been complied with. Our only object in having Hobday sued is that an execution may be levied on his timber brought into place which seems to be all the property he has, & will be worth in execution of the work."

Later in the same letter he suggested that the barracks be built of stone, "which is plentiful at the site." Which suggestion was not adopted. Whether anything came of his suggestion about action against Mr. Hobday we do not know.

Note: At that time the word "undertaker" was applied to any contractor.

When we consider that the barracks at Fort Loudoun could not hold 750 men at this time, but three years later Lieutenant Anburey said they would and did hold very nearly a thousand, and added that "Since the commencement of the war, the Americans have picketed them in, and converted them into a place of security for prisoners of war," (Anburey II, page 417), it is entirely possible that part of the twenty thousand dollars was spent on improvements at Fort Loudoun.

The dispersal of the Trenton prisoners to five valley towns greatly augmented the problem of furnishing proper guards, and put an even greater burden on the militia, and now that the housing problem had been taken over by the Continental authorities, the State turned its attention to the question of guards. The following is taken from the Journal of the Council: (Letters I, page 347)
Resolved: that the Governor, with the advice of the Council, shall be, and is hereby empowered, to raise as soon as possible, by voluntary enlistments, a regiment of soldiers to consist of six hundred men, rank and file, with proper officers to command them, for the particular purpose of guarding the British prisoners aforesaid, and that he be empowered to offer a bounty not exceeding thirty dollars to each man to be enlisted; and this House will make good the expense of raising, maintaining, clothing and paying the said regiment; and that until such regiment be raised, the Governor is hereby empowered, with the advice of the Council, to call out detachments of the militia for the purpose of guarding the prisoners."

This was undoubtedly a step in the right direction, although it was not to bear fruit locally until about two years later. The following letter from John Smith, Jr. to Isaac Lane, Esq., dated Winchester Nov. 16, 1780, shows what slow progress was made in raising the regiment of guards needed.

"Through your name I beg to leave an application formerly made to Governor Jefferson on a proposed plan, for more easy and safe keeping the prisoners of war in the town of Winchester—By the prisoners of war, you will please to understand that I do not mean to include the prisoners of the Convention of Saratoga, as these troops will be under the immediate inspection of a continental officer—The irregularity of the militia guard & the want of power in the officers to compel them to abide by the necessary regulations of a military arrangement are too notorious to every man who has read the militia laws & who has seen the trained bands drawn into service.

"I have recruited a company as a guard to serve at this post, by permission of Governor Jefferson, tho not strictly agreeable to the powers he allowed of—I have done more than engage them as militia—I have engaged them for twelve month, subject to the continental rules of war, on promise of a discharge at the expiration of three months, unless I procure for them the usual clothing of a soldier within that space of time.

"A guard house is necessary—I would recommend one to be built of Loggs, near to the house now applied to the purpose of barracks—Four sentry boxes are necessary—you well know they can't be dispensed with—In case of any of the guard being sick, I would be glad to have the power of employing a doctor—I assure you my humanity has suffered upon this acct. already—Inclosed you will receive an acct for ammunition furnished the guard. Guns are of small avail without this article," (Calendar I, page 387).

As so often happens in this study, we hear nothing further on this subject, which may mean that the guard house, sentry boxes and ammunition were furnished, or that the subject was just dropped. The reader will have to decide for himself, or herself. Colonel (later General) John Smith's father was Capt. John Smith of Middlesex County, and this may account for the "Jr."

Meanwhile the prisoner of war problem was to grow. The British ship of war "Swift" ran aground near Cape Henry sometime before November 27,
1778 and the crew of 91 surrendered themselves as prisoners of war. *(Letters I, page 331).* We believe that all or part of these were sent to Winchester, either immediately or later. The "Swift" was a small schooner carrying 16 guns, and must have been refloated, for the British used her in January 1781 to help convoy Arnold's invasion force up James River to Westover. *(Ward II, page 868).*

Four days after the regiment of guards was first authorized, word was received that 4000 prisoners were on their way to Charlottesville, and that the militia of several Virginia Counties were called upon to furnish guards after they crossed the Potomac. Frederick County was not asked to furnish militia on this occasion, probably in light of their efforts to guard the prisoners they had in the county. These 4000 prisoners were those surrendered by Burgoyne at Saratoga, and originally numbered 5000 rank and file plus officers, including five generals and their staffs and 299 others ranging from colonels to ensigns. Burgoyne had insisted, and Gates had allowed him, on signing a "Convention" rather than a "Capitulation", and these prisoners were always referred to as "Convention Prisoners". They were to spend two years at Charlottesville, where they built their own log huts and planted gardens to help with their subsistence. We shall return to them later, when they enter our story.

In August 1780 Governor Jefferson brought up the subject of again attempting to build barracks at Winchester and suggested that they be built of logs "in the manner of those in Albemarle" *(Letters II, page 194).* A month later he called attention to the fact that the "Public Prison" was not intended to hold prisoners any longer than necessary for guards to be found to send them to Winchester. *(Letters II, page 194).* On September 26th, 1780 he wrote to General Washington that 190 prisoners had been sent to Winchester, some of which had been taken at sea, and the balance sent by General Gates. *(Letters II, page 211).*

Since the departure of Governor Dunmore in 1776, Virginia had been left alone. The British first sought to subdue New England, which they considered the heart of what they called the rebellion. When driven from Boston they took New York, and then sought by sending Burgoyne south from Canada to cut the colonies in two. This move was to be in conjunction with a move by General Howe up the Hudson to join Burgoyne near Albany. Howe however elected to capture Philadelphia, which was a barren victory, and on Howe's removal from command, Philadelphia was evacuated and the British returned to New York. The next plan was to secure a foothold in the south and then move north conquering as they went. Although they subdued Georgia and captured Charleston, S.C., this was unsuccessful, for as the army under Cornwallis moved north, the country rose behind it and a guerrilla civil war was waged, which reduced the British holdings to the forts that had been built. They now realized that the heart of their difficulties was Virginia.
Virginia was the largest and richest of the colonies, and devoted all her men and resources to the prosecution of the war. Supplies for the Southern armies, and to some extent, replacement of men were furnished by Virginia, and both Cornwallis in the south and Clinton at New York decided that the only way to win was to destroy the ability of Virginia to support the war. Accordingly Clinton planned a succession of raids aimed at destroying Virginia's wealth, especially her export of tobacco to the West Indies, which was the only source of money for the war effort. (Ward II, page 867).

On May 10, 1779 1800 men commanded by Major General Matthews landed at Portsmouth, Virginia. It is not in the province of this article to enumerate the destruction they accomplished, only to say that the expedition was so successful that Clinton decided to repeat it. In spite of Cornwallis's suggestion that a complete conquest of Virginia be made, Clinton decided on a series of punishing raids to destroy the wealth and economy of Virginia. December 30, 1780 Benedict Arnold, now a brigadier general in the British Army, invaded Virginia and pushed inland to Westham, six miles above Richmond. (Ward II, pages 867 & 868).

Matthews' invasion convinced Governor Jefferson that the Convention Prisoners were no longer safe at Charlottesville and should be moved for safety, and on June 9, 1780 he wrote to Colonel James Wood at Charlottesville suggesting a possible removal of these prisoners to a safer place. (Letters II, page 125). In reply Colonel Wood brought up certain difficulties and questions, which would have to be answered or solved before any definite plan for the move could be made, citing the lack of housing and objecting to Governor Jefferson's suggestion that the officers be housed with the rank and file. He also stated that he had ordered 200 Albermarle and Augusta militia to be held in readiness to escort the prisoners by way of Orange, Culpepper and Chester Gap to the lower valley. (Calendar I, page 361). As Arnold retired to Portsmouth and the problem was no longer pressing, the move was canceled.

It did, however, seem to be the time to solve the question of additional housing at Winchester, for on August 9, 1780, in answer to a letter from Joseph Holmes, Governor Jefferson wrote to him suggesting that barracks be built of logs in the manner of those at Charlottesville, but Holmes must make application to either Congress or the Continental Board of War for the necessary funds. (Letters II, page 154). However these cabins were still six months in the future.

But events in eastern Virginia did not wait on the procrastination of Governor, Congress and the Board of War. The two principal officers of the Convention Prisoners at Charlottesville were Lieutenant General Baron von Riedesel of the Germans and Major General William Phillips of the British. On October 13, 1780 they were both exchanged for the American Major General Benjamin Lincoln, recently captured at Charleston, S.C. (Tharpe
Phillips was ordered to Virginia, where he became commander of Arnold's force, with Arnold as second in command until he (Arnold) was recalled to New York. Phillips brought with him 2600 reinforcements, and the combined armies moved by way of Petersburg to Manchester, across the James from Richmond (Ward II, page 871). Phillips had been at Charlottesville and realized how close it was to Richmond, and was a much greater threat to the Convention Prisoners than Arnold would ever be. This again brought up the question of moving the prisoners from Charlottesville, but there was another delay, as Phillips dropped down James River to James-town. It was now apparent that the prisoners could not stay at Charlottesville much longer, and that arrangements should be made for moving them. On October 26, 1780 Governor Jefferson advised Colonel James Wood that the Convention Prisoners were to be moved to Fort Frederick (Frederick, Md.) and he had also advised Samuel Huntington, President of Congress, that Governor Lee of Maryland had been advised that the move was being made, and that he did not doubt that Governor Lee would make the necessary preparations for their reception. (Letters II, page 225). This brought objections from both Governor Lee and Colonel Wood, for on November 3, 1780 Jefferson wrote Colonel Wood as follows:

"Sir,

"Your representation on the want of barracks at Fort Frederic has been again the subject of consideration with the board, together with a Letter from Governor Lee informing me it is not in their power to make more than a partial provision for the subsistence of the Convention troops. Our apprehensions as to desertion to the enemy & corresponding with the disaffected arise from the British altogether. We have no fear of either from the Germans, that the former should be removed immediately we think very essential; and we have no objection to the latter remaining until barracks may be provided for them at Fort Frederic. I suppose that the Marching them in two divisions, to wit the British first and the Germans next cannot be considered as such a separation as is against the Convention, and that the Germans should not go until barracks are provided, as their going would of course so much straighten the British Accommodations. This mode of removal will put it in our power to push the British divisions instantly, because they will require but half the waggons & half the guards; the former of which we suppose you will have procured & for the latter Colo. Crockett's battalion is in readiness, with which you would chuse to proceed is left to yourself." (Letters II, page 228)

Also on Nov. 3, Governor Jefferson wrote to the President of Congress saying that the British Invader had retired toward the coast and repeated the suggestion made to Colonel Wood, that the Convention Troops be removed from Charlottesville in two divisions. The letter is most interesting because in the postscript attached, he said that Colonel Wood had informed him that the number of British Conventioneers was 804 rank and file, whereas there had
been 1503 in May, including officers. A footnote on the same page states that Colonel Specht had reported to General von Riedesel that there were 1147 Germans, including 77 officers. Colonel Specht also added that since von Riedesel left three men had died and there had been no desertions. (Letters II, page 228 & 229). This helps to explain the continual reduction in the number of the Convention Prisoners, as some did die, and others had deserted. The small number of British prisoners, justified Governor Jefferson’s concern about getting the British away from Charlottesville as soon as possible, even if the Germans had to be left for a while.

The story of the short stay of the British Convention Prisoners in Winchester is told by Lieutenant Thomas Anburey, who was one of them, in a letter to a friend dated “Winchester, in Virginia, Nov. 20, 1780” as follows:

“About six weeks ago we began our march from Charlottesville Barracks, the army moving in the same manner as we left New England; but as to the place of our destination; we understand it is some of the northern provinces. At present we remain here till a matter in dispute is adjusted by Congress between this province and Maryland, as the latter absolutely refused the army’s entering that state, apprehensive we were to remain there; in consequence of which such a body of men would greatly distress the inhabitants of so small a province; and they actually, in arms, opposed our crossing the Potomac” (Anburey, II, page 428).

It is too bad that Lieutenant Anburey did not indicate the date he arrived in Winchester. The route from Charlottesville to Winchester by way of Culpeper and Chester Gap is about 110 miles. An average march of 10 miles per day would get them to Winchester in eleven days. Six weeks before November 20th. would be October 9th., for the date of leaving Charlottesville, and assuming they made the march in eleven days, the date of their arrival in Winchester would be about October 20th. The date of their leaving Winchester can be determined much more easily and more accurately, for on April 12, 1781 he wrote his friend from Frederick, Maryland saying, “In a few days after writing my last letter, we left Winchester.” (Anburey II, page 429). (The last letter was the one dated November 20th., which we quoted above.) So the departure from Winchester was a few days after November 20, 1780. This is confirmed by a letter from Richard Peters dated Dec. 6th informing Governor Jefferson that he had received word from Colonel Rawlins at Fort Frederick, that the Convention Troops were approaching that place; and on the same day Congress resolved that such of the Convention Prisoners, who had not been removed from Charlottesville, should remain at that place. Provisions for the prisoners at Frederick were to be furnished by the States of Maryland and Virginia. (Calendar I, page 395). On December 31, 1780, Colonel James Wood reported that he had been to Frederick, “where I left the British Troops tolerably well Accomodated”, but that the State of Maryland was very averse to receiving them and would not accept the Germans.
Governor Jefferson protested to Samuel Huntington, President of Congress, about sending food to Maryland for the prisoners there, because Virginia was furnishing food for the American armies in the south and, if food was sent to Maryland, she would have to cut her supply to the southern armies, which would then have to be sent from Pennsylvania, or other northern states, and it would be better for those states to send food to Maryland. (Letters II, pages 278 & 279). The British Convention Troops were in Winchester only four weeks, and as we interpret Lieutenant Anburey's remarks, the rank and file were housed at Fort Loudoun, and the officers secured quarters in town, for which they had to pay, as this was the common practice for officers at that time.

But the Germans were not to stay much longer at Charlottesville, for Cornwallis was approaching the border of Virginia, and Governor Jefferson thought there was no safety for them there. On February 18, 1781 he ordered Colonel James Wood to move them instantly, allowing them only enough time to pack their baggage, which would follow later by wagons. As the prisoners taken at Cowpens were moving down the valley, he advised that the Germans be moved below the Blue Ridge. Colonel Wood was authorized to issue warrants to pay for provisions on the march. (Letters II, page 358).

To this Colonel Wood replied February 20, 1781 that he had given orders for the immediate march, without baggage, and recited the scarcity of wagons for use in conveying the baggage later. He also said the prisoners at Charlottesville had been without meal for six days and had a very small quantity of beef on hand. The plight of the British prisoners in Frederick-town" was even worse, they had had no "animal food" for eight days and had drawn only one pound of flour in that time. He was fully persuaded that Maryland was unable to subsist the prisoners they had and would not accept the Germans. He suggested that proper accommodations could be secured by dividing them between Winchester, Martinsburg and Warm (Berkeley) Springs, where there were a number of vacant houses. He stated that he would remain at Charlottesville and send forward the stragglers. (Calendar I, pages 529 & 530). By stragglers he evidently meant those prisoners who were either sick or those who had been working in the neighborhood, and could not be brought in before the march started. That there were such in the neighborhood is evidenced by Lieutenant Colonel Banistre Tarlton, who arrived in Charlottesville on June 5, 1781, hoping to capture Governor Jefferson and the members of the Virginia Assembly. He reported that on the morning of the sixth about twenty soldiers of the Saratoga Army, who had been dispersed throughout the neighborhood, came in and joined him. He added that, had he stayed longer, there would have been others. (Tarlton, page 297). He did not say what the nationality of these men was, but we believe they were British rather than German. Albermarle County had been settled by
people of English descent and the Germans would not have been as welcomed in the homes as they were later in Frederick County, which had a large German population. This may help to account for the small number of British Prisoners, who were at Charlottesville when the time came for them to move. Except for those who were working in the vicinity, all the Convention Prisoners had been removed well before Tarlton arrived. On March 5, 1781 Colonel Wood reported to Governor Jefferson that he had divided the German Prisoners between Winchester and Warm Springs. (Calendar 1, page 556). March 8, 1781 Colonel Frances Taylor wrote the Governor that the Brunswick Regiment, nine hundred and thirty rank and file, were quartered in the town of Winchester, and would be removed soon, probably to the cabins being built by Colonel Holmes, because they were crowded in town; and that the Hesse Hanau Regiment, three hundred strong, were sent to “the Town of Bath” (Warm or Berkeley Springs). (Calendar 1, page 564).

Meanwhile progress had been made on furnishing cabins as barracks for the prisoners. Joseph Holmes, Continental Deputy Commissioner of Prisoners, in spite of service as a member of the Assembly, and in the militia, because of the invasion of Virginia, could report to the Governor, March 7, 1781 in part as follows:

“This event delayed the building of the Cabins ordered for the reception of the prisoners at Winchester. He and two others appointed to select a suitable location for this purpose, rented from Mr. Mathias Bush of Phil: 525 acres of land four miles from Winchester, (on which was an abundance of wood and water and exceedingly healthy) at Twenty Pounds pr: year with the privilege of cutting wood for building for nothing, and for fuel at sixteen pence pr: cord in specie, or its equivalent. He has built thirty cabins, at a cost of one hundred pounds each, including hauling, raising, making doors, hinges & C: all 14 feet square in the clear. These are not sufficient to accommodate the prisoners, has ordered more to be built. Has received no assistance from the latter except ‘Cramming between the logs’”. (Calendar 1, page 560).

We are able to locate the land owned by Mr. Mathias Bush by this statement in Cartmell, page 471, “when the pioneer George Glaize—name written in German ‘Kloess’ was listed as a resident who desired to become a citizen, **** he purchased a tract of land west of Winchester in 1786 ***** The tract was what has been referred to several times in this volume as the Hessian Prisoner farm.” Further study by Dr. Garland R. Quarles confirms this, and it is shown in his “Some Old Homes of Frederick County” that although this tract was one time divided, it finally came into the sole possession of Mr. Frederick L. Glaize, Sr. now in the possession of his two sons. Since its purchase by George Glaize it has never been out of the Glaize family, and is known as the “Old Home Place”. (Quarles, Home No. 60, page 113). It is located north of Round Hill on both sides of the Indian Hollow Road (Rte. 654) just west of the Poor House Road (Rte. 679), being bounded on the east
by the latter road. The exact location of the cabins on this tract we have not been able to determine. About a year and a half later Popp, a German captured at Yorktown, described the barracks as follows:

"November 5, 1781—Reached Winchester—a poor town in a poor Country—Many German settlers—we went four miles further to Fort Frederick Barracks in a thick wood—a witches place. It was built of logs with clay, loose in many places,—every where going to pieces, no where protected from rain and dew,—snow and wind drove in,—the open fire filled it with smoke,—we went to the neighboring farmers and borrowed shovels and hatchets and saws and at last made ourselves at least some shelter. Each hut was filled with 32 to 36 men." (Popp, page 250)

This would indicate the cabins were very poorly built. We know they were built in a hurry and of green lumber. The Germans from Charlottesville used them for a very short time, as we shall see, and it was left to them to chink the spaces between the logs. In the five months the cabins were idle, both the logs and the clay dried out and a great part of the clay became loose and fell out. If there were chimneys, and none have been mentioned, they drew badly and the cabins were filled with smoke. The Germans, however, did something about it, which is a great contrast with the behavior of the British troops, who arrived at the same time, as we shall see later.

On June 9th 1780 Governor Jefferson first suggested that Charlottesville was no longer safe for the Convention Prisoners. It was early December before the British Convention prisoners reached Frederick, and March 5, 1781 before Colonel Wood reported to the Governor that he had lodged the German prisoners at Winchester and Warm Springs. It had taken six months for the British to get to Frederick and nine months for the Germans to get to Winchester and Warm Springs.

Even before the Germans were settled the Continental authorities ordered the British Convention Prisoners moved to Yorktown, Pennsylvania and the Germans to Lancaster, (Calendar I, page 553). The Germans were to take the same route the British had taken to Frederick, by Noland's Ferry, about four miles below the present Point of Rocks Bridge on the Potomac. This was on the principal road east of the Blue Ridge to the south at that time. However, it was not until June 8, 1781 that Colonel Wood reported that "By the advice of the Marquis la Fayette the German Troops have been removed to Shepherd's Town on the Potomack, there to remain until he can procure guard, waggons, provisions & c.". (Calendar I, page 146) The Convention Germans were here only three months, hardly enough to bestow on the barracks the name "Hessian", but more were to come in the fall.

Another group of prisoners of great interest to us are the prisoners taken at the Battle of Cowpens, fought January 17th, 1781. These had been marched north and Greene and Morgan had succeeded in out-marching the pursuing Cornwallis; and by February 14th the prisoners had reached New London,
Virginia. (New London was about 12 miles south of Lynchburg, in Campbell County near the border of Bedford County. It is not on modern maps. (Howe, page 210 and map at front of the book). On February 18th. Governor Jefferson wrote to the County Lieutenants of both Augusta and Shenandoah Counties to furnish guards for the passage of these prisoners thru their counties. We will quote the letter to the County Lieutenant of Shenandoah:

"Richmond February 18, 1781

"Sir,

"The prisoners taken at the Battle of Cowpens being to pass under the conduct of Mr. Byrne or Mr. Boush, Commissioners of Prisoners, they will be attended by the guard at present with them as far as Shenandoah Court House. There you will be pleased to have assembled such guard & at such time as either of these Gentlemen shall fix on, which guard must see them safely over the Potomack." (Letters II, page 359).

In spite of these definite instructions from Governor Jefferson, that the prisoners were to pass the Potomac, we know they did not do so, but remained on the Virginia side. We have no definite information about where they stayed, but as the barracks at Fort Loudoun were now empty, as far as the Convention Prisoners were concerned, they would have been available for housing the Cowpens Prisoners. They were still in Winchester when the prisoners from Yorktown arrived in the fall of 1781. General James D. Graham stated that they occupied some of the cabins. (Graham Chapter six, page 66 et seq.)

We have attempted to get some idea of how many Cowpens Prisoners there were, but found the claims very contradictory. Tarleton claimed that both he and Morgan lost about 150 killed, and that the British had lost nearly Four hundred prisoners, two cannon and the colors of the 7th Regiment. (Tarleton, pge 218). However, in Wickwire, page 264, the losses of the British are given as follows: 100 killed, over 200 wounded, 400 captured with 2 cannons, 100 horses, 35 wagons, 60 negroes and the colors of the 7th Regiment. Another source gave the total British loss as 784 men consisting of 100 killed, 229 wounded, 400 others captured, and two colors taken, the second being of the 71st Regiment. One more source says 110 killed, 702 captured, including the wounded. (Wickwire note 43, pages 440 & 441). Ward gives the numbers as follows: Killed 100, including 39 officers (Morgan's instructions to aim at the men with the epaulets evidently bore fruit) 229 wounded, and 600 others captured, along with 2 guns, 35 wagons, 100 horses and 2 colors, both of the 7th Regiment. (Ward II, page 762). We are inclined to accept Ward's figures, although he omitted the negroes, some of whom must have been taken or they would not have been mentioned by the other sources.

In addition to the prisoners listed above, several small lots were sent to Winchester from time to time, the largest of these being between one and two
hundred mentioned by Governor Jefferson in a letter to the County Lieutenant of Goochland County dated February 28, 1781. (Letters II, page 374).

The following letter from Governor Jefferson to Colonel Holmes is of interest at this time:

“In Council March 7th, 1781

“Sir,

“As we have at present superiority of Prisoners of War in our hands, and artificers and manufacturers are most wanting in different parts of the country, we are of the Opinion it will be advantageous to the State to permit such artificers and manufacturers as may be useful to settle in the Country, restraining them to some particular county subject to the orders of the County Lieutenant and retaining their names on the Calendar of Prisoners and the Places to which they are permitted to go, so that they may be called for if any future event should render it necessary: they should be allowed no rations during their absence. If you approve of this I could recommend it to you to act accordingly exercising your discretion as to the counties to which they are permitted to go.”

(Letters II, page 391).

However Colonel Holmes did not agree with this idea and so stated in the letter of March 7th, a part of which we have already quoted. (Calendar II, pages 560 & 561).

“have just received his excellency’s letter in regard to allowing ‘the prisoners of war, who are artificers to reside in particular Counties’. He would be glad to adopt this policy, but experience has proved the ill consequences of any indulgence of this kind. They mix with, and poison the minds of the ignorant, who listen too willingly to their accounts of their own Country & c.; and frequently, by procuring ‘country clothing’ effect their escape notwithstanding the greatest vigilance on the part of the County Lieutenants.”

As putting this suggestion into effect was left to Colonel Holmes’ discretion, we believe this policy was not adopted at this time, although it was later.

Meanwhile in eastern Virginia the war was going on. Cornwallis had arrived at Petersburg May 20th, where he united with the forces of Phillips, who had died of fever five days earlier. After the receipt of a further reinforcement of 1500 men from Clinton in New York he had a force of 7200 to oppose Lafayette’s 3000. From his arrival in Virginia until August 2nd. Cornwallis moved around Virginia, trying to catch the elusive Lafayette, or in obedience to the vacillating and contradictory orders of his superior, Sir Henry Clinton, in New York. On the latter date he arrived at Yorktown with about 6000 of the 7200 he had had in May. As there were very few battle casualties, the decrease must have been due to malaria and other deseases or to desertions. He had been ordered to fortify Yorktown as a deep sea port to secure communications with New York by the British Navy. On August 30th.
the French Admiral de Grasse arrived at the mouth of Chesapeake Bay and, after a rather inconclusive fight, the British fleet failed in its attempt to dislodge him. Washington with Rochambeau moved their forces to Virginia and the combined American and French Armies, with the addition of the soldiers brought by de Grasse and the forces of Lafayette, and Virginia militia amounted to 16,000 men. Cornwallis was doomed, and forced to surrender on October 19th.

This produced a new and greater influx than ever of prisoners to Winchester. Among them were four German Regiments, two from Anspach, commanded by Colonels de Voit and Saybothen, and two described by Ward as Hessians, but evidently from Bayreuth, known as the Regiments of Crown Prince and von Bose. These were brought to Winchester. We do not know how many were in the regiments when they arrived, but at the beginning of the siege of Yorktown they contained about 1650 men. (Ward II, page 887). They were housed at the barracks built by Colonel Holmes, and we will let the diaries of three of the prisoners tell the story. The diary of Stephen Popp of one of the Bayreuth Regiments says in part:

"November 5, 1781—Reached Winchester—a poor town in a poor country—Many German settlers—We went four miles further to Fort Frederick Barracks in a thick wood—a witches place. It was built of logs filed with clay, loose in many places,—every where going to pieces, no where protected from rain and dew,—snow and wind drove in,—the open fire filled it with smoke,—We went to the neighboring farmers and borrowed shovels and hatchets and saws and at last made ourselves at least some shelter. Each hut was filled with 32 to 36 men.—We had been marching 20 days in making 240 Virginia miles from Yorktown." (Popp's Journal).

The barracks Popp refers to must have been bigger than those described by Colonel Holmes, as Holmes' huts were only 14 by 14 feet, and to put 32 men in that space would have been more crowded than the Black Hole of Calcutta. Holmes did mention that more huts were needed and inferred they would be built. The later ones must have been larger than the first ones built. The German Johan Ernst Preckfal, regiment unknown, was more complimentary of Winchester than Popp. We quote him partially as follows:

"November 5, 1781—Arrived in Winchester; the prisoners of war were transferred 4 more miles into a forest where they already had two barracks built for less than half the prisoners; therfore the new arrivals were building more barracks in the already cold climate.

"This place looked like a large city and it was occupied by a Commando of American Militia. The party of 200 men strong was in command of a Colonel.

"The officers had to find quarters in Winchester or vicinity and pay for them out of their own pockets. Each quarter came to 6 Spanish Thaler a month (On the other hand, one Thaler equals 2 fl. 30 Kr.)
“To keep them out of mischief, the soldiers were visited by their officers at least two or three times a week and they also had to report to their non-commissioned officers daily.

“November 6—8, 1781—To (?) Winchester.

“November 9, 1781—To Winchester.

“The 76th Scottish Regiment arrived today and was quartered in The English and German Church.

“Winchester is in Virginia. A very quaint neat little town with two churches, one of which is always filled with prisoners and therefore has been rendered unusable.

“The houses are all built of wood.

“The inhabitants are English and German mixed, very poor on money and clothing.

“The land is very fruitful and the crops mainly corn, which is used to make Brandywine, called Whiskey.

“There is a lot of fowl available and one can buy it very cheaply.

“It is approximately 50 miles from Winchester until one finds Indians and other wild people.”

It appears that Private Preckfal was more favorably impressed than Private Popp. At any rate Popp never mentioned going to Winchester, while Preckfal must have gone to town at least three days out of four during the whole time he was here. He also mentions the arrival of additional prisoners, who were either sick or wounded when the first march was made. Another statistic we can get from his journal is the deaths and desertions during their stay here. He reported six as dying in hospitals or on route to Winchester, but only two as dying after their arrival. On the other hand, four had deserted and joined the French, and five had deserted and joined the American Light Cavalry, which was stationed at Woodstock.

Private Dohla's Journal adds very little light to what we already know. He does give the marching time from Fairfax Court House to Winchester as three days. That is extremely good time for 56 miles over the roads then in existence. He too went 4 miles beyond Winchester to barracks, which they occupied and repaired. He mentions that the guards, who had accompanied them, had been released and that Virginia Militia under General Mollenberg (presumably Muhlenberg) and Colonel Canada guarded them.

We will continue by quoting Popp starting with the entry for January 26, 1782:

“January 26, 1782. Orders to march after 11 weeks in Winchester, the English prisoners left for Frederickstown, Maryland, thence to go to Lancaster in Pennsylvania, the birthplace of the wife of our Captain v. Reiterstein, her maiden name was Schenkmayer.

“January 27, 1782. Marched from the barracks at 10 A.M. under Cols. Hanson and Woods of the local militia. Our sick remained behind as well as those who were working on the farms around. The people
don't like our German Soldiers, although some of our officers got married and took their wives home to Germany. Some of our officers went to Philadelphia and tried to get Congress to release us, but did not succeed. From Winchester to Fredericktown 40 miles—the first day we marched 12 miles and lay in an open field all night; we built big fires, but could not keep warm in the cold weather. We were badly clothed,—had neither shoes not stockings, many sold their equipment to get food,—our clothes were in rags,—there were no good coats or breeches in the two Regiments.

"January 28, 1782. Marched 9 miles—forded the Opequon and halted half frozen for half an hour.

"January 29, 1782. Reached Schipperstown on the River Bett Thomack (Shepherdstown on the Potomac). The River was frozen over *****.

"January 30, 1782. Thence to Sharpsburg 4 miles,—to Middletown 12 miles, to Fredericktown 9 miles etc." (He belonged to one of the German Regiments of Crown Prince and Bose).

As Popp had said that it was 40 miles from Winchester to Frederick, and as he has listed a total of 37 miles marched, they must have marched 3 miles after the half hour halt on crossing the Opequon. We will continue with his story:

"May 11 sailed from Long Island for home on ship Sibilia, arriving in Plymouth Sept. 6—Set our for Bremen—Arrived Oct. 10 embarked in boats drawn by horses and arrived in Bayreuth Dec. 10."

Note that “Home” to Popp was Bayreuth, and that he belonged to either the Crown Prince or Bose Regiments, both of these regiments must therefore have been from Bayreuth. He said that, It gave him great pleasure to recall his campaign in America.

Private Preckfal mentioned that the 76th Regiment arrived on November 9th. This was part of the British prisoners who were sent to Winchester from Yorktown. The senior officer of this group was General Graham, who left a memoir from which we quote in part:

"The British prisoners moved out of Yorktown next day, in two divisions escorted by regiments of militia or state troops; one (division) took the direction of Maryland, the other, to which I belonged, moved to the westward in Virginia.” (Graham Chapter six, page 66 et seq.)

He described the guards and the march at some length, including a meeting with a Mrs. “Ashley” (evidently Ashby) who kept a “public house” in what he called “Ashley's Gap”. Unfortunately he does not give the date of his arrival in Winchester, but we have a report from Col. Joseph Holmes to Colonel Davies dated Nov. 6, 1781 as follows:

"The Prisoners taken at York, allotted to Winchester had arrived the previous Evening—Concludes I am much harrassed by the Officers to find them Quarters at the Expense of the U. States—this I have refused them, as I find by enquiring at some officers of ours that was Prisrs. in Charles Town, that they were oblig'd to find their own quarters—
those who could not get into the Barracks. The number of Pris’ers is about 21 hundred, exclusive of officers that are now here for the purpose of witnessing the treatment of the Privates—it will require 100 Cabbins more than is built—I could have them chiefly done by the Prisrs., could tools and wagons be furnished. that seems to be impossible unless I can do it at my own expense, as no person here will trust the Public with a shillings worth, and paper money has no kind of circulation in this side of the blue ridge. About 1000 of the Prisoners are oblig’d to camp out.”

This is the only definite report we have had of the number of any British prisoners here at any one time. Apparently this did not include the 76th Regiment, which according to Private Preckfal arrived November 9th. This would have added probably seven or eight hundred to the number. But to continue with General Graham’s account:

“We soon afterwards arrived at Winchester, the place of our destination. The officers were lodged in the town on parole, the soldiers were marched several milesoff to a cleared spot in the woods, on which stood a few long huts, some of these occupied by prisoners taken at the Cowpens. ***** The huts were few, and there was a prospect of bad weather. Being the senior officer, I therefore applied to the Commissary of Prisoners for permission to send a certain number of men into the town to occupy a church, which was little used, and to which request he gave his consent, 500 men were brought in and the huts were distributed among the other prisoners.”

Graham mentioned that there were some prisoners from Cowpens in the huts at the Camp. These had never managed to get to Maryland as they had originally been ordered to do. Preckfal mentioned that part of the 76th Regiment had been quartered in the “English and German Church.” We believe this to be the German Reform Church, which stood on their lot at the corner of East, and Woodstock Lanes, and is now inside the fence at Mount Hebron Cemetery. It could be that services were held in both English and German, which would account for Preckfal’s description of it. This did not suit Daniel Morgan, and after some correspondence he finally wrote General Graham in part as follows:

“Saratoga, 28th November 1781

“Sir—I read your letter of this day’s date, and am really surprised at the purport of it. Two or three days before Christmas our army began to hut at Middle brook Jersey, and had nothing to keep off the inclemency of the weather till huts were made. You have time enough. This snow won’t last long, it will be gone directly, if your men don’t know how to work they must learn, we did not ask for them to come among us, neither can we work for them to build them houses. I have been a prisoner as well as they, and was kept in close gaol five months and twelve days; six and thirty officers and their serv’ts in one room, so that we lay down upon straw we covered the whole floore, consider this and your men have
nothing to grumble at. Col. Holmes had no right to bring them to town, they were ordered to the barracks and there they ought to have continued. Col. Holmes tho a Commissary of Prisoners, is still under control, you have nothing to do but hut your men as soon as you can, for that must be the case. ***** They must not stay in Town much longer, I will try to redress every grievance as well as I can, but this I can't look upon as a grievance; if we had barracks to afford you, you should have them, but as we have them not your men must cover themselves, at least I would recommend it to them, or they will suffer.

I have wrote this letter in a plain, rough stile, that you might know what you had to depend on, at which I hope you'nt take umbrage.

"Dan Morgan
"Brigadier Genl.

"To Captain Samuel Graham
"a British officer in Winchester"

General Graham does not tell us what, if any, steps he took to follow Morgan's advice about hutting his soldiers. He evidently did not resent the tone of the Morgan letter, for he invited Morgan to dinner, where they both seemed to enjoy their conversation. Morgan told about ordering one of his best shots to aim at a horseman, who was being very successful in his attempts to rally the defeated British at one of the battles around Saratoga, N.Y. and who did not appear again after the man had shot. Graham added that the officer must have been General Fraser. Morgan also told Graham about being flogged during the Braddock expedition, and that he had counted the lashes and still owed King George one lash as the drummer had miscounted. (Graham Chapter six, pages 66 et seq.) According to Ward II, page 648, the rifleman, who shot General Fraser was Tim Murphy, who had a double-barreled rifle. It is too bad that Ward does not give us his authority.

On December 11, 1781 General Morgan wrote Governor Harrison reciting the deficiencies of the arrangements for keeping the prisoners at Winchester. He complained of the location of the camp in what, he called, “a Tory settlement”, and added that the German population assisted the prisoners in deserting, by furnishing them clothing after getting them from the camp under the pretext of using them as laborers. He concluded his letter with the following paragraph:

“I would beg leave to inform your Excellency that this County is particularly aggrieved, owning to its being a continued thoroughfare heretofore both our Prisoners and Troops' and the adjacent counties neglecting to furnish their Proportion of Provisions, seizure is made in this (it being the more convenient) for their immediate support, which unless altered shortly must turn to the entire ruin of the inhabitants: In short, I am well convinced that the Troops cannot subsist much longer under the present Establishment: but having wrote to his Excellency Genl. Washington, will act for the best, until I receive his and your instructions.” (Calendar II, pages 646 & 647)
Daniel Morgan seems to have written other letters about the prisoner situation at Winchester, for on December 11th. Governor Harrison wrote him saying that Colonel Holmes had sent him the letter Holmes had received from Morgan about the difficulties there were in securing food from the people to feed the prisoners. The Governor stated that the Continental and State Commissaries had agreed that the Continent should furnish money to pay for the food acquired by the State to subsist the prisoners, and that the necessity for impressment should end. He asked Morgan to use his influence to get the necessary supplies until the first of the year, by which time Congress should have made money available to pay for it. He was also much disturbed by the report from Holmes about the number of prisoners, who had deserted, and asked Morgan to give his assistance in remedying that situation. (Letters III, page 108). December 13th. Colonel Holmes wrote Governor Harrison about the lack of guards. He outlined a suggested division of militia to be drawn from Frederick, Berkeley, Hampshire, Fauquier, Shenandoah, Loudoun, and Rockingham Counties, for the purpose of furnishing guards for the prisoners at Winchester. He also asked that the Continental Quartermaster furnish tools to enable the prisoners to build more huts, and handcuffs and irons be furnished by the United States for the purpose of restraining the more uncooperative among the prisoners, and further that the guards be furnished arms. The Commanding Officer of the guards to make out his Pay Rolls and send them to Philadelphia. (Calendar II, pages 657 & 658). But nothing seemed to improve the situation. December 27th. Colonel Wood wrote the Governor about the lack of subsistence for both prisoners and guards (Calendar II, pages 673 & 674).

On January 5th, 1782 Colonel John Smith wrote Governor Harrison as follows:

"The enclosed letter from Genl. Lincoln, was delivered me a few days since, by Lt. Col. North of the Pennsylvania Line, requesting a guard from the militia of this county, to escort the prisoners of War now stationed at the barracks near Winchester, to some post without this State. As my last orders from Virginia Board of War in respect to militia guards, had been fully complied with, I did not conceive my powers were sufficiently extensive, as County Lt. to enable me to comply with this requisition of Genl. Lincoln. I therefore referred the letter to Col. Holmes, the officer commanding the guard, & from his report find a sufficient escort cannot be immediately furnished from his command. ***** The great hardships which the people have suffered from some time past by the impressing law for the maintenance of prisoners, they humblly consider entitle them to hope for a continuance at this post, now that a prospect of advantage appears to attend their presence." (Letters III, page 123).
In reply to this Governor Harrison wrote Colonel John Smith as follows:

"Sir,

"The Commissioner of the War Office has directed the Commander of the guard at Winchester to furnish him a proper escort to the prisoners of War, and I have to request the favor of you to give every assistance in your power. He has also directions to make application to the County Lieutenant of Frederick and Berkeley to give them aid in procuring the necessary Waggons. It is my earnest desire that this may be done voluntarily by the people, and they may be assured payment shall be made by the State as soon as possible, if it can be obtained from Continent, but this I would have insisted on as far as decency will permit. If Waggons cannot be obtained as above, force must be used, for which purpose I have granted an Impress Warrant.

"I am sorry the inhabitants of Winchester & the Counties in its neighborhood should be displeased at the removal of the prisoners. If they are the losers by it, it is their own doings. Every Letter to the Executive from that part of the Country since their being placed in that town has been filled with complaints that they were riotous, were starving and that the people would not suffer provisions to be taken to support them, tho' they were assured that that mode wouldn't be used longer than 1st. of January. I was also informed that even the guards were so negligent of their duty that great numbers of them have escaped, nay even assisted by the Country people in doing it and furnished with hunting shirts to disguise them; Similar representations I dare say have been made to Genl. Washington and Congress and therefore it is that they are removed." (Letters III, page 124.)

Governor Harrison then refused to ask that the prisoners be left at Winchester and the same day wrote to the Commanding Officers of the guards at Winchester to impress wagons, and supplies, and to call out the militia guards to move the prisoners to the borders of Maryland. General Graham did not give the date of the departure of the British prisoners, only said orders were issued soon after Christmas, and that they were to go to "Little York" in Pennsylvania. Popp says the British left on January 26th., for Lancaster, which according to Graham was the destination of the British at Frederick, Maryland. The Germans left January 27th., and except for the sick and those working in the country, who could not be called in, in time, there were no prisoners left after January 27th. Whether any of the British were left behind is doubtful, but that there were Germans is certain, as Popp reported that there were, and as several German families are reported to be descended from "Hessians", who were left when the others departed. (Cartmell, page 519).

It is extremely hard to find out the numbers of prisoners here at various times, but the number was largest after the arrival of the Yorktown prisoners. When they were all collected here there must have been over three thousand. It is no wonder that the citizens complained about being required to furnish food and guards for so many prisoners, without much hope of ever being
recompensed for either. And then toward the end of the war, when money was available for pay for such services, they were whisked away to Pennsylvania. In spite of the difficulties and sacrifices caused by the presence of these prisoners the people of Winchester and Frederick County have always been proud of having had them here, and we suspect, had a genuine, although secret, affection for them. They have been always present in the community consciousness and memory. The Germans (mistakenly called Hessians) seem to have made a much deeper and more favorable impression than the British on the community. This was not because of their larger numbers, but they were probably a better class of citizen to start with, and were better disciplined off the battlefield. We have seen that, when confronted with leaky cabins, or an insufficient number of cabins, they did something about it, while the British prisoners tried to convert one of the churches into a barracks. The Germans spoke the language of many of the settlers, and were frequently welcomed into their homes, either as visitors or as workmen.

The larger portion of the Germans, who came to America to fight for King George, were from the two German provinces of Hesse Cassel and Hesse Hanau, and they were the first to arrive. Hence the name Hessian was given to all German mercenaries. Only the ones at Winchester, who were captured at Trenton, were Hessians. The Convention Prisoners were from Brunswick and the Yorktown ones from Anspach and Bayreuth. It is interesting to note that of nearly thirty-thousand Germans sent to America, about 42% did not return to Germany. (Lowell, page 267)

For many years it has been a sort of status symbol to live in a house “built by Hessian Prisoners.” In our study for writing this article we have found only two references in print, or manuscript, to such activity. The first found on pages 270 & 271 of Cartmell says that Daniel Morgan had certain prisoners quarry rocks for his home, “Saratoga”, and that they carried them on their backs to the site of the house. The second reference is in a book “The Hessians and the other German Auxiliaries of Great Britain in the Revolutionary War” by Edward J. Lowell. On page 267 Mr. Lowell says in part:

“There is a legend, which tells that the house he (Morgan) built himself near Winchester, in the Valley of Virginia, was constructed of stones quarried by Hessian prisoners, who carried them for miles on their shoulders. The story is picturesque and not impossible, but I know of no German authority for it.”

Mr. Lowell’s bibliography shows that he consulted 29 German authorities plus 12 German manuscripts. This quarrying was supposed to have been done in 1777 when Morgan was at home recruiting his Rifle Regiment. At that time there were 350 prisoners at Winchester. The Convention prisoners were here only three months, and the Yorktown prisoners only eleven weeks, so there was hardly time to do much building, particularly as they were pretty busy making their cabins habitable.
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Lowell  *The Hessians and the Other German Auxiliaries of Great Britain in the Revolutionary War*. By Edward J. Lowell.

Miller  Genealogical Notes by Godfrey Miller. Photostatic Copy in the possession of the Winchester-Frederick County Historical Society.


Preckfal  *Diary of Johan Ernst Preckfal, Hessian Prisoner Captured at Yorktown—Translated from the German by Winchester-Frederick Historical Society. Photostat in Possession of the Society*.

Company of Spartansburg, S.C.


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August 12, 1974

Mr. Lewis N. Barton
700 S. Stewart Street
Winchester, Va. 22601

Dear Mr. Barton:

Thank you for your interest in The Iron Worker and your request to reprint information contained in the Autumn 1973 issue. As always, in cases such as this, we are delighted to see the life and interest of information we have published expanded.

I approve the use of information obtained from the Autumn 1973 Iron Worker article “German Prisoners in Virginia During the Revolution” as described in your August 7, 1974, letter for the Winchester and Frederick County Historical Society.

In giving credit to The Iron Worker, please use the corrected copyright and registration as it appears below.

Sincerely,

Tom Hausman
Editor, The Iron Worker

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List Of Members Of Daniel Morgan’s Rifle Company
Compiled by Lewis N. Barton

The following list is a composite of four lists. In many cases the spelling of a name has varied from one list to another, and we have used the spelling, which we feel is the accepted local spelling of the name. We have indicated after each name the list or lists from which it came. The lists are as follows:

1. List published in Cartmell, for which he gave this authority, “The U.S. Government record shows that on the 4th. day of January, 1776, Col. Allan Maclean of ‘Royal Emigrants’ inspected the prisoners, and with the aid of officers took their names and places of nativity. Those of British birth were required to enlist in his regiment, under the threat of being sent to England and tried as traitors.” Whether this list included his list of killed and wounded he does not say. This action of Col. Maclean explains the list of those “Enlisted in the King’s Service.” Cartmell omitted all names which were not from “Old Frederick” County.


3. List of Prisoners at Quebec furnished from their official records and loaned by Benjamin Belchic, President of the Winchester-Frederick County Historical Society.

4. Abstract of Pay Roll for a part of Capt. Morgan’s Company under the command of Capt. Hugh Stevenson, being from the time of their enlistment to the 30th. of June 1776, among causes ended May 1787.

Killed In The Assault On Quebec

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>List(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Lt. John Humphrey</td>
<td>(1,2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Colbert</td>
<td>(1,2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matthew Harbinson</td>
<td>(1,2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Moore</td>
<td>(1,2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cornelius Morris</td>
<td>(1,2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>William Rutledge</td>
<td>(1,2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>David Wilson</td>
<td>(1,2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Wolfe</td>
<td>(1,2)</td>
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</table>

Total 8

Wounded In The Assault On Quebec

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>List(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Daniel Anderson</td>
<td>(1,2,3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benjamin Caekley</td>
<td>(1,2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel Durst</td>
<td>(1,2,3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solomon Fitzpatrick</td>
<td>(1,2,3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spencer George</td>
<td>(1,2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adam Heiskell</td>
<td>(1,2,3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John McGuire</td>
<td>(1,2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hezekiah Phillips</td>
<td>(1,2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesse Wheeler</td>
<td>(1,2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 9
Prisoners At Quebec

Capt. Daniel Morgan (1,2,3)
2nd. Lt. William Heth (1,2,3)
3rd. Lt. Peter Bryan Bruin (1,2,3)
1st. Sgt. Charles Porterfield (1,2,3)
Sgt. John Donaldson (1,2)
Sgt. William Fickhis (1,2)
Corp. Benjamin Grubb (1,2,3)
Corp. John Rogers (1,2)
John Alford (3)
Isaac Beetleley (3)
Absalom Brown (1,2,3,4)
John Brown (1,2,3)
Isaac Beetleley (3)
Absalom Brown (1,2,3,4)
John Brown (1,2,3)
John Burns (1,2)
Thomas Chapman (1,2,3)
John Conner (1,2)
Daniel Davis (1,2,3)
William Flood (1,2,3)
Jeremiah Gordon (1,2,3)
William Greenway (1,2,3)
David Griffith (1,2,3)
Charles Grim (1,2,3)

John Harbison (1,2,3)
Casper de Hart (1,2)
Rowland Jacobs (1,2,3)
Adam Kurtz (1,2,3)
Peter Lauck (1,2,3)
Henry McGowen (1,2,3)
Benjamin McIntire (1,2,3)
John Maid (1,2,3)
George Merchant (1)
Sent to England
Robert Mitchell (1,2,4)
John Oram (1,2,3)
John Pearce (1,2,3)
Jedekiah Phillips (1,2,3)
Jeremiah Riddle (1,2)
Benjamin Roderick (1,2)
Benjamin Rothroe (3)
Charles Secrist (1,2,3)
John Schultz (1,2,3)
Jacob Sperry (1,2,3)
John Stephens (1,2,3)
Solomon Veal (1,3)
Jacob Ware (1,2)
Thomas Williams (1,2,4)
Total 44

Attached To Capt Hugh Stevenson’s Company as shown by suit.

John Bevens (4)
Absalom Brown (1,2,3,4)*
Joseph Carter (4)
John Cole (4)
Charles Green (4)
William Green (4)
William Green, 2nd. (4)
Thomas Holland (4)
John Holt (4)
Benjamin Keckley (4)

Arthur McCord (4)
Robert Mitchell (1,2,3,4)*
George Payner (4)
Hese Phillips (4)
Carl Romingham (4)
John Smoot (4)
Timothy Tuly (4)
William Waller (4)
Thomas Williams (1,2,3,4)*

*These names are all listed as prisoners at Quebec. We do not know how they were also attached to Capt. Stevenson’s Company, but are listing them here and not including them in the total of 16.
Enlisted In The King's Service

Curtis Bramingham (1,2)  Patrick Dooland (1,2)
Robert Churchill (1,2)    Conrad Enders (1)
John Cochran (1,2)       Timothy Feely (1,2)#
Christopher Dolton (1,2) Edward Seedes (2)

Total 8

# Cartmell said that Timothy Feely was either exchanged, or had escaped and returned to America and to the army.

Grand Total of Members 85

Cartmell listed the following as being thought to have been members of the company, who escaped at the time of the assault on Quebec and returned to Frederick County, and were accepted as comrades by the prisoners when they returned. He added, however, that they may have been confused with members of the rifle companies recruited in 1777.

Robert Anderson
William Ball
George Greenway
Mark Hays

If we include these eight names we have a total of 93, which is very close to the number frequently mentioned as the membership of the company, which is 96.

The Composition Of The “Dutch Mess” As Listed By Various Local Writers

Compiled by Lewis N. Barton

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>David Holmes Conrad*</th>
<th>Winchester Virginian Sept. 27, 1834</th>
<th>An Appeal to the People of Virginia 1856</th>
<th>Minutes of Mt. Hebron Cemetery June 24, 1844</th>
<th>W.G. Russell Recollections as told by Cartmell, Page 103-104</th>
<th>Material on Hatcher &amp; Lauck Families, quoted in notes to “What I Know About Winchester”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grim</td>
<td>Charles Grim Adam Heiskell</td>
<td>Charles Grim Adam Heiskell Adam Kurtz**</td>
<td>Charles Grim Adam Heiskell Adam Kurtz**</td>
<td>Charles Grim Adam Heiskell Adam Kurtz** Peter Lauck John Schultz Jacob Sperry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heiskell</td>
<td>Adam Kurtz** Peter Lauck John Schultz Jacob Sperry</td>
<td>Adam Kurtz** Peter Lauck John Schultz Jacob Sperry</td>
<td>Adam Kurtz** Peter Lauck John Schultz Jacob Sperry</td>
<td>Adam Kurtz** Peter Lauck John Schultz Jacob Sperry Simon Lauck</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurtz</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Peter Lauck</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>John Schultz</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sperri</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*Annual Papers of Winchester Frederick County Historical Society Volume I, page 207. “Early History of Winchester” by David Holmes Conrad, 1800-1877, as follows:

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“I have referred to Morgan's old veterans, called themselves, 'The Dutch Mess'. They consisted of Peter Lauck, John Schultz, Grim, Kurtz, Sperry and Heiskell; the last named in Hampshire County, the first five preserved to extreme old age—Christian men, and have left large and reputable families of their descendents.

**Adam Kurtz is the only one of many Morgan Riflemen mentioned as such by Mr. William Greenway Russell in the text of "What I Know About Winchester", whom he identifies, by name as a member of "The Dutch Mess". See page 35 of Volume II Winchester-Frederick County Historical Papers.

John Schultz, the smallest and weakest member of the company, was to be the last survivor, dying Nov. 5, 1840, at the age of 87.
Daniel Morgan Funeral Sermon and Notes by Dr. William E. Hill

Note: The following is from a manuscript in the library of the Virginia Historical Society. Permission to print the material herewith presented has been given in writing by the Virginia Historical Society, providing proper credit is recorded to the Society.

The Rev. William Hill D.D. was born March 3, 1769 in Cumberland County, Virginia. He was graduated from Hampden-Sydney College in 1788. He became pastor of the Old Stone Presbyterian Church in 1800 and lived in Winchester until his death in 1852. He was a leading minister of his denomination and one of the proponents of the “new school” movement in his church. He was a close personal friend of General Morgan, who under Dr. Hill’s influence was converted and became a member of the Old Stone Church. Many of the biographers of Daniel Morgan have depended upon Dr. Hill’s recollections for facts about the General. Dr. Hill is buried in Mt. Hebron Cemetery. (Norris-p. 257; Woodworth pages 16-17-109)

... From the Winchester Gazette

The following is the concluding Address, or Biographical Remarks, of the Rev. William Hill’s Sermon upon the death of Gen. Daniel Morgan:

We have, my brethren, been considering death in the general point of view, or as it concerns us all alike.

It may not be amiss for us, at present, to exercise a few thoughts upon the particular instance of death before us. The present case confirms the truth of the text, that “It is appointed unto all men once to die.” He that could expose himself time after time on the ensanguined plain, amidst the roar of cannon and the clash of arms—where death-bearing bullets flew like hail-stones, and come off unhurt—he whose iron constitution and firm contexture of body enabled him to survive the deadly wound inflicted by the sure aim of a savage marksman*, must at last yield to nature’s stern decree.

The imposing occasion compels me to depart from my usual silence respecting the dead, and gratitude constrains me to eulogize him whom I esteem so much our benefactor.

*This refers to a wound he once received from an Indian. The bullet entered the back of his neck about midway, and came out at his left cheek, having knocked out all his jaw teeth on that side.
As to his private character, I presume it would be needless for me to say much before an audience who were generally much better acquainted with him than myself; and with this we have but little to do. If, from an almost total neglect of education in his youth, and his being in that critical season of life exposed to much loose company, he had contracted some bad habits and vices which were not to be overcome but with great difficulty, these should be touched but lightly, especially as we hope he was in his last days brought to see the impropriety and folly of these things, and sincerely repent of the same. Notwithstanding it is but justice to declare, that he was the affectionate Husband, the tender and indulent parent, the humane Master, the steady Friend, and one whose heart could not withstand the face of distress or the tale of woe, but constrained him to grant assistance when needed.

But that for which nature chiefly formed him as the Patriot and the Soldier, when we consider the obscurity from which he rose; the honor and power to which he ascended; & the great services which he rendered his country—we may say he had few very few equals.

The predominant passion of his heart appears to have been the Love of his Country. This together with the Vividus Impetus of his nature, caused him soon to fly to the standard of his country; and how well he acquitted himself there, let history tell. In the dark and gloomy stages of our contest with Britain, his attachment was unshaken. Admitting that he was not insensible to the advantages of riches and affluence, this will serve only to shew more conspicuously his regard to the public good. It is well known that he began his career in life low in the world and in this state he was still when taken prisoner at Quebec. At that time the American cause was at a low ebb, and but a gloomy prospect presented itself to us. It was in such a state, while in close confinement, he spurned with indignation the rank and emolument as a Colonel's commission for life in the British army, though he was but an American Captain. You may see his unusual attachment to his country highly commended by General Washington, in his letters to Congress, after his exchange and urged as a motive why he should be promoted to a Colonel's commission in the American army.

The brave, intrepid and I am sorry to add infamous Arnold was not as inaccessible when placed in circumstances infinitely more eligible than the prison of Quebec. Whenever his country called, our deceased friend was at hand; against her interest no office or honor or emolument had charms; when she was threatened, no danger could intimidate. And even while he retained any recollection, the welfare of his country was his topic, and appeared to absorb his whole soul.

But as a Soldier he has rendered his country most essential services. To
retrace his different adventures, escapes and achievements would be to recount almost all the memorable transactions that took place from Quebec to Georgia, and give anew the history of the Revolution.

Who has not heard of his memorable exploits in storming the walls of Quebec? After the unfortunate Arnold had fallen, although there were other officers superior in rank to him, they all shrank back and constrained him to conduct the enterprise. By performing prodigies of valour, and feats of heroism, he forced his way into the heart of the town, where he expected to meet the brave Montgomery. But fortune declared against the arduous attempt, and he and his brave comrades were in their turns, made prisoners after defending themselves to the last extremity.

At Saratoga he acquired laurels for his commander in chief. He was the acting officer in the first day's actions and in the second he acted at first in concert with Arnold; but when he again fell, the command devolved upon Col. Morgan. It is a little mysterious that there is no credit given him for those exploits in the American history of the Revolution, while in some of the British accounts, his name is mentioned with great honour and applause. I am still in hopes that this business will be enquired into by some future historian, and justice done to his memory.* It is certain we owe the capture of Burgoyne's army more to his exertions, watchfulness and bravery, than to any other man.

Who remembers not the memorable action of the Cowpens? We have just heard that his actions chiefly contributed to brighten our prospects from the north—Now, when America was all but in despair, our spirits dejected, and our nerves paralyzed, we hear him thundering from the south, and giving the first check to the ravages of British insolence in that quarter. Had not this event taken place at that time, I can not certainly say what might have been the consequence. But it flew from south to north like a shock of electricity, revived our languid hopes, and strung our sinews anew for the contest. Vast crowds came flocking to his standard, to assist in his prisoner-encumbered retreat.

But I must check myself—As a soldier he appeared to write what is seldom found in contact—caution with intrepidity, an entire self possession with an impetuous ardour and flow of spirits. He was certainly a child of fortune, but his successes are not attributable to a fortunate concurrence of circum-

*Immediately after the affair of Saratoga, an unhappy difference took place between General Gates and Colonel Morgan; hence we may account for the silence observable in Gates's official letters, respecting Morgan, and from these letters Dr. Ramsay compiled his history of the capture of Burgoyne. See Gordon's account and others.
stances. There was a wisdom and sagacity discoverable in all his plans and operations, which evinced the strong energetic mind, that knew how to avail itself of every advantage of situation and time, and, bar accidents, surprise.

In camp he was vigilant and attentive; he made it a point to be in every place in person, and see that everything was done in season. He was tender and attentive to all his men, and did what was in his power to render them comfortable—he was foremost in fatigue, and never failed to stimulate by example—he was a strict and exact disciplinarian, and had the happy talent of effecting this without severity. In the field of action he was cool and self possessed, but his (eye) would appear to be in every place, and dart along his ranks with penetration and keenness peculiar to himself; and in the attack he had the impetuosity of a resistless torrent:—In fact, he was the complete soldier. I think we may venture to assert that he has not left another behind him to whom we are so much indebted for our Independence and Liberty.

Whilst here we sit each under his own vine and fig-tree, and none to make us afraid—Whilst the liberty he has contributed so largely to procure for us gilds our path through life, gladdens every scene, and makes yon sun himself to shine with new lustre, the name of Morgan shall be precious to our hearts.—Posterity itself shall know thy name, and knowing it, learn to imitate thy PATRIOTISM and BRAVERY-BELOVED PATRIOT and HERO we bid thee FAREWELL.

I shall subjoin by the way of notes to the above some things which I know to be facts. These facts were partly learned from credible witnesses who were Morgan's companions & partly from himself.

He was raised in the State of New Jersey & sprung from very obscure parentage. He came to Frederick County, Virginia when a young man & was employed as a day-laborer. He is known by many persons now living to have been employed in grubbing-attending a sawmill & driving a wagon, in the last mentioned business he was engaged for a number of years. It was whilst acting as a waggoner to the army he was sentenced to receive five hundred lashes for insubordination to an officer (perhaps he struck him) which he actually received at Fort Chisel (?)—He used frequently afterwards to say in a jocular way that King George was indebted to him one lash yet for the drummer miscounted one & he knew it when he did it; so that he only received 499 when he had promised him 500.

He was in his youth often embroiled in quarreling & engaged in fighting & bullying with the Davis's, Stinsons & Darks (one of whom was afterwards Genl. Dark) a set of the stoutest and strongest men perhaps this country ever
produced, and from their riotous and disorderly meetings the chief place of their rendezvous was called Battletown, which name it bears to this day.

It is a fact not generally known that Genl. Morgan in the latter part of his life became a very altered man—He evidenced great penitence for his former misspent life—became a member of the Presbyterian Church—was a constant & regular attendant upon worship & died in full communion in the church.

The following is a statement of an occurrence which took place while Morgan was a Prisoner in Quebec, which the Genl. related to me about 2 years before his death. While in confinement in Quebec he was visited by a British officer to him unknown, but from his dress & uniform, he appeared to belong to the navy & to be an officer of some distinction. This officer appeared to commiserate Morgan in his comfortless situation. He one day asked Morgan if he did not begin to conclude that the Americans had embarked in a wild and visionary scheme? He endeavored to convince him that their undertaking was impracticable & advised him to drop all thoughts of breaking the connection between the Colonies and the Mother Country—He said he admired Morgan for the spirit & enterprize he manifested—a spirit he said worthy of a better cause—and if he would agree to withdraw from the Americans & join the British he was authorized to promise him the commission rank & emoluments of a Colonel in the British army—This proposal was rejected with disdain, with this reply “That he hoped he would never again insult him in his distressed and unfortunate situation, by making him offers which plainly implied that he thought him a rascal.” In consequence the offer was never repeated.

When ready to scale the walls, Morgan ordered one of his men first to mount the ladder, but seeing him hesitate, he took the ladder himself & as soon as he raised his head over the wall a musket was fired in his face, the ball missed him, but he was badly burned by the powder, some grains of which he carried in his face to his grave, & by the shock was thrown back at the foot of the ladder. He arose and took the ladder a second time—and as soon as he was high enough he sprung over the wall but alighting upon a cannon, he was thrown upon his back under its muzzle which no doubt saved his life, for there were several bayonets thrust at him at that moment which struck the cannon but missed him in consequence of his being thrown upon the ground. But by the time he arose, his men came pouring in after him & so diverted the attention of those around him that he escaped & presently took all that part of the town prisoners.
I shall now mention the rise of the difference between Gates & Morgan, which took place immediately after the surrender of Burgoyne—as related to me by Genl. Morgan. Immediately after the surrender of the British army Gates took Morgan aside & apparently in confidence asked Morgan if he knew that the greatest discontent prevailed in the American army at the Commander in Chief & that many of the most valuable officers threatened to resign if a change did not take place—Morgan, suspecting that Gates meant to make use of the present time, when the recent surrender of Burgoyne's army to him would give him such estate with Congress, to move the removal of Washington in hopes of getting the place himself & knowing how little credit was due to Gates, who in both days action was not out of his strongly fortified camp, replied “That he had one favour to ask of him which was never to mention that detestable subject to him again, for under no other man than Washington would he serve as commander in chief” & suddenly left Gates. From that time all intimacy between them ceased—A few days afterwards when Gates gave a dinner to the British officer, Morgan was not so much as invited, but coming in upon some business with Gates in time of (the) dinner, the British officers not being introduced to Col. Morgan, enquired who he was & being informed, rose from their seats at table, followed him to the door & introduced themselves to him so high an opinion had they conceived of him from the acquaintance they had formed of him on the field of battle.

Hence also we may account for the silence Gates preserved about Morgan in his dispatches to Congress respecting the previous actions & surrender of Burgoyne—But his fit tool Wilkerson who was to call the tune with Gates snug in camp was selected as the fortunate messenger & recommended for promotion. The night after the actions Gates met Morgan at the gate of the camp exclaiming—“Morgan you have done wonders for your country, if you are not promoted, I will not serve a day longer myself.” Yet in his dispatches he does not mention Morgan's name, which the rebuff Morgan gave him, when wishing to supplant Washington alone can account for.

Yet so high was the estimation Gates had for Morgan's talents as an officer, that notwithstanding the injury and neglect he had shown him—when he was ordered to take command of the southern army, he called upon Morgan, who was then at home for the recovery of his health & tarried several days with him, using every entreaty to prevail upon him to accompany him to the army & take a command under him again. But Morgan positively refused saying “I have gathered laurels enough for you without being thanked for it & you may now go and bury them in the sands of Carolina.”
Isaac Zane, Jr., A "Quaker For The Times"
by Roger W. Moss, Jr.*

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In the spring of 1775 Philip Vickers Fithian toured the Virginia frontier. Late in May he reached Stephensburg—now Stephens City—in the Valley south of Winchester to lodge several days with the storekeeper Joseph Holmes. "Before Dinner," Fithian records on the second, Col. Isaac Zane, Burgess for this County, came to the Store with Miss Betsey McFarland, his kept & confessed Mistress, & their young Son & Heir—Mr. Zane is a Man of the first Rank here, both in Property & Office—He possesses the noted Malbrow (Marlboro) Iron-Works, six Miles from this Town—He has many Slaves, & several valuable Plantations—He is, with Regard to Politicks, in his own Language, a "Quaker for the Times."—Of an open, willing, ready Conversation; talks much. And talks sensibly on the present Commotions—He is a Patriot of Fiery Temper.—In Dunmore (Shenandoah) County he is Col: of the Militia—One of the Burgesses in this—But he scorns to have a Wife!1

Who was this frontier cavalier? He is often cited in passing as among persons present at momentous events or corresponding with great men; but the diarist's sketch is the best, and nearly the only, contemporary account of a provocative character of the sort that tends to remain, if not anonymous, unproclaimed.2

The Zane family is most often remembered for Isaac's frontiersman cousin Ebenezer (1747-1812) who, together with his brothers, helped to open the Ohio Valley.3 Like so many other Philadelphians of the mid-eighteenth century, the Zanes were drawn down the Great Philadelphia Wagon Road by the rich hinterland of Virginia's Shenandoah Valley and the Carolina Piedmont. But while Ebenezer's father William Zane (1712-1779) gambled with the frontier, his uncle Isaac (1710/11-1794) was establishing a family in Philadelphia.4 In 1734 Isaac had married Sarah Elfreth, who bore him eight children. The fifth child and second son who survived was born on July 6, 1743, and named for his father.5

In his early teens the first Isaac Zane had departed the family farm at the mouth of Newton Creek opposite what is now South Philadelphia, to become an apprentice to a house carpenter.6 Less is known than might be wished of his professional life, beyond his early membership in that most important of American colonial craft guilds, the Carpenters' Company of Philadelphia.7 This and his listing as a gentleman in the *Philadelphia Directory* published
three years before his death in 1794 does suggest that Isaac Zane, Sr., was a product of the same vertical mobility that made rich and socially prominent Philadelphia master builders of Robert Smith and Samuel Powel.

The elder Zane was active in Philadelphia social and intellectual affairs, a moving force in the establishment of Quaker schools, and a contributor to the Pennsylvania Hospital. As a prominent Friend his name is often found associated with pronouncements by the Monthly Meeting; he headed, for example, a November 1788 petition protesting theater in Philadelphia, which would infest the city, it was alleged, with “jugglers, mountebanks, ropedancers, and other immoral and irreligious entertainments.” Late in a long life Isaac Zane, Sr., continued to lend his name to causes that a less vigorous person might have deferred to a younger generation. It is reasonable to assume that such a man as this would have seen his sons well educated, though the only detailed records are for 1749-1750 when six-year-old Isaac and his elder brother John are known to have been intrusted to the capable hands of the leading Quaker tutor Anthony Benezet.

When Isaac, Jr., was nineteen he visited Barbados, center of an important Philadelphia Quaker-merchant trade, and the following year, accompanied by David Potts and George Emlen, Jr., he journeyed to London by way of Ireland for a year's stay abroad. Later investments in Virginia suggest that these trips were more than a grand tour, that supported by his father the young man was engaged in a lucrative trading venture. But whether trading or touring, he doubtless expanded his perception of America’s position in the Empire and made the sort of personal contacts so vital to the colonial merchant. The young Friends obviously enjoyed themselves, too. A letter to London survives reporting: “We hear you Philadelphians have got yourselves shorn since your Arrival in the Metropolis, & that in Particular, ye Strait hair of Isaac Zane has been displaced, to make room for a flaxen full Bottom (wig), of very respectable dimensions.”

Soon after his return from London, Isaac, Jr., in the company of Charles Thomson, Samuel Powel, Owen Biddle, William Franklin, and several others, most of whom were Quakers, helped to found the new American Society for Promoting and Propagating Useful Knowledge. Patterned on Franklin’s Junto, and eventually to become part of the famous American Philosophical Society, the American Society appealed to Philadelphia’s anti-proprietary and democratic minded young intellectuals who sought to become a forum for ideas and a clearing house for “the Advancement of useful Knowledge and Improvements of our Country.” As such the American Society has been viewed “as part of the movement for colonial cultural union that accompanied the rising tide of opposition to the mother country.”

From the first Isaac evidenced a casual attitude toward the Society; his
attendance was never too regular. On September 19, 1766, he did pose for
debate before the Society: “Whether the farmer or the Merchant are the more
usefull to the Commonwealth,” and whether it is “advantageous or not to
admit women into the Councils of State?” Zane arrived late on October 10, to
participate in the spirited discussion which resolved—not surprisingly from
such an urban male group—that “the Merchant was most useful to the
commonwealth” and that it was “not to be advantageous to admit women
into the Councils of State.” Zane was not present at meetings after these
October debates, however, Reviewing this the Society resolved in November
that “Isaac Zane having been in Health and in Town and having absented
himself three Nights successively without sending a sufficient Apology or any
being made for him is therefore . . . excluded the Society, of which the
Secretary is directed to notify him.”

Isaac’s apathy toward Philadelphia affairs at this time is understandable,
for he had chosen to follow the path of his uncle to the Virginia frontier. In
Frederick County he purchased interest in an iron works, originally founded
by Lewis Stephens after he settled on Cedar Creek in 1756, located just six
miles off the Great Philadelphia Wagon Road and twelve miles south of
Winchester. This operation had acquired three Pennsylvania shareholders
in 1763; and it was these three—John Hughes, Samuel Potts, and John Potts,
Jr.—that Isaac joined in 1767 by buying Stephens’ fourth share for 2,500.
The following year young Zane sold all his property (“Except what belongs to
Marlboro, Furnace & Forge”) to his father for 1,100. How he came by
property of such considerable value remains a mystery; but the monies
certainly went to Virginia where Zane had just bought out his three partners.

The Marlboro Iron Works prospered. Together with the other ironmasters
of the region, many of whom were Quakers, Zane exploited the rich beds of
brown hematite ore and the abundant tracts of virgin woodland. In those
years before the Revolution he accumulated an estate that would eventually
exceed 20,000 acres. Clustered on the bank of Cedar Creek, Zane built a two-
story stone residence complete with fountain, garden, ponds, bath house,
stone ice and spring houses, orchards, barns, stables, and servant quarters
near a necessarily self-contained complex of a two-hammer forge, a sixteen-
foot-square furnace, a two-hundred-gallon still, stone merchant’s mill, saw
mill, stone smith’s shop, store, and counting house. Here were employed
nearly one hundred fifty persons cutting wood and mining to feed the greedy
furnace and four-fire forge. Few of these were slaves, though the ironmaster
did use some convict indentured servants.

In November 1772 Isaac wrote proudly to his brother-in-law John
Pemberton of a four-day production yielding five tons in bar iron and a week’s
casting of ten tons in stoves and two tons in pots. Jefferson reported that his
friend’s works produced annually one hundred fifty tons of bar and six
hundred tons of pig iron that was renowned for its toughness when cast into pots or salt pans.20 On the eve of the Revolution Zane projected that Marlboro would have a yearly production of two hundred tons of bar iron.21

As might be anticipated such an output was more than Valley trade could absorb; so pigs and bars not cast into an assortment of kettles, pots, skillets, strong boxes, and ovens for colonial sale were stamped “Zane” or “Marlboro” and loaded onto wagons for the arduous overland journey through Vestal’s, Williams’, or Ashby’s gaps to Potomac or Rappahannock River ports.22 Here it was consigned to the Falmouth merchant William Allason or to Hall & Gelpin in Alexandria for shipment to Lancelot Cowper or Lippincott & Brown of Bristol, John Bell of London, or William Gray in Glasgow. Allason in turn provided the ironmaster with such necessities as salt, sugar, rum, tar and the services of drayage, weighing, and currency exchange which were charged to Zane’s open account. On occasion Zane sent his iron as venture cargo through Allason in the triangular trade. In August 1769, for example, he sent two tons of iron to Boston where the ship’s captain was to invest the proceeds in fish oil, “Good dry Cod Fish,” rum, and molasses.23

Regardless of such omnipresent difficulties as low water in summer, labor shortages, and problems of currency and transportation, the Marlboro Iron Works made Zane a leading citizen of the upper Shenandoah Valley. Given his position it would not have seemed surprising had he turned to public life; indeed, by 1772 Isaac had already accepted the local office of magistrate.24 What made the decision exceptional was his willingness to face censure and disownment as a Friend for taking an oath of office. Had not George Fox warned to “take heed of giving people oaths to swear, for Christ our Lord and Master saith, ‘Swear not at all; but let your communication be yea, yea, and nay, nay: for whatsoever is more than these cometh evil’”?25

But if Fithian can be trusted, Zane does not appear to have been the type to content himself with local affairs only; and according to his frontiersman cousin Jonathan, “Isaac delights in crossing the Blue Ridge to talk politics.”26 In March of 1773, when writs were ordered to elect a new burgess to serve out the term of Robert Rutherford, who had been appointed Frederick County coroner, Zane stood before the gentlemen freeholders for the Virginia House of Burgesses.27 After soundly defeating Robert Wood and taking the oath, he was duly seated in the House.28

Quaker response to his election and oath-taking came from the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting. The Friends demanded to know if reports were true of “his having taken an Oath in order to be qualified for holding an Office in (the Virginia) Government?” Zane replied that they were, and then ignored efforts by the committee appointed to impress upon him that “unless he clears up his Character, desists from the Violation of our Testimony and Condemns it, the Meeting will be under the necessity to Testify against him.” Failing in their redemptive efforts the Meeting of March 1774, reluctantly disowned this
son of a leading Friend for Having "deviated from the principles in which he was educated, as to take an Oath in order to qualify himself for holding an Office, contrary to the command of our Lord Jesus Christ." Now more than the Virginia frontier separated Isaac Zane, Jr., from the insularity and rigid orthodoxy of Quaker Philadelphia.

It borders on the trite to remark that the years spanned by Isaac Zane's legislative career are among the most tempestuous in Virginia history. Soon after Zane's arrival at Williamsburg, the House appointed Frederick's new burgess to three of its six standing committees: the important Committee of Propositions and Grievances, the Committee on Religion, and the lesser Committee of Public Claims. Regardless of these assignments, suggesting as they do a favorable estimation by the older members, it would be a stretch of the imagination to style Zane a major figure. He lacked seniority, family connections, and, apparently, a brilliant intellect, all prerequisites for quick advancement. Zane is important, however, as an example of the lesser known burgesses who supported a revolution in the making, and by so doing gave the mercurial leaders the sustentation they required. For each Jefferson and Henry there had to be several burgesses like Zane: intelligent, optimistic, and sufficiently idealistic to risk the very wealth and position that made them leaders.

What were the private thoughts of the Frederick County representative on that day in May 1774 when he retired with the House to Raleigh Tavern? Unfortunately we can only guess, though the public record is clear. The following month the "gentlemen, merchants, freeholders, and other inhabitants" of Frederick County were called to Winchester to consider Virginia's response to the Boston Port Act. Isaac Zane, fresh from Williamsburg councils, together with six others, was appointed to draft a suitable statement for presentation to the assembled citizens. The eight "Resolves" they produced are similar to, though anticipating by a month, Jefferson's more articulate Resolutions of Albemarle County.

After affirming that "we will always cheerfully pay due submission to such Acts of Government as his Majesty has a right by law to exercise over his subjects, as Sovereign of the British Dominions, and to such only," the authors go on to enumerate "the inherent right of British subjects to be governed and taxed by Representatives chosen by themselves only" and that meddling in the "internal policy of North America, is a daring and unconstitutional invasion of our said rights and privileges." The Boston Port Act itself is declared "repugnant to the fundamental law of natural justice . . . (and) a despotic exertion of unconstitutional power, calculated to enslave a free and loyal people." To enforce such an act "will have a necessary tendency to raise civil war, thereby dissolving that union . . . between the mother country and her Colonies." After expressing this sympathetic support for Boston, the authors
called for a non-importation agreement and declared in particular that tea should not be purchased from "those servile tools of arbitrary power" the East India Company, who "have justly forfeited the esteem and regard of all honest men." To effect a general association, that these "same measures may be pursued through the whole Continent," it was recommended that a committee of correspondence be established and "when the same shall be formed and agreed on by the several Committees, we will strictly adhere thereto." This final resolution was completed by appointment of a committee of correspondence for Frederick County; on this committee were Isaac Zane, Jr., and five others.

Zane's papers tell us little of his thoughts during the pre-Revolution controversy. Just prior to Philip Fithian's May 1775 encounter with the "Patriot of a Fiery Temper," who "talks much; And talks sensibly on the present Commotions," Zane did write to George Rootes about his views:

I cannot conceive from what foundation a "charge of defection" against me can arise, and he who dare charge me so unjustly may expect to be treated as such conduct deserves. In turn every Gentleman Volunteer of America & particularly of Frederick (County), as a Brother who has embarked in a family cause, and in every emergency (sic) & on all occasions shall assist with my council, attend personally or contribute as far as I am able. Therefore I hope we may all as one keep clear of prejudicial reflections, join in that Bond of unity so essentially necessary and that we should all exist as one Soul, be as one Body, and nothing less than an annihilation of the whole should make us depart from our practice & Virtuous pursuits. As I always have been, so yet I am to every Gentleman Volunteer, and truly sympathizing Brother in the cause of our just Contest.

Zane represented Frederick County at the revolutionary conventions of March and July 1775 and May 1776. He had returned to Winchester by August 1776, however, in time to be among the first to subscribe to the oath as a justice under the newly established Commonwealth of Virginia court system. All the evidence suggests that excepting time spent at Williamsburg and Richmond, for he was returned as a member of the Virginia House of Delegates, Zane remained on the home front throughout the Revolution; nor is this surprising when the need for military accouterments is considered.

The Valley mobilized behind the patriot cause. Under Zane's direction the Marlboro Iron Works went on a war footing, producing critically needed six and four pound ordnance, shot, langrage, swivel balls, chain shot, kettles, salt pans, and stoves for the colonial forces. Zane was paid for the early orders, and there are records of his supplying shot and casting salt pans on order throughout the war. But by 1782 Governor Harrison admitted to the ironmaster that the four cannons he currently needed "to fit out four gun boats" could not be paid for, as there was "no resource or means of complying
with the request but your patriotism...I need not tell you that the Treasury is at Present without Cash.” How often the State appealed to Zane's patriotism during the war years is unknown, but at the end of the conflict he was still heavily in debt.

In addition to his state and local political duties and management of the Marlboro Iron Works, Isaac, Jr., like his father, gave considerable attention to Quakers exiled from Philadelphia in the fall of 1777. Arrested on the charge of being “inimical” to the cause of the Revolution, a number of prominent Friends, among them Isaac's brother-in-law John Pemberton, were ordered to depart Philadelphia and dwell on the Virginia frontier. In this crisis the Zanes rushed to their assistance. The elder Zane actively sought to free the Friends who were to be exiled from the city. Failing in that the sixty-six-year-old carpenter intercepted the prisoners at Reading on their way to exile in Virginia and in the attempt was “violently pulled away, struck, and stoned... (and) was considerably bruised and hurt.”

Isaac, Jr., “as a Brother who has embarked in a family cause,” and risking guilt by association, interceded from Virginia and through his influence had the exiles detained at Winchester rather than sent on to Staunton as originally ordered. Here he could protect them and they would have the succor of the strong Quaker community which composed the Hopewell Meeting. Thus were the Philadelphians given a modicum of freedom, allowed to hold meeting twice a week, and enabled to maintain contact with their families in Philadelphia.

Undeterred by his bruising, the elder Zane finally obtained an interview with Pemberton and in January 1778 led a delegation from Philadelphia to York where he appealed to a committee of Congress for release of the Quakers. According to Pemberton, his father-in-law “had an opportunity to correct many of the false reports concerning the conduct of Friends in Pennsylvania, which had occasioned them to be under great prejudice against our religious Society.” In cognizance Congress resolved on January 29, 1778, that the prisoners be released and returned to Philadelphia.

Patriot, politician, and frontier entrepreneur, Isaac Zane, Jr., was also a man with some pretensions to culture. His letter suggest that if not scholarly Marlboro’s ironmaster was knowledgeable and well read. His association with the leading figures of colonial Virginia drew him easily into a society of grace and learning; and like many of his tidewater friends, he turned the proceeds of his prewar business into the creation of a comfortable personal estate. Silver, paintings, and furniture by Benjamin Randolph (the master Philadelphia cabinetmaker) all contributed to his material comfort.

Like many of the time, Zane sported an amateurish curiosity in natural phenomena, which his friendship with Thomas Jefferson encouraged. There is no indication that Zane knew Jefferson before entering the Virginia House
of Burgesses, though he might have met him while both were visitors at Montpelier.\textsuperscript{51} The two were repeatedly brought together in Virginia revolutionary councils. During the war Zane actively supported Jefferson's "Bill to Prevent the Importation of Slaves, & c.", and while Jefferson served as wartime governor there was contact between them relating to the production of war materiel.\textsuperscript{52}

In 1783 Zane suggested that Jefferson stop at Marlboro on his way to Congress in Philadelphia, an invitation Jefferson readily accepted. From their correspondence it is possible to visualize the two rambling about Zane's estate, discussing the mechanical principles of the ironmaster's water wheel and exploring the limestone caves which honeycomb the region.\textsuperscript{53} After leaving Marlboro with a letter of introduction to Isaac's younger sister Sarah in Philadelphia, Jefferson sent Zane a thermometer for exact readings in the cave they had explored, accompanied by suggestions for redesigning the Marlboro water wheel.\textsuperscript{54} Zane reciprocated with the gift of a looking glass for Martha Jefferson.\textsuperscript{55} The readings Zane eventually made (after considerable prompting by Jefferson and Madison) were included in the \textit{Notes on the State of Virginia}.\textsuperscript{56}

During this same period, Zane's indebtedness again caused him difficulty. In December 1777 the widow of William Byrd III published a sale catalogue of her late husband's library at Westover, "consisting of near 4000 Volumes, in all Languages and Faculties, contained in twenty three double Presses of black walnut... the Whole in excellent Order. Great Part of the Books (are) in elegant Bindings, and of the best Editions, and a considerable Number of them very Scarce." Early payments for cannon and shot had made Zane temporarily affluent, so he elected Mary Willing Byrd's offer to "treat with those who are inclined to purchase the Whole" by paying 2,000 for the entire library in March 1778.\textsuperscript{57}

Conditions had changed by 1781, however, and Zane attempted to recover this considerable sum by shipping most of the library to Philadelphia for sale. To his chagrin so many volumes glutted even the Philadelphia book market. Consigned first to auctioneer Robert Bell, then to William Pritchard, bookseller and stationer, the library moved so slowly that brother-in-law John Pemberton finally transferred the unsold books to his home where he personally handled the dispersal.\textsuperscript{58} Both Jefferson and Madison record purchasing volumes from the library, but the influx of legislators failed to create the boom Pemberton had anticipated. As late as 1792, he was writing to Zane, "No Books sold very lately. I had hoped the Members of Congress would ave taken Many, but Am Disappointed (sic)."\textsuperscript{59} Failing in the hoped for quick return from his library, Zane offered the Marlboro Iron Works for sale in August of 1783, but to no avail. Once again John Pemberton appears to have come to his aid. According to Zane's executor's, Marlboro was heavily
mortagaged to his brother-in-law. From the Revolution until his death on August 10, 1795, Zane’s primary concern was the plantation at Marlboro. He remained active in the militia and was raised to the rank of brigadier general in June of 1794, the same year he was commissioned county lieutenant for Shenandoah County. Isaac also continued to represent his neighbors in the Virginia Assembly; but excepting his support for Jefferson’s “Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom,” these final years in Richmond are of no particular note. The iron works, saddled by debt and suffering a reduction in markets, was no longer a profitable enterprise; the facilities were allowed to deteriorate, being “completely out of repair” by the time of Zane’s death.

Isaac Zane never married. For over two decades one Elizabeth McFarlane kept a home for him at Marlboro and bore the son, also named Isaac, that Fithian remarked upon in 1775. Elizabeth was known to the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, and when the oath-taking issue was raised in the summer of 1773, the investigators questioned Isaac about “his keeping Company with a Woman in such manner as has subjected himself to the charge of being Unchaste with her.” When Zane failed to clear himself of this charge, it too was enumerated in his disownment as one of the deviations “from the principles in which he was educated.”

It was to Isaac III and Elizabeth that Zane’s attention first turned in the late spring of 1795 when he was afflicted by the malady that proved fatal. Young Isaac would inherit little more than his father’s name, and beyond a yearly income of $300.00 the boy did not live to claim the legacy of $3,000.00 due him in 1799. He died intestat less than four years after his father with an estate valued below 50, composed mainly of his father’s gold watch, a bay horse, and sixty books purchased at the sale of General Zane’s estate.

Isaac Zane’s will provided Elizabeth with $500.00, a 297-acre farm in Shenandoah County, his best bed and chest of drawers and “all Such plate in my possession as is Marked with her Cypher also a Silver Cream Jugg and Sugar Tongs and Gold Watch and all wearing apparel heretofore given her and her Choice of my Cows and any other property which has generally been Known to belong to her.” These “Bequests and Donations being made in Satisfaction and in lieu of all claims and Demands which she may have against me or my Estate and on no Other Condition whatsoever.” Elizabeth drops from sight after the death of both father and son, there is no mention of her in extant family correspondence and no record that the farm was ever transferred to her name. Leaving Virginia she moved to Claremont County, Ohio, where she died in 1833, saved to memory by the blow she gave to Philip Fithian’s Presbyterian sensibilities.

Zane also remembered three friends. To Gabriel Jones (1724-1806), a Valley lawyer and fellow burgess, he left $800.00 and his horse Ranger;
to Thomas Jefferson and James Madison he left ten guineas each “to purchase a memorial of our long And Mutual friendship.” After providing detailed instructions for the manumission of his adolescent slaves, he left the bulk of the estate to his sisters Sarah Zane and recently widowed Hannah Zane Pemberton.

The liquidation was long and laborious. Sarah, on whose shoulders the burden of settlement fell, moved to Winchester where during the next ten years she struggled to untangle the maze of deeds, sell the land and settle the many debts owed both to and by her brother. Not until 1812 did the court finally decree that all just claims against the estate had been made. From the property left to her Sarah deeded land in Isaac’s name to the Winchester Academy and the Hopewell Meeting. Though the debts were many, and the land slow to sell, even at $1.00 per acre, the estate yielded in the final accounting over 5,000.72

Isaac Zane, Jr., had moved with relative ease in three societies of eighteenth-century America; exchanging one for the other as easily as he must have changed his plain “Brown broad Cloth Coat,” for the “pair of red Indian Leggings” and deerskin shirt, or the “Black Velvet Coat” and breeches, “Sattin” black and white waistcoat, silk stockings, and silver spurs. His America was colonial Philadelphia at the apex of its vibrant social and economic maturity, the politically precocious tidewater Virginia of Thomas Jefferson and Patrick Henry, and the vernal bustling of back-country commerce.

For all his activities, Marlboro’s ironmaster remains most important as an example of the individual back-country entrepreneur responsible for opening America’s colonial frontier—as such he will be remembered. But Isaac carried to Virginia a cultural baggage, the Philadelphia relish for intellect and counting house, which served him well at Williamsburg and Marlboro. His participation in tobacco country political awareness and acceptance of easy going frontier morality represented more than a simple reaction to the orthodoxy of his father. Where the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting chose to abdicate political control in the face of required oaths and the demand for frontier defense, opting instead a hard-headed insularity of pacifism and purity of sect which ultimately failed to keep pace with a maturing America, Isaac freely selected what he believed to be the best elements of each society in pursuit of a full life. The inconsistencies of this bothered him not at all, nor could they; for Isaac Zane, Jr., was one of those allusive products of the Enlightenment, the Eighteenth Century Man. He would not, of course, have recognized the title any more than the Renaissance Man would have understood that historian’s tag. But Zane did recognize that by freely embracing three streams of American culture, he made himself a “Quaker for the Times.”
Mr. Moss is secretary and librarian of The Athenaeum of Philadelphia and is currently preparing a dissertation on the "Master Builders of Philadelphia in the Eighteenth Century" for the University of Delaware.


4. Patterson, "Zane", WVH, XII, 6-7. The will of Isaac Zane, Sr., is preserved in the Quaker Collection, Haverford College Library.

5. "Copies of Memoranda Relative to the Zane Family in the Possession of George Vaux," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XII, 123-125. Old style and Quaker dating have been converted without comment.


9. Society of Friends, *Some Observations Relating to the Establishment of Schools...* (Philadelphia, 1788). Isaac Zane, Sr., also subscribed for several years to support the school for Negroes (Receipt for three year subscription dated 1782, Gratz Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Thomas G. Morton and Frank Woodbury, *History of the Pennsylvania Hospital*, 1751-1895 (Philadelphia, 1895), p. 400: *The American Museum or Repository*, V (February 1789), 187). Like many Friends, Zane was also concerned with the plight of the Indian (Letter from Isaac Zane, Sr., "To the Western Indians" (May 1792), Swarthmore Friends Collection, Swarthmore College Library; Anthony Benezet to Isaac Zane, June 28, 1750, Gratz Collection, HSP; a 1754 bill from Alexander Seaton to Isaac Zane, Sr., for "teaching Isaac Grammer," Coates Collection, HSP). A silhouette of Isaac Zane, Sr., is reproduced by Charles Coleman Sellers, "Joseph Sansom, Philadelphia Silhouettist," *PMHB*, LXXXVIII (October 1964), 437.

Meeting recommended him back to Philadelphia, September 30, 1764 ("Philadelphia Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1763-1764," pp. 172, 265-266, Department of Records, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting; Shurmer Bath to (Isaac Zane, Jr.,?) January 7, 1764; Coates Collection, HSP).


15. Bill of Sale, Isaac Zane, Jr., to Isaac Zane, Sr., September 5, 1768, Quaker Collection, Haverford College Library. A most remarkable picture of how Zane became sole owner of Marlboró is available through a document entitled "Money Owing By Isaac Zane, junr" (ca. 1772) among the Pemberton Papers, HSP. John Pemberton, who had recently married Isaac's sister, evidently requested of the ironmaster a complete accounting which was supplied. In all, Zane reported owing seventeen individuals a total of $17,448.19.5, the major mortgage holders being the Potts Family at $8,000 (Zane had agreed to pay the Pottses this amount for their interest in the iron works in July 1768; see Deed Book XIII, 17-20), followed by Pemberton's $3,500, James Hamilton 680, and an assortment of loans from the elder Zane's fellow craftsmen who advanced sums ranging from 250 to 500. (During the period 1766 to 1769, both father and son borrowed heavily for the Virginia venture, sometimes together, sometimes separately; see several of these notes in the Gratz Collection, HSP). Equally interesting on Zane's sheet are Pemberton's rough figures at the bottom of the page where he computes that at six percent Zane would owe $960 annual interest. Thinking with his pen, Pemberton wrote: "suppose he makes 4 Tons (of) Iron per week (that) is 208 tons per year at 16 per ton 3328." This means, after expenses of 2000, a profit of 368 per year. On this basis, taking into account that "he has upwards of a Dozen servants" and 25,000 acres of land, worth $12,500 John Pemberton decided that his brother-in-law was not overextended. These debts, however, would plague Zane for the rest of his life. He had assumed both property and obligations of the iron works, and not all the individuals to whom he owed money had Pemberton's patience. The Falmouth merchant William Allason, for example, was considerably distressed that the new owner did not clear the "Potts, Zane and Potts" outstanding account of over $200 until January 1776 (William Allason Papers, Ledger Hand Letter Books, Virginia State Library; Miles Malone, "Falmouth and the Sheandoah Trade Before the Revolution," American Historical Review, XI (1935), 693-703).


17. Records of Zane's land speculation are confused, but some idea of the extent of his holdings is possible from an undated (ca. 1795) "Advertisement for the London Paper," which lists 22,743 acres for sale to liquidate the Zane estate; the Inventory of 1771 (both in the Coates MSS. Collection), and Zane's advertisement: "To Be Sold, Marlbro (sic) Iron-Works," Pennsylvania Journal and the Weekly Advertiser, August 23, 1783. One visitor called the plantation one of the most complete he had ever seen ("Extracts from the Journal of John Parrish, 1773," PMHB (1892), XVI, 447). The present residents of the ironworks site are Mr. Thomas Dick and Mr. and Mrs. Joseph W. Sharp. The map reproduced with this article dates from 1782. Gratz Collection, HSP.
18. Zane's Inventory of 1771 (Coates MSS) lists only one slave, but the 1795 estate inventory lists twenty-one Negroes valued at $859 (Frederick County Superior Court Will Book, I, 224-305). See Zane's offer of a $16.00 reward for the return of "two English convict servant men, imported last summer, and a country born negro..." Virginia Gazette (Pickney), December 13, 1775. Allason imported such convict indentured servants which he sold for 15 to 24 each (Freeman H. Hart, The Valley of Virginia in the American Revolution (Chapel Hill, 1942), pp. 16-18).

19. Isaac Zane, Jr., to John Pemberton, November 4, 1772. Coates MSS. Pemberton averaged the annual production at four tons per week; see footnote 15.


21. Isaac Zane, Jr., to John Pemberton, July 29, 1775, Coates MSS.

22. Fry and Jefferson's map of 1755 shows these three roads leading from Winchester to Potomac or Rappahannock ports; Carl Bridenbaugh, Myths & Realities (New York, 1965), pp. 144-145. Nearly complete records of Zane's transactions with Allason are extant; between April 1770 and April 1771, for example, Allason exported over thirty-two tons of Marlboro bar iron which in Glasgow was bringing 16 per ton (Ledgers and Letter Books, Allason Papers; Isaac Zane, Jr., to John Pemberton, December 10, 1772; Lancelot Cowper to John Pemberton, October 23, 1769, Coates MSS). On colonial iron export see Arthur C. Bining, British Regulation of the Colonial Iron Industry (Philadelphia, 1933), pp. 132-134. No systematic archaeological excavation has been attempted on the works site which is now endangered by highway construction. Mr. Joseph Dick who lives on the old Zane estate maintains a small museum to house artifacts discovered in the area, most of which date from the Civil War ("Stephens Fort (?) Contains 1,500 Historic Relics," Winchester Evening Star, June 13, 1957).


24. Sarah Zane to John Pemberton, November 5, 1772, Coates MSS; Virginia Gazette (Dixon and Hunter), December 30, 1775; Kenneth Scott, "Counterfeiting in Colonial Virginia," VMHB, LXI (January 1963), 29-30; Virginia Gazette (Pickney), May 4, 1775.


28. The election was held March 8, 1773, and the vote 273-81. Virginia Gazette (Rind), April 15, 1773.


35. Ibid., p. 393.

36. Isaac Zane, Jr., to George Rootes, May 6, 1775 (copy in Zane's hand), Coates MSS. There is no hint in Zane's extant correspondence to suggest that economics was a major factor in his decision to join the revolutionary cause. Zane appears most impressed by the constitutional arguments.


39. R. S. Thomas, "Public Officers, 1781," VMHB (October, 1897), V, 218. Zane became in 1782 the representative from Shenandoah County where he also owned much property (Earl G. Swem and John W. Williams, A Register of the General Assembly of Virginia, 1776-1918 (Richmond, 1918, p. 450; Shenandoah County Deed Books).


41. H.R. McLlwaine et al, editors, Journals of the Council of the State of Virginia (Richmond, 1931- ), I, 394; II, 32; McLlwaine, Official Letters, II, 32; Hart, The Valley of Virginia, p. 101; "Accounts of the United States and the Admiralty of Virginia with Isaac Zane, 19 October, 1776," Virginia State Library. One order required sixty-five wagons to deliver. In all there are extant records of Zane being paid over $6000 by state and national governments, mostly in the period, 1776-1777.

42. Governor Benjamin Harrison to Colonel Isaac Zane, March 25, 1782, McLlwaine, Official Letters, III, 182.

43. His wartime debts with Allason would stand until settled by his estate in 1801 (Ledgers, Allason Papers, Hart, Valley of Virginia, pp. 123, 132).


46. Gilpin, Exiles, p. 154; Wayland, Hopewell Friends History, pp. 102, 127; John Pemberton to Joseph Pemberton from Winchester, December 10, 1777, Pemberton Papers, HSP. On November 29, 1777, Isaac Zane, Jr., wrote to John Pemberton: "I shall acquaint you where you will stop & also make the best provision here that is possible for you. The minds of the people are somewhat prejudiced against your residing here, nevertheless hope to pacify them, at least that you may make a rest, nothing in my power shall be wanting to make your situation as happy as possible" (Pemberton Papers, HSP).

47. Hart, Valley of Virginia, p. 38.

48. Gilpin, Exiles, p. 205. Isaac Zane, Jr., may have attended the debate (Ibid., p. 177). Congressional action is extracted Ibid., p. 275.

49. Zane's plantation has been described as "elaborate", "baronial" (Bridenbaugh, Colonial Craftsman, pp. 25-26), providing a "luxury and splendor rivaling Tidewater planters" (Bridenbaugh, Myths & Realities, p. 171), and "worthy rivalry for the best the colonies had to offer" (Hart, Valley of Virginia, p. 25). A close examination of Zane's possessions, however, suggests that while adequately appointed as the residence of a man familiar with the refinements of Philadelphia, and certainly an exception to the stereotype of frontier living, his furnishings were not sumptuous, the key items of his estate being an eight-day clock valued at $17, a large pier looking glass ($35), a hand organ ($25), and two "falling leaf" walnut tables ($8.00) (Zane Will and Inventory, Frederick County Will Book, I, 224).


53. Ibid., VI, 317, 348, 349n.; Isaac Zane, Jr., to Sarah Zane, October 24, 1783, introducing "Col. Jefferson," Quaker Collection, Haverford College.


56. Jefferson wrote to Zane several times without getting a reply (Jefferson to James Madison, May 25, 1784, Ibid., VII, 288-289; Madison prompted Zane in July 1784 (Ibid., VII, 362); and Zane finally sent the readings to Jefferson in Paris (Isaac Zane to Thomas Jefferson, July 2,
An example of Zane's eclectic interests is shown in his correspondence with Pierre Eugene DuSimitiere. In 1779 Zane gathered a collection of fossils and other "curiosities" which he sent to DuSimitiere for his museum. The curator in turn advised Zane to purchase a silver medal reported to have belonged to the "Queen of Pamunkey" which had been recently unearthed in Virginia (John Potts, "DuSimitiere, Artist, Antiquary, and Naturalist, Projector of the First American Museum . . . " PMHB (1889), XIII, 360, 365; Hans Huth, "Pierre Eugene DuSimitiere and the Beginnings of the American Historical Museum," PMHB (1945), LIXIX, 317; J. Paul Hudson, "A Silver Badge for a Virginia Queen," Virginia Cavaleade, X. no. 2 (1960), 19-22).

57. Virginia Gazette (Dixon & Hunter), December 19, 1777; the advertisement is incorrectly transcribed by John Spencer Bassett, The Writings of Colonel William Byrd (New York, 1901), p. 414n. No copy of Mrs. Byrd's catalogue is known to exist, 250 copies of which were printed by Dixon. "Will of Colonel William Byrd, 3d," VMHB (1902), IX, 82, "Letters of the Byrd Family," VMHB (January, 1930), XXXVIII, 32. It is perhaps unfair to call Zane a "wholesale purchaser of culture" (Brant, James Madison, I, 209-210); he had a sizeable personal library before purchasing the Byrd library, and was a subscriber to the Philadelphia edition of Blackstone's Commentaries (Zane Library Catalogue, Coates MSS.). "Subscribers in Virginia to Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England, Philadelphia, 1771-1772, WMQ, I (1921), 185.

58. A full discussion of the sale and a catalogue of known Byrd-Zane books is found in Edwin Wolf, 2nd, "The Dispersal of the Library of William Byrd of Westover," Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, LXVIII (1958), 19-106. Allason had been pressing Zane for money due since 1776. He caught the ironmaster in Falmouth in January 1781 and later recorded, "Colo Isaac Zane promised to pay the Bal(ance) due me, in Gold & Silver, in the presence of Messrs. Daniel Payne & William Love—" ("Memo Book 1771-1781," Allason Papers). Madison bought a "few scarce books" in March 1782 (William T. Hutchinson and William M.E. Rachal, The Papers of James Madison (Chicago, 1962- ), I, 185; Brant James Madison, II, 210; Boyd, Papers of Thomas Jefferson, VII, 288). In 1791 Pemberton wrote: "I annex a list of some books which T. Jefferson has some mind to take, but his terms are such I thro, it right to Consult thee first. I offered to take $100 for them, but he said he could not give 60. (Jefferson did offer 57 for 223 volumes valued at 234.4.2) thou may see they are many of them in Latin & Greek, & so not like to suit every man, they have lain long & probably may remain yet Long unless sold Low, but his Offer is so far below the valuation in 1782. I Could not Consent to it, until I had informed thee, & desire thy Spedy Answer as he will want to know the result" (John Pemberton to Isaac Zane, Jr., July 14, 1791, Coates MSS.) Edmund Randolph was also a browser at Pemberton's and he "would select part of them, provided he could have them at a very Low rate, he talks of a 1/10th part less than their valuation" (John Pemberton to Isaac Zane, Jr, September 22, 1791. Coates MSS.).

59. John Pemberton to Isaac Zane, Jr., May 1, 1792. Coates MSS.

60. Pennsylvania Journal, August 23, 1783; Alexander White to (Sarah Zane), September 12, 1795. Coates MSS.

61. Virginia Herald (Fredericksburg), August 25, 1795.

62. William P. Palmer, editor, Calendar of State Papers and Other Manuscripts Preserved in the Capital in Richmond (Richmond, 1875-1893). VII, 203, 446. The plantation accounts are among the Coates Papers, HSP.


64. Alexander White to (Sarah Zane), September 12, 1793. Coates MSS.

65. There is no proof that Isaac Zane, Jr., ever had a wife. Confusion on this point doubtless arises from mixing the two Isaac Zanes. Griffith, Virginia House of Burgesses, p. 125, may have been misled by a letter from John Pemberton to Isaac Zane (Sr.), February 25, 1761 (Coates MSS), which mentions "thy Dear Spouse." Isaac, Sr., was in Virginia with Daniel Stanton (1708-1770) about this time which would explain the letter (Stephen B. Weeks, Southern Quakers and Slavery (Baltimore, 1896) p. 111).

67. Will of Isaac Zane, Jr., Frederick County Superior Court Will Book, I, 199ff.; Inventory, Appraisal and Sale of the Estate of Isaac Zane, III, Will Book, IX, 210-214; Henry D. Biddle, editor, *Extracts from the Journal of Elizabeth Drinker*, 1759-1807 (Philadelphia, 1889), p. 274; William Allason to David Allason, August 31, 1795, Allason Papers. Part of Isaac Zane, Jr.’s will is reprinted with liberty (such as the insertion of “dau.” before the name of Elizabeth McFarlane) in Lyon G. Tyler, editor, Tyler’s Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine (1925), VI, 272-273.


71. The bulk of the Zane papers preserved in the Coates Collection relate to the liquidation of Zane’s estate. Wayland, *Hopewell Friends History*, pp. 188, 246.

72. Garland R. Quarles, *The Schools of Winchester, Virginia* (Winchester, 1964), p. 2; Wayland, *Hopewell Friends History*, p. 150; Jacob Rinker’s accounting of the estate, 1795-1812; and Jacob Rinker to Hannah Pemberton and Sarah Zane, June 20, 1804, Coates MSS.

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Contributed by John Bell Tilden Phelps.

(John Bell Tilden, whose ancestors were the Tyldens, of Kent, England, was born in Philadelphia, December 9, 1761. In his eighteenth year he left Princeton College and joined the Continental army, being commissioned, May 28, 1779, ensign in the Second Regiment Pennsylvania Line, commanded by Colonel Walter Stewart. He was subsequently promoted to second lieutenant, his commission to date from July 25, 1780. At the close of the war he was honorably mustered out of the service, and became a member of the Pennsylvania Society of the Cincinnati. In 1784 he married Jane, daughter of Joseph and Martha Chambers, of York, Pennsylvania, and settled in Frederick County, Virginia, where he practised medicine until the close of his life. Some time prior to 1824 he was ordained to the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and during the agitation of the question of lay representation, he advocated the equal rights of the laity with the clergy in the legislative department of the Church, for which he and other prominent members were expelled for so-called heresy. In 1872 the Church admitted its error by adopting lay representation into its polity. Long before the subject of African slavery took a political shape, Dr. Tilden manumitted his slaves and sent them to Liberia with one year’s outfit. He died July 31, 1838, at New Town (now Stephen City), Virginia, and is buried in the Methodist Church Cemetery there.)

August 1, 1781 — Remained in camp all day. The country adjoining the most fertile I have seen in Virginia, and the county famed for its patriotic ladies.

August 2 — This day we marched to Nomozin river, to near Davis’s Ordinary.

August 3 — Marched to the right about to the north (Dunwiddie county), fording the Appomatox; much fatigued.

August 4 — Marched at day break for James river.

August 5 — Crossed James River and took post on the height of Westham.

August 6 — Remained on this ground the whole day, which the enemy had occupied before us.

August 7 — This day I went to see the curious work of Mr. Ballertine—he had made a canal one mile in length, and about twenty feet wide, alongside of James River; in the centre of which he had built a curious fish basket, and at
the end of the canal was a grist mill, with four pair of stones. Bordering on which was a Blumery, Boring mill, furnace and elegant manor house, which were destroyed by that devilish rascal Arnold.

August 8 — Marched at one o'clock A.M.; passed through Richmond at day light, where I met a number of Virginia officers who were exchanged and paroled (being made prisoners to the southward). We encamped two miles from Richmond, on our old ground, Gillissee Creek.

August 9 — Took up the line of march at one o'clock A.M., arrived at Savage's farm, where we encamped near Bottom Bridge. This day our heavy baggage arrived from Cox's mill, which we long wished for. A very hot day, a little rain in the morning. We once more entered a very Piney country.

August 10-11 — Remained in camp, hot, cloudy and rainy.

August 12 — A soldier of the Virginia eighteen months' men was hanged for shooting an officer (Kirkpatrick) in ye head . . . . He was certainly justified.

August 14 — Capt. Steel's trial finished, he was acquitted. Afternoon went to a horse race; won a half Johannie and a bottle of wine.

August 15 — Pleasant day; spent it in making out the accounts of the company.

August 16 — Employed the day in reading Lady Mary Montague's letters.

August 17 — The General (a signal for the tents to be struck), beat at two o'clock; the troops marched at three o'clock. Encamped near new capital of Hanover county.

August 18 — Mounted guard this morning at the usual hour. A rainy afternoon. Remain on our ground; the preparations and necessary clearing of brush indicate some stay.

August 19 — Not relieved until half after twelve o'clock on account of our inspection and review of the troops, after which to a preaching by Dr Jones. Invited to dine with Gen' Wayne; an excellent dinner and some of the fattest lamb I ever saw; some fine watermelons, made palatable with excellent wine.

August 20 — Dined with my friend Feltman, and afterwards walked in the country, chatted awhile with a couple of Virginia girls, one of them as big as a horse (almost), who, if among a parcel of negroes could not be distinguished by her speaking, and hardly be known from a mulatto.

August 22 — Orders this day for the General to beat tomorrow morning at 8 o'clock—the Assembly at half after and the troops at 9 o'clock to take up line of march.

August 23 — Take up the line of march accordingly for near our old ground at Bottom Bridge, Savage farm.

August 24 — The troops take up the line of march at 4 o'clock, proceed towards Westover, and encamp on the farm of the late Colonel Byrd, at
Westover on the banks of the James river. There is here an elegant mansion house, delightfully situated.

August 25 — Mount the front camp guard near Mrs. Byrd's house; am invited to breakfast. Receive an invitation from her agreeable daughter Maria to make my home there while the troops remain here. Dine there in great elegance, drink tea in the afternoon, and was delighted with the grandeur of the apartments and the situation, which I think the most beautiful I ever saw. Family very kind.

August 26 — Breakfasted with Mrs. Byrd and the young ladies—a lively chat and smart repartee about Dr Jones. A sermon at 10 o'clock by Dr. Jones, which detains me on guard three hours longer than usual. Escort the ladies to the place of workship, in company with Cols. Butler and Stewart. Am relieved at eleven, take a plan of Mrs. Byrd's mansion.

August 27 — Spend the best part of the day in reading. At 12 o'clock cross the James river in Company with a number of our officers, no particular occurrences, except meeting with a drinker of grog. At 6 o'clock drank tea at Mrs. Byrd's; a numerous company and much entertainment, with the agreeable performance of Miss Maria Byrd on the harpsichord and Mr. Victor on the violin. Take my leave at 10 o'clock, and on my arrival at my tent, am surprised to find the officers of the next tent sitting up, walk to their door, when I am detained to drink grog. An odd adventure happens about midnight.

August 28 — Orders for marching this morning—the General beats at 8 o'clock the Assembly at half after, the troops take up the line of march at 9 o'clock, March 9 miles to Malvern hills; encamp there on a fine plain. Captains Wilkin and Irwin arrested in consequence of last nights adventure, on our arrival here.

August 29 — In consequence of an express from the Marquis (La Fayette), we receive orders to march at 3 o'clock P.M.; arrive at Westover about sunset. Am honoured with an invitation to sup with Mrs. Byrd, accept it. Sup in great elegance and spend the evening more agreeable than ever. At 11 o'clock take my leave, warmly pressed by the young ladies to breakfast with them in the morning. The night is employed in crossing the artillery and siege batteries.

August 30 — Cross the river with the company and conduct them to the encampment. Return, intending to breakfast with the ladies—After recrossing the river an affair happens, by which I am deprived of the supreme happiness of breakfasting as before mentioned. Return to champ, pitch my tent, sup on whip-poor-will soup.

August 31 — Orders this day for marching at 3 o'clock. The troops take up the line of march, and I move on in front with the sick. Arrive at Eber's Point at 7 o'clock, pitch our tents, eat a fine watermellon and retire to rest.
September 1 — I am congratulated on the arrival of twenty eight French vessels of the line and troops. Our troops take up the line of march at 11 o’clock, encamp at Surry Court House, and have ye pleasure to mortify Colonel S(tewart).

September 2 — The General beat at sunrise; the troops proceed by the left to Cobbams opposite Jamestown and arrive at our ground of encampment at 9 o’clock, where we have the pleasure of beholding 3000 of our allies, who came up in boats, a twenty gun frigate and a twelve accompanying them. Also the Sandwich, a British vessel, taken by the French, on board of which is Lord Rodney. A number of our light horse arrive.

September 3 — About 9 o’clock A.M. we begin to cross James river leaving our tents standing. Visit my friend Stevenson who is ill with the ague. Gen. Wayne wounded in the thigh by a sentinel of the Marquis de Lafayette’s last evening. The French troops on James Island, commanded by Count de St. Simon. We march in the afternoon to Green Springs, (over the ground we had the action on) through a heavy rain, where we remain all night. I have the command of the camp rear guard.

September 4 — The Line marched at 6 o’clock A.M. down to Williamsburg, where numbers of the officers were used very politely by some of the inhabitants. Self and four other officers are invited by Dr. Nicholson to take a repast and drink wine, which we politely accept. Quarter our men this night in the College.

September 5 — We retire one mile from town to a mill-dam, in order that our men may wash and cleanse themselves, where we remain all night. An officer, sergeant and six privates of Tarleton’s mounted infantry were taken this night (six miles below Williamsburg) by a militia officer and eleven men.

September 6 — Take up the line of march near 12 o’clock, march five miles (three below Williamsburg) to Burwell’s Mills, and tarry there all night.

September 7 — This morning, immediately after the parade was dismissed from roll call, we were alarmed by the firing of three pistols, which was followed by that of a platoon (in our front); we immediately stand to arms. One of the officers who had rode in front returned, informing us it was a party of Tarleton’s horse, who after chasing in a couple of Moylan’s videttes and the two advanced sentinels of our picket and receiving a volley from part of the guard had retired, leaving a pistol, sword and cloak. Remain here all night (as usual) without any kind of bedding; very watchful, expecting the enemy.

September 8 — The troops parade at reveille, expecting the enemy from yesterays intelligence, but no appearance of them we retire to our bush huts. At 8 o’clock we march and form a junction with our allies, and the Marquis’s troops, the infantry on the right, we in the centre, and the French on the left. We build bush huts in regular manner, on very dusty and uneven ground.
September 9 — We were alarmed last night by the French and had our men on the parade instantly, (on account of the French receiving a false alarm). Mount the camp guard. The troops were reviewed at 5 o'clock P.M. by the French general, after which the officers are introduced to Gen. St. Simon. Our tents and baggage arrive this day.

September 10 — Relieved of guard at the usual hour; nothing particular of the enemy.

September 11 — A sergeant and two men of our dragoons taken this day, and five of theirs (British) were taken in return.

September 12 — Col. Bouvion arrived here from his Excellency Gen. Washington's army consisting of the French troops, two regiments of Light Infantry one of artillery, two Jersey regiments, New York Brigade, New Hampshire brigade, and part of the Pennsylvania Line, the whole amounting to 8000 men. A heavy rain this evening which much relieved us from the disagreeable attendant dust. No bread yet.

September 13 — Capt. Wilkin's trial commenced after many low equivocations with his highness (Colonel Stewar). No bread this day.

September 14 — General Muhlenberg with the troops on the lines reconnoiter within half a mile of the town, saw a small battery and a few of their horse, who indicated no desire to meet him. His Excellency Gen. Washington arrived here this afternoon, a circumstance which was obviously pleasing to every person. He was saluted by all our troops here and twenty one cannon fired (the royal salute). He passed our line attended with a very numerous retinue, after which he was entertained with music at Gen. St. Simon. The northern troops are not yet arrived. A heavy rain last night overflowed the bottom of my tent. This morning we drew Indian meal, which was excellent.

September 15 — A very rainy day which frustrated our intention of waiting on his Excellency. Deserters come daily from the enemy, and small parties are taken by our horse.

September 16 — Mount guard this morning. His Excellency goes a reconnoitering on the lines. The officers of the Infantry and Pennsylvania Line wait on the General, at 2 o'clock P.M., who received them very politely and shook each officer by the hand. The French Huzzars are mounted.

September 17 — Relieved of guard. His Excellency's Life Guard arrives. Gen. Wyne arrives in camp, having nearly recovered from his wound.

September 18 — A number of French troops arrive in camp from the Rhode Island fleet (of nine sail of the line), who took four British frigates on their way. Visit Capt. Stevenson at Jamestown, who comes to camp in the afternoon, and has his baggage sent on.

September 19 — Nothing particular today. Visit the French camp and
watch their troops manoeuver. Capt. Wilkin is still in arrest, although his trail is finished.

September 20 — Every officer complains of the cold weather, which we feel the more from the sudden change.

September 22 — Mount guard at the usual hour. His Excellency Gen. Washington returned from the fleet, and part of our northern troops arrived at Burwell's ferry.

September 23 — Spend the day in my tent, with a number of gentlemen of my acquaintance, two of them from Westover. Invited by S(tewart) to wait on Gen. Rochambeau, but decline on account of the pique between us.


September 26 — General orders—the First Light Infantry Brigade, General Wayne's Brigade and Third Maryland regiment to move tomorrow morning at 8 o'clock to the encampment below the city; four days provisions to be drawn.

September 27 — Take up the line of march agreeably to orders. Encamped about one mile and a half below Williamsburg, where we formed the alignment of the army. Rolls called at 8 o'clock P.M.

September 28 — The whole army took up the line of march this morning at 5 o'clock and formed ______ miles below Williamsburg, where we remained all night, within one mile and a little better from Yorktown. The French fired a few cannon at Tarleton's horse, which made them retreat. Each officer lay with his platoon all night.

September 29 — This morning the army took up the line of march and formed in the rear of a morass, in the enemy's front, half a mile from their outworks. The two brigades of infantry crossed the morass and were saluted with a few cannon shot from the enemy. One of our soldiers unfortunately lost his leg. A twelve and a four pound ball paid us a visit in our camp, but did no damage.

September 30 — This morning about 8 o'clock, upon strict examination, we found the enemy had evacuated their outworks, which we immediately took
possession of. After a severe cannonade, the French took one of their redoubts with a number of prisoners. Col. Scammel was wounded and taken prisoner this morning. A flag from the town this afternoon informing us of his captivity and desiring his servant and baggage be sent to Williamsburg. Mount picket at sunset in front of a redoubt building by our troops—the picket consisted of two Captains, four Lieutenants and one hundred men, with non-commissioned officers in proportion. Receive orders from the Baron (Steuaben) who was general of the day, that the subaltern officers of the guard should patrol by themselves as near the enemy as possible, without exposing themselves too much. Myself and another officer, at different times were fired at by the British sentinels. Discovered nothing of any consequence—heard a confused noise of tearing down buildings, for to make fortifications.

October 1 — Move the position of our picket under the brow of a small hill, to the left of the redoubt, when the enemy immediately after commenced a cannonade at the redoubt, which they continued all day. Killed a militiaman who was at work there, and one of the Maryland officer’s waiters, who was straggling about their old encampment. The enemy fired two eight inch shells, one burst fifty yards in our rear. Relieved of picket at dark, when our brigade moved up as a covering party to the workmen at the redoubt. The enemy continued firing all night with but three pieces of artillery. Capt Duffy’s trial begins.

October 2 — The enemy continues to fire all this day, but I heard of no persons being hurt. Firing was continued all night; four men were killed towards morning, (at the redoubt in our centre), of Col. Hazen’s regiment.

October 3 — The enemy are very slack in their fire. Go on fatigue this evening, at the left hand redoubt, and remain until 1 o’clock next day.

October 4 — Relieved of fatigue. Extract from ye General orders:

The General congratulates the army on the brilliant success of ye allied Troops near Gloucester. He requests the Duke de Lauzun to accept his particular thanks for the judicious disposition and the decisive vigor with which he charged the enemy, and to communicate his warmest acknowledgments to the gallant officers and men by whom he was so admirably seconded. He feels particular satisfaction at the inconsiderable loss on our part, that no ill effects are to be apprehended from the honourable wounds which have been received in this affair and that at so small an expense. The enemy amounting to 600 horse and foot, were completely repulsed and conducted to their very lines. The corps of the allied army were the Duke de Lauzun’s Legion and the Militia Grenadiers of Mirur. The following is the list of our killed and wounded and as far as we can learn of the enemy—Duke de Lauzun’s Legion three Huzzars killed; Capt. Dillon and Debster(?) with eleven Huzzars wounded, the officers very slightly; three horses killed, and four
wounded. The enemy's loss killed and wounded exceeds fifty, including the commanding officer of infantry killed and Col. Tarleton badly wounded. A Maryland soldier killed today by their shot.

October 5 — Mount guard this morning in front of the brigade. A corporal of our Line killed this afternoon by a cannon shot and one of Capt. Stevenson's company wounded. Two French ships of the line hove in sight of the enemy.

October 6 — His Excellency Gen' Washington congratulates the army on our success to ye southward; Gen' Greene took 500 prisoners, including the wounded, the enemy lost on the field, and their loss exclusive of this in killed and wounded to be not less than 600. His own loss in killed and wounded near 500. This evening about 8 o'clock, we began to form the first parallel line—rainy and dark, yet the enemy kept up a heavy fire.

October 7 — The first division did an amazing deal of work in the trenches and lost not one man—the French it is said, lost four or five. Took a walk to the Park and Laboratory, where I found many persons busily employed.

October 8 — Col. Scammell died of wound at Williamsburg the 6th. At eleven o'clock our division work at the trenches; lost one soldier of our line and one or two of the Maryland wounded. The Relief and Relieved march in and out of the trenches with drums beating and colors flying.

October 9 — Finish our batteries on the left and begin to mount a few twenty fours. Receive a very cordial shake by the hand from Col. Lamb. Relieved from the lines at 1 o'clock P.M. Open our batteries this afternoon.

October 10 — Silence the enemies cannon by battering down their batteries. Secretary Nelson came out of York with a flag, inform us of a number of the enemies officers and men being killed by our shells, which we throw in very plentifully and with infinite judgment. The division on fatigue at 1 o'clock making facines gabions &c. After roll call walk over to Capt. Irwin's Commissary staff, and spend the evening with him and Mr. Elvey. Two of the the British vessels of great burden burnt tonight.

October 11 — In the trenches at 11 o'clock, keep up a continued fire until relieved. The enemy throw a few shell very badly tonight; one of our Line wounded and two of the Maryland.

Extract from General Orders: At a General Court Martial of the Line held before York October 2, Capt. Duffy 4th Regiment Artillery charged with scandalous and infamous behaviour unbecoming the character of an officer and a gentleman, on the night of ye 23 and morning of ye 24, such as drawing his sword on Capt. Ballard and attempting to stab him and firing a pistol at him when unarmed, also for most disgraceful breach of friendship in seizing from Lieut. Blewer a loaded pistol and snapping it at him, when attempting at Capt. Duffy's own request, an amicable settlement of his (Capt. Duffys)
quarrel with Capt. Ballard; also charged by Lieut. Col. Jno. Stewart, 1, being drunk; 2, Rioting in the street; 3, Abusing a French soldier; 4, Violation of good discipline, in having in a seditious and disorderly manner threatened to take a French guard, stationed at a hospital to take care of the sick; was tried, found guilty and discharged the service.

Draw a second parallel on the enemies left, near half way between the French batteries and York—the enemy fired a number of shells and cannon with little execution. Two militia men killed and two wounded by our own shot.

October 12 — Relieved from the trenches at 12 o'clock, drums beating and flags flying. The enemy fire more today than any since we opened our batteries.

October 13 — On fatigue as usual, making facines and other necessary preparations for fortifications. Two or three of the militia killed and some few wounded at our fort on the second parallel.

October 14 — Mount the trenches this morning. We keep up a very heavy cannonade all day. In the evening our batteries ceased firing when our infantry and the French troops attack two of the enemies redoubts separately, and carried them with ye loss of ye infantry of 7 killed and _____ wounded: Col. Barber, Major Rosber and Capt. Oney wounded, and also Co't Jamott (Gimat).

Our line at the commencement of ye attack marched up as a covering party through a very heavy fire. The enemy lost a Major Campbell, two captains, two subalterns and upwards of a hundred men killed, wounded and prisoners. The same night drew a parallel from the river to the batteries in ye second line, including ye two redoubts taken from ye enemy. In the morning about 9 o'clock we i.e. Penna. Line lay a foundation for a ten gun battery on our line, between the two redoubts in front of ye enemy five gun battery, ye distance not two hundred yards. The enemy threw a number of shells among us but fortunately did not damage.

October 15 — The enemy threw a number of shells. We fire but little, our second line having no batteries erected on it as yet, tho' a number will be in two days time.

October 16 — This morning at daylight the enemy sallied out, with what force we cannot learn; they drove our working parties from their work, took possession of a battery and spiked a few cannon with the points of their bayonets. Our troops, formed in the rear of the banquet, and received orders to advance, which they did with spirit and obliged them to retire with considerable loss on their side. Eight of 'em were found dead on the spot; we had four or five wounded. Our division on fatigue making facines and gabions. Very little firing.
October 17 — Our division at 11 o'clock went to the trenches. British send out for terms of capitulation; flags pass and repass all day. Attend ye Baron Steuben as his aid this day.

October 18 — Flags still passing and repassing this day. Lay on our arms all night. Very cold. Gen'l St. Clair arrives with his detachment.

October 19 — At 1 o'clock the terms for surrendering the garrisons of York and Gloucester were agreed on, when Major Hamilton with a detachment marched into town and took possession of their works. I attend the Baron (Steuben) in town; nothing worthy of notice in it, except the earth much torn up by our shells.

The British army march out of town and ground their arms. Our army was drawn up on each side of the road. Americans on the right, French on the left. The prisoners return to town again, and we march to our tents.

October 20 — The prisoners remain in town. Purchased some corduroy in town. 1 5 1.

October 21 — This afternoon the prisoners marched out of town, under the care of three divisions of militia.

Division Order of the Day: The Baron Steuben feels himself particularly happy in complying with the requests of His Excellency Gen'l Washington, in presenting his warmest thanks to the officers and soldiers of his division for the great trial and allacrity with which they performed the several duties assigned them during ye siege against York. He ever entertained ye highest opinion of ye troops, but ye spirit and bravery which was so conspicuous on the present occasion has given him additional confidence in them and secured his warmest and lasting friendship. He cannot be too thankful to Brigadier Gen'l Wayne and Gest for their gallant behaviour on all occasions and the great assistance they afforded him during ye whole of ye operations. He also wishes Col'l Butler, Stewart; Majors Hamilton, Wills, Edwards; the officers under their command, to accept his best thanks for the good conduct shown in opening the second parallel, which he considers as yet most important part of ye siege. He takes pleasure in assuring them it was performed with a degree of bravery and dispatch that exceeded his most sanguine expectation. He cannot conclude without expressing in ye highest terms his approbation respecting Capt. Walker who performed double duty in the trenches, by mounting with his company in addition to the services he rendered him as aid de camp, which was as great as to entitle him to his sincere acknowledgements.

October 22 — A number of our gentlemen from ye northward who arrived on ye 18 inst. came to see us. At 12 o'clock M. our Line went on duty at York and Gloucester. I had a very troublesome guard; Walk around town, find it in a most ruined condition; but one small house under the bank of the river escaped without being damaged by our shot. On ye 18th inst. we had on ye
second parallel ye following batteries ready to open on the British, had they not agreed, which we much wished they would not, viz. N° 1, from ye right, one iron 18 pounder, 2 howitzers, 2 mortars, and 2 brass Royals. N° 2, Ten 18 pounders (iron), three inch mortars, one 8 inch howitzer, and 2 brass Royals. N° 3. Two 11 inch mortars and 2 brass Royals. N° 4. Four 18 pounders (iron). N° 5 and 6. Four 18 pounders and two brass 24s in each. N° 7. Six brass 24 pounders. N° 8. One 8 inch howitzer, eight 13 inch mortars and two brass Royals, besides several others I did not minutely examine. We had near ninety pieces of ordnance ready to blaze away.

October 23 — Breakfast with Mr. Mead, a staff officer and two or three British company. Col. Tarleton was dismounted in the street by the rightful owner of the horse he rode. Relieved at 1 o'clock by the Maryland Line.

October 24 — Received a return of prisoners taken of the garrison at York and Gloucester; 1 Lieutenant General; 1 Brigadier General; 2 Colonels; 12 Lieut. Colonels; 14 Majors; 83 Captains; 132 Lieutenants, 55 Ensigns; 4 Cornets; 2 Chaplains; 15 Adjutants; 20 Quarter Masters; 14 Surgeons; 22 Mates; 445 Sergeants; 9 Bombadiers; 6 gunners; 154 matrosses; 187 _____; 5780 rank and file.

Hospital department one Surgeon and Field Inspector, three Surgeons, ten Mates, two Chaplains, two Purveyors, four Stewarts, two Wd Masters, nineteen Assistants, two Carpenters.

Commissary Department: one Commissary of Prisoners, four Deputy Commissaries of Issues; one Commissary of Forage, two Assistants, two Clerks; three _____; two Coopers, one labourer. Total 7025.

N.B. — This return is exclusive of the Warranted Department, which adds upwards of one thousand to the list of prisoners, one hundred sail of square rig'd vessel and upwards of 300 pieces of ordnance, eighty of which were brass. During ye siege the enemy lost 600 men killed, deserted and made prisoner. A very heavy rain about 8 o'clock P.M. I being out, and my tent open, my bed was wet as water.

October 27 — Our brigade furnish the guards and fatigue in York — myself on ye fatigue. The French troops under ye command of Genl De St. Simon embark.

October 28 — Relieved from York at usual hour. Receive a quantity of good spirits from a Capt. Sanderson, lately commanding a British transport. Some rumors of a British fleet appearing in our Capes.

October 29 — This our brigade went on fatigue to demolish ye works we threw up when his Lordship had possession of ye town. This evening our officers received orders to make out lists of the clothing they wanted to ye amount of 20. Virginia currency. Its credited that ye enemy with twenty-six sail of ye line are in ye bay and that the French had slip'd their cables and gone in quest of them.
October 30 — Our brigade relieved from fatigue by two regiments of infantry. One officer of each battalion to get ye clothing for their respective officers.

October 31 — Our brigade for guard and fatigue in York. The officers desired to complete their purchases of clothing.

November 1 — Mount the division guard. Our clothing divided regimentally.

November 2 — Relieved of guard at 9 o'clock A.M. Yesterday Capt. Stevenson purchased for the mess 34 lbs sheep 2.11.9, and 4 gallons and 3 quarts of Rum at 20 Virginia currency; and 50 lbs Sugar, 20 lbs Coffee, 2 lbs Tea, in Pennsylvania currency.

November 4 — The issues of clothing completed. I received the following articles: 2 pieces of linen; 1 Hat; 4 yards Cassimer; 2 pieces of Nankeen; 2 Hdkfs.; 1 pair silk, 1 pair wostered, 1 pair thick twist and 1 pair thread Stockings; 1 yard mode and lace; 1 Epaulet; 1 pair of shoes; soap, thread and 1 pair sleeve buttons. Orders for the Pennsylvania Line and Maryland Line to march at daybreak.

November 5 — The march delayed until 11 o'clock on account of clothing not yet delivered to ye men. Take up our line of march at that hour and proceed 9 miles on the road to Williamsburg, where we pitch our tents.

November 6 — The troops take up ye line of march at sunrise, proceed through Williamsburg to Byrd's Ordinary, 19 miles—march ye sick this day.

November 7 — Take up line of march at daylight and encamp at New Kent Court House.

November 8 — The troops take up the line of march at sunrise, and pitch our tents a half mile beyond Bottom's Bridge (Henrico County), where we arrived at 3 P.M.

November 9 — Take up ye line of march at daylight and proceed to Richmond, where we encamp to ye left of ye Town on ye river bank, a very pretty situation. The cold weather which accompanied us from the commencement of our march still continues. Major Hamilton sups with us.

November 10 — The Maryland brigade begins to cross ye James river. Capt. Stevenson goes to Hannover. Major Hamilton with us. Sick all day.

November 11 — Recovered from my indisposition. The Maryland brigade having crossed yesterday with their baggage, the artillery recieves orders to begin to cross at reville.

November 12 — The military stores are being crossed over—our delay owing to bad craft. Take a walk to town and pay a visit to Capt. Stevenson who is very ill.

November 13 — Division Orders: First Pennsylvania regiment will at ye beating of ye troop, strike their tents, load their baggage and move down to ye
water side where they will embark, and cross ye river with all possible dispatch.

The regiment crossed, after which some ammunition wagons and the Commissary wagons followed.

November 14 — Col. Craig's battalion cross this morning and baggage. At 8 o'clock P.M. our battalion begins to cross with their baggage, which was completed in three hours. March through Manchester and encamp one mile from ye river. Recross the river after dark with Lieut. Dixon, spend the evening at Gen'l Wayne's Quarters. A company of fifteen ladies and only eight gentlemen dance to a very indifferent fiddle. Broke up at 3 o'clock A.M. Receive $1250 from Capt. Stevenson, who returned yesterday sick from Hanover.

November 15 — Cross the river at 8 o'clock A.M., arrive at Camp as ye General beat. The troops take up ye line of march at 9 o'clock A.M. Encamp at Hosborns, a small village thirteen miles from Manchester.

November 16 — Take up line of march at 8 o'clock; arrive at Appomatox at 2 o'clock, pitch our tents. I command the rear guard. Capt. Patterson comes to camp, who we all thought was lost. Dismissed my guard, no unpleasing circumstances as it rained in ye night.

November 17 — The troops begin to cross the Appomatox at daybreak, all our troops and baggage were over by 3 o'clock P.M. Passed through Petersburg and encamped a quarter mile beyond town.

November 18 — Lay still this day, a very fine one; take a walk to town in ye afternoon. Lieut. Read of ye Third Battalion badly wounded by a horseman at night.

November 19 — The General beat at daybreak; the troops marched at 6 o'clock, passed Dinwiddy Court House one mile and encamped.

November 20 — The General beat at daybreak, the Assembly at Sunrise, when ye troops march and cross Notaway river. Encamp two miles from it, marsh lying left.

November 21 — The troops halted yesterday an hour to play a number of tunes on ye drum and fife, for some country girls, a dancing same evening. The General and Assembly beat us usual, ye troops march by ye Right 15 miles. The country pretty agreeable, being well stocked with oak and hickory, a sight not common in Virginia.

November 22 — We marched by the left at sunrise. Very unwell ye latter part of ye day and at night a severe bit of shaking.

November 23 — The General beat as usual, ye troops take up ye line of march by ye right and proceeded to Allen's Creek. My indisposition continued all night and this day. Gen'l St. Clair informs us that ye enemy have evacuated Wilmington.
November 24 — The troops take up ye line of march by ye left and proceed
to Roanoke, which our line being in front soon cross with the baggage and
encamp two miles and a half from it—Taylor's ferry.

November 25 — Remain on the ground to wash. A very heavy rain all ye
latter part of the day; our tents very disagreeable; ye mess move out of camp a
mile to a country house where we are tolerably well accommodated i.e. feather
beds & c. The artillery crossed the Roanoke today.

November 26 — A fine day; employed in cleaning clothes and arms. Indian
meal introduced again. Slept out of camp.

November 27 — The Maryland troops crossing ye river. Orders for the
troops to march at sunup.

November 29 — Did not march yesterday on account of the rain. The tents
being wet we did not march until after sunrise. I command the sick of the
Brigade. Soon reached our ground near Williamsburg and encamp in ye
woods. Some manoeuvres.

November 30 — Troops take up line of march at sunrise—march by the left.

December 1 — The troops march as usual by ye right. The guard being
dismissed Capt. Wilkin and self proceed in front of ye troops to a Genl
Parsons; much disappointed in our expectations; he is a man owning upwards
of one hundred thousand acres of land and living in a mean hut. The troops
encamp in front of his house. The road amazing bad, owing to rain yesterday
and this morning. Each officer draws two gallons of spirits, the field excluded.

December 2 — At sunrise the troops march by the left and proceed to
Ordinary over bad roads. The troops encamp a small distance from his house.
A number of deer seen.

December 3 — The troops proceed by the right to Caswell Court House and
encamp. A deer killed by one of the officers of our mess.

December 4 — The General beat at daylight, the troops march at sunrise by
ye left. Halt to get water. It began to snow very fast, which accompanies us
nine miles to our encampment in ye woods, and continues all night. Our tents
did not arrive until dark, and all the time we stood in the snow shivering and
crowding over a smoky fire. When our tents arrived pitch them, scrape the
snow, now half a foot deep, away with our feet. Make a fire which soon warms
us, make tea and retire to bed. Sleep more comfortable tonight than sometime
back. Rice's farm.

December 5 — Lay on ye ground. the day too wet to have our clothes
washed. Order to march tomorrow at the usual hour and leave our sick and
some of our wagons. A detachment under ye command of Major J. Moore,
consisting of 150 privates properly officered, left as a convoy to ye Ordnance
Stores & c., which incommode us much.
December 7 — The troops take up the line of march agreeably to the orders of yesterday. Cross the Haw river at High Rock Ford, which we were obliged to wade, which was a rather cooling affair, and encamp on ye south side.

December 8 — The General beat at daybreak, the troops marched immediately after and proceed to Reedy Fork, over which we made a bridge for the troops. The width not exceeding ten or twelve yards, yet ye water entered our wagons. Marched to Guilford Court House, a place remarkable for ye action between Genl Greene and Cornwallis, and encamped on part of the battle field.

December 10 — Not having our horses shod and wagons repaired we remain on ye ground. A most disagreeable day, ye wind blowing the fire and smoke about that it was amost insufferable. Get our clothes washed which we much wanted. Walk out after retreat with some officers to see Mr. Dixon to his quarters (a poor hut of a place), who was obliged to remain behind on account of his having the rheumatism very bad.

December 11 — March immediately after the Assembly and encamp near Mr. Idles.

December 12 — The troops march as usual, the day very cold, and cross a number of streams. Encamp near Mr. McCrearys. Drink punch at Major Edward's made with sumac berries.

December 13 — March at sunrise; proceed to ye Yadkin; our wagons forded some distance above ye ferry, which we were late in crossing, having but two boats. Encamp a short distance from ye river. The country since we entered Carolina very good tho' inhabited by an idel set of people, and very few of the houses equal ours built near Morristown.

December 14 — Troops march at usual hour, roads good. Pass through Salisbury, a small, sorry looking place, and did not see one genteel looking person in it. Encamp half a mile from the town.

December 15 — March as usual and encamp at Mr. Taylors, where I take command of the cattle guard and proceed 8 miles further to Mr. Pipers, to remain over night.

December 16 — Leave Pipers at 11 o'clock A.M. Take quarters in the rear of ye troops and encamped on Rocky Run.

December 17 — Relieved last evening, send my guard home and remain in ye house over night. A wet day the troops did not move. A General Court martial sits.

December 18 — Troops march at sunrise and pass thro' Charlotte, a small town and much inferior to Salisbury. Encamp half a mile from it.

December 19 — Cross two branches of Sugar Creek, encamp in South Carolina on ye Catawba Tract, in ye rain.
December 20 — Troops march as usual. Obliged to encamp near Twelve Mile Creek, the water being too high to ford with our wagons. Orders to march in the morning.

December 21 — At 12 o'clock M. cross Twelve mile Creek and pass through a very poor country and encamp on Waskaw Creek. A number of British are here on parole.

December 22 — At daylight crossed Waskaw Creek, Gills and Bear Creeks. Encamped on the south side of the third creek, on Major Barclay's farm. Command part of ye Camp guard in rear of wagons. The road very bad.

December 23 — March at sunrise and pass through a piney country, the roads sandy and level. See numbers of wagons broken and ruined, ye effect of Gen' Gates's retreat. Encamp one mile on ye south side of ye Flat Rock. At this place a number of men were cut to pieces by Tarleton's Corps on their retreat.

December 24 — The troops march through the rain, the roads very sloppy. Encamp within two miles of Camden, near ye ground where Gen' Gates was nearly surprised.

December 25 — Remain on ye ground, a fine day and much devoted to washing. Take a walk to town in ye afternoon and found the place much destroyed by the enemy, who had fortified it pretty strongly.

December 26 — The Pennsylvania Line only take up the line of march at ye usual hour, pass thro' Camden and cross the Wateree, (which with the Congaree forms ye Santee) and encamp on the south side of the river.

December 27 — The Line march as usual. The four last miles almost one continued swamp (or cane brake), the water and mire for ye most part half leg deep. Encamp near Reynold's Mills. Nothing but Pine trees. The Maryland troops join us about dusk.

December 28 — The Pennsylvania Line take up ye line of march. Cross a number of bad swamps which impede our march very much. Encamp half a mile from the Congaree. The Maryland Line marched at 9 o'clock and encamped 8 miles in our rear.

December 29 — The Line after Troop call proceeded by ye right to McCord's Ferry on ye Congaree. The troops and baggage were crossed by noon, when the Maryland Line appeared and began to cross. Encamp four miles from ye Ferry near Col. Thompsons who lives very genteely. Observe Palmetto trees growing at ye ferry and the moss hanging very thick from all the trees—so thick as to form a pleasant shade. The day very warm, the inhabitants begin to garden.

December 30 — At 9 o'clock the troops march by the right. Cross several swamps, and encamp near Witstone's Mill.

December 31 — The troops march by the left. Encamp half a mile from Orange Court House, containing a good goal and two houses. Crossed a
number of swamps. Walking into town saw a number of Indians and militia commanded by Genl Sumter.

January 1, 1782 — March by the right, crossed twenty three very bad swamps, the shoalest reached the knee. Encamped on a narrow strip of dry land. Burn nothing but Pine Knots, which make the brightest day appear like evening.

January 2 — March at sunrise by ye right; halt at Governor Rutledge's farm to get water and breakfast. Moved within 4 miles of Saw Mills. After night fall a Captain's guard was sent back to bring up some ammunition wagons that had fell in the rear, least the Tories, who are very numerous should take them. The Tories fired on part of ye guard who were left with one of the wagons.

January 3 — March delayed until the arrival of ye wagons, when the troops took up the line and proceeded thro' ye Saw Mills, which are built on the Edisto (a fine stream)—eight yards in different frames work at the same time, besides a corn mill. The mills being on opposite sides, the breast of the dam affords an excellent bridge over which our open wagons crossed, the covered ones being too high cross at a ferry some distance above. Encamp five miles from head-quarters on a pretty hickory ridge, a very uncommon circumstance. The roads horrid bad the greater part of ye way, with mud and water to the knees. The weather since we left Camden has been very fine, resembling the month of May in ye North, everything looks green and ye frogs croaking.

January 4 — Arrive at headquarters Round O at noon; the roads much like yesterday, on which account we march very slow. Fortunately find a good dry place for our encampment—the country adjacent being almost in every part covered by water at this season. Five hundred and nine miles since we left Richmond.

January 5 — At last we are blessed with a morning sleep and undisturbed by the General beating. The day very fine and so warm that I threw off my coat and went about in my shirt sleeves.

January 6 — A fine day and we dig wells six feet deep and find water. An alegator was killed today by a soldier six feet long.

January 7 — Today exceeding warm, make up a bedstead. I am ordered on command with Major Hamilton, Capt. Seely, Claypool and Lieut. McCullough with 100 men, and at 3 o'clock March to join Col. Laurens. The roads tolerably bad, the country on each side being covered with water and abounding with wild fowl of divers sort. Take quarters at Mr. Orwell's where we are used politely by him and his lady. What I often heard of I saw here, a black girl waiting on ye table clothed in only a short petticoat.

January 8 — March at 8 o'clock, pass Pond Pond Church, (the country might be justly called Pond Pond), cross the Edisto at Parker's Ferry, join Col. Laurens five miles from the ferry and build huts of rails which we cover with straw.
January 9 — Make an addition to our hut; very bad off for want of furniture. Obliged to eat rice; have a pretty good dish of Coffee for supper. Among ye detachment, Carolina, three companies; Maryland three companies; and Pennsylvania, two companies, 244 rank and file. Dispatch two of our valets to head quarters. A major and colonel deserted from Charleston on 8th inst.

January 10 — Spend the day in reading Spanish novels. Our valets arrive this afternoon—bring tents which relieve us very much.

January 11 — Informed of ye Pennsylvania Line moving down to Jacksonburg on 9th; Col. Laurens command move this afternoon to Col. Steven's five miles. Have a dance there this evening; some very rich ladies but not handsome.

January 12 — Take a ride this morning to Jacksonburg where I found our lads under marching orders; get what things I wanted and return to my command, which I find have also received marching orders. Take up line of march at sunset, wade a number of swamps knee deep, and halt after marching nine miles. Near Col. Lee's Infantry. Just preparing for a sleep when we received orders to march immediately, so at 12 o'clock we marched rapidly for Stono river. After marching 'till daylight, through mud and water up to ye creek, find it impracticable to pass on to James Island, which was our design and to surprising the enemy which we would certainly have done, if we had had good guides.

January 13 — Move up two miles from ye river, lay in ye woods all day and eat potatoes. Our boys not coming down with our bedclothes, we pass the night horridly, it dropping a little rain and very cold.

January 14 — Our boys bring down something to each and we remain on our ground 'till sunset when we march to Stono ferry, 2 miles, and lay in the woods without any covering—very cold and pass the night a few degrees worse than ye last. The enemy evacuated ye Island Sunday night (13th inst.) at 12 o'clock.

January 15 — March down to ye wadeside and begin to cross, by Col. Laurens's orders, when by the time the half of the battalion had crossed orders were countermanded and the troops recrossed. Major Hamilton with half of ye detachment remain on ye Island. We return to our old ground. Capt. Seely who went on ye Island yesterday returned with some Tories and horses.

January 16 — Major Hamilton returns from the island much fatigued. March at 9 o'clock A.M. to Stono Church, (Sandy Hill), a fair building though much destroyed.

January 17 — March at 9 o'clock A.M. to Drayton's Cow Pens, one and a half miles; ye mess take possession of ye dwelling house and live pretty tolerably. The weather cold with rain since 12th inst.
January 19 — Awakened this morning by a great noise which proved to be a number of negroes belonging to the farm preparing rice. Dressed myself and went to the barn, where I saw a sight entirely new to me; thirty negroes male and female naked, some shelling the rice, others pounding and cleaning it.

January 20 — Dined with Captain Morrow by invitation.

January 21 — Dr Hartley dined with us on an extraordinary bad dinner. Capt. Seely and myself invited to dine with him tomorrow at his grandmothers Mrs. Williams.

January 22 — Dined at Mrs. Williams’ in company with a number of other officers. The lady showed a great profession of regard for us and extended a hearty invitation to her house. The Doctor, a very modest youth, was not wanting on his part.

January 24 — The enemy it is said has received a reinforcement of 300 Hessians and some British troops.

January 25 — Dr Hartley again visits the camp, and a number of the officers dine with him.

January 26 — A Lieut. Stephens came in from ye British and remained with us last night. He told us a number of things—I do not like him.

January 27 — Spend ye day in reading comedies. Lieut. Stephens went to head quarters; returned and remained with us over night. He goes to the Congress.

January 29 — The weather continues cold. It is said that the enemy at ye Quarter House were reinforced by 1100 men.

January 31 — The Delaware and Maryland troops hang their meat on ye parade—confine ye orderly sergeant and several men.

February 1 — Rain continues, and a small quantity of spirits was sent to us by the citizens. Deserters come in every day.

February 3 — Dine with Capt. Morrow, who made an elegant punch. The troops are under marching orders.

February 4 — Receive a case of brandy, a present from Capt. Saunders. March at 10 o’clock A.M. to Cainacres; the road excessively bad. Build our huts near Mr. Warrens, where Col. Lee’s warriors are quartered.

February 5 — Breakfasted with Capt. Neil, dine also. Desertions take place freely from the enemy.

February 6 — Ride 12 miles to Ashley ferry, but was disappointed in my errand. Dr Builder, of the Delaware Line, fights and wounds a Mr. Barryford, a member of the South Carolina Assembly, in consequence of ye doctor lameing him on January 12 just before we marched on the parade.

February 7 — Col. Thompson, late Secretary to Lord George Germain, commanding ye enemies Horse, came out as far as Beacon Bridge, five miles
from us.

February 8 — March at 3 o'clock P.M. 4 miles; lay out in the rain covered with a great coat, and sleep tolerable.

February 9 — March at day light, 12 miles through mud and water up to our knees, and return a different road, equally as bad, to the ground we left this morning. Draw a piece of beef and some rice; broiled my meat on a stick and with difficulty boiled the rice.

February 11 — Orders for ye Pennsylvania, Maryland and North Carolina troops on ye lines to repair to their respective brigades at headquarters. Sup with Capt. Neil and spend the evening at whist.

February 12 — March at 8 o'clock A.M., to Sandy Hill Church, 9 miles, the roads awful.

February 13 — March at 8 o'clock; join the army at 11 o'clock A.M. at Pond Pond. Spend the evening with the North Carolina officers.

February 14 — Nothing remarkable for a fine day. Some of the North Carolina officers breakfast with us.

February 19 — Employ Hogen (a tailor) of Capt. Seely's company to make up my cassimers. Exercise the troops today, which I commanded.

February 23 — The tailor finished my clothing, viz two pair of breeches and one jacket.

February 26 — Relieved of picket duty on the left flank of ye army. Exercise the troop in ye afternoon. Officers on duty get a gill of rum.

February 28 — A General Court martial: Three soldiers of the Pennsylvania Line were tried for desertion and sentenced to suffer death; a soldier of ye North Carolina Line, for ye same, sentenced to death; a soldier of ye Maryland Line, for plundering sentenced to death. The General approved ye sentences and ordered their execution tomorrow at 10 o'clock.

March 1 — The criminals sentenced yesterday were executed. General orders for a review tomorrow.

March 2 — A heavy rain attended with thunder and lightening, which causes the review to be postponed to Monday. Orders of the day: The General hopes that ye dreadful example that was given the army yesterday, for ye crimes of plundering and desertion, will prove a seasonable warning for others to avoid a conduct which brought those men to such a shameful and disgraceful end. Let no false hopes of avoiding punishment induce others into such villainous conduct. It is painful to ye General to be under ye disagreeable necessity but he will be as inflexible in that, who behave ill, as he will be just and generous to those who behave well.

March 4 — Troops reviewed today at 10 o'clock; performed some movements, and fired blank cartridges (which alarmed the inhabitants). A
number of ladies honored us with their presence.

March 5 — Nothing but bad weather. Rode about 13 miles down ye country, remain over night at Mrs. Williams’, Sandy Hill, spend the evening very agreeably in company with a few ladies, especially pleased with Miss R

March 6 — Leave Mrs. Williams’ at daylight and arrive at camp before Troop beating and mount the camp guard.

March 11 — General orders for the Pennsylvania Line to form two battalions.

March 14 — The officers who were supernumerary, set off for Pennsylvania today, viz. Capt. Wilkin, Lieuts. Shister, Dubb and Dixon.

March 17 — Being St. Patrick’s Day each officer drew one quart of liquor, the men one gill. We had a regimental dinner by contributing our mites, and spend the day and evening very sociably.

March 18 — Aroused at reville beating to drink good spirits with some of our lads who just came in from ye country, the effect of which was a headache.

March 21 — Informed by an officer of Col. Lee’s Legion that Capt. Randolph, with a party of his men had taken a galley with 18 men from ye British. Orders for ye troops to march tomorrow.

March 22 — Bring in my guard and prepare for marching. At 9 o’clock A.M. the troops march and encamp half a mile from Stono Church, on very good ground. The roads were exceedingly bad.

March 23 — This being good ground, we expected to remain here some time, therefore began to build chimneys to our tents. Orders in the evening to march at 9 o’clock tomorrow, a great mortification to some of us who went to the trouble to make brick chimneys which we got from Stono Church.

March 24 — The army take up ye line of march—encamp one mile from ye Cross Roads and two from Beacon’s bridge. Walk down to the infantry and visit Lieuts. Moon and LeRoy, who lay within one quarter of amile of ye bridge, drink some grog and return.

March 25 — Copy of General Orders of March 22d. Head Quarters Sandy Hill:

The General presents his thanks to Capt. Randolph of ye Partisan Legion, for ye enterprise, spirit and decision discovered by him and ye party under his command in the capture of the Allegator galley of two 12 pounders, six 4s, two 3s and a number of swivels, on ye night of ye 18th inst., when one Captain, two lieutenants, one gunner, two mates, and twenty four sailors, with three negroes were taken; two sailors killed—his party consisting of of thirteen men only.

General orders for ye drawing a number of shoes for ye troops, twelve pairs to each company.
March 27 — Mount ye right flank guard. It and the Provost Guard being near Gen' Gists headquarters, the officers dined there.

March 28 — Relieved from guard. On ye evening of ye 26th, a command was ordered out by Gen' Greene with secret orders, and Capt. Wilmot of ye Maryland Line given command. He was also allowed to choose a subaltern. We became acquainted with every circumstance by the Brigade Major of our Line, endeavouring to prevent partiality. We are filled with the thought of our being slighted. Write to Gen' Greene.

March 31 — Gen' Green's reply was received on ye 29th. Our determination of sending in our resignations to him gains strength.

April 1 — Mount picket at Slands Bridge four miles from camp—one half the way a swamp, half leg deep, and many streams to cross.

April 2 — We send our reply to Gen' Greene. General muster of ye troops who are to be paid and receive clothing. The enemy reduced to a desperate situation are preparing to come out to fight us—I have little faith in this report.

April 5 — Extracts from General Orders: At the General Court Martial of which Major McKee is president held ye 2d inst. was tried Capt. S. Jones of the North Carolina Line for scandilous and infamous behaviour unbecoming the officer and gentleman. The Court having weighed and the matter, are of opinion that the charge against Capt. Jones is malicious and vexatious, and do therefore honourably acquit him. Although the General does not disapprove the sentence of the Court, he cannot help observing, that the words made use of by Capt. Jones with respect to Governor Martin seem extremely indelicate; that expressions of such a nature, applied to Civil Officers in high station or authority have a tendency to injure the service, and certainly unworthy the person using them on any occasion in well bred men.

April 6 — Mount the Provost Guard at Gen' Gist's quarters; dine with the General.

April 8 — Capt. Thompson very ill used concerning his command, which was given by Gen' Greene (in the absence of Capt. Stevenson) to another officer.

April 10 — Capt. Patterson who commanded the picket at Beacon's bridge, had one of his patrols taken off by the enemy. A command was sent out after them, but they were too fleet for us.

April 13 — The army was drawn up at 9 o'clock, and fired three rounds per man, by platoons, divisions and battalions. A General Order for Capt. Thompson to take command of C. Jackson's company. Capt. Thompson having returned from Headquarters and found there how unjustly Col. Mentges has represented him, challenged him to a duel. The infantry move in ye rear of the army.
April 14 — Capt. Thompson finds that he is mistaken in supposing Col. Mentges had injured him with the General — so the matter lays dormant. The enemy moved out today and captured Lieut. Carrington of ye Partizan Legion near Dorchester, and returned the same day.

April 20 — Use some precautions fearing another mutiny; have confined Sergt. Gosnell.

April 21 — This morning Capt. Neil of ye Partizan Legion, commanding thirty dragoons, fell in with one of ye British negro Captains and his Troop, when he charged and put them to flight. On his return he met with a large body of ye British horse, who proved too much for him; his men all got off except five or six. Two officers and twenty men came in from the British with their arms.

April 22 — Sergeant Gosnell shot and many more confined.

April 24 — Alarmed this morning with the intelligence of the enemies intending to visit us. The troops paraded, then strike tents, load baggage & c. Great noise and little Wool!

May 2 — A number of transports under convoy of four or five frigates have certainly arrived at Charleston, and from our accounts are empty.

May 12 — Early this morning a command went from our army under Major Eggleston; besides our infantry and horse. Gen' Greene went with them down to the enemies picket and tried by every means to draw the enemy out, but without success. Took two officers prisoners and then returned. One of ye Officer’s waiters being drunk, rode into ye enemies picket without noticing his mistake, until he was asked what he would take for his horse, his great coat & c, they thinking him a deserter from us — when he turned his horse about and rode off through a heavy fire.

May 21 — Everybody full of Peace. Part of ye business of ye Flag yesterday was to inform Gen’ Greene that Gen’ Leslie would make no more excursions, but act entirely on the defensive. ’Tis generally believed there is something on ye carpet. The Charleston paper informs us that ye French fleet has been beaten by the British fleet under Rodney — the French sustained a great loss, the British very little.

May 23 — Was bled this morning by Dr Davidson, for a pain that had taken its seat in my breast.

May 27 — Disappointed in not being able to obtain horses to convey me to the hospital. My fever not quite so bad as yesterday. By a letter from Gen. Wayne we learn that ye enemy came out of Savannah, 400 infantry and 50 horse; that when he was informed of it got between them and the town, and whilst they were repairing some causeways completely surprised them. Their cavalry was so close pressed, that they dismounted and took to ye swamp; the infantry (Provincials and Hessians), threw away their arms, and all took to the
swamps. Fifty were killed and wounded, a Lieut. Colonel taken, forty of their horses and two hundred sand of arms fell into Gen. Wayne's hands.

May 28 — Procure horses, Capt. Patterson and self set off in an old chair to ye hospital. Informed on our way that ye Enemy were out with a number of horse; a party of our horse me them on their return and captured an officer, five men and seven horses. We quarter in an old coast house, and then walk down to the Doctor's quarters, and saw an allegator on our return.

May 30 — Much dissatisfied with Dr Reed at his neglect in not giving me medicine. The Doctor pays us a visit this afternoon, but no medicine.

May 31 — I feel very unwell this morning and very uneasy. Our house cleared of a number of South Carolina officers, very unsociable fellows. The Doctor brings me some medicine; my fever very bad.

June 4 — Visited by the Doctor and Capt. Henderson. The mosquitoes so intollerable that we get a pair of sheets from the Doctor to use instead of a pavilion.

June 14 — Orders in camp to arrange some method to deliver the clothing to us officers. Informed that orders had been sent by the Comet at Charleston to Savannah to prepare for its evacuation.

June 17 — Captains Finney and Brown arrived at the hospital from Savannah and informed us that the town had been evacuated yesterday and that Gen. Wayne had marched in and taken possession.

June 18 — Very uneasy that I cannot go to camp yet; my disease being no better.

June 19 — Informed that Savannah is not yet evacuated, the commanding officer wishing to make terms with Gen. Wayne or the Assembly, favorable for ye Tories.

June 25 — Some rain last night, and the day cooler than yesterday. My boy brought my flute and music to me. Mrs. LeRoy acquaints me that I received of ye late articles for clothing 1½ yards coarse blue cloth, two yards of lining and one pair of silk stockings.

June 27 — Heard some imperfect account of a number of Indians arriving at Gen. Wayne's camp, on their way to Savannah; that a number of them were killed and a large quantity of furs and pack horses captured.

July 4 — The symptoms of my disorder return. A Feu de Joy in camp for the celebration of our Independence. The officers of the army dine with Gen. Greene, and the field officers with ye Governor.

July 7 — Three more officers come here from camp sick; the troops very sickly.

July 9 — Heard that our army encamped at Ashley Hill.

July 23 — The report of this day acquaints me, that ye French fleet fell in
with 140 British transports and captured between eighty and ninety sail.

July 26 — Capt. Zeigler who passed the night with us, stated that the army has been without salt for five days and without beef three days.

July 30 — Informed of ye army marching down to James Island, their design not known.

August 1 — Capt. Patterson and self walk to Dr. Harrison's and dine there with Miss Harrison. After dinner walk to Mrs. McCants and remain there over night. Hardly exchange a word with her daughter who appears to be very bashful or . . .

August 2 — Informed by Col. Pinckney that a number of British transports have arrived at Charleston and that the garrison is certainly preparing to go off. That a French fleet is coasting near New York. We walk home in the afternoon, met the Lieut. Governor, who politely requests our company with him tomorrow, which we accept.

August 3 — Walk over to the Lieut. Governor at 12 o'clock and dine there with several South Carolina militia officers. The French troops have marched northward.

August 6 — Lieut. Finney and self walk down to the hospital and dine there. They are preparing to move nearer ye army this week.

August 9 — Yesteday the enemy evacuated the Quarter House and demolished it and the adjacent works. Gen. Wayne's troops are moving up from Savannah.

August 11 — Dine at Capt. Saunders, where I am genteely entertained over night, owing to the rain.

August 12 — Capt. Saunders very kindly send us to Mrs. McPhersons in a chair, where we breakfast. We walk from thence to ye Light Infantry camp and dine with Capt. Irwin. At the hospital everything topsy turvey, so sleep very indifferent this night.

August 14 — Sergeant Rampy died of malignant fever, the hospital full of our men—Lieuts. White and Collier of our Line very sick here. Deserters are constantly leaving the enemy—there will be but a flimsy amount of ye British should they remain much longer. Some people from the town inform us that they are shifting their cannon and stores.

August 18 — Make my exit from the hospital and join the army at Ashley Hill fifteen or sixteen miles from Charleston. Find my company very much reduced by sickness.

August 21 — Have the Governor's guard. Deserters are continually leaving the enemy.

August 27 — Informed that yesterday the lightening had killed four men of ye Light Infantry Corps and struck two speachless. Omit mounting my guard owing to being not well.
August 28 — Col. Laurens with a command of fifty men and one howitzer, at Cambahee fell in with a party of ye enemy, attacked them without waiting for ye arrival of Gen. Gist with the infantry, who was two miles in ye rear. The enemy being four times his number soon routed him, himself killed, Capt. Smith who commanded the howitzer wounded and also Lieut. Smith of the Virginia Line. General orders mention twenty four missing.

November 6 — The incorporation takes places in our Line—Have command of the levies. Capt. Stotesbury, Lieut. Allison, Tilden, Weitzel, McKnight and Adjutant Reed.

November 7 — Gen. Greene detains the retiring officers in camp by refusing them a wagon and other affairs necessary for the journey. The levies he says cannot leave him yet.

November 8 — Col. Mentges requests Lieut. Reed for assistant; I do duty as adjutant.

November 10 — Lieut. Markland returned from the lines says the Augustine fleet has arrived. Lieut. LeRoy returns to camp very unwell, though better than he has been during his absence.

1. Portion of diary from August 30 to November 4 missing.


November 14 — March at 9 o'clock; pass Bacon's bridge and take quarters at Mr. Stevenson's.

November 15 — March before sunrise; no water fit to drink until we arrive at Mr. Ravenells, where we feed our horses. March to Martin's Tavern and take quarters.

November 16 — March before sunrise. Take quarters at Eutaw's, famed for the advantage Gen. Greene had there over the British. Have the ague bad.

November 17 — Unfortunately lose one wagon horse of our team. March at sunrise, proceed to Lawrences ferry, the post illy supplied.

November 18 — Cross the ferry early; rain all day; roads very sloppy. Take quarters at Mrs. Richardson's, treated very politely.

November 19 — March at daylight. Rain all day and cold. Quarter at Mr. Genlards, at high hills of Santee.

November 20 — March before sunrise, cold and raining. Reach Camden, live in a vacant house.

November 21 — Shift my clothes and dine on invitation at Mr. Curfholds. Sup with Mr. Kershaw, who treats us very politely.

November 22 — March at sunrise; pass no inhabited town; take a snack at
Ridgely's Mills. Pitch our tent a mile north of the Flat Rock. I acting as Quarter Master obliged to take a cow from one of the inhabitants, a disagreeable task.

November 23 — March at daylight, not a house on the road. Pitch our tent near a miserable hut at the ground famed by the defeat of Col. Beuford.

November 24 — March at sunrise and proceed to camp Branch and pitch our tent near another poor hut. The people living in it is impossible to describe. Passed line.

November 25 — March at sunrise and take quarters at a brick house, Clear Creek. Press beef.

November 26 — March at the usual hour, pass Pipher's Mills and quarter at _____. Odd adventures.

November 27 — Move off at sunrise and proceed to Salisbury; take lodgings at the widow Roans.

November 28 — Remain in town; dine with Col. Chambers; after dinner walk with Dr Allison and McKnight to a dancing school. The master very polite, dance three or four dances with the angels, and walk home with my partner. Fortunately we are invited to spend the night at Mr. Hughes; the glass circulates freely. Some girls arrive, we dance 'till perfectly tired, and the old gentleman invites us to breakfast. Go home very sociable.

November 29 — Breakfast with Mr. Hughes. March at 10 o'clock and pitch our tent in the woods, poor place.

November 30 — March at sunrise and take quarters in Moravian town, (Salem) a very neat place for Dutch, buy apples and cider on the road.

December 1 — March at 11 o'clock from Salem, put up ye cross roads.

December 2 — March at sunrise, pass Guilford Court House, take quarters one mile south of it.

December 3 — Rain all night and continues all day. March at sunrise, cross Reedy Fork and the Haw River, and take quarters near it.

December 4 — Rain, march as usual, the roads very bad, quarter at Mr. Stubbfields, who appears very genteel.

December 5 — March at daylight, cross the Dan river at Dix's ferry, and take quarters at Robinsons, six miles from the ferry, Pittsylvania, Virginia.

December 6 — Last night Mr. Allen and self slept two miles off the road at Mrs. Mays, the lady very clever. March early, quarter at Peytonsburg.

December 7 — Remain in town. Ride with Dr Allison to ye country and get fowls for our entertainment. At night attended a hop, horrid music and miserable dancers. Two ladies very agreeable. Our cook gives us a very good supper.

December 8 — Remain in town all day procuring provisions, and have a
dance.

December 9 — March early, take quarters at Jones's Ordinary. Two or three of us disappointed, determined to get tipsey, get religiously so and play the mischief.

December 10 — March at sunrise, cross Staunton Coles ferry, quarter at Jones's Ordinary, Charlotte Court House.

December 11 — March early, some little difficulty in ye road, but arrive at Prince Edward's Court House before sundown. Mr. Venables.

December 12 — March at daylight and cross the Apomatox, breakfast at Col. Nash's, and proceed to Mr. D ______.

December 13 — Give on hundred lashes to two of our men for theft. March a disagreeable road to Cumberland old Court House, and quarter a mile from the court house.

December 14 — Lieut. North and self dress and set out for a relation of his on ye James river, used very politely and play whilst in the evening.

December 17 — Take leave of the good family, cross the river, Mr. Bowling directs us to the road. Arrive at Mr. Todds, spend the afternoon there and night at Parkers.

December 18 — Ride after breakfast, stop at Bowswells Ordinary.

December 19 — Ride early and breakfast at Orange Court House. Overtake the troops at breakfast. Quarter at Raccoon ford on the Rapidan for the night.

December 21 — March after sunrise; the roads bad, the snow chiefly gone. Put up at Germantown.

December 22 — March early, roads indifferent. Put up at the Red House, Prince William County.

December 23 — Move after daylight and proceed to Mr. Adams' four miles from Leesburg. Dined at Col. Davis's, in Louden.

December 24 — March at daybreak, cross the Potomac, and quarter at Billmeyer's Inn, Frederick county, Maryland.

December 25 — March pretty early and enter Fredericktown. The road very bad. Billet our men and quarter at Capt. Morris' Inn.

December 26 — Remain in town; great quantity of rain fell during the night and today; the streets horrid dirty.

December 27 — The troops march after two o'clock; cross the Monocacy and quarter at the tavern on the north side of it.

December 28 — March early; morning cold; roads miserable; quarter at Taneytown; good inn.

December 29 — Move off before sun rise, the roads rough; pass through Littlestown and put up at McAllisters. Drink coffee with Col. McAllister and passable daughter.
December 30 — Snow all day; proceed on foot to York and get quarters for the men. Visit Mr. Chambers’ family and received with a great deal of friendship.

December 31 — Set off for Darrington; very cordially received by Capt. Stevenson’s family.
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