THE SARAH CONSTANT, GOODSPEED AND DISCOVERY
The Ships That Brought the Founders of the Nation to Jamestown, 1607.

and

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A TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTY OF PRINCE GEORGE, IN VIRGINIA, 1793.

By the Rev. John Jones Spooner, A. M. A. S., Rector of Martin's Brandon, in said County.

This county is bounded on the north by James river, which washes it about thirty-five miles; on the east, partly by upper Chippoaah creek, and partly by the Surry line; on the south, by Surry, Sussex, and Dinwiddie counties; and on the west, by Appomattox river.

It is in length about thirty miles: its breadth is various: the medium is sixteen miles. It originally formed part of Charles City county, which is now confined to the northern side of James river.

The river is here about one mile wide at the points; but in the bays, from two to three miles; at the confluence of the Appomattox is City Point, which with Bermuda Hundred, on the opposite side of the Appomattox, forms the port of this district. Vessels of five hundred tons may here load and unload. At Hoods, about eighteen miles below, a British ship of forty-four guns has lain.

Appomattox is navigable for square rigged vessels seven miles; from this to Petersburg, it is only navigable for vessels of less than sixty tons.

The James is one of the most noble rivers in the United States.

1Reprinted from "Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society," for the year 1794, Vol. III., pages 55-63. Rev. John Jones Spooner was afterwards rector of St. John's Parish in Hampton, where he died September 13, 1796, aged 42. His tombstone is in the Hampton churchyard.
From its mouth to City Point, it varies in breadth from one to six miles, except at Hoods, where it is only four hundred yards in width. (Here is a very eligible situation to erect a fort for the defence of the upper part of the river, in a case of necessity.) It is navigable for vessels of one hundred and forty tons burthen to Richmond, which is one hundred and sixty miles from Cape Henry, the entrance to the Bay of Chesapeake from the Atlantic Ocean. In its progress it receives a great number of smaller streams, which are for the most part navigable for several miles. From Prince George it receives, besides the Appomattox and Chippoah, Bailey's, Powell's and Ward's creeks, with some others of less note. The southern part of this county is watered by Black Water, and the streams which fall into it. This is an extensive swamp rising in the southwest part of Prince George, and running a very lengthy course, it empties into Albemarle sound, in North Carolina. In summer it is, however, confined to a narrow breadth, and is navigable only for canoes.

These rivers and creeks abound with fish of various kinds. In James river are found the sturgeon, shad, bass, carp, sheep's head, drum, herring, perch and cats, etc. It has also a great abundance of oysters and crabs; of the former there are none so high up as this, and but few of the latter. In the spring there are immense numbers of shads and herrings taken in seines; upwards of five thousand of the former have been taken in a single haul; the same number of the latter is not uncommon.

It is not digressing far, to mention here the improvements now making in the navigation of this river.

The falls commence at Richmond, and extend seven miles above. The bed of the river is filled with innumerable rocks; over and between which the waters rush with great rapidity. Canals have been dug round these falls, and partly excavated from a solid rock, and locks have been constructed. The various impediments higher up the river have been removed, all with infinite labour and great expense; so that it is rendered navigable for large flat boats, carrying twenty hogsheads of tobacco, from Lynchburg, more than a hundred and forty miles above Richmond.

It is intended to connect this canal with the tidewaters, which
flow to the lower edge of the falls; this will be completed in the course of the summer. The head branches of the river have been explored, and a report made, that the navigation may be carried through the ridges, to the foot of the Alleghany mountains, which will be attempted, when the canal is finished. Not unconnected with this is the attempt now making to unite the waters of James river with those of Albemarle sound, in North Carolina, by the way of Elizabeth river, and a canal through the Dismal Swamp, to the head of Pasquotank. This is in considerable forwardness.

In the winter season, there is a great number of wild fowl on this river and its waters, viz., swans, geese, shelldrakes, a variety of ducks and teal. The woods afford wild turkeys, partridges in abundance, a few pheasants, pigeons, some deer, and other game common to the rest of America. Here is also that singular animal, the opossum. The reptiles are nearly the same as in the more northern parts of America, with some not known there. The scorpion, which is very venomous, is frequently seen here. Lizards of various colours are common, but are quite harmless. The snakes are much the same. Rattlesnakes are not often seen, but in lieu of them, the mocasson is frequently found on the water courses; these are venomous and bold. The jointed and spur snakes are sometimes met with. Of the two latter I have not seen any; but am well informed the former is composed of joints about an inch in length, which are scaly and brittle. It is said, on being struck, it immediately breaks off at every joint.

The latter takes its name from a spur or dart at the end of its tail, with which it inflicts a dangerous wound, and is the same which Carver calls the thorn tail snake.

The face of the country is neither level nor hilly, but in some degree broken and rising into gentle swellings. Upon the water courses, are commonly rich lowgrounds, admirably adapted for grass, hemp, or flax, and when drained, produce abundant crops of corn and wheat. The high lands are generally of a light loam, interspersed with tracts of sandy or clayey soils. The whole, totally free from rocks, and almost so from loose stones. Many of the points, making into the river, are formed of a rich, deep, black loam, capable, without manure, of producing any crops in
abundance, and are not inferior to the best lands in the Atlantick States.

Through this county from west to east runs a ridge (though not high) of clayey, barren land, covered with pines, and a few miserable oaks. This divides the waters that fall into James river, from those which empty into Black Water. Southward of this ridge, the soil is more sandy, less productive, and not generally so healthy as the northern side. Upon the river and the navigable creeks are extensive bodies of marsh, sometimes flowed by the tide, which rises here about three feet.

The timber consists of oaks, of various kinds (sufficient within a convenient distance of navigation to build a formidable navy, and of good quality), with all the different species known in the Eastern States, and others which do not grow there. Mr. Jefferson has enumerated them in his Notes on Virginia, to which I refer.

The woods abound with wild grapes, some of the vines of a prodigious size; with an infinite variety of flowering shrubs and plants. Here is also, in abundance, sarsaparilla, snake-root, and ginseng.

Notwithstanding, when the English first made their settlements here, this formed part of an extensive and formidable empire under King Powhatan, it does not appear the Indians had any considerable seats in this county.

A few places on the river only contain vestiges of the original inhabitants. These are traced on some of the points above-mentioned, by the quantity of oyster and muscle shells, upon and near the surface of the earth, by the rude misshapen tools they used, and the points of their arrows (both formed of stone) which are frequently met with at those places. Mr. Jefferson mentions a small tribe that resided in Surry, on the eastern side of Upper Chippoah. Probably their residence was at Clermont, the seat of William Allen, Esq., which is at the confluence of that creek with the river, and where I have frequently met with traces of them.

I do not find that any barrows, or burial places of the aborigines, have been discovered in this neighborhood. Single graves
A Topographical Description of Prince George Co.

are sometimes found. These are dry, only eighteen or twenty inches deep; the bodies uniformly deposited, with the heads to the north, and filled up with muscle shells, probably to prevent dogs or vermin from scratching up the bodies.

Perhaps in no part of the United States are there such evident demonstrations of a general disruption of the earth, as here, in common with the lower parts of Virginia, or at least, that the lower country of the Southern States, between the Alleghany mountains, and the Atlantic Ocean, has undergone a material change, since the first formation of this, our globe.

To have an adequate idea of the appearances here, we must conceive the sea, with its finny tribe; the bowels of the deep broken up, with its various productions; the earth torn from its foundations, with its trees and plants; all these, agitated, mixed, and confounded in one common chaos; and then we must suppose the water suddenly to retire, and leave this heterogeneous mass to consolidate together; for to nothing else can I compare the appearance of the bowels of the earth here. The banks of the river (which are generally high) uniformly discover this strange mixture. Deep gullies in various places show the same; and upon almost every occasion, where the earth is dug into, there is scarce any variation from this curious and singular phenomenon.

Bones and teeth of large and small fish; oyster, muscle clam, and cockle shells, with an infinite variety of scalloped shells; trees of various sorts, petrified vegetables, and in some instances, the bones of land animals; all these are met with in every direction; nor are they to be found only in small quantities; the land seems to be, in a large proportion, formed of them. Neither are they here, in regular strata, as if they had gradually subsided, with the heaviest bodies downwards, but are indiscriminately mixed, the heavier with the lighter.

Two complete skeletons of whales, or some very large fish, I have seen in this neighborhood; the one in the bank of the river, at Coggin's Point; the other, some workmen met with, two years ago, in digging into a gravelly knoll, at the side of a water course,
for the foundation of a mill. Poplar and walnut trees of a large
growth, perfect in their shape and form, have been found at the
depth of thirty-five feet in the earth. These appearances, in a less
or greater degree, extend over the whole champaign country, from
the falls of the rivers, to the sea, and (if my information is just)
through the whole flat country of the Southern States, to St.
Augustine, in East Florida. Above the falls of the rivers, the
ground rises, and is more hilly, and the bowels of the earth are
totally different in their formation.

To what causes can this remarkable difference be attributed? is a question that naturally occurs.

Mr. Jefferson has passed over, unnoticed, this singular appearance, although it could not have escaped his observation. General Lincoln (my very worthy and respected friend) has mentioned something similar at Yorktown, in a communication to the American Academy; and Mr. Charles Thompson, in the Appendix to "Notes on Virginia," has slightly spoken of it, and seems not to have known the extent thereof. No other accounts have I seen.

It is reserved perhaps for some learned member of the Historical Society, to account therefor, from natural and philosophical causes. For my own part, till a better theory is offered, I shall adhere to that of Mr. Thompson, which he, however, styles but the vision of fancy, as it so perfectly accords with my own reasoning upon the subject. Had he been well acquainted with all the phenomena, which exist here, he would doubtless have thought with me, that it is not merely a vision, but a fact, as well established as any can be that must depend entirely on conjecture.

2I cannot forbear to mention a singular occurrence, that happened at an old mill, which stood near where the above now stands. About three years since, the miller finding there was some impediment, that prevented the mill going as fast as usual, went to the wheel to see what affected it; when, behold a serpent of an enormous size, had got entwined in the wheel, so that he could not extricate himself. He quickly stopped it, and with the assistance of some others, killed it; after which they measured its length with a fence-rail, which are usually here about eleven feet in length; when it appeared to be the full length of the rail, after its head had been cut off; no one had the curiosity to measure its bulk. This fact is well attested both by whites and blacks. It was destroyed and thrown into the creek before I heard of it.
I do not, however, agree with him, that the change here has been effected at various times; but at once, by some sudden and violent convulsion. For although some appearances (particularly at York Town) may indicate this, yet, in general they tend to confirm my opinion.

The productions of this county consist of wheat, Indian corn, cotton, rye, barley, oats, peas, some tobacco. This latter was originally, as in all parts of Virginia, the principal produce, and has injured the soil to a very great degree. It is, however, fast yielding to the culture of wheat and corn. But a small quantity is now made here, in comparison to that usually made twenty years since; and it is a misfortune that it is anywhere cultivated, so largely as in some counties of this State, except in those, where the great distance from market will not allow the transportation of grain.

In common, large quantities of wheat and corn are made for sale in this county, exclusive of their own consumption. Flax and cotton are raised for the clothing of the white inhabitants, as well as their negroes.

In summer, most of the planters, and their families appear in outer garments of cotton of their own fabrick; and it is even fashionable amongst the most wealthy: a circumstance honourable to themselves and advantageous to their country. The growth of cotton is not carried to the extent it might be; it is easily made, and with proper gins is easily cleaned; but the mode generally in use, of picking it by hand, is very slow and tedious. A sufficiency might be made to supply the Eastern States. It is here an annual plant. The staple is not so long as the West India cotton, but compensates for that, by its superior fineness.

It is not many years since the planters paid no attention to their lowgrounds: they begin; however, to find the value of them, and a spirit for improving them is daily spreading. Probably the time is not far distant, when the extensive marshes on the river and creeks will begin to assume a new face, and from yielding no profit, become the most valuable part of the planters' possessions.

The fruits are those common in the states northward of this.
Extensive orchards of apple and peach trees are very common, from which the inhabitants make large quantities of cider and brandy. The peaches have a flavour unknown to those of the more northern states; but the apples are inferior in taste and spirit. The almond and fig will grow here in the open ground, if attended to.

Horticulture is not generally in vogue, though there are some gardens that do not yield to the best in the United States. In connection with this may be mentioned the pleasure grounds of David Meade, Esq., of Maycox, in this county. These grounds contain about twelve acres, laid out on the banks of James river, in a most beautiful and enchanting manner. Forest and fruit trees are here arranged, as if nature and art had conspired together to strike the eye most agreeably. Beautiful vistas, which open as many pleasing views of the river; the land thrown into many artificial hollows or gentle swellings, with the pleasing verdure of the turf; and the complete order in which the whole is preserved; altogether tend to form it one of the most delightful rural seats that is to be met with in the United States, and do honour to the taste and skill of the proprietor, who was also the architect.

The principal food of the inhabitants is bacon, of which immense quantities are annually made; every planter keeping a large drove of hogs, which gain most of their subsistence in the woods; they are confined, however, when fattening, which is done with Indian corn.

This does not, however, exclude beef and smaller meats from the table; most of the planter raising a sufficiency for their own consumption. The former is small, but generally fat and juicy. The muttons are also rather smaller than in some of the eastern states; but no country can produce better veal; indeed the best that I myself have even seen, has been at the tables of some gentlemen in this neighborhood. Poultry of every kind is in perfection and abundance. No judgment can be formed of the meats of this country from the public markets; for the best are commonly consumed at home by the planters.

The climate is here variable; and depends entirely upon the winds which happen to blow. The summers are long, and some-
times intensely hot. The winters are short, and generally pleasant; but little snow falls, and that lies on the ground only a few days. It is but seldom the navigation of James river is obstructed by ice; and still seldom, that it is frozen over, so as to bear any weight. Both in winter and summer the weather is very changeable, and the changes sudden. The greatest height of Fahrenheit's thermometer, the last summer, when suspended in the shade, was —. The lowest at which it was the winter preceding (1791 and 1792) and which was uncommonly severe, was —. From the middle of October, through the winter and spring, to the middle of June, it is perhaps one of the most desirable climates that is known. In August and September, bilious complaints are very common. And it is observable, that the lower class of whites are more subject to intermittents than others, probably owing to their diet and drink. It cannot, however, upon the whole, be considered as unhealthy. This county in particular has had, since my acquaintance with it, more people far advanced in life in proportion to the whole number, than other places could produce, which' are esteemed healthy. Though intermittents are frequent in the fall, they very seldom prove mortal. The population of this county, by the last census, amounts to three thousand six hundred and fifty-four whites, and four thousand five hundred and nineteen blacks. Of this number about one thousand and two hundred are residents in Blandford. This is a small town upon the eastern bank of the Appomattox, and now forms part of the corporation of Petersburg, from which it is separated by a small marsh and a rivulet running through it. They are in separate counties; but the internal police is governed by the same magistrates: a mayor and six aldermen, annually elected by the citizens. Blandford contains two hundred houses, pleasantly situated on a small plain. The hills which arise from the back of the village, in the nature of terraces, form many picturesque and agreeable situations for houses, some of which are improved as such. A considerable trade is carried on in this little village. There are many large stores, and three tobacco warehouses, which annually receive about six to seven thousand hogsheads. An air of
business is visible. The streets are frequently crowded; and upon the whole, it is a thriving place. This and Petersburg have been considered as very unhealthy, and with some reason. The neighborhood of several undrained marshes might naturally occasion it; but as these are drained, the air is improved, till probably in a few years, it will be greatly ameliorated.

The southwestern part of this county, with part of Dinwiddie adjoining, including Petersburg, forms one parish of the Episcopal church; the remaining part of this county forms another. There is a glebe belonging to each parish, both in Prince George. There are five churches in the county, of this persuasion; one meeting house for the Friends; one building appropriated for the Methodists; they have meetings also in other places. The Baptists have occasional meetings in some parts of the county: to this sect the blacks seem particularly attached. All the clergy are supported by voluntary contributions.

The militia of this county forms one regiment of about six hundred men, in which is included a troop of horse, and a company of light infantry.

This county sends two members to the assembly; and with the three adjoining counties of Sussex, Surry, and Southampton, elect a representative to Congress. The present member is Carter Basset Harrison, Esq., of Surry.

There is a county court consisting of an indefinite number of magistrates, commonly twelve, who fill all vacancies in their own body, by nomination to the governor and council. All other officers, civil and military, are nominated by them. They have unlimited jurisdiction both in common law and chancery business; but an appeal lies, if the cause be more than ten pounds in value, or concern the title or bounds of land, to the district courts, or high court of chancery. This is also a court for the probate of wills.

I need scarcely add that negro slavery is tolerated here; but it is of the most lenient kind. An act was passed in the first session of the assembly, in the revolution, to prevent the importation of slaves; since which none have been brought into the state; but great numbers have been carried out to Kentucky and the
southern states. Their situation is comfortable; their labour not severe; their clothing, diet, and lodging, superior to many whites, even in some parts of the United States.

In justice to the people, generally, it ought to be mentioned, that they wish for an emancipation; and that but few here, upon a liberal system, would oppose the generous plan. Desirable indeed to be effected, is the object of rescuing from an ignominious bondage, a part of the human race, however, degraded in our estimation, by a difference of colour, or want of intellect.

Some plan for the gradual accomplishment of it (without materially injuring the proprietors of them, it is hoped, will ere long, be adopted. But whenever this takes place, my observations have led me to fix it as a decided principle, that they ought to be sent to colonize some new country; for there will be no happiness here, while they remain mixed with the whites.

LETTERS OF JAMES MONROE:

(Continued from Vol. III., page 411.)

Washington Decr 16. 1815.

Dear Sir,

I expect to forward with this, the copy of the paper which I lately promised. You will communicate it in confidence to Judge Roane & to him only, as it would be very improper that I should take any step at this time, to conciliate any one to the course of policy which I have pursued, or to make any explanations as to any part of it. My public life ought to speak for itself, and for the last five or 6 years, if the war thro which the nation has passed, and the burthens I have borne, are not sufficient proofs, in connection with all that preceded, of my claim to public confidence, nothing will be. I know that Judge Roane's opinion is fix'd, & therefore as an old friend, I show him this paper, as I will any other that I have. He will see that I acted independently in all things, and altho' very friendly to certain persons, was so on principle. I wish him to receive it in confidence. Return it as soon as you can.

Your letter of the 12 I rec'd yesterday by Judge Nelson. After the election of the present Executive Incumbent, there was no remedy, but in public opinion, and that was sure to be most effectual, in the

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3From the Correspondence of Dr. Charles Everett. of Albemarle Co.
case that my nearest friends, manifested no sensibility to it. An attack on him by them, would give him a consequence to which neither his talents, or any other circumstance in his favor, merited. His reelection, according to the usage of the state, followed of course, if by some overt act, he did not bring public indignation on him, which his silent, underhand, night moving, practice, render'd improbable. The stand, gave to him & his associates immense advantages in the pursuit of their object; and it has, doubtless, been turned to all the account of which it was susceptible. The trip of Giles to the East, and of others in other states, to different parts of the nation, were harmonious co-operating mov'ments to the same end. All that they have been able to do has been done, but yet in a manner not to be seen. I have no doubt that promises have been made that Virg, would not only take no part in my favor, but abstain from participating in the caucus voting heretofore practis'd. Of this you see a proof in the last number of the New York patriot, a paper said to be edited by Judge Spencer, Armstrong, J. Barker, & Workman. My own opinion always has been that after the advantage they had gained, there was no remedy but in public opinion, or in other words, that no attack ought to be made on Nicholas, with a view to prevent his reelection. I think that his dismissal would have done injury in other states, not by any weight he has there, or any where, but as appearing to be an act of persecution, on acct of his hostility to me.

Mr Tazewell was in New York this summer, and held a language which surprised some of my friends there. He said that he was personally friend to me, had always been, &c, but that &c. The friend who communicated with, did not understand him. I have always confided in him, and sho'd be sorry to suspect that the projected trip here was to promote unfriendly purposes to me. Yet it may be. The danger is of making enemies of friends, or affording under public patronage opportunities to enemies to do harm. I give you the above hint in profound confidence, to be mention'd to no one. My private opinion is that the proposed arrangmt, is contemplated by the Richmond parties for the purpose of intrigue, but that Tazewell wou'd not answer their views tho heretofore dissatisfied in some things.

It is proper to state to you what has been communicated to me. Dr Bibb of Georgia has assur'd me that Georgia has long since made up her mind in my favor; that Mr Crawford knows & approves it; the same is stated of Kentucky & Tenessee, in relation to persons of merit in each. I take no part, nor will I, as is well known being resolv'd, if the nation does elect me, that the election shall be due to it, without the slightest movement of my own. Others here can give you better intelligence than I can of the general sentiment.

My opinion is that Virg ought to take no prominent part in the business. Mr Nelson informed me lately that some persons at Richmond
thought of holding a caucus thus to lead public opinion in my favor. This surely cannot be thought of by my friends. If the idea has occurred, I suspect it originated with my enemies, in the hope, be the result what it might, of injuring me. If for example the whole assembly met & declared in my favor, it would give offence to & alienate other states. If a small vote was given, much noise took place, & confusion, it would operate against me by showing that my support in Virga was feeble. Virga had therefore better do nothing of the kind, but act after others, & according to her judgment & interest.

Your friend

James Monroe.

[No address]

Washington January 24, 1816.

Dear Sir

I have yours of the 19th. The only objection, or rather the principle one, I had, to allowing any one to see the papers in your possession, Judge Roane excepted, was, that considering the time, it might appear to manifest an interest in the question which is depending, & a solicitude to promote the object by conciliating friends to it. There is something very revolting to my feelings, in the idea of showing any document at this time, explanatory of my conduct, on my return home from a mission, in which I had rendered useful services to my country, & to the adm. My whole life, before my mission to Europe, & since my return home, ought to remove doubts, on little points. After Judge Roane’s most friendly conduct towards me, I felt a desire that he should see papers, which I thought he would peruse with interest and satisfaction. With Judge Brooke and indeed with his whole family, I have long been on the most intimate and friendly footing. I have the utmost confidence in his friendship, as I have in that of Mr Stevenson & Mr Campbell. If you see no impropriety in shewing to the three latter, that is to Judge Brooke, Mr Campbell, & Mr Stevenson my letter to Col: Taylor, on the principle above stated, I agree to it, remarking in the first instance to each, that it was obtain’d at the request of Judge Roane, to be perused by him, not to remove doubts or to produce influence on his conduct, in regard to me, in any respect, his mind being already made up, but to give an insight into facts, not public, in which he took an interest. State to each, [the fact being the same] & without which indeed the paper ought not to be shown, that it is extended to them on the same principle, and in very particular confidence, not to be mentioned to any one. I think it best to separate from that paper, my letters to Mr Randolph, & Col: Mercers to me, and for these reasons that the contents of both those documents are stated in the letter to Col: Taylor, which requires no support with these friends, & secondly that the showing them, seems to push rather
further than is necessary, a question with Mr Randolph, for which there is no occasion if there were no other objection, to it. I have undoubtedly a right to show my own letters to whom I please, but the most delicate course is not to do it in this instance, as it may seem to imply that in regard to their contents, he had not done me justice. That gentleman has no claim on me, in the instance under consideration, but I yield to the suggestion of my own feelings, in proposing this course rather than to satisfy any just demand of his. If these gentlemen have heard of these documents, you may state what I have here written, as my reason for withholding them, tho' indeed the reason is by no means so strong in regard to Col: Mercers letter as the two of mine to Mr Randolph. To the showing the latter, if useful to Col: Mercer, I waive the objection.

It gives me pleasure to assure you, on proof which admits of no doubt, that Mr Wirt, & Mr Tazewell, are friendly to me. I have not time to state more by this mail. Of Mr Nelson & Mr Hay, you will get information on other points.

Your friend

Jas Monroe.

Washington March 10. 1816.

Dear Sir

I received your letter of the [date not given] informing me of your having staid a night at my house, & of a conversation with my manager on the state of the plantation &c. I fear that his account is too correct, but it appears to me though that many of the defects, are not remedied by him, since he took charge. Of the misconduct of others, I have too much proof. This man, has the entire control of the business; I leave him to do as he pleases, and there is nothing difficult or complex in it as he cultivates no tobe. The work is to make up the fences, plough the ground for oats & corn, & take care of the wheat & rye already sown, and move the force briskly to his objects. Mr York was recommended to me by Col: Long of Culpepper, who long knew him, & who is a good judge. If you could get Mr Rogers to ride with you there, and over the place, you would both render me an useful service. He might advise Mr York as to his conduct. If Mr Rogers cannot, tho' I hope he will, be so good as do it yourself, & looking into things, and talking freely & fully with York, inform me how they are, & what you think of him. My private affairs have suffer'd inconceivably great, by my absence & the mismanagement of those acting for me, yet I have always engaged men, on the highest recommendations, and supported them in their plans. By Mr Alexr I sustained a most heavy loss, and between us, for I speak it in confidence, I never saw, for a person of some pretentions, a less efficient man. It has been
my lot since here, to have duties to perform which absorbed my whole mind & time. At this moment a minister is sailing for France, Mr G.; one for Russia, Mr Pinkney was nominated, with a special mission to Naples, wh. latter has been negativ'd by the Senate, in consequence of which he declines the other; & one for Spain, Mr Erving. Instructions are to be prepared for all, & many other things to be attended to, without taking into the estimate the attacks incessantly made on me, touching my conduct in public life, & explanations personally to be given to friends who call for them. I cannot leave this, at such a moment, however injurious to my private affairs. I hope to hear from you soon. If the clover seed is rec'd he had better sow it, as, if part comes up, it will be useful.

Your friend

Jas. Monroe

[No address]

Washington July 3, 1816.

Dear Sir

I expected long since to have been able to visit Albemarle, but many very important & pressing concerns have detained me here. Our affairs, with almost every power, have required attention; with several, in the most delicate & interesting points, particularly England, France, Russia, Spain & Holland. With the Mediterranean, arrangements of importance, have been, to be made, and with So America Likewise. Much of this, has grown out of the late peace, and the new condition of other powers, as well as of the U States. I have been anxious, to put things in the best state I could, and have therefore devoted myself to it. I expect to get from here, sometime next week, & staying a few days in Loudoun, to hasten on to Albemarle, where I shall be happy to meet you.

Expecting to meet you in Albemarle, long since, prevented my writing you sooner, to tell that it would give me pleasure to supply you with all the planks you wanted, so far as I could do it. You will consider this as a full authority for the purpose. I have written to the same effect to my manager there.

My family have arrived at New York, as I learn from Mr Hay by a letter rec'd yesterday. Mrs Hay he says, was much exhausted by the journey, but still he thinks improved by it. He intends giving her the advantage of the sea bath, & of the Ballistown Springs, so that we trust that she will return much improved in her health. Mrs M. remains with her family at New York, till their return in Sept; our other daughter is at a school at Germantown.

Mr Nelson left me yesterday for Fredericks Virga. It is my intention to devote my time this summer, to the arrangement of my private affrs, & improvement of my health. It is now good. I have
less flesh than I formerly had, but am without complaint. I think, that in moving from Loudoun to Albemarle & back, occasionally, by slow journeys, I shall promote both objects.

Your friend

Jas. Monroe.

[No address]  [No place or date]

Dear Sir

I did not expect yesterday to have had occasion to avail ourselves so soon of your kind attention, but the indisposition of Mr Gouverneur, who was attacked last night with fever, & vomiting, & continues unwell this morning, furnishes too strong a motive to be resisted. He took last night 8 grs of calomel, with the proper proportion of jalap 3 hours afterwards which had due effect, but still his fever was not remov'd. I shall send for Dr Ragland to meet you. It will give us much pleasure if you can ride over this morning.

With sincere regards yrs. James Monroe.

July 10

Mr Gouverneur himself is particularly desirous of seeing you

(Addressed) [Dr.] Everett

Washington May 17, 1817.

Dear Sir

I hoped to have met you in my late visit to Albemarle, whence I returned, on Monday last, thro' Loudoun. I shall set out, on my tour, to the north & west, in a very short time, by the 25th if possible, but certainly, by the last of the month. It is important that I leave the there is much danger by exposure there of taking bilious complaints, lakes on my return home, in August, as I am told that after that month You intimated the intention of making a visit here, and indeed I expected to have found you here on my return. I inform you of the above, in the hope, that it may (induce?) you to make the trip at this time, as I should be very glad to see you before I set out.

Your friend

James Monroe.

Mr Hay intends to come here, very soon. Might not you come together?

[Addressed]

Dept of State,

Jas. Monroe.

The Honble

Charles Everett,

Richmond,

Virga.

New York [copy torn] ....6
[probably 1826]

Dear Sir

I have the pleasure to send you a copy of the oration, which was delivered by Mr Gouverneur, at the celebration in this city, of the late important revolution in France. It has been very well rec'd here.

The late most afflicting events in my family, brought me here, to unite the whole connection together, with a view to the relief & consolation of all. We are with Mr Gouverneur & our daughter Maria, & as well accomodated as we could desire. Kind attention is shown me by the citizens generally, and great pressure made on me, to accept their hospitality, but I never go beyond the circle of the family. On the celebration refer'd to, I attended for a few minutes, to mark my respect for the great event, & likewise for my fellow citizens who urg'd my attendance.

My health is thought, to have somewhat improved since my arrival here, but I am still very weak, & being confined to the house & depriv'd of exercise, by almost continual rain, I fear it my recovery will be very slow—

Your friend

James Monroe

[Remember] me to Mr Rogers, [who I] hope enjoys good health.

[Will be] glad to hear from you

[Dr.] Everett

Washington March 30. 1815.

Dear Sir

I write this in the expectation that it will find you in Albemarle, & I hope successful in the election.

I need not tell you how much I regretted the occurrence at Richmond, of which I had not the most distant anticipation. Your faithful & useful services, would, I thought, have secur'd you a different result. Much misrepresentation, I am satisfied, alone prevented it.

For the last three weeks, I have been distressed with a catarrh, which finally became mix'd with bile, by which I was confin'd. The remedies being strong, the cause was remov'd, and I am fast resovering.

I intend, shortly after Congress rises, to descend the Chesapeake, with Mr Hay, & Joseph, with some military & naval men, to examine its mouth, & the rivers emptying into it, with a view to its defense. Will you come here & be of the party? You will be of my family, with Mr Hay and Joseph. With best wishes for your welfare I am sincerely your friend

James Monroe

Remember me to Col: Yancey & other friends in the county.

[No address]
Dear Sir

Mrs Monroe continues to be very seriously indisposed & we have reason to believe that with the cause which I mentioned to you lately. She is much affected with the bile. It would be very gratifying to us, if you could make her an early visit, and after examining fully all the circumstances of her case, give your advice, as to the remedy to be pursued systematically hereafter. We are satisfied that the confidence which she reposes in your experience & judgment, will have much weight, in inducing her to pursue your advice.

So strong are the evidences of a disorder'd bilious affection, that we are induced, if you do not forbid it, or we do not hear from you this evening, to give her 8 or 10 grains of calomel. She has had several discharges of bile, to day, pure bile—& nothing rests on her stomach. If you have any hartshorne be so good as to send some by the bearer.

Sincerely yours

James Monroe.

[Addressed]

Dr. Charles Everett.

Washington Nov 2d 1822.

Dear Sir

I enclose you another letter from Mr Taylor at Mexico, which you may show to Dr Everett, & then return to me.

Mr Gouverneur has resolv'd to leave me, & establish himself in New York, with a view to pursue the study & practice of the law, the rules of the court there, requiring a previous study of 3 years in the state before he can be allowed to practice. I have in consequence resolv'd to offer him, the place of private secretary, provided you think that he can be induc'd to accept it. I regret that I have nothing at this time to offer more deserving of his attention. The compensation has been £600 p* anm with accommodation in the family, & which will be most cheerfully afforded to him. Indeed it would be very gratifying to us all, if he would accept. Let me hear from you as soon as possible on the subject.

Very sincerely your friend

James Monroe

[Not addressed]

Washington Decr 2. 1822.

Dear Sir

I hope to have had the pleasure of seeing you here before this, & that you would have consented to join me in the station lately held by my brother, & after him, by Mr Gouverneur. Having expected an answer
from Mr Nelson, knowing our mutual intimacy with him, I declined thinking of any other person, in which state the affair now is, preferring as I do, that you an old friend of the family, should join us, than any other person. By Judge Nelson's advice I send this to Richmond. You will have a good room, & the allowance in other respects, which was made to my brother, & Mr Gouverneur, which is the same, that was always made by my predecessors. I wish I had a better place to offer you, being sincerely your friend.

James Monroe

Let me hear from you immediately.

[Added] [Fee]

James Monroe
Dr. Charles Everett,
Richmond, Virga.


Oak Hill Loudon April 14th 1823.

Dear Sir
I enclose you a letter lately receiv'd addressed to you.
Mr. Monroe & I came up here on Friday last, & are engaged in arranging matters, for our accomodation in the new house, of which we shall take possession to morrow. We hope to see you here whenever you can make it convenient to come over.

We return to Washington the latter end of this week, & shortly afterwards, I shall proceed to Albemarle, where I hope to find you in good health and all my other neighbours equally fortunate.

With sincere regard I am dear sir yrs.

James Monroe.

Endorsed
[Added] (Fee) James Monroe.
Dr. Charles Everett
Near Milton
Virga

Dear Sir
I expect to leave this to day for Loudon, & on Monday next to go on to Albemarle, where I hope to find you in good health.

With sincere regard yrs.

James Monroe

Washington May 7- 1823.

Doctor Charles Everett
Near Milton-Albemarle
Virginia

Endorsed: James Monroe—Free.
Dear Sir

You will see by the papers, that I have offered my lands in Albemarle for sale, the persons inclinable to purchase to apply to me.

When will you come on here, or to Loudon? Mr Nelson has I expect sailed. He was to have departed on yesterday—

Very sincerely yours

James Monroe.

Dr Charles Everett
Near Milton
Virga

(Endorsed) Free
James Monroe

Washington June 7, 1823.

Washington June 23, 1823.

Dear Sir

I have your late letter from Albemarle as I did one before from Richmond, & which I should have answered, but did not know where to direct to you.

We have had fine rains here, which I hope have extended to Albemarle, & saved us from that rain which you say Mr Higginbotham thinks is impending over us.

Judge Nelson wrote to me on the subject mentioned in yours. Mr Brent has permission to decline the appointment of consul if he thinks fit, so that for the present nothing can be done. Towards your object, you may be assured of my best wishes— On this however we will confer when you come on, as I hope you will do. In haste yours

James Monroe

Doctor Charles Everett
Near Milton
Virga

Washington July 21, 1823.

Dear Sir

I have just returned from Loudon, where I have been for the last ten days. Your letter to me has been forwarded there, & has not yet been receiv’d. I expect it back to morrow. I propose to remain here a fortnight, or perhaps longer, & then to return to Loudon, & thence to Albemarle, moving slowly for exercise & good air. It will give me pleasure, to receive you here, or in Loudon, or wherever I may be; and should you come to either place, in my absence, it will be the same as if I were present. The family here consider you as one of them, and will be glad that you would remain with them. Mrs Hays state, has not essentially changed since you left us. Symptoms
more favorable have lately occur'd, as to the cause, but as yet not
decisive. Dr Sim says that it must be ascertained, in a week or two
more. Her health in other respects is good.

Mr Thompson has agreed to accept the vacancy on the sup: court,
which relieves me from great embarrassment, in filling it up. His
motive is a sense of duty to his country, and a desire to afford me
that relief. The commission will not be made out, untill the next
term of the circuit court approaches.

Affairs in Spain bear an unfavorable aspect, but yet I trust not
conclusive. A. Bisbat, I had reason to believe, some months past, was
a traitor. Their agencies require purifying; after they get rid of all
those, not true to the cause, they may go on better. Of Judge Nelson
we hear nothing as yet, tho' expect soon to do it.

With sincere regard dear sir yours

James Monroe

Washington Novr 18, 1823.

Dear Sir

I had the pleasure to receive your letter from Albemarle, a few
days since, as I had while I was in Loudon, one from N. York, which
I should have answer'd sooner, had I not expected to have found you
here, on my return from the country. I have never thought of engag-
ing any one to aid me here, since my conversation with you last
spring. I have always wished that you would return, & remain with
me, while I was in office, & which I still do, & that it may suit you
to come on at an early day. Mr Maury & Mr Muston, can copy my
messages, & will do it, for such moderate acknowledgment as I can
make them, so that you will have little to do, except to present them
to Congress. I am so much pressed with calls, & duties of the most
urgent nature, that I have scarcely a moment to write you, tho' more
will be unnecessary.

Mrs Monroe has been much indisposed, & untill lately the cause,
has not been distinctly understood, if indeed it now is. Debility
of the stomach was first supposed to be the complaint & in consequence
stimulants were given her, which produced an injurious effect— Bile
was then presumed to be the leading cause & in consequence calomel
was given her in strong doses, but without removing the complaint,
even in checking the interment (?) form, or chill. The quinine, would
not remain on her stomach, a moment nor anything else. Since our
return here, for which she made a great exertion, it has been thought
by Dr Huntt, who has attended her in the absence of Dr Washington
that the Erysipelas by fixing on her stomach, was her complaint, & in consequence he has made an effort to draw it to the surface, by tartar emetic plaisters, in which he has succeeded, & by the aid of Jennings's steam bath, he has also checked the chill, and perhaps stopped it, as she has escaped it for several days. She likewise now takes the quinine, & drinks porter, in small quantities, which remain on her stomach. Still her nerves are very much affected, she has little appetite, frequent fevers & is very weak, so that we cannot say with any confidence that she is convalescent.

Sincerely your friend

James Monroe

Washington Jan'y. 5th 1824.

Dear Sir

I heard with great regret by your late letter of the death of Dr. Ragland, after a most afflicting disease. I hope that he has left his family, in good circumstances, as all his friends, who were very numerous, will take much interest in their welfare, on his as well as their own account.

I should have written to you before, had I not expected you back, almost daily, for sometime past, & indeed had I had a moment to write to my friends. I have several letters for you, which I would forward, if I did not think it probable that they would pass you on the road. I shall therefore keep them for you here.

With sincere regard dear sir

Yours

James Monroe.

Addressed:

Dr. Charles Everett
Near Milton,
Virga.

Washington July 6. 1824.

Dear Sir

These letters were enclosed to me, & I should have sent them to you before, had I known whether you were in Albemarle or Richmond, to which latter place, I understood you intended going, when you left this. By Lieut Monroe who has just returned from Albemarle, I understand that they will find you in Richmond, & I therefore forward them thither.

The papers, will communicate all that is passing, respecting public affairs; I therefore say nothing on that subject.

Le Monroe gave me a note from you to Mr. Norris assuming to pay to him, for me, three hundred dolrs. I have sent it to him, but
have to observe to you that, I do not wish this unless the payments I can make to you, that is of £150 immediately, & the balance in 60 or 30 days, will suit you.

We shall be glad to see you in Loudon whenever you can pay us a visit. We go there this week, if Mrs Monroe's health will permit, which still continues very delicate.

With sincere regard dear sir yrs

James Monroe

I intend to go to Albemarle, as soon as in my power, but cannot fix the time.

Washington Sep 1. 1824.

Dear Sir

Since we have been in Loudon, Mrs Monroe has had a very severe attack of the kind to which she has been subject of late, in the head, but was recover'd from it, in a great measure when I left her on Saturday. I return this morning. I met Mr Gouvernuer & our daughter & children here— They set out on yesterday—

We shall be happy to see you in Louds. It is probable I may go with Mr Gouvernuer, to Albemarle, soon after I get to Loudon, but this is not certain, as it will depend on many things which I may not be able to control. Wherever we may be we shall be happy to see you.

When Genl LaFayette comes this way will it not be your wish to be with us? We hope that it may suit you.

Sincerely your friend

James Monroe

[Addressed]

Charles Everett, Esq.,
Saratoga Springs, N. Y.

Oak Hill Sep 8. 1824.

Dear Sir

I wrote you from Washington a letter which I find you did not receive. I expected to see you here and am sorry you do not come. We have room for you, & the family will be glad to see you.

The trip you intend to make is extensive & interesting. I had hope that you would have been with me when General LaFayette arriv'd, but presume you cannot be there at that time— I enclose you a letter of introduction to him—

Your friend

James Monroe

[No address]
Dear Sir

I have receiv'd your letter, & remain'd here yesterday in the hope of seeing you. My duties at Washington call me back immediately & reluctantly. I was very anxious to see Genl LaFayette here, but find that he cannot be expected here till Thursday, & that the dinner will not be given him till the next or some days after. If I staid I should lose a week, which at this time, might be very injurious to the public, as well as to myself. I beg you to suggest this to him. It will afford me great pleasure to see you whenever you can join us, being very sincerely dear sir yours

James Monroe

Addressed
Dr. Charles Everett,
Everettsville.

Dear Sir

I have receiv'd your letter of the 12th, not till within a day or two, or should have answer'd it sooner. My wish is altogether, with a view to your own accommodation, in pursuing which, it is my earnest desire, that you consult, what will have the best effect, in regard to those, who may be disposed, to misrepresent things to your injury, & with a view to that object. On that point you can best judge. If you think, that it will have a better effect, for you to remain with me through the winter, you ought to come on immediately, & be on the ground at the opening of the session; if on the contrary, you deem it immaterial, the course which you suggest, is the best which can be adopted, it being understood, that it was entirely your own, & that you will join me as a friend & reside with me, when convenient to come, till the end of the session. Take that most agreeable to yourself. If the latter on being appriz'd of it, I shall of course make such representation of it, as shall be most to your honor. As to the individual on the ground, it is true, that he is very competent to the duties, but he enter'd, merely to perform them, during your necessary absence. If you return my wish is, at your instance, to do him justice & to place him, on honorable ground, which may be done, in that mode, with honor to you. Let me hear from you without delay. At this moment you will know how pressing my duties are, and therefore that my letters must be short—

Very sincerely dear sir yours

James Monroe.

Addressed:
Dr. Charles Everett,
Everettsville, Alb.,
Virginia.

Highland Octr. 31. 1824.

Washington Novr. 20th. 1824.
Letters of James Monroe

Oak Hill July 10, 1825.

Dear Sir,

I was indisposed on my return home from Albemarle in consequence of my exposure to the heat & fatigue, but have quite recovered. My accs from Mrs Monroe are very favorable as to her health. General LaFayette will be here after visiting Bal; & Washington. He will come here on his way to Orange & Albemarle. You mentioned your intention to visit us this summer. Cannot you come on at that time, which will be about 10 days hence, according to the best accounts; but you will judge by the papers. We shall be glad to see you then, and indeed at any time— Your friend

James Monroe

Highland Augt 17, 1825.

Dear Sir,

I have not seen or heard from Gent LaFayette, but presume that he is in good health with Mr Jefferson. If convenient, I should be glad you would come & dine with us to day. Very sincerely dear sir yours

James Monroe.

Oak Hill Novr 15, 1826.

Dear Sir,

I send you the Intelligencer which contains, the commencement of a publication, which I have thought it incumbent on me to make, explanatory of my claims, & which will be followed, with documents illustrative of my conduct, in some occurrences, in which it has been assailed. The residue will follow. I wish you to peruse it, & likewise Mr Nelson, Mr Rodgers, Mr Shelly & any other friend, you think proper to show it. I should be glad if the Editors of the Central Gazette would republish it, & perhaps Mr Shelly might prevail on them to do it. I shall be over the last of the month, when I hope to find you in health—

Your friend

James Monroe
Dear Sir

It was my intention to have been with you this morning, with Judge Nelson who is here, and to have dined with Mr Rogers, but feel weak in consequence of the heat & late fatigues, & hope that you & Mr Rogers, will comply with Mr Michies invitation, & come & dine with us here.

With sincere regard your friend

James Monroe

At Mr Michie's
July 26, 1828.

[Address]
Dr. Charles Everett,
Belmont.

University July 21, 1829.

Dear Sir

I regret that I had not an opportunity of conferring with you on some interesting subjects, while I remained here. We shall adjourn to day, perhaps late, after which, I shall return home, as fast as I can. I left Mrs Monroe in a very reduced & weak state, and I am very anxious to get there as soon as possible. It would afford me, and my family, pleasure to see you, & I hope you will come over, & stay sometime, with us. Mr Nelson & Mr Michie think of it, but whether they are able or not, I hope that you will do it. Be so kind as remember me to Mr Rogers—

Your friend—

James Monroe

Addressed:
Dr. Charles Everett,
Everettsville.

Oak Hill May 18th 1830.

Dear Sir

Since my return home, I have been free from fever, and other complaint, except that of weakness. I have in some degree recovered, but am far from being restored, to my former state. I take exercise on horseback, daily, when the weather permits, but I ride a few miles only. My cough continues, without pain. I hope when the weather becomes settled, and I may pursue a regular system of exercise, that my health will be restored.

Mrs Hay my daughter, is now with hers, near Baltimore, who expects soon to be confined. She has been with her husband sometime, in the city, whither he went to consult Dr Huntt, who is acquainted with his constitution, on a complaint, with which he has been afflicted for more than two months, & still continues. It was thought to be
the Rheumatism, his pain, in his body & limbs, being excruciating, but it is now thought to be bilious. It is uncertain when he will be able to reach home. My daughter will return to, & bring him if able to come, here, as soon as she can leave here. Mrs Monroe's health has rather improved. Our accounts from Mr Gouverneur & our daughter in N. York are favorable.

It would give me great pleasure to see you here, if convenient to you to make us a visit. I fear, it will be utterly out of my power, to attend at the University at the next meeting of the Visitors. Unless a great change takes place in my health, it will be impossible, and that can hardly be expected, in so short a time, at my period of life. This increases my desire to see you here, as indeed I should be happy to see, some other friends, with whom you are intimately acquainted.

The report in favor of my claims has not yet been taken up, and there is cause to apprehend, that it will not be reached, in regular order, during the session, & in which event, that it will not be acted on, before the adjournment. I have experience'd many difficulties thro' life, and have met them, as I trust, I ought, to do. I shall make the same effort, in future, let what may happen, the under circumstances, not so favorable to success.

I am engaged in works, as you know, which give me an interesting occupation, and amusement. If you could come over, I would communicate, what I have executed, to you, & be glad to have your sentiments respecting them. I mention this in confidence. Present my best regards to Mr Rogers. Sincerely your friend—

James Monroe.

Addressed:
    Dr. Charles Everett
    Near Everettsville,
    Albemarle County,
    Virginia.

New York March 27th 1831.

Dear Sir,

I have heard with much regret that you had been indisposed, but hope that you have completely recovered your health. My own health continues to be very infirm & weak. Little change has taken place in it since I came here. I have in consequence yielded to the wishes of my daughters, to remain with them, & the connection generally, to accomplish which object, with any degree of comfort, I am compelled to sell my estate in London, which is advertised in the gazettes of Washington & Richmond, for sale on the second Wednesday of June next, & for which full power is given to Mr Gouverneur & Capt James Monroe. I regret much to be forced, to part with that estate, as I
should meet there occasionally, if my health permitted, my friends from different parts of the state, and have other strong reasons to be attached to it. It is my intention, if I shall be able, to visit it, the latter end of next month, when I shall be happy to see you. I beg you to explain the above to Mr Rogers & other friends in the neighbourhood.

I am free from fever, but my cough annoys me much, both night and day. I take no medicine, but to moderate it, such as syrup of horehound—horehound candy &c. My physician, Dr Bibby, thinks that I am too much reduced, to take any medicine which should operate on the liver, & that when the season permits, exercise & the Saratoga waters will relieve me. This was also the opinion of the physicians in London and Washington. It would afford me great pleasure to hear your opinion & that of my friend Dr Carter, who know my constitution, & were so kind to me at Richmond. After the severe service, to which I have been exposed, thro' life, and the heavy pressure on me, since my retirement, I have, I fear, little cause to hope for a perfect recovery, at my advanced years. Sincerely I am your friend

James Monroe

[Addressed]

Doctor Charles Everett,
Near Everettsville,
Albemarle County,
Virginia.

LETTERS OF JOHN MARSHALL.

In the State Archives are manuscripts relating to John Marshall's application for half pay of his father, Col. Thomas Marshall, late of Woodford county, Kentucky. The following letters appear in this connection:

Washington Feb. 24th 1833

Dear Sir

I perceive by the act of assembly of the 14th inst for the payment of the judgments obtained by the officers of the state line that payment is to be made to exec and admr. For the accomodation of my brothers and sister I have qualified as admr both of my Father and of my brother Thomas. I took out letters of administration in the General Court where I gave bond with ample security.

My nephew Martin P. Marshall who will deliver this letter to you has brought power from all my brothers family which he has placed in my hands and I am extremely desirous that a warrant for the
half pay to which my brother Thomas was entitled should be issued to him, and have given him an order for it. I perceive from the law that the admr must prove the existence of one at least of the legatees. Martin in right of his wife is himself a legatee. His brother James who was sometime in Richmond is another. If you require other testimony my son Thomas can furnish it. He is personally acquainted with several of my brothers heirs. If you wish a copy of the will and of my administration bond to be lodged in the office Martin will obtain them.

He has also brought me power from some of my Fathers heirs who reside in Kentucky and it is extremely desirable that he should receive the money to which they are entitled. I have given him an order for their distributive share and beg you to issue the warrant to him. I shall draw the residue when I come to Richmond. The proof which the law requires that some one of the legatees or distributees of my Father is living can easily be given, and is I presume known to yourself. I am of course one of them. My brother James, who has himself obtained a judgment, is another, my brother Louis President of the college at Lexington is a third. If you do not know either of them you know my brother Williams children, and you know my sister Taylor. If affidavits must be filed in the office I will request Martin to apply to my son who can furnish the testimony you may require. If contrary to my expectation any additional formality which I am unable to conjecture should be required, I will certainly supply it on my return, or, if it be on indispensable prerequisite, I will on knowing what I am to do, comply with it at this place.

I am dear Sir with great respect and esteem

Your obed.

J Marshall

(Addressed)
James E. Heath esquire
Richmond
Virginia

Auditor's Office 16 March 1833

Received a warrant of Ten thousand six hundred and twenty-three dollars and forty-three cents, In my name as adminr with the will annexed, of Tho: Marshall decd for the balance of his Half pay as Col of the State Artillery—

J Marshall

Half pay
from 6 feb. 1782 to 2 dec 1802
$600 per ann..........................$12493.34
Paid on 27 feb last.................... 1869.91

$10623.43
SKETCHES FROM THE JOURNAL OF A CONFEDERATE SOLDIER.¹


In addition to my own law practice I had been looking after my brother's plantation on the Saluda River all season. My brother had just finished college and spent the summer in the northern states and Canada. I had no interest in this plantation further than it was farmed by some of my own slaves as well as his own.

Owing to the strained conditions existing between the northern states and the slave states, all business has been at a standstill for some time. I had arranged for a law partnership in the city of Charleston, S. C., and was to open my office there on January first, but the thing that has been agitating the country for years has come to a head in the election of what we call a—Black Republican—to the Presidency.

For many generations my people had lived in the old Spartan District of South Carolina and had all been staunch Whigs, and from my earliest youth I had been taught that the liberty of our state came before anything else. Like all others of my state I decided that we should resist any force made upon the state by the United States.

I was born at Pendleton on the 12th day of Nov., 1834. I was the oldest son of James Butler Mays, who was a large planter in Edgefield District, S. C., as well as in Florida, where he had a large plantation in Madison County. Father was also a lawyer, but died when I was too small to remember him, of influenza, while in the Indian war of 1836, in Florida.

After Father's death Mother lived for several years with her brother, Judge Baylis J. Earle, of the Superior Court of S. C., at Greenville. I recollect the Judge very well. He was exceedingly

¹These sketches are from the Journal of Samuel Elias Mays, a Confederate. Some extracts from this journal were given in the previous number, pp. 388-405, under the title of "Famous Battles as a Confederate Private Saw Them."
kind to me and often took me with him to court and let me sit by him on the bench while holding court. The judge kept some fine race horses and was very proud of them, but in those days it was not considered fashionable to race horses for money, but they were kept and run just to keep up the stock. The oldest stock and farm society in the United States was at Pendleton, S. C., and all members prided themselves on their horses, and no betting was allowed on races. There were many funny things that happened to me while we lived with Judge Earle, but funny things happen to all boys. The most amusing to me was to get with several other boys of my age and turn out the Judge’s pet deer that he kept in an enclosure, and watch him lay in wait for some of the servants as they would carry the tray of food from the kitchen to the dining-room. The kitchen in those days was always about twenty yards from the main house, and after the food was prepared in the kitchen it was then carried on a large tray on the top of the servant’s head to the main house. When this pet deer was turned loose he would invariably take his stand and wait for the cook to make the trip, and when a servant was caught in the open with his load there was no getting away from him. He was as quick as lightning and never failed to make a spill. I don’t think that the Judge ever suspected who was at the bottom of all this mischief, but it became so frequent that he disposed of his pet.

After my uncle’s death Mother went to Pendleton to live. She bought a beautiful place just one mile from town on the Greenville road, and across the road from the “Warley” family home, and between Fort Hill (John C. Calhoun’s home) and town. From our home we had a splendid view of the mountains about twenty-five miles off to the north. Between the house and the road was a fine oak grove of very large trees. This home was built by Governor Burke, who was appointed Territorial Governor of Nebraska.

Mr. Calhoun was considered the Father of Secession, and as we were close neighbors and I was always associated more or less with that family, I was taught to always look up to and listen well to the sayings of that long-sighted Southern statesman. I served on the governor’s staff with rank of major, with Willie Calhoun,
son of the statesman, just before Willie's death in 1859. Willie was my Col.

I received my early schooling at Pendleton. My first teacher was a Mr. Stewart from Quincy, Florida, and after him Miss Mary Hunter. Every boy and girl in Pendleton that went to school at all has been to school to Miss Mary Hunter. After finishing primary school I went to the Academy to Mr. Gilman, and he was a terror, but a fine man as well as a scholar. I entered South Carolina College at Columbia in 1852 and finished in 1856, second in my class of nearly one hundred students. The summer of 1857 I spent in travelling the northern states and Canada.

As matters have come to a head on Secession in the election of Lincoln to the Presidency I have resigned from the position on the Governor's staff and also severed my relations with the Charleston firm and shall await the outcome of what our Legislature is going to do.

Dec. 15th, 1860.

As soon as the Legislature found out that it was likely that Lincoln would be elected, it made preparations for a convention by ordering an election for members and said convention to meet on the 18th day of Dec. at Columbia. Before the convention met, however, smallpox had been brought from N. Y. by some clerk or drummer and spread rapidly, and soon became an epidemic. The Convention met in Columbia on the 18th and organized by electing Gen. Jameson of Barnwell president, and Thomas A. Arthur of Columbia clerk, and after passing a few resolutions appointed a committee to draft an ordinance of secession, of which Judge Inglis was chairman.

After this the members of the Convention as well as the members of the Legislature decided to move to Charleston on account of the epidemic, which they accordingly did and met at the Institute Hall (since called Secession Hall), but finding that in the city so much anxiety on the part of Charlestonians to know and hear the deliberations caused a great deal of disturbance, they were compelled to remove to St. Andrew's Hall, to the second story which they did the next day. In company with Robert Maxwell, member of the Legislature from our district, and Elam
Sharpe, a member of the Convention from Pickens District, we took train for Charleston from Columbia, reached Charleston early next morning and I stopped at the Charleston Hotel. Being anxious to see the Convention in session I went around to the Hall with several members about eleven o'clock A. M., before the Convention met. The Hall is on Broad St. near the Catholic Cathedral of St. John and St. Finbar. It is rather a small room, but seemingly very convenient. It is hung round with some very handsome oil paintings, one of Queen Victoria, one of Gen. Moultrie, and others that I did not know. Owing to the disturbance the day before in the Institute Hall, the doorkeeper was instructed to admit none other than members of the Convention. Not being a member of the Convention I was fortunate in getting into the room. I stood next to the door on the inside and the stairs were guarded at the foot by policemen to keep the crowd back. I was in good position for seeing and hearing. The only inconvenience I had was standing up. There were one or two besides myself that were fortunate in getting in and several others on the landing on the outside of the door. The doorkeeper was a friend of mine named Nettles. At twelve o'clock precisely the president took his seat and roll was called by the clerk, every member answering to his name without exception. On call of the president for report committees, Judge Inglis got up and made his report.

THE ORDINANCE OF SECESSION—Judge Frank Wardlow moved that the vote on it be postponed until next day to allow the members to consider it, which was overruled and the vote was determined to be taken at once in SECRET SESSION, upon which the doors were shut and the doorkeeper told me to just stand outside and look through the keyhole, which I did. The other men went down to the street, that had been on the landing outside of the door. I could plainly hear the Ayes as each man voted. I listened carefully and there was not one dissenting vote. I heard A. F. Lewis, Jake Reid, J. L. Orr particularly as they had been elected thinking that they might oppose secession. Bob Thompson, Billy Hunter and Billy Gresham were thought to oppose secession, but they all voted for it and I heard it all. Just
as the last votes were being taken, Mr. Rhett, editor of the Charleston Mercury, came to the foot of the stairs and asked me if the vote had been taken and if so the result. I told him that the vote had been taken and that it was carried unanimously. He did not say a word but turned on his heel and walked off, and in an incredulously short time the Mercury Extra appeared with that notice. Immediately after the last vote was taken the doors were thrown open and the excitement commenced.

Dec. 20th, 1860.

In reference to Judge Frank Wardlow’s proposition to postpone the passing of the ordinance of secession yesterday will say that he was considered a Union man, or at least favorable to the union of the states at that time. Wardlow is a man of highest integrity and above reproach. Time may yet demonstrate the wisdom of his wise counsel.

There were several members elected to oppose secession: Billie Hunter, Bob Thompson, and Billie Gresham. Billie Hunter is a man possibly fifty years of age, good private character, but with little or no education. In my opinion he voted for it because he thought that the time had come. His character is above reproach and his judgment, as far as it goes, is as sound as is given to mortals to possess. Bob Thompson is a man of no fixed principles, and in my opinion a humbug, but with all that a sharp fellow, rising from nothing but fortunate circumstances, acquiring great influence in Pickens County, and he voted for secession because everybody else did. So it was with Gresham.

The excitement was so great that no one could be heard. Everybody wanted to talk and no one could be heard. Tarbarrells were fired on the streets and everything that would make a noise was turned loose. It was determined to ratify the ordinance that night in the Secession Hall. There was considerable dispute as to how it should be done. Secession Hall was so jammed that I got out on the street and went around to the Legislature, which was sitting in the Hibernian Hall, the Legislature on the upper floor and the Senate on the lower floor. These bodies were doing nothing as usual. After a while I went back to Secession Hall
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and by hard work got back in the Hall, but it was packed and jammed until there was barely standing room. There was a small space left for the members of the Convention and I was fortunate in getting near this space.

There was a tremendous uproar going on all the time and the hall was so filled with smoke from the burning tarbarrels that it was with difficulty that you could see the signers as they came forward to sign. The signing was done at the east end of the Hall on an elevated stage. While the signing was going on great effort was made to keep silence among the crowd. I watched it all with great interest. This stage on which the signing was done was at the east end of the Hall, and upon which were sitting the president and clerk of the Convention, president and clerk of the Senate, speaker and clerk of the House of Representatives, and the Commissioner from Alabama and the Commissioner from Mississippi, the governor of S. C. and Lt. governor also, and the Rev. Dr. Backman, who opened the proceedings with prayer. The president of the Senate was Porter of Charleston. The Clerk of Senate was Gen. Martin, of Charleston, speaker of House was James Simons, of Charleston, and clerk was John T. Sloan, of Pendleton. Governor of the state was F. W. Pickens of Edgefield, and Lt. governor was Gen. Harlee, of Marion. The names of the members were called by Districts, beginning with Abbeville. When Mr. Rhett’s name was called there was so much applause that the noise was so great that it was some time before order could be gotten, Mr. Rhett being considered the great apostle of secession, but as far as I could see none in the convention acted with more moderation and prudence than that gentleman. Maj. Simpson, member from Anderson, and one of the very best of men, had a pen especially made for his own use to sign with and would allow no other member to use it, and he told the members at the time that he intended to make it an heirloom for his family to hand down to their children. The Major had been lame for sometime but on this occasion he seemed to have forgotten all about his infirmity and walked without difficulty, with ease and grace of youth. After the signing was all over and I was so fatigued by the long standing, I went out and went to see Christy’s Minstrels play, but I did not
stay here long. They seemed to be playing to bare seats as the people of Charleston were not in a notion at this time for that sort of fun. I stuck it out for a while at the theatre but went round to the Charleston Hotel about 10 P. M. It seems to me that the whole city is on a big drunk. I never saw so many drunken men in all my life, and all of one opinion. If there was a man in Charleston with anything but secession on his mind and he in favor of it, why I did not see him. It would not have been safe to speak anything else. Next morning I went around to the Secession Hall but the crowd was so great that I could not get within one block of same. Went to the Hibernian Hall and saw the Legislature do nothing as usual. I had seen all that I could and took train for Pendleton, arriving there night of twenty-second, Saturday night. There was an anxious and expectant crowd at the depot and I gave them what news that I had and they could not wait, but the crowd decided to celebrate, at which the Rev. Dr. A. H. Cornish (Episcopal) and the Rev. Dr. T. L. McBryde (Presbyterian) made speeches. They were introduced by Maj. Geo. Seaborn. During these speeches there were several prominent citizens that had taken too much whiskey and continually repeated emphatic Amens, very much to the annoyance of the speakers.

On Monday we learned of the evacuation of Fort Moultrie by Maj. Anderson, U. S. Commander, and taking with him his command to Fort Sumter. This raised great excitement all over the state and the Carolinians immediately took possession of Moultrie, where they found the cannon spiked and the gun carriages burning and the flagstaff cut down. Volunteers were raised mostly from the Cadets of the Citadel (Charleston Military Academy) at Charleston, to man the guns at Moultrie. An engine was sent down to Columbia every day to bring up the news.

The next important news was the attempted reinforcement of Fort Sumter by the U. S. Government in the Star of the West, which was fired on by the Confederates, and forced to return. This came very near bringing on war at the time. The president said all was done without his concurrence. The commissioners—Orr, Adams and Barnwell—sent by the state to negotiate for the
forts failed of their object and returned. Hayne was afterwards
sent to demand the forts and failed. Gourdin was sent to get
Gen. Anderson relieved from command of Fort Sumter and in
this failed too. The Southern Congress which met in Feb., 1861,
determined to take the matter of the forts in their own hands and
thus the matter now stands.

There are rumors of secret reinforcements to Fort Sumter from
the U. S. Warship Daniel Webster, lying off the bar by way of
small boats. In my opinion if this is attempted it will bring on
a fight at once.

Feby. 26th, 1861.

Nothing has come from the forts up to this date with the ex-
ception of an accidental discharge of one of the guns from
Cumming's Point, trained on Fort Sumter. The shell striking
the fort near the gate did not explode. Maj. Anderson did not
return the fire but asked for an explanation and in return re-
ceived an apology, explaining the accident. I really believe that
the gun was fired deliberately, solely on purpose to see what action
Anderson would take. I am of the opinion that Sumter will be
fired on in less than a week, and I also believe that it will take
some time to reduce the Fort. Governor Pickens has appointed
a council as follows: A. H. Magrath for State, C. G. Memmenger
for Treasurer, Gen. Jamison for War, Garlington for Post Office,
Dunevant is appointed Brigadier-General, and L. R. Gist adjutant,
and inspector-general.

The Southern Congress has met, Howel Cobb of Ga. presiding
and Simon Suggs of Montgomery clerk. On motion of Mr. Rhett
of Charleston, they have adopted the U. S. Constitution with
few alterations, calling itself the Confederate States of North
America. They have elected Jeff Davis president, A. H. Stevens
of Ga. vice-president, and Davis has appointed the following
cabinet: Bob Toombs of Ga. for State, C. G. Memmenger of
Charleston for Treasurer, and Walker of Alabama for Sec. of War.

This comprises the action to this time. Seldom has any drama
so fruitful in events been played in the same length of time and
been so free from bloodshed. May it continue so. This great
change being made in our government has been done without dis-
turbing anything but commercial relations. I sincerely hope that in severing the bond of relationship with our northern states it may bring them to their senses and that they be not allowed to destroy us in their rage. So mote it be.

Money is almost impossible to get. The banks and shavers have all the gold and they are holding it to shave good securities with.

Feb. 28th, 1861.

Volunteers had been called for and the militia met at Brutons old field about six miles south of Pendleton for muster. I was Captain of the militia company and called the meeting to order and formed them in line, and when I asked all that would volunteer for service to step three paces to the front, why every man stepped forward, and I also stepped forward with the men. We then elected J. L. Shanklin captain, and J. C. Cherry first lieutenant. After the election of captain and Lt. many speeches were called for and nearly every one responded. I recall but one that made an impression on me. A fine young man (Edward Maxwell) just home from the University of Virginia where he had studied law, made a good talk and expressed his wish that all he wanted was a place in the picture nearest the flashing of the guns. This company was to be attached to the Fourth Regt. of Infantry with J. D. Ashmere Col. and J. B. E. Sloan Lt. Col., Charley Mattison Maj. On account of some misunderstanding with Capt. Shanklin I did not go with this company. I was to have been given a commission and he asked me to give way for a relative of his and I told him that I would provided that he would allow me to withdraw from his company, which he did. I then got to work to organize a company of my own and was getting along very well, had about thirty men signed up and after my only brother joined the Brooks troop, my Mother persuaded me to go with him, so I took my men and joined Capt. John Lannaus' Company of the Hampton Legion. I volunteered as a private, but was assured a commission as soon as it was available.

Feb. 28th, 1861.

President Davis is now in Charleston examining into the condition of the forts, and the Brigadiers and Maj. Generals of the
Division have all been ordered to Charleston. Milledge Bonham, a cousin of mine from Edgefield District, has been appointed by the Governor Maj. General of this Division. Sam McGowan, P. H. Nelson, Gen. Garlington (of the Cabinet) and Maj. T. G. Rhett of the U. S. Army, have been appointed Brigadiers. Saw J. L. Orr today and he told me that from his knowledge of Davis as a man that there would be a fight in Charleston, and that pretty soon.

The peace conference has patched up a compromise on the base of the old Missouri Compromise, with just a few amendments. This of course will be scouted by Congress. It is stated that McGowan would oppose attacking Fort Sumter until after Lincoln was inaugurated, which, thank the Lord, will be next Monday, and I sincerely hope that event will put an end to all the suspense of mind as well as business under which we have been suffering. Commodore Ducan Ingraham expressed the opinion that if we attacked Fort Sumter and captured it that it would cost us the lives of 2,000 men. I feel that he does not know what he is talking about as Maj. Anderson has but a handful of men and the Fort is still unfinished and in my opinion the forts of ours with the land batteries would reduce Fort Sumter in less than a week to a mass of ruins.

March 3rd, 1861.

There is yet some chance at peace. Stanton of the U. S. Congress and the author of the Force Bill, after it has already been passed, has moved a reconsideration of the same in order to keep the border states in the Union. The chances are ten to one that it will do it. It is also circulated that Maj. Anderson commanding Fort Sumter will resign on the Fourth as his Lieuts. Hall and Talbert. Of course one hears so many things that it is hard to judge what you can expect. I know that Maj. Anderson is a southern man but he is in the U. S. Army and has been placed in command of the Fort and in my opinion he will defend it when fired on. If he wished to resign why now is not the time to do it. I see that most all the Southern officers in the U. S. Army have already resigned and have come home. Capt. "Barnard Bee," of Pendleton, has resigned and is home and I asked him who in his opinion would be the man most dreaded to the South if
we had war, and his answer was in his opinion that Capt. Geo. B. McClellan was the ablest officer in the Union army. Commander Edward Warley of the U. S. Navy has also resigned and is home. Pendleton is the home of both these army and navy men, and while they are here ready for any appointment they both express regret that they have to take up arms against the Union. Commander Warley was with Commodore Perry on his Japan Expedition in 1852 and 1853, and is considered a safe man, but like all of his sort, he is a fighter.

Mch. 4th, 1861.

Today is the day of the inauguration of Abe Lincoln to the Presidency of the U. S. I suppose that tomorrow evening we will have it all in the papers. Sold some of my Florida lands today and took notes payable 1862 with simple interest, at eight per cent. This is memorandum of the lands:

John Bellamy to J. B. Mays, deeded 1834, 1,639 acres
sold for ........................................... $8,200.00
Kentucky Asylum tract to J. B. Mays, 1834, 320 acres
sold ................................................... 1,200.00
Patent to S. E. Mays, dated 1848, 160 acres sold...... 1,200.00

This was my part of Father's Florida plantation in Madison County, Fla., and it should have brought more money, but at this time when I did not know what I would have to do for the next few years, why I thought that this was best and I took notes secured by the place. There are about 500 acres on this plantation in cultivation and it usually rents for about two thousand dollars, and it usually winds up with a law suit to collect the rents. I never expect to live there anyway and while I have relations there they have their own plantations to see after and now I feel that I have relieved myself of this much worry at least.

Sunday, Mch. 10th, 1861.

Lincoln was inaugurated and there has been no collision as yet between the Yankees and the Southerners, but things are very belligerent. Lincoln's cabinet are in all the newspapers and there is no use to say anything about them. Maj. Anderson has been
offered the U. S. Brigadier Generalship made vacant by the casuar-
ing of Gen. Twiggs of the U. S. Army, who gave up all Federal
property in Texas to the Southerners, and then resigned his com-
mmand.

This is indeed a bad state of affairs. War seems to be the only
way out of it, and after all, what are we fighting for? Why
should I take up arms against the Union? My father served in
the U. S. army and died in the service in the Florida Indian
war of 1836 and my grandfather served in the Rev. war as well
as the war of 1812, and here I am ready to take up arms against
the government that they fought for. We must be right for we
are certainly united in the matter, and if we live for a few years
why time alone will tell who was right and who was wrong.

April 15th, 1861.

Sumter has fallen, Maj. Anderson surrendered his almost
starved little garrison on the 13th. Those are the facts that were
given me by Capt. Steven D. Lee, of Gen. Beauregard’s staff.
Capt. Lee is a native of S. C. and West Point graduate, and is
considered one of our very best artillerists. I met Capt. Lee in
Columbia where he was organizing the battery for the Hampton
Legion, Lee’s Battery, and he told me about the firing on Sumter.
It was known for some time that the garrison was reduced to almost
starving point at Sumter, and on the 11th of June, Capt. Lee was
sent by Gen. Beauregard to Maj. Anderson with a proposition
offering to allow him to salute his flag and to transport him and
his men to any port of the U. S. that he wished to go. This
Maj. Anderson refused, saying that he could starve it out a few
days longer, but requested that if it were possible that his fort
be not fired on, and he stated that if no reinforcements and no
supplies came that the 16th would be about the last day the garrison
could hold out. This was all wired to Montgomery and Sec. of
War Walker wired reply that if Maj. Anderson would not set a
certain day to evacuate the Fort and to guarantee that he would
not use his guns against us, why to reduce the Fort as your judg-
ment decides to be most practical. This was final to Gen. Beaure-
gard. Early on the 12th Capt. Lee and two aides, Pryor of Va. and
Chisolm of S. C. were dispatched to the Fort. This is a copy of the order as printed at the time in the papers:

Fort Sumter, S. C., April 12th, 1861, 3:20 A. M.

Sir:

By authority of Gen. Beauregard commanding the forces of the Confederate States, we have the honor to notify you that he will open fire with his batteries on Fort Sumter in one hour from this time. We have the honor to be very respectfully,

Your obedient servants,

James Chestnut, Jr., Aide,
Steven D. Lee, Capt. C. F. States Army.

This was written in the casemates of the Fort and in the presence of Maj. Anderson and his officers. On reading this note the Maj. seemed to be very much affected, and his face showed the lines of worry as well as suffering. The Major escorted us as far as the wharf and pressed our hands cordially, saying that no one regretted this matter more than he, and that if we did not meet more in this world that he trusted that we would meet in the next.

The first gun was fired from Fort Johnson at 4:30 A. M. of the 12th of April by Capt. James. This gun was a 10-inch mortar and the fuse of the shell was so exactly cut that it exploded immediately over the Fort and this was the signal for all the other forts to join in, which they did and Sumter was under fire from practically all sides. Sumter returned the fire but no shells were fired on the city of Charleston. Only the Forts were aimed at. Anderson struck his colors on the 13th and the terms allowed him were exactly those offered him on the night of the 12th. Not a man was killed on either side in all this bombardment, but in firing the salute of fifty guns by Maj. Anderson to his flag, why a gun was prematurely discharged and one man killed. This was an accident.

The fort was badly damaged but mostly by fire caused by hot shot. The Fort was immediately taken possession of and Maj. Anderson and his men were sent north by ship.

Everybody went wild over our first victory. Capt. Lee told me
that in his opinion that Sumter would have surrendered in possibly three to four days longer without having to fire on it, but that in his opinion it was considered necessary to fire on the fort to bring about the decision of the border states to see where they were or what they were going to do. North Carolina and Virginia had not as yet seceded. The fall of Sumter drew the lines of the Southern States. We are drilling now twice each week and may be called out at any time.

June 1st, 1861.

All able-bodied men are getting ready to go to war. I have made all my arrangements and will leave in a few days for Columbia. I have always lived with my Mother and I will leave my wife and two children with her. James, the eldest, is two and Frank is but a few months old. I am leaving them in the very best home in the place and there are plenty of servants and they will not want for any comfort. I was made a Mason in Columbia Dec. 1857 in the True Brotherhood Lodge. I was made a Royal Arch Mason in 1858 at Anderson, S. C. I was High Priest of the Pendleton Chapter for two years, 1858 to 1860. I am not a member of any church but Mother is a Baptist, and so is my wife.

June 10th, 1861, Columbia, S. C.

I have bid farewell to home and all that I possess. Am at Camp Hampton about three miles out from Columbia at Gen. Wade Hampton's home. I have signed up and have been mustered into service by Col. W. R. Calhoun, a West Point graduate, and an old schoolmate of mine. Col. Calhoun is not a son of the statesman but a nephew and a very fine man. He is assigned to command Fort Sumter at Charleston harbor. I have joined the Brook's Troop of the Hampton Legion and my captain is John Lannau and S. S. Gilliard is First Lt. and Alex McBe is Second Lt. The Brook's Troop is part of a battalion of cavalry (four companies) and there are six companies of infantry and two batteries of artillery. Our cavalry battalion is under the command of Maj. Griffin. The artillery was under the command of Capt. Steven D. Lee. Our artillery is called the Washington light artillery, and is a part of the Hampton Legion.
The Hampton Legion will be commanded by Col. Wade Hampton, who is by the way, a very fine man. Col. Hampton is about 45 years of age. He is a son of Col. Wade Hampton of the U. S. Army and a grandson of Gen. Wade Hampton of Rev. fame and a great-grandson of Anthony Hampton, who was killed by Tories and Indians at the Hampton Massacre in the early settlement of Spartan District, of South Carolina. He is considered one of the wealthiest planters of the South, owns more slaves than any planter that I know of, and his stables are noted for his fine horses and he is considered one of the best hunters in the South. He is indeed a keen sportsman. When fox hunting he never allows the fox to be killed only by the dogs and when bear hunting the bear always has to be killed by the knife. The dogs hold the game at bay and the hunter uses only his knife to dispatch the bear. Col. Wade is considered one of the best horsemen in the state, and he has spent a great deal of money in fitting out the Legion.

It may be well to mention the names of the few that seem to me to be the great men of the Confederate movement at this time. In this state is seems to me that Barnwell Rhett of Charleston is the apostle, and for the state of Georgia, it is Howell Cobb, and Bob Toombs, and for the state of Alabama it is William L. Yancey. The seat of government has been moved from Montgomery, Ala., to Richmond, Va., and Gen. R. E. Lee has resigned from the U. S. Army and is assisting President Davis in organizing an army. Gen. Beauregard is still in command of the army and Gen. Benham is in command of the South Carolina Division. We are drilling every day and are sending the regiments on to Richmond as fast as filled up.

July 1st, 1861.

Our artillery and infantry companies were filled up first and sent on to Richmond, but we were held over for more men. All the cavalry troops were as yet not complete on account of horses but it was thought best that we go on as we were and not wait for the troops to be filled but the recruits could be added as they came in. Our army is being mobilised at or near Manassas Junction on Bull Run Creek in Virginia. We took train for Richmond and this is a list of the men listed at that time:

The ladies of Columbia gave the men a reception at the train when we left the depot and served us lunches. There was great enthusiasm and all were elated over going to the front. The men rendered many songs and all was merry, and no one seemed to regret the mission on which we are going. We reached Richmond in two days and camped for several days at Rocketts, a suburb of Richmond, where we were reviewed by President Davis. The day after our review we were ordered to Ashland Training Camp for instructions and drill. Ashland Training camp was commanded by Col. Field and his adjutant was Capt. Lomax. Our six companies of infantry and our artillery were already at Manassas, and about the middle of July we were ordered to the front at Manassas.

At the camp there was always some talk as to who ought to have been made president instead of Davis. I must say that it makes little or no difference to me but from my humble opinion I think that Howell Cobb of Ga. was the best man for that office and should have had it, but I do not think that Cobb cared to
have it. Toombs says that it was offered him but that he did not care for it, so there you are. I guess that the Convention did the best they could under the circumstances. Davis has given good services to the U. S. in the Mexican war, and we will see what he can do now. J. E. Johnston has superceded Beauregard and is in command at Manassas. We were marched through the country from Ashland to Manassas Junction, taking four days to make the trip. We were camped about three miles from Manassas on Broad Run and near the infantry of our Legion.

Manassas, Va., July 19th, 1861.

Our camp is about three to four miles from Manassas Junction on Broad Run. All the men are pretty well worn out by the last few days marching but for myself I must admit that I feel a relief from rush of work and drill at Ashland. The drill that we went through every day there was pretty severe and there were so many men coming and going all the time. It was indeed a vast camp but no fortifications about it. We drilled for hours every morning and evening and here we were again inspected by President Davis. After this inspection we were ordered up to Manassas. We had our new uniforms and new sabers and rifles and made a pretty good appearance. President Davis reminds me very much of Capt. John Maxwell, of Pendleton, S. C., both in appearance and dress and the way he wears his whiskers. He seems to be pretty busy with the army.

I have never seen in all my days so much whiskey and it so cheap. While at Ashland most of the men got their meals at the hotels which, by the way, was as cheap as we could prepare them and then we had more time for drills. All spare time between drills the men usually drank and abused the officers to their heart's content. While we were at Ashland Gregs old Regt. came back from the front and was disbanded, most of its men revolunteering in other regts. Its Maj. was my old Maj. Gen. of militia (Gus Smith), and its Quartermaster was Alex McGowan, an old time friend of mine, who because I was a private did not care to speak to me. He and I had a row, of course, and I slapped his face.
He did not resent it, and Lt. Williams led me away and it ended with that.

As we came through Richmond I stopped at the Exchange Hotel for one day, and while there some of the officers had a big row and revolvers were drawn but no one hurt. We had a fight in camp last night between Nat Cooledge and Gabe Cothran, in which Gabe got badly whipped and they are both in the guard house today. The men all seem to have the fighting spirit, and it is about as free among the officers as among the privates, the only difference is that the officers go free and the privates go to the guard house for fighting.

At Ashland Capt. M. C. Butler of the Edgefield Company came near having a serious difficulty with a Capt. of some Virginia company. The Virginian began the trouble but he soon found that in Capt. Butler he had found a real man. I don't know what it was all about but I do know that Butler drew his pistol and covered the Virginia Capt. with it and made him take back what he had said and say that he was sorry that he said it. Butler is a nephew to the late Commodore M. C. Perry and this family have been prominent in every war the U. S. has had since the Revolution. Butler was my college mate and as a boy he always seemed to be insensible to fear. Butler being a son-in-law to Governor Frank Pickens of S. C. will have an excellent opportunity to make a good record if he is fortunate enough to survive this war.

Before leaving Ashland most of the men all had pictures made of themselves. I had some too. I had on my first uniform and the pistols were not my own but I borrowed them from a friend, Cass Randall, for the occasion. There was never a better situation for a camp than Ashland, it being about twenty miles out from Richmond on the Richmond and Fredericksburg Railroad, and it has always been a summer resort for the rich of Richmond, and there were a great many summer hotels which we used instead of tents. Most of these were run by private parties. It is said that Henry Clay was born at Ashland. Our drill ground was in a field one mile from the camp and west of the railroad. We had the best bugler in the camp, a fellow named King, an Englishman. We left Ashland in a drizzling rain and along late in the evening.
it began to pour down in torrents, and the mud was terrible, being in some places more than a foot deep. I was sent on ahead with a detail from our troop to locate the point that our camp was to be. We reached the camp site sometime in advance of the command and we were kindly treated by the ladies that were looking for us. They served us meals and gave us all the whiskey we wanted. My, I have never seen so much whiskey in all my life. You can take your choice, whiskey or water just as you like.

The men of our detail were busy arranging matters for our camp all day and the command came up late in the evening in the rain, and being wet and not caring to lie on the wet ground all night, Sim Miller and I found an old house with a chimney about half a mile from the camp and we made up a fire and dried out and went to sleep all alone, but by daylight the house was so packed and crowded that you could hardly get to the door. Next morning, not feeling the best in the world and being hungry, too, Miller and I left the old house and went up to a big fine house and went round to the back door and asked for a dram, just like the niggers used to do. I led the way and Miller asked for the whiskey. They gave us whiskey and a very good breakfast, too. We are all getting pretty well organized now and my mess is Mr. Harvey Cleveland, a most excellent gentleman; Tom and Pierce Williams, who are fine men, Charley Ketchum and my brother, J. B. Mays, Priestly Maxwell and myself and Mr. Cleveland’s negro cook (Charles). We have a good wall tent and in ordinary weather we are about as comfortable as if it is a house.

Now as to the conditions on the front we know very little. I do know tho that the men are filing past our camp all the time. Most of them are infantry. From what we can pick up there must be not less than twenty thousand men at Manassas now and Gen. J. E. Johnston is at Harper’s Ferry with about eight to ten thousand more. We know still less about the enemy, but it is reported that he has begun a movement and we have been told that there has been actual fighting, but we know nothing more. The infantry and artillery of our Legion are at the front and we are under orders to move at any moment.
July 20th.

Another day of suspense and waiting. No news, only that the enemy is on the move south. A battle is expected every day.

July 21st, 1861.

It is evident that a battle is on now. We are ready to move at once but still no orders have come to us. All day we have been saddled up and ready. We have at our camp four companies about four hundred men and all day long the infantry have been moving past us in the direction of Manassas. Since this morning we have heard the booming of cannon and some of the men say that they have heard rifle fire. The cannon is quite audible and from its continuousness there must be a great many guns in use.

Soon after noon stragglers have been coming in and they all have all sorts of reports to give. Some say that our army is in full retreat and some say that the enemy is in full retreat. I must say that I would have much rather gone on the field and been in action than to have passed a day as I have this one, knowing that a battle was on and within a few miles of me, and not being able to hear the results. Some of the men applied for permission to go up and be with the rest of the Legion but the Major would not give it.

July 22nd, 1861.

Last night a courier brought us the first correct information of the battle of Manassas. If the report is correct, the enemy is in full retreat to Washington and that our army has won. This caused great excitement in camp and it was with difficulty that the men could be kept in camp. All wanted to go up to Manassas and see the battlefield, but there was no chance to get off now. While the enemy was reported to be in full retreat, it was thought possible that if he attempted a flank movement, that we were already on one flank and we might yet have to protect this flank. I was notified that Wilton Earle, a cousin of mine, was killed and several others of the Fourth Regt. were wounded in the fight, and when I asked that I be given permission to go to Manassas and look after them it was granted. I made my headquarters with the staff of the Fourth Regt. Its Col. was a cousin of mine and he
sent his orderly (Edward Maxwell), who by the way was a cousin of mine also, to go with me over the field and show me the positions of the men and how the battle was fought out.

Manassas, Va., July 23rd.

While at Manassas I made my headquarters with the Fourth S. C. Regt. Its Col., J. B. E. Sloan, was a cousin of mine and I had many cousins in its ranks. The infantry of our Legion suffered severely in this battle. Its Lt. Col. was killed and Col. Hampton was severely wounded. We sat up almost all night and went over and over the battle, each one telling his experiences.

Late at night we were surprised to hear the explosion of a shell that set us all to excitement, and when we learned the truth some one had found an unexploded shell and brought it up to camp and was examining it, and when through looking at it threw it down and it exploded, tearing off Mike Bellott's leg, from which he died, tore off Porter Hillhouse's head, killing him instantly, and wounding five other men severely. Oh, how much patriotism was wasted in this fight. It seems to me that most any man would have known that a shell that had not exploded was dangerous. Strange to say the man who dropped the shell was unhurt.

Edward Maxwell went with me over the battlefield and showed me the different positions held by our men and how they fought and fell back to the second position. He carried me to the first position held by the Fourth Regt. and to where a cousin, Wilton Earle, was killed. Wilton was killed by a cannon ball from the first gun fired in the opening of the battle from Rickett's or Griffin's batteries. He was not killed outright but the wound was necessarily fatal and though he got off the field unassisted, he died next day.

The Fourth S. C. Infantry, Wheat's Battalion, from La. and the Hampton Legion Infantry held the Stone Bridge position for some time and when the first attack was made they drove the enemy back and made a stand at Buck's Hill past the Van Plet's House, where the main battle opened. They were reinforced later by Bartow and Bee and held that position against the entire Yankee army from about 8 A. M. til about ten A. M., when they were
forced to retire before vast superior forces to the slopes behind the Henry House they contested every inch of ground and Gen. Bee rallied the men and formed a second line of defence behind the Henry House, and it was at this time that reinforcements were being brought up and it must have been that the Yankees thought that our men were defeated as they brought up both Rickett's and Griffin's Batteries from the first position to one just to the left of the Henry house and this took so much time that we were able to form a much stronger line, and when these batteries were brought up they were silenced almost before they could be used on our men. Maxwell told me that the first volley from our men practically killed all the gunners and the rest was an easy matter. The Yankees did not give up without a struggle. They made several charges to retake them and at one time they did have possession of the guns, but the gunners had all been killed and our men were successful in driving off the infantry and turned these same guns on the enemy with their own ammunition.

The tide of battle was all with the enemy for the early part of the day, and if it had not been for Gen. Evans and Gen. Bee holding him in check till a second line of defense could be formed, it looks that we would have lost.

Gen. J. E. Johnston had brought up all his force from Harper's Ferry, and by noon the tide of battle had turned with our forces and the enemy seemed to all be on the go. From the dead around the Henry and Robinson houses they must have fought hard. There was some running off the field by our men. Maxwell told me that early in the battle that at one time when a shell exploded among the infantry of the Hampton Legion, killing several and wounding many of the men while they were lying down, and one big strapping fellow jumped up and ran off the field, and when an officer tried to stop him he ran over the officer and made his way to the rear. This was only one instance, but most of these men were stopped and reformed on the plateau back of the Henry house.

The first shot from the enemy was effective and killed a man, and it seems strange to say that the very Regt. that this gun was fired at was instrumental in the capture of these guns. The
first gun fired was a thirty-two pounder of Rickett's battery and this gun was captured and added to the battery of our Legion.

Col. Hampton led his men in the charge on Rickett's battery and in this charge was severely wounded, but his men carried the guns and immediately turned them on the enemy. Both Gen. Bee and Gen. Bartow fell in this charge just back of the Henry house, mortally wounded. Gen. Jackson was also slightly wounded but did not leave the field. Up to the time of the fighting around the Henry house Gen. Beauregard was in command of the men, but Gen. Johnston came on the field and assumed command. Maxwell told me of the route of the supports to Griffin's battery, when they made the charge and took the same. They were Zouaves and in their gaudy uniforms, but instead of making a fight, threw away their arms and fled off the field in confusion. The enemy seemed to have lost all nerve and it soon became a general route. The officers tried to rally the men and make a stand at the stone bridge, but nothing held them. They threw away their guns and caps and everything that would encumber their headway.

Our men were too worn out to follow up the victory but Jeb Stuart with a few companies of Cavalry swept on their retreating columns and took many prisoners. If we had pressed on fast after them we would have taken many more prisoners than we did, but Col. Sloan told me that Johnston did not know whether Gen. Patterson was following him from Harper's Ferry or not. Gen. Patterson was supposed to see that Johnston did not reach Beauregard in time to help in this battle, and if he had followed Johnston, as he was supposed to do, why there would have been about fifteen thousand rested men to look out for in his rear, and that is, I suppose, why Johnston did not wish to take any chances.

I also see now why the cavalry of the Hampton Legion was not brought up for the battle. We were protecting the flank that Gen. Patterson was supposed to attack.

Gen. McDowell did the best that he could but the loss of this battle was not with him, as I am told that he led his men in the charge that carried the Henry house position and that Gen. McDowell even climbed to the top of that house to see about the posi-
tion of the Confederates. At that time if he had only some reserves to have been brought up the day would possibly have gone far different. He began the fight with his entire strength and after so much loss, was not able to hold what he had won in the early part of the day. Beauregard began the battle with just a handful of men and added reserves as he needed them, and when it seemed that he would loose, why Johnston came up with his army and it seems that it was just luck, more than anything else. Strange to say, Beauregard, McDowell and Johnston were classmates at West Point, so they are all of the same school anyway.

I did not take anything from the battlefield. There were lots of the men that took all that they could lay their hands on. As I looked upon the dead and wounded men on the field I could not help but think that with how little wisdom this country of ours is governed. All this loss of life just to satisfy the demands of a few.

There were several funny things that happened in this battle. Most all of the men had cooks for their mess and they have all departed, for parts unknown at the first sound of the cannon. Day Symmes’ negro cook (Dandy) came with the sole purpose of getting rich robbing the dead Yankees, ran off too and was caught and brought back, but could not be forced on the battlefield even after it was two days old. Dandy said that he did not want any plunder. We had some very patriotic men (old men) that came on with their sons, that could not be kept out of the battle line. Old man David Taylor, who was possibly 65 or more, had two sons in the army and when they went in he borrowed a musket and went along with the men. He could not keep up tho and had to fall out.

After a few days at Manassas our cavalry were sent on a scout towards Alexandria, Va. We went as far as Vienna, about two miles from Alexandria, and found that was as far as we could get on account of the enemy having possession of Alexandria. Our business was to pick up any stragglers that might not have escaped and pick up all the plunder that we could find. We found nothing of value and got no prisoners. We exchanged a few shots with the enemy’s videttes in front of Alexandria, otherwise we had a very
pleasant trip. After this raid we returned to Manassas and camped near Wheat's La. Tigers, a battalion of the worst men that I ever saw. I understand that they are mostly wharf rats from New Orleans, and Maj. Wheat was the only man that could do anything with them. They were continually fighting with each other. They were always ready to fight, and it made little difference to them who they fought.

From Manassas we were ordered to Bacon Race Church, Prince William Co., Va., on the Occoquan river, formed by the junction of the Broad and Bull rivers. We did vidette duty on the Occoquan all summer and late in the fall we were ordered down to the Potomac and did duty there. We did duty—just as if there were Yankees in the neighborhood, but after the battle of Manassas was over all three months soldiers were discharged and sent home, or re-enlisted, but the South was busy in drilling and fitting out a new army much more extensive than the first, and it was necessary that the section between Richmond and Washington be picketed. There is very little that a private soldier knows of the future war plans, of his own country, but I do know that the first chapter of the war is ended and the South is triumphant and confident, while the North seems disappointed but determined.

On the Potomac, Nov. 1861.

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PERSONS WHOSE PROPERTY “WAS IMPRESSED OR TAKEN FOR PUBLIC USE IN KING GEORGE COUNTY.”

The following persons are named in a paper in the Virginia State Library as having furnished to the satisfaction of the court horses and other aids to the American Revolutionary Army:

_Court 7th day of March, 1782._

Persons Whose Property Was Taken in King George Co. 55

Court 4th day of April, 1782.


Ordered William Barnard Esq' be allow'd the sum of 20s for removing the Weights & Scales from Boydshole to Machodack Warehouse.

Ordered William Munford be allow'd the Sum of 10s for repairing the Scales at Machodack Warehouse.

John Dickie produced an acct' for ferrage for the King Geo. Militia to the Gloucester Camp. Two Wagons, 10 Horses & 150 Men.

Ordered Laurance Washington be allow'd the sum of £5 Pounds for one Gun Lost in the Militia at Boydshole.

Ordered Col. Jn° Skiner be allow'd the sum of £30 for pasturage for Six Cattle 240 days & 12 Barrels of Corn to feed the same.
GLOUCESTER COUNTY MARRIAGE LICENSES, 1777-1778

Copied from a paper among the manuscripts in the State Library.

An Account of Marriage Licenses and Ordinary Licenses issued in Gloster County from October the 20th 1777 to October the 20th 1778:

William Hall & Catherine Wiatt reced for the Commonwealth £1.0.0
Charles Grymes & Mary Hubard reced for d° .......................... 1.0.0
John Thornton & Catherine Yates reced for d° .......................... 1.0.0
Henry Pointer and Sarah Hall reced for d° .......................... 1.0.0
John Driver & Dorothy Treacle reced for d° .......................... 1.0.0
James Nuttall jr & Ann Lewis reced for d° .......................... 1.0.0
Thomas Minor jr & Ann Dawson reced for d° .......................... 1.0.0
Robert Yates and Mary Tomkies reced for d° .......................... 1.0.0
John Avery & Joyce Billups reced for d° .......................... 1.0.0
John Hunt & Mary Glass reced for d° .......................... 1.0.0
Richard Billups and Lucy Lilley reced for d° .......................... 1.0.0
John Foster & Elizabeth Culley reced for d° .......................... 1.0.0
Thomas Iveson & Elizabeth Clayton reced for d° .......................... 1.0.0
Francis Hall & Johannah Hall reced for d° .......................... 1.0.0
Josiah Forrest & Sarah Foster reced for d° .......................... 1.0.0
Thomas Gayle & Mary Culley reced for d° .......................... 1.0.0
Edward White & Pamela Singleton reced for d° .......................... 1.0.0
Jesse Foster & Catherine Foster reced for d° .......................... 1.0.0
Thomas Ransone & Margaret Gwyn reced for d° .......................... 1.0.0
Richard Hobday & Ann White reced for d° .......................... 1.0.0
John Dun & Mary Forrest reced for d° .......................... 1.0.0
Francis Scott & Mary Walker reced for d° .......................... 1.0.0
George Richeson & Mary Powers reced for d° .......................... 1.0.0
Thomas Roberts and Ann Burton reced for d° .......................... 1.0.0
Jonathan Proser and Rachael Anthony reced for d° .......................... 1.0.0
John Throckmorton & Susanna Hughes reced for d° .......................... 1.0.0
Benjamin Blake & Frances Currey reced for d° .......................... 1.0.0
Anthony Hudgen & Sarah Hundley reced for d° .......................... 1.0.0
Thomas Camp & Rebeccah Dobson reced for d° .......................... 1.0.0
William Pollard j^ & Elizabeth Gressitts reced for d^....... 1.0.0
Seven Ordinary Licenses reced for d^....................21.0.0
Short Charged in 2 Marriage Licenses 30/each........... 2. - 
53. - 
deduct Com^............. 2.13. -

23d Oct: 1778 due £............50.7.-
Examined                Thos Everard
Dun: Rose

Sworn to before me Octob. 20th 1778

Jn^ Perrin
Jasper Clayton D. Cl. G. C.

Note Wm Hall and Henry Pointers Licenses granted in 1777.

CHARLES CITY COUNTY MILITIA.

In the Archives Department of the State Library is a little Ms. book containing the names of the militia company from Charles City County, of which Benjamin Harrison was captain. According to this book, the company saw 19 days’ service December 11, 1776, and were paid 16 pence per day for service and 5¾d pence for five rations.

"List of militia draughted from Charles City on 21st Nov, 1776, and put under the command of Benj^ Harrison, Jr.:

Benj^ Harrison, Cap^                  Lewis Crutchfield
Wll^ Edloe, Jr., Lieut.               Thomas Gill
John Harwood, Ensign                  Benjamin Hughes
Henry Vaughan,                        Charles Carter
Turner Southall,                      John Major
  Sergeants
John Nibb (Knibb),
Tom Morecock,
John Redwood,
Edmund Christian,
  Corp^a

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Note: "78th Militia Battalion of Virginia"
John Wilcox          Gideon Bradley
Henry Finch          Henry Wills
Samuel Butler        William Walker
William Harrison     Richard Gill
John New             William Tenit
John Stubblefield    Alexander M. Brown
Henry Roach          Benjamin Buck
David Wilkinson      John Royster
Thomas Butler        Henry Harvey
John Colgin          Richard Barnes
Benj^ Apperson       William Hardiman
Charles Holdsworth   Thomas Warburton
Edward Clark         John Wharburton
William Wilson       Robert Maynard
Richard Cole         John Nance
Allen M. Brown       Jeffry Gilliam
Harrison Pearman     Stephen Hughes
William Phillips     George Baker
John Smith           William Floyd
Samuel Christian

THE HIGHLAND PRISONERS.
Journal of Committee of Safety
June 5, 1776—July 5, 1776
Monday the 24th of June 1776

Present, Mr. President        Mr. Cabell
Mr. Carrington                Mr. Jones
Mr. Lee                       Mr. Tabb

Colonel Christian laid before this Board a General List of the Highland Prisoners taken by Captain James and Richard Barron in the Ship Oxford, and also an allotment of them into fourteen divisions, to be distributed according to the direction of the General Convention. And it is thereupon ordered that they be immediately sent to the respective Counties herein after mentioned in the following proportions, to-wit:
No. 1—To Albemarle County.

Angust Mc'Donald, John Morison, Finley Mc'Cuag, Duncan Bel-
lou, Roderick Ur chauff, Ronald Mc'Donald, John Fraser, Rodrick
Mc'Clannan, Archibald Mc'Gillwray, Murdock Mc'Gillwray, Rodrick
Mc'Cleod, Alexander Mc'Pherson, Alexander Mc'Caskill, Duncan
Mc'Donald & Archibald Mc'Donald. .................................15.

No. 2—To Amelia.

John Campbel, Roderick Mc'Crumen, Kenneth Mc'Donald,
Finley Chism, John Mc'Kenon, Donald Morison, Angus Mc'Caskel,
Donald Lamon, Donald Camron, John Lamon, Normand Mc'Kenon,
& Kenneth McClennon ............................ .................................13.

2 Women.

No. 3—To Amherst.

Allan Mc'Caskel, Murdon Campbel, John Morison, Ronald
Mc'Cuagg, Patrick Mc'Cleod, Peter Mc'Criman, Angus Mc'Leor,
Alexander Mc'Cleod, Neil Mc'Intosh, Finley Mc'Lenin, Alexander

1 Woman.

No. 4—To Berkeley.

Donald Mc'Donald, Alexander Buchanan, John Mc'Donald,
Malcom Mc'Quan, Roderick Mc'Neil, Duncan Mc'Donald, Murdock
Mc'Lood, Neil Mc'Phee, John Mc'Swain, John Mc'Loid, John Mc-
Pherson, Archibald Mc'Swain, & Andrew Lamond .................................13.

No. 5—To Buckingham.

Donald Mc'Lood, Sen', Donald Mc'Leed, Jun', Malcolm Morison,
Angus Campbell, Malcolm Mc'Lean, John Ferguson, Hector Mc-
Lean, John Smith, Murdock Campbell, Duncan Morison, Alexander
Mc'Kenzie, Kenneth Ferguson, Michael Mc'Muller, Laughan Mc-
Antire, and Alexander Mc'Phee .................................15.

No. 6—To Culpeper.

Donald Mc'Kennen, Alexander Mc'Man, Angus Mc'Donald,
Donald Mc'Donald, Angus McKennan, John Pedden, Alexander
Mc'Leed, Angus Pedden, Charles Mc'Lean, James Mc'Gillray, John
Mc'Lled, William Matheson, Donald Mc'Donald & Donald
Mc'Craw .................................14.
N° 7—To Cumberland.
Donald Cameron, Roderick McLeod, Murdock McVie, John Gilles, Angus McVie, John Shaw, Angus Campbell, Donald McLean, John Ferguson, Angus McNeil, Donald Ross, Angus Shaw, John McCaskell, Markham Gilles, John McDonald, Archibald Mc-Mullier ........................................... 16.

N° 8—To Fauquier.
Donald Fraser, William Fraser, George Munroe, Donald McIntire, John McIntire, James McIntire, James McIntire, James Rolf, David Munroe, Alexander Low, James Donaldson, Robert Stewart, John Wishart, Angus McPherson, Coporal Gordon, Coporal McLean, Coporal Cummins..................16. 3 Women & 1 Child.  

N° 9—To Frederick.

N° 10—To Goochland.
Alexander Mc Bain, Angus Mc Bain, William Stewart, William Grant, Donald Smith, John Fraser, William McPherson, Duncan Fraser, Kenith McLinnen, Thomas McIntosh, Hector McLean, Angus Mc Bain, S', George Keith.................................13. 2 Women.  

N° 11—To Loudon.

N° 12—To Louisa.
3 Women & 2 Children.

No. 13—To Orange.


2 Women.

No. 14—To Sussex.


Cadets. Winchester.

Aneas McCloud.

Maynus Murchison.

Serjeants. Winchester.

George McCoy, Hugh Fraser, George Munroe, Donald Grant, Alexander McClean, William McLeod, Rory McCrinan, Norman McLeod & James Campbell.

And it is ordered that they proceed from hence in two Divisions each under a sufficient Guard, to be furnished by Brigadier-General Lewis out of the Regulars at this Station; those for Cumberland. Amelia, Buckingham, Amherst & Albemarle are to proceed to Cumberland Courthouse, leaving those for Goochland in that County as they pass through; and the County Lieutenant of Cumberland is desired to place a proper Guard over those for that County until the Committee shall have disposed of them as they will be hereafter directed, and to send a Guard of the Militia with the lot for Amelia County; and to send one other Guard with those for Amherst, Albemarle & Buckingham Counties to the County Lieutenant of Buckingham, who is desired to send proper Guards with the other lots to their respective Counties; That those destined to Culpeper, Fauquier, Loudon, Berkeley, and Frederick proceed to Culpeper Courthouse leaving those for Louisa & Orange as they pass through them Counties; and the County Lieutenant of Culpeper is desired to place a proper Guard over the lot for that County until the Committee shall have disposed of them as they will be hereafter directed, and to send those for the other
Counties under a proper Guard for the Militia, with the Serjeants and Cadets designed for Winchester, to the County Lieutenant of Fauquier, who is desired to secure the lott for that County and to send those for Loudon, Berkeley & Frederick under a proper Guard of the Militia to their respective Counties, & to send the Prisoners destined to Winchester to The Committee there; and they are to be confined within the limits of the Town, as prisoners of War, giving their parol to the said Committee not to depart without permission; and it is ordered that the lott destined to Sussex County be sent under a Guard from hence immediately to that County; and that to each of the said Divisions be allowed two Waggoners.

JOHN CLOPTON, OF VIRGINIA.¹

[From Archives Dept. Va. State Library]
Communicated by ROBT. B. MUNFORD, JR.,
Member Va. Historical Society.

To Whom It Doth Concern:
These may certify that Mr. John Clopton, of Virginia, hath served for some time as a volunteer under my command, particularly in the late action with the English, 11th Sept. at Brandywine, during which engagement behaved with becoming conduct and resolution, and I do from a knowledge of his behavior recommend him as a gentleman worthy a commission in the service but particularly in the artillery as his genius and abilities in gunnery bespeak him to make a good officer.

Tho³ Proctor,
Col. of Artillery.

Artillery Park, Oct. 3, 1777.
20 miles from Philadelphia.

¹John Clopton, son of William Clopton and Elizabeth Ford, his wife, was born in New Kent County, February 7, 1756. He studied at the University of Pennsylvania in 1773. His exact service in the Revolution is not known, but after it he served in the House of Delegates from 1785 to 1795. He was a firm supporter of Mr. Jefferson, and was a member of Congress for the Richmond District from 1795 to 1816, except one term, 1799-1800, when he was defeated by John Marshall. At his death, September 11, 1816, he was succeeded in Congress by John Tyler.
CONFEDERATE MEMORIAL INSTITUTE.

It has been nearly three-score years since the armies of the Confederacy surrendered to overwhelming numbers and resources in April, 1865. A cause and its defenders which could command such a gathering of men and women as assembled at New Orleans in April, 1923, so long since the close of the war, must embody some principle of permanent vital force and value. Affairs in 1861 may have outgrown the constitution and States rights (which I am not prepared to admit, however), but they could not outgrow a right of nature expressed in self-determination.

Now this is what happened. Under the influence of imperialism excused by the term Union, which implied a voluntary status, the North invaded and violently suppressed the unquestionable right of the South to a separate existence. This South was different from the North in every respect except language, and occupied a territory half the size of all Europe. The North destroyed one of the nations of which the Union had been composed from the beginning, and since 1865 there has been but one nation in the Union, the Northern nation. The present South is a mere dependency on this North, and, whereas an independent South would have passed laws suited to its own conditions, the present South has had to conform itself to laws suited to the conditions of the North. The adjustment to this status has been slow and the occasion of much suffering and impoverishment. The census shows that while in 1860 Massachusetts had very little more wealth than Virginia, in 1920 it had more wealth than all the eleven Southern States which went into secession, if we except the state of Texas. Massachusetts has grown fat and corpulent by reason of the Union, which it has selfishly exploited.

Before the editor is a report of Gen. Julian S. Carr, the President of the Confederate Memorial Institute, or “Battle Abbey,” to the United Confederate Veterans assembled at New Orleans. The President represents an organization of prominent Confederates, which was chartered to erect a memorial to the cause deemed so sacred and fundamental. The origin and general history of this organization has been given by Judge George L. Christian, of Richmond, the Vice-President and Chairman of the Executive...
Committee, in a pamphlet published some time ago. Charles Broadway Rouss was the man who first put life into the idea by his splendid gift of $100,000. Richmond followed with a gift of $50,000, and there were many other contributors. At this time the work has gone so far that it may be said to be in an approximately finished condition, though the need for money is still imperative. There is a beautiful building, classic in character, situated on the Boulevard in Richmond, in a wonderfully attractive lot of six and one-third acres. It contains mural paintings representing battle scenes and the best collection of portraits of Southern officers known to be in existence. It has a fine collection also of portraits paintings in general by the best painters, presented by John Barton Payne to the State. It has also a fine reading room, with a small but select body of books. The grounds are under the supervision of Captain John Lamb, assisted by a Board of twelve lady managers.

The beauty and significance of this building is described by our local poet as follows:

_The Battle Abbey._

By Sterling Boisseau, R. E. Lee Camp, No. 1,
Sons of Confederate Veterans.

The beams of light which fill the place
Through heaven-ward windows shine,
Befitting means to light aright
This monument sublime;
The Southern heart, the Southern love—
Symbolic of the light above—
Keep bright this sacred Shrine.

Yet other lights make bright the place,
Those lights of history,
Immortalized by Southern deeds,
Immortalized by Lee;
No battle's lost, if in the fight
The battle-flag waves for the Right,
As waved the flag of Lee.
THE MAGNOLIA GARDENS OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

Why dream of Paradise when one can see it with his own eyes by going to Charleston in March when the Japonicas or Azalias are in bloom? Many places have been designated as the wonder of America, but this area of forty acres, an astonishing combination of a park and a flower garden, has no real competitor. It is doubtful whether a more beautiful spot exists on earth. Go and see it in the month of March. Charleston, too, combining its old grandeur with modern development, is the most remarkable of American cities.

Rice has been banished from its old habitation in the mud flats of the Ashley and Cooper rivers, and the noble houses of the rice planters were burnt during the War for Southern Independence, but the magnolia gardens and the Middleton gardens above them give some idea of the magnificence in which the Southern planters lived. When these lords of the earth and negroes moved down the aisles of the United States Senate in Washington, the New England representatives grew green-eyed and vengeful.

PRESBYTERIANS IN YORK COUNTY.

At a court held for York County in the town of York at the Court House on Monday the 17th day of June, 1765, and in the fifth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third.

These are to certify the worshipful court of York that we intend to make use of a House in the City of Williamsburg situate on part of a lott belonging to Mr. George Davenport as a place for the Public Worship of God according to the practice of Protestant Dissenters of the Presbyterian denomination which we desire may be Registered in the Records of the Court and this certificate we make according to the direction of an act of Parliament called the Act of Toleration.

P. S. As we are not able to obtain a settled minister we intend this place at present only for occasional worship when we have opportunity to hear any.
Presbyterians in York County

William Smith  Edward Cummins
John Connelly  Thomas Skinner
Walter Lenox  Daniel Hoyle
James Holderott  John Bell
Robt Nicholson  James Smith
John Ormeston  William Brown
James Douglas  Jo Morris
William Gemmell  Charles Hankins

MARRIAGE BONDS IN CHARLOTTE COUNTY.
2 March, 1778, Joel Townes & Franky Gains, d. of Richard Gains, sec. Richard Gains.
12th Feb., 1779, Thomas Tinsley & Tabitha Spencer, spinster, dau. of Ahimas Spencer, sec. Ahimas Spencer.
23 August, 1770, Thomas Totty & Mary Mann, sec. Burwell Vaden.
25 June, 1771, Letter of Richd Jones to clerk consenting to marriage of his son Richard Jones to Lucy Clay.
1 May, 1780, John Smith & Jeane Brent, spinster, daughter of John Brent, sec. John Brent.
10 May, 1773, Wm. Watkins to Thomas Read, clerk, consenting to his son's applying for a license to marry Elizabeth Parrish. Witness John Breedlove.
26 Dec., 1774, John Martin & Anne Spencer, daugh. of Thos. Spencer, sec. Sion Spencer.
30 June, 1779, Joseph Fuqua, Jnr. & Catherine Palmer, spinster, d. of John Palmer Gent. deced. sec. Richd Booker. Catherine Palmer's letter witnessed by Peter Stubbs and Mary Stubbs.
29 Dec., 1772, Lewis Tyler & Mary Barradall Palmer, daughter of John Palmer, Esq., dead. Letter of Richard M. Booker consenting to be security.
1 Apr., 1771, Robert Williams & Anne Watson, sec. Paul Carrington.
8 Nov., 1773. Charles Morton & Mary Anne Smith, sec. Wm Smith.
7 Dec., 1767, James Speed & Mary Spencer, d. of Thomas Spencer, gent.
12 Dec., 1770, Edward Moseley enters consent as to marriage of his daughter, Mary Moseley, with Mack Goode.
3 October, 1772, Beverley Mann & Mary Caldwell, sec. Robert Caldwell.
14 Dec., 1772, Edward Moseley's letter consenting that a license sh'd be granted Mr. Joseph Collier to marry his dau. Amy. Witnesses: James Hamlett, jr. & Thomas Clake.
5 Oct., 1772, John Dabney & Peggy Smith, orphan of Charles Smith, dec'd, sec. Matt Flournoy.
8 Augt., 1768, Thomas Bedford writes to the clerk to issue license to Mr. Joseph Fuqua to marry his dau. Elizabeth.
11 Jany., 1768, Edward Moseley letter to the clerk to issue license between Thomas Bouldin, jr. & his daughter Martha.
1 Feb., 1773, John White Holt & Lucy Watson, d. of Mathew Watson, sec. Ro. Williams.
18 August, 1775, Nathaniel Manson & Lucy Whiting Clayton, daughter of John Clayton of "he Co. of Charlotte.
10 May, 1771, Charles Sullivant’s letter for Thomas Blackstock to marry his daughter Sinah.


2 April, 1777, Wood Bouldin & Joanna Tyler—“Miss Joan Tyler writes to inform Col. Thomas Reade that she is of age, and with her approbation Mr. Wood Bouldin doth apply for marriage license March, 1777.”


17 July, 1777, Mary Grigg agrees to marry Robert Rakeshaw.

11 Nov., 1772, Tho* Bedford writes clerk permission to issue license between James Hamblett and his dau. Mary.

5 Dec., 1771, Bedford Davenport & Annie Comer, sec. Sam'l Comer.

FIRST COURT OF CHARLOTTE.

At the Courthouse of said County on the 4th day of March in the fifth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord King George the Third and in the year of our Lord God one thousand seven hundred and sixty-four, James Hunt, Thomas Bedford, David Caldwell, Elisha White, Thomas Spencer, Joseph Martin & John White, Justices of the Peace:

Samuel Cobbs produced a commission from the Honorable Thomas Nelson, Esq., Secretary of the Colony, to be clerk.

Thomas Read produced commission from the Lt. Gov. to be sheriff.

Paul Carrington, Clement Read, William Watts & Isaac Read produced their several licenses to practice law.

MATTHEW FONTAINE MAURY.

There is no other name among the scientists of America which deserves more honor than Matthew Fountaine Maury. He was a great man and a good one. Virginia has made his birthday a
public holiday in the schools. The Maury Association wants to erect a monument to his memory in Richmond, and seeks to increase its membership. The application should be accompanied with a check for one dollar made payable to the treasurer for membership dues for one year. A sustaining membership requires five dollars and a life membership ten dollars. The address of the Worthy President of the Association is Mrs. E. E. Moffett, 1014 West Franklin Street, Richmond, Va.

BOOK REVIEWS.


The public has just reasons to be pleased with this publication by one of Virginia's best essayists. It contains articles on "General Daniel Morgan," "The Valley Westerman," "The Laws of Bacon's Assembly," "The Lewis and Clark Expedition," "Some Lawyers in Colonial Virginia" and "Governor Alexander Spotswood and Knights of the Golden Horseshoe." All these papers are valuable contributions to Virginia history, and the book is an interesting compendium of facts relating to its development. These "Chapters of Virginia History" had their origin as addresses delivered on occasions dedicated to the preservation of that earlier Colonial and Revolutionary spirit of liberty either before patriotic Virginia societies or at the presentation of permanent monuments in commemoration of great men and great events that were Virginian. They each throw a valuable light into the dark places and explain how in the love of freedom, of adventure, and of law and order established by the Virginia colonists the foundations of an empire were laid on enduring lines. Mr. Gordon has great powers of description and expression, and these addresses constitute a lovely posy in which are blended the richest facts and the choicest coloring of words and fancy.


This is a neat little book telling in a natural brotherly way of the details of the life of Thomas Nelson Page, who was greatly beloved in Virginia. As one reviews the life of Page as set forth in this volume certain salient features stand out in his almost three-score and ten years—his family history and traditions and early training, his
energy, his fearlessness, his simplicity and his genuine Americanism. Though a descendant of F. F. V. families he had the democratic simplicity of Thomas Jefferson and to him the aristocracy of the colony was only a color scheme remarkable for beauty and show. Virginia aristocracy, unlike that of New England which was described by one of its early ministers, Rev. Mr. Stone, as “a speaking aristocracy in face of the silent democracy,” never had any real political power. With an earnestness begotten of this democratic idealism he was easy of approach and had such natural manners that to all his friends he was the same Tom Page after basking in the gorgeous sunshine of an Italian court as he was as a plain lawyer in Richmond years before any political honors attached to him.

Rosewell Page is his worthy brother. He is an excellent writer, a ready speaker and is possessed of all the characteristics that endeared Tom Page to his friends. This little book is a memorial of fraternal pride and love.

MEMOIRS AND SKETCHES OF THE LIFE OF HENRY ROBINSON POLLARD—

This work has a particular value, as the active life of Mr. Pollard covers the period which followed secession to the present day. Mr. Pollard was a soldier during the war for Southern Independence, and how little the average Confederate soldier apprehended a result other than success is shown by the letters published in the book. Thus James Pollard, brother of the author, writes as late as March 13, 1865, “I am very confident of the ultimate success of our cause.” After the war came college days spent at Columbia College, in the District of Columbia—now George Washington College—his marriage, and days spent in the profession of law and its usual concomitant politics. As a lawyer Mr. Pollard was employed in many important cases and his political activities brought him into connection with all the distinguished men of Virginia and many out of it. He served as Commonwealth’s Attorney of his native county of King and Queen, and for eight years (1881-1889) he served as a member of the House of Delegates. For two years (1891-1893) he was chairman of the Democratic party. Probably the most satisfactory recognition of Mr. Pollard’s character, courage and ability was his selection as City Attorney of Richmond not long after going there to live. This office he held for many years till the hand of time was laid so heavily upon him that, at his request, he withdrew from all duties except such as were advisory.

The introduction to the work was written by Judge Daniel Grinnan, of the city of Richmond, who for many years has known Mr. Pollard.
NOTICE

Annual subscription, $4.00. Single numbers, $1.25.
As back numbers of the old William and Mary Quarterly, of which I was proprietor, have become very scarce, single copies, as far as had, may be obtained from me at $2.00 apiece.

LYON G. TYLER, Editor,
Holdcroft P. O., - - - - Charles City Co., Va.

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FLOYD'S RESIGNATION FROM BUCHANAN'S CABINET.

By Robert M. Hughes.

The article of Mr. Auchampaugh on John B. Floyd in the April number is in gratifying contrast to the usual writings about him, and I am encouraged to hope that the time has come when the facts about his conduct during the latter part of Buchanan's administration may be related and his character vindicated. In the controversies between Buchanan and his Northern critics, Floyd, who was across the lines, was a convenient scape-goat. Dying before the close of the Civil War, the most reckless assertions could be and were made about him without fear of contradiction from him. He was and long remained the favorite mark for that type of "contemporary history" which Judge Black so well described as "not history or biography, nor intended to be; but places of deposit for worn-out calumnies—mere sewers into which the filth of the party is drained off".

It is incumbent on me at the outset to give my sources of in-

In this article I will use the following abbreviated references for the works cited:

Buchanan for "Buchanan's Administration on the Eve of the Rebellion."
Black for "Essays and Speeches of J. S. Black."
Crawford for "Genesis of the Civil War."
Curtis for "Curtis' Life of James Buchanan."
A. I. B. for "Abstracted Indian Bonds Report."
Moore for "Works of James Buchanan."
O. W. R. for "Official War Records."
Rhodes for "History of the United States."
formation insofar as they do not already appear in published works.

My mother, who was a Miss Johnston, was left an orphan at an early age, and was adopted and raised by Mr. and Mrs. Floyd, who had no children, and both of whom were first cousins of her mother. In 1850, while he was Governor of Virginia, she married Robert W. Hughes, then a young lawyer in Richmond, but afterwards distinguished as one of the editors of the Richmond Examiner. They soon returned to Abingdon, Virginia, their home, and remained there till the spring of 1857, when Floyd was appointed Secretary of War by Buchanan. Thereupon they all went to Washington. My mother, Mrs. Hughes, was practically the social head of the Floyd household, as Mrs. Floyd's health was not good. My father, who had been appointed one of the editors of the Washington Union, was Floyd's constant adviser and assistant in the preparation of his papers. He was personally cognizant of everything leading up to and culminating in the resignation. The three letters of Floyd embodied in this article further on were drafted by him, and—except the signatures—are in his hand-writing. Most of Floyd's papers were destroyed when Abingdon was burned in a Northern raid near the close of the civil war, but my father's papers are in my possession, and they contain a few of the Floyd papers.

In 1874 my father was appointed U. S. District Judge of the Eastern District of Virginia by Grant, serving till 1898. He died in 1901.

In the late fall of 1860 the secession movement in South Carolina began to take definite shape. A special session of the Legislature met on November 5th, and on November 10th passed a resolution calling a convention to meet on December 17th to consider the question of secession. At that time the right of a state to secede was an unsettled question; and the right to keep a state in the Union by force, or—to use the phrase prevalent at the time—the right of coercion, was also an unsettled question. South Carolina contended for the right to secede, and asserted as a necessary corollary that the national forts within her limits should be turned over to her. On the other hand the national government insisted that the forts were national property, and
that their seizure would be an act of war. The danger of a collision was recognized by both sides. On December 8th the South Carolina delegation in Congress had an interview with Buchanan in which the importance of preserving the status quo as to the forts was urged, and at Buchanan's request gave him the following memorandum of what was said:

To His Excellency, James Buchanan
President of the United States.

In compliance with our statement to you yesterday, we now express to you our strong convictions that neither the constituted authority nor any body of the people of the State of South Carolina will either attack or molest the United States forts in the harbor of Charleston previous to the act of the Convention, and, we hope and believe, not until an offer has been made through an accredited representative to negotiate for an amicable arrangement of all matters between the State and the Federal Government; provided that no reinforcement shall be sent into those forts, and their relative military status shall remain as at present."

Buchanan objected to the use of the word "provided" as binding him while not binding them, and they disclaimed any such intention, and argued that he could control the situation by preserving the status quo. They claim to have expressly stated that the transfer of a garrison from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter would be equivalent to a reinforcement and lead to a collision. They assert also that, as they started to leave, Buchanan said: "After all, this is a matter of honor among gentlemen; I do not know that any paper or writing is necessary; we understand each other" and also that in case he decided to change his policy, he would return the above paper. (Crawford 38-40).

The South Carolina convention met on December 17th, and passed an ordinance of secession on the 20th.

During all this time the conditions in Charleston harbor were the subject of much discussion in Buchanan's cabinet. A small garrison of government troops was in Fort Moultrie, and on November 15th Major Robert Anderson was sent to take command of the federal forces in the harbor. He saw that his position in Moultrie was untenable if attacked, could not appreciate the political consequences of being reinforced or of shifting to another
fort, and chafed under his situation. Meanwhile the cabinet was divided as to the policy of reinforcing him. Cass and Black favored it, but Floyd and Thompson opposed it, on the ground that it would precipitate a collision. Floyd in conference with those of his way of thinking, declared that he would cut off his right hand before he would sign an order to send reinforcements there, and would resign if the President insisted on doing so. This was on November 36th. (Crawford 29-30).

Anderson’s insistent calls for instructions resulted in a decision by the cabinet to send them by special messenger, and Floyd selected Major Don Carlos Buell for the purpose. On December 7th he had an interview at his residence with Buell and gave him directions verbally to proceed to Charleston and explain the views of the Administration to Anderson, Buell believing that prudential reasons and the difficulty of covering all contingencies were the reason for their not being reduced to writing. He went to Charleston, was with Anderson some days, and just before his departure decided to give Anderson a written memorandum of his instructions as he understood them. It was as follows:

You are aware of the great anxiety of the Secretary of War that a collision of the troops with the people of this State shall be avoided, and of his studied determination to pursue a course with reference to the military force and forts in this harbor which shall guard against such collision. He has therefore carefully abstained from increasing the force at this point, or taking any measures which might add to the present excited state of the public mind, or which would throw any doubt on the confidence he feels that South Carolina will not attempt by violence to obtain possession of the public works, or interfere with their occupancy. But as the counsel and acts of rash and impulsive persons may possibly disappoint these expectations of the Government, he deems it proper that you should be prepared with instructions to meet so unhappy a contingency. He has therefore directed me verbally to give you such instructions.

You are carefully to avoid any act which would needlessly tend to provoke aggression; and for that reason you are not, without evident and imminent necessity, to take up any position which could be construed into the assumption of a hostile attitude. But you are to hold possession of the forts in this harbor, and if attacked you are to defend yourself to the last extremity. The smallness of your force will not permit you, perhaps, to occupy more than one of the three
forts, but an attack on, or an attempt to take possession of any one
of them, will be regarded as an act of hostility, and you may then
put your command into either of them which you may deem most
proper, to increase its power of resistance. You are also authorized
to take similar steps whenever you have tangible evidence of a de-
sign to proceed to a hostile act.

He remained in Charleston till Monday the 17th, when he re-
turned to Washington, made a verbal report of his mission to
Floyd, and left a copy of the above with Drinkard, the chief clerk.
On the 21st, in response to a request from Buchanan, Floyd (who
probably saw it then for the first time) sent him a copy, append-
ing a notation that it was in conformity with his instructions.
Buchanan did not like the part requiring Anderson to resist to
the last extremity, and the following additional instructions were
sent him on the 21st and delivered to him on the 23rd by Captain
John Withers:

Sir: In the verbal instructions communicated to you by Major
Buell, you are directed to hold possession of the forts in the harbor
of Charleston, and, if attacked, to defend yourself to the last ex-
tremity. Under these instructions you might infer that you are re-
quired to make a vain and useless sacrifice of your own life and the
lives of the men under your command, upon a mere point of honor.
This is far from the President’s intentions. You are to exercise a
sound military discretion on this subject.

It is neither expected nor desired that you should expose your
own life or that of your men in a hopeless conflict in defense of these
forts. If they are invested or attacked by a force so superior that
resistance would, in your judgment, be a useless waste of life, it will
be your duty to yield to necessity, and make the best terms in your
power.

This will be the conduct of an honorable, brave, and humane
officer, and you will be fully justified in such action. These orders
are strictly confidential, and not to be communicated even to the offi-
cers under your command, without close necessity.

The South Carolina Convention before adjourning elected
Robert W. Barnwell, James H. Adams and James L. Orr as com-
missioners to proceed to Washington and negotiate with the proper
authorities for the possession of all national holdings within the
limits of the State, for an apportionment of the national debt
and other details "and for the continuance of peace and amity between this Commonwealth and the Government at Washington."

On the night of December 26th, after the departure of the commissioners, Anderson transferred his command from Moultrie to Sumter. It had all the characteristics of a military movement. The utmost precautions were taken to insure secrecy, the guns in Moultrie were spiked and some of their carriages destroyed, the ammunition and supplies moved as far as possible, and the flag staff cut down. The news reached Washington on the 27th, and Floyd sent him the following telegram:

Intelligence has reached here this morning that you have abandoned Fort Moultrie, spiked your guns, burned the carriages, and gone to Fort Sumter. It is not believed, because there is no order for any such movement. Explain the meaning of this report.

Anderson replied as follows:

The telegram is correct. I abandoned Fort Moultrie because I was certain that if attacked my men must have been sacrificed, and the command of the harbor lost. I spiked the guns and destroyed the carriages to keep the guns from being used against us. If attacked, the garrison would never have surrendered without a fight.

The cabinet met immediately. Floyd contended that the action of Anderson was without orders and a breach of faith, and asked permission to order the withdrawal of the troops from the harbor as the only measure possible to restore mutual confidence. But the cabinet was hopelessly divided. Meantime the commissioners arrived, and heard of Anderson's action. They saw Buchanan on the 28th and urged him to order Anderson back to Moultrie, contending that his personal honor was involved. He wanted time to consider, saying that they did not even give him an opportunity to say his prayers. On the 29th Floyd resigned, offering to perform routine duties till his successor was appointed. On the 31st Buchanan accepted his resignation, and placed Holt in temporary charge of the War office.

As to the correctness of the above statement of facts, there can be no reasonable dispute. But Buchanan, in his book published three years after Floyd's death, asserts that Floyd had an-
Floyd's Resignation from Buchanan's Cabinet

other reason for resigning, and that the reason assigned in his letter of resignation was a false issue intended to divert attention from the real one. It is safer to quote Buchanan's own words:

We can refer to a probable cause for this strange conduct on the part of the Secretary. This was, that three days before the South Carolina commissioners reached Washington, the President had communicated to him (23d December) through a distinguished friend and kinsman of his own, a request that he should resign his office, with a statement of the reason why this was made. When he heard this request, he displayed much feeling, but said he would comply with the President's wishes. It is proper to state the reason for this request. On the night before it was made, (23d December) the fact was first made known to the President that 870 State bonds for $1,000 each held in trust by the Government for different Indian tribes, had been purloined from the Interior Department by Godard Bailey, the clerk in charge of them and had been delivered to William H. Russell, a member of the firm of 'Russell, Majors & Waddell.' Upon examination it was discovered that this clerk, in lieu of the bonds extracted, had from time to time received bills of corresponding amount from Russell, drawn by the firm on John B. Floyd, Secretary of War, and by him accepted and indorsed, and this without any lawful authority. In consequence there was found in the safe where the Indian bonds had been kept, a number of these accepted bills, exactly equal in amount to $870,000. These acceptances were thirteen in number, commencing on the 13th September 1860, and had been received by Mr. Bailey, according to his own statement, 'as collateral security for the return of the bonds,' and as such had been placed by him in the safe. It is remarkable that the last of them, dated on the 13th December 1860, had been drawn for the precise sum necessary to make the aggregate amount of the whole number of bonds exactly equal to that of the abstracted bonds.

And here it is due to Secretary Thompson to state, though a digression, that on Monday morning the 24th December, at his own instance, the House of Representatives appointed a committee 'to investigate and report upon the subject,' of which Hon. Mr. Morris, a rancorous opponent of the administration, was the chairman. After a full investigation the committee made their report on the 12th February 1861. In this they state: 'They deem it but justice to add that they have discovered nothing to involve the late Secretary, Hon. Jacob Thompson, in the slightest degree in the fraud, and nothing to indicate that he had any complicity in the transaction, or that he had any knowledge of it until the time of the disclosure by Godard Bailey.' It is to be regretted, for the sake of public justice,
that all the circumstances connected with the abstraction of these bonds had not been subjected to a judicial investigation. This was rendered impossible by the action of the committee itself, in examining John B. Floyd and William H. Russell as witnesses. For this reason they were relieved from all criminal responsibility by the Act of Congress of the 24th January 1857, of the existence of which the Committee seem to have been ignorant. This act provides that no person examined as a witness before a committee of either House of Congress, 'shall be held to answer criminally in any court of justice for any fact or act touching which he shall have testified'. In this manner both Mr. Floyd and Mr. Russell escaped without trial.

To return from our digression. Secretary Floyd's apparent complicity with this fraudulent transaction covered him with suspicion, and, whether this was well or ill founded, rendered it impossible, in the opinion of the President, that he should remain in the Cabinet; and hence the request that he should resign. What effect this request may have produced in suddenly converting him from having been until then an avowed and consistent opponent of secession to one of its most strenuous supporters, may be readily inferred. Certain it is, that immediately after the arrival of the South Carolina commissioners, he became the intimate associate of leading secession Senators, who had just before been in the habit of openly condemning his official conduct.

On the evening of the day after the arrival of these commissioners he boldly assumed his new position, and became the only witness to a pledge which his own instructions of a few days before prove could never have existed. On that evening, in the face of all these facts, he read to the President, in Cabinet council, in a discourteous and excited tone, hitherto unknown, a paper declaring that 'it is evident now, from the action of the commander at Fort Moultrie, that the solemn pledges of this Government have been violated by Major Anderson', and that one remedy only is left, and that is, to withdraw the garrison from the harbor of Charleston altogether. This evidently foreshadowed the demand made by the commissioners on the following day (28th December), of which we have already treated. As he had stated in his reply to them of the 31st December: 'Such an idea was never thought of by me. No allusion had ever been made to it in any communication between myself and any human being.'

The Secretary, on the 29th December, sent to the President the resignation of his office. By this he offered to discharge its duties until his successor should be appointed. It was instantly accepted without reference to this offer, and Postmaster General Holt was transferred to the War Department.

(Buchanan 185–8; Moore XII, 164–7.)
Curtis improves upon Buchanan's account by representing the occurrence as follows:

In a subsequent note to the President, Mr. Floyd offered to perform the duties of the War Department until his successor had been appointed. Without taking any notice of this offer, and with the contemptuous silence that alone could have followed such conduct, the President instantly accepted his resignation, and Postmaster General Holt was transferred to the War Department ad interim. Thus passed out of the service of the United States John B. Floyd, once, like his Father, Governor of Virginia. He was a man fitted by nature, by education and by position for better things than such an ending of an official career. He was no secessionist from conviction, and until the discovery of his irregular acts in issuing acceptances of his Department, he never pretended to be. He seems to have been stung by a consciousness that his letter of resignation was in a bad tone. On the 30th of December he addressed to the President a letter of apology, which, so far as I know, remained unanswered. (Curtis II, 413).

It is to be noted that Curtis gives the full correspondence with Cass, Thompson and Thomas at the time of their respective resignations. So does Moore. But when they come to Floyd they publish simply his formal resignation and his supplemental letter of apology, and omit entirely the letter inclosing the resignation, and Buchanan's letter of acceptance. I will supply the omission by publishing the complete file:

My dear Sir:

I enclose my letter of resignation; but as I do not desire to embarrass you I will perform the routine duties of the office until my successor be appointed if desired by you.

I am very truly your friend

John B. Floyd.

To His Excellency

The President of the United States.

Decr. 29th, 1860.

War Department,
December 29, 1860.

Sir:

On the evening of the 27th instant I read the following paper to you in the presence of the Cabinet:
Council Chamber,  
Executive Mansion.

Sir:

It is evident now from the action of the commander of Fort Moultrie, that the solemn pledges of this government have been violated by Maj. Anderson. In my judgment but one remedy is now left us by which to vindicate our honor and prevent civil war. It is in vain now to hope for confidence on the part of the people of South Carolina in any farther pledges as to the action of the military. One remedy only is left, and that is to withdraw the garrison from the harbour of Charleston altogether. I hope the President will allow me to make that order at once. This order in my judgment can alone prevent bloodshed and civil war.

John B. Floyd,  
Secretary of War.  
December 27, 1860.

To the President

I then considered the honor of the administration pledged to maintain the troops in the position they occupied; for such had been the assurance given to the gentlemen of South Carolina who had a right to speak for her. South Carolina, on the other hand, gave reciprocal pledges that no force should be brought by them against the troops or against the property of the United States. The sole object of both parties to these reciprocal pledges was to prevent collision and the effusion of blood; in the hope that some means might be found for a peaceful accommodation of the existing troubles; the two Houses of Congress having both raised committees looking to that object. Thus affairs stood until Major Anderson's step—unfortunately taken, while Commissioners were on their way to this Capital on a peaceful commission looking to the avoidance of bloodshed—has complicated matters in the existing manner. Our refusal or even our delay to place affairs back as they stood under our agreement, invites a collision and must inevitably inaugurate civil war. I cannot consent to be the agent of such a calamity. I deeply regret to feel myself under the necessity of tendering to you my resignation as Secretary of War, because I can no longer hold the office under my convictions of patriotism, nor with honor, subjected, as I am, to a violation of solemn pledges and pledged faith.

With the highest personal regard,  
I am, most truly yours,  
John B. Floyd.

To His Excellency  
The President of the United States.  

My dear Sir:

I understand from Genl. Jeffn. Davis, that you regard my letter
of resignation as "offensive to you". I beg to assure you that I am deeply pained by this intelligence. Nothing could have been further from my wish and nothing more repugnant to my feelings. If there is any sentence or expression which you regard in that light, I will take sincere pleasure in changing it. The facts and the ideas alone were in my mind when I penned the letter; and I repeat that nothing could have been further from my intention than to wound your feelings. My friendship for you has been and is sincere and unselfish; I have never been called upon by an imperious sense of duty to perform any act which has given me so much pain as to separate myself from your administration, and this feeling would be greatly aggravated by the belief that in this separation I had said anything which could give you pain or cause of offense.

I beg to assure you that I am very truly and sincerely your friend

John B. Floyd.

Washington 31 December, 1860.

My dear Sir:

I have received and accepted your resignation of the office of Secretary of War; and not wishing to impose upon you the task of performing mere routine duties which you have so kindly offered to do, I have authorized the Postmaster General to administer the affairs of the Department until your successor shall be appointed.

Yours very respectfully,

James Buchanan

Hon. John B. Floyd.

The importance of the entire correspondence is apparent. It unmasks Buchanan's subsequent pose of instantly accepting the resignation in a burst of righteous indignation. It was not accepted "instantly," unless two days constitute an instant. It was not "without reference to the offer" to perform the routine duties of the office, but expressly referred to such offer. It did not put in issue a single statement contained in the letter of resignation, contrary to the form of the letters accepting the Cass and Thompson resignations.

And the "contemptuous silence" of Curtis is his own creation, brought about by suppressing the last letter of the correspondence.

1. Buchanan denies strenuously that his interview with the South Carolina delegation of December 8th committed him to anything or could be the basis for a charge of bad faith.
Evidently it could not be considered an express promise on either side. But it was at least a mutual expression of an intention on both sides to preserve the status quo until notice to the contrary was given. It was to all intents and purposes a gentleman's understanding, to hold until Buchanan returned the paper which the delegation had left with him. Crawford, one of Anderson's officers, and certainly no friend of Floyd, considered it an agreement. (Crawford, 25 n.) As the parties were negotiating and commissioners from one side were actually en route for Washington, and both sides were actuated by the same motive of trying to keep the peace, a formal pledge was really unimportant, for common fairness would be expected to restrain them from trying to take advantage of each other. On any contrary theory South Carolina could have captured Anderson and garrison while they were in Moultrie without serious difficulty. In fact Buchanan himself declared that he had acted in the same manner as if there was a positive and formal agreement. (Rhodes III, 237)

2. Buchanan contends that Floyd's instructions to Anderson authorized the latter to change from Moultrie to Sumter, and negatived the statement in the letter of resignation that such action was a violation of orders, or breach of faith.

It has already been seen that these orders had been shown to Buchanan on December 21st. Anderson was directed "carefully to avoid every act which would needlessly tend to provoke aggression" and not "without evident and imminent necessity to take up any position which could be construed into the assumption of a hostile attitude." He was authorized to consider an attack on or attempt to take possession of any one of the forts as an act of hostility, and in such case to put his command into either of them which he thought most proper to increase its power of resistance; and he was empowered to take similar steps whenever he had tangible evidence of a design to proceed to a hostile act.

It is impossible to reconcile his night removal, his spiking of the guns left behind and destruction of their carriages, and that too at a time when commissioners were on their way to Washington, with these instructions. In his telegram to Adjutant General Cooper the night of December 26th and his telegram replying to Floyd's telegram charging him with having acted without
orders, he does not pretend to base his action on them. Not a shot had been fired at him, not a trench dug against him. No tangible evidence of a design to attack him was ever mentioned by him. In his written communication dated the day after his change of base, he contented himself with the bare vague assertion of the opinion that many things convinced him that the authorities of the State designed to proceed to a hostile act. He does not name a scintilla of "tangible evidence" prior to his act. He could not have supposed that the authorities of the State intended to attack him at the very time when their commission was on its journey to Washington bearing a public resolution of their convention "for the continuance of peace and amity between this Commonwealth and the Government at Washington." He could not have done anything better calculated "to provoke aggression" or more likely to be "construed into the assumption of a hostile attitude."

His contemporaneous writings negative the idea that his action was based on his orders. In his answer to Floyd's telegram of December 27th stating that there was no order for such a movement, he does not deny the statement, but said that he abandoned Moultrie because he was certain that if attacked his men must have been sacrificed and the command of the harbor lost. In his report to Adjutant General Cooper dated the same day (after stating his opinion that the State authorities designed to proceed to a hostile act, but giving no "tangible evidence" of such design) he says that in answer to Pickens, he told him that the removal was made on his own responsibility because he was in a position that he could not defend, and as the best means of avoiding bloodshed. On the same day he writes to his friend, Robert N. Gourdin of Charleston:

"I have only time to say that the movement of my command to this place was made on my own responsibility—not in obedience to orders from Washington. I did it because in my opinion it was the best way of preventing the shedding of blood."

(Crawford 123. Italics mine)

In a letter written December 30th to his former rector, he says:
"You say that you had marvelled that I had not been ordered to hold Fort Sumter instead of Fort Moultrie. Much has been said about my having come here on my own responsibility. Unwilling to see my little band sacrificed, I determined, after earnestly awaiting instructions as long as I could, to avail myself of the earliest opportunity of extricating myself from my dangerous position. God be praised! He gave me the will and led me in the way."

(Crawford 130. Italics mine).

Buchanan himself did not consider at the time that Anderson had acted within his orders. They were fresh in Buchanan's mind, because he had studied them on December 21st. His contemporaneous construction of them is given in his letter of December 31st to the South Carolina commissioners. He says:

"It is well known that it was my determination, and this I freely expressed, not to reinforce the forts in the harbor and thus produce a collision, until they had been actually attacked, or until I had certain evidence that they were about to be attacked."

(Moore XI, 81. Italics mine).

Further on, in the same letter he says:

"Under these circumstances, it is clear that Major Anderson acted on his own responsibility, unless, indeed, he had tangible evidence of a design to proceed to a hostile act, which has not yet been alleged. Still he is a brave and honorable officer, and justice requires that he should not be condemned without a fair hearing."

(Id. 83)

The fact is that Anderson was a soldier, feeling heavily his responsibility for the lives of his handful of men, realizing the untenability of Moultrie and unappreciative of the political consequences. I do not mean by the above to criticise him, I only protest against the attempt to shift the responsibility to Floyd.

In a brochurelette by Eba Anderson Lawton entitled "Major Robert Anderson and Fort Sumter" we find the following outburst:

"The readers of to-day will realize the infamy of the instructions given to Major Anderson by the official in authority, the Secretary of War. The public orders were to defend the fort to the last extremity.
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The secret 'confidential' order instructed the Major to give up the fort without a fight. It is an evidence of the loyal reticence of the man that he kept this secret to himself throughout his life.

If Major Anderson had made public that confidential order, the whole condition of affairs might have been changed.

It is probable that the White House would have been mobbed and Buchanan, the weak-kneed President, and Floyd and the other men in authority, who were traitors to their oath, would have been justly called to account.”

The fact is that both orders were confidential, the first really more so than the second, for it was given verbally as an extra precaution and reduced to writing by Buell four days later. The second was Buchanan's handiwork, not Floyd's, and did not instruct Anderson to give up the fort without a fight. It is a matter of course with a military officer to keep his instructions secret; and if the dead can know, Anderson must have turned in his grave when this Amazonian advocate of lynch law claimed credit for such an act.

3. In the extract quoted from Buchanan he asserts that on December 23rd he had sent a message to Floyd asking for his resignation on account of the connection of his name with the defalcation in the Interior Department. He does not state that he believed Floyd guilty of any improper connection with it, but places it on the ground that the mere fact of his being suspected of complicity was sufficient ground for demanding his resignation. The alleged bearer of the message was Vice-president Breckinridge. (Curtis II, 581).

Floyd died at my Father's house on Aug. 26, 1863. Buchanan's book was published in 1866.

I can find no evidence of this demand except Buchanan's statement. It is true that Black and Holt repeat it, but without claiming any personal knowledge, and evidently on Buchanan's authority. My Father always indignantly denied that any such demand ever reached Floyd, and I have a notation of his on Black's book, taking issue with the statement repeated therein.

Notwithstanding the difficulty of proving a negative, I contend that the circumstances are against his statement. It was not a creditable way of going about it. If he thought a member of
his cabinet guilty of complicity in an embezzlement, he should have removed him instantly. If he thought a member the object of an unjust suspicion, every consideration of manliness and fairness should have prompted him to stand by his official to the last. In either case no intermediary was necessary to a man of courage.

He claims to have sent this message on December 23rd. But Floyd does not resign until the 29th, and is permitted to attend cabinet meetings until his resignation. So far from being ignored, he is consulted on one of the most exciting questions of that exciting time. On December 20th directions had been given at the War Department for the shipment of a number of cannon from Pittsburg to Southern forts. On December 25th a telegram was sent to Buchanan by Pittsburg citizens urging that the order be countermanded on account of the excitement. Buchanan refers it to Floyd with the following letter:

“Christmas Evening 1860.

Governor Floyd:

My Dear Sir: I send you a telegram which I have this moment received from Pittsburg.

Your friend, very respectfully

James Buchanan”

This was the form in which Buchanan addressed Floyd in every letter which I have been able to locate, except the letter of December 31st accepting the resignation. That is simply signed “Yours very respectfully”. And yet he would have us believe that on the 23rd he asks his resignation on account of suspected complicity in a fraud, and on the 25th addresses him as a friend!

“And Joab said to Amasa, ‘Art thou in health my brother?’ And Joab took Amasa by the beard with the right hand to kiss him. But Amasa took no heed to the sword that was in Joab’s hand; so he smote him therewith in the fifth rib”.

But after all, the most convincing proof that Buchanan’s demand was a mythical one, and that Floyd’s reason for his resignation was not a pretense, is the fact that Buchanan permitted him to get away with it. The supposed request remains in a state of suspended animation for six days, no issue is made with Floyd
about it. Buchanan considered himself offended by the language of the resignation, and owed Floyd no mercy. Yet the resignation is accepted without comment and without protest.

If any such demand had been made, my Father would have been bound to know it. Yet on December 28th he writes from Washington to my Mother (who was then in Abingdon, Va.):

"My dear wife

Since I wrote you yesterday, the news has come of Maj. Anderson's movement in the Charleston forts. This puts a new phase on that question. The policy now insisted on by the South is a withdrawal of the troops altogether. It is possible that the President will accede to this measure, though only possible; as the northern pressure upon him is very great. Thus the cabinet is again in a crisis. I would not be surprised if your Uncle John carried his point.

If he does not succeed I suppose he will resign"

On the next day he writes as follows:

My dear wife:

I have just sent your Uncle John's letter of resignation to the President. The grounds of the resignation are these.

With a view to prevent collision and bloodshed the administration gave solemn assurances to South Carolina that there would be no change in the status of the troops within her limits. South Carolina gave assurances on the other hand that she would bring no forces against the troops or property of the United States. Maj. Anderson without orders deserted one fort and took Fort Sumpter while the S. Ca. commissioners were on their way here on a peaceful mission, and while each House of Congress had a committee raised to effect a peaceful settlement of the troubles. Your Uncle John demanded the withdrawal of the troops from Fort Sumpter as a means of vindicating the honor of the administration and of preventing the inauguration of civil war in the land. The President and Cabinet hesitate to vindicate their own honor. Hence he resigns".

4. Before resuming the discussion of the reasons given in Buchanan's book, it is proper to notice briefly this matter of the Pittsburg guns. So far as the shipment of muskets to Southern arsenals is concerned, Floyd's action has been explained so clearly
that even his fiercest critics have abandoned it, and it is now repeated only by the wofully ignorant or wilfully false. But his order to ship the Pittsburg guns to the South was so recent that the accusation of treachery as to them is sometimes repeated. It appears that the order was first given on October 20th (Rhodes, III, 239). It is admitted that Floyd was then strenuously opposed to secession, having written a letter to that effect to the Richmond Enquirer as late as December 3rd. The order of December 20th was simply an order to take the guns for these forts from the Pittsburg arsenal. At that time the States to which the guns were directed had not seceded, and no one could assume that they would. Virginia, Floyd’s own State, was then opposed to secession. The order was merely a routine order, and Buchanan himself saw nothing improper in it, or he would not have referred the telegram of the Pittsburg citizens to his alleged discredited Secretary of War on December 25th without countermanding it. He did ask Black about it, and on the 27th Black wrote him as follows:

“Mr. President: The enclosed are the two orders of the War Department. I suppose the forts happened to be in that state of progress which made these guns necessary just about this time, and they were directed to be sent without any motive beyond what would have caused the same act at any other time.” (Curtis, II, 309n).

The order was not revoked till after Floyd’s resignation, and probably would have excited no further comment but for the subsequent controversy between Scott and Buchanan as to which of the two was entitled to credit for stopping them.

5. I must now discuss the question of the acceptances. During Buchanan’s administration the Mormons had been giving trouble, and an expedition had been sent to Utah under Col. A. S. Johnston to control them. It was called the “Utah War.” The troops had to be supplied by wagons across the Great American Desert, some of which were intercepted by the Mormons. The slowness of communication caused great delay in the accounts, and the panic of 1857 impaired the ability of Russell, Majors & Waddell, the contractors, to handle their contract. Floyd therefore, at their request, accepted their drafts or orders upon him, to
be charged against their earnings. If he had not done so, the
troops might have starved. There was a clerk in the Interior
Department named Godard Bailey. His wife was a cousin of
Floyd, and he owed his job to Floyd. On December 19th it was
discovered that he had abstracted from the invested Indian funds
of the Interior Department $870,000 of State bonds and turned
them over to Russell, receiving as collateral an equivalent amount
of the Floyd acceptances. He claimed to have done it to protect
Floyd’s reputation, on the theory that Floyd would have to resign
if the acceptances were protested. (A. I. B. 259; 270.) He gave
Drinkard, Floyd’s chief clerk, as his authority for this supposed
result; but Drinkard denied that he had ever said anything of
the sort (A. I. B. 130). His peculations had been going on since
the previous July, and some of the acceptances had in fact been
protested as far back as September without any such result. There
was never a syllable of evidence to show that Floyd knew anything
about it till the exposure. None of his associates, even those hos-
tile to him, believed that he had anything to do with it. He left
Washington so poor that he had to borrow money to pay his ex-
penses home. (Black 13: Rhodes III, 238). The worst that has
been said of him even by the committee ostensibly investigating
the Interior Department, but really investigating him, was that
he was careless in keeping an account of these acceptances.

Buchanan however says that the issue of these acceptances was
without legal authority, and an undated memorandum of his was
found among his papers, in which he contended that on hearing
of them he had forbidden Floyd to issue any more. (Curtis II.
407). But Buchanan’s memoranda were not always contemporane-
ous, and every lawyer knows that any others are regarded as
self-serving and worse than worthless. (Curtis II, 600). He
mentions no such interview in his book, Black says nothing of it;
and the memorandum appears for the first time in Curtis, pub-
lished twenty years after Floyd’s death. He does not even give
the investigating committee any information as to these instruc-
tions to his subordinate, though the authority for their issue was
one of the questions under investigation and Judah P. Benjamin
was examined as a witness. (A. I. B. 297). He (Benjamin) stated
in substance that about a year or eighteen months previously he
had been asked his opinion as to their legality, that he called upon Buchanan, who said he knew nothing about it, that he did not know by virtue of what law they had been issued, and that he might rely if Floyd had issued them, he had done so by virtue of some law; and he referred him to Floyd, who stated that the matter had not been submitted to the Attorney General (as Benjamin's informant had stated) but in pursuance of a long established custom of the office. Benjamin also testified that he had advised Floyd against issuing them on account of the risk to the supplies from Indians or other causes, and that Floyd had expressed an intention to issue no more. Benjamin nowhere says that the practice was illegal. His testimony at least brings home to Buchanan knowledge of the practice long before the denouncement. He did not publicly deny their legality till the publication of his book in 1866.

If the matter had been referred to the Attorney General, their legality would have been sustained, for Black was then filling that office. The matter later came before the courts, and Black accepted a retainer from one of the holders. In his argument before the Supreme Court he says:

"But, while I contend for this rule, I do not admit that there was anything wrong in the exercise of Mr. Floyd's authority. He violated no law; he disregarded no duty which he owed to the Government. They say that the acceptance of these bills was in conflict with the acts of 1822, 1846, and 1853. The slightest glance at these acts will thoroughly satisfy you that this whole transaction goes perfectly clear of all collision with these statutes, or any of them. It is not pretended that the acceptances were given for any corrupt reason, or that there was any fraudulent collusion between him and the drawer to make the United States pay more money than they ought".

(Black 477).

The Supreme Court decided by a vote of 5 to 3 that the issue of the acceptances was illegal (The Floyd Acceptances 7 Wall, 666). The dissenting justices were Clifford, Grier and Nelson. The latter well says in his dissenting opinion:

"It will thus be seen that contracts for the subsistence and clothing of the Army and Navy by the secretaries are not tied up by any
necessity of an appropriation or law authorizing it. The reason of this is obvious. The Army and Navy must be fed and clothed, and cared for at all times and places, and especially when in distant service. The Army in Mexico or Utah are not to be disbanded and left to take care of themselves because the appropriation by Congress for the service has been exhausted, or no law can be found on the statute book authorizing a contract for supplies. The above Act confers upon the secretaries full authority to contract for these supplies, and which bind the Government; and the most ready and convenient mode of accomplishing this would be by accepting bills of exchange drawn by the contractors of the distant Army or Navy upon the secretaries at home.”

This decision was not rendered till 1869. On February 23, 1861 Caleb Cushing gave an opinion that the acceptances were legally issued. If therefore Floyd was wrong, he was at least in good company, including two Attorneys General and three of the eight justices of the Supreme court.

6. I must now discuss the indictments against Floyd. Buchanan expresses regret that Floyd was not brought to trial, and holds the investigating committee to blame for this result on account of examining him as a witness and thus bringing him under the Act of January 24, 1857 protecting witnesses from prosecution. He implies that the committee were ignorant of the act. On the contrary, they were familiar with it, and called Russell’s attention to it.” (A. I. B. II). They summoned Floyd before them on December 31st, the very day his resignation was accepted. Did Buchanan expect him to disregard the summons? Such an act would have condemned him forever.

The court records show that on January 29, 1861 he was indicted jointly with Bailey and Russell for conspiracy to defraud the Government. At the same term he was indicted (separately of course) for malfeasance in office. Long before this he had gone home to Abingdon. He returned to Washington, gave bail and demanded a trial. On March 7, 1861 the following order was entered in the conspiracy case:

“In this case, there being no proof to sustain the charge, a nolle prosequi is entered.”
In the malfeasance case the indictment was quashed on an agreed statement of facts on March 20, 1861. It is explained by the following letter from Mr. Carlisle his counsel:

"Court room March 20/61.

Dear Sir:

I do not know whether you will approve the course which I have taken in respect to the prosecution against you for alleged malfeasance in making and issuing certain acceptances as Secy. of War. But it seems to me that any other course would be simply productive of expense and vexation, and must result in precisely the same thing before the case would be half developed on the facts.

You will remember that after you had come voluntarily into Court & given bail, the Court delivered its opinion in the case of William H. Russell, giving a judicial construction to the Act of Congress approved 24 Jan'y 1857, and declared that no prosecution could be entertained by the Court against any person for any fact or act touching which he should have been required to testify & have given testimony before any comee of Congress. The Court held this to be not the personal privilege of the witness, but the positive prohibition of the statute. It seemed to me therefore that as the fact of your examination must appear on the trial in the development of the facts, and that, it so appearing, the prosecution must then be abruptly terminated, it was better to ask the direction of the Court in advance. And, the District Attorney agreeing, we submitted an informal statement of the fact (no plea being pleaded for you except not guilty) & the Court on that statement being filed, ordered the indictment to be quashed.

I was the more disposed to adopt this course as before going in the District Attorney had publicly announced to the Court that there was no evidence to sustain the charge of being concerned in the matter of the trust bonds, and had entered a nolle prosequi in that case.

I think your defence before the public, which I have read with great satisfaction, ought to content you.

Very truly yrs.

J. M. Carlisle

Hon. J. B. Floyd.

I have found nothing in Buchanan's writings to show that he had any agency in procuring these indictments. His friend Black however states this to be a fact (Black 13; 266).

The indictment was not found till the end of January. Floyd had been at home in Abingdon for at least two weeks. Buchanan and Black certainly knew of the Act of 1837, and that any prose-
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Cution would necessarily break down. To have dragged that poor man from Abingdon to Washington at that late day and to have subjected him to the humiliation of having to give bail and the expense of employing counsel would have been a piece of petty malignity of which Buchanan would not have been guilty. Floyd never suspected Buchanan of it, and in a defense published at the time attributed it to the committee of investigation composed of political opponents and trying to make political capital.

The enmity to Floyd shown in Buchanan's book is largely attributable to misrepresentations of a speech made by Floyd on January 11, 1861 at a banquet given in his honor in Richmond. Buchanan was led to believe that Floyd had denounced him in that speech. (Moore XI, 309: 312). The only report of this speech which I have been able to see is in the New Herald of January 17, 1861. In it there is not an unkind word about Buchanan. The latter states (in the above quotation) that he had never been able to get a copy of the speech.

Buchanan in the quotation from his book represents Floyd at the cabinet meeting as reading a paper "in a discourteous and excited tone hitherto unknown", and attributes it to the arrival of the South Carolina commissioners. An easier way to account for it is the arrival of the news from Sumter.

I have long hesitated about writing this article, because it is impossible to be meanly-mouthed in it. I hope I have not been any more severe than those to whom I am replying.

SKETCHES FROM THE JOURNAL OF A CONFEDERATE SOLDIER.

Samuel Elias Mays.

(Continued from page 54.)

Campaign of 1863.

The winter of 1862-63 was spent on the line of the Rapidan and with little fighting. The pickets of each army had learned to respect each other, and on many occasions actually traded with each other. Usually it was tobacco for coffee.
In the early part of 1863 the Regt. was ordered to the valley of Virginia to recruit our wasted horses. In March, 1863, therefore, we crossed the Blue Ridge Mountains into the great valley of Virginia at Magruder's gap, and camped for a week or so at that point of it known as Page Valley, an off shoot, so to speak, of the main valley. From here we proceeded by slow marches up the valley, travelling south through Port Republic, Waynesboro, and through the Tye River Gap to the eastern side of the Blue Ridge and halting near Amherst C. H., and not far from Lynchburg. At this place I applied for a furlough, on the ground that I had been more than two years in active service and had never been furloughed, nor applied for a furlough. It was granted me for thirty days. I took the train at the station nearest me and went down to Lynchburg, where I took train to Greenville, Tenn, from which point I took stage to Greenville, S. C. Leaving the stage at John Goodwin's on the Saluda River, I walked from there to Saluda, S. C., a distance of about seven miles. This was in May, and I stayed at home for sixty days. During that time I was practically on duty all the time, hunting deserters in the mountains, and I could see that it was about the same as being at the front all the while. We captured a good many deserters and broke up several whiskey stills and exchanged shots now and then with deserters from our own army, but fortunately I was not injured. For my own part I would rather be engaged with a common enemy than searching our hills for these miserable deserters. You never knew from what direction a bullet might be aimed at you. However, I was at home now and then with my wife and baby. There was one consolation, however,—during my stay home I missed the great Gettysburg campaign. I was not sorry of this as my Regt. was in all the engagements from Gettysburg to Culpeper, and did its full duty and suffered accordingly. General Meade, it seems, had been more careful in following Lee and our Cavalry had had less fighting (rear-guard fighting) than in Lee's retreat the year before.

On my return to the army I found my Regt. doing picket duty on the Rappahannock, in the front as usual, as that was necessary. The infantry was very much used up by the tremen-
dous campaign in Pennsylvania and the incessant fighting and forced marching. Our camp was in front of the infantry and near the Orange and Alexandria Railroad. On Aug. 1st, 1863, the Yankees made a reconnaissance in force which came near wiping out Hampton's brigade entirely, and which did render it unfit for duty to a large extent and caused it, together with the contest at Jack's shops a month later, to be sent back to S. C. in the spring of the next year to recruit. Gen. Hampton was severely wounded at Gettysburg. Our Col. M. C. Butler lost a leg at Brandy Station and our Brigade was under the command of Col. P. M. B. Young, of the Cobb Legion of Cavalry. P. M. B. Young was after made Maj. General; Col. Butler was also made Maj. Gen. and Hampton Lt. General.

Word came to Col. Young on the night of the 31st of July that the Yankees were crossing the Rappahannock in force. This was reported by our pickets at that place and the crossing was at the railroad bridge and consisted of a large force of cavalry and a large force of infantry to support the cavalry. At daybreak the next morning, the 1st of August, the bugles sounded "Saddle up" instead of the usual "reveille", and no delay was made in carrying it into effect. We hastily swallowed our scanty rations, bundled our impediments into the wagons and started them to the rear, fell into line, counted off, and took up our march to meet the enemy. We did not have to go far, not more than two miles.

Before we met the enemy in force we took position on the west of the railroad at the foot of a hill and about half a mile from the railroad bridge across the Rappahannock. The 1st S. C. took position on our left and our battery was still to the left of them and about 100 yards from it. A pitiful sight we presented for battle! Our entire Regt. did not have a decent squadron; the 1st S. C. was still feeble in appearance. I saw some of their horses fall from weakness when deploying into line, and all but able-bodied men were sent to the rear. The 1st Ga., the Philippus Legion, and Jeff Davis Legion took position on the east of the R. R., the Cobb Legion being the nearest the R. R. on the east and our Regt., the Second S. C., the nearest on the west. We were ordered to hold this position at all hazards. The usual
artillery duel began, our battery firing the first shot. We could not see the enemy. The enemy replied promptly and with wonderful accuracy. They could not see us yet, but every shot flew just over our heads and exploded about 100 yards in our rear, and a blanket would have covered the space where every shell exploded. Fortunately, they did no damage, but it was only because they could not see us. About noon the enemy began their advance and our battery was withdrawn. They came around the base of the hill at the foot of which we were drawn up to meet them. They advanced in columns of squadrons by brigades in perfect alignment, preceded by mounted skirmishers and pioneers. There was a rail fence between us, but they soon tore that down and came on. As there were fully six to one, there was no other course to pursue but retire, which we were ordered to do. We retired in perfect order slowly, throwing out our skirmishers to the rear. They advanced slowly till after we had passed the railroad station, when they made a little better time after they had succeeded in driving back the Cobb Legion on our right and were throwing a Regt. on our left flank, having driven back the 1st S. C., and immediately commenced an alignment of a Regt. in our rear, distance about fifty yards or less, so they were firing on us from three sides at once. We had here overtaken our artillery, which had moved very slowly, and we were ordered to protect it. We had a few charges of grapeshot left, which we began to pour into their ranks in our rear, distance about 100 yards. It was very much like making a pet shot into a bevy of quail with small shot. Of course, I do not know how many were killed, but in a few moments the field was full of horses without riders, scampering away as fast as they could, and many were dead or dying on the ground. Our battery at this time saved the Sec. S. C. Regt. from annihilation. By this time we had completely lost all organization and the men were very much mixed up.

It was here that the Lt. of my Company, Pierce Williams, was mortally wounded. We were rising a little hill to cross the railroad and our Col., whose horse was wounded, would not permit us to go out of a walk. At this point the Cobb Legion rallied and made a charge on our right and drove back the Yankees threatening us on that side, leaving us an egress unmolested,
and we were ordered to take advantage of same. We were marched to the top of the hill overlooking Culpeper, where we were again formed into columns of fours. The Enemy had continued their march with great persistency and had forced their way to the foot of the hill upon which we were posted, and almost within our infantry lines. We were ordered to charge them, which we did with our usual shout. We drove them back easily and with severe loss to them to where a Yankee general and his staff were sitting on horseback reconnoitering, and into his escort. Here “Bill Rhame” of my Company had his horse killed and was dismounted, and the Yankee officers all seemed to be shooting at him at only a few yards length with their pistols. I never expected to see him alive again, but we could render him no assistance as every man had his own hands full.

In the beginning of this charge as we overtook the Yankees, a young man of Capt. Westfield’s company was riding alongside a Yankee, hewing at his head with his saber, when the Yankee raised his carbine and shot him dead, and then immediately threw up his hands to surrender. I could have easily run him through with my saber, but that would have been murder. He was fearfully wounded and was only acting in self defence. He seemed very much distressed at having killed our trooper. It seemed to me that none of the Yankee cavalry had been trained to the use of the sword. Our trooper should never have struck this fellow overhanded, but stuck him with a thrust. All our old men had been well trained in sword drill, but this fellow was a new recruit. His error cost him his life.

We were pretty well armed, all having good carbines (a short rifle) and good swords and most of the men had pistols, but these were muzzle loaders, and it was out of the question to load a pistol during action. The carbines used a paper cartridge that all we had to do was to bite off the end of the paper and ram the cartridge down and put on a cap and you were ready again. These carbines carried a ball nearly as large as the end of your thumb, and at close range did fearful execution. They could also be used with buckshot, which was even worse than the balls.

The pressure on our right grew so heavy that Gen. Lee sent another battery to help us out, which seemed to do no good at
all. The firing was about as heavy and continuous as any infantry battle, in fact we were fighting as infantry. McGowan's Brigade of Infantry was sent to our assistance, but they only stayed with us about ten minutes. I saw one man of that brigade wounded in the finger being taken off the field with two able bodied men on each side supporting him, and, if I remember correctly, one behind him. Pretty soon after this Gen. Johnson's division of infantry was ordered to our assistance and they soon put a different face upon matters. The enemy could not stand their order of going, and they soon drove the enemy off the field. Before Johnson's men were ordered in, however, a remnant from every Regt. of our Cavalry had gotten together on the Brandy Station road and determined to make a charge, and that too with officers. There were in all about 200 of us, and among them I saw one of my old college classmates (Chapman). We exchanged salutes but had no time for talk. We charged down the road and stopped a Yankee command that was advancing. They retreated and we did not come in contact with them. In this charge we penetrated the enemy's line some distance, and the road was so worn down that the banks on the side of the road were higher than a man's head on horseback. On our return we came back at full speed as we had gone. I was riding a fast pony and a young fellow just at my left had his horse shot dead just as we passed the enemy's battle line. It looked like he was in hard luck and likely to be captured, but the man was at the top of the hill and in safety before I was, altho my pony was doing his level best.

We did no more fighting that day. At about sundown I rode up to where we had charged upon a Yankee general and his staff and found that the scattered remnants of the Sec. S. C. Regt. were slowly collecting, possibly 200 or more. I was tired, yes, utterly exhausted. I dismounted and was lying on the ground resting when Lo and behold! who should walk up unhurt but "Bill Rhame", who I had seen dismounted and fired at more than a dozen times at almost arms length by Yankee officers. They all missed him and in the confusion Bill contrived to get into an old ditch which ran near, and thus escaped. It was miraculous. At the close of this battle our brigade had no head, nearly every field officer having been more or less seriously wounded.
Our Adjutant, James Moore, told me that we had gone into action with less than 1000 men and that we had fought fully 5000 cavalry, with infantry supports, or about six to one. We slowly sought a new camp and our wagons came to us and we rested a day or two. We lost no prisoners here, only Campbell Williams, who was left with his brother, Lt. Williams, on the field who had been mortally wounded and could not be moved. Priestly Maxwell and Campbell Williams were left with him and Maxwell only left just in time to prevent capture, which was sure. Campbell Williams was taken prisoner and sent to Washington and Lt. Pierce Williams died next day from his wounds. In men and horses Hampton's brigade was reduced to about half its strength, but our greatest loss was in horses. Soon after this the infantry of the army retired beyond the Rapidan, but we held our position till we were driven back across the Rapidan by the Yankee Cavalry.

Near Brandy Station.

Our losses at Brandy Station were very heavy indeed. Our Col. M. C. Butler had his leg shot off and our Lt. Col. Frank Hampton was killed, also our Lt. Pierce Williams. In men and horses we were reduced to almost half strength and about two weeks after this battle we were driven back across the Rapidan by the enemy's cavalry. The enemy numbered about six to one, and I suppose they whipped us.

After retreating across the Rapidan we camped near Germantown, a small hamlet about three miles from Culpeper, on or near the Fredericksburg road from that place. We had been here but a few weeks when the enemy made their advance very early, and our Regiment was in line and ready to move before I knew it. I had failed to wake, and Capt. Williams of my company woke me and my chum, Priestly Maxwell, and told us to hurry or we would be caught. I think that I got up and in line quicker than I ever did in my life. We usually slept with our clothes on and it only required a few minutes to saddle up. The Regiment had begun movement when I got in ranks. We were marched to the foot of Pony Mountain. At this point we had a good view
of the fighting in the town of Culpeper between W. H. F. Lee’s brigade and the Yankees, and they were driving Lee. We could plainly see each charge and counter charge. They had as yet not molested us, but that old fighting cock “Wade Hampton” was not going to stand by and see our men run over, so he opened up on the enemy with Hart’s battery. This drew their attention to us and we soon heard from them. They opened up on us with artillery, directing their shots so as to strike the ground between two pieces of woods where we were compelled to cross. They had the range exactly. We were ordered to cross at full speed, single file, between shots. We got through safely, or at least I did, but it seemed that the air was full of shells and each shell seemed to have a peculiar scream as it passed. It sounded like they were asking: “Where are you?” After we had passed this shell zone the enemy charged us with their cavalry and were so persistent that we had to form in fours and charge them. We were successful in this charge and drove them back, but in this charge Willie Beattie was shot in the left temple. Beattie was my right hand man in column of fours, the others being Wave Stailey and Joel Goodlet. Goodlet and I carried Beattie off the field. Fortunately for some body a very heavy rain set in at this time and put a stop to all warlike demonstrations, and our Regiment quietly proceeded to the Raccoon ford on the Rapidan and went into camp. Beattie was seriously wounded, and I was detailed to go with him to Gordonsville, our nearest hospital.

Gen. Hampton had fully recovered from his wound received at Gettysburg, and had been appointed Maj. Gen. of Cavalry, and the following brigades assigned to his division, viz: his old brigade under Col. P. M. B. Young of the Cobb Legion, (our senior Col., M. C. Butler, being promoted to a Brigadier); W. H. F. Lee’s brigade of Virginians and Barringer’s brigade of North Carolinians—three brigades in all. We assembled in front of the infantry and did duty in picketing the various fords of the Robinson River between Orange C. H. and Culpeper C. H. The Robert son River is a very small stream and does not deserve the appellation of River. It is an affluent of the Rapidan. About Sept 1st, 1863, the enemy attempted a raid on Gordonsville and Charlottsville to destroy our stores there, and they started on it with
a considerable force, both of Cavalry and Artillery. They crossed
the Robertson River at one of the upper fords and headed for Stan-
nardsville. This, of course, put us in motion to prevent it, and
very early in the morning we started to head them off, Lt. Col.
Gordon being in command of our brigade. We struck the enemy
at Jack’s Shop, a small hamlet on the road from Orange C. H.
to Madison C. H. and about ten miles from Orange. At this
place, or near it, the road to Stannardsville diverged. Our bri-
gade was in front of the division and our Regiment in front of
the brigade. This brought us in first contact with the enemy,
which was a short distance in advance of Jack’s Shop. Here we
were halted, and sent out our sharpshooters a short distance to
the front, but the command was not engaged at this point further
than being under a terrific shell fire from the enemy’s artillery.

We were ordered to a little depression protected by a small
rise of ground, where we were comparatively safe for the time.
We were held in formation, taking our ease. All cannon shot
were going over our heads, but now and then a rifle bullet would
drop among us. We had one man shot in the leg. The ball had
climbed over the hill and found its billet. The man apparently
was asleep, but the bullet woke him in a hurry. The fighting
between our sharpshooters and those of the enemy was so severe
that “Gary’s Company” was sent to reinforce them. They were
ordered at full speed to their relief. In this they had to traverse
an open field and were exposed to a heavy fire from the enemy
and had several men and horses killed. Our Col. (Tom Lips-
comb) exposed himself unnecessarily. He had ridden to the top
of the rise and was near a barn watching with interest the fight-
ing between his sharpshooters and those of the enemy. One of
the enemy’s sharpshooters had worked his way closer than he
thought and took a shot at him, just grazing the top of his head
and striking the barn just in line, but not more than one to two
inches too high. It was at this time that he ordered “Gary” to
go immediately to our men’s assistance. The enemy’s sharpshoot-
ers had been heavily reinforced and were working their way grad-
ually around our right flank, and it was necessary to reinforce
our sharpshooters or fall back. On account of their superior num-
ers and we having so few men to spare, our sharpshooters were
ordered to retire. To save our sharpshooters it was necessary that we retire slowly as they were not mounted. We took position between them and the enemy and our retreat was along a road through a thick woods for about half a mile, and unfortunate for us, this road was perfectly straight. This was indeed a very trying time and a time that one will not forget. The enemy’s sharpshooters would get in the road about 100 yards behind us and as many as the road would hold, and fire at us with their rifles, but, strange to say, outside of having several horses shot, we lost no men and only two to three were even hit, and only one seriously. Joe Knots was shot in the neck, but he got well.

During this retreat there was a funny thing happened. Sam Cunningham’s horse was shot but only slightly injured, and he got scared and bolted and ran off the field. This was the first time that I had ever seen one of my company run away and Capt. Williams ordered Cunningham court martialed, but I went personally to Capt. Williams and explained that Cunningham was only half witted and he claimed that he did not run to save himself, but to save his horse that was wounded. Even during the action some of the men had to laugh at him.

Just before we emerged from the woods the fire from the enemy had become so galling that it seemed that they were so persistent that our Col. ordered us to bout face and charge them. In his retreat our troop was making up the rear and this put us in the front, and we were followed by the Beaufort Disct. Troop. We dashed through their line with our usual yell, but they simply stepped aside into the woods and let us pass, and fired at us as we passed. The woods were full of Yankees and it was foolishness in making this charge, but to stay and run them down in the woods would have been ridiculous. The Beaufort Disct. Troop lost several men killed, but we had none killed from our troop in this mad charge. By this time the enemy had worked its way to our rear and left us no egress, and things began to look pretty bad, when the Philipps Legion made a charge with a flank movement and captured nearly two hundred of the enemy and their commander, a major. This left us a narrow egress through which we passed out, and a few yards in the rear of W. H. F. Lee’s brigade, who were having a fight with the enemy on the Stannards-
ville road. From the number of wounded being brought out it seems as if Lee was having a pretty hard fight. Among the dead being brought out I saw one Captain who was killed by a shot in the head. He was laid across the saddle bow of a trooper, as if he were a dead animal, and indeed he was nothing else.

We passed on to near the Rapidan bridge, and took position on the left flank of the army. The fighting drew off however to our left and we then crossed the bridge and took position on the Orange and Stannardsville Road, which we held till late in the day. We were under shell fire all this time but very few men injured. Several horses were killed. Just before sundown we were ordered to the Bunker Hill and Stannardsville Roads, where we camped. On our way here we passed Barringer's brigade drawn up for action, but I do not think that they were engaged at all. The enemy's force was a very strong one and entirely too heavy for a single division to handle, so Fitz Lee's Division was sent for and they came up in the night and camped very near us. We also felt very much safer to have Lee's Cavalry near us. Col. Gordon came to our camp after night and publicly thanked Capt. Williams for our gallant charge. Next morning Lee's Cavalry took the lead and we fell in behind them. The enemy had seen the futility of further advance and had begun a retreat during the night, and Fitz Lee did not overtake them till their rear guard was crossing the Robertson River. They were too far away to reach with rifle fire and all that we could do was to use the artillery on them, which we did to the best possible advantage. They replied promptly as usual, and this duel lasted some time till the enemy were safe from our cavalry. Our loss was slight at this point. I know that he had one man from our troop named Radcliff killed here, and Gen. Hampton had one of his couriers killed also. We buried our men on the field and returned to our camp on the Robinson River, and to our usual duties.

In Oct. the same year Gen. R. E. Lee made an advance on Meade in hopes of getting a fight out of him at Manassas, but Meade was extremely cautious and got away to Centerville before Lee could intercept him, and for the time out of danger. If Lee could have only provoked Meade to fight him at Manassas at this
time it would have only been the third Manassas with still more loss to the enemy, but Meade was not willing to risk it there.

There was no more fighting on this advance except an unfortunate affair at Bristow Station, where A. P. Hill managed to have about 1500 of his men slaughtered by his mismanagement. My company took part in the Buckland races. This was the last expedition that the gallant Second S. C. Cavalry took part in Virginia. We returned to camp empty handed. Late in November active military operations were suspended on account of the weather. Our Brigade was ordered to Fredericksburg, and our Regt. was camped near Hamilton's crossing. Here I was appointed Ordinance Sergt. for the Regt. and did no more actual fighting.

Winter of 1863 and 1864.

While we were doing duty on the Rapidan there were some very funny things happened. It was the custom to picket the fords of the Robertson river by Regiments and a battalion was kept on duty at a time. Once when our Regiment had just been relieved by the First S. C. at Locust Dale ford and they had sent a battalion across the river for the usual picket duty, and we had just retired to the hill a few hundred yards from the river and were feeding our horses and taking some rest, the river at this time being very much swollen and almost impassable, made so by the recent rains, a few shots from across the river attracted our attention. Looking over we saw the First S. C. pickets coming across the hill at full speed with not less than two regiments of Yankee cavalry pressing them very close. It seemed that they were doomed to be captured and there was little that we could do to assist them at this time. Our Regt. made a lot of fuss and galloped down to the River bank and we had Hart's battery, which was rushed up, and fired several rounds at the enemy. They soon saw that we could not get across the river to them and we knew that they could not get over to us. After exchanging a few shots the enemy quietly withdrew. After some trouble we managed to get the First S. C. pickets across the river and, strange to say, none were even hurt. They were in reality captured, but the enemy did not know it and let them get away.
There were a great many false alarms while our Regiment was at Locust Dale ford. Our Regiment was at that ford when Lee made his advance on Meade to provoke a fight. From our position we did not know whether Lee was advancing or Meade was advancing. The enemy withdrawing his videttes was no sign that he was withdrawing his army. The morning that Lee had begun his advance we noticed that the enemy videttes were withdrawn and a courier brought news that the enemy were in motion and that an attack was expected in force. This, of course, gave us great excitement. Everybody was busy erecting breastworks after the fashion of a rail fence. I had arranged a pretty good breastwork and with several others had taken my place where I could rake an enemy with rifle fire crossing the river. We were expecting to hear the crack of a rifle at any moment and then when the excitement was at the highest point, one young fellow from Charleston in Company D, jumped up and shouted: "Yonder they come, boys"! It was a false alarm as he only imagined that he saw them. Pretty soon we found that we were mistaken and that there were no Yankees in the neighborhood, and that the closest were in full retreat, being pressed by Lee's army. We had taken our usual precaution, but some of the boys were joked pretty hard about being scared into arranging an ambush for an enemy that was not there. A few days after this alarm our Regiment was supplied with bags that you could feed your horse in. It was slipped over his head like a bridle and had the feed in the bag and the horse could eat it at his leisure and not waste any feed. It strikes me at this time our horses needed more feed than they did these bags. Getting the feed to put in the bags was the rub.

Our Regiment was ordered to Rixeyville for one day and from there to Warrenton Springs, where we saw a large number of Yankee prisoners taken by Jeb Stuart. We stayed one day at Warrenton Junction and were ordered from there to Bristow. I stopped at Catlett's station to see my old friend Mr. Waller, who kindly gave me a good dinner; next day went to Bristow. From here our Division went up to Manassas and by Gainsville and New Market on a raid, and returned and camped near Rixeyville. It was extremely cold,—everything was covered with snow,—
too cold to carry on warlike demonstrations. It was useless to ask for a furlow if you had ever had one, and I had had mine last summer, but some of the men had not had one. The only way to get a furlow was to buy it. I had some business at home that needed my attention and I knew that this was my only chance, and I had the opportunity to buy a furlow of a member of Co. F, so I bought a horse of Lt. Jerry Phillipps of Co. F for which I paid $800.00, and gave it to his brother for his furlow.

I reached home about the middle of Dec., 1863, completely worn out. It took me several days to even get back to my normal feeling. I will not attempt to tell much about how things were at home,—it makes me sick now when I look back at it. When I left for the army I left everything in abundance,—plenty money, plenty negroes, and I thought I had arranged it so that there would never be any want, but it was next to famine. The slaves had been a burden from the beginning of the war, and the money was worthless. It is useless to mention this here as I am not the only one in this same fix. I am only too glad that I have been spared and I will never complain of my lot. I shall not be home long, but while here I shall try to say something that will give you my opinion of the war. I have used up five horses, and when I say used them up, I mean that I have literally worn them out. I never had one killed in action, tho I have had them shot, and I must admit that a horse that has been shot in action is worthless, as you can not control him in action. The best horse that I had was one that had been captured from the enemy, a small Indian pony, very fast and dependable. He was worth all the rest and I called him “Yankee”.

Three years absence from home, I think, enables me to see better what has transpired than if I had been home all that time. I may not come back to read this, so what I say shall be what I earnestly believe, without fear or favor. I regret that my recollection of history is so imperfect, as I cannot tell how events are likely to go, as we are told that there is nothing new under the sun, and history is constantly reproducing itself. One thing I can say and that is, I think without fear of contradiction, that there is very little truth in history.

Big men are no greater than lessor, but more fortunate if not
more cunning. The real motives of great actions are not always
given and we may reasonably conjecture the truth of such by
imagining ourselves in the same predicaments and what we would
have done if so placed. The chances are ten to one that we would
do just as the other fellow did and be applauded just as great.
It seems true that all the masses seem to want is opportunity to
swindle. Who but wants the opportunity to be as great a man
as this civil war has yet given rise to? In making this statement
the leaders of the army are excepted,—Robert E. Lee and J. E.
Johnston, both of whom I consider above reproach in the army;
as well as in private life. Who, if they had a chance, would not
equal the drunken Wigfall of Texas, father of conscription, and
many others? Fifty years hence, if we succeed in our indepen-
dence, Wigfall will go down to posterity as one of our greatest
men. Let me tell what I know about him. He is a native of
Edgefield, S. C.; killed a man there named Bird; fought a duel
with Preston Brooks in which both were wounded; went to Texas
and was sent to Congress from that state. At the beginning of
the war, he carried a regiment (4th Texas) to Virginia and was
shortly made a Brig. Gen. He with his brigade was posted at
Dumfries, where I heard he lay drunk most of the time. For-
tunately before his brigade ever got into action, he was elected
to Congress and removed from the army.

In 1862 I paid a visit to the C. S. Congress and Senate at
Richmond while in session, and I must say that I was struck
with the mediocre appearance of its members. One would have
thought that at this crisis of our history that great men would
have been as plentiful as blackberries, but I saw very few that
seemed to me up to the ordinary either in appearance or in in-
tellect. Of those that I met that seemed to me up to standard
for senators or congressmen, I can recall but few. Among those
are “Foote”, of Tennessee; “Semmes” and “Sparrow”, of La.;
“Burnette” of Ky.; “Toombs” and “Stevens”, of Ga.; and “Yan-
cey”, of Ala. I knew Yancey and Toombs quite well. Toombs
was a cousin of my wife and Yancey had married a cousin of
mine, a daughter of Uncle Washington Earle. I was introduced
to all the members by Mr. Yancey. Yancey is a very handsome
man and I think beyond all doubt one of the brainiest men that
we have in Richmond. He has always been very nice to me. I recollect that on my first visit to Washington, D. C., while a college student, that Mr. Yancey introduced me to the President of the U. S.

Our greatest man is R. E. Lee. He is very modest and sensible; he is great in all points, and a soldier and above all else a Christian. Stonewall Jackson was by all means our best executive field officer, and I do not feel that his equal is in our army. I have great confidence in J. E. Johnston. In Jackson’s death, Lee has indeed lost his right arm. Alex. Stephens is a very weakly looking man, but it seems that he is one of the smartest we have in Richmond. He was also opposed to the war. Jeff Davis looks very much like his picture. He is a West Pointer, made a good record as a soldier in the Mexican war, and I guess that he is about as good a man as we could get at the time. Davis has his hands full now and I do not suppose that there are many that would care to take his place. I have been reliably informed that both Robert Toombs, of Ga., and Gen. Albert Sidney Johnson had declined the Presidency. I cannot see that either of these would have been any better than Davis. He certainly seems to be giving his entire time and when he is not busy with matters at Richmond, he is busy reviewing the army.

At Home.

When I left home in June, 1861, little did I think that nearly three years would elapse before I would get home; I thought it would only be a short time of warfare. Alas, how much we were all deceived! Before this (Dec. 1863) the banks had suspended specie payments but their notes circulated freely. No one anticipated a war to any extent. It was looked upon more as a difference with their fellows. I am compelled to say now that I think that the war was unnecessary, and that by judicious management it might have been avoided. At first everything was joyous anticipations, no one literally dreaming of war. Just a short time after the Ordinance of Secession was passed, and before it was made public on the streets of Charleston, I heard one
of the members of that body congratulate a lady that we were no longer in the UNITED STATES.

I was summoned with all others of my company at one day's notice to leave home for Camp Hampton at Columbia, S. C. I have already described this hot and dusty camp. Quite a change from my law office with every comfort. After three years of privation and suffering, all that mortal man could go through with, I came home in May, 1863, for two months. My, what a change! Everything was ten times as high and fifty times as hard to get. The woods and mountains were swarming with deserters from our army. Things were bad indeed. Gen. Lee was in Pennsylvania with a splendid army and we all expected him to make peace, but there was no peace. He was cheated at Gettysburg, and that gave the enemy new strength. Had Lee's order to occupy the higher ground at Gettysburg the first day been obeyed, why the second day's fight would have not been necessary and its fatal results.

Confederate money was worth little or nothing. Everyone that could keep out of the army had gone to speculating and had made a great deal of money. Steve Montgomery and J. Poole, of Greenville, made a regular business of it from whiskey up. Our state had passed a law against distilling. One of my neighbors (Will Evans), P. Huff, who was my miller, and Holder and Ashmore, two of my tenants, were all engaged in illicit whiskey business, and many others that were supposed to be respectable citizens. I am also reliably informed that the enrolling officer (Elliot), at Greenville, has allowed this in order that he could get his own liquor. These men named are all either conscripts in the woods or deserters from the army, and they encourage our negroes to steal our corn and take it to them. They, of course, buy the corn from the negroes, but they pay them for it in whiskey. They have done this section incalculable injury. I have lost several of my best young negroes by their evil counsel. One of these negroes, Frank, has been gone from home for months, and likely to be gone for good. Frank was a likely darkey that cost me a thousand dollars. He was house boy and looked after the cows and horses. He was more useful than any other boy to the house.
I returned to Va. to my Regt. and was furloughed late in Dec., and came home to see what could be done with these deserters. I found that the deserters, if not more numerous, were at least more bold. They were stealing and killing hogs and cattle on every hand. We could bear it no longer. Joe Carson, of the 4th Infantry, was home on furlough, having been wounded at Gettysburg, and Mr. Willis, a neighbor, of Stone's Company, decided that we would see what we could do about breaking up this clan that were doing business so close in without being molested. We hunted our "Little Mountain" just about a mile back from home. Carson came across Will Evans and shot him seriously. We carried him in to Greenville and next day we laid a trap for a notorious deserter, John Berry. We halted him, but he refused to halt and we filled him buckshot, put seven shot into him, but then he got away. We caught him later in the day, and, strange to say, he was not much hurt. I hope to break up this clan before I go back to Virginia as they are not only bad but are growing worse all the time. There is a man named Jones, who is their ring leader and dare-devil, and a man named Tanner, and two named McJenkins, and possibly others, but we have the goods on those named, and I fear that some good man might get hurt in breaking up this gang of renegades. We have decided to break this clan up even if we have to kill them, and it looks now like that's the better plan. There was no killing, but we did clear this section of deserters. As soon as they found that we meant to get them, why they left this section for the mountains further over.

I went to Pendleton for a visit, where I grew up, and was most kindly treated. The young men of this old town had all gone to the front. no men there now but old men and women and children. I dined at the homes of some of the best families there, and while there was ample to satisfy the hunger, tea and coffee were things that I had long forgotten. Most of my time at Pendleton was spent in answering questions of anxious mothers about the front and about their sons. Some of these had been killed in battle and nearly every family in Pendleton was related to me in some way or other. I was glad when I left because I had
seen too much already. I wanted to get where I could forget what I had been with so long.

Confederate money was still depreciating but State money was worth about three to one. Every one was trying to get Confederate money off their hands. Real estate seemed to be the best way to rid one of this thing called money. I sold a little place that was worth before the war $250.00 for $6000.00, and I refused to take the money but took his note instead. I sold a mule colt for $1610.00. I have been very busy trying to get my business fixed up before I go back to the army, but really it makes little difference whether or not, as it seems there will be nothing left for any one after our money, bonds and slaves are all gone. It may be well to have something to have to come back to finish, or one might not want to come back. I must feel thankful to God for his care of me and I shall always pray that I may again be spared to come home and that my family may be cared for and not have to suffer in my absence. But His will be done. I trust that we will end the war this winter, but hardly till spring, if our men can hold out. Surely there has been enough bloodshed and carnage to satisfy the most bloodthirsty. Everything is in God's hands to do that which is best for our good.

I served nearly four years as a private. In the beginning I did refuse a commission, but later I was only too glad to accept what was offered me. I am free to say that we have many a private soldier in our army that would adorn a Maj. General's uniform. In fact, the army could be better offered this day from the ranks than from those who have been officers.

From my recollection no nation has yet obtained its freedom in a civil contest without help. Our forefathers had the help of France. The Dutch Republic was not surrounded as we are, by foes. They had outlets and safe ones to the world. Who in the providence of God is to be our helper? Our people are sick and tired of war and so are the majority of the North, if they could only find utterance. God will not allow our people to be wiped off the face of the earth, nor will he long suffer our wrongs to go unavenged. It is well to say to those that have an interest in my welfare that, as far as my experience goes, there is nothing so terrible to a country or as demoralizing to a people as war, and
most of all a civil war. It is my advice to any who read these pages to avoid participation in wars until necessarily compelled to engage in one. For who is answerable for the widows and orphans, for the bloodshed and for the wails of the desolates continually ascending to the Most High? I trust that it may never be necessary for one of my sons to engage in one.

The greatest obstacle in our way has been that our ports have been blockaded, cutting us off from communication with the world and throwing us entirely on our own resources. We have thus been made to fight against the world. If we had free access to other countries we might have had plenty of munitions of war and plenty of men. As it is now, we are thrown entirely upon ourselves for all our materials of war and for men. It is said that we are making a scant supply of powder and ball and we are casting cannon in various places, Richmond, however, being the great center of manufacturing. But our greatest trouble now is the want of men. In 1862 all between the ages of 18 and 35 were put in service, and last spring it was raised to between 18 and 45, and these were all conscript for three years or the termination of the war. It is now proposed to put negroes in for cooks and teamsters, and to take all able-bodied men from the Quartermaster Dept. It is plain to see that this next year is to be the crisis of the war. Lincoln has put the ball of revolution in motion and he cannot stop it if he would, without inevitable destruction to himself. Both parties are putting out now their whole strength and it is only fair to suppose that another year will witness greater and bloodier battles than any preceding years. Lincoln has the purse and sword in his hand, and a congress subservient to him, and if he is bold enough, it would not surprise me if another year would not see him usurp the power of government and make himself an emperor, or at least a military dictator. The only end of the war, therefore, that I can see is in either our subjugation, or a break in Lincoln's government at home by revolution, or a financial crash, or by foreign assistance. The latter would bring about either of the two and would at once, or very soon, give us peace, or at least humanely speaking would ensure our peace. Now, if the war last twelve months longer without this foreign assistance, and if the enemy carries on this
war as vigorously as heretofore, then our future is indeed gloomy. The Army of Northern Virginia is indeed a fine one, but there is a limit to human endurance. I know that the feelings of the men at the front have been too little consulted by the acts of our congress. The great mass of our army is made up with that class who are above all most attached to home and most jealous of their rights. Very few of these have seen home since the war began. The question is: How long are they going to stand it? They have but little direct interest in this contest as few are slave holders, and they are fighting for the pure love of country. Our only resource is prayer and supplication to the Most High and that He will give us in the end such victories that will put an end to it.

_Returns to the Army, 1864._

About January 1st, 1864, I started back to the army. We had not succeeded in breaking up the clan of deserters as completely as we wished, but we had at least driven them back farther into the mountains and we left Joe Carson in charge of the men to keep them rounded up. Joe is a good man and I feel that he will do his duty here as well as he has done in the army. For safety I sent my wife and baby to her father's at Glenville, Ala., as things did not look good to me here, as the enemy may at any time be able to raid this section. One of my negro boys had run away, for good, I guess, but I was able to swap my claim on him for the wife of another boy that I owned, named Joe. I was glad to do this, as I thought that a bird in the hand was worth two in the bush, and mine had certainly gone to the bushes. I traded with a man by the name of Willis, and I suppose that he knew what he was doing.

A. Blythe accompanied me to the army. This young man was Ordinance Sergt. of the old company and a very fine young man. His father was my neighbor. He had just succeeded in a very fine inheritance from an uncle who had died just before we came home, amounting to, in peace times, possibly forty to fifty thousand dollars, but at this time he could not stay at home to enjoy it. I think that he felt somewhat badly about going back, and I
assure you that I felt badly about it too. We reached our Regt. on the 8th of Jan., 1864, at Hamilton's crossing, Spotsylvania County, Va., about five miles below Fredericksburg. They were in what is commonly called winter quarters, with stick and mud chimneys to their blanket tents. There was a very heavy snow the day we got there, about ten inches. We found them doing nothing and everybody well. No news either good or bad. They were picketing the Rappahannock from Elie's Ford to Fredericksburg.

After I got there we had several alarms, and once Gen. Kilpatrick broke through our lines and forced us out of our comfortable winter-quarters for nearly a whole week. The weather was bitter cold and there was much suffering from the cold, but we lost no men nor horses. At one time I had to go down to Hanover Junction on the top of a freight car covered with snow. There were many times between these blizzards that the weather was as warm as May, but only for a few days at a time, and the thaw out of snow was about as bad as the cold itself.

About the last of March we were ordered to South Carolina and were sent down as a brigade to Chesterfield Station, about thirty miles below Hamilton's crossing, and about the same distance above Richmond. We stayed here about ten days and on Sunday morning took cars for South Carolina, and after about four or five days of bad sleeping and rough riding we reached Columbia, S. C., early in April. Our horses had been sent through the country in charge of Sergt. J. M. McClanahan, while we took train and, as an organization, bade farewell to battle-scarred, but still fair, Old Virginia forever. Before I left Virginia Brig. Gen. P. M. B. Young informed me through his Ord. Lt. Jones that he had appointed me Ordinance officer on his staff, which honor I declined as I did not like Gen. Young. I do not know that I have said much about Gen. Young, but he is a son of Col. Young, of Cartersville, Ga., and a nephew of E. P. Jones, of Greenville, S. C. but a West Pointer; is a great drunkard and rowdy, and I consider a man of small brains, but with all that he is a relation of mine. As soon as we got to Columbia our Regt. was furlowed some for twenty-one and some for thirty days. Those that had horses got twenty-one days furlow and
those that had no horses got thirty days in order to secure horses. I got one for thirty days and went immediately to Pendleton, thinking that my mother was there, but not finding her there I went to Saluda to my brother's, where she was, and stayed one day, Tuesday. On Wednesday I started to Glenville, Ala. to see my wife and child. I reached Glenville the following Saturday, where I now am and expect to stay till 29th of April. I had to walk 18 miles from Eufaula to Glenville, reaching Glenville just at daylight. Our Regt. is to do duty on the coast for some time and perhaps till the end of the war. The First S. C. Regt. was relieved from Virginia at the same time that we were. There are three new Regts., the 4th, 5th and 6th Cav., going on now to take our places and the scattering companies and Grenholm's squadron of (Gentlemen). It gives me great pleasure to see these gentlemen at last having to incur fatigues and dangers of a war that they were so foremost in bringing on and which they have kept out of for nearly four years.

I forgot to mention that once when I got back to the army in Va. I was ordered to appear before a court martial for staying over my time. John Westfield, Capt. Dean and John Londy were the court. How ridiculous it was! I was on detail duty all the time I was home and, of course, under orders and not compelled to leave home until ordered so by my superior officer, who was killed in the meantime, and I could not be technically staying over time until orders came from headquarters for me to come back. I reported this to the Col. T. J. Lipscomb, who stopped the proceedings. As we have left Virginia for good I hope, it may be well to say that at the time we left we were in Gen. Hampton's Division. Hampton shortly after the fight at Brandy Station, Aug. 1st, 1863, was made Maj. Gen., and about this time there were a batch of Brigadiers. "Baker", of the 1st N. C. was made one, "Butler", of our Regt., "Young", of the Cobb Legion, and also "Gordon", of the 1st N. C. Hampton's Division was then made up of Rosser's Brigade of Virginians, Baker's N. C. (Gordon commanding), and Butler's S. C. Butler lost a leg at Brandy Station but I do not think he had participated in but three or four battles. Young was in temporary command. The above mentioned was Hampton’s old brigade, the 1st North Caro-
lina having been assigned to Baker. Hampton's old brigade, Virginia history, is gone forever by our leaving for coast duty in North and South Carolina.

Young was related to me and I regret that I have to say what I have about him, but I have told nothing but the truth. When I came back to the army last January, Young was in command and we were camped at Hamilton's crossing, and it is but justice that the truth be known. They had a party at Fredericksburg on an average of about twice a week and Young would get so drunk, or did one time at least, that he had to be brought home to his quarters. We did not have regular quarters, but tents. Officers lived in tents same as the privates. After we left Virginia, Young will command the Cobb Legion, Jeff Davis Legion, the Philipps Legion and possibly another Ga. Regt. Gen. Butler will have a new brigade entirely, the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th South Carolina. Among these are mostly men that have not as yet seen war. It gives me great pleasure to see this new brigade go in under a man that I have served four years with, and I know that if they follow him they may yet see war. I have possibly said something about Gen. Butler. In fairness I will say that he is a brave man, with ample sense and all the dash that is needed. He is also related to me and a class-mate too in S. C. College. He is from a family that have always been patriotic. His uncle was a Capt. in the war of 1812, and fought the battle of the Great Lakes with the English and won (Oliver Hazzard Perry), and another uncle was a commodore in the U. S. Navy and made a treaty with Japan, I think about 1853, and his elder brother, Lt. Perry Butler, was a West Pointer, and died in the U. S. Service at Tampa, Florida, about 1855. I knew all the family well and we played together when small boys at Greenville, S. C. Butler was very popular as a Capt. and Maj. but after he was promoted to Col. I could note that he was not so popular. With all his faults I admire the man. If he lives I think that we will hear from him after the war. Gordon of N. C. is a very ordinary looking man, and if his looks do not belie him, I would not take him to be a gentleman. There was many a man in the ranks of the old Sec. S. C. Cav. that would have been better than any of these three men, but I dislike to find fault and will take it for granted that they
are doing the very best that they can. I know that our Regt. to a man did its full duty while in Virginia and I only hope that our old officers will find our equals, if not better, in those taking our places. They have better equipment and should be able to make a good record. Our Regt. had been decimated many times in battle and in looking back over my more than three years service in Virginia I can see how much that I have to be thankful to God for in sparing my life and keeping me in health and in comparative comfort. May I be kept always thus. I will always look on Virginians with admiration for their devotion to our cause, and their self-sacrificing patriotism. I shall always respect that people and hold them as the truest and best bred people of the South.

I have said little about Gen. Wade Hampton. He was our first Col. He organized the Hampton Legion and rose from a Col. to Lt. General. He was a grandson of Gen. Wade Hampton of Rev. fame, and a son of Col. Hampton who served on the staff of Gen. Jackson at the battle of New Orleans. It was his father, Col. Hampton, that carried the news of that battle to the President at Washington in a time when there were no railroads nor telegraph. Col. Hampton made that trip with one horse and averaged 72 miles a day across country where there were no roads and rivers had no bridges nor ferries,—a feat that at this day would be next to impossible. Gen. Hampton was said to be the wealthiest planter in South Carolina, owning possibly three thousand slaves. I knew him intimately and can testify that he was not only a good soldier but a gentleman in every way. He did not tolerate pilfering or stealing by his men even while in the enemy's country. I remember at one time when we were in Maryland on a raid that we had a man that took a horse from a farmer and left his in place of the one taken, and the farmer reported same to Hampton, and Hampton made the man take the horse back and make apologies for his conduct, and the General's reprimand was very severe. We had no man in the army that stood higher than Gen. Wade Hampton. Gen. Stephen D. Lee was a native of S. C. and I think a cousin to Robert E. Lee. I think, too, that he was a West Pointer. He was very modest and retiring.
I will say a little about my condition. At the beginning of the war I had invested eighty thousand dollars in Confederate bonds as I could not take the money with me and I thought that safer than the banks; and while in the army in 1862 my brother collected ten thousand dollars for me for the sale of my Florida lands and took the payment in Confederate money. I wrote him not to accept the money but allow the notes to be renewed, which if he had, would have saved me that much at least, but he did what he thought was right and proper. This with my own poor investment gives me nearly one hundred thousand dollars with the value about the same as that much waste paper. If I had invested it in negroes, I could sell negroes now for gold, and if invested in lands would have made me rich. Now for three years of my services I had received $11.00 per month and for my horse $12.00 per month, and for clothing $100.00 per annum, in semi-annual payments in Confederate money. Speculating had not commenced till after 1862, and I cannot but hold our people, if things had been well managed, as the most patriotic in the world. Soon after 1863 and the war not stopping but only just beginning, the treasury mill continued grinding and issuing its millions per diem, and the money, of course, grew more and more abundant. People began to speculate and the money got to be more plentiful during the whole of 1863. There never existed such a state of things I do believe (to the population) in the whole history of mankind. Everybody that was not in the war got to speculating. Money began sinking. Charleston was the great center of blockade running and it was the first place in which two dollars of Confederate money was offered for one dollar in gold. Some made colossol fortunes. The house of John Frazier and Co., Charleston, it is confidently stated has made up to this time, 1864, fifty million dollars and not all in Confederate bonds. No doubt they have an immense amount of foreign exchange. They have been buying up an immense amount of real estate of whatever kind it might be throughout all the up country,—lands, houses, factories, and every thing that they could buy at any cost. This, of course, led the people to value the money still more lightly and speculating went on by leaps and bounds. Practically all this speculating was all done by
shirkers. A shirker is any man between the ages of 18 and 45 who is physically fit for the army and by any means gets out of it, such as men who have substitutes, an enrolling officer, railroad conductors, or in fact any one that has greater interest at home than in the army.

Things have continued on this way for about one year, and with money so plentiful. There are now, I think, about seven hundred million of treasury notes and about two hundred million of funded debt. Gold is worth now about fifty to one in Confederate money. Everything is as high as a kite. Flour is three dollars a pound and corn is twenty-five dollars a bushel. All this is owing to the currency or so much so that we may leave out the consideration of general scarcity. Everybody is trying to get rid of their Confederate notes. Land would bring any price the holder would ask. Five thousand dollars was a common price for a negro slave; twenty-five hundred to three thousand dollars for a horse, and everything else in proportion.

"Theo Wagner", one of the partners in the great firm of John Frazier and Co., married Miss Ella Warley, sister of Commodore Warley, of Confederate fame and a neighbor of ours in Pendleton. The house of Warley was proud but poor before this alliance. A son-in-law, John Holmes, married Miss Sara Warley and bought my mother's old home in Pendleton, for which I think he paid a very handsome price in Confederate money. At the time this was considered one of the finest homes in the up country; it was built by Governor Burt about 1830. Burt was Territorial Governor of Nebraska. Wagner moved up from Charleston to Pendleton and I am told pays Calben Hall $1200.00 per month to look after his up country business. We have not paid the interest on our war debt and we never will pay it. Repudiation will have to be the order of the day. What has caused this lamentable state of things? Few men seem to doubt that the Secretary of the treasury has feathered his nest handsomely. It is in my opinion to be found in the fact that our government has at no time, if it does yet, appreciate the magnitude of this war. They have legislated in congress only at the suggestion of the President and the Secretary of the Treasury. The Secretary of the Treasury is C. G. Memenger, of Charleston, a lawyer, and I do
not think ever elected to an office higher than the Legislature. How or why Davis made him Sec. of Treasury passes my comprehension, but the fault was with them, and if there is any blame it must rest on their shoulders, for congress passed every law that they wanted passed. The fault they thought the war was to end every month and took no large views and rather than distress the people I suppose with their argument, with taxes to pay its expenses, they thought they would carry it smoothly by some divine expedient not to be appreciated by common minds.

Defence of Charleston, 1865:

Glenville, Ala, Last Dec., 1864—I expect to leave for the army within a day or so and as life is uncertain at all times and especially so in times of war, I am pasting on the pages of this book, and at the same time I am taking time to say something about them. The largest bill the Confederate States issued was for $1,000.00, I think, at least that is the largest that I know of; and the smallest was for fifty cents. I don't seem to have one of the largest in my possession at this time, but I have one of the next largest, $500.00. The design on the left of this bill is the seal of the Confederate Government. The portrait on the right hand corner is the immortal Jackson. Next then is the $100.00 bill. On this is a fancy picture on the left of two Confederate soldiers and very fancy at that. The lady in the center is said to be Mrs. ex-Governor Pickens, of S. C. The man on the right is some Confederate Brigadier Gen., but I can't locate him. The fifty dollar bill has only Jeff Davis in the center. The twenty dollar bill has the Capitol of Virginia as front piece and Alex Stephens in right hand corner. The ten dollar bill has R. M. T. Hunter in right hand corner. As to these ones and two, why I don't know whose portraits overmount them. These notes have ceased to be of purchasing value, or so nearly so, that I will like to say a little about our war condition at this time as I may not get home again.

I think we have now a foreign loan that is now due of about fifteen million dollars and if the war should close now our total war debt is something like fifteen hundred million dollars. How
will we ever be able to pay this? If the war were to close now and we were in the high state of prosperity that we were in before the war, we might possibly pay it, in time, but in my opinion even if we win the war this debt will be settled by repudiation. It looks to me that our nation is practically bankrupt. It is yet a question in my mind whether a government by the people is consistent enough to pay its debts. History does not show it if it is. Holland and Great Britain do not come under that category. They are not governments by the people and are that much better off.

Now from our side of the war we are fighting with our whole strength and a war of defence. We are entirely cut off from the world. We have to make our own money and use no other. No one but ourselves can be a looser, should we not win. We have made brilliant victories with the army, but they were all barren. They brought us no fruits. There is one thing certain,—we are not going to win this war by defeating the enemy’s army in battle. If we win it must be by some other means. We are so closed in that we misjudge our enemy as to strength. From what we learn, I will give it here but it may be very unreliable, but it is what some of us think, the North is much stronger than the South, both in men and money; and they have no blockade and can command the resources of the world so long as they can pay; but they are compelled to carry on a war of invasion, which I would think cost at least twice as much as a war of defence. I know that they are not getting gold enough to pay this war expense and they have resorted to the same means that we did and are paying their debts in paper money. Now paper money to be good must be believed to be the representative of something of value. They are buying largely of other countries and producing nothing to pay with. The North is spending now about three million dollars per day and they owe now about four thousand million dollars. Now, if the foreign countries would only demand gold of the North, so that the Northern man could not sell his treasury notes, why then it would bring a very different meaning to the South. In other words, we would like to see this Yankee balloon busted and break up the war and the Yankee administration. But it looks, like the North is growing stronger all the
time and we are not holding our own. When spring opens and the armies begin to move it is not going to be like it was for the first three years. Every thing points to a speedy end, and I for one am willing to see it as soon as any one. I fear that in Gen. Grant the enemy are likely to be more successful than in former years. Grant seems to be more persistent than any of the Yankee generals, but he is sure to find a hot reception awaiting him.

I left Glenville for the army and met Capt. Williams in Augusta, Ga., and we both went on together. We went to Charleston, S. C., thence to Kingtree on the North Eastern R. R., thence down Black River on a small steamer to about five miles below Georgetown, S. C. We found our Regt. camped on the west side of Winyah Bay at an old camp near a swamp. This was a winter camp and the men had huts with stick and mud chimneys. We had plenty of fish but no oysters at this camp. I will always have a feeling of remembrance of the fleas that were so abundant in this abandoned camp.

Company G., Capt. Gary was sent up the coast about 60 miles to do picket duty and several other companies sent out in other directions for similar duty. Our drinking water was poor here. We had to dig surface wells and the water was brackish and we lost several men from malaria and chills. We lost one man from congestion of the lungs and Capt. McFie charged his death to the ignorance of the surgeon and called a court of inquiry of the other surgeons. The court met next day and I saw the body opened and the lung exposed, which settled the matter at a glance in favor of our young surgeon. We did not stay at this camp more than six weeks and we were ordered to Mt. Pleasant, just across the Cooper River from Charleston. We marched through the country, crossing the north and south branches of the Santee by ferry boats, passing through McLellasville, the summer home of most all the rich planters of that neighborhood. We stayed there only long enough to rest and refresh our horses. We reached Mt. Pleasant in about two or three days and camped in the streets in the shade of the trees.

Our Regt. was on duty on Sullivan Island. Its first duty was to patrol the beach for a few miles above Fort Moultrie. We had to go over late in the evening after sundown to escape the notice
of the enemy on Morris Island. Our route was over a long wooden bridge, fully a mile long, across the marsh separating the island from the main land upon which Mt. Pleasant stands. I had been commissioned Ordinance officer for the Regt. and was exempt from all duty, but I went with a detachment doing picket duty for half the night for about two to three miles up the beach from Fort Moultrie. I will never forget that night,—not that I was in any danger whatever but from the strange and weird experience of it. The beach was in full view of Morris Island, Fort Sumter, the Yankee blockading ships and Fort Moultrie, but, of course, in the darkness could see nothing of them. This detachment was to patrol the beach from dark till midnight from Fort Moultrie for about two miles and back. I was riding my old gray mare that had been shot in action in Virginia and a horse that has once been shot will never forget the report of a gun, and this mare was naturally very shy. In going from the Fort she would shy at every wave that broke upon the beach and in returning she would be almost frantic at the shell which showed up so plainly at night that Morris Island and the blockade ships were pouring into Fort Sumter, especially the mortar shells from Morris Island. These shells would go up into the air it seemed a mile, then slowly turn and come down just over Fort Sumter and explode with a terrific sound, which scared my horse almost to death and I led the patrol all the while by fully fifty yards.

Our Regt. was ordered to Fort Moultrie to repulse or assist in repulsing an attack on the fort, but we were mistaken as to the attack. They had better sense than attack Moultrie, but did attack Fort Johnson on James Island in boats. This was across the bay from us. The Regt left the camp after dark and went under cover of darkness and took position on the sea side of the fort just under the big guns. The Yankee attack on Fort Johnson began about eight o'clock, just a few minutes after our Regt. was brought up and the cannonading was terrific. It was dark, it is true, but the range had telegraphed so that the gunners had no trouble with range and location. It seemed that we had some means of communication that it was always known just when an attack was to be made and we were always ready. This attack on
Fort Johnson was repulsed at this time with severe loss to the enemy.

Our Regt. stood guard here till just before day light and were withdrawn to Mt. Pleasant under cover of darkness to prevent the enemy from seeing the men. We were held at Mt. Pleasant for weeks and in readiness while we were doing all that we could to provoke an attack by the enemy on Moultrie. The enemy seemed to be shy of Moultrie and after waiting for several weeks we were ordered to Greenpond, S. C., about 40 miles west of Charleston. We spent one day in the city of Charleston, camping just above the citadel academy where I had at one time gone to school. Capt. Williams and Lt. Perry and myself took in the city. We walked down King’s street to the battery. We found the entire town below the citadel deserted and all dwelling houses closed and inhabitants gone. Many of the houses were torn by the shells from the swamp angel mounted near Morris Island. As we were coming up the street we heard a shell coming, and while we would possibly have taken cover if it had been any use, we just kept a lookout and sure enough the shell came crashing through a brick house and landing in the street about fifty yards in front of us. We diverged to east Bay Street and to the docks and wharfs to see the Confederate Iron Clads and the torpedo boat, and the new Brooke Cannon imported from England. This enormous Brooke gun was a breach loader and I am told that these same guns are now being used against us. We took in the entire water front and noted the damage done by shell fire from the swamp angel. The enemy was very courteous in his firing on the city and always gave 24 hour notice so that all non-combatants could be removed. I noticed that on East Bay St. that the grass was growing in some places a foot high between the cobblestones. This was before the war the busiest street in Charleston and almost directly at the wharfs. I could not help recall to mind a speech I heard old Mr. Maverick make at Pendleton, S. C., in 1850, at the time when secession was beginning to take tangible form. Said the old gentleman in allusion to it: “My friends, you could do nothing more foolish. Your ships will rot at your wharfs, or they will desert your cities. Your commerce will be destroyed and grass will grow in the streets of Charleston”. Now
I have seen all this come to pass. Old Mr. Maverick did not live to see it but his son-in-law (Mr. Van Wyck) saw that trouble was coming and quietly moved to New York. After leaving Charleston we camped about seven miles from Greenpond at an old cavalry camp which as well as I could tell was just about the same sort of a place as we had at Georgetown, poor water to drink and not much to eat.

CLAIBORNE WILLS.

WILL OF AUGUSTINE CLAIBORNE.

In the Name of the ever adorable blessed and glorious Trinity father Son & Holy Ghost, Amen, I Augustine Claiborne of Windsor in the County of Sussex being weak in body but of sound mind and memory, do this first day of May in the year of our Lord Christ—one thousand seven hundred and eighty seven make and ordain this to be my last Will and Testament in manner and form following that is to say—Imprimis. I Give and bequeath to my sons Augustine and Buller Claiborne the several tracts or parcels of land already possessed by them and containing each one thousand acres marked and bounded as layed off by Mr. William Watkins of Dinwiddie County and for which I have made each of them a deed, to hold to them in severalty and to their heirs and assigns respectively forever.

I Give and bequeath unto my Grandson William Presley Claiborne the peice of Land I purchased of Augustine Shands and hold under a deed of exchange between the said Shands and me, duly recorded in Sussex County Court, provided he the said William Presley Claiborne upon his arriving to age shall convey to the owner of my seat where I now reside called Windsor a small Island adjoining a piece of meadowground just below the mouth of a branch that runs through my Pasture in fee simple to hold to him and heirs forever—

Item I sincerely request my dear and loving Wife that agreeable to what she knows to be my wish and desire that as soon as convenient she can after my death if I do not do it—my lifetime
that she by deed settle and convey upon and to the children of
my beloved son William three negroes of such ages and size as
she shall adjudge best for the profit and advantage of our said
Grand Children the survivors or survivor of them so that the
three negroes and their future Increase be equally divided among
our said Grand Children as they respectively marry or come of
age to hold to them and their heirs forever.

Item all the rest of my estate both real and personal and
whatsoever lying or being or of what nature or quality it may be (she paying off and discharging the few debts I owe) I give
devise and bequeath unto my dear and loving wife, to have and
to hold to her and her heirs forever, I do further declare that it
is my wish and desire that if my dear and loving wife should sur-
vive me long enough to take possession of the above estate after
the proving and recording of this my will, that the distribution
of any part of my property now bequeathed to her amongst my
children or others by gift or by will shall be according to her
pleasure & subject to no contract whatever, but if it should plea-
se God to take her to his mercy before her taking possession of my
estate by virtue of this my Will, that then, my acting execu-
tor or executors are hereby impowered to take into consideration
whatever has been already given by me to either of my sons Her-
bert, Augustine, Buller, William & John or their heirs and that
they will compare the amount thereof with what remains undi-
vided after all legacies and debts are paid and if they find that
upon an equal division being made of what remains of my estate
among my younger sons Thomas, Thackard & Bathuset that more
is left for such of them than seems to have been given to either
of the said Herbert, Augustine, Buller, William & John or their
heirs that they are hereby impowered to make up the deficiency
after having the whole estate valued by such impartial persons as
may be appointed by the Court where the several parts of my es-
tate lie (to wit whatever deficiency may appear to be due to my
son Herbert must be equally divided amongst all his children,
whatever deficiency may appear to be due to my son William
deceased to be equally divided amongst his Daughters, and what-
ever due to Augustine, Buller, and John must be paid to them-
selves. I do further declare as it has always been my intention
that each of my Daughters should have one thousand pounds out
of my estate including what has been heretofore or may hereafter
be given to them by myself or my wife, and I do hereby empower
my executors (in case of the above named decease of my dear wife)
after deducting and having valued by an order of court whatever
appears to have been given to either of them by me or my dear
wife to pay up the deficiencies as follows (to wit) what ever ap-
pears to be due to my Daughter Harrison deceased must be equally
divided amongst her Daughters whatever appears to be due to my
Daughter Susanna must be equally divided amongst her Daughters whatever appears to be due to my Daughter Elizabeth must be paid into the hands of her Brother Augustine for her sole use, whatever appears to be due to my Daughter Ann deceased must be equally divided amongst her Daughters, whatever appears to be due to my Daughter Lucy must be paid into her own hands. Lastly I do desire my estate may not be appraised nor my Executrix or Executors be called upon to give bond or surety for the probation of this my last Will and testament and I do hereby nominate and appoint my dear wife Mary and my friends Isaac Hall, Augustine Claiborne and John H. Claiborne, Executrix and Executors hereof In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my seal this first day of May and year first above written—
Signed sealed published and
declared by the testator as
and for his last will and
Testament (there being fifteen
words interlined) in the presence of us who witnessed the same
in his presence and at his request
Wm. Thompson
Jas. Mason
Hugh Belsches
At a Court held for Sussex County the 17th day of May 1787.
The last Will and testament of Augustine Claiborne deceased
was exhibited in Court by John Herbert Claiborne one of the execu-
tors therein named proved by the oaths of William Thompson and Hugh Belsches two of the witnesses thereto and ordered to
be recorded and on motion of said executor who made oath according to law Certificate is granted him for obtaining a probate thereof in due form.

Teste
Michael Bailey C. Clk

A Copy Teste:
Jesse Hargrave, Clerk.

Will of Mary Claiborne.

In the name of God Amen I Mary Claiborne of the County of Sussex being in perfect health but calling to mind that it is appointed by the supreme being for all persons once to die and being of sound mind and disposing memory do make and ordain this to be my last will and Testament in manner and form following I give and bequeath unto my son John Herbert Claiborne the negroes that are now in his possession and their future increase to him his heirs and assigns forever—

I give and bequeath unto my son Thomas Claiborne the land whereon he now resides, lying and being in New Kent County called and known by the name of Chestnut Grove and the Negroes he now has in possession & their future increase all which property I confirm and give to him his heirs and assigns forever—

I give and bequeath unto my daughter Lucy Herbert Thompson the negroes now in the possession of her husband, (to wit) Nat, Milly & Anthony and the future increase of Milly to her her heirs and assigns forever—

I give bequeath and confirm into my son Richard Cocke Claiborne seven hundred acres of land on appomattox river in Dinwiddie called & known by the name of Powhipponack to be layed off from the upper part of the said tract of land and the twenty negroes that I have already put him in possession of and their future increase as likewise the stock of horses cattle & Hogs that were and are on the said plantation all which property I give to him his heirs and assigns forever—

I give and bequeath unto my son Bathurst Claiborne all the rest and residue of my estate both real & personal of every kind whatsoever and wheresoever lying being or to be found together
with the future increase of the slaves, stocks &c he being subject
to the payment of all debts which I may owe at my death of my
own contracting all which said real & personal estate I give to
him my said son Bathurst Claiborne and to his heirs forever—
I also give to my son Bathurst all the right title claims and
interest which I may have in the land which my cousin John
Herbert died possessed of in the County of Chesterfield to him
and his heirs forever—
Lastly I appoint my son Bathurst Claiborne my whole and
sole executor of this my last Will and Testament revoking and
disclaiming all former wills made by me null and Void In tes-
timony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my seal
this sixth day of March one thousand seven hundred and ninety
eight.
Signed sealed published and
and declared by the testator to be her last will and Testament
in presence of us
David Williams
Thos Lessenbry
Buller Claiborne
John Goode
Whereas I Mary Claiborne of Windsor have duly made exe-
cuted and published my last Will and Testament in writing bear-
ing date the sixth day of April in the year Christ 1796—Now I
do hereby declare this present writing to be a codicil to my said
Will and to be annexed thereto and taken as part thereof—
I give and bequeath the following negroes slaves viz. George,
Roger, Anthony, Jonney, Dick, Abram, Stephen, Young Samp-
son, Pomely & child, Nancy Betty and two young children Car-
ter and Jerry Samy & Chets William Jivody and two children
Abiguaul & Betty Jamy and child & Nany & Alex which said
slaves were purchased partly of Carter Braxton by my dec’d.
husband Augustine Claiborne which will appear by the said Brax-
tons bill of sale to the said Augustine Claiborne recorded in the
County Court of New Kent and partly of my son Herbert by the
s4 Augustine as will appear by a Bill of Sale remaining of record
in the s4 court also twenty head of cattle and their increase twenty
head of sheep and their increase forty hogs with their increase three mares & two horses with their increase which said slaves
cattle, sheep, hogs & horses are in the care of my son Herbert
which was purchased by my said husband of the said Herbert
Claiborne as will appear by a list of the said furniture & a Bill
of sale for the same recorded in the said county Court all which
slaves & their increase present & future stocks of cattle sheep
hogs & horses & their increase I give and bequeath to my sons
Buller John Herbert Bathurst Thos. & Richard Claiborne and
their survivor or survivors and the heirs of the survivor forever
in trust. Nevertheless to and for the following uses interest and
purposes following first I desire that the said estate so bequeathed
to my sons be at all times at The Will and pleasure of my st
sons or so much thereof as be necessary be subject fair and open
sale by the said trustees to be sold to pay all monies which Augustine Claiborne's estate may legally be bound to pay for on ac-
count of Herbert Claiborne & to refund to the executors of the
said Augustine all such sums of money as they may have already
paid on account of any securityship that the said Augustine en-
tered into for the st Herbert in the st Augustines lifetime also
discharge all sums of money which my son Thomas Claiborne
may have actually paid or may be legally & bona fide be bound to
pay as security for my son Herbert and lastly to satisfy and pay
all sums of money which the heirs executors or administrators of
William P. Claiborne has paid or may be bound to pay for any
securityship entered into by him for Herbert Claiborne in his
lifetime—

My Will and desire is that the residue and remainder of the
said before mentioned property after satisfying the above trusts
be vested in my sons Herbert Richard C & Bathurst Claiborne &
their heirs forever for the following uses & trusts & purposes—in
trust for use of the children of my son Herbert which he has
now or may hereafter have by his present wife—to them and their
heirs to be divided among them by my said son Herbert by Deed
or Will in Writing in such manner at such times & under such
limitations & instructions as the principles of Law will warrant
refering to this my codicil which gift or devise I hereby fully
and completely empower the sd Herbert to make in as ample a manner as I might now do myself.

Item I further desire that my first mentioned trustees until it be necessary to sell either the whole or any part of the said estate purposes mentioned under the first trust do suffer Herbert Claiborne to keep possession of and manage the said estate taking the issues and profits thereof to maintain his wife and children & also to educate them in such manner as he shall judge most prudent that is to say his present and after borne children the overplus if any I direct may be laid out in the purchase of lands negroes or stock at my son Herbert's discretion which negroes lands and stocks shall be taken as part of the estate before bequeathed and be in like manner subject to all the sd trusts uses powers of disposition limitations and instructions as the trust estate is before made subject to either in the first or second Trust—

Item I would have it understood to be my will and desire that before the completion of the first trust my son Herbert may either by Will or deed direct the manner in which the sd estate may be divided— But should my son Herbert die before he shall exercise the powers of directing by Deed or Will the manner in which the sd estate shall be divided agreeable to the powers given him by this codicil my Will & desire is that my two sons Richard C & Bathurst Claiborne two of my trustees in the second trust keep the sd estate together for the maintenance of my daughter Mary B. Claiborne & the children of my son Herbert Claiborne so long as she remains his widow & also to educate the sd children as they shall think most advisable should she the sd Mary die or marry a gain as soon as the oldest son or any one of the children of my said son Herbert shall arrive at the age of twenty one it is my desire that the whole estate before bequeathed after satisfying the purposes of the first trust be equally divided among all the children of my said son Herbert which he now has or may have by his present wife to them and their heirs respectively forever obscuring however that the heirs of those who die before such division shall inherit their fathers or mothers part— My intention is that all the children of my son Herbert be continually maintained and educated out of the profits of the sd es-
tate until such division & I do hereby declare and publish this as a
codicil to my Will above referred to & do hereby republish the
said Will. In Testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand
and affixed my seal this day of — — —
Thomas Lessenbury
Buller Claiborne
Edmond Stone
David Williams

At a Court held for Sussex County the first day of August
1799 The last Will and Testament of Mary Claiborne dec’d with
a codicil thereto annexed was exhibited into Court by Bathurst
Claiborne one of the executors therein named the said Will was
proved by the oaths of David Williams & Thomas Lessenbury two
of the witnesses thereto and the said codicil was proved by the
oaths of Thomas Lessenbury Edmond Stone & David Williams
three of the witnesses thereto which together with the said Will
is ordered to be recorded

Teste:
James C Bailey, Clk

A Copy Teste:
Jesse Hargrave, Clerk

FAMILIES OF BROWNE, GREEN, FILMER, COWLES,
RIVES AND BINNS.

In 1851, John Fletcher Rives, son of Anthony Rives and
Mary Browne Green, of “Chalmaria” (pronounced Shelmary),
Dinwiddie county, Virginia, prepared a chart on which was re-
corded as much as had been preserved, through family recollec-
tions and memoranda, of the families to which his mother and
father were allied. That the chart was based more on tradition
than on notes is evidenced by the almost complete absence of dates
except where immediate members of the compiler’s family were
concerned.

This original chart, the present writer has elaborated upon as
far as was possible from the limited material at his disposal. It
is the writer's hope that publication of it will not only be of interest and assistance to those who may be connected with the families enumerated upon it but also that it may be the means of bringing to light material which may enable further extension of the main branches of it. The writer will be very grateful for any such information as may supplement in any way the material from the chart which is given below.

I. Major Henry² Browne of Pipsico, James River, Surry county m. Hannah⁵ Edwards, one of three daughters of Col. Benjamin¹ Edwards of Surry county, the son of William⁴ Edwards (William³, William², William¹) and Elizabeth Harrison (Benjamin², Benjamin¹). The chart shows Henry⁵ Browne as having had a brother, William, who m. and lived at "Four Mile Tree" and had issue: William, John and Benjamin. (This would therefore seem to establish Henry⁶ as the son of William⁴ (William³, Mary², Henry¹) rather than the son of Henry⁵ since in William and Mary Quarterly, vol. 12, Page 227, William⁶, John⁶ and Benjamin⁶ are the issue ascribed among others to William⁴) (See also Va. Mag. Hist. and Bio., Vol. 3, p. 2). Henry⁶ d. 1768. Issue:

Henry⁷ d. 1786 m. Elizabeth Willoughby and had issue: Henry⁷, William⁷, George⁷, Sally⁷ (m. John Ruffin of Surry county and had: Mary Eliza who m. William Henry Binns Rives, b. 1825), Hannah⁸, (m. John Hamblin and had issue: Thomas, George, Stephen Henry of Dinwiddie county and John Francis who m. Judith, Quinitchet, daughter of Vivante Quinitchet and Sally Blunt).

Mary¹ m. Stephen Henry Hamblin and had issue: Henry, William, Stephen, John, Nancy and a sixth who d. young.

William⁶, m. Nancy Taylor and had: William, Anne.

Benjamin Edwards⁶, b. 1760, d. 1819 m. Miss Taylor and had: William m. Miss Cocke, Hannah, Samuel, Lucy M. F. B. Power

Elizabeth⁶ m. Colonel Abram Green, of whom hereafter.

II. Thomas¹ Green emigrated to Virginia and brought with him his wife, named Martha, and a son, Thomas, born aboard ship who, for this reason, always thereafter bore the name of "Sea Gull." Thomas¹ Green is believed to have settled in or near James City county. Issue of Thomas¹ and Martha Green: a daughter who m. Mr. Blackson; a second daughter who m. Mr.
Eaton; and a son, Thomas. Thomas m. Elizabeth Filmer (daughter of Major Henry Filmer, burgess James City county, 1642-43, 1666-67, who d. after 1670, the nephew of Gov. Samuel Argall and the son of Sir Edward Filmer and Elizabeth (Argall) Filmer of East Sutton, Kent (For Sir Edward Filmer, see Berry's Kentish Genealogies; for the Greens, see Filson Club Publications, #14, Louisville, 1899)

Thomas Green and Elizabeth (Filmer) Green had issue:

John m. Elizabeth ———— and had: Thomas, Elizabeth. Thomas d. 1730 m. Elizabeth Marston; d. 1759. Issue: daughter m. Thomas Cowles and had: William (moved to Georgia); John, d. s. p.; Patsy m. Mr. Mead and had: daughter m. Mr. Sims of Georgia, daughter who lived in Georgia, William, Cowles, and Marston m. Mr. Cocke and had Elizabeth, Catherine, and Sally; Elizabeth m. 1st Mr. Dawson, 2nd Leonard Cheatham; William; Lucy, b. 1717 m. Henry Clay in 1735; Martha b. Nov. 25, 1718, d. Sept. 6, 1793 m. Charles Clay in 1741; Thomas Marston b. 1723 m. Martha Wills (moved to Natchez); Rebecca m. Francis Jones in 1756 (moved to S. C.); Marston m. Elizabeth ———— and had Col. Grief, b. June 23, 1770 m. Rebecca Mayo, b. 1772, d. 1816 and had: Martha Tabb m. James Lanier, Elizabeth m. Stith Spragins, Signora m. James Oliver (Col. Grief Green m. 2nd Mrs. Elizabeth Knox and had Henry); Mary b. Dec. 19, 1776 m. in 1783 James Harper of Petersburg and had: Marston, Elizabeth, Lucy.

Elizabeth m. John Crawley.

Rebecca m. 1st Mr. Condon, 2nd Mr. Marston.

Mary m. 1st James Wilkerson, 2nd Thomas Walker.

Abram, of whom hereafter.

Filmer m. Mary Walker.

William m. Amey Clay. He d. in Amelia, 1747.

Hannah m. James Turner

Abram Green (Thomas, Thomas), b. 1705, d. 1774, lived in Amelia county and was made justice of Amelia upon the organization of the county in 1734 which office he continued to hold until 1769. He was made an officer of militia in 1736 and sheriff in 1743. He m. 1st Elizabeth Cowles, sister of Thomas
Cowles and had ten children. He m. 2nd in 1758 Mrs. Ann Blunt who d. 1786 without issue by him. (From evidence too detailed to be given here it seems probable that Elizabeth and Thomas Cowles were children of Thomas Cowles Jr., messenger of the House of Burgesses, 1710, 1711, who was the son of Thomas Cowles Sr., burgess from James City county, 1698, 1710; sheriff, 1700 and justice, 1699-1702. The wife of Thomas Cowles Sr. d. Nov. 1710. Thomas Cowles (Sr.) appears from the Quit Rent Rolls of James City county, 1704 to have owned 675 acres of land. Edmund Cowles, who patented land in James City county in 1666 and who was the signer of a petition from the same county in 1676, may have been the father of Thomas Cowles Sr.) Issue of Abram and Elizabeth (Cowles) Green:

Obedience* m. 1st in 1768, William Green, 2nd in 1792, Richard Foster, and d. s. p.

Elizabeth Cowles*, d. 1830, m. 1st, Alexander McNabb, d. 1787, 2nd, George Pegram, and d. s. p.

William* d. 1792 m. Miss Clark and lived in Mecklenburg county. Issue: William* m. and d. s. p; Sally* m. Mr. Hay and had: Eliza*, Martha*; Elizabeth* m. Col. Oliver and had: Sally*, Dr. William*, John (James ?)*; Archer* m. Miss Taylor, daughter of Howell Taylor and had: Armistead*, Howell*, James*, Elizabeth*; Abram* m. ———— and had: Lewis* and a daughter* who m. Mr. McGooe.

Rebecca* m. Filmer Wills in 1755 and had: Elizabeth* who m. Mr. Whitworth and had: Marston*, Patsy*, Thomas*, and Prudence*; William Wills* m. Polly Watkins of Dinwiddie county and had: Edwin*, Mary*, James*, Susan*, Henry*, and a son. (There is uncertainty about Rebecca* having been issue of Abram*)

Matthew* m. ———— and had: Marston*, Abram*, who m. Betsy Thweate of Dinwiddie and had: Ann*, Henry*, Thweate*; Elizabeth* m. Mr. Fulks.

Sarah* m. Jerry Keen and had: Abram* m. Miss Tabb and lived in Charlotte county and had: Margaret*, Martha*, John*. Edward*, daughter*; William* who m. ———— and had: John*, Sally*.

Susan* m. Henry Vaden in 1768 and d. s. p.

Willis* and Cowles*, twins, d. s. p.
Abram, of whom hereafter.

Abram Green, d. 1810 was the Col. Abram Green (Abram, Thomas, Thomas) who m. 1st Elizabeth Browne and 2nd Martha Armistead, daughter of Gill and Elizabeth (Allen) Armistead. Abram and Elizabeth (Browne) Green had issue:

Elizabeth m. 1st Allen Stokes, d. 1819, in 1799, 2nd Major Samuel Elam and d. s. p.

Sally Edwards m. Lewis Burwell and had: Allen, John R., Abram, Lewis S., William Armistead, Ann Eliza m. Mr. Roberts.

Henry Browne.

Susannah, d. s. p.

Mary Browne, b. June 10, 1779, d. 1860 m. Anthony Rives, of whom hereafter.

Abram Green had by Martha (Armistead) Green:

Abram Armistead m. Eliza Aubin and had: Rosalie Aubin m. Dr. Richard Taylor.

Elizabeth Ambler m. 1st Dr. Richard Cocke, s. p. 2nd, William Booth and had: Elizabeth Cary, George, Ann Eliza, Martha Armistead m. 1st Thomas Watkins and had Eliza Frances, m. 2nd Dr. Pitman of Hollysprings, Miss; E. Royal; William Armistead m. Martha Moore of Mississippi; John Crier.

III. Of the Rives family there is little which affords basis for a connected pedigree of the earlier Virginia generations. This much, however, seems evident from the few facts heretofore brought to light:—The family settled first in Southwarke Parish, Surry county, about the middle of the 17th century. The name of the emigrant is unknown but whoever he was he appears to have had:

William m. Elizabeth, went to Pr. George about 1711; John m. Grace ————, and d. in Surry 1730; Robert m. Sarah ———— and d. after 1734 in Surry; George, b. 1660, d. after 1719; Timothy, d. 1716 in Surry. Timothy m. Judith ———— and had: Timothy b. about 1710, d. after 1777 m. Mary ———— and had: Timothy, William, and Ursilla, b. 1743.

Timothy m. Sarah Gee and had Briggs, b. 1782, d. 1815. William m. Lucy Shandls and d. 1778, leaving among others Joel, Robert, and Henry. Timothy had also William, m. Priscilla ———— and had: Frances, b. 1745 and Judith b. 1744. Tim-
othy had also George, and probably also Ursilla, Elizabeth and Rebecca m. John Hicks who d. 1729.

According to the chart, a Rives whose surname was unknown, was stated to have m. Judith ————, who, upon the death of Mr. Rives, m. Dr. John Hay. This Judith Rives was stated to have been the mother of George, Christopher and Timothy Rives. This is an error. The will of George Rives was proved in Surry county, Aug. 20, 1746. He mentions his wife, Frances, and the following children: John m. Sarah ————. He d. 1750. Judith (it was this Judith who probably m. Dr. John Hay and had Margaret, b. Nov. 5, 1751. Judith Hay d. Aug. 1, 1762), Frances, George, Christopher and Timothy. The widow of George Rives, Frances Rives. d. 1770.

George m. Sarah Eldridge in Sussex county, June 9, 1762 and had: George m. 1st Patsy Goodwin and had: Sally, (He m. 2nd Mrs. Colyer); Pamela m. Thomas Lewis and had: Pamela, Nancy; Judith m. Thomas Blunt and had: Sally n. Vivante Quinitchet, Eldridge m. Evelyn Colyer; Pamela; Thomas m. Sally Rives; Judith m. Mr. Edwards and had: Susan, Henrietta; Thomas m. Martha Tucker, daughter of Rev. Tucker and had: Thomas m. Martha Houston of Marshall county, Miss., and a son, d. s. p; Eldridge; Nancy m. Stilh Parham, son of “old Mr. Stilh Parham” and had Nancy m. Dr. Edward Winfield.

Christopher m. July 2, 1759 in Sussex county, Elizabeth Mason, sister of Rebecca and John Mason and had issue: Christopher m. Miss Rivers, daughter of William Rivers of Dinwiddie county; Nathaniel m. Elizabeth Rivers and had: Ann Maria m. Dr. James Saunders and had: Mary Frances, Ann Virginia, Charles, and others; Christopher, d. s. p; George m. Eliza Glenn; Nathaniel; Martha Hunt m. Anderson M. Waddell and had: John, d. s. p, Eliza Carter, Anderson Michaux, George Christopher, Nathaniel Rives, William Mason; Thomas; Frances Mathilda m. Columbus Penn and had: Nathaniel, d. s. p; Peter, Ann Maria, Martha Eliza, Mary Frances, Christopher, William Mason, George, Catherine, James, Robert; John, d. s. p; Mary Williams m. Orville C. Rives; William Mason m. Sarah A. Rives; John m. Amy Rivers; George.
Timothy³ m. 1st, Feb. 8, 1773 in Sussex county, Martha Binns, daughter of Charles² Binns (Thomas¹, Thomas⁰) and Judith⁰ Eldridge. (In the William and Mary Quarterly, Vol. 20. Pages 189-191, Thomas³ Binns is stated to have been a man of prominence in Surry county as early as 1652 and to have died in 1669. Therefore the father of Thomas³ Binns may very well have been the Thomas Bunn (Binns ?) who, with Bridget, his wife, and Thomas, his son, with five servants were living at the Maine near Jamestown in 1624-25. This Thomas Bunn or Binns was entitled "Chirurgiane". (Va. Mag., Vol. 20, Page 36). (Charles⁵ and Judith (Eldridge) Binns had issue: -Charles⁵; Elizabeth⁵ m. in 1758 John Jones and had: Betsy⁶ m. Mr. Wilkins; Nancy⁵ m. Jack Claiborne; Charles Binns⁴ m. and had issue: John⁶; George⁵ m. Miss Wright; Lucy⁴ m. Capt. Richard Avery and had: Nathaniel⁵, Lucy⁵, Goph⁵, and Sally⁵; Margaret⁵, b. 1749 m Mr. Staverson and d. s. p; Martha⁴, b. 1748 m: Timothy Rives). Timothy³ Rives m. after the death of Martha (Binns) Rives, Dec. 30, 1778 Rebecca Mason, Feb. 4, 1780 but had no issue by the latter. Issue of Timothy³ and Martha (Binns) Rives:

Charles Binns⁴ m. Mrs. Nancy (Colyer) Goodwin and had: Robert Binns⁵ m. Jane Carpenter and Nathaniel Eldridge⁰ who m. and had issue. Charles Binns⁴ Rives remarried after the death of his first wife.

Anthony⁴, of whom thereafter.

Anthony⁴ Rives, b. Nov. 22, 1776, d. 1834 m. Mary Browne Green, b. June 10, 1779, d. 1860. They lived at "Chalmari," Dinwiddie county, Virginia, afterwards moving to Tennessee and thence to Hinds county, Miss. Issue of Anthony and Mary Browne (Green) Rives:

Charles Anthony Binns⁵, b. May 2, 1809, d. Aug. 24, 1835 m. Eliza Dupuy in 1834 and had: Edmund Dupuy⁶.

Sarah Ann⁶, b. June 29, 1814.

Maria Obedience⁶, b. June 29, 1814.

John Fletcher⁹, b. October 20, 1830 m. in 1846 Mary Elizabeth Bailey.

Henry Armistead⁸, b. October 25, 1806 m. Mary Ann Taylor and had: Elizabeth Taylor⁹, Charles Anthony Binns⁸, Nathaniel Fletcher⁹, Sally Ann⁸, Ella Armistead⁸.
Orville Chastaine\textsuperscript{b}, b. October 8, 1802 m. 1st Mary E. Ruffin and had: William Henry Binns\textsuperscript{b}, b. Sept. 19, 1823, Sarah Virginia\textsuperscript{b}, b. Nov. 30, 1825, John Early\textsuperscript{b}, b. Sept. 1827, Orville Chastaine\textsuperscript{b}, b. 1829, d. 1830, Orville Chastaine, b. June 30, 1832. He m. 2nd Mary W. Rives in 1835 and had: James Mason\textsuperscript{b}, Mary Elizabeth\textsuperscript{b}, Nathaniel Binns\textsuperscript{b}, Ann Maria\textsuperscript{b} and Martha Anderson\textsuperscript{b}. 

Elizabeth Browne\textsuperscript{b}, b. April 4, 1805, d. 1857 m. Bishop John Early in 1822 and had: Mary Virginia\textsuperscript{b} m. James L. Brown; Orville Rives\textsuperscript{b} m. 1st Matty Blunt, 2nd Gertrude Cornelius, 3rd Mary Eleanor Chevis; Thomas\textsuperscript{b}, d. sp; William\textsuperscript{b}, d. s. p; John Fletcher\textsuperscript{b} m. Eliza Bostick; Elizabeth\textsuperscript{b}, Frances\textsuperscript{b}.

Martha Susannah Binns\textsuperscript{b}, b. April 20, 1812, d. Jan. 20, 1909 m. in 1834 Rev. John Wesley Childs, son of Rev. John Childs of Calvert county, Maryland, and Margaret Adams (William\textsuperscript{a}, Gabriel\textsuperscript{b}) of Fairfax county, Virginia. (These two families: Childs and Adams are rich in associations with the early Methodist movement in America. A sister of Margaret Adams was the wife of Rev. William Watters, the first native itinerant Methodist preacher in America. Both grandfathers of Rev. John Wesley Childs, William Adams, and Gabriel Childs were intimate friends and associates of the apostolic Francis Asbury and were pioneers in the establishment of Methodism in their respective counties, Fairfax county, Virginia, and Calvert county, Maryland).

J. RIVES CHILDS.

Lynchburg, Va.

DEATH OF JEFFERSON.

At a Court held for York County at the courthouse in York County on Monday the seventeenth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty six in the 51st year of the Commonwealth Present Thomas Griffin, John Shield. John F. Bryan and John R West ....... 

As this Court are of opinion that the death of Thomas Jefferson is a great national calamity and as they think that the gratitude of the Nation towards so distinguished a patriot Philosopher
and statesman should be expressed by the servants of the people in a manner the most respectful and at the same time best calculated by its permanence to transmit our gratitude to posterity. Ordered therefore that this opinion be entered of record and that they will adopt, together with their fellow citizens, any measures expressive of their profound veneration for his memory.

HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL NOTES.

Randolph. Wanted information regarding the following children of Grief and Mary (Eppes) Randolph, of Chesterfield County, Virginia: Isham, John, William, Elizabeth and Ann. I have complete records of their son Henry. Would like to correspond with descendants and will pay liberally for authentic records, if they are what I want.—C. K. Hill, Harriman, Tennessee.

Confederate Confidence. Hope and confidence were characteristics of the Confederate soldier. Thomas S. Ruffin, of the Thirteenth Virginia Cavalry and grandson of Edmund Ruffin, the agriculturist, wrote to his sister Mary November 15, 1864: I received your letter a few days since and having a few spare moments this morning I thought I might as well answer it, for fear I may not have another such opportunity, for Rumor says that Mr. Grant has five days rations cooked, and is preparing for another ‘On to Richmond’. I reckon he will find us ready to receive him with becoming honors. We have remained quiet since the fight at Burgessville, having had nothing to disturb our repose or break the monotony of our camp life: reveille in the morning, drill at 10 o’clock and Dress Parade at sunset, day after day, nothing new, nothing to write about, and everything as dull as possible, except occasionally when we run the Blockade to Petersburg, and see some of our Lady friends. . . . Old Abe, I hear, has, upon the strength of his election, called for one million more. To make up on our side, I suppose hereafter we will have to draw eighty rounds instead of forty, when we go into a fight'
Mathews Family. There is a deed dated Sept. 3, 1754, and recorded at a court held for King George County November 7, 1754 from Moseley Battaley of Spotsylvania County, and Samuel Battaley of the same county, eldest son and heir at law to the said Moseley Battaley and Elizabeth his late deceased wife mother of the said Samuel Battaley, of the one part and John Camp of King George County gent of the other part. The deed recites that for 100 pounds current money of Virginia the said parties of the first part release and forever quit claim to the party of the second part 2000 acres of in the parish of Brunswick, County of King George, formerly granted to Lt. Col. Samuel Mathews now deceased by Patent, bearing date the 7th day of September 1654, and lately purchased by said John Campe of one Baldwin Mathews, late of the aforesaid County of King George, now also deceased, which said tract descended to Capt. Samuel Mathews, who by his will dated 16 Nov., 1718, devised the said land to his son Francis Mathews, and if his then wife should be with child of a son the said land to be equally divided between said Francis Mathews and such son, but if both should die in the life time of his sons John and Baldwin Mathews that then the said tract should be equally divided between said John and Baldwin, which said Baldwin Mathews, as the only surviving son of the last mentioned Samuel Mathews, dec'd, did sell the said land to the aforesaid John Campe. But whereas his right to sell is like to be drawn in question, it appearing from the will of the said Samuel Mathews that none of his sons had more than a life interest in said land, and that Elizabeth Battaley, the late deceased wife of said Moseley Battaley, was the only surviving child and heir at law to the last mentioned Saml Mathews, who together with her husband Moseley Battaley was jointly seized in part of the said tract of land, whereby the said Moseley Battaley having issue, the said Samuel Battaley and several other children by the said Elizabeth, hath a right to claim the said tract of land for his life time as tenant the curtesie of England and that the said Samuel Battaley, as heir at law to the said Elizabeth his mother, as also to his grandfather the last mentioned Samuel Mathews, hath a Right of remainder in fee of and to the said tract of land, Now, for preventing any suit either in
law or equity, that may hereafter be commenced between the said Moseley Battale or Samuel Battale, their heirs &c, or the heirs &c of the said Samuel Battale forever and the heirs assign of the said John Camp in regard to the said land, This Indenture witnesseth that the said Moseley Battale will warrant the said John Camp the said land &c. For Mathews Family see William and Mary Quarterly vi, 91. The paragraph at bottom of page 91 is erroneous in stating that Samuel Mathews had three wives. He had two, and his children Elizabeth, Mary John and Baldwin were evidently by Katherine Tunstall, his first wife.

SIMON SUGGS. In the “Sketches from the Journal of a Confederate Soldier,” in last issue, page 37, it is stated that Simon Suggs, of Montgomery, was clerk of the Southern Congress. The reference here is to Johnson J. Hooper, who in his early youth wrote a humorous story, “The Adventures of Capt. Simon Suggs”

CAPT. ALEXANDER MACNAB, son of Dr. James Macnab, Surgeon to the American Loyal Legion, was a member of the United Empire Loyalists, 2 Batt, 30th Regt. and Special Aide-de-Camp to Sir Thomas Picton. He left Toronto in 1800 and, after serving with distinction throughout the Peninsular Campaign, fell in action in the battle of Waterloo, June 18, 1815.

Canon Alexander W Macnab, of Toronto, Ontario, his grand-nephew, has his sword, scarf and medal.

The American Loyal Legion, consisting of about 500 men, was raised by Lord Dunmore in 1775 in Princess Anne and Norfolk Counties. The colonel was Jacob Ellegood and the Major, John Saunders.
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Tyler's Quarterly Historical
and

THE SARAH CONSTANT, GOODSPEED AND DISCOVERY
The Ships That Brought the Founders of the Nation to Jamestown, 1607.

Genealogical Magazine

Editor: LYON G. TYLER, M. A., LL. D.

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LYON G. TYLER, Editor

Holdcroft P. O., - - - - Charles City Co., Va.

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PRESIDENT MONROE AND HIS MESSAGE OF DECEMBER 2, 1823.*

On such an occasion, we can not refrain from conjecturing what would have been the political and social development of this country without the early transactions which took place in this locality and without the statesmen who received their training in this College. Jamestown was the place of the first settlement of our race in the New World, and there the institutions were founded and the principles determined which vitally influenced the entire future. Williamsburg, the capital of the colony, and later, for a time, the capital of the State, was also, in an unofficial sense, the capital of the revolutionary movement. This was the environment where, as a student at William and Mary, James Monroe started on the course which will cause him to be always remembered. Born in 1758, he entered the College in 1774, when only sixteen years of age. But he had already acquired the spirit which animated his father and his father's friends, who have given his home County of Westmoreland its lasting fame, among them the Washingtons and the Lees. Here he was near the spot where the first jury trial was held and the first legislature in America assembled, and where the Virginians, anticipating a far-distant battle cry, proclaimed that there was no power which could subject them to taxation without representation—a principle announced by Virginia four years in advance of the Petition of Right, which was the first announcement of that principle in

*An address delivered by Hon. R. Walton Moore, M. C., at William and Mary College December 1, 1923.
England. And here there was fresh in the recollection of all, the defiance of the royal authority in 1765 by the House of Burgesses, under the leadership of Henry, when that power was sought to be exerted, and of the many prophetic events marking the interval between that year and the separation from the Mother Country. A few months before his matriculation, in May, 1774, the members of the House of Burgesses, which had been dissolved by Governor Dunmore, met in the Apollo Room of the Raleigh Tavern and adopted a resolution recommending that an annual congress of all the colonies be called to deliberate on those general measures which the united interests of America might from time to time require, and soon the Congress convened. Listen to their indignant condemnation of the treatment of their Massachusetts brethren: "we find an act of the British parliament, lately passed, for stopping the harbour and commerce of the town of Boston, in our sister colony of Massachusetts Bay, until the people there submit to the payment of such unconstitutional taxes, and which act most violently and arbitrarily deprives them of their property, in wharfs erected by private persons, at their own great and proper expense, which act is, in our opinion, a most dangerous attempt to destroy the constitutional liberty and rights of all North America." Two years later, in May, 1776, just as the young student Jefferson had listened to the Stamp Tax debate of 1765, Monroe doubtless witnessed the proceedings of the Virginia Convention which passed resolutions instructing the Virginia delegates in the congress to propose to that body to declare the United States free and independent states, absolved from all allegiance to, and dependence upon, the Crown or Parliament of Great Britain, instructions that were speedily carried out. That Spring day was notable in the annals of Williamsburg. The "union flag of the American States" (that was its designation), was unfurled over the capitol; there was a military parade, the resolutions were read to the soldiers, and at night the town was illuminated. The same convention adopted the Virginia Bill of Rights and Constitution, the first complete written instrument of government ever put in force. It would take hours to narrate all that occurred at Williamsburg leading up to the Revolution and giving it definite di-
reaction in the decade that followed Henry's matchless speech, which raised against him the cry of treason, and of all that swiftly followed during Monroe's student days. A scientist has stated that a shadow never falls upon a surface without leaving a permanent trace, a trace which might be made visible by resort to proper processes. What a picture would be presented if there could be reproduced the forms of those who day by day passed before the eyes of the young student and inspired his life of service to his country!

Monroe began his first term as President on March 4, 1817. Behind him were long years of almost continuous activity in public affairs, beginning with his service in the Revolution. He left the College as a soldier and went into the northern campaign as a lieutenant in the regiment commanded by Colonel William Washington. It is said that he was the first to cross the Delaware River in the attack on Trenton. It is certain that, with his commanding officer, he was at the very front at the critical moment of the assault. The bullet which inflicted the severe wound which he then suffered, he carried in his body to the day of his death. No one has ever questioned his courage as a soldier. No one, so far as I know, has questioned the skill he showed as a very youthful officer in the Army of the Revolution, except Aaron Burr, who is quoted with apparent satisfaction by one of a group of comparatively recent writers, who have sought to belittle not only Monroe but the great Virginians with whose names his will always be associated. But whatever has been written by those who disparage him, it is incredible that anyone not possessing great qualities of intellect and character could, throughout his life, have held the confidence and support of his own people in the age when Virginia Statesmanship was predominant. Glance at the record. Before he was thirty years old he was military commissioner from Virginia to the Southern Army, a member of the Virginia legislature and of the State Executive Council, and a conspicuous member from Virginia of the Continental Congress, and again a member of the Legislature. Before he was thirty-five years old, he was a member of the State Constitutional Convention, that passed on the Federal Constitution and United
States Senator from Virginia. Subsequently, he was a third time elected to the Virginia Legislature, and four times, at intervals, elected to the Governorship of the State. This is not the time to discuss his diplomatic career, but it is also incredible that a man not deemed to possess great qualities would have been commissioned to represent his country in dealing with matters of extraordinary importance in France, Spain and England. During most of Madison’s administration, he was Secretary of State, and for several months while the war with England was in progress, he was likewise Secretary of War, and there is no question as to how he was regarded by his chief and by Congress in those years, which, far from being tranquil, tested his capacity and fitness for the higher office he was soon to fill. As Jefferson, who loved him, had rejoiced at the election of Madison as his successor in the Presidency, so he rejoiced at the election of Monroe to succeed Madison. His friendship for Monroe, his confidence in Monroe’s ability and unselfish patriotism, notwithstanding they sometimes differed, as with respect to the treaty of 1806 with Great Britain, which Monroe assisted in negotiating and which Jefferson disapproved, was never shaken from the time when Monroe, Jefferson’s junior by some fifteen years, was a student in the latter’s law office. Jefferson in a letter about another said: “For honesty he is like our friend Monroe; turn his soul wrong side outwards, and there is not a speck on it.”

Monroe’s freedom from sectional prejudice or undue partiality to his own State is shown by his decision to appoint a northern man as Secretary of State. He wished, as he wrote to some of his friends before his inauguration, to remove the mistaken idea that the South was making unreasonable claims and that Virginia was seeking to retain the chief office in the cabinet as a stepping stone to the presidential succession. His choice fell upon John Quincy Adams, then minister to England, whose ability and experience were unquestioned. Another Massachusetts man, who had served Madison as Secretary of the Navy, he chose for that office. The three other cabinet positions were filled by men of unusual strength, Crawford of Georgia as Secretary of the Treas-
Pres. Monroe and His Message

ury, Calhoun of South Carolina as Secretary of War, and Wirt of Virginia as Attorney General. Considering what has been the not uncommon fate of our Presidents, it is nearly an exceptional tribute to Monroe that those who gathered about his council table were from first to last not only his zealous supporters, but his friends and admirers. There is, I believe, not a word of really adverse criticism from any of them. On the other hand, there are numberless expressions lauding his wisdom, firmness and devotion to the country. Shortly after Monroe's death, at the invitation of the authorities of Boston, his Secretary of State, who had a better opportunity than any other of estimating Monroe, delivered an address on his life and character at the Old South Church in that city. In that address, Adams, who was in contact with Monroe day by day for years, working with him to solve problems of gravest importance, described him as always honest, sincere and pure in his purposes and intentions. He spoke of his "labor outlasting the daily circuit of the sun and outwatching the vigils of the night," a point stressed in the Adams Diary, which mentions how often the Secretary saw the light shining in the President's office after midnight. His, said Adams, was "a mind anxious and unwearied in the pursuit of truth and right; patient of inquiry; patient of contradiction; courteous even in collision of sentiment; sound in its ultimate judgments; and firm in its final conclusions." Calhoun wrote of him, "He had a wonderful intellectual patience, and could above all the men I ever knew, when called upon to decide an important matter, hold the subject immoveably fixed under his attention until he had mastered it in all its relations. It was mainly to this admirable quality that he owed his highly accurate judgment. I have known many men much more rapid in reaching a conclusion, but very few with a certainty so unerring." Reading these comments, there come to mind the words of Halifax, that the man who is master of patience is master of everything. No President escapes criticism, often as severe when undeserved as when deserved. Monroe did not escape, but it is remarkable to what extent the opinion of him entertained by the members of his cabinet was echoed by most of those who surveyed his career within
the more than a generation following his death. For example, in the life of John Quincy Adams by William H. Seward, there is the same picture of Monroe as given by Adams and Calhoun. Says Seward, "He was emphatically a great and good man."

It was at a late date, much after the Civil War, that the opinion of those connected with Monroe's administration and of such detached investigators as Seward, began to be decried by certain writers whose attitude toward Jefferson and Madison, as well as Monroe, represents a substantially new conception of what they were and what they did. It is rather surprising that several of these writers, who are bent upon reversing the considered views and judgments of the past, are of Massachusetts, when it is remembered, so far as Monroe was concerned, that he was acclaimed by the people of no other State more heartily on his northern tour in 1817, and that Massachusetts joined all of the other States in favoring his reelection. Some of them are members of the very distinguished family to which the Secretary of State belonged, who seem to forget that to disparage Monroe is to discredit Adams. Edward Everett Hale, whose book was published in 1902, derisively speaks of the Presidents between 1801 and 1825 as the "Virginia Dynasty, their failures and follies, their fuss and feathers and fol de rol," claiming that the authentic history of that period "never got itself written down until twelve years ago," that is to say until 1890, when a true historian appeared to take the place of the "chattering crickets" who had preceded him, and only then the world was enabled to see what a wretched performance was staged by the Virginia Dynasty; that Jefferson, Madison and Monroe were most inferior actors; that the audience which applauded should have hissed, and that those who, looking back and reviewing, had agreed with the audience, were completely deluded. All of which is quite as absurd as it would be to try to obscure the fact that Massachusetts had a great part in the Revolution, and in creating and carrying on the Government, and developing the life of the Republic, and has, in every era, contributed illustrious names to the roll of American leadership. As her renown is established beyond the chance of obliteration, so no writer or set of writers, can obliterate the achievements
of the Virginia Dynasty. What are some of the outstanding facts? When Jefferson became President, we had 827,000 square miles of territory and seventeen states had been organized, none of them beyond the Mississippi River. When Monroe left the Presidency, the area was 2,000,000 square miles, and there had been added to the list of states Maine, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Indiana, Missouri, and Illinois. In the period of twenty-four years, the area was more than doubled, the westward movement was well under way, and at the end there were twenty-four stars on the flag. The population increased from about five million at the beginning of Jefferson’s first term to about ten million at the end of Monroe’s second term. Correspondingly, industries expanded, domestic and foreign commerce grew, and in every field of intellectual and moral effort there was unexampled activity and progress. With respect to the one matter of spreading the advantages of education, a little incident illustrates the personal interest in that subject of those who composed the Virginia Dynasty. I have read the minutes of a meeting of the Board of Visitors of our University, signed by Jefferson and Madison, who were in retirement near Charlottesville, and by Monroe, then President, who had made the trip from Washington to join in doing whatever might be possible to promote the success of the institution which was then struggling forward. It is not to be overlooked how the principles of democracy were extended and the democratic spirit fostered. This was no weakening process. Before the Dynasty left the scene, the government which it had striven to make not simply a government for the people but more of a government by the people, felt itself sufficiently strong to challenge the combined power of the monarchies of continental Europe. In the Adams address is a bare summary of what was accomplished in the Monroe administration. He speaks of him as “strengthening his country for defense by a system of combined fortifications, military and naval, sustaining her rights, her dignity and honour abroad; soothing her dissensions, and conciliating her acerbities at home; controlling by a firm though peaceful policy the hostile spirit of the European Alliance against Republican South America; extorting by the mild compulsion of reason, the shores of
the Pacific from the stipulated acknowledgment of Spain; and leading back the imperial autocrat of the North to his lawful boundaries, from his hastily asserted dominion over the Southern Ocean."

The extract just quoted gives the only allusion in the address to the most memorable act of Monroe's career, the statement of national policy contained in his message, the one hundredth anniversary of which occurs to-morrow. One of the immediate causes leading to that statement was a controversy with Russia relative to her claims in the Northwest, as to which it is enough to say that she had already been notified that the United States would contest the right of Russia or any other European nation to establish any new colony on this continent. The other cause was connected with events that had taken place following the close of the Napoleonic Wars. There had come about a general recrudescence of absolutism in continental Europe, while, at the same time, the Latin American communities were endeavoring to free themselves from Spanish domination. In September, 1815, the sovereigns of Austria, Prussia and Russia signed a document in which, asserting that they were discharging their religious duty, they agreed to cooperate with each other on all occasions and in all places, and invited other nations to unite with them. In November, of the same year, England, having accepted the invitation, the four nations entered into a treaty binding themselves to work together in restoring France and managing European affairs, and three years later, France became the fifth member of the Holy Alliance, which was relentlessly dominating Europe. For instance, in 1821, the Allies announced that they had taken Europe into their holy keeping, and any changes in legislation and administration of the states must emanate alone from the free will, the reflected and enlightened impulse, of those whom God had rendered responsible for power. England withdrew from the Alliance, unwilling to sign the new treaty framed in November, 1822, at Verona, which provided for upholding the principle of Divine Right, and putting an end to any system of representative government; for the suppression of the liberty of the press, and for the support of religious establishments. Spain had erect-
ed a constitutional government, and, after England’s withdrawal from the Alliance, and in spite of her protest, that country was invaded, her government overthrown, and the “legitimate sovereign” installed. The menace to the Latin American states was obvious. They faced the probability that the powerful combination that had worked its will on Spain would attempt to subject them again to Spanish dominion. The sympathy of the people of this country for those states was due to most of them having set up republican governments, and to the conviction that the designs of the Alliance could not be executed without ultimate peril to ourselves. Our government was deeply concerned. Its concern was shown in many ways, including the appointment, during the latter part of Madison’s administration, and from time to time in Monroe’s administration, of commissions and agents to ascertain and report upon conditions in the south. Monroe, engrossed with the subject, was full of anxiety. Adams did not reach Washington until the Autumn of the year of the inauguration. On September 20, 1817, two days before taking the oath of office as Secretary of State, Adams called on the President who at once directed the conversation to affairs in South America. This is noted in the Adams Diary, which also tells how that topic was invariably given prominence in his conferences with the President and at cabinet meetings. The expediency of recognizing the independence of the Southern governments was heatedly discussed in Congress and in the newspapers. The Diary relates a conversation in March, 1818, between Adams and Henry Clay, who was an insistent advocate of recognition. Adams held off largely because of his lack of faith in the stability of the new governments. Finally, he remarked to Clay that while he never doubted that the outcome would be their entire independence of Spain, he believed it to be equally clear that it was our true policy and duty to take no part in the contest. In that year the problem was dealt with by recognition of the independence of the states which had been under Spanish rule, and of Brazil, which had thrown off the Portuguese yoke, and in a short time the administration, with the full and active concurrence of the Secretary of State, was to take a very definite and decisive step touching the threatened
contest. After the act of recognition by the United States, George Canning, the British Prime Minister, several times indicated to Richard Rush, our minister at London, the willingness of his government to enter into an agreement for resisting any attempt of the Holy Alliance to intervene in South America, and Rush kept the administration advised of his conversations and correspondence with Canning. Monroe wrote Jefferson, and Jefferson replied that the question presented was "the most momentous which has ever been offered to my contemplation since that of independence. That made us a nation; this sets our compass and points out the course which we are to steer through the ocean of time opening on us."

Back of all that had reference to Russia and the Latin American communities, most of our statesmen had from the beginning perceived the importance of strengthening and insuring the territorial integrity of the United States as indispensable to insuring the well being and permanence of the government. When the Revolution was over, bordering on the comparatively small part of North America which fell to the ownership of the United States under the Confederation and under the Constitution, were the vast possessions on this continent of the European powers, whose possessions also covered South America. Monroe was one of those most solicitous to decrease the danger of European aggression in this hemisphere by improving our territorial situation. As a member of the Continental Congress, he evinced a keen interest in the failure of the British to evacuate territory which the treaty of peace had conceded to the United States, and he made a trip to the Northwest, one of the objects of which was to obtain reliable information as to the meaning of the delay. Along with Livingston, he conducted the negotiations and signed the treaty for the Louisiana Purchase. As Secretary of State, he held out against the contention of Spain for the ownership of a portion of that purchase, and during his administration Florida was acquired. The boundary dispute with Great Britain was left to be settled by a future administration, but it was in his administration that the agreement assuring the neutrality of the Great Lakes was reached, which was the first effective disarmament proposition.
Here we can not fail to remember that in the administration of John Tyler, another honored son of this College, a treaty with Great Britain satisfactorily disposed of many, but not all, of the claims of that nation to territory in the Northwest; that a firm stand was taken on the Oregon question, and that the resolution was adopted which authorized the annexation of Texas. To what was said a moment ago about the comparatively small area of the United States prior to the advent of the Virginia Dynasty, namely 827,000 square miles, I may add that the total area is now three and one-half million square miles, exclusive of our island possessions. Adams in his address, looking at the map of the United States as it was in 1783 and the map as it was at the time he was speaking, declared with unmistakable emphasis that "the change more than of any other man living or dead was the work of James Monroe."

Monroe's message of December 2, 1823, written by his own hand, was not delivered in person, but was read in each House of Congress. It will interest you to know that one of the Virginia Senators and eight of the Virginia Representatives in that Congress were men who had been educated at William and Mary. It was a lengthy document, and the paragraphs embracing the statement of a national policy which from that day to this the United States has cherished and been ready to defend, are widely sepa-

1 Probably the two most important applications of the "Monroe Doctrine" occurred during Tyler's Administration. In his message December 20, 1842, President Tyler recommended an appropriation for maintaining a consul at the Hawaiian Islands, argued their right to be recognized as independent, and against the right of any European power to colonize or take possession of them. When, therefore, the Islands were taken possession of by a British fleet in February, 1843, the President lodged with the British Government a formal complaint and protest which was followed by a disclaimer and withdrawal of authority. This left the way open to the annexation of the Islands under President McKinley. A still higher assertion of the policy was the annexation of Texas, which was, in one of its aspects, a measure to forestall the efforts of Great Britain to make Texas a virtual dependency. It is well known that France and Great Britain proposed to Texas to guarantee its independence if Texas would give a formal pledge not to unite herself to the United States.—Editor.
rated from each other in the context. Here are the essential portions of the clauses that proposed the policy which through a century has enormously affected the destiny of the world and been the theme of almost endless discussion, friendly and unfriendly, as evidenced by innumerable official utterances; by the publication of some fifty books treating of it specifically, and by a great additional mass of essays and addresses, representing nearly every civilized country and almost every language. Referring to the Russian claims, Monroe said:

"In the discussions to which this interest has given rise, and in the arrangements by which they may terminate, the occasion has been judged proper for asserting as a principle, in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers."

Referring to conditions in the South, he said:

"We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence and have maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

What name is given to the statement is of little consequence. No name was given it by Monroe, himself. In the long debate of 1826 in the House of Representatives, on the Panama Mission, it was praised by Webster, Buchanan, McDuffie and others as "Mr. Monroe's Declaration." It was referred to by President Polk as "The principle avowed by Mr. Monroe." When or by
whom it was originally called The Monroe Doctrine a search has not disclosed, but that precise term, though it had long since come to be officially and popularly used, no President seems to have used in addressing Congress until President Grant’s special message on the “Annexation of the Dominican Republic.”

Any impression that the importance of the message was not quickly appreciated is dispelled by examining the newspapers of the time. So far as I can discover all of the American papers stressed its significance and, with a single exception, gave it their approval. The English press, headed by the London Times, was almost as unanimous to the same effect. Across the Channel, as might be expected, in the main it met with severe ridicule and criticism. It was enthusiastically welcomed in South America.

Some have credited the message to Canning, notably Charles Sumner, who wrote in his Prophetic Voices, “The Monroe Doctrine as now familiarly called proceeded from Canning. He was its inventor, promoter and champion, so far as it was against intervention in American affairs.” The opposition of the English people to the despotic aims of the Holy Alliance, and the strengthening influence of the general attitude of the English government, of which our government was advised by Rusli, must always be accorded the weight to which they are entitled, and which is not diminished because the time arrived in Cleveland’s administration, when the doctrine had to be enforced against England herself in the Venezuela dispute. But it is plainly shown by a letter from Canning to Bagot, the British minister to Russia, not long ago brought to light, that the message gave Canning no satisfaction. He could not know, he writes, how far “that part of the speech of the President which relates to Spanish America has been prompted by a knowledge of the sentiments of His Majesty’s Government upon that subject.” But, he continues, if the message “is to be construed as objecting to an attempt to recover her dominions on the part of Spain, there is again an important difference between his view of the subject and ours as it is possible to conceive” and further “it is hardly necessary for me to add that the principle (if principle it may be called) prohibiting all further colonization of the continents of
America is as new to this government as to that of France." He was also displeased that the United States had acted alone instead of in conjunction with the British government.

Some have given the entire credit to Adams. It is true that the Secretary of State urged that the United States should independently of England, announce its opposition to any interference with the Latin American states. On that question, at the start there was a division of opinion in the cabinet. Wirt doubted and hesitated, and Adams asked the President to consider carefully the Attorney General's apprehension that throwing down the gauntlet to the Holy Alliance might precipitate a war which this country might have to fight single-handed. The conclusion of the President was arrived at after protracted consultations with his cabinet, and it was his own conclusion reached with full knowledge of the entire situation and upon a consideration of every fact and argument. It may be that Calhoun's recollection was accurate when he said twenty-five years after the event, that the colonization proposition was not considered at a cabinet meeting, but, of course, it represented the President's own deliberate conclusion. The answer to those who decline to attribute anything of initiative and leadership to Monroe is that he alone was in authority, and capable of final decision and action on a subject of supreme importance which hung in a trembling and perilous balance, and that his alone was the responsibility for boldly proclaiming, as the chief magistrate of the nation and the leader of the people, a policy which was certain to encounter formidable antagonism and might involve the country in a war or a series of wars. Had an armed conflict occurred and the commerce of the country been seriously involved, can it be doubted that Monroe would have been the victim of the same sort of bitter attack and by the same interests which was directed against Madison and himself in connection with the War of 1812? Anyone who wishes to know of the effort, at its flood, to exalt Adams at the expense of Monroe should read the address of the historian Ford before the Massachusetts Historical Society at its meeting in January, 1902, and the remarks made at the close of the address by the president of the Society, himself an Adams. The latter said that
it was apparent that the Monroe Doctrine had “originated almost verbatim, literatim, et punctuatim, as well as in scope and spirit with Monroe's Secretary of State.” Not content with that sweeping asseveration, he proceeded to say “As to President Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation, the second most memorable presidential address of a century, it is a fact, though one which has not yet found its fully recognized place in history, that Monroe's Secretary of State was hardly less closely identified with it than with the hardly less memorable and famous address of forty years previous.” Thus, though John Quincy Adams was dead, his voice sounded down through the years to Lincoln and proved convincing.

At that meeting nothing further seems to have been claimed on behalf of Adams. On the other side is the very dignified and satisfactory reply to the Ford Address made before the American Historical Society at Washington in 1905 by the historian Schouler, a native of Massachusetts who was educated at Harvard. Hear the last paragraph of that address: “In short, as history may in fairness conclude, the United States at this time had a President who held up no trumpet for his Secretary of State or any other member of his Cabinet to blow into, but sounded his own sufficient blast and flung out his challenge, as a self-poised and self-respecting head of this nation, whose simple word carried the weight of world-wide reputation, and who, in talents, public experience, and nobility of character, was the peer of any crowned monarch of his times in all Europe.”

The meaning of the Monroe Doctrine was recently set forth with characteristic precision and clearness by Secretary Hughes. “Properly understood,” he said, “it is opposed (1) to any un-American action encroaching upon the political independence of American states under any guise, and (2) to the acquisition in any manner of the control of additional territory in this hemisphere by any un-American power.” Considering the intent of the message, and that it has been, and must be, interpreted in the light of changing circumstances and conditions, I do not believe that the correctness of Mr. Hughes’ definition can be disputed. On the point that the spirit and not simply the letter is to be regarded, take two illustrations: President Grant, in his
San Domingo message, presenting a view previously stated by other Presidents, said it was now proper to assert the equally important principle that hereafter no territory on this continent shall be regarded as subject to transfer to any other European power. But this, in the opinion of Mr. Root and others is but a corollary of the policy as originally announced. Again at the date of the message there was no prospect that any nation of Asia might attempt in America what was forbidden to the nations of Europe, but that prospect having arisen, the policy becomes as applicable to Asia as to Europe, and has been so held by our government.

By the doctrine, the United States voluntarily fixed a rule of conduct for itself, which affects all other nations without regard to whether they approve or disapprove. It is an affirmative declaration of a continuing purpose, by the use of such force as may be essential, to prevent Old World powers from action in this hemisphere which might lessen and might finally even destroy the territorial and political safety of the United States. Its validity and strength spring from the fact that it represents an exercise of the natural right of self-protection and for that reason has the undivided support of all the people. It links with the older Declaration in proclaiming a method by which independence is to be guaranteed and maintained; and the country will never turn away from the policy announced by Monroe in 1823 unless it should become so helpless and hopeless as to turn away from what was declared in 1776. The doctrine is not written in the Constitution, but it is more fundamental than the Constitution, itself. It has never been thrown into the form of a statute, though something of that sort was unsuccessfully attempted as early as January, 1824, but no statute is so authoritative and enduring. It is not inter-continental law, as Clay called it, but a unilateral policy applicable to two continents. It is not international law, since it does not depend upon the consent of any nation of the Old World, to all of whom it says "thou shalt not," or any of the other nations of this hemisphere, and it is not given the character of international law because of having been expressly accepted by all of the powers that are members of the League of Nations. It
President Monroe and His Message

Carries no thought of suzerainty or over-lordship and is devoid of any ambition inconsistent with the rights and interests of other American nations. While it does not threaten them, it promises them nothing. If the United States should ever attempt to seize by force, whether wisely, or unjustly and foolishly, any American territory not now under our flag, the Monroe Doctrine would have no bearing upon the issue. The transaction would not be chargeable to the doctrine. It would be altogether outside the field in which the doctrine operates.

There is no opportunity to enter into the controversies, often attended by the utmost confusion of thought as to its real meaning, which have arisen as to the interpretation of the doctrine, or even to enumerate the occasions when its practical value has been demonstrated, for that would require details that are now impossible. I may here mention one episode not important but interesting. It is reliably stated that in the last year of our Civil War, and preliminary to the Hampton Roads Conference, it was seriously proposed that the settlement of the differences responsible for the war should be postponed, with the prospect that they would later be satisfactorily disposed of, so that the armies of the two sections might unite in vindicating the Monroe Doctrine by expelling Maximillian from Mexico.

It may be worth while to refer to the persistent contention that by the Monroe Doctrine the United States is pledged not to participate in the political affairs of foreign nations. Only a few weeks ago a London audience was informed that such is the case. To use the language of the speaker, the Doctrine means, among other things, "no participation by the United States in the political broils of Europe." It is true that Monroe in his message reiterated what had been stated by Washington, Jefferson and others relative to the disposition of the United States not to involve itself unnecessarily in the concerns of European nations. But there was no suggestion by any of them that our government should subject itself to a perpetual restriction, regardless of any and all changes that might occur, and there has been no pledge to that effect made to ourselves or other nations. The Monroe Doctrine is a single, comprehensive inhibition, which under the
United States has placed the nations of the Old World, while leaving itself complete freedom in any contingency that may arise to decide whether it will or will not relate itself to their affairs. This could not be otherwise, because the thing described as participation is incapable of definition or limitation. This was clearly the view of Monroe, for in the message itself he took a positive stand on the contest then in progress to establish a revolutionary government in Greece. It was the view of Webster, who, in January, 1824, made his first great speech in Congress, advocating the recognition of Greek independence and the appointment of an agent or commission to that country. Webster referred to the theory of non-participation. "As it is never difficult" he said "to recite commonplace remarks or trite aphorisms, so it may be easy, I am aware on this occasion, to remind me of the wisdom which dictates to men a care of their own affairs and admonishes them, instead of searching for adventure abroad, to leave other men's concerns to their own hands * * * * *

All this and more may be readily said; but all this and more will not be allowed to fix a character upon this proceeding * * * *. Let it be first shown that in this question there is nothing which can affect the interest, the character or the duty of this country." The view thus long ago intimated by Monroe and expounded by Webster has repeatedly governed the action of the United States, and in each instance the transaction was outside the scope of the Monroe Doctrine. Acquiring and holding the Philippines is participation in the political affairs of Asia. For the sake of assuring humanity everywhere, if possible, a more peaceful existence, the United States has lately become a party to treaties which immediately affect the political affairs of both Asia and Europe. But whatever the opinion of some as to the expediency of all this, there has at least been no violation of the Monroe Doctrine. Nor was it violated when we entered the World War. And, in passing, let me say that we were not then influenced by a mere conception that our material interests were in peril and must be protected. Who can forget how Roosevelt, urging that we embark in the struggle at its commencement, cried out that the nation might lose its very soul by failing to perform
what seemed to him its imperative duty? And will not the lamp of history everlastingly illuminate that scene on the evening of April second, 1917, in the Capitol at Washington, when President Wilson proclaimed to Congress the reasons why the United States should take part in the awful conflict then raging across the ocean? He was not unmindful of protecting our own security, but, like Webster and Roosevelt, his thought went far beyond that and he spoke of the preservation of popular liberty, of the vindication of the principles of peace and justice, and of such "a concert of purpose and action as will hereafter insure the observance of those principles." Nor was the issue with respect to the League of Nations within the scope of the Monroe Doctrine, as accurately defined by Secretary Hughes. He and Mr. Root, two of the ablest men who have held the portfolio of State, believed, as they informed the country, that the active and constant participation of the United States in the political affairs of other nations, which membership in the League of Nations would have made inevitable, would be wise, with an explicit acknowledgment of the permanence of the Monroe Doctrine, which was conceded, and with certain reservations not intended to avoid participation, but to guard its extent. They were not deterred, as Webster was not, by "trite aphorisms," nor have they been deterred from recommending that the United States should become identified with the Permanent Court of International Justice because of the fact that thereby our country would be drawn closer to other countries and their political affairs.

I have detained you too long, but may be permitted, in conclusion, a further reference to Monroe. Having gone into retirement, he received from the people of Virginia who had already so lavishly honored him, one further mark of their confidence and affection. He was elected President of the Constitutional Convention of 1829-30, in which served the most eminent men of the Commonwealth, which then extended to the Ohio River. James Madison placed him in nomination and John Marshall and Madison escorted him to the chair—a great triumvirate.

But his health and strength had then waned and the shadows were gathering about him. His talents, his time and his means
had been so completely expended in the public service that nothing was left him as he neared the end, which came on July 4th, 1831, except a record which had won him the general and deep respect and gratitude of his countrymen. Without exaggeration, there might be applied to him the inscription over the grave of another Virginian, who rests yonder at Yorktown, "He gave all for liberty."

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BRENT TOWN, RAVENSWORTH AND THE HUGUENOTS IN STAFFORD.

[A Chapter from "Landmarks of Old Prince William."]

By Fairfax Harrison.

In 1685, when the Edict of Nantes was revoked, Nicholas Hayward, son of a long established Virginia merchant in London and himself a practising notary public on "the Virginia walk in the Exchange," was a worthy representative of the great traditions of the Elizabethan adventurers who had planted the American colonies. With a large vision of the future, he made investments and assumed risks in the new world all the way from Virginia to the Hudson Bay. The fact that he was a brother of that Samuel Hayward, Clerk of Stafford, who was William Fitzhugh's "entirely beloved and good friend," brought him into intimate correspondence with Fitzhugh, with the consequence that, although Nicholas Hayward speaks for himself only once in the surviving record, the reader of Fitzhugh's letters must arise with a sense of having made the acquaintance, in him, of a man of sound business, enlightened views, and a pleasant sense of humour.

At the time of the arrival of the first Huguenot refugees in England, that Nicholas Hayward had recently picked up, at a bargain, a plantation on the Potomac adjoining William Fitzhugh's home place, "Bedford." Casting about how profitably to turn over his investment, he resisted Fitzhugh's offer to take the land
off his hands, and worked out a plan to colonize it with some of the Huguenot refugees. Fitzhugh's imagination was at once captured by the suggestion. He acutely appreciated the opportunity, but, sensibly enough, pointed out that under the extensive habits of Virginia life which the immigrants would be sure soon to adopt, Hayward's plantation would not be large enough for his purpose. He therefore suggested, as an alternative, to send the Huguenots to the great tract (later known as Ravensworth), which he had himself recently entered, on the upper waters of Accotink. Hayward recognised the force of the criticism, but he did not fall in with the alternative suggestion. He wanted to establish in Virginia a "canton" of his own, a new "hundred" such as "particular adventurers" had once upon a time set up on James River in the days of the Virginia Company. Hayward knew that he could secure all the land he wanted because it had now been some years since Lord Culpeper had bought out the other proprietors of the Northern Neck(3), only to find the estate hanging heavy on his hands. Everybody in London knew that the noble Lord was in financial straits. To him Hayward accordingly made the welcome proposal to purchase for cash a tract of 30,000 acres in the Stafford backwoods. The negotiations did not take long, and Hayward proceeded to make up a syndicate to exploit his purchase. He first took into partnership two Virginia merchants, both of whom had been resident in the colony. These were his own brother-in-law, Richard Foote, then carrying on the business of the first Nicholas Hayward, and Robert Bristow, a picturesque survivor of Bacon's Rebellion(4). Agreeing that it was desirable to have also a resident partner in Virginia, George Brent of "Woodstock," surveyor and lawyer, and then head of the Brent family in Stafford, was selected for this relation.

To these four, as tenants in common, Culpeper executed and delivered a grant, dated January 10, 1686/7(5), of

"All that tract, Territory or parcel of Land Containing by estimation thirty thousand Acres be the same more or less, Situate, lying and being in or near the said County of Stafford in Virginia aforesaid, Between the Courses of the said Two Rivers, Rappahannock and Potowmack, backwards at least six miles Di-
tart from the said Main River and from any Land already seated and inhabited, and upon and Between the Southwest and North-east Branches of Ocaquan Creek(*) and from thence towards the Mountains."

Upon this foundation Hayward next applied to James II for a royal assurance of religious toleration for his proposed Huguenot emigrants, an assurance which was a necessity in the troublous politics of that year. The petition recited the Culpeper grant and that the grantees

"have projected, and do speedily designe to build, a Towne with Convenient fortifications, and doo therefore pray that for the encouragement of Inhabitants to settle in the said Towne and plantation . . . to grant them the free exercise of their Religion."

Whereupon, under date of February 10, 1686/7, the King issued, as one of his famous dispensations, a warrant(?) directed to Lord Howard of Effingham, Governor of Virginia providing that

"wee do accordingly give and grant unto the Pet'rs and to all and every the Inhabitants which now are or hereafter shall be settled in the said Towne and Tract of Land belonging to them as is above mentioned the full exercise of their Religion without being prosecuted or molested upon any penall laws or other account for the same."

The town so to be established was forthwith dubbed Brenton, but this was corrupted by local usage into Brent Town, and that came to be the designation of the whole tract(*)

Prior to the date of the grant, George Brent had begun the development of the property(*). A year later he still had people on the ground, for in his letter of June 1, 1688, Fitzhugh said to Hayward that he was sending to England "a skin which is esteemed a Lion's with us here, killed upon your Town tract." The pioneers opened thither that "Brent Town road" which appears in the later land grants, extending from the Potomac Path up the Long (or Beaverdam) branch of Aquia and across the divide above the head spring of Dorrill's Run to the lower side of Town (alias Brent Town) Run, and there laid out the town site(19). The general plan of the proposed community was that of the ancient race inheritance which had been revived for the original settlement on James River but had now been long abandoned in Vir-
ginia practice; for security the Brenton colonists were to live together in the town, but to each town lot of one acre was to be appurtenant a farm of one hundred acres in the “country”\(^{11}\).

Meanwhile, Hayward was active in London circulating colonization literature through the coffee houses of Soho and St. Giles and the weavers’ shops of Spitalfields, where the refugees foregathered\(^{12}\). A copy of his broadside has been preserved by the author of that entertaining little book, *Voyages d’un Francoïs*, printed at The Hague in 1687. He says it came into his hands after his return to London from Virginia in the spring of 1687. What follows is a translation of Hayward’s original French:

“*Propositions for Virginia.*

“The proprietors of the land situated near [i. e., proche, with which compare the description in the Brent Town grant] the county of Stafford in Virginia, on the 39th degree, between the southwest and northwest branches of the river called Occoquan Creek, and of the town that they have begun to build, called Brenton, make the following propositions for the encouragement of persons who plan to emigrate into that country and there make a permanent establishment, that is to say,

“to the first to present themselves they will sell, for the sum of ten pounds sterling cash, at four écus to the pound sterling, 100 acres of land near enough to the town to build a house upon it. Under this offer the purchasers, and their heirs, will become proprietors of the said land in perpetuity, subject only to a quit rent of four shillings sterling per annum [i. e., double the proprietary quit rent].”

“Such persons may be assured that the said land is healthy, good and fertile, producing all sorts of grains grown in Europe, such as wheat, rye, oats, etc.; vines and all sorts of fruit, and that the water is excellent.

“At the price above mentioned the proprietors will give the preference of choice of the situations of farm [*mesterie*] and house in the order of application, but only on condition that the purchasers shall emigrate to become residents. It is the expectation of the proprietors in the future to make another and a higher price for the general sale of said lands.”
“For the further encouragement of such families as shall first present themselves, who cannot or do not wish to pay cash, and who desire to be assisted by these proprietors, they offer to lease to such persons 100 acres of land for a farm and one acre in the said town for a house, and to furnish to each family nails and other hardware in sufficient quantity to build a house in size 25 to 28 feet long and 14 to 16 feet wide, and 15 bushels of Indian corn for their subsistence the first year, all at an annual rent of 4 écus (or one pound) sterling.

“If any shall find 100 acres too much or not enough, what they want may be leased on a basis in proportion to that stated above, but upon the same conditions.


On behalf of the Proprietors,

Nic. Hayward.”

Hayward was, however, only one of a number who were contemporaneously competing for these desirable colonists, and his modest efforts lacked the authority and the organization of those of the proprietary colonies. Even before the Revocation, the French seaport towns had been flooded with Carolina broadsides so that the refugees reached London “having nothing but Carolina in their minds,” dreaming of it as a land of fruit and flowers. In London they were met by alluring offers from William Penn to seat his “lower Counties” on the Delaware, and the agents of Carolina renewed their promises and their highly coloured pictures. Even Massachusetts took a hand. The Virginia government itself as yet did nothing, but Hayward had volunteer supporters among the masters of the ships engaged in the Virginia trade. In the Voyage d’un Francois the author tells of a conversation with one of them to whom he confided that he planned to establish himself in Carolina, explaining,

“that he had in his hands printed broadsides which made it out to be the most agreeable and the most fertile part of America, and that many people in London had assured him that this was true. The Captain replied that he had been to Carolina two years previously, carrying thirty emigrants from Plymouth, and had left them all in vigorous health, but when he returned eleven
months later he found only two alive: that there was not an acre of good land in all South Carolina. One of the sailors here spoke up, saying that when he was there last year in July, half of the population of Charles Town had left or was dead.”

This propaganda may have been effective in individual cases, but it was insufficient to accomplish Hayward’s larger purpose. In the end he failed. The company on which he particularly counted, embarked for Carolina. Brenton, qua town, forthwith disappeared as in a mirage.

And so it was that after the revolution of 1688 the Stafford “canton” was still unseated. George Brent, himself a Catholic, then brought forward a curious proposal which illustrates the topsy-turvy state of the contemporary world:

“What encouragement,” says Fitzhugh to Hayward on April 1, 1689, “my poor Endeavors or Interest can give to your pleasing Establishment at Brenton, and a sudden commotion we have had (under the pretended expectation of Indians, of which Capt. Brent has given you a full, just and clear relation) gives me the present opportunity not only to assure the people but also to satisfie the Government that were full encouragement given and Immunity granted to that Town, which might be conduicive to draw Inhabitants thither, the country would be indifferent secure from future alarms; and it would be a sure Bulwark against reall dangers, because either by them or within them must be the Indian Road. A good company of men there settled would be immediately called either to keep off the Enemy at his first approach or cut him short in his Return. This sudden turn of times in England may perhaps at present give a check to the Increment of Brenton from your French expectation, but I believe may be additionally suply’ed by those methods, (Capt. Brent intimates though not plainly expresses), by being a Refuge and Sanctuary for Roman Catholics, And I dare say, let it be increased by whom it will, our government will give it all the Indulgences that can be reasonably required by reason of its convenient Scituation for a Watch and Defence agst. Indian Depredations and Excursions; neither do I believe that perswasion will be hindered from settling anywhere in this country, especially
there where, being Christians, they may secure us against the Heathen(16)."

If ever this Catholic plan was seriously considered, it failed like the earlier Huguenot plan. In July, 1690(17), trying to enlist Hayward's interest in a scheme of his own to import Huguenots, Fitzhugh recognised that he could not expect more than casual mention of his lands in Hayward's "larger discourse" on the Exchange, "considering your Brenton design wants people . . . which I esteem deserves and requires your continued care and diligence in its supply, with Inhabitants; for Capt. Brent's utmost endeavours will but make a thin supply here.". Again, in May, 1691(18), he says: "I truly condole your unsuccessful, though chargeable and vigorous, proceedings about Brenton. The unsteadiness of the times since the first undertaking has been a great hindrance thereto. When or Whether they will send, for your advantageous prospect and Interest in this concern, I believe is uncertain . . . . I am glad your Hudson Bay Interest makes you some compensation."

Whatever was the original character or extent of the outpost established on Town Run, its lamp was somehow kept alight during the years to come by reason of the constant anxiety about the movements of the Iroquois. The blockhouse there was a first rate point of observation upon those far wandering warriors. Fitzhugh had pointed out that Brenton was near the "Indian Road," thereby referring to the Iroquois Path, leading south through the mountain "thoroughfares" to the falls of the Rappahannock, which is designated, in the early land grants of the Brenton neighbourhood, the "Shenandoah Hunting Path." It was for this purpose that the Rangers camped on the town site in 1692(19), and that the Council ordered them in 1694(20) to give "particular care to guard Brent Town." But until the settlements, advancing inland from the Rappahannock and up the valley of Occoquan, reached and included it, Brent Town remained a mere name in the backwoods. It then reappears for a moment only because the boundaries of the Hayward grant had never been definitely marked, and the uncertainty hindered others from seating the adjacent lands. A record made in the Assembly in 1720 included the proprietors
of Brent Town with those of several other great tracts of backwoods lands in a charge of a deliberate attempt to entrap the unwary frontiersman.

"Mr. Clayton reports from the Committee of Propositions and Grievances," says the Assembly Journal (21), "that they had had under their consideration the Petition from Stafford County to them refer’d and had agreed upon a Report ..."

"On consideration of the Petition from Stafford County complaining of Grants of large tracts of land in the said County, the bounds whereof cannot be known by reason of the Grantees have not surveyed the same and are unwilling so to do in expectation other persons will ignorantly enter on and save the lands, and praying relief therein;

"The Committee being informed that the Tract called Brent Town, the Tract now belonging to Mr. Henry Fitzhugh and Henry Fitzhugh the younger, and the tract belonging to Edward Jeffreys, Esqr., are the said Tracts mentioned in the said petition (22).

"Resolved That the several proprietors of the said Tracts shall survey or cause to be surveyed the said several Tracts of land within three years next coming or on failure thereof That any other person shall be at Liberty to enter for and hold the Same."

So far as concerned Brent Town, nothing was done in pursuance of this resolution. When Robert Carter resumed the Northern Neck agency in 1723, he encountered a clamorous demand for grants above the head spring of Deep Run on the branches of Dorrill’s and Town Runs, but he could find no record of how far north he could safely go in this direction, without encroaching on Brent Town. On July 4, 1723 (23), he wrote to Col. Cage, the trustee named in Lady Fairfax’s will:

"I shall find a great deal of difficulty in the laying off the Brenton Grant. I have given some public notice about it. Young Brent and his Mother declare if I offer to Strech a chain there, they will Stop me. I must try Whether they will be so good as their Words. If they do, I shall go near to call them before their betters."

Notwithstanding these thunders, it appears that a year later "young Brent and his Mother" were still holding their ground,
for when Col. Carter began by his grants to him in the Brent Town tract on the west and north, as well as on the south, his surveyors were unable to specify precise boundaries for Brent Town, and so left scraps of unappropriated territory between the Carter grants and the Brent Town lines to be taken up when those boundaries should be ascertained(21).

In this situation, Brent Town lay in the dead hand. The four interests descended undivided among the heirs of the original proprietors and for three generations the land remained unseated. By his will George Brent of Woodstock had directed that his dividend, when declared, be erected into a mayor to be held in tail male, and as such his claim passed in succession through all his four sons and so came to another George Brent, the son of his youngest son, who was the "young Brent" of Col. Carter's letters of 1723(22). Contemporaneously, the interest of the first Richard Foote vested in two grandsons, both Virginians, born in Chotank(23). The Haywood and Bristow shares meanwhile remained in England, anonymous so far as concerned the Virginia records. At last "in the years 1737 and 1738" the tract was surveyed. So delimited, the greater part of it was found to lie, as contemplated by the grant of 1686, in the fork between Broad and Cedar runs, extending west to a "back line," which ran from the mouth of the Walnut Branch of Cedar to the vicinity of the ford (since known as "Linton's"), by which the north fork of the Dumfries road crossed Broad Run; but there was still included the town site of 1687 with a considerable area below Cedar reaching south between the mouths of Champ's and Dorrill's runs(27).

The evidence of the surviving records of Brent Town is meagre enough, but it may fairly be deduced from what is available that a comprehensive occupation of the property did not take place until after this survey. The impetus to seat it had waited until a partition in severity had been accomplished by mutual releases of the proprietors, which was the purpose for which the long delayed survey had finally been made(28). In that partition the Bristows took a northern parcel, lying on Broad Run and in the fork between it and Cedar, including the future sites of Broad Run Church, the town of Brentsville and Bristow station; the Brents
took their dividend adjoining the Bristows and on Slaty Run; the Haywards took theirs on the south fork of the Dumfries road; while the Footes took the southernmost parcel, being the lands on both sides of Cedar above the mouth of Dorrill's. The Hayward heirs, having no longer any other interest in Virginia, now at once sold and distributed their lands, but the other three shares still remained entailed in the original proprietary families.

Beginning in 1741, the Prince William deed books show what the survivors did with their inheritance. The Brent and Bristow tracts were subdivided into units of 200 acre plantations, which were uniformly leased for three lives at an annual rent of 530 pounds of tobacco. The interesting settlement of the property was, however, that of the Foote lands, for here the proprietors established their own residences, and, bringing with them, from Chotank, Fitzhughs, Alexanders, Stuarts and others, soon transplanted to the original town site a community which had all the characteristics of the tidewater civilizations. In one of his charming sketches of antebellum Virginia, testifying that he was born in this community, Mr. George Fitzhugh, of Caroline, described it:

"Brent Town," he says, "was a sort of colony of Chotank. When we lived there all the people were Chotankers by descent. Like their Chotank ancestors, their hearts were bigger than their purses. They generally broke and moved South and West to mend their fortunes. Being men of energy and education, they generally succeeded and are now doing better than either their Brent Town or their more remote Chotank ancestors ever did."

Before this community lost its local flavor in the economic crisis which, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, depleted all eastern Virginia, it had naturalized in the piedmont those "fine old distinctive traditions" which have persisted at Warrenton; but what Mr. Fitzhugh says of the eventual disappearance of the Chotankers from Brent Town unfortunately remains true. Not only have they themselves never returned, but today not even a memory of them is extant among those who have succeeded to the lands on which once they tended tobacco and spent their substance in agreeable, if lavish, hospitality. Except by the anti-
quarian, these Chotankers are locally as forgotten as the Manahoac Indians who preceded them on Cedar Run.

The ultimate history of the other proprietary dividends of the Brent Town tract is not socially as interesting as that of the Footes, but in one case it was poignant. The Brent lands were held together until after the Revolution, when they passed from the descendants of George Brent of Woodstock to those of his uncle, Giles Brent of "Peace." Being no longer bound by entail, they then experienced piecemeal alienation: The "Bristow tract," however, was subjected to a peine forte et dur, because at the time of the Revolution it was vested in a non-resident Englishman, who was a fit target for revolutionary passions. As the first Robert Bristow lost his property in Virginia by reason of his loyalty to established government, so did his descendant of the same name a century later. The Robert Bristow of 1779 was adjudged an alien enemy by the Virginia courts and his Virginia estate was escheated to the Commonwealth. Thereafter for some years the land was wastefully administered by agents appointed to represent the Commonwealth. When the Literary Fund was created, the title vested in it, and by that Fund "the Bristow tract" was finally divided and sold in 1834(33). Thenceforth the world forgot Bristow until, in the course of the second battle of Manassas, Stonewall Jackson made it an ever memorable place name.

Though he did not record a grant until 1694, William Fitzhugh had, in 1686, already "entered for" the property subsequently known as Ravensworth(34). It then consisted of 21,996 acres of land in the Stafford backwoods on the head branches of Accotink and Hunting Creek, and so, generally speaking, lay back of both the Howaing or Alexander patent where Alexandria was to arise and the Cadwallader Jones (or Jeffreys) tract as well. When, as we have seen, Fitzhugh offered these lands for Huguenot colonization, he outlined his terms in a statement which supplements Hayward's prospectus in its testimony as to contemporary values and tenures of backwoods lands.

"For the French Protestants," he says in May, 1686(35), "I have convenient and good Land enough to seat 150 or 200 familys
upon one Dividend wch contains 21,396 acres, which I will either sell them in fee at £7 sterling for every hundred acres, or else lease it to them for three lives paying 20 shillings p. annum for every hundred acres, and they may have the liberty of renewing one two or three lives at any time, paying for each life to be renewed one year's Rent, without demanding any fine or other consideration for their first purchase(38), and will engage to find them with bread and meat for the first year, meat at 2s 6d p. hundred and corn at 2s 6d p. bushel, for as many soever as comes in if it be three or four hundred people, and all other necessaries for their money at the Country market price. The Land I offer to Sell or lease is situate in this county, lyes within a mile and half of Potomack River, and of two bold navigable creeks(37), is principal good land and is more proper for frenchmen, because more naturally inclined to vines, than yours(38) or any about our neighbourhood; and will engage to naturalize every Soul of them at £3 p. head without any more or other matter of charge or trouble to them, whereby the heirs will be capacitated to inherit the father's purchase(39).

When he wrote this, Fitzhugh had already settled some tenants on his Accotink dividend. In April, 1686(40), he excuses delay in shipping some tobacco by the fact that "my Plantation its made upon is so far above me and consequently out of my Kenn that they have not got it ready," but in July, 1690, he was still seeking tenants(41).

While Fitzhugh himself says nothing more about French colonists, meagre as it is, there is evidence that at some time before his death in 1701, and also before the Huguenot colony was established at Manakintown, he had succeeded in seating some French people temporarily on his Accotink lands. It has been shown(42) that every year from 1686 to 1700 small parties of Huguenots went over from London to Virginia (as to other colonies in America) with the aid of King William III's Royal Bounty. Fitzhugh apparently succeeded in attracting some of these people to his lands. We know certainly that in 1690 he had "come accidently upon a French minister, a sober, learned and discreet Gentleman," and employed him as tutor for his sons(43). Again
there is the tradition in the Venable family (**) that, before 1700, their ancestor, Abraham Micheaux, "landed in Stafford County on the banks of the Potomac" and lived there "one or two years" before he removed his wife and children to Manakintown. To these scraps finally may be added a definite if tantalizing, testimony by the second George Mason. In a letter to Governor Nicholson, dated October 28, 1701 (**), he began by protesting, "We have no news in these parts," and then proceeded to rehearse two pieces of news for which, as it happens, no other such first hand evidence is now extant, "only that the French Refugees is most of them gone to Maryland and have left an ill distemper behind them, the bloody flux, which has affected some of our neighbours. . . . The French Refugees great friend Coll. Fitzhugh dyed Tuesday the 21 at night."

By his will (**) Fitzhugh divided the Accotink dividend equally between his two eldest sons, William of "Eagles Nest," and Henry of "Bedford." It was the latter who was the "Mr. Henry Fitzhugh" of the Assembly resolution of 1720 which has been cited. The "Henry Fitzhugh the Younger," of the same document was the son and heir of William of "Eagles Nest," whose descendants (**) eventually established their residence at Ravensworth and cultivated the Fairfax County fields in which there was once seated one of the very earliest Huguenot communities in Virginia.

Some years after Fitzhugh's death there was another immigration of Huguenots to old Prince William, but there is no evidence to connect it either with Brent Town or Ravensworth. On the contrary, some of it was an overflow from Manakintown. In 1706 and 1709 one who is listed in the land books as "Marquess Calmeby" had proprietary grants on the upper waters of Aquia (**); and in 1711 and 1712, as part of the movement of population up the Occoquan, there appear in the same books other perversions of French names, viz: Clermont Chevalle, Lewis Reno, Lewis Tacquet, Samuel Duchiminia, Rynhart de la Fayolle, Peter Leheu and Philemon Waters (****). All these had small grants side by side on the lower or eastern side of Cedar Run in the vicinity of Brent Town and within the present limits of Prince William. If
there was any evidence that there had ever been any actual Huguenot settlement in Brent Town one might fairly assume that these people were an overflow from such a settlement, but they seem more likely to have first come to Stafford shortly before they had their grants. The Council Journal for October 24, 1700, supplies the clew in the authority there given to the second supply of Huguenots, which had then recently reached Virginia, "to disperse themselves through the country till next fall.""

It seems likely that the later immigrants to Stafford were some of the sheep to stray from this second supply. At all events, they not only left their seed to propagate in Prince-William, but inscribed their names on its map. In the vicinity of Ashburn, in lower Louisa, there is still an old and respectable community of Huguenot families, and others are found scattered elsewhere in northern Virginia, all of whom seem to have sojourned on Cedar Run.

Notes.

(1) The office of notary public, of great antiquity and whilom dignity, was originally ecclesiastical. In consequence, in England it is still an appointment of the Archbishop of Canterbury, but the merchants long ago appropriated it to their service in making record of solemn acts arising out of foreign trade.

(2) Fitzhugh's letters to Hayward here discussed may be found in Va. Mag., i, 274, 408; ii, 22, 271, 273, 275, 372, 377, 378; iii, 8, 259; iv, 311.

(3) Culpeper had bought out the other proprietors of the Northern Neck on his return to England during his first brief residence in Virginia. The "dead roll'd" by which this was accomplished was dated July 21, 1681, and (as Mr. Conway Robinson noted, Va. Mag., ix, 307) was recorded in the now lost General Court Deed & Will Book (vol. 3 at p. 3) contemporaneously with the deed from Lord Arlington of his interest in the patent of 1673 covering "all Virginia."

(4) Robert Bristow (1634-1707), of a Hertfordshire family, emigrated to Virginia about 1660 and established himself in Gloucester. He sat in the House of Burgesses in 1676 when he served on a committee with "T. M." During Bacon's Rebellion he took an active part in support of the government. The report of the Commissioners, Berry and Morison, commends him for his loyalty and records his losses, but his character is best revealed by his portrait in that most
racy of the Virginia classics, the Burwell MS. There it appears that Bristow was in the force under Major Laurence Smith which went out with ludicrous results to oppose Ingram, after Bacon's death. When the "armies" met, Bristow played the part of a medieval knight, "For the saving of Pouder and Shott (or rather through the before mentioned Generosety of Curage) one Major Bristow (on Smith's side) made a Motion to try the equity and justness of the quarrell, by single Combett: Bristow proffering him selfe against any one (being a Gent.) on the other side; this was noble, and like a Soulder. This Motion (or rather Challenge) was as redely accepted by Ingram, as proffer'd by Bristow, Ingram Swearing the newest Oath in fashion, that he would be the Man; and so adventeth on foot, with sword and Pistell, against Bristow; but was fitch'd back by his owne men, as douteing the justness of there cause, or in Consideration of the desparety that was betwene the two Antagonist. For though it might be granted, that in a private Condition Bristow was the better man, yet now it was not to be allowed, as Ingram was intituled." And thus Bristow was captured. He suffered a rigorous imprisonment as well as heavy loss in estate, as Sir John Berry testified (Va. Mag., v. 70) and in the summer of 1677 returned to England. There he remained during the remainder of his life, a member of the Grocers Company and a successful Virginia merchant in London. In 1657 he was Alderman for Walbrook ward. (See Bysbe, Visitation of Herts, 1659; Burke, Landed Gentry, 1847; Beaven, The Aldermen of London (1908), p. 223; and Va. Mag., xii, 61, where is printed a calendar of Bristow's will from P. C. C. Poley, 275).

(5) The Brent Town Grant: The survival of this instrument has a curious history. Executed in London, it was acknowledged in Stafford court by William Fitzhugh as attorney for Culpeper and was there recorded, July 13, 1657. The record book is one of those which was lost, but when, in 1723, William Byrd was arguing on behalf of the Virginia government that the Rappahannock River named in the final Northern Neck charter of 1668 was the north fork of that stream and not the Rapidan as was claimed by Lord Fairfax, he produced a copy of the Brent Town grant in support of his position and appended it to the report of the Virginia Commissioners which went to London. (See Westover MS., ed. Wynne.) It is from the original text of that record (C. O., 5: 1324, p. 1371) that we have rescued it.

(6) The southwest branch was Cedar Run and the northeast branch was Broad Run.

(7) There is a full transcript of this interesting document among the Brent papers in Va. Mag., xvii, 309.

(8) In his letters, beginning with one of April 1, 1689 (Va. Mag., ii, 273), Fitzhugh consistently calls it "Brenton," but as it appears
"Brent Town" in all the subsequent records, and in one of Fitzhugh's letters is contrasted with "James Town," it is probable that the local usage followed the pronunciation, if not the spelling, of the nomenclators.

(9) In the *Voyage d'un Francois* (1687) it appears that the author met George Brent at Col. Fitzhugh's house just before Christmas, 1686, and was then told of the plans for Brenton. He remarks pleasantly that everybody in Virginia seemed anxious to sell lands to the Huguenots at this time.

(10) The *Site of Brent Town*: There is no conclusive record evidence of the location of the original town site, nor does local tradition aid in finding it. The route of the Brent Town road and the boundaries of the Brent Town tract as later defined seem, however, to point with reasonable certainty to the lower side of Town Run above the mouth of Elk. This is within the limits of the present county of Fauquier, not far distant from the modern village of Sowegoe.

(11) The surviving mutilated fragments of George Brent's will of 1694 (*Va. Mag.*, xviii, 90) confirm the tenor of Hayward's prospectus (quoted below) on this point. In the will a devise is made to Henry Brent of 606 acres out of the Brent Town tract, "six acres in the town and six hundred in the country, being lots to be laid out together, both in town and country."


(13) Fitzhugh was so informed. *Va. Mag.*, ii, 26.


(16) Fitzhugh was evidently fascinated by Brent's diabolical suggestion of bringing Catholics to Virginia as a refuge from English politics. He saw in it an opportunity (*Va. Mag.*, ii, 372) to dispose of his own property and thus enable him to carry out his long nursed project of a return to England. As these letters were written in the midst of the clamors of Parson Waugh's anti-Catholic agitation, Fitzhugh's description of Virginia as "a good Sanctuary" was hardly candid.

(17) *Va. Mag.*, iii, 8.


(21) *Journals H. B.*, 1713-26, pp. 288, 312, 320. These proceedings are the more interesting because the Assembly had no jurisdiction over
the land titles in the Northern Neck. The assumption of that jurisdiction in this case was apparently a *balloon d'essai.*

(22) The Fitzhugh and Jeffrey lands here referred to were "Ravensworth" and the Cadwallader Jones tract, both on Accotink in what became Fairfax.


(24) For reasons of strategy in dealing with the Brents, Col. Carter did not permit his surveyor's descriptions in 1724 to make any reference to Brent Town, even when the lines of his grants approached what were supposed to be the Brent Town lines, e. g., cf. N. X., A: 64, 65, 91, with E: 104.

(25) *The Brent Entail:* The descendants of George Brent of Woodstock (who are arrayed from the surviving Stafford records and family papers in *Va. Mag.,* xvii, 96, 321) continued to reside on Aquia until after the Revolution. None of the name seems ever to have lived on the Brent Town tract. In the Prince William records (D. B., E: 19, 108, 215; W: 85) there are a series of deeds ranging from 1768 to 1784, which evidence the transfer of their Brent Town dividends to their kinsmen, the descendants of Giles Brent of "Peace." From the recitals of these instruments it appears that, under the entail created by the will of George Brent of Woodstock (the mutilated fragments in *Va. Mag.,* xviii, 90, are supplemented on this head by *Prince William D. B.,* W: 85), this estate passed through all four of his sons to the son of the youngest. It was his grandson, another George Brent, who was a party to the partition of 1738, and subsequently made the manorial leases of 200 acre plots which remain of record in Prince William (D. B., E: 327, 329, 331, 332; L: 207; Q: 471). It was he, too, with his eldest son, Robert Brent, who made application to the Assembly in 1775 to dock their entail (*Journals H. B.,* 1773-76, p. 151). This George Brent died in 1778 and his son, Robert, in 1780, so that it was left to another George Brent (son of Robert, above named, and elder brother of the Robert Brent who was Mayor of Washington) finally to release the Brent Town dividend in 1804 to Daniel Carroll Brent; and to the last named it befall to close the family record in relation to the property (*Prince William D. B.,* W: 341, 405; X: 111; Y: 73, 104, 449).

(26) *The Footes:* When the Brent Town speculation was launched, the Richard Footee, who was one of the original proprietors, sent a young son out to Virginia and established him in Chotank (See his land grant in Kidwell's Neck in *N. X.,* 3: 196). From this immigrant descended a series of Richards and Georges, who, in the second, third and fourth generations in Virginia, lived on their Brent Town dividend. That they occupied the original town site below Cedar Run appears from the proposal to the Council in 1742 to locate the sec-
Brent Town, Ravensworth and the Huguenots. 181

and Prince William court house “at a place called Brent Town, belonging to Richard Foote” (Va. Mag., xv, 384). Sketches of the three houses they there occupied in 1759 are laid down on the contemporary plat of the Prince William—Fauquier boundary. For this family, which later migrated to the southwest, see Va. Mag., vii, 75, 201. The recitals of their deeds in the Prince William and Fauquier records (Prince William D. B., B: 345; G: 45, 93; I: 93; Q: 460; Fauquier D. B., I: 456; 14:619) preserve much of their own genealogy and of the later history of Brent Town.

(27) The Brent Town Survey: The date of the survey here quoted from a Foote deed of 1782 (Fauquier D. B., I: 456) probably refers to the completion of the partition, for a bill rendered by James Thomas, jr., to William Fairfax in November, 1736 (Cql. Va. State Papers, i, 229), shows that Thomas had then recently surveyed “the Brent Town tract containing 30,000 acres” in company with “Mr. Savage,” representing “Messrs. Brent Foot & Co.” At all events, the completed survey was a recorded fact in 1739 when the Northern Neck books were reopened, for there then issued several grants extending old boundaries to conform to definite Brent Town lines. See e. g., for the “back line” N. N., E: 105, 401 (Prince William D. B., E: 490) is evidence that this was not an uninterrupted straight line; and for the boundaries below Cedar, N. N., E: 362, 399; F: 17, 107. By reason of the loss of the Prince William deed books for 1737 and 1738 no comprehensive survey remains of record, and diligent inquiry among the families of the proprietors has not revealed the survival of a plat. The definition of the bounds of Brent Town given in the text is, therefore, a reconstruction from the evidence of the descriptions of adjacent landholdings.

The location of Brent Town became a matter of argument in the great cause of Virginia v. Fairfax, involving the bounds of the Northern Neck. As such it was referred to by Col. Byrd in his report of 1737 (Westover MSS., ed. Wynne, ii, 124) and the name was laid down between Broad and Cedar Runs on John Warner’s Northern Neck map of 1737; but both these references were prior to the actual survey and are now evidence only of current opinion. On the other hand, the indication of “Brent Town” on John Henry’s map of 1770, placing it below Dorrill’s Run in the extreme southeastern salient of Fauquier is not justified by any of the land records, but is demonstrated by those records to be one of the errors for which that map was notorious.

(28) A partition seems first to have been proposed in 1734. In that year Richard Foote made an individual deed to Henry Fitzhugh (Prince William D. B., B: 348) for 1,000 acres in Brent Town, reciting that “it is uncertain whether the same or any part thereof may
be allotted to or fall within the share of said Richard Foote when
the said thirty thousand acres of land come to be divided among
the several proprietors thereof.” In consideration of this uncertainty,
Foote gave Fitzhugh a bond of indemnity, which was released in 1741
(\textit{ibid.}, E: 484) by an instrument reciting that Brent town had been
“lately divided among the several proprietors thereof.”

(29) \textit{The last of the Haywards:} The only deed remaining of
record to testify to the disposition of the Hayward dividend is an in-
teresting one dated August 14, 1741 (\textit{Prince William D. B.}, E: 394)
from “Samuel Hayward, Esq. his Majesty’s Consul of all the Islands
under the Venetian Government in the Levant now residing in the
Island of Zante” to Henry Fitzhugh.

(30) \textit{The manorial leases:} The habendum clause ran, e. g., “to
him the said Peter Glascock for and during his natural life, also for
and during the natural life of Jane, the now wife of the said Peter,
and for and during the natural life of John, son of the said Peter and
Jane, or the survivor of them.” Among the lessees whose names sur-
 vive on the records were, in addition to the Peter Glascock named
above, John Northcut, John Hendiron, Richard Worsdall, Scarlett Mad-
dain and John Newman. Other names appear in the Brent rent roll
of 1746 which is printed in \textit{Va. Mag.}, xvi, 212.

(31) \textit{Fitzhugh of Brent Town:} \textit{DeBow’s Review}, 1880, xxx, 75.
The Fitzhugh lands in Brent Town were ultimately included in Fau-
quier. As shown by \textit{Prince William D. B.}, E: 394, and the depiction
of the house of “John Fitzhugh” on Bertrand Ewell’s map of the
Prince William-Fauquier boundary in 1759, these lands lay on and
above Cedar, a short distance west of the mouth of Dorrill’s. For
George Fitzhugh (1807-1881) see \textit{Va. Mag.,} ix, 102; \textit{Appleton’s Cyc.
Am. Biog.}, ii, 474.

(32) See Capt. Gordon McCabe’s Presidential address to the Vir-
ginia Historical Society for 1916, s. v., Garnet.

(33) \textit{The date of the Bristow tracts:} See in \textit{Prince William D. B.}
3: 90 the will dated December 1, 1776, of Robert Bristow “of Michel-
dever in the County of Hants.” but at the time of his death residing
in “the parish of St. Martin in the fields, in the County of Middle-
sex.” The sordid story of the “Bristow tract” after the Revolution
is recorded in \textit{Commonwealth v. Bristow,} 1806, 6 Call. 60; \textit{Cal. Va.
State Papers,} v, 257, 272, 284; vi, 643; vii, 20, 63, 79; x, 13, 58;
Shepherd, l. 237; ii. 338; Acts, 1821-22, ch. 93, p. 69; \textit{Journals H. B.},
1822-23, p. 190; 1822-24, p. 64; Acts, 1822-23, ch. 64, p. 86; 1830-31, ch.
60, p. 131; 1833-34, ch. 12, p. 25; Martin’s \textit{Gazetteer} (1836), p. 273.
In the Prince William records the deeds of the Literary Fund refer
to a map of the Bristow tract made by A. P. Williams in 1824 but
unfortunately, like the 1757 survey of the Brent Town tract as a
whole, that map also is now missing. Neither in the Prince William
records nor in those of the Literary Fund in Richmond can any copy
of it be found.
(34) Ravensworth. When, in 1677, Thomas, Lord Culpeper, be-
came Governor of Virginia in succession to Berkeley, he asserted
with authority the long disputed rights of the Proprietors of the
Northern Neck, and the Virginia government suspended the issue
of new land patents within the proprietary. As the inhabitants would
not take grants from Culpeper, there ensued an interval of twenty
years during which Stafford practically stood still so far as con-
cerned new seatings. This was not due to lack of effort on the part
of Culpeper. Having bought out the other Proprietors in July, 1681,
he was unceasing in his attempts to start again the machinery of
local development. So far as the record goes, he succeeded in creat-
ing only three new titles in Stafford during this period, but they
were notable. Two were the estates afterwards known as Mt. Ver-
non and Brent Town. The third was Ravensworth. By reason of
the loss in Philip Ludwell's office of the original grant for Ravens-
worth, issued in 1690 (see Va. Mag., iii, 8), William Fitzhugh was
compelled to take out a new grant on October 1, 1694 (N. H., 2: 14).
The recitals of that second grant reveal that the title dated from
April 28, 1684, when the tract was originally surveyed for John Mat-
thews, who conveyed to Fitzhugh by deed dated August 22, 1685. It
was not until 1724, however, long after the death of the original
grantee, that the name Ravensworth appears on the records as ap-
plied to this Fitzhugh estate (N. H., A: 208).
(35) Va. Mag., i, 405.
(36) A few months later (Va. Mag., ii, 26) Fitzhugh asserted
that these terms were "as low as any land here with us is generally
patented out at, or lett to lease," and in July, 1690 (ibid., iii, 8) he
urged that they were "almost as good as giving the land in fee
simple." At this latter time he was willing to accept his rent in kind,
i. e., a hogshead of tobacco in lieu of 20 s. It will be noted that Fitz-
hugh offered to sell at a smaller price than Hayward (£7 instead of
£10 per hundred acres) and says nothing about quit rent; but his
terms for a long lease were the same as Hayward's.
(37) Presumably he meant Hunting Creek and Pohick Bay, where
the warehouses were later established. In time a rolling road lead
from Ravensworth to Pohick warehouse.
(38) i. e., Hayward's plantation on the Potomac, adjoining Bed-
ford.
(39) The Virginia naturalization practice was liberal. The origi-
mal act (Hening, ii, 289) dating from 1671, required individual ap-
plication to the Assembly (e. g., Hening, ii, 302, 308, 339, 400, 447,
all confirmed ibid., iii, 479), but in 1680 (ibid., ii, 464) the Governor was authorized to issue letters patent of naturalization.


(41) Va. Mag., iii, 8.

(42) Baird, Huguenot Emigration to America (1885), ii, 175.

(43) Va. Mag., iii, 9. In Mr. R. L. Maury's valuable paper, The Huguenots in Virginia (Publications, Huguenot Society of America, 1900) there is printed a later letter from Fitzhugh about this gentleman, but in neither is his name given. Perhaps he was Louis Latane who became parson of South Farnham parish in 1700, or just before Fitzhugh's death.

(44) W. H. Foote, The Huguenots (1870), p. 541. This tradition was direct enough. Mr. Foote had it from Mrs. Patty Venable, reporting conversations with her grandmother, a child of Abraham Micheaux and one of the immigrants.

(45) Brock, Huguenot Emigration to America (Collections Va. Hist. Soc., vol. v), p. 44.

(46) William Fitzhugh's will was dated April 9, 1700, proved in Stafford, December 10, 1701, and is printed in Va. Mag., ii, 270.

(47) It was a grandson, William Fitzhugh of Chatham, who in his old age, after the Revolution, abandoned his house near Fredericksburg where the practice of hospitality had become burdensome, and removed to Ravensworth, being the first of his name to reside there. He was succeeded by his son, William Henry Fitzhugh, who died at Ravensworth in 1830, without issue, when the property descended to the children of his niece, Mrs. Robert E. Lee, of Arlington (See Lee of Va., p. 82; Va. Mag., viii, 95, 430).

(48) Marquis Cales: N. N., 3: 147, 223. This land adjoined the grant of William Waller (1694, N. N., 2: 66, 67) whose daughter married "Marquis Cales," as the name later appears. Their son, William, is supposed in turn to have married Lucy, daughter of George Nevill, or "Nevill's Ordinary," in what is now Fauquier. The original "Marquis" subsequently removed to the Valley. He must have sojourned on the way in that bend of the Blue Ridge which is now known as Manassas Gap, for the earliest recorded name of that passage is written "Cales" on John Warner's Northern Neck map of 1737. But whatever may be the fact in this respect, "Marquis Cales" ultimately established himself on the "Vineyard Farm" near Millbrook and sat in Frederick court (Hening, viii, 624). His descendants are well known in the early history of Kentucky. See the traditions in Collections, Habersham (Georgia) Chapter, D. A. R., i, 46; ii, 346.

(49) It was his lands on Cedar Creek which were later acquired for the second Prince William court house.
(50) *Cal. Am. & W. I.*, 1700, No. 876, p. 620. Beverley (1705, iv, 45) gives a further elucidation in his notice of the Huguenots, saying: “In the year 1699 [sic] there went over in all about 300 of them and the year following about 200 more. . . The Refugees that arrived the second year went also first to the Monacan Town but afterwards, upon some Disagreement, several dispersed themselves up and down the Country.”

(51) e.g., Philemon’s Branch and Tacquet’s Ford on Cedar Creek, within the present limits of Prince William. Both names appear frequently in the land grants but, with characteristic American disregard of antiquities, have been superseded in modern usage.

ZACHARIAH JOHNSTON.

By JOHN G. PAXTON, Independence, Missouri.

Rev. John Craig was the first Presbyterian pastor in Augusta County, Virginia. He kept a list of the children he baptized. One of the first entries registered the baptism of a son of William Johnston, Zachariah Johnston, September 25, 1742. It is the purpose of this paper to set forth something of the life and achievements of this infant.

His father, an emigrant from the North of Ireland, came to the valley of Virginia as one of its first settlers. He brought with him only such goods as he could carry on a few pack horses to establish his home in the wilderness. There he and his wife had to endure the poverty, the privations and dangers of a pioneer life. There were no roads except bridle paths and no commerce with the outside world except by pack animals. There were no schools except sometimes an itinerant Irishman had for a few months what was known as an old field school. From the career of Zachariah Johnston it can reasonably be inferred that either his father or his mother possessed some learning and gave to their oldest son the rudiments of an education. The son followed in the footsteps of his father and became a farmer. Both were successful and when William Johnston died he left a large landed
estate near Fishersville which passed by descent to his oldest son, Zachariah, under primogeniture then prevailing in Virginia.

As emigrants from the North of Ireland the Scotch-Irish brought with them a resentment of the wrongs inflicted upon them by the King of England. All embraced the cause of the Revolution.

Zachariah Johnston in 1778 had attained such prominence that he was elected a member of the Virginia House of Delegates. His fellow citizens knew him. So highly did they regard their neighbor, Johnston, that he was continued a member of that body continuously until 1791. He won the high regard of Thomas Jefferson as shown by the following letter, the original of which is in the house in which Johnston died near Lexington, Virginia.

Monticello, Octob. 7, 1790.

"Dear Sir:

As the assembly will soon meet, I presume you will be passing down to it a few days before. I shall be at home at that time, and will always be glad to see you here when I am here; but particularly I wish it at this time, as it is highly interesting to our country that it should take up a particular matter now in its power, and which will never be so again. This subject can only be opened in private conference. Knowing the weight you have justly acquired with our public councils, & your zeal to promote the public interests I have taken the liberty of asking to see you on your way down. My house will be a convenient stage for you the first day, and if you can have time to tarry a day with me it will be very desirable to me, and I trust not unfruitful for our state in general and our particular part of it. I am with great esteem, Dear Sir,

Your most obedt. humble servt.

T. Jefferson.

""

Zachariah Johnston moved to Rockbridge County in 1793 and built the commodious stone mansion now standing in good condition and occupied by his descendants bearing the name of Johnston. In that house are also several letters from his associate in the House of Delegates, George Mason; also letters from John Marshall.
After moving to Rockbridge Mr. Johnston was made a member of the House of Delegates in 1792, 1797 and 1798 from Rockbridge. In 1788 he represented Augusta County in the Virginia Convention called to pass on the Constitution of the United States.

In Beveridge's Life of Marshall which contains so graphic an account of this convention, the author says:

"But that nothing might be left undone, the constitutionalists brought into action a rough, forth-right member from the Valley, Zachariah Johnston. He dwelt, he said, among the poor people, the most he could claim for himself was to be of the middle class. He had 'numerous offspring' and was willing to trust their future to the constitution."

In a speech on that occasion, Johnston said:

"It is my lot to be among the poor people. The most that I can claim, or flatter myself with, is to be of the middle rank. I wish no more, for I am content. But I shall give my opinion unbiased and uninfluenced—without erudition or eloquence, but with firmness and candor. And in so doing I will satisfy my conscience. If this Constitution be bad it will bear equally hard on me as on any member of society. It will bear hard on my children, who are as dear to me as any man's children can be to him. Having their happiness at heart, the vote I shall give in its favor, can only be imputed to a conviction of its utility and propriety."

In Schouler's History of the United States, Vol. 1, page 56, it is said:

"Zachariah Johnston in the Virginia Convention, made a manly, firm avowal of emancipation sentiments."

What Johnson said in that speech was:

"They tell us they see a progressive danger of bringing about emancipation. The principle has begun since the Revolution. Let us do what we will, it will come around. Slavery has been the foundation of that impiety and dissipation which has been so much disseminated among our countrymen. If it were totally abolished it would do much good."

Of Mr. Johnston, Waddell in his "Annals of Augusta" says:

"He is described as a man of religious temper, very great
simplicity of manner and utterly devoid of hypocrisy. As we have seen he was a member of the House of Delegates during the Revolution. He was also a member in 1785, and warmly supported the act of for establishing religious freedom. While the act was pending he is said to have delivered an effective speech in favor of it, declaring he would leave his own church if it should become a State Church. Near the close of the convention in 1788, he delivered quite a long speech in favor of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, which may be found in the volume of Virginia Debates, page 460."

Mr. Johnston was Presidential elector in 1789, and with his nine associates, headed by Patrick Henry, voted for George Washington.

He was a man of great modesty, and yet he must have had power and dignity to have so long maintained his position as a political leader in a community of such strength and intelligence.

He died in Rockbridge in 1800. By his last will he left his home place near Lexington, several good farms in Augusta County and tracts of thousands of acres of land in Kentucky. He left a widow, Ann Johnston, and sons, Thomas, George, Zachariah, John, Alexander, one daughter Elizabeth McChesney whom he named, and bequests to his two youngest daughters, not naming them. In this will he refers to a certain disposition of his Negroes as having been made by a former statement. He must have been a large slave owner as well as land owner.

The writer is descended from his daughter, Elizabeth, who married James McChesney. Her daughter, Mary, married Matthew White of Lexington. Their daughter, Elizabeth White, married E. F. Paxton and was the mother of the writer.

I have been unable to find any record of the life of Zachariah Johnston, except the brief mention of him in Waddell. It is said that his neighbor, afterwards Dr. Alexander of Princeton, published a sketch of him in a Princeton magazine, but I have never been able to find it. The key-note to the character of the man is shown in the beginning of his speech before the Constitutional Convention:—"It is my lot to be among the poor people. The most that I can claim, or flatter myself with, is to be of the mid-
Zachariah Johnston

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dle rank. I wish no more, for I am content. But I shall give
my opinion unbiased and uninfluenced—without erudition or elo-
quence, but with firmness and candor.” It is true his people
were poor but he possessed broad acres of fertile land, horses,
cattle and slaves. By his industry, energy and judgment he had
emerged from his former state of poverty. He had not erudition
nor eloquence, but he had what was better, sound judgment. He
showed it by his vote for the Constitution with Washington and
Marshall, rather than against it with Henry and Mason. He had
convictions based upon sound reasoning, and a firm will which
could not be swayed by the eloquence of Patrick Henry.

So the name of Zachariah Johnston is entitled to be enrolled
upon the scroll of history as one of the strong men at a trying
time who served well his country.

The writer, as his descendant, presents this record of his
achievements in the discharge of an obligation which he owes to
so worthy an ancestor.

[The following letters from George Mason to Zachariah John-
ston were found in the latter’s correspondence, and are now pub-
lished for the first time]

George Mason to Zachariah Johnston.

Gunston-Hall Oct. 29th, 1789.

Dear Sir

There is a Petition to the present Session of Assembly from this
County for the Removal of the Court House from the Town of Alex-
andria to the Center of the County; which I beg leave to recommend
to your Attention; and if you think it reasonable, shall be greatly
obliged to you for your support of it, as well as your Interest with
your Friends, in it’s Recommendation. It is signed by five hundred
and fifty odd People (a Majority of the County) and would have been
signed by a much greater number, if any Diligence had been used
by those, who undertook to circulate it; being a Measure which the
People have very much at Heart; for they have been so much op-
pessed by the Partiality of the Town of Alexandria, that I am con-
vincing nothing but the Removal of the Court House can restore the
County to peace and Quiet; and it can be no hardship to the Inhabi-
tants of the Town; as their Corporation Court has a complete and
unlimited Jurisdiction of all Suits between their own Citizens; which
in fact, makes the People of Alexandria almost as little interested
in the Situation of the County Court House, as the Inhabitants of one of the adjacent Counties, further than the expenses extracted from the People of the County, during their Attendance at Court, by the Town Taverns, and Tipling Houses. Candor requires my acknowledgment, that the Petition was drawn by me. I have lived near forty years in the County, and ought to be acquainted with it's Situation, and real Interest; and I can declare upon the word of an honest man, that I have not, to the best of my knowledge, misrepresented or exagerated any of the Facts, or Allegations it contains.

The appointment of Mr. Blair as an associate Judge in the Supreme federal Court, and of Mr. Pendleton as a Judge in the federal District Court, and of Course (I presume) the Removal of two of the Judges of our General Court into the Court of Appeals, will occasion the appointment of two new Judges in our General Court. In the Session of 1789, I nominated Mr. Lee Massey, as a Proper Person to fill one of the Vacancys, at that time in the General Court, but upon perceiving that there was then little hope of his being elected, I withdrew him; perhaps on the present Occasion he may have a better Chance: this Gentlemen was bred to the Law, and in my judgment, there are few able men, in Point of legal knowledge, in the State; he is a man of a firm mind, Independent Principles, and unstaed Integy, such as I am confident wou'd do Honour to the Bench. I well know the Importance of the office of a Judge to the good People of this Commonwealth, and can, with a safe Conscience, recommend Mr. Lee Massey as a Person qualified to discharge this arduous and important trust. I have been intimately acquainted with him; from a very early time of Life, have had the means of knowing him thoroughly, and wou'd risque my Life upon his Integrity and Abilities; I flatter myself, Sir, you have known me long enough to think me incapable of recommending an unworthy Character; and if you have not previously made up your mind in favour of another, I shall esteem your (vote?) in Favour of Mr. Lee Massey, as a singular Obligation.

Dr. Sir, Your most Obdt. Serv't.

G. Mason.

George Mason to Zachariah Johnston.

Gunston-Hall November 3, 1790

Dear Sir

After the very friendly part, you were so obliging to take in Support of the Petition for removing the Court of Fairfax County, from the Town of Alexandria, to some place near the Center of the County I am almost ashamed to trouble you again upon the same
subject. The benevolent Intention of the Assembly has, however, been frustrated, by the Justices of the Town-Faction; who have presumed to dispense with a Positive Law, and are now using all the arts of Misrepresentation and Falsehood, to obtain a Repeal of it. This has laid us under the necessity of applying to the Legislature to enforce their own Authority, by such Amendments to the former Act, as will compel the due Execution. The matter is fully and truly stated in our Petition to this Session of Assembly with a copy of our last year's Petition annexed to it, and some other Documents, explanatory of the Proceedings of the County and Corporation Courts; to which I beg leave to refer you; and if you shall be of Opinion, that the Grievances mentioned therein require redress, I flatter myself it will be favored with your Support and Patronage; which it will stand in the greater need of; as I have reason to believe both our County Members are in the Town Interest; which is easily accounted for; when the general Inattention of the County People and the Distance most of them have come to the Elections, is considered, and that the People of the Town are always upon the Spot, and ready to act in concert, upon such Occasions; which Circumstances put it in the Power of the Town to decide Elections as it pleases, and deprive the County of having any share in the choice so that in our present Situation, the County is in reality, represented by the Town of Alexandria. And by the unfortunate, and ill-judged Clause in our Constitution of Government, intrusting the County Courts with the dangerous Power of filling up their own Vacancies, and encreasing their own Number, by New Nominations, the Alexandria Faction has now such a decided Majority upon the County Court Bench, as will naturally engender and perpetuate Party and Faction, corrupt and pervert the Administration of Justice, and enable them, without Fear of Control or Punishment, to oppress the People; as hath already been done in some Instances; which have called for, and obtained the Interposition of the Legislature, and this kind of undue Influence is continually gaining Strength by the Power of appointing Militia Officers, Commissioners of the Tax and other money-Jobs. I believe such things are not merely peculiar to the Town of Alexan-
dria; for if I am rightly informed, they had risen to such height in the Town of Norfolk, as occasioned the effectual Interference of the Legislature, in Behalf of the People of the County at the last Session of the Assembly and it is evident that similar relief was at the same time intended for the People of Fairfax County; tho' they have been juggled out of it, by the means mentioned in their present Petition, for removing the Court House; to which there are near six hundred Subscribers, which is a large Majority of the People of the County; and among the Subscribers are most of the principal Gen-
tlemen of the County; the Alexandrians boast that they have a great many more names to their Petition for Continuing it. By threats to some, and promises to others, they have it in their Power to Influence many of the Country People; the Town itself contains a good many Inhabitants; the names of boys and children, may be made use of, they may also, from time to time, have had it signed by a great number of Sailors, and other itinerant People; and if these Means were insufficient, they lend their attestation to anything their Patrons required.— I am told, for I have not seen it, that some of the Justices of the Town-Faction have sent down to the Assembly a Piece called a Memorial containing some false and scandalous Reflections upon my Character, merely to Gratify a Malevolence, for which I have given no other cause, than endeavoring to rescue the People of the County from Oppression.— You Sir, have been a witness to my Conduct and Character in the most dangerous and trying times; several other Gentlemen who still remain in the Assembly, with whom I have had the Honor of serving thro’ great part of the late Revolution; to such I dare boldly appeal, for a Refutation of such Calumny; but as our annual Elections have introduced a great Number of new members, to whom I am not Personally known, I confide in those Gentlemen; who have served long in the Assembly with me, to do me that Justice, which they may think I deserve.

I understand Colo. Monroe is a Candidate for a vacant Seat of our Members in the Senate of the United States. When Colo. Monroe was in Congress, during the late war, I frequently corresponded with him upon public Affairs; and can truly say, that I had great cause to think him a man of Integrity and Abilities, and firmly attached to his Country’s Interest.—

I am, with great Regard and Esteem—
Dear Sir, Your most obedt. Serv’t.

G. Mason.
DEATH OF EDMUND RUFFIN.

The following letter gives the details of the death of Edmund Ruffin, the celebrated agriculturist of Virginia, who committed suicide. There has been some uncertainty as to the exact day of his death but this letter showed that it occurred on Saturday, June 17, 1865. The letter was written by his son Edmund Ruffin, Jun. to his sons.

Marlbourne, June 20th, 1865.

My Dear Sons,

A painful task devolves on me in the announcement of the death of your beloved Grandfather. In the manner of his death a terrible blow has befallen us. He died on Saturday last at 12½ o'clock and by his own hand. For many years he has been weary of life, and since the loss of his hearing, and his utter inability to enjoy social life, that weariness has very much increased. The subjugation of our country has weighed heavily on his mind and determined him to take the fatal step. He says, in his journal, that for two months or more, the idea had taken possession of his mind and that the more he thought of it, the more he was resolved on it. He committed the deed in his room by shooting. He used the silver mounted gun and the very load which George and I put in for horse-thieves was instrumental in his end. He did his work effectually and died without pain. He was in a sitting position in a chair, braced against the arms of the back and no doubt put the muzzle of the gun in his mouth. The butt of the gun rested on a trunk before him and he pulled the trigger with a forked stick. His body remained in its position. At his first effort the cap simply exploded—with a second trial the gun went off and produced its terrible effect. Two months ago, or a little more, when there was danger of his being captured by the Yankees I feared that he contemplated such a step rather than to allow himself to fall into their hands, but latterly my fears have been completely allayed. Nothing unusual was noticed in his manner on Saturday. He came down and seemed to enjoy his breakfast as usual and then went to his room, where lately he was in the habit of staying and writing. He wrote on that very
day. Your sisters and cousin Jenny¹ were in the porch when they heard the explosion of the cap. Jenny immediately suspected the cause and ran to call me, who was in the corn field back of the barns, but before I could get to her the gun fired—the girls were very much alarmed, and in the midst of their alarm and doubt, did not know what to do, and the gun fired before they could well collect their thoughts. I hurried into his room and found him a lifeless corpse. Oh my dear father, what would I not give had you patiently awaited the will of the Lord! Your life had been so pure—your actions so noble—your principles so correct, your morals so elevated, your religion so honest and your ways so above all deceit, that we had everything to hope in your end but for its manner—Oh that you had spared your children and your grandchildren such a shock—Would that you had gone down to the grave without leaving this blotch on your otherwise stainless memory—

In his journal he denounces to the last the Yankee despotism under which our country labors and I feel that the Yankees have just as certainly killed your Grandfather as they did your beloved uncle² who fell gloriously on the field of battle.

Mr. Harrison³ and Mr. Hartwell⁴ and Mr. Marshall, who was at Mr. Harrison's and who had called to see us that morning, came very soon to my aid. We procured a coffin that evening at Wilkerson's shop and early next morning Mr. Harrison and I started with the remains for Marlbourne. We reached here about 5 o'clock Monday morning, and before breakfast he rested under the sod beside my dear mother, between her and your Aunt Ella—The shock to your Aunt Lottie⁵ and Mrs. Meade, as you may imagine, was very great—it has cast a heavy gloom over us all—and I feel that I would give worlds (if I had them) for his end

¹The writer's second wife, formerly Jane Ruffin, daughter of Judge Thomas Ruffin, of North Carolina.
²Julien Ruffin
³William Henry Harrison, who lived at the "Wigwam," formerly home of William B. Giles, of Amelia.
⁴Hartwell Harrison, son of Wm. Henry Harrison
⁵Lottie Meade, widow of Julien Ruffin.
to have been in the course of nature. But what has happened can not now be recovered. Let us arm ourselves, my dear boys, with the love of Jesus, so that we may ever be willing to submit to the will of our heavenly Father and thus be ready for every contingency. All are well here and send best love. If I had my horse here I would go right over to see you—Shall go as soon as I can.

Your aff. and devoted father

E. R. Jr.
(Edmund Ruffin, Jr.)

THE GRAYSON FAMILY*

The first of the Graysons, of which there is any account at hand was Benjamin Grayson. He is believed to have emigrated from Scotland, but to have been last from Westmoreland County, Virginia, where he settled on the Occoquan River near the spot which afterwards became Colchester in Prince William County. He was a merchant, did an extensive business through the surrounding country and acquired great wealth. He married Susan Monroe, and then after her death the widow Sinton and died in the year 1757.

The first Monroe in Virginia was a sea captain, Andrew Monroe, who emigrated to Maryland about 1640 and afterwards removed to Virginia. He commanded a pinnace under Cuthbert Fenwick, general agent for Lord Baltimore, and in 1644 took part with Richard Ingle. Later he removed across the Potomac and settled at Appomattox, now Mattox, in Westmoreland County. He obtained a grant of land lying on a creek named for him, falling into Potomac River about four miles below Pope's Creek on which General Washington was born, whose ancestor John Washington was also a sailor.

*This account is from a Manuscript compiled by Frederick William Grayson, of Kentucky, later of Philadelphia, amended in a few particulars by the Editor.
Susan Monroe, who married Benjamin Grayson, was a daughter of Andrew Monroe, the son of Captain Andrew, the immigrant. Her brother Andrew, third of this name, was the father of Spence Monroe, father of President James Monroe, thus making her great aunt of President Monroe.

Benjamin Grayson and Susan Monroe are credited by the family statement with four children viz Benjamin, Spence, William and Susan Monroe. A deed between French Mason, of Truro Parish, Prince William County and Benjamin Grayson of Hamilton Parish, Prince William County, dated August 26, 1740, names Benjamin Grayson and his sons Benjamin and Spence Grayson.

1. Benjamin Grayson, son of Benjamin Grayson and Susan Monroe, was engaged in the business which his father had pursued but was not successful in his operations, although the jointure or dower right of his wife secured a handsome estate which she transmitted to her son.

He left an only son, and a daughter who married a Bronbaugh of Loudoun County. The son Benjamin left several children the late Dr. William Grayson who died in New York, the late Dr. Robert Grayson who died in Stafford, Dr. John O. Grayson of Loudoun, the present Mrs. Stephenson of Loudoun and the present Mrs. Elizabeth Carter, late Lewis, who resides near Leesburg in Loudoun County.

2. Spence Grayson, son of Benjamin Grayson and Susan Monroe, was born in the year 1734 and inherited and lived at "Belle Air," the former residence of his father in Prince William County, about two miles from the Occoquan river.

He married Mary Elizabeth Wagener, a daughter of Dr. Peter Wagener. The mother of this lady was a sister of Speaker John Robinson, memorable for the manner, graphically described by Wirt, in which he acted as Presiding officer of the House of Burgeses.

Dr. Wagener was an Englishman and settled on the Occoquan river. This appears from an act of the Legislature of the Colony passed in 1753 which sets forth, upon representations to the legislature, that a town on the land of Peter Wagener on the Occoquan river would be very convenient for trade and navigation. It ap-

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1Monroe pedigree in Wm. & Mary College Quarterly xvi. 65-67.
points commissioners to lay out said town and declares that the said town should be called Colchester.

From this gentleman the name of Peter, with or without the addition of Wagener, has been established in the family. The son of Dr. Wagener, Col. Peter Wagener, it appears, was for some time clerk of Fairfax County, Virginia. A Colonel Peter Wagener appears as an officer from Fairfax during the Revolution and he was probably the same person.

Some time after Spence Grayson had married and established himself at "Belle Air" he felt an inward call from the Holy Spirit to the ministry of Christ our Lord. He went to England where he had been educated and commenced the study of theology. He returned to Virginia in 1771, and was minister for quite a number of years of Cameron Parish in Loudon County. In 1784 he served as minister of Dettingen Parish, Prince William County. He died in December 1798. He is said to have been by those who remembered him a man of fine presence, elegance of address and devoted to his family and friends and a finished gentleman.

3. William Grayson, son of Benjamin Grayson and Susan Monroe, was born in Prince William County Virginia in 1736. He graduated at the College of Philadelphia in 1760, and is said to have studied law at the Temple in London. He took a lively part in the issues of the Revolution, and on November 11, 1774, a company formed in Prince William County which chose William Grayson as Captain and adopted the following resolutions:

"1st. Resolved that the motto of this company shall be aut liber aut nullus.

"2nd. Resolved unanimously that Thomas Blackburn, Richard Graham and Philip Richard Francis Lee, gentlemen, do wait on Col. Geo. Washington and request him to take command of this Company as its field officer; and that he will be pleased to direct the fashion of their uniform; that they also acquaint him of the motto of their Company which is to be fixed upon their colors."

The example of this Company was speedily followed in the adjoining Counties of Fairfax, Pauquier and Spottsylvania.

Sparks in speaking of this movement says Genl. Washington had hardly returned from the Congress when he was solicited by
the Independent Company of Prince William County to take command of them as field officer. Other companies tendered him the same honor, and it seemed to be the unanimous expectation of the people that, in the event of a war, he would be placed at the head of the Virginia forces. He yielded to the solicitations of the Companies, reviewed them at the different points of rendezvous, animated them by his presence and example; and his advice and instructions were received by them as orders which they were bound to obey.

Upon the occasion in April, 1775, of Lord Dunmore's removal of the powder from the public Magazine at Williamsburg and of Patrick Henry extorting from him its value in money, a meeting was held at Dumfries, at which Capt. Grayson was the leader, which passed resolutions of thanks to Mr. Henry for his spirited and patriotic conduct. On the same occasion a proposal was sent to Capt. Grayson by the Independent Company of Spottsylvania County, for the several Companies to unite and march to Williamsburg in order to share in the determination of the people to prevent the repetition of such an outrage. Capt. Grayson uniting with Mr. Lee, an officer and member of the Company, immediately submitted the question to the Common field officer of the several Independent Companies, as follows:

Dumfries, Va., April 22, 1775.

Sir:

We have just received a letter from the officers of the Independent Company of Spottsylvania, which is herewith enclosed. We immediately called together this Company, and the vote put whether they would march to Williamsburg for the purpose mentioned in that letter, which was carried unanimously.

We have nothing more to add but that we are well assured you may depend on them for that or any other service which respects the liberties of America. We expect your answer and determination by Mr. Davess.

We have the honor to be

Your obt Sevts.

By order of the Company

William Grayson,

Mt. Vernon.
The day after Genl. Washington received from Congress his commission appointing him Commander in Chief of all the forces raised or to be raised in the American Colonies, he took leave of these Independent Companies in the following letter to Capt. Grayson and others:


Gentlemen:

I am now about to bid adieu to the Companies under your respective commands. I have launched into a wide and extensive field, too boundless for my abilities and far, very far beyond my experience. I am called by the unanimous voice of the Colonies to the Command of the Continental Army, an honor I did not aspire to, an honor I was solicitous to avoid upon a full conviction of my inadequacy to the importance of the service. The partiality of Congress, however, assisted by a political motive, rendered my reasons unavailing and I shall tomorrow set out for the camp near Boston.

I have only to beg of you therefore, before I go, especially as you did me the honor to put your Company under my direction and know not how soon you may be called on in Virginia for an exertion of your military skill, by no means to relax the discipline of your respective Companies.

I have the honor to be etc


It is to be remarked here that Mt. Vernon and Dumfries were within visiting distance of each other, according to the habits of the country in that day and that up to that period, there was much social intercourse between Genl. Washington and Rev. Spence Grayson and Col. Wm. Grayson as well at their respective houses as at others in the neighborhood. In Genl. Washington's diary Col. Grayson is frequently mentioned as a guest at Mt. Vernon, and as partaking with Genl. Washington in his favorite recreation of hunting. This intercourse may account in part for the manner in which Col. Grayson makes his first appearance on the thea-
tre of the Revolution. This will appear from the following order printed in the Archives:

“Headqtrs New York
Aug 24-1776—
Countersign “London”

Parole “Jamaica”

The General has appointed William Grayson Esq. one of his Aids de Camp. He is to be obeyed and respected accordingly.”

The battle of Long Island was then impending and was fought three days after the date of this order. Col. Grayson crossed over to Brooklyn with General Washington whilst the action was going on and was employed by him with others after it ceased in reconnoitering along the line of the East river to enable him to effect a safe retreat from the immediate front of the victorious enemy. There are always in every Army buoyant and irrepressible minds to sustain and cheer, either from policy or temperament, the spirit of their associates drooping from disasters, or exhausted from action and fatigue. Col. Grayson was both buoyant and firm. Schroeder states that it was a pleasantry of Col. Grayson on the further retreat from New York that “Mrs. Murray had saved the American Army.” She was the wife of Robert Murray, a Quaker. Whilst the American Army was on its retreat from New York and the British in close pursuit, the officers of the latter, in advance, stopped at the house of Mrs. Murray for refreshments, and she knowing the importance of even minutes to her friends detained the British officers so agreeably as to give the Americans the necessary time for escape. The forts on the Hudson having been manned, the main Army took the direction of New Rochelle, and fought in succession the battles of Harlem Heights, and White Plains.

It was at this time that Alexander Hamilton, then Captain of an Artillery Company, came under the notice of General Washington and was added as Aid de Camp to his personal staff.

Col. Grayson was in the battle of White Plains and tradition states commanded a column. He was probably not at Harlem Heights, which was fought by a detachment under Knowlton and Leitch.
Then came the retreat across the Jerseys, then so called.


As an indication of the mode in which these duties were performed, the last of the series we have inserted. It is addressed to Col. John Cadwalader.

Head Quarters at Keith's House
Dec. 15, 1776

Sir:

His Ex'cy has desired me to acquaint you that by advice received last night from a prisoner, who was servant to Capt. Bell aid de Camp to Genl. Vaughan, he is informed that the enemy intend to return back; indeed the number of wagons which have been moving down towards Bordentown seems to favor this intelligence. His Excellency thinks they have a design of sending their forage wagons and baggage by the route of South Amboy, and that they present us a front on the river for the purpose of effectually covering them, while by sending them by the road, they secure them against a forced march from Genl. Lee; for should he cross their line they would have it in their power to cross his.

However the Genl is by no means certain that this is the case, he therefore desires you will exert yourself to the utmost of your ability and by every method in your power in discovering the movements and intention of the enemy; In particular he requests you will be extremely attentive in finding out whether any number of wagons have filed off across the country towards South Amboy either at Bordentown or Burlington. Should you upon inquiry discover that these are their views and that these forage wagons have small escorts and that there is a strong probability that an attempt on them may be made with success, then you are to endeavor to effect so salutary a purpose, by sending proper parties to secure them.

I am Sir with great respect
William Grayson A. D. C.

To Col. John Cadwalader.
Pennsylvania Militia.
Arch., 5 Ser., 3 Vol., p. 1231.

Two days before the date of this letter Genl. Lee moving near-
er the coast, and slowly and reluctantly, under orders to form a junction with the main Army, had been captured near Baskingridge in New Jersey. Eleven days after it, Genl. Washington, after crossing the Delaware in retreat before the overwhelming forces of Lord Howe, suddenly recrossed that river through the floating ice, attacked Trenton and captured eleven hundred Hessians.

The conclusion would be from the fact of the connection alone, that his Aid de Camp Col. Grayson was with Genl. Washington in these movements and in that action, but the fact does not appear from the histories of that period nor from the Archives, which stop with the year 1776—and probably do not include the documents instructive of the transactions of the closing days of that year. And in absence of direct information upon the point leaves it in some uncertainty.

When Genl. Washington crossed the Delaware in retreat, the Army was reduced to its minimum effective. He made every effort to increase its strength, and, amongst other means, doubtless exerted his personal influence with gentlemen within his acquaintance and around of ability and influence to induce them to recruit and bring into the field, and to his greater aid, fresh levies. Col. Grayson may have been so approached and from his long association and existing connection with Genl. Washington it is extremely probable he was, and yielding to the solicitations about this time was appointed Colonel of a new regiment to be raised in Virginia, but whether his appointment was before or after the crossing of the Delaware and the battle of Trenton on the 36th Dec. 1776, neither the histories nor the Archives show. All that can be derived from the documents is that the appointment was made some time between the 15 Dec., 1776 and 21st Jan., 1777. Under date of the last named day there appears the following resolution of Congress:

“Resolved that Col. Grayson, and Lieut. Col. Innes of Col. Mason’s regiment to be raised within the state of Virginia be immediately furnished with cloth for two hundred suits of cloaths, in order to expedite the raising of those regiments.”

On the 11th Sept., 1777 the battle of Brandywine was fought and the 3rd Oct. of the same year, the battle of Germantown.
Whether Col. Grayson's regiment had been recruited in Virginia and marched in time to the lines to take part in these battles is a question which must be left to the reasonable probabilities of the case. Nothing appears upon the point certain but the probabilities are strongly in favor of it. Certainly the regiment formed part of the Army in Winter Quarters at Valley Forge at the close of that year and the beginning of the next. See Powell Letters which clear up these facts.

Whilst in this cantonment the subject of a cartel with the Enemy for an exchange of prisoners occupied the anxious thoughts of Genl. Washington. Upon the capture of Genl. Lee, the British claimed to treat him as a deserter and the order of the British Government to send him to England for trial had only been suspended, upon the remonstrance of Lord Howe, that the American rebel Congress having by way of reprisal ordered a British officer Col. Campbell and five Hessian officers to be held in custody to abide the treatment of Genl. Lee, the effect of the result to be apprehended if the British Government persisted might be injurious to the King's service in respect to the Hessian troops. Genl. Washington felt bound to insist upon a fair exchange of Genl. Lee as a prisoner of War. The British had returned a number of prisoners in such an emaciated condition from privation and ill treatment that Genl. Washington had refused to acknowledge them as an equivalent in exchange for an equal number of prisoners that had been well treated by the Americans and were returned in a sound and healthy condition and capable of immediate service.

In order to settle these differences Genl. Washington on the 28th March, 1778, appointed a commission to confer with Lord Howe upon that subject, consisting of Cols. Wm. Grayson, R. H. Harrison, Alexander Hamilton and Elias Boudinot. The commissions are here named in the order of their appointment which may or may not represent the estimation in which the several gentlemen were respectively held by Genl. Washington. There is a tradition that Col. Grayson upon receiving notice of this appointment respectfully declined it and that Genl. Washington sent for him and in their interview stated that he had particular reasons.
for desiring him to act and that then and there only Col. Grayson yielded and accepted the appointment. Genl. Washington’s reasons were not avowed or if they were are not part of the tradition. It is not improbable from what is known of Col. Grayson, that his commanding figure and his soldierly bearing, his polished manners and splendid abilities may have suggested it to the pride or policy of the General to send him on this mission to Lord Howe, as a specimen of men of America he was striving to subdue and make slaves of.

On the 5th of April, 1778, these gentlemen reported the failure of their negotiations with Lord Howe, but Genl. Lee was nevertheless soon afterwards exchanged.

The report of the commissioners to Genl. Washington of April 15th, 1778, is in the possession of Col. Force in manuscript, to be published in his 4th Vol. of the 5th series of the Archives, if the American people still feeling a little interest in the incidents of the Revolution shall decide in favor of the continuance of his valuable publication.

Early in May 1778 the gratifying information reached America of the treaty of recognition and alliance concluded with France and of the succor to be expected from that Country.

At that time Lord Howe was succeeded by Sir Henry Clinton. The new commander in a short time evacuated Philadelphia and proceeded across the Jerseys toward New York in order to be in connection with his fleet. He was followed closely by the American Army and was overtaken near Monmouth. There is no notice in any of the histories referred to in this sketch except Lossing of the part borne by Col. Grayson in the battle of that place, fought on the 28th June 1778. From his account Col. Grayson led the attack gallantly. He says:

“Before daylight Col. Grayson with his regiment leading the brigades of Scott and Varmer was in the saddle moving slowly in the direction of Monmouth. Lee followed with the Brigades of Wayne and Maxwell and sent an order to Col. Grayson to press forward and attack the pickets of the enemy. Grayson had passed the Freehold Meeting House two and a half miles from Monmouth when he received the order. Lee’s aid who bore it, gave it as his opinion, that he had better halt, for he had learned on the way
that the main body of the British were moving to attack the Americans. The information was erroneous but it caused Col. Grayson to halt."

(This historic fact vindicates the tradition already mentioned that Col. Grayson and Lt. Thomas Washington of Capt. Mason's Company of Grayson's regiment were within ear shot of Genls. Washington and Lee when the spicy colloquy of that day took place between them.)

Thus Col. Grayson was placed in the van of the Army and with a command above his actual rank. It is safe to conclude that his (Col. Grayson's) bearing in the action that ensued fully vindicated the prestige which had assigned him to that distinguished position. After this battle the American Army made a cautionary movement towards the east; but there was no more fighting during the year and towards the close of it the Army was placed in Winter quarters around New York and in the direction of the Delaware, for the protection of the Country. At this time Col. Grayson's services in the field appear to have ceased, a Resolve of Congress, passed on the 8th Dec. 1778, having placed him in an administrative position.

"Resolved that Col. Grayson be and he is hereby appointed one of the Commissioners of the Board of War and Ordinance, in the room of Lt. Col. Roht. H. Harrison."

The late Bishop White of Philadelphia, some allusion having been made to the Rev. Spence Grayson, whom it was supposed the Bishop had met in England, observed that he had never had the pleasure of meeting the Rev. Spence Grayson, but that he was intimately acquainted with his brother, Col. Wm. Grayson, and he related an anecdote of the latter, which is illustrative of his activity and determination of character. The Bishop said that whilst Col. Grayson was stationed in Philadelphia (probably while serving in the Board of War) a furious mob of many hundreds of persons gathered opposite the Bishop's house at the cor. of 4th and Walnut Sts. He was sitting at the window observing the mob, when he saw Col. Grayson pass hastily by with eight or ten soldiers. He was alarmed and expected nothing less than that the little party would be torn
to pieces, instead of which he saw Col. Grayson, without pausing or parleying with the mob, advance directly upon it, and in a very short time it was dispersed and ended.

At the close of the war he was elected a member of the Continental Congress in 1784 and served with distinguished ability. He was president of that body in 1788, and Bancroft says that he was the soul of the action of Congress. At his instance the clause in the original ordinance for the government of the Northwest Territory in prohibition of slavery, proposed by Jefferson in 1784, was inserted by Dame into the ordinance passed in 1788. The insertion of this clause was desired but not even remotely contemplated by Dame. This clause had been formerly rejected by the Southern members of Congress but now was agreed to in a Congress where only Massachusetts of the Northern States was present. The reasons were chiefly political, and Grayson writes that the South was actuated by the consideration that the clause prohibiting slavery would prevent the making of tobacco and indigo on the northwest side of the Ohio. The same year he was sent to the Virginia Convention called to consider the Constitution of the United States. He proved an exception to the officers of the Revolution, who as a class favored the Constitution. Grayson on the contrary was next to Patrick Henry the most active in opposing it. His speeches showed that he feared the dominance of the North, who would not hesitate to use any powers granted for the common good for their own especial benefit. Thus on the question of the navigation of the Mississippi which the Northern delegates had wished to surrender to Spain and regarding which there was nothing said in the Constitution, Grayson thus expressed himself. "If the Mississippi is shut up, emigrations will be stopped entirely. There will be no new States formed on the Western waters. This will be a government of seven States. This contest of the Mississippi involves this great national contest, that is whether one part of the Continent will govern the other. The Northern States have the majority and will endeavor to re-

2Ibid II., 431.
3Elliot III., p. 365.
tain it. This is therefore a contest for dominion— for empire.”

After the adoption of the Constitution by a narrow majority of their votes, the Legislature which was opposed elected William Grayson as one of the two first Senators from Virginia—Richard Henry Lee being the other. In Congress Grayson had an opportunity to watch the working of things, and recognized the contradictions involved in a union of States so diverse as the Northern and Southern States. When the first tariff law was passed, he noticed its tendency to advance the interests of the commercial States, and predicted1 that “the South would prove “the milch cow of the Union”—a prediction more than verified by subsequent events.

Grayson did not live long after the close of the session September 29, 1789. He went home in a low state of health and died at Dumfries March 12, 1790, in the 64th year of his age, and was interred in the family vault at “Belle Air.” He was regarded as a man of the first order of talent, and was a leader of men wherever he figured.

In person Col. Grayson was over six feet in height, inclining to fulness, with florid complexion, black eyes and hair, and the finest teeth. He was sociable in his disposition and exceedingly agreeable and impressive in conversation.

He married Eleanor, sister of General Smallwood of the Maryland line, and left four sons, Frederick, George, Robert and Alfred and one daughter, Hebe. Alfred Grayson, his son, married Miss Breckinridge of Kentucky, aunt of the late Genl. John C. Breckinridge, and left one son the late Genl. John Breckinridge Grayson, who died at Tallahassee, Florida.

Hebe Grayson married John Carter, of Loudoun Co., Va., who afterwards removed to Kentucky. The daughter of this lady was the wife of A. Dudley Mann, Assistant Secretary of State under the Pierce administration.

Wm. Grayson Carter of Kentucky, and Alfred Carter of Tennessee are her sons.

(According to Brock, in Grigsby, Convention of 1788 I., p. 210 William Grayson left issue (1) George W., of Fauquier County,

1Grayson’s letter to Patrick Henry in Letters and Times of the Tyler’s, I., 170.

4. Susan Monroe Grayson, daughter of Benjamin Grayson and Susan Monroe, married in 1761 at the age of sixteen, John Orr, a Scotch Merchant, settled at Leedstown on the Rappahannock. She was a great beauty and an heiress. For children see Tyler's Quarterly iv., 50-51.

(To be continued.)

NOTES FROM THE RECORDS.

York County.

Thomas Baxter's bond to Adam Holland.

Be it known to all men &c that I Thomas Baxter of Yorke County in Virginia Merchant doe owe & acknowledge my selfe to be justly indebted to Adam Holland of the same place gentleman the full & just some of three score pds good & lawfull money of England to be paid unto ye said Holland his heyrnes &c, within Thirty dayes after arrivall of ye first shipp at ye port of London from Yorke River after ye date of these presents. For payment whereof I the said Thomas Baxter hereby engage to charge home good bills of Exchange upon my loving brother Mr Robert Baxter of London Grocer &c. In witnesse &c, &c, this 5th day of November 1657.

Thomas Baxter (seale)

A Jew in Virginia.

In ye difference between Mrs. Elizabeth Jones wife & attorney of Richard Jones, plte & Signr Moses Nehemiah the said Moses in Court tendering sixteene pounds due to ye plte by bill in gold
& good pieces of eight itt is ye Court's Opinion that the same is
good pay & order got the same dischardge him from his debt hee
paying cost, by reason he refused payment when demanded, with-
out allowance for the gold by Mrs. Jones 24 Junii 1658.

*Gift of Frances Jones to her son Francis Townsend.*

Frances Jones by a deed gives to her son Francis Townsend
five servants and one child, two mares seven cows, three steers,
one bull and one steer more now at Timber Neck Creek six draught
of oxen with the the cart and plow and all tackling thereto be-
longing 500 acres at Potomacke on Choitanke Creeke with two
cows on the said land all the hogs that are on the plantacon with
the household stuffe & all necessaryes thereunto belonging, also
twenty pounds of goods att the first penny as they cost in Eng-
land and twenty-four barrells of corne at yee finishing of ye crop—
this 28th of February 1657. Recorded 24th August 1658.

*Richard Bushrod.*

Deposition of Richard Bushrod aged 32, brother of Mr. Thomas
Bushrod. 24 February 1658-59.

*Topping Tobacco.*

24 february, 1658.

The deposicon of Augustine Hodges aged 60 years or there-
abouts saith this depon saith that in A° 1656 at ye time when
tobaccoe are growne to topping he this depon & his wife rode to
Tho: Bushrod his house & there yis depon yt his cropp of To-
baccoe was generally runne up very high for want of topping.
This depon asked him what he meant by suffering his tobaccoe to
runne up very high for want of topping & why he did not topp it;
and also told him it would be spoiled by itt ye sd Bushrod an-
swered this depon that Richard Barkshyre his overseer was gone
to a wedding att Pyankelanke without his consent & knew not
how to helpe itt, blaming his overseer very much and farther
saith not

Augustine Hodges

Jur: in Cur
20 Current 1658.
BOOK REVIEWS

**Virginia Writers of Fugitive Verse.** by Armistead C. Gordon, Jr., M. A., Ph. D. James T. White and Co., New York. The amount of labor required to produce this work is an excellent augury of what Mr. Gordon may do hereafter. The future lies spread out before him, for Mr. Gordon is quite a young man, and is just at the outset of his career. He comes of a literary family devoted to the history of Virginia. His father, Armistead C. Gordon, is the author of a number of romances, and of works relative to the history of Virginia—all of high merit, and both his father and uncle, James Lindsay Gordon, were poets and published small volumes of poetry. The preface is written by Thomas Nelson Page, who describes Mr. Gordon's undertaking as an "audacious" one, the accomplishment of which re-dounds much to his praise.

The distinctive work of Mr. Gordon himself consists in a remarkably well written and all embracing introductory essay on Virginia Fugitive Verse, through seven chapters, beginning with the early colonial period, and ending with what he terms "the National Period," but what would be more truly and aptly called the "Period of Sectionalism," when Virginia, thankful for the boon grudgingly allowed her of controlling her own domestic affairs, conceded to the North the rule in all national matters. In the course of these chapters Mr. Gordon cites authors and verses contemporaneous with the period, and notes the special merits and deficiencies of the verse-makers. His comments are exceedingly well put, and the only objection that can be found is in his historic envelopment which is in some few cases somewhat incorrect.

It would be ungracious to dwell upon this theme too long, but in two instances especially the author appears to fall under the influence of hostile Northern writers, who have monopolized the writing of history since 1865. Mr. Gordon talks of classes in Virginia, and says that there was no distinct "middle class" as in England. Now as a matter of fact, there were really no classes whatever in Virginia, certainly none in the 18th and 19th centuries. All white men stood on a plane of equality before the law, and there were no special privileges as existed in England, or France, or Germany.

The people that settled Virginia came from the middle and poorer classes in England, and so if origin is to be considered, there was a distinct middle class in Virginia, and a very large one. There
Book Reviews

were no representatives of the upper class in England—no Dukes, Barons, Marquises or Earls, except Lord Fairfax, who abrogated his distinctive quality and mingled freely with his neighbors of all degrees.

The great distinction among the people in Virginia was the ownership of land and slaves, and it is only on this basis that there could be any upper class. But in all the counties the number of great slave owners were very few, while the vast majority of the people had small holdings of lands and slaves. In Virginia, therefore, "the middle class" constituted the most important part of the population. Nor would it be forgotten that "the aristocrats" so called were masters of Negroes and not as in England masters of white people. The aristocracy of Virginia, therefore, had no real political authority as in New England, and it was chiefly a spectacular affair, and wonderfully attractive for this reason. Fundamentally then Virginia was a democracy from its foundation, and this affords the true reason why the Democratic Republican party, led by Jefferson, had its birth in Virginia and not in New England, where the servant class continued to be white people and an oligarchical interest prevailed in the towns and dictated all measures, religious or political.

The other point of objection is found on page 67 of this work. The author does not clearly set forth what he means by "the disadvantages of slavery." If he means to condemn the institution morally, then I agree with him, but if he means to say that it was a disadvantage peculiarly to the owners it is at once contradicted by the figures exhibited in De Bow's Review and by the Federal Census. These show that in 1860 the eleven Southern States that went into secession had exclusive of slave values nearly as much wealth per man, including all Negroes in the enumeration, as the eighteen Northern States that fought them. But with slavery abolished the story is different now, for the census of 1910 shows that proportionately the eighteen Northern States have five times as much wealth per man as the eleven Southern States that fought them. The mere effects of war, destructive as it was, ought long since to have disappeared. It is a current error to saddle slavery with the ills of a Negro population, which, free or slave, drives off emigration and discourages manufacturers and commerce. It does that now as much as ever.

Nor is it a fact that the Virginia Legislature in 1832, meeting to debate the abolition of slavery, decided negatively by only a single vote. A resolution to take action was defeated by seventy-three negatives to fifty-eight affirmatives. This, however, if it did not show that the Virginians were quite as anxious to abolish slavery, as Mr. Gordon says, proves that the Virginian mind was at the time open to argu-
ment, if not to conviction. More convincing proof that the Southerners did not fight for slavery in 1861 is afforded by their giving up through secession the very Western territory, in regard to which the quarrel occurred.

Mr. Gordon's interesting introduction is followed by poems selected from a great number of authors, who in odd hours courted the muses. Not all were born in Virginia but all were connected with Virginia in some way or another. The doughty John Smith leads off with his "Sea Mark," followed by Richard Rice with his "News from Virginia." Then comes many persons who are more or less familiarly known to the public in other avocations—as presidents, judges, professors, etc. Some of the poems have already lasted beyond the allotted time of the life of most poems, such as St. George Tucker's "Resignation" or William E. Cameron's "In the Twilight." The collection is essentially a body of lyric poetry, for there are no great dramas, no epics, and few narratives among the productions which Southern writers have turned out.


Here is a Biography that will stand among the best that have been written. Mr. Fuess, the author, remarks upon a fact well known that since 1861 historical writings have been almost entirely in the hands of Northern men, especially of Northern Republicans, who have foisted their views upon the public by a propaganda which has no equal. How effective this method of spreading ideas and getting them accepted as truths was never better realized than in the World War. The whole country fell into a panic over "German propaganda." The scare would have had a comic appearance, had not the actual menace been so serious. The Germans simply employed a means which the writers of this country had been using, and are still using, to accomplish results. The Americans have led the way in advertising patent medicines as panaceas, and historical writers have adopted this method in dealing with historical statements. This patent medicine way of writing, so popular in the North, reached its climax when these Northern Republican writers began to snub Jamestown out of existence and had the impudence to disseminate the notion that the settlement at Plymouth Rock was not only first in importance, but first in time! If a child in Boston were to be asked the question where the first permanent English settlement was established on this continent he would undoubtedly answer, "At Plymouth in New England." Thus the singular fact exists that the State which has the best
school system has in historic matters the most ignorant set of children, because taught errors instead of truths.

Another recent Northern writer, George Morgan, uses this language: "No historical misjudgment is so common as the offhand condemnation of slave-state statesmen. The very fact that they come thence is deemed sufficient to warrant their neglect or minimize whatever merits they may be grudgingly allowed. This is not only unfair to them but injecting bias where truth should be." The man who wrote this is a Democrat, and for truth's sake it appears as if it was just as necessary to have politics in history as history in politics. There can be little doubt that had the Northern Republican rule after 1865 been uncontested, the country would have lapsed, as many feared, into a monarchy, or its equivalent. Southern civilization would have been destroyed under the incubus of Negro domination and the whole section held under military rule. For the Republicans in the sixties cared nothing for the Constitution and openly professed their contempt for it.

But in spite of bad feelings engendered by the war there were many people in the North who still clung to the visions and ideals of the founders. They were not all Democrats, but most of them were. These people banded with the men of the South to wrest authority from "wavers of the bloody shirt," and forced the Republicans to compromise. Gradually the Southern States, after suffering unheard of indignities, were admitted into a kind of equality with the Northern. The Democrats not only saved the South but saved the Union from utter demolition at the hands of those who set up as its capital friends.

Something like this has happened in the historic world. Absorbed in the great battle of preserving the Constitution from being torn into tatters,—in attention to the concrete rather than to the abstract—the Democrats of the North allowed the Republicans to have their way in the world of letters, but it is encouraging to find that this is beginning to be no longer the case. Robinson in his "Jeffersonian Democracy in New England" and Justin H. Smith in his "Annexation of Texas," and "History of the Mexican War" lead the way. George Morgan follows with his Life of "James Monroe" and now Claude M. Fuess gives us a valuable work, which in setting out the Life of one of the ablest of the New Englanders, adopts a far juster estimate of Southern men, and presents history to the Northern public in garb much freer from the narrow and uncharitable views which formerly prevailed. If I am in error as to the politics of any one of these gentlemen, it makes little difference. They represent a revolt against the old spirit of the Northern Republican writers, and that in the realm
of politics is essentially what was meant by the old Democracy of Tilden and Cleveland.

Some of the ways in which Mr. Fuess' correcter notions of history manifest themselves may be noticed. Thus in his account of the Whig party, he does not represent it as the National Republican party as is commonly done in histories written by Northern men, and even by Southern men, who have been often unconsciously influenced; but as "a group of malcontents," "opposing executive encroachment and a most alarming extension of executive power and prerogative." To call the Whig party a National Republican party was not good history even in Massachusetts, as Mr. Fuess shows, but the description was singularly out of place when applied to a State like Georgia, where there had never been any National Republican party, whatever. And yet Georgia became in 1836 and in 1840 one of the strongest Whig States. Mr. Fuess proves himself too well informed not to understand that the politics of Massachusetts was not the politics of the whole Union. But even in Massachusetts the Whig party took care not to declare itself in the canvass of 1840 for the old issues of bank, tariff and internal improvement, with which the National Republicans were identified.

This renders John Tyler's position in the Whig party intelligible. Tyler, as a states right man, "fanatically" so, according to Mr. Fuess' New England way of looking at it, had more reasons to oppose "executive encroachment" on the Constitution than any National Republican, and he was therefore a better Whig. It also explains the consistency of Caleb Cushing In supporting Tyler's administration. The Whig party had taken the attitude of non-committalism, and declared for a new deal, and Cushing was distinctly within his rights to decide his own course. "Tyler was at the time of his nomination unpledged to any bank; in restoring the Fiscal Corporation bill he violated no agreement and broke no promise; and conscientiously disapproving of the two bills as they were presented, he would have been false to his oath as President if he had not indicated fearlessly his objections." Knowing this to be the case Cushing, though voting for the Bank, would not condemn Tyler for his vetoes.

Looking at Tyler's administration in a general way, there was no reason on earth why all persons might not have given it their support. He advanced no measure in the interest of any one section. A Bank was not the sole means of taking care of the finances, and the "Exchequer," which Tyler originated and proposed, was not a sectional measure. It guarded against monopoly, and, in providing for a government board, issuing a paper money and receiving deposits at its different agencies, it was a prototype of the Federal Reserve System.
as was noticed by Senator Aldrich, of Rhode Island, in one of his last speeches. It received the support not only of Caleb Cushing, but of Daniel Webster, the greatest man ever produced by Massachusetts, whose opinion of Tyler was expressed in his opinion of the Exchequer, which he declared an institution only second in its beneficial promise to the Constitution itself. To what other person did Webster ever pay such a compliment? And it is to be remembered that the statement was made in the light of a profession that "he (Webster) had made the study of finance the subject of his life."

If the question of the annexation of Texas is to be alleged a Southern question, and with many persons it doubtless was, it must be remembered that the President held another view which was even more tenable. He held that it was a national question, and denied that it was a local or sectional one. Cushing and other Northerners could support him on this ground, and were pretty right in believing that in the long run the commercial advantages resulting to the North from the Annexation would make it more a Northern question than a Southern one.

Cushing, by association with Tyler and with Rives, Wise and Gilmer, who like Cushing, supported Tyler in Congress, found out that Southern men were not such terrible creatures after all. He grew to like them and modified his original narrow New England views on the Bank, tariff and other questions, and became irrevocably joined with the Democrats and their fortunes. In doing this he only followed the example of another great New Englander, Nathanael Greene, who, after his Southern campaigns, fell so in love with the South as to expatriate himself and adopt Georgia as his country and his home. Up to the war for Southern Independence Cushing fearlessly took sides with the South, and after the election of Lincoln he for a few weeks defended the right of the Southern States to "go in peace."

Cushing's sudden turn around after the affair at Fort Sumter, his becoming a Republican and advocating the Force Bill to keep the South under Negro rule, is not to be explained as Mr. Fuess seems to think by asserting that the Southerners in firing on the flag had assumed the aggressive, and deserved to be punished. Cushing, after the election, had said to the men of Massachusetts, "We have pressed the patience of our fellow citizens of fifteen States of the Union to the point where it can no longer hold . . . it has become either a hearty peace or stern war . . . and on our heads be the atonement, if half the States of the Union be thus driven to declare their independence of the other half, and that for causes no less cogent than those which made us independent of Great Britain." According to Cushing himself the South had abundant cause to secede, and the
case was not at all altered by their firing on the flag, when the administration, without waiting for the concurrence of Congress, made the firing necessary by sending an armed squadron to supply it with men and provisions. The excuse of the flag is a mere subterfuge. Germany fired on the flag a score of times and took the lives of hundreds of American citizens before the country went to war. The fact prominent above all others is not that the North warred with the South, but that they carried the war to the extent of destroying the self-determination of the South, which had a thoroughly organized government and was half the size of Europe, and therefore entitled to independence on natural grounds.

Cushing's course during the war is intelligible not for the reason given by Mr. Fuess, of devotion to the Union; but of devotion to his section. He went with his State. Without any act of his own New England was embroiled in war, and in this crisis Cushing felt that as a public man he could not go it alone. So he went to war, too, and in turning Republican he went, perhaps, further than was necessary. It is difficult to understand how a man of Caleb Cushing's good sense and ability could give his endorsement to such a foolish, wicked, and dreadful measure, as the Force Bill is now admitted to be.

Mr. Fuess has written an excellent book which will doubtless serve to leaven the mass of Northern publications in the future. Not all he says can be accepted by the writer. To characterize Tyler's appointees, after the resignation of the Whig Cabinet, as "undistinguished mediocrities" is startling, when it is known that among them were Abel P. Upshur, John C. Spencer and Charles A. Wickliffe.
THE SARAH CONSTANT, GOODSPEED AND DISCOVERY
The Ships That Brought the Founders of the Nation to Jamestown, 1607.

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NOTICE

Annual subscription, $4.00. Single numbers, $1.25.
As back numbers of the old William and Mary Quarterly, of which I was proprietor, have become very scarce, single copies, as far as had, may be obtained from me at $2.00 apiece.

LYON G. TYLER, Editor
Holdcroft P. O., - - - - - Charles City Co., Va.

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LINCOLN DIPLOMACY.

There recently occurred at Philadelphia a sale, at the well known auction house of Stan V. Henkels, of letters written to Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy, by Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States. The contents of some of these letters are well known, others furnish new information. Among the former is Lincoln’s well known letter of March 15, 1861, addressed to the members of his Cabinet relative to supplying Fort Sumter:

My dear Sir:

Assuming it to be possible to now provision Fort Sumter, under all the circumstances is it wise to attempt it. Please give me your opinion in writing on this question.

Your obedient Servant,

A. LINCOLN.

As is well known all the Cabinet, with the exception of Montgomery Blair and Salmon P. Chase, concurred in the opinion that no attempt should be made to provision or reinforce Fort Sumter, and they took the ground that such an attempt would begin a civil war. Even Chase said that if he could bring himself to that conclusion, he would advise against the policy, so that Montgomery Blair was the only one of the Cabinet who was unconditionally for action.

Lincoln himself showed no opposition, and Seward the same day assured Judge John A. Campbell that the troops would be withdrawn from Sumter “within five days.”

When this expectation of prompt action was disappointed by Lincoln, and he did not withdraw them in the time stated, Seward on March 22 expressed to Judge Campbell much surprise and said that “the resolution had been passed and its execution committed to the President.” But he did not relax in his assurance to Judge

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1 Connor, Life of John A. Campbell.
Campbell that the troops would be withdrawn, and explained Lincoln's delay by saying in effect that he was queer kind of man and not governed by ordinary rules. So far did the policy of withdrawing the troops go that in anticipation of Lincoln's signing an order to remove the troops, a paper was prepared containing a defence of Lincoln and throwing the blame of the withdrawal on President Buchanan.

A copy of this paper fell into the hands of Governor Francis Pickens, of South Carolina, who was assured by some one "very near the most intimate councils of the President" that the paper was submitted, as a proof sheet, for some prominent newspaper, to Mr. Lincoln and his Cabinet, was approved, that a proclamation was to be issued in conformity with its general views and that a change in the decision of the Cabinet was made in one night, when exactly the contrary course was adopted.

Welles in his writings admits the practical unanimity of Lincoln and his Cabinet on the question of withdrawal, and attributes the change in Lincoln's policy to Frank P. Blair, Montgomery Blair's father, who, to prevent the resignation of his son, sought an interview with Lincoln and protested. A more plausible reason is found in the concourse about this time in Washington of seven, or, as one has it, of nine, governors, from high tariff States who frightened at the prospect of the effects of the Confederate tariff of ten per cent, contrasted with the Morrill tariff of eighty per cent, offered troops and ammunition to Lincoln, if he would attempt to reinforce the Fort.

A letter from Lincoln disposed of at the sale, dated March 29, 1861, shows about what time this change of attitude took place. It reads as follows:

Executive Mansion March 29, 1861.

"Honorable Secretary of the Navy

Sir: I desire that an expedition, to move by Sea, be got ready to sail as early as the 6th of April next, the whole according to Memorandum attached; and that you co-operate with the Secretary of War for that object.

Your Obedient Servant
A. Lincoln."

2William and Mary College Quarterly xxiv, 72-84.
The "memorandum" attached reads thus:

"Navy Dep't

Stns Pocahontas at Norfolk, Pawnee at Washington, and Revenue Cutter Harriet Lane at N. York, to be ready for sea with one month's stores. Three hundred Seamen to be ready for leaving the receiving ship at N. York

War Dep't

Two hundred men at N. York, ready to leave garrison. One year's stores to be put in a portable form."

This letter leaves no doubt that Lincoln went actively to work as early as March 29 preparing to reinforce Fort Sumter, but other facts show that he continued at the same time to entertain a plan of withdrawing the troops. When three days after this letter, on April 1, Judge Campbell had another interview with Seward, he retired to see Lincoln, and returning placed in Campbell's hands a memorandum to the effect that "the President would not supply Fort Sumter, without giving notice." Campbell had uneasy sensations on reading this paper, but Seward quieted his apprehensions by observing that he did not believe any such plan as reinforcing the Fort would be attempted by the administration.

Lincoln knew, as everybody knew, that the Confederate Commissioners were in town seeking the peaceable surrender of the Fort, yet the terms of the memorandum show that though he had a hostile expedition on foot, he was not above permitting them to remain under the hope that the object of their visit might be effected without bloodshed. Indeed, at this very time he took a new step along the road to peace. On the next day (April 2) after Campbell's interview with Seward, Lincoln sent a message to George W. Summers, a leading member of the Virginia Convention, to come to see him in Washington. Summers could not go but another Union member, Col. John B. Baldwin, went in his stead, and on April 4, Baldwin saw Lincoln.

We have two different accounts of the interview. According to one version, resting on the authority of his private Secretary, John Hay and John Minor Botts, both quoting Lincoln, the

3Letters and Diary of John Hay I, 471, quoted in White, Life of John Trumbull, p. 158.
4Botts, The Great Rebellion, 197-293.
President proposed to Baldwin to withdraw the troops, if the Convention would adjourn sine die, and its members go home. According to Mr. Baldwin’s statement, Lincoln told him he had come “too late,” and made no direct overture of any kind. But one fact brought out seems a key to the mystery. In this interview with Baldwin Lincoln severely arraigned the Confederate tariff, and asked what would become of his tariff, if he allowed the Southern tariff to go on? There is no doubt that Lincoln intended to negotiate about withdrawing the troops, but before Baldwin could arrive, under the influence of the governors he changed his mind, and afterwards reported what he intended to say rather than what he did say. That Lincoln was at any rate greatly concerned about his tariff is shown by evidence from another source. A delegation waited on him from Baltimore and was met with the question, “What will become of my revenue?”

The attitude of Lincoln at this time is far from the picture that modern eulogists paint to represent the greatest man of the 19th century! Schouler, who has no use for Southern men, states in his History that Lincoln’s behavior during the month after his inauguration was “as though he had no policy, but was waiting for his cabinet to frame one for him.” This is a picture of sheer inability, such as no other president ever presented.

Another letter dated April 1 (too long to be inserted here) shows Lincoln in a state bordering on helplessness, “not to say imbecility.” It is that of a President signing orders of a most important character without knowing their contents. This letter contains instructions changing the commands of several officers in the Navy and throwing upon the Navy Department other persons whose loyalty Welles, his Secretary of the Navy, had good reason to suspect. When Welles, who had not been consulted, protested, the President recalled the instructions, and told him that these papers, with many others, were hastily prepared, and “he really knew not what he was signing.” His frankness in confessing a fault did not, however, excuse his lack of ordinary prudence.

In his *Diary* Welles ascribes the orders to William H. Seward, the Secretary of State, and gives details of other affairs which, under the same influence, presents the President in an even more pitiful light. To give orders about Welles' Department without even consulting him was bad enough but to give orders that certain instructions involving the Navy should be kept *secret from the Navy Department* was a downright insult, for which the plea of ignorance afforded no excuse.

In *Records of the Rebellion* under the same date (April 1) the *Powhatan* was by the President's orders to be made ready, and the commander of the Navy Yard at New York was placed under the injunctions of secrecy mentioned. Its Captain Samuel Mercer was displaced and Lt. D. D. Porter put in command, and off it was sent to Fort Pickens.

Now the *Powhatan* was the flagship of the Fort Sumter expedition then getting ready, and Welles, learning what had happened, hastened to the President, who made the same submission as before, plead ignorance, and put the blame on the Secretary of State. He requested that gentleman to recall the *Powhatan* and a dispatch signed "Seward," reached Porter as he was sailing, but this officer pleading presidential orders declined to obey and went on his way. And so the Relief Squadron reached Charleston, without a flagship, commander or instructions!

On the matter of notice to the Confederate authorities the attitude of Lincoln was equivocal, to say the least. The notice relating to Fort Sumter that had been promised by him did not reach Governor Pickens till April 8, on which day part of the Relief Squadron left New York. This was no notice in any proper sense. But the case with reference to Fort Pickens in Florida was even worse. In this case Seward had promised notice on March 22, in his interview with Judge Campbell, and it is hardly conceivable that a Secretary of State should withhold knowledge of so important an act from his President. But if the Baby Act must be plead for Lincoln in this matter, how is it conceivable to plead it in case of the truce made between the Federals and Confederate at Fort Pickens during Buchanan's administration that neither side should take hostile action without due notice to the other. Everybody knew about this arrangement, and Lincoln
could not help from knowing about it. Nevertheless the Records of the Rebellion shows that by April 1 three attempts were made by the Federal Government to reinforce Fort Pickens without any notice whatever—one of these by the direct order of Lincoln, as already described.

Other letters offered for sale have more than ordinary interest. Here is one about the Monitor, which shows that much of the talk about her great capacity for whipping the Virginia was mere brag. In his report to the government, Worden, Commander of the Monitor, while admitting the seriousness of the damage done to the Monitor by the Virginia, which rendered it dangerous for her to follow the latter to Norfolk, suppresses mention of a fear given in this letter that must have haunted him throughout the fight:

"My dear Sir.

I have just seen Lieut Worden, who says the "Monitor" could be boarded and Captured very easily, first, after boarding, by wedging the turret, so that it would not turn, and then by pouring water in her & drowning her machinery. He is decidedly of Opinion she should not go sky-larking up to Norfolk.

Yours truly
A. Lincoln."

It is known that preparations were afterwards made by the Confederates to do just what Lieutenant Worden apprehended, wedge the Monitor's turret and drown the machinery, but the care of the Monitor to avoid another fight and the evacuation of Norfolk prevented the design from being carried into effect by the crew of the Virginia.

One other letter may be cited. History has been written as if the Confederate Cause came to its practical ending after the battle of Gettysburg. But this is not true. Affairs in the United States were never so gloomy as in the summer and fall of 1864. The Democrats, in Convention pronounced the war "a failure." So weary of the war had the North become, and so decided was the antagonism to its further prosecution that Lincoln concluded he had no chance of an election for a second term. This feeling must have been strong with him to have induced him to pen a letter to his cabinet like the following:
"Executive Mansion,  
Washington, Aug. 23, 1864.

This morning as for some days past, it seems exceedingly probable that this Administration will not be re-elected. Then it will be my duty to Co-operate with the President elect, so as to save the Union between the election and the inauguration, as he will have secured his election on such grounds that he cannot possibly save it afterwards.

A. Lincoln."

How h's defeat was prevented and his re-election secured by wholesale suspensions of the habeas corpus, military arrests and manipulation of the army vote is well known.

LETTERS OF WILLIAM C. RIVES, 1823-1829.

William C. Rives was the son of Robert Rives, a wealthy merchant of Virginia. He was given a liberal education and served in the House of Delegates, the House of Representatives and Senate of the United States. He served in the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States and in its House of Representatives. Jackson sent him minister to France in 1829, and the same office was given to him by President Fillmore in 1849. He was an accomplished scholar, diplomat and statesman. Born in Nelson County, Virginia, May 4, 1793, and died at Castle Hill, Albemarle County, Virginia, April 25, 1868. These letters were written to Thomas Walker Gilmer, who served as Speaker of the House of Delegates, Governor of Virginia, member of Congress, and Secretary of the Navy under Tyler. Mr. Rives and Mr. Gilmer were connections by marriage. The former married Judith Page Walker, daughter of Hon. Francis Walker, son of Dr. Thomas Walker of Albemarle (the explorer) and the latter was a son of George Gilmer, who was a son of Dr. George Gilmer and Lucy Walker, daughter of Dr. Thomas Walker.

City of Washington, Feb. 9th, 1825

Dear Sir,

Your letter of 17th December, endorsing an application of Henry Key for a pension, was duly received. I received a few days ago, the accompanying communication from the War department, showing the
ground upon which his claim has been disallowed. I will thank you to explain the matter to the old man. It is very probable, I think, that some of the public records in Richmond would furnish satisfactory evidence of the fact that Col Campbell was an officer of the Virginia Line of Continental Troops. If such evidence can be obtained from any quarter, I will take great pleasure in renewing the application. This is the day we commence balloting for the President. It is not expected, however, that any decision would well attend the experiment to be made to-day. The struggle, indeed, may be protracted for some time. The friends of all the candidates exhibit firm & undismayed countenancy, but "hope" brightens most the crest of the New England candidate, for reasons which no doubt have already been disclosed to you, thro' other channels. With affectionate greetings to all our friends,

I am with most sincere regards, yours, &c

W. C. Rives.

Washington, March 13th, 1826.

Dear Walker:—

I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of 1st instant, a few days ago, and have at length determined to make a vigorous effort to reply to it, and at the same time to render you an explanation of the causes which have prevented me, for so long a period, from acknowledging the receipt of your former letter. As you have never been the subject of a protracted disease like mine, (& I hope never will be), I am afraid you will find some difficulty in conceiving how a man, who is able to move about, to ride, to walk and to eat, should nevertheless, be incapable of writing a few lines to a friend. But such has been almost literally the fact, in my case. The habitual and unconquerable listlessness and total prostration of mental energy, which are the ordinary attendants of my complaint, have produced such an aversion to any, the simplest exertion of intellect, that I have shrunken from pen and paper with all the terrors of hydrophobia, and have never been able to overcome it, unless urged on by an imperative and irresistible necessity.— After this unvarnished statement of my misfortunes, I appeal to your forgiveness for an involuntary neglect, I proceed to the subject-matters of your communications. Old Mr. Key's application for a pension was laid before the Department of War, long ago, but as

1At the election in 1824 no one of the candidates for the Presidency had a majority of the Electoral College. So under the Constitution the States represented in the House of Representatives had to decide. John Quincy Adams was elected by a majority of one State.
this government, in all its branches, verifies to the full extent, the old adage "that large bodies move slowly" I have not yet been able to procure a decision upon it. The excuse is that a great number of other cases were presented before it, and it must await its regular turn. I shall do whatever I can to obtain an earlier decision upon his claim, and to render that decision favorable.— The application you were requested to make to me, on behalf of one of my coloured constituents, shall be duly attended to, and I hope to be able to procure the information sought, which shall be communicated th'o' you, as soon as it is had. My commission to attend the Colonization society here, as a delegate on behalf of the auxiliary society of Albemarle, did not arrive, until several days after the society had held their annual meeting. Your letter apprising me of the appointment was dated 8th of January, and the annual meeting was held on the 9th. I could not, therefore, appear in the character with which you were pleased to clothe me, as it would have given me great pleasure to have done. The objects of the society, from the best consideration I have been able to bestow upon them, have my most cordial approbation, and I shall be glad of any opportunity to bear my testimony in its favour, as well as to contribute my aid to its support. It is, at the same time, due to candor to state that I have heretofore entertained the opinion that Congress does not possess the constitutional power to apply national resources to this object, or any other, not falling within the range of the specific delegation of power. I observe that there has been some discussion between yourself and Mr. Ritchie, on this subject. The nos. of the Central Gazette, containing your part of the controversy, either never reached me, or escaped my attention at the time. If you have preserved them, I should be pleased to see your views of this question. I have seen, with great satisfaction, that the legislature of Virginia have afforded another evidence of the favour with which it regards the objects of this Institution. Would it not be wise to address ourselves, for patronage and support, to the authorities of the States, whose power is undoubted, and many of whom have a deep interest in the success of the society. — The details of the proceedings of Congress, which reach you thro' the medium of the newspapers, are so ample that I have nothing of any importance to add to them. The discussion on the constitutional amendments, still proceeds, (with a snail's pace, however), in the House of Representatives. When it will terminate, it is impossible to foresee; but, so far as any practical result is concerned, whenever it does terminate, it will be found, I suspect, to have ended where it began. It is said there is a decided majority against districting the states, and not such a majority as the constitution requires, in favour of the proposition, to take the eventual
election from the H. of R. The topic which excites the liveliest political interest here is in the possession of the other branch of the National Legislature—I allude, of course, to the much talked of Panama mission. The decision of that Body is awaited with much anxiety—not so much from doubts as to the result, (which it is generally understood, will be in favour of the measure by a small majority) as from a wish to know the true character of the measure itself, in relation to which we have been kept in profound darkness, so far as its character can be affected by the communications which have actually passed between our government and those of the New States upon the subject. The finale is looked for, during the present week, and probably in the course of a few days. I hope, notwithstanding my unprofitable character as a correspondent, you will continue to write to me, and let me know the news of home, which loses no portion of its interest to me from the lengthened period of my absence. I sincerely condole with you, and all his friends, on the occasion of your uncle’s death, which closed a career full of honor and brilliancy on earth to be renewed, I trust, with far greater brightness in the world to which he has gone. Knowing the interest you have kindly felt in the recovery of my health, I cannot close my letter without telling you that altho’ still very delicate, I flatter myself it has somewhat improved and is improving. It fluctuates, however, very much, and the improvement of today is often counterbalanced by the relapse of tomorrow. — With affectionate greetings to all my friends I am very sincerely and cordially yours

W. C. Rives

Washington, March 27th, 1826.

Dear Walker:—

Since the date of my last letter to you, old Mr. Key’s declaration for a pension has been returned to me from the War Department, on account of the omission to set forth in it “the changes which have taken place in his property since the 18th of March 1818.” You will find the original Declaration enclosed accompanied by a formula, which will serve as a guide in correcting this defect, and in shaping the new Declaration in other respects, so as to guard against any further capacious objections. I hope you will have the new Declaration made at

2Francis Walker Gilmer, youngest son of Dr. George Gilmer, of “Pen Parke,” Albemarle county. He was a man of exceptional culture and secured the first professors for the University of Virginia. Mr. Jefferson spoke of him as “the best educated subject we have raised since the Revolution.”
the next Albemarle or Fluvanna court, and send it on to me immediately, so that I may consummate the transaction before I leave here. I have also, since my last letter to you, made the enquiries suggested by you on behalf of Betsy Barnett. I have ascertained that both John Johnson and James Thicker are now residing in George Town. I have seen the latter, and conversed with him respecting the paper executed by Adam Laws(?). He says that he does not retain any distinct recollection of the paper in question, but that he knew Adam very well and saw him frequently, and thinks it highly probable that he attested such a paper. I have not yet seen John Johnson, but from what I learn of the nature of his intercourse with Adam, and his occupation (being a sort of scrivener), it is highly probable that he wrote the paper for Adam and would be able to give an account of it from memory. It would, however, be better to send the paper itself here, as both of the witnesses would no doubt recognize their attestations, and I could take their affidavits, in support of the instrument as authenticated by their signatures, if it should be deemed desirable.

I sent you, by the last mail, the Documents relating to the Panama Mission. I hope you will examine them particularly, and make your readers thoroughly acquainted with the character of this extraordinary and dangerous project. The President has attempted in his message (awkwardly enough, I think) to throw a veil over its real features, but they stand disclosed, in all their frightful deformity, in the Documents which accompany the message. You will perceive, in the correspondence between Mr. Clay and the ministers of the Spanish American states here that it is treated, on both sides, as a matter already understood and agreed, that we are to unite with them in resisting all interference from abroad with their concerns, and one object of the congress at Panama is to decide upon the means of resistance and mode of co-operation. The correspondence between Mr. Pinzont, our Minister to Mexico, and Mr. Clay, farther shows that we are already pledged, so far as the organs of our diplomatic intercourse could pledge us, to maintain the independence of these new states, and to share their fortune—to sink or swim with them. In short, the real object of the mission to Panama, however disguised, is to enter into a political partnership with these nations of yesterday, in which we are to put in all the capital, sustain all the losses, and receive none of the profits. There is not a soul in the country who would not revolt at the inequality of such a bargain. But this scheme is conceived not in stupidity, but in “vaulting ambition which overleaps itself”—It is the dazzling idea of a great American System, in opposition to the Holy Alliance of Europe, which has bewildered and seduced the imaginations of our statesmen. Before I conclude, I beg leave to suggest
a \textit{caveat} respecting my letters to you. They are written, currente calamo, in the freedom and carelessness of friendly correspondence, and neither fit nor intended for insertion in a newspaper. I must beg therefore, that you will not do them an honor, of which they are unworthy. Let me hear from you, and it will give me great pleasure to communicate with you freely at all times, subject however to the restriction above mentioned.

In haste,

Your friend very sincerely

W. C. Rives

Washington, April 22nd, 1826.

Dear Walker:—

I have, this moment, received your letter from Shepherdstown, and as you anticipated, no two objects ever had less connection in my mind, than the name of the \textit{place} at the top \& that of the \textit{person} at the bottom of the letter. I suspect, however, that the solution of the \textit{wonder} is to be found in the matrimonial projects which you communicated to me, some weeks ago, and upon which I take this occasion to offer you my hearty congratulations and sincere sympathy. It will, I doubt not, prove an auspicious event in the history of your life, from which you will hereafter date the commencement of your happiness, and the steady and useful exertion of your talents. I trust I shall soon see you in the full fruition of all the blessings of this \textit{new existence}. While I am upon this subject, I will give you my thoughts, concerning the editorial arrangement you mentioned in connection with it. I think with you that Charlottesville is an advantageous situation. In many respects, for the publication of a newspaper destined for extensive circulation, and from the proofs which you have already given of your aptitude for an undertaking of that sort, I feel every confidence that you would render it worthy of general patronage. The interest and value of a paper, edited in the interior of the country, would consist rather in the able discussion of political questions, and appropriate \textit{literary} selections and contributions, than in articles of current intelligence. The former department would be well sustained by your own pen and the auxiliaries you might well expect to enlist, in so en-

\[3\]Thomas Walker Gilmer married Anne E. Baker, daughter of Hon. John Baker, of Shepherdstown, one of the lawyers who defended Aaron Burr in his trial for treason. Baker’s wife, Anne Mark, daughter of John Mark, was on Rumsey’s steamboat when it went on its trial trip from Shepherdstown up the Potomac in 1787.
lightened a portion of the country as ours, and the vicinity of the University, and its learned inmates would afford great facilities, in conducting the latter. I resume this would be your plan; and in my opinion, a paper conducted upon such a plan would receive an extensive support. I do not know what is the present list of your subscribers, but if it be pretty considerable, the additions you might safely count upon, as the result of an enlarged plan, would, I should think, leave little doubt of the expediency of the enterprise you have in contemplation. You have calculating friends around you, however, who are competent to give you much better counsel, upon the pecuniary aspect of this subject than I can.—If you should engage in the enterprise, you may rely upon my support and assistance in every way in which I can be useful to you.—I am happy at length to announce to you that our labours for old Mr. Key have been successful, and I now send you a pension certificate for him.—The Panama question has, at last, been brought to a close. You will perceive that we succeeded in carrying the amendment proposed to the resolution of the committee of Foreign Relations, which was a decisive and glorious triumph over the administration. The amendments affirmed the propriety of adhering to that policy which the President has told us had become obsolete and inapplicable, and specifically withdrew from the scope of the mission the objects which were at the foundation of it, in its original conception and the very measures which the President had suggested as proper to be adopted at Panama. The adoption of the amendment therefore can be considered in no other light than a condemnation of the view and policy of the administration. When the question occurred on the adoption of the resolution as amended the friends and enemies of the mission both voted against it—the former because they said it restricted the constitutional discretion of the Executive, and the latter because they are unwilling to affirm the expediency of the mission (as the original resolution did) even in the modified shape which the amendments gave it. In the question on the appropriation Bill, there was a large majority in favour of it, consisting of those who approved the mission in its original latitude, and of others who, altho' they disapproved of it in the breadth of its first conception, and design, believed that the administration would be restrained from pursuing the objects they deemed objectionable, by the expression of the opinion of the House which had already taken place.—I give you this explanation of the history of our proceedings which by some, I doubt not, will be represented as a complete triumph of the administration. My views upon the whole subject you will see in my speech in the Nat. Intelligencer of this morning, which you will do me the favour to
read, and of you should not think its length very disproportionate to its value, to republish.

In great haste your friend

W. C. Rives

Castle Hill, July 20th, 1827.

Dear Glimer:

I send you the enclosed letter from J. S. Barbour as the first fruits, (and no discouraging specimen, I hope you will consider it), of my Endeavours to promote your Editorial interests. I wrote to Barbour, as knowing him & his constituents to be zealous Jacksonians, & counting too, upon a disposition ever ready & eager to promote the wishes of his friends—a quality which goes far to redeem the faults of his character, however much they have been blazoned by his enemies.—I have also written to Houston of Tennessee, commending the "Virginia Advocate" to the patronage of our western friends, & hope to receive a favorable return from him. I shall write to Archer to-day or tomorrow, & I doubt not he will warmly espouse your interests. In Nelson & Amherst, both of which counties I shall visit next month, I hope to do a good deal for you.—I have vouched for you & Davis most liberally, both for zeal & ability, & in doing yourself justice, you cannot fail to fulfil the pledges your friends have made for you. Recollect that the cause you espouse is a great & a good one, and be in earnest. "Faint heart ne'er won fair lady," or any other prize worth the conquest. Leave Mr. Ritchie to compromise as well as he can with former opinions, and to talk about the "hard alternative" of supporting Gen. Jackson; but you go onward, cheerily & zealously, in that course which, whether it be an alternative or not, is nevertheless, one which you have deliberately and honestly adopted as called for by the best interests of the country. That there is no just occasion for this affected squeamishness & hesitancy in supporting Gen. Jackson, I am myself most thoroughly satisfied.—If I do not see you, in a few days, or meet with some private conveyance, I will send you by mail one or two papers, which I think, would be available, to good purpose in your hands & will perhaps accompany them with some cursory thoughts of my own, as you requested, if I should find time.—In the meanwhile with best wishes for your 'general welfare,' as well as the particular success of your present enterprise, I am

In haste, your friend

W. C. Rives

N. B. The address of Mitchell of Tennessee, to whom you told me you wished to write, is James C. Mitchell, Athens, M'Minn County, Tennessee.
Dear Gilmer:

I send you herewith the papers alluded to in the note I wrote you, a few days ago—to wit, Gen. Jackson’s letter to Dr. Coleman, together with an abstract of some of his votes on the Tariff of 1824, and a copy of a letter addressed by him, in 1801, to Dr. Dickson, then a candidate for Congress in Tennessee. Neither of these papers has been published in the Enquirer, & the latter has not appeared, I believe, in any Southern paper, pending the late or current Presidential election.—I send you the first as containing authentic evidence that Gen. Jackson’s opinions, on the subject of the Tariff, are materially variant from those of the present administration. His principle, as you will see, is to give to our manufacturers a fair & moderate protection, which will enable them to maintain a competition, on equal terms, with those of Europe, & to extend even this measure of protection only to such articles as are connected with the defence of the country in time of war. The policy of the present administration is to impose prohibitory duties, excluding foreign competition altogether, & putting us at the mercy of the American manufacturer, both as to price & quality of the manufactured article. That this is their policy is evinced by Mr. Clay’s known opinions & repeated declarations,—by the administration influence in favour of the Woollen’s Bill of the last session of Congress, which was avowed to be a measure of exclusion,—& by their more open patronage of this measure since, which they are now using to create a factitious excitement, in regard to American industry, to inure to their benefit in the pending election, but which excitement, once gotten up under their auspices, must carry them forward to the wildest extravagances of the restrictive system. That there is a most important difference between Gen. Jackson’s doctrine, & that espoused by the administration both in the principles on which they are founded, & their practical operation on the interests of the community, will be too obvious to your mind, to require any remark from me in illustration of it.—I accompany the letter to Dr. Coleman with a sample of Gen. Jackson’s votes on the Tariff of 1824, to show how faithfully he pursued his principles in the application to the measure before him. You will find from the votes, (contrary to an allegation made & repeated in all the administration papers in this state, that he uniformly voted for the highest rates of duties proposed in 1824), that, in several instances, he contributed by his vote to lower the duties imposed by the Bill, which came from the House of Representatives, on several descriptions of manufactures, of the most general use & greatest importance. In no instance, did he vote for an extravagant or prohibitory duty. In some instances, he voted for a liberal duty; but
whenever he did so, his vote was to be traced to the influence of his leading principle, which was to give particular encouragement to such articles as are connected with the defense of the country in time of war. Hence he voted for liberal, tho' not extravagant duties, on Iron, Hemp, & blankets; the two former being chief ingredients in the building and equipment of vessels of war and the latter, essential to the health & comfort of the defenders of their country in the field. In relation to the latter, indeed, Gen. Jackson has often said that his observation of the sufferings of our soldiers, during the late war, for the want of this necessary defence against the inclemency of the weather was the circumstance, which first awakened his mind to the importance of encouraging the growth of manufactures in our own country.

Whether in the present state of the Presidential canvass, & in reference to the political manoeuvres now played off upon the people of Pennsylvania, it will be expedient to bring out these views in full relief, is somewhat doubtful, & is, of course, submitted to your discretion, as it may be enlightened & directed by the course of events. My particular purpose at present, is to satisfy you that, for the interest of the Southern States as connected with this great national question, there ought to be no hesitation in warmly advocating the election of Gen. Jackson against the present incumbents, & to enable you, if these views should produce the same impression on your mind that they do on mine, to use them, (in conversation, at least, with our own citizens), to justify your support of Jackson, & to recommend him to their support.— I am not sure, indeed, but that there may yet be a struggle in Virginia, in which case, I should hope, these views would be decisive in fixing the public choice for Jackson, & ought to be fully developed. In my opinion, there is no fear of the defection of Pennsylvania. Her feelings & affections are for Jackson, & she will listen to no arguments, about the "American System," to inspire distrust of her favorite. We ought, therefore, perhaps, to look chiefly at home, & take care of old Virginia. There is a common ground on which Pennsylvania & Virginia may well meet, in the support of Jackson, without any abandonment of their respective principles. Pennsylvania may support him, because he has shown himself, both in theory & practice, to be in favor of protecting domestic manufactures, to an extent with which she is satisfied, & Virginians, because that extent, altho' greater than she approves, is yet far short of the extravagant & oppressive lengths to which the present administration is inclined to go.

I send you the copy of Gen. Jackson's letter to Dr. Dickson as a most interesting memorial of his thorough republican principles, in times which tested the real, political characters of men more than any other, which have arisen since the foundation of our present form
of government. It was written shortly after the election of Mr. Jefferson, when parties had not lost the impulse, which carried them thro' the great struggle that had just then terminated, & were yet discriminated from each other by those broad constitutional lines, which must ever characterise any legitimate division of parties in this country. We see that Gen. Jackson was then a most orthodox & thorough-faced republican of the Jefferson School. He catechises his correspondent on every prominent article of the creed, manifesting his thorough belief in, & ardent attachment to them, & making the ascent of his friend to the same doctrines the sine qua non of his political support. He thus declares his attachment to the rights of the states, & to a strict construction of the federal constitution, as contradistinguished from the dangerous practice of deriving powers by loose implication—He is opposed to foreign political connections—to an extension of executive patronage, & to a system of loans, involving a perpetuation of the public debt, & is friendly to economy in the public disbursements; & to show how completely initiated he was in the Jefferson School, he calls upon his friend to abjure a navy & standing army, then a leading article of the republican creed, tho' since qualified, if not abandoned. Now is it possible that a man of Gen. Jackson's stability, as well as ardour of character, once so thoroughly imbued with these principles, can have altogether renounced them? I believe not. We all look back to the administration of Mr. Jefferson as the golden age of the republic, & would eagerly catch at the faintest prospect of restoring it, & bringing back the maxims of his policy. Here we have them all from the pen, & I should hope, from the heart of Gen. Jackson; & that the observance of them was never more called for, than at present, is, I believe, generally admitted, in Virginia, at least. If economy in the public disbursements, respect for the rights of the states & aversion to foreign political connections, to the extension of executive patronage, & to the continuance of the public debt, had had any influence on the management of our public affairs for the last two years, how many errors & abuses of the present administration, from the Panama mission down to the John A. King's outfit, thro' a series of blundering & mischievous measures too tedious to enumerate, would have been spared to the country.—

I know that it will be said by some that a period of twenty six years is long enough for Gen. Jackson to have lost his attachment to, if not his recollection of, the principles contained in his letter to Dr. Dickson, and that that letter is no satisfactory evidence of his present sentiments. It is not conclusive, I know, but the fair presumption is that his opinions have undergone no change; which presumption should stand, 'till destroyed by contrary proof. I know that he professes still
to be a Jeffersonian republican, & to have a thorough & deep felt attachment to the rights of the States. I am apprised of no instance in which it can be alleged that he entertains different views of the rights of the States from those held by the republicans of Virginia, unless it be on the subject of Internal Improvements, in relation to which, it is understood, that he is of the opinion that Congress may, by virtue of a power of discretionary appropriations for objects connected with the common defence & general welfare, apply the public funds to great national improvements, with the consent of the States in which they may be located—a doctrine differing most materially, in its principles & practical consequences, from the paramount & sovereign claim of power asserted by the administration.

I am sanguine in the belief that the election of Gen. Jackson will be followed by a radical change of public measures. The great mischiefs of the present administration are resolvable chiefly into a prodigal and unprincipled expenditure of public money, with a view to influence, & a rage for diplomacy, growing out of the habits, education, & tortuous policy of the cabinet.— The first is seen in the needless expense of our foreign intercourse, the number of our ministers abroad, the outfit allowed to John A. King, & the one asked for, but refused by Congress, for Mr. Poinsett, the money squandered in surveys, & the great increase of every class of contingent expenses, for which see Gen. Alex. Smyth's address to the people of his district published last spring, in the Enquirer.— The rage for diplomacy & international connections is exhibited in the Panama mission, & the gross mismanagement of the West-India Trade, which has been demonstrably lost to us by an interested & unwarrantable interference with the functions of the legislative department, which was jealously viewed as an official rival, encroaching on the prerogatives, & impairing the consequence, of the Executive department. I have time only to suggest these hints which, in your elastic hands, may be developed with great effect I think. There is every ground of moral assurance that Gen. Jackson would steer clear of these capital & dangerous errors. Being brought into office, if at all, by the unbought suffrages of the people, & intending, in all probability to retire at the expiration of the first term, he would have no motive to encourage prodigality in the public disbursements as a resource of influence & corruption. On the contrary, we may confidently expect from what Mr. Jefferson so happily calls the "salutary energies" of his character, a vigorous correction of these abuses.— There is no reason to apprehend, from his education, his habits, or any inclination he has ever manifested that an overweening fondness for diplomacy would betray him into foreign connections or induce him to impede, by his influence, the fair & regular action of the legislative branch of
the government. On the contrary, has he not always shown a preference for a direct, plain-sailing method of doing business, much more congenial with the open & undisguised proceedings of legislative bodies, than the tortuous expedients & secret wiles of diplomatic agency? Has it ever occurred to you to review the composition of our past administrations, in reference to the admixture of diplomatic ingredients, & with a view to form an opinion of the wholesomeness of such ingredients.— There was but one member of the administrations of Gen. Washington, of Mr. Jefferson, & of Mr. Madison, who had been a foreign minister, & these are now universally regarded as the most prosperous & wisest administrations we have ever had. Mr. Monroe had three ministers including himself, in his cabinet, & the present chief magistrate, in like manner, has three. I am anxious to see the experiment made of an administration without any diplomatic infusion, & Gen. Jackson, I think will if elected President, make it for us.—

Another consideration which strongly recommends Gen. Jackson to me is a circumstance to which I have already alluded—that he will, in all probability, retire from the Presidency at the expiration of the first term. The moral influence of such an example is, in my opinion, a most important desideratum. As long as our Presidents are candidates for re-election, the first official term will, (as we now see it), be exclusively employed in expedients of management & electioneering to secure the enjoyment of another term. Mr. Jefferson considered ineligibility of the President so important a principle that he advised his friends in the Virginia convention not to ratify the constitution 'till they had secured it by a previous amendment. It is now in vain to hope for the incorporation of this, or any other principle, however salutary, by the contingency, (next to an impossibility) of the concurrance of eighteen out of 24 States, in its favour. All that can be done is to obtain the influence of some high example, sanctioned & enforced by the plaudits of the nation. The opinions of Gen. Jackson's intimate personal friends, & the advanced age at which he will attain the presidency, if at all, render the adoption of this course by him more than probable.— If, however, Adams should be re-elected Clay will succeed as a matter of course, & unfettered by any such bargain, as he made with Adams, to give place to another, he will be enabled by the tremendous & accumulating patronage of the executive to procure his re-election indefinitely, during his own life, & according to his own doctrine of the "safe precedent," virtually to nominate his successor thro' the medium of appointing his Secretary of State.—

As to the individual character of Gen. Jackson, it affords us the best security for a sound administration of the government. He is honest, all admit, and incapable of holding communion with any who
are not also honest—he is distinguished for firmness, and a “salutary energy” of character, so necessary for the corrections of the multiplied abuses which are now screened & sheltered in the recesses of the government. Altho’ not what Mr. Clay might call a “practical statesman,” he has a solid foundation of good sense & sound judgment, which, to all the purposes of a wise & practical administration of our affairs, are of more worth than all the diplomatic training of Mr. Adams, the stump oratory of Mr. Clay, the “empty barrel” eloquence of Gov. Barbour or the poetical finances of Mr. Burck, adorned more with figures of rhetoric, than enforced & illustrated by figures of arithmetic; & his deficiencies of information, in those departments of the public service with which he may not have been heretofore conversant, will be amply supplied by the appropriate qualifications with which that discernment of character, for which he has always been remarkable, will enable him to fill each subordinate station under him.

I have thus, at your request, thrown out some rude hints as to the grounds on which I think Jackson ought to be supported, in which, if you concur with me, I hope you will extend and develop them in your paper with the advantage, I know they will derive from your workmanship.— The papers herewith sent, are in like manner, submitted to your discretion.— If you come out for Jackson, as, I presume, you have determined to do, I hope you will do so zealously & decidedly, so as to leave your friends no room to doubt your sincerity, or your adversaries to taunt you, as the Editors of the Nat. Intelligencer have done Mr. Ritchie, with the “hard alternative,” to which you are reduced. At the same time, that I recommend zeal & decision, I should hope that you would never permit the one to degenerate into intemperance, or the other into mere wilfulness. While I would maintain every discussion into which I might be drawn, with becoming energy & spirit, I would treat my adversaries with all the courtesy, which might be compatible with the justice due to myself, & my cause, carefully abstaining from all unnecessary personality or wanton vituperation as unworthy the dignity, & fatal to the influence of my paper.— I will not disguise from you that I entertain myself, & have raised in others, high expectations of your Editorial character. An honorable career is open before you. Your paper, if conducted as, I doubt not, it will be, will give ediat d’illustration to the place where it is published, will, in diffusing just views of public men and measures promote the lasting interests of the country at large, & by both titles, will insure you an ample reward in growing reputation & growing fortune. You have everything to animate & incite you—patriotism, pride, interest, ambition, & a still higher motive, which is to be found in the honest & conscientious support of every good cause. Renewing to you my ar-
dent wishes for your success, & the tender of my services in whatever way they may be useful to you. I hope you will excuse whatever freedom or carelessness, a spirit of sincere friendship may have introduced into these remarks, & believe me to very cordially,


(To be continued.)

PETITION OF MASON L. WEEMS.

If popularity is a proof of literary excellence, then Virginia produced the greatest literateur of any age. He was born in Maryland, but received his inspiration as rector of Pohick Church, Truro Parish, at which Washington worshipped. About 1790 necessities of his family obliged him to resign his charge and he became a book agent for Matthew Cary, the Philadelphia publisher. Aspiring to be an author he wrote the Life of his former Parishioner, George Washington, in which the anecdote of the hatchet appears. The book went through many editions and was more widely read than any dozen other biographies of prominent persons. Mr. Weems wrote other biographies—"Life of General Francis Marion," "Life of Benjamin Franklin," and "Life of William Penn."

Besides being a successful author Mr. Weems was one of the pioneers in the cause of Temperance. Of his temperance tracts Bishop Meade says in his "Old Churches and Families of Virginia." "There are passages of deep pathos and great eloquence in them." He long anticipated modern Prohibition. Mr. Weems had much of the energy and push of the modern "commercial traveller" and the following is a copy of a paper presented by him to the General Assembly of Virginia, in which he tried to promote the sale of his books by a proposition to build bridges
over certain dangerous streams blocking the way from Fredericks-
burg to Dumfries, in Prince William Co.

To the Hon.ble the Speaker and Gentlemen of the house of Delegates.
The petition of Mason L. Weems, humbly sheweth,

That the delay of the Mall, and the great risques which often
alarm and which sometimes have actually destroyed the lives and
property of Travellers on the post road from Fredericksburg to Dum-
fries, for want of bridges over the deep and rapid runs of Potomak
and Aquia, are to be considered as great public evils; and that your
petitioner having on hand a considerable quantity of the most valuable
books, the circulation of which he conceives will greatly redound to the
public benefit, is very willing, with your gracious permission, to un-
dertake a lottery for the disposal of books which he will furnish to the
fortunate adventurers in said lottery, at the Philadelphia retail prices,
and from the profits of which books thus vended, he will contribute
one thousand dollars for the purpose of erecting over the aforesaid dan-
gerous runs of Potomak & Aquia, two strong and sufficient bridges, of
season'd Oak frames well tar'd and secured from the inclemencies of
the Weather. Your petitioner therefore humbly prayeth that an act
may pass to authorize such a lottery and to appoint Commissioners to
raise by lottery the sum of one thousand dollars, for the purpose of
building the aforesaid bridges, and your Petitioner will as in duty
bound pray &c &c &c &c

Mason L. Weems

The fate of the Petition is indicated by the Endorsement on
the back: Weems' Petition, December 16, 1797. Propo. reported,
rejected.
THE EAST INDIA SCHOOL PLANNED FOR CHARLES CITY.

By H. Carrington Lancaster.

The Historical Manuscripts Commission of Great Britain\(^1\) cites among the documents in the possession of the Duke of Northumberland at Alnwick Castle a broad sheet, printed at London in 1622 by Felix Kyngston and entitled "A declaration how the monies were disposed which were gathered at the Cape of Good Hope of the gentlemen and mariners in the said ship, a list of whose names are under specified." This money was collected by the Rev. Patrick Copland, chaplain of the Royal James, for the establishment of a free school at Charles City, Virginia; and amounted to 70 l., 8 s., 6 d. According to the Report, "the sums contributed by each person are severally specified. The highest amount is 6 l., 13 s., 4 d. by Captain Martin Pring and so decreasing to 1 shilling." 30 l., subsequently contributed by an unknown person, brought the total up to 100 l., 8 s., 6 d., which was paid to Henry Earl of Southampton for the Virginia Company at their quarter court held Nov. 21, 1621.

The document which was afterwards printed as the broad sheet is referred to as follows in the minutes of the Virginia Company\(^2\) for October 30 1621: "The said comittee meetinge this afternoone to treat with Mr. Copland touchinge the dispose of the money given by some of the East Indie Companie that came with him in the Royall James, to be bestowed upon some good worke for the benefit of the plantacon in Virginia; the said Mr. Copland beinge now present did deliver in a note the names of those that had freely and willingly contributed their moneyes hereunto, wherewith said moneyes Mr. Copland said they desired might be employed towards the buildinge either of a churche or schoole in Virginia, which the Companie should think fitt."

Neill, who is apparently not aware of the broad sheet, gives further details from the company's minutes\(^3\) about the school,

\(^{1}\)Third Report, 1872, p. 66.
\(^{3}\)Pp. 251-256, 259, 309, 333, 374.
which was to have been preparatory to Henrico College. One thousand acres of land at Charles City were set aside for the school and carpenters for it were sent over. After experiencing some difficulty in securing an usher, the Company decided to leave this appointment to the officers of the colony, who were in full sympathy with the undertaking. The last reference to the school in the minutes was in June, 1625. Neill concludes that the school was probably never erected. Yet the interest shown in such an endeavor gives evidence of an enlightened and progressive spirit among those who were prominent in the early affairs of the colony.

HARDY COUNTY IN WEST VIRGINIA.

The Wappocomo, or South Branch of the Potomac, flows through Hampshire and Hardy Counties, rendering them very fertile. After the death of Samuel Hardy, President of the Continental Congress, in 1785, the General Assembly formed the Southern part of Hampshire County into a new county and called it Hardy in his honor. Moorefield, established by act of the Virginia Assembly in October, 1777, is the county seat. Petersburg is a thriving town.

In this county there are several curiosities of nature worth mentioning—the "Regurgitary Spring" on the summit of a high mountain, the "Lost River," and the "Devil's Garden." Marking the Southern point of the western boundary between Maryland and Virginia is the Fairfax Stone.

Notes from the Records at Moorefield.

Indenture, dated Feb. 1, 1794, & recorded in Hardy County, Va., at a Superior Court held for the District comprised of the Counties of Hardy, Hampshire and Pendleton, 5 Sept. 1797: Between Denny Martin Fairfax, of Leeds Castle, in the County of Kent, Kingdom of Great Britain, Doctor in Divinity, heretofore
called Denny Martin, Clerk, devisee in fee of (inter alia) the premises mentioned and intended to be hereby granted, in and under the last will & Testament of Thomas, Lord Fairfax, deced., of the one part, and John Marshall of the City of Richmond, in the State of Virginia of the other part, in consideration of Six Thousand pounds of Lawful British Money, except, nevertheless, out of this present grant unto the said Denny Martin Fairfax & his heirs all & every such tract, &c., late of the said Thomas, Lord Fairfax in Virginia, as aforesaid, as are not comprised in the bounds of the said "Manor of South Branch," and also save and except to all & every grantees and lessees of all or any and every part of the premises hereby granted &c, whether in the lifetime of said Thomas, Lord Fairfax, or at any time since &c; to have & to hold &c forever & free and clear of incumbrance, except as aforesaid & also except & subject &c to the payment of three several annuities of one hundred pounds a year each, given by a codicil to the will of said Thomas, Lord Fairfax, to the second, third and fourth children of Bryan Fairfax, Esq., for their respective lives, as the same shall respectively commence and become payable by the said will. to such children, from time to time, upon the several &c deceases of Frances Martin, Sybella Martin and Anna Susanna Martin, the three sisters of said Denny Martin Fairfax—the said Denny Martin Fairfax agreeing to indemnify the said John Marshall—all that the Manor of the South Branch, being part of the Northern Neck of Virginia, being two tracts, and by one survey 5450 acres more or less &c. made by James Gunn 31 March, 1747, and in and by a survey of the other part thereof, containing 1550 acres &c. made on or about 7 April, 1748. & here-tofore granted by Thomas Lord Fairfax, deceased, to Thomas Bryan Martin, & by him reconveyed to Thomas Lord Fairfax, and constituted and commonly called &c by the name of the "South Branch Manor," lying and being in the counties of Hampshire and Hardy &c. and also all manorial rights &c, &c, and the said hereby granted premises of and from the payment of said annuities, but said John Marshall agrees from and after the first and other successive deceases of said F. M., S. M. and A. S. M.,
to pay to the children of said Bryan Fairfax the said 3 several annuities of 100 £ each.

Signed—
D. Martin Fairfax
John Marshall by his atto in fact
James M. Marshall

Sealed & delivered by the above Denny Martin Fairfax and James Markham Marshall, as atty of the above named John Marshall, in the presence of Thomas Gregory, John Barnes, John Jones, all of Clifford's Inn, London.

Endorsements.
1. Certificate that this deed was resealed and delivered in the presence of the witnesses
2. Receipt by Denny Martin Fairfax for 6000 pds from John Marshall by his attorney in fact James Markham Marshall, Feb 1, 1797.
3. Certificate that this deed was signed &c by D. M. F., and John Marshall, by his attorney J. M. M. and by the witnesses. Sworn at the Mansion Home, London this 4th Febr., 1797 before Brook Watson, Esq.
4. Certificate of Brook Watson, Esq., Lord Mayor of the City of London, authenticating under the seal of his office that Thomas Gregory, John Barnes and George Jones did make affidavit as above 4 Febr., 1797.

Deed from George Hite, of the County, of Monongalia, in the State of Virginia, by Peter Donan, his attorney in fact, to John Welton land in Hardy County granted to George Hite by Matthew Hite and wife Dated Oct 7, 1793, and recorded 7 Sept. 1797.

Deed from Matthew Hite to Henry Pringle, granted to Hite by Lord Fairfax in 1773.

Deed of Abraham Hite and Rebecca his wife of the County of Hardy, Va. to Daniel McNeill. April 2, 1787.

Deed from John Mitler to Caspar Hite, both of Hardy County. 30 Jany 1790.
WILLS.


Daniel McNeill. Dated 17 June, 1806, proved 9th July, 1806. Names wife Elizabeth. To son Daniel all the land I purchased of Abraham Hite; daughter Sidney and her husband Peter Donnan; sons John, Strother, Rees and Benjamin McNeill; devise to Sarah and Charles Sternbergen; son Corbin McNeill; grandsons Peter Hall and Daniel McNeill.

Garrett Van Meter. Proved 7 July, 1788. Names wife Ann; to son Isaac half the tract on which I now dwell; to son Jacob the other half; to daughter Anne Seymour such a sum of money as added to what I have paid to Abel Seymour shall make 600 pounds. His stills and still houses to stand where they now stand, and the profits to be divided between my two sons &c.

James Claypole. Will proved Dec. 17, 1789. Names Jean McKees, daughter of son William Claypole and children of James, John, Joseph, George, Jesse, Mary Smith, Betty Ozborn and Sarah Viney.


List of Wills, Inventories &c. 1786-1811.

Will, Adam Coachman,—Recorded 17 Mch, 1781
Will, Leonard Hire, 7 April, 1783—16 June, 1786
Estate of Bryan Money Appraiment—15 Sept., 1786.
Will, David Hogue, 6 April, 1786—13 Oct., 1786
Will, James Denton, November 6, 1782—9 April, 1787
Estate of George Louther, App’t.—2 Oct., 1786.
Estate of Louis Green, App’t.—10 April, 1787
Estate of Richard Sikins, Appt.—10 April, 1787
Estate William Darling, Appt.—10 April, 1787
Estate Jacob Rodes, Appt.—10 June, 1787
Estate Jane Denton, Appt.—10 June, 1787
Will, Jacob Miller, 15 April, 1787—June, 1787
Will Peter Casey, 24 Jan'y., 1787—9 July, 1787.
Estate of Jacob Miller Appt. 19 June, 1787—9 July, 1787
Estate Anthony Hornbach, Appt. 28 Sept., 1787—8 Oct., 1787
Estate Adam Coachman—8 Oct., 1787
Estate Mary Green—7 Jan'y, 1788
Estate Michael Redesleeves—7 April, 1787
Estate Peter Casey—9 June, 1788
Will, Garrett Van Meter—7 July, 1788
Will, John Westfall, 9 Feb., 1789—13 April, 1789
Estate Garrett Van Meter—13 April, 1789
Estate Hearman Shook—8 Mar., 1789
Estate Adam Hider—8 June, 1789
Will, George Yoakum, 19 Augt., 1787—13' April, 1789
Est. John Westfall, Appt.—13 July, 1789
Will, James Claypole, 7 Sept., 1788—17 Dec., 1789
Est. Adam Hiden, 8 Feb., 1790
Est. George Yoakum.—8 Feb., 1790
Will, Alexander Dougan, 25 March, 1790—12 April, 1790
" Benjamin Scott, 31 May, 1788—13 Sept. 1790
" Robert Bean, 19 Nov., 1790—7 Feb., 1791
" David Harmon, 22 March, 1791—11 April, 1791
" Susan Hughes, 8 March, 1784—11 April, 1791
" Ramsey McGee, 22 Augt., 1791—16 Oct., 1791
" Martin Shobe, 16 May, 1792—July, 1792
" Able Randall, 28 April, 1792—10 Sept., 1792
" James Doogan, 11 August, 1792—Oct., 1792
" Henry Myars, 7 March, 1793—8 April, 1793
" Wm. Baker.—10 June, 1793
" Janna Maria Hire, 16 Nov., 1790—
" Jacob House, of Pendleton Co. 14 Feb., 1790
" James Christie, 30 Mch., 1795—15 Apl., 1795
" Catherine Stump, 4 Dec., 1783
Morris Thomas, 13 Feb., 1787—13 Jan., 1796
Joshua Strickler, 10 July, 1796—19 July, 1796
Jacob Doll, 5 Oct., 1798—12 Dec., 1798
Henry Lancisco, 6 Sept., 1799—9 Oct., 1799
Joseph McNamara, 1 Jan., 1800—12 Feb., 1800
Catherine Pancake 21 Sept., 1795—15 Jan., 1800
Conrad Moore, 21 Dec., 1799—9 April, 1800
Joseph Cohonona, 9 April, 1800
James Morrow, 5 April, 1800—16 Oct., 1800
Thomas Wheelen, 2 Sept., 1800—15 Oct., 1800
James Davis, 12 Nov., 1800—19 July, 1801
William Wilson, 25 May, 1794—9 Sept., 1801
Margaret Sellers, 30 Augt., 1797—15 April, 1801
Robert Cunningham, 9 Feb., 1801—14 April, 1802
James Hughes, 31 January, 1802—14 July, 1802
John Shepperd, 7 Jan., 1798—15 Sept., 1802
Vincent Williams, Jr., 7 May, 1802—15 Sept., 1802
David Tenebough—11 Feb., 1801
Nicholas Mace, 21 June, 1803—15 Feb., 1804
George Simon, 29 Nov., 1802—11 April, 1804
Jacob Borer, 7 May, 1804—11 July, 1804
Peter Shrout, 21 Sept., 1804—12 Dec., 1804
John Scott, 7 Sept., 1805—9 Oct., 1805
Ann Van Meter, 12 April, 1805—12 Dec., 1805
David Miles—15 Jan., 1806
Rebekah Van Meter, 20 Jan., 1803—12 Feb., 1806
Daniel McNeil, 17 June, 1806—9 July, 1806
Moses Hutton, 18 May, 1805—9 July, 1806
Adam Radaungh, 6 Augs., 1803—10 Sept., 1806
Paul Hoggarty, 15 May, 1804—11 Dec., 1805
Hathaway Linton, 21 Sept., 1806—10 Dec., 1806
John Reynolds, 8 Dec., 1806—11 Feb., 1807
Daniel Hill, 22 June, 1791—13 May, 1807
William Renick, 13 April, 1797—15 July, 1807
Philippe Powle Yokem, 15 Oct., 1807—9 Dec., 1807
Abraham Clarke, 4 April, 1803—13 April, 1808
John Young, 9 Feb., 1801—13 April, 1808
"Jacob Christman, 30 Dec., 1807—10 May, 1809
"John McNeill, 28 March, 1806—16 Mech., 1809
"James McNeill, 7 Sept., 1809—14 Feb., 1810
"Lennard Walton, 31 March, 1805—11 Jany., 1809
"Alexander Simpson, 29 Jany., 1809—15 Feb., 1809
"John Devault, 21 April, 1809—13 Sept., 1809
"William Turner, 27 Oct., 1809—14 Feb., 1810
"John Wollard, 15 Augt., 1809—10 Jany., 1810
"Samuel Baker, 10 June, 1809—13 Sept., 1809
"Lionel Branson, 25 April, 1809—10 April 1810
"John Harness, 25 July, 1806—12 June, 1810
"Henry Frye, 12 April, 1811—11 June, 1811
"Felix Doran, 16 Nov., 1805—11 Dec., 1810
"George Lee,—11 June, 1811
"Ann Cahoon, 9 June, 1798—10 April, 1810

Justices.

In back of one of the Record books is the following:
"A list of the magistrates in the county of Hardy, as they stand in the Register in the Council:

Joseph Neville
Felix Seymour
Vincent Williams, 15 Dec., 1785
Isaac Van Meter, 27 June, 1787
Abel Seymour, 27 June, 1787
David Welton, 27 June, 1787
Richard Seymour, 27 Sept., 1788
William Cunningham, 27 Sept., 1788
Lionel Branson, 24 Oct., 1790
William Heath, 18 June, 1792
George Harness, 18 June, 1792
Christian Simon, 9 April, 1796
James Machir, 9 Augt., 1797
Adam Fischer, 9 Augt., 1797
James Seymour, 25 June, 1803
Abraham Shobe, 25 June, 1803
John Craigon, April Court, 1806
Jacob Claypole, April Court, 1806
Hampshire County

Jacob Miller, Sworn March, 1808
Jones Green, Sworn August, 1812
John Hopewell, Sworn 1816
John Branson, Sworn 1815
Jos. Williams, Sworn 1816

Hampshire County.

When Virginia was despoiled by Lincoln of her territory through the creation of West Virginia, four counties especially Virginian, in that they were largely settled by people from the Shenandoah Valley and the old settled parts of the States were detached and lost to the Commonwealth. These were Berkeley and Jefferson, at the lower end of the Shenandoah Valley, and Hampshire and Hardy Counties, occupying the Valley of the South Branch of the Potomac.

In 1753, an Act was passed by the Virginia Legislature, adding to Frederick County all that part of the County of Augusta lying within the Northern Neck, in the domain of Lord Thomas Fairfax, Baron of Cameron, and by the same Act Frederick County thus enlarged was divided into two Counties—one retaining the name of Frederick, lying on the east of the Great North or Cape Capon Mountains, and the other called Hampshire, lying on the west of said mountains and extending to the Potomac River (Hening, States at Large, VI., pp. 376-379). In 1762 the town of Romney, which had been laid out in half acre lots for a town by Lord Thomas Fairfax, was given public sanction by the Legislature.

In this county there are several curiosities of nature, which are worth naming—the Ice Mountain, Caudy’s Castle, the Tea Table and the Hanging Rocks.

Some Notes from the Records in the Clerk’s office at Romney.

Deed Books.

Deed Book I. Gabriel Jones, Clerk.

John Hite & Sarah, his wife, of Frederick Co., to Simon Taylor, of same. April 8, 1767.
Major Abraham Hite, of Hampshire Co., to James Keith, of Frederick, November 9, 1762.
Gabriel Jones, & Margaret, his wife, of Augusta Co., to George Hoge, December 10, 1757.
John Ramsay, of Hampshire Co., to William Ramsay, of the town of Alexandria, in the County of Fairfax.
Thomas Cresap, of the County of Frederick in Maryland, to William Young, lease of 337 acres in Hampshire.

Deed Book II. 1767-1771.
Robert Denton & Jane, his wife, to Jacob Denton, all of Hampshire, Nov. 7, 1768.
Henry Van Meter, of Hampshire Co., to Conrad Hoffman and Samuel Dew, June 8, 1767.

Deed Book IV. 1773-1778.
Jeremiah Curle and Mary, his wife, of Hampshire Co., to Morris Thomas, of same place, 12 Augt., 1777.
Thomas Cresap, of Washington County, in Maryland, Esquire, to Jacob Slagle, of Hampshire Co., in Va., 8 Aug., 1777.
Daniel Cresap and Ruth, his wife, of Washington County, Md., to Peter Haines, son of Joseph Haines, of Hampshire Co., Va., 10 June, 1777.

Deed Book V, 1778-1781.
Thomas Cresap and Margaret, his wife, of Washington County, Md., to Michael Cresap, of Hampshire Co., Va., 11 Dec., 1779.
Abraham Hite & Rebecca, his wife, of Hampshire, to John Hight, of Hampshire, May 9, 1781.
Leases of Lord Thomas Fairfax to Tarpley Taylor, of Hampshire, Augt. 1, 1778, to Abraham Hite, March, 1779; to Robert Maxwell to have and to hold to said Robert Maxwell, Deborah Maxwell and Elizabeth Maxwell, his daughters, and the longest liver of them. March 9, 1779; to Robert Clark, for his natural life and the lives of his sons, Wm. Clark and Robert Clark, Jr., March 9, 1779; to John Robertson of Hampshire, March 9, 1779; to Jacob Van Meter, 1779.
Simon Cochran, soldier in Capt. Berry's Company of the 9th Virginia Regiment, is hereby discharged from the same, he having served three years, the term of time he first engaged to serve. Given under my hand at Fort Pitt, Octob. 28, 1780.

Jno. Gibson, Col.

To all to Whom it May Concern:

At a Court held for Hampshire County, the 13th day of March, 1781, this instrument of writing was presented in Court by Simon Cochran, and on his motion ordered to be recorded. Teste, Gabriel Jones, Cl. Cur.

DEED BOOK VI. 1782-1785.

Never wilfully intending to injure any of my neighbors, I do declare that I never intended to brand Col. Michael Cresap with a crime in anything I said, and willingly exculpate him from any such intention in the matter now in dispute between us. Given under my hand this 13th day of August, 1782.

Jeremiah Burroughs.

Test: John Prunty.

Thomas Cresap, of the County of Washington, Md., for love and affection to Michael Cresap, son of Michael Cresap and grandson of said Thomas, 400 acres in Hampshire County, Va., near Skipton, granted to said Thomas by Lord Fairfax, and 400 acres purchased of Col. George Fairfax, reserving unto Michael Cresap, son of Daniel, fifty acres that he purchased of Michael Cresap, son of said Thomas. 12 June, 1784.

DEED BOOK VII. 1785-1790.

I do with the advice of the council hereby certify that Jemima Howell, widow of George Howell, who was a private in the service of the United States, is entitled to the sum of ten pounds yearly, to commence upon the first day of Jany., 1787. Given under my hand as Governor of the Common-
wealth of Virginia at Richmond this 25th day of January, 1787.

Edmund Randolph.

Ordered to be recorded
Sept. 13, 1787. Andrew Woodrow, Clerk.

Abraham Hite & Rebecca, his wife, of Hardy County, to Ezekiel Smalley, 31 March, 1787.
Andrew Woodrow & Mary Anne, his wife, to Joseph Curzen, Dec. 11, 1788.

Deed Book VIII.
John Lewis, of Hampshire, to William Barber Lewis, power of attorney, March 1, 1790.

Deed Book IX. 1792-1794.
Rev. Denny Fairfax, lately called Denny Martin, of Leeds Castle, County of Kent, Kingdom of England, devisee and legatee under the will of his uncle, the Right Hon. Thomas Lord Fairfax, deceased, Baron of Cameron & proprietor of the Northern Neck of Virginia, to William Hillery, of Hampshire County, by his brother Thomas Bryan Martin. August 25, 1792.

Deed Book X. 1795-1797.
James Tarpley and Elizabeth, his wife, of Mason County, Kentucky, appoint John Jeremiah Jacob, of Hampshire County, Virginia, to convey a tract of land in Hampshire, April 3, 1794. Witnessed by Michael Cresap, James Cresap, Thomas Cresap.
Abraham Hite and Joseph Hite of Jefferson County, Kentucky, surviving exors. of Abraham Hite, deceased, power to Vincent Williams to release a mortgage given by Daniel McNeill, of the County of Hardy, and to execute deeds to Isaac and Joseph Van Meter, of Hardy County, for certain lands sold them by conveyances, dated October, 1796. March, 1797.

Warden Pope, Clerk of said Jefferson County.
Hampshire County

Wills.

Simon Taylor, dated 10 May, 1784, proved 14 March, 1786. Witnesses, Absolom Hammond, Austin Smith Reeve, Simon Fields, Henry Carter, Simon Taylor, son of George Taylor. "Being an old man and weak of body, but in perfect mind and memory." Names wife, Mary Taylor, gives 50 pd., current money to daughter Rebecca Lee, same sum to Elizabeth Hite Dudley, and the rest to be divided among his children John (oldest son) Simon Taylor, Mary Anne Taylor and James Taylor. To son Simon "the plantation whereon I now live." Robert Parker & son John sole executors.


Isaac Van Meter, Dated 15 Feb. 1754, proved 14 Dec., 1757. "Of the South Branch of the Potomac." Wife Annah, Children Henry, Jacob, Garrett, Sarah Rickman, Catherine, Rebecca Hite and Hellita Van Meter.


Thomas Lawson, Recorded Sept. 15, 1795. Wife Hannah, eldest daughter Catherine, sons James, William, Jacob, Thomas and John, daughters Mary Johnson, Jane Johnson, Annie Lawson, Elizabeth Comer, Sarah Williams, Hannah McMillan, Margaret Lawson, Fanny Lawson, John Taylor, Jr., and John Newman executors.

Ann Van Meter X her mark. Dated 12 April, 1805, proved 12 December, 1806. "It has pleased God to grant my children a competency." Daughter Anne Seymour to have my wearing apparel, bed and furniture & silver table spoons. All the rest of my estate I give to my grand children, the sons and daughters of my son John, to be equally divided between them, excepting my silver tea spoons, which I give to my grand daughter Ann Sibley. Sons Isaac and Jacob Van Meter and Abel Seymour executors.
TYLER-MONROE-GRAYSON-BOTTS.

The records of Westmoreland Co. show that Charles Tyler was living there as early as 1690. February 26, 1723, Jane Tyler and Charles Tyler, executors of Charles Tyler, deceased, returned into Court a supplementary inventory of Charles Tyler's estate. On March 25, 1724, there was an order to divide the estate bequeathed to his son William and his wife Jane. On Feb. 25, 1730, Benjamin and Joseph Tyler, "two of the sons of Charles Tyler, deced.,” of Westmoreland County, petitioned to be possessed of their parts or portions of their Father, Charles Tyler's Estate, against William Woffendall who married the widow Jane.

The will of Joseph Tyler, dated December 23, 1737, proved January 31, 1737-38, names brothers Benjamin and William Tyler, sister Christian Monroe, Cousins Elenor Monroe, Sarah Monroe, Spence Monroe and Andrew Monroe; others mentioned Anne Harrison, James Lovell, Christopher Edrington, and John Edrington.

It would thus appear that Charles Tyler and Jane, his wife, had issue. 1. Charles 2. William 3. Benjamin 4. Joseph 5. Christian who married Andrew Monroe. Charles Tyler probably came from Maryland, for his son Benjamin Tyler declined to administer his brother, Joseph Tyler's Estate, because, as was stated, he resided in Maryland.

There is a family tradition, mentioned by Hayden in his Virginia Genealogies that Susannah Monroe, sister of Andrew Monroe, before mentioned, who was grandfather of President James Monroe, married (1) William Linton 2. Mr. Tyler 3. Capt. Benjamin Grayson, father of the eminent statesman William Grayson.

The records which I have seen do not afford direct proof of the matter except in the case of Benjamin Grayson, but they indirectly do so. Thus Charles Tyler, of Cameron Parish, Loudoun Co., who married Anne Moore, died there about 1768, and his

In the register kept by Rev. William Douglass of Goochland, is recorded: "November, 1752, Mrs. Grayson, Col. Monroe's sister died."
The will of his widow Anne Tyler was dated April 10, 1769, and it was proved June 13, 1769. This will names the children as John, Susanna, Anne, William, Charles, Benjamin and Spence Tyler. Charles, Benjamin and Spence were under 16 years of age. The executors were George West, John Peake and William Smith, and the witnesses were William Whiteley, John Taylor and William Moore. The will of William Moore was proved Oct. 16, 1769. Names sons James and Samuel, daughters, Sarah Littlejohn, Mary Bucklin and Anne Tyler.

The names of the children of Captain Charles Tyler strongly suggest a Monroe origin, and it may be assumed that Charles Tyler, son of Charles Tyler of Westmoreland County, married Susanna Monroe and was the father of Captain Charles Tyler of Cameron Parish, Loudoun County, and also of John Tyler of Prince William County.

Of the children of Capt. Charles Tyler, John lived in Loudoun and married Miss Muschett, of Maryland. Edmund A. Tyler, of Aldie, Loudon County, and Miss Alice Maude Ewell (author of "A Long Time Ago," etc.) of Hickory Grove, Prince William County, descent from this John Tyler and Miss Muschett. William Tyler (born Dec. 27, 1747) went to Kentucky, and so did his brother Charles. Ben went to North Carolina. William was the ancestor of J. Z. Tyler and Benjamin Bushrod Tyler, two well known ministers of the Disciples Church (see Wm. & Mary Quarterly, XVI., p. 66). John Tyler of Prince William County, son of Susannah Monroe and Charles Tyler may have had John, estate inventoried 1792; William, will 1793; Charles, brother to William living in 1793; Sally married Francis Jackson, dead in 1781; Ben married in 1784,—all known to be in Prince William except Charles.

From Francis Jackson and Sally, his wife was descended Mardulia E. Jackson, of Virginia, who married Hon. William Hayden English, of Indiana. The Tyler Jacksons also intermarried with Howisons (Stephen and Henry). Admiral H. L. Howison, New York, Edward Tyler Howison, Philadelphia, Miss A. K. Parris and Miss Howison of Washington, Captain Andrew Jack-
son Howison of Toledo, and the late J. W. Howison of Baltimore, and Jackson who killed Ellsworth for pulling down the Confederate flag from over his hotel, in Alexandria, and was killed in turn by the Federals, were descended from Francis Jackson and Sally Tyler.

John Tyler, whose estate as above was inventoried in 1792, left a widow Margaret and children Charles, William, George and Sarah Tyler named in a deed in 1793. There was another son Nathaniel, who was a lieutenant in the Revolutionary Army, and was doubtless dead before this deed was made. William Tyler, one of the sons of John Tyler, was a member of the House of Delegates, 1803-1804, 1804-1805, 1808-09 and of the Senate 1809-10, 1810-11, 1811-12. By his wife Margaret Webb, daughter of John Webb he had nine children, the most prominent of whom was Hon. John Webb Tyler, of the Virginia Supreme Court, who died in Fauquier County in 1862. See Hayden for further details of the descendants of this John Tyler. William B. Tyler (member H. of Del. 1827-1830) and his son Capt. Robert H. Tyler (member H. of Del. 1887-1891) descended from this line.

William Tyler, the second of the supposed sons of John Tyler, made his will in Prince William County in 1793. He names his wife Sarah, and daughter Nellie Middleton, son-in-law George Tilleth, grand daughter Sallie Tilleth, Sister Sallie Manuel, brother Charles and his daughters Nancy and Jenny. Executors Stephen Howison, Alexander Lithgow and John Lawson. Witnesses Richard and Rebecca Wroe, Elizabeth Jackson and William Fielder.

Charles Tyler, the third of the supposed sons of John Tyler, who went from Loudon to Prince William County, was living in 1793, and his daughters Nancy and Jenny are mentioned in the will of his brother William Tyler.

Of these daughters Jenny Tyler married Benjamin Botts, one of the lawyers who defended Aaron Burr, and was mother of (1) Alexander Lithgow Botts, member of the Executive Council in 1826, (2) Thomas Hutchinson Botts, (3) John Minor Botts, a prominent lawyer and member of Congress, (4) Charles Tyler Botts, who died in California. Benjamin Botts was a son of Thomas Botts, who married Mary Bland, and grandson of Thomas
Botts, (Family Statement.) The Botts family was found in Stafford and Prince William Counties. A Thomas Botts died in Stafford March 9, 1742. Seth Botts of Stafford and Lib his wife, had Joshua Botts, born July 24, 1751 (Overwharton Parish Register). His will was proved in Prince William County, in 1780, and names sons William and Thomas, daughter Susanna, wife Nancy. Brother William, John Wigginton and Benjamin Gains executors.

Returning to the sons of the first Charles Tyler of Westmoreland County, William Tyler married Margaret Pratt, daughter of John Pratt, jr, of King George County, as appears from a record in that county. He appears to have had issue, William Tyler, who in 1755 married Esther Jones, daughter of James Jones and Hester his wife. The will of James Jones was admitted to record in King George County, June 1, 1744, Besides Esther Tyler, he had Elizabeth, wife of Spence Monroe, father of President Monroe, and Hon. Joseph Jones, member of Congress. According to the will of Esther Tyler “widow,” May 12, 1770, William Tyler had issue William Tyler, James, and Blanche. Of these William Tyler, of Hanover Parish, King George County, made his will August 11, 1783, naming wife Sarah, and brother James Tyler and Sister Blanche. Dr. James Tyler was a witness to the will of Hon. Joseph Jones, who died in King George County, Oct. 28, 1805. William Tyler, father of James, died probably before 1764, as will appear.

William Tyler and Margaret Pratt, his wife, had probably two other sons John Tyler and Charles Tyler. Thus William Tyler of Washington Parish, Northumberland County, executed bonds in 1766 to William Bernard, Joseph Jones and Andrew Monroe, which were witnessed by John and Charles Tyler (King George County Records). In 1783 John Tyler of Prince William and Joseph Tyler of Prince William made deeds for 226 acres apiece in Machodick Neck in Westmoreland County, adjoining the lands of the late William Tyler. These deeds were witnessed by Blanche Tyler, and John Tyler described himself as son of John Tyler, late of King George County, from whom his tract was derived. In 1785 “William Tyler, the younger,” presented a petition to the
House of Delegates praying that all the estate of his brother John Tyler, who was lately condemned and executed for the murder of Joseph Tyler, may be vested in the petitioner, with power to convey 155 acres of land lying in Loudon County to the legal representatives of the said Joseph Tyler, in conformity with a contract made between the said John and Joseph. The Legislature granted the petition, and in their act they appointed William Alexander, James Gwatkin and Valentine Peyton trustees to convey the land, sell the estate, and after paying John Tyler's debts distribute the remainder among the brothers and sisters of the said John, "those of the half blood, if any, there be, to receive a half share."

In Prince William County records, 1785, there is a statement of the estate of Joseph Tyler, deceased, according to which he left a widow Elizabeth, a son Benjamin, and a daughter Nancy who married Samuel Fielder. Joseph Tyler may have been another son of John Tyler, of King George County. There is also in the records a deed dated October 1, 1764, from William Tyler, of Westmoreland County, to his daughter Elizabeth, of Prince William, single woman, for a negro in the possession of her brother Charles. So William Tyler and Margaret Pratt, his wife had (1) William Tyler who married Esther Jones in 1755 (2) John of King George County, who had John, Joseph, and William ("William the Younger" above) (3) Elizabeth of Prince William (1764) (4) Charles. Compare accounts in William and Mary Quarterly (1st Series) XV, 194; XVI, 66; XXI, 1-35; Hayden. Va. Genealogies, p. 66.)

NOTES FROM THE RECORDS OF YORK COUNTY.
(Continued)

Topping of Tobacco.

The deposicon of John Guthrey aged 22 years or thereabouts. Saith that in Ao. 1656 this depon't did sett up Caske for Mr Tho; Bushrod & came to his house about 2 or 3 days after y't Richard Barkshyre his overseer was gone to Mrs Colborne's wedding at
Pyanketanke, there I heard him complain of Richard Barkshyre for leaving his crop in ye chiefest time of his crop being at topping time, & further saith ye sd Mr Tho: Bushrod did often blame Richard Barkshyre very much for his neglecting to build a tobacco house ye∫ hee was to build for him & ye∫ his crop did suffer very much for want of ye house

John Guthrie

Jur. in Cur. 20 dec. 1658

High Court of Admiralty in England

In ye difference between Mr William Lee plte & Capt. John Price Comand∫ of the Hono∫. Itt is the opinion of this Court & accordingly ordered that ye deft upon his request have an Appeal to ye High Court of Admiralty of England and that Capt Holman, Capt flox, Mr. Clem. Harris & Mr. William Callow view ye tobaccoe in difference & being sworne before Coll George Reade Esq. make Report under ye∫ hands attested by Col. Reade to ye said Court of Admiralty for ye more speedy bringing to an issue & period ye said difference. April the 4th 1659.

Mr. Robert Vaulx of London and Virginia

"Robert Vaulx of London merchant" appoints his wife Elizabeth his agent to collect all debts, tobaccoe, beaver, goods &c owing to him in Virginia. Signed sealed and dated at London the 6th day of September, 1656, in the presence of Thos. Bowler, Rowland Griffith, Roger Dixon, Robert Murchard Notary Public, London.

"Elizabeth Vaulx, wife of Mr. Robert Vaulx of Queenes Creeke in ye County of Yorke in Virginia m∫chant," attorney for her "Ever Hon∫d & Deare Husband Robert Vaulx," "being by God's grace bound upon a voyage for England this present yeare in the shippe William & John Capt. Richard Holman Comander," appoints "Mr. Robert Bourne of Yorke County in Virginia aforesd gentle" her attorney to collect debts &c. Sealed in Virg∫ the 6th day of May in ye yeares of our Lord God 1659.
The Bridge over Finch's Dams

Whereas the Court formerly Impowered Mr. William Hay to agree with the gentleman of Kequotan County for making a bridge over the damms near Francis Finch, wherein Mr. Hay hath proceeded carefully and to his great trouble, but ye Court understanding Mr. Finch will not grant timber on his land, without pay and finding other Inconveyencyes desyre of ye Gentlemen of Kequotan County that noe further proceedings may for ye present bee herein. October ye 20th 1659.

A Law Suit between Mr. Nicholas Clarke and Col. James Bray.

Mr. Morecroft & Capt Underwood

Sr: If you doe goe to ye Court where Mr Bray doth put in for his Servant that I doe owe him, hee was of (at?) my house & I did proffer him a servant according to my bill, only he wanted twoe months of his time & I proffer to make that two months good & hee would not except that I would allow him. Soe Sr if you doe goe to ye Court pray inform ye Court with ye business for I proffered him ye choyce of all my servants, so I desyre the Court would be pleased to take my cause into consideracon, for I am not able to come to make my cause known, nor I hope I shall not pay a servant for five yeares & halfe instead of five yeares soe if you thinke good let the Court see ye letter.

Your freind ye always is engaged to you subscribes himself

Your servant

January ye 24th 1660

Nicholas Clarke

Mr. Ballard my wife being Sicke Sr among many other favors to me shewed me much above my meritts I would desyre you preferre my petition against Mr. Clarke & let ye Jury That is Impanelled go to Enquire my damages. You knowe I have great fencinge worke building and clearing and never a man but one, Nicholas Bond. Robert Jones, Thurloe or any neighbours knowes it truth, pray take what Testimony you can with my bill to give ye Jury, pray request Capt Ellison to referre all matters betwixt us till next Court, thus with my service

I rest yours

James Bray.
January 25th 1660. In ye difference between Mr James Bray and Nicholas Clarke (by John Morecroft his attorney) deft, the plte craved a jury to enquire of damages wch the Sherr is ordered forthwith to Impannell and return to ye Court accordingly.

The jurors names as they were returned and sworne Thomas Heynes, foreman, Arthur Dickeson, Wm Crane, Tho. Crouch, Robert Crouch, Richard Smith, Peter Adams, Nicholas Bond, Francis Albrighton, William Maior, John Dicke, John Sturgis.

The verdict of the jury that noe sufficient evidence doth appeare whereby to give damages

In the difference between James Bray and Nicholas Clarke the plte craving a jury to enquire of damages who finding none, but the Defte owing him by specialty a youth, a servant already seasoned, for ye residue of his time to be five yeares at least & uppon delivery hee shall be sound wind & lymb & in all respects perfect & aged twenty yeares Itt is ordered yt the said Clarke satisfie & deliver a servant to the plte, according to his said specialty, and pay all cost of suit (except ye charge of ye Jury wch hee is not to pay) als Exec.

Major Edward Griffith.

An order that Roger Partridge pay unto Maior Edward Griffith as intermarrying the Relict and Executrix of Capt Henry Jackson Deced nineteen Hundred pounds of tobacco and cattle due by two bills with four yeares forbearance on Queene's Creeke with costs of suit als. Execuson. 31st October, 1661.

Thomas Wardley and June his wife

This Indenture made the 24th day of May 1661 between Thomas Wardley of Yorke parish and county in Virginia, son & heyre of Thomas Wardley, late citizen and merchant Taylor of London and Joane his wife of the one part and Anne Wardley and Ellen Wardley of London, spinsters, daughters of the said Thomas Wardley deceed and sisters of the said Thomas Wardley party to these presents of the first part [sale of an annuity of five pds devised by his father to said Thomas out of the rents & profits of a tenement in Westcheap or Cheapside, in the parish
of St. Matthew, Friday Street, London, commonly called and known by the name of the sign of the Row Buck by him then lately devised to William Strong, Citizen and Mercer of London &c.] At a Court 31st October 1661

Robert Carter, of London, Merchant.

Power of Attorney from Alice Jesson of Ratcliffe in the County of Middlesex widow, Executrix of the last will and testament of Richard Husband, late of London Maryner deceas, and Gilbert Metcalfe of London, Merchant, constituting Robert Carter of London Merchant to receive all debts &c from James Bray Merchant now residing in Virginia in the parts beyond the seas as were due to said Richard Husband. Dated 29 July 1661. Recorded at Court March 10 1661-1662

Rev. Charles Grymes' will

In the difference between Katharine Grymes, Executrix of Charles Grymes Clerke, Deced, & Thomas Godlington of London in an action of the case the Deftes Attorney demanding proof the ptle being Executrix, Mr. John Morecroft declared on oath that hee drew the decedents will wch was proved in Gloster County Court & order for probat granted the ptle, which the defte not accepting as prooffe for being a single testimony, the court conceive it good ground for a Reference to ye ptle till ye next court & have hereby accordingly granted it. August 26, 1678.

James Archer's Receipt.

James Archer's receipt of John Page admr. of Mr John Huberd deceas for 9,119 pounds of sweet scented tob. & caske and ye suume of one hundred flour score & two pounds sixteene shillings sterling "as intermarying Elizabeth daughter of Mr. John Huberd." August 26, 1678.

(To be continued)
THE GRAYSON FAMILY

(Continued from page 208)

Family of Rev. Spence Grayson and Mary Elizabeth Wagener.

1. Catherine Grayson, born 5 April 1760, married John Hedgman, of Stafford Co., Va., as mentioned in the letter of Justice Daniel published by Bishop Meade. She bore two sons, John Grayson and George, and three daughters, Mary, Susan Monroe and Catherine.

John Grayson Hedgman married a sister of Judge Peter Daniel, of the Supreme Court, and had several children, sons and daughters. Of the former John Hedgman, who resides in Georgetown, who married Cecilia Stewart of Maryland. The children of this marriage are Traverse Brown Hedgman, Francis, John G., Xoble Grayson Hedgman.

The eldest son of John G. Hedgman, Peter Wagener Hedgman, resides in Stafford Co., Va. Catherine Hedgman married John Brown of Stafford Co., and left children. Mary Hedgman married Mr. Hoard and removed to Kentucky and has children.

Susan Monroe Hedgman married the wealthy James Rawlings, of Richmond, Va. This lady is the present widow Rawlings, so well known in Richmond, and, indeed, throughout Virginia.

2. Benjamin Grayson was born Nov. 6, 1761 and at an early age emigrated to Kentucky. There he married Miss Caroline Taylor, an English lady of great beauty and accomplishments, and settled at Bardstown, Nelson County, Ky., of which County he became the Clerk. A singular contretemps happened to him in the performance of his duties which is here inserted for the information of such young ladies as "love doth compel" to practice cunning strategems for evading laws and parents in order to secure their beloved. A gentleman with a lady about eighteen years of age came to his office to obtain a marriage license. As he could not legally issue a license to a lady under twenty-one without the consent of her parents or guardians, he proposed to put the young lady upon her voir dire, that she was above that age. The lady insisted that she was over twenty two and would swear to nothing else. Mr. Grayson after much expostulation and persuasion, finally concluded, as the major necessarily included the minor, and if
the lady was over twenty-two she must needs be over twenty one, to administer the oath as the lady insisted. She was in fact only eighteen. Her parents prosecuted him for the penalty, five hundred dollars, and upon the trial of the case, the feminine artifice was exposed. The lady had written the figures "22" on a slip of paper and place it between the sole of her foot and her shoe. Her conscience was thereby saved. She had sworn that she was over "22", and this was literally true.

Benjamin Grayson had several sons and one daughter. His eldest son, Frederick William Spence Grayson, was one of the most eminent lawyers of Kentucky. He married Miss Sally Ward and died without issue. His widow still survives and resides in Louisville, Kentucky. Alfred Grayson married a daughter of Dr. John Coulter of Baltimore, Md. He was an officer of the Marine Corps, stationed at Norfolk in the War 1812, while the British fleet was lying in the waters in front.

In an attack made by boats manned from the fleet on Craney Island, where Capt. Alfred Grayson was posted, he behaved very handsomely. In the year 1824 he commanded the Marines of Porter's squadron employed against the pirates off the coast of Florida and West Indies. On his return he was attacked with yellow fever, the vessel he was in put into Norfolk in distress, and he died there within a few hours after landing.

Two sons survive him, Frederick William Spence Grayson, Journalist and Attorney-at-law, of Philadelphia, Pa., and John C. Grayson, Captain in the Marine Corps, on the retired list. Another son, Alfred Grayson, died several years ago in Philadelphia.

Peter Wagener Grayson, the remaining son of Benjamin to be mentioned, emigrated to Texas in 1830 and took an active part in the struggle of that state for independence of Mexico and annexation to the United States. During this struggle he went once or twice to Washington as Commissioner.

He was nominated by the Houston party in Texas for President, Lamar being the candidate of the other party, but died before the election took place.

Eliza Grayson, the only daughter of Benjamin Grayson, possessed extraordinary endowments and had a very interesting his-
Marrying when a little more than sixteen years of age and her husband Mr. Philip Quinton, a talented young Lawyer of Louisville, Kentucky, having died some six months after the marriage, she was for years inconsolable for his loss.

With the view of trying to effect a change of scene, her father brought her to Washington to visit her relations and she remained with them for about a year. The change seemed for a time to have the desired effect, and after a while she was persuaded to lighten her mourning and go into company. Mrs. Quinton was of about medium size, but remarkable for the elegant delicacy and roundness of her limbs and figure. She had dark hair and large dark expressive blue-gray eyes with very fair skin. Her dignity of manner would perhaps have been unpleasant, if it had not been tempered, as it was, with great affability and gentleness.

She was well read, which is not uncommon with American ladies, but she had also what is uncommon, the readiest command of her acquirements and, without being pedantic or pretentious, conversed with the greatest ease and fluency. Her air and manners were exceedingly imposing. Attending Mrs. Pres. Madison's drawing room, as she occasionally did, it was easy to mark her position in the room by the surrounding throngs there to listen and admire.

Returning to Kentucky the sad sentiments of her bereavement returned and she remained single for many years. In the sequel she married James D. Breckinridge, for some years a member of Congress from that district, and left him an only daughter, Eliza Grayson Breckinridge, who married William S. Caldwell of Virginia, now dead.

3. William Grayson, son of Rev. Spence Grayson and Mary Elizabeth Wagener, was born June 26, 1766 and died of a disease of the liver at Washington in 1806. He married his cousin Mary Wagener and had sons Peter Wagener, John, Thomas, and daughters Dinah and Mary whose history beyond is not at hand. (Luray Page Co. family, are they not from this son?)

4. Susan Monroe Grayson, daughter of Rev. Spence Grayson and Mary E. Wagener, was born 29 May, 1768, and died 20 April, 1822. She married Lund Washington, a descendant of Law-

By this marriage were William, Susan Monroe, Smith, Robert, Peter Grayson, Lund, Mary Elizabeth and Sally Hays Traverse. Wm. Grayson Washington was killed as an officer in the Greek Army. He was an elegant and accomplished gentleman and of fine personal appearance. Susan Monroe Washington married Mr. Lewis, leaving one son Judge Edward Lewis of St. Louis. Smith and Robert died unmarried. Peter Grayson Washington married Margaret Macpherson, daughter of the distinguished Genl. Jos. Macpherson of the Revolution. Mrs. W. lately (1875) died at her residence in Phila., leaving one daughter Mrs. Julia Horner.

Colonel Peter Grayson Washington entered the clerical service of the U. S. Government at an early age, and by his energy and abilities rose to the position of Asst. Sec. of the Treasury under Sec. Guthrie. He was a man of fine personal address, elegance of manners, and was admired and courted by the distinguished members of the social and literary world. He died in New York, in 1872, while Treasurer of the Belt R. R. Lund Washington married Miss ——— and left two daughters one of whom is living and resides married in Texas.


Sallie Hays Traverse Washington married Prof. S. Maupin, of University of Virginia, and now in her widowhood resides in Baltimore, Md. Their children are Chapman Maupin, Professor of Baltimore City College, Susan Monroe Grayson Maupin, Jane Nicholson Maupin, Robert Washington Maupin and William Maupin. Their eldest son John was killed at the battle of Gettys-
burg. Chapman and Robert married the daughters of Col. Taliaferro of Culpepper County, Va. Mrs. Sally Maupin is said to be very like her mother, the daughter of the Rev. Spence Grayson.

5. Peter Grayson, son of the Rev. Spence Grayson and Mary Elizabeth Wagener, was born 14th May 1770. He entered the U. S. Army at the age of nineteen years. In the defeat of Genl. St. Clair he often mentioned the difficulty he had in bringing off from the field his wounded friend Captain Edward Butler, whom he had placed and supported on a horse and whose agony was so great from its motion that he entreated the whole time, though the Indians were in close pursuit and their yells broke upon the air, to be put back and suffered to be taken and killed. He was also in the relieving campaign of Genl. Wayne. In 1801 he married Kitty Callaway Thorpe of Bedford Co., Va., the beautiful and accomplished twin sister of Mrs. Maj. Reid. He then resigned from the Army, being at that time Captain and in command of the U. S. Post at Knoxville, Tenn. His military services were renewed with the war of 1812.

He saw service in Genl. Jackson’s army at New Orleans, being Adjutant General, (ranking Colonel U. S. A.) of Maj. Genl. Carroll’s division of Tennessee Troops. Genl. Jackson in his report expresses his acknowledgments for Col. Grayson’s gallant services in action and also for his rare skill and attention in disciplining the troops. Col. Grayson was over six feet in stature, inclining to fullness, large dark eyes, dark hair and florid complexion and seems to have much resembled his distinguished uncle, the Col. Wm. Grayson previously mentioned. He was a man of great energy of character and the universal favorite of Camp and Salon. He died at Tuscumbia, Ala., in 1816, from effects of over exertion at the battle of New Orleans. His son Spence Monroe Grayson was an eminent Lawyer of Mississippi, and married Sarah Role Chew daughter of Wm. Locke Chew of Maryland.

Another son, Edward Butler Grayson, named after his wounded friend, married Miss Juliette Mix of New York, a lady of rare mental qualities and nobility of character loved and honored by all she met.

Their children are Mrs. Dr. Thomas R. Chew of San Antonio,

Another son, Wm. Preston Grayson, married Miss Henry of Mississippi. His eldest son, Peter Wagener Grayson, was killed under Genl. Walker in Nicaragua.

The widow and daughter and son Leonard W. Grayson reside in N. O., where they were once wealthy.

Francis Thorpe Grayson died unmarried. Caroline Hewitt Grayson married Judge Rawlings at that time a rich and successful lawyer.

6. Anne, daughter of the Rev. Spence Grayson and Mary Elizabeth Wagener, was born 1772 and died in infancy.

7. Spence Monroe Grayson, son of Rev. Spence Grayson and Mary Elizabeth Wagener, born 17 May 1774 and died 1809. He married Miss Blount of Alexandria and left one son Spence Monroe Grayson, now of Selma, Ala.

8. Anne, second child of the same name, daughter of Rev. Spence Grayson and Mary Elizabeth Wagener, was born 14th Nov. 1776 and died single 1793.

9. John Robinson Grayson

10. Thomas Robinson Grayson Sons of Rev. Spence Grayson and Mary Elizabeth Wagener were born twins, 17th Sept. 1779. As boys they went to sea on the Brig Polly commanded by Capt. Pliny Hamilton and owned by their brother-in-law Lund Washington, then a merchant in Colchester, and which sailed out of the Occoquan. John was impressed by the British cruisers in the Texel, but after being held by the captors for some years, he found means to make his condition known to his family and upon intervention of the Government set on foot at their instance, he was released in the year 1800.

Thomas was impressed in like manner and from the same vessel off Calcutta, and from that day to this has never been heard of. What anguish did not the unknown fate of this poor boy give his fond Mother, even to the day of her death! The effort
to be resigned to the will of Heaven, the tear whenever impression was mentioned, that would flow and could not be always concealed, bespoke but too deeply the rankling of the wound that would not heal, the cry in Ramah, the grief of Rachel, that would not be comforted for her children who were not. Well, impression is now no more. The seizure of our property under orders in Council is no more. And this Government is strong if united, to protect its citizens from these and the like outrages against the ruthless and imperious power that inflicted them without law or right or reason, but then it was strong and we were weak!

John Robinson Grayson in the war 1812 commanded a squadron of gunboats on the Southern coast. Upon the close of the war he retired from the Navy and sailed immediately to Liverpool in command of the Charleston Packet. He married in Savannah, and left one or two sons who may yet reside there or in South Carolina. He possessed rare cultivation and refinement, brave as a lion, gentle as a woman, a skillful and intrepid seaman, a polished gentleman and a gallant officer.

11. Judith Grayson, daughter of Rev. Spence Grayson and Mary E. Wagener, was born in December, 1780, and married Geo Walter Lindsay, then a merchant at Colchester. The family afterwards removed to Washington, and in 1817 or 1818, Mr. Lindsay lost his life by a fall from his horse.

The eldest son John Lindsay was six feet six inches in stature in his stocking feet the day he was sixteen years of age, straight and round in figure and free and active in his movements.

Mr. Gales published in the Intelligencer the fact of his precocious height as a sample of the products of the Banks of the Potomac. He died in his twentieth year. Geo. Frederick Lindsay, the second son, was educated at West Point and entered the Army, but having married Miss Smith, daughter of Col. Melancthon Smith, he resigned and settled with his family in Mississippi, where many of the Grayson connections had gone.

Recurring to his favorite profession he again entered the Military service, not on this occasion in the Army but in the Marine Corps, of which, after having been stationed at various posts on the seaboard and having made several cruises, he became, in
1850, Quarter Master General, which appointment fixed him at Washington. He built a very fine residence for his permanent accommodation, and had finished and moved into it but a few months before his death in 1857. Upon the death of Major Lindsay's first wife, who left two sons both since deceased, he some years after married Mrs. Margaret Frazier, a Scotch lady, well remembered in Washington for her musical soirées and other elegant hospitalities. The widow Lindsay with her two children Walter and Maggie reside in New York.

12. Beverley Robinson Grayson, son of Rev. Spence Grayson and Mary E. Wagener, was born 3 Sept. 1782 and emigrated to Mississippi and married the widow Bowie née Chew, of Patuxent river Maryland. He resided for some years near Natchez, but at the time of his death, near Benton and near the Estate “Eutaw Place,” the residence of his nephew Spence Monroe Grayson, in Yazoo Co., Miss.

He left one son William Spence Grayson, who married Miss Letitia Reed, daughter of Thomas R. Reed, who was in the Senate of the U. S. from Miss. He left several children now living in Mississippi.

13. Sally Grayson, daughter of the Rev. Spence Grayson and Mary E. Wagener, was born July 1784, and in 1808 married Samuel Smith, member of Congress from Pennsylvania. Upon the expiration of his Congressional service, Mr. Smith was appointed Receiver of Public Moneys at St. Stephens, Ala., and died there. His widow with his two children Frederick William Spence Smith and his daughter removed to Miss., where she died. F. W. S. Smith was Marshal of the Northern District of Louisiana during the administrations of Taylor and Fillmore. This gentleman lives in Tensas parish, La., having a large family.

The daughter married Wm. L. Chew, physician.

14. Caroline Grayson, daughter of Rev. Spence Grayson and Mary Elizabeth Wagener, was born Oct. 17th, 178—. She married James Hewitt of Maryland who emigrated with his family to Mississippi. He was the brother of the mother of Mrs. Chas. Wallach, of Washington D. C.

Both are deceased, but left several daughters, who are married and living in Mississippi.
### The Court's Valuation of Property Impressed for the Use of the Public in Greensville County, Virginia, During the Latter Period of the Revolutionary War

Communicated by Mrs. Dora H. Goodwyn, Emporia, Va.

March 12, 1782:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To James Wall for a horse for the use of this State.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Benjamin Bynum one black horse for the use of this State.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Seymour Powell's est. for a gray horse four years old, 4 feet, 10 inches high</td>
<td>S.</td>
<td>L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto for pasturage of 72 Light Horse belonging to Col. Baylor's Regiment.</td>
<td>C.</td>
<td>L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Joseph Long for an ax for the State.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Matthew Davis for a dark bay horse 4 years old.</td>
<td>C.</td>
<td>L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Edward Walker's est. for a black horse 4 years old, 4 feet, 8 inches high</td>
<td>C.</td>
<td>L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Henry Mangum for a bright bay horse 3 years old, 5 feet high</td>
<td>C.</td>
<td>L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; William Batte for a dark bay horse 13 years old, 5 feet high</td>
<td>C.</td>
<td>L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Thomas Rivers for a sorrel horse 4 years old, 4 feet, 8 inches high</td>
<td>C.</td>
<td>L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; John Hobbs for a black horse 12 years old, 4 feet, 7 inches</td>
<td>C.</td>
<td>L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Daniel Fisher for a horse damaged in C. L.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; John Whittington for a white horse 14 years old, 4 feet, 9 inches high</td>
<td>C.</td>
<td>L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Richard Blanks for a dark bay horse 4 years old, 4 feet, 8 inches</td>
<td>C.</td>
<td>L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Irwin Brown's est. for a sorrel horse 9 years old, 4 feet, 9 inches</td>
<td>C.</td>
<td>L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; John Dawson for a white horse 13 years old, 4 feet, 9 inches</td>
<td>C.</td>
<td>L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Frederick Harwell for a dark bay horse 7 years old, 4 feet, 9 inches</td>
<td>C.</td>
<td>L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto for wagon destroyed by the enemy at Hicksford.</td>
<td>S.</td>
<td>L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto for a bay horse 9 years old, 4 feet, 9 inches, taken at Hicksford</td>
<td>S.</td>
<td>L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto for a gray horse 4 feet, 9 inches, 10 years old.</td>
<td>S.</td>
<td>L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### The Court's Valuation of Property—Continued.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Samuel Boush for a black horse 16 years old, 5 feet.</td>
<td>C.</td>
<td>L.</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Maclin for a dark bay horse 5 years old, 5 feet high.</td>
<td>C.</td>
<td>L.</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Walker for a bay horse 8 years old, 4 feet, 5 inches.</td>
<td>C.</td>
<td>L.</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ann Young for a bay horse 12 years old, 4 feet, 7 inches.</td>
<td>C.</td>
<td>L.</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Pelham for a roan horse 10 years old, 4 feet, 7 or 8 inches.</td>
<td>C.</td>
<td>L.</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nathaniel Lucas for a bay mare 7 years old, 4 feet, 9 inches, taken by the Enemy.</td>
<td>S.</td>
<td>L.</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Hargrove (express) for a horse 9 years old, 5 feet high, taken by the enemy.</td>
<td>S.</td>
<td>L.</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isham Lundy for a gun.</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nathaniel Thompson, one gun.</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawee Howse, one gun and bayonet.</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Robinson, one gun.</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phoebe Roddin, do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Smith, do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Dunn, two</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nathaniel Mahry, one</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benjamin Simmons, do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Williams, do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Ferguson, Jr., do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burwell Bass, do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Allen, do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeconias Parks, do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drury Going, do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Long, do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>S.</td>
<td>L.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Burt</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Bennett for a gun</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Tomlinson for a rifle</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Rosser, one gun</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jordin Richardson</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Douglass Wilkins</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson Shehorn</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Rivers</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Maclin</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Massey</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Mangum</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benjamin Sykes</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Jeter</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Redding</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Tomlinson</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Deloach for a black horse</td>
<td>4 years old, 4 feet, 7 inches high</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Lucas, one gun</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Allen</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harwood Major</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

March 27, 1782:

To James Wall for 1,350 lbs. of beef @ 2 1/2d

Benjamin Hicks for 31 days' hire of two wagons, teams and drivers to remove the public records from———- to this State

William Short, of Surry, for 96 bushels of wheat @ 4/ S. Use

Hannah Parham for 790 lbs. beef at 2 1/2d. C. Use

Ditto 12 1/2 barrels of corn @ 7/6

William Vaughan for 225 lbs. of beef at 2 1/2d, C. U.

£14 1 3

£2 6 10 1/2
THE COURT'S VALUATION OF PROPERTY—CONTINUED.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>S.</th>
<th>L.</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Littleberry Robinson for a cart &amp; driver 2 days.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; ditto one gun.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Samuel Boush for 30 bushels wheat @ 4/.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Richard Blanks for 950 lbs. beef @ 2½d.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Daniel Mabry, 2 days wagg'e bacon from Hampton.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; do 6 days wagonage do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; do 12 days removing grain from Hampton.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; do 93 days wagonage</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>46</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; do 2 carts one day @ 5/ each.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; do 19 days wagonage</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; do for damages these wagons sustained.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; do for 700 lbs. beef at 2½d.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; do for 24 bundles of fodder</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Douglass Wilkins for 22½ days wagon' at 10/.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; do 275 lbs. beef 2½d.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; do 35½ bushels wheat @ 4/.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To William Batt for 880 lbs. beef.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; do 40 barrels &amp; 4 bushels corn @ 7/6.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; do 230 bushels wheat.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>46</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; do a cart 40 days @ 6/.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; do stalling 3 heaves 89 days &amp; finding provisions.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Nathaniel Mabry 300 lbs. beef.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; do 3 barrels &amp; 1½ bushels corn.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; do cart, horses, &amp;c. ½ day.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Robert Powell, 300 lbs. beef.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To William Fanning 9½ days carting at 5/.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; do 7 barrels &amp; 3 bushels corn.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
do 650 lbs. beef ................................................................. do 6 15 5
To Edith Watson, 300 lbs. beef ............................................. do 3 2 £ 6
To James Alex'y Watson, 18 bushels of wheat. ......................... do 3 12 ....
" Peter Vincent, 385 lbs. beef .............................................. do 6 1 10½
" Joshua Vincent, 500 do ..................................................... do 5 4 2
" John Batte, 1,575 do ......................................................... do 16 8 1½
  do driving 4 beeces @ 5/. .................................................. do 1  ...
  do 49 lbs. bacon @ 9d. .................................................... do 1 16 9
To John Hobbs, 800 lbs. of beef .......................................... do 8 6 8
  do 270½ bushels corn @ 1/6d. ............................................ do 20 5 9
  do 34 gallons brandy @ 8/. .............................................. S.  L. 13 12
To Robert Rivers, 59 days wagonage @ 10/. ............................. C.  L. 29 10
  do 18 days service in Coll'g grain ..................................... do 4 10 ....
  do 4 horse bells & bringing wag's from Manchester .............. do 4  ...
  do 62 bushels of wheat .................................................. do 12 8 ....
  do 5 barrels & 1 bushel corn .......................................... do 1 19 ....
  do a lock chain lost in the State Service .......................... do 2 19 ....
  do stalling a number of beeces ....................................... C.  L. 21 13 4
  do for damage sustained in wag'e, &c. .............................. C.  L. 20 ...
To Henry Bailey for 250 lbs. beef .................................... C.  L. 2 12 1
" Edmund Gibbons 535 do do .............................................. do 5 11 10½
  do 2 bushels corn @ 7/6. ................................................ do 15 .......
" Isaac Edward's Est. 1,115 lbs. beef ................................... do 11 12 3
  do 1,250 do ................................................................. do 13 0 5
" Joseph Vincent for a gun ................................................ S.  L. 4 7 6
" Henry Bass for 3 bar'l's, 1 bush'l & 3 pecks corn ............... C.  L. 5 6 1½
  do 2 day's earting ...................................................... do 10 .......
  do driving 4 beeces to Cont'l Com'y ................................. do 1  .......

THE COURT'S VALUATION OF PROPERTY—Continued.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Daniel Catoe for carting ½ day”</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“do 2 barrels corn”</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Nathaniel Mason for 300 lbs. blade fodder”</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“do 14 bush'ls corn @ 1/6”</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“John Vinson for 275 lbs. beef”</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“do 16 barrel's &amp; ¼ bush'ls corn”</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“do 4 days carting &amp; 5/1”</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“William Allen 40 barrel's corn”</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“do 1,325 lbs. beef”</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“William Atkinson for a white horse 9 years old, 4 feet, 7 inches high”</td>
<td>C.</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

April 26, 1782:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>L</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To Joseph Kidd for wagon &amp; team impressed</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“do for 23 days hire of wagon, &amp;c.”</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“William Stark, Jun. for 1,650 lbs. beef”</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“William Stark for 3 barrel's &amp; 3 bush'ls corn”</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Robert Walker for 1,100 lbs. beef”</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“do 28 barrel's &amp; 3 bush'ls corn”</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“do 572 bushels wheat &amp; 1 peck”</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Edward Walker's Est. 1,005 lbs. beef”</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“do 151½ bushel's wheat”</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“do for a black horse”</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Charles Gilmour for 275 lbs. beef”</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Rebecca Lucas, 515 do”</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Charles Lucas, 225 do”</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Tabitha Smith, 13 bushel's corn @ 1/6”</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item Description</td>
<td>S.</td>
<td>L.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Jenkins for a gun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Cocke, 450 lbs. beef</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do 3 beeves.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Lucas' Est. for a horse impressed &amp; died.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do 7 days service of a waggon &amp; team</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Allen for 184 barrels of corn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do for services by account certified</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Mason for 71 1/2 bushels corn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do 960 lbs. of beef.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do 220 days service of waggon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Wall for 432 bundles of fodder</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do for rations for 22 men one day</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To David Sills for a gun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do 12 bar'l's &amp; 3 1/2 bushels corn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do 9 1/2 bushels wheat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do 13 bushels peas?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do 350 lbs. beef.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Watson, bal. for wagg'e &amp; carting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>do 7 days services for himself</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Peebles for 600 lbs. beef</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do 6 bar'l's &amp; 2 pecks corn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>do 1,553 lbs. beef</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Kidd for a horse purchased of Richard Hunt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>John Lewis for 550 lbs. beef</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>do 9 bushels of wheat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nathaniel Rives, 375 lbs. beef</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Phoebe Eppes, 250 lbs. do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do 2 bushels &amp; 3 pecks wheat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item Description</td>
<td>S.</td>
<td>L.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 bush'ls corn 1/6.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Jordin Richardson, 750 lbs. beef.</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; William Mason, 675 lbs. do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do 19 1/2 barr'ls corn</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do a gun</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Lewis Tyus, 450 lbs. beef.</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do 233 bush'ls wheat</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do 3 bush'ls corn</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do a cart, oxen &amp; driver 15 days @ 6/6</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Benjamin Waller, 600 lbs. beef.</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do 1 barrel corn</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Mary Winn, 325 lbs. beef.</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Edes Smith, 450 lbs. beef.</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do 3 bush'ls corn</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Henry Cooke, 260 lbs. beef.</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; William Fox one gun</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Thomas Maelin, 16 days carting.</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do 900 lbs. beef.</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; William Maelin, 850 lbs. beef.</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Nehemiah Nolley 3 barr'ls corn.</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do cart 1/2 day.</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Benjamin Sykes, 1,245 lbs. beef.</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; John Catoe, 6 barr'ls &amp; 2 bush'ls &amp; 3 pecks corn.</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do 5 bush'ls wheat</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do 2 days cart'g &amp;c.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
"Ann Young, 2 bar'ls, 4 bush'ls & 3 pk's corn" do .......................... do 1 2 1½
"Daniel Nolley, 385 lbs. beef" do ........................................ do 4 0 2½
"Robert Spencer, a bay horse 4 ft. 8 inches" do ....................... do 65 ........
"John Whittington, a black horse 5 feet high" do ....................... do 80 ........
"Edmund Wilkins, 41½ bushels wheat" do .............................. do 8 6 3½
  do 275 lbs. beef do ................................................ do 2 17 3½
"William Goodrich, 1 gun" S. L. ........................................... 4 13 9
"John Brown do ........................................................ do 1 10 ........
"Hugh McCalland, 220 days wages as wagg'n" C. L. .................. 26 10 ........
  do 48 days do ........................................................ do 6 ...........
  do balance do ....................................................... do 10 4 6

**May 29, 1782:**

To Daniel Fisher for 2,125 lbs. beef ........................................ C. L. ........ 22 2 8½
  do 18 days carting @ 5f. do ........................................ do 2 ...........
  do 9½ bush'ls wheat do ................................................ do 1 18 ........

"Benjamin Hicks for ferriage of 50 soldiers @ 3f."

  do stabling ? for 21 horses do ...................................... do 11 6
  do 10 wagon loads of wood do ....................................... do 1 4
  do ferriage 30 men } Col. Armong's Legion do ................... do 6
  do 574 bundles fodder do ............................................ do 1 8 8
  do ferriage 17 men & horses do ..................................... do 8 6
  do 12 days hire of waggon &c @ 10f. do .......................... do 6 ...........
  do ferriage of 17 men & horses @ 6d. do ......................... do 8 6
  do do 93 men (guard, &c) @ 3d do ................................ do 1 3 9
  do do for a cart do ................................................ do 1 3
  do do for a waggon do .............................................. do 3 ...........
  do do for 18 horses, Col. Lee's Legion do ......................... do 4 6
THE COURT'S VALUATION OF PROPERTY—CONTINUED.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>do of 30 men @ 3d.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do 7 horses @ 3d</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do one wagon 3/</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do 150 bushels oats, Col. Semph.?</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>do 500 lbs. fodder @ 5/</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Mary Wall for a cask.</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; John Stewart, 225 lbs. beef.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; John Whittington, 275 lbs. do</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do 38½ gallons brandy @ 8/</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; John Baptist Cooksey, 200 lbs. beef.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Wilson Shehorn, 250 lbs. do</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; William Blunt, 300 lbs. do</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; John Hargrove, 350 lbs. do</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do 6 barr'ls, 3 bush'ls &amp; 1 pk. corn.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do 1 cart, horses, &amp;c., 1 day.</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do provisions for horses impressed by Capt. Tyler.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; Thomas Morris, 395 lbs. beef.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9¼</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do 63½ bush'ls wheat.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>do 9 barr'ls, 4½ bush'ls corn.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Henry Taxewell, 1,175 lbs. beef.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9¼</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; David Smith, 725 lbs. do</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Nathaniel Malone's Est., 350 lbs. beef.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; William Smith, 760 lbs. do</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do 6 barr'ls &amp; 3 bush'ls corn.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; William Pettway, 675 lbs. beef.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Pierce Vaughan, 875 lbs. do</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3½</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| " Edward Pettway, 375 lbs. do                                            | 3 | 18| 141
The Court's Valuation of Property

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>C.</th>
<th>L.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Joel Mabry</td>
<td>225 lbs.</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel Collier</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Loftin</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Slate</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Butts for 220 lbs. beef</td>
<td></td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Cain</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frederick Harwell</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do</td>
<td>6 days hire waggons, &amp;c.</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do</td>
<td>12½ bushels wheat</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Dillchay</td>
<td>250 lbs. beef</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Maclin</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do</td>
<td>3 bushels &amp; 1 peck corn</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Batte for stalling 5 beeves.</td>
<td></td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do</td>
<td>14 bal's corn &amp; 1 bush'l corn</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do</td>
<td>3,550 bundles fodder</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do</td>
<td>mending waggons &amp; find'g 6 lbs. iron</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Watson for 9 bushels corn.</td>
<td></td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do</td>
<td>2 waggons, &amp;c. 2 days</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do</td>
<td>2 bushels &amp; 1 peck corn</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do</td>
<td>driving beevs from Petersburg</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do</td>
<td>24 bar'ls, 3 bush'ls &amp; 1 pk. corn</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do</td>
<td>20 feet of tops for beevs</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do</td>
<td>trouble stalling 12 beeves</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Rivers for 1 bushel corn</td>
<td></td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do</td>
<td>breakfast for 12 soldiers @ 9d</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>John Hamilton for 500 lbs. beef</td>
<td></td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do</td>
<td>30 feet fodder</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arthur Emmerson, 3 bushels corn.</td>
<td></td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item Description</td>
<td>Quantity</td>
<td>Unit</td>
<td>Price</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>do for a cow</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>do 845 lbs. beef</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; Thomas Stewart, 3,251 lbs. do.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>do 4 bushels of oats</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; Henry Clarke for 300 lbs. beef.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do 1/2 day carting</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; do 1 barrel &amp; 2 pecks corn.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; Dempsey Tooke, 1 barrel &amp; 2 pecks corn.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>do 1/2 day carting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Joshua Clarke, 6 barrels &amp; 3 pkgs. corn.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Abasolom Harris for 337 lbs. beef.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>do 1 gun</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Haley Dupree, 2 barrels &amp; 1 pkg. corn.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do 325 lbs. beef</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; John Pritchett, 865 do.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Lewis Dupree, 325 do.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Benjamin Bynum for a black horse</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Richard Roper, 5 days carting.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Jacob Dupree for 2 bushels &amp; 1/2 pkg. corn.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Judkins Hunt for 2 carpenters, 5 days repairing a wagon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do 4 bells lost</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; James Hamilton, coll'g &amp; driving beevs 72 days 2/6.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; John Batie, same.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Edward Pettway, same.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Lockett Mitchell, same.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Matthew Davis, same.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Robert Powell, same.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>C.</td>
<td>L.</td>
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<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;William Tomlinson, 91 days att'ce at Wall's mill to receive grain.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 27, 1782:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Alexander Watson's Est. for a gun.</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Nathaniel Tatum</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;John Hargrove</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Frances Dancy, 1,020 lbs. of beef.</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do 1½ barrels corn</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Archibald Dancy, 175 lbs. beef.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Mary Wyche, 200 do</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Robert Thweett, 250 do</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;John Pettway, 22 bushels wheat.</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Evans Mabry, 7½ do</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Edmunds Gibbons, 2 bushels &amp; 3 pks. corn.</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1½</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;James Wren, 1 bushel &amp; 3 pks. corn.</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7½</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Burwell Grigg, 3½ bush'l's corn.</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Pierce Vaughan, 3 bushels &amp; 1 pk. corn.</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10½</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Thomas Maclin, 3 bar'l's corn.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do use of 2 oxen 81 days @ 1/2.</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>do an ox that died.</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Elizabeth Sims, 350 lbs. beef.</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Thomas Morris, 225 do</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Thomas Hicks for a black horse 4 years old, 4 feet 11 inches high taken by</td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Batt Peterson for 1,275 lbs. beef.</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do 700 do</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do 75 lbs. bacon @ 9d.</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Harwood Major for 2 barrels corn.</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE COURT'S VALUATION OF PROPERTY—CONTINUED.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>C.</th>
<th>L.</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;William Tomlinson, 6 bar'l's, 3 bush'l's corn.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do for a gun damaged.</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 22, 1782:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Charles Dillehay for a gun</td>
<td></td>
<td>C.</td>
<td>L.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Isham Fennell for 610 lbs. of beef.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do 3 barrels corn</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do 14 days carting</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;John Massey, 250 lbs. of beef.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 325 do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Joseph Turner for 200 lbs. beef.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do 9 bar'l's, 3 bush'l's &amp; 1 pk corn</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do 1,000 lbs. beef</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do 7 days carting at 5/1</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;James Maclain, stalling 33 beeves &amp; find'g fodder.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Frederick Grigg, 5 bar'l's &amp; 2½ bushels corn.</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>September 26, 1782:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>To William Burt for 6 bar'l's corn.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do carting 1 day</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;John Peterson, 2 bush'l's &amp; 3 pk's corn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;Miles Collier, carting 6 days &amp; find'g provisions, &amp;c.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Joseph Kidd for 156 lbs. &amp; 14 oz. bacon &amp; 231 lbs. flour.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do sundry expenses as per account</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>170</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do do do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>432</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do do do do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do waggoning, bacon from Soh? to R'd. lambs September, 1780.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
" Nathaniel Gregory for a bay horse 5 or 6 years old, about 5 feet high     do 100
" John Turner for 1,250 lbs. beef                                     do  5
    do  a white horse 12 years old, 4 feet, 6 inches high             do  5
    do  a black horse 8 years old, 14 hands high                     do  14

November 28, 1782:
To David Smith for 25 flour barrels @ 2/1.                           C.  L.  2   10
" George Elliott's Est. for 15 bushels wheat.                       do  .... ....
" Daniel Collier for 2½ bushels corn                                do  .... ....
" Benjamin Jones for a light bay horse 6 or 7 years old, 4 feet, 9 or 10 inches, stolen while in service... do  50
" James Wall for 286½ bushels wheat                                  do  .... ....
    do  36 barrels, 3½ bushels corn                                  do  .... ....
    do  7 days waggon & driver, &c.                                  do  .... ....
    do  packing 113 barrels flour @ 4d.                             do  1   17  8
    do  7 days coopering @ 2/6.                                      do  17  6

January 23, 1783:
To Irwin Brown's Est. for 825 lbs. of beef.                         C.  S.  .... ....
    do  325  do                                                 do  .... ....
" Hannah Parham  775  do                                           do  .... ....
    do  12 barr's, 2½ bush's corn                                   do  .... ....

February 27, 1783:
To James Haley for a pot                                            C.  L.  1   5
    do  12 barrels & 1 peck corn                                   do  .... ....
    do  one bay horse                                              do  21   ....
    do  920 lbs. of beef                                          do  .... ....
### THE COURT'S VALUATION OF PROPERTY—CONTINUED.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Henry Haley, a gun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; William Wommack for 500 lbs. of beef</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Henry Bailey, 5 barr's &amp; 2 1/2 bush's corn</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

March 27, 1783:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>C.</th>
<th>L.</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To Benjamin Bynum for 363 lbs. bacon</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do 175 lbs. beef</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do a gun</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do 600 lbs. beef</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Solomon Deloache, a gun</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Joel Mabry for 225 lbs. beef</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Robert Spencer, 60 bushels wheat</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; John Spence, 375 lbs. beef</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; William Lundy, 325 lbs. do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Richard Massey, a gun</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

May 2, 1783:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>C.</th>
<th>L.</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To Lewis Tyus for 2 guns</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Jesse Butts for 151 days service as Ass't Com'y</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Benjamin Mason 285 do do do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Thomas Clements, jun., 120 do do do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Benjamin Jones 151 do do do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Miles Collier 22 do do do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Frances Eppes 3 do do do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; William Mason 280 do do do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; John Lucas 120 do do do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Jesse Grigg 28 do do do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Quantity</td>
<td></td>
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<td>-----------------------</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>John Hobbs, jun.</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Pettway</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lewis Grigg, jun.</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Malone</td>
<td></td>
<td>120</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Mahony</td>
<td></td>
<td>67</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lockett Mitchell</td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ebiam Gilman</td>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Hill</td>
<td>for pasturing of cattle</td>
<td>do do do</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Pette</td>
<td>for 40 days</td>
<td>do do do</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sterling Harwell &amp; Co.</td>
<td>for 29 barrels flour, 4716 lbs.</td>
<td>do do do</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Mason, jun.</td>
<td>as Asst. Commissioner</td>
<td>do do do</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nathaniel Thompson</td>
<td>for 1 gun</td>
<td>do do do</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicholas Blanks</td>
<td>for a gun</td>
<td>do do do</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Pelham</td>
<td>1 ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Douglass Wilkins</td>
<td>1 ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evans Mahony</td>
<td>1 ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Stark</td>
<td>for 500 bundles fodder</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Order Book, 13 to 17, 21-22-27 to 30, 36-47-53-63-69.)
Randolph.—Lt. John Randolph, "of the Colony of Virginia," and Margaret Thompson, his wife, had a son John, born in 1790, and a son Thompson, who married and lived it is believed in Stafford County. John Randolph, brother of Thompson Randolph married Mary Fraysler and had a daughter Letitia, who married William Francis Smith. To them was born John Randolph Smith. Who were the parents of Lt. John Randolph, first named? Mrs. Elizabeth S. Hairston, 1101 Roanoke St., Roanoke, Virginia.

Tucker.—Reuben Tucker fought in the Revolutionary War. He married Lucy Daniel in August, 1783, and had ten children born between 1785 and 1810—Jane, John, Richard, Reuben, Eliza, Martha, Abraham, Nancy, Drewry and Polly. Of these Martha Anne, born May 1, 1798, married her cousin Drury Tucker, son of Thomas Tucker, and Tabitha Griffith, his wife. They had Adalenia Harriet Tucker, born in Petersburg April 22, 1843, who married Patrick Henry Jacob. Who were the parents of Reuben Tucker? Maude Jacobs, Hammon-ton, New Jersey.
BOOK REVIEWS


This little book is one of the rarest items of bibliographic Americana. The only clue to the identity of the author is his own statement that he was born in Dauphiné "of the ancient and noble" family of Durand. Bred for the army in his youth he made several campaigns in the Protestant cause, including one in 1655, when he led a band of his neighbors to the aid of the Vandor's, survivors of the massacre in the Alpine valleys. Thereafter he married and retired to his estates, of which he had two, one in his native Dauphiné and the other in adjacent Provence. After the revocation of the edict of Nantes in 1665 he fled from France, and took refuge in London, which he reached in the summer of 1686. He later went to Virginia, and this little translation gives an interesting account of what he saw and heard in that strange land. The translator aptly says that Durand was more accurate in recording "what he saw than what he heard," and his observations seem largely to depend upon his momentary frame of mind or body.

He notices a fact that was the source of Virginia's primacy in democracy, that though the gentlemen whom they called Squires "are greatly honored and respected," there were "no feudal laws," such as obtained in New England. "Each one is master on his own plantation." In Massachusetts, on the contrary, the people were divided by law into three classes, "the better class," "those above the ordinary degree," and "those of mean condition." It was pronounced "intolerable for poor folks to wear gold or silver lace, or walk in great boots, or wear silk or tiffany hoods and scarfs." In 1673 twenty five wives and five maids of Springfield, Northampton, Halifax, Westfield, were presented as persons of small estate some for wearing silk some for long hair and other extravagances. Even down to the Revolution the distinction of rank was kept up with such punctilious nicety that in the arrangement of every class at Harvard College, precedence was assigned to every individual according to the dignity of his birth or the rank of his parents. John Adams was thus placed fourteenth in a class of twenty-four, a station for which he was probably indebted rather to the standing of his maternal family than that of his father.
(Weeden, *Economic and Social History of New England*, p. 289, and Charles Francis Adams, *Life of John Adams*). None of this class division had legal recognition in Virginia. Aristocracy in Virginia had no basis other than was found in the family circle and the bestowment of office by the English government on favored families, largely founded on the extent of their estates. The aristocracy became chiefly spectacular, and the real power in Virginia was confined to the House of Burgesses freely elected up to 1736 by all the free inhabitants.

Here in this book we have ocular evidence of brick houses and brick made in Virginia, contrary to the idea so long prevalent that our colonial houses were made of brick imported from England. We are told that the planters gathered so large a quantity of tobacco as suffices to lade 150 ships every year in Virginia alone. There were few law suits and no robberies. The plow was little used and almost all cultivation was done with the hoe. Some of the people had as many as 100 cows or cattle, and 30 horses. The latter they used only to ride, except at some few plantations far from the sea or a river, where they were used to draw carts. The people, as a rule, were so comfortably fixed, that most of their time was spent in visiting. Not the least valuable part of the book are the interesting notes added by the translator.

*Forbidden Fruits and Other Ballads*. By Thomas Lomax Hunter.
Printed by the Bancroft Shops, East Aurora, New York.

That Virginia has not lost her taste for poetry is shown by this collection of verses by one of Virginia's native born, and a representative of old colonial families. The book is full of gentle sentiments and the turns of thought are sometimes really exquisite. There are fine touches in the ode to “Lee in Statuary Hall,” “How is Love Slain,” and many others.
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