Table of Contents

Magazine of the

Jefferson County Historical Society

Volume LIV
December 1988

Table of Contents

Magazine of the

JEFFERSON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY



Volume LIV December 1988

CONTENTS

Officers of the Society 3
Membership Fees 3
Publications Available 4
List of Members 5
"They Are Coming!": Testimony at the Court of Inquiry on Imboden's Capture of Charles Town,
edited by Paul E. Barr, Jr., and Michael P. Musick 15
Making It on Seventy-Five Acres (Part Two): Letters by Mrs. John M. Daniel from 1892 to 1900,
edited by Richard Micou Daniel 54
The Civil War Recollections of Cleon Moore,
edited by Louis Santucci 89
Eye-Witness Account of the Hanging of John Brown,
edited by Eleanor Lee Templeman 110
Summer Picnic 114
Trivia 114
Editor's Notes 116

"No man is fit to be entrusted with the control of the present who is ignorant of the past, and no people who are indifferent to their past need hope to make their future great."

© Jefferson County Historical Society, 1989

JEFFERSON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Organized May 21, 1927
Post Office Box 485
Charles Town, West Virginia 25414

OFFICERS

President—Dr. John E. Stealey, III, Shepherdstown

Vice-President—Mr. Roger J. Perry, Charles Town

Treasurer—J. Blackwell Davis, Jr., Charles Town

Recording Secretary—Mrs. Joseph R. Groves, Charles Town

Membership Secretary—Mr. Hugh E. Voress, Charles Town

Corresponding Secretary—Mrs. C. William Moore, Charles Town

Curator—William H. Wilson, Charles Town

Directors—Mrs. Newton M. Gibson, Harpers Ferry; Mr. Jack R. Huyett, Charles Town; Mr. Lige B. Miller, Jr., Stepherdstown; Mr. A.M.S. Morgan, II, Rippon; Mrs. Henry V. Saunders, Charles Town; Capt. John B. Schley, Shepherdstown; Mrs. John A. Washington, Charles Town; Miss Elizabeth K. Wysong, Charles Town.

Publications Committee—Mrs. Moore, Dr. Stealey, Capt. Schley.

Emeritus Officers—Frank Buckles, Admiral T.M. Stokes, Miss Julianna Taylor.

Membership—Open to all who have interest in the history of Jefferson County. Annual dues of $5.00 should be paid to the Treasurer after the beginning of the fiscal year on January 1.

PUBLICATIONS

One copy of the Magazine is mailed to each person holding a paid membership. Until the publication of next year's Magazine, members may purchase additional copies for $4.00 each; order these from William H. Wilson, Box 716, Charles Town. Original volumes or facsimile reproductions are available to all persons at $5.00 per Magazine; quantity discounts are allowed. Mr. Wilson also has available copies of *Prominent Men of Shepherdstown* for $10.00 each, mailed, *Old Norborne Parish (1744-1816)* for $5.00 each, mailed, *The Washington Homes of Jefferson County* for $2.00 each, mailed, and Michael D. Thompson, *Calendar and Index to Recorded Plats in the Jefferson County, West Virginia (Virginia), Courthouse, 1801-1901* for $25.00 each, mailed.

"They Are Coming!" Testimony at the Court of Inquiry on Imboden's Capture of Charles Town

Gen. Robert E. Lee, commander of the Army of Northern Virginia, learned in early October 1863 that Gen. George G. Meade, his opposite number in the Army of the Potomac, had detached two army corps to Tennessee. Lee saw his chance to strike, and the Gray Fox set in motion his first offensive since Gettysburg. To secure the gaps in the Blue Ridge on his left flank during the movement he ordered Brig. Gen. John D. Imboden's cavalry to advance down the Shenandoah Valley towards Harpers Ferry. Though not a professional soldier, Imboden was an apt choice for this assignment. The former Staunton, Va., lawyer had shown considerable skill as a leader of horsemen. Among his successes was a recent raid in which he and Brig. Gen. William E. "Grumble" Jones had taken their combined command of hard-riding troopers almost to Ohio. Since then, Imboden's troops had capably defended Lee's army during the retreat from Pennsylvania.[1]

Imboden surprised the Union garrison under Col. Benjamin L. Simpson at Charles Town on October 18, 1863. It consisted primarily of Simpson's own 9th Maryland Infantry. Colonel Simpson, co-owner of a Baltimore, Maryland, ship yard and an early opponent of secession, had long been active in Maryland militia affairs. He had served with distinction since the beginning of the conflict, notably during Pope's retreat from Second Bull Run, rising from captain to lieutenant-colonel. His new regiment of six month volunteers completed its organization in Baltimore, home of almost all its men, on July 6, 1863.[2] Virtually all of the

---

[1]John Daniel Imboden, born near Staunton (Feb. 16, 1823), went on to serve in Gen. Jubal Early's Valley Campaign in 1864 and (after a bout with typhoid fever) as jailor of prisoners of war in South Carolina. He resided at Richmond and Washington Co., Va., after the war, and died at Damascus, Va., Aug. 15, 1895.

[2]Benjamin L. Simpson (born in Prince Georges Co., Md., but removed when a youth to Baltimore) became a foreman of shipjoiners at the Washington Navy Yard after the war. He died at Washington, D.C., Feb. 27, 1888, of consumption (at age 70) and is buried in Congressional Cemetery there. See his obituary in the Baltimore *American,* Feb. 28, 1888. Among the sources for this and succeeding footnotes are compiled military service records in Record Group 94, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, and pension files in Record

unit's brief history thereafter took place on Maryland Heights or just across the Potomac in Jefferson County. Most of their effort was spent guarding the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad there.

Although the capture of Charles Town was a sidelight to the inconclusive Bristoe Station-Mine Run campaign, it was the crucial event in the military careers of Simpson and his regiment. The 9th Maryland lost only 1 killed and 2 officers and 2 men wounded at Charles Town. More stunning was the loss as prisoners of 15 officers and 345 men. Many of these died at Andersonville and the other prisons to which the Charles Town debacle led them. The regiment's deaths by disease, wounds, etc., exclusive of combat deaths, reached 126 by the end of their service. Colonel Simpson, one of the few to escape during the fight, requested a court of inquiry that he hoped would clear his name.

The final opinion of the court was given to Simpson in a letter from the Adjutant General's Office in Washington, D.C., dated March 31, 1864. In 1890 it was published by the War Department as part of its massive *Official Records*. Simpson was no doubt pleased that the verdict held him blameless. But Department of West Virginia commander Brig. Gen. Benjamin F. Kelley's[3] endorsement of December 22, 1863 was also published. It recommended that Simpson be dismissed from the service. "I am of the opinion," wrote Kelley, "that Colonel Simpson was derelict in suffering his command to be surprised, and that he could and should have maintained himself in his position until he could have been relieved by the forces at Harper's Ferry." Judge Advocate General Joseph Holt's review supported Simpson, however, and the lenient findings were approved by order of Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton on March 22, 1864. Only a

---

Group 15, Records of the Veterans Administration, both in the National Archives, Washington, D.C., and the following: Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Blue* (Baton Rouge, 1964); Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army* (Washington, 1903); and Robert A. Krick, *Lee's Colonels* (Dayton, 1979). An annotated roster of the 9th Maryland Infantry: L. Allison Wilmer, J. H. Jarrett, and George W. F. Vernon, *History and Roster of Maryland Volunteers, War of 1861-5* (Baltimore, 1898-99), Vol. 1, pp. 335-352.

[3]Benjamin Franklin Kelley (born in New Hampton, N.H., April 10, 1807) lived at Wheeling, (West) Virginia from age 19. He was a Baltimore and Ohio Railroad freight agent before raising the 1st (West) Virginia Infantry for the war. He fought at Philippi in 1861 and defended the B & O for much of the war. In November 1863 he directed a crushing attack on Imboden near Moorefield. On Aug. 5, 1864, came brevet promotion to major general. General Kelley's humiliating capture by McNeill's Rangers was one of the daring Confederate feats of the war's closing months. After a postbellum career holding a variety of Federal appointments he died at Oakland, Md., July 16, 1891.



National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Brig. Gen. John D. Inboden, C.S.A., The Bold Captor of Charles Town

month before, Simpson had been honorably mustered out of service with his regiment.

The eyewitness testimony before the court has until now remained unpublished. It is case file MM1256 in Record Group 153, Records of the Judge Advocate General's Office, in the National Archives at Washing-

ton, D.C., and remains today a vivid reminder of a few minutes of stark terror for several hundred no longer green Baltimoreans.[4]

[1]

Proceedings of a Court of Inquiry convened at Harper's Ferry, Va. by virtue of the following order: Viz.

Head Quarters Department West Virginia
Clarksburg, Va. November 13, 1863

Special Orders
No. 66

At the request of Colonel Benjamin L. Simpson, 9th Regt. Md. Vol. Inf., a Court of Inquiry is hereby appointed to meet at Harper's Ferry, Va. on the 19th day of November, 1863, or as soon thereafter as practicable, to investigate the facts and circumstances connected with the surprise and capture, on the 18th day of October last, at Charlestown, Va. of the forces under command of Colonel Benjamin L. Simpson, 9th Regt. Md. Vol. Inf. and also to give their opinion upon the case.

Detail for the Court

Colonel Wm. P. Maulsby[5]	1st Regt. Md. Vols. P.H.B.
Major F. A. Rolfe[6]	1st Regt. Mass. Heavy Artillery
Major W. B. Curtis[7]	12th Regt. Va. Vol. Inf.
Lieutenant P. G. Bier[8]	12th Regt. Va. Vol. Inf.

will perform the duties of Judge Advocate

By Order of Brig. Genl. B. F. Kelley
(Signed) T. Melvin
Assistant Adjutant General

[2]

[4]The text of the inquiry is given with only minor alterations. Abbreviations have been standardized, "Q." and "A." substituted for "Question" and "Answer," and some responses broken into paragraphs. Page numbers of the manuscript are in brackets to the right of the text.

[5]William Pinkney Maulsby (born at Bel Air, Md., July 10, 1815) was a Military Storekeeper in the Regular Army during the Mexican War. He was a lawyer in Frederick before becoming colonel of the 1st Regiment Potomac Home brigade, Maryland Infantry, Nov. 29, 1861. He resigned from the Army Aug. 25, 1864. Colonel Maulsby was Chief Justice of the Sixth Judicial Circuit of Maryland after the war. He died at Westminster Oct. 3, 1894.

[6]Frank A. Rolfe (born at Nashua, N.H.) entered service as captain of Co. K, 14th Massachusetts Regiment (which became part of the 1st Massachusetts Heavy Artillery) June 24, 1861. He was promoted to major March 24, 1862. Major Rolfe's battalion of his regiment (Cos. B, C, H, and I) was stationed on Maryland Heights during the evacuation

10 O'Clock A.M. November 19, 1863

The court met pursuant to the above order.

Present

Colonel Wm. P. Maulsby	1st Regt. Md. Vols. P.H.B.
Major F. A. Rolfe	1st Mass. Heavy Artillery
Major W. B. Curtis	12th Regt. Va. Vol. Inf.
Lt. P. G. Bier	12th Regt. Va. Vol. Inf. Judge Advocate

Colonel Benjamin L. Simpson, 9th Md. Vol. Inf., also present. The Judge Advocate having read the order convening the Court, Colonel Benjamin L. Simpson, 9th Md. Vol. Inf., was asked if he had any objections to any member named therein, to which he replied "I have none."

The Court was then duly sworn by the Judge Advocate, and the Judge Advocate was duly sworn by the President of the Court, in the presence of Colonel Benjamin L. Simpson. Whereupon the Court requested of Col. Benjamin L. Simpson the production of all Orders received by him upon assuming and whilst in command at Charlestown, Virginia. To which Col. Benjamin L. Simpson replied that his regimental desk containing all papers and orders was captured or destroyed by the enemy.

[3]

The following note was then addressed by the Court to Hdqrs., 1st Division.

Court of Inquiry in pursuance of Special Order No. 66

Harper's Ferry, Nov 19, 1863

Capt. Wm. M. Boone, Assistant Adjutant General

Captain,

By direction of the Court, I have the honor to request that the Court be furnished with copies of all orders from Division Hdqrs. addressed to

---

before Gettysburg. He was killed in action May 19, 1864, at Spotsylvania, Va.

[7]William Baker Curtis (born in Maryland) was appointed captain in the 12th (West) Virginia Infantry Aug. 25, 1862. He became a major June 17, 1863, and colonel Jan. 26, 1864. On March 13, 1865 he was breveted brigadier general of volunteers for gallant and meritorious services in the capture of Ft. Gregg, Va., and for faithful and efficient service during the war. He died Aug. 25, 1891.

[8]Philip George Bier (born at Wheeling, now West Virginia, Nov. 21, 1841, but raised in Wetzel Co.) was a graduate of Washington College, Pa. He was appointed 1st sergeant of Col. D, 12th (West) Virginia Infantry Aug. 25, 1862, and 2d lieutenant of Co. A, Feb. 7, 1863. He was mustered out of his regiment March 17, 1864, to accept promotion as captain and assistant adjutant general of volunteers. Captain Bier was killed at the Battle of Cedar Creek, Oct. 19, 1864. A post of the Grand Army of the Republic was named in his honor. His service as judge advocate at the court meant that it was he who usually asked the questions.

Colonel Benjamin L. Simpson whilst in and on assuming command at Charlestown, Va., and also with any information or means of eliciting information touching the duties prescribed by Special Order No. 66 which may be in the possession of the General Commanding. Colonel Simpson states that on the occasion of the capture of his command his regimental desk, containing all the orders received by him, was captured or destroyed by the enemy.

I have the honor to be
Your Obedient Servant
(signed) Wm. P. Maulsby, Col.
1st Md. P.H.B. Vol., President of Court

The Court then adjourned to meet at 10 O'clock A.M. on the 20th inst.

[4]

10 O'clock A.M. Nov. 20, 1863

The court met pursuant to adjournment. Present all the members, Judge Advocate, and Col. Benjamin L. Simpson.

The proceedings of yesterday were read over. In reply to a letter by the Court, Capt. Wm. M. Boone informed the Judge Advocate that there was no record at Hdqrs. 1st Div. of any written orders delivered to Col. Simpson upon assuming or whilst in command at Charlestown, Va., but gave him papers No. 16 and No. 23 as being the only ones in the office of the A.A.G.[9] relating to the subject matter of Inquiry, No. 16 being a report dated Oct. 18th from Col. Geo. D. Wells,[10] Comdg. 1st Brigade, reporting the operations of his command against the enemy on that day, and No. 23 being a report, dated Oct. 22nd 1863, from same officer in relation to the killed, wounded, and missing in action near Rippon and also at Capture of Charlestown Oct. 18.[11]

[9]Assistant Adjutant General.

[10]George Duncan Wells (born at Greenfield, Mass.) was the judge of a Boston police court at the time he was appointed lieutenant colonel of the 1st Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry on May 25, 1861. He became colonel of the 34th Massachusetts Infantry July 31, 1862. Colonel Wells was made a brevet brigadier general of volunteers to date from Oct. 12, 1864, the day before he was killed near Cedar Creek, at age 38.

[11]Union reports and correspondence mentioned during the inquiry as well as Confederate documentation were printed in the War Department's *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1901), Series I, Vol. 29, part 1, pages 485-492, 1011-1015, and part 2, pages 345-352, 396. This publication was reprinted in 1971 and 1985.



Maryland Historical Society

Col. Benjamin L. Simpson (left) and unknown Union officer

Lt. Alexander S. Buchanan, A.D.C.[12] on staff of Gen. Sullivan[13] was duly sworn.

Question by the Judge Advocate:[14]

Lt. Buchanan, you will please state to the Court the order from Gen. Sullivan which you delivered to Col. Simpson whilst he was in command of the forces at Charlestown, Va.

Answer: It was on the afternoon of the 14th of October It was reported [5] to General Sullivan that Col. Simpson had his wagons packed, his regiment in line, and was moving, or about to move, to Harper's Ferry. Gen. Sullivan immdiately ordered me out to Charlestown, with these verbal orders. To tell Col. Simpson not to fall back until he was attacked, and then to fall back towards Harper's Ferry fighting and he would receive reinforcements and also to keep Gen. Sullivan posted, with regard to any movements of the enemy by courier. I had some general instructions with regard to the pickets, to keep them well out from the town, a scout out to his front, and for them to be vigilant. These orders I delivered in person to Col. Simpson on the evening of the 14th of Oct. and on the morning of the 15th, I visited one picket post, at the junction of the Summit Point and Smithfield roads, just at the outskirts of the town.

Q. by the Court:

Was the picket which you visited properly posed in your judgement, in conformity with the order which you delivered? [6]

A.: I think that the post was a good one for a reserve, but that there should have been an advance picket on each road. Lt. Col. Cloudslay,[15] who was

---

[12]Alexander S. Buchanan, Aide de Camp (born Feb. 19, 1840, in Milford, Ireland) was a clerk when commissioned 2d lieutenant in Co. C, 10th Missouri Volunteer Infantry. He was appointed aide de camp to Gen. J. C. Sullivan July 5, 1862, and served in that capacity in the battles at Iuka, Corinth, and Vicksburg, Miss. He resigned as 1st lieutenant to care for his aged mother and dependent sisters Dec. 9, 1863. Lieutenant Buchanan resided at Philadelphia and Norristown, Pa., prior to his death on April 18, 1918.

[13]Jeremiah Cutler Sullivan (born in Madison, Indiana, Oct. 1, 1830) had been a U.S. Navy officer and a lawyer before becoming a captain in the 6th Indiana Infantry (3 months) April 18, 1861. He served as colonel of the 13th Indiana Infantry in Western Virginia before his appointment at brigadier general April 28, 1862. Before coming to the Department of West Virginia in September 1863 General Sullivan saw duty in Tennessee and Mississippi. He was apparently held in low esteem by Gen. P. H. Sheridan. After the war he held minor clerical positions in Oakland, Md., and Oakland, Cal., at which latter place he died Oct. 21, 1891.

[14]The judge advocate, as noted above, was Lt. Philip G. Bier.

[15]Thomas Cloudsley served as captain of Co. D, 10th New York Infantry, from April 26, 1861, until he resigned due to ill health March 30, 1862. He was 30 years old when appointed captain of Co. C, 9th Maryland Infantry on June 22, 1863. On Aug. 17, 1863, he was promoted to Lieutenant-colonel, in which rank he served until his muster out at Baltimore on Feb. 24, 1864.

with me, told me there was an advance cavalry picket on each road, but I did not visit them.

Lt. Col. Cloudslay, 9th Md. Vol. Inf., was duly sworn.

Q. by the Judge Advocate:

Lt. Col. Cloudslay, will you please state to the Court what you know with regard to the facts and circumstances connected with the surprise and capture of the forces under the command of Col. Benjamin L. Simpson, 9th Md. Vol. Inf. at Charlestown, Va. on the 18th day of the last October; commencing your narrative with the posting and location of the pickets on the evening of the 17th and morning of the 18th of October.

A.: My impression is that on the morning of the 18th of Oct. Col. Simpson's command for duty embraced about 350 Inf. and 75 Cavalry. We had eight Inf. reserve picket posts. From each of these posts, there were from two to four sub-posts. We had four Cavalry reserve picket posts. Each of these had its outpost or advance pickets. This was the regular picket detail. Besides this, however, on the night of the 17th Oct. [7] we had from 15 to 25 men whose duty it was to patrol from picket post to picket post. At each reserve infantry picket post there were from four to six men, at each cavalry reserve picket post there was about the same number. I cannot state definitely with regard to the numbers, as all records were lost. I am certain that the numbers mentioned were the lowest, and frequently when danger was apprehended they had been doubled. Some two or three nights previous to the 18th, about 75 men extra were detailed and on picket duty. On the night of the 17th the strongest company we had, numbering about 55 men for duty, was all on picket, and constituted the eight Inf. reserve picket posts. Besides this we had the patrols previously spoken of. It was a standing order at this time that every night at tattoo roll call the company officers should be present, and see that each man had forty rounds of cartridges, and that one officer at least of each company should sleep at night with the men. About two thirds of the time the men were compelled to sleep on their arms and with their accoutrements on. I cannot state positively whether that was the case on the night of the 17th.

Picket post No. 1 was on the Harper's Ferry road, over one half of a mile from the court house. [8]

No. 2 was towards the Rail road, about one half of a mile north east of the court house.

No. 3 was on the Leetown road between one half and three quarters of a mile from the court house.

No. 4 was near Simpson's Mill over one half of a mile from the court house.
No. 5 was about three quarters of a mile from the court house at the intersection of the Smithfield and Summit Point road.
No. 6 was on the Berryville pike, about three quarters of a mile from the court house.
No. 7 was on the road leading to the Shenandoah river, about one half of a mile from the court house.
No. 8 was intermediate between the river road and the Harper's Ferry pike, between one half and three quarters of a mile from the court house.
One Cavalry post was on the Smithfield road, about one and one half miles from the court house. Another was on the Summit Point road, about one and one half miles from the court house. Another was on the Berryville road, about one and one half miles from the court house. The fourth was on the Harper's Ferry road, about one and one half miles from the court house.

The morning of the 17th Oct. Col. Simpson sent out all his available cavalry force, numbering about 50 men, towards Berryville, Smithfield & Summit Point. There was at that time in Charlestown a Lieut. and eight men of the New York Cavalry, who went with the party that went in the direction of Berryville. They encountered a large force of the enemy at [9] Berryville, a running fight ensued, and our cavalry was driven back towards Charlestown. The enemy captured some three or four men of the forces sent out by Col. Simpson simply because their horses gave out, the men being out almost every day scouting, or on some other duty. This scout reported the enemy to be White's rebel Battalion,[16] numbering some 330 men, 80 of whom were dismounted as Inf. On the return of the scout Col. Simpson immediately reported to Brigade Hdqrs. the report of the scout. This scout just mentioned was under the command of Lt. Gallean,[17]

---

[16]Maj. Robert White's 41st Battalion Virginia Cavalry, not to be confused with Lt. Col. Elijah V. White's 35th Battalion Virginia Cavalry. Robert White (born near Romney, W. Va., Feb. 7, 1833) was later colonel of the 23d Virginia Cavalry. He served in the West Virginia legislature 1885-1889, and became attorney general of that state. He died near Wheeling in July, 1916.

[17]Aquilla S. Gallion enlisted as a private in Co. F, 2d Maryland Potomac Home Brigade Infantry Aug. 26, 1861, near Hancock, Md., at age 44. He became 2d lieutenant Dec. 9, 1862. Unspecified charges against him were withdrawn at Martinsburg Feb. 2, 1863, on condition that he swear "not to drink another drop of intoxicating liquor so long as he is in the United States service." He was mustered out a 1st lieutenant Sept. 30, 1864. Gallion, a cooper, resided at Columbia, Mo., and Berkeley Springs, W. Va., before his death Oct. 11, 1895.

Co. F, 2nd Md. P.H.B. cavalry. At the same time another scout was out under the command of Lt. Moon,[18] Co. I, 6th Mich. Cavalry, and on its return, on the evening of the 17th Oct. Lt. Moon reported that he had been at Summit Point and Smithfield and the adjacent country, and could neither find nor hear of any enemy. This report was also transmitted by Col. Simpson to Brigade Hdqrs.

On the morning of the 18th of Oct. about six thirty o'clock the first alarm was given, and almost simultaneously every picket was driven in. The Regt. was formed, as soon as possible, behind a palisade of logs that Col. [10]
Simpson had had constructed before the court house. Orders were given to pack everything, and load the wagons ready for instant removal. A few minutes after the first alarm Lt. Moon, Co. I, 6th Mich. Cavalry, being the senior cavalry officer present, reported to Col. Simpson for orders. The orders given Lt. Moon by Col. Simpson were to take his force and proceed in the direction of Harper's Ferry, reconnoitre, and ascertain if possible the position and number of the enemy but not to engage him, and report as soon as possible to him, in order that he might determine what disposition to make of his forces. Lt. Moon had about 120 men mounted, including all the sick, and some without accoutrements. They proceeded in the direction of Harper's Ferry, and in a short time we heard heavy firing, as if Lt. Moon was engaged with the enemy. In about 15 or 20 minutes after he received his orders from Col. Simpson, Lt. Moon returned with 17 men. Col. Simpson asked him what he had been doing and where his men were? He reported that he had engaged a force of the enemy in a piece of woods at the lower end of town, in the direction of [11]
Harper's Ferry, consisting of Cavalry and dismounted men numbering as he thought from 600 to 800 men, and had endeavored to cut his way through to Harper's Ferry, but that all his men had been killed or captured except the 17 men present.

Lt. Moon then asked Col. Simpson for further orders. Col. Simpson told him to take his men and hold the jail.[19] He, with a few of the number, went into the jail, while the rest started off, and escaped in the direction of

---

[18]Robert A. Moon (born in New York) joined Co. I, 6th Michigan Cavalry at Grand Rapids Sept. 1, 1862, age 30. Captured at Charles Town, he was confined at Richmond and Camp Asylum, Columbia, S.C., until paroled at Northeast Ferry, N.C., March 1, 1865. He returned to duty with his regiment May 9, 1865, and was mustered out at Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas, Nov. 24 of that year. A lumberman after the war, Moon died Dec. 9, 1906 at Grand Rapids, Michigan.

[19]The jail, famed as the place of confinement of John Brown, was torn down in 1919. The post office now on the site was erected in 1922.

Leetown. When the pickets were driven in the cavalry pickets reported that the enemy had ten pieces of artillery. Some doubt was expressed to this by Col. Simpson. I went to the upper part of the court house and could distinctly see the artillery being placed in position. I reported this to Col. Simpson, but he had become already satisfied from the reports of other pickets that the enemy had artillery there. Col. Simpson had every part of the court house manned by the Inf., loop holes cut through the walls, and every preparation made for defense. The building opposite, known as Redmond's Hotel, was occupied by as many as could get access to the windows, and also the jail, which was loop-holed. The palisade previously spoken of was also fully manned.

After these arrangements had been made some one called to Col. Simpson [12] that a flag of truce was approaching from the direction of the Smithfield road. Col. Simpson then called for men, and told me to go out and meet that flag of truce. I went out and saw a man approaching the court house on horse back with the flag of truce in his hand. I ordered him to halt, and went up to him and asked him what he wanted. He replied, "Gen. Imboden demands the unconditional surrender of the town." I told him I would report Gen. Imboden's demands to my superior officer. I reported it to Col. Simpson, and he replied, "Tell him if he wants it, to come and take it." I repeated the reply to the bearer of the flag of truce. He then went away, and I returned to the court house. In about five or ten minutes some one again cried "another flag of truce." Col. Simpson again ordered me to meet the bearer of the flag of truce and see what was wanted. I went out and demanded his business. He replied, "Gen. Imboden requests that you move all the women and children from the houses in the vicinity of the court house and jail, as he intends to shell the town." I told him it should be done. He wanted to know how long a time it would take to do it. I told him, "I do not know, but I suppose about an hour." His reply was, "You [13] must think we are foolish," or something to that effect. I told him it was their own proposition, that they were the attacking party, and if they wanted the women and children removed they must certainly give time. I then asked him how much time he would give. He said he would go and ask Gen. Imboden. He turned his horse, went down street again, and I started to the court house.

Before I reached the court house a shell struck one corner of it, and glancing from there against the log palisade, exploded. This was not more than 15 or 20 seconds from the time the man said he would go and see Gen. Imboden, what time he would give to remove the women and

children. Up to this time (before the first shell was fired), Col. Simpson and I had been talking about the matter, and could not think he would shell the town before the women and children were removed. I did not imagine for one moment that they would be so inhuman as to shell the town when it was full of women and children. I remarked to Col. Simpson that I thought the shell was fired by mistake, and that they certainly would [14] not continue it. He replied that if they gave us time to remove the women and children the reinforcements, for which the courier had been sent, would probably reach us in time. When the alarm was first given, a cavalry-man having reported that we were attacked by a large force with artillery, a courier was immediately sent to Brigade Hdqrs. to report that fact and ask for reinforcements. The courier was afterwards reported to have been captured by the enemy while on his way. There was no cessation, posted about 200 yds. north of the court house on a hill. Every shot they fired struck the court house. The third shot entered it, and exploding in the passage way, wounded very badly the Adjutant[20] and one private. There was at the same time some guns, do not know how many, posted on a hill south of town, about 300 yds. distant from the court house, playing upon us. To the best of my knowledge there were from 10 to 20 shells struck and exploded in the court house and around it. There were two men wounded in the upper story of the court house.

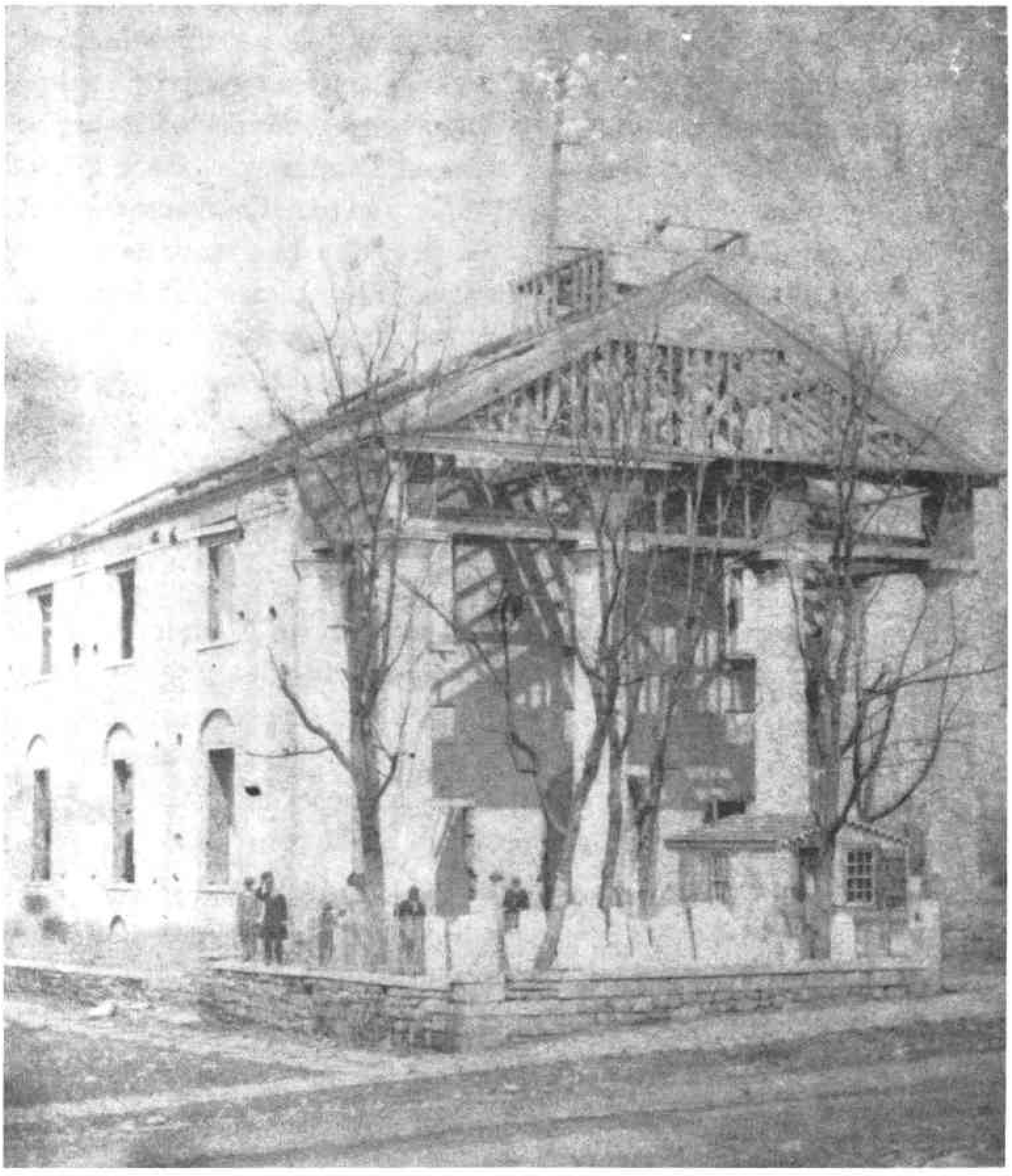
While the cannonading was going on a portion of our forces were in the [15] street. They could not see the enemy, but could hear them yelling. They approached and kept themselves covered by the cross and by streets. The men became discouraged from the fact that they could see no enemy and

---

[20]The adjutant of the 9th Maryland was Lt. Charles Howard Richardson (born in Baltimore), who had enlisted as 1st sergeant of Co. A on June 18, 1863, at age 23. He became adjutant June 22.

A surgeon described his wound thus: "A large fragment [of shell] engaged the posterior & lateral aspect of the right thigh, upper 3d, lacerating the soft parts frightfully, apparently half severing the limb from the body, & crushing the bone from a point near the great trochanter for several inches down the shaft. The nervous shock was frightful, requiring treatment close at hand.

He was kept at Charlestown some 12 weeks, during which time the limb was sustained in a posterior splint. The discharge is represented to have been immense, accompanied with sloughing of the parts. During his confinement at Charlestown, several consultations were held with a view to amputation, but his general condition was deemed too feeble to justify it. The extremity of the lower fragment protruded through the wound, giving rise to inconvenience & suffering. It being difficult to maintain it in situ, about 2½ inches were sawn off, the section embracing the entire diameter of the bone." To the astonishment of everyone Lieutenant Richardson survived this ordeal, becoming a clerk in Baltimore and marrying. He died at his home in that city Nov. 23, 1889, of tuberculosis, aged 48 years, 11 months, and 28 days, with burial in Green Mount Cemetery.



Lloyd Osterdorf Collection, Dayton, Ohio

"Court House, Charlestown, W.Va., after Imboden's Attack."

the shells dropping among them caused them to be in a measure panic stricken. Col. Simpson deemed it inexpedient to remain in the court house longer, since we could inflict no injury upon the enemy, as they were out of sight from the circumstance already stated, and ordered its evacuation. He ordered the troops to be called into the court house yard, and each company to be formed under its Commanding Officer, and to form column of company in the street leading to Harper's Ferry. The Company Officers did all they could to form the men, and partially succeeded, but

when they went to march out of the yard there was a rush of the men to see who could get out of the gate first.

Col. Simpson mounted his horse and rode out into the street among the men and at the head of the column, begging, pleading, shouting and threatening both officers and men to form their line. He ordered Major Church[21] and myself to assist him in forming the line, which we did, going to the head of the column and trying to block the way, but the men would [16] break by on each side in spite of all we could do. In the meantime we were under a heavy fire from the houses and cross streets by which Capt. Lovejoy[22] and several of the men were wounded. We got about one half a mile from the court house and managed to stop the men at the head of the column by threatening to shoot some of them. Again Col. Simpson ordered column of company to be formed, and it was partially done. The confusion again becoming so great among the men, and finding all his attempt futile to form the line as it should be, Col. Simpson gave the command, "forward, by the right flank by file left," but instead of executing the movement those who were formed became a confused mass.

By this time the Battery on the north side of town had moved down nearly on a line with us, and as we were descending the hill opposite Mr. Hunter's house[23] a shell was thrown which passed through the roof of the house and exploded directly over the heads of the men. The Battery on the south side had also moved down and was throwing shells, but had not obtained a perfect range. The mass of the men were about this time some 200 yds. [17] from the foot of the hill, where was stationed some 500 or 600 of the enemy, cavalry and infantry. The men were now utterly demoralized, and commenced breaking up and destroying their guns, and seeking to escape in every direction. Our forces continued their progress until we

---

[21]Royal Weston Church (born in 1838) was enrolled as major of the 9th Maryland on August 4, 1863, at age 25. He was mustered out February 24, 1864. Major Church died Nov. 7, 1869, at St. Louis, Mo., and is buried at Green Mount Cemetery, Baltimore.

[22]Perley Roy Lovejoy was a teacher at Baltimore City College (actually a high school) when he enlisted as a private in Co. G, 9th Maryland, on June 22, 1863. He was raised to captain July 10, 1863. He received a gunshot wound in the left arm at Charles Town and was captured, but was left behind by the Confederates after being carried several miles due to loss of blood. He was discharged at Baltimore Feb. 24, 1864, at age 42. When he died on Oct. 22, 1889 in Baltimore there was considerable dispute about whether it was the result of his Charles Town wound. Captain Lovejoy lies in Friends Burying Ground near Clifton, Baltimore Co.

[23]The home of Andrew Hunter (born in Berkeley Co. March 22, 1804; died at Charles Town Nov. 21, 1888) was burned by order of Gen. David Hunter on July 17, 1864. Hunter, a distinguished lawyer, is best remembered for his part in the prosecution of John Brown.

were among the enemy. The enemy had been firing upon us with musketry from the time we came in sight at the top of the hill, some 250 yds. distant, until we were in their midst. The enemy was also in our rear firing upon us.

At this time the men had surrendered, and the mounted officers made their escape in the direction of Duffield. We were pursued about five miles, but our horses being in better condition than those of the enemy, we succeeded in escaping them. The officers who escaped were Col. Simpson, Major Church, Surgeon Morgan,[24] Asst. Surgeon Kemp,[25] Chaplain Gray,[26] and myself. Two non-commissioned officers, three privates, who had obtained horses, and one cavalry private escaped with us.

Q. by the Court:

Can you state any particular reason why your Inf. pickets were not posted a greater distance out?

A.: In the first place, we had not force enough to place them further out, since by extending the circuit of the lines we would have had to place more men, and we had not the men to spare. Again, when Gen. Lockwood[27] was in command he came to Charlestown while Col. Simpson was sick, and visited while there two or three picket posts and told me that picket [18]

---

[24]Wilbur Phelps Morgan (born Feb. 25, 1841, in Jefferson Co., Va.) entered the University of Maryland to study medicine in the fall of 1860. "Though Southern by birth, education, and sympathies, [he] could not accept disunion, and therefore entered the Federal Army in 1862" (*The Biographical Cyclopedia of Representative Men of Maryland and the District of Columbia,* Baltimore, 1879). After recovering from typhoid fever he was mustered out Feb. 24, 1864. Dr. Morgan lived after the war in Baltimore, where he became an eminent physician, renowned for his study and experimentation with pigeons. He died Dec. 20, 1922.

[25]Henry Clay Kemp was a physician enrolled as 1st assistant surgeon in the 9th Maryland July 7, 1863. Following muster out on Feb. 24, 1864, he moved from Denton, Caroline Co., Md., to his father's farm in Queen's Co., where he tried but failed in farming. Surgeon Kemp died July 2, 1876, at Kent Island, Md., of rheumatism.

[26]George Taring Gray was a Methodist minister. He joined the 9th Maryland July 21, 1863, on Maryland Heights as chaplain. He was mustered out Feb. 24, 1864, at Baltimore. Reverend Gray, who was 65 in 1896, died of cystitis at Irvona, Clearfield Co., Pa., Feb. 18, 1898.

[27]Henry Hayes Lockwood (born Aug. 17, 1814, in Kent Co., Delaware), Colonel Simpson's division commander, was a West Pointer with both army and navy experience. Before becoming colonel of the 1st Delaware Infantry on May 25, 1861, he had been an instructor at the Naval Academy. Most of General Lockwood's Civil War service was spent in maintaining Union control of the Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia and in the Potomac River and Baltimore areas. He was a brigade commander in the Gettysburg campaign, and division commander with headquarters on Maryland Heights when the action at Charles Town occurred. In 1864 he helped turn back Gen. Jubal Early's foray toward Washington. After the war he returned to the Naval Academy, and retired from duty at the Naval Observatory in 1876. He died at his home in Georgetown, D.C., Dec. 7, 1899.

post No. 7 was too far out, them being liable to be cut off, and directed me to draw it in to a point which he indicatd. The picket posts were so established, taking advantage of the eminences around the town, as to be in sight of each other. The entire circuit of the picket posts was at least three miles in extent. I refer in this answer to the Inf. pickets.

Q. by the Court:

Can you describe the position of Charlestown, the general features of the surrounding country, and the roads leading to it and past it on either side, within a distance of two or three miles?

A.: The nature of the surrounding country is broken, consisting of hills and valleys, and being wooded. Charlestown itself is built upon an uneven piece of ground. the roads leading into Charlestown are the Berryville Pike, Smithfield Pike, Summit Point road, Leetown road, Harper's Ferry road, road from Keyes Ferry, road from Billmyer's ferry, and Kabletown road. There is also a road between Charlestown and the Shenandoah river, commencing on the Smithfield turnpike and running entirely around the town. [19]

Q. by the Court:

Of what command did the infantry forces in Charlestown consist?

A.: Parts of seven companies of the 9th Md. Vol.. Inf.

Q. by the Court:

How long had the 9th Md. Vol. Inf. been in service at this time?

A.: From the date of the organization of the Regt., two months and one day.

Q. by Col. Simpson:

Was there any artillery under my command at Charlestown, and was there any effort made to obtain it?

A.: There was no artillery at Charlestown, but application was made to Gen. Lockwood for it. I made application myself for two pieces, but Gen. Lockwood did not grant the request. I heard Col. Simpson say several times that he had asked for artillery but that it was refused.

The court then adjourned to meet at 10 o'clock A.M. on the 21st inst.

10 o'clock A.M. Nov. 21st, 1863 [20]

The Court met pursuant to adjournment. Present all the members, Judge Advocate, and Col. Benjamin L. Simpson.

Major Church, 9th Md. Vol. Inf., was duly sworn.

Q. by the Judge Advocate:

Major Church, will you please state to the Court any facts or circumstances that you know relative to the capture of Charlestown, Va.,



National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Lt. Philip G. Bier, U.S.A., Judge Advocate at the Court of Inquiry

by the enemy on the 18th day of last October, giving first the location of the pickets on the evening of the 17th and morning of the 18th of October?
A.: There were eight Inf. picket posts.
No. 1 was at Andrew Hunter's house on the Harper's Ferry road.
No. 2 was on a road leading to Mr. Ranson's house.[28]

---

[28]The 1852 S. Howell Brown map identifies this property as belong to Mrs. Elizabeth Ranson. Brown's 1883 map shows James Ranson as the owner.

No. 3 was on the Leetown road.
No. 4 was on what is called the "Mill road."
No. 5 was at or near the junction of the Summit Point and Smithfield roads.
No. 6 was on the Berryville road.
No. 7 was on the road leading to the Shenandoah river.
No. 8 was south of the grave yard.[29]
The posts were an average distance of about three quarters of a mile from the court house. There were also cavalry outposts, about three quarters of a mile or one mile beyond the Inf. posts. These posts were visited three or four times a day by the field officers. [21]

On Sunday morning, Oct. 18th, as I was dressing myself, I heard some confusion near my quarters, and someone exclaimed "they are coming." I put on my coat, took my sword and belt in my hand and ran over to the court house, where I found Col. Simpson engaged in rallying the men. I assisted him in forming the companies, and in assigning them their positions, until he ordered me upstairs in the court house to take charge of the men there. I posted the men at the windows and port holes and cautioned them not to be excited. Almost immediately after that a flag of truce was brought in, demanding a surrender in the name of Gen. Imboden. I did not hear Col. Simpson's reply, as I was upstairs, but I heard the men cheering him. His reply was sent by Lt. Col. Cloudslay. I then went to the windows looking to the north side of town, and saw the rebels wheeling their artillery into position near the track of the Winchester Rail Road. Just at that time a second flag of truce came in, making some request, I believe, with regard to the women and children, and almost immediately after the bearer left to return, the first shell was fired.

The men upstairs with me opened on the enemy's gunners from the windows, causing them to shift their pieces behind a house, which intervened between the court house and them. The shells then commenced to come very rapidly, from both the north and south side of town. When the 3rd or 4th shell struck, I heard a cry. I asked what it was, and some one replied that the Adjutant was struck. After some 12 or 15 shells had been fired, it became too uncomfortable where we were, and Col. Simpson ordered the men to form in column in the street. I repeated the order to my men, and came down with them into the court house yard, where the [22]

[29]The graveyard is today's Edge Hill Cemetery.

officer's horses were fastened. My horse was fastened with that of the Asst. Surgeon,[30] and while trying to get him unhitched a shell came over which caused them to break loose from me and run up street after the retreat column. I followed on foot, the column being about one and one half squares ahead. I found a cavalry horse in the street, I mounted it and overtook the regiment, when I recovered my own horse, he being held by one of the men. I found Colonel Simpson very earnestly beseeching the men to form in line by companies. I repeated his orders on the left, my position, and as far as I could see, the line officers were all endeavoring to carry out the order. But the men had become panic stricken, many of them having already broken from the column and taken refuge in the houses. [23]

By the time we got to No. 1 picket post, near Mr. Hunter's house, I do not think there could have been more than one half the men together. At this point, the artillery on the north side of town, finding we had left the court house, shifted their pieces and commenced shelling us on the road. The woods on the right of the road were filled with rebels, mounted and dismounted. They opened on us with small arms. Here the men began to break in every direction, destroying their guns. A short distance below in the left of the road there is a narrow skirt of woods, from which the rebel cavalry commenced charging. My horse becoming unmanageable, I turned him into a field on the left, when he dashed straight ahead, and I escaped.

Immediately after the first alarm, Lt. Moon, commanding the cavalry, came to Col. Simpson for orders. Col. Simpson instructed him to feel the enemy with his force in the direction of the Harper's Ferry road. Lt. Moon had, I suppose, between 60 and 75 men with him. He returned shortly after with only a small squad of about a dozen men, exclaiming to Col. Simpson in a very excited manner, "We are cut off." That was the last I saw of the cavalry. [24]

Q. by the Court:
What was the conduct of Col. Simpson from the time the men left the court house until their capture, and the escape of the mounted officers?
A.: He was as cool and composed as when on battalion drill, and was engaged in endeavoring to rally and form the men.
Q. by the Court:
With what arms was the command armed?
A.: Smooth bore Harper's Ferry muskets.

---

[30]Henry C. Kemp.

Q. by Col. Simpson:
Do you know anything with regard to the number of rebels on the occasion of the capture of Charlestown?
A.: From information obtained from rebel citizens, subsequent to the fight and my own observation, I suppose there were from 2000 to 2500, with some 8 or 10 pieces of artillery.
Q. by Col. Simpson:
What was the extent of our force?
A.: I suppose the effective Inf. force was from 250 to 375 men, and about 75 cavalry. We had no artillery.
Q. by Col. Simpson: [25]
Have you any knowledge of my trying to obtain a section of artillery?
A.: I remember that you pressed the subject in almost every interview that you had with the Brigade Commander, Col. Geo. D. Wells, and the Division Commander, General Lockwood. Gen. Lockwood always said it was no object to hold the place, as he expected us to fall back if threatened by a superior force.
Q. by Col. Simpson:
Do you know anything of my having sent a courier with the report that we were attacked, and asking for reinforcements?
A.: I remember that you sent a courier immediately after the first alarm was given, but from subsequent information I believe the courier was captured.

Mr. John W. Kenedy[31] of Charlestown, Va. was duly sworn.
Q. by the Judge Advocate:
Mr. Kenedy, had you any information of the approach of Imboden's rebel force to Charlestown, Va., on the 18th day of last Oct.? If you had, how, and from whom, and when did you receive this information? Have you any knowledge that such information was communicated to any citizen or citizens of Charlestown? If you have, to whom, and by whom?
A.: I was in Wheeling, Va., on the 18th of Oct. I left Charlestown on the [26] Thursday previous to the 18th day of October. I returned to Harper's Ferry from Wheeling on Monday, Oct. 19th, and went thence to Baltimore. On the Wednesday previous to Oct. 18th there was general suspicion that there was a rebel force in the valley above Charlestown. I

[31] John Willoughby Kennedy (born Nov. 25, 1822) was the son of Andrew Kennedy of "Cassilis" (just south of Charles Town on U.S. route 340), and brother of Andrew Eskridge Kennedy. He was a circuit court judge and a lawyer for some years in Wheeling. He died at his residence in Washington, D.C., Dec. 2, 1904, and is buried in Edge Hill Cemetery.

requested Col. Simpson, if there was any picket firing in the night or any information of any danger, to have me awakened.

He did so about midnight. I found that he had made every disposition of his forces possible to meet the enemy in case of an attack.[32] He had his wagons all packed, all the forage in them that could be put there, the horses saddled, and the troops ready for any emergency.

He had also stationed a company of Inf. at the first cross roads, on the Harper's Ferry road, to protect his rear, and get his train off safely. Col. Simpson's preparations on this night were caused, I think, by orders from Hdqrs.

Mr. Andrew E. Kenedy[33] of Charlestown, Va., was duly sworn.
Q. by the Judge Advocate:
Mr. Kenedy, had you any information of the approach of Imboden's forces to Charlestown, Va., on the 18th day of last Oct.? If you had, when did you receive the information, and did you communicate the same to any citizen of Charlestown, Va.? If you did, when, and to whom? [27]
A.: I had information of Gen. Imboden's approach about 2:30 o'clock A.M. on the 18th of Oct. Gen. Imboden sent a Lieut. and private of his command to me to ascertain whether the force in Charlestown had been reinforced on the evening of the 17th and other information. I declined giving him any information upon that or any other point with reference to the forces at Charlestown, considering myself under obligations not to do so, as I had a pass from the Provost Marshal at Charlestown and was going in and out on it every day. I did not communicate the information to any citizen or citizens of Charlestown, or to any one else whatever, until the affair was all over.

The information I received was that Gen. Imboden would move from Berryville at 2 o'clock A.M. with about 2000 men, and attack Charlestown at 5 o'clock on the morning of the 18th or, if possible, prior to that hour. Subsequently, when Gen. Imboden passed my house, he asked me for the same information that I had refused to give at 2:30 o'clock. I also refused to give it to him.

A report having come out that the forces in Charlestown had surrendered,

---

[32]The attack occurred on Sunday, Oct. 18, 1863. The previous Thursday was Oct. 15.

[33]Andrew Eskridge Kennedy (born July 18, 1824) was a Charles Town lawyer. He appeared at a Union military court in December 1864 to protest the loss of his mother's horses and a turkey to marauding Federal troops and was given a safeguard. He died at his residence in Washington, D.C., Jan. 1, 1900, but is buried in Zion Episcopal Church Cemetery, Charles Town.

I obtained permission from Gen. Imboden to go into town for the purpose of endeavoring to have every courtesy extended to Col. Simpson, Major Church and Capt. Noble,[34] three officers who had been kind and courteous to me and my family. Gen. Imboden told me that they should [28] be so treated, and authorized me to take any means for that purpose. I saw Gen. Imboden over one and one half hours before the first gun was fired, and he told me that he then had Charlestown completely surrounded. I saw six pieces of artillery. At this time I was held by Gen. Imboden's advanced guard.

Surgeon Morgan, 9th Md. Vol. Inf., was duly sworn.

Q. by the Judge Advocate:

Surgeon Morgan, will you please state to the Court any facts within your knowledge relative to the capture of Charlestown, Va., on the 18th of last Oct., beginning your narration with a statement as to the location of the pickets on the evening of the 17th and morning of the 18th of October?

A.: For three weeks previous to the 18th of Oct. I was confined to my bed the greater part of the time by remittent fever. But from riding around with Col. Simpson, before taking sick, I saw there were eight Inf. reserve picket posts at an average distance of from one half to three quarters of a mile from the court house. The cavalry pickets were changed while I was sick, I do not know for certain with regard to them. From 5 to 6 men were sent to each cavalry post on the evening of the 17th. I saw them start myself.

On the morning of the 18th when the alarm was given, I received the first [29] notice of the approach of the enemy from my colored man, who said "they were coming in reality this time." I got up and went over to the court house. I saw the 1st Sgt. of Co. C,[35] which company was on picket the night of the 17th, and he said they had been driven in by a considerable number of the enemy, and that a large force of them had passed around the town on the south side. When I arrived at the court house the men were forming. We remained there for some time after the enemy opened with artillery from the rear of the court house. The last shell I noticed fired at the court house burst and struck the Adjutant. I picked him up, and carried him into one of the side chambers of the court house. When I came

---

[34]Horace Noble enrolled as 1st lieutenant in Co. F, 9th Maryland, on June 24, 1863, at age 24. He had previously been a private in Co. G, 17th Massachusetts Infantry. He was appointed captain Oct. 8, 1863, to date from Sept. 8 of that year. He was captured at Charles Town, Oct. 18 and paroled at City Point, Va., March 7, 1864. His muster out of service was on March 31, 1864. Captain Noble resided in Baltimore in 1872. He died at Easton, Md., April 14, 1916.

[35]The 1st sergeant of Co. C was Edwin H. Newcomer.

out to look for an ambulance to get him off, the Regt had gone out of the court house yard into the street, and was going towards Harper's Ferry.

My driver told me that the ambulance horses were wounded or killed. I turned to go to the court house, when one of the men told me "Doctor, the Adjutant has just died, you need not go back." I then caught and mounted my horse about 100 yrds. from the court house. I was riding near the head of the column, calling to the men to form those companies. The regiment [30] continued in this way to within 100 yds. of Briscoe's woods.[36]

At that place a very heavy fire was opened by a large force of the enemy stationed in these woods. I noticed at this time a number of guns dropped and thrown to the ground by our men, the men saying we had better surrender at once. My horse was struck at this juncture, and dashed down around two wagons towards the head of the column, turned to the left, and went across an open field. There was a private in the advance on the Quartermaster's[37] horse, and my horse followed his. At this time, as I neared the fence, I saw the rest of the field and staff officers on my left. We were abreast at that time. We crossed through two gaps in the fence into the road, and made our escape to Duffield.

Q. by Col. Simpson:

Was there any shelling of the column by the enemy after we left the court house?

A.: When the men were in the vicinity of picket post No. 1 and while Col. Simpson was trying to rally them there was considerable shelling by the enemy. I saw what I supposed to be two guns coming into position on the [31] Harper's Ferry road, in front of the regiment and on the Harper's Ferry side of Briscoe's woods.

Chaplain G. T. Gray, 9th Md. Vol. Inf., was duly sworn.

Q. by the Judge Advocate:

Chaplain Gray, will you state to the court what you know with regard to the capture of Charlestown, Va., on the 18th of Oct. last, and the conduct of Col. Simpson on that occasion?

A.: At 7 o'clock A.M. my servant came into my room, and called me to breakfast. I arose and was dressed within 10 minutes at which time my servant returned, stating that the rebels were in town. I immediately packed my trunk, which occupied some 5 minutes. I ran downstairs and

---

[36]Briscoe's woods was approximately where the McDonald's restaurant now stands on U.S. 340 east of Charles Town.

[37]The regimental quartermaster was 1st Lt. John Turner, who was made a prisoner of war at Charles Town.



Tintype—courtesy of Milton T. Chambers and the Library of Congress

Men of the 9th Maryland Infantry. Pvt. William T. Carter, captured at Charles Town, at far left.

went out into the street. Our forces were then concentrating in the court house and the defenses. I saw down street a heavy force of rebel cavalry.

In a few minutes a mounted rebel approached with a flag of truce and demanded the surrender of the town. Col. Simpson's reply as I understand it was, "if you want the town take it if you can." I then heard Col. Simpson say to the men "fight the rebels like the devil," to which the men responded with three cheers. The rebel then went back, and again returned in about [32]
10 minutes with a flag of truce, asking that the women and children be removed from the vicinity of the court house, as they were going to shell it. The flag bearer turned and proceeded about 20 feet on his way back, when a shell stuck the court house. That was succeeded by other shells. Col. Simpson urged his men to do their duty.

Shortly after this, Col. Simpson ordered the gates to be thrown open, the men to fall in line, and cut their way through. I saw the men coming out of the court house yard, proceeding towards Harper's Ferry somewhat scattered. Col. Simpson, meanwhile, was riding up and down the street urging the officers to get their men in line. Ascending Hunter's hill he halted his horse, turned around, and ordered Co. I to fall in. Then he dashed forward to the front, giving another command of the same import to another company. When I saw him last, he was within thirty feet of the rebel front urging his men to fight.

The Court then adjourned to meet at 10 o'clock A.M. on Monday the 23rd inst.

10 o'clock A.M. Nov 23rd, 1863 [33]
The court met pursuant to adjournment. Present all the members, Judge Advocate, and Col. Benjamin L. Simpson.
In compliance with the order of Gen. Sullivan, copies of all orders on file in the office of the A.A.A.G., 1st Brigade, to Col. Simpson, upon attaining and while in command at Charlestown, Va., were furnished the court, also of several reports made by Col. Simpson at various times to Hdqrs 1st Brigade. A copy of a telegram from Col. L. B. Pierce, Commanding at Martinsburg, Va., dated Oct. 18th was also sent from Hdqrs. 1st Div. The above mentioned papers will accompany the proceedings of the Court.

Capt. Thomas H. Leavitt,[38] 1st New York Cavalry, was duly sworn.
Q. by the Judge Advocate:
Capt. Leavitt, have you any knowledge in regard to the location of the pickets of Col. Simpson's command at Charlestown, Va., on the 17th and 18th days of Oct. last? And any knowledge of the circumstances attending the surprise and capture of Charlestown, Va., on the 18th day of last October? If you have, please state your knowledge on both points.
A.: I was in Martingsburg, Va., on Sunday, and consequently have no knowledge whatever of the capture and surprise of the place on that day, Oct. 18th. I came into Charlestown on the morning of the 17th just after [34] daylight by way of the Berryville road. The cavalry picket on this road was perhaps three quarters of a mile from the court house. What appeared to be the main Inf. picket was stationed where the turnpike enters the town. On leaving Charlestown I passed out the Middleway or Smithfield road and the Inf. picket was on this road, a short distance beyond the junction of the Middleway or Smithfield road, and the Summit Point road. This is all my knowledge of the matter.

Sgt. F. Coxson,[39] Co. E, 9th Md. Vol. Inf., was duly sworn.
Q. by the Judge Advocate:
Sgt. Coxson, will you state to the court what you know relative to the

---

[38]Thomas R. Leavitt enlisted July 30, 1861 as a private in Captain Ogle's Co. (later known as Co. A), of the Lincoln Cavalry, subsequently called the 1st New York Cavalry. He was then 32 years old. Private Leavitt was promoted to 1st lieutenant Sept. 12, 1861, and to captain March 1, 1863. He was dismissed from service Aug. 20, 1863, "for rendering false and fradulent accounts against the government," but was re-instated Nov. 6, 1863, when his recruitment of 300 men and "gallant conduct" were brought to the attention of the War Department. He was provost marshal of Charles Town October 1863—January 1864. Captain Leavitt was mustered out Sept. 30, 1864, to date from Aug. 22, 1864.

[39]Francis Coxon (born in England) enlisted June 26, 1863, in Co. E at age 24. He was mustered out Feb. 23, 1864. After the war he worked as a potter in Baltimore. First Sergeant Coxson died of apoplexy and cardiac arrest Jan. 9, 1904.

surprise and capture of Charlestown, Va., on the 18th day of last Oct.?
A.: On the morning of the 18th of Oct. about quarter of 7 o'clock the alarm was given. The men were formed. The enemy opened with artillery. The men in the court house yard could see no enemy to fire at, and became excited. The men in the court house, towards the back of the building, were firing. After some time Col. Simpson gave the command that the men should be formed in column of company in the street. The yard gates were opened, and the men rushed forth in a confused mass. Efforts were [35] made to form them, but the officers had no control over them.

Finally the mass of the men got near the piece of woods on the Harper's Ferry road below Hunter's house, when the enemy advanced out of the woods 400 or 500 strong, keeping up a heavy fire. There was also on the right another large body of rebels. Many of the men discharged their pieces at the enemy, and all attempted to escape through an open field to the left, but in a very short time the rebels were mixed all through them and captured all, except the mounted officers, who made their excape. I was captured and taken by the rebels to near Front Royal, where I made my escape.

Lt. Snyder,[40] 9th Md. Vol. Inf., was duly sworn.
Q. by the Judge Advocate:
Lt. Snyder, will you state to the Court what you know relative to the surprise and capture of Charlestown, Va., on the 18th day of last October?
A.: I think it was on Tuesday night previous to the capture that Col. Simpson was notified that Gen. Lee was advancing down the valley. The wagon train was consequently packed, and both the Cavalry and Inf. pickets moved farther out, the cavalry pickets about one and one half miles, the Inf. about three quarters of a mile from the court house. I was [36] officer of the pickets that night. To every Inf. reserve picket there was one or more outposts some two or three hundred yds. in advance of the main post. These were the stations of the pickets until the 18th of Oct. When I was officer of the pickets I made the rounds at night about 8 o'clock, between 12 and 1 o'clock, and about daylight, and several times during the day. These were the orders from regimental Hdqrs. and I believe that other officers of the pickets did the same thing. Lt. Col. Cloudslay, from

---

[40] William Louis Snyder was enrolled as 2d lieutenant in Co. E, 9th Maryland, on June 20, 1863, and was mustered out Feb. 24, 1864. On April 5, 1864, he re-enlisted in Co. I, 3d Maryland Infantry, serving until June 24, 1864. In 1881 he was a Baltimore merchant. Lieutenant Snyder died Oct. 10, 1894, of nephritis, and is buried in Green Mount Cemetery, Baltimore.

whom I received these orders, urged upon me the responsibility that rested upon the officers of the pickets, and the importance of attention to their duties.

On the morning of the 18th Oct., shortly before 7 o'clock I think, the alarm was given. I was sent with a squad of men into the 2nd story of the court house, whence we fired upon the gunners of the rebel battery north of town. While this fire was being kept up, one of the men said that the regiment had gone. I and my men were in an anteroom, and had not received the order. The rest of the force that was in the second story was gone. There was with me some 8 or 10 men. the order might have been given to us, and we not have heard it in consequence of the firing. We immediately left, and when we got into the street we could see the regt. going up street, but we were cut off by rebels in front and rear. The whole [37] party with me was captured, but three of us escaped and the rest were taken off by the rebels.

Q. by the Court:
Who was officer of the day, and officer of the pickets on the 17th and 18th of Oct., and where are they?
A.: I think that Capt. Conaway[41] was officer of the day, and I know that Lt. Meyer[42] was officer of the pickets. They are both prisoners in the hands of the rebels.
Q. by the Court:
How long did you remain in the court house from the time the first shell was fired by the rebels?
A.: In my judgement about 15 minutes. I think they fired from 12 to 20 times with artillery, while we were in the court house.
Q. by the Court:
Previous to this time, what had been the general alacrity of the regt. in obeying orders?
A.: I think the regiment was as prompt as any other regt. in obeying

---

[41] William E. Conoway served as captain, Co. D, 9th Maryland, from July 9, 1863 until discharged March 31, 1864. Before that he was in Co. G, 2d Maryland Infantry. After being captured at Charles Town, Captain Conoway was held at Belle Isle and Richmond, Va., being paroled March 21, 1864, at City Point, Va. Later he was a member of Co. A, 11th Maryland Infantry. He died at Baltimore Nov. 26, 1898, of heart disease at age 72.

[42] Harman F. Meyer was born in Baltimore June 22, 1842. He was employed as a clerk when he enrolled as 2d lieutenant in Co. C on June 19, 1863. After capture at Charles Town and imprisonment at Richmond he arrived at Annapolis, Md., on March 24, 1864. On March 31 he was discharged at Baltimore, where he still lived in 1902. Lieutenant Meyer died March 4, 1919, at the National Soldiers' Home in Tennessee.

orders. The men were in the habit of moving with great alacrity when ordered.

Q. by Col. Simpson: [38]
Have you any knowledge that companies were ordered out to strengthen the pickets during the week preceeding the capture?

A.: I myself was sent by Col. Simpson with orders to Companies F and I to strengthen the pickets on one night—I also know that Co. G, I think it was, was sent on the Harper's Ferry road one night, and that on another night Co. D was sent on the road leading to the Shenandoah river to reinforce and strengthen the pickets.

Lt. Kelley, A.D.C.[43] on Staff of Gen. Kelley, was duly sworn.

Q. by the Judge Advocate:
Have you any knowledge in regard to orders delivered to Col. Simpson at Charlestown prior to the capture of that place, on the 18th of last Oct.? And any knowledge of the circumstances attending the surprise and capture of Charlestown? If you have, please state your knowledge.

A.: I think it was on Tuesday evening previous to the 18th Oct. that Gen. Sullivan assumed command at Harper's Ferry, relieving General Lockwood. About 9:30 o'clock P.M. on Tuesday Gen. Sullivan received a dispatch from General Kelley that Gen. Lee was supposed to advancing down the valley. General Sullivan at once sent an order to Col. Simpson to pack up his surplus stores and baggage and send them to Harper's [39] Ferry, and if he had not teams enough to press teams in the neighborhood. That Gen. Lee was supposed to be on his march down the valley, and for him (Col. Simpson) to be on the alert, and in case of the approach of the enemy in force, to fall back to Harper's Ferry. This order was in writing, but no books having yet been opened at Hdqrs. the order was not recorded, and the copy retained for the purpose was lost. I have undertaken to give only the substance of the order. I may be mistaken as to the absolute direction to Col. Simpson to send in the baggage and trains to Harper's Ferry. The order may have been that he should be ready to send them in at a moment's warning.

---

[43]William B. Kelley, son of Gen. B. F. Kelley, was born at Wheeling Feb. 26, 1839 (or 1840). He lived with his father in Philadelphia, Pa., before enlisting Sept. 25, 1861, in Co. A of the 1st Virginia (later West Virginia) Infantry, his father's outfit. Virtually his entire service was as aide de camp to his father at Harpers Ferry and Clarksburg, W. Va. He was mustered out as 1st lieutenant Nov. 26, 1864. Lieutenant Kelley's postwar career included work as a salesman and street railway supervisor in Kansas City, Mo. He died of a cerebral hemorrhage at Cincinnati, Ohio, Jan. 4, 1926, and is supposedly buried in Harpers Ferry.

Col. Geo. D. Wells, 34th Mass. Vol. Inf., Commanding 1st Brigade, was duly sworn.

Q. by the Judge Advocate:

Col. Wells, will you please state to the Court what you know relative to the capture of Charlestown, Va., on the 18th day of last Oct., also with regard to any orders or other circumstances preceeding or relating thereto?

A.: Col. Simpson's regiment was ordered to Charlestown by Gen. Lockwood some time preceeding the occasion referred to in the question. [40] Capt. Summers' company of cavalry[44] was then there. Capt. Summers was very well acquainted with the country, and was a very active officer. He was scouting continually. He was killed about the middle of Sept. I then sent, by Gen. Lockwood's order, a company of Mich. cavalry, Lt. Moon commanding, to Charlestown, and Gen. Lockwood afterwards sent Capt. Means' cavalry command.[45] The cavalry scouting parties were running against the enemy all the time, and it appeared from their reports that the forces operating against us were Maj. White's battalion, Maj. Gilmor's battalion,[46] and two companies of the 12th Va. rebel cavalry, probably not amounting to 500 men in all.

Somewhere about the middle of Oct., when Lee made his last advance, and the day Gen. Sullivan assumed command, I was directed by Gen. Sullivan to cause all my troops on this side of the river to be packed up and ready to move to Maryland Heights at a moment's warning. This was understood to be in anticipation of the probable advance of Lee in this direction, and I was directed to order my troops to resume their usual routine. I think this happened more than once, at about that time. I sent these directions to Col. Simpson. [41]

About the same time we received intimations or rumors that Imboden was up the valley and meditating an advance this way. All this intelligence was immediately sent to Col. Simpson, and he was instructed to examine into the truth of them, and to keep his front well scouted. As often as any of his scouts returned, he sent in the information to me. He reported on the 15th

---

[44]Capt. George D. Summers commanded Co. F of the 2d Maryland Potomac Home Brigade Infantry. This was actually a cavalry company, despite its infantry designation. Captain Summers was killed in action at Summit Point Oct. 7, 1863.

[45]Capt. Samuel C. Means commanded the Independent Loudoun (Va.) Rangers, U.S. Volunteer Cavalry, almost the only Virginia Union unit which was not re-designated as a West Virginia unit.

[46]Baltimore's Maj. Harry W. Gilmor (Jan. 24, 1838 - March 4, 1883) was at this time commanding the 2d Maryland Cavalry Battalion. Major Gilmor published the lively *Four Years in the Saddle* (New York, 1866).



National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Woodcut, Pvt. George Henry Wible, Co. F., 9th Maryland Infantry, captured at Charles Town, upon his return from Belle Isle Prison, Richmond, Virginia.

or 16th Oct. a force of enemy at Berryville consisting of White's battalion, numbering 230 men in all, and that his Cavalry could hear of no other force of the enemy in the valley. He sent in a report to the same effect, late on the night of the 16th, which I immediately sent to Division Hdqrs. On the night of the 18th, after I had gone to bed, I received another dispatch

from Col. Simpson, detailing the result of a reconnaissance on that day. I sent this dispatch immediately to Division Hdqrs., without retaining a copy. It stated, as near as I can recollect, that this scout of 50 or 60 men, which went to Berryville, drove in the pickets there of the enemy, and found that the town was occupied by White's battalion of between 200 and 300 men, that his scouts in other directions could learn of no force of the [42] enemy in the vicinity.

I was deceived by all these reports, and I think very likely Col. Simpson might have been. When he spoke of Major White's battalion, I supposed it to be the Major White who had been here all the time, and with whose force I was perfectly acquainted. It turned out, however, to be an entirely different White, named Robert White, who had just come into the valley with his battalion.

The next morning, I heard cannonading, and almost at the same moment a cavalry-man appeared, and brought information that Charlestown was surrounded. This was not a courier from Col. Simpson. I ordered my Brigade under arms, and rode down to Gen. Sullivan, who gave me orders to go to Charlestown immediately. Major Cole's Cavalry,[47] which was ordered out at the same time, reached Charlestown in less than two hours from the time the first gun was fired, but too late to relieve Col. Simpson. With this Cavalry, one regiment of Inf., and battery of Artillery,[48] I engaged the enemy, and followed him some nine miles from Charlestown on the road towards Berryville. His force was about 2000 men, with six pieces of artillery, commanded by Gen. Imboden in person, and it would seem from the statement of prisoners that this force was concentrated on [43] Charlestown the night previous to the attack from different points, that all the roads leading out from Charlestown were occupied during the night, and before any demonstration of attack was made. The force was composed of several distinct organizations whose names are stated in my official report, and who marched from separate points upon Charlestown the morning of the 18th Oct. I know nothing, except what I obtained from Col. Simpson's report.

The orders which Col. Simpson received from me in reference to that position were not to attempt to hold Charlestown against a superior force,

---

[47]Maj. (later Lt.-Col. and Col.) Henry A. Cole's 1st Maryland Potomac Home Brigade Cavalry.

[48]The 34th Massachusetts Infantry and 17th Battery, Indiana Light Artillery (Capt. Milton L. Miner).

but to fall back towards Harper's Ferry. I told him or some one of his officers about that time that if a superior force advanced against him I should not care to reinforce him there, but to make a fight, if one was to be made, this side of there. I had also told him to have nothing in Charlestown in the way of baggage but what they were ready to abandon or remove at a moment's warning. Col. Simpson seemed to be very active and vigilant, judging from his reports to me. Such of these reports as were not sent direct to Division Hdqrs. appear in the copies furnished to the [44]
Court, and digests of them were sent to Division Hdqrs. Some instructions were sent to Col. Simpson direct by Gen. Sullivan of whose contents I was not apprised. From my knowledge of the localities, and Col. Simpson's report, I think he was disposing the force at his command judiciously, and using his cavalry as actively as they would bear. In saying this, I do not refer to the stationing of the regiment in the village of Charlestown, or to Col. Simpson's action on the 17th and 18th Oct. Upon these points it does not become me to express any opinion. For information as to matters in the valley, and for outside picketing, Col. Simpson was of course obliged to rely upon the cavalry which he had.
The Court adjourned to meet at 10 o'clock A.M. on the 24th Inst.

10 o'clock A.M. Nov. 24, 1863
The Court met pursuant to adjournment. Present, all the members, Judge Advocate, and Col. Benjamin L. Simpson.

Maj. Church, 9th Md. Vol. Inf., was again duly sworn.
Q. by the Judge Advocate: [45]
Major Church, will you please state to the Court the losses in men and property sustained by the 9th Md. Vol. Inf. at Charlestown, Va., on the 18th day of October, 1863?
A.: I would state the losses on that day to be as follows: two enlisted men killed, two officers and seven enlisted men wounded, and 16 officers and 340 enlisted men captured. Four wagons, two ambulances, and twenty horses, besides arms, ammunition, and stores, also fell in the hands of the enemy. There were no Quartermaster's stores of any amount.[49]
Q. by the Judge Advocate:
Was your Regt. ever under fire at any time previous to the fight on the 18th of last Oct.?
A.: It was not

[49]These losses differ slightly from those given in the introduction, which are from an official statement filed with the court of inquiry proceedings.

Q. by the Court:
What had been the habit of the men, previous to this occasion, with respect to promptness and alacity in obeying orders?
A.: They were remarkably prompt.

Lt. Gallean, Co. F., 2nd Md. P.H.B. Cavalry, was duly sworn.
Q. by the Judge Advocate:
Lt. Gallean, will you state to the Court what you know relative to the [46]
surprise and capture of Charlestown, Va., on the 18th day of last Oct., beginning with a statement as to the location of the pickets on the night of the 17th and morning of the 18th of October?
A.: On Saturday, the 17th Oct., I went on a scout to Berryville, Va. The only pickets I saw that day were those on the Berryville road. The Inf. picket was about three quarters of a mile from the court house, and the Cavalry picket from one quarter to one half of a mile beyond the Inf. I was acquainted with the general location of the pickets, from the time the town had been occupied this time by our troops. There were eight Inf. pickets, at an average distance of three quarters of a mile from the court house, with the exception of two or three between the roads for the purpose of preventing the pickets being flanked, which were not so far out. There were six Cav. pickets, one on each road, between one quarter and one half a mile beyond the Inf.

On Saturday, by order of Col. Simpson, I made a scout with 24 men in the direction of Berryville. The advance found some of the enemy in the town and began fighting with them. We charged and drove them out on the Millwood road. There we encountered a large number of Inf. and [47]
Cavalry. They were drawn up in line of battle. We retreated and they followed us some 4 or 5 miles. Four of my men became dismounted, one of whom was wounded and captured. We returned and reported to Colonel Simpson that we saw a force of the enemy, Inf. and Cavalry, but could not tell how large.
On the morning of the 18th Oct. one of my men, who had been dismounted the day before and had just arrived at camp, was giving me information of a supposed approach of Inf., Cavalry, and Artillery by the enemy, whom he said he had heard marching all night on the Berryville road as he made his way in; which information I was about to report to Col. Simpson, when the firing commenced and the pickets were driven in. I never saw pickets fight so well as they did on this occasion. I refer to the Cavalry and Infantry.

Lt. Moon being the senior Cavalry officer present was in command. The

entire Cavalry force then present was mounted, and consisted of about 75 men including some sick. Col. Simpson ordered Lt. Moon to take the Cavalry, reconnoiter and ascertain the enemy's weak points, and report immediately. Lt. Moon ordered the Cavalry into column, and proceeded down the roads towards Harper's Ferry. After going a short distance Lt. [48] Moon gave to the Cavalry the order "To Harper's Ferry at all hazards." The column charged. The rebel cavalry on the left gave way, and those of us that escaped got through at that point. At the same time the rebel Inf. closed in on the right, and Lt. Moon with about 20 men turned back.

During the entire period of Colonel Simpson's command at Charlestown, Va., the utmost caution was observed. I think he did all he could with the force at his command.

Q. by the Court:

Had you an opportunity of observing with regard to the alacity and promptness with which the 9th Md. Inf., on duty at Charlestown, had been in the habit of obeying orders?

A.: I had such opportunity several times, and I observed that they obeyed orders with remarkable promptness. I recollect on one occasion of an alarm at night that the Regt. was in line in 15 minutes from the time the alarm was given.

The testimony was hereupon closed and Col. Benjamin L. Simpson was inquired of whether he desired to submit anything to the Court, and [49] replied that he did not. The Court was then cleared for deliberation, and having maturely considered the evidence adduced, united in the following opinion:[50]

The undersigned have obtained all the evidence in this case which has been attainable. They have carefully considered and compared it, and in obedience to the order convening them, respectfully express their opinion to be:

That the surprise and capture of the greater part of the forces under the command of Col. Benjamin L. Simpson, 9th Maryland Infantry, at Charlestown, Va., on the morning of the 18th day of October ultimo, were inevitable, because of the peculiar location of the place, which, surrounded by an open country for several miles on all sides and approachable by a large number of roads from all directions, was easy to be flanked and surrounded, and because of the superior force by which it

---

[50]This opinion is printed in the *Official Records, Armies,* Series I, vol. 29, part 1, pages 1010-1011, but is given here for the sake of completeness.

was attacked, and of the inferior force for its defence. The Rebel attacking force was two thousand men, with six pieces of artillery. The defending force under command of Col. Simpson consisted of three hundred and seventy five infantry, and seventy five or eighty cavalry. Although the pickets of Col. Simpson were posted not so far out as at first view might [50] seem to have been desirable, yet when the smallness of his force, and the circuit of his picket lines extending, as they were established, three miles are taken into account, it is not perceived how he can be justly held blamable for not extending them further. The proof shows that Gen. Lockwood, when in command, directed one of the posts to be drawn in from what he considered its too great exposure. That they were driven simultaneously and rapidly was due to the location of Charlestown, and the fact that the enemy had availed of it to post his forces around it on all sides during the darkness of the night of the 17th and so to be ready for attack on each picket post at the same moment, which it may well be inferred had been previously fixed on. Col. Simpson's Inf. force consisted of part of the 9th Maryland Vols., which had been in service but two months, and had not been under fire before. The exposure to an artillery fire, as described in the testimony, whilst the enemy approached their position by cross and by streets, keeping concealed from view, and refusing fair combat, was well calculated to demoralize new troops. Still a very painful feature of the affair was the disorganized condition of the men, from the time they left the yard of the court house to the time of their [51] capture. In such a case, the undersigned are of opinion that the field and line officers should have enforced the orders given to form column and line respectively, and should have maintained military order and decorum, and consequent efficiency by such use of their side arms upon their own men as might have been necessary to accomplish these results. In such case, the worst enemies to the whole theory and spirit of the Army Regulations are those men who refuse, from any cause, compliance with the 1st paragraphs of 1st article of those regulations,[51] and such enemies should be met and subdued by all the means at command of their officers. The undersigned are not aware that the course of action indicated has been recognized as a general rule governing officers under the circumstances, and they cannot therefore feel justified in censuring Colonel Simpson or his officers for having failed to pursue a course consonant with their opinions but not demanded by a generally recognized rule;

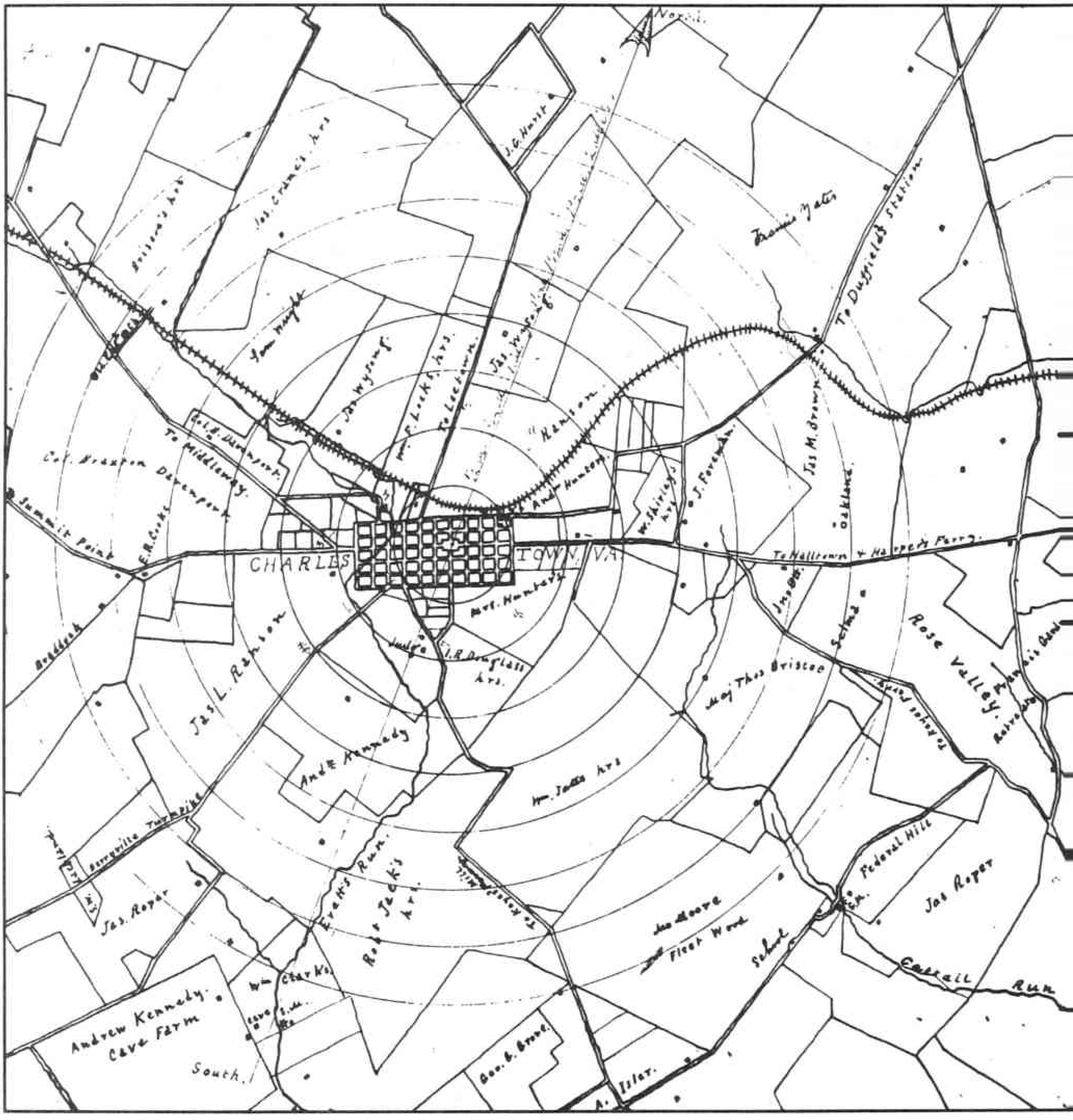
[51]The paragraph reads "All inferiors are required to obey strictly, and to execute with alacrity and good faith, the lawful orders of the superiors appointed over them." *Revised Regulations for the Army of the United States* (Philadephia, 1861), page 9.

whilst they think it unfortunate that it did not occur to them to resort to it. They entertain no doubt, however, that whatever might have been the action of Col. Simpson and his officers in this respect, the result would have been the same. The capture was inevitable, from the superior force of [52] the enemy and its success in having selected its positions without hinderance, because of the facilities before alluded to. All of the facts and circumstances considered together, the undersigned think that no blame can justly be attached to Col. Simpson on account of the Surprise and Capture of Charlestown, Va., on the 18th Oct. last.

There is a feature of this transaction which the undersigned think ought not to be passed without notice. It is a clearly established fact that the rebel forces commanded by Gen. Imboden did, on the occasion referred to, shell Charlestown whilst it was occupied by women and children, without allowing time for their possible removal from the localities shelled. And it is notorious that the population of Charlestown is composed almost wholly of active or warmly sympathizing colaborers and friends of Gen. Imboden in the work of rebellion. And this was done by a General with a force of four hundred and fifty men with not one piece of artillery. It is insistably inferable that the object of the Rebel Commander was the [53] capture of the forces, so greatly inferior to his own, before that force could receive reinforcements, to put it on an equality with his and so have opportunity for a fair, equal, and manly fight; and that, to the accomplishment of this object, he did not hesitate to sacrifice the safety of the women and children of the—by him and them—claimed Southern Confederacy. In fact, within a short period after the accomplishment of this feat the entire force of General Imboden retreated rapidly before the charge of Major Cole's battalion of about three hundred men, which had come up to Col. Simpson's relief; and before that battalion and one Regt. of Infantry, the 34th Mass., and one battery of artillery, Miner's, which shortly after came up, all under command of Col. Geo. D. Wells, Commanding 1st Brigade, and numbering less than seven hundred men all told, he continued industriously his retreat with his two thousand men and six pieces of artillery for more than nine miles, and until the pursuing force was recalled.

The lost of Col. Simpson's regiment at Charlestown was two men killed, two officers and seven men wounded, sixteen officers and three hundred and forty men captured. Four wagons, two ambulances and twenty [54] horses, together with some arms, and the ammunition on the persons of the men, about 60 rounds each.

There was but a small quantity of Quartermaster's or other stores on hand.



Plat of Charles Town and Vicinity in Court of Inquiry Papers, MM 1256, RG 153, Records of Judge Advocate General's Office, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Accompanying the evidence is a plat, taken from a map of an accurate survey, showing the location of Charlestown and the adjacent country and the posts established by Col. Simpson marked black 1 and red 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8, respectively.

Which is respectfully submitted,

(SIGNED)

Wm. P. Maulsby — Col. 1st Md. P.H.B. Vols.
Commanding 2nd Brigade 1st Div., Pres. Court of Inquiry

Frank A. Rolfe — Maj. 1st Mass. H.A.
W. B. Curtis — Maj. 12th Regt. Va. V.I.

There being no further business before them, the Court adjourned sine die.[52]

(SIGNED)

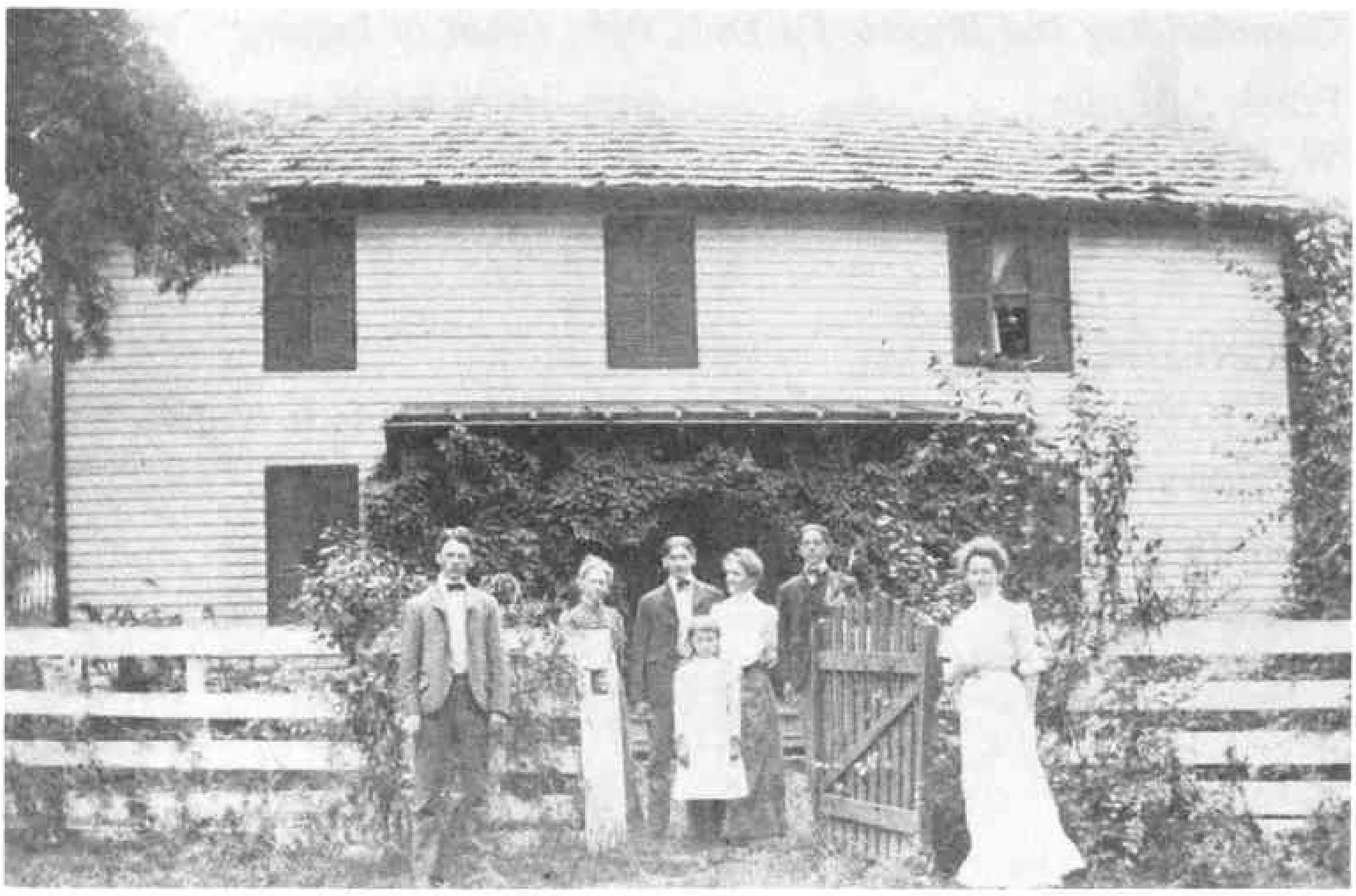
Wm. P. Maulsby — Col. 1st Md. P.H.B. Vols.
Commanding 2nd Brigade 1st Div., Pres. Court of Inquiry

Lieut. P. G. Bier — 12th Va. Vol. Inf.
Judge Advocate

Edited by Paul E. Barr, Jr., and Michael P. Musick

[52]Latin for "without day," that is, without appointing a day on which to assemble again.

Making It On Seventy-Five Acres (Part Two): Letters by Mrs. John M. Daniel from 1892 to 1900



Greystone
l. to r.: Willie, Mrs. Daniel, Moncure, Mildred, Bessie, Francis, Anne

In early 1892, Major E. H. McDonald decided to leave Louisville and bring his family to Media farm in Jefferson County. Thus the sisters, Julia and Anne, would be almost within shouting distance of each other. In fact when John Aglionby sang *In the Gloaming* at Media, he could be clearly heard at Greystone. The McDonald family included ten children from Ed, aged 21, to the year old Francis Leavell. In between there were Anne (19), Julia (18), Wm. Thomas (16), Angus (14), Percy (12), Mary (10), Marshall (7) and John (4). Also living with the family was Lill Leavell (5). It was the major's intention to buy out the rest of the Leavell heirs and thus own the entire 300 acres of Media farm. Eventually he borrowed about $6,000

Editor's Note: Part I of Mr. Daniel's edition appeared in this periodical, Volume LIII, December 1987.

from Frank Aglionby to accomplish this and secured the loan with a mortgage. Next to making the Media house habitable, planting a garden and stocking the place with chickens, etc., the first order of business was to arrange for their children's education. This was solved by hiring a young Washington & Lee University graduate named John W. Davis to conduct classes on the premises.

But first a death struck the wider family as Anne describes in the following letter:

My dear William: *Greystone, Jan. 1st, 1892*

The first time I write '92 shall be to you but not the cheerful letter I meant it to be for we have just been shocked by the news of Uncle Francis' death. I will enclose the note from Miss Harriet which tells all we know yet as it only came about dark this evening.

The note:

Dear Anne,
Your Uncle passed away about
3:15 this afternoon from heart
failure induced by grippe.
Yours affec'tely
H.R. Rooker
Jan. 1, 1892
4 PM

I saw Mr. Wynkoop on Xmas day at church & he told me all were better. I had been three times last week to see the Flowing Spring family, all of whom were sick with grip. Uncle Francis seemed very feeble & nervous but had not kept his bed at all. Aunt Sydney & Mary Brooke seemed much worse & were in bed. Miss Harriet kept up because she is energetic & felt that she must. I could see that she felt anxious about Uncle Francis & she asked me to let the Mt. Pleasant & Walnut Grove families know of his sickness, which she thought serious for one of his age. I am glad that I did it though I did not think him ill. The day after Xmas I went to Hedgesville & while there Emma got a letter from Mary Brooke saying all were getting over the grip. So I was unprepared for this news. Poor old man! I trust he is at rest. His business failures must have humbled & saddened his last years. I am glad that he died in his old home, that was the last wish I ever heard from him. We will go over in the morning & see if there is anything that we can do for Aunt Sydney.

My visit to Hedgesville was most pleasant. Papa was so cheerful & though a little thin he was better than I expected to find him. He preached twice on Sunday with much earnestness but his reading in the service

shows his failing sight. It is very pathetic to see him leaning over the Bible & holding up the leaves. I suggested a cushion to raise it higher; but he would not have it as his glasses are suited to a certain range. He does not go out for many minutes at a time; but he did actually go out after dinner & split some wood that had been sawed for his stove & was too broad. Emma says he says it is good exercise for him; but I thought it too violent & not necessary. It is very pleasant to see how well he retains his faculties & his deafness is not any worse. Emma seemed well for her & busy over dialogues, etc., for the Xmas celebration.

My dear Papa: *Greystone, Jan. 9th, 1892*

Thank Emma for her letter. I was glad to get it. Willie also gave a cheerful account of you & enjoyed his visit very much. He got home in a snow storm & we have had pretty good sleighing since. I took advantage of it to go to Walnut Grove day before yesterday & found all pretty well. They were less shocked at the news of Uncle Francis' death than we were as they had heard the day before of his being worse & sending for the doctor. Bacon Yates came to the funeral & staid with us until Tuesday. He does not look well & seems delicate. He thinks there will be very little of provision for Aunt Sydney & nothing for the children after the debts are paid, if the estate pays out. The weather was very bad on Sunday, Miss Harriet being the only one of the household well enough to go to the funeral. Even Mr. Wynkoop was in bed.

Mr. Daniel has some men cutting cord wood & getting logs ready to go to the saw mill in the clearing for plank for spring fencing.

I want to go to Mt. Pleasant this evening. How the circle of our relations seems to decrease, two of the brothers having died so suddenly in less than twelve months!

My dear Wm., *Greystone, Feb. 4th, 1892*

The Aglionby sale comes off on the 23rd and then Aunt Fanny & Nettie propose leaving Mt. Pleasant. I suppose they will set John up comfortably at Gap View before they leave for England.

My dear Anne, *Louisville, Ky., Feb. 15th, 1892*

I dare say it is my turn to be writing to you and you doubtless are wondering what our plans for the coming to Media may be on closer reflection. It seems best that we should go on early in the spring to attend to the garden, fowls, etc. and to save the expense of this establishment

here. So Mr. McDonald expects to take us on about the middle of April and after settling the family there to return here and wind up his business gradually, as it would be a sacrifice now to dispose of his real estate & stocks. So look out for the emigrants about that time. You can well imagine that I feel some trepidation about the moving, all this furniture to be packed and so many helpless little ones to be kept comfortable and leaving the tried for the untried experiences, and worst of all the separation from my dearest husband & boy; but I dare not dwell on this side of the picture.

As usual I must stop to attend to the baby. With fond love for all your household, I am ever your devoted

Julia

My dear William, *Greystone, Mar. 15th, 1892*

The Aglionbys are still at Mt. Pleasant. Nettie says Aunt Fanny will be sitting right there when the Shauls move in April 1st. The plan seems to be to fix John comfortably at Gap View & then to visit around until about the 20th of May when they will sail for England. Aunt Fanny says to spend the summer; but Nettie speaks of staying several years. I shall miss them in many ways but having Julia near will overbalance other losses.

Willie has at last found a colt to suit him, a very pretty sorrel very like Francis' Traveller, well bred they say & the Bashaw stock, if you know what that is, for riding & driving. She will be a year old in May. We have had very cold, disagreeable weather lately; but I suppose it is best for the fruit as it has not advanced at all. The wheat looks promising and we think we have a sufficient supply of provender to last until grass comes. The cattle are all young & though they look thinner than they ought, they are in much better condition than many I have seen. We have gotten through the winter with unusual comfort & health. The roads have not been so bottomless as they were a year ago, but very rough. We suffered with cold going to town yesterday morning.

My dear William, *Greystone, May 10, 1892*

I have not seen anything like as much of Julia as I want to. We have both been minus cooks. I will get up early & get through the most urgent duties & run to see her; but she seems hopelessly chained at home with that large family & she has not been in this house yet. We went together to Walnut Grove last Sunday evening. Aunt Julia & Cousin Julia were well; but Cousin Lizzie was suffering from a cold & we did not see her.

*Aunt Fanny & Nettie are staying in town waiting to attend to some of their business, in which John must join. You know the undertaking it was to get him to go last summer. So it has been quite impossible since he jumped from a flying freight train & narrowly escaped serious injury. It was two weeks ago & he was still stiff & sore when I heard last from him but able to walk about.**

I am so glad to hear through Julia that you can so soon be with us. She says Ed may also come at the same time. I hope Julia will adapt herself to the farm. She has never taken any interest in things outside of the house. I don't think she has seen her own garden yet. The Major has been such a good prop that she has not felt the need of looking after things I suppose. But he seems to me to be aging very fast & must need relaxation from care. He goes to sleep in the pauses of conversation & I can't help feeling uneasy about him. What a blessing to have raised a son like Ed is!

John O. Yates has been very ill; the doctor says he came from Florida too early in the season & took cold. Now there seems to be a general giving way of his system & he has most alarming attacks of heart trouble. It was thought he could not live through last week; but he rallied & was better when I saw him yesterday morning.

*The wheat is unusually promising and the prospect for fruit was never better. The tenant on the Moler farm put in our corn for half. I am not doing as much teaching as I ought. Willie is almost constantly busy with his father in the garden, fencing or white-washing. Anne has improved very much at school. She is as far advanced as I was when I left school; but I don't tell her so! Julia Kennedy is to be married soon after school closes.***

My dear Papa, *Greystone, June 21st, 1892*

Mr. Daniel is busy early & late in the garden. The weeds grow faster than ever & when it is too hot to be in it, he rests & goes to the Junction to hear the news. There is so much of political interest going on at present.

My dear Papa, *Greystone, Wednesday night*

Mr. Tucker has gone to Shannondale Springs for two weeks. I don't know whether I told you that old Mr. Wyatt keeps the hotel there this

---

*John Orfeur Aglionby enjoyed the reputation of being somewhat eccentric. Thus references to him in the letters are rather disdainful. He was known for his excessive weight and appetite. It is he who is reputed to have said "A turkey is an unfortunate bird, too big for one but not enough for two." Although he was very fond of the ladies, he never married.

**Julia Kennedy married Edmund R.Taylor. She had several brothers, one of whom was Paca Kennedy, who became a professor at Virginia Seminary.

season. We propose going down to spend Saturday. I am to chaperone Julia's young people & my own, as she does not wish to take her baby or leave him; but he is much better & was here yesterday evening.

Mr. Daniel was sent as a delegate to the State Convention which met in Parkersburg today, so he started Monday night in order to stop at Grafton. We have had a lonely time without him, especially as Anne was spending a few days in town at Mr. Jas. M. Mason's.

My dear William, *Greystone, Sept. 8th, 1892*

I have been hoping for Julia's baby to be better that I might write you a more cheerful letter; but that blessing seems denied us. I am extemely anxious about him. Yesterday the doctor thought him better, as we all did; but he had a wretched night and Aunt Fanny thought he was sinking. She stimulated him all she dared and sent for the doctor. He came at once & was surprised to see the failure in his strength since the day before. At Julia's wish he went back to town & brought out Dr. Lippitt as consulting physician. By the time they reached Media the child's pulse had improved and he was sleeping peacefully & they pronounced his condition better. He retains his food, malted milk, meat juice & a few drops of whiskey, also his medicine. It seems strange that he does not improve; but you would not know him, he is so emaciated & Julia was sure that he did not know her today or that his sight had failed. Nettie says little Pegram was blind for two weeks during his long illness & unconscious. So Aunt Fanny does not despair of Francis' recovery. He does not seem to have any fever and he does not cry nor seem to suffer, only such distressing restlessness & weakness. I am thankful Aunt Fanny is able to stay with Julia & help her with the nursing. She forgot the little step going into the hall & had a fall yesterday & had to use a cane for awhile; but she seemed nearly over it this evening. Julia is much worn with anxiety & nursing; but she keeps up wonderfully. The Major took the children to the fair yesterday as the baby seemed better. Mr. Daniel also took our children. I had no desire to go and the dust is simply dreadful. I am thankful to say it is raining a little now & I hope it will be sufficient for the pastures, gardens & cisterns.

Aunt Fanny & Nettie have decided not to sail until October on account of the cholera.

Going to Media is the first duty after breakfast. I have advised that the tutor be written to, to postpone his coming a few days on account of the baby's illness as it would add to Julia's cares, and the boys of both families are busy in the corn fields.

I wish you would give my love to Ed. I feel much for him in being separated from his family, especially in their hour of trial. "God help us all, who need indeed His help!"

Fondly yrs.
Anne

P.S.: Friday morn. The baby died last night.

My dear Papa, *Greystone, Sept. 20, 1892*

I was glad to see your card to Julia & to know you were well. I suppose you are at Romney & I hope you are able to enjoy the services. Mr. Tucker said he would also go so I suppose you have met him. I fear he is in trouble about the financial condition of the parish; but you need not mention that I said anything. It seems that there is a debt on the parish building and the salary is behind. One of the vestry moved to reduce the rector's salary & it is said Mr. Tucker has spoken of resigning. The people think he ought not to have insisted upon a fine spire & bell until the parish building was paid for. I don't know what the end of it all will be; but I hope the necessary money can be raised & the parish building need not be sacrificed. I don't think Mr. Tucker realizes how hard times are with his country people.

I am thankful to say that we are all well. Mr. Daniel & I went up to Media this evening to call on the young teacher & were very well pleased with him. The children took their books up this morning & he is trying to classify them; but it is a little difficult. He has not been accustomed to the same books that the children used in Kentucky & mine have used still another set. So it will take time to bring order out of such confusion; but he looks very cheerful over it & the children are pleased with him. I trust he will be able to interest them & that they will do their best. The Major & Julia miss the baby so sadly. It is hard for them to be cheerful; but the teacher's coming make them forget their own feelings in a measure.

Today we were shocked at the news of the death of Smootz, the prisoner in town who was to be hung next month for the murder of that poor girl in Shepherdstown. It is thought that he took morphine; but no one knows how he could have gotten it as he was closely guarded & not allowed to see anyone but his keepers. A very sad end but I am relieved that the poor creature is not to be hung. I could not think he was in his right mind.

Mr. Daniel is to go to town tomorrow night to hear speaking. He is much interested in politics. I would go too if it were only in the daytime.

I keep Francis at home & hear his lessons. He could not be induced to

go to a stranger & I am glad to keep him with me.

My dear William, *Greystone, Nov. 8th, 1892*

You can imagine that I have little time for company when I tell you that the four big children hurry off to school to be there by 8 A.M. where they remain until 1 P.M. I also sit with the children & help them with their studies at night, so they may not feel the need of the study hour which Mr. Davis has with his Media scholars. I am thankful to say that I think the children are trying to improve their opportunities. Willie can never be a good scholar I fear; but Mr. Davis is kind & patient & tries to encourage him. I find that he does fairly well with the lessons he learns at home; but the McDonald boys are not studious & I fear there is too much amusement in school. I think Mr. Davis is trying to be a little more of a disciplinarian than he thought necessary at first. He tells me that Anne is a faithful student & that Moncure & Bessie are exceptionally bright. I know they also study hard & are very ambitious.

The Major is having the well deepened, a more expensive matter than he thought it would be as they have gone some 20 ft. & still have no signs of water; it takes his team to haul water for the engine and these men have to be boarded, which is trying to Julia with her large family & no cook. We have had a very dry fall. The pastures are quite gone, our pool was dry until a few days ago, when we had rain but not a great deal. The wheat looks well not-with-standing. They say a great deal of it did not come up at all; but it is still warm & that is favorable. I hear that good wheat now brings only 58 cts. at the Junction. Ours was sold at 72 which enabled us to pay our taxes & a first payment to the Major on account of the school. We are to make a trade with him next week of shoats for corn, as our crop is about the poorest we ever had.

The county has been wild over politics lately. Mr. Daniel is chairman of the Democratic Committee and has been rushing around night & day. So much money was put into West Virginia by the Republicans that the Democrats have had to bestir themselves & we don't know now what is the result. We were up at 5 this morning to give Mr. Daniel breakfast to open the polls at the Junction at sunrise. He carried his dinner & only came by a few minutes on his way to town to carry the ballots & to say he would not be home until morning as he must know the results by telegram first.

Aunt Fanny & Nettie write of miserable seasickness on their voyage, but a safe arrival & much delight at being with Frank.

John O. Yates has moved into the house at Flowing Spring, as the house he occupied was sold with part of the farm. I have not seen any of them lately. I hear that Mary Brooke's baby leads the household in town a dance, crying with colic until Aunt Sydney cries too. I did not go to the Terrill sale. I think things sold moderately well. They had a beautiful crop of Pippins & sold them for a good price. We had several barrels from our own orchard & some Winesaps.

I suppose you are all exciting yourselves over the election. The Major went to town to see if he could vote. I hear that Col. Black has talked to the Painters until they are afraid to vote the Democratic ticket!

My dear Papa, *Greystone, Nov. 25th, 1892*

I am thankful to report all of us well and we had a most pleasant Thanksgiving. The ride to church was very cold & windy; but we had a good sermon and sweet music. Mr. Tucker had a collection for the Sheltering Arms and tables in the vestibule were piled with bundles of provisions for the Hospital. I left Anne in town to spend the night with her friend May Mason & attend the Fair & supper at the Parish Building.

We have had several rains & snows lately. I thought you knew that the Major had sold his cattle in October. He said they did not bring a good price. The dry fall cut short the pastures & water & they did not improve as he expected. He is finding out what I have known for a long time that farming is full of disappointments. However, having food & raiment, let us therefore be content.

It is great cause for thankfulness that the children are at school & that we have gained such a grand Democratic victory. Mr. Daniel had many compliments on his zeal & efficiency as chairman. I send you a clipping from the "Spirit of Jefferson".

My dear William *Greystone, Dec. 31, 1892*

We have had a cold Xmas. The river is said to be frozen over & many persons have filled their ice-houses. Ours is being filled today. We thought it best to sell $40.00 worth of hickory. Some of the trees were past their prime & worthless. It does not pay much better to sell it for spokes, etc., than as cord wood; but we have to pay for hauling & that is always high & not always possible. The Major says he has sold large quantities of his in Philadelphia & Hagerstown & means to cut it at once & have a saw mill to saw it here, though he has been warned that the dealers reject a great deal when it is sent to them in that way. He is also going to sell the watnut and white oak.

My dear Papa, *Greystone, Feb. 6th, 1893*

Ed came on Friday looking very well; he said he had telephoned William just before leaving the city & he was all right. That evening I went over to Duffields to take some ice-cream, cake, chickens & what not as a contribution to the supper. The ladies did not want to have it just now; but Dr. Neilson seemed to urge it & they have done their best in spite of the worst roads. Oysters were too high to be indulged in; but they had a very good supper without any great expense as everything was given for it. The mud was so deep that I thought we would hardly get there; but we took our time & got safely home. The weather changed suddenly & by the next morning when I got to go to town with marketing, the roads were as hard frozen & rough as possible. Our experience was so wearying that I could get no one to go to church with me yesterday. So I had to stay at home which is hard for me to do when the weather is bright.

The children walked up to school this morning on the sleet. They have been very brave facing all sorts of weather & walking to get to school this winter. They take a great deal of interest in their lessons and think their teacher very faithful. I am thankful to see them improve their opportunity so well. Anne will be sixteen this week & is a better scholar than her mother was at that age. The children are also much interested in their hens which are laying very satisfactorily now; and the price of eggs is still good. The butter comes too after so long a time and nearly wearing out the patience of the whole family!

The Flowing Spring land is to be put up at auction on the 14th, about 400 acres divided into two farms and also the mill property.

My dear William, *Greystone, Feb. 13th, 1893*

I have thought this the worst year we have had for some time; but we have met all expenses as they came and paid the Major about $65.00 on the teacher's salary and I hope for brighter days in the spring.

I think the children have all improved & they like Mr. Davis & always take his side when the Media boys give him trouble. They are a hard lot to manage & not studious.

My dear Papa, *Greystone, March 20th, 1893*

Mr. Tucker has given notice that he will have a few flowers in the church at Easter, that we are requested to stand while the alms are being presented & the choir sings "All good things" & that he hopes we will raise $500.00 on that day to for the Parish Building lot in spite of hard times,

etc. I hope he may not be disappointed; but I hear many of the good people are protesting against standing & having the flowers. Both seem to me to be non-essentials and it will not hurt my conscience at all to do as Mr. Tucker wishes. I wish I could as easily make a large contribution. I comfort myself, however, by knowing that the dear Lord knows too well what we are able to give to expect more than we have.

I rise early these mornings to get breakfast in time for the children to do their work & get to school by 8:30.

In 1893 brother William T. Leavell, Jr., decided to give up his business association in the cotton business in Louisville and enter the coal business. As a result he moved to Fayette County, West Virginia, and became associated with his brother-in-law, Capt. William R. Johnson He resided in the village of Harewood which was on the opposite side of the Kanawha River from Crescent where his sister, Mary, and Capt. Johnson were living. There being no bridge, communication was by skiff.

Also in 1893 the Rev. Dallas Tucker resigned as rector of Zion Church and was succeeded by the Rev. William Loyall Gravatt.

It is evident that the depression of 1893 coming on top of the busted boom of 1890 was very hard on a lot of people. It was most fortunate that the Clerk of the Circuit Court job for Mr. Daniel opened up at this time.

My dear William, *Greystone, April 17th, 1893*

I am very glad you have a prospect of going into the coal business; a man wants his business to be his own and everyone says it is the leading business of the day. It will be pleasure to Mary to have you near her; & West Virginia wants all the good men she can get. I share your anxiety about the start.

My dear Wm., *Greystone, June 26th, 1893*

Mr. Tucker has been absent three Sundays, first at the Convention in Clarksburg & then at the World's Fair. Dr. Neilson has also been on the same round so we have had no services at Duffields. John O. Aglionby represented Shepherdstown at the Convention & Mr. Davis writes he was called the Bishop of Duffields & one of the largest financiers in West Virginia.

My dear Papa, *Greystone, July 3rd, 1893*

You will be glad to know that we succeeded in selling a fresh cow. Mr. Daniel & Willie drove her to town this morning with her little calf. She was the one you gave me as a calf five years ago and had grown into a fine looking cow & a good milker. I would rather have kept her but the man did not think the others would give enough milk; and as we had too many, the one that could be sold had to go. Sentiment could not be considered! I have still two of her calves so the old Media stock has not entirely left us and no one can have richer cream with the fine raspberries. We are beginning to market them & they seem unusually fine & much in demand as no others have been brought to town yet.

I did not get to church yesterday but the rest of the family went & heard Mr. Tucker. He will give a talk about the World's Fair at the Parish Building on Friday evening. I hope some of us can go.

Mary McDonald was here this morning and reported the family well except William who has a boil on his neck & a toothache. Angus had his forefinger on the right hand badly mashed in the binder last week & has had to go to the doctor daily to have it dressed & they say it is doing well. The Major is to finish harvesting our field today. He took Angus' place & rode the binder. I was glad the weather was not too hot for him. Mr. Daniel & the boys went up & helped when he had William Moler's binder to help him & no followers for it. Our wheat is not heavy straw; but they say it is well filled. We have hay to buy as we were over stocked & the cattle had to have all the grass.

My dear Wm., *Greystone, Sept. 18th, 1893*

All are well at Media. The new teacher commenced school this morning & bids fair to have better order than Mr. Davis had; but I doubt if the children like him as well. The move to Media has certainly been well for the Major's health and the boys have more to do and are not so bad as they were. Still I can not get our children to be as fond of their cousins as I would like them to be for Julia's sake.

I have been unusually busy today preserving quinces and am too tired to be entertaining. I have begun also to teach Francis & hope to have him keep pace with Lill & John. He is really bright & a comfort to me while the others are gone. Lill grows very fast & is getting new teeth, a most attractive child to me. I wish you could see more of her. Julia works along not seeming to be hurt by her burdens & cares, perhaps because she takes everything so patiently. I am often amused by her artless way of believing

the Major's absurd statements of what he is going to do or to make when I know them to be just impossible.

My dear William, *Greystone, Nov. 10th, 1893*

I have been so blessed with health that I have always been able to attend to all the wants of my babies & it will always be a comfort to know that they lacked nothing in infancy that loving care could provide. I have not told you anything of your youngest niece, as fat & comfortable a young specimen as ever drew breath. She is three weeks old today & has not been named. I want to call her Mary Yates; but the rest of the family are tired of the old names & want a fancy name so the matter is unsettled. My good old nurse & cook had to leave a week ago on account of being sent for to fill another engagement. So Anne & Bessie have had to take turns staying at home to do the work. I regret the interruption to school duties; but perhaps the other lessons to be learned are as important as those out of books. None of the scholars seem to like Mr. Marshall much; but I hope he will teach them something, though he does not seem to interest them in their studies as Mr. Davis did.

I have had pleasant visits from our cousins, Lizzie & Julia Terrill, since I have been in my room. Like ourselves they were disgusted at the additional taxes laid upon us this year to pay for the fine building bought by the County to be used as a graded school. The house was built on the Ranson land by the boom Company to hold their offices. As they never needed any offices & were badly in debt, they managed to get the school commissioners, who were interested in the boom, to buy it for the County at the modest price of $10,000. Seven teachers are employed in it instead of two who used to run the town schools. If it is of any good to the town, the town people ought to support it; but it can be of no good to us at this distance, & a much cheaper house would have done for the purpose, especially this year when everyone is harder pressed than ever before.

My dear Papa, *Greystone, Dec. 20th, 1893*

I am too sorry to know that you have had such a bad cold. I feared it when you left us on such a cold, raw day. I blamed myself too for your being out in such winter weather because I had been so anxious for you to come & baptize the baby.

I have been very busy trying to make some preparation for Xmas at home & fixing up little parcels for the children to send to their friends & cousins & spending as little as possible. I don't want you to have us on your mind though.

Mr. Daniel says we can raise $20.00 for Mr. Marshall & that has been our main anxiety. Our credit is good at the stores and we can get little things that we want for our marketing. If we could have you & Emma help us eat our Xmas turkey, I would ask for nothing more.

Court adjourned the Thursday after you left and Mr. Daniel walked home & has been with us every night since. We get up at 6 A.M. & get breakfast & he walks to town by 9, carrying his lunch in his pocket. If there is an errand in town, he comes home in the carriage; but he generally walks & looks pretty tired when he gets here; but he has not complained & means to keep it up until the weather gets bad. He says he is busy enough; sometimes he brings the day's paper out without having had time to open it; but collecting fees is slow these hard times. For my part I think it is a good thing to be accustomed to having little of this world's good & thus we do not expect much!

Little Mary Mildred has had a little cold. She is two months old today. Young as she is she knows her Papa & never rests until he walks about with her after supper.

My dear William *Greystone, Dec. 28th, 1893*

I hope you will not think me greedy when I tell you that I did not part your garments but kept all! Mr. Daniel tried on the coat & it fitted him so well that he thought he would like to have it & as he walks back & forth to town, your light overcoat will be the very thing for him to wear in mild weather as his own is a very heavy one. I had just given Julia suits that Moncure had out grown for Marshall & John & some of Mr. Daniel's faded garments that Angus can wear about home & Ed had sent a lot. So I thought you would not mind if Mr. Daniel used your things while they are creditable to wear to town & then we can pass them on.

His fees come in slowly. Most of them have gone to the Latimers so far as Mr. Latimer has done most of the work & his son is still in the office. I was truly thankful for Mr. Daniel to have the appointment. He had been so often disappointed in getting some more congenial employment & this year was so particularly bad for county people that it was doubtful whether we could make both ends meet. Certainly the good Lord saw we had need of a lift and he gave it to us. Before Mr. Daniel applied for it, a young lawyer named Ingle had gotten the other lawyers to promise to recommend him to the Judge; but he withdrew when he heard that Mr. Daniel would be a candidate next fall at the election & his friends said he would be hard to beat. Mr. Daniel has a good many friends among the

politicians in all parts of the County who promise to stand by him. So I hope he can keep in the office.

I took the baby to Media on Tuesday, our first visit together. I have not been to town since August; but I cannot complain of my health. I thought of you on the 25th & hoped you at least fared sumptuously! John Aglionby dined at Media & called here to wish us a happy Xmas. He wears a Turkish cap with a tassel on top & looks bigger than ever. He is to shut up Gap View & move into one of those small houses near the Junction with old McElroy to be near the saw mill! It is said he lost $600.00 running one last winter & now is to run two! Aunt Fanny writes cheerfully. I suppose she & Nettie are in London now to spend Xmas with Frank.

Every one seems pleased with Mr. Gravatt. Willie met him at Miss Abell's the other day & he told him he had been to the Seminary with Francis & knew & loved him. So that is already a bond between us.

My dear Papa, *Greystone, Jan 30th, 1894*

I heard that John Aglionby slipped down the other day on the ice & fell with such force as to shake the ground & to knock himself senseless; but he soon got over it.

My dear Papa, *Greystone, Feb. 22nd, 1894*

You will be glad to hear that I have been to church once more & I heard Mr. Gravatt preach from the text "Be not weary in well doing.", a very earnest, faithful sermon encouraging us to do our best, however small our talents seem to be or opportunities. Everyone seems pleased with him & through a letter from Mary Guy, I hear that he told in Richmond that he is exceedingly pleased with his new people.

My dear Mary, *Greystone, March 6th, 1894*

Willie came home this evening from a ride on his colt with his pants all torn about the knee, bruised & stiffened up, the colt having run off with him & knocked him against the fence. It is a mercy he was not killed or crippled. We had thought her quite gentle & had let Moncure ride her.

My dear Papa, *Greystone, April 9th, 1894*

Anne & Willie went to town to church in the morning and Bessie, Willie & I went in the afternoon to Duffields to hear Prof. Kinloch Nelson. Dr. Neilson has gone on a 3 weeks vacation to the South and arranged to have

his pulpit supplied from the Seminary. Dr. Walker took the 1st Sunday & Rev. Nelson came yesterday. Everyone was pleased with his plain, earnest sermon & I was especially glad that I had met him before as there was no one else present who knew him. I was glad he remembered me & I could introduce him to those who wished to be polite to him. He asked for you & sent his love. Anne & Willie McDonald were also there & broke the phaeton on the way home. So we took Anne in & Willie walked & led the horse.

Don't be uneasy about Bob. (a horse) *I will certainly hold on to him until I see something to suit me better. I agree with you entirely about his good qualities. He does his duty & what can he know about doing it cheerfully?*

Mr. Daniel stands the walk very well now that the weather is so cool; but he says there was never so little work to be done in the office & so little pay to be gotten out of it.

Congratulate Emma for me upon the success of the entertainment & the lift it affords to the church debt. Mr. Gravatt is after us about our debts. We are not to think that a church can be run without business principles.

My dear William, *Greystone, May 1st, 1894*

We are all thankful for spring. So little was raised last year on account of the drought that we had a great deal to buy. Now everything is full of promise and I have been busy in our gardening. The boys have undertaken the work & I help & direct them in Mr. Daniel's absence. We took Willie from school as Mr. Marshall has no order & we thought Willie need not be required to obey when the Media boys all did as they pleased & despise him (Mr. Marshall) openly. Willie studies at home & is useful in every way. Mr. Davis said he was perfectly gentlemanly & no trouble to manage last year. There was never a more miserably managed school, and I shall be very much relieved when the term is out. You may imagine that it has been a trial, especially when we have had to work hard to pay the poor little teacher (he is not as tall as Bessie). Mr. Davis was just the opposite, calling forth the best ambition in the children, they would have done anything to please him & he earned all he got. What is to be done another year I do not know; but I hope for a better arrangement. Julia has her share of worry too but fattens on it, dear patient soul!

My dear Papa, *Greystone, Aug. 4th, 1894*

Mr. Daniel is going about the county seeing about his election. There is

no prominent opponent; but there is such a Camden & Anti-Camden fight going on that he thinks the old ticket might put up some one to beat him.

My dear William, *Greystone, Nov. 9th, 1894*

Your life just now must be a strong contrast to the life you have led for the past 13 years or more; but I hope it will not be distasteful as you never made ease a requirement for happiness. Papa's account of you & your belongings interested me very much & I think of you when I am getting my early breakfast, perhaps gazing up the river in the grey light of morning. I cannot quite relish the idea of your keeping house without a helpmeet; but perhaps that is also for the best, until you get fairly started. For myself work would be very dreary except that it is my privilege to work for those I love, without whom life would be a blank. May God grant you success and if it is his will, I trust your next anniversary will find you more comfortable & settled. Certainly many blessings have come to me since I was your age, so that I thank God & take courage for the rest of life's journey.

I suppose you are all depressed as we are over the result of the election. Jefferson County did well but it seems a pity for our district to send a Republican to Congress. There was a great fight here to get people to vote for Mr. William L. Wilson. So many had been disappointed in the promises of getting offices for them. No one could get anything from him unless the "Old Ticket", as it is called, dictated it and the free silver element did not improve his course. Still as he was the nominee, people did their best to elect him. There has been much speaking, etc. I heard no one except Gen. Fitz Lee & Hon. George R. Wendling last Sat. & I much enjoyed the occasion. The figures in the Free Press are not correct. Mr. Daniel ran only 15 votes behind Mr. Wilson. Dick Alexander is one of our busiest politicians & he has been ill ever since the election (Mr. Daniel was elected)

I was not unmindful of your advice about the children going to school; but they seem to be doing very well and so far have not minded the going back & forth, though as you say it seems a dreadful waste of time. The Media school was discouraging last year. Angus bossed the whole business & my children had not justice done them. I think Mr. Price is doing better & he says Willie is studying very well. I fear he will not get very much out of books; his ambition seems to be to go into business & make something. I encourage him to fit himself for business & hope when



Standing l. to r.: Mrs. Julia McDonald, Anne L. Daniel, Mrs. J. M. Daniel. Sitting 1. to r.: Mrs. Lucy Pendleton Leavell, Cousin Julia Terrill.

he is capable of filling a good place, you can make one for him. I know you would take more interest in him for my sake than anyone else would. Dr. Meade says Moncure is uncommonly bright & well advanced for his age. And Bessie brought home her first report the other day, which was perfect. Anne is a great help to me about the house, especially as the baby is so fond of her cheerful ways. I wish I could have sent her to a boarding school this fall. She is too young & immature to stop school; but that could not be done and she was constantly taking cold at Media last year because the boys kept the door open or broke the window glass. Mr. Marshall said Percy was the most promising because they brought him away from Louisville before he got so scandalously bad as the others!

My dear Papa, *Greystone, Dec. 19th, 1894*

You may imagine I am very busy getting ready for Xmas. The children are full of what ought to be done and they have learned to make nice little gifts for each other & their friends at a very small cost. Mr. Daniel finds it almost impossible to collect his fees in these tight times so that there is not

much money to spend; but I am thankful to know that we have what we need most and no pressing debts to distract us. I hope we have thankful hearts to or we cannot deserve our blessings.

My dear Papa, *Greystone, Feb. 12th, 1895*

It seems so long since we heard from you & it has been so very cold. I have been quite anxious about you. I wonder if Emma has returned & how you all got through the blizzard. I am thankful to say we all kept comfortable. Mr. Daniel was caught in town from Thursday morning until Saturday morning when he walked out through snow sometimes several feet deep. He bought leggings & tied up his ears; but it was a very severe experience & he was sore enough the next day.

The roads are all blocked & only yesterday the railroads were in running order again. Hands have been working on the public roads this week; but it is snowing again & there's no telling when the roads will be open. The drifts are even with the fence tops & in many places fill the road from side to side; but I have not been out to see them.

Wednesday: The children talked so much around me last night that I gave up all attempts at writing & now I will resume while the baby takes her sled ride.

Several inches of snow fell last night but it is bright & beautiful this morning. The boys had paths to make over again. Everything has to be watered from the cistern where there is a trough & the boys have to take axes & cut out the ice everyday. Was there ever such a severe February? Mr. Daniel left us at 7 yesterday morning to walk to town as court would begin; but he was doubtful whether jury or witnesses would be in place as none of the public roads are yet open. Persons pull down fences & ride horseback through fields when obliged to go.

Of course the children cannot get to school and I am trying to keep up their lessons at home that they not get behind their classes. We had a great surprise the other day. Angus walked in on Saturday & told us that his father had discharged Mr. Price the day before & that there would be no more school this year.

My dear Papa, *Greystone, June 24th, 1895*

I spent yesterday very pleasantly at Walnut Grove where Mary is staying. Anne is also staying there to help with the (Johnson) children & Cousins Lizzie & Julia like to have her with them. I am glad for her to be with them & I hope she will also learn some of the lessons that were taught

me under the dear old roof, though the two valued old teachers, Grandma & Aunt Julia, are gone. It seems strange to be there without Aunt Julia's cheerful presence. I could not realize that her end was so near; there was nothing about her to suggest disesase or wasting & I thought the warm dry air of summer would surely restore her strength. All my memories of her are pleasant & I have only to regret that I did not see more of her in her last days & to mourn our loss.*

We went to church on Sunday & heard Mr. Chrisman preach and saw the new organ. Mr. Gravatt seems to be away. I think a smaller organ would have filled the church better; but I expect to enjoy it greatly.

My dear William, *Greystone, Aug. 17th, 1895*

You must know that Mr. Daniel, Moncure and Francis left us on Tuesday to pay a visit to relations in Charlotte & Prince Edward Counties in Virginia. Of course I have missed them all very much & poor little Mildred called so often for "Francis" that I bethought me of Lill of whom she is very fond. Julia let me have her for a visit and she has brightened the house up very much indeed.

We are very dry here & it seems strange to hear of your having too much rain. I trust your crops will be good. It is discouraging to hear of the stagnation in your coal operations. I trust it will not last long. We are having disappointments too. The boys have worked the garden entirely themselves & raised much more than we can use; but after hauling the things to town they have often to bring them back, because the trucking is overdone.

John O. Yates was sick in bed when I heard last from Gap View, poor man!

John O. Yates had moved after the sale of Flowing Spring to Gap View. His family included his wife, Emma Kent, and six children, the oldest of whom was about 15 in 1895.

The letters do not specify but the children probably began attending the Charlestown Academy. The Mr. Tucker referred to below was Henry St. George Tucker who became Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church.

My dear Papa, *Greystone, Sept. 17th, 1895*

The children have set in with a will this week to go to school. It took some days to get their books & classes arranged. Young Mr. Tucker did

*Aunt Julia Terrill died June 3, 1895, at the age of 75.

not wish to use the more old fashioned books that had suited Dr. Meade. If he turns out to be a good teacher, I hope he will stay in his present position & not keep us changing continually. Willie is taking the businsss course, bookkeeping, stenography, commercial arithmetic, etc. I think he will have to study harder than he ever did before; but I trust he will do his best.

They say the Junction is to boom in a big way very soon, a hotel is to be built and a clothing factory is in contemplation.

My dear William, *Greystone, Nov. 10th, 1895*

I am glad to hear through Papa that your coal business is looking up a little. I don't think anyone can say as much for farming. Corn is lower than I ever heard of its being, $1.30 per barrel & potatoes can't be given away, while taxes are higher than usual. I hear that our brother-in-law blames the county officers for the latter & says he'll never rest until the last one is turned out. This would be hard on Mr. Daniel but I trust it is not in store for him as he has no more to do with it than you have.

My dear Papa, *Greystone, Feb. 11th, 1896*

All accounts from Media tell that Angus' fingers are healing very rapidly. It seems a great blessing that the thumb and first finger were uninjured. I suppose in time he can learn to use what is left of the others almost as well as ever. His father said he was careless. I suppose he is but I make the allowance for him that he does not see well. That may be one cause of his accidents. Boys have so little guidance it is a wonder to me that they do not suffer more than they actually do.

When Mrs. Daniel moved into her home in the early 1880's, apparently there was no plaster on the interior of the stone walls and the floors were uneven in relation to the new wing. These deficiencies were corrected at this time and rooms were constructed over the root cellar in the back.

Mr. dear Papa, *Greystone, Aug. 25th, 1896*

Anne came home yesterday much pleased with her stay in Hedgesville. She & Virginia seem to have had a very good time together. I was glad for her to enjoy herself & to miss some of the confusion & noise & dirt that I have had to encounter. But I don't mean to complain; it was unavoidable & so far we have had no unnecessary delay or trouble. The joy has certainly taken more work than I thought it would and it is not done yet.

The porch is nearly done so we have it to sit on in the evenings & it is quite roomy & neat, 18 x 8 ft. The plasterers are at work now and the stone mason is still cutting away at the doors & windows; and the stairway is to be turned around. I see that they will not be done by Sept. 1st but I do not think they will take much longer & I hope to have things all right by the time you come down to spend your birthday.

Mr. dear William *Greystone Sept. 9th, 1896*

The plasterers finished yesterday & the carpenters are waiting for the walls to dry to put on baseboards, etc. The plastering dries very slowly on these thick walls; but so far I am satisfied with the job. The porch is already a comfort as we sit on it constantly though we have not finished painting it.

My dear Papa, *Greystone, Sept. 11th, 1896*

Willie & Moncure are busy cutting off our corn & hope for hands to help them to finish off tomorrow as Moncure must start school on Monday.

My dear William *Greystone, Oct. 17, 1896*

Tonight Mr. Daniel & the boys are in town to hear speaking & a torchlight procession will go on. The speakers are Mr. Lipscombe from Washington & a Mr. Brantley of South Carolina, both to enlighten the people on the topics of the day. Wm. L. Wilson had arranged to speak in town today but I heard he had been advised not to do so as very few persons besides negroes would go to hear him. He has spoken of his efforts to beat Bryan & that is high treason in Jefferson County. I wonder how it will all end? I never knew of such a campaign before. I trust the good Lord to give us what is for our good. There seems to be very little good for the farmer just now. Many persons are losing their hogs with cholera. Some have died at Media & many others are sick. So far ours seem to be healthy; but you know we have often lost all we had by the same disease & we may do so again. We have about 30 large & small & more corn than we have had for years. Willie has been housing it & as it will only bring 85 cts. per barrel, we expected to feed it all at home. I had hoped he would take to farming; but he thinks it is too much like working for nothing at present prices. He & Moncure raised as fine potatoes as I ever saw & can get only 25 cts. in trade for them. He loves horses but it does not pay to raise them. So I have no idea he will be content to stay long at farm work. This year what is sold off the place will not pay the taxes. I hope after the election

things will be more encouraging for you & for us. I have always hoped when he left me, it would be to go to you. He lacks business training & with his diffidence he would not stand much chance with strangers.

Moncure goes to the Academy to a Mr. Grinnan. Bess & Anne enjoy their wheels very much in the evening; but the boys can't keep off the wheels & break them with awkwardness & accidents, so that they are a constant expense. You would be amused to see Mildred go with the boys to milk & she actually milks in a little pint bucket & she not yet three years old.

My dear William, *Greystone, Nov. 9th, 1896*

I suppose you are better satisfied over the result of the election than we are. I have never seen people so cast down since the surrender; but I comfort myself that in His own good time our kind Providence will give us what is best for us, and it need not be what we think we ought to have. The worst of it seems to be that those who worked together in former campaigns are now divided & full of bitterness towards each other. The County ticket of course went through & I am deeply grateful that Mr. Daniel is elected for six years without any opposition in the Democratic party. Mr. Angus McDonald was beaten by three votes for district delegate to the Legislature. Two of the Kennedy boys came home & voted for McKinley. If they & Mr. McDonald's carriage driver had voted for him, to say nothing of Mr. Riddle & John Strother, the result could have been different. There is great indignation at Media. Mrs. Green is at Media & Nettie is expected this week. The former is loud for silver. She & her daughter Anne disagreed so on Wm. L. Wilson that she had to go away. Anne says she had never quarreled with her since she was a widow & never expected to; but she had to take up for her old neighbor. She hopes, now the election is over, she & her mother can be friends again!

Dear Papa cast his vote for Bryan & then came on down to pay us a visit. John O. Yates was sick & unable to vote. John Aglionby says he voted for Prohibition; but no one believes him as he was heard congratulating Republicans the next day.

The farmers are very blue about here wondering how long they can keep going with corn selling at less than a dollar a barrel & no hogs to consume it at home.

My dear Papa, *Greystone, Dec. 12th, 1896*

In my letter I spoke of the Major's feed store, not fad as you read it, tho

it may be that too. I don't think Willie (McDonald) *likes his share in it. For the present he is to come home at night. If the venture fails, he will get the blame as his father says he knows it would succeed if Percy were here to run it. You know it is the old grange store that they have rented, where no one ever succeeded before. I have promised to call; but from what I hear the stock is just such things as we have at home: chickens, eggs, butter, lard, meat, apples & vegetables, also hay, fodder, straw & wood. I hear that William Beall has rented his farm & given notice to his hands to find other homes. I thought if any one could keep going by farming, the Bealls could, with no children to raise & educate & much economy. I imagine they will net more, however.*

I used to have a horse shod all around for 1.00 & often a bushel of potatoes would pay the bill. Now the price for the job is the same; but I must send four bushels of potatoes to pay 1.00 as they only sell for .25. The same is true of almost any work we have done. So we must do all we can ourselves. You asked about the hogs. I am thankful to say we have enough left to kill though we lost our best. All were sick & we did not expect to save any; but there are five left which we expect to kill next week as they are fattening well now. Two of them are very small. We like to put up enough to use only the hams at home & trade the rest at the store for groceries as we have not servants to use it. Some of our neighbors were afraid of cholera & killed when the weather was too warm & lost their meat after all!

My dear William, *Greystone, Dec. 28th, 1896*

I did not tell Papa how near we came to losing our lives from the gas ten days ago, for fear of making him anxious about us; but you will be thankful as I am that we escaped as well as we did. My room is the new one over the dining room; but when I was sick several weeks ago, I moved into the front room over the sitting room which is heated by a register & opens into the room in which Anne & Bessie sleep. I had Mildred in bed with me & she seemed restless & coughed. I got up about 1 o'clock to give her a little cough mixture when I found I could hardly stand & I had an intense pain in my head. I smelled the gas at once & went to the register to turn it off. I fell on the floor but I had sense enough left to know that I must see about Anne & Bess. I managed to get to their bed & aroused Bessie sufficiently to speak; but Anne was entirely unconscious. I knew I must call Mr. Daniel & get the bottle of whiskey that was in his room. So I got there somehow; but he says he never heard me call him. Perhaps I could

not speak; but I got the bottle & started back to Anne. I lost consciousness entirely & fell in the hall; but having left the door open Mr. Daniel heard Mildred cry for me & he thought he would go over to my room & see what was the matter with her. He found me in the hall & carried me back to his room & opened the windows and roused the boys. They brought the girls over and after considerable work brought Anne back to life. The fresh air & some whiskey soon restored Bessie & me; but we all had wretched chills & were too sick to get up the next morning. The doctor came & said we had gotten over the gas; but my nerves were much shaken from the fright I had about the girls. They took bad colds; but we were very thankful to be living after such a narrow escape. We have not had the nerve to go back to our old quarters yet, though the register is turned off every night. I think the stove was either left a little open when it was filled for the night or there may have been an explosion which blew the door open & allowed the gas to escape. Such a thing never happened before & this is the 3rd winter we have had the stove in use. I had a black eye & many bruises from the falls I had; but it was such a mercy I was able to open the doors. If I had slept on as the girls did, no one would have known anything was the matter until morning, when it would have been too late to do anything for us. Why Mildred was not unconscious we do not know unless her head was under the cover. She was nauseated for a while but was well the next day, whereas it took us a week to get over it.

My dear William, *Greystone, Jan. 20th, 1897*

I think if you would try Willie in your store, you could make him useful. Mr. Daniel consents for him to go if I can get on without him. As he is so anxious to make a start in business, I have said he may go at any time to you that you may find use for him. He took bookkeeping & commercial arithmetic last winter & ought to be able to keep accounts; but you know he has had no practical experience & has always been a backward boy about books. His eyes have been weak so that he could not do much studying at night but Howard Moore has furnished him glasses & says with their help his eyes will improve. He has not taste enough for books to make a scholar; but I think with good training he will do well. He takes excellent care of our horses & stock & attends to the garden, hauling, wood-cutting, etc. with the help of his brothers. But we can hire someone to do jobs occasionally & we do not wish him to go through the drudgery of farming where there is no profit in it. Mr. Williams offered to take him in the store at the Junction several years ago on account of his good

manners & character; but we wanted him to go to school then. The boys who went to the Academy with him last year have all gone into offices of some sort & earn small wages; but he thinks they are better off than he is on his victuals & clothes. I think your example & care & training would be invaluable to him & this makes me consent to his going. Have I not bathed my pillow with tears at the thought of parting with him? The thought of Mr. Grimes' accident and the danger of constantly crossing the river and the climate that I thought did not suit either Francis or Mary all make me tremble for my boy; but you seem to be unharmed in the midst of all these dangers. I must cast my "care upon Him who careth for us".

My dear William, *Greystone, March 26th, 1897*

I have had many intentions of writing to you, but when I seated myself for that purpose, I somehow felt that my son needed a letter more and so I wrote to him. He never spent a night away from home in his life, even as a child, without being homesick & I knew he would suffer untold misery when he left us this time.

I had him in quite good training about his home duties & am now going through tribulation enough getting the same things done by these two boys that are left, who must mix a great deal of play with all their work, both of them being much more intelligent for their ages than Willie is. They have not half the friends that Willie has though. Every one around here likes him & misses him.

Thank you for your kind invitation to go out to visit you. I want to go very much and it does not seem impossible if I can get a good woman to stay here in my absence.

My dear Papa, *Greystone, April 19th, 1897*

I was glad to be able to go to church on Easter day. We had beautiful music, the church dressed elaborately with flowers, a very large congregation, and a good sermon. We had also a large communion although Mr. Gravatt had early communion the same day for those to whom it was most convenient. Anne E. Daniel finally got to visit Mary and William in Crescent and Harewood in May. She persuaded her sister to let take six year old Francis Johnson home to Greystone for a visit which lasted into August.

My dear Mary, *Greystone, May 26th, 1897*

I am happy to tell you that we reached our journey's end safely

yesterday and that Francis is well & happy as possible. I imagine you with bitter "weeps" in your eyes for your dear little absent boy, just as I feel over parting with Willie though I know I left him in the hands of his good uncle who can do more for him than I can do! Thank God that they are also in His gracious keeping and trust that all will be well.

I know you want some account of our journey and it was more pleasant in some respects than we expected. After we waved our farewells to you all, Mildred soon composed herself for sleep; but Francis was wide awake & interested in every thing we passed as long as daylight lasted. He pointed out Mt. Carbon & where Dr. Laird lives. Then who should come & take the seat behind me & introduce himself but Mr. Boyd! I ought to have known him but could not think of his name. He went with us as far as Clifton Forge and was so polite I said sincerely I wished he were going on farther. Francis had bethought himself of the lunch & when he could not longer see out of the windows, he applied himself to the beat biscuits & after each one wanted a drink which Mr. Boyd always got for him. I was glad to have a whole seat in front of us & Mr. Boyd had it unlocked & turned over for me so that Francis could lie down & with my cape for a pillow he slept comfortably until we got to Staunton about 2 A.M. Then I had to wake both children. I paid the baggage master to transfer to the B. & O. depot & got in a bus which he pointed out. Francis was pleased with the ride & thought we were doing so well when we arrived at the depot & found it dark & shut up & then the driver said it was not kept open at night. So there was nothing to be done but to go to the Eakleton Hotel & spend the rest of the night. We had our coffee & cold bread & crackers & left in time to get off on the B. & O. train at 6 A.M. Be sure to tell Miss Judith that I think I could have stayed in the waiting room at the C. & O. depot until it was time for meeting the train at the B. & O. if I had known that the other depot was not open at night, it was lighted & warmed when I left it.

Soon after I left Staunton who should come on the train but our old county man, Arthur Hawkes. He did not know me & I had not seen him for about 30 years, but the ugliness was unmistakeable. So I made myself known and he was most cordial & entertaining, helping me at the changes at Harrisonburg & Strasburg. He remembered you and seems to be fond of the Aglionbys. He lost his wife more than a year ago & has a daughter 16 years old & two sons older—one of them is married. We were getting along finely and so cheerful at the prospect of getting to Charlestown by 10:30 when the train gave a great jerk & the children fell off the seats, the

conductor pulled the bell & stopped the train; & the discovery was made that the axle of the driving wheel had broken & that another engine had to be telegraphed for to take us to Charlestown. This befell us the other side of Summit Point and there we were until about 2 P. M. when we got off to town.

Mr. Daniel & Moncure met us and we were delighted to get in the carriage & go home. I never saw home look more attractive. The yellow rose & the Sharon are in Full bloom & other blooms just opening.

Anne sends many thanks to Captain Johnson for the lovely roses, some of them were still beautiful when I got home.

Mr. dear William, *Greystone, June 11th, 1897*

I miss Bessie dreadfully; she is most companionable & never had any beaux to be entertained when I needed her help about the house! Moncure is happiest when he has a chance to work with tools, as at present, we have "Bill" Oden building a wood house. Francis does the driving around & jobs & little Francis is his shadow.

My dear William, *Greystone, June 24th, 1897*

Aunt Fanny said they were expecting Mr. Davis yesterday or today at Media, on his return from Lexington.

My dear Papa, *Greystone, July 29th, 1897*

All are quiet at Media. Aunt Fanny & Nettie left yesterday for Nantucket taking young Julia with them to spend a month.

This evening Moncure has driven Anne up to Shepherdstown to a dance. She has missed Willie so much this summer.

I took the two Francis's & Mildred to Duffields Sunday evening to hear Mr. Mason as I thought but he did not get there. Young Ed Lee (Edmund Jennings Lee, IV) *read the service and a very good sermon. You may have heard he goes to the* (Virginia) *Theological Seminary this fall.*

My dear William, *Greystone, Aug. 31st, 1897*

Many thanks for your promptness in letting Willie off. I hated to write for him on account of the inconvenience I was fearing it would put you to; but I am convinced I was right as he certainly needed rest and a holiday. I don't wish the young to look upon business as a bondage from which there is no release, sick or well. It is that to older people often but if our backs are not better fitted to the burden, our minds are. Willie makes everything

harder for himself than it need be by want of fore thought. He failed to get his check cashed in Montgomery, so when he got to Staunton & after sitting up all night, he missed taking the 6 A.M. train & waited to get the Ransons to identify him or endorse for him, which was not until they came to their office about 9. Then there was no train until about 3 P.M., a mixed freight. After 25 passengers got on upon the premise that it would be a passenger train after it got to Harrisonburg & get to Charlestown about 8 P.M. It switched and backed until about 5 & then stopped at every station where there was anything to stop for, finally passing town without stopping but let Willie get off before he got to Flowing Springs Mill & he walked home about 4 A.M. Sunday! Of course he was worn out & his hand hurting from the shaking & jarring of the train. I got him something to eat & he went to bed & slept till dinner time & was much rested & refreshed.*

Mrs. Gravatt & child are down with typhoid fever. A purse of $100 was given Mr. Gravatt to get a trained nurse for them.

My dear William, *Greystone, Sunday night*

I write mainly to tell you that the doctor saw Willie's finger again this morning & says it is doing well; but he wants to see him again before he leaves. The doctor goes to Baltimore to take his little son Billy to have a surgeon find the ball that Claiborn Porterfield accidentally shot into him yesterday. He has appointed Tuesday morning to see Willie's finger & he (Willie) is to leave on the 2:30 P.M. train for Staunton where he will spend the night & take No. 3 the next morning for Montgomery. He thinks Jay (a dog) *is not worth having. No one thinks anything of him at Media except Anne & I think they would be glad to get rid of him. He is no watch-dog, afraid of everything & will stay for days at the Junction or Gap View or in town, not here, as he is afraid of our dogs. So I don't think you would care for him at all. Besides Willie would not know what to do with him in Staunton & he must change at Strasburg & Harrisonburg. I have some preserves, etc., that I want to send; but he can't manage them well. I will send them by freight later on. I am constantly afraid of his hurting his hand. This evening he drove us down to Walnut Grove to say good bye to them, & the horse backed at every gate. So I got out & whipped until I got him started through the gates & then ran until I could catch up & jump in behind. If he stopped for me to get in, we might have another turn at*

---

*Young Willie Daniel, while working for his Uncle William, had a serious accident which caused him to lose the little finger on his right hand.

backing & as long as the horse was going, he was all right; but Willie could not hold the reins & whip too. He will not be able to do much with that hand for some time.

My dear William, *Greystone, Oct. 21st, 1897*

Julia McDonald was here yesterday & reported all the measles patients getting along well. Lill seems to have had it more lightly than the boys. Julia & Anne Daniel have arranged to drive over to Shepherdstown on Sat. to return some books to Miss Andrews & Anne is always ready to call at the Schley's. Meta Schley & a young Mr. Boyd from Martinsburg drove down while Anne & I were sick in bed, much to Anne's regret as she likes both very much.

Mildred made much of her birthday yesterday with a cake & four candles, blocks, books, etc. & is now to learn a letter each day! Francis is saying his lessons, gathering walnuts, putting in wood & making himself generally useful. Moncure hopes he stood in with Uncle Willie so when he wants another boy, he will take him. I am sure it had better not be directly as he is too useful to be spared.

My dear William, *Greystone, Jan. 8th, 1898*

Your letter was most welcome and your news most agreeable. We had already heard from Lexington, through Mary Barclay's letter to Anne, that her Uncle Tom Leavell was there rushing Miss Lucy Pendleton. So you see we were again on your track before you knew it. Emma Yates knew the lady elect in Wythe & says she was then about 14 & as lovely in person & character as possible. Her father who was a beau in my young days bought land there which proved to be very poor & they had a hard scuffle to get on. His wife was a beauty. I hope your choice is a wise one. A sensible girl will wish to adapt herself to her surroundings & be glad to do what seems best for her husband's interests, knowing that what is best for him is best for her.

It looks as if '98 might be a year of many changes in our connection & many marriages. I suppose Anne Yates' (Bacon's daughter) *will be next month. It is said that Janet Beall Henderson & Walter Riley will soon be married. Julia McDonald says her wedding will not be this year; but she has a fine diamond ring lately & no longer denies her engagement. Anne says to be sure to be married in Lexington & have a church wedding & ask her to wait on you. She always wanted to see Lexington!*

My dear William, *Charlestown, W.Va., Feb. 9th, 1898*

I sent you a message by Willie telling you that I had written my welcome to Lucy, and I have now to tell you she answered very promptly & pleasantly. I was afraid that we were premature in writing before we had heard of a time being set for the wedding and that it might embarrass her to reply. But she did not give any hint of it & wrote very sweetly. One sentence won my heart. It was something like this: "If I can only be what Mr. Leavell wants me to be & make him happy, I shall be satisfied". No one can ask more of her than to be what you want her to be, and to try to make you happy!

I can imagine your impatience, now that you are in for it. Still I suppose you have heard the old saying: "If you marry in Lent, you will live to repent". Anne Yates has decided on the 13th of April as the earliest date after Lent for her marriage but I hope you will not select that day as it is the date of our mother's death. You had better not mention Anne Yates' wedding day as she has asked that we keep it a secret for the present.

My dear William, *Greystone, Feb. 27th, 1898*

I spoke to Bishop Peterkin yesterday. He has been preaching for us every day since Ash Wed. His sermon today was very good indeed & it was very pleasant to talk to him of seeing you & Mary so lately & he was sorry not to have seen Willie Daniel who had a cold. How can the dear man remember everybody so well?

I am very thankful that Papa keeps so well. The Bishop said he would be in Hedgesville in about a week. Mr. Gravatt sits up a little in a reclining chair but is still very weak & a Rev. Fletcher is to come this week to take charge of the parish for two months or until Mr. Gravatt is able to resume his duties.

Another thing we want to know is whether it will suit you to bring Lucy to Jefferson in April or if you would rather she came some other time. I want to do a lot of white washing & house cleaning before she sees this place. It must be done anyhow but I want it done earlier if she will be here, and you know we want to see our new sister as soon as we can.

Lucy and William were married on April 14, 1898, and Anne's letters to him after that were few and far between. The newly weds were too busy to do much writing.

After the liquidation of Uncle Francis Yates' estate his widow, Aunt Sydney, moved to Charlestown and lived with her daughter, Mary

Brooke, and her family. Members of the Daniel family called on them frequently and the state of Aunt Sydney's health was much commented on. She died April 22, 1899, but there were no letters preserved between January and July. Julia McDonald and John W. Davis were married on June 20, 1899.

By the end of the 1898-99 school session Moncure had completed all the schooling available in Charlestown. He had attended both the Academy and the public school where he formed a life-long friendship with Wright Denny. The next move for Moncure's education was a choice between Hampden-Sydney College and Episcopal High School. His father urged the former which he had attended for two years before joining the Confederate cavalry. His grandfather favored the latter. The decision was in favor of E. H. S. where the next session would begin on September 20, 1899.

My dear Mary, *Hedgesville, July 3rd, 1899*

I came up this morning having heard through Julia & Mr. Davis that Papa was in such a pitiful state. I started yesterday with Moncure, but when I got to the Junction, I found no accommodation train went farther than Martinsburg; so we went home again. This morning I found Papa very weak & feeble, not able to lie down, and his feet & ankles much swollen. He had asked Emma to write for Julia & me; but I had not gotten the letter before starting. Emma had not gone to bed for 4 nights & was so broken down that she says my coming is a God-send to her.

My dear Mary, *Hedgesville, Aug. 15th, 1899*

I came up on Saturday & Julia went home. I could see that Papa had lost strength & flesh while I was away & he is still losing. I hardly know what to tell you; he has had only one tablet since you left but sleeps a great deal.

I think Papa is certain that the end is very near. When I told him that it was almost day this morning early, he said "I want the eternal day, the perfect day.", then he said very slowly "But I must wait, wait upon the Lord." Emma says he is better & enjoys his nourishment. She tried to get a woman to come for two nights in the week; but did not succeed. So she still takes the nights until 12; & then I take the rest of the night. I am dead tired by morning but can sleep until nine or later. I hope I will have strength to do my duty but they are very anxious to have me at home.

I want to fix up Willie's clothes while he is at home & much is to be done

for Moncure before he is ready to go away next month. Your gift to him was a most pleasant surprise & I thank you so much for your interest in him. No one except his father remembered him so substantially. I was so glad for Moncure to know that you took so much interest in him. I told him it was because you wanted to show your appreciation of his doing so well at school & to stimulate him to further efforts.

It is time for this to go in the mail so I must close. Papa would have a message but he is sleeping. Love to Captain & the children & William & Lucy when you see them.*

Affectionately yours,

A.E.D.

My dear Mary, *Greystone, Oct. 6th, 1899*

Mr. Daniel decided we needed to keep Francis home for protection. So I began to teach him last month & will continue until Bessie comes, which will be next Saturday. Her friends at Mt. Airy seem to hate to give her up & have prolonged her stay from week to week to see something of interest or to go somewhere; & as she enjoys it all so much, we have let her stay as long as possible.

You may imagine how much I miss my dear Anne. She seemed to have learned so much during my absence that she was more comfortable & helpful than ever before. But I thought we ought to respect her wish to be independent; And if she could comfort our cousins (Lizzie and Julia), *I was only too glad for her to go to them, knowing that I owe them so much more than I can ever hope to repay.*

Anne seems to get on very well at Walnut Grove. Cousin Julia says she is the greatest comfort and pleasure to them. Cousin Lizzie had a wretched cold & was depressed & Cousin Julia too busy to be with her much & so anxious about her; but she says Anne has cheered her up & she rides nearly every day & improves in health & spirits. Mrs. Powers calls her the "cheerer up".

I enjoyed her & Edmonia, their being here made me forget some of my duty to Moncure; but also diverted my mind from the pain of parting with him, dear boy! How I miss him, he was so good & useful to us all; but I am so thankful to have been able to send him just where I thought he would be best off. I will send you his letter & you will see that he expects to be busy. Every one took such an interest in his going. Counsins Lizzie & Julia

---

*Papa died August 23, 1899, in his 86th year and was buried in Zion Episcopal Churchyard.

remembered him as you did. So did William & Cousin Anne Beall Henderson who told him to come down & look over John's books & use any he might need.

Dr. Neilson will have service & communion at the Chapel on Sunday afternoon & I shall try to go as we have our services in the Parish House now & cannot have communion until we get back to our dear church. I have been to look in the church since the side galleries were out & I think the looks of the interior will be improved by the change. Still I wanted it to stay as we had always known it & that shows that I am always "a stick-in-the mud" I suppose.

Aunt Fanny & Nettie called yesterday on their way to Media from Gap View. They reported all well there, as forlorn as possible; but I heard of no plans for the future. Kent Yates has not gone back to New York but I suppose he will sometime. Cousin Julia got black hats for all three girls & black dresses for Fanny & her mother. Maggie Mason got a nice suit for her uncle to be buried in. All of us took provisions & garments & did everything we knew how for them. The hardest thing I had to do was to raise the tune to the hymn "Asleep in Jesus" at the grave & sing it through—not knowing whether the poor soul was at rest or not but we trusted that it was well!*

My dear Mary, *Nov. 4th, 1899*

I can hardly express to you my sorrow at not being able to go to Hedgesville with Julia today to hear Bishop Peterkin's memorial sermon tomorrow; but before I knew it was to be on the 5th Anne & Bessie had made their plans to go to Washington yesterday & attend the athletic sports at the High School today. A room had been engaged at Ellie Bouldin's. Moncure and Mayo Brown had written what they would do for the girls, etc. Cousin Julia had someone engaged to stay there in Anne's absence. Altogether I felt that I was the one to be disappointed & to give up. My going could not do anyone any good except myself—dear Papa needs nothing from me any longer & he knows how I mourn for him & miss him every day of my life. The Bishop will preach the same sermon in town next Sunday (12th) and I hope nothing will prevent my hearing it then.

I have not told you that Anne & Bess got yesterday in spite of the rain. They never had a lark together like this & they expected great pleasure. Mary Ranson also went to Washington at the same time & they will go to

---

*John Orfeur Yates died in September, 1899, at age 54.

the High School together & sightseeing. We had a card yesterday saying they had arrived safely & Bessie had gotten a new cloak & with Mattie Flournoy (Ellie Bouldin's niece) they were going to the theater. Cousins Lizzie & Julia are just as kind as possible to Anne & so anxious for her to enjoy herself. They gave her money to pay for three tickets to Arlington so that Anne, Bessie & Moncure could all go together.

I drove with Cousins Lizzie & Julia & Anne to Harper's Ferry last week & saw the new church & rectory. I never enjoyed a ride more; it recalled my bridal drive & the next day was my anniversary, 25 years a wife! A solemn thought when I think of all my responsibilities.

My dear Mary, *Wednesday (12/20/99)*

Cousin Lizzie has been very sick from a cold & as she has always been so delicate I have been anxious about her. Anne was invited to stay from Friday to Monday last at the Alexander's & Cousins Lizzie & Julia insisted she should go. Francis was to take her to town & I suggested that Bessie should go to Walnut Grove & stay in Anne's place; but they did not think it at all necessary. However when I took Anne back on Monday, Cousin Julia seemed much relieved & I know she had an anxious time. Cousin Lizzie was better but still in bed then & I did not see her. Cousin Julia said she could only eat milk & raw eggs. Did you ever try the latter? The delicate people about here nearly live on them.

We have just rec'd Moncure's report of his intermediate exams & he passed with distinction so we are very glad for him.

At this point the letters stop for good reason. Seven weeks later two of Mrs. Daniel's siblings and Cousin Lizzie were dead. William died on February 4 in Sheltering Arms Hospital at Paint Creek, W. Va., of a ruptured appendix. Cousin Lizzie died on February 10th and Mary Leavell Johnson on March 10th. With her remaining sister living next door, the need for writing letters ceased. Although Julia Terrill McDonald Davis died on August 10th, not all the news in 1900 was bad. William's daughter was born post-humously on August 21st. The disappointment there not being a son did not deter Lucy from naming her daughter William Thomas Leavell, III. She was the last of her generation in the Leavell family to be born. As a harbinger of things to come Julia McDonald Davis, the first of the next generation, was born on July 23rd.

Edited by Richard M. Daniel

The Civil War Recollections of Cleon Moore

The recollections of Cleon Moore cover the period of Moore's participation in the capture of John Brown in October 1859 through a portion of his service in the Confederate Army until approximately April, 1862.

Cleon Moore was born in 1840, the son of Thomas A. Moore, the long serving Clerk of the Court for Jefferson County. Cleon Moore served through the entire Civil War from the 1st Manassas to Appomatox. He entered the army as a private in Bott's Greys, which was a part of Stonewall Jackson's Brigade, and completed his service as a lieutenant.

After the war, Moore became a lawyer in Jefferson County, partner of the Brown & Brown law firm. The B&O Railroad was a major client of his. He died on December 24, 1914.

Unfortunately the diary is incomplete. Several of the last pages are shredded and it ends rather abruptly, which is owing to those pages being lost or destroyed.

With the exception of a few words, the handwriting and condition of the diary are excellent. An attempt has been made to keep original spelling and punctuation except for places where the proper spelling of names (such as participants in the Brown raid) has historical importance.

I have for a long time designed recording my personal experiences during the late Civil War, but before entering upon that subject, will give a brief outline of the Brown raid upon Harpers Ferry. It was regarded as the beginning of the war. The raiders took possession of Harpers Ferry on October 17th, 1859. I remember on Monday morning our quiet town, Charles Town, was thrown into great excitement by the announcement that an armed force had taken possession of Harpers Ferry with the avowed purpose of freeing the slaves. The number of Raiders variously estimated from 300 to 1,000. The countrymen hurried into town bringing the news, each one having a marvelous story to tell. The drum and fife were sounded up and down street calling to arms those who desired to engage in an effort to put down the raiders. Captain Rowan commanded a volunteer company at the time, I joined it and was furnished with gun and accoutrements. The company numbered about eighty. The regular members and the volunteers for the occasion all who could supply themselves were armed, some with

shotguns, squirrel rifles and so forth. Most of the persons going down acted on the independent, not joining any company, but Lawson Botts afterwards Colonel of the 2nd Virginia organized a company of independents at the Ferry. The affect of this raid can easily be imagined and armed force coming into the State in time of profound peace seizing the Government Armory in nighttime, arresting peaceable citizens, and holding them as prisoners of war. A party of the raiders had gone to the residence of Lewis Washington at Halltown in the night, seized him and to the residence of Mr. Tom Allstadt and seized him, carried them to Harpers Ferry and with several citizens of the town, confined them in the armory. We were taken down in the train a short distance below Halltown, got out of the train and marched to Bolivar. The morning was dark and rainy and I was drenched to the skin. It was soon ascertained that the party had possession of the Potomac and Shenandoah works. It was determined to dislodge and if possible, capture them, and as well as we could set about to accomplish this object. No officer present had much experience in military matters. Rowan's company crossed the river at the old furnace and went down the canal and took possession of the railroad bridge. Mr. Leonard Ladlig and C. B. Harding I remember were with us. We could hear firing constantly at the Ferry, but not very heavy. After we took the bridge we kept up a firing from the corner of the hotel. Hayward Shepherd, a colored man who attended at the railroad depot, had been killed in the morning and Mr. George Turner, Mr. F. Beckham was killed in the evening about 3 o'clock. His friends were very much exasperated and demanded that the prisoner who had been captured in the morning and was confined in the hotel should be brought and that several brought his _____ _____ a succession of pushes, shot him at the mouth of the bridge and threw his body into the river and prominent among the number were Harry Hunter and George Chambers. Firing began heavier than usual from the hotel windows, corner of the house and from the upper part of the town. A rush was made for the engine house where the Raiders had fixed themselves and kept up brisk firing. Prisoners sent words to the crowd requesting them not to fire as they would be killed. The party was commanded by John or "Osawatomie" Brown of Kansas fame and he said he came to free the Negroes. In the attack upon the engine house, I noticed two of the Raiders in the armory yard and they stood firing their "sharps" rifles until the citizens closed up on them and they suddenly retreated into the engine house. It was the first I had seen of war and I will remember the affect it produced upon me. It was now nearly sundown. The party in the Shenandoah works had been killed or captured, when in the Potomac armory had been driven into the engine house and it was determined to suspend operations until morning. I slept in a house on High Street. In the morning was informed that the Marines from Washington City had arrived and would dislodge the Brown men from the engine house. The Marines were under the command of Colonel R. E. Lee and Lieutenant Israel Green was in command of a company. The work was soon accomplished but a demand was first made upon Brown to surrender but he

refused and sixteen of the men took hold of a ladder, battered in the door of the engine house. Lieutenant Green bounced in the door, knocked Brown down with his sword, after a few shots all was over. One marine was killed, two wounded. To make a long story short, Governor Wise arrived about the middle of the day from Richmond with troops. All the fighting was over. Prisoners were handed over to the State authorities and lodged in the county jail at Charles Town. They consisted of John Brown, Aaron D. Stevens (barely wounded), Shields, Green, Copeland, E. Coppoc, John E. Cook captured about a week later in Pennsylvania, A. Hazlett. All were tried and hung. Brown on December 2, 1859, Cook and Coppoc and Copeland and Green on December 16, 1859, Stevens and Hazlett on March 16, 1860. I often thought we made ourselves more ridiculous by the display of force made over those five men, but no doubt the military spirit aroused at this time prepared the state of Virginia for the war of the rebellion. The history of the country is so well known that I do not propose to occupy space in writing the condition of things here at length. The Brown raid embittered the south against the north. After the raiders were executed there was a comparative lull in the storm. When Congress met the country was agitated. The Presidential election came off in the Fall of 1860. After Lincoln's election the cotton states seceded. After his election his policy rapidly developed to coerce the south. Virginia was called upon to decide where she would go, link her fortunes with the south or join the northern hordes and overrun her southern sister states. She soon decided, the ordinance of secession was passed and preparations were made for war. I was living in Charles Town and engaged in teaching the public school. When the news came that the state had seceded and all the state troops were called out I was a member battalion Botts A Company commanded by Lawson Botts of Charles Town. We were ordered to get ready for the march, had ammunition served out about 2 o'clock in the day, a bright day in April, 16th or 17th. Marched toward Harpers Ferry, the object being to take possession of the U.S. armory at that place. At Hall Town, four miles from Charles Town, we halted were joined by the Clark Company and Shepherdstown Company. There was a small garrison of federal soldiers at the time at Harpers Ferry. We heard at Hall Town that preparations were made at Harpers Ferry to give us battle. About night we started on the march towards the Ferry. Colonel Allen stated that he intended to take Harpers Ferry and when the order was given he expected it to be done. There was no moon, but the stars gave a dim light. At the school house hill a sentinel halted the head of the column. Major Hoff Lawrence rode back toward the rear of the column and in a loud voice called for Colonel Allen. Colonel Allen rode to the front, ordered the column to halt, front "order arms" load with ball cartridges, shoulder arms right forward march. This was the night of April 17th, 1861. Lt Toms was in command of a small garrison. On our approach he fired the works, and retreated across the river towards Carlisle barracks. Very small portion of the armory buildings were burned and most of the small arms were saved, about 15,000 stored. We were quartered in the Potomac Works, our duties

consisted of drills, dress parade, guard duty and policy duty. Troops were coming everyday many, many counties joined us. Being close to home, we were constantly receiving eatables of all kinds and the tables were loaded with all kinds of delicacies. Little did we think that before the war was over we would be too happy to get enough slap jack and fat bacon to satisfy hunger. We had numerous alarms, turned out the whole force one night, and captured General Harvey of the USA and several times captured nobody. We were keen to meet the enemy, but must confess as the time approached, felt that it could be anything but agreeable. Militia officers were in command for some time after we went to Harpers Ferry. At the new organization of the army, all below field officers were reduced to the ranks and some of them were not spared. General Harper commanded at Harpers Ferry under the militia system. At the reorganization Colonel Jackson took command afterwards (Stonewall). He commenced immediately to work up the materials into soldiers. One morning we were ordered out of our quarters, marched to Shepherdstown, through a thunderstorm, back to Kearneysville, where we took the train for the ferry thoroughly drenched and disgruntled. Soon after this in the month of May, our regiment was sent up into Berkeley county opposite Williamsport (and our duties consisted of drill and guard duties). It was a severe march for new soldiers. We encamped in a woods opposite Williamsport and our amusements of _____ and smoking. It was at this camp called Camp Lee that the vote upon the ordinance of secession took place. Some soldiers in the camp voted against it and when some of their comrades jeered them about it, Captain Botts rebuked them and said they should be allowed to vote their sentiments. The election day was in May, the day I do not recollect. Then General Joseph L. Johnson took command at Harpers Ferry. Our regiment was called Second Virginia, was ordered to return to Harpers Ferry. We went by way of Martinsburg, took the cars at that place. When we reached Harpers Ferry it bore the appearance of a town that had undergone a seige. Streets were dirty, soldiers lounged about the town, and everything looked like war. We did not quarter in the armory buildings, but encamped on Bolivar Hill. In the early part of June, the evacuation of Harpers Ferry took place. All the baggage was packed and sent to Winchester. Our regiment, about night fall, received marching orders. We moved towards Charles Town, at Halltown turned off the pike towards Shepherdstown, marched within a few miles of Shepherdstown. A detachment was sent to burn the bridge over the Potomac. That accomplished, we returned toward Charles Town reaching that place about sunrise. On our march we could see large volumes of smoke in the direction of Harpers Ferry which told of the destruction of the works at that place. We spent the day in Charles Town, I think it was June the 11th. The army marched through about 11,000 men. Next morning we marched to and encamped in Mrs. Frances woods about three miles from Charles Town. Remained there overnight and next morning took up the line of march. We knew that Patterson's army was marching toward the Potomac and perhaps at this time had crossed into Virginia. We were marched toward Bunker

Hill and arrived there late in the evening. There was much maneuvering on the valley pikes about this time. Marching up the hill and then down again, but no fighting. It turned out that a few calvary of Patterson's advance had crossed the Potomac reconnoitering but soon went back and there was no immediate prospect of a fight, but it was ascertained that Patterson had a force between Williamsport and Chambersburg. In the organization of the army, the 2nd, 4th, 5th, 33rd regiments of Va troops was assigned to Jackson he ranking as Brigadier. I belonged to the 2nd Va Regiment Calvary and as I have been so modest as not to speak of myself, will state that I was a private for about four months, was then elected corporal, at the reorganization of the army in 1862 was elected a Second Lieutenant in Company K of 2nd Virginia Calvary, but this comes further on. The main part of General Johnson's army was at Winchester. General Jackson's brigade was sent to a position several miles beyond Martinsburg. We were encamped here about ten days or two weeks, perhaps longer doing camp duty, drilling and so forth. There was a stream of water a short distance from the camp in which we bathed every day. I remember Tom Green went down to this stream one day to enjoy a bath. After disrobing and hanging his clothes on a small bush and enjoying his bath for the usual time, came back to get his clothes and found they were hung over a hornets nest. He was compelled to beat a hasty retreat and was only extricated from his embarrassing position by skillful maneuvering. One morning, I think the first of July, the long roll sounded and we were ordered under arms and moved off towards the Potomac River. The Yankees had crossed, were advancing in heavy column and we'd soon have a fight. Down the Williamsport Pike we marched until near to Falling Waters we halted. There were some troops ahead of us. Directly we heard the fire of small arms, not heavy, but rapid. A few wounded returned, said the enemy was advancing in heavy columns. About the time the small arms ceased, about one ½ mile in front of where we were standing—a puff of white smoke shot up, from a piece of rising ground near the edge of the woods. And about the same time, the dull heavy sound of a piece of artillery was heard. The first we ever heard in an engagement. The enemy replied, about forty or fifty shots were exchanged, and our piece was withdrawn and the retreat began. Suppose General Jackson saw that all of Patterson's army was advancing and it was useless to offer battle under the circumstances. The enemy pressed close upon us, General Jackson formed his brigades in line of battle across the Pike. We were upon the left going towards Williamsport. The head of the columns soon came in sight about a mile distant, deployed to the right and left, evidently endeavoring to flank our position. General Jackson was too good a soldier to be caught in this manner. He moved off while the enemy was defiling. We marched through Martinsburg very much to the delight of the Union people of that place. Encamped at Big Spring, about three miles from Martinsburg. Being much fatigued with the day's march, laid down soon after night on the ground under a large tree and slept soundly until revelry sounded. Next morning continued our retreat to Darkesville. General

Joseph L. Johnson was there with a portion of his army, all but one brigade, and from preparations it seemed we were to make a stand. Patterson did not seem to be anxious to make an attack. We waited for several days. Several times were drawn up in line of battle as the report came the enemy was advancing. One evening General Jackson rode along the line. He was a fine looking man, medium size with an oval face, bright hazel eyes and a military air. The enemy did not attack, we retreated to Winchester. This is about the 6th or 7th of July, 1861. After remaining several days in Winchester, we again received a marching order about 2 o'clock in the evening and very hot. Moved out on the Millwood Pike, could not tell where we were going. About a mile from Winchester a general order was read, that Beauregarde has been attacked by overwhelming numbers and we to hasten to his relief. This was 16th or 17th of July. Marched to Millwood, halted for a short time, moved on about sundown, waded the river at Berrys Ferry, moved on across the mountain, halted at Paris in Fauquier County. I threw myself upon the ground and slept as only a weary soldier sleeps, until the drums sounded, fall in and press on. We marched to Piedmont, a station of the Manassas railroad, took the cars and went to Manassas junction. All along the road the people greeted us with shouts of joy. The ladies waved their handkerchiefs and bid us "God speed" at every station. Eatables were offered us in abundance. I slept most of the journey on the cars. When we arrived at the junction about 5 o'clock in the evening the sky was cloudy, then a driving rain. There were some Louisiana Tigers bringing some soldiers who had been killed in the battle of the 17th. We marched two or three miles after night and encamped. Next day I think for two days we lay in a pine thicket and in the rear of General James Longstreet. His brigade occupied the works along "Bull Run" where the attack has been made on the 17th. The enemy occupied a position about one or two miles from us. We could see a horseman now and then riding about as if reconnoitering. From the information we got, we would soon have a battle as General McDowell had a large force in our front. On Sunday morning, July 21st, 1861, we were waked up just as day was breaking by the beat of the long roll. Hurry down to the works about a quarter of a mile to our front. Remained here about an hour. Soon after daylight there began and kept up firing from a heavy gun in our front. A dull heavy sound announcing that the battle had begun. Soon the armies of the Union and the Southern troops would meet in deadly conflict and it was idly foretold by some of the wise ones that this battle would decide the war. We went through some evolutions forming divisions deploying into lines which I could not understand except that it was one of those pieces of strategy. So inexplicable which often took place during the war. General Jackson looked ready for the conflict, dressed in full uniform mounted on a bay horse. We remained in the position first assigned to us—about an hour—we're marched at a double quick about two miles towards our left and after halting were moved several times. The firing about this time by 10 or 11 o'clock was getting heavy and appeared to be coming closer. We knew nothing then about military tactics for

the enemy had or were endeavoring to turn our left. The firing in the morning (early) was a feint not far from us, a battery opened, the first intimation was a puff of white smoke and the singing of a shell. After some maneuvering falling back etc., we saw that the enemy was pressing our troops back & Bortons brigades, South Carolina & Georgia brigades had engaged the enemy and after sustaining the attack about two hours were compelled to retreat before an overwhelming force. It seemed a new line was formed (I write this now but at the time had no idea how or what was doing or to be done—except that we were going to have a big fight from all appearances). Just here I'll recall my recollections of General Jackson afterwards known as "Stonewall Jackson". He was about medium size, broad shoulders, high forehead, prominent nose and altogether rather an ordinary man. Regarded as eccentric and by some called crazy. No one would have picked him out as an officer who was destined to fill the world with his fame—it is my opinion he was the genius of the war and as I progress in this narrative will give my reasons for this opinion. To resume—the firing of musketry was now very heavy—the battle was going on in earnest. We were marched slowly to the scene of action, ascended a hill just beyond what was known as "Henry House" and formed line of battle on the brow of the hill, in the edge of a pine thicket. For sometime after we got fixed, the musketry ceased firing. But for about 2½ hours the artillery wared Pendalton's battery on our rear and a Federal battery (afterwards ascertained to be Sherman's) replied to each other. While occupying this position, General Wm. Smith of Va. & Gen'l Beauregarde rode along the lines. General Smith introduced the General, some of the men leaped out of ranks and shook them by the hand. Both of them appeared in fine spirits. Colonel Cummings' Regt, 33rd Va. occupied a position to our left. He was ordered to charge and did it bravely, but was compelled to retreat. There was some misunderstanding about our regiments moving forward. Some of the men were clamorous to charge, but orders were given to keep in place. In the meantime, the enemy had executed a flank movement, and we were first apprised of it by a sprinkle of musketry along the line, then a volley. We commenced firing. It was difficult to see anyone, although some of the men said they saw men with red pants. The fire was very destructive, someone called out to fall back and the left of the regiment was driven back in confusion. The right rallied under Lieutenant Colonel Lackland and made a charge, some reinforcements come up and soon after the shouts of our soldiers, announced the federal army in full retreat. It was something I could not understand, a whole army as if swayed by an invisible influence suddenly took to flight, threw down their guns and ran to Washington City. Our artillery and calvary under Gen'l J. E. B. Stewart followed. The firing of the artillery was fainter and fainter, and the distant firing about sundown announced that the enemy had retreated eight or ten miles and it was ascertained next day that it was a perfect rout. Pres Davis came upon the field about the time the enemy began to retreat. He was dressed in a full suit of black broad cloth. The soldiers cheered him loudly and he seemed much pleased with the days' work. But

there was a picture of this exciting scene which sickens the heart. At a large farm house in the rear of the battle field was a hospital. Here were the bloody footprints of war. Men with ghostly faces, found & managled limbs. Groans & prayers could be heard among the wounded and dying. This ought to be enough to sicken anyone with war. Of the company Botts Greys a Co. G. Frank Butler had been killed. Tom Briscoe and Leits Page mortally wounded. Charlie Aisquith, W. Manning and several others wounded. General Jackson had been shot through the finger by a "mini ball" but did not leave the field. On the night of the battle we were marched about two and a half miles—on the way I got separated from the Reg't and in company with a comrade fell in with a Mississippi Reg't in camp? There was a fine spring near the encampment and I had a piece of fat bacon and corn bread in my haversack. I never tasted water so refreshing and bread and meat so acceptable. Some of the Miss. Reg't insisted on our taking some coffee, coaxed up the servants, had some coffee, made and shared a bed with us on the ground. Next morning we found our Reg't, a slow settled rain set in, we laid in camp several days. We went into encampment about three miles from Centerville, a regular encampment. This was the first week in August, the Brigade "Stonewall" was encamped near or in front of the edge of a piece of woods with a large field in front. Here we remained for about six weeks, and our time was taken up in drilling, guard and picket duty. Nothing of interest occurred here. Amused ourselves playing cards, reading and so forth. In the evening would sit around the trees talking and smoking. Most of us got to be inveterate smokers. This camp was called "Camp Haman". In the meantime we were informed that the Yankee Congress had determined the war must go on and it would be prosecuted till the last Rebel laid down his arms. The army was undergoing a thorough reorganization. The frequent firing of cannon announced that there was practicing in artillery and that the Yankee native was not so disheartened by the Bull Run fight as not to go to work in earnest to raise another & make another onto Richmond movement. Our position of the army occupied a position here and in the neighborhood the rest of the summer. The outside picket line was at Marrows Hill about 10 or 12 miles from Fairfax Court House. There the pickets were in view of each other and a constant firing was kept up. Our Reg't was sent down once, do not remember the date, we did not take any account of time, a soldiers life consists of a round of duties—drilling, mounting guard, inspection and hunting something to eat. For some cause it was absent from the Reg't. The day it moved did not go down the same day—went in a wagon with "Billy Jack". The evening of that we relieved the 2nd Georgia regiment. During the day I walked up on _____ Hill, from its summit I could distinctly see the dome of the Capitol at Washington, Seminary Hill at Alexandria and vessels sailing up and down the Potomac. The distance being about six miles. On the top of the hill there were fortifications and sham cannon, large logs painted at the end and at a short distance resembled cannon. Pickets were relieved after night. We were told to be very cautious and quiet, for the

enemy often crept up during the night and as day broke a volley of musketry reminded us of the visit. My station was by a worm rail fence in front of which ran a road that was not much used but did not know anything of our situation till next morning. The moon was shining dimly and most of the night was partially obscured by clouds. It was about one hour after midnight when we went on duty. The Georgians told us of many tricks the Yankees played on them. We were warned about talking, coughing or making any noise to disclose our position. Moses Gibson was on post with me and one or two more, but I remember him for he kept up at intervals a hacking cough, tried to get him quiet, but the more I expostulated it seemed the more he coughed till at last I gave up in despair—concluding that the Yankees would have our scalps before morning. About the middle of the night I was stationed on a look out with gun poked through the fence when in the woods in front I heard a noise as the approaching footsteps of a man crushing the branches underfoot. It came nearer and nearer, now our time had come I thought as I clasped my gun awaiting the approach of the _____ nearer and nearer. It came and louder and louder the sound became and just as the opportunity offered to give the Yankees the confidence of my gun, the moon shone all brightly from a cloud and a big tom cat jumped out from a big tree in my front entirely unconscious that he had created such a sensation. The weary hour of the night passed, got some sleep—Moses Gibson taking my place on post and still keeping up his cough. How slowly daylight breaks to the watchman, at first a faint stream of light, then a glow increasing in brilliance, till at last a flood of light pours up from the Eastern horizon and the darkness flies away before the advance of the glorious God of day. The sun had not peeped above the Eastern horizon but the heavens were radiant with light so refreshing to the eyes of the weary watcher. When about two posts from us we were stationed about 400 yards apart—there was a sharp crash of a rifle, then another and another followed in rapid succession, and then a splatter of musketry. We saw some men retreating over the fields, in our rear—one without a hat—we then saw Captain Nadanbusch's Co marching out rapidly from the reserve to the point of attack. We soon learned that a post had been attacked and Sumner Berry had been killed. A company of Yankees had stolen up close to this post in the night and as day broke surprised them. Mr. Tom Green I was informed had taken off his accouterments and was talking. When the attack was discovered he seized his gun and a Yankee being about twenty paces off, they both fired about the same time and neither shot took affect. The post was soon retaken and order restored. We remained on our post until night. Nothing of importance occurred during the day—we were so close to the enemies lines, that we could distinctly view the regimental band playing and the noise and clatter so well recognized by every soldier in camp at revelry. We were released after night fall, a portion of our regiment returned to the headquarters of the picket, about a half a mile distant. After partaking of a warm supper consisting mostly of vegetables—corn, tomatoes, beans—retired for the night in a barn and slept as delightfully upon a

pile of oats as ever a prince did upon his downy couch. In the neighborhood of where we picketed, there was a settlement of northerners who cultivated small farms giving their attention chiefly to vegetables, corn, tomatoes and so forth. Upon the approach of our army they had abandoned their homes leaving vegetables in the greatest abundance. We enjoyed very much the abandoned property. Jas. Sherrard from Winchester slept near me in the barn. He was on the picket post attacked in the morning, said he had never been so much demoralized. Next day our portion of the Regiment constituted the reserve, that is the part first placed on duty. I visited during the day the post that had been attacked at this point—the line of pickets were in the shape of a the lines were about 300 yards apart, a slight rise off the ground concealed the enemy from any view. From curiosity, climbed in a tree to the first switch to get a view of the enemy, could distinctly see a post. There was a man under a tent, spread to protect him from the suns rays as the post was in an open field. I soon discovered he was on the look out for he slowly raised his gun to his shoulder and was taking deliberate aim at me. I did not consume time in climbing down the tree, but fell out striking the ground like a gob of mud. I disappointed him no doubt and my curiosity was gratified. We remained here near Pahick Church for several days. There was some picket fighting and quite brisk cannonading and at one time from the activity along the lines, it seemed we were going to have a general engagement. We returned to our old camp near Centerville, remained here several weeks. In the Fall we moved our camp down in the neighborhood of Fairfax C.H. At this camp I was taken sick and as we were about to move camp was sent to the hospital. Up Manning and I were together, we were sent from the hospital at Manassas junction to Richmond. When we arrived at Richmond were directed to Chimborazo hospital on a very high hill on the edge of the city. It was a bleak place and the hospital _____ very poor accommodations. The nights were cool and if we had not brought our blankets, we would have suffered. Upp Manning and I occupied a cot in the corner of a very long barren room and in which there were about 40 or 50 sick soldiers—some were ill with typhoid fever—several died while we were there. I remember one poor fellow who occupied a cot not far from us, was delirious. I awoke one night, or rather was aroused and found [him] sitting upon the side of my bed, chattering some wild incoherent talk. I called to him in a low voice to go to bed. He went without any difficulty. In a few days he was buried. The patients were not properly attended to, in fact they were neglected. A young doctor would come around once a day—elegantly dressed, feel the pulse of his patients with kid gloves or give a pill (perhaps a bread one) and then retire. It was a disgrace for any civilized community, that men who had volunteered to face the dangers and hardships of a camp life should be neglected and left to die without so much care as is ordinarily bestowed on dumb brutes. Fortunately for Up and myself we were not very sick. Had what was called the camp fever, did not need any medicine or at least did not take any and perhaps got well sooner. By putting our blankets together and

laying close, we managed to sleep comfortably the frosty nights. Our fare consisted of bread and coffee for breakfast and bread and beef soup (dirty water rather) for dinner and nothing for supper—or as one of the soldiers expressed it "p____ for supper and go to bed". Heard of Harpers Ferry fight under Ashby's men—we remained here bout ten days. Saw Dr. Burton and his wife (Bettie Smith formerly) often while here. Met Dr. Blidsoe one evening at the house where Dr. B was boarding. As soon as we could get off we got an order to return to the army. Several with us from our Reg't. Donny & Thompson I remember. On our way up to Manassas junction we formed a plan to take what we called a french furlough. When we arrived at the junction we proceeded to carry our plan into execution. Instead of going toward Centerville where the army was stationed, we directed our course out to the West in the direction of the mountains. It was late in the evening when we got there and travelled about four miles when night overtook us. Put up a small farm house, they gave us supper, or rather we paid for it. There was a member of the Washington artillery sick with the fever at the house and a comrade nursing him. We sat up some time talking. Next morning early we were on the tramp, struck the pike leading through Aldies, put up at a house in Loudon county not far from the mountain. The kind people furnished us a nice supper as we had walked over twenty miles, were very tired and after talking awhile with the ladies in the parlor—retired. Next day we crossed the mountains at Lelipps distillery, the Shenandoah at Shannondale and got home about an hour after dark. They were all glad to see us. Absence without leave was not regarded in those days as a very serious crime. The army consisted of volunteers and there was no such thing as a desertion. I do not remember all my fellow flankers, but Upp Manning (afterwards killed at Brandy Station) Donny & Thompson were with me and stayed at home about two weeks. About the time I had prepared to return, General Jackson was ordered to take command in the valley with his brigade and the valley militia. There were no troops in the lower valley but Ashby's calvary at Flowing Springs. The federals had a camp in Maryland and pitched on the other side of the river. I went up to Winchester in the cars and joined my command at Kernstown where they were encamped having arrived the day before in a heavy rain storm. This was late in October or early Nov. My comrades jeered me very much about walking 64 miles and a sick man too. The first night I got into camp, Fred Robinson and I flanked into Winchester and had a frolic. I returned to camp behind Dr. Jack Straith. Fred was too drunk to make the march, about three miles from Winchester. In a few days we were marched through Winchester and encamped near Stevenson's depot. Here we fixed for the winter, at least we thought so. We did not build huts but pitched our tents in a field. Joe Crane, Charlie Aisquith, Horace Gallaher occupied a tent together. We had Steven Goens (a colored man) to cook for us and we lived well as we were in reach of home and often got a supply of eatables. Our time here was occupied with the usual camp duties, drilling, guard mounting and so forth. We frequently went into Winchester and visited a good deal at Mrs.

Meridiths. There were several girls here and we spent some pleasant hours. We also visited at Mr. Ginnis—he had a grand daughter Betty, a very pretty girl. Randall Evans (a colored man) kept a restaurant in town and we frequently called on him. In fact we spent all our money here. I shall never forget one night we were in town _____ of the Regt George Flagg and Jim Tawner among the number on a flank. It was necessary for us to get the countersign to go to camp. The militia were stationed on the pike and were very strict about hailing everyone. We could not go to Colonel Lawson Botts for we were away from our command without leave. So we resorted to a piece of strategy. Tawner feigned drunkedness we pretended to be a squad taking him to camp. Up at the post where we were ordered to halt, explained to militia man that we were taking to camp a drunken soldier and failed to get the countersign. Tawner by this time getting very boisterous. It was no use, the soldier was inmovable. lost we plainly told him that we would be compelled to leave the drunken man in his hands, up to this time we had been holding Towner who pretended to be trying to lose himself. When we released our grasp he gave a yell—and jumped at the sentinel who turned and ran from his post toward a little hut they had constructed by the side of the road. The officer came out and considering our case a matter of necessity, allowed us to pass. Very often it would be past the middle of the night when we got to camp and _____ _____ lie in bed part of the next day to recuperate. We remained at his camp (Camp _____ Expedition) until the first of January 1862. On that day we were ordered to get ready to move and none of us knew where. The morning was bright and pleasant, moved toward Winchester and on the grade towards Romney and Bath. Marched about sixteen miles that day and encamped for the night. Wagons did not get up—we had no blankets, no rations, soon after night we would _____ _____

[Manuscript is fragmentary.]

April 1861. [Two or three sentences missing.] _____ and joined the army of the enemy) was in the guard house very drunk. He kept up a noise, hollering, cursing and so forth. An old gentleman had been captured travelling in a buggy towards Bath suspected of endeavoring to convey information to the enemy. He was placed in [the] charge of our guard and we gave him the best accommodations we could afford. A seat by a large fire, and as the wind blew with great force, he was compelled to move his seat every few minutes as the volume of smoke would be driven in his face. The only stabling for his horse was a large tree to which they were hitched, night wore on, daylight came on and we were ordered to take up the march without rations. We marched to Unger's crossroads and encamped. Wagons reached us about 2 o'clock, cooked rations and prepared for the night wrapped in our blankets and slept soundly. Next morning the ground was covered with snow and it was still falling. Soon after daylight we resumed our march toward Bath, many supposed we were going toward Romney until we got

to the crossroads. Before we got to Bath, the force of the enemy stationed at that point retreated to the B&O RR. Entered the town about sundown and took up our quarters for the night in different parts of the town, in houses, _____ Col Strather and Mrs. Randolph, David Strather's wife and Emmie at the hotel. Next morning the weather was very cold and we were marched toward the river. I think we remained there nearly opposite Hancock for two nights pretending to be making preparations to cross the river. It was late in the morning when we commenced our march to retreat. The wind blew fearfully cold, the road was as smooth as glass, the snow being packed down by the wagons in front and the portion of the army that had preceded us. After we passed through the town of Bath, hoping soon to encamp, we trudged on, barely able to keep on our feet. Every now and then, down a man would come with a thump and an oath. Fortunately the moon shone bright. We walked till we were almost exhausted. At last the report spread down the line that we were to encamp at Unger's crossroads, a distance of seventeen miles from Bath. This was demoralizing and the men began to straggle. Joe Crane and I turned off the road and looked for quarters for the night. We soon came upon a house in which a bright fire was burning, looked through the windows and recognized some of Company A (Rowans) of our Reg't snugly housed, soon made ourselves known & they admitted us. Their quarters seemed to be a shop in which was a good pile of wood. We built up the fire, wrapped our blankets and slept comfortably until morning. In the morning tried to get breakfast, at first the old Dutchman insisted upon it, the well was froze up and he had no flour—but after some coaxing his wife cooked a grittle cake made of buckwheat flour and a good allowance of dirt I supposed from the color and we sat down expecting to enjoy our meal on the table. There was sauce of pickle to which we helped ourselves plentifully and which seemed to whet our appetites. The cake was divided into three parts. Joe Crane, Charlie Aisquith and I each taking a piece. Joe finished his piece eating ravenously and turned around looking for another when the old woman had just finished wiping the grittle and hung it up by the fireplace. We took up our march soon after in the track of the army. The morning was bright but cold. Overtook the army in camp at Ungers crossroads. We remained here several days. Great many of the regiment were taken with the jaundice and sent to Winchester. We were ordered again to march and took the road towards Romney. The road was very muddy as we were in the midst of a thaw and during the march had a most uncomfortable time, encountered snow, mud and ice, slept in the snow & boots would freeze at night and with difficulty managed to get them on to continue and march. Through rain, snow, mud and ice we pushed on to Romney. We ascertained on the march that the federal troops had evacuated Romney. We found that there were some staunch southern people in the mountains as they rejoiced very much at our advance and whenever opportunity offered entertained us their best. One rainy evening I remember three fat healthy girls stood on the style in front of a farm house and sang at the top of their voices. Several pitiful

southern songs. They were very enthusiastic and kept up the singing while the army passed. One verse I remember was "General Jackson is very large and on the Yankees he will charge." It excited much merriment among our troops—tho most of us wearied with a long march and wet to the skin. Now & then you'd hear a soldier shout "Got to it old gal". We ought to have felt complimented for with the girls "the spirit was willing" and they did their best if their voices were cracked. When we got within 20 or 30 miles of Romney we saw evidence of the mode of warfare the Yankees had inaugurated. Blackened chimneys indicated where once stood farm homes now nothing but a heap of ashes. A Colonel Dunning of the federal army, Colonel of an Ohio regiment had made a raid through this part of the country about a week previous and finding nothing but militia to oppose him, burned homes and made war upon the helpless citizens, women and children. Think we counted from the chimneys 40 burnt homes in site of the road. The streams were swollen by the late rains and melting of the snow and bridges swept away. We were compelled to walk through the streams, sometimes above the knees. Romney I suppose was a pretty village before war with its devastating power visited it. It is in a mountainous country but has good land in the neighborhood. We were quartered in the town. Part of the time in the Footes Academy we remained here about ten days and enjoyed it very much as there was no drilling and the guard duty was very light. When we received marching orders we directed our course toward Winchester. There was general rejoicing as we were much attached to the people of the town and more to our home people. About three days disagreeable marching thro the wind brought us [with] in about three miles of Winchester. From the northern papers left in Romney by the federal army, we learned that General B. McClellan had been appointed Commander and Chief of the army and advance would be made in spring, when the whole Rebel army would be driven into the Gulf of Mexico. I went into Winchester the first night we arrived in the neighborhood. Took supper at Randall Evans eating house and of course we had a frolic. Our encampment for part of the winter was on what is known as the Romney grade about two and half miles from town. The weather did not allow much drilling, our amusement consisted of reading, smoking and playing cards. We were invited to Colonel Bonham's to a dance. The Colonel lived about four miles from Winchester on the turnpike leading to Berryville. We obtained a leave of absence and about 3 o'clock a disagreeable winter evening, started for the dance in a covered wagon. The wagon was drawn by two mules, and according to the practice of those gentle animals, insisted on traveling at a slow safe speed. Geo Flagg, Joe Crane, Horace Gallaher, Charlie Aisquith, Loony Sadler and I made up the load. George Flagg drove and I whipped, having first cut down some hickory saplings for that service. From camp to Winchester our progress was slow as there had been a rain and the road was deep. After reaching the Berryville Pike we made better progress and arrived at the Colonel's early in the evening, soon after dark. Found there a very pleasant little company. Miss Meridith from Winchester, Miss L.

Bonham and others. The Colonel had received the services of a small Negro to keep the bottle filled in the office, a small room in the yard and a short distance from the house, which seemed to be set apart for our accommodations—no such opportunity was lost to make a good frolic of it. The dancing soon began and was kept up until morning about 3 o'clock. The old Negro fiddled, until through exhaustion and the apple toddy he had falled over, completely subdued by drowsiness. But he waked up and started again, all of us got pretty high as we made regular visits to the office. About 2 o'clock in the morning it became necessary to conduct Loony out of the room and put him to bed. He declined to go and George Flagg was compelled to use some force. He kicked George in the breast as they reached the door and George remarked there were marks of violence on his person the next morning. We kept up the frolic all night. A short time before daylight, we retired to the office and slept till about 8 o'clock. All were not in the best humor the next morning, but a little bitters soon revived our feelings and a warm breakfast put us in a more comfortable frame of mind. About 2 o'clock in the evening we returned to Winchester. The mules travelled better, perhaps because they were returning to camp, as they had been in service long enough to look upon the camp as their master's crib and army fare as the most palatable food. Stopped a short time in Winchester and after getting to camp early in the night, retired to our blankets and slept soundly [oblivious] to the debauch of the night previous. All army operations on both sides had never ceased for the winter. The roads were deep, and some parts almost impassable and the weather inclement. From indications both sides were preparing for a desperate struggle when the spring opened and armies could be moved. Our government offered a 30 day furlough to all soldiers who would enlist for the war. I enlisted and my furlough was granted. How long we remained on the Romney grade encamped, am not able to say. But owing to the condition of the roads, and the difficulty of wagoning supplies, we moved nearer to Winchester sometime in January 1862. Was delighted at the prospect of spending 30 days at home. Went down in the cars to Charles Town. That town at the time was feeling the effects of the war. Very little communication with Maryland and very little business of any kind transacted. Everyone seemed to be awaiting the termination of the war. Many grand enterprises were fixed upon, and many bold plans arranged to be carried into execution when the war was over, as we sat around the fire talking over our own present condition and future prospects. Several of my comrades were at home, we spent our time visiting and enjoying ourselves as best we could, inclined to the opinion that in all probability this would be last furlough we would enjoy for some time, as we had enlisted for war & when and how that would terminate, there was no prophet to inform us. On the 22nd of February 1862 we received information that Banks army on the Maryland side of the Potomac was in motion and crossing in heavy force at Harpers Ferry. It was deemed unsafe to remain in town and we fell back to Billy Locke's near Renner Mill. Several of us stayed with him all night. Put our horses in stable and between a jug of whiskey

and a well thumbed deck of cards managed to while away about half the night. Next morning we were quietly seated at the breakfast table when Mr. Thomas Locke came hurriedly into the house and informed us that the Yankees had come into Charles Town and dispersed Baylors calvary, that they were in heavy force and moving in this direction. In great haste we mounted our horses, Horace Gallaher, W. Manning, T. McIntyre, my brother Berkeley and several others. Armed most of us with long range army rifles, arms used in infantry service and started toward C. Town to meet the enemy. As we were going into Mrs. Frances woods, a horseman with a blue coat on, raised the hill. We halted and he halted about 100 yards apart, we stood for a few minutes and confronted each other. We soon discovered that on each side of this horseman a line was forming. The morning was close and there was a high north wind. Soon a small puff of white smoke and a sharp crack of a rifle, announced to us that we had met the enemy and were confronted with a regiment of Yankee calvary. Under the circumstances, as we numbered about eight men, it was considered best to retreat. We turned and galloped off, after first having discharged our guns at the head of the column of the enemy. They, elated at their triumph, started in pursuit, firing rapidly at us as we galloped toward Berryville. As we passed Bauey's house, we discovered that Captain Baylor and Captain Sheetz had dismounted, hitched their horses to a fence and gone into the house as we afterwards learned, to write a dispatch to General Jackson—informing him of the movements of the enemy. The noise of our horses feet and our shouts to them brought them out in a hurry and before they could move their horses, the Yankees were close upon them. They succeeded in getting off, but made a narrow escape. They continued in pursuit of us as far as Rippon where they turned, we turned and followed in their tracks to C. Town. Found that they had returned to Harpers Ferry. We stayed in town several hours very much to the annoyance and anxiety of our friends, who very much feared that we'd be captured. In the evening we left town and went toward Berryville. I slept at Mr. Thos Wists next night, next day stayed in the neighborhood and next night stayed at Mrs. Davis with Struther Davis. We made our headquarters at Berryville where Captain Sheetz was stationed with several companies of calvary. The enemies calvary would come up the turnpike every day and we amused ourselves skirmishing with them. In a few days I returned to Winchester and joined my regiment, as my furlough had expired. Our regiment was stationed in the town as provost guard and the troops encamped near the town awaiting the approach of the enemy. Gen'l Jackson had two brigades and some militia under his command. Gen'l Loring's troops had been withdrawn from him. At last the enemy came cautiously and in the night we evacuated the town—camped about three miles from town and next morning by sunrise we were on the march retreating toward Staunton. Our regiment was in the rear and General Jackson on foot leading his horse, was the last man in the column. Slowly we retreated up the valley, not followed closely by the federal troops—calvary skirmishes in the rear bring the only incidence of the times.

Between the time of the evacuation of Winchester which took place early in March and the battle of Kearnstown on the 23rd of March 1862, I cannot give a connected account of events. I only remember we marched and canter marched. Gen'l Jackson, with his small force of Confederate soldiers and militia closely watching every movement of the enemies forces under Gen'l Banks. Ashby's calvary, keeping close to the enemy at night and constantly harassing them during the day, were apprised of every movement the enemy made. Some of the soldiers informed General Jackson what General Banks had for dinner every day. This continued until the latter part of March. At this time we were in the neighborhood of New Market. Orders were issued one evening about dark to cook two day's rations. This always meant serious business as we soon learned, for when this order was issued General Jackson either meant a long march or a sharp fight—which was intended we did not know. The next morning at the break of day solved the question. The head of the column turned towards Winchester, we were in high spirits. Suffice it to say, we made a forced march and a forced march in Jackson's foot calvary was one that resulted in aching limbs, sore feet, empty stomachs, and to finish up with a desperate fight. For one day and a half we marched as only Jackson's men could march. Down the valley pike through Mt. Jackson, Woodstock, Strasburg, toward Winchester. Rumors said the Yankees had evacuated Winchester but rumors sometimes are not reliable. About the middle of the day on Sunday, March 23rd, 1862, we arrived within 3 miles of Winchester, near the town of Kernstown, a small village of about 8 houses. Still the report reached us that the enemy had retreated. But when the head of a column turned into a field to the left of the pike and as we had heard at intervals the dull sound of artillery in front we could not but think there were some obstructions in the way. As we moved through a piece of woods, still moving to the left, a shell from the enemies battery came crashing through the trees, splintering some saplings and making a fearful noise as it sped on its path of destruction. Turner Ashby on his white horse was in front and General Jackson on horseback was a short distance behind him. Ashby looked like a knight errant, his bravery, coolness and daring cannot be described. I have seen brave men under fire, men that never shrank from danger coolly face death, some with a stolid unflinching demeanor, others as if they would sacrifice everything but honor to escape the terrible ordeal. But Ashby was the only man I can remember that was exhilarated and enjoyed danger. It was soon evident to us that we were compelled to cross a meadow about 1/2 mile wide or more in full view of the enemies guns, in order as we afterward learned, to gain a position upon which to meet the enemy. As we crossed the meadow, a battery of 6 or 8 guns played upon the line. The shells burst beyond us but [missed] us on every shot. All gained the hill beyond on which Pendalton's battery was placed and opened fire upon the enemy. The hill which we had gained was heavily wooded. Very soon we heard the skirmish fire. It grew faster, thicker, heavier—until it culminated in one belch and bellow of musketry. The work had commenced in ernest a few hundred yards

in front of us. Our regiment was formed in line of battle and went forward in a run and with a shout we were soon in the thickest of the fight, undergrowth in the woods concealed the enemy from our view, but the crash of musketry—the falling of men & the Confederate yell told us that the battle was going and now came the death struggle for the mastery. How long the battle continued, I don't know. Time under such circumstances seems to pass very rapidly or very slowly—rapidly when everything goes well, very slowly under trying circumstances such as supporting a battery or exposed to a galling fire and being unable to strike in return. We stood and fired. The guns got foul, still the firing continued. The firing got on our flank. The color bearer of our regiment was killed very early in the battle. Charlie Withshire took the colors and was shot through the ear. Lieut Davis of Company K grabbed them. I was standing near him, what was to be done we could not tell. The firing was very heavy in our front and commenced on the flank. About dusk Gen'l Garrett gave the order to fall back. We retreated through the woods and across the open field when about half way across the field I turned and saw the enemy skirmish line firing into our retreating regiment. I found myself near a mill damn with a lane, our men were pretty well scattered but retreated silently and firing. The enemy's calvary approached on the left making a demonstration as if to surround us when I reached the wood. I was pretty well exhausted. Charlie Manning, on a fine black horse was there, he at that time belonged to the calvary. Begging him to take me up for a few hundred yards, that I might get beyond the enemies calvary he consented and we rode slowly up the hill. As we ascended the hill, a squad of calvary, eight in number stood on the right in the field close to the fence, and we could only pass about close enough to be struck with a riding whip. I thought it best to surrender and told Charlie so but he rode slowly up to them as if we were prepared to give up and when opposite to them put spur to his horse and away we sped at a break neck speed, all hurriedly shot at us but they missed both us and the horse. After riding several hundred yards, one calvary man following us returned to give them battle, but when he saw we presented a determined front, he fired his gun and galloped back toward his comrades. It was about dark as we entered a strip of woods and slowly rode along hoping to fall in with some of our army. After awhile horsemen were heard galloping toward us. Charlie put spurs to his horse thinking the enemy was pursuing us, but we soon discovered it was some of our men. Owing to the sudden start of the horse, I had dropped my gun but got down and went back to get it. About two miles from the battlefield we stopped at a house. The gentleman gave us supper which we enjoyed very much and soon retired to bed and slept soundly without any noises of battle to disturb our slumbers. So ended the battle of Kernstown, the only one I remember in which Gen'l Jackson was repulsed. He showed great personal courage in the battle exposing himself constantly on the front lines, his bravery amounted to almost recklessness. Our army stopped about 2½ miles from the battlefield and encamped for the night. Next morning we ate our breakfast at the house where

we had slept and travelled up the valley in the road running parallel with the pike. The booming of a cannon soon after we started announced that the work of death had again commenced. We joined our army in the retreat before Middletown, our comrades were glad to meet us thinking we had been killed or captured. Many were missing, some killed, some wounded and left on the field and some captured. We retreated slowly to Cedar Creek, at this point stopped and cooked rations. While engaged in this agreeable duty, some of the calvary announced as they passed that the enemy was advancing rapidly. Orders were given to hitch up, get the wagons ready and the men were called to arms. Before we were in readiness to remove the dark columns of the enemy appeared on the hills and in a short time about twelve guns opened furiously upon our position. Chew's battery replied, stationed a short distance from our regiment. We formed [a] line of battle in the rear. As we filed off the pike a shell stuck in the rear of the 27th Virginia regiment and killed and crippled seven men. We discovered that the object of our commander was to check the enemy's advance until the wagon train was put beyond danger. We continued our retreat to Round Hill near Mount Jackson and there was no more fighting for awhile as the enemy did not pursue. It was about this time that the army was reorganized. Berkley, my younger brother, was elected First Lieutenant and I Second Lieutenant, Jim Flemming Third Lieutenant in Company K, Harpers Ferry Company, Charlie Stewart was elected Captain. We led an inactive life for awhile, drilling, reorganizing and attending to the duties of camp life. Sometime in April 1862 the enemy advanced in force, our army was too small to offer battle, although increased by drafts from the militia. The advance was a vigorous one on the part of the federal army. The bridge at Mount Jackson was taken before Ashby knew it and in a close fight with the advance of the federal calvary, his beautiful white steed was shot and from the wound he died a short distance above New Market. Our retreat was conducted in an orderly manner up the Valley pike to Harrisonburg. The enemy not pursuing very closely. At this place we turned off the pike toward the Blue Ridge Mountains, across the Shenandoah River and encamped at Swift River Gap. Here we stayed for about a week or ten days. The army seemed dispirited while here. Don't think the sun showed a whole day while there. This I think was in April, while here we heard discouraging news from the army in the southwest in that a large and formidable force was environing Richmond and in the command of McClelland. The enemy had possession of the Shenandoah Valley up as high as Harrisonburg, unmolested except by raids from Mosby. One morning, a cloudy disagreeable morning, we were ordered to move. This seemed to give relief. We started from camp ready for anything that might offer a fight or a foot race, crossed the river, moved in the direction of Harrisonburgh about 2½ miles. Sat down on the roadside and waited, we did not know for what, some guessed our movements, some asserted positively we were going down the valley and others that we were certainly going to Richmond and this was a first. I remember Captain Rowan was in talkative humor. He said we were going to

fight the Yankees. His guess turned out to be correct. But he did not state where or when. He compared our achievement to the army in Mexico where he had been during the war between our country and that republic and looked upon our army with great contempt as compared with Gen'l Taylor's and his army. After awhile Gen'l Jackson rode by back towards the camp from which we had marched. We certainly concluded there was no chance there for a fight in front. For that remarkable man never turned away from an enemy without fighting. We soon counter marched, we crossed the river but instead of returning to camp, the head of the column moved up the river toward Staunton. We continued the march into the night which was very dark. The roads were very muddy and in places there were pools amounting almost to lakes. I remember one that we waded up to the waist—was a very large one and we were awhile at sea "out of sight of land" but on and on we tramped not in very good humor, arrived about 11 o'clock at the place where the wagons had stopped for the night. The camp fires were lighted and our tent was raised. I never enjoyed a supper more or a nights rest. The sun shone pleasantly next day and we continued our march over the Ridge to Merchane's Station. From this point we were transported on the cars to Staunton. None of us knew our destination but many guesses were made—not guessed right. At Staunton we remained about one and a half days. When we took up the line of march, I think about the last of April, we only knew by the direction the head of the column took which way we were going, but did not know where. Went through the town, but the column marched towards McDowell's on the northwest grade. Most of this march was through a mountainous country, such mountains as I had never seen. When we reached the Summit of Shenandoah Mountain as far as the eye could reach, towards the West, high mountains & peaks towards the clouds, until the horizon in the far distance was bounded by high sharp pointed peaks like vast peaks of sugar loafs. The road was good, the air bracing, the scenery wild and picturesque. The water in the streams was clear and cold as if it flowed from ice houses. For several days westward we pursued our march. Jackson's foot was on his native heath among the mountains of western Virginia. One bright afternoon about two hours before sunset we were halted to rest and cook rations. After a very hard days march about sundown we heard musketry a few miles in our front and then the roar of cannon. General Edward Johnston was in our front and from the noise we knew that we had met the enemy. About night we were given marching orders and hurried forward. Marched about five miles when we reached the battlefield. The firing had ceased. The battle of McDowell had been fought on a high hill in the sight of the small village which bears that name. Our troops occupied the rest of the hill, the enemy attempted to dislodge them—made several gallant attacks upon our position, but were repulsed. As we filed onto the battlefield, the dead with their pallid faces upturned to the full moon showed where the conflict had been fiercest. We had marched that day about thirty eight miles. We reoccupied the battlefield that night. The next morning the enemy had retreated. We pursued

continuing our march through the village of McDowell towards Franklin and Pendalton county. We marched within a few miles of Franklin but had no engagement with the enemy, though frequently marched out into the hills and formed into a line of battle. The enemy had set fire in the woods and in some places our advance was very cautious and slow on account of the heavy smoke and thick woods and undergrowth. There was one thing that struck us, the number of rainy days on the march in the mountains. Rained most every day sometimes all day as our march was a forced one and we had no tents or shelter, we suffered a great inconvenience to retraced our steps but instead of returning toward Staunton the head of the column turned towards Harrisonburg. We were in high glee hoping that we were going to the valley again. We _ ____ _____ at New Market on the pike and marched toward Luray— _____ Luray and continued our march on through Front Royal _____ now as if he were moving with the enemies country occupied _____ —by our marches knew we had some business in hand—the march from Luray to Front Royal, a distance of 25 miles, we were overtaken by a violent storm and being in a heavy piece of timber, stood behind trees to be protected by the rain which came down in torrents. Before we reached Front Royal there were unmistakable signs that the enemy was not far off. But it turned out it was a large force of regiment of infantry, some calvary. At the fight here, Captain Sheetz was killed. The force of federals was scattered and captured, we camped near Front Royal and early next morning moved towards Winchester. We struck the valley pike near Middletown and the federal column had been cut at this place. Some retreating towards Strasburg and some toward Winchester. We passed on toward Winchester and did not close our pursuit when night came on.

Edited by Louis Santucci

Eye-Witness Account of the Hanging of John Brown

Some Jefferson County history was recorded for posterity by the pen of a young man who served with his kinsman, Robert E. Lee under two flags, giving his life for the latter. He left a record of an encampment at Charles Town, and an eye-witness description of the hanging of John Brown at Harper's Ferry.

Thomas Gordon Pollock was born in 1838 and died in 1863 when but twenty-five years of age. He was a son of the Reverend Abraham David Pollock, a distinguished Presbyterian divine who on November 25th, 1835, married Elizabeth Gordon Lee. She was the daughter of United States Attorney General Charles Lee who served in the cabinets of both Washington and Adams, and was the personal attorney of Washington. Charles Lee was one of the sixteen "Midnight Judges", appointed by Adams on his last day in office to the fury of Thomas Jefferson.

Young Thomas Gordon Pollock, upon his graduation from the University of Virginia with a degree in law, enlisted in the United States Army. He was with the Federal troops in 1859, sent to Harper's Ferry to quell the John Brown uprising. Four years later, as a Captain in the Confederate Army, he was killed July 3rd, 1863, in Pickett's charge at Gettysburg. He had faithfully served both the Stars and Stripes and the Stars and Bars under Robert E. Lee, his mother's first cousin. She had cherished and preserved three of her son's letters which are reproduced herewith.

Charlestown, Nov 21st 1859

My dear Mother—

I take the earliest opportunity to let you know I left Warrenton yesterday at 12m., an hour & a half behind my troop. I overtook it in order of march this side of Piedmont where we halted & were joined by the Mounted Company of Capt. Turner Ashby. The two companies proceeded then together, halting at Paris from six till twelve last night for the purpose of rest & shoeing of horses. Fording the Shenandoah chin deep we reached after a steady march of fourteen hours the point of our destination at eight oclock this morning. Governor Wise is here and the place is alive with military—some five hundred men under arms. Indeed

the town is converted into a garrison. The streets are commanded at all points by cannon and strict military law obtains. Our troop is quartered on the citizens & so far as I am concerned on the most agreable terms. The trouble of grooming according to the requirements of the service—ones own horse amply makes amends for the advantages of mounted service over the infantry. Lewis Randolph is here in the Richmond regiment. Our company is to be broken up tomorrow into scouting squads of five and we are ordered over the mountains all along the Maryland line. Will not be off duty at any rate till after all the prisoners are hung. I am without linen and yarn socks and an overcoat. I have the trooper's blanket—but wish I also had my overcoat. My talma could not be used with sword. We are to be armed with rifles and six shooters. The troops were all marched in divison into the prison today & presented to the condemned insurgents— They look dreadful— Brown the very image of the picture of him calmly looking certain death in the face on Friday week. The rest are prison bleached and sullen—recovered from their wounds but wearing ghastly scars. The sight of so many lying under such a sentence by itself is a serious subject of reflection. But what may come to pass before this sentence is consummated it is not to be foretold— We all hope for the best and are prepared for the worst. The views in the weeklies of places & persons in Charlestown are perfectly accurate. If you have an opportunity to send to me my overcoat and socks do so if you can't do not be uneasy I will take care of myself.

The Black Horse are in very fine hlth & spirits & are eagerly looking forward to laurels to be won in this Campaign— with love to all I am, in haste your son

T. G. Pollock.

Barracks of the "Black Horse"
Charlestown, Friday Evening
25 November 1859

My dear Mother——

I take the first evening I have been off duty this week to scratch you a short letter. I wrote immediately upon my arrival and told you we expected to be sent off in a day or two: since that time we have been performing a most arduous task in the country surrounding this place. This is the first night that I will touch a pillow since Monday. Last night I was in the saddle from sun-set to sun rise as cold as it was. The whole company was on duty so we could not relieve each other. Our

employment is scouting, to prevent the surprise of a night attack. We cover the whole country in picquette guards of three together and keep up a chain of mounted sentinels for some five miles around the town. The inside of us are the three lines of infantry sentrys— all of which have to be passed with the countersign before entrance can be effected into Charlestown. Nearly every night there are alarms— Night before last it was thought the invaders were upon us— The drums beat and the soldiers were under arms expecting to sally forth to battle momentarily— But there was no enemy to be found— The occasion was that a sentinel had been fired upon by two men who were caught lurking around the outposts. A signal light or fire-balloon which was observed to be sent up somewhere to the northward from here night before last likewise gave some grounds for curious speculation. But so far everything is on the side of Law & Order. The boasted firmness of Ossawattamie Brown is said to be deserting him as he sees his hour drawing near and hears nothing around him but the steady tramping of armed men. Major Genl Taliaferro has now assumed command and our little army consists of more than a thousand men— one hundred & fifty of whom are cavalry. Army overcoats have been ordered for our troops and it is hoped they will arrive tomorrow. We turn day into night now entirely and rise at half past six in the evening. Soldiering is very poor fun I can assure you and if it wasn't that I believe the presence of everyone here is contributing that much to give our homes and our institutions the blessings of peace and security for the years that are to come I should rue well the hot haste with which I repaired to the scene of action. In case of an engagement John Scott as senior captain is to take command of the three troops of horse. In haste I close— remaining as ever your devoted son

T. G. Pollock.

Charlestown Dec. 2nd 1859

My dear Mother:

Your kind letter and the Post-script of Pa came duly to hand this evening. As you anticipated it reached me after the event of this day— an event which may perhaps be a memorable epoch in the history of the Confederation. Nothing up to this morning has occurred of interest since I last wrote. The same routine of night vidette duty has filled up the time so far as the "Black Horse" is concerned. Today was the day. At eight o'clock we were under arms— Having slept under arms two nights previously— this morning there was a splendid display of the military. The Black Horse

were honored as the prisoner's special escort from the regiment of cavalry and I saw him as he mounted his coffin at the jail door to proceed to the place of execution. His cadaverous prison-bleached countenance displayed the most startling unconcern.— His eyes, cold & imperturbed, were turned from side to side, following with natural curiosity the evolutions of the soldiers—horse and foot as they formed file after file— a serried mass around him—except by his pinioned arms there was nothing about him to point him out as the one about to under go the awful sentence of a violated law. I was one of the vanguard and saw him again when he reached the Gallows— I was near him when he reached its foot. He was dressed in a very ordinary suit of worn business clothes— had on an old black slouch hat and a pair of slippers down at the heel. He stept up the ladder of the scaffold with an almost hurried step— and seemed to think he was giving an important fact to his biographer and was preparing a martyr's crown for himself. The noose was adjusted— the white linen covering drawn down— the leave-taking with the jailor & sheriff & then a single blow with a sharp hatchet and the platform on which John Brown stood dropped from under him & he was dangling between heaven & earth a dying man. A few convulsive movements of the arms and they dropped by his sides and the morning breeze gave a regular movement pendulum-like to the lifeless form of the wretched old miscreant. It was hard to realize a life had been taken in so simple a way. There was no exhibition of pain and I am convinced the gallows is the easiest way to take away life. It will not be necessary to say there was no attempt at rescue— The troops were drawn up in readiness; but so formidable an array was not to be lightly attempted. We will not leave till after 16th Dec$_r$. Jas Green is going to Warrenton— Send by him my nice suit of clothes— red sack coat & light pants shirts collars cravat &c. Send them in saddlebags. If you can send fine boots. I want to be able to visit a little, while off duty. I write in barracks in a great noise & confusion so excuse erasions & mistakes. In haste your affec son

T. G. Pollock

Eleanor Lee Templeman
Arlington, Virginia

Summer Picnic — 1988

The Jefferson County Historical Society held its summer picnic August 10 at Windward, the home of Mr. and Mrs. James Edward Byron.

Windward is located just off Shepherd Grade road near Shepherdstown. It was purhcased by the Byrons in 1981 from Capt. and Mrs. John Schley. The house was built on land acquired by Joseph Van Swearingen from Thomas Lord Fairfax in October 1750. Joseph Van Swearingen sold the land in 1784 to John Stipp. The records are not clear as to the date the house was built, perhaps around 1800 by John Stipp. Brick was rarely used in the county before 1800. In 1822 it became the property of the James Marshall family since John Stipp's daughter had married a Marshall. It was named Marshall Hall and remained in the Marshall family for many years.

In 1915 the property passed to the May P. Jones family, and then to the William Myers family in 1944, who sold it to Capt. and Mrs. Schley in 1968. It was during this period the name was changed from Marshall Hall to Windward.

The day of the picnic was another of the summer's hottest, with temperature over 90 degrees. However, the members came with their covered dishes, their appetites and their anticipation of seeing and visiting with friends. Several first timers were on hand. Attendance was as good as usual in spite of the heat.

Mrs. Lynn Byron gave the above history on Windward and invited all present to tour the lovely home. The Historical Society President, Dr. John E. Stealey, III expressed gratitude and appreciation to Mr. and Mrs. Byron for their gracious hospitality.

Florence H. Moore

Trivia

Being a collection of historical material and relevant observations on Jefferson County offered by the Editor for the delectation of the readers on occasion as pieces come to hand. The editor respectfully urges readers to submit contributions to Trivia.

Surveyors' Report of the Line Between Jefferson and Clarke Counties, Recorded 19 June 1843

To the Worshipful Courts of Jefferson & Clarke Counties,

Pursuant to your orders we the undersigned proceeded to run and mark the line between said counties, and beg leave to report as follows, We applied to the Clerk's of the County Courts of Frederick and Berkeley for a copy of the report of the original running of said line, and were answered by said Clerks that no such report could be found in their offices, Whereupon we had recourse to the acts of Assembly which divided Berkeley County from Frederick, and proceeded to establish the line by said acts as though it had never been ran. That is to say, we began in "Williams Gap" now called Snicker's, where the old road crossed the Loudoun County line, that point being the original corner to the Parishes of Frederick and Norbourne, and ran Northward with the line of Loudoun 1½ miles, where we planted a large stone marked J.C.L. which is surrounded by sundry trees marked as pointers. We then went to Winchester, and after much labour and trouble succeeded in determining the lines of Winchester as they ran in 1769, after which we started from the most NE limit of said Town and ran N40E 7 miles that being the limit of Frederick Parish in 1769, we then ran on N42¼E 1½ miles (that being parallel to the 1½ miles ran with the Loudoun line, when we found ourselves in the vicinity of various reputed lines on the farm of Dr. John C. Green, we then directed our cou[r]se toward the corner on the Blue ridge—we had not proceeded far on our line which bore S49° 22′E, until we passed very near a noted pine tree in a road, marked as a line and reputed as such, continuing we crossed the Opequon Creek at Abel's Ford, on the east bank of the creek we planted a large stone in the line, marked J.C. we continued on and planted a stone in every county road we crossed, and also at the Rail road, and at the west bank of the Shenandoah river on the land of Mr. Charles McCormick, and where is also a sycamore tree marked J.C. All which we resp'ly sumit—

James N. Brown SJC
Danl S. Bonham SCC

Deed Book 26, p. 371
Office, Clerk of Jefferson County Commission
Jefferson County Courthouse
Charles Town, WV

John E. Stealey, III

Editor's Notes

As readers well-know, this space usually contains the annual plea for contributions to the periodical. This issue will be no exception. Some articles in this issue are the result of the editor's encouragement of individuals to produce over a long period of time. Of course, such stimulation reflects the nature of historical writing on local historical topics.

Worthwhile historical research and writing emanates from long years of dedicated and solitary effort on the part of an interested individual. For this reason, contributions to local historical topics are scarce. Instant historical production in the sense of quick output is not possible if a quality result is desired. Over the years, this periodical has been fortunate in receiving many articles for contributions. Most of the pieces come from society members, a result that speaks quite well for the members' historical interests and abilities.

No local historical society in West Virginia and few in the United States have an unbroken 54-year publication record for its journal. This statement is testimony to the richness of Jefferson County history and to the past fortuitous involvement of able people in society affairs.

Members should know that the President and Board of Directors have created a committee of board and society members to investigate and prepare for the publication of a major work on historical Jefferson county homes and places. The committee, chaired by Mrs. C. William Moore, has Mrs. Nancy C. Coyle, Mrs. Ann C. Groves, Mr. A.M.S. Morgan II, Capt. John B. Schley, and Mr. Hugh E. Voress as members.

Finally, the editor is delighted to bring two recent publications to the attention of subscribers. The first is by dedicated board member, Mr. A.M.S. Morgan, II, entitled *Charles Town, 1912-1924: A Boy's Eye View of Charles Town and Its People*. It is a wonderful essay of boyhood recollections that will become an historical source for the community. Mr. Morgan has done what many people who have lived full lives proclaim to wish to do, but never do so. The other work is by a lady with close Jefferson County connections, Alexandra Lee Levin. Her book, *"This Awful Drama:" General Edwin Gray Lee, C.S.A., and His Family* (New York: Vantage Press, 1987) is a desirable possession for any library of county and Civil War material. Mrs. Levin presented the spring 1988 Society program on Lee's illustrious Confederate career.