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Magazine of the

Jefferson County Historical Society

Volume XXIV
December 1958

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JEFFERSON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY



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JEFFERSON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Organized May 21, 1927

Headquarters — Esta Burton Hilleary Museum

Charles Town, West Virginia

OFFICERS

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ADDRESSES

(Delivered before the Society since December 1, 1957)

February 8 at Shepherdstown — "History Fair" at the High School; "Interesting High School Students in Local History" by Miss Rachel Snyder.

May 11 at Charles Town — "General Adam Stephen" by Commodore Thomas E. VanMetre.

November 15 at Charles Town — "The Hite vs Fairfax Suit: A Look at the Record as Filed in the Virginia Court of Appeals" by Miss Elizabeth Rogers.

Membership — Open to all who have an interest in the history of Jefferson County. Annual dues of $1.00 should be paid to Treasurer Frank W. Buckles before the meeting in May.

Price of the Magazine — $1.25 a copy. Copies of the 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1943, 1944 and 1956 issues are no longer available.

Orders for the Magazine should be given to Treasurer Frank W. Buckles, Gap View Farm, Charles Town, West Virginia.

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

ALBUM of HISTORIC HOMES IX

THE BOWER

When the pre-Revolutionary Valley of Virginia settlers were giving names to their landed estates, Hopewell being chosen by Jacob Hite, Harewood by Samuel Washington, Traveller's Rest by Horatio Gates, and so on, none at this late date seems to have been so surpassingly fitting as The Bower for Doctor Adam Stephen's estate on the Opequon.

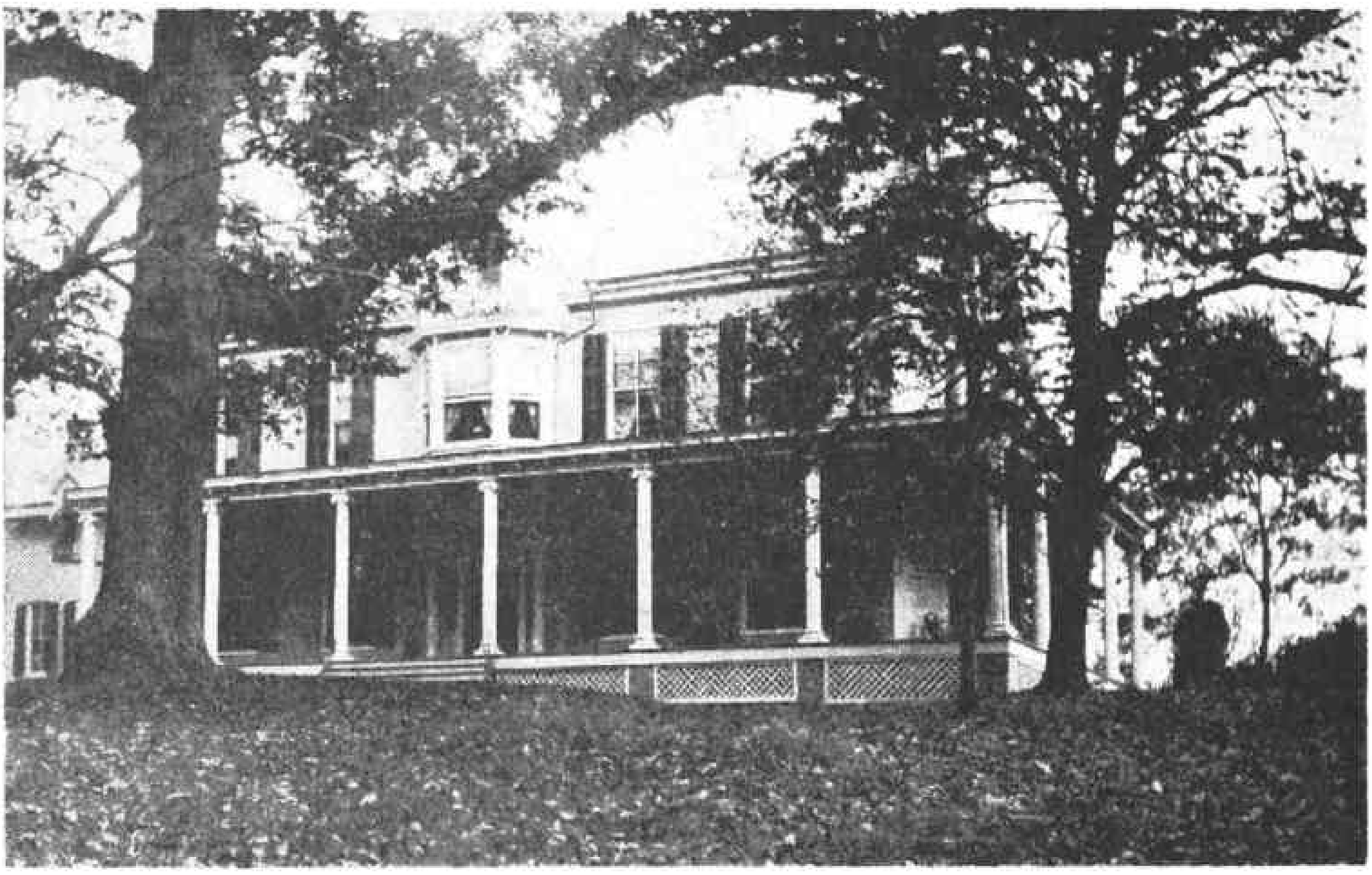
Jefferson Countians seeking out The Bower may, by turning westward from the main highway just north of Leetown, and circling the Rose Hill estate of Bishop R. E. L. Strider to reach old Hopewell Mills for a rustic drive of a mile up along the Opequon, find themselves ascending a hill and heading into a grove of magnificent oaks more than four hundred years old. For an early settler it was truly a bower, a rural retreat setting for living quarters.

Today no trace of those quarters remains. Instead, in the eastern edge of the grove, for more than 150 years, there has stood a brick mansion with all of fourteen rooms in the main part, erected in 1805 and 1806 by the first Adam Stephen Dandridge, son of Capt. Alexander Spottswood Dandridge and his wife Anne, daughter of General Stephen. The house faces west, and from its front porch one gets a magnificent view through the grove, across half a mile of creek bottom, with wooded hills beyond, and in the distance the line of the North Mountain.

In the rear of the house in former days a broad central path ran between flower beds and grass plots, then under an arbor, and through a well-kept formal flower garden, partly shaded by two big white pines, then under a second arbor to a terraced vegetable garden of about two acres, split down the middle by a double row of lilacs. Off to the left (north) another long lilac hedge hid, and still hides, a group of farm buildings. Just outside the garden and close to the northeast corner of the house stand the old brick smokehouse, the woodshed, and the old carriage house, now used as a garage. From the east windows of the house on the second and third stories

the Blue Ridge mountains are visible in the far distance. Lack of labor has obliterated most of the flower garden, now overgrown by blue grass, through which spring bulbs still put up their blossoms. Old age has brought death to the pine trees, though young ones have recently been planted in their place. But lilacs, wisteria, and fragrant syringa remain in profusion.

Not far from the mansion there is a frame dwelling tenanted by the manager of the Bower farm, now containing about 328 acres, all but 60 of them lying on the Jefferson side of the Opequon. Since the death of Lemuel P. Dandridge in December, 1919, the farm has been rented, the family of the farmer occupying not only the frame house just mentioned, but also a part of the main house, the larger part of which has been reserved for the owners' family, who have gathered there with their kinsfolk and friends every summer.



In front of the house, as shown in the picture, is the large oak under which John Esten Cooke, the novelist who served with JEB Stuart, did some of his writing. "Stuart's Oak," the tree under which JEB Stuart had his headquarters tent during October 1862, stood in a relatively level place at the south end or head of the grove. While it perished some twenty years ago, in memory's vision it is still a sturdy oak to those returning to the scenes of their childhood.

In the library of The Bower they may view again the portrait of the first Adam Stephen Dandridge, who inherited the Bower and more than 2,500 acres from his grandfather, General Adam Stephen, in 1791. The portrait depicts him about the time of his marriage to Sarah Pendleton on January 1, 1805, when he was nearly twenty-three years old. The portrait of Sarah Pendleton Dandridge, who survived her husband more than fifteen years, was made during her later years. On the opposite wall hangs the portrait of their son, the second Adam Stephen Dandridge, showing him in riding costume about the time of his graduation from Princeton.

In the early 1800's The Bower housed a family of some proportions, for to Adam Stephen Dandridge (the first) and Sarah Pendleton his wife were born three sons and three daughters — Adam Stephen (the second), Philip P. and Alexander S.; Sarah S., who married Anthony Kennedy; Ann Spottswood, who married Thomas Buchanan; and Mary Evelina, unmarried at the time of her father's death but later married to Robert Moses T. Hunter. All of these shared in the 1833 division of their father's large land holdings.

One of the four dower lots assigned to Sarah Pendleton Dandridge was a 233 acre tract surrounding The Bower. Adam Stephen Dandridge got a larger adjoining tract to the north and in 1848 bought all dower after his mother's death and the reversion interests of the other heirs in the 233 acre Bower farm.

The second proprietor of the Bower mansion and Serena Pendleton his wife were the parents of five sons and five daughters. To provide for the early education of their children and some of the children of nearby relatives, the Dandridges employed as tutors a succession of young Princeton graduates, some of whom later achieved marked distinction. Oldest of their children was Serena Catherine born in 1838, while Martha Pendleton, born in 1857, was the youngest. The other daughters were Sarah Pendleton, Mary Roberta and Ann Buchanan. Sarah Pendleton became Mrs. Blackburn Hughes, but the other four remained unmarried throughout their lives. Of the five sons, three served in the Confederate Army, Edmund Pendleton as a captain, and Lemuel Purnell and Adam Stephen (the third) as privates. Philip Spottswood and Alexander Spottswood were too young for the Army.

Considerable attention has been given this family by writers on the war, particularly those who were in Stuart's cavalry, because of the courtesies shown JEB Stuart, John Pelham, Blackford and others who camped in the Bower grove during October 1862. Their gay and happy times in the Dandridge home are delightfully recounted in "JEB Stuart, the Last Cavalier" by Burke Davis and in W. W. Blackford's "War Years with JEB Stuart." And it was from the Bower that General Robert E. Lee secured his Jefferson county sorrel mare, Lucy Long, to alternate with Greenbrier county's Traveller.

One curious relic still in the hands of the family is an old account book, in which, among pages devoted to the accounts of farm crops, stores, blacksmiths, and individual employees, one page is headed "Abraham Lincoln to A. S. Dandridge, Dr." Beginning in 1861 he seems to have undertaken to charge to the President personally slaves, horses, hogs, and crops taken or destroyed by the Union Army. But he soon gave it up.

On May 29, 1879 Lemuel P.. the second son of Adam Stephen Dandridge (the second), married Isabelle Lawrence, daughter of John W. Lawrence, a wealthy business man of Flushing, N. Y. Her older sisters had preceded her in coming to the lower Valley of Virginia, Eliza Sawyer having married Colonel Armistead Rust and Caroline having become Mrs. Henry Bedinger.

On January 31, 1881, Isabelle Lawrence Dandridge bought the present Bower farm, and its grist and saw mills, and there she and Lemuel reared their son Edmund P., who became the Bishop of Tennessee, and their two daughters, Florence, who died in 1936, and Martha, who married Dr. Lewis B. Franklin. With them also were reared their cousins, the orphaned children of Captain Edmund P. Dandridge — Edmund P., now in Pittsburgh; Helen, who married Robert L. Martin; and Serena, who became Mrs. Hugh Pendleton.

At the time of this purchase extensive changes were made in the house. A wing was added at the north end. Peaks and dormer windows in the roof gave more room and light on the third floor. The small square front porch was replaced by a wide porch running the full length of the house, and this has now been extended across the south end. In March, 1892, a fire gutted the mansion, which was rebuilt on the same walls, the partitions as well as the outside walls being of brick; but

all the fine woodwork and most of the good furniture of the old house were destroyed.

The present owners of The Bower are the Rt. Rev. Edmund P. Dandridge, retired Bishop of Tennessee, now living in Lexington, Kentucky, and his sister, Martha Dandridge Franklin, of Noroton, Connecticut. The latter's husband, Dr. Lewis B. Franklin, after handling all the Liberty Loans as head of the War Loan Organization in the Treasury Department during World War I, left his career as a New York banker to devote nearly thirty years to the service of the Episcopal Church as Treasurer of its National Council. To the Bishop belongs the distinction of having been one of the few sons of Jefferson County to study at the University of Oxford. His degree at Oxford in 1908 followed his arts degrees at the University of Virginia and graduation from the Virginia Theological Seminary.

No records have come to light to determine definitely who was the first Dandridge to live at the Opequon Bower or what sort of dwelling was there before the present mansion was built. The Dandridge children of the 1890's used to find fragments of china and the like in an area opposite the present tenant house, which they called their "fortune place." In "Sally Wister's Journal" there is a footnote stating that, when Captain Alexander Spottswood Dandridge married General Stephen's daughter Anne, they went to live at the Bower. The fragments of china may have been theirs and they may have lived at the Bower for a year or two.

Captain Dandridge, born in 1753, the son of Nathaniel West Dandridge of Hanover County and grandson of Governor Spottswood, resigned from the Army on April 14, 1780 and married Anne, five years his junior. His deed to a tract of 600 acres on May 6, 1780 shows that it was in part Anne's dowry from her father and that he was then a resident of old Berkley, which of course then included Jefferson. Alexander Spottswood Dandridge's will, dated March 4, 1784, left this tract "whereon I now live" to his wife Anne at his death in April, 1785. So, there is evidence that in 1784 they lived at "Hazelfield," near the Warm Spring Road and southeast of Kearneysville, since the 1780 deed definitely locates their 600 acre tract.

There is some related evidence. On April 26, 1787, the widow Anne married Moses Hunter, who died in 1798, after which she remained a widow till her death in 1834.

By the second marriage she had two children who lived beyond their minority—Ann Evelina, who married Henry St. George Tucker, and Moses T. Hunter. The tract whereon Alexander Spottswood Dandridge lived is further identified by an 1851 deed given by Anne Stephen Dandridge Hunter's daughter, then a widow, and heirs of the daughter for a "Hazelfield" of 436 acres. South of this, an adjoining smaller tract held in 1852 by Henry St. George Hunter, a grandson, was also included in the Stephen to Dandridge deed of 1780. The name of the large tract was well chosen, for the boys who roamed its fields fifty years ago were still gathering hazelnuts by the bushel.

There is an old two-story stone house, the main part having four large rooms and a smaller one and wide halls, standing just west of the Warm Springs Road on the Hazelfield tract. The entrance side of the house, with fanlight in the gable, resembles the central portion of Happy Retreat, built by Charles Washington in 1780. Some visiting authorities on architecture once assigned the Hazelfield house to the same period. If records should be discovered showing that Alexander Spottswood Dandridge built it, some support would be given a repeated statement that, when he married Anne Stephen, they went to live at the Bower. They could hardly have had a Hazelfield house ready for occupancy before 1781 or 1782. It is pertinent to reflect that in the 1770's and 1780's a number of stone houses appeared in Jefferson county, but by the time the Tuckers held Hazelfield brick was generally used for anything resembling a mansion. So, it is credible that the county's first Dandridge built the old stone house, and occupied it after a year or two at the Bower.

General Adam Stephen, first to live at the Bower, was a well educated man and belived in education for others. His will directed that no expense be spared to give his grandson, Adam Stephen Dandridge, the best obtainable education, and doubtless he sent his daughter Anne to one of the best schools then open to women.

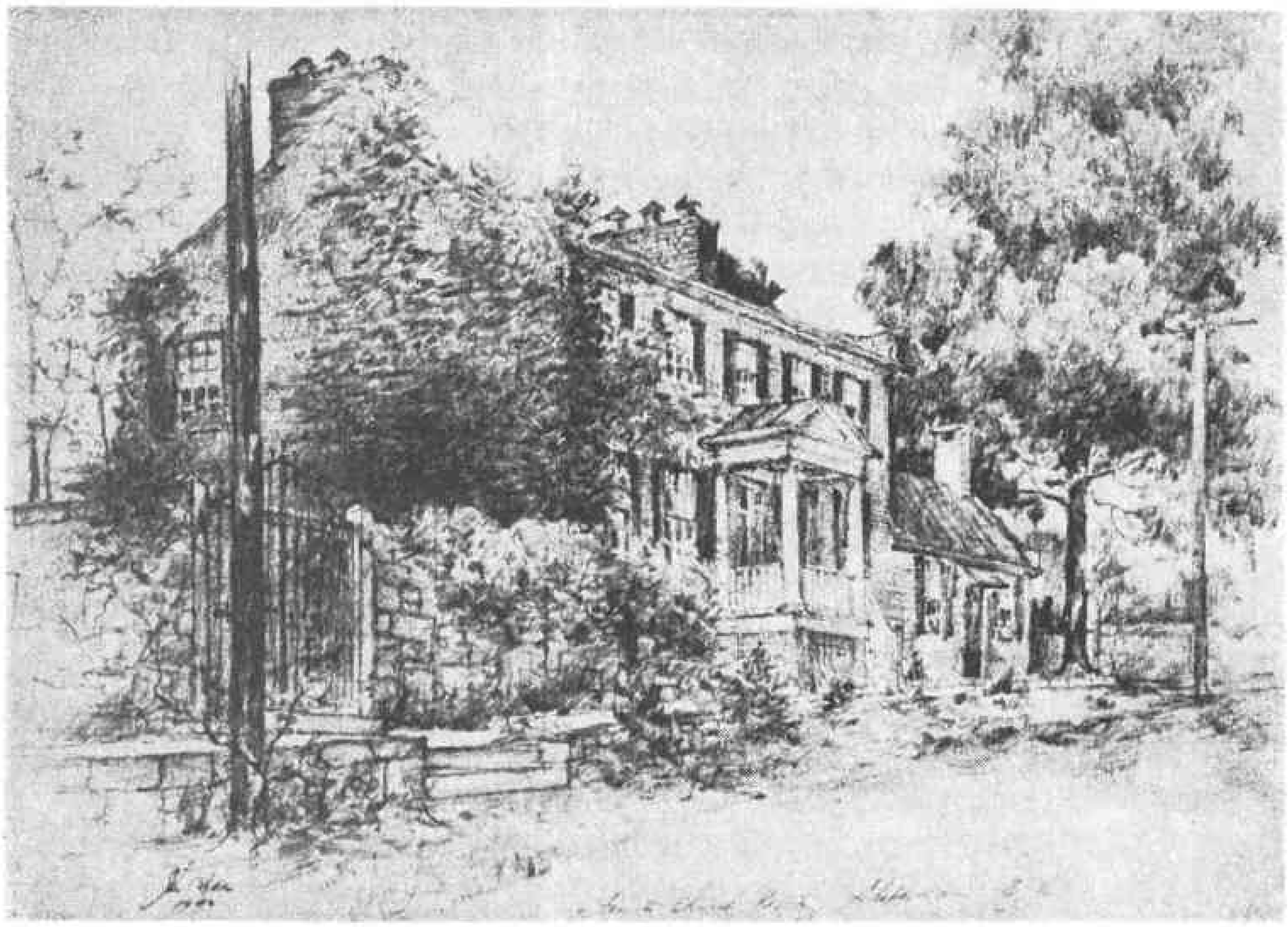
Apparently a native of Aberdeen, Adam Stephen completed his medical training at the University of Edinburgh, circa 1746, after which he served as a physician on board ships of the British navy. On May 10, 1750, he was in Fredericksburg, Virginia, when he secured a tract of land on which the Bower mansion stands. He was

practicing medicine and surgery in Stafford, near Fredericksburg, in March, 1753, but court records show that he was in Frederick County, Virginia, on March 7, 1754, and military accounts have him joining Washington at Winchester a few weeks later with a company he had raised in that vicinity. When he came to old Frederick County in 1753 or 1754 he was in possession of approximately 1,200 acres along the Opequon, more than half of his tract lying in present Jefferson County.

Adam Stephen apparently had his "quarters" at the Bower for more than sixteen years, though much of the first fourteen was spent in military service. On August 5, 1770, he bought the first of his two tracts along Tuscarora Creek, and probably built his home just east of that creek and about a square and a half north of Stephen Street in Martinsburg shortly after his offer of land there, near Morgan's Spring, in 1772, was not accepted as a site for the Berkeley County Courthouse. When he was discharged from the Army in 1777, after Germantown, he established himself permanently at Martinsburg. There he could operate his "old and new mills" and still furnish flour to the Army and the Alexandria merchants, no longer carrying his wheat to Hopewell Mills as he had done when seated at the Bower and before his final and complete break with Jacob Hite. His gun factory, operated as a war industry, may have been on his Tuscarora land rather than along the Opequon.

When Major General Adam Stephen died in 1791 he had won many honors and had rendered notable service in political office as well as in the Army. "The New York Magazine" in September, 1791, referring to him as "a gentleman highly distinguished for his medical talents, industry, learning and mental endowments," paid tribute to an early Jefferson County settler from whom a long line of Dandridges and allied families have descended.

THE RECTORY AND JOHN BAKER



The spacious and stately brick dwelling on New Street in Shepherdstown known as The Rectory has been in the possession of the Trinity Episcopal Church since November 19, 1846. It was then purchased from the heirs of John Baker for $2,800. Older residents of Shepherdstown frequently refer to it as the home of John Baker, who is sometimes credited with building the mansion .

However, his will proved on October 27, 1823 refers to it as the house on New Street he bought from Thomas V. Swearingen. He had paid $2,500 for it on May 5, 1817. In his deed to Baker, Swearingen said he had been occupying the place for some time. He had bought it on March 18, 1815 from George V. Spangler, who had secured Lots 113 and 114 some years earlier. So, here is a clue to the question as to who built the Rectory. The late Robert Gibson recalled having seen the date 1814 on the building, and from Baker relatives is had the statement that the date disappeared when a chimney was blown down and had to be replaced.

Though apparently George V. Spangler had built the Rectory in 1814, John Baker is credited with building the wing on the west side. It has been said that Mrs. Baker found it unpleasant to have her house tracked up

by her husband's clients who sought him out after regular hours in his office down town. The wing served as a home office and library.

On April 4, 1799 John Baker was married to Ann Mark, one of the favored few who rode on James Rumsey's steamboat at its successful public demonstration in 1787. The ceremony was performed by her pastor, Moses Hoge, earliest of the several ministers to Shepherdstown churches to reach distinction. To this union were born five sons and three daughters — Samuel D., who married Mary C. Childs; John M. and Robert W.; George Washington, who married I. T. Shaffer; Lisle, who served for some years as a commissioner of accounts; Ann C., who married Thomas W. Gilmer, one-time Governor of Virginia; and Juliet and Ellen.

That a dwelling as large as the Rectory with its eleven rooms was needed for his growing family when John Baker bought the place in 1817 is true only in the sense that those five sons and three daughters were growing in stature.

An intriguing item in the will of John Baker is the one in which he authorized his wife Ann to sell the 215 acres of Traveller's Rest given her by her father, John Mark, in 1809, to pay his debts. He had inherited 334 acres from his father in 1798 and had dealt in lands on a rather large scale, so it is possible that, not having employed a full time accountant and being occupied with his law practice, he was not too sure where he stood financially. At any rate his widow did not sell her farm till 1826 and continued to live in comfort for some twenty years after the death of her husband.

The will of John Baker made no disposition of his "mourning ring," if indeed he had purchased one. His mother, Judith Howard Wood Baker, descended from Henry Howard, Duke of Norfolk, had in 1806 bequeathed ten dollars to him and to each of her seven daughters for mourning rings. Those daughters were Arabella, who married Judge Robert White; Mary, who married Joshua Borrors; Juliet, who married Colonel James Hite; Anna, Susanna, Margaret and Alcinda.

John Baker was about ten years old when his Tory father, John Baker, came to this county from Montgomery County, Maryland, in 1779, when he bought Moses Tullis land adjoining Peter Burr and Walter

Baker east of the Community Building at Bardane.

The junior John Baker entered Liberty Hall Academy, Rockbridge County, Virginia, in 1783 and continued his education until prepared to practice law. Taking up residence in Shepherdstown he soon rose to distinction in his profession. His reputation as a trial lawyer resulted in his being chosen a member of the counsel to defend Aaron Burr in the famous trial for conspiracy. He was made assistant commonwealth's attorney at the time Jefferson County was formed. He was president of the board of trustees for the town of Shepherdstown for several terms. From 1811 to 1813 he served in the U. S. Congress. As a Federalist he opposed declaration of war against Great Britain.

The town of Shepherdstown has had four of its citizens in the Congress — John Baker, Henry Bedinger, Alexander R. Boteler and Thomas Van Swearingen. Two of them, Baker and Swearingen, at some time, either before or after serving in Congress, lived in the Rectory. Since 1846 Trinity Church has had a number of distinguished rectors who lived in the stately old house, but the fame of its occupant from 1817 to 1823 is still so well remembered by older residents of Shepherdstown that they will refer to The Rectory as "the home of John Baker."

THE SHEETZ GUNSMITHS

Nearly everyone in Shepherdstown takes pleasure in relating that Sheetz guns became famous, without being able to tell just when they were made. To Major Thornton T. Perry, of Charles Town, belongs credit for bringing to light some very interesting data.

In "American Firearms Maker" by A. Merwyn Carey he has found the following:

> Sheetz: Adam, Henry & Philip (Brothers) 1768-1780, shop located at Shepards Town, Berkeley County, Virginia. Made flintlock Muskets for the Virginia Militia and did general Gun-smithing.

An even more important find is that of two documents owned by Mrs. Margaret Asquith Shelton, of Chevy Chase, Md., one of them a 1778 receipt given Thomas Rutherford by Philip Sheetz, and the other a 1776 agreement

Thos. Worley, Philip Sheetz and Henry Sheetz made to furnish rifle guns or muskets. Mrs. Shelton is a great, great granddaughter of Thomas Rutherford.

The Receipt

1778 Dr. Mr. Thomas Rutherford

To 1 lb of Gun Powder 18/	18.0
To 1½ lb Lead at 6s	9.0
	27.0

being for the use of Proving the Public Muskets
Recd of Thos Rutherford the above sum of Twenty Seven Shillings
Sept 16th 1778

Philip Sheetz

The Agreement

We, the subscribers, gunsmiths of Mecklenburg in the County of Berkeley do certifie, that we can make and deliver, at our shop in this Town, to Mr. Thomas Rutherford, or any other Person legally appointed by the Honble the Committee of Safety to Secure and Pay for them, Twenty four good and well fixt Riffle guns pr month, at the Rate of Four Pounds and Ten Shillings Virginia Currency each, or in lieu thereof Twenty-four good and well fixt muskets with sufficient Bayonets at the Rate of Four Pounds . . . Like Currency each.

Certified under our hands this 28th Day of May 1776.

Thos Worley
Philip Sheetz
Henry Sheetz

There remains an opportunity for some one to discover more about Thomas Rutherford's activities in the gun making business. Freeman Hart's "The Valley of Virginia in the American Revolution" makes reference to a subsidy of 250 pounds granted early in the Revolution by the Committee of Safety to Thomas Rutherford for a gun factory at Shepherdstown. Did he set up a factory? Since Adam Stephen's neighboring gun factory apparently was not subsidized, on what grounds was Thomas Rutherford thus favored? In relation to all this, one of his descendants says that Thomas Rutherford was a gun procurer, not a gun maker.



Sarah Fouace Nourse and James Nourse

Taken from an oil painting done in London in 1754, the year after their marriage.

The book, "James Nourse and His Descendants," contains the following information:

James Nourse (1731-1784), a successful woolen merchant in London for 15 years, emigrated because he felt that America, "a rising" state, held more promise for his children than did Europe, "a declining state." He landed at Hampton in 1769 with his wife, nine children, and his belongings in "116 bundles, crates, boxes, cases, etc., every one numbered." He bought Piedmont in 1770 and lived there for 13 years. His accounts show that in 1774 he owned 84 head of "Horn Cattle" and 56 hogs. In 1775 he travelled with a group of which he was the leader to "Kentucke" to locate lands. He was an ardent patriot during the Revolution and represented Berkeley County in the Virginia House of Delegates in 1778. About 1781 he was appointed Commissioner to settle the claims of Maryland against the U. S. and in 1783 he moved to Annapolis.

The Nourses had 21 children, 11 of whom survived to adulthood. Three sons fought in the Revolution; William, a midshipman, was captured at sea, imprisoned, and released through the influence of relatives in England. Joseph's home was Mount Alban, which stood near the site of today's National Cathedral; Joseph's son lived at The Highlands, which still stands on the grounds of the Sidwell Friend's School, D.C. Six of the children moved to Kentucky.

DIARY OF MRS. JAMES NOURSE

(The Society is greatly indebted to Dr. and Mrs. John A. Washington, of Washington, D. C., and Charles Town, for discovering this diary, for preparing a reading of the entire manuscript, and for collaborating with the editor on the notes appearing in parentheses and other particulars.)

That Mrs. James Nourse, born Sarah Fouace, who lived at Piedmont, near Charles Town, as late as 1783, was a painstaking diarist has been proved by the discovery of one volume of her daily recordings. The present owner, Mrs. John Stenhouse, of Washington, D. C., a descendant of the Nourses, has kindly permitted its contents to be reproduced.

This volume contains a daily entry through the years 1781 and 1782 and "occasional memorandums" for the year 1783. It appears that Mrs. Nourse could not forego the latter, even though she had written at the end of the year 1782: "Finis to keeping a Journal of above thirty years standing & which I have always found very useful, but ill health and want of spirits makes every pleasure & employment of life a burthen & task."

Since the Nourses had gone to Annapolis in the fall of 1783 where Mr. Nourse had taken the well-known Hammond-Harwood House, which today is preserved as a museum, a continuation of her Journal would be of little import to local historians, particularly in comparison to what it must have contained for the years spent in Jefferson county prior to 1781.

Mrs. Nourse wrote with abandon and apparently with no concern about how an entry might be received by its readers 175 years later, if indeed it ever occurred to her that there might be such readers.

Her individual style of script and what seems an excessive indulgence in abbreviations must be reckoned with, and frequent detailed descriptions of her poor state of health bypassed, before the reader can discover the nature and extent of her activities in behalf of her family and their Negroes. A vast number of shifts and shirts had to be "contrived" and made up; new waistcoats were made and old waistcoats and "breeches" mended; something had to be done about a Negro's "other shirt;" there were occasions requiring rich gowns for herself and older daughters; bonnets, lawn caps, petticoats & bed gowns

had to be provided and quilting done. It does not appear that Mrs. Nourse assumed any responsibility in the planning of meals, not even when there were to be guests.

The activities of Mr. Nourse were also fully set down and due note taken of the younger Nourses — Kitty (Mrs. John Banner), who would come in from Rockston with her children and sometimes with her neighbor, Mrs. Throckmorton; Bill, or "poor William," who was sent to England as a prisoner; Suckey, who was quite a favorite with General and Mrs. Gates; Jim, a help to his father in business affairs; and also Bob, Betsy, Gabe, Jack, Joe Molly and Michael.

The Bob or Rob mentioned in the diary appeared later in court records as Robert Nourse, attorney for Joseph, James and William Nourse, in the sale of their shares in Piedmont to Dr. John Briscoe on December 22, 1786, which was more than a year after the death of their father.

Piedmont in 1781 and 1782 was a center of hospitality. Dinner parties with six or eight guests were more or less routine, and visitors often came in the afternoon and remained for tea. Guests for dinner were frequent on "Sermon Sunday," which occurred every fourth week, presumably at nearby St. George's Chapel. A list of those most frequently dining at Piedmont and of the homes to which the Nourses went to dinner would indicate that the Nourses had rather close friendship with the Bull, Cook, Gates, Hite and Washington families.

Included among those entertained by the Nourses were:

Dr. Armstrong, Genl Ball, Miss Barnwell, Col. de Bouchet, Mrs. Briscow, Miss Briscow, Mr. and Mrs. Buckles, Dr. Bull, Miss Burrell, Mr. and Mrs. Cook, Mrs. Crawford, Col. Darke, Mrs. Dawson, Mr. and Mrs. Dixon, Miss Duval, Miss Eskridge, General and Mrs. Gates, Mrs. Gaunt, Dr. Gordon, Mr. Gough, Mr. and Mrs. Gwyn, Col. Hart, Mrs. T. Hite, Mrs. Keyes, Major Lucas, Mrs. Manning, Major Mark, Mr. McGill, Miss Middleton, Col. Morrow, Col. O'Nealy, Major Pinkney and Lady, Mrs. Rankin, Major Richmond, Col. and Mrs. Smith, Mr. and Mrs. Sturgis, Mrs. Throckmorton, Miss Vaughn, G. & L. Washington, Mrs. Washington, Col. John Washington, Mr. and Mrs. Thornton Washington, Col. Warner Washington, and Mrs. Whiting.

During the summer months the "intolerable" weather impelled Mrs. Nourse to go to "the Cave." During that period there was not much in the way of social events at Piedmont, though most of the family were there. Either Mr. Nourse or one of the boys would go to the Cave and remain over night. Mrs. Nourse did not have a great

many visitors there and on occasion felt somewhat lonely. She always referred to her summer retreat as "the Cave." Today mention of a cave anywhere near Piedmont makes one think of the cave on the Jordan farm reached by turning off to the left when about a mile and a half out of Charles Town on the road to Berryville. Possibly there is some significance to the fact that the 1921 map of the county has "The Cave" located there, but there may be some doubt whether it is generally known that, or if, that designation came down by tradition from the days of Mrs. Nourse. Older Jefferson countians usually call it "Selden's Cave," but to younger citizens it is "The George Washington Masonic Cave."

Diary References to "the Cave"

1781

August

4 Mr. N to Genl Bull for lease of Cave.
5 Made some preparation for Cave Tomorrow.
6 Came to Cave after breakfast. Mr. Cook, Betsy & Sucky with me. Mr. N & Jim in afternoon to put up house.
8 Mr. & Mrs. Cook & Jim dined here. A gust & very hard rain. Sat in Cave. House not very wet.
17 Imprudently went to see spring in Cave. Jim to dinner & stay all night. Mr. N in eveng.
19 Bad night with musketoes. Mrs. Gates & Genl come.

September

7 Returned home in morng.

1782

April

10 Jim to Mrs. Bull's, to speak for carpenters to put up house at Cave.
12 Mr. N to take dimensions at ye Cave.

May

1 Mr. N to Cave with negroes to begin putting up house. Warm.
13 Mr. N to Cave in morning to meet Ishmael.
18 Mr. N & negroes daubing of house at Cave.
21 Began setling things against removing to the Cave.
28 Came to Cave on bedding in wagon. . . . Very well pleased with house.
29 Gabe to stay with me & stayed all night. Mr. N too busy to come.

June

9 Mr. N & I alone all day. Walked to run in evening.
18 Mr. Nourse to Court & Jim here in evening instead of him.
22 Jack, Gabe & John here making wattled fence. Bob come in eveng instead of Mr. Nourse, Mr. McGill being at Piedmont.
27 Sent for Mrs. Randall to drink tea with me, being all alone.

July

6 Mr. N to Piedmont to church & afterwards here to dinner.
22 Mrs. Gaunt to see ye Cave & drink tea.
28 Gabe to dinner. Boroughed Mrs. Bull's chaise in evening & called at Mrs. Sturgis's.
30 Had Ishmael enlarging window in back door.

August

6 Cupboard moved & Cave cleaned out.
7 Jim here with me & stayed instead of Mr. N all night.
10 Walk with Mr. N before breakfast to see Negroes tents. Molly & Michael to spend ye day.
14 Very poorly all day but wrote letter to Duchess of Ancaster. Venus sick. Rather warmer.
22 Ladies & gentlemen from Genl Bull's in morning to see the Cave & another set of them in the evening.
29 Prepared a little for moving.

September

25 Up early to pack up things. Come home after breakfast in Mrs. G's charriott.

1783

June

6 Come to Cave. Mr. Nourse came with me.

Sept

2 Moved from Cave.

Other Excerpts from Diary

1781

January

1 Col. Hart, Col. Morrow & Mr. Cook to dinner. Mrs. Gates dined with me in chamber. Jim to sale of negroes at Mrs. Whiting's.
8 Mr. & Mrs. Gwin, Mr. & Mrs. Buckles & four small children to diner.
10 Mr. Nourse to breakfast at Col. Washington's & dine at Gen. Gates.
20 Mr. Gwin and Mr. Gaunt here for my consent of sale of Va. land. (Mr. Gwin was doubless Humphrey Gwyn, who secured a deed for 394 acres on Worthington March from James Nourse on March 20, 1781. This was part of the 1,279 acre Piedmont plantation James Nourse acquired on July 2, 1770 from Charles Dick, of Fredericksburg.)

February

1 Cargo from Holland arrive at Boston. Gen. G. determined to sell his estate.
9 Mending up crimson satin gown. Mr. N to Mrs. Sara Hite's to meet Genl to settle her children's accs.
10 Meeting of men here on account of draft.
13 Dined at Mr. Cooke's with Mr. N — He afterward to Col. Bull's to visit ye bride & bridegroom. (Probably John Bull, who, in 1777, bought land of Marquis Stephenson, out toward Rippon. His daughter, Maria Louise Bull, born in 1765, married Joseph Nourse on April 22, 1784.)
21 Jim returned home, acquainted us with his new passion.
23 Wrote to the Duches of Ancaster.

March

1 Bob & Betsey to dine at Mr. Cooks & brought home ye agreeable news of Kitty's being safely delivered of a girl.
4 Genl Gates and Mr. N to dine at Col. Bulls. Rain and cold.
11 Beadstead scalded. Col. Washn here. Finished gown and letters for England. Mr. N. brewing.
16 Bob & Betsy to christng at Mr. R Willis's.
24 Negroes shirts & shifts cut out. Mr. N at meeting at Mr. McCormacks.

April

4 With Mr. N to dinner at Col. Washington's — Jim gone to Prince William.
10 Girls came home with Miss Becky on her way to Mr. Gates. Jim likewise gone to be there during Genls absence at Philadelphia.
27 Begun making bed gown. Col. O'Nealy & French Genm to dinner, stay all night.
29 Prepared for Travellers Rest — Prayers — Come in chariott to Mrs. Gates's after dinner.

May

3 Day with Mrs. Gates. Miss Beckey & Jim to Mr. McNight's meeting. (Doubtless a preaching service. John McKnight at Elk Branch was said to be the most popular preacher in the county at that time.)
6 Letter & papers from Jo — with unwellcome news of Poor Will's being taken prisoner.
8 Mr. Nourse settled with Mr. Briscoe for his still.
24 Rain. Mr. N making himself a pr of shoes.
26 Weather cleared. Mr. N to Shephardstown about nails.

June

5 Genl Gates, Col. Armstrong & Maj Richmond come after we dined. Mr. N with them to Mr. Cooks.
7 Mrs. Gates taken Suckey to go to Fairfield.
8 An alarming day. Jim & Bob set off in afternoon Mr. N with them to join volunteers at Mr. McCormacks but order countermanded & happy on their return.
25 Mr. N & Genl Gates to dine at Col. Washington. Suckey with me. Kitty dined there on her way from Rockston — told at return home of Mr. N's being draughted.
26 Jim to Col. Swerringham to get his father excused, being near past age. (Col. Van Swearingen was then the county lieutenant)
27 Barn struck with ye lightening. Jim returned home Mr. N. Thank God excused the draught.

July

3 Jim & Bob set out for Philadelphia to procure arms &c for Genl Morgan.
11 Letters & papers from Jo. He apprehended of Bill's being sent prisoner to England.
17 Mr. R. Rutherford called.

August

4 Mr. Cooke & Mr. Willis here for tryal of negro man for robing Mr. Cook.
15 Mr. N away early to go to G. G's to receive tythables. Squirrel fricasezd &c for supper.

Sept

1 Genl Stevens to dinner with Mrs. Smith & me.
3 Dance to be this evening at Piedmont.
13 Capn Swerringham come. Jim gone with Capn to Col. Marshal's.
27 Col. Washington died last night.
28 Mr. N to Harewood.
30 Mr. Sturgis & Mr. N to Col. Washington's funeral.

Oct

15 Mr. N to Col. Bull's about a mill-wright.
23 News of Genl Washington having taken Lord Cornwallis and his whole army.

27 Mrs. Worthington dead.
28 A fine day, but rather too cool to venture going to church the windows being broake.
31 Mr. N & May the stiller agree to part. Jim to undertake that business.

Nov

9 Bob & Jack gone early, with beere for sale to prisoners at Winchester.
15 Bob to McPhersons for sugar & coffee.

December

2 Pluto, Anthony & (Abraham) Biggs housband whipt for Hog stealing.
7 Genl Gates to dinner. Mr. N brewing.
14 Suckey returned with Jim from Genl Gates.
18 Mr. N to court to administer to Col. Washington's will.
28 Expectd Mr. & Mrs. Cook to have moved here but defferd on account of weather.
31 Genl Gates come. Mr. Cook & family moved here.

1782 **Jan**

7 Mr. N very poorly & been blooded.
10 Mr. N found out Pharo has made off with near 20 gals of whiskey.
13 Young Washingtons to visit the boys.
15 Mr. Cook poorly & been blooded.
21 Down in Mrs. Cooke's room to dinner & seen Mr. Ballmaine.

Feb

1 Mr. N returned from Travellers Rest & surprised me with acquainting me with his determination of disposing of ye land.
2 Mr. N to Col. C. Washington to offer the land to ye purchase of Col. Ball his son-in-law.
6 Jack to Martinsburg to withdraw ye advertisement & Mr. N sent to Col. C. Washington not to write to Col. Ball.
16 Mr. N to vestry. Joshua set off for Alexandria with load of flower.

Mar

19 Court at Martinsburg but Mr. N only up there to consult G. Stevens.
22 Poor Mrs. Throckmorton died yesterday.
23 Mr. N to Martinsburg on tax business.

April

27 Col. John Washington on estate business. Mr. N out in afternoon to receive tythables. Mr. & Mrs. Thornton Washington to dinner.

May

8 Mr. Cook & Bob returned with ye happy news (if true) of England's haveg acknowledged America Independent. Col. W., Mr. Nourse to dine at Col. Charles Washns. The Ladies there to tea, a Ball here after supr.
9 Tollerable considering last night's racket — house clear of company about eleven.
21 Mr. N to Court Jim with him to witness power of attorney for Mr. M. Hopton to reecive my moneys in England.

23 Betsy & Suckey to Mrs. Keys to begin their quarters dancing with Mr. Dugrey.

July

8 Betsy Suckey Jim Bob to barbacu at Rockston.
27 Mr. N been to Mrs. T. Hite's about settlement with Roberts.

August

3 Mr. N with Mr. V to dinner at Mr. Wormleys.

Sep

3 Holland goods at last arrived. My part divided from Mrs. G's.
11 Bob gone before breakfast & Willm after to prepare to set off in afternoon for Philadelphia to go on board the South Carolina frigate.
30 Mr. N to Halls mill on arbitration business.

Oct

8 Mr. N hear of Gen. Lee's death.
23 First day's sale at Harewood. Mr. N attended.

Dec.

16 A snowey day — 13 hogs killed.

1783 **Jan**

25 Billy come home on parole.

March

5 Mrs. Washington died.
24 Michael, Kitty Banner & negroe children innoculated by Dr. Bull. (Dr. Ezekiel W. Bull lived at Kalorama, about a mile west of Charles Town, along the Summit Point road.)

April

14 Michael ill of fever.
16 Do. better but broke out with smallpox in ye natural way.

May

9 Mr. Catlett & Mr. — here to purchase Winney & Cloe at L60 each.

June

2 Mr. N & Betsy to Travellers Rest, Mrs. Gates haveg departed this life last eveng at sunset — buried at Berkeley Church yd 3d in eveng. (Berkeley Church was the name used by Mr. Nourse for St. George's Chapel.)

July

14 Mr. N hired John Jones for overseer.
26 Mr. N set off for Anapolis.

Oct

16 Mr. N taken Mr. Hammond's house at L60 per ann. (Thus the Nourses arranged to take up residence in Annapolis.)

Nov

1 Mr. Nourse, Betsy, Molly & Michael etc arrived at Anapolis.
2 Come to Mr. Hammond's House.

Dec

6 Waggon with goods & flower.
26 Mr. N set off for Berkley.

(Photostatic copies of the entire diary may be obtained from the University of Virginia Library at a nominal price.)

POTOMAC CROSSINGS
1. OLD TOWN
2. PAW PAW
3. HANCOCK
4. GHERRY RUN
5. McCOY'S FORD
6. LIGHT'S FORD (OR)
7. WILLIAMSPORT
8. FALLING WATERS
9. SNYDER'S LANDING
10. BOTELER'S FORD
11. HARPERS FERRY
12. SANDY HOOK
13. BERLIN
14. POINT OF ROCKS
15. NOLAND'S FERRY
16. MOUTH OF MONOCACY
17. WHITE'S FORD
18. CONRAD'S FERRY
19. HARRISON'S ISLAND
20. EDWARD'S FERRY
21. MUDDY BRANCH FORD
22. SENECA
23. CHAIN BRIDGE
24. AQUEDUCT BRIDGE
25. LONG BRIDGE
PENNSYLVANIA
GETTYSBURG
EMMITSBURG
HAGERSTOWN
TANEYTOWN
CUMBERLAND
Potomac River
Antietam Creek
MARYLAND
WOODSBORO
MARTINSBURG
WEST VIRGINIA
SHARPSBURG
SHEPHERDSTOWN
FREDERICK
HARPERS FERRY
Monocacy River
CHARLES TOWN
HYATTSTOWN
WINCHESTER
Shenandoah River
POOLESVILLE
ROCKVILLE
LEESBURG
VIRGINIA
Potomac River
WASHINGTON
MANASSAS
VIRGINIA
WARRENTON

A List of Potomac Crossings

(Giving the place, the date, the direction of each crossing and having either (C) for Confederate or (U) for Union after the name of each officer in charge, though many of the officers are too well known generally to require such designation.)

1. **Old Town or Green Spring**

   July 31, 1864 — McCausland and Johnson (C) to Virginia

2. **Paw Paw**

   Oct. 4, 1862 — Imboden (C) to Maryland

3. **Hancock or Sir John's Run**

   Jan. 3 1862 — Federal Infantry and Cavalry to Md.
   June 15, 1863 — Adams (U) to Virginia and back

4. **Cherry Run or Indian Springs**

   July 16-17, 1863 — Averill (U) to Va.
   July 17, 1863 — Kelley (U) to Va.

5. **McCoy's Ford**

   Sept. 5, 1862 — Early (C) to Md.
   Oct. 10, 1862 — Stuart (C) to Md.
   July 29, 1864 — McCausland and Johnson (C) to Md.

6. **Light's Ford**

   June 16, 1861 — Doubleday (U) to Va. and back
   Sept. 11, 1862 — Jackson and A. P. Hill (C) to Va.

7. **Williamsport**

   June 12, 1861 — Patterson (U) to Va.
   June 16, 1861 — Patterson (U) to Md.
   July 2, 1861 — Patterson (U) to Va.
   May 25, 1862 — Banks (U) to Md.
   Sept. 11, 1862 — Early and Ewell (C) to Va.
   Oct. 29, 1862 — McMacham (U) to Va.
   June 17, 1863 — Ewell (C) to Md.
   June 25, 1863 — Lee and Longstreet (C) to Md.
   June 26, 1863 — Kershaw, McLaws and Moffett (C) to Md.
   July 7, 1863 — Imboden (C) to Va.
   July 14, 1863 — Gordon, Hoke, Early, Ewell, Rodes (C) to Va.
   July 25, 1864 — Crook (U) to Md.
   July 26, 1864 — Averill and Powell (U) to Md.
   Aug. 6, 1864 — Breckenridge (C) to Va.

8. **Falling Waters**

   July 14, 1863 — Lee, Longstreet, Hill, Hayes, Jones (C) to Va.

9. **Snyder's Landing**

   Nov. 24, 1862 — Cogswell (U) to Virginia and back

10. **Boteler's or Blackford's Ford**

    Sept. 16, 1862 — Ewell and Early (C) to Md.
    Sept. 16, 1862 — Jackson and Walker (C) to Md.
    Sept. 17, 1862 — McLaws and Anderson (C) to Md.
    Sept. 17, 1862 — A. P. Hill (C) to Md.
    Sept. 18-19, 1862 — Lee, Jackson and Hill (C) to Va.
    Sept. 20, 1862 — Lowell, Warren, Barnes (U) to Va. and back

Oct. 1, 1862 — Pleasanton (U) to Va. and back
Oct. 7, 1862 — Humphrey (U) to Va. and back
June 22, 1863 — Early, Jones and Gordon (C) to Md.
June 24, 1863 — Hill and Anderson (C) to Md.
June 27, 1863 — Smith and James (U) to Md.
Oct. 18, 1863 — Johnson (C) to Md.
July 3, 1864 — Sigel (U) to Md.
July 5, 1864 — Gordon (C) to Md.
July 5-6, 1864 — Early (C) to Md.
July 6, 1864 — Rodes, Ramseur, McCausland (C) to Md.
Aug. 5, 1864 — Breckenridge (C) to Md.
Aug. 25, 1864 — Federal cavalry to Md.

11. **Harpers Ferry**

Apr. 18, 1861 — Jones (U) to Md.
May 23, 1861 — Imboden (C) to Md.
Oct. 8, 1861 — Gould (U) to Va.
Oct. 16, 1861 — Geary (U) to Va. and back
Feb. 24, 1862 — Banks and Sedgwick (U) to Va.
Feb. 25, 1862 — Geary (U) to Va.
Sept. 13, 1862 — Ford (U) to Va.
Sept. 14, 1862 — Davis (U) to Md.
June 16, 1863 — Summers (U) to Md.
June 20, 1863 — Milroy (U) to Md.
July 14, 1863 — Blakeslee and Farnsworth (U) to Va.
July 14, 1863 — Blakeslee (U) to Md.
July 14, 1863 — Gregg (U) to Va.
July 18, 1863 — Ten of Meade's units (U) to Va.
July 4, 1864 — Weber (U) to Md.
July 29, 1864 — Wright, ten units (U) to Va.
July 30, 1864 — Wright, ten units (U) to Md.

12. **Sandy Hook**

July 19, 1863 — Sudsbury and Robinson (U) to Va.

13. **Berlin** (Brunswick since 1888)

Oct. 26, 1862 — McClellan (U) to Va.
July 14-20, 1863 — Meade (U) to Va.
July 19, 1863 — Fouty (U) to Va.
July 4, 1864 — Mosby (C) to Md.

14. **Point of Rocks**

Sept. 13, 1862 — Walker (C) to Va.

15. **Noland's Ferry**

Sept. 4-7, 1862 — A. P. Hill (C) to Md.

16. **Mouth of Monocacy**

Sept. 4, 1862 — D. H. Hill (C) to Md.
Oct. 12, 1862 — Early (C) to Va.

17. **White's Ford**

Sept. 4, 1862 — Hood (C) to Md.
Sept. 5-6, 1862 — Lee and Jackson (C) to Md.
Oct. 12, 1862 — Stuart (C) to Va.
July 14, 1863 — George Jackson (C) to Va.
Aug. 27, 1863 — E. White (C) to Md.
Aug. 30, 1863 — McCallum (U) to Va.
Nov. 25, 1863 — White (C) to Va.

July 14, 1864 — Early (C) to Va.
July 16, 1864 — Lamb and Beal (U) to Va.
July 15-20, 1864 — Wright with ten units (U) to Va

18. **Conrad's Ferry**

Oct. 21, 1861 — Stone's units (U) to Md.
Nov. 24, 1862 — White (C) to Md.
July 14, 1864 — Confederate Cavalry to Va.

19. **Harrison's Island**

Oct. 21, 1861 — Baker, Devens and Lee (U) to Va.
Oct. 21, 1861 — Cogswell (U) to Md.

20. **Edwards' Ferry**

Oct. 21, 1861 — Stone's units (U) to Va. and back
June 25-28, 1863 — Hooker and some fifteen units (U) to Md.
June 26, 1863 — Fultz (U) to Md.
July 15-16, 1864 — Kenly (U) to Va.
July 16, 1864 — Ricketts (U) to Va.

21. **Muddy Branch Ford**

June 10, 1863 — Brawner (C) to Md. and back
July 14, 1864 — McCausland (C) to Va.

22. **Seneca or Rowser's Ford**

June 27-28, 1863 — Stuart (C) to Md.
July 14, 1864 — Mosby (C) to Va.

23. **Chain Bridge**

May 24, 1861 — Federal cavalry to Va.
July 22-23, 1861 — McCook (U) to Md.
March 18, 1862 — McClellan (U) to Va.
Sept. 7, 1862 — McClellan (U) to Md.
July 20, 1864 — Kenly (U) to Md.
July 2 3, 1864 — Wright (U) to Md.

24. **Aqueduct Bridge**

May 24, 1861 — McDowell and Wood (U) to Va.

25. **Long Bridge**

May 24, 1861 — Runyon, Sandford, Heintzelman (U) to Va.
July 22, 1861 — Sherman (U) to Md.
Nov.-Dec., 1862 — Burnside (U) to Va.

POTOMAC CROSSINGS

By A. D. Kenamond

"All quiet along the Potomac" rarely described the situation along that river during the course of the Civil War, or War between the States, for a great part of the war in the eastern theater can be woven about it.

The Potomac River was the dividing line between the North and South and between the home bases of the Army of the Potomac and the Army of Northern Virginia. The latter, with the Federal capital as an objective, had a natural passageway down the Shenandoah Valley to the Potomac, where a crossing could be made, and then on to Washington. For the Army of the Potomac, response to the popular cry, "On to Richmond." repeatedly involved getting across the Potomac, then over rough, wooded country and intervening streams. And, aside from direct advances on the rival capitals, there were frequent movements into the enemy's territory to divert the activities of the rival's forces and thus relieve pressure on the home capital's defenses.

Getting troops across the Potomac in either direction was accomplished with varying degrees of difficulty. Bridges were practically non-existent. Those at Shepherdstown, Harpers Ferry and Brunswick were destroyed early in the war. The Chain, Aqueduct and Long bridges in the Washington area were defended and controlled by the Federals throughout the war, but all along the Potomac from Washington to Cumberland both armies had to rely on fords for the most part. Occasionally, however, pontoon bridges were thrown across at such places as Falling Waters, Harpers Ferry, and Berlin (as Brunswick, Md., was then called). It was only natural then that most of the Potomac crossings were made between June and the last of October.

Reference to the accompanying map of Potomac Crossings will show that there were numerous crossing places. Some of them were used with considerable frequency, and the total number of crossings depends on whether a "crossing" is taken to mean a particular event or a place. The key listing includes most of the important movements across the Potomac to be found in the official records, with dates and officers in charge, and at least some of the scouting or reconnaissance expeditions involving contacts and minor skirmishes at or near one of the fording places.

Treatment of these latter episodes will be deferred until the highlights of the counter activities of the Army of the Potomac and the Army of Northern Virginia, in chronological sequence, have been presented.

The War in 1861

Scarcely had Lincoln's call to war on April 15, 1861, two days after the surrender of Fort Sumter, been issued, when a Potomac crossing was made at Harpers Ferry. The military post there was in charge of Lt. Roger Jones, who, late in the evening of April 18, being pressed by some 2,000 Virginia militia, hastily set fire to the government buildings, and with his little garrison crossed the covered railroad bridge into Maryland. Jones had prevented Confederate seizure of a large quantity of fire arms but yielded Harpers Ferry as a base for future hostile operations.

Late in April Robert E. Lee resigned his U. S. Army commission and a few weeks later from Arlington Heights was hoping to command Washington and Alexandria. This was the occasion for sending Federal troops across the Potomac to the Virginia shore on May 24, 1861, General Runyon crossing over the Long Bridge and General McDowell over the Aqueduct Bridge.

McDowell Defeated at Manassas

These bridges, continually protected by the Union forces, were to see considerable use as they moved in and out of their bases in the Washington area, and General McDowell was soon to be on the march. The popular demand in Washington was for a thrust toward Richmond. Early in June the Confederates had Beauregard at Manassas, and Johnston in the lower Shenandoah Valley, ready to go to the support of Beauregard in any offensive or defensive activity. When McDowell marched out of Washington headed toward Beauregard, Patterson was on his way to keep Johnston's forces occupied. Patterson had crossed the Potomac at Williamsport into Virginia on July 2, 1861. When on July 20, McDowell launched his attack on Beauregard at Bull Run, near Manassas, the latter had been joined by about 6,000 men from the forces of Johnston, who had outplayed Patterson. The Confederates held their ground with granite firmness, an example set for them by General Jackson who then and

there gained the sobriquet of "Stonewall." Still further reenforcements coming from Johnston, the Union army became demoralized and took flight toward Washington. The defeated troops commenced pouring into Washington over the Long Bridge on the morning of July 22.

McClellan Takes Command

As a result of McDowell's disaster, Lincoln placed McClellan in command of the Eastern military forces. This Union officer had successfully driven back Confederates from the east trying to maintain Virginia authority over the Unionist western Virginians. McClellan, cautious and slow of movement, spent the rest of the summer, and the following autumn and winter, training his men and organizing his forces. His first move was not taken until March 18, 1862, when he crossed the Chain Bridge just above Washington and did a little foolish marching. Instead of pursuing Confederate fugitives from Manassas, he made only a grand display of power at abandoned Manassas and a little beyond and then moved back to Washington over one of its bridges.

In the months since McClellan had taken command not much had been happening in the eastern theater of war. During that time the major operation was that at Ball's Bluff. The Confederates under General Evans were near Leesburg, when they were confronted by the forces of General Stone, who had headquarters at Poolesville, Md. Stone had sent Colonels Devens, Lee and Baker across the Potomac at Harrison's Island and other units across Conrad's and Edwards' ferries on October 20, 1861. The battle that followed at Ball's Bluff was disastrous to the Federals, who lost full 1,000 men, including Colonel Baker, before getting back to the Maryland side by way of Harrison's Island and Edwards' Ferry.

McClellan was finally permitted to proceed with his plan for taking Richmond, rejecting an overland advance in favor of transporting his 100,000 men around from Chesapeake Bay to Fortress Monroe. He planned an advance up the peninsula between the York and James rivers. Lincoln had consented to this, known as the Peninsular Campaign, on condition that McDowell be kept at Washington to secure it from danger.

Banks Fails in Shenandoah Valley

During the last week in February, 1862, Banks had been sent toward Harpers Ferry to engage Jackson in the

lower Shenandoah Valley, and had put his whole division and two brigades of Sedgwick's division across the Potomac at that point. A month later, with the Confederates still clinging to Richmond after numerous conflicts with McClellan, Lincoln lost his fears for Washington's safety. On May 18, 1862, he ordered McDowell to cross the Potomac and proceed to Fredericksburg to be in position to aid McClellan. But a week later McDowell was back across the Potomac, having been recalled to Washington. Things hadn't been going well with Banks in the Shenandoah Valley. Jackson had demoralized him at Winchester and, with the aid of Ewell, sent him fleeing toward the Potomac. Banks himself crossed to Williamsport late in the evening of May 25, and the Fifth Corps passed across on May 26. Late that evening he reported that his units which were at first thought to have been cut off from retreat were coming to Williamsport in considerable numbers, some by Hancock and others by Sharpsburg. In the meantime Jackson reached Harpers Ferry, and it was feared that he had some design on Washington.

Second Manassas

At length, after repeated shows of hesitancy on the part of McClellan and missed opportunities to take Richmond, confidence in his generalship was greatly weakened, and ten days after the Seven Days' Battles, June 26 to July 1, it was determined to recall him to Washington and move his army to northern Virginia. There the boastful and overconfident Pope, having been put in command, began an overland march against Richmond. This ended in Federal disaster in the second battle of Bull Run, or Manassas, on August 30, 1862, and set the stage for a series of Potomac crossings northward by the Confederates.

Lee Invades Maryland by Way of White's Ford

Not strong enough for a direct assault on Washington, Lee concluded to go into Maryland, hoping the people there would join his army in numbers, and entertaining thoughts of threatening Harrisburg and possibly Baltimore and Washington. Accordingly, on September 5-6, Lee, with Jackson leading the way, crossed into Maryland at White's Ford. This was a secluded ford approached through the farm of Elijah White, a few miles northeast of Leesburg. Some years before this Elijah White

had left the vicinity of Poolesville, Maryland, and crossed the Potomac to settle on his Virginia farm, and later to serve the Confederacy as Lieutenant Colonel. His exploits are rather fully described in "Gray Ghosts and Rebel Raiders" by Virgil Carrington Jones.

The division of D. H. Hill, who, with McLaws, had been ordered up from Richmond, led the advance toward Leesburg, and on September 4 began crossing the Potomac near the mouth of the Monocacy. A. P. Hill's division crossed at Noland's Ferry, just above the mouth of the Monocacy between September 4 and 7, and Longstreet crossed at White's Ford to arrive at Frederick City, Maryland, on September 7, 1862.

At Frederick the Confederates were surprised at the Maryland lack of friendliness. The farmers thereabouts drove off their cattle and refused to sell their grain. So, Lee decided to open a line of supplies through the Shenandoah Valley, and this involved getting a Unionist garrison out of Harpers Ferry. To accomplish this Jackson and A. P. Hill were detached and sent on a roundabout way to that stronghold.

Jackson and Hill Cross Light's Ford

On September 11, 1862, Jackson and Hill crossed Light's Ford just above Williamsport. Mrs. Frank W. Mish, Jr., a recognized local historian, has described this fording place as being formed by a ledge of rocks below the mouth of the Conococheague and much used by the Indians a century before Jackson and Hill crossed there. Overlooking the Potomac at this point, and on the Virginia side, Peter Light III had built a mansion house by making a substantial brick addition to a much older house on the 243-acre tract inherited from his father. Today the restored manor house is known as Maidstone-on-the-Potomac, the home of Mr. and Mrs. Frank W. Mish, Jr. Traces of the old road leading from the ford toward the house are still to be found there.

Jackson Reduces Harpers Ferry

As Jackson and Hill approached Martinsburg the Unionists under White withdrew to join Colonel Miles at Harpers Ferry. White then had the doubtful honor of acting for the wounded Miles in the surrender of the garrison on September 15.



Capt. Abner Doubleday's
Company crossing at
Light's Ford on
June 16, 1861.

From an oil painting
in the
Baseball Hall of Fame,
Cooperstown, New York

In the reduction of Harpers Ferry Jackson and Hill had the help of McLaws and Walker. McLaws made his contribution by taking possession of Maryland Heights on September 13. He had left the Confederate forces at South Mountain on September 11 and crossed Pleasant Valley to Elk Ridge, the south end of which is known as Maryland Heights. Walker, who on September 9 had been assigned to destroy the aqueduct at the mouth of the Monocacy and then cross Cheek's Ford to Loudoun Heights, found the enemy's artillery too strong at both places, and consequently crossed at Point of Rocks. By September 14, from his position on Loudoun Heights, he was able to join in the triple enfilade on the Federal forces at Harpers Ferry. After the surrender of Miles and White, McLaws was free to cross the Potomac at Harpers Ferry and Walker to cross the Shenandoah, and the two to follow Jackson to Antietam by way of Blackford's or Boteler's Ford, a mile and a quarter below Shepherdstown.

The Ford Below Shepherdstown

To Marylanders this crossing was Blackford's Ford. The land on their side was held by the heirs of John Blackford, who had built the Ferry Hill house on the upper part of his land tract in 1812. In 1862 Henry Kyd Douglas had left his boyhood home at Ferry Hill and was riding with Stonewall. His parents had acquired the place in 1848. To Virginians it was Boteler's Ford, the cement mill property on their side, at the foot of the Trough Road, being owned by Alexander R. Boteler, who served successively on the personal staffs of Generals Jackson and Stuart. By this time practically only the stone walls of the cement mill remained, since it had been burned by the Federals in the early morning of August 19, 1861. In historic Shepherdstown this old crossing place has generally been referred to as Packhorse Ford.

The Battle of Antietam

In this account the position of the Army of the Potomac was last noted on August 30, 1862. In order to check Lee's advance in Maryland, the Federal troops had to be moved across the Potomac. Pope's troops, returning from Second Bull Run, were met on the Virginia side near Alexandria by McClellan, who had orders to take command. A week later, on September 12, he had his

men across the Chain Bridge and after Lee at South Mountain. This pursuit culminated in the Battle of Antietam, at Sharpsburg, with the bloodiest day of the war falling on September 17.

Jackson's division, leaving Hapers Ferry on September 15 and having late supper at Halltown, had crossed Boteler's or Blackford's Ford along with Ewell's division on the morning of September 16 and gone to the aid of Lee. The divisions of McLaws and R. H. Anderson crossed before sunrise on the 17th. A. P. Hill, with prisoners and captured supplies to look after, had been detained at Harpers Ferry until the morning of the 17th, when his men made the seventeen mile march to Sharpsburg, going by way of Boteler's Ford.

Antietam, though it had its "Bloody Lane," was not a decisive battle. By the night of September 18 the Confederates decided they were not strong enough to continue the war on Maryland soil, and yet the Federals found themselves too weak to make effective pursuit.

Lee's Withdrawal from Sharpsburg

Without interference from the unaggressive McClellan, who seemed to be waiting for reinforcements, Lee's army withdrew across the Potomac into Virginia by way of Blackford's or Boteler's Ford during the night of September 18. Lee himself directed the crossing from midstream until Walker's division passed and reported that only his wagons with the wounded and a single battery of artillery remained behind. General Walker, previously mentioned in connection with Loudoun Heights, later wrote: "I was among the last to cross the Potomac. As I rode into the river I passed General Lee sitting on his horse in the stream, watching the crossing of the wagons and artillery."

Lee's Jefferson County Horse

But Walker didn't name the horse. In all probability Lee was seated on Traveller, the horse he used at Sharpsburg. It is true that Stuart, in the fall of 1862, gave Lee the sorrel mare, Lucy Long, which he secured from Stephen Dandridge at "The Bower," in Jefferson county. Thus Lee was permitted, from the fall of 1862 until the spring of 1864, to alternate Lucy Long with Traveller. The latter's nerves had been considerably shaken up at

Second Manassas. However, it is likely that Stuart did not acquire Lucy Long until he established headquarters at "The Bower," which was ten days after the withdrawal from Antietam.

On Virginia Soil After Antietam

Safely across on Virginia soil most of the tired army moved back a short distance from the river to find rest on higher ground near the head of the Trough Road. At nightfall of September 19 Lee and his staff were bivouacked under an apple tree, presumed to have stood on the old Charles Aglionby farm Luther Thompson bought from John Aglionby in 1926. It was to this apple tree that General Pendleton came to report that he had failed to prevent a Federal crossing early in the morning of September 20 and some of his guns had been captured. Lee responded by sending A. P. Hill to drive several Federal brigades back to the Maryland shore. Lovell's and Warren's brigades got back in good order, but Barnes' brigade met with considerable loss, and the Corn Exchange Regiment, 118th Pennsylvania Infantry, lost more than a third of its men in killed, wounded, captured, drowned or otherwise missing. Thus ended the Battle of the Cement Mill, on the site of which the U. S. Government erected five "B. F." (Blackford's or Boteler's Ford) markers which tell what transpired there from September 16 to 20, 1862.

On the 20th Lee went to the Everett House, which stood on the present site of the People's Drug Store in Martinsburg. From the balcony of that hotel he reviewed his troops on their way to camp in the vicinity of Martinsburg. Lee had entertainded some thought of moving again into Maryland by way of the Williamsport crossing, but what he saw of the physical condition of his soldiers, and their shoes and clothing, quickly dispelled the thought.

Stuart at "The Bower"

Several days later the Army of Northern Virginia moved southward, and Lee established headquarters in a stony field near Winchester. On September 28 Stuart went to "The Bower," which remained his headquarters until October 29. His encampment in the beautiful grove southwest of the large, old-fashioned Virginia mansion,

consisted of about one hundred persons. His cavalry was deployed along the line of the Potomac from Harpers Ferry to Williamsport.

On October 1, about noon, the quiet at Stuart's headquarters was disturbed by an attack from toward Shepherdstown. Pleasanton had crossed the Potomac at that point, with infantry supporting a cavalry atack, but Stuart drove the attackers back across the Shepherdstown ford in great confusion.

For a whole week Stuart and other young gallants, among them John Pelham, reveled in the hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. Dandridge and their charming daughters. Young Stephen Dandridge, who spent his last fifty years at Rosebrake, near Shepherdstown, had joined the Rockbridge Artillery about four months earlier.

Stuart's Raid into Pennsylvania

Then came an interruption, lasting six or seven days. On October 8 Lee, remembering Stuart's brilliantly successful ride around the Army of the Potomac on the Chickahominy in June, ordered him to make a raid up into Pennsylvania. Accordingly, 1,800 select cavalrymen under General Hampton and Colonels W. H. F. Lee and Jones, and four pieces of artillery under Pelham, were assembled at Darkesville, four miles due west from "The Bower" and along the Martinsburg and Winchester Turnpike, on October 9. Early next morning they crossed the Potomac at McCoy's Ford above Williamsport.

The raid into Pennsylvania resulted in the destruction of $250,000 worth of supplies in Chambersburg and the capture of about 1,500 horses. By October 11 the Federals were sending forces to intercept Stuart. So, instead of attempting to return by the route he had taken to Chambersburg, he moved farther east. Passing through Emmitsburg at sunset, Stuart's cavalrymen, by marching all night, made their way through Woodsborough and reached Hyattstown early on the 12th. The cavalry of Pleasanton at the mouth of the Monocacy and Stoneman at Poolesville formed a gauntlet through which Stuart had to pass to reach White's Ford. There he had to frighten away a half regiment of Federal infantry before crossing about midday of October 12. Three days later Stuart and his staff celebrated their safe return to "The Bower."

The raid had delayed movement of the Federal army into Virginia, and, according to General McClellan, the efforts to intercept Stuart had completely broken down all his cavalry horses. It took two weeks to refit the cavalry, and then, on October 26, McClellan began to move.

McClelland Crosses into Virginia

By this time pontoon bridges had been constructed at Berlin and Harpers Ferry, at which points McClellan had readied most of his army for an advance toward Richmond by way of Warrenton. The crossing into Virginia by way of Berlin and Harpers Ferry, begun on October 26, continued through the 30th. Federal troops farther west in Maryland crossed at Williamsport on October 29. On November 2 McClellan reported that his great army was on Virginia soil prepared to move southward east of the Blue Ridge, but on November 9 he had been superseded by Burnside. The Federal army was then concentrated near Warrenton.

During the month's lull after Antietam Lee had been adding to his army's numbers and equipment. In anticipation of McClellan's crossing into Virginia he had deployed his forces along a ninety-five mile front south of the Potomac. Lee felt that he could at least harass, if not make a direct attack upon, the Federal army wherever encountered.

Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville

Burnside was met and defeated, with heavy slaughter, at Fredericksburg on December 13. As a result President Lincoln decided it was time for another of his frequent changes in command, naming Hooker on January 26, 1863. Meeting Hooker, Lee defeated him at Chancellorsville in a bloody battle from May 2 to 5. But the Confederate victory was gained at a high price, for it cost the life of Stonewall Jackson .The engagement opened the way for a new invasion of the North.

Lee Headed Toward Gettysburg

General Lee had several motives in invading the North. He wished to transfer the war from Virginia to enemy territory. He looked to the rich Cumberland Valley for

provisioning his army. He hoped to break down the Federal line of supplies from the west that were carried by rail over the Susquehanna.

After the death of Jackson, Lee took up the task of reorganizing the Army of Northern Virginia, shifting some brigades and divisions to form three corps under Longstreet, Ewell and A. P. Hill.

A planned sequence of their movements northward was contingent on their clearing up the confusion as to the movements Hooker would make. At the end of May, 1863, the Confederate troops were so disposed that they could start a march up the Rappahannock and on to the north or meet Hooker if he crossed the river southward. By the middle of June the Federal cavalry was engaged in Loudoun county and it soon became evident that Hooker planned to cross the Potomac into Maryland. So, on June 17 Ewell crossed at Williamsport to proceed toward Chambersburg. Moving northward, Hill crossed below Shepherdstown on June 24 and Lee and Longstreet at Williamsport on June 25. In the meantime Stuart was in Virginia harassing Hooker in an attempt to prevent his crossing the Potomac in time to break in between Ewell and the troops of Hill and Longstreet. Thus Hooker did not get his troops started across the pontoons he had laid at Edwards' Ferry until June 25.

Hooker had been at cross purposes with Halleck, Lincoln's chief of staff. He felt that he had been so hampered by his superiors that his columns were widely separated, so he proposed to resign. When he reached Frederick on June 27, his offer was accepted and General Meade was placed in command.

By June 30 the advance of Hill and Longstreet from Chambersburg toward Gettysburg convinced Meade, then at Taneytown, that Lee sought a battle. The region just south of Gettysburg offered an ideal battlefield. There Hill opened the conflict on July 1 and Longstreet and Ewell made their attacks on July 2, and the tide was running with the Confederates. Next day, however, Meade won the advantage.

Stuart's cavalry had arrived on July 2, but they had only tired horses to ride. While Hooker's army was moving across the Potomac, Stuart had proceeded to carry out his assignment to move around the Federals and

cover the right flank of the Confederates. On June 27-28 he had crossed the Potomac at Seneca. W. W. Blackford in his "War Years with JEB Stuart" called the crossing place Rowser's Ford. Next day at Rockville Stuart captured several wagon loads of oats intended for Meade's army, but at Hanover on June 30 he had such a hot engagement with Federal cavalry that his progress toward Gettysburg was delayed.

In the three days fighting at Gettysburg the Federal losses exceeded those of the Confederates, yet Lee was not disposed to renew the attack on July 4. Since Meade's plans were only defensive, the Confederates were left undisturbed all that day. On July 5 Lee withdrew to the south and Meade made no serious effort to strike the withdrawing Confederates.

Lee and Meade Cross into Virginia

Arriving at Williamsport, Lee found the Potomac considerably swollen, but on July 13, when the waters had subsided, he decided to use the ford at Williamsport and the hastily constructed pontoons at Falling Waters. On July 14 Ewell crossed at Williamsport and Hill and Longstreet at Falling Waters. The Army of Northern Virginia was then on friendly Virginia soil again, and Lee had crossed the Potomac for his last time during the course of the war.

Meade's army was also headed for Virginia soil, but somewhat farther east. Some of his regiments were encamped at Sandy Hook on July 16. Two days later, Meade, from his headquarters at Lovettsville, opposite Berlin or Brunswick, reported that four infantry corps, the reserve artillery and two divisions of cavalry had crossed the Potomac at Berlin and Harpers Ferry the night before and that the rest of his army would cross next day, July 19. Pontoon bridges were used at both places. By July 26 several Federal units had reached Warrenton.

Virginia Campaign in 1864

During the autumn of 1863 Lee managed to keep Meade in northern Virginia, but neither general risked a battle. On March 10, 1864 General Grant took command of all the Union forces and directed the movements of Meade's army in a series of engagements along a line

from the Rapidan southward to the James. With Grant's profligate expenditure of his troops and Sheridan's devastating raid of the Shenandoah Valley in the early fall of 1864, the war was moving toward its end at Appomattox on April 9, 1865.

Early Threatens Washington

On August 6, 1864, Sheridan, replacing Hunter, had set about to curtail the activities of Early moving in and out from the Shenandoah Valley. The latter had just recently returned from an incursion into Maryland that threatened Washington. Driving Sigel in retreat before him, Early had crossed Boteler's Ford on the morning of July 6. He was followed by Rodes and Ramseur and had the support of McCausland's cavalry. Mosby was at the time zigzagging across the Potomac, first crossing at Berlin on July 4. General Lew Wallace engaged Early's forces in the Battle of Monocacy on July 9, and, so, it was not until July 11 that the Confederates reached Silver Spring on the outskirts of Washington. By that time large Federal reinforcements, consisting of the Sixth and Nineteenth corps from Grant's army, were beginning to arrive in Washington by way of the Chain Bridge. Accordingly, at dark, on July 12, Early's troops numbering about 15,000 began to withdraw, taking with them a lot of plunder. Several crossing places were used to get back into Virginia on July 14. Mosby crossed at Seneca, McCausland at Muddy Branch Ford, a great part of the cavalry at Conrad's Ferry. Early himself crossed at White's Ford. Today at this place a ferry boat, operating on James Rumsey's water jet propulsion principle, is used for crossing. The boat has been given the name of Jubal Early, a choice made from all the generals who crossed there during the war, doubtless in recognition of the brilliant raid Early concluded with that crossing on July 14, 1864.

General Wright of the Sixth Corps pursued Early across White's Ford and engaged him in a sharp conflict near Snicker's Gap on July 19, after which the pursuers moved toward Washington. In a few days the Federals, in the interest of a safe and secure Washington, began to patrol the Potomac from Washington to Harpers Ferry. On July 26 Wright, with some eight units, crossed the Chain Bridge into Maryland, following Kenly, who had passed over three days earler. They reached Harpers

Ferry with some ten units on July 29, crossed the river and proceeded to Halltown, but crossed back into Maryland the next day.

McCausland Exacts Tribute from Chambersburg

At this time Early's forces in the Shenandoah Valley were preparing to strike in a different direction. Sent by Early on a raid into Pennsylvania, the cavalry of McCausland and Johnson crossed McCoy's Ford on July 29 and proceeded to Chambersburg. There they demanded a large sum of money in retribution for the burning of several old Virginia homes. On orders of General David Hunter the Shepherdstown homes of Colonel Alexander R. Boteler and Edmund J. Lee, a first cousin of the famous Southern general, the Charles Town home of Andrew Hunter, a first cousin of the Union general, and that of Governor Letcher in Lexington had been burned. Chambersburg could not or would not raise the money demanded and in consequence two-thirds of the town was destroyed by fire. McCausland and Johnson moved toward Cumberland, but, because of the strength of the Federal position there, retired to Old Town and crossed into Virginia on July 31.

Sheridan in the Valley

It seemed high time for Grant to call upon Sheridan to send Early "whirling up the Valley." When Sheridan, following completion of this assignment, began to lay waste to everything in the Shenandoah Valley that might sustain man or beast, he was acting with at least the permission of General Grant.

Some Jefferson County Episodes

From among the numerous other crossings that have been listed, particular note may be made of a few of those connected with Jefferson county.

A noteworthy achievement in connection with Jackson's siege of Harpers Ferry just before the Battle of Antietam was that of Colonel Davis of the Eighth New York Cavalry, whose 2,500 horsemen took special pride in the new mounts they had quite recently procured. Knowing that the Federal troops were doomed to surrender the next morning, Davis requested and secured the permission of Colonel Miles to attempt escape on the night of September 14. With spectacular success his

cavalry got across the Potomac to the C. & O. canal tow path unharmed, and at some point along the way turned toward the Frog Hollow route that would lead them to McClellan's army. Near Antietam Creek they intercepted and destroyed an ammunition train belonging to General Longstreet's corps.

In an episode recounted in the 1956 issue of this magazine, Captain Cogswell of the Second Massachusetts and 75 infantrymen stationed at Sharpsburg crossed the Potomac at or near Snyder's Landing above Shepherdstown, in boats, on the night of November 24, 1862. They were after the, to them, notorious Redmond Burke and some four or five other Confederate scouts, whose rendezvous in Shepherdstown had been betrayed to them. His associates were captured, but Redmond Burke was left behind when the infantrymen returned to Sharpsburg. He was shot to death while attempting to escape by leaping over a stone fence still standing back of the present dwelling of L. S. Stanley. A burial plat in Shepherdstown's Elmwood Cemetery had been procured for Confederates who died from wounds at Sharpsburg two months earlier, and there Redmond Burke was buried within fairly close view of the place where he was killed.

In another episode, which occurred on July 14, 1863, General Gregg crossed at Harpers Ferry, and, pushing the Confederates back upon Charles Town, went to Shepherdstown and captured a large quantity of bacon and flour. The old stone mill, still standing off lower High street in Shepherdstown but with an added story of frame, had then for more than a hundred years been used as a store and storehouse as well as a grist mill.

It is left to the students of local history at other places along the river to supply the details in connection with those crossings for which only the place, the date, the direction and the officers in charge may be found in the accompanying table of Potomac Crossings.

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CORNERSTONE CONTRAST

Whether Thomas Hart, when he bargained with Joist Hite for 1,500 acres on Elk Branch in 1735, immediately set up cornerstones has not been revealed in available records, but he must have done so before leaving for North Carolina in 1754. One of them, placed on the east side of the Warm Springs Road about 200 perches north of Elk Branch, was definitely mentioned in a 1780 deed as being about four feet high. Why a land tenant should have wished to remove the stone in 1924 is not known, but it can hardly be said that he had respect for an ancient landmark.

A cornerstone to a 400-acre tract on Rattlesnake Run occupied by Edward Lucas in 1732 has fared better. The exact year in which this stone, about the same height as the Hart stone, was set up is not known, but it was definitely mentioned when Lucas got his deed from Fairfax on May 30, 1751. Fairfax referred to it as a stone marked E L, but did not say the date 1732 was on it. The preservation of this cornerstone was assured when Judge D. B. Lucas had an iron fence built around it about 58 years ago.