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Magazine of the

Jefferson County Historical Society

Volume LXXXI
December 2015

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Magazine of the JEFFERSON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY



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"History by apprising them [citizens] of the past will enable them to judge of the future; it will avail them of the experience of other times and other nations; it will qualify them as judges of the actions and designs of men; it will enable them to know ambition under every disguise it may assume; and knowing it, to defeat its views."

Thomas Jefferson, Notes on the State of Virginia, Query 14, 1781

"It is history that teaches us to hope."

Robert E. Lee, letter to Charles Marshall, 1870

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JEFFERSON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Organized May 21, 1927

To identify, present, preserve and promote the history of Jefferson County

www.jeffersonhistoricalwv.org

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EDITOR'S NOTE

On the first of April this year at five (1865 time) in the afternoon I ended my observance of the sesquicentennial just as my great grandfather ended his part in the War Between the States one hundred and fifty years ago. I was standing approximately where he was captured at the Battle of Five Forks in Virginia. He was held at Point Lookout, Maryland until July 22, 1865 past the time for planting his crops and thus began his downhill slide from successful farmer to literally nothing. Coincidentally, as the final installment of our four-year series on the War in Jefferson County, we have an article on the soldiers, mostly from Virginia military organizations, returning home to Jefferson County, West Virginia in 1865.

In the last issue of the magazine, the informative article Too Many Cookes detailed the Giles Cooke family relationship to Jefferson County. As a follow up, the author has done research on a purported portrait of the Giles Cooke family that hung in the local family home and it is presented in this issue.

It is always nice to be able to publish a paper that was written many years ago by a local person. In this issue, we have a interesting piece on the religious beginnings in Charles Town written by a lady who is no longer with us.

This is the 200th anniversary of the Zion Episcopal Church and we have a poem to celebrate that milestone.

Many Washington family homes existed in the county. While a number still exist and are occupied, some only show their foundations and at least one, is only a memory. The one in this issue had disappeared and I think you will find its discovery and virtual re-creation very interesting.

As already mentioned, the last article has a number of first-hand accounts of what it was like to return home after four years of war. Though they returned to a state of the United States, the soldiers and administrators were punished for their participation in the "rebellion" (Virginia was readmitted to the Union on January 26, 1870).

In this issue, and in most before it, there is the dilemma of whether to use Charlestown or Charles Town. The same problem exists with Harper's or Harpers Ferry, Shepherd's Town (Mecklenburg before 1798) or Shepherdstown, Middleway (old name Smithfield) and some others. It is Charles Town after 1911 because that change was enacted by the United States Post Office. The others are not as precisely dated. For the sake of historical accuracy, I try to keep all the names in the right context even if it might cause some reader confusion.

Thanks to this year's authors and to Alexander Feeser at Progressive Printing in Martinsburg for another great job.

Jim Glymph at home on the Avon Bend

"The Tale of a Portrait"

Stephen Stec

In Volume LXXX of the *Magazine of the Jefferson County Historical Society*, readers were made aware of a Colonial-era portrait said to be of members of the family of Giles Cooke, Chesapeake Bay merchant who later resided at G. W. Fairfax's Elkwood plantation on the Elk Branch in Jefferson County. This group portrait, attributed to Charles Willson Peale, is held by the Baltimore Museum of Art.[1] The Smithsonian Institutions Collections Search Center's online database[2] includes this description of the painting: "Giles Cooke, his wife, Margaret Savage Cooke, and his daughters Esther and Elizabeth, are seated around a table on which there is wine and a bowl of cherries. The portraits are waist length."

The Baltimore Museum of Art's (BMA) caption on the painting is as follows:

> Charles Willson Peale (American, 1741–1827)
> *Giles Cooke and His Family*, 1766
> Oil on canvas
> 37 x 47 in. (94 x 119.4 cm.)
> The Baltimore Museum of Art: Collection Estate of Jane James Cook, Baltimore, on extended loan to The Baltimore Museum of Art, BMA L.1945.10

An effort to gain access to the portrait in order to present an image in Volume LXXX was unsuccessful. When contacted, a representative of the Baltimore Museum of Art (BMA) stated that attempts had been made over the years to identify and reach heirs of the late owner Jane James Cook, but without permission from the owners an image of the painting (now in storage) could not be released. At the same time, the BMA expressed an interest in collaboration to find the current representatives of the estate in the hope that an image could be released in the future. That generated a search for information on the painting and its owners that has taken several fascinating twists and turns. The most significant breakthrough was the discovery of a copy of the portrait in the St. James Library in St. James, Missouri. How and why this library got a copy of the portrait is a part of the

1 Stephen Stec, "Too Many Cookes: A Recipe for Sorting the Giles Cookes of Berkeley/Jefferson County," JCHS Mag., Vol. LXXX (Dec. 2014).

2 Record ID siris_ari_310970. Control no. IAP 19110204.

story, but this fortunate circumstance made it possible to reproduce here the portrait as, according to legend, it would have appeared on the parlor wall of the Elkwood plantation house near the Elk Branch as early as 1771.



A portrait purported to be by Charles Willson Peale of the Giles Cooke family of Georgetown, Kent County, Maryland (courtesy of St. James Library, St. James, Missouri)

It also became apparent that the portrait's provenance is not without controversy. While the official descriptions still attribute the painting to Peale, the Giles Cooke family portrait was not included in the definitive 1952 catalogue of Peale's paintings.[3] At the time of its delivery to the BMA, Gertrude Rosenthal, then Chief Curator, made a notation on the catalogue card: "attr. doubted G.R." Jay McKean Fisher, Deputy Director of Curatorial Affairs at the Museum, has stated that a previous curator at the museum, Sona Johnston, thought that the portrait was of English provenance. The BMA has not had the resources to investigate whether this accomplished portrait has any artistic or historical value if it is not a Peale. Without the opportunity for art historians to look afresh at the painting in person, documentary and evidentiary analysis is the only path available to critically examine whether the "Giles Cooke family portrait" may have ever graced the walls of a home near Elk Branch, and if not, who may have painted it and what it is about. Having conducted at least the initial phases of such an investigation, the author would now like to put forward a theory of the painting's provenance that will hopefully be tested by subsequent research.

3 Charles Coleman Sellers' definitive catalogue of more than a thousand works by Peale (1952), based upon the painter's extensive records, diaries and autobiography, does not include the Giles Cooke family portrait. University of Michigan Professor David Hancock, in an early draft of his book Oceans of Wine (Yale Univ. Press, 2009), referred to the portrait as "anonymously painted." Professor Hancock's source dated the portrait from the 1760s.

Could Peale have painted Giles Cooke and family?

The subjects' clothing and the painting's style point towards the 1760s, a period when Peale began to be active in and around Annapolis and the Eastern Shore. Peale's papers contain references to paintings that have never been identified or found, such as of a "family" or a "merchant." Peale did paint family or group portraits, with the plate of cherries and wine glasses echoing devices he used.[4] If the painting is of Giles Cooke and family, the claim that it is a Peale thus has an air of plausibility. Nor would it be likely that another portrait painter active in Maryland would have depicted the Cookes in this configuration at this period.[5]

There are few confirmed Peale portraits from prior to his period of study in England when his skills greatly improved, to which to compare the "Giles Cooke family portrait." But documentary evidence raises doubts on its provenance. First is the question of timing. There is a small window of time during which Peale could have made such a portrait. His first forays into portraiture were made about 1763 or 1764.[6] Based on Peale's travels, he could have painted a portrait of Maryland gentry from the time he began painting to June 1765 when, escaping debts, he journeyed to Accomack, Virginia and sailed north to Boston and back, only returning to Annapolis some time in the middle of 1766. There were a few more months of portrait painting in Maryland before he left for England in December 1766 and stayed there for two years and one month, marking a return to Maryland of about March 1769.

In the period 1763-66, Giles Cooke and Margaret Savage had at least five children, ranging in age from early teens to infancy.[7] Esther, said to be one of the subjects, was the oldest Cooke child, about twelve years old in 1763. Attributing a Giles Cooke family portrait to Peale would have to come to

4 A painting made by Charles Willson Peale in 1771-73 shows ten members of the extended Peale family seated around a table, with an infant perched on the table near a plate of apples, and another small child seated on a woman's lap. It was not uncommon for his portraits to include a parent and child together. In 1774 he painted a portrait of two Stewart Children carrying peaches. Like Giles Cooke, Anthony Stewart was a Chesapeake Bay merchant.

5 Peale writes in his autobiography that, at the time he took up painting, in Maryland there had been only four portrait artists: Cain (Kuhn), Wollaston, and Hesselius the elder and younger. These artists can be eliminated on the basis of dates active and style.

6 The Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and his Family, Vol. 5, The Autobiography of Charles Willson Peale (Yale U. Press, 2000).

7 This is proven, inter alia, by the will of Margaret's mother, Esther Littleton Savage. See Northampton County VA wills, 27 May 1763, 11 September 1764.

grips with the anomalies of portraying two out of five children and the fact that the apparent ages of the children depicted do not match what is known about the family.

A bigger problem is the painting's chain of custody. As will subsequently become apparent, the painting was not passed down through the generations of the Cooke-James-Cook family. In fact, the painting came from a member of a family that would have no business owning a Peale of Giles Cooke, but did possess quality colonial-era family portraits that had the benefit of obscure origins.

Why would Jane James Cook's family be so interested in a purported Peale of Giles Cooke and family?

To shed light on this question we should start by briefly sketching the history of this family with roots in Jefferson County. Esther Cooke, daughter of Giles Cooke of Elkwood, supposedly pictured in the portrait as a girl, was married in 1772 or 1773 to Thomas James of the Antietam Iron Works (died at sea, ca 1784), an engineer and inventor who is credited with innovations that contributed to James Rumsey's invention of the steam engine. Their son, Thomas James, Jr. (1776-1856), lived in Old Berkeley County after his father's death until 1797, first at Elkwood with his Cooke grandparents and then with his uncle Thomas Beall Evans at Harpers Ferry, where he got his start in business. At the age of 21 he became a pioneer of industry in the burgeoning Midwest; he brought the first load of iron to the Northwest Territories and then gained a monopoly on salt.[8] Thomas James, Jr.'s business empire grew to extend from the Potomac and Ohio to New Orleans and China. His mansion, Blair House, still stands in Chillicothe, Ohio. It was at Chillicothe, moreover, that the James family entered into a fortuitous alliance with the Dun family. William James (1823-1912), son of Thomas Jr. and his second wife Jane Byrne Claypoole, married Lucy Ann Dun (1822-1908) on 2 July 1846 at Chillicothe. Within a few years, Lucy's younger brother, Robert Graham Dun (1826-1900), had rocketed up the ladder of The Mercantile Agency to take charge of the firm that eventually became Dun and Bradstreet.

R. G. Dun and his sister Lucy Dun James remained close even after Lucy went with her husband to manage the James family's Maramec Iron Works, the first successful ironworks west of the Mississippi. Nearby the town of St. James, Missouri, named for the family, would arise. With the failure of

8 History of Chillicothe in Bennett, "The County of Ross" (1902).

the ironworks in the 1870s, R. G. Dun took on responsibility for the welfare of his sister's family. When he died childless in 1900, he left a hefty stipend to his widow, but the bulk of his substantial fortune went to the families of his two sisters.[9]

Lucy Dun James thus became the beneficiary of 60 per cent of the shares in R. G. Dun and Company just after the turn of the new century (Dun and Bradstreet was formed by merger in 1933). The James family established themselves in Baltimore, where they joined the ranks of high society. Besides the elderly William and Lucy James, the contingent included their daughter, the widow Mrs. George Hamilton Cook, born Jane (Jennie) James[10] (1851-1932), and her four orphaned daughters. One of these daughters was also named Jane James Cook (1885-1944); it was she whose estate still owns the "Giles Cooke family portrait." Also living in close proximity and spending much time with the Jameses and Cooks in Baltimore was cousin Lucy Wortham James, who had lived with the R. G. Duns in New York and Narragansett Pier during her teens.[11] Following the family's windfall, Miss Jane James Cook[12] and Mrs. Jane James Cook appeared frequently in the society pages of Baltimore, Washington and New York newspapers. The family wealth allowed them to mingle with the illuminati of the day at Newport, Narragansett Pier and Hot Springs, Virginia. They lived at

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9 See will, NY County, 644:347. His residuary legatees were the children of his late sister Elizabeth Dun Douglass (8/20 share) and his sister Lucy James (12/20) during her life and then to her children in the following proportions – 3/20 to son Thomas James, 3/20 to daughter Lucy J. Dun, and 6/20 to daughter Jennie J. Cook. In like proportions he devised the rent and ownership of his office building in Manhattan. The Harvard Business School holds Dun's personal correspondence and estate papers in the Dun and Bradstreet collection at the Baker Library.

10 Jane James Cook was born 4 October 1851 at the Maramec Iron Works. She married, at 30 years of age, Captain George Hamilton Cook of the U.S. Army (no relation to Giles Cooke). Upon her arrival in Baltimore prior to 1900, Jane James Cook had long been a widow. Her husband, born in Missouri in 1845, was assistant quartermaster at David's Island in Lockport, New York, when he died suddenly after dancing at a "hop" on 4 October 1889, leaving four small daughters. See Lockport (NY) Daily Journal, 8 Oct 1889.

11 After R. G. Dun's death, Lucy was sent to Vienna to study piano, then traveled to Japan where she met and fell in love with an American legate. Lucy returned to Baltimore to stay with her Aunt Jane and prepare for the nuptials, and was married to Huntington Wilson there in 1904. For a decade they were at the pinnacle of the Washington diplomatic corps, but had no children and were divorced in 1915, whereupon Lucy reverted to her maiden name. See the biography of this remarkable woman at http://www.nycommunitytrust.org/Portals/0/Uploads/Documents/BioBrochures/Lucy%20Wortham%20James.pdf.

12 She is referred herein as Miss Cook to distinguish her from her mother, Mrs. Jane James Cook.

prestigious addresses on St. Paul Street and in the Guilford neighborhood, and had a retinue of servants. Cousin Lucy Wortham James, meanwhile, led a scintillating and exciting life as a Washington hostess, the wife of a diplomat, spending time traveling the world over.



The family of William James and Lucy Dun James at their diamond anniversary celebration at Magnolia, Massachusetts, 2 July 1906, including Mrs. Jane James Cook (back row, left), Miss Jane James Cook (front row, right) and Lucy Wortham James (middle row, second from left). Source: The State Historical Society of Missouri, Research Center- Rolla, R1317 James Foundation portraits.

The family was of course no stranger to luxurious living, even if the Jameses had spent decades in the Ozarks and before that had lived on the Ohio frontier. But Baltimore society was a different kettle of fish compared to Chillicothe or St. James. Over time the James-Cook descendants gradually burnished their family history and credentials. When Mrs. Jane James Cook came to Baltimore prior to 1899, she joined the Maryland Society of Colonial Dames of America, claiming descent from James Claypoole on her paternal grandmother's side. While the Claypoole pedigree was sufficient for entree into this club, it placed her as a member by courtesy, as the Claypooles were from Philadelphia, and not a Chesapeake family. One may wonder why in 1899 Mrs. Cook did not appear among those Society

members claiming descent from the venerable Littleton/Savage family from whom she was in fact descended through her James-Cooke ancestry.[13] She apparently was unaware of it! By 1915, however, Mrs. Cook *was* claiming descent via the Littletons and Savages, connected through Giles Cooke. What happened in the meantime?

The year 1907 is significant to the story of the Giles Cooke family portrait for several reasons. Baltimore genealogist Jane Griffith Keys wrote regular columns on Virginia and Maryland heraldry for the *Baltimore Sun*. In 1907, she produced a series of articles on the Cook family of Gloucester County, Virginia. The September 1, 1907 installment laid out the line from Giles Cooke and Margaret Savage via the James family and expressly referred to "Mr. William James, formerly of St. James, Mo., now of Baltimore." Ms. Keys must have known that she was establishing in print an additional – highly esteemed, no less – pedigree for the James-Cook family, linking them to the Littletons and Savages via Giles Cooke and his daughter Esther James, of no small value in their society. The fact that Mrs. Jane James Cook did not claim descent from the Littletons and Savages in 1899, but did by 1915, seems a fair indication that the family only learned of this aspect of their history through Ms Keys' research.[14]

When did the Cooks acquire the "Giles Cooke family portrait"?

Ms. Keys' series of articles in 1907 failed to mention the existence of a Peale or colonial era portrait of Giles Cooke and Margaret Savage. This might seem unremarkable, except for the following passage in the second installment in the Cook family series:[15]

> Mr. Douglas H. Thomas, of Baltimore, in a communication to the Historical Society says: 'I have in my possession the portraits of the Fitzhugh family and their descendants, males and female, in direct line from 1649 to the present date, embracing portraits of nine generations in direct line, broken only by the absence of the portrait of Thomas Fitzhugh, of Boscobel, who represented the fourth generation.'

13 See Stec, op cit.

14 In Dr. and Mrs. William Carter Stubbs, "Descendants of Mordecai Cooke, of 'Mordecai's Mount' Gloucester Co. Va. 1650, and Thomas Booth, of Ware Neck Gloucester Co. Va. 1685," (New Orleans, 1923), the Stubbses acknowledged Baltimore genealogist Jane Griffith Keys as their source of information on the James descendants. Jane James Cook later remembered Miss Keys in her will.

15 Baltimore Sun, Sep. 8, 1907, p. 17.

> This is truly a most valuable possession for a family of American parentage. It is a source of the deepest regret that so many of the old family portraits in the South during the Civil War were either mutilated, burned or stolen.

This passage demonstrates that Ms Keys was on the lookout for colonial portraits and it would be remarkable therefore if Ms Keys in her research on the Cooks did not uncover a colonial portrait of the Giles Cooke family possessed by known local descendants right under her nose. At the least a follow-up article would be expected. The inevitable conclusion is that the Cooks *laid no claim to having a Giles Cooke family portrait in their possession in 1907*. This conclusion finds support in a 1911 newspaper article entitled "Baltimore Gems of Portraiture" describing some of the Peales remaining in the city; it does not mention the Giles Cooke family portrait.[16] This helps to explain why no estate records related to the earlier generations of the James family have turned up evidence of the portrait.[17]

Portraiture and the collection of colonial artifacts did, however, play a part in the consolidation of the family's social standing in Baltimore. Estate records show that the James and Cook families long had owned substantial collections of art and antiques. A portrait of Thomas James Jr. was apparently made during the mid-19th Century, and portraits were painted in the 1850s or 60s of children in the family.[18] Once in Baltimore, the James family commissioned renowned Scottish artist Harrington Mann to paint portraits of members of the James and Cook family, including individual portraits of William James, Mrs. Jane James Cook, her three surviving daughters, and Lucy Wortham James when she was Mrs. Huntington Wilson.

When Mrs. Jane James Cook died at Ledger Hill on 14 November 1932, the *New York Times* described her as a socially prominent resident of the Green Spring Valley. She left an estate worth over $2,870,000 – equivalent to half a billion dollars today.[19] Her will did not specifically mention any paintings,

16 Baltimore Sun, Jan. 22, 1911, p. L1.

17 For example, Thomas James Jr's 1851 will, Ross Co OH WB E-F:349 (see also Estate of Jane B. James, no. 3845), does not mention specific personal property. The estate records of widow Jane include an inventory that lists a silver service and other luxury items, but no portraits.

18 For example, one James family descendant, William Rucker of Charlottesville, possessed a painting of Thomas James, Lucy James and Jane James in a donkey cart, presumably as children, and a painting of Lucy James as a child, which he passed by will to his cousins Jane James Cook and Lucy James Iglehart.

19 See Wall St. Journal, Mar. 17, 1933, p. 9.

but simply directed her three surviving daughters to divide the personal effects and household items as they should agree. There are inventories in the estate file that could be inspected.[20]

Other potential sources of information include records of art exhibitions. By 1922, Mrs. Jane James Cook was expressing a strong interest in colonial family portraiture. In January of that year, she served on the committee for the Society of the Friends of Art at the Peabody Institutions in Baltimore for an exhibition that included the loan of portraits. On 14 February 1937, the Maryland Society of Colonial Dames put on an exhibition of colonial portraits at the Maryland Institute College of Art,[21] and Miss Jane Cook was on the committee. A contemporary newspaper account includes the following: "Among other exhibits loaned by Miss Jane Cook is a portrait of Mrs. Nathaniel Green Pendleton and a group of pastels."[22] Could the painting have been exhibited as one of the "other exhibits," perhaps with a different attribution? Unfortunately no catalogue of the exhibit has survived.

In fact, to be fair to Miss Jane James Cook, there is no evidence that she claimed the portrait in her possession to be a Peale of Giles Cooke and family during her lifetime. Miss Jane James Cook died unmarried at Ledger Hill[23] on 25 October 1944, having been the hostess of the Cook country estate since the death of her mother. Her detailed will,[24] made in 1938, includes specific bequests to family members, friends[25] and institutions of antiques, mementoes and paintings, including a portrait of George Washington by Rembrandt Peale and several family portraits. The group portrait purported to be by Charles Willson Peale did not rate a mention. It was in fact left within her residual estate.[26]

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20 Will made 2 July 1926 and recorded in Baltimore City. Vol. ERD-JWS No. 175, folio 125. Estate No. 482-62, File No. 16415. See Inventories, 264:215.356. Estate Docket 38:88; etc.

21 In 1938, the Corcoran Gallery in Washington DC reported record attendance at an exhibition of portraits of signers of the Declaration of Independence and their families. Washington Post, Feb. 6, 1938, p. B6.

22 "Colonial Portrait Exhibit Pleases at Md. Institute," Balto. News-Post, Mar. 5, 1937.

23 Mrs. Jane James Cook bought Ledger Hill, at 10044 Greenspring Avenue in Lutherville, Maryland, in 1919 as a country house. Miss Jane James Cook acquired legal title to Ledger Hill on 29 Mar 1934. She also had a residence at 3908 N. Charles Street in Baltimore.

24 Baltimore County MD, Liber 39: folio 179. See also Baltimore Sun, Nov. 15, 1944.

25 One of these was Miss Jane Griffith Keys, the genealogist mentioned above, then an elderly woman living in Baltimore.

26 A more detailed search of estate records may reveal a notation in an inventory that describes the painting.

What did Jane James Cook's cousin think about the painting?

By the 1930s the Dun-James-Cook legacy was secure. A part of the James family narrative involved its contribution to the great nation that America had become. The Jameses were not only industrialists but also great philanthropists, from at least the time of Thomas James, Jr. Mrs. Jane James Cook gave often to charity. James descendant William Rucker set up a medical center in Charlottesville.[27] Meanwhile, Miss Jane James Cook edited and published her grandfather's memoirs, "Land Ho! The Original Diary of a Forty-Niner," in 1935.[28] The same year she privately published a pamphlet of the Civil War letters of her father, George Hamilton Cook (only ten copies were published, one of which is in the Virginia Historical Society Library). Her will included specific bequests to several churches and hospitals.

The philanthropy of cousin Lucy Wortham James, meanwhile, leads to a treasure trove of information found in papers and correspondence related to the James Foundation in the collection of the State Historical Society of Missouri. These papers provide insight into what Ms James was hoping to achieve at the time of her death in 1938 and how her friends and associates fulfilled those wishes. Like R. G. Dun, Lucy Wortham James had no children; she chose as her legacy to buy back the old ironworks in Missouri as a public park, and to build a library in St. James as a memorial to the James family that would proudly display its family portraits on its walls. She wrote specific, detailed instructions to her agents about the borrowing, copying, manufacture, display and labeling of portraits of her father, grandfather and great-grandfather.

Lucy Wortham James and her trustees corresponded about Harrington Mann's portrait of William James, then in the possession of Jane James Cook, that they wished to borrow in order to make a copy for the St. James Library. This was ultimately successful but only after the deaths of both Lucy Wortham James and Jane James Cook, who had left the portrait to her

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27 See http://www.mjhfoundation.org/rucker-society. R. G. Dun's millions in the hands of others sometimes went towards hospitals, museums and libraries, but in one case at least also supported a fringe political cause – Miss Jane James Cook's sister, Frances Swayne Cook (1887-1962), married the Rev. Harold Noel Arrowsmith Sr. (1886-1955) and their son, Harold Noel Arrowsmith Jr. (1919-1989), a virulent anti-Semite, was an early financial backer of George Lincoln Rockwell, founder of the American Nazi Party.

28 Lt. Col. Elliott Wilkinson Cook of Lockport NY, gunsmith, was an adventurer and forty-niner who also served in the US Army during the Civil War.

nephew George Hamilton Cook Arrowsmith.[29] Considering the interest displayed in the James family's history, Ms James presumably would have been quite interested in an even more ancient portrait in her cousin's possession. In her preserved correspondence about family portraits, however, Lucy Wortham James did not mention the Giles Cooke family portrait. This silence stands in stark contrast to the care and attention given to even the precise wording of the captions for the James portraits.

Lucy Wortham James had lived for many years in Baltimore and Washington in close proximity to her grandparents, aunt and cousins, and was likely to know whether a purported portrait of their mutual ancestors had been acquired. A logical conclusion is that Lucy Wortham James did not consider the subject painting to be a portrait of her ancestral family.

In summary, there is no evidence of any attribution of the portrait as a Peale, nor of any claim by the family that the portrait depicted Giles Cooke and family, prior to the distribution of Jane James Cook's estate, and it may be that this attribution only came about after her death. While the painting was a part of Jane James Cook's estate, no information has so far come to light as to what attribution she gave it during her lifetime.

Who owned the painting prior to the Cooks?

In an odd twist of fate, the portrait did somehow make it into the St. James Library.[30] Today, the Library's "Old Album" collection includes a black and white 8X10 photograph of the "Giles Cooke family portrait" (source of the reproduction in this article). Records show that the Library received the photograph during the tenure of Agnes and Grace Muller, personal friends of Lucy Wortham James whom she had selected to run the Library. In the mid-1940s the James Foundation was trying to follow Lucy Wortham James's wishes in copying and displaying portraits of the James family, and the Mullers and others from the Foundation were engaged in correspondence with extended James family members. At least some of this correspondence took place around the time of Miss Jane James Cook's death, although no specific correspondence about the Giles Cooke family portrait has been found.

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29 Lucy Wortham James Collection, Historical Society of Missouri.

30 The author wishes to thank Niki Moen, Librarian, for her assistance in tracking down the Library's information about the portrait.

The fact that the Library did not commission a large painted copy of the image for display, as in the case of other family portraits, may be telling. More meaningfully, the Library records provide us with a few clues as to the portrait's provenance. Most notable is what Grace Muller wrote on the back of the photograph. First, she wrote that the portrait itself had an "old card" affixed to the back of it that read:

"Giles Cooke and Margaret (Savage) Cooke
Esther and Elizabeth
By Peale"

As the Library had only received a photographic copy, this information must have come second-hand from Ms Muller's unknown correspondent. It is one of the most compelling mysteries associated with the portrait. Who affixed that "old card" to its back, or did the card even exist? Was the informant implying that the attribution had been made much earlier? Ms Muller followed this notation with more information about the portrait and its subjects:

> Painted in 1766 by Charles Willson Peale at Georgetown, Kent Co. Maryland,
>
> Formerly owned by Mr. Schuyler Hamilton of Croton-on-Hudson N.Y.
>
> Esther Cooke married about 1772 Thomas James of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, son of William James, Iron Master of Berks County Penn., Antietam Furnace, Maryland and Berkeley & Bedford County Va.
>
> Giles Cooke of Gloucester Co., Virginia, married Margaret Savage of Northampton Co. Va. 1750. Lived in Kent Co. Maryland for 20 years, then moved to Berkeley Co. Va in 1770. This portrait was owned by Jane James Cook of Baltimore Maryland.
>
> [In the upper corner Ms Muller also wrote:] Esther is Lucy W. James Great, Great Grandmother & Giles Cooke was her Great, Great, Great Grandmother [sic]

As the note states that the portrait "was owned" by Jane James Cook it may be presumed that the note was written after Miss Cook's death in 1944 and we may therefore surmise that the informant was someone involved in her estate. Likely candidates include Jane James Cook's sisters and residual

legatees, Mrs. Harold N. Arrowsmith and Mrs. Francis Nash Iglehart.

This humble note introduces a critical piece of information as to the means by which the painting came into the possession of the family. The key reference is that the painting had been *previously owned by Schuyler Hamilton of Croton-on-Hudson, NY.* Upon further investigation we discover Schuyler Hamilton died in 1907, around the time that the Cooke-James-Cook pedigree was emerging.

How might the portrait have gotten from Hamilton to the Cooks?

Schuyler Hamilton, Jr. (1854-1907) was the great grandson of the patriot Alexander Hamilton of New York and a descendant of the Colonial Dutch patroon Schuylers and Van den Heuvels. Despite his advantages, his life took a disastrous turn. In 1890 his brick-making business in Croton, New York failed. His first wife left him for a Count.[31] In 1899, his new young Baltimore society bride died of a morphine overdose, leaving him alone to raise their two-year old daughter, Alexandra Schuyler Hamilton. That same year, listed as a mining engineer residing at the Hotel Savoy, he was discharged in bankruptcy.[32] But in 1902 he remarried to a minister's widow and the following year inherited his father's fortune, only to die in 1907 when Alexandra was just ten.

There are several explanations as to how the portrait may have passed from Schuyler Hamilton to the Cooks. Schuyler's three maiden aunts – Charlotte, Alice and Adelaide, the last of whom died in 1915 – inherited the bulk of the estate passed down from John Church Hamilton and Maria Eliza Van den Heuvel, Schuyler's grandparents. The New York newspapers were full of stories related to fights over the estates of his eccentric aunts, undoubtedly including the pictures frequently mentioned in family estate records.[33] Schuyler Hamilton himself is on record as having owned colonial-era artifacts and portraits.[34] It is not difficult to imagine that a ruined scion of a wealthy New York family might be tempted to dispose of "surplus" portraiture for funds. As mentioned, Hamilton had a connection

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31 His first marriage, to Gertrude Van Cortlandt Wells, ended in divorce and she remarried to Baron Raoul de Graffenried.

32 New York Times, Apr. 13, 1899, p. 9. R. G. Dun had a mining venture in Colorado on the side, although it is not clear if Hamilton was involved in any way.

33 Among the many disputes over the legacies, Schuyler Hamilton filed an objection to the will of the second sister, Alice, who died in 1905.

34 See "Notes and Novelties," The Collector, Vol. 3, No. 24 (May 15, 1892), at 220. His will disposed of his cameo set to his widow, the former Emma Gray.

to Baltimore society through his second marriage to Jane Byrd Mercer in 1896. He may easily have used his Baltimore connections to market his family's heritage, taking advantage of the fact that it was remote from the hostile New York press.

It is also possible that the Cook family's benefactor, R. G. Dun, was an intermediary. Besides being a financial wizard, R. G. Dun was also an art collector. He left a substantial collection of 19th Century French paintings to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and owned at least one colonial-era portrait, by Sir Joshua Reynolds.[35] R. G. Dun must have been acquainted with Hamilton in New York, as the wives of both men attended the same charity functions and social banquets. R. G. Dun had both motive and opportunity to snag a random colonial portrait from a desperate Schuyler Hamilton, Jr.[36] Still, if it had gone by way of R. G. Dun, there is no clear chain of custody from him or his estate to the Cooks. Much of Dun's personal estate remained with his widow, Mary Dun, who lived and died at their Dunmore mansion at Narragansett Pier. Mary Dun's 1910 will does not mention any paintings, and no inventory of her estate was recorded. But if R. G. Dun did once own the portrait, Lucy Wortham James may have known it for what it was, having lived with the Duns in New York and Narragansett Pier during her teenage years.

A further possibility is that the painting was sold out of Schuyler Hamilton, Jr.'s estate. Hamilton left most of his estate by will to his young orphaned daughter Alexandra, who spent much of her youth with her grandmother, Emily Josephine Mercer of South River, Anne Arundel County, Maryland.[37] It is quite feasible that Alexandra or her guardian sold the painting for her support.

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35 "THE WILL OF R.G. DUN: Business of the Mercantile Agency in Trustees' Hands. A Bequest of Valuable Paintings to the Metropolitan Museum of Art -- Estate Appraised." New York Times, Dec. 2, 1900, p. 14.

36 Further information could be obtained from Harvard Business School's Baker Library, where the Dun and Bradstreet Collection includes letters written by Dun to family members and letterpress copybooks that list the artwork purchased by R.G. Dun, including value, artist, title, and date. Series II, Subseries A, Dun and Bradstreet collection, Baker Library, Harvard Business School.

37 Alexandra Schuyler Hamilton appeared frequently in society pages in Baltimore, Richmond and Washington DC when she was a child. In 1910 her aunt, Mrs. Edwin J. Farber, was reported to have given her a tea at the Baltimore Country Club. She was also a guest of honor at a New Years German on New Years Eve 1915-16. It appears that she spent a good part of 1915-16 in Baltimore, after having inherited $10,000 from her great-aunt Adelaide.

What could the picture really be about if not the Giles Cooke family?

Although it cannot be excluded that Schuyler Hamilton, Jr. acquired the painting on the market, the most likely place to look for its true provenance is within his family. The patriot Alexander Hamilton arose from humble origins on the island of Nevis in the West Indies. He married into the New York Dutch patroon Schuyler family, known to have collected art from an early time in the history of the colony.[38] A portrait such as the one thought to be of Giles Cooke and family may thus have come into possession of the Schuylers from the Albany School of portrait painters working among the old Dutch patroon families.

Another of Schuyler's ancestors was John Cornelius (or Jan Cornelis in Dutch) Van den Heuvel (1742-1826), a wealthy planter at the Dutch colony at Demerary, now part of Guyana in South America, who served as Commissioner of that colony from 1765-1770. His first marriage, to Maria Catharina Storm van 's Gravesande,[39] took place in 1766. Maria died by 1773 when Van den Heuvel remarried to Justina Henrietta Frederica Van Baerle. Van den Heuvel eventually moved to Manhattan about 1790, bringing Justina and five children with him.[40] But Justina soon died, and Van den Heuvel married for the third time about 1794 to Charlotte Apthorp, an American, and started yet another family. One of the daughters from his third marriage, Maria Eliza, married John Church Hamilton, the son of Alexander Hamilton and Elizabeth Schuyler, and this couple was the grandparents of Schuyler Hamilton Jr.

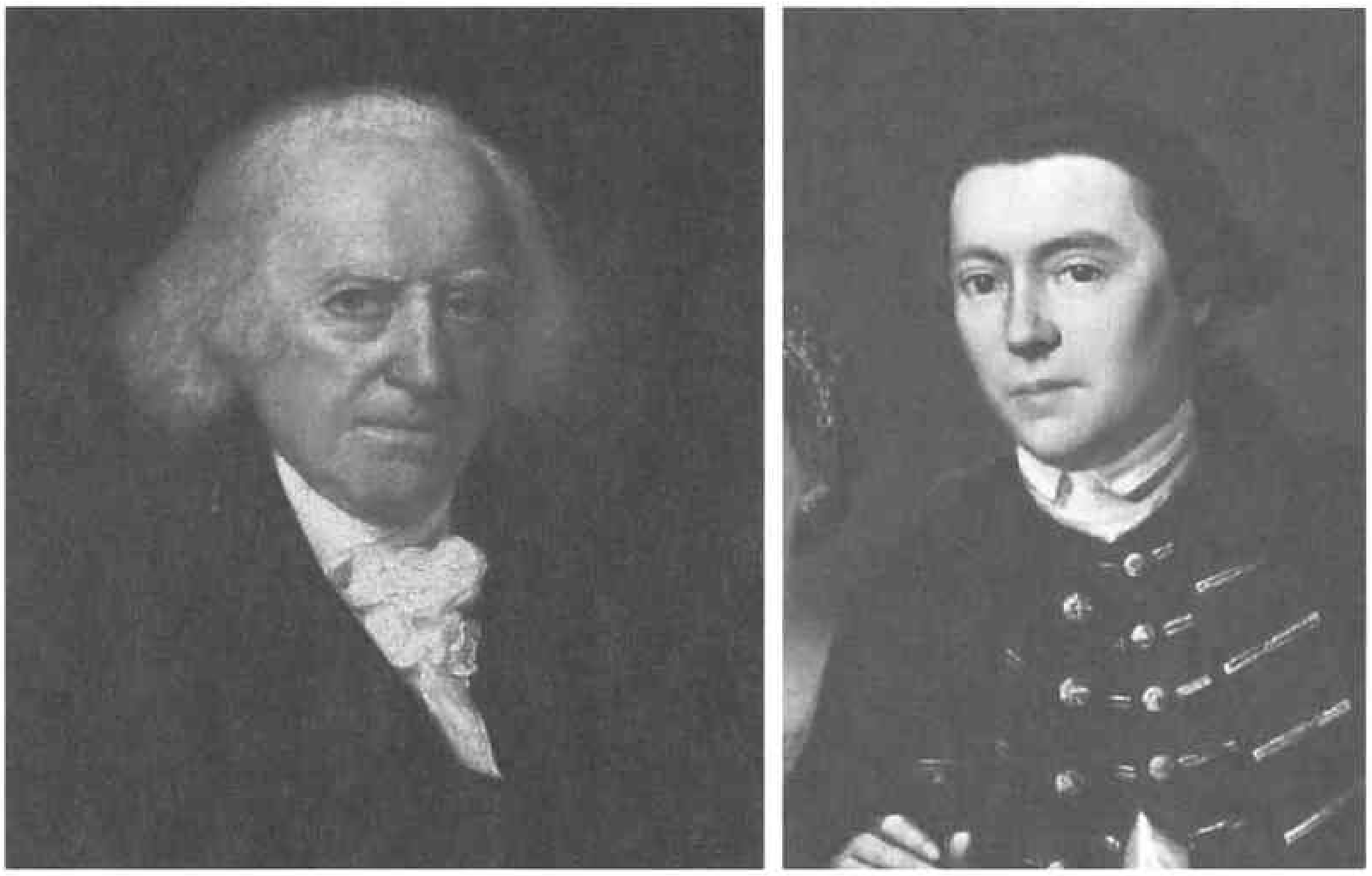
Could the portrait have come down to Schuyler Hamilton Jr. from his great-grandparents, and be of the family of John Cornelius Van den Heuvel? There are at least three known depictions of John Cornelius Van Den Heuvel, two of which are from life – a miniature in the collection of the Museum of the City of New York, and a portrait of him in his old age by John Wesley Jarvis in the Frick Collection. The third is a full-sized portrait in the collection of the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society copied from the

38 See Louisa Wood Ruby, "Dutch Art and the Hudson Valley Patroon Painters," Going Dutch: Four Centuries of Dutch Influence in the United States. Amsterdam: Brill Academic Press, 2008, www.academia.edu.

39 She was the daughter of Laurens Storm van 's Gravesande (1704-1775), Director-General of Essequibo and Demerary.

40 See Laws of the State of New York, Vol. II (1792), Chap. LIV, 9 Apr. 1792, listing John Cornelius Van den Heuvel's family members. He came to New York with two sons and three daughters. Their names were Isaac Gylbert Hermen, Charlotte Geertruyda, Jacob Adriane, Margaretta Catharina Eleonora, and Justine Jeane Henrietta.

miniature. Below, a detail of the Jarvis portrait is placed side-by-side with a detail from the "Giles Cooke family portrait." The reader can judge whether there is any resemblance.



Detail from a portrait of John Cornelius Van den Heuvel by John Wesley Jarvis (left). Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library. Detail of the "Giles Cooke family portrait" (right).

If the Giles Cooke family portrait were of Van den Heuvel, then the other subjects depicted in it would likely be his first wife and children. As such it may not have held great sentimental value to the Hamilton descendants.

Who may have painted a portrait of Jan Cornelis Van den Heuvel and family of Demerary in the 1760s?

If the painting were a colonial portrait from Dutch Guiana, would it be possible to identify the artist? Most of the settlers of Demarary were English. John Greenwood, born in Boston, was a well-known portrait painter active in Dutch Guiana from 1752 to 1758 where he painted over a hundred portraits. Greenwood later went to Amsterdam and settled in England about 1763. His style and composition bear a strong resemblance to the "Giles Cooke family portrait." A group portrait Greenwood made of his family in the late 1740s has many features in common with the Giles Cooke family portrait, and can be viewed on the website of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. There is no evidence that he returned to Dutch Guiana when Van den Heuvel was commissioner, but Van den Heuvel certainly had to

travel back and forth to Europe from time to time, occasionally with his family. Therefore, a group portrait may have been executed in Amsterdam or England on one of these sojourns. This is of course only one speculative explanation for the origin of the "Giles Cooke family portrait." Further research is necessary.

While the lovely family of four depicted in the portrait likely had no knowledge of the Elk Branch, the fact that later generations tried to pass them off as Jefferson Countians merits our attention. Even if the painting is not an authentic Peale portrait of Giles Cooke and family, a colonial-era family portrait that fell into the possession of Giles Cooke's descendants and took on the aura of an heirloom that once graced the Elkwood mansion's walls can teach us something about the changing indicia of class and the vicissitudes of fortune. Moreover, if the portrait can be ruled out as a Peale, and hence as being a portrait of the Cookes, the inquiry is not over; rather the search for answers has just begun, as there may be a better story behind the portrait when all is said and done.

Stephen Stec, a lawyer, is adjunct professor at Central European University (Budapest) and Associate Scholar at Leiden University (Netherlands).

Religious Beginnings In Charles Town

by Urath C. Gibson

In the quiet, tree-shaded town the church bells ring on Sunday morning, inviting one and all to worship— not in the Established Church of the state, but with any of the denominations housed in the various buildings— the Gothic Episcopal, the white-pillared Presbyterian, the red brick Baptist, or the gray stone Methodist. The worshippers give little thought to the fact that today this choice is left to the individual, quite different from three hundred years ago when church worship was directed by the government.

In 1606 when King James I of England 'issued a charter to some London and Plymouth merchants... [for the] establishment of new outposts of trade in Virginia,[1] he also "regarded the New World as a legitimate missionary field."[2] So at Jamestown "the Episcopal Church of Virginia commenced, and was the Established Church with the Bishop of London in charge..."[3] of religious practices in the new colony.

By the first quarter of the eighteenth century the tidewater settlers were looking over the mountains to their backs at the hitherto untouched farmland in the valley of the Shenandoah River. "In March 1746, a surveying party...laid off tracts (of land) in the Harpers Ferry region for Lord Fairfax." [4] Young George Washington was with this party. Perhaps he told his brother, Lawrence, about this vast unsettled wilderness. "Lawrence Washington, as shown by the records of 1743 to 1750, purchased from Fairfax a large number of tracts of land...." [5] Robert Worthington had "acquired a tract of 3,000 acres from the crown in 1730, and had established a home on Evitts Marsh,"[6] two miles from town. "Charles Washington, the youngest brother of George, came to this locality in 1780 from Spotsylvania County and built a residence."[7]

1 John Hicks, The Federal Union, p. 22.
2 Ibid., p. 17.
3 George W. Peterkin, History and Record of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of West Virginia, p. XIII.
4 Millard K. Bushong, A History of Jefferson County, West Virginia, p. 14.
5 E. Norris, editor, History of the Lower Shenandoah Valley, p. 322.
6 Bushong, p. 13
7 Ibid. , p . 17

> On Nov. 23, 1786 Charles Washington and several others petitioned the Virginia General Assembly to establish a town upon eighty acres of Washington's land...provided that it be laid out in half-acre lots with intersecting streets. ...erection of a sixteen foot square dwelling with a brick or stone chimney entitled lot owners to the rights of other freeholders in the state.[8]

"In religion as in government the plantation area of the South was not unlike rural England, where the strength of the Established Church was always great."[9] Charlestown[10] was part of the Frederick County Parish, but the closest church was in "the present village of Bunker Hill,"[11] ten miles away and attendance meant great inconvenience to the Charlestown members.

Col. Robert Worthington, "a strong supporter of the Episcopal Church... and his neighbors petitioned the House of Burgesses in Nov. 1769 for a division of the Frederick Parish...."[12] Norborne Parish was subsequently created with the stipulation that it have a parish church.

Now St. George's Chapel enters the picture, and its history is veiled in mystery. "There are no known records in regard to the origin of this church, but the date is set as between 1760-70."[13] Dr. Roy Bird Cook, in an article in the West Virginia Review, Apr. 1933, has placed the date of construction as 1769 soon after the establishment of the new parish.[14] It is highly probable that this property was a "chapel of ease" built by the members of the church in the neighborhood, and never the property of the parish."[15] "The wealthy landowners would have taken pride in outdoing their neighbors in size and magnificence of their chapel."[16]

> The walls of the chapel, [still standing] were twenty-two inches in thickness, and constructed of stone quarried in the vicinity. The rest of the material is believed to have been brought from

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8 Idem
9 Hicks , p . 56 .
10 The one word name of Charlestown was used until 1911.
11 Bushong, p. 22.
12 Idem
13 Norris, p. 360
14 The Historical Records Survey, Inventory of the Church Archives of West Virginia, The Protestant Episcopal Church, p. 12.
15 Idem
16 Norris, p. 361

> England.... The roof was covered with sheet-lead. The window and door frames were of cedar wood; the floor was laid in tiling; the high-backed pews were oak, and the pulpit of the same wood, elaborately carved and projecting from the wall considerably...[17]

Assessments for the Episcopal Church "were as sure as taxes, and the collection of these tithes was made at the same time and by the same county officers irrespective of whether the individual was a Churchman or not." [18]

"The number of clergymen sent out was not sufficient; the type of minister not the highest, and the lack of a bishop [in the colony] a handicap." [19]

> At the time of the Revolution "the union of church and state that existed in nine of the thirteen colonies was promptly attacked, although with varying results. In the South, where the Church of England was the state church, disestablishment was naturally associated with revolution and was early accomplished. ... in 1786 the legislature [of Virginia] asserted, in words penned by Jefferson, that "no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever."[20]

With the repeal of the law pertaining to church restrictions and after the Revolution "the [Episcopal] Church was left without property and without clergy." [21] "... the civil powers of the vestries were turned over to the newly created 'overseers of the poor,' [22] and many church buildings were subjected to 'almost complete dismantlement.'"[23] Because the furnishings of St. George's Chapel were possibly the finest in this section it is thought to have suffered, too.

The growth in population of Charlestown, further intensified by the organization of Jefferson County in 1801, leads us to assume that the Episcopal congregation would think of moving to the town which was

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17 Idem
18 Survey, p. 5.
19 Ibid., p. 4.
20 Hicks, p. 162.
21 Survey, p. 13.
22 Ibid., p. 8.
23 Ibid., p. 13.

now the county seat. Work on Zion Church, situated on the highest point in town, was started in 1815, "fixtures from St. George's Chapel were used"[24] and the country chapel abandoned.

"In 1847 the first (Zion) church building was torn down and a much handsomer one erected. ... A year later, it accidentally caught fire and was burned to the ground. It was immediately rebuilt on the same site."[25] Today, the spire of this stately church is visible to the approaching traveler five miles away.

Early in the days of colonial settlement of Virginia there were undercurrents of dissention toward the Established Church. The Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists "were tolerated..., the teaching of the Roman Catholic doctrine was prohibited in the state. A priest was not even permitted to visit the colony; to do so subjected him to arrest, fine and imprisonment." [26]

Even after the repeal of the law of restriction little headway was made by the Catholics to establish a congregation until after the Civil War. Many of the faith were scattered through this section, and Mass was said in private residences by priests who visited one or more persons who could not attend services "at consecrated houses of worship in the neighboring towns."[27] The present Catholic Church in Charles Town was built in 1889, although there has been one in Harpers Ferry since 1830.

The Presbyterian dissenters were one of the earliest of the minority denominations to be heard. The oldest known record states that "on Sept. 19, 1719... the [Philadelphia Presbyterian] Synod had received a letter from the people of 'Potomoke in Virginia' requesting that a minister be sent them."[28] In 1740, or perhaps a year or two earlier, the Presbyterian group "erected a building at the headspring of Bullskin Run, near Summit Point... called Bullskin Church... ecclesiastical name was Hopewell."[29]

After Charlestown was chartered in 1786, the Presbyterians planned to establish a congregation there. They already had active groups in

24 Bushong, p. 79.
25 Peterkin, p. 59 5.
26 S. Meyers, History of West Virginia Vol. II, p. 484.
27 Norris, p. 365.
28 Bushong , p. 8.
29 Ibid., p. 19.

Shepherdstown, Elk Branch, and Bullskin, and so, in 1787, purchased a lot from Charles Washington for a church building, and called for "a minister to supply them service."[30] In 1851 a brick church was erected on the main street where its tall white columns make it an imposing edifice today.

The first groups of Friends or Quakers came from Pennsylvania. As early as 1726-27 there was a Quaker settlement near Winchester with a meeting house called "Hopewell."[31]

Records show that William Vestal of that faith had a 205 acre tract near the Bloomery in 1734.[32]

> The Friends must have gradually increased in the county, as in 1785, the Friends from Hopewell [Winchester] appointed to visit the Friends at Bullskin [near Summit Point], reporting they had made the visit and were of the mind it would be best to indulge them with holding a meeting on First Day and Fourth Day of the week. The church was called Bullskin until 1795 when the name was changed to Berkeley.[33]

Ministers seemed to have visited from one meeting to another. Each church apparently had elders and overseers whose duties were "to visit such as are neglected in attendance to meetings."[34] Some members of the church were punished by disownment from meeting for,

> assisting his sister to accomplish her marriage contrary to discipline, and dancing at weddings; for dancing and singing and neglecting meetings; for consenting to their daughter's marriage in their home; for marrying a first cousin; trained in militia service and hired a man as a substitute to go to war; joined the Methodists; fighting a neighbor.[35]

The first Baptists to come to the Shenandoah Valley were a group of "about fourteen or fifteen families… [who in 1742] migrated from the

30 T. K. Cartmell, Shenandoah Vallev Pioneers and Their Descendents, p. 176.
31 Carrie B. Wilson, "The Friends or Quaker Element in Jefferson", in Magazine of Tefferson Co. Historical Society, Vol. 5, Dec. 1939. p. 24.
32 Ibid., p. 25.
33 Idem
34 Wilson, p. 26.
35 Ibid. , p. 27.

state of New Jersey and settled in the vicinity of what is now called Gerrardstown,"[36] near Martinsburg. Because of frequent Indian raids they moved east "to Loudoun County and located on the Ketocton Creek."[37]

"The Baptists were most uncompromising advocates of soul-liberty. They wrote and pled for total non-interference by the government with religious matters."[38] The ministers traveled far to preach the gospel, with the meetings announced sometimes a year in advance. These were truly "camp-meetings" with the people gathering from miles around, and remaining for a week.

By the 1790s there was a Baptist church in Berryville called "Buck Marsh," but the Charlestown Baptists were interested in organizing their own congregation. "Fourteen persons on April 24, 1792 organized at the home of Christopher Collins, located two miles northwest of Charlestown.... A subscription for purchasing land and building a meeting house was started on Feb. 14, 1795.... In 1798 a house was purchased two miles south of Shenandoah Junction... named "Zoar Meeting House," and a regular minister was called.[39] The Baptist Church of today in Charles Town was built in 1858.[40]

One minority group, in opposition to the Episcopal Church, called themselves the "Unepiscopal Methodists." From their Sixth Annual Conference in Leesburg, Virginia, in 1778, they sent a preacher to the recently formed Berkeley Circuit. This was the first regularly appointed Methodist pastor on record, although itinerant ministers had been holding frequent services.[41]

At Keyes's Ferry, near the present community of Millville, services were being held in a private home in 1790.[42]

> Methodisism in Jefferson County runs back possibly to as early a period as any other of the denominations that began to take

36 Samuel Kercheval, A History of the Valley of Virginia, pp. 62-63.
37 Norris, p. 364.
38 Idem
39 Bushong, pp. 58, 59.
40 Norris, p. 364.
41 Bushong, p. 23.
42 Ibid., p. 68.

> root after the Revolution, but it is not probable that there was any organized church in Charlestown… owing to the population being largely either Episcopal or Presbyterian.[43]

In 1794 Bishop Francis Asbury found there a good house of worship and a local preacher, but it was 1803 before the church received a deed for the property.[44]

At first glance it seems strange that the Lutheran congregation is the newest in Charles Town. It was organized in 1939. The Lutheran church in Shepherdstown was organized in 1765. Pack Horse Ford crossing of the Potomac there was drawing "German immigrants from Pennsylvania and Maryland."[45] They seemed to have settled in Shepherdstown or continued south. Due to the large German population services in the Lutheran Church were conducted in German.[46]

The present Lutheran Church in Charles Town "was established as a mission church by the Board of American Missions... on May 28, 1939 by the pastor of the Shepherdstown Lutheran Parish and thirty charter members signed."[47] The church property includes a church building and a home for the pastor.

As we look at all these houses of worship — modest or imposing, we are challenged to wonder about our pioneer forefathers' religious life. S. Meyers tells us that they were not over-zealous in religious matters as a whole…. Their minds were more occupied in the clearing of fields and protecting their homes from the Indian depredations than in spiritual affairs.[48]

In pushing the frontier westward they had lost touch with the church even though they still felt a personal need for God. This feeling of insecurity, social starvation, and sense of need was partially satisfied with religious meetings, weddings and funerals. The need for church development was evident, and was realized as soon as permanent settlements were made. [49]

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43 Norris, p. 365.
44 Bushong, p. 58.
45 Meyers, p. 476.
46 Bushong, p. 23.
47 ----------, St. Thomas Lutheran Church, bulletin.
48 Myers, p. 469.
49 An interview with Mr. Allen Bartlett, rector of Zion Episcopal Church, Charles Town, Aug. 10, 1963.

"Every denomination, carrying the banner of Christian faith" has had its part in the great drama unfolding in the New World. The Church is the "only institution to survive the upheavals of time and is encouraged in the hope that. . . [it] will ultimately triumph over all creations."[50]

Editor's Note: This article was written as a requirement for Shepherd College English 102, August 17, 1963.

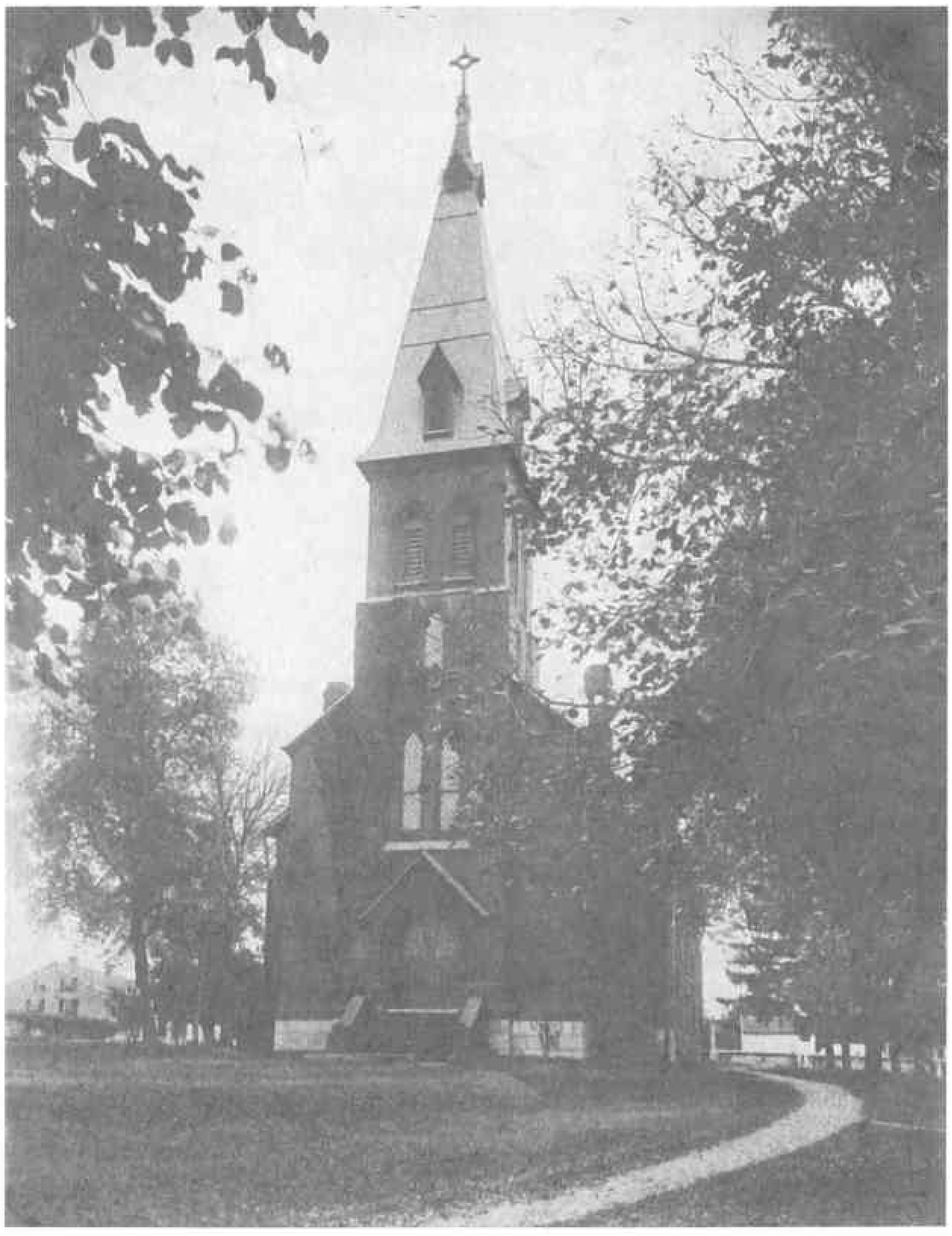
Urath C. Gibson was a resident of Jefferson County for 67 years when she passed away, at age 96, in 2008. She was a life member of the Society, a former board member and mother of current president Jim Gibson. After graduating from Towson Normal School, she taught school for many years in Maryland and Harpers Ferry. She and her family were particularly proud of her graduation from Shepherd College in 1989 at the age of 77.

50 Cartmell, p. 218.

Zion Episcopal Church: A Celebration, 1815-2015

By Sonja James

And now faith, hope, and love abide, these three;
and the greatest of these is love.
I Corinthians 13:13



Courtesy Jefferson County Museum

Zion Circa 1900

Does He not command that we gather
like butterflies dancing in the sky?
And so we do.
We who drift upon a current of wind
embrace the ceremony
where a common chalice unites us.
Why weep?
Why fear solitude's intractable winter
or the sudden eclipse of the moon
or even the end of our days?
Zion's two hundred years are but a stranded
jellyfish on infinity's perpetual shore,
yet someday, face to face,
we'll find that love devours time.
Oh, the people of God are enthralling.
That baby in her blanket is as resplendent
as the bride in her gown.
That boy with his sailboat enchants
the old man nodding off to sleep.
The sexton. The choir. The priest.
Christ on the Cross,
and then—our Risen Lord!
Love the way He loves.
Hold the world close.

-in memory of the Reverend Roger Henshaw

Sonja James is the author of four collections of poetry, most recently The White Spider in My Hand (New Academia Publishing: Scarith Books, 2015) and Calling Old Ghosts to Supper (Finishing Line Press, 2013). She has two sons and resides in Martinsburg, West Virginia.

Belleview – A Lost Washington Family Home

By Walter Washington, John C. Allen Jr. and Samuel and Sharon Hansard

In 1901, a photographer from Philadelphia named H. Parker Rolfe came to Charlestown for the purpose of taking photographs of Harewood, the home of Samuel Washington. Rolfe was brought to Jefferson County by Edwin Fairfax Naulty, also of Philadelphia. Naulty had married Ann Harewood Washington, the daughter of George Lafayette Washington. George Lafayette, who was born at Harewood in 1825, was Samuel's great-grandson.[1]

The reason for Rolfe's visit was to take photographs of Harewood for the Washington Manor Association for the Preservation of Harewood, an organization which Naulty had organized and also served as its secretary. In 1900, the family then living at Harewood consisted of the widowed Richard Scott Blackburn Washington, whose wife Christian Maria Washington[2] had died in 1895, their daughter Christine and their sons John Augustine and Samuel Walter. Samuel Walter had married Elizabeth Ryland Willis in 1899, and the family decided to move from Harewood to a new home which they built at 216 South George Street in Charlestown. The Washington Manor Association for the Preservation of Harewood had as its goal the acquisition and preservation of Harewood, which in 1901 sat vacant with an uncertain future, as a historic site. (Fortunately, the Association failed in its purpose and Harewood remained in the ownership of the family.)

Visiting Jefferson County at least twice, Rolfe took 34 photographs of Harewood and the surrounding country side, including the ruins of St. George's Chapel, the train station at Cameron's Depot and the stone walls at Altona fronting on the road from Charlestown. The original

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1 George Lafayette Washington (1825-1872) was the only surviving son of Samuel Walter Washington and Louisa Clemson Washington.

2 Christian Maria Washington was George Lafayette Washington's younger sister. She married her third cousin, Richard Scott Blackburn Washington who had inherited Blakeley. When Blakeley was sold in 1871, Richard and Christian moved their family of seven children to Harewood, which was then the home of Christian Maria's widowed mother Louisa Clemson Washington.



Figure 1: 1901 Photograph Showing the Ruins of Belleview

glass negatives of these photographs are preserved today. One of the photographs shows the caved-in ruins of a house, partially hidden by trees. It is shown as Figure 1. The label on the glass negative of this picture says "Property of Geo. Steptoe Washington." Research now indicates that this was Belleview, the home of George Steptoe Washington, Jr., built around 1828 and destroyed by fire in 1898. It was situated on a rise about three quarters of a mile directly east of the Harewood mansion on the south side of the road to Charlestown.

George Steptoe Washington, Jr.

George Steptoe Washington, Jr., born in 1806, was the youngest of the three surviving sons of George Steptoe Washington and Lucy Payne Washington. His two older surviving brothers were Samuel Walter Washington, born in 1797, and William Temple Washington, born in 1800. Their father died in 1809 and their mother remarried in 1812, taking as her second husband U.S. Supreme Court Justice Thomas Todd. Lucy and her young sons moved to Justice Todd's home in Frankfort, Kentucky, where the boys were raised. The oldest son, Samuel Walter,

graduated from medical school at the University of Pennsylvania in 1820 and returned to Harewood with his wife Louisa Clemson Washington to set up his medical practice.

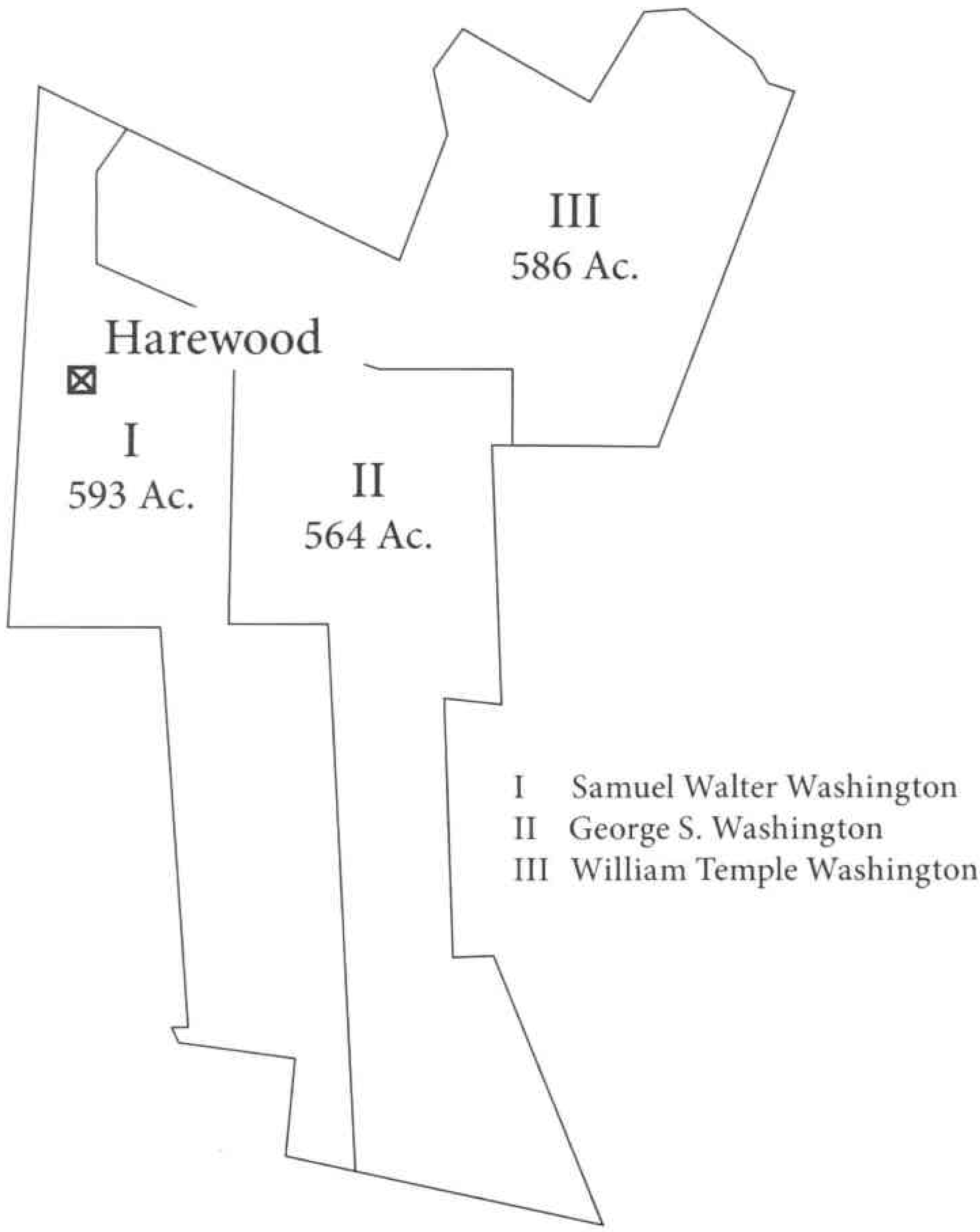


Figure 2: 1828 Division Plat of Harewood

When George Steptoe, Jr. attained the age of legal majority in 1827, a suit was filed in chancery court in Charlestown to partition the three brothers' Jefferson County inheritance. At the time of their father's death in 1809, Harewood included roughly 1800 acres. The 1828 partition decree awarded Samuel Walter the Harewood house and 593 surrounding acres and a non-contiguous seven acre woodlot, for a total of 600 acres.[3] William Temple was awarded 586 adjoining acres on which he built his home known as Megwillie.[4] George Steptoe, Jr. was awarded 564 adjoining acres and a non-contiguous 39 acre parcel, for a total of 603 acres.[5] A plat created to show the division based on the deed descriptions of these parcels is shown in Figure 2. (All of these parcels were subject to the dower interest of their mother Lucy Payne Todd.)

Just three years later, the two brothers Samuel Walter and George Steptoe, Jr., died within a day of each other, on October 12, and 13, 1831, respectively. The cause of death is thought to be cholera.[6] The young George Steptoe, Jr. left a childless widow, Gabriella Augusta Hawkins Washington, whom he had brought with him from Kentucky. A suit in chancery was brought in 1832 by William Temple Washington, the surviving brother, to partition George Steptoe, Jr.'s 603 acre estate.

Belleview

A plat of the 1832 partition shows a tract of 139 acres awarded as the dower portion to his widow, Gabriella Augusta Washington.[7] See Figure 3. On that tract, the location of a house is shown on the south side of the Charlestown road. Both the 1852 and 1883 S. Howell Brown maps of Jefferson County also show a house at the same location. Research supports that the ruins shown in the photograph (Figure 1) are of that house, called Belleview, built by George Steptoe Washington, Jr. The 1829 real property tax records show the total acreage owned by "George Washington" as 603 ½ acres, and a value of the improvements on the

3 Deed dated March 18, 1828, recorded in the Jefferson County Clerk's Office in Deed Book 15, at page 69.

4 Deed dated February 18, 1828, recorded in the Jefferson County Clerk's Office in Deed Book 15, at page 67. Megwillie was destroyed by fire in the 20th Century.

5 Deed dated February 18, 1828, recorded in the Jefferson County Clerk's Office in Deed Book 15, at page 71.

6 Samuel Walter, a physician, reportedly caught the disease from treating infected workers on the C & O canal.

7 The plat is included in the partition decree entered in the May, 1832 term of court and is recorded in the Jefferson County Clerk's Office in Deed Book 18, at page 49.

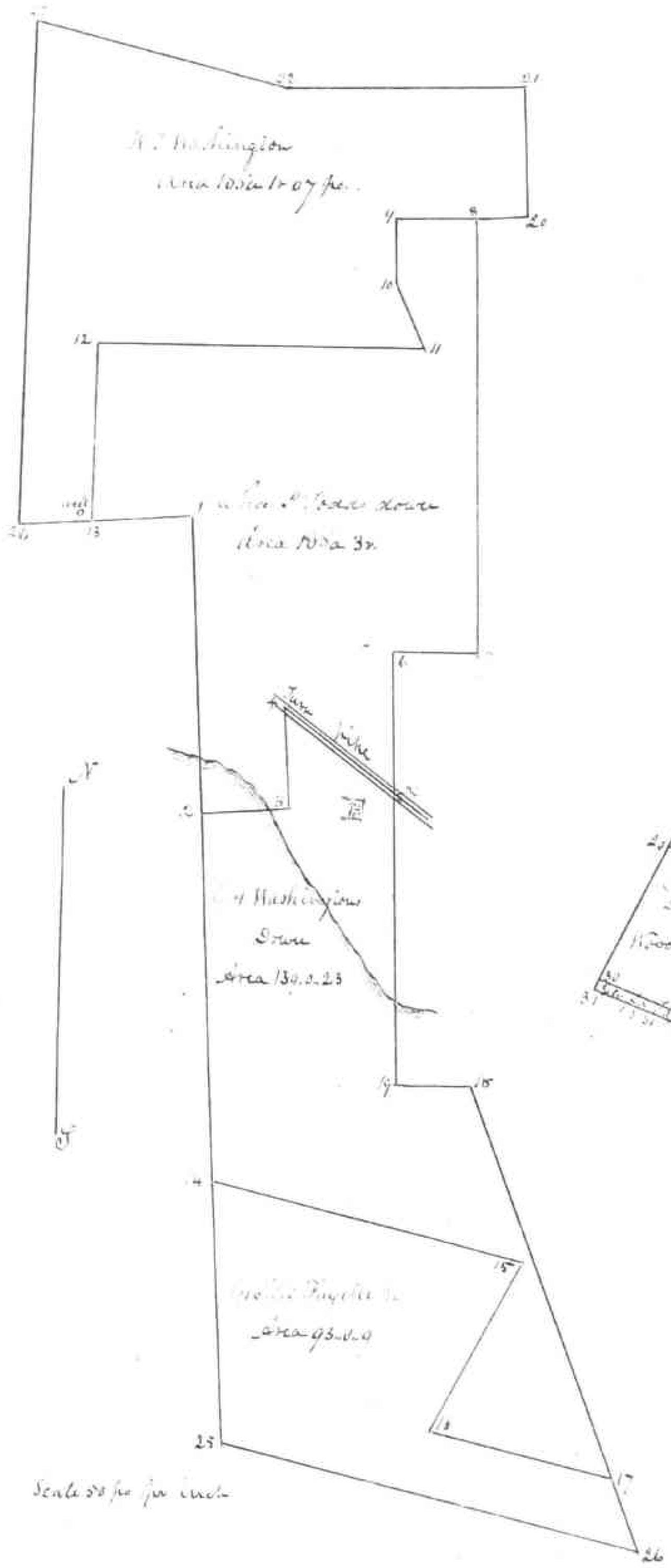


Figure 3: 1832 Division Plat of Belleview

property of $1,500, with the notation "and $500 value of buildings added," indicating that the house was completed in 1828.

Little is known about George Steptoe, Jr., who died two days before his 25th birthday. The appraisal of his estate and the record of the sale of his personal property in 1833 itemize the furnishings of a respectable household, including a well-rounded library of over eighty books on a wide range of subjects from the works of Shakespeare to French and Greek grammar as well as practical treatises on law and agriculture.[8] This suggests he possessed a college education. He died owning four adult slaves who were presumably used to farm his 603 acres.[9] The primary agricultural product was livestock, with 70 hogs and 50 sheep listed. The total value of his personal property sold at auction was $6,224.49.

After the death of her husband, Gabriella Augusta Hawkins Washington returned to Kentucky where she subsequently remarried. She conveyed her 139 acre dower portion of the property, which included the house as shown on the plat, to Joseph T. Daugherty in 1834.[10] In 1891, after several subsequent owners, the property, then expanded in size to a little over 170 acres was acquired by James B. Gittings.[11] The deed to Gittings is the first to describe the property as "Belleview." Gittings, in turn, sold the property to Mary Esther Lucas in 1896, the deed again describing it as "Belleview." (The 1883 S. Howell Brown map of Jefferson County also labels the property "Belleview.")

It was apparently during Lucas's ownership that the house burned. The real estate tax records in 1898 show the value of improvements on the property as $1,000, a value which had remained constant in the tax records from the time of its purchase by James Gittings in 1891. In 1899, that value dropped to $600, and remained at that level for two decades. It is reasonable to attribute this loss in value to the destruction of most of the house by fire. Farm buildings are still visible in the 1901 photograph,

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8 The appraisal of George Steptoe Washington, Jr.'s estate is recorded in the Jefferson County Clerk's Office in Will Book 7, at page 41; the record of the estate sale is recorded in Will Book 7, at page 176.

9 The four enslaved adults were Frederick, age 28; Dennis, 20; Vivian, 20; and Rachel, 25. Four children also listed were James, 3; Lewis, 10; Mary, 11; and Rachel's eight month old child.

10 Deed dated June 27, 1834, recorded in the Jefferson County Clerk's Office in Deed Book 20 at page 75.

11 Deed dated October, 15, 1891, recorded in the Jefferson County Clerk's Office in Deed Book Y, at page 130.

which explains the remaining tax valuation. The 1901 photograph also suggests the fire had been recent enough that the ruins had not become overgrown. Reinforcing the theory that a recent fire had destroyed the house is the fact that in 1901, Lucas sold the property to William B. Packett and George W. Packett, who owned the land immediately adjacent known as Locust Hill.[12]

In 1918, the Packettes sold 39.72 acres of the property, including the location of the burned house, to Joseph M. Funk.[13] The 1919 property tax records show the value of improvements on the property increasing from $600 in the previous year to $1,000. By 1922, the value of improvements had increased to $1,240. This likely reflects the construction of a new house on the property. Research and physical inspection indicate that this new house was built on the foundation of the original house, Belleview, that had been destroyed by fire in 1898.

In 1952, following several intervening owners, the property, still consisting of approximately 39 acres, was bought by Donald M. Kable and his wife, Hilda M. Kable.[14] In 1981, the Kables sold the property to its current owners, Samuel L. Hansard, II, and his wife Sharon C. Hansard.[15]

Physical Evidence

Excavations done by the Hansards in 2013, show evidence of stone foundations of wings on both the north side and the south side of the existing house. The outside dimensions of the north wing measured 21 feet by 23 feet. The chimney was on the north end of the wing and was an inside chimney. Excavation of the south wing showed only some foundation stones about 20 feet from the foundation of the main block of the house. This area has been subject to installation of propane lines and other disturbances of the soil. Hence, the foundation suggestions are not definitive.

12 Deed dated December 29, 1901, recorded in the Jefferson County Clerk's Office in Deed Book 91, at page 75. The deed into the Packetts refers to the property as Belleview, but under the Packett's ownership, the property is described on the Assessor's Land Books as "Happy Retreat."

13 Deed dated March 28, 1918 recorded in the Jefferson County Clerk's Office in Deed Book 116, at page 168. (NB: In the early 20th Century, the spelling of the Packett family name in the Jefferson County Land Records changed to Packette.)

14 Deed dated March 28, 1952, recorded in the Jefferson County Clerk's Office in Deed Book 187, at page 273.

15 Deed dated August 28, 1981, recorded in the Jefferson County Clerk's Office in Deed Book 489, at page 600.

A portion of the basement foundation is all that remains of the original house. The footprint of the later house is smaller, so the stone foundation was reduced to accommodate the smaller structure. This truncation of the foundation can be clearly seen in the basement of the home. The stone work of the original foundation is typical for that of the early to mid-19th century wall work. The work added later is of a different quality and scale than the original foundation.

The 1901 photograph of the house was taken after the structure was badly damaged and from an angle where the trees obscure the view. In this image, the house appears to be a triparte design with a two-story main block flanked by single story wings. The roof is missing and the front (east) wall of the central block of the house has collapsed. In the photograph, the wall damage allows us to see the stone wall construction under its stucco veneer. The kitchen fireplace is also visible through the window of the south wing.

The main block of the house was likely 32 feet wide by 24 feet deep. The flanking wings were around 20 feet wide. It is possible that both wings were built at the same time balancing the front elevation, but this arrangement was rare in Jefferson County. If a second wing was added at a later date, it was probably the north wing as the cooking fireplace was housed in the south wing.

Given that much larger houses were completed within two years of the 1828 partition of the property, this structure could have been inhabited by 1829. The house is contemporary with several of the other Washington homes in the immediate vicinity including Cedar Lawn, Blakely, Rich Woods Farm, and Claymont Court. Due to the original building's limited remains, it is not possible to confirm the plan of the house. The measurements of the house limit the possible plan types to either a side-hall arrangement, or a transverse hall plan. The house is not wide enough to have had a central hall.

The Washington family favored the transverse-hall plan during the 1820s and 30s, so that is certainly a possibility. Though transverse-hall houses were usually quite large by local standards, the stone residence at Rich Woods Farm, built for Thomas B. Washington in 1831, is roughly the same scale – 30 feet by 20 feet.

The side-hall arrangement, however, was a much more common plan type and would be easier to fit into the given dimensions. The chimney

placement in the main wing would also work well with the side-hall arrangement. A conjectural floor plan as a side-hall house is shown as Figure 4.

What constitutes the universe of "Washington Family Homes" in Jefferson County depends on the parameters used to describe it. Nine homes built by members of the Washington family in the 18th and 19th Centuries are still standing: Harewood, Happy Retreat, Cedar Lawn, Blakeley, Claymont, Bellair, Barleywood, Sulgrave and Rich Woods Farm (not to be confused with Richwood Hall). Belleview can now be added to the list of those no longer standing, the others being Prospect Hill, Locust Hill and Megwillie. At least three early 20th Century homes built by members of the family still stand in Charles Town. George Washington's Bullskin Plantation, later called Rock Hall, could perhaps best be described as existing in a parallel universe due to the uncertainty of the dates of the existing structures or of the house that burned in 1906 and the fact that he never resided on the property, which, during the General's lifetime, was first managed by an overseer and later leased to a tenant.

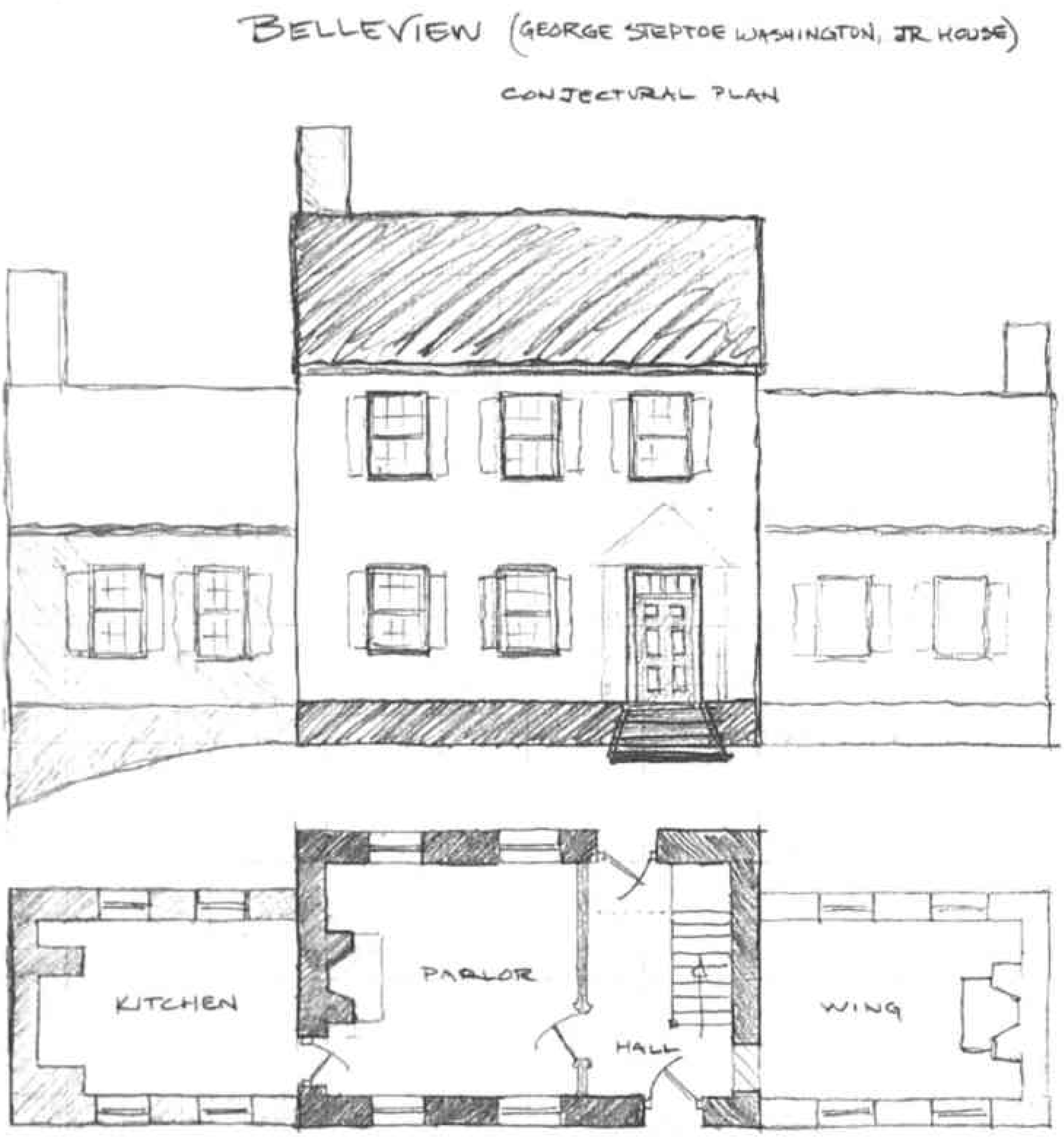


Figure 4: Conjectural Plan of Belleview

Walter Washington is an attorney who lives and practices law in Charles Town.

John C. Allen Jr is an architectural historian living near Shepherdstown.

Enjoying retirement with a rocking-chair view of the Blue Ridge, Samuel and Sharon Hansard look unto the hills and mountains "from whence cometh .. strength."

"I have never voluntarily borne arms against the United States."

Jefferson County, 1865

By P. Douglas Perks

Finally, The War was over. On Sunday, April 9, 1865, Confederate General Robert Edward Lee surrendered his army to Union General Ulysses S. Grant. Gradually the men from both armies began the trek back to their home state. The Georgians returned home to Georgia. The Pennsylvanians went back to Pennsylvania. The men from Frederick County, Virginia, came back to their homes in Virginia. But the men who left Jefferson County and followed Virginia out of the Union and into the Confederacy, returned home to a new state, West Virginia, and West Virginia was leery of these returning veterans. For that reason, these men encountered a number of changes upon their return to Mr. Jefferson's County.

The first major change in Jefferson County involved the county seat. Since the formation of Jefferson County, Charlestown, founded in 1786 by General Washington's youngest brother Charles, had been the seat of government. During The War, Charlestown was headquarters for the forward line of the Union garrison based in Harper's Ferry. As such, many of its public and private buildings were used for a variety of military purposes. Early in the war, the county court records were moved south to Lexington for safekeeping. Frequently the court house served as a barracks for Union soldiers. On October 18, 1863, Confederate General John Imboden attempted to dislodge the Union forces stationed in Charlestown, and in the process damaged the court house. Due to this damage, and more importantly because Charlestown was vulnerable to Confederate raids, on January 26, 1865, the West Virginia Legislature moved the county seat to Shepherdstown. The town hall building given to Shepherdstown by philanthropist



Shepherdstown Town Hall. This building was given to the town by Rezin Davis Shepherd. From 1865 - 1871 it was the Jefferson County Court House.

Rezin Davis Shepherd became the new court house.[1]

On November 16, 1863, West Virginia adopted An Act Concerning Oaths and Affirmations. This act stipulated that:

> Every person elected or appointed to an office of trust, civil or military, shall, before proceeding to exercise the authority or discharge the duties of the same, take the following oath: I, A.B., do solemnly swear that I will support the constitution of the United States and the constitution of this state; that I have never voluntarily borne arms against the United States; that I have voluntarily given no aid or comfort to persons engaged in armed hostility thereto, by countenancing, counselling [sic] or encouraging them in the same; that I have not sought, accepted nor attempted to exercise the functions of any office whatever, under any authority in hostility to the United States; that I have not yielded a voluntary support to any pretended government, authority, power or constitution within the United States, hostile or inimical thereto; and that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion.[2]

In the midst of The War, when West Virginia became a state it entered the Union and not the Confederacy. The Oath and Affirmation Act assured that both civilian and military leaders supported the Union and the US Constitution, and the act was still in force at war's end. Thus, men who lived in Jefferson County, West Virginia who had either offered support or "borne arms" against the United States were not eligible to be "elected or appointed to an office of trust, civil or military."

In 1861, Joseph Crane was Sheriff of Jefferson County.[3] His service in Company G (Botts Grays), 2nd Virginia Infantry,[4] made him ineligible for re-election to that position. Wells J. Hawks, Logan Osburn, and John Thomas Gibson[5] each served a term in the Virginia General Assembly. Due to their support of and/or service in the Confederate Army, they could not be elected to the West Virginia Legislature.

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1 Millard K. Bushong. Historic Jefferson County. (Carr Publishing Company, Inc., Boyce, Virginia, 1972). 276,

2 http://www.as.wvu.edu/WVHistory/documents/049.pdf. 08/11/2015.

3 Bushong 569.

4 Dennis E. Frye. 2nd Virginia Infantry. (H. E. Howard, Inc., Lynchburg, Virginia, 1984). 92.

5 Bushong 573.

The test oath applied to all professionals who lived in Jefferson County. In October 1865 Jefferson County, Charlestown resident and attorney Edwin E. Cooke wrote:

> All the members of the bar living in this county, and all of the citizens of the County, except a corporal's squad at Shepherdstown and Harper's Ferry, are outlaws, under the test oath of West Virginia. It is necessary to take an oath that we have not acted, or assisted, or comforted the rebels since the commencement of the war, or, I believe, sympathised [sic] with them, or we cannot appear in Court, as counsel, or hold office, or vote, or institute suits against our debtors, nor qualify as Executor or Admtr [sic]. To make ourselves good citizens, it is necessary to begin with perjury. Quamdiu![6] Quamdiu![7]

According to Cooke, enforcement of the test oath was not an idle threat. In the letter, he tells his friend of a local physician who had supported the Confederates who "was elected a magistrate, and was coaxed into taking the oath of office. He was indicted for perjury the next day."[8]

Finally, Cooke described his personal plight. Like many families who lived in Jefferson County, his property was damaged during The War. "My place has not a rail on it, except around my house and garden,"[9] Cooke told his friend. Most farms had suffered a similar fate. On November 14, an editorial in the Spirit of Jefferson described the situation:

> Situated on the border, it was one constant battle-ground, and its military occupation was the subject of an almost uninterrupted struggle between the contending forces. Provost guards, reconnoitering parties, and roving, predatory bands of armed men, intent upon plunder even at the cost of arson and murder, preyed upon its citizens and made it their safety as well as their necessity to confine themselves in their homes, where their presence was too often required not only for the preservation of

6 Latin: How long!

7 Edwin E. Cooke. "D. C. Wirt, Esqre."Letter. October 14, 1865. Charlestown, Jefferson County, Virginia. MS. Letter in the archive of the Jefferson County Museum, Charles Town, West Virginia.

8 E. E. Cooke letter.

9 E. E. Cooke letter.

> their property but for the defense of the lives and honor of their families.[10]

Bivouacking troops required cook fires. Fires required wood, and fences provided a readily available supply. It was widely reported that from Harper's Ferry to Charlestown, not a fence post remained standing at war's end. Cooke also "has eight horses taken off…& my law library was taken off from my office in Charlestown."[11] Whether taken by Confederate or Union, the loss was both devastating and real, with no prospect for either replacement or reimbursement. The War was officially over, but for some in Jefferson County a "return to normalcy" would not be easy.

In its wisdom, on February 25, 1865, the West Virginia Legislature passed a law requiring the administration of a test oath to prospective voters before they could qualify to vote. Prospective voters had to affirm that they had not offered support to or fought for the Confederacy. Those who could not make the claim were ineligible to vote. Under the re-organized government each voting district was administered by a supervisor who oversaw a board of registration. The supervisor was responsible for certifying every eligible voter in their district. In 1866, the board of registration in the Charlestown district certified "23 eligible voters out of a voting population in excess of 400."[12]

Unwilling to accept being disenfranchised in West Virginia, a number of citizens decided to exercise their right to vote elsewhere. On September 2, 1865, a group of 47 men led by Andrew Hunter and William H. Travers, met at the Carter House in Charlestown. At this meeting the group nominated five delegates to attend a convention to be held in Winchester. The Winchester convention would select candidates for election to Virginia's 7th Congressional District, and these men planned to hold an election in Charlestown on October 12, 1865.[13] West Virginia Governor Arthur Ingraham Boreman was advised of their plan by the supervisors in the county seat at Shepherdstown, and he ordered Major General William H. Emory and US troops "to aid civil officers in maintaining the laws."

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10 Benjamin F. Beller, Editor. Spirit of Jefferson. November 14, 1865. Page 2.
11 E. E. Cooke letter.
12 Spirit of Jefferson. July 17, 1866. Page 2.
13 Bushong 276

Boreman reported, "As a consequence of these precautionary measures, no election was held."[14]

Undeterred, they changed tack. Aware that the US Constitution required that:

> New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or Parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress[15]

The men determined to approach the Virginia General Assembly and request that it deny permission for Jefferson County to leave Virginia and become part of West Virginia. They drew up a petition that outlined the reasons why Jefferson County should remain in Virginia, circulated the petition in each of the eight old magisterial districts[16] asking for signatures and donations to support the cause, and received over 1,200 signatures. On December 5, 1865, the Virginia General Assembly received the petition and after deliberation, repealed the transfer of Jefferson County to West Virginia.[17] In his 1866 address to the West Virginia Legislature, Governor Boreman acknowledged what was taking place in Jefferson County when he told the legislators:

> I am assured, and have no doubt of the fact, although not officially informed of it, that, at the instance of the malcontents referred to, the General Assembly of Virginia, at its present session, has repealed the laws giving consent of that State to the annexation of the counties of Berkeley and Jefferson to West Virginia. It is believed that this repeal cannot affect the status of these counties; but in order to avoid further controversy on the subject, it has been deemed proper to obtain the sanction

14 Journal of the West Virginia House of Delegates. Annual message of the Governor. January 16, 1866. Pages 8-11. http://www.as.wvu.edu/WVHistory/documents/049.pdf August 11, 2015.

15 US Constitution. Article IV, Section 3. http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/ August 13, 2015.

16 West Virginia initiated the township system of government. The eight voting districts were reduced to seven townships: Averill (Middleway), Bolivar, Chapline, Harper's Ferry, Grant (Charlestown), Osburn (Kabletown), and Shepherd.

17 Bushong. 277.

> of Congress, which it is expected to pass, and thus quiet and harmony will be restored to the community interested.

In his reference to Congress, Boreman acknowledged an apparent procedural error in the annexation of Jefferson County. Although the transfer of Jefferson County from Virginia to West Virginia had been approved by the West Virginia Legislature on November 2, 1863, it had not yet met the additional requirement of "Consent of …the Congress." Boreman was not the only person aware of the defect. Andrew Hunter and William H. Travers both knew that Congress had not approved Jefferson's transfer. With the revocation of Virginia's permission for Jefferson's annexation in hand, Hunter and Travers made plans to request Congressional denial of the transfer. As 1865 came to an end, Jefferson County remained a part of West Virginia, but both men retained hope that the future would bring repatriation with Virginia.

Politics aside, the loss of life was the most devastating consequence of The War. John Brown's final words rang true. On the morning of December 2nd, 1859, while seated in his cell in the Jefferson County Jail, Brown had written:

> I John Brown am now quite certain that the crimes of this guilty, land: will never be purged away; but with Blood. I had as I now think: vainly flattered myself that without very much bloodshed; it might be done.[18]

Over the course of The War, approximately 620,000 Americans died from either disease or as a result of battlefield wounds. According to the 1860 US Census figures, this represented approximately 2% of the total population.[19] Until the Vietnam War, the total number of deaths in the Civil War exceeded the total of all US wars combined.[20] Roughly 14% of the Union Army enlistment strength died.[21] The figure for Confederates was much higher. Using the highest enlistment strength, almost one in four Confederates eligible to serve died.[22] Not surprisingly, of all of the

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18 Oswald Garrison Villard. John Brown: a Biography. Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc. Garden City, New York, 1929; 554

19 The US population in 1860 was 31,000,000.

20 The death toll for all other conflicts is 684,253.

21 Enlistment strength for the Union Army was 2,672,341 men. The Union death toll was 389,753.

22 Enlistment strength for the Confederate Army was 1,227,890 men. The Confederate death toll was 289,000.

states in the Confederacy, the Commonwealth of Virginia suffered the largest number of deaths during The War. The State of New York recorded the most Union deaths.[23]

Battlefield death did not escape Jefferson County. To provide some perspective, not long ago I did a very unscientific review of the 2nd Virginia Infantry Regiment. I chose to examine the rosters of Company A, the Jefferson Guards; Company B, the Hamtramck Guards; Company G, Botts Grays; Company H, the Letcher Rifles; and Company K, the Floyd Guards. Each of these companies was organized before or early in the war somewhere in Jefferson County, and I scanned each of their rosters looking for men who were either KIA (Killed in Action), MWIA (Mortally Wounded in Action), died from disease, or died from unknown causes. From that review I created a list of men who died during The War.[24]

The 2nd Virginia was selected because it was one of the five Confederate infantry regiments which became known as the iconic Stonewall Brigade, and because of all of the infantry regiments which served in The War, the 2nd Virginia had the largest concentration of men who called Jefferson County home. The list of names that resulted from my survey provides just a thumbnail sketch of The War's impact on five companies of the 2nd Virginia.

Companies A, B, G, H, and K of the 2nd Virginia Infantry Regiment recorded a total of 110 men lost from 1861 to 1865. Of that total, 53 men (48%) were either KIA or MWIA. Thirty-two (29%) deaths occurred from disease. Death from unknown causes claimed 25 (23%) lives. Forty-three deaths (39%) were recorded in 1862 which was the highest one year total. The second highest death toll was 22 (20%) in 1863, followed by 21 (19%) in 1864, 17 (15%) in 1861, and 7 (7%) in 1865.

Manassas proved to be a deadly location for the 2nd Virginia. The Second Battle of Manassas, fought in late August, 1862, recorded the highest number of deaths for a single engagement: Sixteen men died – nine (56%) were KIA, and seven (44%) were MWIA. Among those killed on August 30, 1862, was Private George W. Barnhart. Barnhart was a local carpenter

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23 Civil War Facts 1861-1865 http://www.nps.gov/civilwar/facts.htm 08/14/2015; Civil War Trust. Civil War Casualties - THE COST OF WAR: KILLED, WOUNDED, CAPTURED, AND MISSING http://www.civilwar.org/education/civil-war-casualties.html 08/14/2015

24 Rosters were located in the appendix of Frye's book 2nd Virginia Infantry. 79 – 153.



Lawson Botts was appointed by Judge Richard Parker to defend John Brown.

who enlisted in Company B on April 18, 1861. He was brought home to Jefferson County and was buried in Elmwood Cemetery. Colonel Lawson Botts, commander of the 2nd Virginia, was "shot through the cheek and mouth" on August 28th and died in Middleburg on September 16, 1862. Botts was buried in the graveyard at Zion Episcopal Church in Charlestown.

During the First Battle of Manassas, eight men from the 2nd Virginia were killed. William Hendricks was KIA on July 21, 1861 and was the first Jefferson County man to die in battle. Hendricks was buried in the graveyard at St. James Lutheran Church in Uvilla. Of the eight deaths, two (25%) were KIA and six (75%) were MWIA. Thomas W. Briscoe was wounded on July 21 and died four days later. He was buried in Zion's graveyard.

In the summer of 1862 the action shifted to the Confederate capitol at Richmond. The 2nd Virginia, commanded at the time by Summit Point resident Colonel James Walkinshaw Allen, was there as a part of the Confederate effort to stem the advance of the Union Army. On June 27th, Colonel Allen was killed while leading the regiment. Two days after his death, the Richmond Enquirer had this to say:



Col. James W. Allen

> Among the killed in the desperate fight of Friday afternoon was Col. James W. Allen, of the 2d Regiment Virginia Volunteers. He was shot through the head, and expired almost instantly. At the time he received the fatal shot he was acting brigadier-general of Jackson's ' Stonewall Brigade.' His body was brought to this city yesterday morning, and during the day was deposited at Hollywood Cemetery.

Ironically, the 2nd Virginia escaped unscathed during the bloodiest day of The War at Sharpsburg. The regiment was detached as a provost guard at Martinsburg, and saw no action on September 17, 1862.

At the Battle of Chancellorsville, eight men died, six (75%) KIA and two (25%) MWIA. Sergeant Benjamin S. White was KIA on May 3, 1863, the same day that General Thomas Jackson was wounded. White was buried

in Zion's graveyard. Battles at Kernstown and First Winchester each claimed three lives; at Kernstown two KIA and one MWIA and at First Winchester one KIA and two MWIA. Gaines' Mill and Port Republic claimed two deaths each and one each at Jenning's Landing, Moorefield, and the Wilderness.

A sad fact of The War was the large number of soldiers who were either killed, died from wounds or illness and were buried in unmarked graves. Of the 110 men on my list, in the column for "Where buried," 56 (51%) were left blank. For the families of those 56 men, the loss of a father, son, or brother was compounded by the fact that they would never come home. Twenty-eight (27%) Jefferson County men were returned home and buried in local graveyards and cemeteries.[25] The remaining 26 (23%) were buried in cemeteries elsewhere including Hollywood Cemetery in Richmond and Stonewall Cemetery in Winchester. Of those men buried in Jefferson County, eight (29%) are interred in Elmwood Cemetery, eight (29%) in Edge Hill Cemetery, seven (25%) in the Zion Episcopal graveyard, two (7%) in the Christ Reformed Church graveyard in Shepherdstown, two (7%) in the St. James Lutheran Church in Uvilla, and one (3%) in the Shepherd Family Cemetery in Shepherdstown. Private Charles E. Hessey enlisted in Company B on April 18, 1861. He is listed on sick leave in July and August, and he died at home in Shepherdstown on January 31, 1862. Private Hessey was buried in the Methodist lot in Elmwood Cemetery.

Ignoring the sage advice of many strong Union men, Virginians voted to secede and join the Confederate States of America. On April 17, 1861, the day on which the Virginia Secession Convention approved a resolution of secession, Logan Osburn, Jefferson County's delegate to the convention, wrote to his wife:

> The Solemn, Sad, and desponding countenances that characterize the union men in the hall of the Convention clearly indicates their wounded pride and patriotic devotion to this country's honour and the people's liberty. Brave men with stout hearts and trembling voices, with tears rolling down their cheeks, have stood

25 Graveyards are located in the yard of a church. Cemeteries are burial grounds separate from any church.

> up nobly in defence of the rights of the people, and earnestly appealed to their brother members to save them & theirs from the dim calamities of civil war, but in vain.[26]

The resultant Civil War inevitably led to the creation of West Virginia and resulted in the death of at least 620,000 Americans. The entire Nation experienced the "dim calamities of civil war." In 1865, many of Jefferson County's citizens suffered the effects of those fateful decisions.

P. Douglas Perks, a Native of Jefferson County, is curator of the Jefferson County Historical Society and historian-in-residence at the Jefferson County Museum. He is a frequent speaker on Jefferson County history, the author of "Mr. Jefferson's County" in The Guardian, and a frequent contributing author to The Magazine.

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26 Logan Osburn to Margaret Chew Osburn, April 17th, 1861, Richmond, Virginia. From the archive of the Jefferson County Museum, Charles Town, West Virginia.

Summer Picnic

The Society was lucky to have, just like last year, a beautiful day for the annual picnic. Bill Strider was our host at Clay Hill. The house was constructed in the Federal style by the Hurst family around 1828. It has been the home of the Strider-Fulk-Secrist family since 1881. The main restoration of the house was done from January 2007 to December 2008.

Once again, the food brought by the members was varied and really good. The many different kinds of deviled eggs were not available for those who were late in line.

Thanks again to the organizer Betsy Wells and the caterer Magnolia tree.





