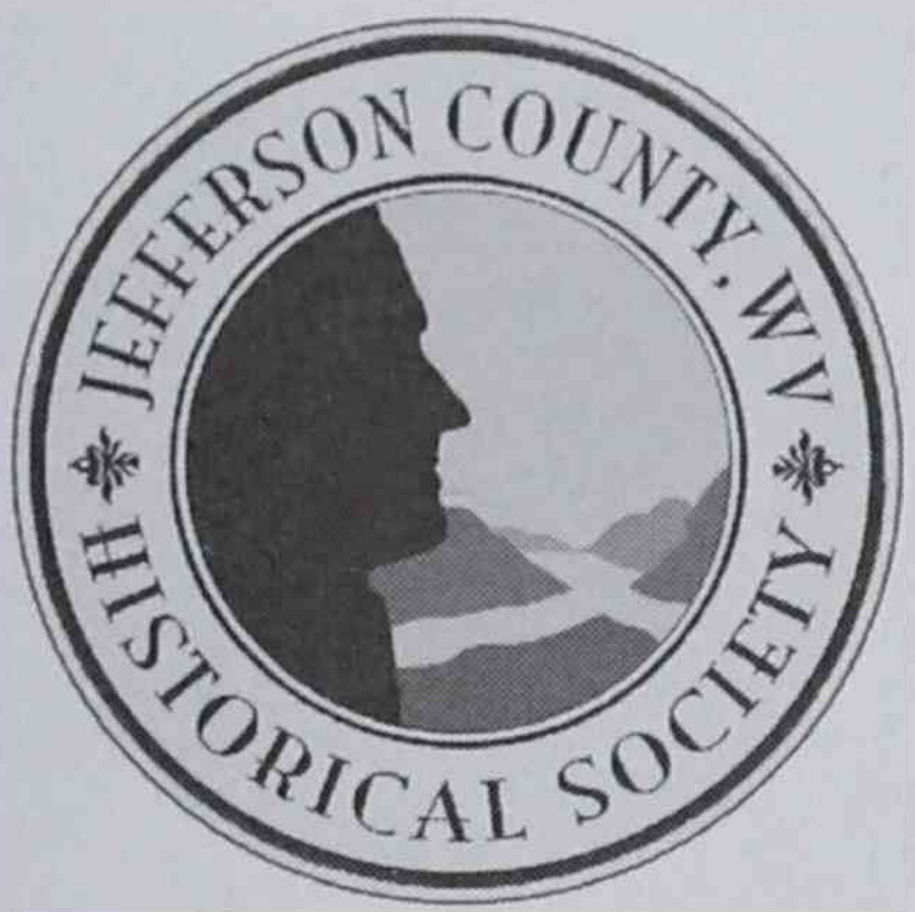
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Magazine of the

Jefferson County Historical Society

Volume LXXXVI
December 2020

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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

What a year this has been. We had an unbelievably mild winter that even my fragile fig tree managed to survive and then came COVID-19. The summer was hot so it was not hard for us older folks to stay at home. Jefferson County had its flu problems but it could have been worse. My sympathy goes out to those that lost family and friends. We had several virtual Society board meetings, published a few newsletters but cancelled the membership meetings and the picnic. No deviled eggs this year. I was a bit worried about getting articles for the magazine but am happy to say we have four great ones.

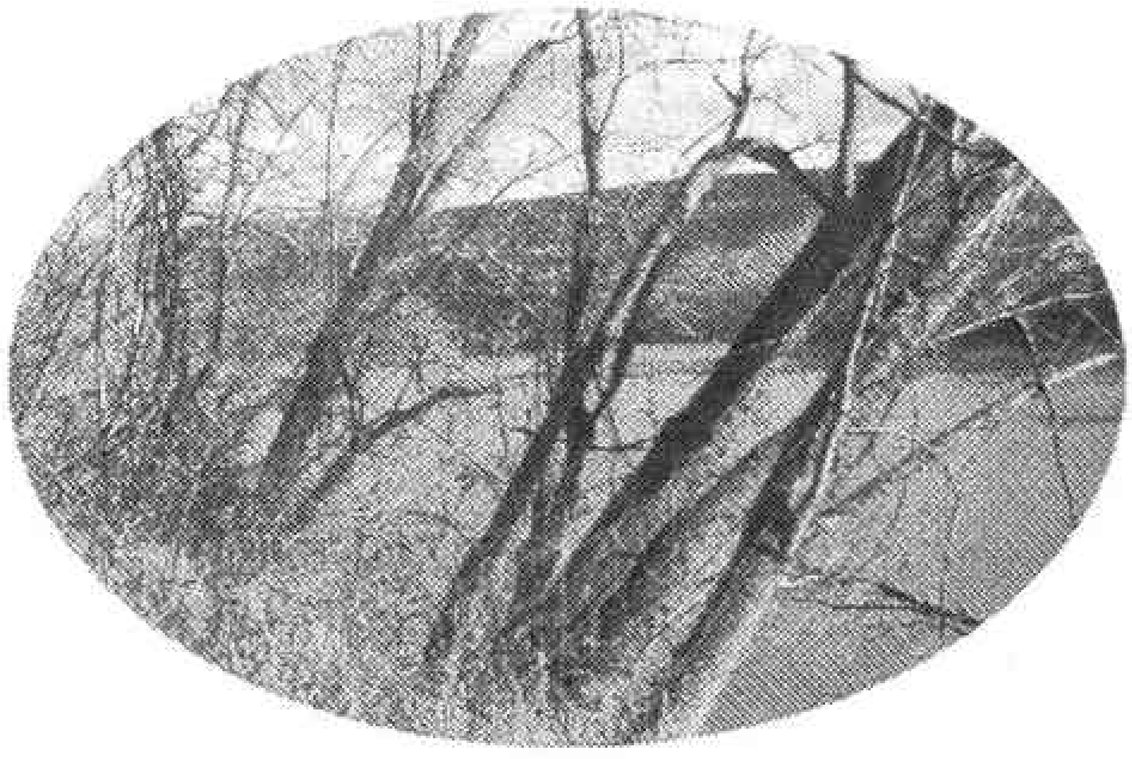
How appropriate that we start off with a piece on the Spanish Flu of 1918 in our County. It was pretty bad. It is very interesting to see how it was treated then, relative to now.

Jefferson County is known as the Washington Homeland. Cedar Lawn, although no longer in the Washington family, is a beautiful remembrance of the past. The article written by a descendant describes the life and times of some family members when they lived there.

Having come from Alexandria, Virginia, I related to the Alexandria to Bath road that passes through Kearneysville. I never really knew much about the other old roads. It turns out that there were many older roads all starting with the first ones into the Shenandoah Valley and what is now Jefferson County. This article lays out the roads and their history.

We live in the tract of land defined by the Shenandoah and Potomac River. The last article discusses the significance of living between the rivers.

Thanks to this year's authors who produced some great articles in this troubling time and to David at Progressive Printing in Martinsburg for another great job.



Jim Glymph,
at home on the Avon Bend
of the Shenandoah River

TRAUMA AND TRUTH-TELLING: JEFFERSON COUNTY IN THE 1918 PANDEMIC

Catherine Mägi, J.D.

A small Confederate flag wiggles in the breeze over the center of the Reinhart family plot at Elmwood Cemetery, testimony to a veteran ancestor. It is one of several in the Shepherdstown graveyard; battle flags and CSA markers pepper the solemn slope. So many Civil War soldiers rest at Elmwood, in fact, that a brochure has been prepared for curious tourists.

But just beside Reinhart's pristinely manicured, dutifully decorated grave, a simple rectangular marker is sinking, forgotten, into the earth. To read it one must excavate entrenched moss and weeds from letters chiseled into stone more than a century ago. This grave is another Reinhart; another soldier. Thomas Reinhart passed on October 14, 1918: the first Shepherdstown soldier of World War I to make "the supreme sacrifice."[1]

Thomas Reinhart did not die on the battlefield.

Two of his comrades lie close by: Henry Clapham, of Van Clevesville, and Seymour Cloud of Sandy Hook, Maryland. Each grave is so insignificant as to nearly avoid notice all together, unremarkable but for the fact that they appear to have died within weeks - days - of Thomas.[2]

They did not fall on the battlefield either.

A few steps around the hill, barely catching the shade of a towering evergreen, sits an impressive memorial to Robert and Adelaide Van Metre - icons of the early twentieth century orchard industry in Jefferson and Berkeley Counties. Their wealth is reflected in the size of their plot, but so too is a mystery: husband and wife, aged just 46 and 41 respectively, appear to have died within 48 hours of one another. Their twenty-something farmhand, Ray Renner, is buried at Elmwood, too, as is another employee's wife - all taken that same week in October 1918.[3]

Between the maze of Civil War memorial tokens, another, silenced trauma of Jefferson County is hiding in plain sight: *Spanish Influenza*.[4]

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1 *Shepherdstown Register*, October 17, 1918.
2 *Shepherdstown Register*, October 10, 1918.
3 *Shepherdstown Register*, October 10, 1918.
4 The misnomer of "Spanish Influenza" must be noted. Recent research has suggested the illness did not emerge in Spain, but elsewhere – perhaps even War 1 American contanment camps back in the states. Some researchers indicate Spain merely received "credit" for the birth of the disease as the nation was the first to publicly discuss its dangers and devastation on the population. See Trilla, Antoni, et al, "The 1918 'Spanish Flu' in Spain," *Clinical Infectious Diseases*, Volume 47, Issue 5, pp. 668–673, 1 September 2008; also, Martini, M et al. "The Spanish Influenza Pandemic: a lesson from history 100 years after 1918." *Journal of Preventive Medicine and Hygiene* vol. 60,1 E64-E67. 29 Mar. 2019.

The Modern Plague

"Spanish Influenza" struck in waves, appearing first in the spring of 1918 but not attacking Jefferson County until its second, deadlier assault in the fall. Globally, the pandemic was responsible for more than fifty million deaths. During the height of the scourge, more than 71,000 West Virginians contracted the contagion, although this number is considered vastly underreported due to the healthcare system's late response (mandatory reporting did not begin until well after Reinhart and the Van Metres were dead) and general difficulty of overwhelmed medical staff to keep proper records during the crisis.[5] Of all deaths occurring in the state during that fateful year of 1918, *twenty-five percent* are directly attributable to influenza.[6]

Not merely prevalence of the disease, but the visual shock of symptoms struck fear into communities. Victims' skin adopted bluish hues and mottled their complexion with dark splotches, evoking the "Black Death" phantoms of forgotten generations before.[7] Some medical staff noted this transformation rendered identification of victims' race impossible; in a world of rigid segregation, influenza did not discriminate.[8]

The eerie effect was due to lack of oxygen: patients struck by co-occurring pneumonia effectively suffocated from within as their lungs filled with a bloody, bubbly goo.[9] All this on top of common flu symptoms - fever, nausea, diarrhea, severe weakness, and intense aches and pains - made "Spanish Influenza" quite a monster.

Perhaps most chilling: Rather than attack the elderly or "high-risk" populations with preexisting health challenges in early twentieth-century America, this influenza struck healthy, strong adults in their twenties and thirties. This was a terrifying prospect that traumatized a generation. "[D]eath in the prime of manhood brings genuine grief to many."[10]

But according to the Charles Town newspapers, nothing was happening.

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5 Meador, Michael M. "The Influenza Epidemic of 1918." e-WV: The West Virginia Encyclopedia. October 5, 2017. Web. 12 June 2020; *Shepherdstown Register*, October 3 and 10, 1918.

6 Meador.

7 Knox, Richard. "1918 Killer Flu Reconstructed," National Public Radio, October 5, 2005. https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=4946718

8 John M. Barry's *The Great Influenza: The Story of the Deadliest Pandemic in History* recounts in detail the conditions observed by American doctors first responding to the outbreak in 1918. For summary of discoloration and other symptoms, see http://www.discoverymedicine.com/Benjamin-Yang/2009/07/14/book-summary-the-great-influenza-the-epic-story-of-the-deadliest-plague-in-history/

9 Knox.

10 *Shepherdstown Register*, October 10, 1918.

Speak No Evil

A search of the *Spirit of Jefferson* and *Farmer's Advocate* during 1918 reveals no commentary whatsoever regarding any local impact of influenza. No warnings were given pertaining to its symptoms or dangers. No advice was offered as to prevention. No cautionary tales printed of occurrences about the region, subtly suggesting that travel, perhaps, might have been better avoided. Nothing.

Does this mean influenza never struck here?

No. Silence, unfortunately, was not uncommon. President Woodrow Wilson himself offered zero statements about the health crisis, even as the contagion infected roughly one-third of the world population."[11]

Silence reigned – literally - as a matter of law.

The Great War had birthed severe restrictions on the freedom of the press. In the name of promoting patriotism and unity - and discouraging dissent, especially among potential soldiers - Congress passed what came to be known as the Sedition Act in May 1918 - just as the first, minor wave of influenza had concluded.[12] Threatening imprisonment of up to twenty years and a fine of up to $10,000, the act criminalized reports published to

> incite insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, or refusal of duty, in the military or naval forces of the United States, or [which] shall willfully obstruct . . . the recruiting or enlistment service of the United States, or . . . shall willfully utter, print, write, or publish any disloyal, profane, scurrilous, or abusive language about the form of government of the United States, or the Constitution of the United States, or the military or naval forces of the United States . . . . or shall willfully . . . urge, incite, or advocate any curtailment of production.

In layman's terms: the press could be punished severely for publishing any story that the government deemed detrimental to the war effort or morale.

And so, it was. By the fall of 1918, influenza had returned with a vengeance for its second wave. This period would prove the deadliest in America, claiming the bulk of its victims during this time. On September 27th, the *Jefferson County Union*, serving Fort Atkinson, Wisconsin (population ~4,900 in 1918), published an opinion piece on page seven of the newspaper, in which the author argued for adoption of a specific influenza treatment and decried the Surgeon General's refusal to do so. Also on page

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11 Martini, M et al. See also "1918 Pandemic (H1N1 Virus)", Centers for Disease Control & Prevention, https://www.cdc.gov/flu/pandemic-resources/1918-pandemic-h1n1.html

12 The "Sedition Act" of 1918 is another misnomer. The legislation was in fact an amendment to the Espionage Act of 1917, adding the language noted here, which was formally repealed in 1921. The original text can be found in The United States Statutes at Large, V. 40, Chapters 30 and 75 (April 1917-March 1919); viewable online at https://www.loc.gov/law/help/statutes-at-large/65th-congress.php.

seven appeared a three-paragraph notice of two locals falling ill to the disease, including a seaman at Great Lakes Naval Camp, where "the malady has already caused more than 100 deaths." Within days, the small-town newspaper was facing federal prosecution, spearheaded by the wrath of a U.S. Army general who claimed the influenza story had "depressed morale." Around the country, seventy-four newspapers lost mailing privileges as a result of similar censorship.[13]

Uncertain how much news might be considered unlawfully "depressing," most newspapers did not discuss much of influenza at all. The silence in Charles Town is thus understandable, even forgivable. But thankfully for the people of Jefferson County (and for historians today), another newspaper existed which determined to take up the challenge. The *Shepherdstown Register* assumed the risk and recorded influenza's toll on residents locally as well as those serving in the military. The *Register* never printed anything so daring as the opinion piece that had doomed the *Union*, but arguably any reporting on the mounting death tolls in the military facilities was risky.

The result of this reporting a century ago affords us a treasure trove of personal stories through which we can meet the victims, discover their stories, and honor the lives cut so short.

A Lost Generation

To tell a story of vast community death, we must first appreciate what defines a community's life. Think of the pretty main street in your town: favorite shops and cafes, the library, pristine churchyards, the sight of little children en route to school, and older students en route to college classrooms, and the instructors waiting to welcome them all. Think of the exquisite farms that have so long defined Jefferson County, and the acres of historic orchards filling the Shenandoah Valley, and the quarries and factories where so many of our neighbors work. Think, too, of the nuts and bolts essential to a modern existence: the telephone; the bus or train to help us commute; the courthouse where we conduct important business and look for order, protection; our news sources; our doctors.

Every item just enumerated was struck by influenza.

White. Black. Christian. Jewish. Academic. Barely literate. Immigrant. Ancient family. No community, and no facet of community life in Jefferson County escaped the scourge unscathed.

The contagion wiped out entire families, so that "there was no one left well enough to minister to those who were sick."[14] In some cases, entire neighborhoods were incapacitated. In Winebrenner's Crossroads, "almost every home in the neighborhood seemed to be affected, and there were

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13 Asp, David. "Espionage Act of 1917," *The First Amendment Encyclopedia*, https://www.mtsu.edu/first-amendment/article/1045/espionage-act-of-1917.

14 *Shepherdstown Register*, October 10, 1918.

scores of persons sick from disease."[15] Mothers were frequently attacked, while attempting to nurse ailing children and other relatives. Such was the case of Grace Prather, the mother of six. Five of her children were ill when their mother succumbed to the disease. As Mrs. Palmer's body "was being taken from the house to be brought to Shepherdstown for burial, her little three year old daughter expired."[16] Within a month, the twin sibling of that child would be dead of influenza as well.[17]

Industry Impacts

On the Van Metre farm, fifteen of the sixteen residents fell ill. Robert became sick on September 30, contracted pneumonia, and was dead in less than week - but not before the entirety of his family had also been taken ill. His wife Adelaide passed two days after him, leaving their children orphaned - and sick. Farmhands spread it amongst themselves and to their families; at least one of the tenant households saw more children left motherless by the disease.[18] Such horrors, sadly, were not unique to the orchard industry. Influenza's second, deadliest wave struck the orchards of the Shenandoah Valley at the peak of harvest time - at the precise moment workers from diverse neighborhoods were gathering and mingling together, optimizing the "perfect storm" for a contagion. In Kearneysville, "a large number of men from various sections had assembled at the various orchards in that locality to pick and pack apples, and scores of them became ill. In some cases there was much suffering because of the inability of physicians to visit promptly those who became ill."[19]

Other industries were hard-hit as well. The Bakerton lime plant could barely function "on account of so much sickness among the employees and their families."[20] Robert Shipley, who owned a popular restaurant and ice cream plant, struggled as his wife and three children suffered with the disease. Only Shipley and his "little son" were left standing to care for their dreadfully ill family and try to make sense of business.[21]

Essential Workers

Influenza drew the functions of regular life to nearly a stand-still. Telegraph operations were endangered as operators fell ill.[22] Telephone

15 *Shepherdstown Register*, October 10, 1918.
16 *Shepherdstown Register*, October 24, 1918.
17 *Shepherdstown Register*, November 14, 1918.
18 *Shepherdstown Register*, October 10, 1918.
19 *Shepherdstown Register*, October 10, 1918.
20 *Shepherdstown Register*, October 17, 1918.
21 *Shepherdstown Register*, October 17, 1918.
22 *The Picket*, March 1919. A special "Memorial Number" of the campus paper was published by the students of Shepherd College State Normal School. Among the influenza victims noted was Hurdle Kisamore, who attended Shepherd from 1913-1915, and then found

communication suffered severely, as the fledgling technology required an operator to manually connect callers. "Don't clog the telephone lines by making unnecessary calls during these trying days," chastened the *Register* on October 10th. "Of the seven telephone girls employed in the Charles Town exchange, six have been sick with the influenza this past week." Within days, at least one of these "girls" perished from the disease: Marie Young, remembered in her obituary as "a popular young telephone operator of Charles Town." She was 20 years old.[23]

Transportation was also hit hard. Shepherdstown bus driver John Reinhart, who operated a shuttle between his hometown and Hagerstown, fell victim on October 31st.[24] The business of the railroad was "conducted with some difficulty" due to so many workers out with influenza.[25] Of the 5,600 B&O employees centered at Cumberland, 3,500 became sick at once.[26] This echoed throughout the region's various railroads, including the Norfolk & Western in Shepherdstown. There the relief operator, Andrew Strode, was tasked to provide emergency staffing at the White Post, Virginia, station after its operator became ill. The resulting lack of staffing at Shepherdstown, especially overnight, necessitated schedule changes and the removal of "the third trick."[27] The greater sacrifice of this action: Strode himself was struck with influenza while performing his duties in Virginia.[28]

Medical workers, obviously, risked much in the performance of their duties. "The burden of caring for the hundreds of sick persons in Shepherdstown and vicinity fell upon Dr. Nathaniel Burwell," reported the *Register*. Of Shepherdstown's two other doctors, one was called away to care for a daughter who was ill, and the other himself fell victim to the illness. "Dr. Burwell was kept on his rounds day and night, being able to steal only a few rounds of sleep late at night, but he managed to give medical attention to all who really needed it. He has visited more than 200 patients in 24 hours."[29] Indeed, at one point Dr. Burwell reported treating 24 patients among three families alone.[30] Elsewhere in the county, Dr. C. C. Johnson of Duffields was noted sick, as was Dr. S. T. Knott of Moler's Crossroads.[31]

Volunteers tried to fill the widening gap. "Cities were divided into wards, each having a certain number of nurses and watchers, community kitchens were opened, and Red Cross workers gave themselves without stint, but in spite of all efforts the disease laid a heavy hand on the people everywhere."[32]

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employment as a telegraph operator. Kisamore died of influenza in Cumberland, Md., on October 16, 1918.

23 *Shepherdstown Register*, October 10, 1918.
24 *Shepherdstown Register*, October 24, 1918.
25 *Shepherdstown Register*, October 10, 1918.
26 *Shepherdstown Register*, October 17, 1918.
27 The "third trick" generally refers to a shift mechanism for train operations.
28 *Shepherdstown Register*, October 10, 1918.
29 *Shepherdstown Register*, October 10, 1918.
30 *Shepherdstown Register*, December 26, 1918.
31 *Shepherdstown Register*, October 24, 1918.
32 "An Old Time Plague and the Modern Influenza."

A former rector of Shepherdstown Trinity Episcopal Church was among the volunteers who helped care for the sick during the epidemic, and like so many others, paid the ultimate price for this service.[33]

Law and order were also impacted by the epidemic. By October 10th, the U.S. District Attorney from Charles Town was out sick.[34] On October 24th, the Jefferson County Circuit Court announced it was reducing services to a limited session. A substitute judge was appointed to oversee legal matters, as the original judge had fallen ill. The courthouse ultimately closed for several days at the end of October.[35] Fortunately, crime appeared to diminish as well, as thieves and loiterers seemed unwilling to bear new risks.

> Favorite and famous old loafing haunts presented a sad appearance of desertion, and even regular attendants who had no sick to care for seemed for the time to have found occupation elsewhere. . . . [T]hose who are always looking for valuable letters or packages on every train found it inconvenient to loiter about carefully, if not pleasantly, disinfected offices for the distribution of such mail.[36]

The *Register's* editor even noted with some satisfaction a reduction in traffic. "The depression caused by widespread influenza had effectually stopped joyriding."[37]

The *Shepherdstown Register* may have become the de facto voice for local influenza victims, but the news source did more than simply report. "The *Register* has been gotten out this week under difficulties," the paper confessed, explaining an especially jumbled edition released on October 10th. "John Hill, our linotype operator, has been ill all week with the influenza, and the editor has been so pressed with various duties that he has hardly been able to attend to regular business." Neighbors from other papers had to step in and help the press.

A review of the *Register's* coverage also reflects the rapid spread of the disease. When the *Register* released its weekly edition on October 3rd, it noted influenza "prevalent in almost every section" of the U.S., and cautioned that it was spreading fast in Martinsburg, where "it has materially affected the attendance in schools and caused a noticeable reduction in the employees of the mills and factories there." However, the paper stressed that no cases had yet been identified in Jefferson County. "So far as we

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33 *Shepherdstown Register*, June 5, 1919. Many victims of influenza endured long term suffering and medical complications following the initial bout with the disease; some influenza-related deaths occurred months after the height of the pandemic. The illness frequently weakened the body, leaving survivors severely compromised.

34 *Shepherdstown Register*, October 10, 1918.

35 *Shepherdstown Register*, October 24, 1918.

36 "An Old Time Plague and the Modern Influenza." Published in the Shepherd College *Picket*, "In Memorium," March 1919.

37 *Shepherdstown Register*, October 24, 1918.

know, the disease has not yet invaded our community, though it is reported that several persons have shown suspicious symptoms."

One week later, the headline was terrifying: "DEATH'S CALL COMES TO MANY: DEADLY INFLUENZA TAKES HEAVY TOLL ON OUR PEOPLE."

The October 10th paper is filled with conflicting statements and an apparent lack of editing care. The situation had evolved rapidly over the preceding week, striking staff and distracting the editor: a notice reports a person ill on one page while on another, in the very same edition, comes the report of same individual's death. The newspaper staff was clearly struggling to function.

Other local papers were devastated as well. By October 17th, "hundreds of deaths" were reported in Charles Town, and the situation was so dire that, whatever had stopped the county seat's two newspapers from publishing influenza stories previously, now neither of them could print any news whatsoever.

> Mr. Rissler, publisher of the *Advocate*, and his printing force were disabled and were unable to get the usual edition out last week [October 10th]. Mr. Haines, of the *Spirit of Jefferson*, was very sick, and will not be able to print his paper this week. We are glad to know that he is improving now.[38]

Closing Out Contagion

Jefferson County leadership acted quickly once the reality of the contagion was upon them. "Quarantine of one city against a neighboring city was tried here and there," noted a student at Shepherd College, "though not always with the best of feeling."[39] By October 10th, the mayor of Shepherdstown had ordered a halt to all public meetings. "Moving picture shows at the opera house discontinued," the *Register* reported. "On account of the epidemic of influenza there will be no service in any of the churches in Shepherdstown and vicinity on Sunday. There will be no sessions of the Sunday Schools, nor any public service of any sort." Indoor funerals at churches were also disallowed - and funerals were becoming tragically common. All schools were recommended to be closed, and Shepherd College voluntarily shuttered its doors as well - perhaps after learning of more than 150 influenza cases within West Virginia University in Morgantown.[40] Barbers were directed to "wear masks while at work or close their places of business. The barbers evidently doubted the becomingness of the masks, so they shut up shop

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38 *Shepherdstown Register*, October 17, 1918.

39 "An Old Time Plague and the Modern Influenza."

40 *Shepherdstown Register*, October 10, 1918.

and went to picking apples." In response to the barbershop closures, the *Register* quipped, "Some fine crops of whiskers are being raised by various and sundry of our citizens."[41]

Common, informal social interactions also changed. "Neighbors and friends for the period found no time to "run in" to each other's homes for a few minutes according to custom, and all interviews on the street were of short duration. There were those, too, who studiously avoided any conversation and a few wore neatly prepared asafetida bags about their necks and possibly in each shoe.[42]

The result of this public and private lockdown was a depressing silence, eerie and pervasive. "'Main streets' were empty of accustomed throngs on Saturday night," recalled a Shepherd student.[43] The *Register* further bemoaned:

> By order of the health authorities all stores close at 6 o'clock and no public meeting places are open. Main Street was dull and dark. Instead of the usual brightly-lighted stores filled with customers and the crowds on the streets and the numerous automobiles and other vehicles, the town was quiet and very few persons were abroad. Hardly any country folks were in town. It was a condition that has not been observed in this town since the days of the Civil War.[44]

Despite the dismal situation, an effort was made to rally citizens around the goal of self-preservation. "The people are urged to do their best to preserve the health of the community. . . .By using common sense and exercising care and forbearance we may escape the serious features of the pandemic."[45]

Academy Life and Death

The Shepherd College community was shaken both by the impact of the illness itself and the separation caused by extensive closures. Shuttering the doors in early October at the outset of the storm, the college finally proclaimed that "studies that were interrupted by the epidemic of influenza [would] be resumed" on November 11th.[46] An auspicious date: students were welcomed back to campus on the very day, thousands of miles away, that

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41 *Shepherdstown Register*, October 24, 1918.

42 "An Old Time Plague and the Modern Influenza." "Asafetida bags" were used in Appalachian folk medicine to ward off influenza and colds. The pungent asafetida herb was worn in a bag around the neck, not ingested, though it was often combined with a swallowed dose of Jerusalem oak - another plant medicine with potent odor. Some claimed the awful smells helped drive away germs. See Carr, Suzanne: "Old Time Cures," *Bittersweet Magazine*, Volume II, No. 2, Winter 1974.

43 "An Old Time Plague and the Modern Influenza."

44 *Shepherdstown Register*, October 24, 1918.

45 *Shepherdstown Register*, October 17, 1918.

46 *Shepherdstown Register*, November 7, 1918.

the Great War was deemed done. Imagine the sense of hope that must have pervaded the youthful crowd, as the two greatest threats to their lives - war and pestilence - seemed to have been conquered. Life returned to normal, and in December the college basketball team resumed travel games.[47] With similar fanfare the Shepherdstown stores returned to life. Having "been closed at night for about a month on account of the influenza, [the shops] were lighted up last Saturday night as usual, and the town presented a much more cheerful aspect."[48]

However, while the battlefields of Europe may have quieted, Jefferson County's fight with influenza was far from finished. A week after their out-of-town game, six members of the college basketball team fell ill, and the disease soon claimed the life of the team's faculty manager.[49] Shepherd College was forced to close again.[50] The college town approached the winter holidays with unnatural bleakness.

> [1918] was perhaps the most quiet Christmas our town has ever known. A large number of our people have been sick with the influenza, and those who escaped it have been more or less depressed and by no means in the mood for merrymaking. The usual Christmas entertainments were abandoned, there have been no parties such as generally are held in holiday times, and aside from quiet family gatherings the week is a very dull and lifeless one. Perhaps we can all celebrate with special fervor next Christmas.

However, when the college doors at last reopened on January 21st, "almost all the old students came back, determined to make the best of the situation. Each one seemed willing and eager to make up the time lost" - more than eight weeks - "by intense application and hard study. . . .Indeed all the school seems to have taken on new life at the advent of spring."[51]

Despite these hopeful aspirations, influenza had left a deep scar across campus. "During the year we have learned with deep regret of the death of many of our alumni and former students," the student newspaper solemnly announced in a special *Memorium* edition released that spring. Among the victims: Shepherd's vice principal.

> On New Year's Day, 1919, we were grieved to learn that Prof. Walter McGarry Duke, first assistant and teacher of modern languages at Shepherd College, had passed away at his home in Shepherdstown, at 6:30 in the morning. Many of our students were then at their homes in the more distant counties, school having been closed at

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47 "Athletics." The Picket, March 1919.
48 *Shepherdstown Register*, November 14, 1918.
49 "Athletics." *The Picket*, March 1919.
50 *Shepherdstown Register*, January 16, 1919.
51 "Convalescing from Flu and War." *The Picket*, May 1919.

> the dreadful outbreak of influenza two weeks before, and had not been prepared for the sad news. . . .
>
> At the time school work was suspended, Mr. Duke spoke of feeling ill but did not associate his complaints with the influenza. In the course of about two days, however, there was no doubt about the symptoms. . . .Instead of mirth and cheer on Christmas Day, distress had come to the family, for by this time [his] children had all contracted the disease and the various complications of influenza had begun to cause considerable apprehension as to Mr. Duke's recovery. From this time his condition became gradually worse until the day of his death, when a whole town and community which had felt the deepest solicitude during the days just past suddenly paused in silent and sad respect to a man generally loved and respected.[52]

The March *Memorium* noted at least 15 former students dead of influenza, with suggestion that influenza and its fatal companion, pneumonia, may be responsible for more. Many of the victims had died while serving in the military; only one Shepherd soldier was identified as dying of wounds alone.

War and Pestilence

Influenza killed more American soldiers during World War I than bullets or chemical bombs. Many of these deaths occurred in army training camps *in the United States*; the soldiers never even made it to the front lines. The situation was so extreme that WVU's Student Army Training Corps furloughed 700 members, requesting they go "home for a week, maybe longer."[53]

This reality was felt among Jefferson County families as well. As early as October 3rd - when the *Register* was still reporting no local cases - it announced that influenza has invaded many army cantonments in the United States, where thousands of soldiers are down with the disease, and a considerable number of deaths have resulted."[54] Camp Meade, in Maryland, was home to a large number of West Virginia Soldiers - and thousands of influenza cases. On October 7th, 78 deaths were recorded at this single cantonment, with nearly 300 new influenza patients and 255 cases of pneumonia identified.[55]

A particular danger of the cantonment camps was the military's practice of transferring men between them on a frequent basis, thereby increasing the

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52 *The Picket*, March 1919.
53 *Shepherdstown Register*, October 10, 1918.
54 *Shepherdstown Register*, October 3, 1918.
55 *Shepherdstown Register*, October 10, 1918.

opportunity for the disease to spread to new populations.[56] Henry Clapham, a 1915 Shepherd College graduate, was among a group of Jefferson County men selected for tank corps training at Camp Colt, Gettysburg. Clapham had enlisted in July 1918 and originally attended the Army Training School at Richmond, where he believed himself ill with a "bad cold." Clapham initially felt he had recovered, but after transferring to Gettysburg, he was diagnosed with influenza and double pneumonia. He died within a week of diagnosis.[57]

On other occasions, soldiers were sent home on furlough and carried the disease with them as an unsavory souvenir. Though they may have been healthy on departure, the railroad journey itself afforded ample opportunity for catching the contagion.[58] Jefferson County's Hendricks Byers was among these. After traveling from Camp Lee, Virginia, to his home in Sandy Ridge, he was quickly noted to be ill with influenza.[59]

Even retrieving a loved one's body for burial could be dangerous. Seymour Cloud, a 29-year-old soldier from Sandy Hook - just across the river from Harpers Ferry - died of influenza at Camp Grant, Illinois. He had only been at the camp a month. On the day Cloud's body was collected for the journey home, "twenty-five corpses were taken from the camp. The influenza had swept through the ranks with disastrous results."[60]

Remembering

One might say without exaggeration that apart from the Civil War and the long saga of enslavement, no chapter of history carved so much enduring trauma into Jefferson County families - slashed so fully across the community's soul - as the influenza of 1918-1919. Every aspect of life was impacted - in nearly every life. "Few families were fortunate enough to pass through the dreadful months without the loss of someone dear to them by ties of blood, love, marriage, or intimate friendship. But bigger hearts were developed, greater opportunities of service to others were recognized, and a community consciousness of grief and loss appeared . . . ."[61]

It is impossible to fathom what the world might have been without the sudden, shocking loss of so many young people who had yet begun to live. We do not know how their voices may have guided us, or what decisions we might have made differently, or what inventions and pastimes and solutions we might have enjoyed, had the fullness of the generation been permitted to exist.

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56 Byerly, Carol. "The U.S. Military and the Influenza Pandemic of 1918-1919," *Public Health Reports*, 125(3_suppl), 81–91. https://doi.org/10.1177/00333549101250S311

57 *Shepherdstown Register*, October 10, 1918.

58 Byerly.

59 *Shepherdstown Register*, October 10, 1918.

60 *Shepherdstown Register*, October 10, 1918.

61 "An Old Time Plague and the Modern Influenza."

Hidden between memorials of other generations, this shadowed loss stands epic yet silent, begging to be remembered.

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THE WASHINGTONS OF CEDAR LAWN

M. S. Doug Bedinger



Photograph of Cedar Lawn by Robert J. Asbury

Recollections of Cedar Lawn

Do you remember all the merry laughter,
The voices round the swing in our old garden;
The dog that when we ran still followed after
The teasing frolic, sure of speedy pardon?
We were but children then, young, happy creatures
And hardly knew how much we had to lose;
But now the dream like memory of those features
Comes back and bids my destin'd spirit's muse.
Do you remember them?

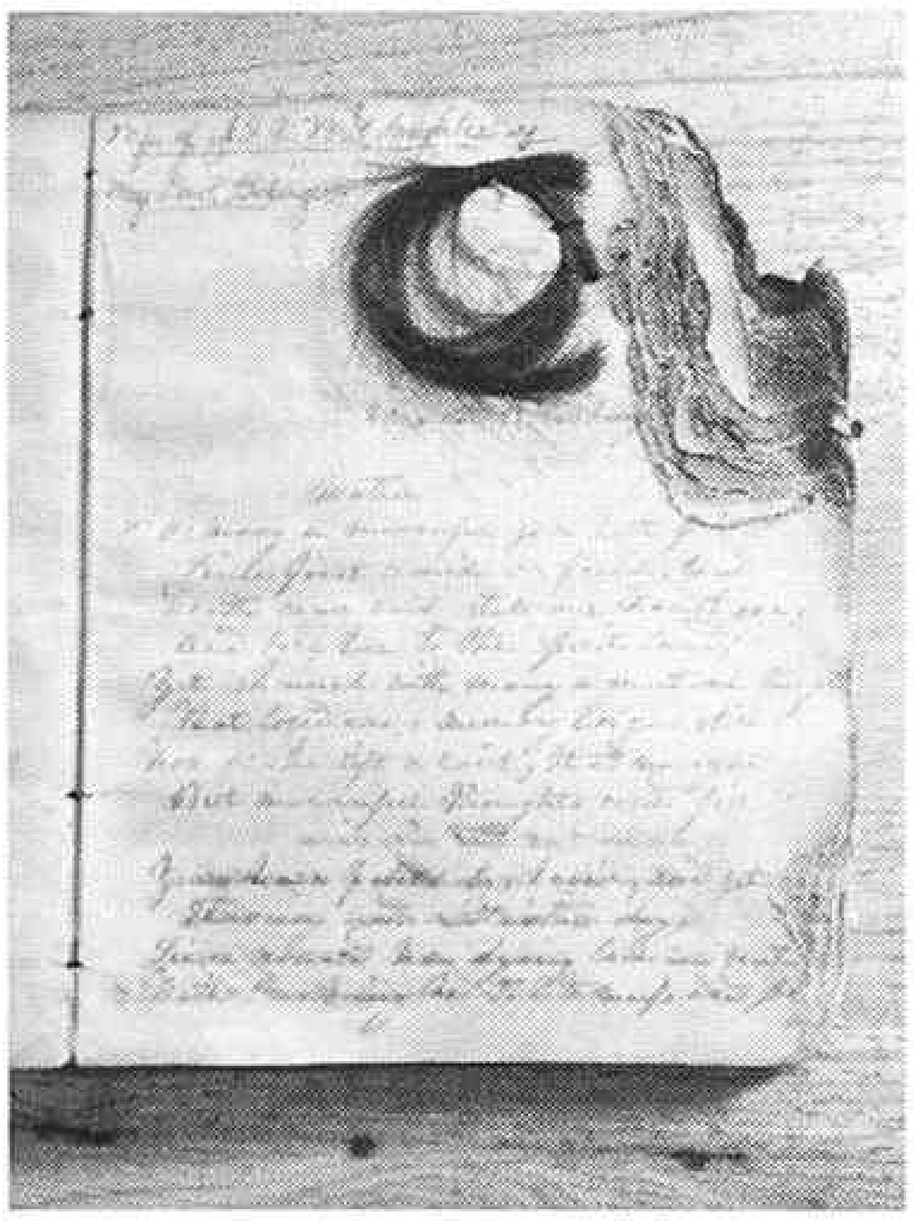
Sallie
[Sarah Eleanor Washington]

Foreword

This is the story of the Washington family of Cedar Lawn. This large and close-knit family was tumultuously tossed by historical, cultural and unexpected vicissitufdes of life. In an interview in 2002, John A. Washington remarked that the Washington family of Cedar Lawn had been numerous until the 1850s, when the family all moved away from Jefferson County. The intention here is to present a narrative history of the family members, their relationships while living at Cedar Lawn. In 1855, fourteen years after the death of the father, John T. A. Washington, the youngest child had reached her majority and the magnificent Cedar Lawn

estate was sold. The proceeds were divided among the living offspring. In testimony to the closeness of the family, eight siblings, three unmarried and five with spouses and children, migrated as a colony to western Missouri. Only two of the living siblings did not join the colony in Missouri. One, Benjamin Franklin Washington, who had been designated the executor of the estate, was an established newspaper editor in San Francisco, California. B. F. Washington returned to Cedar Lawn to administer apportionment of the property to the heirs. The other, Thornton A. Washington, was a lieutenant serving in the U. S. Army, stationed in the Texas frontier.

Sallie's Book of Memories



In my family's possession is a scrap book. Its age, 167 years, is evident; the binding is loose and parts of pages are frayed and lost. The book was created by Sarah (Sallie) Eleanor Washington of the Cedar Lawn family, in which she wrote poems and attached locks of hair. The poems are Sallie's poignant memories of family members and their lives at Cedar Lawn. An underlying theme of her poems is the death of her parents and siblings, and loss of other siblings seeking adventure, careers and marriage. She expresses her forebodings of the impending loss of their Cedar Lawn home. The poems were written between 1852, when the earliest poems are dated, and 1855, when the Washingtons left Cedar Lawn.

Origin and Provenance of Cedar Lawn

The property that was to become the Cedar Lawn estate was originally part of the Harewood estate of Colonel Samuel Washington. The Harewood mansion is about three miles west of Charlestown, Jefferson County, Virginia (now West Virginia). Samuel Washington left the property to his oldest son Thornton Washington, who made the property his home, building a large log and plank house, naming it Berry Hill[1] in honor of his wife Mildred Berry whose childhood home on the Rappahannock had been Berry Plain. Berry Hill, years later was to become Cedar Lawn estate. Berry Hill was deeded to Thornton Washington by the will of his father in 1781 by which transfer Thornton was obligated a debt of 7,000 pounds. At

1 Berry Hill was termed Berry's Hill in early accounts, notably by John Walter Wayland in his 1873 book, "The Washingtons and Their Homes," Virginia Book Co., Berryville, Va., 385 p., pp. 239-240.

his death, Colonel Washington was still indebted to his brother General George Washington, from whom he had purchased the property. The title of the Berry Hill estate was made free and clear of debt eighteen years later by the generosity of George Washington, in whose will the debts on the property were exonerated. At the time of George Washington's death, both Colonel Samuel Washington and Thornton Washington were dead and possession of Berry Hill had come by inheritance to Thornton's son John Thornton Augustine Washington.

Progenitors of Cedar Lawn

John Thornton Augustine Washington – John T. A. Washington[2] was born May 20, 1783, was left an orphan at the age of four and inherited his mother's place. He also inherited, as an heir of his father, 600 acres of extremely rich river bottom land in the Great Kanawha Valley, near Buffalo, Mason County, Virginia (now Putnam County, West Virginia). Putnam is situated about 20 miles above the junction of the Kanawha River with the Ohio River. John T. A. Washington made his home at Berry Hill, his father's home place, described as a commodious frame building for those early days. His brother, Lawrence Berry, of Berry Plain, King George County, Virginia, became his guardian and brought him from Jefferson County to his own home. He was educated at the old Bowling Green Academy in King George County. He remained with his uncle until old enough to assume control of the handsome landed estate he inherited from his father, Thornton Washington. Besides a considerable number of slaves and other personal property his inheritance consisted of two valuable plantations or farms as they were called. One of them, Berry Hill the home place of his father adjoining the old Harewood place. The other, situated about three miles south of the former on Bullskin Run, known as the Bullskin.

Father

And he before whose glances
Pale sorrow fled,
Whose soul was the home of all things bright
Sleeps with the dead.
How many eyes did the welcome night
Of his smile rejoice!
How many hearts listened with fond delight
To this kindly voice!
It is hushed, and those hearts
Beat as light
As the grass that grows over his silent grave.

Sallie

In 1810 John T. A. Washington married Elizabeth Conrad Bedinger, daughter of Daniel Bedinger and Sarah Rutherford of nearby Shepherdstown, Virginia. Nine children were born at Berry Hill before the log and plank structure was destroyed by fire in about 1824. The new mansion, built in 1825-1828 is situated on a hill commanding a southeast view. The design of the structure by John T. A. Washington is both spacious and attractive in appearance. Its construction was of brick, fired on the home site, in the best style of country residences of the period.

2 Washington, Thornton Augustine, 1891, A Genealogical History of the Washington Family in America: Press of McGill and Wallace, Washington, D. C., 71 p., pp. 23-24.

The entrance, with its high columned portico, opens into a wide hall across the whole front of the house, with a fine staircase leading to the second floor. The flowing space of the home is continued on the side opposite the entrance with three rooms which can be thrown together for entertaining. The dining room, kitchen, office and servants' rooms are in the single wing on the side. The surrounding improvements of its parklike lawn and ornamentation were excelled by those of few residences in the valley. The new home, named Cedar Lawn, was occupied by the family in 1829, when, Mildred Berry Washington [II] was born. Three more children were born to the Washingtons at Cedar Lawn.

John T.A. Washington was a man averse to public and political life, preferring the quiet and more congenial occupation of a country gentleman. He was, however, a member of the House of Delegates from Jefferson County in the session Nov. 29, 1824 – Feb. 18, 1825,[3] having been unanimously elected irrespective of party. He declined re-election for reasons given above. He was also at one time Chief Magistrate for his county and by virtue of which received the appointment of High Sheriff and which, as was customary in those days, was "farmed out" to a deputy, who rode under him. He was also a volunteer in the war of 1812, being a private in a cavalry company commanded by Captain Henry St. George Tucker. The command of this company had been offered to John T. A., by whom it was declined. John T. A. was an officer in the Charlestown chapter of the American Colonization Society, founded in 1816, with the mission of removing free African Americans and freed enslaved individuals in preparation for colonizing Liberia.

In 1840, less than three years after the death of his wife, probably sensing his own worsening health issues, John T. A. Washington prepared for the division of his estate among his heirs. His will reflects a sensitive and protective concern for his younger children. He provided that the Cedar Lawn be kept intact and in possession of his heirs to provide for the younger children until the youngest reached the age of 18 years, at which time the estate would be sold and the property divided equally among the surviving children. His son, Benjamin Franklin Washington, at the age of 20, was appointed executor of the estate and guardian of the minor children.[4] John Thornton Augustine Washington died at Cedar Lawn, Jefferson County, Virginia, Oct. 7, 1841 in his 57th year, having had a longer life than his father and grandfather.[5]

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3 Swem, Earl G. and Williams, John W., 1918, A Register of the General Assembly of Virginia 1776-1918 and of the Constitutional Conventions, Richmond [Virginia], 450 p., pp. 114, 291, 442.

4 Washington, John T. A., Jefferson County Will Book 10, pp. 13-15.

5 Washington, Thornton Augustine, 1891, A Genealogical History of the Washington Family in America: Press of McGill and Wallace, Washington, D. C., 71 p., pp. 23-24.

The poem dedicated to her father, John T. A. Washington, is written in Sallie's book beneath a lock of dark brown hair with one visible gray strand.

Elizabeth Conrad Bedinger – Elizabeth Conrad Bedinger was the second of thirteen children of Daniel Bedinger and Sarah Rutherford of nearby Shepherdstown, Jefferson County, Virginia and now West Virginia. She was born 27 September 1793 in Norfolk, Virginia where her father was then with the Custom House. At the age of 16, Elizabeth married John T. A. Washington at the residence of the bride's father. Henrietta (Bedinger) Lee, her youngest sister, noted that she was at the early age of 16 scarcely out of the nursery, but the parents consented and the sacrifice was made. Henrietta, writing of her many years after her death, "She left a large family – some of which are still living but not in Virginia and the beautiful hospitable home has passed into the hands of strangers. All broken is the household chain, and its links are scattered."[6]

Mother

O! Many a wonderful year hath flown
Since first amid our family-band
Death came and stole our dearest one,
And bore her to the spirit land;
Yet shrined with many a sweet sad thought
That loved one's memory lingers still,
Fear o! she left a void, that naught
But mournful thoughts could fill.
Years have passed by, and yet
It only seems the other day,
Since round her dying bed we met
With breaking hearts to weep and pray.

Sallie

Henrietta wrote after Elizabeth's death that she had everything to make her attractive and beloved, intelligent, sprightly, and bright-witted, as well as being a fine musician. She was beloved by all who knew her. Henrietta continuing, wrote, "She was a member of Christ - a child of God and (is now) an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven."[7]

Among Elizabeth's brothers and sisters were excellent poets, artists and writers, as was her father. Elizabeth, was herself a musician and passed her artistic talent to her offspring and succeeding generations. It has been surmised that the artistic talents of the Bedingers were inherited through their von Schlegel and Rutherford ancestors. The von Schlegel family is noted for poetry composition through the generations, the stellar accomplishments of the brothers August Wilhelm and Friedrich von Schlegel, romanticists of German literature, and the paintings of the renowned Lucas Cranach.[8] The Rutherford family brings to descendants of the Cedar Lawn Washingtons genetic inheritance of none other than the Scottish poet Sir Walter Scott, whose mother was a Rutherford.[9]

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6 Bedinger and Dandridge Family Papers, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

7 Ibid.

8 Von Frank, Karl Friedrich, The Schlegel Von Gottleben Family in Germany, 1967, Translated by George A. Bingley and William B. Marye, Publisher A. Russell Slagle, Baltimore, Maryland, 73 p.

9 Rutherford, W. K., and Rutherford A. C., 1969, Genealogical History of the Rutherford Family, Vol. I, Intercolle-giate Press, Shawnee Mission, Kansas.

Elizabeth Conrad Bedinger Washington died October 27, 1837 following a long illness of tuberculosis compounded by thirteen pregnancies and an accident she had suffered.[10] She was buried by the side of her husband in the Washington family burying ground at Harewood.

Progeny

1 Lawrence Berry Washington 1811-1856

2 Daniel Bedinger Washington 1814-1887
married Lucy Anna Washington 1811-1885

3 Virginia Thornton Washington 1816-1833

4 Sarah (Sallie) Eleanor Washington 1818-1858

5 Benjamin Franklin Washington 1820-1872
married Georgianna Hite Ranson 1828-1866

6 George Anna Augusta Washington 1822-1895
married John Wheeler Smith 1825 – 1892

7 Mary Elizabeth Washington 1824-1898
married Squire Asbury 1821-1896

8 Thornton Augustin Washington 1826-1894
married Olive Ann Jones 1839-1922

9 Mildred Berry Washington [I] 1827-1827

10 Mildred Berry Washington [II] 1829-1871
married Solomon Singleton Bedinger 1828 – 1873

11 George Washington 1830-1890
married Mary Virginia Dempsey 1844-1931

12 Susan Ellsworth Washington 1833-1893
married Henry Clay Bedinger 1832-1908

13 Henrietta Gray Washington 1835-1838

Lawrence Berry Washington – Lawrence Berry Washington the oldest of the thirteen children was born at Berry Hill November 26, 1811. He was educated, as were most of his siblings at Charlestown Academy and by private tutors at home. He was never married; he was a lawyer by profession. He wrote and published a novel; he was a poet and an artist.[11] He was a life-long adventurer, a soldier of fortune, who seemed to have never been at rest.

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10 Tuberculosis has been called "the scourge of the Washingtons and Bedingers." Among those afflicted by the disease, causing untimely deaths, is believed to have been Samuel Washington, Thornton Washington, Daniel Bedinger and his son Dr. Daniel Bedinger.

11 Washington, Thornton Augustine, 1891, A Genealogical History of the Washington Family in America: Press of McGill and Wallace, Washington, D. C., 71 p.

Lawrence, in 1828, at the age of seventeen aspiring for a career in the military, applied for admittance to the U. S. Military Academy. Letters of recommendation for Lawrence were submitted to the Honorable Peter B. Porter, Secretary of War, by his father and by grand uncle Major Henry Bedinger of Protumna, Berkeley Co. Virginia. Not receiving an appointment, Lawrence re-applied for admission to West Point in 1829, but again was not chosen. He continued his education in pursuit of a law degree.

We have a glimpse of Lawrence B. in 1833 and his association with his young friends in Shepherdstown and Charlestown from a diary of Henry Bedinger III, who was Lawrence's uncle, but two years younger than Lawrence.[12] Henry Bedinger III, was living at Bedford in Shepherdstown, studying and reading law in preparation for his bar exam. Lawrence may also have been studying for the law at this time. Another insight into Lawrence's social life at that time is believed mirrored in the Lawrence's novel, "A Tale to be told some Fifty Years Hence."[13]

Later in the 1830's Lawrence undertook an expedition to the Great Kanawha Valley west of the Appalachian Mountains then in Virginia, now West Virginia, to inspect some 640 acres of land owned by his father. Lawrence took with him to the Kanawha an enslaved man belonging to his father. He returned to Cedar Lawn, in a sense as a prodigal son, without the enslaved man having apparently sold him. His father took no known punitive action on Lawrence's return, nevertheless he adjudicated the matter by reducing Lawrence's legacy by a commensurate amount in his will.[14] Lawrence again returned to the Kanawha Valley in 1844 after his father had willed land in the valley to Lawrence and two of his brothers. Lawrence established a law office in Buffalo, Putnam Co. and advertised the land for sale. The ad placed in the Spirit of Jefferson, Charlestown, Virginia, was written as an appeal to people in eastern Virginia in search of fertile lands for crops and grazing and seeking to better their condition and establish a home in new country and yet in their beloved Old Dominion. Interested parties were directed to the law offices of Lawrence B. Washington in Buffalo or Benjamin F. Washington in Charlestown.[15]

In November 18, 1846, when Governor William Smith of Virginia appealed for volunteer companies for the War with Mexico, Lawrence Berry Washington readily volunteered, enlisting at Jefferson County December 6, 1846.[16] He felt this was his opportunity to become a part of the U. S.

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12 Journal of a Law Student in Bedinger and Dandridge Family Papers, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina. The journal can also be found on the internet: www@bedinger.org

13 Washington, Lawrence Berry, 1853, A Tale to be Told Some Fifty Years Hence, John Murphy & Co., 178 Market Street, Baltimore.

14 Washington, John T. A., Jefferson County Will Book 10, pp. 13-15

15 Spirit of Jefferson. (Charlestown, Va.) 1844-1948, November 08, 1844, Image 4, link: http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov./lccn/sn84026788/1844-11-08/ed-1/seq-4/

16 Johnson, William Page II, 2006, Off to War, Heritage Books, Westminster, Maryland, 460 p., p. 300.

military, a dream he had harbored since a youth when he applied for an appointment to the U.S. Military Academy. Lawrence was elected first second lieutenant of the First Virginia Regiment. The Company departed for Mexico with enthusiastic well-wishers in Charlestown and Richmond sending the company off to war. The *Richmond Enquirer* noted that Second Lieutenant Washington was proudly wearing the sword of his illustrious uncle, General George Washington.[17] Lieutenant Washington was not reticent about declaring his relationship to the famous General. This article attracted widespread attention and was picked and reprinted by numerous newspapers from New Orleans to Baltimore, including *The Times-Picayune* (New Orleans) and *The Sun* (Baltimore, Maryland).[18]

Lieutenant Washington was a recruiter in Virginia for the Virginia Company after serving in northern Mexico. The Virginia Volunteers of Captain Rowan's Company in Mexico returned home the first week in August. The Mexican War concluded with the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe in February, 1848; Lieutenant L. B. Washington and the members of the First Virginia Regiment of Volunteers were honorably discharged. May 7, 1848, Lieutenant Washington sent a letter to U. S. Secretary of War, William L. Marcy, offering to raise a company of troops to fight Mexican forces in Oregon or elsewhere on the condition that he be granted a captaincy.[19]

Lieutenant Lawrence Berry Washington, the adventurer and soldier of fortune, had barely returned from the Mexican-American War, when he joined the Charlestown Virginia Mining Company. Upon reaching California, he was uninterested in joining his fellow Virginians and panning for gold. He expressed his thoughts in a letter to his friend Frederick Briscoe in Charlestown, "As for myself'," he wrote "I always thought I could do better in a company by myself."[20] In October, 1849 he obtained passage on a boat from San Francisco to Monterrey, the seat of the territorial government, where he sought Major General Bennet Riley, military governor of California. He presented his credentials and, fortunately, was straight away given a job at $100 per month. The timing was fortunate for he tells Briscoe he had but one quarter dollar in his purse at the time.

In Sallie Eleanor's book, there is no poem written for Lawrence, but beneath a dark brown lock of Lawrence Berry Washington's hair is inscribed "A Wandering Jew."

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17 Richmond Enquirer, Thursday, January 7, 1847.

18 The Times-Picayune (New Orleans, Louisiana), Wednesday, January 29, 1847 and The Sun (Baltimore, Maryland), Wednesday January 20, 1847.

19 Washington, Lawrence Berry, 1848, Letter from Lawrence Berry Washington, Fortress Monroe, Va. to Will L. Marcy, ALS, May 7, 1848, WorldCat, OCLC 122466373 (https://worldcat.org/ococ/122466373)

20 Perks, Douglas P., 2007, Ho, for California! The Charlestown Virginia Mining Company: The Magazine of the Jefferson County Historical Society, Vol. LXXIII, December 2007, pp. 16-23.

Daniel Bedinger Washington – Daniel Bedinger Washington, born February 14, 1814 at Berry Hill, was the second child of John T. A. and Elizabeth Conrad Washington. Daniel B. married his cousin, Lucy Ann (Washington) Wharton, widow of Dr. James Wharton of Newport, Kentucky, Oct 22, 1843. Lucy Ann Washington was the granddaughter of Thornton Washington by his second wife Frances Townsend Washington; Daniel B. Washington was a grandson of Thornton Washington by his first wife, Mildred Berry. Daniel B. Washington's first child was born in 1844 at Cedar Lawn. Daniel and his family moved to the Great Kanawha Valley of Virginia, now West Virginia, in 1846 where he had inherited 200 acres of fertile valley farmland from his father. He wrote and edited political newspapers and farmed the bottomland. In 1848, when Putnam County, Virginia was created, he was selected to be the first commissioner of revenue for the county.[21, 22] Daniel B. Washington was an unsuccessful candidate for Congress in the twelfth district of Virginia in 1855. In his address announcing his candidacy, he declared he was a Democrat and denounced Know-Nothingism.[23, 24] By 1856 three children had been born to Daniel and Lucy Ann and they were well established in Putnam Co. Nevertheless, in 1855 with the sale of the Cedar Lawn estate, he and his family joined his siblings in their migration to Missouri.



Daniel Bedinger Washington

21 [no authorship], 1891, History of The Great Kanawha Valley, vol. II, Brant fuller & Co., Madison, Wis., 307 p., p. 285.

22 When the County of Putnam was created in 1848 a cousin of Daniel B. Washington, namely Lawrence Augustine Washington, was selected as one of the county justices. Daniel B. was a great grandson of Samuel Washington; Lawrence A. was a grandson of Samuel Washington. Samuel Washington's heirs inherited land in the Kanawha Valley from his brother General George Washington. Washington presumably was awarded the land for his ser-vice as a surveyor and later for his service during the French and Indian War. General George Washington led early surveying parties in the Kanawha Valley. The "schedule of property" in the Last will and Testament of George Washington lists 23,341 acres in the Great Kanawha. These lands were divided by the deed of partition entered into by the heirs in 1805. This partition of land we presume is the origin of the ownership by John T. A. Washington of 600 acres of land in the Great Kanawha Valley who in turn partitioned the land into three equal tracts which he bequeathed to his sons, Daniel Bedinger, Lawrence Berry and Thornton Augustin.

23 Daily American Organ (Washington, District of Columbia) 21 March 1855, p. 2.

24 The Times Picayune (New Orleans, Louisiana), 23 March 1855, p. 2.

As were many of his siblings, Daniel was given to writing poetry.

Bachelor's Song

I've been in love some fifty time –
Perhaps with fifty minxes –
From ladies like the mermaidens
To ladies like the sphinxes
...But still I am a bachelor,
Now living snug and quiet,
Except when with my cats and dogs
I raise a thundering riot.
I think no more of tender sighs,
Nor make myself look thinner,
But all my love and sentiment
I lavish on my dinner.

Virginia Thornton Washington

Virginia Thornton Washington

Thy faults were slight and [small]
As human faults could be,
And thy virtues were as many too
As gems beneath the sea;
And thy thoughts did heavenward roam
Until, like links of gold,
They drew thee up to thy blue home
Within the Savior's fold.

Sallie

– Virginia Thornton Washington, the first daughter was born May 22, 1816 at Berry Hill. Virginia Thornton was a devout member of the Protestant Episcopal Church; had a fine education and great force of character. After the death of her mother in 1837, she took charge of the domestic affairs of the home and the moral and educational training of the younger members of the family until she died in 1838 at the age of 25 years.[25] Beneath a lock of hair in Sallie's book is a poem written in the memory of Virginia T. Washington. There follows three and one-half pages of prose about the character of Virginia and her devotion to caring for her younger siblings after their mother died. This may have been written by Harris Morrison whose name appears immediately below the prose. Morrison was obviously a good friend and possibly a beau of Virginia.

Virginia Thornton Washington died in 1838 at the age of 25. By 1841, with the deaths of both parents and three daughters, Virginia Thornton, Mildred Berry [I], and Henrietta Gray, the Cedar Lawn Washingtons were 10 children ranging in ages from 8 to 30 years. The children included five sons, Lawrence Berry, Daniel Bedinger, Benjamin Franklin, Thornton Augustin, and George. There were five daughters, Sallie Eleanor, George Anna, Mary Elizabeth, Mildred Berry and Susan Ellsworth, ranging in age from 8 to 23 years.

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25 Washington, Thornton Augustine, 1891, A Genealogical History of the Washington Family in America: Press of McGill and Wallace, Washington, D. C., 71 p., p. 30.

Sarah (Sallie) Eleanor Washington – Sarah (Sallie) Eleanor Washington the second oldest daughter was born April 7, 1818 at Berry Hill. Beneath a lock of her light brown hair, Sallie penned a verse, "My Wish."

My Wish

Yet oft a sigh prevails, and sorrow fall,
To me the hoard of kinsman bless so small;
And oft I wish amidst the scene to find
Some spot to real happiness consign, [ ],
Where my worn soul, each wand'ring hope at rest
May gather bliss to see my fellows blest.
But where to find that happiest spot below
Who can direct when all pretend to know.

Sallie

After the death of Virginia Thornton, the care upbringing of the younger daughters rested mostly upon Sallie. With the deaths of her parents and older sister and the departure of her older brother, Sallie's forebodings about her future, the welfare of her younger siblings, and the looming loss of their beloved home Cedar Lawn, Sallie's despair deepened. Sallie expressed her sadness in poetry. In 1849, Benjamin Franklin Washington formed the Charlestown Mining Company, subscribing some 85 young men to make an expedition to the California gold fields. Lawrence Berry Washington who had served as a lieutenant during the War with Mexico joined the mining company. Daniel Bedinger Washington and his family were living in the Great Kanawha Valley, Putnam Co., Virginia. Thornton Augustine Washington had graduated from the U. S. Military Academy, West Point in 1849 and was serving in the Army in the extreme west. Sallie wrote of the scattering of her siblings and pleas for her brothers to come home.

We Are Scatter'd

We are scatter'd – We are scatter'd
Through a merry band were [we]
Some sleep beneath the grave
And some are o'er the sea
And time that wrought his [pain]
On the few who yet remain
The joyous band that once we [were]
We cannot be again!

We are scatter'd – We are scatter'd –
Yet may we meet again
In a brighter and purer sphere,
Beyond the reach of pain!
Where the shadows of this lower [world]
Can never cloud the eye –
Where the mortal hath put bright[ness on]
Its immortality!

Sallie

My Brothers

Come home, there is a sorrowing breast
In mine since ye went;
And the early flower-scents wander by
With mournful memories blent;
The sounds of every household voice
Are grown more sad and deep,
And the sweet word, Brothers,
makes a [heart]
To turn aside and weep.
Oh, ye beloved, come home! The hour
Of many a greeting tone,
The time of heart-light and of song
Returns and ye are gone!
And darkly, heavily it falls
On the forsaken room.
Burdening the heart with tenderness,
And deepens midst the gloom.

[a stanza partially readable]

Come with the leaves and winds of spring,
And swift bird over the main!
Our love is grown too sorrowful-
Bring us its youth again!
Bring the glad tones to [us] back-
Still, still your home is fair,
The spirit of your [sunny] life
Alone is wanting there!

Sallie
Cedar Lawn.
Jan 29th 1852

In Sallie's book, there follows five-stanza poem written at Cedar Lawn Jan 30th 1852. Entitled "Recollections," the poem is a collection of happy family days at Cedar Lawn, a decided turn from the somber thoughts expressed in many of Sallie's poems. This poem appears on the first page of this account.



Benjamin Franklin Washington

Benjamin Franklin Washington – Benjamin Franklin Washington was born April 7, 1820 at Berry Hill, Jefferson Co., Virginia, the fifth child and third son of John T. A. and Elizabeth C. (Bedinger) Washington. He was educated at the Charlestown Academy in Charlestown, Virginia and William and Mary College, Williamsburg, Virginia. Benjamin studied law in about 1840 with Joseph E. N. Lewis. In 1844, Benjamin F. was practicing law in Charlestown.[26] In August 1845 William Lucas issued notice that he had taken on Benjamin Franklin Washington as his junior law partner in Charlestown.[27] William Lucas was the husband of B. F. Washington's aunt, Virginia Thornton Bedinger. By the will of his father Benjamin Franklin was appointed executor of the estate and guardian of his younger siblings. Benjamin Franklin, was to receive his inheritance when the younger children reached their majority and the estate was divided among the heirs. Benjamin took an early interest in public affairs participating in a Military, Temperance, Sabbath School, and Civic Procession in 1843. He was chosen Vice President of the Charlestown Lyceum in 1844.[28] He was appointed secretary of the Charlestown Democratic precinct and was selected as one of the Democrats from the precinct to attend the Democratic convention in Charlottesville in September 1844.[29,30] In 1846 he was an unsuccessful candidate for the Virginia Legislature.[31] He was a delegate to the Democratic Conventions held in Staunton and Winchester.[32] Benjamin F. was a chief contributor to the "Spirit of Jefferson," a

26 Spirit of Jefferson, 7/26/1844, p. 3, c. 4.
27 Spirit of Jefferson, 8/29/1845, p. 3, c. 4.
28 Spirit of Jefferson, 12/20/1844, p. 2. c. 5.
The Lyceum movement was an early form of organized adult education, of widespread popular appeal in the northeastern and midwestern United States, which sponsored a variety of public education programs and enter-tainments.
29 Virginia Free Press, 12/21/1843, p. 2, c. 7 - p. 3, c. 1.
30 Spirit of Jefferson, 7/17/1844, p. 2, c. 4.
31 Spirit of Jefferson, 3/20/1846, p. 2, c. 1.
32 Spirit of Jefferson, 11/20/1846, p. 2, c. 1.

democratic newspaper of considerable reputation published in Charlestown. At a Whig meeting in 1847 Benjamin showed talent as a speaker and ardent supporter of the U. S. troops under the command of General Taylor in the war with Mexico.[33]

In 1845 he married Georgianna Ranson, a descendant of Joist Hite one of the first migrants to the Shenandoah Valley and a wealthy owner of large tracts of land. By December of 1847 Benjamin F. and Georgianna had a son, John Thornton Washington. Benjamin F. was practicing law, exercising guardianship of his younger siblings and overseeing the Cedar Lawn estate. Then, in 1848, came the news, the discovery that would roil the fabric of life at Cedar Lawn.

Gold was discovered on the American River in California at Sutter's Mill in January, 1848. Gold rush fever reached Jefferson Co., Virginia where two gold hunting companies were soon organized. On January 8, 1849, the following notice appeared in the Spirit of Jefferson, Charlestown, Virginia for the organization of a third mining company from Jefferson County. B. F. Washington composed an ad and placed it in the January 8, 1949 issue of the Charlestown newspaper Spirit of Jefferson. The article announced the organization of a company to dig in the virgin soil of California for gold. He invited energetic young men desirous of bettering their pecuniary position to meet in his law offices Tuesday the 9th instant to join the expedition. The notice attracted more than 100 applicants. The intended quota of 60 swelled to 85 members before the expedition of the Charlestown Mining Company left for California on March 27. Six months later the company arrived and pitched camp at Johnson's Ranch a few tens of miles from Sacramento, California.[34]

B. F. Washington gave digging for gold an honest try, but soon turned his attention to opportunities in Sacramento. There he was soon elected to office as city recorder, with the duties of marshal and judge. Here he helped quell the squatter riots. He became part owner and editor of a newspaper. He later opened an office for the practice of law. In time he became prominently involved in the "Chivalry," the southern faction of the Democratic Party in California. His political influence was enhanced by editing newspapers and campaigning for state and national candidates.

George Anna Augusta Washington – George Anna Washington, born March 3, 1822, was the first of the girls to marry. George Anna's beau was John Wheeler Smith a "northerner", a native of Connecticut. The family was said to be "dismayed" over the relationship, but on Nov 20th 1851, at age 29, George Anna married John Wheeler Smith. Sallie showed no loss of affection in her poem remembering her sister George Anna.[35]

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33 Spirit of Jefferson, 2/26/1847, p. 1, c. 3.

34 From: Perks, Douglas P., Ho, for California! The Charlestown Virginia Mining Company, Magazine of the Jefferson County Historical Society, vol. LXXIII, December 2007, pp. 16-23.

35 It's a long way from Virginia to Connecticut. How could the two have met? Perhaps it was through her aunt Susan Peyton Bedinger, sister of George Anna's mother. Susan Peyton married Rev. Doctor Nathaniel Cornwell of Southport Connecticut.

George Anna

Whatever I could wish thee already [ ]
The fair sunshine within its beam in Thine eye;
And pleasure stands near thee, and waits [ ]
To all whom thou lovest at thy bidding to [ ]
Yet hereafter, thy bosom some sadness may feel
Some clouds o'er thy heart its chill shadow may throw
Then ask, if thou wilt, and my words shall reveal
The feelings and thoughts which thou now canst not know.

Sallie
Jan 12 1852
Cedar Lawn

George Anna Washington and her husband, John Wheeler Smith, for several years after their marriage resided in Rutland County, Poultney Township, Vermont where to them were born two children, Edwin Curran Smith and Virginia Emeline Smith. From there they removed to Washington, D. C. where they resided about two years. Shortly after the birth of their third child, Mary Washington Smith, born in 1856, the family moved to Rose Hill, Johnson Co., Missouri near the homes of her siblings.

Mary Elizabeth Washington – Mary Elizabeth Washington was born March 4, 1824 at Berry Hill. Mary Elizabeth has been called the poet of Cedar Lawn. The poem Cedar Lawn is the most famous poem known to have been written by her.[36] Following is a full and complete version of the poem.[37]

Cedar Lawn
(To My Brothers and Sisters)

O Cedar Lawn, I love thee well
With all thy trees and flowers;
For never can my heart forget
The home of childhood hours.

With spirit sad we left thy walls,
Another home to seek;
And even now remembrance calls
The warm tear to my cheek.

Ah, once again, "in fancy free"
I wander o'er the place,
And in each bush and flower and tree
Sweet recollections trace.

Or underneath the gay green woods,
Where oft we roved in spring,
A merry and blithesome throng,
To hear the wild birds sing.

Methinks I see the green boughs bend,
Our youthful hands to meet;
The violets and the daisies spring
In beauty round our feet.

Again we pluck the gay wild flowers
From out their mossy beds,
And twine them into garlands fair
Around our sunny heads.

36 Fairbairn, Charlotte Judd, 1865, The Washington Homes of Jefferson County, West Virginia: illustrated by William D. Eubank, Blue Ridge Press, Berryville, Virginia.

37 Wayland, John Walter, 1973, The Washingtons and Their Homes, Virginia Book Co., Berryville, Va., 385 p., pp. 239-240.

Once more upon the grassy lawn
I bound with footsteps free,
Or seated with my parents dear,
Beneath the cedar tree.

Those guardians of our infant days
Have long since gone to rest;
O Mother, would thy child might sleep
In peace upon thy breast!

For my dear ones are scattered now,
And some are far away,
And some I see around me still,
But they are not so gay.

And when in happy childhood we
Were gathered in our home,
While thou wert here, our Mother dear,
We never wished to roam.

Oh, those indeed were joyous hours;
Though never to return,
They still must live, the brightest flowers
In Memory's sacred urn.

And when our hearts are sad to think
They ne'er can come again,
To muse upon their joyousness
Will rob them of their pain.

Oft when in pleasure's throng so gay
I seem the gladdest there,
My heart – my heart is far away

Mary
March, 1842



Pen and ink drawing by Thornton A. Washington given to his niece Henrietta Gray Bedinger, a precocious young artist.

In Sallie's book of memories a lock of Mary Elizabeth's dark brown hair is followed by a poem.

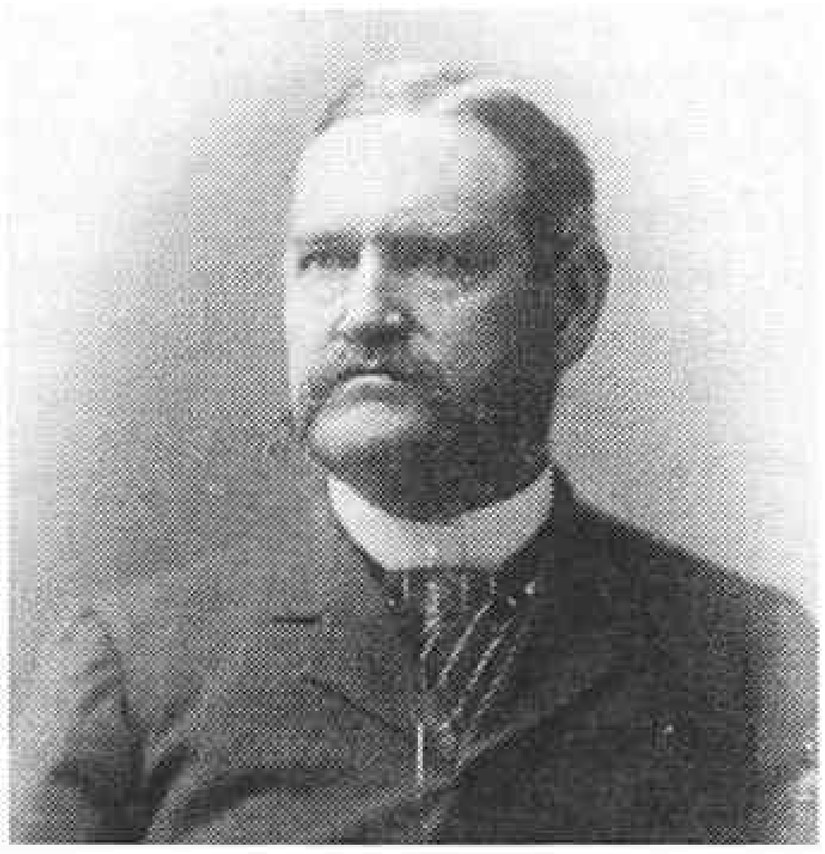
Mary Elizabeth Washington

Peace be around thee, wherever thou rovest;
May life be for thee one summer's day,
And all that thou wishest, and all that thou lov'd
Come smiling around thy sunny way!
If sorrow o'er the calm should break,
May even thy tears pass off so lightly,
Like spring showers, they'll only make
The smiles that follow shine more brightly.

May time who sheds his blight o'er all,
And daily dooms some joy to death,
Upon thee let years so greatly fall,
They shall not crush one flower beneath
[__]s half in shade and half in sun
This world along its path advances,
May that side the sun's upon
Be all that e'er shall meet thy glances!

Sallie

Thornton Augustin Washington – Thornton Augustin Washington, born January 26, 1826, was 15 years of age when his father died. Thornton A., an intelligent lad, wanted to pursue a higher education after his early schooling at the Charlestown Academy and by family tutors. His aspiration for a higher education was known and favored by his father who made provision in his will to finance his education. In his will, John T. A. Washington made special provisions for the care and upbringing of his youngest daughters. He provided that the bulk of his estate be kept intact until his young daughters reached the age of 18 years and designated his son, Benjamin Franklin Washington, the executor of his estate and the guardian of his younger chidren. The two older sons, Daniel Bedinger Washington and Lawrence Berry Washington were deeded tracts of valuable farm land property in the Great Kanawha Valley of Western Virginia. To enable Thornton Augustin to achieve his academic goals, rather than delaying his inheritance for some fourteen or so years until the estate was to be divided, his father deeded him 200 acres of property in the Kanawha Valley, the profits from which were to be used for his maintenance and education. He further provided that until Thornton A. reached eighteen years age any deficiency for his maintenance and education would be made up for from the annual profits of the property. Thornton A. did well honoring his father's wishes and expectations. First, he graduated from Princeton College. He then, based upon his academic record and the recommendation of U. S. Congressional Representative William Lucas from Jefferson Co., Virginia, was admitted as a cadet at the U. S. Military Academy, West Point, in June 1845. Upon graduation from the military academy in June 1849, he entered the U. S. Army as a lieutenant and served



Thornton Augustin Washington

continuously until April 1861 on extreme frontier duty, general recruiting service, and as an instructor at the U. S. Military Academy.[38, 39]

John Thornton Washington

Thou wilt bear a sister's love
Cherished ever in thy heart.
Danger's path may lure thee on,
Stern the Soldiers heart may be
But the brother ever will
Soft and gentle be for me.

Sallie

Thornton A. was selected October 13, 1851 by the regimental commander to command a mounted escort to Major William H. Emory and his outfit from Fort Merrill, west of San Antonio, to Frontera, New Mexico. Major Emory, Astronomer and Surveyor, was to become the chief surveyor of the Boundary Commission expedition to survey and establish the Mexico-United States boundary from the Rio Grande near El Paso to the Pacific Ocean. The military dress of the soldiers escorting members of the Boundary Commission were described as gay with scarlet or blue flannel shirts and white broad-brimmed hats. As the troop traveled west from Fort Merrill, the palmetto clumps slowly merged into sycamore and oak groves, then into mesquite, prickly pear, and thorny shrubs. The thermometer hovered over 100° F., the grass increasingly withdrew to unveil broken granite ridges. Broad streams became dry beds. With extended time, the vibrant new uniforms faded, and the uniforms developed sweat stains taking on hues of the dusty trail under the hot Texas sun. Lt. Washington returned with a party of surveyors to Fort Duncan, Eagle Pass, Texas reaching there about the middle of January, 1852, having made a total march of about 1,500 miles in about six weeks.[40, 41]

The locks of medium brown hair of Thornton Augustin Washington at ages 11, 19 and 23 are appended to a page in Sallie's book above the inscription to her brother.

Mildred Berry Washington [I] – Mildred Berry Washington I was born at Berry Hill, Jefferson County, Virginia, September 3, 1827; died September 12, 1827.

Mildred Berry Washington [II] – Mildred Berry Washington [II] was the first child born at the new home Cedar Lawn March 28, 1829.[42]

38 Military service of T. A. Washington compiled from the Adjutant General's Office, September 17, 1889 in Wash-ington, Thornton Augustine, 1891, A Genealogical History of the Washington Family in America: Press of McGill and Wallace, Washington, D. C., 71 p., p. 46.

39 Cullum, George W., 1868, Biographical Register of the Graduates of the United States Military Academy: C. S. Westcott & Co., N.Y., 680 p., p. 248.

40 Vine, Robert V., 1968, Bartlett's West, Drawing the Mexican Boundary, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 155 p., p. 18,

41 Washington, Thornton Augustine, 1891, A Genealogical History of the Washington Family in America: Press of McGill and Wallace, Washington, D. C., 71 p., p. 46.

42 Ibid., p. 48.

Mildred Berry Washington married at Cedar Lawn, February 8, 1854, to her second cousin, Solomon Singleton Bedinger of Lewis Co., Kentucky. Solomon Singleton was grandson of George Michael Bedinger and his wife Henrietta (Clay) Bedinger of Lower Blue Licks, Kentucky. George Michael Bedinger was the brother of Daniel Bedinger of Bedford, near Shepherdstown, Jefferson Co., Virginia and the grandfather of Mildred Berry Washington. The couple removed to Solomon's home, Bedinger House near Vanceburg, Kentucky where he was a farmer and merchant owning land contiguous to the Ohio River. The first daughter born of this family was Henrietta (Netta) Gray Bedinger born 17 November, 1854.

Mildred Berry Washington

Should sorrow o'er thy brow
  Its darken'd shadows fling,
And hopes that cheer thee now,
  Die in their early spring,
Should pleasure at its birth

Fade like the hues of even
Turn thou away from earth, --
  There's rest for thee in heaven.

[If] ever life should seem
  To thee a tiresome way,
And gladness cease to beam
  Upon its clouded day;
If like the wearied dove,
  O'er shoreless ocean driven,
Raise then thine eyes above—
  There's rest for thee in heaven!

But O! if always flowers
  Throughout thy pathway bloom,
And gayly pass the hours,
Undiminish'd by earthly gloom
  Still let not every thought
To this poor world be given
  Not always to forget
Thy better rest in heaven

When sickness pales thy cheek
And dims thy lustrous eye
And pulses low and weak
Tell of a time to die-
Sweet hope shall whisper [ ]
"Though then from earth be risen
There's bliss beyond thy kin-
There's rest for thee in heaven."

Sallie
Cedar Lawn
Dec 11th 51

Beneath a light blond lock of hair, Sallie penned a poem for her sister, Mildred Berry.

George Washington – Born December 9, 1830 at Cedar Lawn, George Washington, was educated in private schools and prepared to enter the University of Virginia at 17 years of age. However, with a seemingly prescient vision, George recognized the need to acquire a practical knowledge of the farming business. He went to work on the nearby farm of Colonel Robert Lucas, the father-in-law of his aunt Virginia Ann (Bedinger) Lucas. He worked at the Lucas estate until 1849 when his brother Benjamin Franklin left on an expedition to the gold fields of California. At which time George took charge of the management of the estate which included farms at Cedar Lawn and the Bull Skin Place. George rented and worked the farms of the estate for six years, paying off all indebtedness of the estate and winding up its affairs with money ahead.[43]

43 Ibid., p. 52.

The poem written by Sallie to George Washington is dated Cedar Lawn, Jan 30th 1852.

George Washington

Dear brother , where the twilight [ ]
A purple bloom hath shed;
Where o'er the smoking field [ ]
A golden glory spread;
Fond memory loves to linger,
O'er childhood's moments brig[ht]
When our Spring was in the blo[ ]
And heart and step were right.

When the gems of Heaven twinkle
From their home within the sky
And bower and plain and woodland
In calm untroubled lie;
And the pale moonbeams slumber
Upon the parlor floor;
Like a blest and gentle spirits comes
Some golden dream of yore
When you and I roved happy
By waving wood and lea;
Midst brooklet's quiet murmur
And the summers breezes free.

My Brother I remember
Those days of joy and love!
Happy fields around us
Starry skies above
Brother, how we wandered
In wild and boyish glee
Where those playful zephyr's whisper
Was sweet to thee and me
And the silent leaves were blushing,
At morn and evening hours;
And the wild bee and the humming bird
Bent down the lonely flowers
Whilst there comes a shade of sadness
When I think how swift they flew
Those bright and gilded moments
Midst the green hills and the dew
And this was when the lane and [ ]
And bough were in bloom;
That e'er the pleasant lawns we strayed
In light and not in gloom.

Sallie

While working at the Lucas plantation, George came to be the suitor of William Lucas' daughter, Virginia Bedinger Lucas. The two fell in love, but because they were first cousins, Virginia's father opposed a marriage between the two. After Cedar Lawn estate was sold and the heirs received their legacies, George with most of his siblings moved to Missouri.

Susan Ellsworth Washington – Susan Ellsworth Washington was born April 1, 1833.

Henrietta Gray Washington – Henrietta Gray Washington was born at Cedar Lawn September 10, 1835. Beneath a delicate golden lock of hair from Henrietta Gray, who died at age three in 1838, is this poem.

Susan Ellsworth Washington

My sister, may thy sunlit eye
Beam ever joyously as now;
And never mark thy fair young brow;
Or sorrow mark thy fair young brow;
And may the hopes that fill thy heart
With blessed dreams of future bliss,
Be ever blessed, and thy life
Be a bright page of happiness.

Sallie

Henrietta Gray Washington

Here is a little golden tress
Of soft unbraided hair,
The all that's left of loveliness,
That once was thought so fair,
And yet though time that dims its sheen
Through all beside hath fled,
I hold it here, a link between
My spirit and the dead.

Sallie

The Cedar Lawn Estate is Sold

In 1852 the youngest daughter of the family, Susan Ellsworth, reached 19 years of age. The fateful time had arrived for the Washingtons to begin settling the estate for partitioning among the heirs of the estate as prescribed by the will of John T. A. Washington. In 1852 the estate included the Bullskin and Cedar Lawn plantations.

George Washington had advertised the Cedar Lawn plantation for sale in 1853, but the plantation did not sell. Realizing that the property must be sold, George again placed Cedar Lawn on the market in June 12, 1855, with the stipulation that if not sold privately before the 16th of July, it would be offered at public sale before the Courthouse in Charlestown. Cedar Lawn was sold to John R. Flagg July 13, 1855, at a private sale, for the sum of $15,500.[44]

Benjamin Franklin Washington, who had been appointed executor of the estate by his father, returned to Virginia to fulfill his duties as executor of the Cedar Lawn estate. California newspapers dutifully ran notices of the departure of B. F. Washington and his family.[45]

> "B. F. Washington, Esq., formerly editor of the *Times and Transcript*, with his family has arrived safely at Charlestown, Va., his former home. He was received with every demonstration of cordial friendship and sincere regard by his former friends and acquaintances; and certainly there is no man who has occupied a prominent position in California for the same length of time, more worthy of such regard and such welcome. As an editor, Mr. W. long wielded an influence with the people

A VALUABLE FARM FOR SALE

Will be sold, at private sale, the TRACT OF LAND, formerly owned by John T. A. Washington, dec'd, lying in Jefferson county, Virginia, upon the Bullskin Run, about five south of Charlestown, upon the main road leading to Berryville, and immediately in the vicinity of Haines' mill and Porter's factory, containing

256 ACRES,

more or less, of which about 40 Acres are in Timber, the balance cleared and in a good state of cultivation, and a large portion of it very superior land. The improvements consist of a comfortable two-story Log Dwelling, recently erected, nearly central on the farm; a Stable, Corn-House and Granary, with a never failing well of pure limestone water and very shallow, convenient thereto, and the Bullskin Run affords a constant supply of running water at the north end of the farm, through a portion of which it passes.-- There is also on the farm an orchard of choice apples. The title to the land is indisputable.

For information, as to the terms of sale, &c. enquire of

GEORGE WASHINGTON,

Agent in behalf of himself and the other heirs.

November 2, 1852.

44 Shepherdstown Register, 21 Jul 1855, p. 2.

45 *Daily Democratic State Journal* (Sacramento, CA): Wednesday, Aug 8, 1855, Vol VII, issue 89, page 3: "Col. B. F. Washington, formerly the accomplished editor of the *Times and Transcript*, will leave for his native State on the next steamer."

of this State that nothing could withstand, and possessed of every adornment of virtue and integrity, it may well be said by his former friends in the Old Dominion, that he was at once the pride and ornament of a party, and commanded the admiration and respect of a party, and commanded the admiration and respect of all with whom he came in contact, either as a politician, editor or citizen."[46]

When James Buchannan became President, he being politically aligned with the Chivalry Democrats of California, Benjamin F. Washington was appointed to the position of Collector of Revenue of the Port of San Francisco.

CEDAR LAWN FOR SALE,

Will be sold at private sale, the Farm Known by the name of Cedar Lawn, formerly the residence of John T. A. Washington, dec'd., lying in Jefferson County, Va., about three miles S.W. of Charles- town on the road leading from Berryville to Leetown, and about one mile South of the Harpers Ferry and Smithfield turnpike, adjoining the farm of John R. Flagg, George Isler, Mrs. H. L. Alexander, Thomas B. Washington, Dr. Scollay, and others, containing about 245 ACRES , about 35 of which are in fine timber. The improvements consist of a handsome three story Brick Dwelling, forty feet square with a two story Wing forty feet by twenty feet attached; a Barn, Cornhouse, Milk house, and negro cabins. Also, a large orchard of choice Apples and a young peach orchard recently planted. The lawn and premises are highly improved with shrubbery and handsome Ornamental and Fruit trees. There is a cistern convenient, and a never failing well of Limestone water about 100 yards distant.

The farm in shape is nearly square. The land is in a state of cultivation and the soil of superior quality. It has every convenience to Market, being in the immediate vicinity of the Winchester and Harpers Ferry Railroad, and of 7 or 8 miles of the Balto. And Ohio Railroad. The place is well known and altogether is one of the most desirable tracts of its size in the Valley. Persons who contemplate purchasing, can be informed of the terms of sale by consulting me in person, or by letter to me at Charlestown, Jefferson county, Va. George Washington, For himself and in behalf of the other heirs. Dec'r 18, 1855 –

IF the above property is not sold before the 16th day of July next, (being Court day.) it will at that time be offered at public sale, before the Court House in Charlestown. Terms will be made known on the day of sale, by the auctioneer.

GEO. WASHINGTON. June 12, 1855

The Washingtons Leave Cedar Lawn

In 1855 George Washington made a prospecting trip to Missouri to assess conditions there and inspect lands being offered for sale by the Federal Government. George found that fertile farm land was available; land that could be acquired for settlement by the Washington siblings and their new and growing families. The prospect of moving to Missouri and the

46 *Daily Placer Times and Transcript* (San Francisco, CA): Thursday, November 1, 1855., Vol VI, Issue 1727, Page 2.

prospects of the brothers and sisters establishing farms in close proximity had great appeal to the large, close-knit family.

With the sale of Cedar lawn in 1855, proceeds of the estate were apportioned among the heirs.[47] The Washingtons of Cedar Lawn became the Washingtons from Cedar Lawn. The family mutually agreed to settle near each other in Missouri on the rich agricultural lands available at prices within their meagre resources. Yet, they were aware of the looming problems in Missouri and Kansas between opposing factions pertaining to the issue of slavery. Missouri had been admitted to the Union as a slave state. It was yet to be determined whether territory of Kansas, when it would be admitted to statehood, would be a free or a slave state. Troubles were already brewing between the opposing factions in Missouri and Kansas.

Daniel Bedinger Washington with his wife and three children left their home in the Kanawha Valley, Virginia to join the migration. Mildred Berry and her husband Solomon Singleton Bedinger with their young daughter, Henrietta Gray and Solomon's unmarried younger brother, Henry Clay Bedinger, left their home in Lewis Co., Kentucky to join the move. The unmarried girls, Sarah (Sallie) Eleanor, Mary Elizabeth, and Susan Ellsworth joined the move with their married siblings. Susan Ellsworth and Mary Elizabeth married within a few years after moving to Missouri. Sallie Eleanor wrote no more poetry in her book of memories. She died, unmarried, in 1858. By 1859 George Anna and her husband John Wheeler Smith left their home in Washington, D. C. and joined the family colony in Missouri.

Thornton Augustin, who was serving in the U. S. Army, returned to his base in Texas. Benjamin Franklin, returned to California where he was editor of a San Francisco newspaper and owner of a large ranch in Tehama Co., California. In 1847, he was appointed Collector of Revenue of the Port of San Francisco.

The unmarried sons, George Washington and Lawrence Berry joined the migration to Missouri. George purchased land in Johnson County and built a home. In 1857 he went to California where he served for four years as cashier of customs under his brother, Benjamin Franklin. Lawrence formed a company and enlisted Virginians to migrate to Missouri. By this way, he, joined the move to Missouri to be near his siblings and, without a doubt, for the adventure.

Lawrence became involved in the so-called "Border War" between the "Free-Staters" in Kansas and the pro-slavery farmers in Missouri. The farms and homes of his siblings and other settlers in Missouri were subjected to raids by Kansas "Jayhawkers" who destroyed crop and property. His star-crossed career ended September 21, 1856 in the blackness of night

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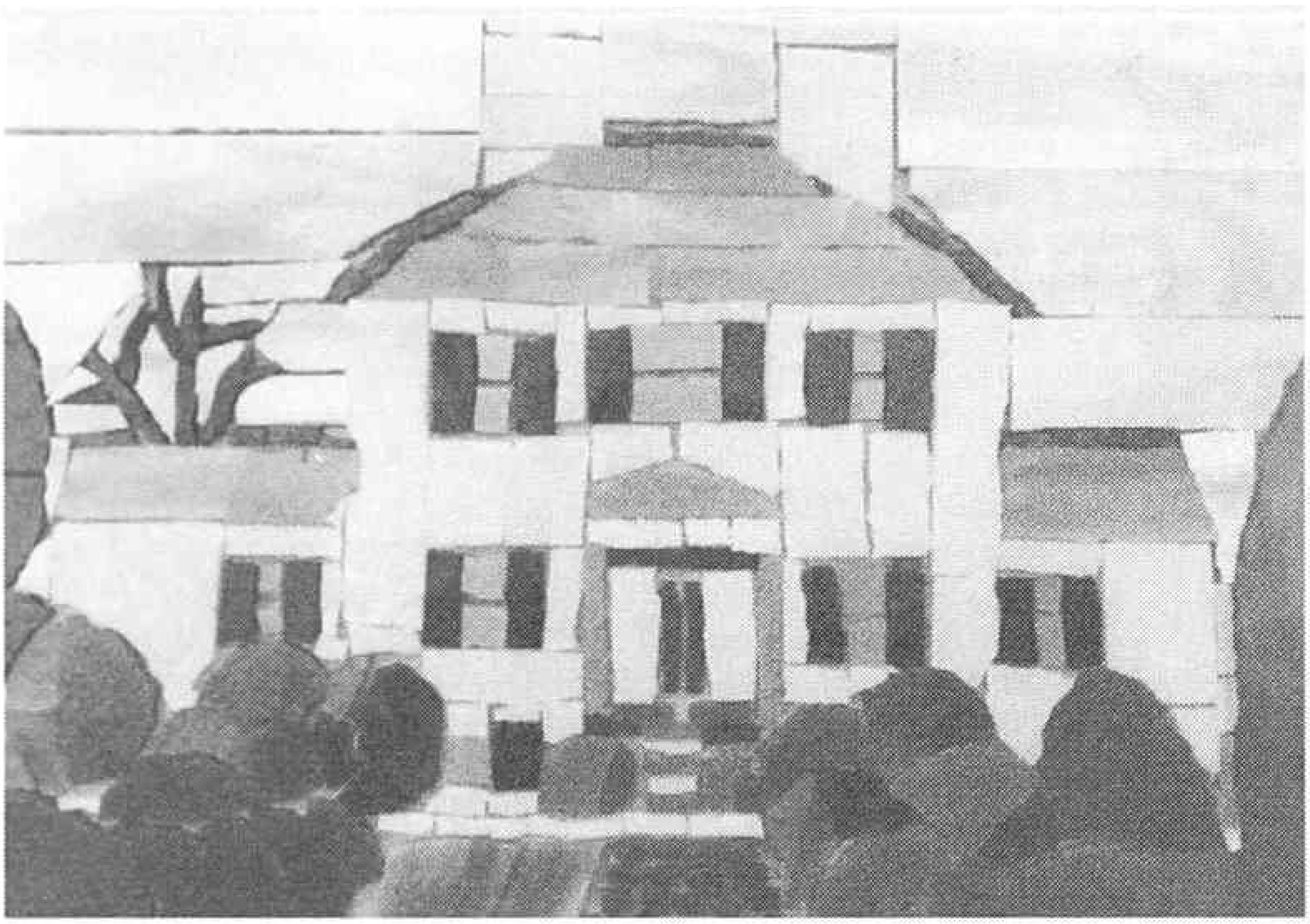
47 Washington, Thornton Augustine, 1891, A Genealogical History of the Washington Family in America: Press of McGill and Wallace, Washington, D. C., 71 p., p. 52.

by a drowning death in the Missouri River.[48,49] In his final adventure he was engaged in the undeclared Kansas-Missouri War fighting Jay-hawkers in defense of his siblings.

48 On the night of September 21, 1856, as Lawrence traveled along the Missouri River on a steamboat, he fell overboard near the town of Rocheport, Missouri and drowned. Some Washington descendants believe Law-rence's death was accidental; others insist that he was sober and a good swimmer, and that he was murdered by Kansas Jayhawkers who hated all Southerners and tried systematically to wipe them out.

49 The following notice appeared in the Richmond Dispatch [Richmond, Virginia], Monday, Nov. 19, 1856, and The Sun [Baltimore, Maryland], Tuesday, November 11, 1856.

> "Drowned. — Major L. B. Washington, formerly of Jefferson county, Va., was drowned in the Missouri river, at Roach Port [Rocheport], on the 16th ult.— Major W. served as an officer in the late Mexican war, and has been engaged in the Kansas difficulties."



Cedar Lawn mosaic by George M. Bedinger

In Memory of Cedar Lawn

A fitting epitaph for the Washington family's memory of Cedar Lawn is found expressed in verse by Lawrence B. Washington.[50]

Thus, as is turned the mental eye
O'er all the scenes of time gone by,
Life's earliest joys long dimmed
and gone,
In memory seem, still to live on.
And oft some vision of the past
Too much like Heaven to last!
.....
And when time devastation brings
To mutable material things
Its fadeless essence will defy
Earth's wreck, and live beyond the sky!
L. B. Washington

50 Washington, Lawrence Berry, 1853, A Tale to be Told Some Fifty Years Hence, John Murphy & Co., 178 Market Street, Baltimore.

M. S. Doug Bedinger continues his research in the history and genealogy of the Bedinger and related families, writing articles and maintaining a family website at *www.bedinger.org*.

THE FIRST HIGHWAY IN WEST VIRGINIA[1]

Stephen Stec



1 The author would like to thank Frances Marshall of Shepherd University Library for her help in reviewing the Robert Brooke Survey Notebook, Thornton Perry Collection (microfilm), Ruth Scarborough Library, Shepherd University, Shepherdstown, WV.

The year is 1735, the place – the crest of the Blue Ridge in Virginia. A courting couple has mounted a pass over one of the 'thoroughfares' from Old Virginia – no more than a blazed trail wide enough for pack mules – and they gaze down at a river meandering through scrubland. They are looking at the lower Shenandoah Valley. The young folks remark upon the pace of progress, about how far things have come from their childhood when Virginia was all abuzz about the famous expedition of Alexander Spotswood and the Knights of the Golden Horseshoe to the bank of the Shenandoah.[2] Their conversation runs into legends and tales of adventure – the standard popular literature of the time includes *Robinson Crusoe*, *Gulliver's Travels* and *A General History of the Pyrates*. They imagine the vast distances over the horizon to the Ohio country and Mississippi Valley, which the French claim in their entirety. In between are the Alleghenies, crisscrossed by warrior trails and bridle paths, under the control of the Iroquois Nations by treaty, where an occasional Indian trader may risk his life for profit.

But the young pair are not alone. On the vast open plain below, among the grazing elk and buffalo, they can make out two groups of travelers. One, off in the distance, consists of about twenty Native Americans in war paint. Since the Treaty of Albany in 1722, the Iroquois have not crossed over the Blue Ridge without permission, guaranteeing the safety of Virginians and their Indian allies.[3] Consequently, the main route of the Iroquois Nations in their campaigns against their southern enemies, which include the Catawba and Cherokee, has shifted into the Valley. A few miles closer, near the river, a cloud of dust marks the other group of travelers – Quaker families lodged in several Conestoga wagons with a mounted escort, snaking through the brushwood and tall grass on their way to the new settlements at 'Opeckon,' near the future site of Winchester.

Certainly, one of the routes that Native Americans roamed for millennia prior to European contact could rightfully be called the "first highway"

2 Johann Lederer was the first European to crest the Blue Ridge, in 1669 and 70, and view the Shenandoah Valley, but he did not go down into the Valley. Louis Michel of Berne, Switzerland claimed to have "discovered" the Valley of Virginia in 1707 and made a map of it in a memorandum dated July 11, 1709 in support of a petition to Queen Anne to grant lands for a Swiss colony. Lt. Gov. Spotswood's expedition in 1716 was the first journey sponsored by the British Crown to go as far as the Shenandoah River.

3 As recently as 1717 the warriors of the Five Iroquois Nations (Mohawk, Onondaga, Oneida, Cayuga and Seneca) caused alarm when they passed along the *east* side of the Blue Ridge on their way to attack Catawba camped under the protection of the Virginia government. The Five Iroquois Nations accepted the Tuscarora as the Sixth Nation after 1722.

in West Virginia. Samuel Kercheval, writing in 1833,[4] recounted his own memories of the numerous Indian trails crisscrossing the Valley. There were trails over the ridges, which the Natives would use to advance or withdraw depending on the circumstances, trails running the length of the valleys, and trails connecting important or sacred sites, including the Indian towns ("oldfields"), springs, glades, etc. One trail from the Alleghanies entered the Valley at Mills Gap near Gerrardstown and crossed to the Blue Ridge at Vestals (Keyes) Gap. Another ran from the latter gap in a more northerly direction to the Tuscarora town (near Martinsburg), crossing the North Mountain at Robinsons (Skinners) Gap (Hedgesville), and carrying on to the Warm Spring (Berkeley Springs). The Shawnee town (near Winchester) sat on a path that ran up and down the Valley, and another path crossed the Potomac at Pack Horse Ford.

The purpose of the present article, however, is to locate the first standardized road that carried the wagon traffic bearing European settlers across the territory that later fell into the state of West Virginia. Among the details of human activity, the clearings for settlements and the traces connecting them, our focus is on a broad scratch on the landscape which was the main artery of westward expansion – the Wagon Road. When European settlement first opened up in the land over Virginia's Blue Ridge, a gateway was set up between the century-old coastal Euro-Atlantic world and the rapidly expanding continental frontier that would come to define the notion of the American West. The first generation of early adventurers west of the Blue Ridge were a unique set of personalities, bridging two worlds – that of the sloops and ships of the planters and immigrants with that of the prairie schooners of manifest destiny.

An examination of the original Wagon Road sheds light on a specialized Lower Valley economy different in many ways from the standard narrative of settlement west of the Blue Ridge. Among its other characteristics, part of the Lower Valley was oriented for a significant period of time around the provision of services to travelers at the gateway to the West as an outgrowth of the Philadelphia-Lancaster supply economy. Determining the physical route of the highway that the settlers and their wagons traversed helps to paint a portrait of the lives and personalities of those who chose to settle along this corridor and contributes to an understanding of the history and heritage of the Lower Valley.

The Setting

> Our imaginary couple has come up from among the scattered leaseholds east of the Blue Ridge, where they live on one of the vast feudal manors that Robert 'King' Carter, land agent

4 Samuel Kercheval, *A History of the Valley of Virginia*, 1st ed. (1833), at 51. See also n. 96, below.

for Lord Fairfax, Proprietor of the Northern Neck of Virginia, set up for his friends and relations. They look longingly at the German and Quaker strangers, a bit jealous of their chance to have their own land free and clear, even if it is by no means certain that the new settlers will be able to abide peaceably on their new lands. Besides the usual threats of life on the frontier, Fairfax has claimed the whole territory as part of the Northern Neck Proprietary.

Until the last few years, there had been no occasion to build a road large enough for a wagon to pass west of the Blue Ridge. In fact, in 1732 two Iroquois chiefs issued a warning to the Maryland governor against any settlement above Antietam Creek, having heard rumors that it was intended there.[5] The Indians' treaty claim to the Valley still carries the risk that interlopers could be captured or killed, but now things have rapidly changed. The Shawnee withdrew to the Ohio country, leaving a dangerous power vacuum amid suspicions that they were negotiating with the encroaching French and their allied tribes. This brought to a close the policy of encouraging settlement of friendly Native Americans in the Valley as a buffer. Virginia's Lieutenant Governor, William Gooch, settled upon a new policy of building frontier forts and issuing land grants in the Valley.[6] But Gooch had a problem – not enough Virginians. Settlement of the Piedmont east of the Blue Ridge had been proceeding slowly, despite enticements such as exempting those taking up lands from paying quitrents for seven years. But now, the population of the Valley is exploding with Northern migrants while the Piedmont is soon to become the real backwoods of Virginia.

Several factors converged to favor Virginia as a destination attractive to the German and Scots-Irish immigrants arriving to Philadelphia, and the younger generation of Quakers and others from Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware and New Jersey looking for affordable land. There was the withdrawal of Native Americans, and the inducements given by the government of Virginia. But also, Virginia had comparative advantages. The colonial government of New York was unfriendly to new immigrants,

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5 Letter from Captain Civility to the Governor of Maryland, January 12, 1731/2, signed by Captain Civility and Toyl Hangue. Archives of Md., Vol. 28, pp 10-11. Captain Civility, or Tagotolessa, was Chief of the Conestoga Indians (made up of Seneca and the remnant of the Susquehannock). The tone of the letter indicated that settlement in Maryland above Antietam had not yet commenced at that time. The letter also acknowledged the Indian grant to Israel Friend (see below). Note: the year above is given to indicate both the Old Style and New Style forms. In modern terms, the year would be 1732.

6 In so doing, he was putting into operation the long-term strategy adopted by the London Board of Trade in 1721 for the security of British North America. See Warren R. Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia* (Johns Hopkins University Press: 2004), at 77-81.

while expansion of the Pennsylvania frontier had been impeded by its border dispute with Maryland on the south, and by friction with Native Americans on the north and west. In 1728, a brewing conflict between the Shawnee and Conestoga Indians threatened to spill over into the increasingly dense German and English settlements on the Pennsylvania frontier. Inhabitants including one "Yost Hyt" (known to history as Jost (or Joist) Hite) petitioned for relief from Indian attacks in their area.[7] Although the crisis was averted, tensions persisted.

The first tentative steps to settle the Valley were taken that same year.[8] At the time, the prevailing opinion was that Lord Fairfax's Northern Neck Proprietary ended at the Blue Ridge or the bank of the Shenandoah. However, King Carter, who besides being Fairfax's agent was the Secretary of State of Virginia to boot, lodged a caveat on behalf of Fairfax against land grants over the Blue Ridge, which prompted serious debate at the capital in Williamsburg. With the bounds of the Northern Neck submitted in dispute before the Crown, the Governor and Council decided, on June 11, 1729, to allow petitions for full-scale settlement of the Valley "until his Majesty's pleasure be known."

Carter thereafter made large preemptive grants over the Blue Ridge under Fairfax's authority including to members of his own immediate family and associates Nathaniel Burwell and Mann Page. These early large grants to people from the "lower country" were settled by "overseers and slaves."[9] The earliest Fairfax grants refer to "thoroughfares" over the Blue Ridge crossing at Ashby's Bent (now Ashby's Gap, Route 50) and William's Gap (alias Indian Thoroughfare, Gilbert's Gap, north of Snickers Gap). But these were not wagon roads - apart from the physical obstacle of the Ridge itself, a slave-based tobacco plantation economy provided no justification for building a wagon road. The Tidewater transplants traveled by boat up the Rappahannock to the head of navigation at Falmouth with the slaves proceeding on foot, the overseers on horseback and pack mules bringing the necessary implements of plantation. The tobacco crop would go back in the other direction.

With the precedent of Spotswood's experimental Germanna Colony on the Rappahannock, Governor Gooch developed a preference for the better frontier protection offered by smallholders practicing diversified farming as in the Northern Provinces. Gooch entertained proposals from various groups including some that promised the organization of immigration

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7 The petition from the inhabitants of Colebrookdale (on Perkiomen Creek) was dated May 10, 1728 and besides Hyt also included the signature of Christian Nighswanger, another early settler of the Valley. The Iroquois were also aggrieved about the encroachment of Germans at the Swatara and Tulpehocken settlements established in 1723-27 with Palatines invited in from New York.

8 Larkin Chew and Company received Orders of Council covering 10,000 acres on both sides of Happy Creek in 1728. Chew, from an old Tidewater family, had successfully "flipped" a large grant in Spotsylvania County a few years before.

9 See Kercheval, at 68.

from the Northern Provinces. The opening of the Valley generated a flow of migrants that required the natural extension of the frontier wagon road over the Blue Ridge and across the Potomac River.

The Van Meter Venture

On June 17, 1730, the Virginia government began to issue Orders of Council in quick succession to a series of syndicates covering various swathes of territory over the Blue Ridge.[10] The part of the Lower Valley that would someday fall into West Virginia was granted to two syndicates whose territory was divided by Opequon Creek – John and Isaac Van Meter on the east, and the Quaker party led by Ross and Bryan on the west. Of all the syndicates, the Van Meters were in the best position to profit as gatekeepers from those who might wish to make the move to the Valley from the North.

John Van Meter was the constable of the upper settlements of Prince Georges County, Maryland, called Monocacy, which was then the westernmost part of the province. He and Isaac had moved prior to 1724 from New York and New Jersey to a place where the Conestoga Path crossed the Monocacy River (near today's Frederick, Maryland).[11] Their many connections in Maryland, Delaware and New Jersey would play an outsize role in the settlement of the Lower Shenandoah Valley, including among others the Shepherd, Anderson, Pennington, Swearingen, Chapline and Hedges families. Some of these families represented generations of experience in providing services to the "backward"[12] settlements as the frontier expanded. Among their neighbors and associates was the famed Indian trader Charles Mounts (Mansson) Anderson, one of the few Europeans to venture far up the Potomac prior to 1722; in that year he was sent by the Maryland government to Opessa's Shawnee Town (now Oldtown) as an emissary. In 1725, Anderson's house at Monocacy was the site appointed for a meeting between the Shawnee leaders and the Governor of Maryland and his Council members.[13] Whether or not John Van Meter or his father was a

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10 The syndicates were represented by the following persons as they were listed in order in the *Hite v Fairfax* case record: Jacob Stover; John and Isaac Van Meter; Alexander Ross and Morgan Bryan; Augustine Moore and John Robinson; William Beverley, Joseph Smith, Joseph Clapham, Thomas Watkins and Simon Jeffries; John Fishback, Jacob Holtzclaw, Henry Sedlow, Jacob Senzaback, Peter Roede, Michael Shower, John Vandehoofe, George Wolfe, William Carpenter and John Richlove; and Francis Willis, John Lewis and Francis Catlet. *Hite v Fairfax* case record, manuscript, British Library.

11 On April 21, 1724, John Van Meter took out a survey for 300 acres called *Metere*. John and Isaac Van Meter continued to acquire land in Maryland, which they held until the mid-1740s.

12 The word was not used to connote primitiveness, but meant "towards the back," as in, the Tidewater settlements were at the front, at least as viewed from Great Britain.

13 The Governor waited in vain for the Shawnee representatives. Charles A. Hanna, The Wilderness Trail (1911), at 157. Anderson, a descendant of the Swedes and Finns of

renowned Indian trader, as some legends insist, there is ample evidence that the Van Meters and their associates were knowledgeable about the Shenandoah Valley.[14] John Van Meter also had visited the Germanna settlement in then-Spotsylvania County, Virginia in 1727.

The Van Meter Orders of Council covered a "gateway" region, nearest to the recently settled areas at Monocacy and Lancaster, and by extension to Philadelphia and the lands around it. It was a transitional zone in which the tendrils of commerce reached from the Eastern Seaboard, the megalopolis of Philadelphia, and even from the British Isles and the European Continent. At Monocacy, migrants could receive an excellent orientation about what was in store for them in Virginia and even purchase land rights. Traveling onwards, their first actual taste of Virginia would be at the gateway to the Shenandoah Valley in a vast area controlled by the Van Meters under their Orders of Council.

Lord Fairfax in his Answer to Jost Hite's complaint in the *Hite v Fairfax* lawsuit that would have such an impact on the development of the Lower Valley stated that John Van Meter applied to King Carter to get title over land in the Lower Valley, but Carter refused on the grounds that Mann Page and others had prior rights.[15] According to Fairfax, Page and Carter had entered rights, but their lands were not yet ascertained. Those deeds were made in September 1730, about three months after Van Meter received his Orders of Council, which referred to "land not already taken up by Robert Carter or Mann Page ... or any other." Soon thereafter, the Van Meters gave up any intention they may have had to manage their venture themselves. On August 5, 1731, they sold their rights under the Orders of Council to the abovementioned stubborn, determined, undauntable German named Jost Hite of Perkiomen Creek in Pennsylvania. Hite had been acquainted with the Van Meters in Ulster County, New York, and also had business

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Delaware, lived at the Monocacy settlement in the 1720s and scouted and traded with the Indians. His business partner in the Indian trade was Andrew Friend, father of Israel, see below.

14 The author has found many conflicting tales concerning John Van Meter, Sr.'s supposed journey with the Delaware or "Caugh" Indians into the Valley where they encountered a band of Catawba and Van Meter barely escaped with his life. See, e.g., Kercheval, at 72; William Henry Foote, *Sketches of Virginia*, 2nd Series (1855), at 15; Benjamin Franklin Van Meter, *Genealogies and Sketches of Some Old Families* (1901), at 47; Thomas Kemp Cartmell, *Shenandoah Valley Pioneers and Their Descendants* (1909), at 265; James Callahan, *History of West Virginia Old and New* (1923), at 52. The story is usually combined with a supposed letter from Van Meter to his sons extolling the quality of the South Branch bottom land above the Trough in today's Hardy County, where Isaac Van Meter was to settle and lose his life during the French and Indian War. The weight of evidence seems to indicate this trip was taken after commencement of settlement in the Valley. See, e.g., Historical Notes and Queries – Dr. A. G. Grinnan, "The Last Indians in Orange County, Virginia," *Va. Mag. of Hist and Biog.*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (1896), p. 191, note. There is no evidence that the Van Meters were ever licensed in the Indian trade.

15 *Hite v Fairfax* case record, manuscript, British Library.

dealings on Perkiomen Creek with the DuBois family, John Van Meter's in-laws. Another connection could have been through Robert Jones, John Van Meter's son-in-law and fellow constable at Monocacy, who had come from Perkiomen Creek.

The terms of their deal can only be surmised, but it would appear that the Van Meters retained rights to their own choice tracts and had already secured several investors and settlers from among their associates at Monocacy and points east. Some of those first families quickly moved on. For example, Charles Mounts Anderson got into trouble with the law in Orange County, charged with murder. He was acquitted, sold his interest in the *Terrapin Neck* tract to Richard Poulson, and moved his Indian trading post further up the Potomac Valley to the former Opessa's Town, where he continued in the Indian trade until his death after 1743. While John Van Meter remained near Opequon Creek, Isaac went up into the South Branch Valley, where he was killed by Indians in 1757.

The Wagon Road as Artifact

> Coming back to our young couple on the Ridge, the teamsters below are driving their Conestoga wagons through a sparsely inhabited scrubland on the opposite bank of the Shenandoah. Our friends' conversation has turned to the destination of these intrepid families, and why, after traveling so long and suffering such hardships, they do not put down stakes in the first available spot in Virginia. Why do they pass over this land upwards of 30 miles to the area then referred to as 'Opeckon' near the future site of Winchester? Well, says one young lover to the other, the families coming from the North go on up to Opequon Creek. You know, the Shawnee had their town there, choosing the place where wood and water were most abundant. It was a simple matter to take up their lands after they went away. Or they go even further up the Valley, where it is lush and there is lumber sturdy enough for building cabins. As for the lands down here, nearer the Potomac, a few rich men who have the luxury of keeping one foot on the other side of the river have begun building mills and grand houses. And the Eastern investors are already buying and selling to each other ....

There are at least four important distinctions that can be made about the specific history of the Lower Valley. First there were the gathering clouds of the *Hite v Fairfax* lawsuit, which of course applied to stifle settlement in all of Old Frederick County.[16] In the Valley's lower reaches there was a further

16 "The invitations offering the most favorable terms were the most successful," and those

geographic factor – in comparison with the lush wooded upper sections of Opequon Creek and the Forks of the Shenandoah, or the wild uplands of Augusta County's Irish Tract, the region between the Potomac and Opequon Creek in particular included large swathes that were considered barren and poorly watered.[17] It was thus less suitable for the type of vernacular neighborhood settlement that was characteristic of the Valley.[18]

Third was the shadow left by the brief period of the Van Meter venture. Understandably, in the many histories of the Valley, from Kercheval to Norris to Cartmell to Dandridge to O'Dell to Hofstra, the focus has been on the stream of new settlers from the Northern Provinces crossing the Potomac River in their wagons, who put down stakes in their scattered neighborhoods, and led the expansion over the mountains far into Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee and the Ohio Country. Even Norris, who focused on the Lower Valley, emphasized the masses of Quakers, Germans and Scots-Irish whose legacy became the dominant narrative – one of hardy pioneer souls who ventured forth into the rugged wilderness relying for their survival on their own resources, wiles and determination. The dominant personality associated with these phenomena was the celebrated German, Jost Hite. Inevitably, Hite and his partner Robert McKay took out additional Orders of Council with a group of investors, and their early successes as well as the lawsuit that bore his name conveyed upon Hite the status in popular culture of the original pioneer of the Valley. But the initial steps taken by the Van Meter party nevertheless persisted and reverberated in various forms. A large proportion of the gateway region ended up being owned by adventurers, speculators and wealthy old-line families linked

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offering lands further up the Valley "could present more encouraging circumstances" than those offering lands at the lower end, "threatened as they were by Fairfax, with lawsuits, and all the vexations of litigation." Foote, at 27. Norris (1890) among others says that settlers moved up to Lord Beverly's development in Augusta to get good title, which is why the Upper Valley became more densely settled earlier.

17 The term "barrens" was used to describe an area devoid of good timber, which could consist of scrub bushes or pines, but also grasslands created by centuries of seasonal burning by the Native Americans. The area around the Elk Branch was described by traveler Philip Vickers Fithian in 1776 as "excellent land, but very destitute of water." The journal of Gerard T. Hopkins on a mission from Maryland to the Indians at Fort Wayne in 1804 stated: "26th [February]. Passed across the Shenandoah Valley, a body of excellent limestone land; many parts of it retain to this day the name of Barrens, though now heavily timbered, being at the time the land was taken up covered with scrubby bushes." *Md. Hist. Mag.* Vol. 4, Issue 1 (1909), p. 4. Kercheval, at 453, describes the Lower Valley as fertile, but "badly watered." Parts of the Lower Valley were called the Barrens, with its sparse water and 'trees no larger than a man's arm,' offering scant protection. See James M. Engle, "General Darke's Burial Place," *Shepherdstown Register*, March 3, 1910, p. 1. The presence of grazing buffalo in the Valley is attested to by many sources, e.g., Dandridge. The name of The Barrens continued to be applied to an area between Shepherdstown and Opequon Creek well into the 19th Century.

18 Hofstra, at 138-156, referring to the "vernacular landscape."

with the Van Meters who had the ability to extend their interests from their nearby home bases along the main supply route from the East.

Which brings us to the fourth factor, that is, the Wagon Road itself. When the first patterns of settlement were being established in the 1730s, the Wagon Road held outsized importance for the Lower Valley, bringing a steady stream of customers in need of services, accommodation and advice. The wagon road was a relatively new transportation technology. Because of their importance to migration and supply, wagon roads had to be built according to certain specifications and kept in good repair. For example, the standard width of a wagon road was ten feet, later increased to twelve feet. With proper investment and road maintenance, teamsters might expect to make 15-20 miles per day (without travel on Sundays). Thus, infrastructure arose at specific intervals along roads to provide services. Issues related to roads took up a significant part of the business of early county courts. The vehicles used for freight and passenger transport also became standardized, the most famous example being the Conestoga Wagon developed in the 1710s for freight. The smaller covered wagons carried all a family needed to start a new life on the frontier, and for a time could even substitute for a house.

Wagon road routes shifted according to the demands of economic and social development and technological requirements, but the most important factors at first were safety and exigency, especially on the frontier. Issues related to security of persons and property militated in favor of regular, safe, well-marked routes. The earliest courses kept as close as possible to European settlements and took advantage of existing Native American trails where possible. The considerations at the beginning of settlement on the frontier in terms of costs and safety meant that there would generally be a single wagon route, at least until such time as frontier settlement became more advanced and multiple routes and crossings could be justified. The earliest places of accommodation or public services established along these routes could be quite profitable.

Of course, the roads being built on natural surfaces would also constantly be adjusted due to local conditions and land use. The sheer number of migrants and their mode of transport constantly changed the landscape. The dry upland areas may have changed comparatively less, but the low, wet or marshy areas including the crossings of creeks and runs would have been subjected to seasonal and weather variations, the effects of the wagons and draught animals on the integrity of the road itself, and changes due to upstream construction and human activity. The location of mills could divert roads, since the law required mill owners to build their dams in a way that the wagon road could cross over them.

When it came to crossing a major physical barrier such as a river or mountain, the rise of wagon traffic brought a major difference in scale.

Early regularly operated ferry crossings typically were only equipped to carry a footman, or a horse and man, as shown by the orders establishing the rates for passage. The routes on either side of the ferry then consisted of no more than a trail or trace. Gradually, ferries developed into more substantial facilities sometimes enabled with ropes or cables and draught animals. Meanwhile, traders with their pack horses might have favorite spots for fording rivers. Until sufficiently large ferries came into service, these shallow fords where the riverbed was firm, sometimes even rough and rocky, would provide a place for wagons to cross the rivers. Such river crossings might be hazardous, giving job prospects to locals familiar with the conditions of the ford. The need to attend to the wagons, and to repair and service them, required an increasing level of infrastructure.

It might be hard for us today to imagine that development could be so rapid two and a half centuries ago, but it took only about 20 years to complete a major expansion of the frontier along a 200-mile-long corridor from Pennsylvania and Maryland to the South Branch Valley of the Potomac, during which time roads appeared and disappeared. Petitions for new roads are found among the first court records and references to "old" wagon roads appear in the county records after only a few years. The road influenced settlement and the growth of settlement in turn influenced the road. Due to its influence on the initial pattern of development in the Lower Valley and its persistence and resilience throughout this period of flux, the Wagon Road can be described as the dominant artifact of the gateway region.

The Wagon Road to Monocacy and the Potomac

It is generally accepted that Jost Hite and his companions, altogether 16 families, made up the first group of settlers to act upon the Virginia Orders of Council, setting off in their wagons from Pennsylvania to the Valley of Virginia contemporaneously with Hite's purchase of the Van Meter orders in the fall of 1731.[19] Undoubtedly, Hite took the existing wagon road from Conestoga to Monocacy where his wagon train stopped at Van Meter's. From there, it is likely that he followed as much as possible the new roads being built to the uppermost Maryland settlements.

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19 Historian Charles E. Kemper discovered a letter that Jost Hite wrote in 1741 to Fairfax in which he claimed that he sold his mill in Pennsylvania in 1731 and moved in the fall of that year to Virginia. Kemper, "Documents Relating to Early Projected Swiss Colonies in the Valley of Virginia," *Va. Mag. Hist. Bio.*, Vol. XXIX, No. 1 (Jan. 1921), 1-17, at 2. "Hans Yoest Height" sold his mill on Perkiomen Creek on January 9, 1730/1 to John Pawling for £540, see Nancy K. Gaugler and Ralph Connor, "Jost Hite: From the Neckar to the Shenandoah," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (Autumn 1987), 15-32, or £650, see below. Note that Kercheval gave the year as 1732, which has been widely repeated.

The wagon road from Philadelphia to the Mennonite colony at Conestoga on the Susquehanna River had been built about 1721.[20] In the following years, the passage of the river was accomplished with an animal-drawn ferry system at Wright's Ferry (Columbia, Pennsylvania), and for a time the Marylander Thomas Cresap operated a competing one at Blue Rock. From there the Wagon Road joined an old Indian path over the headwaters of Codorus, Conewago, Great Pipe and Little Pike Creeks to the new Monocacy settlement.[21] The distance from the Susquehanna to Monocacy was an easy 85 miles. Near Van Meter's home, the Conestoga wagon road joined a road connecting the new county courthouse at Upper Marlborough with the backward Maryland settlements. This road would be extended to the furthest reaches of Maryland and came to be called the Conococheague Road.

After Monocacy, the road became a bit more treacherous. This was the beginning of the ridge and valley system of the Appalachians, requiring the teamsters to wind up and down the passes. Catoctin Mountain was referred to as the "first mountain" and South Mountain (the Blue Ridge) was the "second mountain." The wagon road approached the first mountain through a huge manorial estate called Carrollton, then passed over into the Catoctin Valley, crossing the creek.[22] The road then climbed Crampton's Gap to pass the second mountain.[23] The earliest colonial land grant over South Mountain had been made just a few months before Hite's journey. Called Park Hall, it was located near the head of a spring on the west side of the gap, "near the road," proving that the road already extended that far in April 1731.[24] Park Hall would be a prime location to serve travelers

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20 See S. Frank Eshleman, *Historic background and annals of the Swiss and German pioneer settlers of southeastern Pennsylvania* (Lancaster, 1917).

21 William B. Marye, "Patowmeck Above Ye Inhabitants," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (June 1935), p. 117. Cresap operated his ferry during the border troubles known as Cresap's War.

22 John Magruder's survey for The Forrest, dated April 9, 1734, just above today's Middletown, refers to where "the wagon road that goes from Conestoga to Opeckin" crosses Catoctin Creek.

23 Some sources point to Fox's Gap, farther north. Crampton's Gap (Gapland Rd.) is slightly lower than Fox's Gap. The road apparently shifted to Fox's Gap (Reno Monument Rd.) after a few years and to Turner's Gap (Alt US 40) only much later. This wagon road represents the first such road to cross the Blue Ridge.

24 Park Hall was surveyed on April 9, 1731 for William Parks of Annapolis. William Parks came to America from Ludlow, Shropshire, England, was appointed public printer of Maryland in 1726, and founded the *Maryland Gazette* in 1727. His lucrative positions earned him a townhouse in Annapolis and the survey for Park Hall as an apparent investment. He later moved to Williamsburg. If Parks operated a place of accommodation at Park Hall, it was as an absentee landlord, as he was busy with printing in both Annapolis and Williamsburg after 1730. See Lawrence C. Wroth, *A History of Printing in Colonial Maryland: 1686-1776*, reprinted in Archives of Maryland, Vol. 435. The town of Rohrersville grew up on this tract at the head of Little Antietam Creek.

on their way from the Northern Provinces to the Shenandoah Valley, providing them and their draught animals with refreshment after having conquered the difficult passage over South Mountain. From Park Hall, Little Antietam Creek brought the migrants around Elk Ridge near the future site of Keedysville, where they turned towards the Potomac down Antietam Creek.[25]

Cutting a road

As Kercheval attests, the first crossing of settlers into the Valley did not take place at Pack Horse Ford, but about two miles above Harpers Ferry.[26] This location corresponds to the uppermost settled European outpost in the Potomac Valley at the time, consisting of the dwelling place and mill belonging to Israel Friend. Friend, from a family of Swedish/Finnish Indian traders, had lived beyond the limits of European settlement for years.[27] A renowned character of his time, he got on so well with the Native Americans that in January 1727/8 six chiefs of the Conestoga and Iroquois gave him a deed for a large tract of land running up the Maryland side of the Potomac from the mouth of Antietam Creek. Friend was one of only two Europeans given such license by the Native Americans[28] and can lay claim to having been the first settler over the Blue Ridge. On the Virginia side of the river opposite his mill, Friend was soon to take out one of the earliest surveys under the Van Meter Orders of Council, two miles above Harpers Ferry, at a place called the Ore Bank.[29] It would appear that Friend wisely bargained for his Virginia survey, more secure than his Indian title

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Later deeds in the same place referred to the road as the "old Indian road." See Frederick County, Maryland Deed Books G p. 287, H p. 343, N p. 499.

25 For the course of the road on the Maryland side of the river, see Tracey and Dern, *Pioneers of Old Monocacy*, at 222.

26 Kercheval, at 41, 64. Kercheval personally interviewed some of the earliest settlers or their near descendants, including members of the Van Meter, Hite, Neill and Lloyd families.

27 Like Mounts Anderson, Friend's origins were among the Swedish/Finnish families who had settled on the Delaware, and whose impact on the settlement of the Lower Shenandoah Valley tends to be overlooked. Some of the other families with roots in New Sweden that migrated to Monocacy and/or the Valley included Vandiver, Hedges, Shepherd, Poulson, Stalcop, Stidham, Stille, Snickers and Smith. There is some speculation that Friend's grandfather Nils Larsson Frände took up the family's surname on account of his influence and high reputation among the Indians who considered him a blood brother.

28 The other was Charles Carroll who was given an Indian deed for land west of the Monocacy.

29 His patent (Israel Frend) was dated October 3, 1734.

in Maryland, in return for his help in getting the first settler wagons across the Potomac. As it would turn out, his Indian title would not be recognized by Lord Baltimore.[30] He made improvements on both sides of the river.[31]

Once safely on the Virginia side of the Potomac, records show, Hite's party had to cut a road. Hite testified in the *Hite v Fairfax* case that his first party of settlers had to build roads through the wilderness. The statements of other settlers in the case indicate that there was no road into the Valley prior to the one Hite's party cut.[32] The witnesses also stated that when they moved to the Valley, they lived in their wagons until they could build small huts, being so far from any settlement that could supply provisions. They scarce could get anything except from Philadelphia, which was 200 road miles distant, or Fredericksburg.[33]

Hite would have been careful in picking his way, as his ability to successfully dispose of his land rights depended in part on a reliable route to his chosen

30 Friend lost his title based on the Indian deed in 1734, when Lord Baltimore decided that land reserved for the Indians, including land of any Europeans claiming under Indian title, would be erected into manors, and the Indians taken "under protection." Archives of Md. Vol. 39 p. 509. Eventually, Friend purchased a 50-acre tract at Antietam Bottom.

31 An early power of attorney granted from Patrick Sims of Prince Georges County, Maryland to Israel Friend before the Orange County court was set up (i.e., before 1734) refers to Friend as being of Prince William County, implying a Virginia home. See Cecil O'Dell, *Pioneers of Old Frederick County, Virginia* (Marceline, Missouri: 1995), at 99. He certainly had a house on the Virginia side in 1736, according to the field notes of Lord Fairfax's surveyor, Benjamin Winslow, which shows that Friend's wife did his washing there. Benjamin Winslow Field Notes on Potomack, 1736-1737, Accession #5483, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, Va., quoted in O'Dell, at 117, n. 203. Israel's brother, Charles Friend, was the first settler at the mouth of Conococheague Creek (Williamsport, Maryland), prior to receiving a patent in 1739 for a tract called Sweed's Delight.

32 See also Kercheval, at 41.

33 The term "road miles" was only used in connection with Philadelphia, implying that the route to Fredericksburg was not over a road but over a trace or thoroughfare. If there had been a road over the Ridge, a distance of about 80 miles between Opeckon and Fredericksburg via Ashby's Bent, it presumably would have been the main supply route at the time. In fact, a wagon road was built over Ashby's Bent a few years later (see below). Hite's testimony has to be viewed with his status as a litigant in mind and his apparent reputation for puffery. Hite had complained in the case that the promises of the Virginia government had induced him to sell his valuable mill at Perkiomen for a poor price, i.e., £650. He claimed the mill was so valuable because it was just 15 miles from Philadelphia, but several witnesses testified that Philadelphia was more than twice that far away. The witnesses also could not resist a dig at the comparatively wealthy Hite. They agreed with Hite's statement that he and his settlers underwent hardships, since they did also, "not having the happiness to bring with them six hundred and fifty pounds [currency] to subsist on but was forced to wade through the difficulties of a rude savage wilderness by hard labor ..."

headquarters on the headwaters of Opequon Creek near Kernstown, Virginia. Not all of the existing Indian trails would prove sturdy enough for wagon travel and higher volumes of traffic. According to Warren R. Hofstra, in *The Planting of New Virginia*, the course of the road was determined by the geology of the Lower Valley as much as considerations of safety, economy and opportunity on a rapidly developing frontier.[34] Hofstra noted in particular the influence of limestone and shale formations on topography. Creeks carve deep hollows or troughs through shale, which could facilitate climbing up from a river passage, but once a road did climb up out of these troughs it would tend to run along the more stable, lower relief topography of limestone formations at the heads of creeks. To some extent the route did follow the well-worn Indian trails, but where those were not suitable for a twelve-foot width or the passage of a stream adjustments had to be made. It is this road which became the first highway in the Valley.

Patent Land and Surveys

Among the best evidence for the early path of the Wagon Road in the Lower Valley are the first surveys made by the settlers who received patents from the Virginia authorities. To secure their rights under the Orders of Council, Hite and the other sponsors had to show that a certain minimum number of families had entered their surveys and seated (made improvements on) the land within a specific period of time. Once this was certified, the Virginia government would then issue patents to the settlers for the lands they had surveyed.[35] By whatever means necessary, the syndicates kept the settlers coming. Ross and Bryan's Quaker settlement was particularly successful, bringing in up to 70 families within a few years; Jacob Stover also secured a handful of settlers at Massanutten.[36] All these early settlers followed the path blazed by Hite, up what was commonly known as Hite's Wagon Road.

The Council was sufficiently satisfied that settlement had begun in earnest that it certified Hite's right to 20,000 acres pursuant to the Van Meter orders on October 27, 1732 and gave him further time to qualify on the remainder. The Virginia authorities issued an Order of Council on June 12, 1734 that Hite had complied with the conditions of the grants to the Van Meters, allowing patents to issue beyond those already issued, for the full 40,000 acres. A book made by the surveyor Robert Brooke contains the earliest surviving surveys pursuant to the Orders of Council.[37] Although

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34 See Hofstra, at 32-33

35 Settlement in the Valley proceeded according to the surveys which "codified" the "landscape settlers had already negotiated directly with the environment and with one another." Hofstra, at 110.

36 See Charles E. Kemper, "The Early Westward Movement of Virginia, 1722-1734 (continued)," *Va. Mag. Hist. & Bio.*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (Oct. 1905), 113, 120 fn. 4.

37 Robert Brooke Survey Notebook, Thornton Perry Collection (microfilm), Ruth Scarborough Library, Shepherd University, Shepherdstown, WV. See fn. 1.

these surveys are only a rough indication of the order in which the tracts were actually located, they show early versions of several claims made by the autumn of 1732. After a bit of a gap another flurry of surveys was commissioned beginning in the spring of 1734.

Meanwhile, overlapping and conflicting claims in the Valley began to discourage potential settlers. Hite later recalled that a dispute over William Russell's Orders of Council caused some of the first persons who had promised to take up Hite's lands in the Valley to refuse to remove from their habitations.[38] Hite and his partner McKay won that dispute, and time was extended until Christmas 1735 for them to comply with their additional Orders of Council. But they had to scramble to find buyers for the unfulfilled orders, while Hite also needed to perfect the grants falling within the original Van Meter orders. Consequently, Hite was compelled at some trouble and expense to find new settlers and to give them relatively large grants.

The Beginning of the Hite-Fairfax Dispute[39]

The *Russell* case, which Hite won, was just a blip in comparison with the all-consuming legal dispute that would catch up Hite and many of those holding under him in the Lower Valley for several generations. The first settlers of the Lower Valley could not be blamed for believing that they were outside Fairfax's grant. The 1734 Act erecting Orange County specified that the bounds of the new county extended to Lord Fairfax's grant on the north and also included everything to the furthest reaches of Virginia. The fact that the county government concerned itself with matters across the Blue Ridge or Shenandoah below the "Fairfax Line" shows that the Virginia government assumed that these physical boundaries were the natural limit of the Northern Neck.[40] But as the dispute between Lord Fairfax and the

38 *Hite v Fairfax*, Hite's Bill of Complaint.

39 The author spent three days in April 2019 reviewing the manuscript of the case file in the British Library.

40 Sporadic records indicate that the courts of Stafford and later Prince William County exercised jurisdiction across the Blue Ridge to some extent. See, e.g., the power of attorney granted to Israel Friend, fn. 31, supra. Lord Fairfax presumed that Stafford County's jurisdiction extended west of the Blue Ridge, as shown by the grants (dated September 22 and 23, 1730) from the Proprietary to Landon Carter, Mann Page and others of several large tracts stating that they are "in Stafford County on both sides of a branch that issues out of Potomack River on the upper side of the Blew Ridge commonly called Chenandoah Creek." Once Prince William County was formed in 1731, Fairfax grants in the same area referred to the new county (see grant of 895 acres to Landon Carter, dated June 30, 1731). Prince William County has suffered major record loss and no court orders from the period before the establishment of Orange County survive.

Crown's representatives crystallized, those expecting something similar to the mild form of proprietary government in Pennsylvania had a rude awakening.

Transactions were still going on at a brisk pace when, on November 1, 1735, the Governor received a letter from the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations in London. Enclosed was an order of the Privy Council dated November 29, 1733 enjoining the Governor and the Proprietor from issuing any new grants in the contested district until the dispute about the boundaries of the Northern Neck should be resolved. A flurry of patents suddenly issued out of the Land Office, but soon "the King's office was shut."[41] At that time, 27 surveys, including several belonging to Hite, remained lodged in the Secretary's Office of the Colony of Virginia awaiting patents, the fees having been paid. A further unknown number of settlers, having not yet succeeded in getting their claims surveyed, were in total limbo. Such lands were said to be held under "tomahawk rights," and the holders did not know whether to deal with Hite or with Fairfax. Further complicating matters, Hite was apparently a poor record-keeper.

Lord Fairfax arrived personally in Virginia early in 1736, carrying the royal instructions, and submitted caveats to all grants in the Lower Valley. He enlisted settler Peter Woolf to pilot him up to Jost Hite's to meet with the man and come to some agreement.[42] Hite's bill of complaint in the subsequent lawsuit gives his view of the matter:

> Upon which Joist Hite applied to Lord Fairfax appealing to him insofar as Hite was indebted for several thousand pounds on bonds to the assignees relying on the full faith and credit of the Governor etc. without which they would not have ventured to the Virginia frontier to strengthen the Colony, some of whom lost their lives due to hardships and the incursions of the Indians. And some settlers were ready to take what little they had left and go elsewhere. Upon which Fairfax reassured Hite that the dispute was only about entitlement to the quitrents and that Fairfax would give good title to any tenants once the dispute was resolved, and that Hite should reassure his settlers and entice them to come and settle.

Stafford County has gaps in its records from the period in question. The boundary of Spotsylvania County was limited to the Shenandoah River down to a point "against the head of Rappahannock" – which corresponds to the vicinity of Front Royal, although it appears that the Spotsylvania court sometimes exercised jurisdiction over the Lower Valley pending the establishment of Orange County. The earliest Van Meter/Hite grants used the language, "designed to be included in a county to be named the County of Orange."

41 Deposition of Thomas Hart [Jr.] in *Paul v. Hite*, O.S. 310; N.S. 110 (Augusta County, 1821-052), available in the online chancery records database of the Library of Virginia. See also Stephen Stec, "Catarina Beierlin's Gravestone Revisited," *Mag. Jeff. Co. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. LXXXII (Dec. 2016), 17-32.

42 Woolf's deposition in the *Hite v Fairfax* case.

Despite Fairfax's assurances, the prevailing opinion over the years has been that the ongoing dispute retarded development in the Lower Valley for at least two generations.[43] Settlers with unclear title petitioned the Virginia authorities to issue patents, but on June 17, 1737 their petition was ordered to be deferred until the Fairfax boundary dispute be determined. The Privy Council had ordered that a survey of the branches of the Potomac should be conducted to determine the boundaries of the Northern Neck. Both the Governor and Lord Fairfax procured surveys of the Northern Neck to the upper reaches of the Potomac, submitting them to the Crown in 1737. By this time, it was clear that the Northern Neck extended well beyond the Valley, but the southern boundary of the Northern Neck (based on the main branch of the Rappahannock) was also in dispute. As a compromise, the Board of Plantations in England, on December 21, 1738, confirmed the Fairfax survey of the Potomac on the terms that he should establish all the grants made by the Crown. Fairfax then promised deeds to the Crown grantees, and particularly to Hite and his associates (who threatened otherwise to abandon their settlements and remove to other parts of the country) as soon as his land office should be opened. Hite and his associates withdrew their twenty-seven surveys and fees from the secretary's office in Williamsburg in order to lodge them with the Proprietor for grants, and then went on with their improvements on the lands. But no decision was forthcoming from the Crown about the southern boundary, i.e., the so-called Fairfax Line, and Lord Fairfax refused to open his land office. No new grants would be made west of the Blue Ridge below the Fairfax Line until the late 1740s. Near the Wagon Road, a significant proportion of land was affected as it had yet to be patented.

Although development was hindered, it was not entirely frozen. Patents issued prior to the receipt of the order were considered valid and the tracts, some of the most desirable in the Lower Valley, could be freely bought and sold. Hite and others with unpatented surveys and even with mere tomahawk claims were optimistic about their ultimate chances to get clear title and continued to find ways to buy and sell parcels, usually through assignments and conveyance bonds.[44] There may have been a period of time when Fairfax sought to invalidate the 27 surveys totally but at last he acquiesced in their validity with respect to a certain number of acres, if not the actual bounds. Under the dispute, credit and speculation became dominant characteristics of Valley life.

Evidence of the Course of the Wagon Road

43 See, e.g., Callahan, History of West Virginia (1923), at 51. Witnesses in *Hite v Fairfax* held the same view.

44 For example, Benjamin Borden was trying to sell land on Smith's Creek by promising to give as good title as he could get from the King or from the King and Fairfax, in September 1735. See Answer of settler defendants (living on Smith's Creek) in *Hite v Fairfax* lawsuit.

Hofstra has brought attention to the vernacular nature of road building at the time of first settlement.[45] Secondary roads (the early surveys often refer to these as paths) evolved to connect tracts taken up along the small tributaries of the Potomac and Shenandoah Rivers with each other, and with the main road leading to the burgeoning settlements of Opeckon and further up the Valley. Commercial establishments such as mills gave rise to roads for two reasons – the mill dams served as stream crossings, and mills were public places where farmers could bring their grain to be ground.[46] But throughout this period, there was still a main highway from the Northern Provinces that differed in character from these local routes, and towards which several early patents were oriented.

Reconstructing the early physical features of settlement, including roads, is hindered not only due to the gap in the issuance of grants, but also because Lord Fairfax disregarded the unpatented surveys to such an extent that many early records were thought worthless and were discarded. The patent lands, a few early deeds, deeds and patents across the river in Maryland, and the unpatented surveys in dispute are among the best evidence of the situation at first settlement. A handful of references to "Hite's Waggon Road" or the "Waggon Road" in the early Brooke surveys supply us with certain landmarks to help in reconstructing the path of this first highway. Among the Brooke surveys that show the route of the wagon road in the future Jefferson County were those of Samuel Taylor, Isaac Garrison, two made for Hite, and a large survey for Burden (Borden), Hampton and Griffith. Other early surveys that provide indirect evidence of the route were made for Robert Worthington, William Vestal, Thomas Shepherd, Richard Morgan, John Smith and Rees Smith.

Besides these early descriptions, Orange County court records also provide clues. The court often dealt with the building of roads, the early records pertaining mostly to the country east of the Blue Ridge. The first roads discussed *over the Blue Ridge* were those that would enable the western

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45 Hofstra, at 157-60.

46 The gradual development of paths into roads can be seen by this example. On April 12, 1734 Robert Brooke made a survey for Richard Morgan above the future site of Shepherdstown referring to "the dividing of Josiah Jones's and Charles Anderson's path," which connected Anderson's *Terrapin Neck* tract and Josiah Jones's mill on Rockymarsh Run to the lower settlements. Rockymarsh Run was then known as Jones's Mill Branch. Brooke made a survey on May 30, 1734 for Charles Anderson, Josiah Jones and Joseph Mounts (this was Joseph Mounts Anderson – son of Charles Mounts Anderson and one of constable John Van Meter's deputies in Monocacy) for 834 acres. Jones had an adjoining survey for 164 acres. By October 3, the section from Jones's mill westward towards Morgan Bryan's mill at Mill Creek on the Opequon was being referred to as a road. George Williams' grant on that date mentions "the road from Charles Anderson's to Morgan Bryant's."

inhabitants to get to the courthouse. As one population center was near the Forks of the Shenandoah, and the courthouse was in today's Culpeper County at Raccoon Ford, a major trail connecting the western settlements to the courthouse ran from Chester's Ferry (near Front Royal) through Chester's Gap to Beverley's land east of the Ridge. When pressure built to make this into a wagon road, there was great clamor. Jost Hite was not well served by the Chester's Gap route so in 1737 he and 40 supporters petitioned for a road to a closer gap in the Blue Ridge. In response, the King's Road (aka Dutch Road) from Ashby's Bent (or Gap) to Jost Hite's mill was laid out in 1738.[47]

Meanwhile, it could be said that the court was largely agnostic towards the goings-on of the enterprising strangers at the gateway to the Valley. Despite its obvious importance, the Wagon Road from the Northern Provinces was not originally a public road – i.e., one regulated by the court requiring the nearby residents ("tithables") to clear and maintain it. It was apparently self-regulating and privately maintained, likely supported through tolls. The passage of the Potomac River also influenced how the road developed, a matter out of the hands of Virginia authorities, since Maryland had jurisdiction over the river. Because ferries were not licensed in Maryland, competition and market forces were free to determine their operation, contributing to shifts in the route.

Nevertheless, seven years after Orange County's establishment, roads in the Lower Valley began to appear in the records. The road orders and other court records establish various landmarks along the route of the Wagon Road, such as the land of Thomas Rutherford, John Tradan's Old Place, Walker's Mill Dam, Pitt's Marsh, and the Head of Bullskin.[48] Finally, although Lord Fairfax would refuse to respect Hite's original surveys, in about 1750 he began to authorize Guy Broadwater, George Washington and others to draw up new surveys to the settlers for the land they had long occupied, which often referred to landmarks such as the "old" wagon road.

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47 Ann Brush Miller, Orange County Road Orders 1734-1749 (July 1984). It was referred to as a wagon road in 1743. See Frederick County Order Book 1, p. 4, in Luckman and Miller, "Frederick County Road Orders 1743-1772." In 1746 the road was superseded by the Pioneer Road built over the Blue Ridge between Alexandria, Ashby's Gap (Paris VA) and Winchester, which roughly corresponds to Route 50 today. None of this route falls within West Virginia.

48 See road orders related to the road from Teagues Ferry to Head of Bullskin, thence to Kerseys Ferry, ordered to be laid out on November 26, 1742 (the name of Taylor's Ferry changed to Teague's Ferry when Moses Teague, who would marry Taylor's daughter Rachel, took over its operation; Teague purchased Garrison's land by the ford in 1742 and for a time had control of both the ford and the ferry); road order of July 17, 1744 for a road from John Shepard's Ferry to the Head of Bullskin. O'Dell makes the case that these roads correspond to the Hite Wagon Road as far as the Head of Bullskin. I agree, except for the section between the Potomac and Hart's, see below. See also the 1809 Varle map of Frederick, Berkeley and Jefferson Counties.

The best and most comprehensive study of these sources is found in Cecil O'Dell's *Pioneers of Old Frederick County, Virginia*. O'Dell was ably assisted by surveyor Galtjo L. Geertsema.[49] From an analysis of the various sources mentioned above, a rough approximation of the route of the original wagon road can be determined.

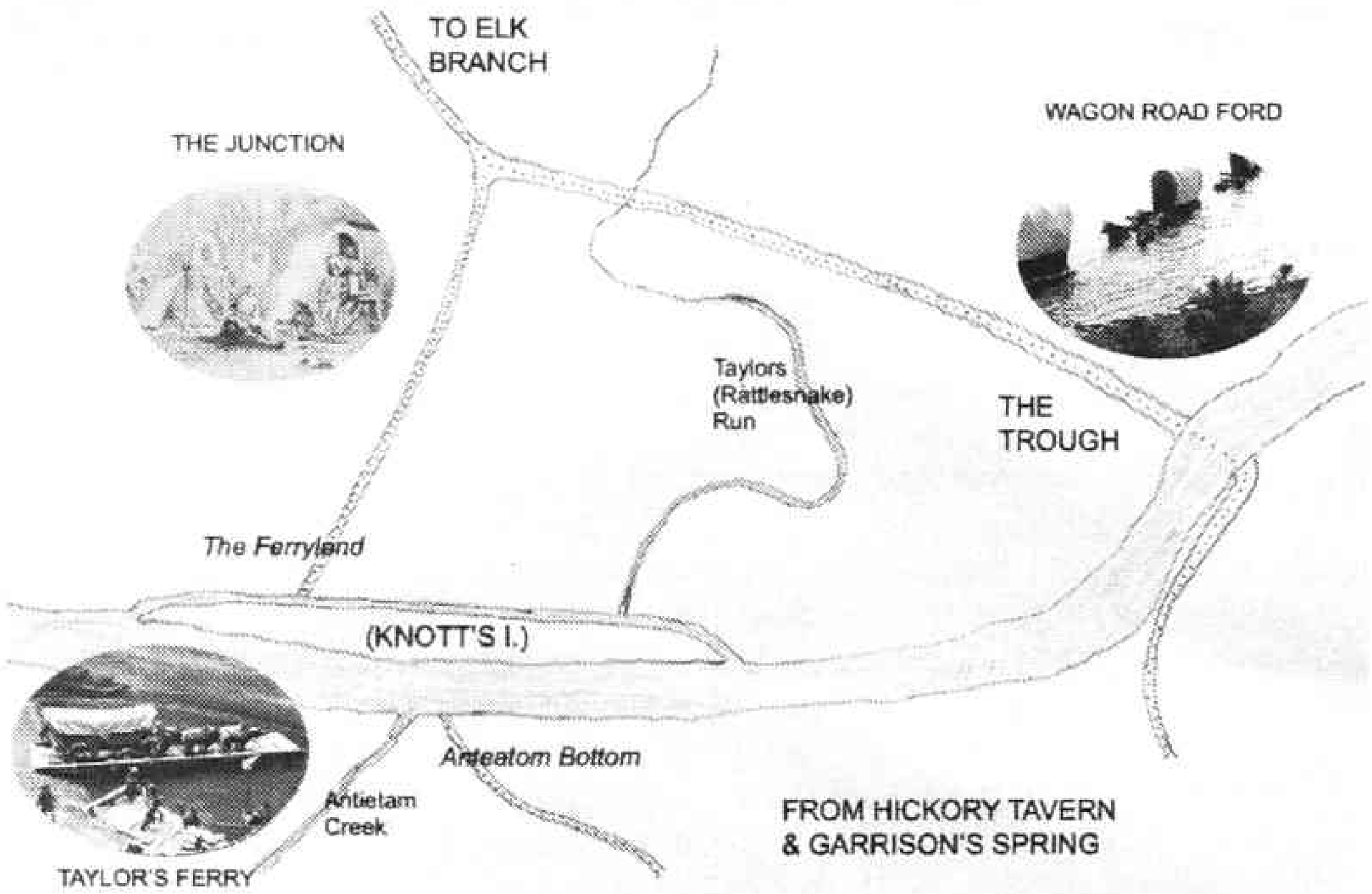


Figure 1: Ford and ferry crossing of the Potomac

The Ferryland, the Ford and the Junction

The initial Potomac crossing two miles above Harpers Ferry at Israel Friend's may have been used for a time, but it was quickly overtaken by a better alternative, beginning a pattern of small shifts in the Wagon Road route. Developments on the Maryland side of the Potomac River would play an important role. Several Maryland patents and deeds from the early 1730s refer to the wagon road leading from Conestoga to Monocacy and in at least one case to Opeckon as well. Osborn Sprigg and Thomas Swearingen, the latter of whom would come to operate the ferry at the site of Shepherdstown, received the first land patents where Little Antietam Creek came down off the mountain (near Keedysville).[50] After the Antietam Creek ford, the road

49 The author acknowledges a large debt to their work.

50 Osborn Sprigg's survey for *Forest or Forrest* was made on May 28, 1734 for 285 acres, on the north side of the Conococheague Road near the Shenandoah Mountain. The tract was patented on June 10 of the same year. The survey for *Pile Grove*, surveyed three days

split, the right fork continuing northwestwards towards Conococheague (Williamsport) and the far reaches of the Province of Maryland, while the Wagon Road from Conestoga to Opeckon turned down along Antietam Creek towards the Potomac. Hickory Tavern, on a tract of the same name patented by Edmond Cartledge, member of a notorious family of Indian traders from Conestoga Township, Pennsylvania, was built at the last stop before the passage of the Potomac.[51] Joseph Chapline took over from Cartledge where he later founded the town of Sharpsburg.

Sprigg, Swearingen and Chapline were old-line Marylanders whose families had generations of experience as land barons, tavern-keepers and civic leaders. Sprigg, a merchant planter, was scion of one of the wealthiest families in Maryland. Swearingen and Chapline were cousins, their mothers being daughters of Hugh Riley, a Scottish planter and land baron of the Patuxent. The Swearingens, moreover, had a name legendarily associated with hospitality, their famous Dutch ancestor, Gerrit Van Sweringen, having been the first person to serve coffee in Maryland, at his St. Mary's City tavern. These pioneering entrepreneurs were soon to be joined by recent Monocacy migrants like the Shepherds and William Spurgeon, and together they formed a community that had the luxury of gradually developing their Virginia interests not far from their Maryland homes. Some of them would be counted towards meeting the requirements of the Van Meter Orders of Council. And they also had a hand in establishing and modifying the route of the Wagon Road.

> "Do you think they have taken Taylor's Ferry?" We are eavesdropping on our courting couple in 1735 again. Word travels fast and everyone knows about the beginnings of public services across the Ridge. Samuel Taylor has come from Delaware to operate a ferry over the Potomac. Peering down at the Shenandoah below, the young couple sees where

later for Richard Sprigg, refers to a road "commonly called the Waggon Road." On June 12, 1734, Thomas Swearingen received a survey for a tract called *Fell Foot*, 115 acres, in the fork of Little Antietam Creek "about ten perches from a road commonly called the Waggon Road." It was patented on November 10, 1737. *Pile Grove* and *Fell Foot* are on the southeast side of Keedysville. See also re Jeremiah York of *Terrapin Neck* in Dan Everson, "A History of the National Conservation Training Center Property and Surrounding Area" (July 2008 revision).

51 In Pennsylvania records the name is usually spelled Edmund Cartlidge. Cartledge's father and uncle had traded with the Indians "towards the Potomac" since the 1710s and were implicated in the notorious murder of a Seneca Indian at Monocacy in 1722. See Charles A. Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail* (New York: 1911), at 173-74. The beginning tree of the survey for *Hickory Tavern*, dated October 3, 1737, is a hickory standing between the Wagon Road and Garrison's Spring on the west side of Antietam Creek. There is an erasure on the recorded survey where the words "Hickory Tavern" appear, showing that the tract may have had an earlier name. Cartledge moved to Georgia.

> Quaker carpenter William Vestal has located his claim near iron ore deposits, while beyond their field of vision gristmills, sawmills and places of accommodation are buzzing away. The prospects of these ventures depend upon a growing customer base entering through the highway from the North. "Yes, I suppose so," says the young man. "So, darling, shall we have beef, bacon or venison at Hart's?"

Brooke's surveys and those of the bounds of the Northern Neck show that the wagon route from the Northern Provinces coalesced around a two-pronged configuration – a ferry and a ford, which worked in tandem to increase the chances for safe passage of the river in all seasons and every kind of weather (See Figure 1). On April 3, 1734, Brooke made a survey for Samuel Taylor for the *Ferryland*. The following day, Taylor's northern neighbor, Isaac Garrison, received a survey extending up to the "Waggon Road Ford." The surveys indicate that these landmarks were already well established. Laid onto a modern map, they show the precise locations of the first ferry and ford.[52] The ferry landing on the Virginia side was below Knotts Island, just above the spot where today's McShanes Landing Road comes out of the woods to meet the river. The reference to Garrison's line extending 20 poles (330 feet) above the Waggon Road Ford places the ford almost exactly where Trough Road and River Road meet, at the spot commonly known as Pack Horse Ford.

Garrison's Spring, on the Maryland side of the ford, is referenced in the survey for *Hickory Tavern*. Shepherd is another name that appears on both sides of the river from the earliest records. A name associated with both sides of the ford is William Spurgeon. The detailed Northern Neck surveys of the upper Potomac made in 1736-7 show that he had houses in both colonies.[53] On the Virginia side, the map and survey showed his house on Garrison's land on the east side of the Wagon Road, and he soon purchased 200 acres up Falling Spring Branch above the land of Thomas Shepherd.[54]

This dual system may have worked as follows. The Wagon Road brought

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52 Understanding Robert Brooke's surveys requires some imagination. They include numerous errors. In the *Ferryland* survey, one course measurement differs between the plat (88 poles) and the narrative survey (118 poles), and in attempting to plot the survey against modern maps, it appeared that both were short. On a hunch, I decided to try a course of 188 poles, which appeared to be correct as it produced a projection corresponding to the actual course of the river.

53 See James W. Foster, "Maps of the First Survey of the Potomac River, 1736-1737," *Wm. & Mary Qrtly.* Vol. 18, No. 2 (Apr. 1938), 149-157.

54 Orange County Deed Book 2:413, June 21, 1737. John Welton to William Spurgeon.

news by the faster travelers on horseback about the anticipated arrival of settlers, which apprised the drivers and ferry operators on how to plan for the needs of the day. At Garrison's Spring or Hickory Tavern, the teamsters and the families would take refreshment and meet servants posted to advise them about the conditions of the river and the way to cross. If conditions were bad due to weather or high water, crossings could be delayed. The professional drivers from the neighborhood would be camped out ready to take the draught animals and/or wagons to the shallow ford, while the families would head to Antietam Bottom.[55] In the earliest days, Taylor's ferry might have been large enough only to carry some family members and a sealed trunk containing their most valuable items, while the drivers took care of the oxen and the wagons. But later, the teams might have been unhitched at the ferry crossing and the wagons taken over one or two at a time via a flatboat driven along a cable in relative ease.[56]

From the ford, the Wagon Road proceeded south up the "Trough" for a distance of about two and a half miles. Meanwhile, at the *Ferryland* the travelers waited for a signal indicating a successful crossing at the ford, and then took Taylor's conveyances on the Ferry Road away from the landing up a small hollow, a bit north of the course of Knott Road. Samuel Taylor took out a second survey on both sides of Rattlesnake Run (then called Taylors Run, later Lucas Run), at the junction where the wagon road and the ferry road met.[57] The junction may not have offered many comforts, but the

55 The survey for the 300-acre tract called *Anteatam Bottom* in Maryland begins at a hickory standing near Samuel Taylor's ferry by the side of the Potomac.

56 A similar arrangement has been documented for Wright's Ferry across the Susquehanna.

57 The junction is a bit hard to locate. The beginning of Taylor's second survey refers only to a road in a valley, about a mile and a half from his dwelling plantation. The ferry road ran along the south side of Rattlesnake Run where it met the Wagon Road coming across the run from the north. Based on rough calculations, the junction appears to have been just south of the end of Quinn Lea Road. This is admittedly a very rough estimate, since Taylor's second Brooke survey is even more difficult to decipher than the first. There is one course missing from the metes and bounds of the written survey. The dimensions labeled on the plat differ from the written survey and are wrong on their face. But there is one dimension on the plat that seems to fill in the missing course on the written survey, and by inserting it, something very close to the plat results! Even so, the landmarks on the survey, consisting of the run, the two roads, and the west side of a valley, cannot be easily located on a modern map. The 1852 Brown map of Jefferson County, which sometimes helps in these cases, does not show any property lines obviously corresponding to the old plat. I have reached my conclusions based on extending the Trough Road towards an indicative crossing of Rattlesnake Run according to topography and estimating the relative position of the Ferry Road from the survey. For the survey to make sense, I needed to apply a declination of -7.0 degrees. The starting point of the survey in this case is about 200 meters into the woods southwest of the Engle Moler Road, measured from a point about two-thirds of the way between Moler Crossroads and the spot where Rattlesnake Run crosses the road. My estimate differs only slightly from that of O'Dell and Geertsema.

oxen, horses and mules could be fed, watered and rested there along the bank. Doubtless countless families paused at the junction in their wagons before continuing on their journeys. Meanwhile, those ferry passengers with their own mode of transportation, foot or horse, might decide to linger among their fellow travelers, or they could go on their merry ways.

To the Elk Branch

The main wagon route to Opeckon and points beyond had begun to climb away from the Potomac towards higher ground. It proceeded across the dry upland along the heads of the various creeks. The next landmark along the way was Edward Lucas's Cold Spring tract at the head of Rattlesnake Run, near what is today Route 17 or Flowing Springs Road. Lucas, Thomas Hart and Samuel Darke[58] were among the second wave of pioneer settlers that Jost Hite enticed to replace those who had backed out due to the land disputes in the Valley.[59] Thomas Hart of Warminster, Bucks County, Pennsylvania contracted with Hite in the spring of 1735 to purchase 1500 acres of land in two tracts at the Elk Branch and between there and the Potomac. The northern tract was intended for Hart's cousin, Edward Lucas. The focus of this apparent joint venture was Hart's tavern or ordinary at the Elk Branch, which he operated for several years.

Hite gave Hart a conveyance bond dated March 29, 1735, which refers to the "Waggon Road from Potomack to Opeckon."[60] Hart employed deputy surveyor John Smith to make a survey for 1300 acres on the Elk Branch, from which the location of the Wagon Road crossing of the Elk Branch can be estimated. Hart's survey straddled the Elk Branch for about two miles, from Shenandoah Junction in the west almost all the way down to the Shepherdstown Pike. Hart allocated the lower sections of his survey to his son Miles Hart and his brother-in-law John Miles. His ordinary and the Wagon Road crossing apparently lay in the upper part, i.e., between Duffields and Shenandoah Junction. The most likely area is along the course of today's Flowing Springs Road, near the spring called Melvin Farm Spring on current maps and previously known as the Link Spring. This

58 The 1750 Fairfax survey for Samuel Dark, who lived just north of Hart, refers to where he lives near the "Main Road," which could be a reference copied from an earlier survey which is now lost.

59 *Hite v Fairfax*, Hite's Bill of Complaint.

60 Most facts in this section are reconstructed from the record in the *Paul v Hite* chancery case, see above. See also Stec, op cit.

would mean that the Wagon Road roughly followed the course of Flowing Springs Road in this vicinity, except that the road has jogged slightly to follow property lines (See Figure 2). O'Dell reached a similar conclusion.[61]

The ordinary at Hart's house was the first one licensed anywhere between the Potomac and the future State line, which makes it the first in the future Jefferson County and possibly all of West Virginia.[62] Located about 7.5 miles from the daunting Potomac River crossing, Hart's Ordinary[63] was the equivalent of a major rest area on today's Interstate highway system. It may have been in operation shortly after Hart took out his survey and was still being licensed in the mid-1740s.

At or near Hart's the Wagon Road crossed the trail connecting the Blue Ridge with the Warm Spring (Berkeley Springs). This trail soon became the Warm Spring Road.[64] It extended from the North Mountain at the gap called Robinson's Gap, on Jonas Hedges' land (near Hedgesville), to Opequon Creek, to the head of Elk Branch, to Vestals Ford over the Shenandoah, and to the Blue Ridge (Vestals Gap).[65] Hart played a large role in viewing and setting off the roads in his area and would surely have served his own interests in marking the roads convenient to his tavern.[66]

61 O'Dell, p. 487.

62 Orange County Order Book No. 3, p. 236, September 23, 1742. See Ann Brush Miller, Orange County Road Orders 1734-1749 (July 1984), p. 74. The first ordinaries across the Blue Ridge in Virginia were licensed to operate on October 19, 1736 at Opeckon (Lewis Stephen) and the mouth of Happy Creek (Thomas Chester). Jost Hite received a license to operate an ordinary at his house on April 27, 1738.

63 The name of Thomas Hart's licensed ordinary is not known. The system of the ordinary, dating from the late Elizabethan era, was to provide a set meal at specific times of the day for any and all comers at a standard price.

64 Proof that Hart's Ordinary was located convenient to the Warm Spring Road is found in a Fairfax survey made for John Pagan, merchant of Fairfax County, for 1069 acres, dated November 16, 1752. Pagan, a Glasgow merchant, was one of the original trustees of Alexandria, Virginia, established in 1749. The beginning of Pagan's survey is: "A stone about four foot in height standing on the east side of the Warm Spring Road on the drains of Shannandoa [sic] erected by Thomas Hart as a corner to an old survey of his." The "old survey" is without doubt the one Hart took out in 1735. Superimposing Hart's old survey and Pagan's survey on contemporary maps yields the result that Hart's northwest corner was in the vicinity of the intersection of today's Luther Jones Road and Warm Springs Road.

65 The road is first documented in an Orange County road order, May 27, 1743, p. 448, see below.

66 Thomas Hart was one of the commissioners tasked with viewing and laying off the Warm Spring Road. Orange County Road Orders, p. 448 (May 27, 1743). Edward Lucas was appointed overseer of the road from the extent of the county (Blue Ridge) to the head of

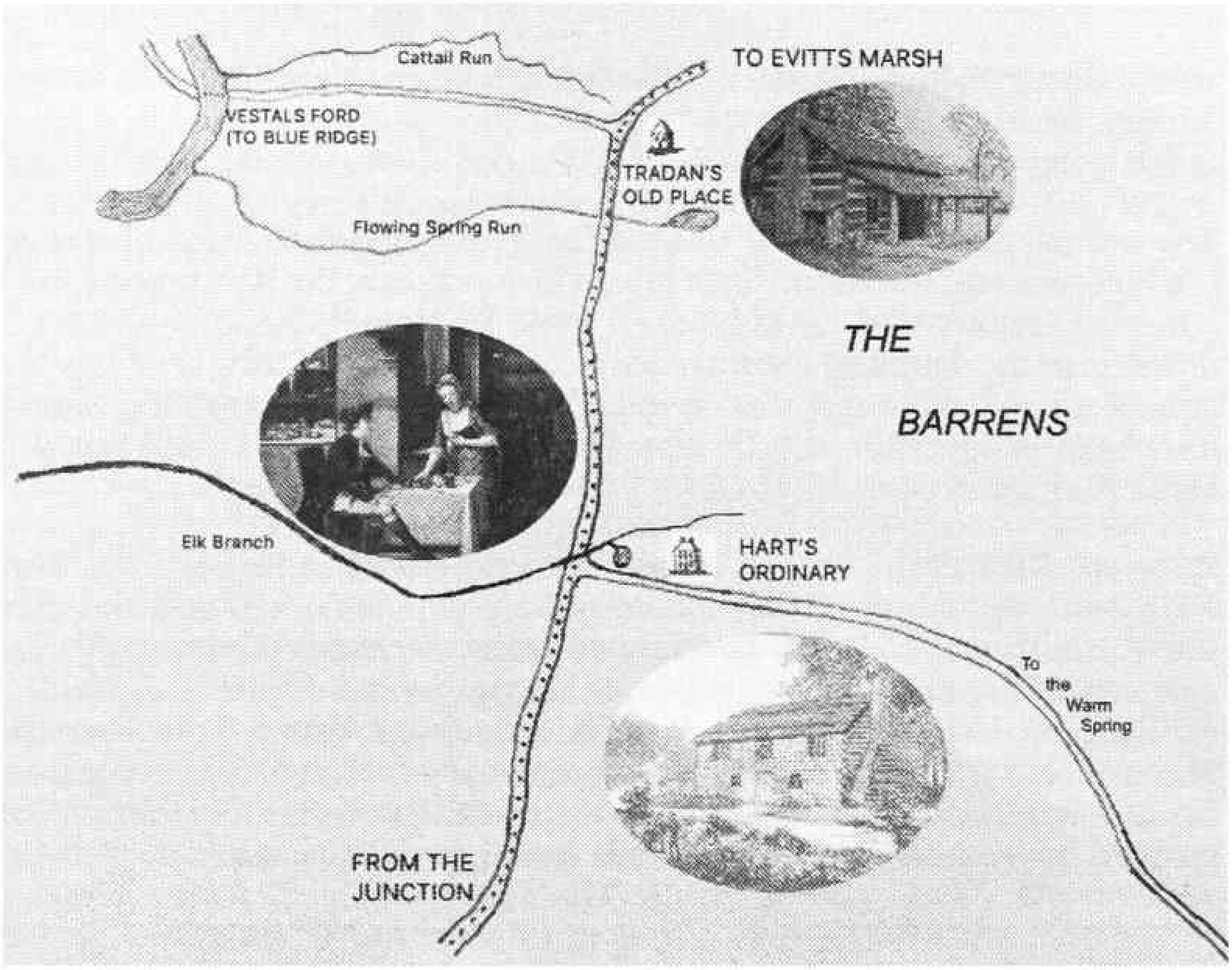


Figure 2: The wagon road from Elk Branch to Cattail Run

Hart's to Quarry Bank

From Elk Branch to Bullskin Run the route of the Wagon Road has to be reconstructed through reference to later road orders, deeds, surveys and patents, since none of the early surveys reveal the course. However, the road from Teagues Ferry[67] to Head of Bullskin, thence to Kerseys Ferry, which the Orange County Court ordered to be laid out on November 26, 1742, and the subsequent road order of July 17, 1744 for a road from John "Shepard's" Ferry to the Head of Bullskin seem to represent the transformation of sections of the old Hite's Wagon Road into a public road.[68] These road

"Elkin Branch." *Ibid.* The 1852 Brown map of Jefferson County shows the Alexandria and Warm Springs Road skirting around Hart's former holdings to the west, following certain tract boundaries, and meeting the former Hite's Wagon Road a bit south of his survey. But such a route may have been adapted to take into account later uses of the land, for example, to circumnavigate cultivated fields. The 1809 Varle map of Frederick, Berkeley and Jefferson Counties shows a road connecting the Warm Spring Road to Mannings at the site of Duffields, vaguely parallel to the Elk Branch. This road would have cut across the Hart survey, connecting the Warm Spring Road with Hite's Wagon Road.

67 Formerly Taylor's Ferry, see note 51, above.

68 O'Dell makes the case that these roads correspond to Hite's Wagon Road as far as the Head of Bullskin (near Summit Point). For reasons discussed below, I think these roads in-

orders taken together identify the following waypoints on the Wagon Road south of Hart's: the land of Thomas Rutherford, John Tradan's old place, Walker's Mill Dam, Pitt's Marsh, and the Head of Bullskin through the lands of John McCormack.

South of Hart's, the Wagon Road continued on about four miles through open scrub country to the Flowing Springs, a pleasant stop at a place that would later provide the original water supply for Charlestown. David Perkins, formerly of Maryland, had a patent there, which Thomas Rutherford, a merchant, took over in 1741 from Isaac Perkins to form the basis of his large landholdings.[69]

The next landmark was the unpatented claim of John Tradan, called his "old place." John Tradan (aka Tredane) was a notable person on the frontier. He had a tract of land called *Kilfadda* on the Conestoga Wagon Road at the site of Union Bridge, Maryland, and was closely associated with the leaders of the Monocacy settlement, among them John Van Meter, Solomon Hedges, Robert Jones and Charles Carroll. He was once arrested by Pennsylvania authorities in connection with the border dispute known as Cresap's War.[70] He sold *Kilfadda* in 1734 with the intention of settling in Virginia. Tradan later became a partner (in 1742) in William Vestal's venture to build a bloomery for the making of bar iron where Cattail Run falls into the Shenandoah.[71]

Tradan's "old place" appears to have been near the head of Cattail Run and could have been situated where the Warm Spring Road left the course of the Wagon Road to run down along Cattail Run to Vestal's Ford.[72] Had Tradan

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cluded alterations between the Potomac and Hart's, but from Hart's to Summit Point they agree with existing evidence about the course of the Wagon Road. The road to Kerseys Ferry left Hite's Wagon Road at Summit Point and crossed the Shenandoah where the U.S. 50 bridge does today, west of Ashby's Gap. See the 1809 Varle map of Frederick, Berkeley and Jefferson Counties.

69 O'Dell locates the land of David Perkins patented on October 3, 1734 at Flowing Springs. While the description in Perkins' grant does not mention the Flowing Springs (or the road), the location can be deduced from Rutherford's later dealings with Lord Fairfax to consolidate several tracts. Besides Perkins' 519 acres, he purchased Henry Bradshaw's claim (400 acres) and also took out additional surveys from Fairfax. He combined these into a Fairfax grant of 2071 acres in 1751. Bradshaw's grant was also from Fairfax, warrant dated April 4, 1750, "near Rutherford's."

70 See *Pioneers of Old Monocacy*, at 17.

71 Vestal, a Quaker from Chester County, Pennsylvania, took out the first survey in eastern Jefferson County, made on March 30, 1734, just days before Taylor's and Garrison's surveys. His land on the west side of the Shenandoah still carries the name of Bloomery today.

72 Later maps show the Warm Spring Road following a shorter route and intersecting with Flowing Springs Road just south of the Zoar Meeting House. See the 1809 Varle map and the 1852 Brown map.

not died just before Lord Fairfax opened his land office and began giving out land warrants, we would have a better idea of where he lived. Tradan transferred his interests in the bloomery to Samuel Walker and William Davis, designating them his legatees and executors. Walker and Davis apparently used Tradan's land rights to take out Fairfax grants adjoining their own lands. Walker, from Cecil County, Maryland, was in the area prior to 1738 and purchased 100 acres in 1740 from Jost Hite's 668-acre patent on both sides of "Evarts Marsh" (Evitts Run).[73] Evidently, Walker operated a mill on Evitts Run and the Wagon Road ran over his mill dam. This was a legal requirement at the time so as to facilitate passage over creeks. Walker's Mill Dam was at the future west end of Charlestown on land he later sold to Lawrence Washington.[74] Thus, when Charlestown was laid out a half-century later, its main street passed along the old road (See Figure 3).

After Walker's came the vast patent called *Quarry Bank New Stile*, which Robert Worthington, a wealthy innholder from Philadelphia County, took out on October 3, 1734. Worthington had been owner and operator of an inn at the former Pennsylvania Governor Fairman Mansion at Shackamaxon, where the great and venerable Treaty-Elm of William Penn was located.[75] He had rechristened his 3000-acre tract from its earlier name of *Everys Marsh*. The tract sat on a fine meadow extending from the west side of the future Charlestown almost to Summit Point. The renowned Piedmont mansion stands on his patent. Although Worthington's patent did not mention the road, O'Dell analyzed subsequent grants referring to an "old waggon road" to prove that the southern edge of *Quarry Bank* skirted the Wagon Road west of Evitts Run.[76] Quarry Bank may have been intended as a place of public accommodation, like the inn that Worthington ran in Philadelphia. But Worthington's plans were interrupted by his untimely death in the fall of 1735 on a trip to Maryland.[77]

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73 Orange County Deed Book 4, pp. 29-30, May 2-3, 1740. Hite Patent, October 3, 1734.

74 Frederick County Deed Book, September 19, 1747.

75 See Milligan, *Ohio's Founding Fathers* (2003); New York Post, March 2, 1892; Abstracts of General Loan Office Mortgages, *Publications of the Genealogical Society of Penna.*, Vol. VI (1917), at 280. Robert Worthington was born in Styal, a Cheshire village near Pownall, England. The Worthington family estate in Styal was called *Quarrel Banks* or *Quarry Banks*. "New Stile" is an apparent reference to Styal. The Hopewell Friends History states that Worthington was a merchant, exporter and farmer, and promoter of settlement in his part of the Valley.

76 See Fairfax grants made to Samuel Worthington and Laurence Washington in 1751-2; O'Dell, at 488.

77 See Orange County Will Book 1, p. 20, Robert Whartington. See also Robert "Warthington," Md. Calendar of Wills 7.162 (21.516), October 2, 1735, November 1, 1735; O'Dell, at 102. The widow Mary Worthington remarried to Samuel Britton or Brittain. *Everys Marsh* and Evitts Run were perhaps named for an unknown historical Everett who intended to take up this land and may have gotten a survey, now lost. One John Everett witnessed the marriage of John Littler and Mary Ross at Nottingham

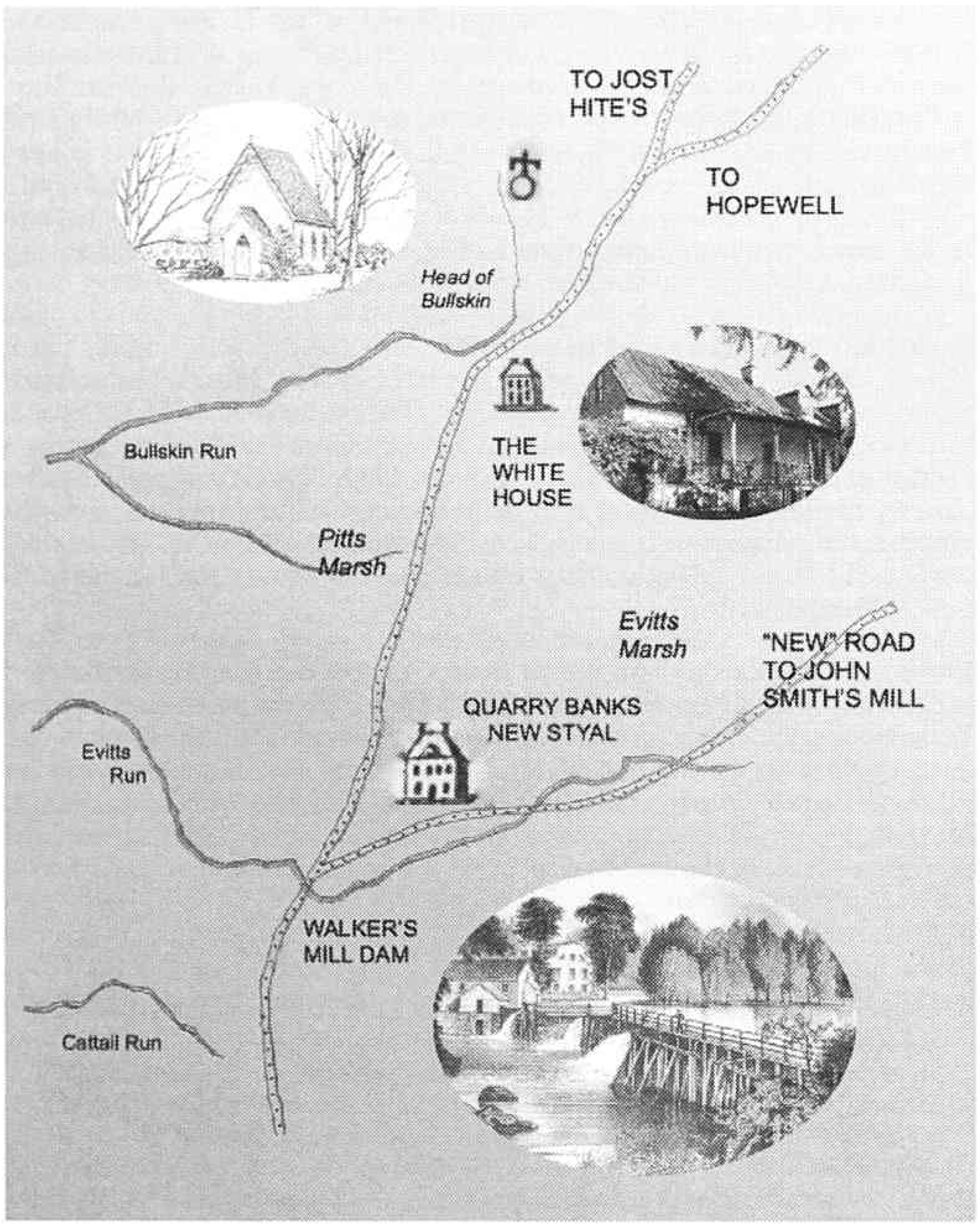


Figure 3: The wagon road from Elk Branch to Cattail Run

Head of Bullskin and Beyond

The next survey in the direction of Opeckon referred specifically to the Wagon Road. It was for Jost Hite's 1020-acre survey dated August 23, 1734, beginning at a corner tree of Robert Worthington's survey, about 28 poles

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Meeting, Chester County, Pennsylvania, on June 5, 1728. See O'Dell, at 193.

(i.e., about 462 feet) below "the Waggon Road." This survey adjoined the 750-acre survey for John Pitts, and together the area was known as Pitts Marsh. Pitts Marsh was a wetland area on the North Fork of Bullskin Run, above what came to be known as Claymount Court Springs.[78] While Pitts' Brooke survey does not mention the road, O'Dell shows the upper edge of Pitts' land adjoining the Wagon Road. A possible route for the road in this section runs parallel but a bit south of present-day Route 13, Summit Point Road, until it rejoins the current path of Route 13 near the intersection with Lloyd Road.

From there the road headed southwest towards Head of Bullskin, the name given to the headwaters of the main (south) branch of Bullskin Run. It first crossed a wedge of land surveyed for Jost Hite on November 11, 1735. On the adjoining Brooke survey made for Benjamin Burden (Borden), Andrew Hampton and David Griffith on April 23, 1734, "Hite's Waggon Road" is clearly marked approaching the main branch of Bullskin Run from the northeast at an acute angle. Their 1,222-acre tract known as *Cool Spring Farm* was located on both sides of Bullskin Run. It was also traversed by Lewis Thomas' path.

Just before hitting the run, which flowed almost due southeast, the road turned to the right up along the bank. Then, where the main branch of Bullskin Run curved to the southwest, the road continued westward. Leaving the *Cool Spring Farm* tract, it crossed another Hite survey of 395 acres, subsequently purchased by Dr. John McCormack or McCormick on May 21, 1740. McCormack erected his "White House" there where the road passed one of the Bullskin springs. It was the center of an early Scots-Irish settlement, the only typical open-country "neighborhood" in that part of the Lower Valley.[79] A spur from the Wagon Road led about a mile south to the Hopewell or Bullskin Presbyterian Church established in the 1730s next to the head spring.[80] The Wagon Road proceeded to the intersection

78 Pitts came from Anne Arundel County, Maryland, to take over the rights of Edward Moloy. Moloy may have been a very early purchaser under the Van Meter Orders of Council, like the apocryphal Everett.

79 See Hofstra, at 101-13.

80 The church's first mention in the records of Donegal Presbytery on April 2, 1740 shows that it was not new at that time. See Graham, *The Planting of the Presbyterian Church in Northern Virginia* (1904). The first definitive record of Presbyterian services in the Valley is from 1735, when Samuel Gelston preached at Opeckon. Reverend William Williams, related to the Swearingens, Chaplines and Rileys of Maryland and the Lower Valley, was licensed to preach as a Presbyterian dissenting minister in the Orange County court on September 22, 1737. He expressed his intention to hold meetings on his own plantation and on that of Morgan Bryan. Orange County Order Book No. 1, p. 213. See also Hofstra, at 185, n. 11, and sources cited therein. Williams' plantation was east of the Opequon at the mouth of Spa Run, not far from John Van Meter's. He also held a large claim on both sides of Opequon Creek around Three Run, west of Leetown. See O'Dell. Some have speculated that he preached at Bullskin, but it is not proven. See

of Summit Point Road and Hardesty Road, the latter called Old Charles Town Road in Virginia.

Opequon Creek was the next physical obstacle the Wagon Road had to pass. The Wagon Road's path in the State of Virginia is beyond the scope of this article but determining the last short bit of the road in Jefferson County depends on its further course. It should first be mentioned that no old surveys or other records make clear reference to the course of the Wagon Road between Head of Bullskin and the west side of Opequon Creek.[81] A case for the path of Hite's Wagon Road can be made for either Summit Point Road or Hardesty Road. Summit Point Road proceeds via Swimley and Brucetown to the Hopewell Meeting House on the land of Quaker pioneer Alexander Ross.[82] Hardesty Road and Old Charles Town Road[83] cross the Opequon further upstream at Grapes (Krebs) or Seevers Ford above Hot Run (originally Yorkshiremans Branch, later Littlers Run), where John Littler had a tavern. Another possible route via Hardesty Road bypassed the bulk of the Quaker settlements and crossed the Opequon even higher up at Burnt Factory where Lewis Neill had an ordinary.[84]

In favor of the lower (Summit Point Road) route is the fact that it represents the shortest way to get from Head of Bullskin to a practical crossing of the Opequon, something that would have been of primary importance to the earliest migrants for whom water access was a major consideration. Ross may have chosen his homesite purposefully to take advantage of this situation. Also, the Hopewell Meeting House was a very important landmark. The Quaker community at Monocacy, although recognized in

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Robert F. Scott, "Colonial Presbyterianism in the Valley of Virginia, 1727-1775," *J. Presbyterian Hist. Soc.*, Vol. XXXV, No. 2 (June 1957) 71, 73.

81 O'Dell's next reference is Thomas Rutherford's sale of a tract by lease and release referring to "the East side of the main road from Potomack to Just Hites" made on April 28-29, 1742. See Orange County Deed Book 5, pp. 159, 161. This land was located in the area covered by the Ross/Bryan Orders of Council on part of John Calvert's patent. The references in the deeds indicate that this section of the Wagon Road followed today's South Pleasant Valley Road on the south side of Winchester.

82 The Quakers of "Opeckon" met informally prior to May 1734 when they were first referred to in the minutes of Nottingham Monthly Meeting. See generally *Hopewell Friends History* (1936, 1975), at 40-49. Ross dedicated part of his large estate for the establishment of the Hopewell Meeting House.

83 This road was called Rutherford Road in a 1754 survey for Mary Littler.

84 See O'Dell, at 231; William Jolliffe, *Historical, Genealogical, and Biographical Account of the Jolliffe Family of Virginia*, 1652 to 1893 (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1893), at 176-182. Jost Hite mentioned John and Lewis Neill among those to whom he had sold land after the *Russell* dispute, for 640 acres. *Hite v Fairfax* Bill of Complaint. The Neills had an unpatented survey for 640 acres made on November 4, 1735. Louis des Cognets, Jr., *English Duplicates of Lost Virginia Records* (Princeton: 1958), at 122. The survey has not survived but the Neills and their heirs apparently used their rights to take out Fairfax grants in the vicinity of Burnt Factory.

the minutes of New Garden Monthly Meeting as early as 1726,[85] was made subordinate to Hopewell and held its monthly meetings at the latter place. It would have made sense for Hopewell to have been easily accessible by road, not least to connect the Opeckon neighborhoods with the Monocacy Friends but also with their parent congregations in northeast Maryland and Pennsylvania.

In favor of the middle route is the fact that it crossed the Opequon at another major landmark, one that was perhaps of greater practical importance to long-distance travelers than a meeting house would have been, that is, the commercial area that was referred to at the time as Littler's and Frost's, after the first settlers there. Littler was a miller and prominent tavernkeeper and Frost was a merchant and trader.[86] However, John Frost's patent refers to the "path" from Littler's to Hollingsworth's, corresponding to the route towards Hite's.[87] If it was only a path at the time, then it is possible the Wagon Road bypassed the Quaker settlements. But this same path was called "the road from Potomack River to the forks of Shanendo" on January 10, 1737/8.[88]

Some scholars prefer the upper route via Burnt Factory which bypassed the mostly Quaker settlements. O'Dell, for example, considered this route to be the original Wagon Road.[89] Favoring this route is the fact that it stayed within Hite's territory without having to cross into the area under the Ross/Bryan Orders of Council. It was also a slightly more direct route to Hite's,[90] although it entailed a ten-mile trek from Head of Bullskin to the Opequon ford, as compared with 5.5 miles via the lower route and less than 7 miles via the middle route.

One record in particular has been relied upon to support the upper route's being the original Hite's Wagon Road. This is Rees Smith's patent on Opequon Creek that mentions a "new road marked from the Waggon Road to go to Jost Hite's."[91] A close examination of the relevant survey, patent and deeds appears to show that Smith's tract may have been located where Dry

85 See *Hopewell Friends History*, at 54.

86 Littler's Tavern was later known as *The Blue Ball*. See *Hopewell Friends History*, at 168.

87 Patent to John Frost, November 12, 1735, based on a Brooke survey dated September 25, 1734.

88 John Frost to Peter Falkner, merchant. Orange County Deed Book 2, pp. 470, 472.

89 See O'Dell, at 488.

90 The distance from Summit Point to Hite's via Hopewell was about 22 miles, via Littler's about 19 miles. The road via Burnt Factory would shorten the distance by another mile or so.

91 Rees Smith, patent, 150 acres on the south side of Opequon Creek "about half a mile above a new road marked from the Waggon Road to go to Jost Hite's," August 20, 1734. See also Orange County Deed Book 3, p. 121, October 2, 1738, Rees Smith to John and Lewis Neill, the same 150 acres. Brooke's survey for the tract made April 16, 1734 did not mention the road.

Marsh Run flows into Opequon Creek. This is perhaps not coincidentally at the heart of the landholdings of the Neill brothers, who would purchase Smith's patent land. A half mile downstream from the Smith tract, as stated in the patent, would therefore be between Lick Run and Red Bud Run. The 1809 Varle map does in fact show a road crossing there, and today an abandoned ford can be found approximately where Wrights Mill Road and High Banks Road end at opposite sides of the river. If that is correct, then the phrase in the patent would be the equivalent of "a new road marked from the Waggon Road" so as to take a shorter route to Jost Hite's, thereby bypassing some of the Quaker settlements.

O'Dell, however, reached the opposite conclusion. He interpreted the phrase to indicate that the new road was a shortcut *to the Quaker settlements* from the original course of the "Waggon Road to go to Jost Hite's." While his construction requires a rather unusual and cumbersome way of saying "Hite's Wagon Road," O'Dell also placed Smith's tract about two miles further downstream. Based on his location, he identified the "new road" as the Old Charles Town Road, thereby eliminating it from contention as the original Wagon Road, and further justifying his choice of the Burnt Factory route.[92] If O'Dell, as I believe, was mistaken and the Smith tract was in fact at Dry Marsh Run, then Smith's patent is entirely consistent with the original Wagon Road following either the lower or middle route, and the route around Burnt Factory would have come later. It will require further research to determine which route is the original one.

The distance from the Pack Horse Ford to Jost Hite's was less than 40 miles, which typically would have taken about three days for a wagon train to negotiate. Springs near creek crossings provided cover, water and a resting place, and were the natural locations for the cropping up of inns and ordinaries and other commercial establishments providing services to travelers. To summarize the possible stops along the Wagon Road from the Potomac to Jost Hite's, using Littler's as the preferred route:

Taylor's Ferry, the Waggon Road Ford and the Junction to Hart's Ordinary (Elk Branch) – 7.5 miles
Hart's Ordinary via Flowing Springs to Quarry Bank – 8 miles
Quarry Bank to Head of Bullskin – 5.5 miles
Head of Bullskin to Littler's Tavern – 8 miles
Littler's Tavern to Jost Hite's – 9 miles

Total = 38 miles

92 See O'Dell, at 514.

The "Waggon Road to Philadelphia"

> Eight years have passed since the young couple stood on the Ridge looking down at the first settlement of the Valley. Now married, they have put up the harvest and bundled their three small children into a borrowed wagon for a fantastic family trip. The wife and children will take the waters at the Warm Spring while the husband will meet friends there to do some hunting. Hidden away in the wagon, a dogeared copy of Richardson's *Pamela*, a morality tale far different from the popular adventures of a few years before, is kept away from prying eyes. Now they have paused at Vestal's Gap on the new public wagon road for a view very unlike the one they saw in 1735. The Lower Valley is abustle with activity, particularly along the impressive highway that stretches before them, unlike anything they could hope to see on the Piedmont. Rumors have been swirling for some time that Fairfax's bounds will finally be confirmed, and his Land Office opened, resolving the title dispute affecting so many families. The couple discusses whether Fairfax will set up a new manor or make a deal with Hite to bring in more immigrant families, and whether it might be a good idea for them to get a fresh start in the Valley. The husband then starts to tell the children about how when he was their age, Governor Spotswood and the Knights of the Golden Horseshoe stood at a similar vantage point and looked out over a wilderness. The kids are hungry and uninterested, so the parents give them some journeycake with apple butter and promise that by nightfall they will enjoy a good supper by the fire at Hart's Ordinary.

The first migratory route for settlers entering the Valley was called by various names, including Hite's Wagon Road, the Road from Conestoga to Opeckon, and the Road from Potomac to Opeckon. But was it also known as the "Waggon Road to Philadelphia"? It would not be surprising if this were another name applied to the same road due to Philadelphia's importance as the source of new inhabitants and supplies, and the growth of settlement beyond the former terminus of Opeckon. On the other hand, the new name could signify the opening of a new road. Because there is much confusion and disagreement about this question, and a new route would indeed eventually relegate the "old wagon road" to secondary status, it is worth examining in some detail what evidence there is for when this shift actually took place.

An early reference to the "Waggon Road to Philadelphia" can be found on a map entitled, "The Courses of the Rivers Rappahannock and Potowmack, in Virginia, as surveyed according to Order in the years 1736 & 1737." This map, and many others that have come down to us based upon the competing surveys conducted by Fairfax and the Virginia government in

1736-37, merely locates the crossing of the "Waggon Road to Philadelphia" at the Pack Horse Ford. But neither the original surveys upon which the maps were based nor the early editions of the maps themselves trace the route on either side. The substantial evidence of the course of Hite's Wagon Road and the various references to it as the main road would at first blush lead one to believe that it was one and the same as the "Waggon Road to Philadelphia." Further support comes from Thomas Hart's survey, which proves the course of the "Waggon Road from Potomack to Opeckon" in 1735. Hart maintained a prominent position in local affairs and kept an apparently profitable ordinary for many years. As he was not the least among the early settlers, most of whom had an eye for opportunity, it seems unlikely that he would have missed the chance to place his survey on a hypothetical new main road if it was then being contemplated. It would therefore seem likely that in 1736-37 the term meant the original Wagon Road.

Again, a reference to a "new waggon road" found in an early patent has engendered much confusion and uncertainty. John Smith was the first settler at the future site of Middleway, also called Smithfield. His patent on both sides of the Turkey Spring Branch of the Opequon, where he had built a grist and hemp mill, was issued on August 20, 1734. One of the bounds was a red oak "by the new waggon road."[93] As the Philadelphia Wagon Road would in the future take a new course by Smith's tract it is no surprise that some scholars have taken the wording of the patent as evidence that this new route was in place at such an early date.[94] But other alternatives should be considered. In a period when the development of roads depended upon private initiative – as Hofstra has termed it, vernacular road building – one reasonable scenario is that Smith and his neighbors sought to connect the Turkey Spring Branch and Mill Creek neighborhood with the existing Wagon Road from Potomac to Opeckon. The safest and most efficient way to do so would have been to cut a road towards Worthington's *Quarry Bank* to the east (Middleway Pike), along the route of an existing Indian trail, or towards Summit Point via the future Leetown Road. Or perhaps Smith might have built a road south to a ford over Opequon Creek (Hinton Road).

In contrast, the section of the Barrens between Smith's Mill and the Potomac along the future route of the Philadelphia Wagon Road covered a far longer distance with fewer features of safety and convenience. There were only three patent lands on the way, two of them near the Potomac,

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93 The road was on the south side of the head of the branch near one end of the plat. The Brooke survey for the same tract dated March 25, 1734 did not mention the road and referred to the creek as Mill Branch. John Smith's patent was issued on the same day that Rees Smith received a patent further south that referred to a "new road to go to Jost Hite's," see above, at n. 95.

94 Hofstra, for example, stated that Smith's grist mill was located "precisely where the Philadelphia Wagon Road crossed Mill Run [sic]." Hofstra, at 154

and an undetermined number of tomahawk claims. None of the three surveys or patents referred to a road. Jost Hite took out the third patent, separated from the Potomac by almost ten miles of dry upland, on a branch of Opequon Creek (Leetown), which in 1742 he bestowed upon his son Jacob.[95] It is unclear whether this patent land was developed prior to 1742, but in any case, Jacob's natural orientation would have been towards the Opequon communities and his family's headquarters to the south. Based on these circumstances, the "new waggon road" mentioned in Smith's patent is as likely to be one of the roads described above as it is to be a new main road to the Potomac.

The "New" Philadelphia Wagon Road and the Demise of the Old One

The inexorable advance of the frontier destined the "first highway in West Virginia" to lose its prominent status sooner or later. Slowly at first, competition arose from another route further west. Harris' Ferry over the Susquehanna (Harrisburg) was licensed in 1733, although for some time the Cumberland Valley beyond remained remote and dangerous due to periodic and far-ranging frontier conflicts. In 1738, for example, Native Americans made several incursions into the European settlements with fatal consequences on both sides. Maryland records point to a road being in existence from Harris' Ferry to Watkins' Ferry (Williamsport) by 1739. The first road petition embracing future West Virginia, submitted in 1741, pertained to this road, which became known as the Indian Road, Great Wagon Road, or Valley Turnpike, today roughly following the course of U.S. Route 11.[96] With the establishment of the public road in Virginia, this way gradually became the preferred route for settlers coming into

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95 This patent dated October 3, 1734 was for a tract of 2668 acres.

96 A petition was recorded on August 27, 1741 for a road from the Blue Ridge at Ashby's Bent across the Shenandoah to Littler's and Frost's, and thence *northward to Evan Watkins' Ferry on the Potomac*. The following February 26 the court accepted the petition and ordered the road to be laid out. Thomas Lewis, surveyor for Augusta County, a member of the party that laid out the Fairfax Line in 1746, referred to the road from Watkins' Ferry up the Valley as the Indian Road in his journal; see *The Fairfax Line: Thomas Lewis's Journal of 1746* (1925). Its name came from the fact that this road was the only route the Indians were allowed to use after the 1744 Treaty of Lancaster. The Iroquois ambassadors negotiating the treaty referred to it as the "road which was *last made* (the wagon road)" in requesting it to be available for free passage of Indians towards the south. Kemper, ed., "The Early Westward Movement of Virginia, 1722-1734," *Va. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, Vol. XIII, No. 1 (July 1905), 1, 5-6, fn. 4 (emphasis supplied). It was not, however, the iconic Great Indian Warpath that the Iroquois, Delaware, Tuscarora, Cherokee, Catawba and other tribes trod on their seasonal forays against each other. The Warpath had long been on the east side of the Blue Ridge along what came to be known as the Carolina Road, and only moved over the Ridge after the 1722 Treaty of Albany. See, e.g, Kercheval, at 51; Norris, at 54; see also Hofstra, at 33.

the Shenandoah Valley. Harris himself became a major supplier to the Valley. Hite's Wagon Road/the Philadelphia Wagon Road began to fade in importance.

The opening of the Great Wagon Road seemed to have an impact on the public nature of the roads in the Lower Valley. For the first time, the Orange County Court was faced with petitions from the inhabitants below Opeckon. The first road petition from this section was for the old Warm Spring Road, crossing the Blue Ridge, submitted on September 23, 1742. On November 26, 1742 an order was made to lay off the road from Teague's Ferry to Head of Bullskin and thence to Kersey's Ferry. Both roads were laid off and the returns submitted the next May and the first Frederick County Court considered the roads the following year.[97] If there was any modification to the original course of Hite's Wagon Road resulting from the laying off of the road between Teague's Ferry and Kersey's Ferry, it may have been to make the route from Teague's Ferry to the Elk Branch more direct.[98] These were the second and third public roads in the future state of West Virginia, after the northernmost stretch of the Great Wagon Road. Note that the name Philadelphia Wagon Road does not appear in the early road orders.

Thomas Hart, whose land sat on both these roads, was among those who received licenses for ordinaries at the Frederick County Court held December 9, 1743.[99] His land was still at an important crossroads at this point in time. Even with the Great Wagon Road taking up an increasing proportion of long-distance traffic, the original Wagon Road still provided a key connection from Philadelphia through Maryland on to Winchester. But two key developments would shift the Philadelphia Wagon Road to a new route to the north. The first of these was the rise in importance of Shepherd's Mills.

At the time of the first Virginia patents, one of the Van Meters' associates from Monocacy had a clear advantage in scouting out lands. Thomas Shepherd, a Jersey transplant, and the son or brother of William Shepherd whose plantation on the Maryland side of Pack Horse Ford was mentioned in the early surveys, had married John Van Meter's daughter. Another Shepherd who would operate the ferry and ford was John. Thomas took out a 222-acre survey upriver from the ford at Garrison's on April 11, 1734, next to "a falling run." A relatively steep and swift stream there

97 Orange County Road Orders, p. 448 (May 27, 1743); Frederick County Road Orders, Order Book 1, p. 49 (March 9, 1743/4).

98 The 1809 Varle map shows a direct route from the ferry to the Shepherdstown Pike near Mannings (Duffields). The Warm Spring Road also had taken a more direct route to the southwest of the Elk Branch, similar to Route 9 today. The 1852 Brown map of Jefferson County shows the "ferry" road going via Moler Crossroads to the Elk Branch, bypassing the old junction.

99 Norris, at 72.

called Falling Spring Branch (later Town Run in Shepherdstown) was to provide waterpower for the operation of mills. Shepherd built a grist mill and sawmill in short order and settlers streaming into Virginia across the nearby Wagon Road Ford heard the noises of the mills operating not far upriver. Settling next to Shepherd was Richard Morgan, who had known the family since their days in Cohansey, Salem County, New Jersey.

By 1744, Shepherd's Mills had attained sufficient economic importance that the transport links were becoming reoriented towards the burgeoning village. The Shepherds were first mentioned in the road orders on March 9, 1743/4, when the court ordered a road to be viewed and laid off from "John Shepard's" to the Head of Bullskin. The return proves that John Shepherd was operating a ferry across the Potomac near the mills by July 17, 1744.[100] It also appears that he became the proprietor of the ford crossing.[101] O'Dell states with certainty that the road from Shepherd's to Head of Bullskin is identical to both Hite's Wagon Road and the road from Teague's Ferry to Kersey's Ferry.[102] But the report returned to court is vague on the landmarks, stating only, "we have layed off & marked the said road from Potomack River the *nearest & best way* from Sheppards Ferry thro' the land of Thomas Rutherford & so over Walkers Mill Dam ...." The "nearest and best" way from Shepherd's Ferry to Rutherford's Flowing Springs tract might have produced a shortcut from the new ferry along today's Shepherdstown Pike (Rte 230) as far as its junction with Flowing Springs Road.

The other key development was Jacob Hite's coming of age and taking up of his father's 2668-acre patent at the present site of Leetown, between Shepherd's Mills and the open country neighborhoods on the Opequon. Jacob Hite was about 23 years old when Jost Hite conveyed the land to him in 1742. The natural orientation of the tract was towards the Opequon and the south, but it appears that a group of interested and like-minded individuals shortly saw the opportunity to link Shepherd's Mills on the Potomac with Winchester via Jacob Hite's and Smithfield/Middleway. On April 14, 1744, Richard Morgan among others petitioned for a new road to be cleared from Thomas Shepherd's Mill to John Littler's "new design" – a new tavern across the Opequon near Brucetown, Virginia.[103] This road as laid off by Thomas Shepherd, Jacob Hite and others corresponds to Route 480 (Kearneysville Pike) and Route 1 (Leetown Road) as far as Smithfield/Middleway. From there, the road proceeded to Abril's Ford, which is where Hinton Road and Brucetown Road strike the creek at the Virginia state line,

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100 Frederick County Order Book 1, pp. 153-154.

101 See Joseph Chapline's Maryland survey on March 11, 1744/5 for 100 acres called *Mount Pleasant*, at the head of a spring in the drafts of Little "Antieatom," within 30 poles of the "waggon Road that goes from Shephards Ford to Minoccocee [Monocacy]." Joseph Chapline assigned the tract to Moses Chapline.

102 O'Dell at 493.

103 Frederick Co. Order Book 1, p. 77. See above re Littler's and Frost's and John Littler's earlier tavern on Littlers Run (Hot Run).

and on to Littler's via Sir Johns Road.[104] While taking up the mantle of the Philadelphia Wagon Road, this road was also known as Jacob Hite's Road.[105]

Around the same time, the Swearingen brothers (Van and Thomas) and their cousin Joseph Chapline upped their game. Van Swearingen purchased Richard Morgan's patent land near Shepherd's Mill in 1744, and by the next year Thomas Swearingen had taken over the ferry, which became known as Swearingen's Ferry.[106] For those travelers streaming from the North to the Upper Valley and Carolina, the new route from Chapline's in Maryland at the former Hickory Tavern across the Potomac on his cousin's brand-new ferry, arriving at a bustling mill village and from there following a straight line via Jacob Hite's and Smith's Mills to a "new design" modern tavern must have been remarkable. The new Philadelphia Wagon Road again gave the Great Wagon Road a run for its money. The gamble appears to have paid off, as Swearingen rose to prominence, even defeating George Washington in an election to the House of Burgesses in 1755.

The new route meant that the crossroads of the Philadelphia Wagon Road and the Warm Spring Road shifted several miles to the northwest, to the land of Nicholas Mercer, which soon became the site of an important landmark called the Stone House.[107] By 1747, maps showed the Philadelphia Wagon Road following this new route from Pack Horse Ford.[108] In due course, on

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104 The 1852 Brown map of Jefferson County shows two roads from Middleway crossing the Opequon near the same point, corresponding to Hinton Road (Route 1/11) and the Brucetown Road (Route 1/8).

105 See Fairfax Survey for Edward Thomas, October 12, 1751; Fairfax grant to Baylis; O'Dell at 497.

106 Moses Teague's Ferry continued to operate. The Maryland patents for Mountain, surveyed for Joseph Chapline in 1745, and Bettys Good Will, surveyed in 1747 for Robert Evans, both state that they are near the wagon road that goes from Teagues Ferry to Monocacy Town. Teague gave Thomas Swearingen power of attorney and went to North Carolina. Swearingen sold Teague's land to Joseph Barnes in 1764.

107 Nicholas Mercer was in Old Frederick County by July 9, 1742 when James Wood purchased among other things a black horse from him. See Hofstra, at 374, n. 23. There were many Mercers in Old Frederick County involved in various kinds of business. Edward Mercer was a supplier of brandy to the innkeeper John Littler, in 1743. See Hofstra, at 216. The Mercers and Lemens came from Ireland in the 1740s, first to Marcus Hook, Chester County, Pennsylvania, then to Frederick County, Virginia, along with the Chapmans and Babbs. See https://sites.google.com/site/sjzscertainfolksandevents/edward-mercer-d-1783-berkeley-co-va. The Stone House as a landmark is found, e.g., in a 1774 order: "Godwin Swift, Gent. is appointed to take in the list of tithables from Shepherd's Town up the Main Road to the Stone House where the Warm Spring Road crosses the said road thence along the Warm Spring Road to Keyes Ferry."

108 See the 4th edition of John Warner's map of the Northern Neck Proprietary and one drawn by Peter Jefferson and Robert Brooke following the running of the Fairfax Line in 1746, University of North Carolina, "Early Maps of the American South," http://rla.unc.

March 4, 1746/7, Mercer replaced Thomas Hart as the overseer of the Warm Spring Road between Opequon Creek and the Head of Elk Branch.[109] As a consequence of the opening of the Great Wagon Road and the relocation of the Philadelphia Wagon Road, Hart's Ordinary became reoriented from a stop on the main migration route to one on the less trafficked Warm Spring Road, which led his financial situation to deteriorate in the mid-1740s.

Reconstructing the possible landmarks along the new Philadelphia Wagon Road from the Potomac to Jost Hite's:

Swearingen's Ferry to the Stone House – 5 miles
Stone House to Jacob Hite's – 5 miles
Jacob Hite's to Smithfield (Middleway) – 4 miles
Smithfield to Littler's "New Design" – 7 miles
Littler's to Winchester – 9 miles
Winchester to Jost Hite's – 3 miles

Total = 33 miles

The "Old Waggon Road"

On April 11, 1745 the King finally found in favor of Fairfax on the bounds of the Northern Neck. Rather than settling matters once and for all, Fairfax pressed his victory into a new phase of the dispute. In short, he claimed to have no obligation to respect the "irregular" surveys that had

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edu/Mapfiles/DDL/darmap0629c_200dpi.jpg. See also, Foster, op cit. The Kearneysville route was consistently referenced in the Fairfax surveys begun about 1750 and appeared on the popular 1755 Fry and Jefferson map of Virginia. Warner's maps, unhelpfully, are all labeled as being based on the 1736-37 Northern Neck survey, despite changes made in the various editions. It appears that scholars looking at the 1747 version have mistakenly concluded that it depicted the Philadelphia Wagon Road as it appeared on the 1736-37 survey.

109 Frederick County Order Book 2, p. 207 (March 4, 1746/7). "Nicholas Mercer is hereby Appointed Overseer of the Road from Opecken to David Loyd's in the Room of Thomas Hart ...." The crossroads was then owned successively by Robert Lemen (who had been an innkeeper in the area of Winchester previously, see bond of Robert Lemen inholder to George Mason of the Ohio Company, July 6, 1752, https://sites.google.com/site/sjzscertainfolksandevents/edward-mercer-d-1783-berkeley-co-va and Nicholas Young before becoming Walper's Crossroads in 1784. The 1808 Varle map shows a tavern at the crossroads. Fairfax grant to Nicholas Mercer, October 10, 1751; Frederick County Deed Book 3, p. 334, September 3, 1754; Berkeley County Deed Book 2, pp. 51, 53, May 11-12, 1773; Berkeley County Deed Book 6, p. 187, June 19, 1783; Berkeley County Deed Book 6, p. 314, November 8, 1784. Nicholas Lemen's land was nearby at the future Kearneysville. See Fairfax grant to Nicholas Lemen, September 5, 1756. Robert was his brother.

been lodged in the Colonial land office, complaining that they were run to his disadvantage, taking in the best land, encompassing all the springs and streams, etc., rendering adjoining lands unfit for persons to take up. Some of the desperate settlers began dealing with Fairfax, accepting his rectangular surveys, while others lined up behind Hite to try to defend their rights under the original ones. To make a long story short, Hite and Fairfax fell out, with Hite filing suit in the general court on October 10, 1749, and Fairfax opening his Land Office to begin making grants according to his pleasure.

April 4, 1750 was an important day in the history of the Lower Valley. To a degree, it can be characterized as the day that the Lower Valley emerged from the Dark Ages in which land title was unclear and no new grants could be issued. On this day, a huge gathering of Old Frederick Countians amassed at the elegant Belvoir Manor near Mount Vernon, where William Fairfax kept his cousin Lord Fairfax's Land Office. The supplicants jostled about for the chance to receive warrants for "waste and ungranted" land, in many cases the very land that they had improved and lived upon for more than a decade. A significant proportion of those persons attending had waited in vain for years to obtain clear title from Hite, and now took the opportunity to obtain precautionary title as opposed to the uncertainty of joining Hite in his lawsuit.[110]

The explosion of surveys made pursuant to the warrants included many references to an "old waggon road," concerning portions of the original Hite's Wagon Road.[111] For example, Robert Worthington's 1751 grant adjoining his grandfather's patent land referred to the "old wagon road." References to the old wagon road can be found especially near the Potomac, where the original route had fallen into disuse. Samuel Taylor got a survey adjoining his old patent land that referred to the "edge of an old waggon road." Joseph Chapline's 1754 survey between the lands of Samuel Taylor, Moses Teague and Edward Lucas referred to an "old waggon road." Another survey with similar language was made in the same area for Richard Mercer. A Frederick County road order dated April 2, 1755 referred to the "old wagon road at Thomas Hart's."[112] By 1761, the road orders show that the route from Shepherdstown via Flowing Springs Road was being called the "old road that leads to Winchester" (Charlestown did not yet exist).[113]

110 The contention that the opening of Fairfax's Land Office represented a huge influx of new settlers, see, e.g., Norris, at 61, is incorrect.

111 If not for the dispute between Fairfax and the Crown, references to the old wagon road might have appeared even earlier. On the Maryland side, as early as August 1744, inhabitants petitioned for the building of a road from the foot of Shenandoah where the "old Monocacy Road" crossed to John Beall's on Catoctin Mountain.

112 Frederick County Order Book 6, p. 207, in Luckman and Miller, *Frederick County Road Orders* 1743-1772, at 80.

113 Frederick County Order Book 9, p. 330, August 4, 1761, in Luckman and Miller, *ibid.*, at 108.

Epilogue

The year is 1753. Our couple now has five children, and the eldest, Esther, or Hetty as she is called, has brought her beau along. It's her turn to recount in her nervous excitement the story of Governor Spotswood and the Knights of the Golden Horseshoe as they pause at the overlook on their way once more to the Warm Spring. Hetty's fourteen-year-old sister, Nancy, is paying her sister no mind, as she has her nose stuck in *The Female Quixote*, the best-seller of the day. She plans to read *The History of Tom Jones* next. But their mother interrupts Hetty's exposition and hastens the children back to the wagon, because they have a bit farther to go for supper. They'll need to cover an extra four miles to the Stone House at the intersection with the Philadelphia Wagon Road, since Hart's Ordinary has closed. The word has gone out that Thomas Hart finally made his bargain with Fairfax and is now in the process of pulling up stakes to move to North Carolina. When the tired travelers jostle over the old crossroads late that afternoon, they see the grey-haired gentleman looking over the property with a German from Lancaster to whom he hopes to sell it.[114]

The frontier crept towards the Blue Ridge for over a century prior to the opening of the Valley to European settlement. Exploiting nature and the land, trading with friendly Native Americans, ranging against hostile ones, and extending roads into the wilderness were nothing new. A familiar style of frontier culture spread initially into the Lower Valley as an extension of existing networks of people united by faith, industry or profit. An open country neighborhood and a marsh gave rise to peaceful communities bartering among themselves. An ore bank and a falling stream gave rise to a bloomery and sawmill. A river crossing and a heavily traveled wagon route gave rise to ferries, taverns and smithies.

In comparison with the recent immigrant populations that would characterize settlement in the Upper Valley, the lower gateway region attracted a disproportionate number of ambitious British, Dutch and Swedes/Finns from the Chesapeake and Delaware Bays and Monocacy. Of the entrepreneurs taking up rights under the Van Meter Orders of Council, those engaged in facilitating and supplying migration were most embedded in the Euro-Atlantic economy. East of the Opequon, the presence of the Wagon Road together with the scarcity of the kind of landscape that gave rise to open country neighborhood settlement shaped the unique character of the gateway region. The Lower Valley would remain the gateway to the western expansion of British North America and then the fledgling United

114 Hart sold his homestead to Melchor Engle of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in early 1754.

States, but the route of the main highway would change. Like a mighty river finding its way to the sea, it constantly wore new tracks along the lines of least resistance, helped along the way by the ingenuity of the local inhabitants. The desire to save a few miles or an hour was the opportunity of a lifetime for some and the destroyer of livelihoods for others.

Some had the opportunity to place their bets on what appeared to be a sure thing – the first Wagon Road carrying settlers into the Valley. But that turned out to be the wrong horse as more convenient routes took away traffic, and the grand ambitions, surefire plans and momentary power of a handful of entrepreneurs ebbed away. Nor was it so easy for the millers, ferry operators, innkeepers, widows, builders, clerks, shoemakers, laborers, speculators and preachers whose dreams were frustrated to follow others and try their luck further into the frontier, because the endless litigation of the Hite-Fairfax dispute stifled their opportunities and tied up their fortunes. As the case grinded onwards, the machinations of entitlement, manipulation, and intrigue helped the tottering feudal proprietary system towards its final collapse, while the sounds of Revolution could be heard approaching from the distance.

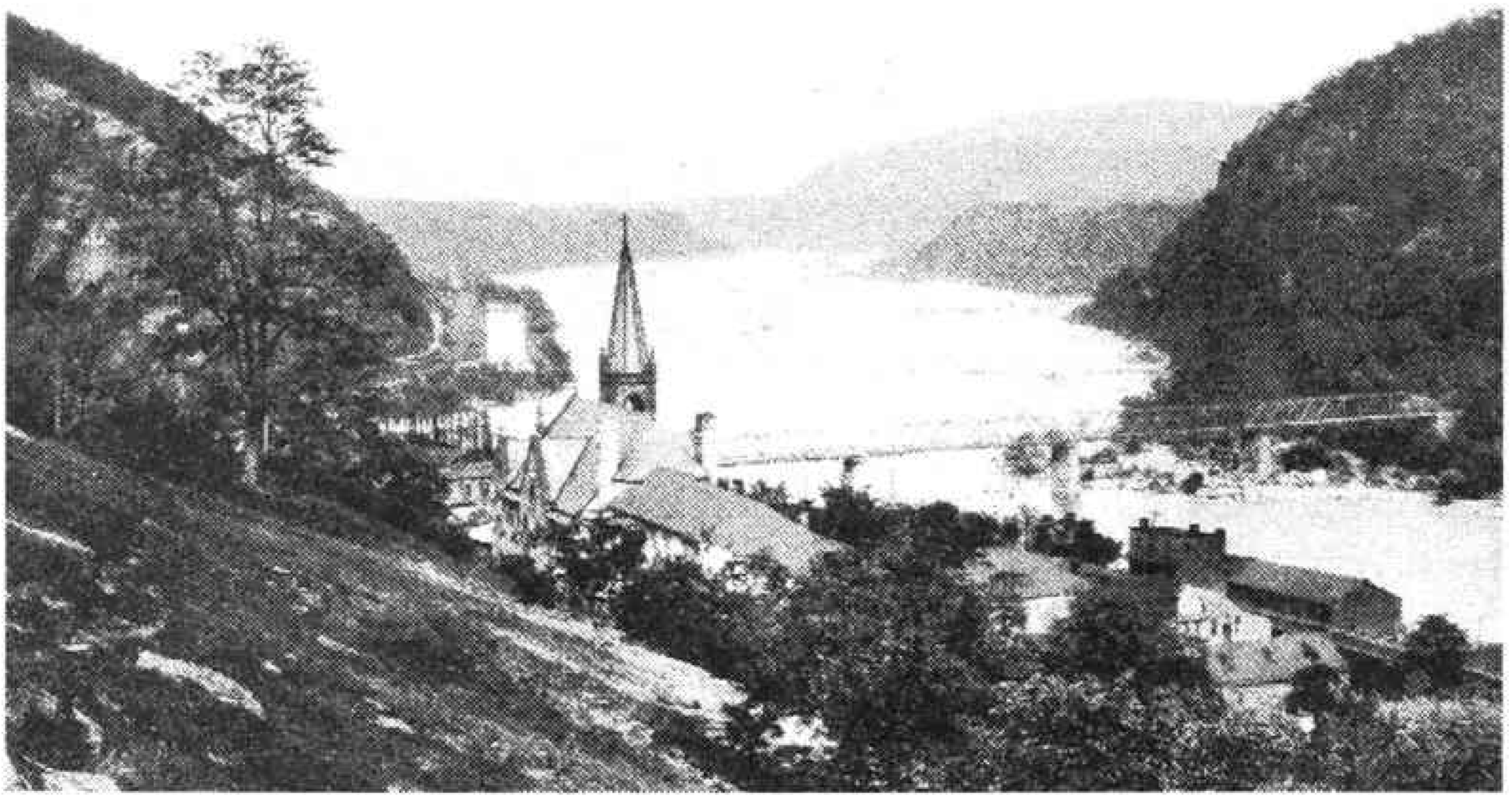
Parts of the first highway in West Virginia can still be found today in the local routes that connect communities between the Potomac and the state line near Summit Point. Other parts have been reduced to traces worn down by centuries of disuse, now covered by farmland, yards, buildings or forest. Although there are few signs of it remaining today, the ghost of Hite's Wagon Road lives on in the way that the land and the people along its course were forever changed by this singular artifact of its time, as significant for the first few years of European expansion over the Blue Ridge as a new Interstate highway would be today. The corridor of the old Wagon Road, stamped as it was so early on with the hopes, visions and aspirations of new, west Virginians, still whispers its story to those who are attentive enough to listen.

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IN MR. JEFFERSON'S COUNTY, IT IS ALL ABOUT THE RIVERS

P. Douglas Perks

On Monday, May 30, 1881 Frederick Douglas stepped to the podium to address the students and faculty of Storer College. From his vantage point Douglas, a Storer College Trustee, gazed out over his audience and looked into the Harper's Ferry Gap. His mind returned to the day twenty-two years



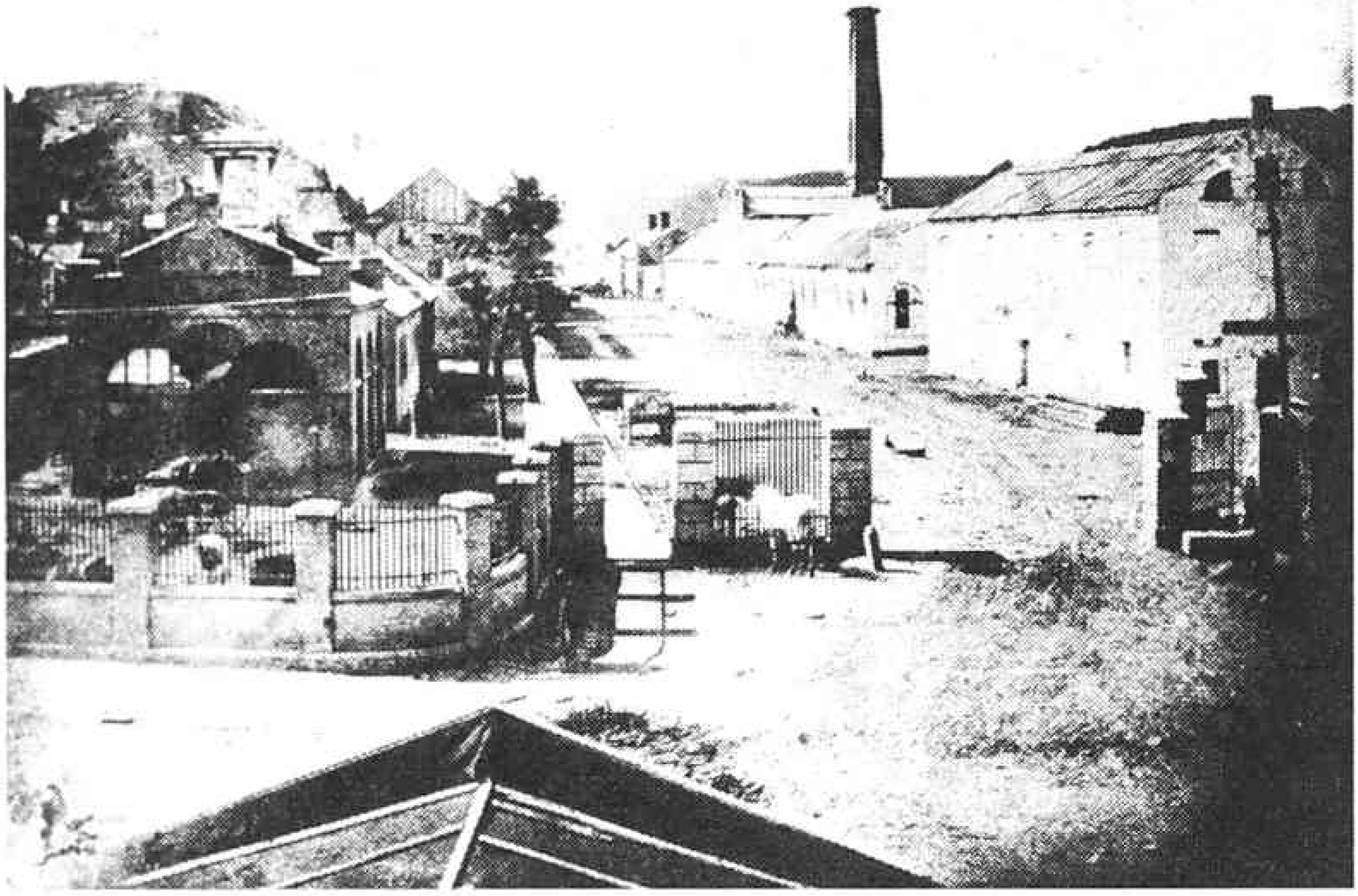
Looking into the Harpers Ferry Gap as seen from Jefferson's Rock. Courtesy of the Jefferson County Museum.

past when John Brown began a campaign to free enslaved men and women by attacking the United States Armory at Harper's Ferry. The musket and rifle factories were nestled between the Potomac and Shenandoah Rivers, where over centuries these rivers had joined forces to forge a gap in the Blue Ridge. Douglas was mindful that some in the audience may not have been born or at least were small children in 1859, so his remarks were his assessment of John Brown's place in history. He concluded his remarks with this comment:[1]

> If John Brown did not end the war that ended slavery, he did at least begin the war that ended slavery. If we look over the dates, places and men for which this honor is claimed, we shall find that not Carolina, but Virginia, not Fort Sumter, but Harper's Ferry, and the arsenal, not Col. Anderson, but John Brown, began the war that ended American slavery and made

1 Harpers Ferry National Historical Park. History and Culture. People. Frederick Douglas at Harpers Ferry. https://www.nps.gov/hafe/learn/historyculture/frederick-douglass-at-harpers-ferry.htm 07132020.

this a free Republic. Until this blow was struck, the prospect for freedom was dim, shadowy and uncertain. The irrepressible conflict was one of words, votes and compromises.

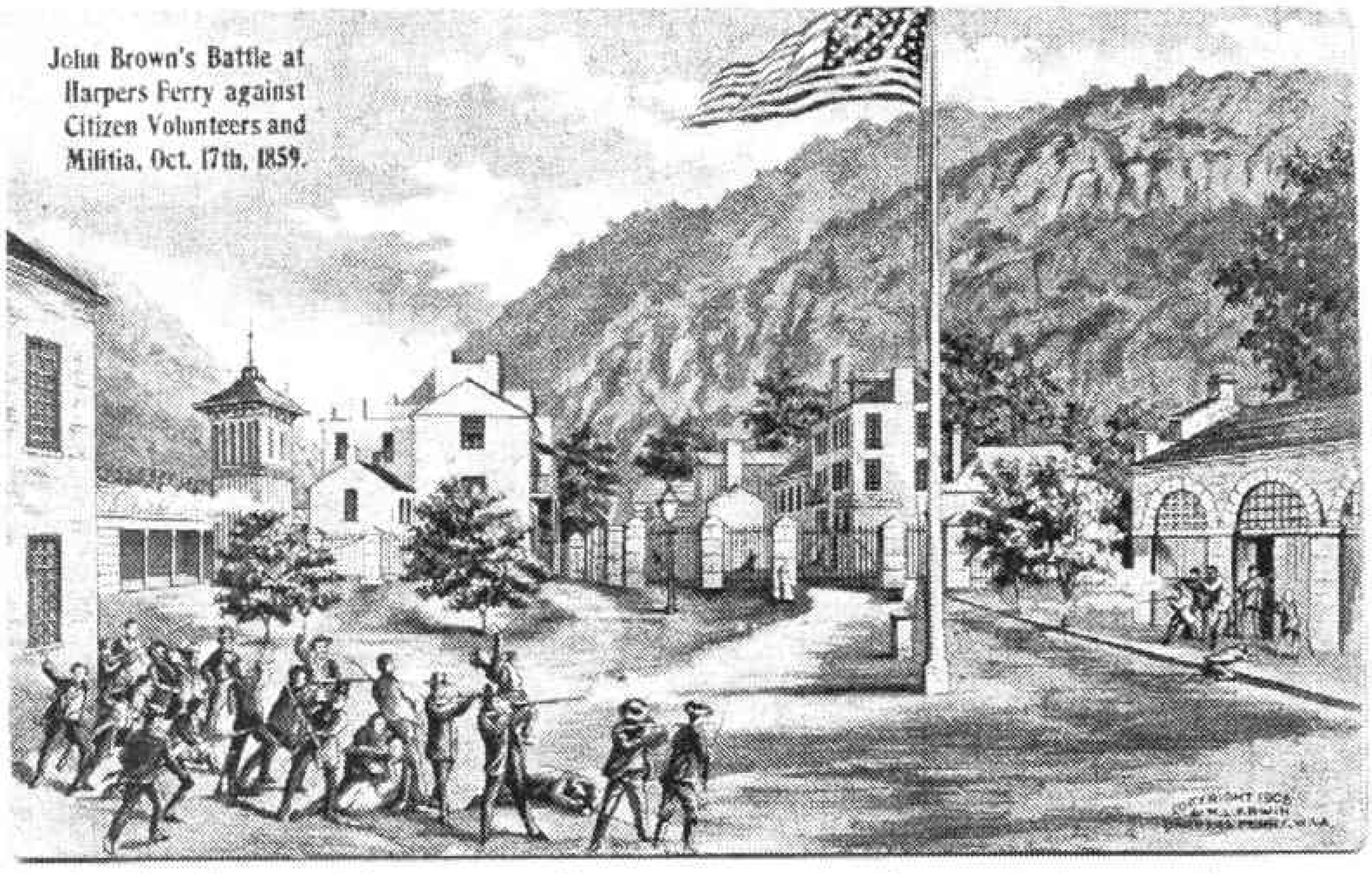


The US Musket Factory at Harper's Ferry c. 1860. The armory fire engine house which will become known as John Brown's Fort is the first building on the left inside the armory gates. Courtesy of the Jefferson County Museum.

For John Brown, what started in Harper's Ferry ended in Charlestown (Charlestown was one word until 1911), the county seat of Jefferson County. Brown and three of his men[2] were captured on Tuesday morning, October 18 by United States Marines under the command of Lieutenant Israel Greene.

After brief questioning, all four men were transported to Charlestown and imprisoned in the Jefferson County Jail where they joined John Copeland who had been captured the previous day. Albert Hazlett and John Cook escaped Harper's Ferry but were captured and were eventually reunited with Brown in the jail. Accused of treason against the Commonwealth of

2 Edwin Coppoc, Shields Green, and Aaron Stevens were captured with Brown in the engine house. John Anthony Copeland, Jr. was captured on Monday, October 17 at the rifle factory on the Shenandoah River. John E. Cook and Albert Hazlett escaped from Harper's Ferry and were captured in Pennsylvania. All six men were imprisoned with John Brown in the Jefferson County Jail. Harpers Ferry National Historical Park. History and Culture. People. John Brown. John Brown's Raiders at Harper's Ferry. https://www.nps.gov/articles/john-browns-raiders.htm 07132020.



Local militia firing on John Brown and men sequestered in the armory fire engine house. Afternoon, Monday, October 17, 1859. Courtesy of the Jefferson County Museum.

Virginia, inciting slaves to rebel, and murder, each of the seven men was tried, convicted, and sentenced to be hanged.[3] Prophetically, on the day he was hanged, Brown passed a note with these words to Jailor John Avis:

> 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.[4]

The Civil War brought an end to slavery, and Brown's dire prediction that "the crimes of this guilty land will never be purged away but with blood" came true. By the time the terms of surrender were signed in April 1865 at Appomattox Court House, the war which had pitted the North against the South, brother against brother resulted in the deaths of 700,000 Americans. For the four years of the Civil War, Mr. Jefferson's County was caught in the middle of armies wearing blue and gray as they maneuvered to gain and maintain control of the most productive farms in the Breadbasket of the Confederacy.[5] Jefferson County's experience during the Civil War has been

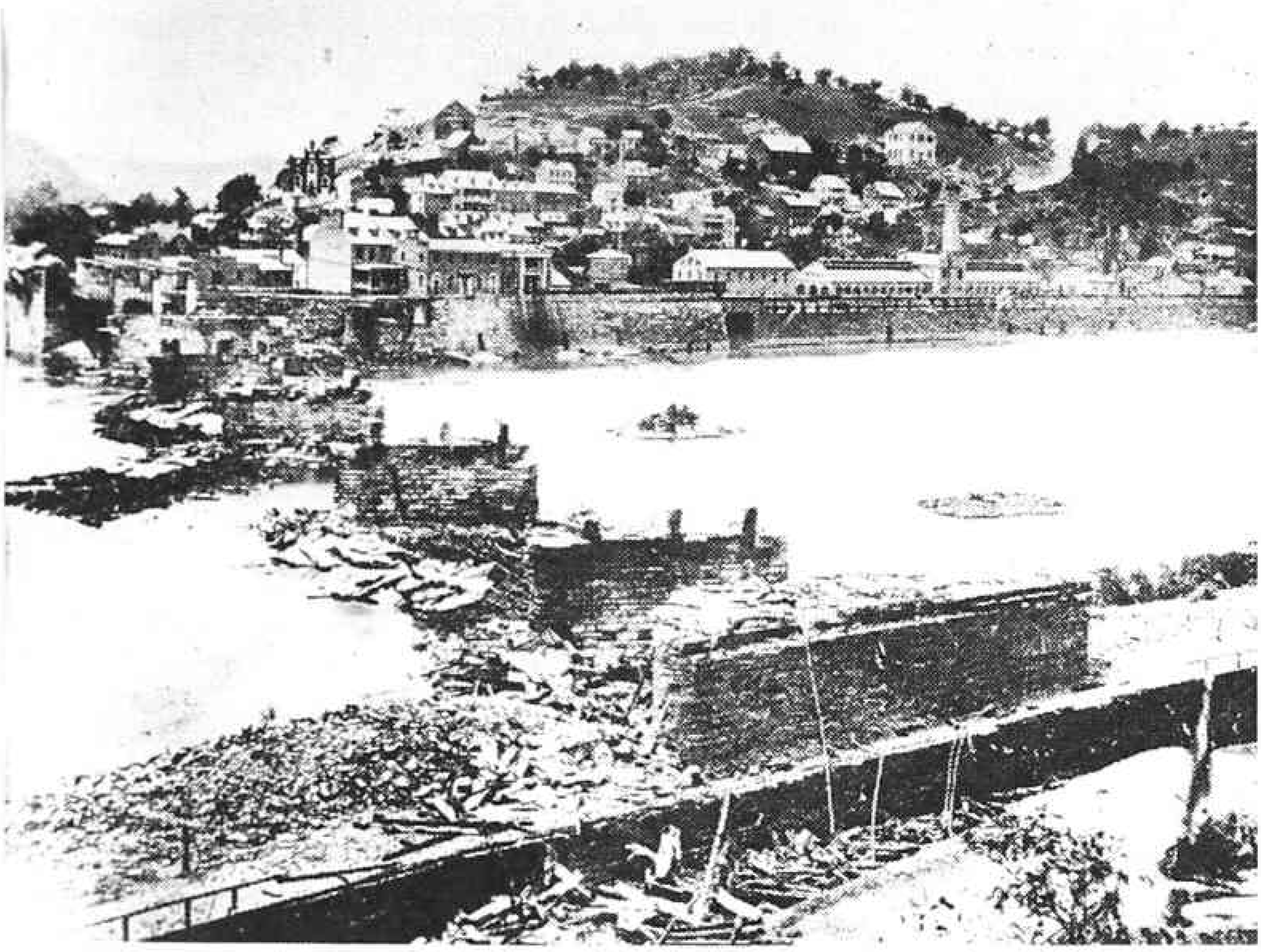
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3 John Brown was hanged December 2, 1859. John Cook, Edwin Coppoc, John Copeland, and Shields Green were hanged December 16, 1859. Albert Hazlett and Aaron Stevens were hanged March 16, 1859.

4 Harpers Ferry National Historical Park. History and Culture. People. John Brown. John Brown's Raid. https://www.nps.gov/articles/john-browns-raiders.htm 07132020.

5 The Breadbasket of the Confederacy was a reference to the Virginia counties in the

chronicled by numerous speeches, books and articles, so the only thing I will add is that those four years of camping by thousands of soldiers, at least twenty-five skirmishes or battles,[6] and the countless feet which pounded the roads and fields exacted a terrible toll on the people and the land.



The B & O Rail Road bridge in June 1861.The bridge was destroyed on orders of Confederate Brigadier General Joseph Eggleston Johnston. Courtesy of the Jefferson County Museum.

The first documented settlers in what would become Jefferson County staked their claims in the 1730s and the 1740s. In the ensuing years, tens of thousands of men, women, and children "came, they fell in love with the countryside and the life, and they have remained."[7] All of those people made their home in Mr. Jefferson's County, and the two hundred and nineteen years of our county's existence has been packed with history. I know I am

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Shenandoah Valley which provided substantial amounts of food, especially wheat, to the Confederate Army. In 1860 Jefferson County was the leading wheat producing county in the Commonwealth.

6 *Military Operations in Jefferson County Virginia and West Va.* documented twenty-five skirmishes which took place in Jefferson County.

7 *Between the Shenandoah and The Potomac Historic Homes of Jefferson County, West Virginia.* Jefferson County Historical Society. Winchester Printers, Inc. Winchester, Virginia. 1990. Page xi. The quote was written by Julia Davis.

biased, but in my view, no county has experienced more events which have helped to shape the story of our Nation. No other county has been home to more men and women who in one way or another had an impact on the history of our country. Our county seat has a public square formed by the intersection of George and Washington Streets. There is only one county in West Virginia where you can see John Denver's Blue Ridge Mountains and Shenandoah River. The first settlements in present-day West Virginia were here along the Potomac and the Shenandoah, and those settlers built the first mills powered by streams to grind the best wheat in the Old Dominion. In 1941, Dr. Millard Kessler Bushong published *A History Of Jefferson County, West Virginia*,[8] the most comprehensive history of our county. It took Professor Bushong four hundred and one pages[9] to chronicle Jefferson County's abundant past, but in his book two events dominate all others: John Brown's Raid and the Civil War.[10]

For good reason, those six years of Jefferson County's History, 1859-1865, are most well-known and certainly the most written about. John Brown's Raid and the Civil War—if folks know anything about where we live, they are more likely to know about those two events than any of the hundreds which have occurred here. Yet after fifty plus years of teaching, talking and writing about our local history it seems to me that there is a back story to those six years, and in my view the story of Mr. Jefferson's County begins with and is all about our rivers—the Shenandoah and the Potomac.

The back story to John Brown and the Civil War in Jefferson County begins with a disagreement over the head spring of the Potowmack River.[11] On September 18, 1649 King Charles II, while in exile in Paris, prepared a deed "to encourage and honor seven men who had fought with him in England." The land granted was described as "lying in America, and bounded by, and within the heads of Tappahannocke als [alias] Rappahanocke and Quircough or Patawomecke Rivers, the Courses of the said Rivers and Chesapayoake Bay." Among the men named in the grant were: John Culpeper, 1st Baron of Thoresway and his son Thomas; Ralph Lord Hopton, Baron of Stratton; Henry Lord Jermyn, Baron of St. Edmundsbury; Sir John Berkeley; Sir William Morton; and Sir Dudley Wyatt. In the Virginia Colony the grant became known as the Northern

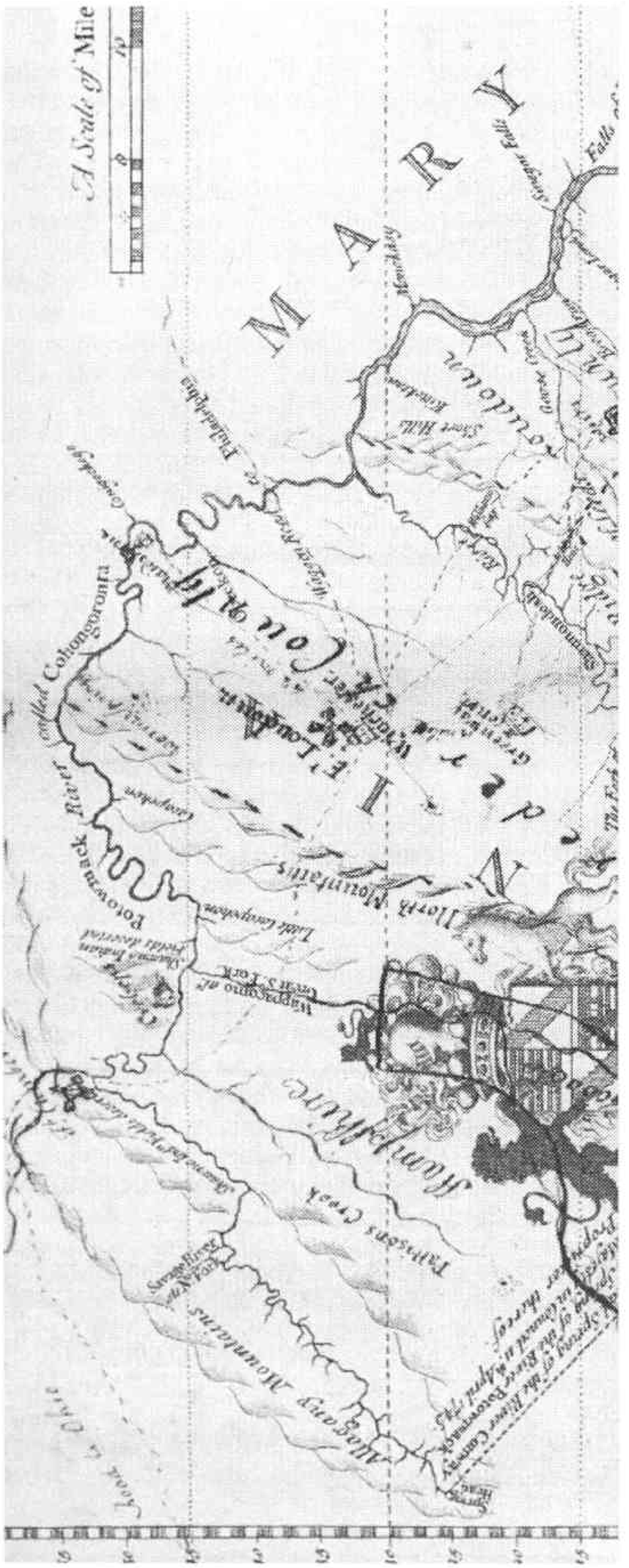
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8 *A History of Jefferson County West Virginia*. Millard Kessler Bushong, A. M., Ph. D. Jefferson Publishing Company, Charles Town, West Virginia. 1941. In 1972 Dr. Bushong published an updated version of his work printed by Carr Publishing Company, Boyce, Virginia.

9 That total does not include the book's section of Prominent Residents, nor its Footnotes, Appendices, and Index.

10 John Brown and The Civil War were each a separate chapter in Dr. Bushong's History. Together they covered 78 pages, 20% of the entire book.

11 Over the years The Potomac has been spelled numerous ways. This spelling appeared on John Warner's 1747 map of Lord Fairfax's Northern Neck Proprietary.



A survey of the northern neck of Virginia, being the lands belonging to the Rt. Honourable Thomas Lord Fairfax Baron Cameron, bounded by & within the Bay of Chesapoyocke and between the rivers Rappahannock and Potowmack. Library of Congress.

Neck Proprietary.[12] Following the death of John in 1660, Thomas Culpeper inherited his father's portion of the proprietary and by 1681 acquired control of six-sevenths of the original grant. The remaining one-seventh was owned by Thomas' cousin Alexander Culpeper.[13] When Thomas died in 1689, his share of the Northern Neck Proprietary passed to his widow, Lady Margaret Culpeper. In 1690, Catherine Culpeper, daughter of Lady Margaret and Thomas, married Thomas Fairfax, 5th Baron Fairfax of Cameron. Their son Thomas Fairfax, 6th Baron Fairfax of Cameron was born in 1693 at Leeds Castle, purchased by the Culpepers in 1632.[14] Cousin Alexander Culpeper died in 1694 and he left his one-seventh interest in the family proprietary to his niece Catherine Culpeper Fairfax. In 1710 both Lady Margaret and the 5th Lord Fairfax died. Instead of her daughter, Lady Margaret left her controlling interest in the proprietary to her seventeen-year-old grandson, Thomas 6th Lord Fairfax.[15] Finally, with the death of Lady Catherine Culpeper Fairfax in 1719, control of the entirety of the Northern Neck Proprietary was consolidated into one hand, and that hand belonged to twenty-six year old Thomas, 6th Lord Fairfax.[16]

In the 18th century, land meant money and the 6th Lord Fairfax had a pecuniary interest in the extent of his proprietary. The original grant specified that Fairfax owned all of the land between the Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers. When his grandfather Thomas Culpeper had the grant renewed by King James II in 1688, the update specified that the proprietary was "bounded by and within the **first heads or springs of the rivers** [my emphasis] of Tappanhannocke alias Rappahanocke and Quiriough alias Patawomacke Rivers."[17] Following the renewal of the proprietary grant, Thomas, acting through a succession of land agents, set about to patent land in the Northern Neck.[18] It was a land agent who raised the alarm that brought Thomas 6th Lord Fairfax to the New World.

Upon his inheritance of the Northern Neck Proprietary, the 6th Lord stayed at home in England and relied on his agent, Robert "King" Carter, to handle land sales. Fairfax was content to receive both periodic updates and his share of the proceeds from land transactions. Included in his 1730 report, "King" Carter advised Fairfax that Virginia's Lieutenant Governor Sir William Gooch was granting land patents west of the Blue Ridge. In Carter's opinion, Gooch was selling land which was located in the Fairfax claim. As evidence of that, Carter had granted more than 300,000 acres west

12 The Fairfax Grant. http://www.virginiaplaces.org/settleland/fairfaxgrant.html
13 The Fairfax Grant.
14 The History of Leeds Castle. https://www.leeds-castle.com/Visit/History/Jacobean+House/.
15 The Fairfax Grant.
16 To date I have not discovered any relationship between the Culpeper family, the Fairfax family, and Donald E. Watts.
17 The Fairfax Grant.
18 The Fairfax Grant.

of the Blue Ridge to himself, his family, and his friends.[19] When Carter died in 1732, Fairfax turned to family and hired his cousin William Fairfax to be the proprietary's land agent.

For a variety of reasons, Gooch was anxious to settle The (Shenandoah) Valley. No matter the source, the Crown was always interested in income. During Gooch's tenure, Virginia's expansion westward increased contact between Virginians and Native Americans, and Gooch desired to put as much space as possible between Williamsburg and native settlements. On the flip side of the coin, Fairfax was determined to verify that Gooch was granting land that belonged to the Crown and not to him. He requested and received from the Privy Council an order to conduct a survey of the Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers to determine the headspring of each.[20]

Order in hand, Fairfax came to the Virginia Colony in 1735 with the intention of legally and permanently establishing the extent of his Virginia holdings. He made his headquarters at the home of his cousin and land agent William Fairfax. *Belvoir*, William's plantation, was seated overlooking the Potomac River four miles downstream from Augustine Washington's plantation, Little Hunting Creek[21] and fifty miles as the crow flies from Virginia's colonial capitol at Williamsburg.

Upon arrival in Williamsburg, Fairfax quickly determined the basis of Gooch's claim. The focal point of their dispute was "The Hole" in the Blue Ridge Mountain[22], that point where the Potomac and Shenandoah Rivers "have at last broken over at this spot and have torn the mountain down from its summit to its base."[23] Everyone in the Virginia colony was cognizant of the Northern Neck Proprietary and many if not most looked unfavorably on the Fairfax Grant. In Gooch's opinion, the head spring or starting point of the Potomac River was at "The Hole." In support of his opinion, Gooch pointed out that the river west of "The Hole" was known

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19 Included among Carter's grants was a 1727 grant to himself "Coll. Carter's 50,000 acres" which extended from Williams Gap to the Forks of the Shannondoah at Front Royal. In 1730 Carter granted approximately 18,000 acres to "Coll. [Mann] Page" which extended from the Harper's Ferry Gap south to Williams Gap, today called Snickers Gap, where Virginia Route 7 crosses the Blue Ridge.

20 The Fairfax Grant.

21 Growth of Mount Vernon. https://www.mountvernon.org/library/digitalhistory/digital-encyclopedia/article/growth-of-mount-vernon/. Augustine Washington left Little Hunting Creek to his eldest son Lawrence who inherited in 1743 and named the planation *Mount Vernon*. In 1742 Lawrence married Anne Fairfax daughter of William Fairfax.

22 The gap made by the Potomac River through the Blue Ridge at Harper's Ferry was descriptively called The Hole until the early 19th century. Today, thankfully, we know it as the Harpers Ferry Gap.

23 From Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia*. Harpers Ferry National Historical Park. History, People, Thomas Jefferson. https://www.nps.gov/hafe/learn/historyculture/jefferson-rock.htm.

to the Indians as Cahongaronton,[24] and he argued that point before the Governor's Council in Williamsburg. Convinced that Gooch was correct, and not averse to diminishing Fairfax's claim, the Council decreed that the source of the Potomac was indeed at its confluence with the beautiful Shenandoah River. That interpretation meant that land in The Valley belonged to the Crown, not Fairfax, and was the basis for Gooch's grants to grateful settlers in 1730, 1731, and 1732—rich Valley land bracketed by the Potomac River, the Shenandoah River, and Opequon Creek. By the time of Fairfax's arrival, Gooch had bestowed almost 400,000 acres west of the Blue Ridge.[25] Between Fairfax's grandfather and his mother's land agent "King" Carter, much of the land east of the Blue Ridge between the Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers had been granted and settled. If Fairfax was going to make a living selling land, he had to prove that The Valley belonged to him and not the Crown. It was imperative for Fairfax, once and for all, to accurately determine the headspring of both rivers which described his proprietary.

To ensure a fair result, the Privy Council decree ordered that both rivers be surveyed by two teams of surveyors, one appointed by Gooch and one by Fairfax. Each team would survey both the Rappahannock and Potomac and determine the source of both rivers. Gooch's survey party was led by William Mayo and Robert Brooke. Fairfax selected Benjamin Winslow and John Savage to lead his team, and the two survey parties went to work in 1736. Not surprisingly, when their work was complete the survey teams still disagreed over the source of the Potomac. Fairfax's team argued that the Potomac's headspring was at the source of its north branch in present day Tucker County, West Virginia. Gooch still clung to the claim that the Potomac started at "The Hole." Both agreed that the rise of the Rappahannock was the source of the Conway River, near present-day Stanardsville, Virginia. Sensing a stalemate, Fairfax packed his bags and set sail for England with a plan to let the Privy Council settle the dispute.[26]

Eight years later, on April 11, 1745 the Privy Council rendered this decision:

> ...the boundary of the petitioners land doth begin at the first spring of the South Branch of the River Rappahannack now called Rappidan which first spring is the spring of that part of the said River Rappidan as is called in the plans returned by the name of Conway River and that the said boundary be from thence drawn in a straight line North West to the place in the Allagany Mountains where that part of the River Pattawomeck alias Potowmack which is now called

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24 One of many, many spellings. By example the Shepherd College, now Shepherd University, yearbook is named The Cohongoroota.

25 The Fairfax Grant. In 1730 Gooch granted "30,000 acres west of the Shannondoah River, east of Opeckon Creek, and south of the Potowmack River" to Isaac and John Van Meter. Gooch also warranted 100,000 acres in the Winchester/Front Royal area to Jost Hite.

26 The Fairfax Grant.



Looking up the Shenandoah River from Maryland Heights c. 1890.
Courtesy of the Jefferson County Museum.

Cohongoroota alias Cohongoronton first arises.[27]

Fairfax had won the day. The final boundaries of the Northern Neck Proprietary established that the headspring of the Potomac was the Fairfax Stone in Tucker County and that the headspring of the Rappahannock was the headspring of Conway River. The decree also ordered the survey of a line which connected the headsprings of the two rivers. In 1746 when the line was surveyed, Fairfax's grant in the Virginia Colony comprised 5,200,000 acres.[28]

Generally, colonial grants warranted by Gooch before 1745 were honored. For example, in April 1734 Thomas Shepherd received a Gooch patent for 222 acres south of the Potomac along Falling Spring Branch.[29] Seventeen years later Shepherd purchased 457 acres from Lord Fairfax and his plat described the purchase as "adjacent west to his old patent land" acknowledging the original colonial grant.[30] Things did not go as smoothly

27 McClinton, Arthur (ed.), The Fairfax Line: A Historic Landmark, including "The Fairfax Line: Thomas Lewis's Journal of 1746," The Henkel Press, New Market, VA, 1925 (reprinted by Shenandoah County Historical Society, 1990), p.12. Taken from The Fairfax Grant.

28 The Fairfax Grant.

29 O'Dell, Cecil. *Pioneers of Old Frederick County, Virginia.* Wadsworth Publishing Company, Marciline, MO. 1995. Page 29.

30 O'Dell. Page 31.

between Fairfax and the Hites. When the 1746 survey line was drawn connecting the two headsprings, Hite sued Fairfax to retain his Gooch grants in what was now Fairfax's proprietary. To say that the wheels of justice ground slowly is a huge understatement. Forty years later the lawsuit was settled in Hite's favor, but neither Hite nor Fairfax lived to hear the verdict.[31]

With a verified, certified map of his proprietary firmly in hand, Fairfax returned triumphantly to Virginia and resumed his residence with Cousin William Fairfax. During the ten years of his absence, their neighbor to the north, Augustine Washington, had died. Washington's son Lawrence inherited the Little Hunting Creek plantation and renamed it *Mount Vernon* in honor of Admiral Edward Vernon.[32] While Lord Fairfax was in England, Washington had also met and fallen in love with William Fairfax's daughter, Anne. They married prior to the Lord's permanent return to Virginia.[33] The dynamic of Lord Fairfax at *Belvoir* and Lawrence Washington at *Mount Vernon* set in motion the second and most important part of the back story.

Presumably before his father's death but assuredly after he passed, George Washington developed a special affinity for his older half-brother Lawrence. English educated,[34] adjutant general of the militia in northern Virginia, a member of Virginia's House of Burgesses, and farmer, Lawrence's successful career was the perfect model for his younger sibling. As often as he could, George spent time at *Mount Vernon* and through that association developed a relationship with his half-brother's in-laws, especially with Lord Fairfax. Fatherless, young George would not have the advantage of attending school in England and instead would pursue other options for making his mark in the world. Reportedly, both the Lord and Lawrence recommended a life in the Royal Navy for fifteen-year-old George, but, thankfully, George's mother, Mary Ball Washington, nixed that idea. Instead, George Washington opted to become a surveyor, and Lord Fairfax had lots of land in the Valley of the Shenandoah which needed surveying.[35] And as they say, the rest is history.

George Washington's introduction to the Shenandoah Valley began in 1748. As a neophyte surveyor, the sixteen-year old Washington recognized the necessity of combining knowledge gained from pamphlets like "Surveying or Measuring of Land" with practical field experience. Lord Fairfax organized a survey party led by James Genn, and in the spring of 1748, they were headed to the south branch valley to plat lands patented

31 The Fairfax Grant.

32 Vernon was a Vice Admiral in the British Royal Navy. Washington served with Vernon in the West Indies.

33 Mount Vernon. Lawrence Washington. https://www.mountvernon.org/library/digitalhistory/digital-encyclopedia/article/growth-of-mount-vernon/.

34 Lawrence was a graduate of the Appleby Grammar School.

35 Mount Vernon. Lawrence Washington. https://www.mountvernon.org/library/digitalhistory/digital-encyclopedia/article/growth-of-mount-vernon/.

by Lord Fairfax.[36] Genn was among the best surveyors in the Virginia colony, so when Washington was given the opportunity to join the party on its trip west, he readily agreed. Good surveyors kept good notes—their remuneration depended on the plats of property surveyed. Off to a good start, George Washington kept a small notebook labelled, "Journey over the Mountains."

Washington's first entry simply stated:

> Friday March 11th. 1747/8. Began my Journey in Company with George Fairfax Esqr.; we travell'd this day 40 Miles to Mr. George Neavels in Prince William County.[37]

The next day the survey party crossed the Blue Ridge Mountains at Ashby's Gap[38] and within days Washington was aware of the fertile land along the Shenandoah observing "the Land exceeding Rich & Fertile all the way produces abundance of Grain Hemp Tobacco &c."[39] On Monday the 14th Washington made his first entry into what would become Mr. Jefferson's County when he noted that the surveyors "went ourselves down the River [Shenandoah] about 16 miles to Capt. Isaac Penningtons in order to Lay of some Lands on Cates Marsh and Long Marsh."[40, 41]

From his association with Lord Fairfax and brother Lawrence, George Washington quickly learned the importance of owning land, and his introduction to Fairfax land in the Shenandoah Valley provided the opportunity to become a landowner. According to editors Jackson and Twohig:

> During the surveying trips of his early years GW discovered the rich lands in the lower Shenandoah Valley. The first real property owned was several tracts of land along Bullskin Run in Frederick County, [42] which he bought in 1750. These lands he named the Bullskin plantation and on them were raised

36 The land grant process had several steps. First, Fairfax issued a warrant which specified the location and amount of land to be settled. Next surveyors would survey the tract, draw a plat with a physical description of the plat, and record this in Lord Fairfax's survey book. Fairfax would then issue a land patent after the client had paid for the survey, paid for the cost of drafting and recording the indenture, and agreed to pay an annual rent. The Genn survey party was completing the second step of the process.

37 Jackson, Donald, Editor and Twohig, Dorothy, Associate Editor. *The Diaries of George Washington Volume I 1748-1765*. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville. 1976. Page 6.

38 Jackson and Twohig. The Diaries of George Washington Volume I 1748-1765. Page 6.

39 Jackson and Twohig. The Diaries of George Washington Volume I 1748-1765. Page 7.

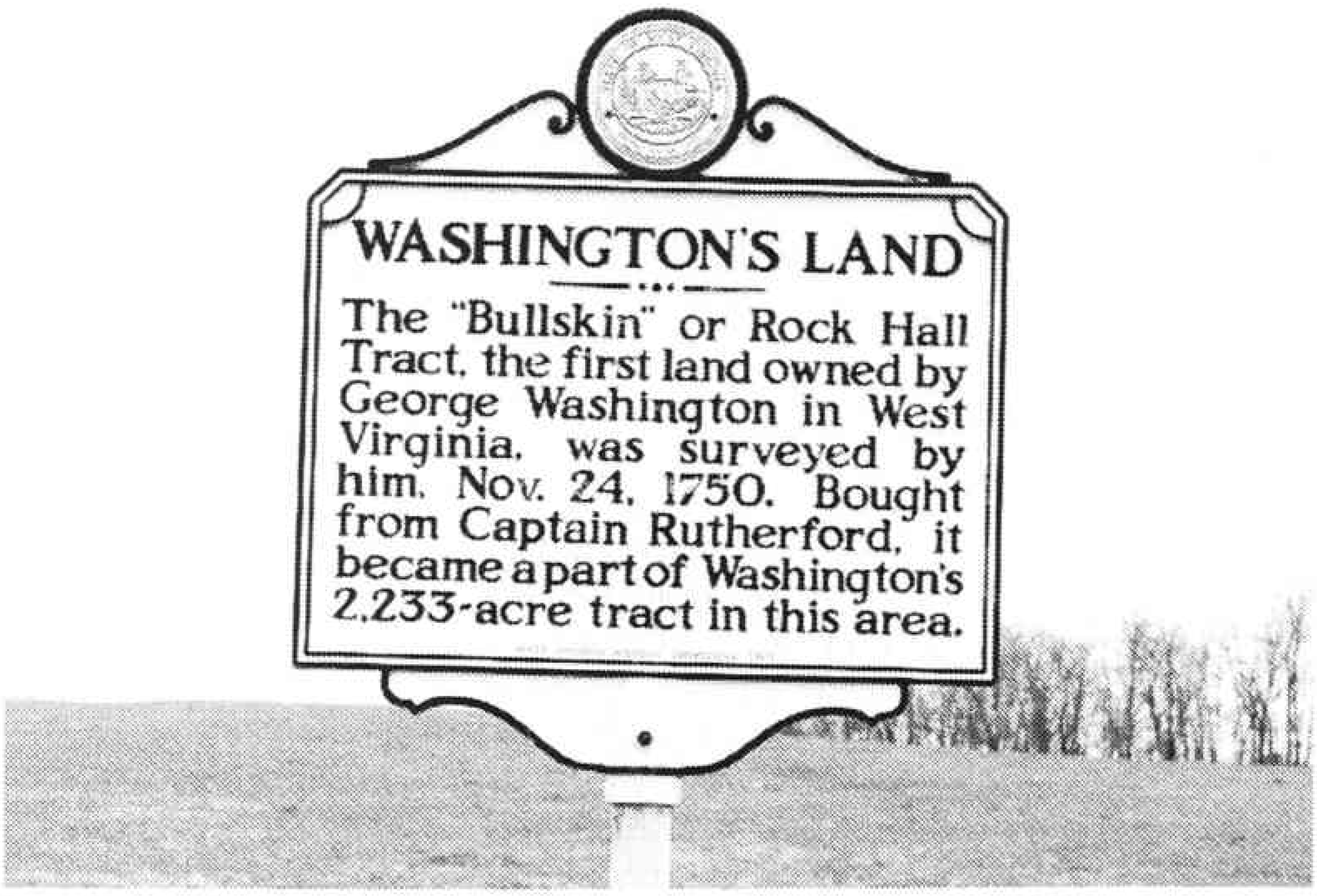
40 Jackson and Twohig. The Diaries of George Washington Volume I 1748-1765. Page 7.

41 Long Marsh is located in the beautiful southeast section of Mr. Jefferson's County.

42 Today in Jefferson County.

crops of corn, wheat, and tobacco.[43]

Eventually, George Washington would own over two thousand acres of "rich lands in the lower Shenandoah Valley." Although we know Washington as a statesman and the Father of His Country, in his heart George Washington was a landowner and farmer. Keeping tabs on his Bullskin Plantation required Washington the farmer to make frequent trips to The Valley, and during his many visits he became increasingly familiar with his neighbors and the land around the Bullskin. Washington made his home at *Mount Vernon*, overlooking the Potomac, but eventually his brothers Samuel and Charles would be permanent residents of The Valley providing yet another motivation for horseback rides across the Blue Ridge. For a variety of reasons, family, friends, and farming, the land between the Shenandoah and Potomac Rivers was important to and well known by George Washington.



West Virginia Highway Historical marker near Summit Point. Courtesy of the Jefferson County Museum.

But one river caught George Washington's imagination more than the other. His father's principal plantation overlooked the Potomac River and eventually George came to own *Mount Vernon*. The Potomac was literally the lifeblood of *Mount Vernon*. It provided fish and fowl for food, ships carrying household goods and farm supplies sailed up the Potomac from

43 Jackson and Twohig. The Diaries of George Washington Volume I 1748-1765. Page 226.

England, and those same ships sailed down the Potomac bound for markets laden with *Mount Vernon's* produce. During his first fifteen years at *Mount Vernon*, Washington realized that the Potomac was the heart of the region's economy—a major transportation route and a source of power for countless mills along its banks and tributaries.

Farmer Washington became General Washington and his time at *Mount Vernon* was interrupted by the American Revolution.[44] Not only was The General away from *Mount Vernon*, but his duty as commander prevented him from visiting his land holdings in Virginia's western frontier. For his service during the French and Indian War, Washington was granted land awarded to the men and officers of the Virginia Regiment who served in the 1754 Monongahela expedition. Finally surveyed by William Crawford in 1774, Washington held several tens of thousands of acres in western Virginia along the Great Kanawha River which he referred to as his Kanawha tracts. Ten years following the surveying of his land along the Kanawha, Washington set out to visit his holdings.

On September 1st, 1784 the General recorded these words in his diary, "I set out myself in company with Docter James Craik."[45] That began a month-long journey across the Allegheny Mountains into Virginia's lightly settled western lands. Most of the 18th century settlers in that region subscribed to Davy Crockett's theory—if you could see smoke from a neighbor's chimney, it was time to move. Many of those on lands Washington claimed were somewhat surprised when The General appeared with his hand outstretched requesting his due, and most refused to pay. There was another frontier motto: "Possession is nine-tenths of the law." Those western settlers found land in the Kanawha Valley, fought with local Native Americans, cleared the land of rocks and trees, and thought that their occupation superseded The General's claim. Americans west of the Alleghenies did not have the same feeling of reverence towards The General as did their eastern brethren.

When he returned to *Mount Vernon*, The General reflected on the trip out west and particularly his interaction with the westerners. The more he pondered the month away, the more he was convinced that unless the newly minted United States acted and acted quickly, westerners may develop stronger business relations with trading partners along the western border. Washington posed the question "if the Spaniards on their right, or Great Britain on their left, instead of throwing stumbling blocks in their way as they do now, should envite their trade and seek alliances with them?"[46]

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44 On Thursday, June 15, 1775 George Washington was unanimously elected to command the Continental Army by the Continental Congress. Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789. THURSDAY, JUNE 15, 1775. Page 91. https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/hlaw:@field(DOCID+@lit(jc00236)): 07312020.

45 Dr. James Craik was one of General Washington's oldest friends and his personal physician. The men were accompanied by unnamed servants and Craik's son William and the General's nephew Bushrod Washington.

46 Jackson, Donald and Twohig, Dorothy, Editors. *The Diaries of George Washington*

Based on his experience, Washington was of the opinion that westerners felt no strong connection to or allegiance with the east, saying "Western Settlers—from my own observation—stand as it were on a pivet—the touch of a feather would almost incline them any way."[47] When farmers, and most westerners in the 1780s were farmers, had crops to sell, they always had their eyes focused on the bottom line. If it was cheaper to ship and sell their harvests down the Ohio, then so be it. To avoid this, Washington proposed that an effort should be made to "open a good communication with the Settlements. West of us—extend the inland Navigation as far as it can be done with convenience and shew them by this means, how easy it is to bring the produce of their Lands to our Markets."[48] In support of his view, Washington was convinced that westerners "would do their part" in making connections with the east, saying that "Weak as they [westerners] now are, they would, I am perswaded, meet us half way rather than be driven into the arms of, or be in any wise dependent upon, foreigners; the consequence of which would be, a separation, or a War."[49]

And, of course, The General had a solution:

> The way to avoid both, happily for us, is easy, and dictated by our clearest interests. It is to open a wide door, and make a smooth way for the produce of that Country to pass to our Markets before the trade may get into another channel. This, in my judgement, would dry up other sources.

In Washington's opinion, the door to the west was the Potomac River. On his western journey he had scoped out a path which connected, sometimes on water, sometimes overland, the Cheat River on the west of the Alleghenies with the upper branches of the Potomac. The space between the two was the "make a smooth way" part, and for those familiar with West Virginia's Corridor H, that is no small task. But it was a solution: conquer the Potomac's falls and clear the river bed of debris; where there are no trails, just as he had done when he led General Braddock toward Fort Duquesne, set your pioneers to work, clear a path, and cut in a road. Where there is a will, there is a way. And General Washington had both the will and the way.

The job of making the Potomac River the door to the west became the mission of the Patowmack Company. Organized on May 17, 1785, the company's sole objective was to ensure that the Potomac River was navigable from its mouth at the Chesapeake Bay to its source at the Fairfax Stone. The General

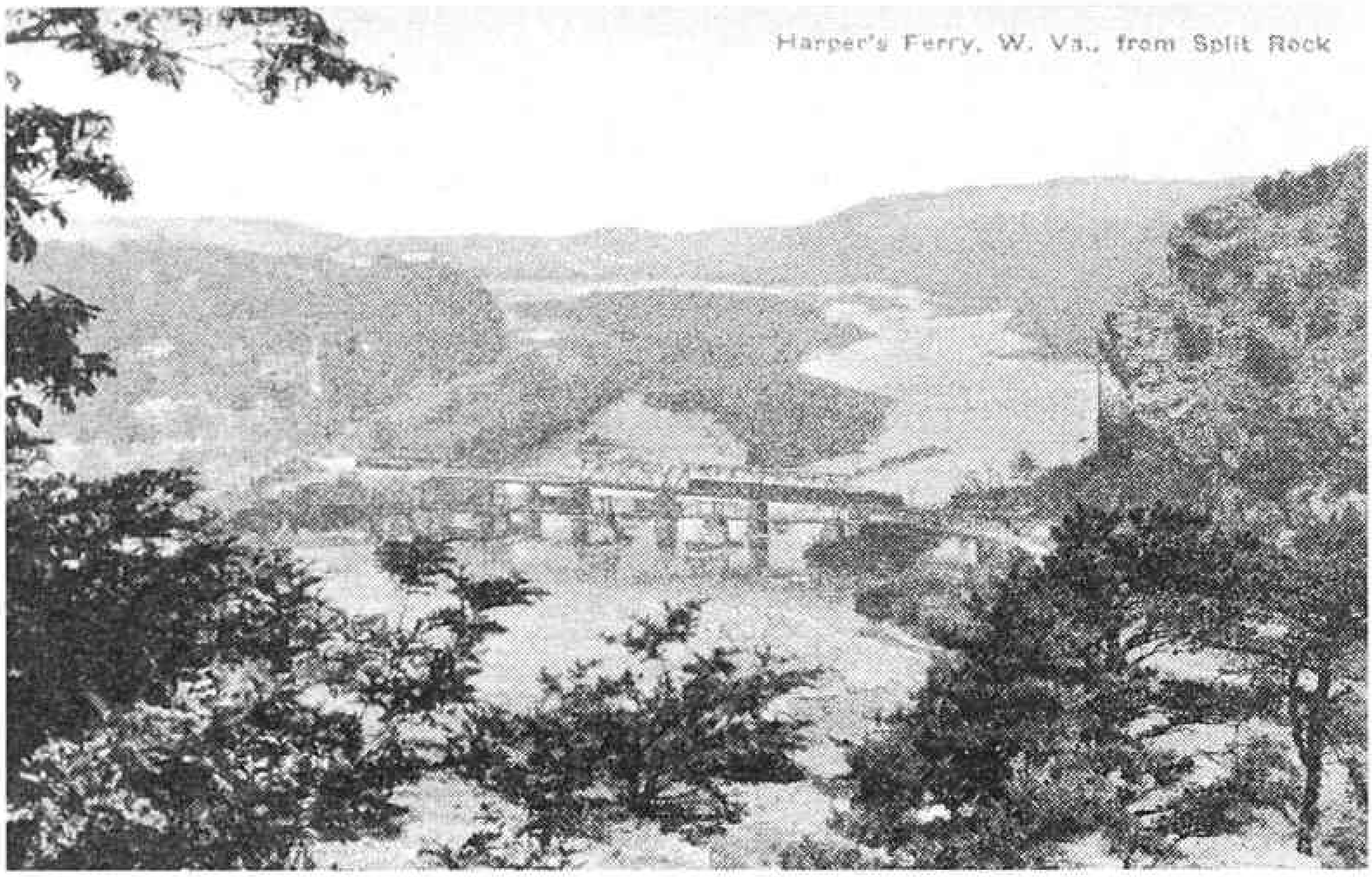
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Volume IV 1784 – June 1786. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville. 1978. Page 66.

47 Jackson and Twohig. *The Diaries of George Washington Volume IV 1784 – June 1786*. Page 66.

48 Jackson and Twohig. *The Diaries of George Washington Volume IV 1784 – June 1786*. Page 66.

49 Jackson and Twohig. *The Diaries of George Washington Volume IV 1784 – June 1786*. Page 67.



Looking up the Potomac River from Chimney Rock on Loudoun Heights c. 1895.
Courtesy of the Jefferson County Museum.

was chosen to lead the company and served as its president for three years until he assumed another, more important elected position. Washington was joined by directors George Gilpin, John Fitzgerald, Thomas Sim Lee, and Thomas Johnston, Alexandria merchants.[50] Because the river was vital to both Maryland and Virginia, the Patowmack Company was chartered in both states, an early example of the regulation of interstate commerce. The General and his fellow directors envisioned a Potomac River which would provide safe passage for vessels laden with western farm products headed to Alexandria's markets, and an easy passage for boats making the return trip west carrying goods purchased from the merchants of Alexandria.

The final chapter in the back story of "John Brown and the Civil War" took place during President George Washington's second term. The Continental Army relied on "importers or private manufacturers" to deliver guns to "various depots in Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia."[51] The General, now The President, was determined to correct problems associated with this system and in April 1794 proposed legislation "for erecting and repairing of Arsenals and Magazines."[52] Congress affirmed Washington's request and the legislation authorized expenditure of $81,865.

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50 "From George Washington to James Rumsey, 8 August 1785," Founders Online, National Archives, https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/04-03-02-0162.

51 Smith, Merritt Roe. *Harpers Ferry Armory and the New Technology: The Challenge of Change*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London. 1977. Page 28.

52 Smith. *Harpers Ferry Armory and the New Technology*. Page 28.

Congress also gave President Washington the latitude to decide how many gun factories should be built and where they should be located. Secretary of War Henry Knox recommended that Springfield, Massachusetts be one of the sites, President Washington concurred, and Springfield became the first site selected.[53]

With Springfield on the board, President Washington turned his attention southward. At this point, his options included using the remaining funds to either renovate one or more of the existing arsenals in New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, or to purchase a new site and build a gun factory there. Washington chose to take the latter route, overlooking facilities at West Point, New York; Carlisle, Pennsylvania; and New London, Virginia. Instead, Washington proposed to build a new federal arsenal nestled between the confluence of the Shenandoah and Potomac Rivers at Harper's Ferry, Virginia. Not surprisingly, President Washington used both rivers to justify his choice. First, in the 18th century, water was the principal source of power used in manufacturing. Rivers were harnessed to turn water wheels which ground grains, sawed logs, and hammered iron into a variety of products. The bountiful waters of the Shenandoah and the Potomac would provide the power to operate the new gun factory at Harper's Ferry. President Washington also pointed out that Harper's Ferry was safely positioned above the fall line on the Potomac, well above Great Falls and thus protected from the threat of an enemy's war ships.

Not everyone agreed with The President, especially his second Secretary of War, Timothy Pickering. Pickering disagreed with his president and attempted to persuade Washington to build a depot at Harper's Ferry and if needed expand the facility as funds became available. To bolster his position, Pickering sent Colonel Stephen Rochfontaine, a French military engineer, to Harper's Ferry to give an objective assessment of the proposed site on the Shenandoah and Potomac. Rochfontaine's report supported Pickering's assertion. According to the Frenchman, "there was no ground on which convenient buildings could be placed," and because of seasonal flooding "no water work would be safe there."[54]

But Rochfontaine was a colonel and The General wanted to build an arsenal at Harper's Ferry. President Washington ordered Colonel Rochfontaine to return to Harper's Ferry to reevaluate the site. The colonel was accompanied by George Gilpin and Tobias Lear, friends and associates of The President, directors of the Patowmack Company and merchants in Alexandria and Georgetown, respectively. As Rochfontaine began to reexamine the spot between the rivers, Gilpin and Lear were expected to offer the advantages offered by Harper's Ferry. Colonel Rochfontaine got the point and changed "the report so that it coincided with his [President Washington]

53 Smith. *Harpers Ferry Armory and the New Technology*. Page 28.

54 Smith. *Harpers Ferry Armory and the New Technology*. Page 31.

expectations."[55] Soon thereafter, Gilpin and Lear, acting as agents for President Washington, began to purchase land in Harper's Ferry, and by 1800 the United States Armory at Harper's Ferry was producing muskets based on the French Charleville pattern.[56]

Epilogue

Hite to Shepherd, Fairfax to Washington, the story of Mr. Jefferson's County is closely linked to its rivers—The Shenandoah and The Potomac. Over the years, I have resisted playing the "What If" game. On occasion I have observed, seemingly for hours, that game being played by members of our Charles Town Library Civil War Roundtable, arguing "What If" that general had not been killed or "What If" that group of soldiers had attacked rather than retreated or vice versa. But, since I am planning to take a break from submitting articles for *The Magazine of the Jefferson County Historical Society*, I am going to indulge myself and play the "What If" game in an effort to prove my point about our rivers.

"What If" Thomas 6th Lord Fairfax had accepted Lieutenant Governor Gooch's assertion that the Potomac River began on the east side of the Blue Ridge of mountains at the confluence of the Shenandoah and Potomac. If so, Fairfax would have lost claim to the land in the lower Shenandoah Valley. Young George Washington's first trip into the land between the rivers was in the company of Lord Fairfax's survey party which prompted his purchase of land here and began his familiarization with The Valley. "What If" Washington, because he was not surveying for Lord Fairfax, had followed brother Lawrence's suggestion and joined the Royal Navy? See what I mean about the "What If" game?

Still, even if it was Gooch, not Fairfax, who granted ground west of the Blue Ridge, it is highly probable that George Washington, ever conscious of the value of land, would have purchased property here. Washington would have visited his holdings along the Bullskin and over time come to know the importance of the rivers to the region's vitality. For sure, George Washington was not the only person who understood the significance of the Shenandoah and the Potomac to the people who made their homes in The Valley, but he was perhaps the biggest champion and the loudest voice. George Washington proposed making the Potomac River THE door to the west and oversaw the company which was organized to make the dream a reality. George Washington believed that Harper's Ferry's rivers could supply power for a national armory, and he was principally responsible for its establishment.

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55 Smith. *Harpers Ferry Armory and the New Technology*. Page 31.

56 Smith. *Harpers Ferry Armory and the New Technology*. Page 53.

The Patowmack Company morphed into the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. "What If," instead of organizing the Patowmack Company, Washington had just dreamed about making the Potomac the way to the west? Would a canal which connected Georgetown to Cumberland, Maryland ever been built? John Brown selected Harper's Ferry as the starting point for his campaign to free enslaved men and women because it afforded easy access to the rest of Virginia, a slave state, and because of the United States Musket Factory on the shores of the Potomac. "What If" George Washington had followed Colonel Rochfontaine's advice to build the armory elsewhere? Would John Brown have selected Harper's Ferry as his starting point?

The six years from the time of John Brown's Raid on Harper's Ferry to the end of the Civil War will always be among the most important half decades in Jefferson County's History. Many claim that the Civil War shaped our nation's history unlike any other event to date, and in the words of Frederick Douglas the single most important event which triggered the war and brought an end to slavery took place here in Jefferson County. Because of those rivers, the Shenandoah and the Potomac, and the gap they forged in the Blue Ridge, Jefferson County was a strategic point during that war and suffered the consequences.

The importance of our rivers is ongoing. It can be argued that the floods at Harpers Ferry, especially those in 1936 and 1942, were the foundation for the formation in 1944 of Harpers Ferry National Monument, which in 1963 became Harpers Ferry National Historical Park. Annually, the park draws tens of thousands of visitors to Jefferson County positively impacting our economy. Our rivers and their tributaries are integral to the infrastructure of our municipalities and provide countless hours of recreation to residents and visitors alike. As you continue to learn about the History of Mr. Jefferson's County, I urge you to occasionally pause and reflect on the connection between our history and our rivers. See if you agree with me that the story of Mr. Jefferson's County is All About the Rivers.

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