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By

The Winchester-Frederick County Historical Society
ISBN # 0-923198-43-1
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Dedication

In three second floor rooms of the handsome eighteenth century oldest building in Winchester, Abram's Delight, there are anomalously present numerous reminders of the latest modernity: fax machine, photocopier, electric typewriters, computers and printers. Presiding with equal aplomb over this historic venue and these indicia of twenty-first century offices is the intelligent, capable and devoted Capricia Lee Shull, Executive Director of the Winchester-Frederick County Historical Society.

Better known as "Cissy," she was the first-and still the only-fulltime employee of the Society, having commenced her duties with it sixteen years ago on February 28, 1990 as its Secretary. That was when the office was located in the building of the National Cemetery on National Avenue. As her knowledge and proficiency increased as well as the scope and complexity of the Society's activities, she became successively Executive Secretary and finally and appropriately Executive Director.

A native of Winchester born October 6, 1960, Cissy displayed her civic interest early as a Girl Scout and as a proud member -and flute player- of the John Handley High School band. Graduating from that institution she attended and received an Associate Degree from Lord Fairfax Community College. She then became and remained for some years an active participant in the local and state Junior Chamber of Commerce, holding numerous offices including president of the Winchester-Frederick County Chapter and was awarded a Life Membership from the state Jaycees for her outstanding service and contributions to the organization.

On a more personal note, Cissy loves animals, especially cats and dogs. She enjoys knitting, is an avid reader and a collector of antiques, many of which add to the décor of her pleasantly landscaped Muse Drive home. As might be expected she has a deep devotion for and sense of responsibility to her aging parents.
Recently a member was heard to ask why the Society needed an executive director just to get out its Journal. Obviously the Society has not done a good job informing at least some of its members on its numerous activities. Delineating some of the work of Cissy Shull will highlight those activities. First, she is the administrator of three museums. This entails opening and closing them for the season, recruiting and supervising employees, managers and paid docents for each of them and acting as liason with the City for repairs and maintenance of buildings and grounds. In addition she purchases and keeps inventory of items carried at the museum gift shops.

Cissy is always present at meetings of the Board of Directors and seldom misses a meeting of any of the six or seven standing committees of the Society. She handles the payroll, pays the bills and keeps track of deposits and withdrawals to and from the thirteen separate funds of the organization. She acts a liason to the City, the Chamber of Commerce, the Tourism Bureau, the Economic Development Commission and the Shenandoah University History and Tourism Center.

To her falls the job of getting out the periodic newsletter, of collecting membership dues and maintaining the membership roster and purchase of all necessary supplies. And yes, she does participate actively in respect to the Journal, attending meetings of the publication committee, preparing all articles in proper form for the printer, dealing with the printer and seeing to the distribution of the book to each and every member. She supervises sales of books published by the Society at its office as well as at bookstores. She sends notices of events and is in charge of special events such as the annual opening of the George Washington Office museum on his birthday or the Christmas open house at Abram's Delight. She gets notices and other items to the local press and deals with our website.

The above gives some idea though not the whole story of the volume and diversity of the work performed by our executive director. This work is accomplished with ability, intelligence and devotion. For these qualities and for all she does and has done over the years for the Society with compe-
tence and deep loyalty, this Journal XVIII is gratefully and proudly dedicated to Capricia L. Shull our Executive Director.

Robert K. Woltz
7th President, WFCHS
Winchester, formerly a sleepy village in the heart of the Great Valley of Virginia on the doorstep of the grand North American pioneer movement, now boasts a metro area of 91,000 residents enjoying a pleasant, secure, and prosperous life in the garden spot of the Appalachians.

Recent years found the Shenandoah Valley a highly desirable place to escape from the urban scene. Why here? There are magnetic attractions: proximity to major Atlantic ports; access by major highways; a legal base friendly to business and labor; protection from natural catastrophes; the blessings of four seasons; and easy access to recreational areas between mountain resorts, east coast beaches, and big city attractions, chiefly the Nation’s Capital.

Who was this James Wood and by what process did he originate our town on this particular point of New World terrain? What went through his mind as he coped with decisions that impact our lives today? His role in the early formation of the county seat earns for him the worthy title “Founder of Winchester.”

Information passed down from his widow by way of grandsons and reported by a descendant, Katherine Glass Greene, tells of James Wood’s earning an Oxford education, followed by service as a lieutenant in the British navy.

“Notes used by one of his grandsons in answer to one of many inquirers for information, are...as follows:
Colonel James Wood was an Englishman by birth; and by communication made to me in my youth from his widow, Mary Wood, ...I understood he had been a lieutenant in the British Navy before his emigration to this country ... Family history further affirms that he was from Winchester, England, and that he was educated at Oxford."

Two researchers have examined sources in England and found no evidence that Wood attended Oxford or served in the British navy. Leila Boyer, research analyst for the Glass-Glen Burnie Foundation, searched records of matriculation at Oxford and naval records for information regarding James Wood. Her efforts drew a blank. Warren Hofstra, in his investigations on Winchester and its origins, likewise found no early data. In short, Wood’s early years in England are nearly devoid of documentation.

Even though Greene is a biased reporter, the family believed these statements about their ancestor’s collegiate education and military service. James Wood’s paper trail on this side of the Atlantic reveals him as an educated man of some means. We know enough to judge the talents of our Founder in the years of his young adulthood. He wrote in a fine script, meticulous in detail, as revealed in later court records, ledgers, surveys, and correspondence. His knowledge of government and politics honed his capacity for observing and managing affairs, private and public, in scrupulous detail. The mandate of accuracy in land surveying further deepened this man’s uncommon ability and placed his services in great demand. We see his leadership continue to develop as he moved in public positions during his short life of fifty-two years.

"His clear diction, his handwriting of microscopic fineness and print-like clearness, his thorough knowledge of military tactics, his attention to details, his custom of having witnesses to transactions of whatever nature, his skill in surveying, his strict business methods indicate the
legal mind, the trained scholar, the keen man of affairs, the intrepid explorer of the Virginia wilderness," Greene emotes.  

Ample documentation, both public and private, bears out Greene's description. Those were times of limited available cash. The economy moved by ledgers, each family or business recording assets and debts to and from each other. Although the principle transactions of the times consisted of land transfers, businesses and individuals used ledgers to record their dealings, however minute. Running accounts of assets and liabilities often carried on until estate settlement at death.

James Wood appears to have come from a family whose prominence had some connection with people in high places. If he had been a first-born son, inheritance of land could have anchored him in England, rather than seeking his livelihood across the Atlantic. Stories of the New World no doubt sparked his interest. He crossed the Atlantic either with or near the same time as the new governor of the Virginia Colony. Later on, as a surveyor, he helped lay out the village that would become the new capital at Richmond. He took his surveying talents into the sprawling County of Orange that included territories beyond the Blue Ridge and there staked out a claim to property along the drains of one of the most prolific springs in the region.

William Gooch, a Scotsman and an officer in British military, was a man of high character and noted intelligence. Sedate, reserved, kind, and courteous described this devout Presbyterian. Appointed Lieutanant Governor of Virginia, Gooch took up his duties in 1727. In a time of "peril and tumult," Gooch governed Virginia for the next twenty-two years. Greene states that James Wood..."embarked with one of the colonial governors for Virginia, and remained in his family until he located himself adjoining Winchester." He could have served in the Gooch administration for several years, but details are obscure. Other than Greene, we have no information regarding James Wood's crossing and the next six years before his assignment as surveyor in 1733.
Although not born into plantation aristocracy, our Founder, emulating gentry, perceived wealth in terms of land, the seemingly endless Virginia acreage. At the dawn of the great age of expansion, prosperity focused on land acquisition, measurement, and occupation. Ownership necessitated an official marking of the boundaries. Mapping the claims of settlers placed surveyors in a position to take up choice acreage for themselves – thus increasing their success and influence. James Wood took up surveying as a profession, and the extent of his lifetime holdings by 1753 totaled more than 17,307 Shenandoah Valley acres as far away as Augusta County.  

"Surveying, like the law, was one of the respectable ladders to the top of Virginia’s eighteenth-century society." And it was highly competitive. Setting his sights on this new vocation, James Wood sought the position as the surveyor of the new County of Orange, a mark of rank and ability, granted to him by the "president and Masters of William and Mary." The 1693 charter of the College conferred on it the office of Royal Surveyor General and the commissioning of county surveyors. In return, each surveyor was committed to an annual payment to the College coffers amounting to one-sixth of his surveying fees.  

Appointing one senior surveyor to each county later brought about a complaint from Wood when, in 1738, he reported to the Council that Robert Brooke was encroaching into his territory, for which the Council rebuked Brooke.  

Colonial Virginians considered the western limit of the Colony to be the line of mountains they called the Blue Ridge. In 1716 while James Wood was still a lad of nine years in his English home, Governor Alexander Spotswood led a group of 63 men over the Blue Ridge into the unknown Valley of Virginia. The land beyond was designated as New Virginia, and Winchester would become the "metropolis of New Virginia." In later years, colonials identified the Shenandoah Valley, along with the boundless hinterland beyond, as "back-country" or "upcountry," a tag heard even in modern times.  

Governor Gooch promoted land settlement of the Colony’s western reaches, not as speculation but for... “settlement on small farms by families intent upon actually working the land and developing the Valley economy so as to provide a first line of defense for the Tidewater." In addition, he wanted settlement in the Shenandoah Valley to “assert the claims” of
the Colony against the competing claim of the Northern Neck Proprietary. Joist Hite, encouraged by the Governor, promulgated a rush of immigrants into transmontane Virginia that forced a division of Spotsylvania County, breaking off its St. Mark's Parish to form the new County of Orange.\textsuperscript{11}

In the right place at the right time, James Wood, having received his commission from William and Mary on 12 November 1734, took the oath on 21 January 1735 at the Court of Orange County as its first surveyor. Before the end of 1734, Wood was on the Valley frontier measuring tracts for new settlers, many of whom were pioneer Scots and Germans moving into the area. In the land grab, Joist Hite took up extensive tracts and promoted sales to the settlers he had organized in Pennsylvania to move south. For the remainder of the decade, Wood surveyed extensively throughout the northern Valley.\textsuperscript{12}

Throughout his years as surveyor, James Wood's career was linked with that of George Hume, who, seeking the more lucrative work on the frontier, became an assistant in 1734 under Wood in the new County of Orange. At the organization of Frederick County in 1743, James Wood became its Clerk and Hume took over as its surveyor, succeeding Wood. That arrangement apparently continued until the Proprietary settlement in 1745 when Hume returned to Orange County complaining that now surveying in the Northern Neck was of limited benefit. Wood once again took the surveyor's position and held it for the rest of his life. But Hume returned in 1751 as deputy to Wood, an arrangement that lasted until their deaths, Wood in 1759 and Hume in 1760. Resolution of the Proprietary in favor of Lord Fairfax placed all of Frederick County in the Northern Neck territory, which led both Wood and Hume to come to terms with the Baron.\textsuperscript{13}

Wood evidently liked what he saw in this bountiful land and decided to take up permanent residence. During those early months, he sought and found a choice location for his homestead, and he secured a patent in 1735 from the Colonial government in Williamsburg for land on the drains of the Opequon.

Choosing a perennial source of water, he built his homestead near a copious flow, later named Town Spring. In the
absence of a date for the construction of his original home, we judge that, even though he could have started the first structure soon after acquiring the property, it may have coincided with his marriage to a neighbor’s daughter, Mary Rutherford, in 1738. Made of logs and with stone chimneys, a portion exists in the present Glen Burnie built by his son, Robert, in 1794.\(^{14}\)

As his name and reputation spread, James Wood performed two of the most important surveys of his time. He, representing the Crown, with James Thomas acting for Lord Fairfax, surveyed the north branch of the Rappahannock in October 1736 in support of the case pending settlement of the Baron’s claim of title to the Northern Neck Proprietary. During that winter, he assisted the renowned surveyor William Mayo in laying out a village on the plantation of William Byrd at the head of navigation, the Falls of the James. Byrd sold lots at this outpost on the edge of the wilderness that grew into a village. Forty-three years later, in 1779, the thriving settlement became the new colonial capital, Richmond, placing upon James Wood the “honor of being the only man of this era identified with the design of two cities.”\(^{15}\)

The burden of traveling long distances to county courts spurred separation into more localized areas. In 1738, the House of Burgesses acted to form another new county, breaking it away from the four-year-old Orange County and naming it Frederick. Then began the search for a suitable place to locate its court and county seat. Picking the right spot in the sprawling new county that engulfed the entire area of the Fairfax Proprietary from the Blue Ridge to the western end of Maryland ensued over the next few years.

James Wood took up the quest for a location of the county seat. Should he share land with neighbors to make up the tract? If he provided the acreage from his own property, he stood to profit from the sale of lots in the new town. Will he confront the Northern Neck Proprietary and its claim to the ground he took for himself? Through many days and weeks, he may have pondered these and other questions pertaining to diminutive beginnings of colossal importance for his and our future.
The site he proposed for a new town, situated at the eastern limit of his 1,241 acres, seemed suitable only for donation. He may have intended its location near the source of water at Shawnee Springs, which he could have chosen on a nearby hilltop. If James Wood had not presented his survey and layout of lots, "...a town would most likely never have appeared at this location." A traveler near the end of that century could not "...conceive the motives that led to the construction of a town on this spot..."16

In a wooded bottomland, Old Town Winchester was a forest stretching north and south to higher grassland. Lot owners had to clear away the trees. Stumps clogged the streets. Loudoun Street was a wetland, low and unpleasant. In order to make it passable, the founders of the town had to channel the water. They opened two blocks of this main street from Cork to Piccadilly in 1761 – seventeen years after dedication of the town by the Magistrate's Court. Subject to perennial flooding, Loudoun Street waited eighty-two years before receiving a stone surface and side drainage in 1843!17

Did James Wood and the magistrates expect people to set up homes and businesses in a bog? As a matter of fact, that appears to have been precisely his intention. Bottomland is floodplain alluvium, mostly level and well-forested, with highly productive soil, easily plowed when cleared, and, even though subject to flooding, lowland areas grow the best crops and provide wood for home building, as well as fuel for heating and cooking. It was on this same floodplain, albeit higher up the watershed, which Wood chose to build his own dwelling.

Several factors came into play in the formation of the village and seat of the local government. Of primary importance in Wood's choice was a strong and dependable flow of life-giving water. Many springs rise from the ridge at the western edge of the Great Valley. He selected one of the most abundant sources of water in the Abrams Creek watershed, one that supplied the City of Winchester for the next two centuries. But the most abundant local springs may have been occupied by a clan of Shawnee Indians, which could have influenced his choosing the upper fount (Town Spring) for the site of his home.
In speculating on the strategic importance of his chosen acreage, Colonel Wood must have wanted to include Shawnee Springs emanating into Town Run a short way above its confluence with Abrams Creek. However, the Fairfax Proprietary and the Hollingsworth claims may have prevented the inclusion. And that is as close as he could get to the springs, a fact that may have figured in his later accommodation with Lord Fairfax.

Another major spring several hundred yards downstream lay within the land of Abraham Hollingsworth, which we know as Rouss Spring but then may have been called Hollingsworth Spring. The presence of Hollingsworth, whose entitlement dated to 1728, and that of Joist Hite in 1731, restricted Wood’s adjacent location.

In addition to the adjoining claims, a further blockage to Wood’s taking these great wellsprings may have been the possible presence of an Indian village. If we are to believe Frederic Morton, a clan of Shawnees numbering fewer than a hundred (whose tribe gave its name to the springs) had settled there in about 1690. Rumblings of conflict moved these Shawnees in 1754 to join their Ohio tribe in support of the French. These waters continued to receive native visits as they traveled the trails through the Great Valley.

That Native Americans did occupy this site is strongly supported by Morton, but the archeological surveys of Hofstra and Geier, on the other hand, turned up no remnants of Indian occupancy.

“A village site could have been located adjacent to but outside of the area included in the Shawnee Springs survey. Moreover, the surveyed area has been profoundly disturbed during the past 250 years to the extent that evidence of any sustained [N]ative American occupation could have been obliterated. Given the effectiveness of shovel test pitting as a survey technique, however, this possibility is not likely.”

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While laying out the full story of Kercheval's Native American presence at Shawnee Springs, Hofstra goes on, in *The Planting of New Virginia*, to point out the lack of evidence for "sustained" Indian occupation.

"Although no evidence exists for sustained Indian occupation of the Valley during the eighteenth century and the absence of Indians might have quickened European settlement, it was the movement of northern and southern Indians through the region and the political instability this movement provoked in Virginia that led to the migration... into the Valley after 1730."\(^{20}\)

Old paths radiating out from the hub at the springs, some leading directly to passes and windgaps in adjacent ridges, factored in choosing the location of a new town. Foot travel by Native Americans sought the easiest way, a pattern that lent itself to the later pioneer wagon roads, as well as highways we travel on today. The Indian pathway in the Valley became known as the Great Road or Great Wagon Road. After the establishment of Winchester, other villages sprang up at intervals along the Great Road, "... about a day's journey apart,"\(^{21}\) or at comfortable distances to market centers.

At Shawnee Springs, the trail joined others forming a significant crossroads. Cognizant of the strategic importance of this renowned watering hole, Wood set his new town nearby. "When James Wood placed his homestead so near the Shawnee Spring, we may assume that it was because he saw that the locality offered more promise than any other of becoming the county seat."\(^{22}\)

(In this text, the plural springs includes the outpouring of those waters in the lower Town Run above its confluence with Abrams Creek. In that area, Shawnee and Rouss are singular springs.)

As the City of Winchester considered its future water requirements, it contracted a report on the flow of four springs that supplied its water in 1950. In addition to drawing from
Town Spring, the complex of water sources for Winchester included Hollingsworth Spring, opened in 1894 after a benefaction from Charles Rouss and named for him; Shawnee Spring, added to the City’s flow in the 1920s; and Fay Spring on Red Bud Run, tapped in 1942. The report gave a total supply from all four springs at 2.8 million gallons per day. Of that total, the Shawnee/Rouss Springs provided, in an early 1930s figure, 1.46 million gallons a day, or 52 percent. Taking water from three of these springs ended when the City installed a pipeline from the North Fork Shenandoah River in 1955, but the use of Fay Spring continued until 1973.²³

The power of the Shawnee/Rouss Spring complex became evident from a well drilled in 1926 by the former Winchester Woolen Mill on Abrams Creek where it crosses Millwood Avenue. “The deepest well in the area...was drilled to a depth of 1,432 feet through dolomite and limestone. Water bearing openings in the rock were passed through at about 100, 300, 700 feet and between 1,100 and 1,200 feet. The driller reported that the water was flowing through the deepest channels with sufficient force to wash out the drill cuttings.” Cady cites an artesian pressure as the cause of strong flows in the well’s deep cavities.²⁴

Although other water sources perhaps as powerful may exist along these same veins of limestone that linearly trend the Valley, here the earliest white settlers first claimed land near these springs in the Abrams Creek watershed. Although arriving relatively late, James Wood quickly perceived the importance of the last unclaimed tract close to these fountains.

Two sources report that white men had built a few cabins along the Town Run as early as 1738. Neither writer pinpoints their location, which could have been anywhere along the course of the Run, but their intent is clear that these cabins were at the site of Wood’s future town and that they may have influenced him in locating the nucleus of an administrative seat.²⁵

Evidence of James Wood’s leadership in siting the new village appears in several actions. First, in anticipation of
forming an administrative center, he made a preliminary sketch in about 1743 of a possible layout of lots on the Town Run. (Figure 1) When the court met the following year, he ... "announced that he had surveyed twenty-six lots and two streets on the easternmost corner of his own property... In the absence of Wood's survey, a town would most likely never have appeared at this location." Figure 2 reveals his later arrangement of lots approved by the magistrates on 9 March 1744. Thus, our Founder provided the basic layout of the town we live in today.

Evidently, Wood had not finally decided on just where to place the new county seat until he presented his plan in late 1743. In March 1744, he laid off twenty-six lots situated on the Town Run. (Figure 2) His detailed drawing prepared for the Justices has been lost from the records. Wood named his new town "Opekon." Because his title was uncertain, due to the unsettled claim by the Fairfax Proprietary, the Justices required that Wood post an indemnity bond to protect them from loss.

By offering a site on his property, Wood easily won approval from his neighbors who need not surrender any of their own acreage. Wood's motive in having the site on his property allowed him to sell off lots as a means of income. In addition, if it were chosen as the future county seat, town property in the future business center would increase in value. This fortuitous setup provided income from lot sales for his wife and family through her lengthy widowhood.

Lending further support, the Founder offered the use of his surveying office, an outbuilding erected at about the time he constructed his home, as a meeting place for the Justices in the first session of the new Frederick County Court on 11 November 1743. Having sought the position as Clerk, Wood
received the appointment by His Majesty's Colony of Virginia on 22 October 1743, a duty he performed for the remainder of his life. For at least a year, the County Court met in this building where James Wood, its appointed clerk, kept the County records, and he received compensation for the use of this edifice. By November 1744 a "stone office," likely on the public lots, took over as the Clerk's office.

Crucial to the future of the infant town, James Wood chose to make accommodation with Lord Fairfax, whose title to the Northern Neck remained in limbo. The abrasive Hite would eventually butt up against the 6th Baron of Cameron, whose hereditary holdings engulfed the area like a colony unto itself! Fairfax traveled to the Valley in 1735 and met with Hite and other settlers. The rascible Hite joined with other Valley landholders in a petition to minimize the acreage of any settlement of the Proprietary. Even the Colony of Virginia, which stood to lose taxes on the extensive territory, opposed Fairfax. In spite of opposition, the final judgment of the Privy Council in 1745 favored Lord Fairfax with the broadest claim of the Northern Neck Proprietary, a total of 5,282,000 acres! Differences between Valley landholders, most notably Joist Hite, and the Proprietor continued in a 1749 suit that settled in their favor in 1786, five years after the death of Fairfax.

Fortunately for citizens of the new village, confrontation was not the way Wood carried on his relations with his neighbors. Rather than take issue with Lord Fairfax, James Wood, seeing that he would be taxed, whether by Fairfax or by the Colonial government, deigned to pay the "quitrent." The system in Colonial Virginia, carried over from the Old World, consisted of a payment to the title holder from whom one laid a claim to land, and the settlers expected, though under protest, to pay the annual fee. Wood chose to bend rather than battle the Baron. In agreeing to the encumbering duty, he gained a cooperative arrangement that proved beneficial for future relations that would impact our town.

Here is evidence of the good nature of the Founder. James Wood, throughout his dealings with neighbors and business people elsewhere, displayed character in his dependability. He
could be trusted to carry out his duties and look after those of his fellows. A man of intelligence, Wood always exhibited support for public causes, while also building his own estate. These traits of character come to play most prominently in his associations with Lord Fairfax, with whom he joined in promoting growth of the nascent Winchester. Indeed, these two leaders seemed intent on besting each other in advancing the town, all to the benefit of future generations.

Such a complimentary description may overidolize our renowned establisher, for it was in its May term of 1744 that the court fined Wood, along with other prominent figures, for offenses of that era. Exhibiting human behavior, Colonel James Wood was cited for "getting drunk and swearing two oaths within six months." The ire of the court laid on others fines for selling liquors without license, disturbing the peace and dignity of the community, plowing on Sunday, swearing before the court, behaving indecently, and even writing articles "against the Established Church." One, the Reverend William Williams, "an unorthodox" minister, performed a marriage as a non-Anglican. In such legal severity, it is no wonder Wood overimbibed and let fly an occasional oath!

In this same May 1744 session, the court ordered the wagon road connected to the main street of the new town. The Great Wagon Road, the connection with Maryland and Pennsylvania markets, formed up a half-mile to the east. This move brought the Road to Wood's eastern boundary along Loudoun Street where it butted against land of Lord Fairfax.

The original 1735 survey of James Wood's land is lost from the records. William Baylis surveyed the property on 10 June
1752. His surveyor brother, John Baylis, made a resurvey on 5 December correcting the northern boundary that added 125 acres for a new total of 1,241. Final title to the tract came from Lord Fairfax in a grant dated 21 May 1753.

Building on the 1744 charter, Fairfax, in the 1752 Act of the Assembly, added fifty-four lots to Wood’s original twenty-six, bringing the total to eighty. (Figure 3) In establishing the new county seat, this Act formally changed the name to Winchester, provided for outlots to accompany each purchase of an inlot, named streets, regulated fairs and markets, and laid the groundwork for future additions by Wood and Fairfax in 1758 and 1759. (Figure 4)

This foundation made way for the Act of Incorporation in 1779 and the Act of 1874 that chartered Winchester as a City. Hence, the thoroughness of our patriarch led to the development of Winchester in a well-planned pattern on a solid legal basis.

In summary, through a natural succession of steps, our colonial settlement emerged in the frontier backcountry beyond the Blue Ridge, the product of one man’s visionary leadership: James Wood, intrepid surveyor of frontier land, founding patron of the new County of Frederick and its seat of government, Clerk of the Court, Colonel of Militia, and advocate and sponsor of young George Washington, even serving as Washington’s proxy in the House of Burgesses.

For a man so important in our local history, we have a dearth of personal information about him. The only way in his time that we could have known his appearance would have been by portrait, and where was an artist on the frontier? The Founder apparently did not perceive his role in history worthy of that effort. Indeed, as a man of some decorum, it may never have crossed his mind.
The destiny of James Wood carried him, step by step, from his home in England to the New World colony of Virginia and thence into the frontier wilderness where he joined the earliest European occupants of the Shenandoah Valley in forming local political jurisdictions. In the well-watered drains of Abrams Creek, he must have thought it resembled the Garden of Eden. Finding unclaimed acreage on one of its branches, he set up his homestead. Circumstance led him along a fateful path to establish a town on this spot.

And the man showed uncommon intelligence in the ways of the world: he recognized opportunity and responded to its call at each step of the way. He was the first to investigate a site for the administrative center of the newly formed county. Anticipating the needs of his neighbors, he drew up a plan that they readily accepted. Further, he sought and gained the position as keeper of the county's records and held that influential office for life. In this central position, he was able to plan, along with the Proprietor, the town's expansion so as to attract and guide future residents.

Indian incursions, abetted by the French, thrust this exposed village into troubled times that propelled young George Washington into military leadership. Wood, his senior by twenty-five years, became an ardent promoter of Washington. With the rank of colonel in the Virginia militia, he was with Washington at the Fort Necessity debacle and later successfully promoted him as a delegate to the House of Burgesses.

In 1759, an epidemic of smallpox swept the town, to the extent that Lieutenant Governor Fauquier ordered the court to move seven miles to Stephensburg (Stephens City), where it perhaps would have remained had not James Wood interfered to ply one of the justices with a "bowl of toddy." Fairfax, desirous of retaining the seat closer to his residence at Greenway Court, "was so offended at the magistrate who thus sold his vote, that he never after spoke to him." Ironically, mingling among the townsmen may have cost James Wood his life, for his demise later in the year could have resulted from the same scourge of smallpox.
First buried in the cemetery by the old Episcopal Church on the public square, according to Greene, his remains now lie in the family graveyard at Glen Burnie. When in 1828 the Church built a new sanctuary on Boscawen Street, bodies from the former church graveyard were reinterred to a temporary burying ground on the east side of Stewart Street between Monmouth and Germain, from which most graves had been transferred into Mt. Hebron Cemetery by 1870. Re-burial of James Wood's remains could have occurred during this period.

Thus, it was a combination of wise moves reacting to the geography that brought about this urban center. In his short fifty-two years, James Wood, Founder of Winchester, a man of destiny, earned the everlasting gratitude of every resident in the Winchester-Frederick County area. We have no monument to commemorate the architect of this community. However, the estate of Glen Burnie remained in the family continuously until its last heir, Julian Glass, set up a foundation for its posterity. Now a historical site, the house and gardens, as well as the Museum of the Shenandoah Valley, serve as a memorial to the life of the Founder.
NOTES


4 Greene, 13.


6 *Ibid.*, 9, 12, 25, 72. The appointment of surveyors by the Masters of William and Mary appears to have been political, thus exercising a power on behalf of the governor, rather than administering an examination of qualifications by the faculty.


8 Frederic Morton, *The Story of Winchester in Virginia* (Strasburg, VA, 1925), 35.


13 Hughes, 87, 92.


18 Morton, 35, 40.


20 Hofstra, *The Planting...*, 328.

21 Ibid., 262.

22 Morton, 44.


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26 Hofstra, *The Planting...,* 181.


29 Stuart E. Brown, Jr., *Virginia Baron* (Berryville, VA, 1965), 77.

30 Ibid., 95.


33 Morton, 59.

34 Cartmell, 289.

35 Kercheval, 179.

36 Greene, 113.


38 Ibid., 87.
This work greatly benefited from the editing of Leila Boyer, Warren Hofstra, Richard Stephenson, and Nancy Johnston. Their support was essential and is most sincerely appreciated.

The four figures are taken from “Winchester, Early Surveyors and City Growth,” map and text by Wilbur S. Johnston, Winchester-Frederick County Historical Society (WFCHS), Winchester, VA, 2003.


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As a retiree, he has compiled local histories and historical maps. In 1982 he published *Milburn Methodist Chapel in Frederick County, Virginia*, followed in 1990 by *Weaving a Common Thread*, an in-depth study of the woolen industry of the Northern Shenandoah Valley. He has published eight thematic maps on various aspects of local history, as well as many specialized maps.

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Dr. James Craik

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Two Friends from Early Winchester

Dr. Walter Jackson Helm

Two hundred and fifty years ago, James Craik and George Washington met in the tiny frontier village called Frederick Town in the Virginia Colony. Both men were beginning their professions, Craik as a twenty-three year-old physician and Washington as a twenty-two year-old newly appointed military officer. Here they became close friends and the two men shared the remainder of their very significant lives. More importantly, their experiences in military assignments while in Winchester were invaluable in preparation for their future roles in the Revolutionary War to come in two decades. For this reason, the story of these early patriots gains importance.

The more famous of the two was born on the Rappahannock River on February 22, 1732.\(^1\) Washington was appointed surveyor of Culpepper County and worked mainly for Thomas Lord Fairfax defining his Northern Neck Land Grant. In 1748, for unclear reasons, the Culpepper appointment was given to a Harry Lee and Washington moved to Frederick County (which had been defined as a political entity only four years before). For the next decade Washington lived in the future site of Winchester, then called Frederick Town.\(^2\)

\begin{quote}
We set out early and finish’d about one oclock and then Travell’s up to Frederick Town where our baggage came to us we cleaned ourselves (to get rid of Y. Game we had catched the Night before) and took a Review of Y. town and thence return’d to our Lodgings where we had a good Dinner prepared for us Wine and Rum Punch in Plenty and a good feather bed with Clean sheets which was a very agreeable regale.\(^3\)
\end{quote}

Washington became increasingly involved in the community. In 1750 for £112 he purchased 456 acres of land located on "Bullskin Run," a tributary of the Shenandoah River.\(^4\) On May 15, 1753, Washington leased (as was the custom in
Two Friends from Early Winchester

England) and then purchased (which was the remedy for the land-rich colonists) lot No. 77 located on the corner of what is now Fairfax Lane and Braddock Street.  

James Craik came to the frontier by a different route. He was one of many Scottish physicians who immigrated to the "new world" in the 18th century. Craik was born in 1731 on the estate of Arbigland in "the Southwest Country." He was said to be the illegitimate son of Robert Craik who was a significant landowner and Member of Parliament. James was accepted and protected by his father and was sent to the University of Edinburgh for his academic and medical training. He joined the British army medical service and in 1751 sailed for the West Indies as an army surgeon. Dr. Craik soon resigned his commission, moved to Virginia and began private practice in Norfolk. By 1754 he was located in the frontier settlement of Winchester (the town had been chartered as Winchester by the House of Burgesses in 1752.)

At this time, the Virginia colonists and the British were increasingly concerned by the French occupation of the Ohio Valley to the west. In 1753, Governor Dinwiddie appointed George Washington to carry a dispatch to a French fort at "the Forks" (future location of Pittsburgh) insisting that they vacate the area. The provocative reply clearly declared that they were not going to leave peaceably; the French and Indian War had begun.

Very soon after Dr. Craik had arrived in Winchester he joined the Virginia Regiment as a surgeon (March 7, 1754.) On March 31, 1754 Governor Dinwiddie commissioned George Washington Lieutenant Colonel and ordered him to take command of the regiment. Colonel Joshua Fry was appointed commander of the expedition into the French occupied territory. Unfortunately, Fry was fatally injured when his horse stumbled, leaving Washington in full command.

With 159 men from Frederick County, the militia left Winchester on April 18, 1754. Doctor Craik and Washington with their eventual force of 400 engaged and captured a small French group at Great Meadows. Soon after, they were
together while they fruitlessly waited for reinforcements at Fort Necessity. Colonel James Wood described it as "a Hog pen fort surrounded with standing Trees." They were overwhelmed by the French and natives. After eight hours of heavy gunfire and torrential rain, Colonel Stephen said Washington had no option except surrender. Not only was the powder wet "but what was worse, it was no sooner dark than one half of our men got drunk." Washington took what healthy men remained and retreated to Winchester.

Dr. Craik stayed with the soldiers who were unable to travel. Washington wrote in his diary:

Our sick and wounded were left with a detachment under the care and command of the worthy Doctr Craik (for he was not only Surgeon to the Regiment but a lieutt therein) with such necessaries as we could (collect) and the Remains of the Regimt and detachment of Regulars took up their line for the Interior Country [Winchester.]

Although the wounded and Dr. Craik later returned to Winchester, the Indians sacked their supplies including Craik's "Medicine Box." In a letter dated August 20, 1754, Washington wrote to Governor Dinwiddie: "I also enclose a List of Medicines which the Doctdr desires may be procur'd for the use of the Regiment." The request was not only granted, but the doctor's fee for service was addressed:

Williamsburg, November 8-11, 1755

Resolved, That Doctor Craik be allowed the sum of £50 towards providing a Chest of Medicines and set of Instruments and that a stoppage of Two pence per Month be made out of every Soldiers pay for the future and paid to him on the Surgeon for the time being to support the same.

After the rout, Governor Dinwiddie and the colonists were quite alarmed by the natives and French west of Virginia. They asked London for British military support. Two regiments of regulars were dispatched to Virginia under command of
General Edward Braddock. In March, 1755, Washington had accepted the offer to Craik and Washington were in the thick of the battle at Fort Duquesne. General Braddock refused to heed Washington’s advice about the evasive tactics the Indians used; instead, the English marched in phalanx against natives who were protected and hidden behind trees. Two thirds of the British force were killed or wounded. All but four of the Virginians were killed in crossfire between the English and Indians (Craik and Washington were half of this small group). The dead had more English bullets than French. Dr. Craik dressed Braddock’s wounds on the field and attended him until his death the following day near Great Meadows. Braddock was buried in the middle of a wagon road and Winchester’s Daniel Morgan drove repeatedly over the grave to disguise the site from the Indians. Braddock’s sash returned to Winchester and for a time was preserved by the ladies of the town.

Washington conducted himself with great distinction and bravery which earned him the respect and plaudits of the British staff. He had been received with trust and real affection by General Braddock and tradition has it that Washington read the burial service at his funeral. We owe much to Dr. Craik for supplying the details of Washington’s remarkable escape after Braddock’s defeat.

Years later, Washington and Craik met an aged Indian chief, who told them that the Indian and a band of warriors had made a long journey to engage the English in the battle of Monongahela. The chief remembered that he had fired his rifle at Washington fifteen times, ordering all his young men to do the same. Another Indian source said that the Great Spirit protected Washington and that he would become “the founder of a mighty nation.”

During the Braddock campaign, Washington was seized with a contagious fever and was carried in a wagon much of the way. Craik treated him with a patent medicine called Dr. James’ Powder: “one of the most excellent medicines in the world. It gave me immediate relief and removed my fever and complaints in four days.”
Although Washington was tall, erect and well proportioned, he had many illnesses and some recurrent ones. In 1751, while he was in Barbados with his half-brother, Lawrence (sent there to recover from tuberculosis), George contracted small pox. He also had recurrent pleurisy (pain on breathing) thought to be tubercular. Other significant diseases recurred throughout his life, including diphtheria, malaria, dysentery, quinsy (tonsilar abscess), carbuncles, pneumonia (weeks after he became president) and the final, fatal epiglotitis (infection of the upper voice box.)

George Washington first ran for public office in Frederick County. Three times he was a candidate for a seat representing Frederick in the House of Burgesses. On the first occasion, December 10, 1755, his friends posted his name on the polling day (he was on a military campaign.) Washington received only 40 votes and James Craik did not vote. He was probably with Washington. At the time, voting was oral and a clerk recorded the proceedings which were published. On July 24, 1758 and again on May 18, 1761 Washington won handily and on each of these occasions he received his friend’s vote.

Washington remained in Winchester as commander of the Virginia provincial forces until 1758, charged with the protection of the Virginia and Maryland frontier from hostile Indians. During this period he built the stockade in Winchester, Fort Loudoun (straddling what is now north Loudoun Street) for the defense of Winchester’s citizens.

Craik remained the chief medical officer and shared in all the hardships and privations of these hardy troops until the fall of Fort Duquesne on November 25, 1756.

On May 3, 1758, Winchester founder, James Wood first leased then sold to Dr. Craik, “Surgeon of the Virginia Regiment,” in-lot number 1 and associated out-lot number 53 in the first town plan. The town plan included in-lots on which homes and businesses were to be built and out-lot which were for livestock and gardens. The in-lot was on the "west side of Loudon [sic] Street it being numbered in the Plan
of the said town No (1) and...land containing five acres...numbered (53.)” This in-lot location was the south­west corner of Loudoun and Piccadilly Streets. The two lots cost £40. Dr. Quarles described the lot as dedicated for pub­lic use but apparently that designation changed.

On May 4, 1758, Wood granted to Craik “Farm Lott ... con­taining 20,137 sq. ft. and an half...adjoining Lott No (1) in Loudon [sic] and lot No (53) in Pickadilly [sic] on the east side of Braddock St.” for £20. Later, Craik also bought Winchester in-lot 2. He purchased several tracts of land on the North and “Cacopehon” Rivers.

John Wood, the son of Colonel James and Mary Wood, was a medical apprentice of Dr. Craik’s. He then finished his train­ing under Dr. Laughan McLean in Philadelphia. In a letter to young John Wood in Philadelphia, his mother wrote, “...also by all means write to Dr. Craik who was much surprised at your writing to him. Jacky dear, yr Loving Mother, Mary Wood.” In 1760 Craik is recorded as taking a John Smith as an indentured servant in exchange for a pledge to “teach him to Read English and to Write.”

Later, the doctor retired from the Virginia Regiment and bought a plantation at Port Tobacco, Maryland, where he again practiced medicine. There he married Marianne Ewell (who was the great-aunt of General Richard Ewell of the Confederate army.) George Washington returned to Mount Vernon.

Soon after, Washington again was called to military service, this time as commander-in-chief of the Continental Army. Both played major roles in the American Revolution. Craik entered the Continental Army as a surgeon and in 1777 his friend offered him his choice of positions. It was Craik who warned Washington at Valley Forge of a plan to depose him and make General Gates commander. He served as Chief Physician and Surgeon of the Army until he mustered out in 1783.
Dr. Craik was physician to many of the Revolution’s heroes. In addition to General Washington, he treated General Mercer at the Battle of Princeton, dressed the wound of Lafayette at Brandywine and commanded the hospital in the final campaign at Yorktown. George Washington became the first president of the new republic and continues to be the most revered hero of this country.

In 1770 and again after the war in 1784, Craik joined Washington in two adventurous trips to inspect land in western Virginia and Ohio.\(^{42}\) Such excursions delighted the woods-loving Washington. The fact that Craik was his sole white companion demonstrates the depth of their friendship. In fact, Washington had few close friends. He was described as “stern, distant and glacial.”\(^{43}\) Even his old friends of the wartime days remarked how reserved and remote he was.\(^{44}\) Many of his fellow patriots berated Washington on occasion.\(^{45}\) Thomas Jefferson, his Virginia associate of 30 years in the Virginia Assembly and Congress said that “he was naturally distrustful of men, and inclined to gloomy apprehensions.”\(^{46}\)

After the Revolutionary War, at Washington’s suggestion, Dr. Craik moved to Alexandria. He attended the Washington family’s illnesses at Mount Vernon and was the lead physician at his final throat infection and death on December 14, 1799. James Craik was probably Washington’s closest friend. Dr. Craik confesses, “The most devastating of all duties a doctor is called on to perform—to fight valiantly, yet hopelessly, as death takes a beloved friend.”\(^{47}\) In his will Washington described Craik as “my compatriot in arms, my old and intimate friend.” He directed that Craik receive his tambour secretary (which later was given back to Mount Vernon by the Craik family.)

The doctor died 15 years after Washington at venerable age of 84 and is buried in an Alexandria Presbyterian churchyard.\(^{48}\)
NOTES


4 Deed Book 2, page 207 records the lease and page 209 the release, Clerk of Frederick County Court, Winchester, VA according to Deed Book Series, vol. 1, Amelia C. Gilreath, Nokesville, VA, 1989, 72.

5 Historical marker situated on the lot by the Winchester-Frederick County Historical Society. The property was 119 feet fronting on Braddock St. and 188.6 feet deep. A blacksmith shop located here made iron work for Fort Loudoun.


7 The Craiks had a gardener named John Paul who also had an illegitimate son who migrated to Virginia and took the name of John Paul Jones, founder of the American Navy (De Koven; Life and Letters of John Paul Jones, v1, 7.)

8 There is evidence that John Paul Jones’ father was also William Craik which would make him half (or perhaps full) brother to James Craik. John Paul Jones (above) by Evan Thomas, 15.


10 Stephen was the first developer of Martinsburg, WV.


13. Ibid., 189.


15. George Washington and Winchester, Virginia, Quarles, 16.


18. Braddock asked to be carried to safety on the sash (woven in 1709) and that Washington should have it should he die. Washington gave it to Fielding Lewis who gave it to Zachary Taylor. When Taylor died in the White House, his daughter stored it until it was retrieved by English veterans. Address of the late Capt. Robert Y. Conrad at the dedication of the Braddock Memorial at the George Washington Office, Winchester, VA in 1915.


23. Ibid.


27 Deed Book 4, Page 349 Clerk of Frederick County Court, Winchester, VA.

28 Frederick County, Virginia deed book 4, page 350. Ibid.

29 The Streets of Winchester, Virginia: The Origin and Significance of Their Names. Garland R. Quarles, Farmers and Merchants Bank, Winchester, VA, 2.

30 Deed Book 4, page 351 (lease) and page 354 (purchase). Clerk of the Frederick County Court, Winchester, VA.

31 Deed Book 6, page 126. Clerk of Frederick County Court, Winchester, VA.


33 Ibid., vol 4, 14.

34 Ibid., vol 4, 15.


36 Winchester, Virginia and Its Beginnings. Katherine Glass Greene, Shenandoah Publishing House, Strasburg, VA, 1926. 341. The indenture made by Mary Wood in 1760 "to be taught the Art of Physick and Surgery" and "shall serve, his secrets keep, his lawful commands everwhere gladly obey." "At cards, dice or other unlawful games he shall not play; taverns or ale houses he shall not frequent and matrimony he shall not contract."

37 Ibid.

38 Deed Book 5, p 357, Clerk of Frederick County Court, Winchester, VA.
39 Ibid., 2.


41 Ibid., 303.

42 Ibid., 302.


Dr. Walter Jackson Helm is a graduate of Harvard College and Temple University of Medicine. He practiced internal medicine in Winchester, served the U.S. Air Force Medical Corps in the mid sixties, and was a consultant to the Surgeon General from 1996-1998. He was a member attending medical staff for the Winchester Medical Center from 1962 to 1984. He served as director of medical staff affairs, director of medical education, director of quality assurance, and director of employee health from 1984 to 1991. He retired from medicine in 1991.

Dr. Helm served on the City of Winchester Planning Commission, board member and chairman for Blue Ridge Hospice, and board member and chairman for the Braddock House Commission.

He is married to Elizabeth Glaize and they have three sons and seven grandchildren. He enjoys sailing, writing, and fishing.
The Minnick-Zirkle Newtown Wagon: Its Rediscovery and Attribution

Byron C. Smith

At one time Stephens City, Virginia, was famous for its wagons. In that period, during the late 18th century and early 19th century, it was called Newtown/Stephensburg or just "Newtown." Established in 1758 by an act of Virginia's colonial government, it is the second oldest town in the Shenandoah Valley after Winchester. Purposefully situated along a stretch of the Great Philadelphia Wagon Road, between Winchester and a settlement that would eventually be known as Strasburg, it also sat at the juncture of the Great Wagon Road and what was to become the main road to Alexandria via Ashby's Gap. It has always been a town associated with travel and the transportation industries. An itinerant Presbyterian minister named Philip Vickers Fithian stayed in Stephensburg from 23 May through 16 June 1775 and wrote the following observation in the town on 8 June 1775: "We see many every Day traveling out & in to & from Carolina, some on foot with Packs; some on Horseback, & some in large covered Wagons-The Road here is much frequented, & the Country for an hundred & fifty miles farther West, thick inhabited."  

At that same time, six miles to the west of town was Isaac Zane's Marlboro Iron Works. In addition to Marlboro's daily operational needs, its landlocked location required Zane to both hire and maintain a fleet of wagons. With the death of Zane and the demise of his Marlboro Iron Furnace in the 1790s we begin to see the rise of the wagon making industry in Stephensburg. Evidence indicates that some of Marlboro's craftsmen chose to relocate their shops in Stephensburg after the furnace closed. It was also during the 1790s that the town expanded to the north along the Wagon Road.

The "Newtown Wagon" was a regional variant of the better-known "Conestoga" wagon from Pennsylvania. Similar to the Conestoga, there were distinct construction differences that made these wagons a hybrid and placed them into a category
known by scholars as "Virginia freight wagons." It was used primarily as freight or "road wagon" hauling wheat, flour and other commodities to commercial centers in the east as well as up and down the Shenandoah Valley. Families also used them as they emigrated across the western mountain ranges and into neighboring Kentucky, Tennessee, and later across the American heartland.

The wagon industry in Newtown prospered until the mid-1850s when it began to slow. This was due in part to the railroad, which took over as the primary mode of transporting goods and people. Additionally, the mass-production of cheaper wagons in the industrialized North made it increasingly difficult for the local wagon makers to compete. After the Civil War freight wagons no longer were made in Newtown.

Before production ceased the industry was truly remarkable. In 1883 Major J. M. McCue of Staunton, commenting on the ironic prominence of smaller towns like Stephensburg in the early 19th century transportation industry of the Valley, wrote the following in an article for a periodical called *The Industrial South*:

This was particularly so with Newtown, which, for more than a half century, retained the supremacy in building and fitting out the immense wagons capable of sustaining 4,500 to 5,000 pounds of freight. The wood work of the best material was made sometimes by the same man who had them ironed. The pitch in front and rear of the bodies, surmounted with bows and sheet, was such that four or five men could shelter under the projection. The harness is very heavy and the traces, breast and tongue chains of twisted links, and tire and all the iron used was of the best bar, made by Miller, Arthur, Newman, Blackford, Pennybaker and others. They cost from $150 to $200.

In the early 20th century the venerable Frederick County, Virginia historian T. K. Cartmell wrote the following on the subject:
The old Stephensburg gained considerable notoriety as a manufacturing point. It grew famous for the Newtown Stephensburg wagon that was in great demand by the teamsters who once traversed all roads leading to the South and West, transporting merchandise to faraway sections. The writer was told an incident relating to this make of wagon: An old Forty-Niner said, when his company started on that great expedition to the gold fields of California, they equipped the company with the best supplies procurable; and that the only wagon that survived the six months’ usage, was the one marked Newtown Stephensburg. 

The industry also left its mark in the public and historical records. The 1820 Federal Manufacturer’s Census of Frederick County, Virginia listed twenty-seven wagon makers, of which thirteen were either Newtown residents or had family connections to the town. This number seems even more significant when we consider the fact that in 1820 Frederick County included the areas of modern Warren and Clarke Counties.

The earliest published account that hints at the fame of the Newtown wagon industry is in the 1835 edition of A New and Comprehensive Gazetteer of Virginia and the District of Columbia by Joseph Martin. The wagon industry in Newton/Stephensburg is described as follows: “Great numbers of wagons are made, - no less than 9 different establishments being engaged in this business, which make and send wagons to almost every part of the State, which for neatness, strength, and durability, are said not to be surpassed in the United States.” Ten years later, in 1845, Henry Howe describes Newtown/ Stephensburg as “a neat & thriving village” and goes on to say that there are “about a dozen shops for the manufacture of wagons, (for which the place is noted) together with other mechanical and mercantile establishments, and a population of about 800.”

Thus, with as many as a dozen different makers working in the town by the 1840s, it should be remembered that they all competed with each other for business. While these different makers each produced their own brand of freight wagons, the products were of such high quality that the town’s name even-
tually became synonymous with the well-built wagons that its citizens produced. Indeed the term "Newtown Wagon" does not appear in print until the 20th century. McCue states in his 1883 article that these makers traditionally advertised their business' name "on the hind-end gate" of the wagons they produced. The one thing that each of these makers's hind-end gate advertisements shared was the "Newtown Stephensburg" address. Unfortunately, these advertisements were rendered in paint and none are known to survive.

The historical references cited above also imply that wagon building was a cooperative effort between different groups of specialist tradesmen employed by a single contractor or "master" wagon maker. To understand this we must let go of the romantic notion of the lone tradesman smoking his pipe and working at a leisurely pace in his tidy little shop. Building wagons was like any modern manufacturing business. To turn a profit and make a good living the master wagon maker had to produce his wagons quickly and efficiently. This required capital investment in the raw materials, tools, machinery, and the skilled labor required for proficient production. The more journeymen and mature apprentices the master of the shop could afford to employ consistently the faster he could make wagons. To build a wagon the woodworking skills represented in the carpenter's and the wheelwright's trades had to be joined with the iron working skills of the blacksmith's trade. Rarely would one man have all of these skills in his own pair of hands, nor would one man try to build a wagon by himself. Instead he would hire other specialists to do the work he could not do. Even so, a successful wagon maker had to know enough about all of the different trade skills needed to build a wagon so that he could properly manage and supervise the different specialists under his employment. As McCue noted in his article, one of the distinguishing characteristics of the Newtown wagon makers was that the woodwork of the wagon was done "sometimes by the same man who had them ironed." In other words, some of the owner/operators of the Newtown wagon making businesses employed woodworkers, and wheelwrights as well as blacksmiths so that the entire job was done under one roof. Other wagon makers had to hire independent blacksmiths as subcontractors to have the ironwork done on their wagons.
Because these freight wagons were built to be used, it is rare for one to survive. Scholars have reasonably assumed that the Newtown wagons that were not destroyed after being impressed into service during the Civil War were often left outside in the elements to rot and rust. Thus, even though these wagons were of the highest quality and durability, it was thought that the possibility of finding an existing Newtown wagon was remote. Nevertheless, for many years scholars have known of a photograph depicting a "Newtown Wagon made at Stephensburg" that appeared on page 128 in the first volume of William Couper's *History of the Shenandoah Valley*. The photo credit went to a man named Brock T. White, but Couper failed to give any more information about it or the wagon pictured in it. In fact, Couper was not the first to publish this image or the information about it. Fifteen years earlier the esteemed Valley historian Dr. John W. Wayland (1872-1962) had published a now rare book called *Historic Homes of Northern Virginia and the Eastern Panhandle of West Virginia*. On page 68 of this work Dr. Wayland included this same photograph (see Figure 2) and wrote the following about it:

Wagons made at Stephensburg (Newtown, Stephens City), like the Conestoga wagons of Pennsylvania, became
famous. Newtown wagons went across the plains and the Rockies in '49 and later. Dozens of them, we may be sure, came to Hite's Mill on the Opequon. How many barrels of flour they carried thence to Fredericksburg, Alexandria, Dumfries, and other markets no one knows. The photograph of the Newtown wagon shown herewith was supplied (about 1920) by Mr. Brock T. White of Keezletown, Va.  

Like Couper, Wayland did not give readers any more answers about Mr. White or who owned the wagon in the picture.

In recent years scholars have noted that this photograph of the Newtown wagon published by Wayland and Couper was similar to a wagon that had once belonged to a man named George W. Minnick of Mount Clifton, Shenandoah County, Virginia.  

A Minnick family member sold this wagon to a Mr. Lewis Zirkle of New Market, Virginia, around 1925. During the Zirkle family's ownership of this wagon it was featured in a National Geographic article in April of 1929.  

Mr. Zirkle displayed it at his private museum near New Market, Virginia. After his death, his widow sold the wagon in 1939. It then passed through a series of owners before being acquired by Colonial Williamsburg in 1958. In 1992, Mr. Ron Vineyard, then Master of their Wheelwright Shop, rediscovered a part of its history at Colonial Williamsburg. With the help of Mr. Franklin Zirkle, the son of the previous owner, Mr. Vineyard pieced the evidence together and the story was published in the January 1993 issue of National Geographic.
In 1928 or 1929 Mr. Lewis Zirkle had commissioned a postcard to advertise the wagon at his "Zirkledale Museum." (See Figure 3.) The retouched photograph on the postcard featured the wagon with a caption that reads in part as follows:

This wagon was built early in the nineteenth century and was used by four generations of the Minnick family. It was seldom used after 1856 and never after 1882. It was built in New Market, the ornamental hand-wrought irons being made at the iron furnaces then in operation nearby.\(^\text{18}\)

The source of the tradition that the wagon was made in New Market can only be traced to this postcard. Mr. Franklin Zirkle has always assumed that his father got this history of the wagon as an oral tradition from the Minnick family when his father purchased it in 1925. Miss Sarah E. Minnick (1864-1952), one of the heirs to the George W. Minnick (1831-1914) estate and owner of the Minnick Farm at that time, was most probably the person who sold the wagon to Lewis Zirkle. She was presumably also the source for the history of the wagon recorded on the postcard. Research indicates that the year 1856, when the postcard says the wagon was put into semiretirement, is the same year that George W. Minnick bought his farm in Mt. Clifton. Other than this date there is no other corroborating evidence that relates to this story on the postcard.\(^\text{19}\) This attribution of the wagon to New Market has never been questioned until now.
The Winchester-Frederick County Historical Society owns some of Dr. John W. Wayland's papers and notes. They are housed today at the Stewart Bell, Jr. Archives at the Handley Regional Library in Winchester, Virginia. Among these papers are three photographs of different views of the same "Newtown Wagon" Dr. Wayland used to illustrate his 1937 book on historic homes. (See Figures 4, 5, and 6.) When I was introduced to these photographs I noted the similarities between this wagon in Dr. Wayland's photos and the Minnick-Zirkle Wagon at Colonial Williamsburg. Shortly thereafter, over Labor
Day Weekend 2003, I made a trip to Colonial Williamsburg and examined the Minnick-Zirkle Wagon with copies of Wayland's photos in hand. At that point, it was clear to me that it was the same wagon. While there, I photographed the Minnick-Zirkle Wagon to illustrate my conclusions.

There are three key elements of its design that are obviously present in both Wayland's photos and on the wagon as it exists at Colonial Williamsburg today. The first of these features is the symmetrically chamfered piece called a transom under the tailgate. (See Figures 7 and 8.) They are virtually identical in both photographs. The second distinctive feature is the front gate. (See Figures 9 and 10.) Dr. Wayland's published photo taken from page 68 of his book *Historic Homes* and recent photos of the disassembled front gate taken at Colonial Williamsburg show a remarkable resemblance. Despite the poor definition available in Dr. Wayland's photo you can see that the top half of the two-piece front gate has three vertical supports attached to it while the bottom half has four. The third vertical upright is faintly visible in the upper right portion of the gate. If the front gate of the wagon is properly assembled, you can see the same configuration in the front gate of the wagon today.²¹
Finally, the last and most distinguishing feature is the toolbox. Again, Dr. Wayland's photograph lacks the detail, but with the help of high resolution digital imaging and adjusting the brightness, contrast, and gamma light levels in the photo, the ghosts of the up-turned iron tulip strap hinges of the Minnick-Zirkle toolbox start to appear. (See Figures 11 and 12.) Another feature on the toolbox that is unmistakably present in both photographs is the iron bar above the box to which these strap hinges are attached. Once again, when comparing the two images, it is clear that they are photos of the same toolbox. As a side note, all of these features are unique to this wagon and not found on other surviving examples of Virginia freight wagons.

I contacted Franklin Zirkle to discuss with him the conclusions I had drawn. Mr. Zirkle has made the study of Virginia
freight wagons, and particularly this wagon that was once owned by his father, the passion of his life. At first, Mr. Zirkle naturally was skeptical about my assertion that Wayland's Newtown Wagon was the same one his father once owned. He had never seen the Wayland photographs from the collection at the Stewart Bell, Jr. Archives, and his initial unwillingness to accept my theory also stemmed from the fact that his father's story about the wagon being made in New Market conflicted with Dr. Wayland attributing it to Newtown/Stephensburg. Nevertheless, after examining Dr. Wayland's photographs, Mr. Zirkle changed his mind. He then invited me to meet him at the Minnick Farm in Mt. Clifton, Virginia, on 30 September 2003. It was there at the Minnick Farm that we were introduced to the site where Dr. Wayland's photos were taken. (See Figure 13.) Mr. Zirkle had recognized the buildings and topography in the Wayland photos and made the connection. He brought some of his personal collection of family photos that clearly show the loop at the end of the brake lever that is visible in one of Dr. Wayland's photos. (See Figure 14.) Mr. Zirkle informed me that John W. Wayland was his father's
cousin and that Brock T. White was related to his wife, Mrs. Penny Zirkle.

It was at this time that I began to piece together the connection John W. Wayland and Brock T. White had to the Minnick Farm and the wagon. It turned out that Mr. Brock T. White (1870-1939) was a friend of John W. Wayland and that the two men had visited the Minnick property in August of 1924 to retrieve some bones unearthed decades earlier by Minnick. White suspected them to be the bones of his long dead ancestor who had been killed by Indians. This visit was recorded in Wayland's journal and later on page 75 of his book *A History of Shenandoah County Virginia*. While Wayland did not mention the wagon in his journal entry, on page 668 of *A History of Shenandoah County Virginia* he recorded the following:

In 1924, at the George Minnick place in Mt. Clifton, . . . was preserved a huge old four-wheeled wagon of the style used on the roads in olden days. The high wheels, the deep body, and other features were typical of those made in Pennsylvania and in the Shenandoah Valley, and used by the teamsters for many years.

Coincidentally, Wayland also recorded in his journal that he and White had visited Wayland's cousin Mr. Lewis Zirkle at Zirkle's home the previous evening.\(^{22}\)

It is unlikely that Wayland's photo of "the Newtown wagon" that he said was "supplied (about 1920) by Mr. Brock T. White" (Figure 2) was taken during this August 1924 visit. In fact, based on lack of leaves on the trees in the picture, it is plausible to assume that it, plus the three other photos (Figures 4, 5, and 6), were all taken at the same time in either the late fall or winter. Another inference that we may draw from this is that Brock T. White made an earlier visit to the Minnick Farm "about 1920" and took the photos that he later gave to Wayland. Wayland suggests in his journal entry that White had been the source of all the information he had on the Minnick Farm and that White was his guide during the August 1924 visit to the property.\(^{23}\) It would then follow that
Brock T. White was Wayland’s source for the information on the origins of the Wagon. Additionally, we could then infer that White got his information “about 1920” from Miss Sarah E. Minnick who was the owner of the farm and the wagon at the time.\textsuperscript{24}

If these assumptions are correct, we are presented with two conflicting stories that can presumably be traced back to the same source. Because we have yet to find a better explanation of the history of this wagon in the unpublished papers of Dr. Wayland, we are left with the challenge of examining the other relevant evidence in the primary sources to shed light on which version of the wagon’s history is more accurate.

I have searched the primary sources for any evidence of a wagon maker in New Market during the early 19\textsuperscript{th} century and have found none. The 1820 Industrial Census of Shenandoah County, Virginia lists only the three iron works that were in operation there at that time and no wagon makers. There are no wagons listed among the “nature and names of Articles Manufactured” in Shenandoah County during that year. On the other hand, as mentioned above, the same census returns for Frederick County list 329 wagons made that year by twenty-seven wagon makers, of which as many as thirteen were working in or had ties to Newtown/Stephensburg. In 1835 Joseph Martin does not list any wagon makers in his catalogue of New Market’s established tradesmen but does mention two wheelwrights.\textsuperscript{25} The difference between a wagon maker’s shop and a wheelwright’s shop in early 19\textsuperscript{th} century Virginia is in many ways analogous to the modern difference between an automobile manufacturer and an auto repair shop.

There is an unlikely possibility that a wagon making business did exist in New Market prior to Martin’s visit in 1835 and even prior to the 1820 Industrial Census. Indeed, historians recognize that the 1820 Industrial Census was not exhaustive and smaller businesses were certainly left out by those who reported on Shenandoah County that year. Even so, New Market was still in its early stages of economic development prior to 1820. In 1808 a traveler from Alexandria, Virginia named Lewis Summers described New Market as “a very
handsome little town." He went on to say the following about it: "The houses [are] well built of brick, stone & frame; the streets straight, crossing at right angles, footways generally paved; a good many stores & full of goods; containing 500 or 600 people, & has a thriving appearance." He made no mention of the kinds of heavier industrial trade shops (like blacksmithing operations) that were required for building wagons. If a wagon making business was established in New Market sometime during the first three decades of the 19th century it appears to have moved somewhere else by the time Martin records his description of the town. By 1835 Martin does mention the town having "a factory making threshing machines" and "two blacksmith shops." While this reference to a "factory making threshing machines" is interesting and is worthy of more research, its connection to an earlier wagon building business is hard to see. In short, we are again left to wonder how a product of the remarkable quality represented in the Minnick-Zirkle Wagon could have come from a town that seems to have lacked the kind workforce of tradesmen needed to make it during the period in question.

There are a number of possible reasons for Lewis Zirkle's attribution of this wagon to New Market. One of the most obvious explanations may stem from the similarities between the names of the two towns in question. We have all seen how oral histories associated with objects have mutated as they are passed between individuals. By the 1920s few knew that Stephens City was once called Newtown and that it was a major center for wagon manufacturing during the early 19th century. Someone who was unfamiliar with this esoteric bit of Valley history would not have known what to make of the appellation of "Newtown." Thus, a Newtown wagon could easily become a New Market wagon in the ears and mind of someone from the New Market area who knew nothing of Newtown. It also is conceivable that this confusion could have arisen as a result of the wagon being purchased in New Market but originally being made in Newtown. We do know that Newtown wagons were, as Joseph Martin records in 1835, sent "to almost every part of the State."

Whatever the case may be it is obviously fruitless to
speculate endlessly on how Lewis Zirkle came to his version of the story. In fact, there is other physical evidence that we need to consider that supports John Wayland's assertion that the Minnick-Zirkle wagon came from Newtown. Because the Minnick-Zirkle Wagon is in a remarkable state of preservation, comparing it with other surviving Virginia freight wagons has proven to be quite rewarding for scholars. Fortunately there is another early wagon that has a Frederick County provenance that shares noted similarities with the Minnick-Zirkle Wagon. While scholars know it as the "Lewisburg Waggon" because of its current location at the North House Museum in Lewisburg, West Virginia, it is also called the "Coffman Wagon" because of its history of ownership in the Coffman family of Greenbrier County, West Virginia. (See Figure 15.)

The waggon is believed to have been made near Winchester, Virginia, sometime prior to the Kauffman family's move to the vicinity of Lewisburg in 1788. The waggon was used for freighting by John Kauffman in the early
The Minnick-Zirkel Wagon

1800s to transport products from the Lewisburg area to Richmond, Alexandria, Philadelphia, etc. The return trip provided merchandise for Thomas Creigh, Merchant of Lewisburg.\(^{28}\)

The fact that the family tradition preserves the story of it being made “near Winchester” is significant. I propose that in the 1780s the only places “near Winchester” that would have had the equipment and skilled workforce needed to build a wagon of the caliber and quality represented in the Lewisburg Wagon were Zane’s Marlboro Ironworks and Newtown/Stephensburg.

With this in mind, we still need to be careful. Family oral histories can be full of errors. For instance, it may be possible that the Lewisburg Wagon dates to the period of Isaac Kauffman’s grandson, John Kauffman. Even so, the actual ironwork and physical architecture of the Lewisburg Waggon are not as subject to the mutations common in oral histories. Thus the evidence in and on the wagon itself can tell us a great deal. Scholars who have studied it have noted the similarities between it and the Minnick-Zirkle Wagon. Don Birkebile is a former curator of transportation objects at the Smithsonian Institute, a leading scholar on Pennsylvania Conestoga Wagons, and the man who restored the Lewisburg Waggon for the Greenbrier Historical Society. He recorded his impressions when he saw the Minnick-Zirkle Waggon for the first time. He said he was impressed and that “It moves me like the Lewisburg Waggon.”\(^{29}\) This is high praise from the same man who called the Lewisburg Waggon “one of the finest waggon I have seen.”\(^{30}\) Ron Vineyard, the leading scholar on Virginia Freight Wagons wrote the following on the subject: “Stylistically, the Minnick-Zirkle Waggon exhibits the fine workmanship seen in both the woodwork and ironwork of the Lewisburg Waggon.” He goes on to say the Minnick-Zirkle Wagon’s “box is well ironed with fine ironwork, equaling the workmanship of that seen on the Lewisburg Waggon.” Vineyard also noted that the makers of the Minnick-Zirkle Waggon used hand wrought wing nuts or “thumb nuts” to secure bolts, “much in the same way as the Lewisburg Waggon.”\(^{31}\) In short, these two leading scholars recognize that there is a qualitative and stylistic relationship between the Minnick-Zirkle and the Lewisburg Wagons. While these two
waggons do not appear to have been made by the same craftsmen, their makers, particularly the blacksmiths, clearly were trained in the same skill tradition, or “school” of the early Virginia wagon making trade.

The praise of these modern scholars may lead you to recall the words of Joseph Martin quoted above on the quality of workmanship represented in the Newtown Wagons. He said they were “for neatness, strength, and durability, . . . said not to be surpassed in the United States.” McCue’s words on Newtown Wagons also apply. McCue noted in his article in the *Industrial South* that the “pitch in front and rear of the [Newtown Wagon] bodies, surmounted with bows and sheet, was such that four or five men could shelter under the projection.” This “pitch in the front and rear of the bodies” is obvious in the architecture of both the Minnick-Zirkle Wagon and the Lewisburg Wagon but as Vineyard notes of the Lewisburg Wagon the “angle, or cant, of the end gate is more extreme than the typical Pennsylvania Waggon.” McCue’s description of Newtown Wagon makers employing “chains of twisted links” and iron “of the best bar” can also apply to the Lewisburg and Minnick-Zirkle Wagons. In sum, these two wagons fit the general historical descriptions of what Newtown Wagons were like during the time of their greatest fame.

Thus, we not only have the assertion of Dr. John Wayland that the Minnick-Zirkle Wagon is a “Newtown Wagon,” we also have the observations of modern scholars who have recognized the Minnick-Zirkle Wagon’s relationship to the Lewisburg Wagon, another wagon with Frederick County, Virginia provenance. Additionally, we cannot ignore the fact that both of these wagons fit the historical descriptions of what a Newtown Wagon was during the period. As is typically the case with antiques, stories associated with them can rarely be substantiated through empirical methods. In fact, drawing certain conclusions on these cords of evidence is impossible. Those who wish to remain skeptical will not be compelled to accept the evidence outlined in this paper. The best example of this is Mr. Franklin Zirkle who maintains a belief that the text on his father’s postcard is correct in asserting that the Minnick-Zirkle Wagon was made in New Market. He also speculates that Brock T. White was the source that
incorrectly informed Dr. Wayland that the wagon was made in Newtown. While I respect his opinion, I feel that the preponderance of evidence supports Dr. Wayland's statement that the Minnick-Zirkle Wagon was made in Newtown/Stephensburg. I also am convinced that additional research on this subject will yield more valuable evidence on this important surviving example of early American material culture. In the meantime, we can all rest assured that the whereabouts of the "Newtown Wagon" in Brock T. White's photograph is no longer a mystery.
NOTES

1 Historical documents from the 18th and early 19th centuries clearly show that the proper spelling in the period for the word "wagon" was "waggon." In the period the double "g" denoted the harder sound for the consonant as opposed to the softer "j" sound of the single "g" of the time. I have used the modern spelling in this paper except when I am directly quoting from another source.


3 The names of Piper, Rhodes, Keeler, Crider, and Grove appear in the early deeds of the Marlboro area. These same surnames again appear later in Newtown/Stephensburg as wagon makers. For more on this subject see L. A. Fravel, The Newtown Wagons and Their Makers, unpublished manuscript, Research Reference Collection, The Stone House Foundation, Stephens City, Virginia, 2-3.


5 One customer of Newtown wagon maker Hamilton Gibson complained in 1851 that he could buy a "two horse yankee wggon [sic]" for less than half of the price of one of Gibson's similar wagons made in Newtown. See William Rudel, Middleburg, Virginia, to Hamilton Gibson, Newtown Stephensburg, Virginia, 27 October 1851, Private collection on loan to the Stone House Foundation, Stephens City, Virginia.

6 J. M. McCue, "A Chapter on Early Transportation: Some Account of the Wagon Trade of Baltimore with the West, in Ancient Times Through the Valley of Virginia," The Industrial South 2, no. 38 (21 April 1883): 2.
The Minnick-Zirkel Wagon


10 Henry Howe, Historical Collections of Virginia, Charleston, South Carolina: Babcock & Co., 1845, 272.

11 McCue, Ibid.


14 Frankin Zirkle, Newsletter for the Consortium of Conestoga Conservators of Virginia, Roanoke, Virginia: published by Franklin Zirkle, 26 March 1999, 4-5.


16 Ron Vineyard, Ibid., 58.


18 Also see George Shumway, Edward Durell, Howard C. Frey,
Those familiar with the process of making a wagon will note the impracticality of “the ornamental hand-wrought irons” being made “at the iron furnaces then in operation nearby.” This type of finishing work would always be done in the same place as the woodwork so that the ironwork would properly fit the woodwork. The iron furnaces in question produced wrought bar iron and cast pig iron bars as raw materials. While they did produce cast iron products there is no evidence of them producing any kind of finished, or “pre-fabricated” interchangeable wrought ironwork for wagons assembled elsewhere. See H. E. Comstock, “The Redwell Ironworks,” *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts* vol. , (May, 1985): 40-81.

On the reverse side of the left elevation photo amid the modern archive catalogue information script are the words “Newtown Wagon” in what may to be the hand of the original owner of the photo.

This two-piece front gate is unique. There are no other known Virginia freight wagons with a front gate like this.


There is also a possibility that White could have known George W. Minnick before Minnick passed away in 1914. More research is needed on Brock T. White and his connection with the Minnick Farm.


The name of the town was changed from Newtown/Stephensburg to Stephens City in 1880 on the demands of the U.S. Postal Service who were frustrated with the number of other towns in Virginia that were also called either “Newtown” or “Stevensburg.” One wonders why the Postal Service did not consider the idea of Zip Codes instead.

Vineyard, *Ibid.*, 44-45. In a phone interview on 28 December 2004 Mr. Vineyard told me that he was given access to some of the Coffman family papers when he was conducting his research on the Lewisburg Waggon.


Byron C. Smith was born May 9, 1966 in Murray, Utah, the first of four boys raised by Charles and Kathie Smith. Shortly after Byron's father finished graduate school, they moved to the suburbs of Chicago, Illinois where Byron grew up and attended primary and high school. After serving as a missionary for his church in the high desert region of southern California, Byron received a B.A. Cum Laude in Literature from Grove City College in western Pennsylvania. In 1994 he married Kathryn Lynn Barrett and moved to Massachusetts where he completed a graduate level Certificate in Museum Studies at Harvard University. After moving to Virginia to work at Colonial Williamsburg's Gunsmith Shop, Byron received his M.A. in History from the University of Richmond. In 2003 he accepted the post of Educator and Collections Manager of the Stone House Foundation in Stephens City. He is currently the Director and Curator of the Newtown History Center and Stone House Foundation. He also teaches a course on documenting historic properties at Shepherd University in Shepherdstown, West Virginia. He lives in Martinsburg, West Virginia with his wife and two daughters Hannah and Nathalie.
The Lauck Brothers
Peter, Simon, and Abraham
of Winchester, Virginia

Charles H. A. Cochran

Introduction

A number of sources have believed the Lauck name to be of Huguenot origin, and this may be true of earlier generations in Europe, but there is little doubt the family under discussion herein came from Pennsylvania, probably the York area. In "Counting Kindred", an account of the Deppen and Yeakley families whose ancestors came to Pennsylvania in 1736 from the German speaking area of Switzerland, John George Lauck is identified as the son-in-law of Benedict Youghli, the first Yeakley immigrant. John George Lauck and his wife Susannah were baptismal sponsors for children of her brother George Yeakley and his wife Anna in 1760, 1763, and 1771. This information is found in the records of St. Daniel's Lutheran Church (north of Robesonia, Pennsylvania) which was built on land donated by Abraham Lauck and two others. The book further states that the Lauck family later moved to York County, and still later, migrated to the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia. It is indicated these Laucks were cousins of the author's Yeakley ancestor, John Yeakley, who followed the same route to Winchester/Frederick County some years later (about 1789.) The text of "Counting Kindred" also states that Peter and Simon Lauck were among the "Penn.-German pioneers" who served in the Revolution. It is not clear whether the authors of this book, now deceased, had factual information to relate or associate Peter and Simon with the Pennsylvania Laucks or whether it was more or less assumed.

To date apparently no one has been able to identify the parents of Peter, Simon, and Abraham Lauck. Nor has it been possible to determine exactly when the family came to Winchester, although sketchy evidence seems to point to the early 1770s. One might speculate as to whether the parents themselves came to Winchester since no record of their names
has been found there; perhaps they were deceased in Pennsylvania and the children journeyed south with relatives or friends. In some Lutheran church in Lancaster or York Counties, Pennsylvania there may be baptismal records of the children which would give the parents names. Whether a search to this end has ever been made is unknown.

With or without parents the three brothers came to Virginia with at least one sister. Her name appears as Catherine in with some records, as Elizabeth in others. Papers in the National Archives show her name to have been Catherine Elizabeth. She died December 16, 1855, age 89 years. This would indicate she was born in 1765 or 1766, one or two years before Abraham was born. On August 23, 1790 Catherine Elizabeth married Jacob Sperry who was a member of Captain Morgan's rifle company and the Dutch Mess. He died April 3, 1808. On the basis of Jacob's service in 1775-1776 Catherine Elizabeth applied for a widow's pension in 1836 and subsequently received $48 per year. She is buried in Mount Hebron Cemetery.

**Peter Lauck**

At the beginning of the Revolution, in the summer of 1775, Captain Daniel Morgan recruited, and organized a rifle company in Frederick County to join the newly formed Continental Army under the command of General George Washington. The company, 96 men according to tradition, included Peter Lauck. Some of these men, including Captain Morgan, served the previous year in Dunmore's War against the Indians in far western Virginia. Although listings of Virginia's colonial soldiers by Eckenrode and Crozier do not include him, Peter is sometimes mentioned as one of the Frederick County men who served in this campaign. The list of colonial soldiers belatedly paid off at Romney (W.Va.) in 1775 for their service in this campaign does include the name of Peter Lauck.

Captain Morgan's company departed from Winchester July 14, 1775 to march approximately 600 miles to the Boston area, where they arrived August 7, 1775. This was an
impressive feat considering the distance and the lack of roads and bridges. Upon their arrival Captain Morgan introduced his men to General Washington as "gentlemen from south of the Potomac." It is said General Washington went down the line shaking hands with each for he knew them or their parents when he lived in Winchester.

In September of that same year the rifle company was a part of the American army which proceeded north into Canada for an assault on Quebec. The attack took place in the midst of a blizzard on December 31 st, Peter Lauck's 21 st birthday. The premature discharge from cannon fire burst his ear drums, causing him to be deaf the remainder of his life. The attack failed and most of Morgan's men were taken prisoner, including Peter. During the latter part of 1776 they were released and sent home. By Peter's own account, he returned to Winchester about Christmas 1776.

It may come as a surprise to some but this was apparently the extent of Peter's military service during the Revolution. Records do not indicate any military duty during the years 1777-1783. His name does not appear among those Virginia veterans receiving land bounty warrants (typically, a private with three years service received a warrant for 100 acres), and Gwathmey lists him only as a member of Captain Morgan's company and prisoner at Quebec December 31, 1775. Finally, in applying for a pension in 1832, after Congress had passed a new pension act, Peter clearly states in the application (included herein) that his military service ended with his return to Winchester in December 1776. Government documents associated with his application in the National Archives show that the Federal government officially credited him with service "for one year and three months from 1775..."

Russell states that Peter Lauck was a potter, and "carried on that business." He subsequently operated a tavern, known as the Red Lion, at the southeast corner of Loudoun and Cork Streets in Winchester, which he built about 1783 and which still stands today. About 1800 he leased the tavern to others and built a new home, Edge Hill at 315 East Cork Street. About four years before his death in 1839 he sold this house (also,
still standing today) and probably moved back to the Red Lion. Photographs of the Red Lion Tavern and Edge Hill are included in Dr. Quarles' discussion of these homes.

Peter was an active member of the Lutheran church in Winchester, serving as a Warden in 1787, Trustee and Elder 1813-1819, and Treasurer 1815-1819. On a subscription list of those members of the church pledging amounts to support their ministers in August 1790, Peter's quarterly amount of two pounds ten shillings is the third highest pledge. In 1785 and 1788 he was one of the managers of authorized lotteries to raise funds to finish "the German Lutheran Church in the borough of Winchester." In 1813 he was one of a committee of Elders which decreed that the church records would henceforth be kept in English rather than German.

In the diary of Christian Streit, the Lutheran minister in Winchester from 1785 to 1812, are these references to Peter:

- Undated (from inside front cover) - "Memorandum for Philadelphia. Enquire for a butler servant for Mr. Lauck."
- November 7, 1785 - "Baptized in the evening Peter Lauck's child" (John Heiskell)
- February 3, 1786 - "Buried Peter Lauck's child Jacob, aged 2 years, 11 months and some days"
- April 24, 1786 - "Buried Mr. Peter Lauck's child John, aged 8 months and 8 days. Text, Psalm 16:6
- April 26, 1786 - "Baptized Conrad Kremer and wife Catherine, child Catherine, born April 14th. Sponsors Peter Lauck and wife Amelia."
- September 25, 1786 - "Baptized William Ball and wife Elizabeth, child Mary born July 16. Sponsors Peter Lauck and Wife"
- April 29, 1787 - "Baptized Peter Lauck's child" (Rebecca)
- September 2, 1787 - "This day chose Peter Lauck and Philip Huber for deacons in Winchester"

Cartmell notes that Peter was an Alderman of Winchester in 1801 and in 1812 was one of the commissioners appointed
to supervise the issuance of shares of stock of the newly organized Farmers Bank of Virginia.

In contrast to many of the Germans in the Winchester and Frederick County area, Peter was a slave owner. On March 14, 1806 he freed his "negro man slave Peter Besick" who was about 30 years of age. But on February 5, 1811 when Sarah, a negro, appeared before the court to claim her freedom under the provisions of the will of Mary Wood (wife of Colonel James Wood, founder of Winchester), Peter Lauck registered his opposition and claimed Sarah as his slave. The court's decision is not known. After his death the appraisal of Peter's estate included the following slaves:

- Colored woman named Mima and sucking child - $275
- Colored girl named Lucy - 500
- Colored girl names Bet - 300
- Old black woman names Pat - 7

After the Revolution a small group of the veterans of the march to Boston and the Quebec campaign became known locally as the "Dutch Mess." Morton says they were Daniel Morgan's bodyguard. Other accounts state they were his aides-de-camp and remained with Morgan throughout the war. These statements are more fiction than fact. It is doubtful if Morgan, a rugged frontiersman, would have utilized any of his men in such fashion, and there seems to be no positive evidence any of the "Mess" members saw further military service after their return to Winchester in 1776, unless it was local militia duty. Regardless, the group held an annual observance or celebration. It is not clear as to what was actually being observed or celebrated, although several accounts indicate that when the company camped near Shepherdstown (W.Va.) the first night out of Winchester, on the way to Boston, the group formed the "Dutch Mess" and covenanted to celebrate the anniversary of that night as long as they lived. The members were Peter and Simon Lauck, their brother-in-law Jacob Sperry, Frederick Kurtz, Charles Grim, John Schultz, and Adam Heiskell. Ironically, the last survivor was John Schultz who died in 1840 at the age of 87. It was said that Schultz was so frail Peter Lauck often carried him on his back when marching through the snows of Canada.
Peter married Amelia Heiskell on October 27, 1779. She was the daughter of Christopher Heiskell, a German immigrant who settled in Winchester some years earlier. Adam (and/or George) Heiskell was probably her brother(s). Russell says Amelia was known as "Mother Lauck." In her widow's pension application (included herein) she identified herself as "Emily." Married at the age of nineteen she was to bear eleven children over the next twenty-five years, only six of whom reached maturity. The children were as follows:

1. ANN MARIA - born November 9, 1780

2. JACOB - born February 22, 1783 - died February 1786

3. JOHN HEISKELL - born August 15, 1785 - died April 23, 1786


5. SON - born dead August 22, 1789

6. SAMUEL HEISKELL - born December 10, 1790 - died prior to 1840 - married Milly (Mildred) Lindsey March 13, 1816 - hatter by trade - on March 29, 1822 Peter conveyed to Samuel Lot 13 in Winchester at the northeast corner of Loudoun & Cork Streets across from the Red Lion - children: Emily Towers, Rebecca Thornhill, Lewis Morgan, and Peter C.

Lewis Morgan Lauck, between 1845 and 1851, he built the house which stands at 319 North Braddock Street, Winchester. In 1855 the Kent Street Presbyterian Church purchased the house for use as the manse or parsonage. During the winter of 1861-1862 General Stonewall Jackson and his wife lived here as guests of Dr. Graham, the minister.

After selling the house Lewis Morgan moved to St. Louis. He married Emily Hanum on October 20, 1841. Children: Emma (1844), Lewis (1847), Clarence W. (1850), James E,
Peter Lauck - Tombstone
Mount Hebron Cemetery
(1852), Jacqueline (1855), Pierre (1856), Alice (1859/60), Louisa Thebeau (1863) - latter two born in St. Louis, others in Winchester.

Peter C., born 1817, lived for some years with his uncle William Cunningham Lauck at Mundlesville (now Luray) in Page County where he is listed as a carpenter in the 1850 census. One account says he was a trapper on the plains prior to the Civil War. He died sometime after 1900 in Madison County, Virginia.

7. ISAAC STREIT - born August 6, 1793 - in War of 1812 was a member of Captain Willoughby Morgan's (Daniel Morgan's son) infantry company (a 2nd Lieutenant Isaac Lauck is also listed as a member of Captain William Morris' artillery company) - on February 25, 1831 he purchased the Red Lion from his father and then offered it for sale in the newspaper in March 1834 - The same month his father repurchased it for $5,000. - at that point Isaac and his wife Mary were living in Martinsburg, Berkeley County (W.Va.) where he was a merchant - in 1833 he was termed one of Martinsburg's first citizens.

8. MORGAN ADOLPHUS - born July 7, 1796 - died July 1, 1826 - Married Ann Maria Ott May 26, 1824 - lived in Shenandoah County (a portion of which later became Page County) - was a merchant and tanner - in business with his brother Joseph - was first Master (1824) of the Masonic Lodge in Luray - in 1833 Morgan's widow married Samuel Anderson - Morgan and Ann Maria's children: Emily married Moses Walton of Woodstock - they had a son Moses Lauck Walton born October 13, 1853 - law firm Walton & Walton in Woodstock - Emily died 1907-1908 - some sources indicate Emily was an only child, one source lists another daughter Amelia Ann.

9. JOSEPH MANLEY - born March 8, 1799 - died about April 1829 married Mary M. Blackford of Shenandoah County December 7, 1825 - one child, Joseph, who later settled at Keyser (W.Va.) Joseph Manley and his brother Morgan operated a store and tanyard at Luray.
Among various Frederick County records recently removed to the State Library in Richmond are two journals ("C&D") which belonged to Morgan Adolphus and Joseph Manley Lauck. These were account books for their store in Luray (then Shenandoah County, now Page). For each month of the year each customer is listed by name and under the name are itemized purchases (by date) during the course of the month. The books represent an interesting record of what was purchased and sold from a general store in a small village during that period. The books are in excellent condition, rather unusual in size - about 20 inches long, 6 inches wide, 2-3 inches thick - and are enclosed in heavy suede leather covers. "C" covers the period April 1821 - July 1826 and "D" July 1826 - April 1828. One might wonder how or why these records came to reside in the Frederick County Clerk's office.

10. AMELIA SUSAN - born March 30, 1802


William also moved to Luray and probably worked with his brother Joseph Manley after the death of their brother Morgan Adolphus. Later William became an "Old School Baptist" preacher and was licensed as such at Luray on September 28, 1835. He was also Clerk of Page County from 1841 to 1848. In April 1858 he was one of three incorporating a school known as "Luray Institute."

In a Page County history there is an account of the hanging of two slaves, Martin and Captain, who had confessed to the murder of their owner, John Wesley Bell. The date was April 8, 1842 and the site was at the first hollow on the road to Bixler's Ferry, west of the town of Luray. The prisoners were led from the jail by Sheriff Charles Flinn (believed to be the Charles Flinn who was the son-in-law of Abraham Lauck). The funeral sermon prior to the hanging was preached by Elder William C. Lauck. The preacher stood on the spring wagon and upon the same vehicle the condemned men with ropes around their
necks sat on their coffins awaiting their death. When the sermon was concluded the preacher closed his book and without looking behind him hastily left the scene of the execution. The preacher was Peter Lauck's youngest son, William Cunningham.

Peter Lauck died October 2, 1839 and was buried in the old Lutheran portion of Mount Hebron Cemetery. The value of his estate totaled $6,877.15 and included such items as:

- House & lot, formerly known as the Tavern stand - $5,000
- Vacant lot fronting 40 feet on Cork Street - $350
- Eight-day Clock - $30
- Two cows - $30
- Mahogany dining tables - $25
- Black chairs - $15
- Carpet & hearth rug $20

The appraisal was by Jacob Cooper, George Seevers, and Jacob Lauck, son of Simon. His will, dated March 12, 1838, named his heirs as his beloved wife, daughter Rebecca Cunningham, sons Isaac S. and William C., and, the heirs of his late sons Samuel, Morgan, and Joseph.

It is understood various items, furnishings, etc. which belonged to Peter are still owned by his descendants. One item, his watch, has apparently been lost to posterity in more recent years. In a letter written about 1955 to James Henry Lauck of Front Royal, the late Mrs. William Jett Lauck, Sr. describes it as "the loveliest thing I ever saw - open face - large, white gold - a carved ship on the face." The watch disappeared from their apartment about 1911.

Amelia, Peter's wife died in 1842 and it is assumed she was buried next to Peter although there is no marker. For some reason her estate account was not recorded until December 4, 1886. The heirs and amounts received were:

- William C. Lauck, dec'd. (to administrator) - $6.98
- Emily Walton (granddaughter) - $6.98
- Joseph Lauck, dec'd. (to admin.) - $6.98
Charles H. A. Cochran 73

Rebecca Cunningham, dec'd. (to admin.) - $6.98
Isaac S. Lauck, dec'd. (to admin.) - $6.98
Lewis M. Lauck, dec'd. - $1.74½
Peter C. Lauck - $1.74½
Emily Towers - $1.74½
Rebecca Thornhill - $1.74½

The Jacob Frymire catalogue includes paintings of Peter and Amelia, their children Morgan A. and Joseph M., and Rebecca's husband John Cunningham. The portrait of Amelia is truly outstanding, one of Frymire's most important works. It was sold a few years ago at an estate sale and is now owned by a gentleman in New York City. The Charles Peale Polk catalogue includes a portrait of Peter and one of Rebecca.

Declaration by Peter Lauck in order to obtain the benefit of the Act of Congress of the 7th of June 1832 (Application for a pension)

"On this 9th day of August 1832 personally appeared before the Court of the Corporation of Winchester, being a court of record, Peter Lauck, a resident of Winchester in the County of Frederick and State of Virginia, aged seventy-nine years the 31st day of December next, who first being duly sworn to law, doth on this oath make the following declaration in order to obtain the benefit of the provision made by the Act of Congress passed June 7, 1832: That he enlisted in the Army of the United States in the Rifle company commanded by Captain (afterwards General) Daniel Morgan the 1st or 2nd day of July 1775; John Humphrey was the first Lieut., William Heth the 2nd Lieut., and Peter Bruin the Ensign. He marched with the said company from Winchester on the 10th day of July 1775 through the states of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey to the Hudson River, which they crossed about 60 miles above New York, and through a part of New York, Connecticut, and a part of Massachusetts to Cambridge, near Boston, where they joined a detachment under Col. Arnold and marched to Newbury-port in Massachusetts where they took shipping and sailed"
to Kennebec River, and up that river as high as a place then called Fort Western where they left the vessels and went up the river as far as they could, and then marched through wilderness to Canada and on to the river St. Lawrence and down that river nearly opposite Quebec where they lay a few days, and then crossed the river in the night and marched up to Abraham's Plains where they lay two or three weeks, and then hearing that General Montgomery with his army was coming on, they marched as far as Sorrel (?) where they met him. After staying there a few days the Army marched down to the vicinity of Quebec and were quartered about in the neighborhood until the last day of December 1775 when the assault on Quebec was made, and General Montgomery killed and the whole of the troops under Arnold of which the said Lauck was one, were taken prisoner. He remained a prisoner in Quebec until sometime in November 1776, as well as he can recollect, when he was liberated on parole and sent by water to Elizabethtown point in the State of New Jersey, where they were landed, and he march-ed from there to Winchester where he arrived about Christmas 1776. He was considered a prisoner, not being enrolled in the militia or allowed to take up arms until he was discharged about six months after his arrival at Winchester, so that it was two years from the time he entered the service until he was exchanged..."

/s/ Peter Lauck

(Sworn before a court in Winchester August 9, 1832)

In addition to the above declaration Peter filed other papers among which was this statement "...that when he entered the service he furnished himself with a rifle and the necessary accouterments which were taken from him at Quebec and never returned...." Peter was granted a pension, the amount of which seems to have been $150 or $50 per year (the file papers show both amounts.) Declaration by Amelia (Emily) Lauck in order to obtain the benefit of the Act of Congress of the 4th of July 1836 (Application for a widow's pension) ______
"On this 2\textsuperscript{nd} day of April 1840 personally appeared before the Court of the Corporation of Winchester, being a court of record, Emily Lauck, a resident of Winchester in the County of Frederick and State of Virginia, aged seventy-nine years, who first being duly sworn to law, doth on her oath make the following declaration in order to obtain the benefit of the provision made by the Act of Congress passed July 4, 1836 and the joint resolution of July 7, 1838: That she is the widow of Peter Lauck who was a private in the Army of the Revolution as she has understood and fully believes, and that he served under Captain (afterwards General) Daniel Morgan, and was taken prisoner at Quebec when General Montgomery was killed in December 1775. She further declares she was married to the said Peter Lauck the 27\textsuperscript{th} day of October in the year 1779, and that her husband, the aforesaid Peter Lauck, died on the 27\textsuperscript{th} day of October in the year 1839, and that she has remained a widow ever since that period, as will more fully appear by reference to the proof hereto annexed."

X (her mark) Emily Lauck

From a statement by John Schultz to support the above

"...and after being discharged, returned to Winchester, where they have both resided until the death of Lauck last October. That he is not certain whether he was present at the marriage of the said Peter Lauck and Emily Heiskell who now survives him, but he is well persuaded they were married for they commenced keeping house and he, the deponent, boarded with them for sometime. He was himself married in the year 1788 and he knows the said Peter and Emily were keeping house some years before, ...he has no doubt of their marriage than his own."

/s/ John Schultz
John Schultz, the last survivor of the Dutch Mess, died in Winchester November 5, 1840. He was born in or near Philadelphia December 2, 1753.

Amelia, or Emily, received her pension. It appears most of the widows of privates received an annual amount of about $48.

**Simon Lauck**

In early July 1775, at the age of fifteen (perhaps shy of fifteen since the month of his birth is unknown), Simon Lauck also joined Captain Morgan's rifle company. Even for that period one might wonder whether his parents were living to give consent for one so young to embark on such a venture. While he made the march to Boston, there is no certainty that Simon participated in the expedition to Quebec - his name is not included among the wounded or captured, and very few escaped the latter. There is no record as to when or under what circumstances he returned to Winchester, but when he did, presumably the following year; this apparently concluded his military career. Gwathmey does not list him at all in his register of Virginians in the Revolution, and, like his brother, his length of service was insufficient to entitle him to
a land bounty warrant. It is also to be noted that in 1836, after Congress passed an act making widows of Revolutionary veterans eligible for pensions, Simon's widow did not apply, i.e., she was not eligible. One source indicates Simon served as an interpreter for Hessian prisoners who were initially brought to Winchester in late 1777 after the Battle of Trenton, by 1781 it is said the number of these prisoners confined at Winchester had increased to 1600.

While some accounts do not consider Simon to have been a member of the Dutch Mess, Cartmell notes that W.G. Russell, who knew personally many members of the rifle company, named him as one of the select few (along with his brother Peter, Schultz, Sperry, Grim, and Heiskell.) In the possession of some of Simon's present-day descendants is a coffee pot which, according to their tradition, was used by the Dutch Mess members during the campaign. There is a date of 1752 on the handle, and there is some reason to believe it was given to Simon by the writer's ancestor, William Cochran, Sr. Apparently, there was a close relationship between these two men, although Simon was much the younger.

Simon was a gunsmith and a number of his rifles are still in existence. In the inventory and appraisement of his estate, dated March 27, 1816, were the following items relating to his profession:

- 4 Rifles - $70
- 78 Gunstocks in the Rough
- Gun barrels - $98
- 6 Crucibles - $1
- 2 prs. Blacksmith tongs - 95¢
In his will there is a specific bequest of a set of gunsmith tools to each of his sons John, Jacob, and William.

Simon owned Lot A on the west side of Loudoun Street between Clifford and Cecil Streets, one block south from where his two brothers lived. There were apparently three houses on this property, one of which was occupied by Thomas and Susannah Cochran Curlett whose daughter Comfort Wood later married Simon's son Jacob. The brick house on the corner of Loudoun and Clifford, 34 feet on Loudoun Street, was willed by Simon to his son John. Next to this, to the south, stood the house in which Simon apparently lived. In an 1821 deed, wherein the executors of Simon's estate sold this house and lot to Jacob Lauck for $1800, the description of the lot is given as fronting on Loudoun Street 48 feet and bounded on the north by John Lauck's lot. It states that this was the same house and lot where "Simon lived and carried on his business as a gunsmith." To the south this lot was bounded by the lot of John Slote (Sloat) which, in 1818, William Lauck and his wife Julia Ann (Cochran) had sold to Slote for $1300, the deed stating it had earlier been owned by Simon. This is probably the site of the recently restored log house which is called "the Simon Lauck House." As evidence Simon did not live in the latter, an otherwise unidentified item in the Hatcher-Lauck papers states "Mrs. Carr told me the Simon Lauck home was so badly shattered by cannon ball during the Civil War that it was torn down in a few years." (Mrs. Carr was a descendant of Simon's daughter Elizabeth.)
In return for the brick house and lot at the corner of Loudoun and Clifford, Simon directed in his will that John pay his mother (Catherine) $1000 at the yearly rate of $100. She was also to receive one-third of all her husband’s movable property, as well as a double house on the west side of Braddock Street (exact location unknown.) It was stipulated the house be repaired, and a cellar dug under it, for her use. In 1844, after Catherine’s death, this house was sold for $401 to Samuel Atwell who in turn sold it to Jacob Lauck.

Like his brothers, Simon was a member of the Lutheran Church in Winchester. On the 1790 list of pledges to support the ministers Simon made a quarterly pledge of one pound four shillings (versus Peter’s two pounds ten shillings and Abraham’s six shillings.) On November 9, 1788 he was one of two deacons elected. The same year he was also a church warden.

Simon married Catherine Starr (1766-1843) in 1782. There is record of the Starr name in Frederick County at that time, but nothing has been discovered to date relative to her family. It is noted Simon’s two brothers married into German families - perhaps Starr was also a German name.

Simon Lauck died in February 1815 at the age of 54 or 55 years. He is buried in the old Lutheran section of Mount Hebron Cemetery. The inventory of his estate (movable property) totals $909, and includes some rather interesting items in addition to the previously listed gun making items:

Clock - $60
Desk & Bookcase - $20
German quarto book - $1
Dictionary of the Bible (2 Vols.) - $1
Faber on the Prophecies - $5
Large German Bible - $1
Several other German books - $1
Several English books - $1

Overall, the complete inventory would seem to indicate a comfortably furnished home for that period.
In his will Simon appointed his brother Peter as one of two executors, and his brother Abraham was one of four witnesses. The document names six children, presumably eldest to youngest, in the following order: Simon, Philip, Elizabeth, John, Jacob, and William. Knowledge of them is as follows:

1. SIMON(2) - married Mary Senseney October 26, 1803 - in December 1804 presented to the court in Winchester credentials of his ordination as a minister in the Methodist Church and was licensed to perform marriages - moved to Wheeling (W.Va.) - Hatcher-Lauck papers say he was a Methodist minister for 60 years and died about 1864, but does not seem to be listed in census data for Wheeling area (Brook and Ohio Counties) after 1830.

A letter dated September 23, 1931 to Byrd Lauck "from William D. Lauck, Mooreland, Indiana states he (William D.) is the grandson of Simon(2) and that his father was Alfred Lauck, born in Middletown (south of Winchester. He further states the family lived most of their lives in Bethany, Brook County (W.Va.), and that Alfred's children were James F., Edward, John T., Simon, Mary, Annie, and William D., Unfortunately, he did not give, perhaps did not know, the names of Simon(2)'s other children, if any.

2. PHILIP - married Ruth Grover January 4, 1807 - Hatcher-Lauck papers state he was a physician and moved to Kentucky in 1820.

The above is in error since two of Philip's descendants indicate he moved to Meigs County, Ohio about 1811. This is confirmed by the records of the Marietta (Ohio) Land Office which show that Philip Lauck of Frederick County, Virginia purchased land (Range 11, Township 3, Section 8) in what is now Meigs County, Ohio, just across the Ohio River from the present Jackson County (W.Va.) The location references indicate the land was in the eastern portion of the county, probably near the river, the date was August 17, 1811.

Philip's children were:
Isaac - born 1808 in Virginia
Ezreal G. - born 1810-1811 in Virginia
Simon - born 1812 in Ohio
Elizabeth - married James Amsden in 1836

3. ELIZABETH - married Jacob Boyers April 4, 1805 - two children Elizabeth died 1865 - no other information.

Two descendants of Elizabeth who researched the family in earlier years of this century were Mrs. Juliette Boyer Baker and Mrs. Homer S. Carr, first cousins.

4. JOHN - married Elizabeth Crum on March 30, 1812.

5. WILLIAM - married Julia Ann Cochran on October 6, 1815.

John and William are discussed herein jointly as they were apparently close to each other during the few years of their brief adult lives - both died of typhus in 1826. John was 36 years of age, being born in 1790. William died October 13, 1826, age 29 years, 10 months, 21 days - this being the information on his marker in Mount Hebron Cemetery. Both John and William were gunsmiths.

During the last few years of their lives various records indicate the two brothers were in debt, the reasons why are unknown. As previously noted, in September 1818 William and his wife Julia Ann sold the Loudoun Street property, which earlier had been owned by his father, for $1300. Then, for the same amount William purchased a tract of 81 acres east of Winchester from his father-in-law, Robert Cochran. In September 1820 William and Julia Ann sold this same tract to Abraham Miller for $775. Perhaps it was sold to satisfy two outstanding debts: a deed of trust, also dated September 1820, states William owed Daniel Hartman, a silversmith, $224, and Mrs. Polly Flannigan, widow of Speak Flannigan, $200. (Mrs. Flannigan, being another daughter of Robert Cochran, was William's sister-in-law.) John Lauck was his brother's security to guarantee payment of these debts, and to protect John from loss William placed the following property in trust, to be sold if necessary: 3 horses, 1 colt, 3 cows, 1 calf, wagon, cart, plow, shovel, harrow, cutting hook, mattock, various articles of
furniture, and dishes. Whether the debts were satisfied by sale of the land or their possessions is unknown, but William may have moved to Ohio for a brief period. The 1820 Ohio census lists a William Lauck (same age and occupation stated as manufacturing) living next door to his brother Philip. (In Winchester during the early 1820s William was a member of the Thespian Society, a theatrical group which gave performances at the old Market House.)

As noted earlier, John Lauck inherited the brick house and lot at the southwest corner of Loudoun and Clifford Streets, the site now being the location of the Salvation Army. Speaking of this location, Russell states "there was a house...erected by John Lauck, son of Simon, which has gone to decay...", but Simon's will clearly indicates the house was already there. What is not clear is whether John still owned the property at the time of his death. In October 1821 John and Elizabeth placed another lot he owned on Loudoun Street, next to his Uncle Abraham, in trust with George Reed as security against payment of $380 which John owed one William Blanchard. In September 1824 still another lot he owned on Loudoun Street, adjoining the other, was put in trust with George Reed against a debt of $1,863, again owed to William Blanchard (Russell identifies Blanchard only as an "Englishman."

At the estate sale of William Cochran, Jr., in November 1825 William Lauck made these purchases:

- scythe & ___ - $1
- sausage bench - .12½
- beehive - $2.55
- bedstead & bedding - $20
- umbrella frames - .12½

Apparently once again John was security for his brother for these purchases. On August 14, 1827 a financial report for the Cochran estate includes this statement: "To the note of William Lauck and John Lauck given for purchases at sale, then
considered good, but before it became due, both of them died insolvent."

Presumably because of their early deaths neither John nor William left a will or other record which identifies their children. In 1828 John’s widow, Elizabeth Crum Lauck, married John Reed (she being his second or third wife), and sometime after 1830 they moved to Muskingum County (Zanesville), Ohio. Her children by John Lauck accompanied them. The only known child by name was John H. Lauck (1818-1876), who married Harriet Cornelia Hatcher in 1845 in Muskingum County. Their children were Isaac Asbury (1846-1925), Jesse Gilbert (1848-1893), Anna Maria (1851-1885), and Mary Elizabeth (1854-18?7). Miss Byrd Lauck, previously mentioned as the author of the Hatcher-Lauck papers, was a daughter of Isaac Asbury. She lived in Zanesville.

As for William’s widow, Julia Ann Cochran Lauck, no further record of her has been found although it is assumed she continued to live in Winchester. No record of a second marriage has been discovered. On February 3, 1845 Simon H. Lauck was appointed guardian for William and Jacob Lauck. It is believed this item indicates Julia Ann died about this time and her son Simon H. was appointed guardian for his two younger brothers. Since there is no specific record, it is concluded the following were the children of William and Julia Ann Cochran Lauck:

Elizabeth Ann - died July 27, 1838, age 16 years, 3 months, 11 days - buried in Mount Hebron Cemetery next to her father (cemetery records indicate both were reinterred there from some Methodist cemetery.)

Simon H. - born about 1816 - married Elizabeth Ann Piper February 11, 1842 - a farmer in Frederick county - their children: Henry, Ann A., Susan, and Virginia - Henry, a Confederate soldier, was killed in action at Winchester September 27, 1864, age 21 years.

Julia Ann - probably the oldest child and named after her mother - married William Ambrose December 23, 1834 - died 1672.
William - probably born the year before his father's death - no other information although the 1850 census lists a William Lauck, age 23, as a wagon maker.

Jacob Senseney - born May 27, 1827, after his father's death - married Ann Rebecca Borden January 30, 1850 - a farmer in Frederick County - died August 30, 1896 ("Dropsy") - Ann Rebecca died December 1903 - their children:

R. L. Lauck (1867-1898)
Jacob Senseney(2) (1870-1908) - married Nora A. Fries
John W. - married Rosa E. Johnson
Julia Ann - married James H. Jones

6. JACOB MILLER - next to youngest child of Simon and Catherine, born January 26, 1794- - about 1815 married Comfort Wood Curlett (born January 17, 1785) - lived in Winchester during early years of their marriage,

In 1821 Jacob purchased the house on Loudoun Street in which his father had lived and immediately put it in trust with Godfrey Miller against payment of a debt of $952, plus interest, owed Peter Miller. In 1844 the house on Braddock Street where his mother Catherine had lived was sold after her death to Samuel Atwell, who in turn sold it to Jacob. At some point thereafter Jacob and Comfort moved to the Timber Ridge area in northwestern Frederick County. Comfort died there July 18, 1862 and was buried in the Timber Ridge Primitive Baptist Church cemetery. Jacob moved back to Winchester and the Hatcher-Lauck papers state it is "probable" he had a second wife, "widow Copenhaver, born Grim." This information is partially correct - on December 14, 1865, at the age of 71, Jacob married Catherine Grim, a widow of 63, who was the daughter of Jacob and Mary Cooper, Jacob died of paralysis on October 12, 1875, age 81 years, 9 months, 9 days. He is buried in Mount Hebron Cemetery beside his brother William and his (Jacob's) children William P. and Catherine S. Jacob's second wife Catherine died March 10, 1883 and may have been buried next to her first husband.

The children of Jacob Miller and Comfort Wood Curlett Lauck were:
Harriet Emily - born January 10, 1816 - married Fred Gross who was a commissioner of revenue in the occupation government installed in Winchester by Federal authorities in 1865 - no children - Harriet died February 10, 1896 - Fred died May 17, 1889, age 75 years - both buried in Gainesboro Cemetery, northwest of Winchester.

William Peter - April 11, 1817 - May 4, 1893 - a bachelor, he was perhaps a gunsmith - buried in Mount Hebron Cemetery next to his father (stone marked “Brother”)

Mary Jane - September 23, 1819 - February 9, 1861. - married Samuel R. Atwell (1816-1892) (the fenced Atwell lot in Mount Hebron Cemetery presents an interesting picture – Samuel’s is an imposing high marker on a mound with Mary Jane buried on the right and his second wife Sarah Ann (died 1876) on the left.)

Thomas Curlett - 1821-1822

Cornelius Morgan - 1824-1885 - married Sarah Logan – the 1850 census lists him as “tobacconist” and living with his sister and brother-in-law, the Atwells.

Catherine Susan - born February 9, 1827 - single - died December 30, 1889 - buried in Mount Hebron Cemetery next to her father and brother (stone marked “Sister”.)

Charles Edward - 1828-1862 - married Sarah Eads - was in Confederate Army (Stonewall Brigade) - died from typhoid fever after Seven Days’ Battle - one son, Charles Edward, who moved to Walla Walla, Washington around the turn of the century.

Ann Rebecca - 1831-1833

Jacob Miller(2) - 1833-1911 - married Alice Davis – a Methodist minister who served in the Stonewall Brigade - was present when General Stonewall Jackson died - Lauck Memorial Church in Parkersburg, West Virginia named for him - one child, Willia Alice (1867-1940) married Morris Hansford (1865-1935.)
Some descendants of Simon’s son Jacob Miller own a portrait of Simon Lauck, an oil painting on a piece of wood. It is reproduced in *Images of the Past*. The family also owns silhouettes of Simon and his wife Catherine Starr as well as one of Simon’s rifles.

**Abraham Lauck**

Little is known about Abraham, youngest of the three brothers, born February 11, 1767. (The author has not seen any material, which originated with Abraham’s descendants.) Abraham saw no military service, being too young for the Revolution and too old for the War of 1812. He seems to have led an uneventful life, being a hatter by trade. In 1811 there was a hat factory in Winchester by the name of Lauck & Coyle - it is assumed the partners were Abraham Lauck and Michael and/or John Coyle. Abraham was active in the Lutheran Church, serving as Trustee, Elder, Warden, and Treasurer during the years 1809 to about 1834. In 1813 he was also one of the committee of Elders of the “German Lutheran Congregation of Winchester” which recommended that future proceedings be recorded in the English language rather than German.

On November 9, 1826 Abraham and his wife transferred the property where they lived to Godfrey Miller as trustee against payment of a debt of $350 that Abraham owed John Miller. It is assumed Abraham paid the debt and title to the property reverted to him. In his will Abraham appointed “my friend and relation” John Miller as his executor. The two men were brothers-in-law, having married Sperry sisters.

Abraham lived, in Winchester at 217 South Loudoun Street, across the street and about a half block south from Peter and one block north of Simon. The house still stands today (Dr. Quarles refers to it as the Rutherford House.) Abraham married Mary Ann (German: Anna Maria) Sperry (born 1775), the ceremony being performed by Christian Streit, the Lutheran minister. Although more than thirteen years younger than Peter, Abraham died on January 10, 1835, five years before his older brother. He was 67 years of age, 10 months
and 27 days. Mary Ann died in 1858 at the age of 83 years. Both are buried in the old Lutheran portion of Mount Hebron Cemetery.

The children of Abraham and Mary Ann Sperry Lauck were:

1. **PETER** - married Sarah Figg April 2, 1822 - lived in Luray - was constable and deputy sheriff there during 1830s - one source states Peter kept a hotel in Luray - same source states he married (second wife) Miss Gatewood of Page, "went West and died" - 1850 census gives Peter's age as 50, second wife's name as Sarah L., her age 26 - their children (1850): Charles H., 4; Mary S. 3; Gatewood C., 1.

2. **CATHERINE E.** - married Wade W. Hampton - were living in Luray in 1850 - census for same year lists his occupation as cabinet maker - his age given as 38, Catherine's 42 - in 1860 they were living in Winchester where Hampton was listed as an inn keeper - children in 1860: Mary C., 21; William H., 19, clerk in a store; Joseph T., 18, a printer; Sarah V.

3. **EMILY CAROLINE** - married John P. Bentley April 9, 1839 by Lewis Eichelberger, Lutheran minister - Bentley was editor of the Winchester Times - the family subsequently moved to Washington city (D.C.)

4. **MARY ANN** - married Dr. Francis W.G. Thomas December 5, 1832 by Lewis Eichelberger, Lutheran minister - no other information.

5. **SARAH** - married Charles H. Flinn - lived in Luray where Flinn was deputy sheriff and sheriff for a number of years - an item in Winchester city records - states that on April 15, 1845 Peter Lauck of Page County sold to Charles H. Flinn of the same county all his (Peter's) portion, rights, etc. of his father's (Abraham) estate for $500 - Sarah was apparently deceased by 1850. Russell gives the names of Abraham's five children as Peter, Catherine, Caroline, Mary Ann, and Sarah. In his will Abraham names the children as Peter, "the children of my daughter Margaret", Catherine, and Caroline. Since one other source refers to Margaret Lauck as being the wife of Charles Flinn, it is assumed her name was Sarah Margaret.

Abraham's wife, Mary Ann, died May 4, 1858. Her will lists her heirs as daughter Emily Caroline Bentley of Washington
City, daughter Catherine E. Hampton, and nephew Dr. Lewis A. Miller. The estate account (R.E. Byrd, Administrator) was not recorded until January 30, 1897, at which time the estate seems to have consisted of 15 shares of the Winchester & Potomac Railroad. Annie E. Bentley, daughter of Emily Caroline, advised her mother had died February 10, 1895, and in addition to herself the other heirs were George A. Bentley, Mary V. Bentley, Charles P.K. Bentley, and Kate B. Bentley, all of Washington, D.C.

Lauck/Lock/Locke – Unidentified

In identifying the Laucks of Winchester and Frederick County during these earlier years some difficulty is encountered in a few instances because of the spelling of the name, i.e., Lock or Locke for Lauck. It occurs mostly in census and marriage records, and presents a problem in that there were people living in the area who legitimately spelled their name Lock or Locke. There was no known relation or connection. One Lock family is set forth below to distinguish them from the Laucks being considered herein;

George Lock, Sr. (died October 1823) and wife Ally
their children -
Elizabeth - m. Isaac Thacker July 10, 1807
William - m. Catherine Moody February 28, 1799
George, Jr. -
John - m. Mary Smith November 23, 160?
Mary - m. John Hiett January 2, 1792
Sarah (Sally) - m. John Hiett December 9, 1799
Neal (grandson) -
Thomas (grandson) -

Some Other “Lock” Marriages

John Lock & Rebecca Ridgeway - April 4, 1816
George Lock & Winifred Wilcox - August 24, 1827
Josiah R. Lock & Ann R. Reid - February 12, 1850
Harriet Lock & Joshua Johnston - March 30, 1824
Sally Lock & George L. Dunn - January 23, 1828
Mary Lock & Jacob Crim - May 12, 1828
Selina Eliza Lock & Ephraim Watson -
February 25, 1836
George M. Lock & Mary F. Kite - November 7, 1878

Some other "Lauck" Marriages
Maria Lauck & John Throckmorton - November 27, 1820
Patsy Lauck & Jonah Britton - December 30, 1820
John H. Lauck & Emma Gordon - September 12, 1871

Laucks Whose Identity is Not Clear
Mary Langley, wife of William Lauck, machinist and
gunmaker William Lauck, attorney in Winchester after
1858 (both items from Cartmell)
William Lauck, age 23 years, wagon-maker
(1850 census)
William Lauck, age 32 years, gunsmith (1850 census)
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Russell, William Greenway. What I Know About Winchester.

Jacob Frymire Catalogue. Corcoran Gallery, Washington D.C.

Charles Peale Polk Catalogue. Corcoran Gallery, Washington D.C.

The following have contributed information which has been used herein:

Russell Lauck Hansford, Marmet, West Virginia - descendant of Jacob Lauck, son of Simon.


Arlene Lauck Wapre, Castleton, Virginia - descendant of Samuel Heiskell Lauck, son of Peter.

Mrs. Lola Sorensen, Salt Lake City, Utah - whose client is a descendant of Lewis Morgan Lauck, son of Peter.
Charles H. A. Cochran, a Frederick County native, was born in 1925. While serving in the Navy during WWII, he rose to the rank of Lieutenant. He attended both Tulane University and the University of South Carolina where he studied engineering. A co-founder of Sechan Electronics, Mr. Cochran served as its vice-president of marketing.

Mr. Cochran had a passion for local history and genealogy. He was responsible, along with family members, for refurbishing and maintaining the Yeakley Graveyard in western Frederick County. A long time supporter of Shenandoah University, he had a deep admiration for the historical contributions of Dr. Warren Hofstra. At the time of his death in 1990, Mr. Cochran had written and collected a notable manuscript collection which is housed in the Stewart Bell, Jr. Archives.
Amid a sea of gravestones in Winchester’s Mount Hebron Cemetery is a marker for Mary and Hugh Holmes Lee. The stone, marred by a bullet from the Civil War, is in two ways symbolic of Winchester’s Civil War legacy. The chipped monument illustrates that throughout Winchester’s many occupations and three major battles nothing was immune from the ravages of war—not even the sacred burial places of Winchester’s citizens. In another way the stone symbolizes the town’s legacy in America’s epic conflict because it marks the spot of one of the town’s most notorious Confederate citizens, Mary Lee. Feisty, defiant, and unflinching in the face of adversity Mary Lee symbolizes patriotic steadfastness and defiance to Union occupiers—two qualities that many of Winchester’s Confederates—male or female, old or young—possessed throughout the war and something for which they were praised in the war’s aftermath by former Confederates.¹

When Virginia voted to secede from the Union on April 17, 1861, Winchester’s strategic importance in the coming fury was imminent. Situated at the lower end of the Shenandoah Valley, Winchester stood at the epicenter of the area’s railroads and major roads, the most important of which was the paved Valley Pike. The strategic situation that made it thrive commercially during antebellum, dictated its wartime destruction. The town served as an invasion route for both armies and for that reason the town changed hands numerous times.
The amount of times Union or Confederate troops occupied Winchester is perhaps one of the greatest debates among Valley historians today. Veterans after the war cited various numbers such as 87 and 92, while historians today commonly use more than 70 and some state it was merely dozens of times. This debate centers around one’s perspective on what "changing hands" actually means, and the historians’ attempt to address how the citizens of the town felt when Union or Confederate troops roamed the streets for months, weeks, days, or hours. Despite the disagreement and regardless of how many times the town actually changed hands the civilians of Winchester, the large majority of whom were women, endured it all—numerous skirmishes, raids, occupations, and three major battles.

When the first troops began to stream through Winchester en route to Harpers Ferry in the latter half of April 1861 a war spirit spread like wild fire throughout town as it had throughout the nation; young men flocked to recruiting stations to muster into service. Many did so because of a sense of patriotism, feeling that their homes were being attacked, or enlisted because they wanted to preserve southern institutions, while some joined Virginia’s army because the town’s female population, as they had elsewhere throughout the south, pressured some men to enlist. Winchester’s Robert T. Barton, eighteen when the war broke out and eager to serve wrote in his postwar memoir: “I saw my comrades all turned into soldiers with their pretty uniforms, and the eyes of the girls wholly over-looked any young man who did not at once rush to the front and become a bold soldier boy.” Despite their reasons for enlisting, when they signed the muster rolls and became part of Virginia’s army, many had no equipment and commissaries were inadequate to the task of feeding hundreds of raw recruits.

Winchester’s Confederate women immediately recognized the need to help Winchester’s sons along with other Confederate soldiers and established a relief association—a frequent response of the South’s women to the war effort—which immediately went to work making uniforms for the recruits. Mary Williams, the wife of Philip Williams, regarded
as "a lady of great energy and executive ability," organized the effort and continued it throughout the duration of the war, when opportunity presented itself to feed, clothe, and nurse soldiers back to health.\(^5\)

When the first casualties of war entered town following the action at Falling Waters in early July 1861, the town's civilians gave up their homes, businesses, and churches to house the infirmed. Heart-rending scenes of men clinging to life, shredded by shot and shell would be repeated time and again in town, and every time the civilians gave care to wounded soldiers—Union or Confederate. Because so many of the town's men had enlisted in the Confederacy's service, the task of caring for wounded troops largely fell onto the shoulders of the area's female population. Many of these women went above and beyond the call to help even a single soldier survive. One such individual was Tillie Russell—known as the "Angel of the Battlefield." Following the disastrous defeat of General Stephen Ramseur at the Battle of Rutherford's Farm on July 20, 1864, Henry Kyd Douglas rode through Winchester and stopped at the Russell's. He told Tillie that his young aide, Randolph Ridgely, had been severely wounded and laid on the battlefield north of town near Stephenson's Depot. Douglas asked Russell if she would look for Ridgely in the morning, but time was of the essence. She wrapped herself in a shawl and went to the battlefield. Amid the horrors of the scene she found Ridgeley wounded in the thigh. She comforted him throughout the night on the field and the young officer survived.\(^6\) When General Jubal Early heard what Russell had done he proclaimed "God bless the women of Winchester."\(^7\) So momentous had the event become that Oregon Wilson's painting "Woman's Devotion"
was inspired by it. In the war’s aftermath Russell’s actions, known to many Confederate veterans, earned her an honorary membership in the General Turner Ashby Confederate Veterans Camp.

As revered as Winchester’s Confederate women were by Confederate soldiers, many Union soldiers, and every Union commander, save perhaps General Winfield Scott Hancock loathed the female rebels. Indeed by the spring of 1862 Winchester’s Confederate women had begun to forge their legacy of defiance. Union newspapers such as the Philadelphia Ledger reported that Winchester’s women constantly treated Union soldiers rudely and even though “Virginia has always boasted of the high tone of its society and the elegance of its manners...with their patriotism, all this refinement and courtesy seem to have fled.”

Each Union occupying force that entered Winchester knew what to expect from the town’s Confederate women. A lieutenant from Ohio wrote early in 1863 that “[Southern] women are generally worse than the men, they would spit in your face if they dared.” Even President Lincoln’s Secretary of State, William Seward had a low opinion of Winchester’s Confederate women. When Seward returned to Washington following a late March 1862 visit to Winchester, Lincoln asked Seward about the strength of Unionist sentiment in the region. Seward informed Lincoln: “The men are all in the army and the women are the devil.”

This perceived devilish nature of Winchester’s Confederate women prompted many Union commanders to wage war against them. All conducted operations against the Confederate civilian population to some degree or another, but arguably the one Federal general who waged the harshest campaign against the Confederate women was General Robert H. Milroy. Known for his draconian policies toward Confederate civilians in western Virginia during the latter part of 1862, Milroy when he arrived in Winchester on New Years Day 1863, intended to make war on two fronts—one against the Confederate population and another against the South’s peculiar institution—slavery. Milroy, one of the first to
actively enforce Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, did so successfully in the lower Valley. The Gray Eagle, as he was affectionately known to his men, was an ardent abolitionist and took great pride in enforcing emancipation in a town that claimed as residents, Senator James Mason, author of the Fugitive Slave Law and Judge Richard Parker, who presided over John Brown's momentous treason trial. Indeed Milroy understood the town's legacy in the perpetuation on slavery and that further intensified his mission of emancipation. While Milroy met little resistance in implementing his plan to free the area's slaves, he had difficulty in curbing the activities of Winchester's Confederate women.

When Milroy came to Winchester he firmly believed that Confederate women had been largely responsible for the perpetuation of the conflict—an argument today that many historians would not refute. After quarreling with Winchester's Cornelia McDonald, Milroy told her that one of the reasons he treated the females so brutally was that "if it had not been for the women, the men would have long ago given up." Initially Milroy attempted to break their will by withholding necessities of life from those who refused to take an oath of allegiance to the United States. His policy of trying to starve out Winchester's defiant women not only met with disdain from the town's population, but soldiers in the ranks as well. Despite the contempt it did not break the women's will. A survey of the identifiable oaths of allegiance from the Middle Department reveals that none of Winchester's Confederates swore allegiance to a general and government they deemed unfair and oppressive. Without the oath some townspeople sought the aid of sympathetic Union soldiers for food, but some would not even succumb to begging. Mary Lee—who relied on goods smuggled into town and the kindness of friends—looked upon the act of asking a Union soldier for aid as "undignified." Milroy tried to break them further through the use of detectives and Jessie Scouts (Union soldiers who portrayed themselves as Confederates to entrap the town's population), but all attempts to break the collective Confederate will of the town failed; despite constant exile and imprisonment.

Other Union commanders who succeeded Milroy also attacked Winchester's women. Chief among them was
General Philip Sheridan. Renowned for his victorious 1864 Shenandoah Valley Campaign and subsequent burning, Sheridan viewed the remaining Confederate population as a threat to his operations and he constantly looked for excuses to banish the female secessionists. Anyone could be exiled from town for failing to comply with a simple order such as to keep walkways clear of snow and ice. During the winter of 1864-1865 Mary Lee refused to obey Sheridan’s order out of sheer defiance. The infraction led to her subsequent banishment from town in February 1865. Although driven from her home she did not feel defeated. As Federal soldiers moved her south to Newtown, Mary Lee recorded that “Many tears were shed but not by us...we laughed and talked all sorts of Rebel talk and the Yankees gazed in astonishment at seeing people turned out of their homes and not depressed by it.”

Throughout the war, Winchester’s Confederate women, even in the face of adversity were unflinching and rarely engaged in acts of desperation, however, there were times when desperate measures called for desperate actions—further advancing the idea that the town’s Confederate women are an integral component of Winchester’s Civil War legacy.

During the withdrawal of General Jubal Early’s army through town during the final phase of the Third Battle of Winchester, it was part of the female population who desperately tried to halt the men in the streets. “To illustrate the ardent patriotism of the ladies of Winchester,” a Louisiana soldier recalled several days after the battle, “I will here state the remarkable fact that when [our] cavalry rushed pell mell through the streets of that city, far in advance of all other fugitives from the battle field, a large number of the most respected ladies joined hands & formed a line across the principal street, telling the cowardly Cavalrymen that they should not go any further unless they ran their horses over their bodies.” The women’s attempts to halt the fleeing troops were futile as Union infantry and cavalry sent their foe “whirling through Winchester.”

While the Third Battle of Winchester was perhaps one of the greatest moments of desperation among Winchester’s
Confederate women—it was among the greatest celebrations of the town’s Unionists. While some area residents with ancestral connections to the Confederacy or Civil War Winchester prefer to forget the town’s Unionists and brand them as “traitors,” Unionists in Winchester as they had throughout the south, played a role in the conflict and are indeed a part of the town’s legacy. By simply not supporting the Confederacy Unionists hurt it, but some injured the Confederate cause by enlisting in the Union army or providing intelligence to Federal commanders. The precise amount of Winchester Unionists is difficult to determine, however, primary evidence suggests that around five to ten percent of the town’s population had sympathies that swayed toward the Lincoln administration and the Stars and Stripes. Unionists in Winchester gave Union commanders something to fight for on a level greater than strategic. Because of those with loyalties to the Union some commanders remained when threats loomed and risked their commands to prevent area Unionists from being subjected to a Confederate occupation. Robert Milroy, for example, used that as one of his arguments for remaining in Winchester in June 1863 as General Richard Ewell’s corps bore down on the Federal garrison.

Winchester’s Unionists stood in stark contrast to the town’s Confederate supporters—they were never defiant or outspoken during Confederate occupations, and oftentimes tried to keep their loyalties secret for fear of reprisal against them and their families. Chief among those who wanted to maintain anonymity as a supporter of the Union was Rebecca Wright. A young Quaker school teacher—Wright’s clandestine activities preceding the Third Battle of Winchester in September 1864 played an integral role in giving General Sheridan enough confidence to strike General Jubal Early’s forces in the lower Valley. Remembered locally as a traitor—her anonymity began to erode in January 1867, when one of Sheridan’s staff officers delivered a gift to the Wright home, in appreciation for her role in the victory at Third Winchester. A reporter from the Baltimore Sun picked up the story’s scent and then the Winchester Times published a note in the February 20, 1867, edition, identifying Wright as a traitor. Wright and her family were ruined and forced to leave. Townspeople scoffed and jeered at her and although the war had ended, the memories and pain of the past were ever present.
While the greatest of Winchester’s Civil War legacies is its civilian population, namely Confederate women, it is not the town’s only important legacy. In fact part of Winchester’s legacy is the role it played in creating the legacy of one of the Confederacy’s most renowned generals—Thomas J. “Stonewall” Jackson.

Jackson first came to Winchester in June 1861 as a brigade commander. His Virginia brigade was comprised of a great many of lower Valley and Winchester residents. When Jackson left Winchester in July 1861, along with the rest of General Joseph E. Johnston’s army he was virtually an unknown, but his actions and those of his brigade on Henry House Hill during the First Battle of Manassas earned him the eternal sobriquet of Stonewall. Although branded a hero at First Manassas, Jackson’s legendary status as a battlefield commander was born in the Shenandoah Valley Campaign of 1862.22

Prior to the famed Valley Campaign the Confederacy nearly lost Jackson; not from a bullet, but from Richmond’s interference in Jackson’s command. Following his entrance into Romney in mid-January 1862 and return of troops to Winchester one week later, the Confederate troops under Gen. William Loring, who remained in Romney at Jackson’s request, became irate. Loring’s men felt they were outsiders in Jackson’s army having been attached to it in late December 1861 and were livid when Jackson ordered his old Stonewall Brigade to return to Winchester on January 23. Jackson believed Loring’s men to be too demoralized to make the march back to Winchester.23

When Loring’s subordinates demanded their return to Winchester and Secretary of War Judah Benjamin supported the measure, Jackson obeyed the order and then tendered his resignation. When news of the affair reached the citizens of Winchester they were outraged at the treatment of Jackson. Henry Kyd Douglas reported: “In the parlors of Winchester harsh words escaped between fair lips, little fists were clenched, and bright eyes flashed in anger at the treatment of their general.”24 Some of the town’s citizens took up the pen and did all they could to convince politicians to keep Jackson
in command. The bond between Jackson and the townspeople grew as a result of this, but was cemented after the First Battle of Winchester in May 1862 when Jackson became the town's first Confederate liberator. Jackson too had a special connection with the townspeople. The reception he received after driving General Nathaniel Banks from Winchester "convinced [Jackson]," remembered Henry Kyd Douglas, "surely that they were worth fighting for." 25

Even when Jackson was away from the town his thoughts always seemed to come back to Winchester. As news of General Milroy's harsh policies reached Jackson in the New Year of 1863 he lamented their fate at the hands of Union soldiers. He penned his friend Colonel Alexander Boteler: "Though I have been relieved from command there, and may never again be assigned to that important trust, yet I feel deeply when I see the patriotic people of that region again under the heel of a hateful military despotism...There are those who have so devotedly labored for the relief of our suffering, sick, and wounded soldiers." 26 Not only did Winchester have a special place in Jackson's heart because of their unflinching devotion to the Confederacy—a quality that he too possessed—he also revered the town for its sons who comprised a sizable portion of his original brigade—the brigade that helped place him on the path of military fame and glory. Hundreds of men came from Winchester and as he explained to his friend Colonel Boteler: "There are the homes of those who have been with me from the commencement of the war in Virginia." 27

No other Confederate commander who ever set foot in Winchester was as revered as Jackson. One need not even be a Civil War historian to recognize the importance of the man to the town. All it takes is a stroll through Winchester's streets or the effortless flipping of phone book pages to reveal the town's reverence for Stonewall. Streets, restaurants, cafes, a school, a min-storage rental, among others all bear his name. In fact some first-time visitors to Winchester who know little of its storied past and look at the copious amount of items named Stonewall believe, until someone steers them right, that Jackson was born and bred in Winchester.
While naming various items Stonewall is in many instances an attempt to honor the Confederate general, perhaps no greater honor can be bestowed upon him than the naming of Winchester’s Confederate cemetery as “Stonewall” Cemetery.

Immediately following the conflict Winchester’s women, again, came to the forefront—this time not to aid the Confederacy—but to honor its dead and preserve and protect its legacy.

The effort to construct a Confederate cemetery began one month after Lee’s surrender at Appomattox, when area farmers, in the process of plowing their fields unearthed the remains of several Confederate soldiers. When Mary Williams, the architect of the wartime relief association, heard the news she was appalled. Shortly thereafter more stories such as this one surfaced and Williams along with other women realized that something needed to be done, but the two looming questions were what and how. The answer to the what was easy—create a cemetery, but the how was much more difficult to answer. Acres would be needed for the interment of thousands of bodies and thousands of dollars would be needed to accomplish the goal.

Williams, along with the aid of other notable Winchester women organized a Memorial Association to take on the daunting task of searching for Confederate dead within a fifteen mile radius of the town. The association worked diligently to secure funding to purchase and pay for interments in five acres of land adjacent to Mount Hebron Cemetery. Little has been written about the naming process of the cemetery, but perhaps no sentences are needed to explain why the place that honors Confederate dead and Winchester’s Civil War legacy bears the name of Stonewall. All one needs to do is look to the storied past of Jackson and the town—that explains it all.

Finding money to support the effort would be no easy task as the impoverished South tried to rebuild in the war’s wake, but many former Confederates dug deep as they realized that the importance of the task paled in comparison to individual
economic crises. By the close of 1865 the Memorial Association raised nearly $14,000 and by February 1866 the duty of interring Confederate dead had begun. In the midst of completing the cemetery the first observance of Confederate Memorial Day was held on June 6, 1866 and has been observed ever since. The date was chosen in commemoration of the General Turner Ashby's untimely death near Harrisonburg, Virginia, on June 6, 1862.

Throughout the South after the Civil War various dates were chosen for Confederate Memorial Day and among the more popular dates in the Shenandoah Valley was May 10, the date that Stonewall Jackson perished, but Winchester chose June 6. Even though Jackson was revered by the townspeople Turner Ashby was the Confederacy's first tragic hero in the Shenandoah Valley and Winchester wanted to honor him. Ashby was known throughout the Valley and the Confederacy as the quintessential chivalrous knight-like figure. In the days following June 6, 1862, people in the Valley mourned his death. Many made a pilgrimage to the spot of his demise and piled stones to make an impromptu memorial. Some even sought out the home where Ashby's body had been taken and clipped a lock of hair from his beard or head as a memento. During the war Ashby stood as the preeminent symbol of Southern chivalry. It was almost as if Ashby had stepped off of the pages of a Sir Walter Scott novel. He was the knight of the Valley. When the war ended, Southern culture and identity seemed to hang in the balance. The people of Winchester, wanting to hold on to what had been lost, chose Ashby as their patron for Confederate Memorial Day—not only because of their reverence for him, but because he symbolized the Old South and a way of life that would be gone forever.

Winchester's first Confederate Memorial Day was not planned to any great extent. Many at the time considered it impromptu. With only one week's notice Winchester's women organized the memorial event and reportedly thousands responded to the call. A local newspaper—The Winchester News—reported that Winchester's women "responded to the appeal as [they] had done to so many sadder and sterner appeals since 1861." Among the women who bore flowers to rest on the graves were a contingent of freed-
women, who as one observer remembered “bore their contribution of flowers to the graves of those whose families they had formerly been attached, or whom they viewed with a just sympathy that is far more common among the race than is generally imagined, as the defenders of the whole people of the South.”

The impromptu service and the contingent of freedwomen who accompanied the procession to the graves was a scene repeated throughout the South. Sometimes the stories were truthful, other times the stories were embellished and only further fueled the fires of the Confederacy’s Lost Cause. Winchester’s case, however, appears to be genuine.

Several months after the near impromptu service, the cemetery was formally dedicated on October 25, 1866. By then the bulk of the work of locating those who met their demise on the battlefields had been achieved. October 25, was also the date that the remains of General Turner Ashby would be interred in the Stonewall Cemetery. The solemn occasion that attracted thousands, occurred amid an atmosphere of tension created when members of the Union burial corps, gathering bodies for interment in the National Cemetery, refused to lower the flag at their camp to half staff at the request of scores of citizens. The Federal soldiers defended the stars and stripes with loaded weapons. Despite the resolve of the Union soldiers to defend their banner, the town’s garrison commander, a Captain Brown, extended an olive branch of reconciliation when he ordered the flag in the National Cemetery to be lowered to half staff as the horse drawn hearse pulled the bodies of Turner Ashby and his brother Richard into the Stonewall Cemetery.

Following the interment of the Ashby brothers, Winchester’s townspeople had not completed their mission of honoring and preserving the legacy of the Confederate soldiers in the Stonewall Cemetery. The Memorial Association wanted monuments from each former Confederate state as well as a
memorial to the more than 800 unknown dead. The townspeople felt that these monuments were necessary and vital. "For it is not the victors who need monuments," argued one of Winchester's inhabitants, "to keep alive admiration for their prowess and respect for their memories. Men may ever be trusted to honour the successful; it is the vanquished whose memories tend to oblivion, if not to disgrace."  

In 1879 the townspeople dedicated the monument to the unknown and in the years that followed, states began to erect monuments in honor of their dead. Throughout most of the speeches delivered at the various dedications in the Stonewall Cemetery runs a constant theme of praising Winchester's women for their undying patriotism during the war. At the North Carolina monument dedication on September 17, 1897, Reverend James Battle Avirett delivered the keynote address. "I pause sufficiently," Avirett remarked, "to barely imitate to the women of the Southland the debt of gratitude which they owe to the fair women of the Shenandoah Valley, and notably so to the dwellers in this old war-worn town...they did their full duty...It may not be know to the world nor can it be known the one tithe of all those blessed women did in the hospital, in the closet on bended knee [and] on the battlefield...[they] will never be forgotten by the citizen soldiery of the South."  

Those who study memorialization efforts in the post Civil War south know that paying homage to women in a dedication speech was commonplace. However, women present at memorial services and monument dedications generally received praise not necessarily for the role they played in the war, but the role they played in organizing the event. Women were also celebrated in the war's aftermath for the role they played in preserving the Confederate past. Former Confederates viewed women as guardians of the Confederate legacy and Southern culture as women did all they could to dictate how the Confederate story would be remembered.  

Overarching, stereotypical statements about women in postwar speeches should not cloud the meaning of those orations exalting Winchester's women. True, they had taken on
the burden of organizing events and protecting Confederate memory, as thousands of women were doing throughout the South, yet speeches that identified them and praised them did so not only for their part in putting an event together, rather did so to honor their acts of heroism, mercy, and patriotism during the war in a town that was unlike many Southern towns as it endured constant occupation by both armies, privation, battles and bloodshed. In short, Winchester’s women did not experience the war from the home front, as did many southern women, but rather experienced it from the front lines.

For their unflinching efforts during the war, members of the General Turner Ashby United Confederate Veterans Camp, recommended in June 1903 that funds be appropriated to erect a memorial to Southern women.³⁹ Cities throughout the South during the late 1890s and early 1900s began erecting monuments to the South’s women, but Winchester, despite its legacy of Confederate women, would not be one of them. For reasons unknown, the Camp never pursued the matter and it would not be until June 6, 1999, that a monument would be erected to the memory of Winchester’s Confederate women.

Perhaps it was fitting that in the wake of the conflict Winchester’s women received no memorial. These women had endured so much and done without during so many lengthy Union occupations, that not having a monument seems symbolic. To steal an idea from Union General Daniel Sickles—in the war’s aftermath the whole town of Winchester was their memorial. Area Confederate veterans and for that matter Union veterans, maimed by a bullet on the area’s battlefields, who strolled through the town’s streets in the conflict’s aftermath were testament to the merciful care of the women in the town’s many makeshift hospitals. The now silent and sometimes developed battlefields where Tillie Russell and others risked their own lives to care for the wounded; Loudoun Street, today’s walking mall, where the women greeted Jackson’s men in 1862 and pleaded with Early’s troops in 1864 to turn around and fight Sheridan’s army; and the cemetery and monuments that honor the Confederate dead; all these places are their monuments.
Confederates were not the only ones to memorialize their legacy in Winchester. The Federal government created a national cemetery after the war and dedicated it in April 1866. Like the Stonewall cemetery, the National Cemetery situated across the street from the resting place of Confederate dead, perhaps in the ultimate symbol of reconciliation, contains the remains of nearly 4,500 Union soldiers who fought and died in the region. After the war Union regiments and veterans groups used the National Cemetery as the place for the preservation of their victorious legacy. The monuments that dot the landscape pay homage to the heroic exploits of units during Sheridan's Valley Campaign of 1864 and to the memory of men who made the ultimate sacrifice in the Valley. In the decades after the war steady streams of Union veterans came to town to visit old battlefields, visit graves of the fallen, and dedicate markers to the preservation of their posterity.

Assessing a town's Civil War legacy is no easy task, particularly when the town played such an important role in America's epic conflict. Whether strategic importance, the town's devoted Confederate women, perhaps its greatest legacy, the role the townspeople played in propelling Stonewall Jackson to eternal fame, or to the town's Unionists who aided in the making of Sheridan's legacy, none can dispute the importance of Winchester to the story of the Civil War and to the contributions made by its people during the conflict and in the preservation of the area's legacy and creation of memory in the Civil War's aftermath.
NOTES

1 Sheila R. Phipps, Genteel Rebel: The Life of Mary Greenhow Lee (Baton Rouge, 2004), 219; Mary Lee diary, April 12-15, 1864, Stewart Bell, Jr. Archives, Handley Regional Library, Winchester, Va. In her diary Mary Lee penned: “went to the cemetery this evening & amongst other signs of war observed a bullet, embedded in the centre of the shaft of the monument, which marks the spot where my last home will be—where my heart is now.”

2 There has often been major disagreement over how many times Winchester “changed hands.” In my book Plagued by War: Winchester, Virginia, During the Civil War (Leesburg, Va., 2003) I use the standard more than seventy. Roger U. Delauter in his book Winchester in the Civil War (Lynchburg, Va., 1992) cites 96. In a speech presented at the North Carolina monument dedication in Stonewall Cemetery the keynote speaker Rev. James Battle Avirett stated: “so to the dwellers in this old war-worn town of Winchester, Virginia, changing hands 87 times during the war.” Avirett quoted in An Oration Delivered by the Rev. James Battle Avirett: On the Occasion of the Laying the Foundation Stone of the Central Shaft of the North Carolina Plot in the Stonewall Cemetery, Winchester, Virginia, 17th September, 1897, the thirty-fifth anniversary of the battle of Sharpsburg. In Stonewall Cemetery Collection, Stewart Bell, Jr. Archives, Handley Regional Library, Winchester, Va.; Margaretta Barton Colt’s Defend the Valley: A Shenandoah Family in the Civil War (Oxford, 1994), 9-10, states that it was closer to two dozen times that Winchester actually “changed hands.”


5 History of the Ladies Confederate Memorial Association, Winchester, Virginia (Winchester, n.d.)


10 John Peyton Clark Papers, article copied into papers, April 18, 1862, Stewart Bell, Jr. Archives, Handley Regional Library, Winchester, Va.


12 Mary Lee Diary, April 8, 1862, Stewart Bell, Jr. Archives, Handley Regional Library, Winchester, Va.


15 Middle Department, Oaths of Allegiance, RG 393, Vol. I, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C., cited hereafter as NARA.


19 For more on Unionism in the South see William W. Freehling, The South vs. The South: How Anti-Confederate Southerners Shaped the Course of the Civil War (Oxford, 2001); Stephen V. Ash, When the Yankees Came: Conflict & Chaos in the Occupied South, 1861-1865 (Chapel Hill, 1995), 108-130.


22 Gary W. Gallagher, Lee and His Generals in War and Memory (Baton Rouge, 1998), 109-111.

23 Noyalas, Plagued by War, 32.

24 Douglas, I Rode with Stonewall, 35.

25 Ibid., 66.


28 History of the Ladies Confederate Memorial Association, Winchester, Virginia.

29 Ibid.


31 Gary W. Gallagher, ed., The Shenandoah Valley Campaign of
1862 (Chapel Hill, 2003), 144-145; For events surrounding Ashby’s death see Paul Christopher Anderson, *Blood Image: Turner Ashby in the Civil War and the Southern Mind* (Baton Rouge, 2002), 1-16.

32 *Winchester News*, June 8, 1866.

33 Ibid.

34 For further discussion on the Lost Cause and the creation of Confederate memory see Gary W. Gallagher and Alan T. Nolan, eds., *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History* (Bloomington, 2000).


37 *An Oration delivered by the Rev. James Battle Avirett*.


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Secondary Sources


*Author's note: This article was originally presented as a paper at “Reconciling the American Conflict: Causes and Legacies of the Civil War” held at Shenandoah University April 8 and 9, 2005
Prof. Jonathan A. Noyalas teaches history at Lord Fairfax Community College and is director of the College’s Institute of Culture and History. He is the author of *Plagued by War: Winchester, Virginia, During the Civil War* and "My will is absolute law": *A Biography of Union General Robert H. Milroy*. Noyalas’ articles and reviews have appeared in such publications as *America’s Civil War*, *Blue and Gray*, and *Civil War Book Review*. He is also a contributing author to ABC-CLIO’s forthcoming *Encyclopedia of African American History*. Prof. Noyalas also served as editor/contributing author for “If this Valley is lost, Virginia is lost!” Stonewall Jackson’s 1862 Valley Campaign being published by the Shenandoah Valley Battlefields Foundation and slated for release in May 2006. He lectures frequently on topics related to the Valley’s Civil War history and serves on the Interpretation and Education Committee of the Shenandoah Valley Battlefields Foundation and is a member of the board of directors of the Kernstown Battlefield Association. He is currently working on a study: *Command and Camaraderie: General Philip H. Sheridan’s 1864 Valley Campaign in War and Memory*. 
James William Denver

James V. Hutton, Jr.

The city of Denver, Colorado, was named in honor of General James W. Denver, a native of Frederick County, Virginia.

Denver was born in the county, October 28, 1817. His father, Patrick, came from Ireland, acquired land and built an imposing brick home in what is now the Gainesboro District. The boyhood home of James Denver is still standing on the Indian Hollow Road just west of Hogue Creek.

James lived on the farm until about 23 years old and received his early education in the common schools of the county. Trained in engineering, he left Frederick County in the Spring of 1841 and went to Missouri where he was unsuccessful in his efforts to secure a contract to survey public lands. He taught school for a year, moved to Ohio in 1842, and studied law at the Cincinnati Law School, graduating from this institution in 1844.

In 1847, he became a captain of a company attached to the 12th U.S. Infantry and served under General Scott in the Mexican War.

After the war, Denver was attracted to the "land of golden opportunity" and in 1850 located in Trinity County, California. A year later, without his consent, the people elected him as a state senator to represent their district in the California legislature. While a member of that body, Edward Gilbert, editor of the San Francisco Alta, challenged Denver to a duel. Gilbert was killed.

In 1852 a group of "California-bound" immigrants were stranded on an uncharted trail leading to the "Promised Land." They desperately needed supplies. The California legislature appropriated $25,000 for their relief and Governor Bigler prevailed upon Denver to take charge of the wagon train. Over 100 lives were saved through his efforts.
Appointed Secretary of State of California in 1853-1854, Denver was subsequently elected as a representative to the 34th U.S. Congress in 1855 and served as chairman of the committee concerned with the construction of the Pacific Railroad.

In the Spring of 1857 he was appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs and went to the Kansas Territory to make treaties with the Indians. While in Kansas, he was appointed Governor of the Kansas Territory to succeed Robert J. Walker. At the time, the Territory was without law and order. Organized groups of thieves and cutthroats were running rampant. Slavery vs. anti-slavery factions were struggling for power – Kansas was bleeding. The prospects for establishing and maintaining order out of chaos were rather dismal. Denver issued several decisive proclamations, then traveled throughout the Territory in person to see that these orders were executed. Undaunted by threats made on his life, he was able to restore order. In less than a year, he resigned his office, leaving the Territory with an established civil government.

Returning to Washington, he again assumed the office of Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Resigning from this office, March 11, 1859, he returned to California. Shortly after, Denver moved to Ohio. President Abraham Lincoln appointed him Brigadier-General of Union Volunteers in August, 1861. He served more than a year in the Union Army, primarily in the West and resigned from the army in March 1863.

At the conclusion of the War Between the States, General Denver practiced law in Washington, D.C. He returned to his home in Wilmington, Ohio and was defeated in a race for Congress in 1870. In the Democratic Convention of 1884, he was mentioned as a possible candidate for President of the United States, but this movement never materialized. He died in Washington, D.C. in 1892.

Why was Denver, Colorado, named in his honor? When he was Governor of the Kansas Territory in 1858, it was proposed that the Territory be divided. Denver encouraged this division and suggested that one part be named Colorado. After this separation was accomplished, the capital city of
Colorado was named St. Charles. Later, the name was changed in his honor.

Denver is but another of the many Frederick County natives who achieved national prominence.

NOTE


Jim Hutton is a native of Frederick County, graduate of Stonewall High School at Clearbrook, and the University of Virginia, both as an undergraduate and graduate. He served in the Pacific in Word War II and was an educator in the Frederick County School System for many years. He has authored numerous local history articles and books and was honored as “Historian of the Year” by the Winchester-Frederick County Historical Society in 1989.

He and his wife Juanita parented five children and live off Apple Pie Ridge in Frederick County.
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