

THE
OLD FREE STATE

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE
History of Lunenburg County
and
Southside Virginia

By

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Volume I.

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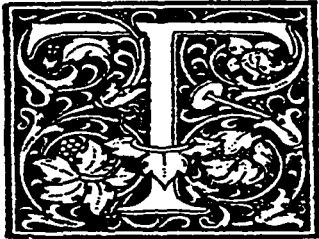
TO THE MEMORY OF
MY FATHER
ISAAC BONAPARTE BELL
WHO EXEMPLIFIED IN HIS
CAREER THE NOBLEST TRA-
DITIONS OF THE "OLD FREE
STATE"

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Introduction



THE history of Lunenburg County and of Southside Virginia has suffered a strange neglect, and yet no other sections of the State are richer in facts and incidents which constitute the sum total of historical values.

Of the history of Southside Virginia, Dr. Philip Alexander Bruce says: "That history has been too long neglected, although, in some ways, the most characteristically Virginian of all. The spirit of Colonial times lingered there longest after Yorktown; the spirit of ante-bellum lingered there longest after Appomattox."¹

He explains the reason why the spirit of these eras so lingered. It was, he says, "Because Southside Virginia remained, during both eras, the greatest scene of tobacco culture in the State. This meant that it was the principal site of the plantation system, upon which the fabric of rural Virginian social life rested from the beginning. . . . Slavery had been abolished, it is true, but both the white and black survivors knew no other economic conditions than those which had come down from the past; and such conditions, in a modified form, necessarily outlived the war for a considerable length of time."²

No history of the Southside, as such, has ever been written. Judge Walter A. Watson probably contemplated such an enterprise, or possibly a more restricted work confined mainly to Nottoway and Amelia Counties. He jotted down many historical and genealogical notes, and these after his death were edited by his widow and published under the title of *Notes on Southside Virginia*. But Judge Watson died before he had made an adequate collection of notes, and before any attempt was made to systematize and formulate such material as he had gathered. Valuable as are his jottings, they are, as the title chosen for their

¹William and Mary Quarterly (N. S.), Vol. 6, p. 358, reviewing Watson's *Notes on Southside Virginia*.

²Id.

publication indicates, merely notes—they were in no true sense a history of the Southside or any part of it, though they contain valuable historical items. Moreover his notes were largely confined to Nottoway and Amelia Counties.

What Dr. Bruce says of the history of the Southside, in general, is particularly true of Lunenburg.

Lunenburg is not only typically Southside Virginian, but ancient Lunenburg embraced a vast, if not a major part of the section thus designated. Moreover the spirit of the Colonial and the ante-bellum days probably lingered longer in Lunenburg than in any other part of the Southside, for it remained longer than almost any other County of that section isolated from railroads. Indeed the flavor of the ante-bellum era still lingered there in the days of the writer's boyhood, and the plantation system of which Dr. Bruce speaks in the quotation above was then quite as general as it was during the years immediately following the war.

The history of Lunenburg's institutions is largely the history of similar institutions in the other Counties of the Southside. Lunenburg originally embraced Mecklenburg, Charlotte, Halifax, Pittsylvania, Henry, Patrick, Franklin, and the greater part of Bedford and Campbell, as well as a part of Appomattox. The history of Lunenburg, especially in its earlier years, is therefore in large measure a history of much of the Southside.

The present history of Lunenburg County is distinctly a pioneer effort. With the exception of a brief sketch by the present writer, printed in a local newspaper a few years ago, no history or historical sketch, even, of the County has ever been printed; or if so it has escaped our researches. Not even, it appears, has there ever been issued so much as a handbook or pamphlet respecting the County. Histories and handbooks have appeared of some of the younger Counties, daughters and granddaughters of *The Old Free State*—as the County originally existed—but for the parent County, with a rich and interesting past, through the one hundred and eighty years of its existence, no historian has arisen to record her history.

The late Captain Cornelius Tacitus Allen, gathered material for a history of the County, or rather for a series of sketches of

Lunenburgers, but his manuscript, as well as the data he had collected, were destroyed by fire while in the process of preparation, and this destruction happened at a time when he was too far advanced in years to attempt the enterprise again. Captain Allen was, so far as is known, the only other person who has essayed a work on the history of the County, and his work scarcely contemplated so broad a field, but was, as he explained to the present writer, designed to be only a series of biographical sketches. Whatever the scope he set for the limits of his work, it is much to be regretted that it did not materialize, for he was an engaging writer and devoted to the people and the traditions of *The Old Free State*.

That his volume would have been a contribution of first importance to the history of the County does not admit of doubt. And though his volume never materialized, he is, in a sense, due the honor of being the County's first historian, for he labored to that end, and produced at least a considerable part of the manuscript, and that it did not issue in print was not his fault, but his misfortune. It is a pleasure to call attention to his efforts, and to bespeak for his memory the honor that is due him therefor.

Captain Allen, though the manuscript of the volume he intended to print was destroyed, left a valuable contribution to the Civil War history of Lunenburg, in the record he preserved of the part he and his company had in that conflict. This manuscript is several times quoted in this work.

In the present volumes an effort is made to give something of the history of the Aborigines of the section; some account of the early pioneers, the first settlers of the territory; to afford some idea of the characteristics of the country at the time; and to trace the growth of the section. The legislative history of the County, its original creation, and the subdivision of the original area embraced in the County into the ten Counties, which now occupy that territory, is traced with some degree of care.

A glimpse is afforded of the characteristics and the personnel of the early institutions of the County; the courts; the vestries; the churches; and a description of their offices and functions is attempted.

The part the County had in the French and Indian Wars; in the Revolution; in the War of 1812; and in the Civil War is described with relative fulness. The discussions of these military matters have necessarily led the writer beyond the immediate limits of the County. But it has been deemed necessary, at least desirable, to treat these events with relative fulness in order that the proper background and perspective may be had of the part Lunenburg and Lunenburgers had in these matters of major importance to the country as a whole.

As respects in particular the space that has been devoted to the several chapters dealing with the subjects treated under the general head of *Slavery, Secession and the Civil War*, the writer is well aware that much of this material has to do with the general subject, rather than with the local history of Lunenburg; but it has been his purpose to interpret the views of Southerners in general and Lunenburgers in particular, respecting these matters, as essential to a correct understanding of the motives, the views and the acts of the Lunenburgers in the Civil War period. Viewed in this light, Chapters X, XI and XII are a necessary (if somewhat lengthy) preparation for Chapter XIII, of Volume I, which specifically deals with the part the Lunenburgers took in the Secession Movement, and in the Civil War itself.

The authentic history is given, possibly for the first time in any printed work, of how Lunenburg earned the sobriquet of the "Free State."

In the second volume some account is given of the period following the War, including the days of the Carpet-Bagger, and the era of "Reconstruction"—so-called; an account is given of Dr. Boswell's invention of the airplane; the names of the representatives in the House of Burgesses, in the Legislature and in Congress are preserved in a separate chapter; while the major part of the volume is devoted to genealogies and to genealogical material. From some standpoints, the greatest importance of the present work lies in the genealogical value of these last named chapters.

CHAPTER I

1607-1746



THE *Sarah Constant*, *Goodspeed* and *Discovery* anchored off Jamestown Island, Virginia, May 13, 1607. This was the initial act in making the first permanent English settlement in America.

The settlement was made under the auspices of The London Company, who had received a Royal charter or patent in 1606. The Jamestown settlement owed much less than is generally supposed to the famous Captain John Smith.

The hope was that these early explorers would find a shorter route to the East Indies; it was therefore among the instructions respecting this voyage of Captains Newport, Gosnold and Ratcliffe to Virginia that:

“When it shall please God to send you to the coast of Virginia, you shall do your best endeavor to find out a safe port in the entrance of some navigable river, making choice of such a one as runneth farthest into the land, and if you happen to discover divers portable rivers, and amongst them any one that hath two main branches, make choice of that which bendeth most toward the sea.

“When you have made choice of the river on which you mean to settle, be not hasty in landing your victuals and munitions, but first let Captain Newport discover how far that river may be found navigable, . . .

“You must observe if you can, whether the river on which you plant doth spring out of the mountains or out of lakes. If it be out of any lake, the passage to the other sea will be more easy, and [it] is like enough, that out of the same lake you shall find some spring which run[s] the contrary way toward the East India Sea; for the great and famous rivers of Volga, Tan[a]is and Dwina have three heads near joyn[e]d;

and yet one falleth into the Caspian Sea, the other into the Euxine Sea, and the third into the Paelonian Sea.”¹

It was therefore not an accident that the settlement was not made on the seacoast, for example at Cape Henry, where a pause of several days was made, before seeking to penetrate some navigable river inland.

Not only because of these instructions, but because it was the natural and inevitable course of events, the settlements gradually developed along the rivers from the coast westward.

Another of the instructions to the colonists was to make enquiries respecting, and to try to find, Sir Walter Raleigh's lost colony. It will be remembered that Sir Walter Raleigh sent out an expedition under Arthur Barlow and Philip Amidas which landed on the American coast July 4, 1584, it then passed into Ocracoke Inlet, and took possession in the right of the Queen and Sir Walter Raleigh. Then upon their return in September, the Queen named the newly discovered land "Virginia." Sir Walter hastened to send forward colonists. A fleet of seven ships sailed from Plymouth, April 9, 1585, carrying two hundred settlers. The fleet was commanded by Richard Grenville, and the party included Thomas Cavendish, the future circumnavigator of the globe, and Captain Ralph Lane, who was designated governor of the new colony. The landing, at Wakokon, the place to which Barlow and Amidas had come the year before, was made June 26, 1585. The locality was, of course, in the present state of North Carolina.

The colonists were left on Roanoke Island, and Grenville sailed back to England.²

This colony abandoned the place and were taken back to England by Sir Francis Drake in 1586. They landed at Plymouth, July 28, 1586.

"A day or two after the colonists left, a ship sent by Raleigh arrived, and fourteen or fifteen days later came three ships under Sir Richard Grenville, Raleigh's Admiral. Grenville spent some time beating up and down Pamlico Sound, hunting for the colony,

¹Arber's *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith*, i, pp. XXXIII-XXXV. Bulletin of Va. State Library, Vol. 9, p. 24.

²Tyler: *England in America*, 24.

and finally returned to England, leaving fifteen men behind at Roanoke to retain possession.”¹

This was Raleigh’s second settlement.

Raleigh, in an effort to make the settlement permanent, sent a third fleet. It carried one hundred and fifty settlers, and sailed from Plymouth, May 8, 1587. Among the colonists were about twenty-five women and children.²

The fifteen left in 1586 had all perished before the third expedition arrived.

Although it was not the original intention, yet because the pilot Simon Ferdinando would not take them farther—they had been directed to go to the Chesapeake Bay—the expedition established themselves at the previously occupied locality at Roanoke.³

John White was the Governor of this colony, and he made a friend of Manteo, a Croatoan Indian, and through him of his tribe, but the other tribes remained hostile.

White returned to England for supplies, reaching there November 8, 1587. He had the understanding with the colonists that if the settlers ever found it necessary to remove from the island they were to leave behind them an inscription, and were to add a cross if they left in danger or distress.

On account of the turbulent condition of affairs in England, when he arrived, the threat of the Spanish Armada, and the refusal of the Government to allow ships to be used for such an expedition as a relief voyage to the colonists, White, who had left his daughter and grand-daughter in Virginia, was not able to get back to Virginia until August 17, 1591. Raleigh had endeavored twice before to send expeditions, but had been unsuccessful.⁴

When White arrived, “as he climbed the sandy bank, he noticed carved upon a tree in Roman letters ‘C R O,’ without a cross, A little further on stood the fort, and there White read on one of the trees an inscription in large capital letters, ‘CROATOAN.’⁵

¹Tyler: *England in America*, 26; Citing Hakluyt, *Voyages* III, 323, 340.

²Tyler: *England in America*, 27.

³Id.

⁴Tyler: *England in America*, 31.

⁵Id. 32.

"This," says Dr. Tyler, "left no doubt that the colony had moved to the island of that name south of Cape Hatteras and near Ocracoke Inlet. He wished the ships to sail in that direction, but a storm arose, and the captains dreading the dangerous shoals of Pamlico Sound, put to sea and returned to England without ever visiting Croatoan."¹

"White never came back to America, and his separation from the colony is heightened in tragic effect by the loss of his daughter and grand-daughter."²

What became of these last colonists has been a matter of much speculation.

Lawson, the earliest historian of North Carolina, was of opinion that they amalgamated with the Indians. In confirmation of this, he stated that he had learned "from the Hatteras Indians that several of their ancestors were white people, and could talk in a book. The truth of which is confirmed by gray eyes being among these Indians and no others."³

Possibly the most intelligent and exhaustive discussion of the fate of the lost colony is that of Sams,⁴ who devotes a chapter to the subject. His conclusion is that although no cross was carved in connection with the word Croatoan, to indicate that the colony left in distress, yet they were attacked and many of them massacred. He believes that the colonists had decided to remove to Croatoan, and were arranging to peaceably depart when they were attacked by Powhatan and Wan-Chese, who knew of their plans, and who were lurking nearby waiting for them to vacate the fort, and attacked them as they proceeded from the fort to the boats. Some of the colonists, however, escaped and their ultimate fate is a matter of conjecture.

In support of his conclusions, Sams adduces the fact that Powhatan told Captain Smith, while he held him a captive, of "certain men cloathed at a place called O-Can-a-ho-nan,

¹Hakluyt, *Voyages* III, 350-357.

²Tyler: *England in America*, 32. His granddaughter was Virginia Dare, the first child born of English parents in the new world.

³Lawson, 62 et seq.

⁴Conway Whittle Sams: *The Conquest of Virginia, The First Attempt*, Chapter XXII.

cloathed like me," and that "Powhatan confessed that he had been at the murder of that (Raleigh's) Colony, and showed a musket barrel and a brass mortar, and certain pieces of iron which had been theirs."¹

Strachey also makes the statement that Ma-Chumps² said that "at Rit-a-noe, the Wer-o-ance E-y-an-o-co preserved seven of the English alive—four men, two boys and one young maid (who escaped and fled up the river of Cha-noke³) to beat his copper, of which he hath certain mines at the said Rit-a-noe, as also at Pam-a-wank are said to be store of salt stones."⁴

Some have supposed that a part of Raleigh's Lost Colony may have found their last resting place in the soil of Lunenburg; and while the matter is, and probably always will be, one of conjecture and speculation only, it is an interesting one.

Just above the head spring of Mason's Creek, about two miles west of Oral Oaks, on lands at one time owned by Benjamin Bishop (colored), was a plot of ground enclosed by a rude rock wall. The enclosure was about twenty by forty feet, and its construction far antedated the settlement of this section by the white man. Finding this structure, which was already old, when the first settlements were made, the colonists came to speak of this as the Old Indian Grave Yard. Its antiquity is indicated by the traditions of the section.

The writer's grandfather, John Davis Bell, lived on what is known as Bell's branch of Mason's Creek. There the writer's father, Isaac Bonaparte Bell, was reared, on the plantation adjoining the old Garland Homestead, which was to be acquired by him, and named Wilburn. On a farm just across Mason's Creek lived Mr. Harrison J. Elder, who was an old man, about seventy-five years of age, when Isaac Bonaparte Bell (b. 1847) was a boy. Writing in 1913, Isaac Bonaparte Bell said that he had heard "Mr. Harrison J Elder, who has now been dead some twenty-five years, and who was, when he made the statement, more than seventy years old, say that

¹Id. 321, citing *True Relation*, 28, Statement on the Margin of Purchase, IV, 1728.

²A brother-in-law of Powhatan.

³The Chowan.

⁴Strachey's *History of Travaile, etc.*, 26.

he had heard his father *say that he had heard his father say that* the place was known as the Old Indian Grave Yard. So it appears even by this tradition that the place has been so designated for more than one hundred and twenty-five years. The late Jesse D. Abernathy, who died many years ago, a very old man, made a similar statement about his grandfather having known it as the Old Indian Grave Yard."¹

At the time the Lunenburg plank road was built from Black's and White's (now Blackstone) the wall of this enclosure was demolished by "one Pratt to get stone to build a wall for a sawmill operated by him about 1856."²

About the year 1875 Boswell and Allen operated a sawmill near this place, and a number of the laborers decided to excavate a part of the old grave yard. "Upon opening one of the graves, or digging into the ground (for no specific trace of any one grave could be seen), they struck upon what was one of the graves found it about two and a half feet [deep] when they evidently reached the bottom and at the bottom was a black mold of earth about an inch or inch and a half thick, but no bones were found nor any Indian relics. When this mold was found caution was taken, and they found nails that had corroded until they could be broken between the fingers. All of these nails pointed downward, and the heads upward, and the theory of the parties was that the corpse was buried in a dugout trough, with the lid nailed down. . . . If this was a graveyard of prehistoric Indians, it seems some Indian relics would have been found . . . if it was before the advent of the white man where did they get the nails? . . . They were certainly iron nails. The writer [Isaac Bonaparte Bell] saw some of them himself."³

Some have supposed that a part of the Lost Colony may have finally come to this locality, sustained themselves for a time, and buried the first of the group to die in this old graveyard.

¹Manuscript of the late Isaac Bonaparte Bell.

²Id.

³Isaac Bonaparte Bell, Manuscript.

Strachey's reference to the Chowan¹ in connection with the escape of a part of the Lost Colony is interesting.

The opening of the Chowan into Albemarle Sound is a much wider estuary than the mouth of the Roanoke. It could easily be mistaken for the larger stream of the two. Remembering that it was the hope and the dream of the English who early came to these shores, to find a passage by water entirely through the land to an ocean on the west, it was natural for these abandoned and despairing survivors of the ill-fated colony to attempt to find the hoped for western outlet, or at least more hospitable reception by exploring in that direction.

If, then, in escaping from the murderous Powhatan and his confederates, the survivors entered the Chowan, as Strachey avows some of them did, it is not unreasonable to surmise that they took the more westerly branch, when they came to the junction of the Meherrin and the Blackwater, and followed the Meherrin to the mouth of Bears Element Creek, this to the junction of Little Bears Element Creek with Mason's Creek, and Mason's Creek to its head. Here they would have found themselves in an uncharted area, with nothing to guide them as to the direction they should take. No route to the "East India Sea" would have been discovered, and hope by this time may well have been succeeded by despair. Here they would have been at the location of the Old Indian Graveyard, near Oral Oaks, in Lunenburg.

Another conjecture, however, respecting this old graveyard is that it may be the last resting place of some of Nathaniel Bacon's followers, who, after his death, sought refuge from the wrath of Sir William Berkely, in the wilds of this, then unsettled, section.

In 1607 the sole settlement was at Jamestown.

In 1611, in addition to Jamestown, settlements had been made at Point Comfort, and at Coxendale on the James a considerable distance above the mouth of the Appomattox; by 1619 many settlements had been made on both sides of the James, between Jamestown and Coxendale, as well as on the eastern

¹Strachey's *Historie of Travaile*, etc., 26.

shore, at Smith's Island and Savage's Neck; and between that date and 1632 the plantations along the James multiplied and expanded, and extended northward along the coast and westward up the York River. Kent Island in the Chesapeake was settled (1631), and settlement of Accomack expanded northward. By 1652 settlements were made all along the Chesapeake, and along the Potomac, Rappahannock, Piankitank, York and Chickahominy rivers. By 1671 most of the Tidewater area of Virginia had been settled. Occupation by 1702 had extended to the lower reaches of the Piedmont—the foothills immediately adjoining the Tidewater; and by 1729 practically all of the Piedmont had been settled, though sparsely, and a settlement had been also planted in the Shenandoah Valley.

From this date on to 1746, the occupation of the Valley progressed, while the Piedmont received important acquisitions to its population.

In these classifications of the grand divisions of Virginia, we are regarding the State as falling into the Tidewater, or coastal plain, extending from the seacoast to the fall line; the Piedmont extending from the Tidewater to the crest of the Blue Ridge; the Valley extending from the Piedmont to the crest of the Alleghanies; and the Trans-Alleghany Area to the westward.

Lunenburg therefore belongs to the Piedmont, although it is usually spoken of as one of the "South Side" counties—that is on the south side of the James River.

The Colonists who landed at Jamestown numbered one hundred and five. At the end of about twelve years, in 1619, the Colony consisted of about six hundred persons—men, women and children. In March, 1622, the population numbered twelve hundred and forty, of whom three hundred and forty-seven were killed in the Great Massacre, on March 22, at almost the same instant. In February, 1625, the population numbered one thousand, two hundred and twenty-seven, which number included twenty-three negroes and two Indians.¹

¹Brown's *First Republic*, p. 627; Bulletin Virginia State Library, Vol. 9, p. 34.

In 1640 the population was estimated to be 7,466; in 1648 at 15,000; in 1659 at 30,000; in 1671 at 40,000; and in 1675 at 50,000. By 1717 the population was believed to number 100,000,¹ and in 1754 the number was estimated to be 284,000.²

The populations were as indicated above, in communities somewhat widely separated from each other. They were in many instances, in a single location, entirely or practically resident upon a single estate or plantation. Encompassed about by the Indians, and living in a new and unsubjected wilderness, the Colonists early felt the need of adopting measures for mutual aid and common protection.

It thus resulted that in 1619, at a time when the plantations of the Colony were but eleven in number, and when the population was but six hundred, the first popular representative legislative assembly of America was convened.

The London Company, highly disapproving of the "insufferable Tyranny and iniquity," and the "ill Government" of Sir Thomas Smith and Captain Argall, had authorized writs for a General Assembly "with two Burgesses from each Plantation freely to be elected by the inhabitants thereof."³

The date of the gathering of this Assembly is a notable date in history. It, the first popular representative legislative Assembly of America, met in the little wooden church at Jamestown on July 30, 1619, with twenty-two representatives present.

Concerning the calling of this Assembly, the historian Stith says (at page 160):

"And about the end of June [1619], he [Sir George Yeardley] called the first General Assembly that was ever held in Virginia. Counties were not yet laid off, but they elected their Representatives by Townships. So that the Burroughs of James Town, Henrico, Bermuda Hundred, and the rest, each sent their members to the Assembly. And hence it is that our Lower House of Assembly is called the House of Burgesses, a name proper to the Representatives of Burroughs or Towns; and it hath, by Custom, ever since re-

¹U. S. Census, 1910, Abstract, p. 567, N.

²U. S. Census.

³Brown's *First Republic*, p. 312.

tained that Appellation altho' the Burgesses, or members for Towns and Corporations, are very few and inconsiderable at present [1747] in comparison of the Representatives of Counties."

The plantations which elected representatives to this General Assembly, and the names of the representatives were as follows:

Argall's Gift: Thomas Pawlett, Edward Gourgaing.

Charles City: Samuel Sharpe, Samuel Jordan.

Flowerdieu Hundred: Edmund Rossingham, John Jefferson.

Henricus: Thomas Dowse, John Polentine (probably Pol-longton).

James City: William Powell, William Spense (Spence).

Kiccowtan: William Tucker, William Capp.

Lawne's Plantation: Christopher Lawne, Ensign Washer.

Martin's Brandon: Thomas Davis, Robert Stacy.

Martin's Hundred: John Boys, John Jackson.

Captain Ward's Plantation: John Warde, John Gibbes.

Smythes Hundred: Thomas Graves, Walter Shelley.¹

In authorizing the election of representatives from these several plantations, there must have been instructions given or at least an understanding, more or less definite as to boundaries of the areas embraced in each. They were undoubtedly very general, in most instances.

These plantations were the forerunners of shires and counties later, under the names used for the plantations, or under other names embracing the plantations as well as additional areas.

We are especially interested in Charles City plantation, for it gave the name for the county subsequently created, which embraced at least the greater part of Lunenburg. Charles City was located in 1613, and we learn from Brown's *First Republic*,² that it "extended from the said pale [run by Dale between the James River and the Appomattox River], [and] included the

¹Journals of House of Burgesses, 1619-1658/9, vii.

²pp. 313-14.

neck of land now known as Jones Neck, eastward, down James River, on both sides, to the mouth of the Chickahominy River."

The Fourth Charter of the Colony provided that:

"the Governor should call together the General Assembly once a year, and not oftener, unless on very extraordinary, and important occasions,¹ and should 'imitate the policy of the form of government, laws, customs, manner of tryal, and other administration of Justice used in England'; while the instructions to Governor Wyatt at the same time ordered him to provide for 'dividing the Colony into cities, boroughs, &c. . . . and to appoint proper times for administration and law suits.'"²

Inferior Courts were created, and beginning with the year 1622 were appointed to be held in convenient places, in order to relieve the Governor and Council of too great a burden of business, "and to render justice more cheap and accessible."

"This," says Stith, "was the Original and Foundation of our County Courts; altho' the County was not yet laid off in Counties, but still continued in Townships and particular Plantations, as they called those settlements, which were not considerable enough to have the Title and Privileges of Burroughs."³

Hening (in Vol. 1, p. 224) quotes the word "shires" for the original divisions of the Colony; but, as pointed out by Mr. Morgan Poitiaux Robinson, he also in the same volume (page 223) mentions the appointment of sheriffs for the several "counties," which, says Mr. Robinson, is the earliest use of the word "county" officially he has been able to locate. This was in 1634.⁴ Hening, in this same volume (pp. 272-3) uses the expression "Countie Courts" for the first time.

In 1634 Virginia was divided into eight shires or counties, which were nothing more nor less than our Plantations of 1619

¹Barton's Virginia Colonial Decisions, i, p. 62.

²1, Hening, pp. 113, 115, 116.

³History of Virginia, p. 207-8.

⁴Bulletin Va. State Lib., Vol. 9, p. 32, note by Mr. Robinson.

grown up to somewhat greater stature. The brief record in Hening's Statutes at large, is as follows:

"In 1634. The Country divided into 8 shires, which are to be governed as shires in England."¹

The designation of shires was not continued. In all cases thereafter, the sub-divisions are spoken of as counties.

The names of these shires were: James City, Henrico, Charles City, Elizabeth City, Warwick River, Warrosquyoake, Charles River, and Accowmack.²

We are interested in three of these original shires or counties—Charles City, James City and Warrosquyoake—especially Charles City, for it was from its area that Lunenburg was formed, as we shall see.

At its creation, in 1634, Charles City County "extended on both sides of the river [James],—on the south side from Upper Chippokes Creek to Appomattox River, and on the north side from Sandy Point to Turkey Island Creek,"³ and had a population of five hundred and eleven persons.⁴ Warrosquyoake extended from Chuckatuck Creek to Lawne's Creek,⁵ and contained five hundred and twenty-two inhabitants.⁶

In 1637 the County's name was changed from Warrosquyoake to Isle of Wight.

James City County, in the original division of 1634, extended on both side of James River—on the south side from Lawne's Creek to Upper Chippokes, and on the north side from Skiffs Creek to above Sandy Point.⁷ It contained eight hundred and eighty-six inhabitants.⁸

As stated, Isle of Wight County, under the name of Warrosquyoake, was one of the original shires or counties into which the Colony was laid out in 1634. Although we have not come across the act, Hening, in the index to his first volume (p. 599), says that the change of name was made in 1637.

¹Hening, p. 224.

²Id.

³Tyler's *Cradle of the Republic*, p. 198.

⁴Bruce's *Economic History of Virginia*, i, pp. 319-20.

⁵Tyler's *Cradle of the Republic*, p. 198.

⁶Bruce, Id.

⁷Tyler's *Cradle of the Republic*, p. 198.

⁸Bruce's *Economic History of Virginia*, i, pp. 319-20.

At the session of January, 1639-40, an act was passed entitled: "An Act Concerning the Bounds of Isle of Wight, Upper Norfolk and Lower Norfolk Counties." It was as follows:

"It is thought fitt and enacted for a finall Determination of all differences between the Isle of Wight county and the Upper and Lower Norfolk counties that the Isle of Wight county shall begin at Lawnes Creek and from thence to extend down along the main River unto the plantation of Richard haies formerly belonging unto John Seward including the s^d plantation & famelies and from thence to extend from the main River into the Woods Southerly unto the plantation of William Nowell and Mr. Robt. Pitt including likewise the s^d plantation and families and from thence Southerly as afores^d. And the Upper county of New Norfolk to begin at the afores^d plantation of Rich^d Haies and from thence into the Woods Southerly as aforesaid and by the main River from thence to extend down by the main River unto the creek near the plantation of Francis Bullock being the first creek to the Westward of Cranye Point including the plantation of the s^d Francis Bullock and no ways intrenching upon the Western branch of Elizabeth river nor the creek thereof w^{ch} do belong to the county of Lower Norfolk. These bounds being sett and Limited by the consent and agreem^t of the Burgesses for the s^d counties. And it is further thought fitt that these bounds be as well for the s^d parishes as the counties and that all former Acts of Assembly concerning the same by virtue of this Act be repealed and made void."¹

The boundaries of Isle of Wight County were further dealt with by an act of the "Grand Assemblie holden at James City the second day of March, 1642-3," as follows:

"Be it also enacted and confirmed, for a final determina-

¹Bulletin, Va. St. Lib., Vol. 9, p. 197-8. The copy of the Acts for the session of Jan. 6, 1639, in which the above appears, was discovered April 20, 1916, by Mr. Earl G. Swem, Asst. State Librarian. See note thereon in Bulletin mentioned at p. 198.

tion of the Isle of Weight County, Upper and Lower Norff: Countyes that the Isle of Weight County shall begin at Lawne's creek and from thence to extend downe the maine river unto the plantation of Rich: Hayes formerly belonging unto John Howard including the said plantation and family from thence to extend from the main river unto the woods southerly unto the plantation of William Nowell and Mr. Robert Pitt including likewise the said plantation and familys and from thence southerly as aforesaid.

"And the upper county of New Norff: to begin at the aforesaid plantation of Rich: Hayes and from thence unto the woods southerly as aforesaid, and by the mayne river, from thence to extend down by the mayne river into the creeke near unto the plantation of ffrancis Bullock being the first creek to the westward of Crayne Poynt, including the plantation of the said ffrancis Bullock, and no waies trenching upon the western branch of Elizabeth River, nor the creeks thereof which do belong to the county of Lower Norff.

"These bounds being set and lymitted by the consent and agreement of the burgesses for said countyes."¹

Surry County was formed in 1652. The act creating it is not extant, and the first time its name appeared, as far as can now be established, was on November 25th, 1652, when at a meeting of the House of Burgesses, the record shows "The names of the Burgesses for the several plantations." Among the rest is the following entry:

"Surry County	{	Mr. Wm. Thomas
		Mr. Wm. Edwards
		Mr. Geo. Stephens" ²

Dr. Lyon G. Tyler says:

"Lands in Surry are shown by the Land Grants to have been in James City County previous to December 6, 1651. Its first justices were appointed in April, as shown by the County records. (See William and Mary Quarterly, viii, 165.) So it

¹¹, Hening, p. 247.

²¹, Hening, p. 373.

was certainly formed at the Assembly which met at this time, April, 1652.”¹

Charles City County was divided by an act passed in 1702. The provisions of this act do not appear in Hening, although it is mentioned by title. Through the enterprise of the Virginia State Library and of Mr. Morgan P. Robinson the text of the act was secured from the Public Record Office in London. It is as follows:

“CHAP. III.

“An Act for Dividing Charles City County.

[Passed August 25, 1702.]

“Whereas Sundry & diverse inconveniences attend the Inhabitants of that part of Charles City County w^{ch} lyes on the South side of James river when they have any occasion to prosecute Law Suites in the s^d County Court or go to any other publick meeting by reason of the Difficulty in passing James River Be it Enacted, by the Govern^r Councill & Burgeses of this present Gener^l Assembly And by the Authority thereof And it is hereby Enacted that on and after the 23^d day of Apr^l w^{ch} shall be in the year of our L^d God 1703 the s^d County of Charles City be divided into two distinct Counties so that James River divide y^e Same And that, that part of the said County w^{ch} is & lyes on the North side of the said James river shall forever thereafter be called & knowne by the name of Charles City County. And that that part of the s^d County w^{ch} is & lyes on the South side of the said river shall remain and for ever thereafter be called & knowne by y^e name of Prince George County, & for the due administration of Justice. Be it further Enacted by the Authority afores^d & it is hereby Enacted y^t after the time afores^d a Court for the said Prince George County be constantly held by the Justices thereof upon the Second Wednesday of every month in such manner as by the Laws of this Country is Provided And shall be by their Commission directed & whereas the towne Land Lying at fflowerdy hund^d was purchased by the intire County of Charles

¹Bulletin, Va. St. Lib., Vol. 9, p. 87, note 73.

City as then it was all y^e charges about the Same being equally Levied upon the whole number of Tithables of the said County Be it Enacted by the Authority aforesaid & it is hereby Enacted that one third of the Tob^o ariseing from the Sailes of the said towne Land to the Several takers up thereof be repaid to the Inhabitants that shall be for the time being on the North side of the s^d James river in Charles City County upon y^e taking up of the said towne Land.”¹

Brunswick County was formed from Prince George County in 1720. The act establishing the County is as follows:

“At a *General Assembly*, Begun and holden at the Capitol, in the City of Williamsburg, on the second day of November, in the seventh year of the reign of our sovereign lord George the first, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, defender of the faith, &c.; and in the year of our lord, 1720.

“CHAP. I.

“An act for erecting the counties of Spotsylvania and Brunswick; and granting certain exemptions and benefits to the inhabitants thereof.

“Preamble, That the frontiers towards the high mountains are exposed to danger from the Indians, and the late settlements of the French to the westward of the said mountains.

“Enacted, Spotsylvania County bounds upon Snow Creek up to the Mill, thence by a south-west line to the river North-Anna, thence up the said river as far as convenient, and thence by a line to be run over the high mountains to the river on the northwestside thereof, so as to include the northern passage thro’ the said mountains, thence down the said river until it comes against the head of Rappahanock, thence by a line to the head of Rappahanock river; and down that river to the mouth of Snow creek; which tract of land from the first of May, 1721, shall become a county, by the name of Spotsylvania County.

“Brunswick County, begins on the south side the river

¹Bulletin, Va. St. Lib., Vol. 9, p. 199.

Roanoke, at the place where the line lately run for ascertaining the uncontroverted bounds of this colony towards North Carolina, intersects the said river Roanoke, and to be bounded by the direction of the governor with consent of council, so as to include the southern pass; which land from and after the time that it shall be laid off and bounded shall become a county by the name of Brunswick County.

“That fifteen hundred pounds, current money of Virginia, be paid by the treasurer, to the governor, to these uses, viz.:

“Five hundred pounds for a church, court house, prison, pillory and stocks, where the governor shall appoint them in the county of Spotsylvania, and the governor to employ workmen, provide materials, &c.

“One thousand pounds, to be distributed in arms and ammunition, among such persons as shall hereafter go to seat the said counties, that is, to each Christian titheable, one firelock, musket, one socket, bayonet fitted thereto, one cartouch box, eight pounds bullet, two pounds powder, until the whole one thousand pounds be laid out. The account whereof is to be desired to be laid before the general assembly.

“Those arms are appropriated to the defence of the said counties, and the land as well as personal estate of the parties that take them, is made liable to see them forthcoming in good order.

“The arms to be stamped with the name of the county, and liable to the seizure of any military officer, if found within the bounds.

“That five hundred pounds more be paid by the treasurer to Nathaniel Harrison, esq., Jonathan Allen, Henry Harrison, & William Edwards, gentlemen, or the survivors of them, or in case of their refusal, to such others as the governor shall name, to make up the like number, to be by them laid out for a church, court-house, prison, pillory and stocks, where they shall think fit, in the County of Brunswick, and are required to account to the general assembly.

“Inhabitants of the said counties are made free of publick levies for ten years from the first of May, 1721.

“The whole county of Spotsylvania made one parish, by the

name of St. George; and that of Brunswick one, by the name of St. Andrew.

“Because foreign Protestants may not understand English readily, if any such shall entertain a minister of their own, they and their titheables shall be free for ten years, from the first of May, 1721.

“Until the governor shall settle a court in Spotsylvania, the justices of the several counties of Essex, King and Queen, and King William, take power over them by their warrants, and the clerks of the said courts by their process returnable to their said courts, in the same manner as before the said county was constituted, directing the process always to the sheriff.—And the court of Prince George County has the same power in Brunswick: But the sheriff of Prince George to have doublefees.

“Court-day in Spotsylvania is the first Tuesday of the month, and Brunswick the first Thursday.”¹

Although the county was created by the act of 1720, the county seems not to have been organized until 1732. In proof of this fact, Mr. Robinson adduces a copy of the record of the first meeting of the Justices of Brunswick County, held May 2, 1732, which has been preserved in private hands, Order Book No. 1, having been destroyed sometime since.²

It seems that after the act of 1720, foregoing, because of the sparseness of population and for other reasons the organization of the county was allowed to remain in abeyance until a revival of interest developed about 1732. In the same month in which the first meeting of the justices was held, May, 1732, a considerable area was added to Brunswick County by the following enactment:

“An act for adding part of the Counties of Surry, and Isle of Wight, unto the county of Brunswick; and part of the Parishes of Lawn’s-Creek, Southwark and Warwicksqueak, in the said Counties of Surry, and Isle of Wight, unto the Parish of St. Andrew, in the said County of Brunswick.

¹4, Hening, pp. 77-79.

²See Bulletin Va. St. Lib., Vol. 9, p. 75, Note 11.

“I. Whereas by reason of the small number of titheables in the County of Brunswick, the poll taxes must necessarily be very grievous and burdensome to them; which, by an addition of part of the counties of Surry, and Isle of Wight, would be remedied, and divers of the inhabitants of the two last mentioned counties, would thereby also be freed from hardships and inconveniences, which at present they labour under, with respect to the remoteness of their situation from the court-houses of their said counties, and their parish churches, respectively; and after such addition, there will remain a sufficient number of titheables in said counties of Surry, and Isle of Wight, respectively, to bear the public taxes:

“II. Be it enacted, by the Lieutenant-Governor, Council and Burgesses, of this present General Assembly, and by the authority thereof, That from and after the first day of January, next after the end of this session of assembly, those parts of the said counties of Surry, and Isle of Wight, which lie between, and are included within the bounds hereafter mentioned, and the lower bounds of the said County of Brunswick, as it now stands (that is to say), a straight line to be run from the mouth of a branch of Nottoway river, called Chetacrie, between Colonel Harrisons quarter, and Mathew Parham’s in said County of Surry, to Meherrim river, to the line dividing the said Counties of Surry, and Isle of Wight, and from thence down that river, to the line dividing this country and North Carolina be annexed and united to the said county of Brunswick, and for ever thereafter shall be taken and reputed a parcel thereof; and be divided and exempt from the said Counties of Surry, and Isle of Wight, respectively, and from all dependances, offices, and charges, for or in respect thereof, and also discharged from all duties whatsoever, relating to the same.

“III. And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That those parts of the said Counties of Surry, and Isle of Wight, so as aforesaid annexed and united to the said County of Brunswick, be also from and after the said first day of January, annexed and united to the parish of Saint Andrew,

in the said County of Brunswick, and be divided and exempt from the parishes Lawn's-Creek and Southwark, in the said County of Surry, and the Parish of Warwicksqueak, in the said County of Isle of Wight, respectively, to which the same do at present belong; and all dependances, offices, charges, and contributions, for and in respect thereof, and all parochial duties whatsoever, relating to the same; any law or usage to the contrary of any of the premises, in any wise, notwithstanding."¹

The historian Howe, the author of what was for many years regarded as the standard history of Virginia, says: "Brunswick was formed, in 1720, from Surry and Isle of Wight."² His error is probably accounted for by reason of the fact that the act of 1720 originally creating the county did not name the county from which the area was taken; and by reason of the further fact that the act of 1732 added parts of Surry and Isle of Wight to Brunswick. There seems no good reason, however, why he should have concluded that because territory from these counties was added in 1732, the area originally embraced in the county in 1720, was taken from these counties also. This misinformation given by Howe has been the source of a great deal of annoyance and confusion, especially to genealogists in their endeavors to follow their lines by aid of early marriage, will and deed records. In such quests, the correct "descent" or "genealogy" of the counties is scarcely less important than the genealogies of the families.

Relying upon his statement the primary search for the record of the ancestors of an early Lunenburger would be through the records of Lunenburg, Brunswick, Surry and Isle of Wight; while the correct "ancestry" of Lunenburg County is back through Brunswick, Prince George and Charles City Counties. This is the primary line. We have shown above to what extent James City County and Isle of Wight County contributed to the territory of Surry, and of Brunswick.

The historian and the genealogist are under a debt of gratitude

¹4, Hening, p. 355-6.

²Howe: *Virginia, Its History and Antiquities*, p. 205.

to Mr. Morgan Poitiaux Robinson for clearing up the facts and correcting Howe's error. This he has done in Vol. 9 of the Bulletin of the Virginia State Library.

He in turn acknowledges his indebtedness to Mr. (now Rev.) William Clayton Torrence, who at the time Mr. Robinson wrote (1916) was Secretary of the Valentine Museum, Richmond, Virginia. On pages 76 and 77 of the Bulletin aforesaid he prints a very valuable note on the subject, furnished him by Mr. Torrence, which is, in part, as follows:

"The following facts have been brought together to prove that Brunswick County (while it unquestionably received later accessions of territory from Isle of Wight and Surry Counties) was in its original formation created from part of the territory of Prince George County.

"By Act of Assembly, November, 1720, the counties of Spotsylvania and Brunswick were created. 'Brunswick County, begins on the south side the river Roanoke, at the place where the line lately run for ascertaining the uncontroverted bounds of this colony toward North Carolina, intersects the said River Roanoke, and to be bounded by the direction of the governour with consent of council, so as to include the southern pass; which land from and after the time that it shall be laid off and bounded shall become a county by the name of Brunswick county.' (Hening, 4, p. 77, et seq.) After directing the erection of public buildings and the distribution of arms, reciting the privileges of inhabitants and declaring the jurisdiction for Spotsylvania County to reside in the justices of Essex, King and Queen and King William Counties, the act further recites, 'And the Court of Prince George county has the same power in Brunswick.'

"It will be noticed that the act does not state from what counties Spotsylvania and Brunswick Counties were erected but the settling of jurisdiction in the magistracy of specifically named counties is very good circumstantial evidence that Spotsylvania and Brunswick were erected from parts of the territory of the counties whose magistrates were invested with jurisdiction until a final organization should be effected. Therefore from the provisional jurisdiction given the magis-

tracy of Prince George County in the new county of Brunswick we infer that the first territory laid off into Brunswick was taken from Prince George.

“The Land Patents seem, however, to settle definitely that Brunswick County was set off from Prince George. Reference to any map of Virginia will show that the dividing line between the present Dinwiddie County (which was until 1752 a part of Prince George) and the present counties of Greensville (which was until 1781 a part of Brunswick) and Brunswick is the Nottoway River. Now, in the year 1720, when the act establishing Brunswick County was passed, there were no Dinwiddie and Greensville Counties; therefore the Nottoway River was in Prince George County, as is also well established by the following patents: in August, 1720, John King was granted 97 acres in Prince George County on south side of the Nottoway River beginning at the first falls above Sturgeon Run; at the same time John Wall was granted 185 acres in Prince George County on south side Nottoway River above the mouth of Waquiyoah (at present Waqua) Creek (Register of the Land Office, Patent Book, No. 11, pp. 39, 40). All maps show that the territory to the south of Nottoway River is in either Brunswick or Greensville County. The Sturgeon Run (now Creek) and Waquiyoah (now Waqua) Creek are today in the county of Brunswick.

“Though the act creating Brunswick County was passed in 1720 there was apparently no court held for that county until 1732, when on May 2, 1732, by commission from the governor, dated April 22, 1732, a court met and organized. No records of proceedings in Brunswick County prior to this date have ever been found.

“From the evidence adduced it seems quite clearly to have been the case that in 1720 Brunswick County was created from Prince George, and that on account of the sparseness of population no court was held until May, 1732, and that at that time territory was added to Brunswick from the Counties of Isle of Wight and Surry, thereby adding more tithables and by the increase in population warranting the establishment of a regular court and forever removing jurisdiction over Bruns-

wick affairs from the hands of the Prince George magistracy.”

In August, 1734, Amelia County was formed chiefly from the territory of Prince George, but a part of Brunswick was cut off and added to the new County.

The act (Chap. XXXI), in part, is as follows:

“An Act for dividing the County of Prince-George, and Parish of Bristol; and adding part of the County of Brunswick, to the new erected County.

“I. Whereas divers inconveniences attend the upper inhabitants of the County of Prince George, by reason of their great distance from the court-house, and other places usually appointed for public meetings, Be it enacted, by the Lieutenant-Governor, council, and Burgesses, of this present General Assembly, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That from and immediately after the twenty-fifth day of March, now next ensuing, the said County of Prince George, and that part of the parish of Bristol which lies in the same, be divided, from the mouth of Namozain Creek, up the same, to the main, or John Hamlin’s fork of the said creek; thence up the South or lowest branch thereof, to White-oak Hunting Path; and thence, by a south course, to strike Nottoway river; And that all that part of said county, below these courses, be thereafter one distinct County, and retain the name of Prince-George County; And that all that territory of land, above the said courses, bounded southerly by Great Nottoway river, including part of the county of Brunswick, and parish of St. Andrew, so far as to take the ridges between Roanoak and Appomatox rivers; and thence along those ridges, to the great mountains, westerly by the said mountains, and northerly by the southern boundaries of Goochland and Henrico Counties be henceforth erected into one other distinct county and parish, and called and known by the name of Amelia County, and Raleigh parish.”¹

The remainder of the act is unimportant for our purposes.

Dinwiddie County was formed from Prince George in 1752; Prince Edward from Amelia in 1754, and Nottoway from Amelia in 1789.

¹4, Hening, p. 467.

The act creating Dinwiddie County provided:

“That from and immediately after the first day of May next ensuing,¹ the said county of Prince George be divided into two counties; that is to say: all that part thereof lying on the upper side of the run which falls into Appomattox river, between the town of Blanford, and Bolling’s point warehouses, to the outermost line of the glebe land, and by a south course to be run from the said outermost line of the glebe land, to Surry County, shall be one distinct county, and called and known by the name Dinwiddie, and all that other part thereof, below the said run and course, shall be one other distinct county, and retain the name of Prince George.”²

The act creating Prince Edward County provided:

“That from and immediately after the first day of January next ensuing [The act was passed Nov. 17, 1753], the said county of Amelia be divided into two counties by a line to run from Ward’s ford on Appomattox river, to the mouth of Snail’s Creek on Nottoway river, and that all that part of the said county, which lies on the upper side of the said line, shall be one distinct county, and called and known by the name of Prince-Edwards, and that all that other part thereof, which is below the said line, shall be one other distinct county, and retain the name of Amelia.”³

A part of Prince Edward was cut off along with parts of Buckingham, Charlotte and Campbell, by the act of February 8, 1845, in order to form the county of Appomattox.⁴

By the act of the 22nd day of December, 1788, Nottoway County was formed. So far as the boundary of the County is concerned the act is as follows:

“Be it enacted by the General Assembly, That from and after the first day of May next, the County of Amelia shall be divided into two distinct counties, that is to say, all that part of the said County lying south of a line to begin at a place

¹The act was passed March 9, 1752.

²6, Hening, p. 254.

³6, Hening, p. 379.

⁴Acts 1844-5, p. 38.

called Well's bridge, on Namozene Creek, which divides the said County, from the County of Dinwiddie, thence running through the said county of Amelia, so as to strike the line of Prince Edward County, five miles west of a place called Ward's ford, on Appomattox river, shall be one distinct county, and called and known by the name of Nottoway, and the residue of the said county shall retain the name of Amelia."

It is provided by the act, that the justices to be named in the commission "shall meet at the new house of Peter Stainback in the said County," etc.¹

And in order to complete the list of counties formed from Prince George, the creation of Greensville County may be mentioned, although, like Amelia, Dinwiddie, Prince Edward and Nottoway, it only has collateral relation to the history of Lunenburg County.

By the act of November 28, 1780, the boundaries of Greensville County were defined in the following enactment:

"Be it enacted by the General Assembly, That from and after the first day of February next, the County of Brunswick shall be divided into two distinct counties, by a line to begin two miles above Chapman's ford on Maherrin river, and running a due south course to the boundary line between this State and North Carolina, and from the station aforesaid by another line due north by Nottoway river, and that all that part of the said county lying eastward of the said line, shall be called and known by the name of Greensville, and all the residue of the said county shall retain the name of Brunswick."²

By an act passed November 6, 1787,

"all that part of the County of Brunswick, lying to the eastward of a line to begin on the Carolina line, six miles above the termination of the boundary between said County and Greensville, and running from thence a direct course to where the line between the said counties crosses the river Meherrin,

¹12, Hening, p. 723.

²10, Hening, p. 363.

be added to and made a part of the said County of Greenville.”¹

By an act of January 4, 1802, there was added to Greenville County,

“all that part of the County of Sussex, lying on the south side of the Three Creeks,—and bounded as followeth, to-wit: Beginning where the line of the said county of Sussex and Greenville crosses the said creeks, thence down the south side of the said creek, to the fork at the head of the Indian island, on the land of Lewis Thorp; thence down the most southern branch to the line of Southampton county.”²

The foregoing gives a brief review of growth of the counties from the area of the original shire or county embracing the territory which was afterwards to be created into Lunenburg, and accounts for the subdivision of Prince George, thus defining the status of the whole original area at the time of the formation of Lunenburg as well as the subsequent subdivisions into the present (1925) County units.

¹12, Hening, p. 596.

²2, Shepherd, p. 347.

CHAPTER II

The Indians



RESPECTING the Aborigines who inhabited the territory embraced in Lunenburg County, both as it now exists, and as it was originally laid out, there is considerable difference of opinion among the authorities on the subject. These differences, however, have to do more with the tribal or ethnological identity than with the names of the tribes or nations.

The Meherrins, the Nottoways, the Genitoes, the Powhatans, the Occoneeches, the Sapponeys, the Tutelos (or Toteros), the Shakonis and Stukenhocks, the Catawbias, the Nansemounds, as well as the Tuscaroras and some others, are more or less identified with that part of Virginia, embraced originally in Lunenburg County.

The Nottoways and Meherrins were Iroquoian; the Genitoes were probably of Tuscaroran origin, and if so were Iroquoian in their origin also. The Occoneeches, the Sapponeys and the Tutelos were of Siouan origin, as were also, it seems, the Shakonis and Stukenhocks. The Powhatans were Algonquian.

Some time prior to 1700 the Occoneeches made their principal seat on the Occoneechee Island in Roanoke River near the present town of Clarksville, in Mecklenburg County—territory which of course was originally in Lunenburg. The Siouan Tribes and the Powhatans were not friendly, in fact, they were almost constantly at war. Moreover the Siouan Tribes identified with this region were in constant fear of attack by the Iroquois.

The Sapponeys and Tutelos occupied the foothills of the Piedmont Section: their hunting grounds extended from the mountains down into the regions where the Piedmont begins to flatten out and approach its eastward limits. The Iroquois or Five Nations were among the most powerful and warlike of the groups or confederacies into which the Indian Tribes of North America

were at that time grouped, under some character of rudimentary government.

The war-paths of the Iroquois extended from the section now embraced in New York State through Virginia and on southward. They passed through the foothills at the eastern base of the Virginia mountains, and consequently through the hunting grounds of the Sapponeys and Tutelos.

While the Five Nations (Iroquois) were not the most numerous of the Indian tribes or nations, they were among the most savage and ferocious, and they were presumably superior in numbers to the Sapponeys and Tutelos. After endeavoring for a considerable time to maintain their rights against the Iroquois, they finally were reduced to the necessity of withdrawing, leaving their former hunting grounds to the invading Iroquois. Being thus forced to abandon their old haunts, and being reduced in number and strength by their sanguinary conflicts with the Iroquois, it was natural that they should seek their kinsmen, the Occoneechees. The Tutelos (or Toteros), sometime between 1671 and 1701 "removed to the junction of the Dan and Staunton rivers, which form the Roanoke, where they established themselves, near their friends and kinsmen, the Occoneechees, occupying two of the islands in the Roanoke immediately below the forks, the Toteros settling on the upper island. At that time they numbered only about seven hundred and fifty."¹

The course of the history of the Sapponeys when they were forced to withdraw before the Iroquois, for a considerable period, is not clear. As we shall see, however, they were later found in this general section, considerably east of their former habitations.

Of all the tribes mentioned, as in one way or another connected with this Southside section of Virginia, it seems certain that those most definitely identified with the area that was to be Lunenburg were the Meherrins,² and the Nottoways. The rivers now bearing these names were so named by the English, or by the Indians themselves and the English continued the use of the

¹Edward P. Buford, address at the unveiling monument erected by the Colonial Dames, marking site of Fort Christanna, May 22, 1924, 5.

²The name is variously spelled: Meherine, Meherins, Meheron, Meheries, Mehering, Meherron. Hodge, Handbook of American Indians. The final and modern form of the word is Meherrin.

names, because of their location in the areas inhabited respectively by these tribes of the aborigines.

Of the Meherrins, Hodge says, they were "An Iroquoian tribe formerly residing on the river of the same name on the Virginia-North Carolina border. Jefferson confounded them with the Tutelo. According to official Colonial documents they were a remnant of the Conestoga or Susquehanna of upper Maryland, dispersed by the Iroquois about 1675, but this also is incorrect, as they are found noted under the name 'Menheyricks' in the census of Virginia Indians in 1669, at which time they numbered 50 bowmen or approximately 180 souls. (Neill, *Virginia Carolorum*, 326, 1886.) It is possible that the influx of refugee Conestoga a few years later may have so overwhelmed the remnant of the original tribe as to give rise to the impression that they were all of Conestoga blood. They were commonly regarded as under the jurisdiction of Virginia, although their territory was also claimed by Carolina. They were closely cognate with the Nottoway."¹

The Meherrins were Iroquoian linguistically.²

The Meherrins very early ranged over a considerable area now in North Carolina, and had a village on Meherrin Creek within the present limits of North Carolina. And while there was a controversy between the two colonies as to the dividing line, the Meherrins were usually regarded as under the jurisdiction of Virginia. This tribe so regarded the matter and by its treaty relations with Virginia clearly showed its tributary relation.

Of the Nottoways, Hodge says they were: "An Iroquoian tribe formerly residing on the river of the same name in S. E. Virginia. They called themselves Mongoae (Mongwe) and Nottoway, i. e., Nadowa (q. v.) 'adders,' a common Algonquian name for the tribes of alien stock. Although never prominent in history they kept up their organization long after the other tribes of the region were practically extinct. As late as 1825 they still

¹*Handbook of American Indians*, F. W. Hodge, Bulletin 30, Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. I, p. 839.

²See chart following page 972, Vol. I, *Handbook of American Indians*, Hodge.

numbered 47, with a 'queen' on a reservation in Southampton Co. Linguistically they were closely cognate to the Tuscarora."¹

The English seemed to regard the designation Tutelo and Totero as applying to the same tribe—a particular tribe—while the Iroquois used the name Tutelo to designate all of the Siouan tribes of the southern section.

The tribe referred to in this way by the English was a tribe which was once located on the Roanoke river and afterwards on the Meherrin.

During the controversy referred to, affecting a disputed area, because of the respective contentions of North Carolina and Virginia, as to the proper location of the boundary line, it was agreed between them that neither would grant lands or permit settlements therein.

Virginia claimed the land north of a line run due west from the mouth of Weyanoke Creek (sometimes called Waycocon).²

North Carolina claimed up to a line run west from the mouth of Nottoway River.³

North Carolina did not respect its engagement in this regard, and Governor Spotswood declared that it had surveyed lands even north of the line defining its claim; that is north of a line run west from the mouth of Nottoway River.

During the controversy the Governor wrote this interesting observation: "I am of opinion that it were much better for both Governments to lose the Land in controversy than to leave undecided, for as it is impossible to restrain people from seating themselves on that Land, where they live without either Religion or Government. It may be very difficult when their numbers increase to reduce them again to either."⁴

The Dividing Line was finally run in 1728 and 1729 when the Commissioners for Virginia were William Byrd, Richard Fitz-William, and William Dandridge, and those for North Carolina, Christopher Gale, John Lovewick, Edward Moseley and William Little. The surveyors were Alexander Irvin and William Mayo

¹*Handbook of American Indians*, Hodge, Vol. 2, p. 87.

²*Spotswood Letters*, Vol. I, p. 44.

³*Spotswood Letters*, Vol. II, p. 72.

⁴Apr. 5, 1717, Letter to the Lords Comrs. of Trade and Plantations, *Spotswood Letters*, Vol. II, p. 229.

in behalf of Virginia, and Edward Moseley and Samuel Swann of North Carolina. The Rev. Peter Fontaine accompanied the Commission as Chaplain, William Byrd gives the History of the Dividing Line, in his papers printed as the *Westover MSS.*

The line thus run became the boundary between the two states, and became the line defining the southern boundary of Lunenburg County at the time it embraced the territory now comprised in Mecklenburg, Halifax, Pittsylvania, Henry and Patrick, all border counties.

There was conflict of some character between the Meherrin Indians and the white settlers in 1710,¹ but what has been by some referred to as an attack by the Meherrins upon the white settlements was probably not exactly warfare, but a conflict of some character because of unwarranted encroachment upon their lands.

The incident was likely that referred to in the first of Governor Spotswood's letters, in which we find mention of the Meherrins. In a letter to Colonel Edward Hyde, Governor of North Carolina, the date of which is missing but which was written in 1710, the year in which he became Governor of Virginia, he said:

"I'm sorry to hear that our Tributary Indians disturb or injure any of her Maj'tys Subjects and shall take care to prevent as much as I can any ground of Complaint as to the Meherine, but if those injurys are done to persons within the controverted bounds, I think they have as little reason to complain as they have right to be there."²

The writer of this letter was Alexander Spotswood, who at the age of thirty-four became Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia. He was the deputy or lieutenant for George Hamilton, Earl of Orkney, one of the absentee Governors of Virginia. Hamilton never came to Virginia, although he was its nominal Governor for about forty years. Governor Spotswood has been described, perhaps not extravagantly, as "the noblest figure of his day in America, and the greatest of all the Colonial Governors of Virginia."

¹Edward P. Buford, *Christanna Address*, 7.

²*Spotswood Letters*, Vol. I, p. 45.

The administration of Governor Spotswood extended from June 23, 1710, to September 27, 1722. He was a conscientious Governor and an able judge, moreover he was a clear and accurate writer. Fortunately many of his letters and official documents have been preserved, and printed as the *Spotswood Letters*.

In September, 1711, the Tuscarora Indians, in conjunction with the Pamlico tribe began what is known as the Tuscarora war. The settlements on the Roanoke, the Chowan and the Neuse were attacked, and the war extended into South Carolina. It continued until 1713 resulting in the defeat of the Tuscarora.

At the beginning of this war, Baron Christopher de Graffenreid was taken prisoner. Governor Spotswood on October 15, 1711, wrote the Council of Trade an account of the outbreak against the settlements.

“On the 22nd of the last month some towns of the Tuscarora Indians and other nations bordering on Carolina, made an incursion upon the head of Neuse and Pamlico Rivers, in that province, without any previous declaration of war or show of discontent, and having divided themselves into partys at Sun rise (which was the signal for their bloody design) began a barbarous massacre, of the Inhabitants of the Frontier plantations, killing without distinction of age or sex, 60 English and upwards of that number of Swiss and palatines, besides a great many left dangerously wounded. The Baron de Graffenreid, Chief of the Swiss and Palatines’ Settlement there is also fallen into their hands and carryed away Prisoner.”¹

James Lawson, Surveyor General of North Carolina, was put to death; it is said he was burned at the stake.²

He was the historian of North Carolina, whose volume was published at London in 1709. He was the companion of the Baron at the time they were captured by the Indians. But the Baron’s superior tact enabled him to escape Lawson’s terrible fate.

Governor Spotswood interested himself in securing the Baron’s release, and one of the evidences of the high quality of his

¹*Spotswood Letters*, Vol. I, p. 116.

²*Spotswood Letters*, Vol. I, 116, note.

ability is the fact that by December 28, 1711, but three months after the massacre and while the conflict was raging in the Carolinas, he was able to negotiate a treaty with eight towns of the Tuscaroras, and to secure the promise of "their interposing for the delivery of the Baron de Graffenreid out of the hands of the Enemy."¹

While the Baron was a prisoner he was obliged "to conclude a Neutrality for himself and his Palatines" and thereafter lived "undisturbed by the Heathen."²

That the Baron owed his deliverance from the Tuscaroras to Governor Spotswood's efforts clearly appears from a letter of December 28, 1711, to Lord Dartmouth, wherein the Governor complains of the refusal of the House of Burgesses to approve the treaty with a part of the Tuscaroras, and of their preparation for making war on the Tribe as a whole, although the party with whom the treaty was negotiated denied participation in the Massacre and expressed a desire to continue in friendship. In this letter the Governor said:

"But all these professions would not satisfy the House of Burgesses—they would give no credit to any of their promises, tho' at that time they had before them a letter of the Baron de Graffenreid wherein he acknowledges his deliverance out of the hands of the Indian Enemy to be owing to the good offices of those Indians, in pursuance of their promise to me."³

But the Baron's situation became impossible in North Carolina. The Government of that Colony either could not or would not afford him and his Colonists any protection. The people of his settlement came to such "despair that they have burnt their own houses rather than be obliged to stay in a place exposed to the Incursion to the Indians, and want all necessity."⁴

To these extremities they were driven by "The shortness of their crops, occasioned by their Civil Dissensions last summer and an unusual Drowth that succeeded, together with the Rava-

¹*Spotswood Letters*, Vol. I, 130.

²*Spotswood Letters*, Vol. I, 142.

³*Spotswood Letters*, Vol. I, 135.

⁴*Spotswood Letters*, Vol. I, 137.

ges made by the Indians among their Corn and Stocks [which gave] a dreadful prospect of a Famine.”¹

The treatment of Baron de Graffenreid by the North Carolinians is further indicated by his disclosures to Governor Spotswood, who passed the same on to the Council of Trade, in a letter dated February 8, 1711 [1712]. Speaking of the Baron, he says he is

“persecuted by the people of Carolina for not breaking with the Indians, tho’ they [the Carolinians] will afford him neither provisions of war or Victuals nor Assistance. . . . He has always declared his readiness to enter into a war as soon as he should be assisted to prosecute it, but it would be madness in him to expose his handfull of people to the fury of the Indians, without some better assurance of help than the present confusion in that province gives him reason to hope for, and the Indians would soon Either Entirely destroy that settlement or starve them out of the place by killing their stock and hindering them from planting corn. In the meantime the people of Carolina receive very great advantage by this neutrality, for by that means the Baron has an opportunity of discovering and communicating to them all the designs of the Indians, tho’ he runs the Risque of paying dear for it if they ever come to know it. This makes him so apprehensive of his danger from them, and so diffident of help or even justice from the Government under which he is that he has made some efforts to remove with the Palatines to this Colony upon some of her Majesty’s Lands; and since such a number of people as he may bring with him, with what he proposes to invite over from Swisserland and Germany, will be of great advantage to this Country and prove a strong Barrier against the incursions of the Indians if they were properly disposed, above our Inhabitants, I pray your Lordship’s directions what encouragement ought to be given to their design, either as to the quantity of Land or the terms of granting it.”²

The Baron carried out his design of quitting North Carolina,

¹*Spotswood Letters*, Vol. I, 132-3.

²*Spotswood Letters*, Vol. I, 142-3.

where he had founded New Berne. He sold all his landed interests in North Carolina to Thomas Pollock for eight hundred pounds.¹

Sometime between February and May, 1712, he moved to Virginia, for on May 8, 1712, in a letter to the Council of Trade, the Governor wrote:

“According to what I had the hon’r to write to Your Lord’ps in my last, The Baron de Graffenreid is come hither with a design to settle himself and sev’l Swiss familys in the fforks of Pótomac, but when he expected to have held his Land there of her Majesty, he now finds claims made to it both by the Proprietors of Maryland and the Northern Neck.”²

It was with some of the artisans that Baron de Graffenreid brought from Germany that Governor Spotswood inaugurated the iron industry at Germanna, in 1714, himself then undertaking the enterprise, which he had brought to the attention of the Assembly in 1710. The Assembly had taken no action in support of his recommendations.

The Baron, of course, in view of the disputes over the Northern Neck between Lord Baltimore and Lady Fairfax, did not make a permanent home there. He resided, it seems, a considerable part of the time at Williamsburg, as did his son, Christopher, who married in Charleston, S. C., February 22, 1714, Barbara Tempest (nee Needham, daughter of Sir Arthur Needham).

She was evidently the Mrs. De Graffenreidt who in the *Virginia Gazette* of October 21, 1739, announced an entertainment to be given at her house in Williamsburg.

The Baron’s grandson, Tscharner De Graffenreid, who was born in Williamsburg, settled in Lunenburg County, where he was a Justice of the County Court in 1764. Tscharner De Graffenreid had fourteen children, and their descendants are legion throughout the United States. His descendants married into the Boswell, Maury, Kirkland and many other families of

¹*Spotswood Letters*, Vol. I, 116, note.

²*Spotswood Letters*, Vol. I, 152. See note as to disposition of the conflicting claims. For details regarding Northern Neck Grant and subsequent disputes and litigations, see Kercheval’s *History of the Valley* (2nd Ed.), 1850, 138-52.

Lunenburg. Some of these descendants are traced in the De Graffenreid, Boswell, and other genealogies in these volumes.

From the beginning of his administration Governor Spotswood evinced a lively interest in educating and christianizing the Indians; and the conduct of his office throughout was characterized by a policy of justice and humanity toward them. As early as November 11, 1711, he wrote Lord Dartmouth of having "so much at heart the conversion of those heathen" that he was using his "utmost endeavors for accomplishing this Design." So earnest was he that he had offered to the Indians to remit "their annual tribute of skins [a revenue he was personally entitled to] so long as they permitted their children to be brought up at the College."¹

He had considerable difficulty in allaying the suspicions of the Indians, but he finally convinced them of the integrity of his intentions,

"whereupon the King of the Nansemonds has sent his son and cousin, and the Nottoways and Meherrins have sent each two of their Chief men's sons to the College, and consented that they shall be brought up in the Christian faith. I have taken care for their encouragement to have them well cloathed and kindly treated, and the Queen of Pamunkey, upon seeing their good usage, has likewise promised that her son and one of the sons of the chief men of that Nation shall be speedily sent, and I expect one from the Chickahominys."²

In this letter and also in one of the same date (November 11, 1711) to the Bishop of London the Governor expressed the hope of obtaining some of the children of the Tuscaroras Indians "to be educated at our College" as, not only "the surest means to keep them in friendship with her Majesty's Subjects, but may (I hope), prove a good step toward the Conversion of that whole Nation, which is the most consid'ble in these parts."³

The Governor was especially concerned respecting the Tuscarora Tribe, because they were not one of the parties to the

¹William and Mary, of course.

²*Spotswood Letters*, Vol. I, p. 125.

³*Spotswood Letters*, Vol. I, pp. 124, 126.

treaty known as the Articles of Peace of 1677, by which each Indian town agreed to pay three arrows for their land, and twenty beaver skins for protection, every year. A part at least of the Tuscarora (and it seems by far the greater part) had participated in the massacre in North Carolina in September, 1711. It was highly gratifying to the Governor therefore that he was able to dissuade so considerable a part of them from their warlike pursuits and induce them to enter into a treaty, in December of that year,¹ which contemplated, among other things, the education of their children at the College. But while these were given instruction, and were treated with every reasonable consideration, they were in fact hostages to assure the peace between the two peoples.

In a letter of November 17, 1711, he refers to his "progress to our Southern Frontiers to meet the Deputys of the Tuscarora Indians."²

The meeting he tells us was at Nottowaytown, where among other proposals he made was one that "they should deliver two children of the great men of each town to remain as Hostages and to be educated at our College."³

In a letter to the Council of Trade, December 28, 1711, he writes:

"Since my last to your Lord'ps (whereof a duplicate is inclosed) the Hostages demanded of the Pamunky and Chickahominy Indians have been delivered, and even more of the former than was expected. . . . so that there are now Hostages from all the Towns of our Tributary Indians."⁴

In a communication to the Council of Trade, dated July 26, 1712, in answer to an enquiry concerning the "Strength of our Neighbors," the Governor wrote:

"I suppose to be meant of the Neighboring Indians (for there are no other foreign Nations near this Colony), in answer to which there are nine Nations of Indians Tributary to

¹*Spotswood Letters*, Vol. I, 135.

²*Spotswood Letters*, Vol. I, p. 121.

³*Spotswood Letters*, Vol. I, p. 121.

⁴*Spotswood Letters*, Vol. I, p. 129.

this Government, Vizt.: The Pamunkys, Chickahominys, Nansemunds, Nottoways, Maherins, Sapons, Stukanocks, Occoneechees and Totteros, whose number of men, women and children do not exceed 700 in all, and of these there may be reckoned 250 fighting men. These are all in an Entire Subjection to this Government and live quietly on our Frontiers trafficking with the Inhabitants their skins and Furs for Cloathing, powder, Shott and other European Manufactures.”¹

He continues :

“The next Nation of Indians with whom we have had frequent correspondence and who are most like to annoy us is the Tuscaruro, said to be about 2,000 fighting men. They live within the bounds of Carolina, and before the late massacre, committed there by some of them and others, had a constant trade with our Inhabitants for the like Commoditys as our own Indians, but since that time I have prohibited all Commerce with them till they give satisfaction for the murders committed in Carolina.”²

In the course of his administration the Governor decided that the Indians and the English should be further separated, that a definite frontier should be established, the trade with the Indians regulated, and the place where it should take place declared, and that forts should be built. He also concluded that it would be better to educate the Indian youth at schools established near their own towns, at these forts, than at the College at Williamsburg.

With these ends in view, he secured the passage by the General Assembly on November 16, 1714, of “an act for the better regulation of the Indian trade.”

Among other provisions of the act was one incorporating “The Indian Company.” It was Governor Spotswood’s intention that trade with the Indians should be exclusively conducted through the agency of this company. The general purport of

¹*Spotswood Letters*, Vol. I, p. 167.

²*Id.*

the act has been briefly, but well, stated by Dr. Henry R. McIlwaine¹ as follows:

“In the Act for the better regulation of the Indian trade, it was provided that all trade with the Indians in Virginia, both tributary and ‘Foreign,’ should be carried on at one place, namely, the new settlement of Christanna on the Meherrin River, in Open Market, by the agents of a company that was to have a strict monopoly of the trade for twenty years. In return for the privileges granted, the Company was to contribute toward the erection of the magazine to be built at Williamsburg as a storehouse for the ammunition and arms of the Colony, to take its supply of powder used in the Indian trade from this magazine, always putting in an equal amount of fresh powder—this to prevent the powder in the magazine from being impaired with age—to erect a schoolhouse for the Indian children at Christanna, and after the lapse of two years to assume the maintenance of the fortifications at that place and of the guard of twelve men with an officer. Some of the advantages to flow from this law were the prevention of illicit and harmful trade with the Indians, the easy suppression of trade altogether when it seemed advisable, the great extension of the trade in proper articles and under correct regulations by making it possible for the people of the country in general to subscribe to the stock of the Company, the gradual education of the Indians by means of the instruction in the school and by the trade itself and their sure conversion into friendly and civilized neighbors.”

This was a noble conception of policy for that day and time; the act, however, was repealed in 1717, evidently because of opposition to the monopolistic features respecting the trade, the feeling being that to confine the place of trading to one locality created undue hardship, and moreover, and possibly more important still, was the feeling that the prices, at which articles were bought and sold under such circumstances, were largely if not wholly arbitrary.

¹Librarian of the Virginia State Library, in Introduction to Journal of the House of Burgesses, 1712-1726.

The establishment of Christanna, the building of the fort there, and all of the attendant circumstances are important to the student of the history of Lunenburg and this general section of Virginia for they leave no reasonable doubt as to the approximate location of the frontier at that time. The fact is shown not only by the location of the settlement itself, but by the character of it, and also by the Governor's several references to the neighboring frontiers in his official correspondence.

The site chosen was on the south side of the Meherrin River in what is now Brunswick County.¹

It has been marked by a monument erected by the Society of the "Colonial Dames of America in the State of Virginia," which was dedicated May 22, 1924, on which occasion Honorable Edward P. Buford, of Lawrenceville, delivered a notable address, which we have had occasion several times to refer to in these pages.

The site of the fort conveyed to the Colonial Dames, September 24, 1923, is described in the deed² from T. E. Jones, N. S. Jones and W. M. McAden, as three and three-fourth acres of land, situate in Meherrin District in the County of Brunswick,

"and being that portion of the tract of land known as 'Fort Hill' plantation, which includes the site of the frontier fort erected in the year 1714, during the administration of Alexander Spotswood, Governor of the Colony of Virginia, and known as 'Fort Christanna'; to have and to hold the tract or parcel of land hereby conveyed, for such uses as the party of the second part may deem proper for perpetuating the memory of historical events connected with the said fort, and of the site and location thereof."

The early treatment of the Indians in Virginia was not so harsh as has been generally supposed. Reckless and irresponsible historians, in strained attempts to make invidious compari-

¹E. P. Buford, dedicatory address, May 22, 1924, Brunswick Times-Gazette Print, Lawrenceville, Va., 3.

The scholarly R. A. Brock seems to have been in error in his introduction to the *Spotswood Letters*, in stating that the site of Fort Christanna is in "what is now Southampton County" (p. XII).

²Deed Book 77, p. 217, Clerk's Office of Brunswick County, Va.

sons, have given an altogether erroneous impression. For example, Wheeler has said:

“While Massachusetts, Virginia, and others were laying the foundation of their colony on the bones of the aborigines, and cementing their structure with blood, North Carolina was quietly pursuing her course, unmolested by the Indians, and respecting their rights.”¹

This is written on a page, where he was referring to events of Governor Spotswood’s administration, and on which he had quoted a letter written by him.

Baron de Graffenreid testifies that one of the causes of the war which the Indians made upon North Carolina, which well-nigh exterminated the Colony, including the Swiss, “was the great carelessness of the Colony,” and “the harsh treatment of certain surley and rough English inhabitants who deceived them in trade, and would not let them hunt about their plantations, and under this excuse took away from them their arms, munitions, pelts or hides, yes, even beat an Indian to death,”² and he declares, respecting the conduct of the war, “there was nothing to be done with these wrong-headed Carolinians.”³

History abundantly bears testimony to the fact that while as a result of the North Carolinian policy, that Colony was in a life and death struggle with the Indians, Virginia under Spotswood was entirely at peace with them, and was educating their children at William and Mary College and otherwise treating them with the greatest consideration, generosity and justice.

Conceding the right of the white man to be on these shores at all, the general course of the early Colonial Government in Virginia toward the Indians was just and humane. Bloody encounters did occur, but beginning with the great massacre at Jamestown, the Indians were the aggressors and the white Colonists did but fight for their very existence. And surely nothing appears in the Colonial history of America, more kindly, humane

¹John H. Wheeler, *History of North Carolina*, Vol. I, 36.

²*History of the de Graffenreid Family*, 87.

³*Id.*, 93.

and praiseworthy than Governor Spotswood's policy toward these aborigines.

Hugh Jones, Chaplain of the Assembly in Virginia, in his book *Present State of Virginia* (published in 1724) has borne testimony not only to the Governor's magnanimous policy, but speaking of the Saponies in particular, says:

"The Indians so loved and adored him, that I have seen them hug him, and lift him up in their arms, and fain would have chosen him for a King of the Spony nation."

On this subject, Mr. Jefferson has testified as follows:

"That the lands of this country were taken from them [the Indians] by conquest, is not so general a truth as is supposed. I find in our historians and records, repeated proofs of purchase, which cover a considerable part of the lower county; and many more would doubtless be found on further search. The upper country we know has been acquired altogether by purchases made in the most unexceptionable form."¹

However unexceptionable the policy of the Government was toward the Indians, the marking of the frontier by the settlement and the Fort at Christanna was an important step in that inevitable and relentless progress of the white man as a result of which the red men were pressed westward, and still farther westward as the white population increased and their habitations expanded.

Exactly when, and under what circumstances Governor Spotswood selected the site of Fort Christanna, we do not know. Probably he had visited the spot, or had reliable information respecting it, as early as his recommendation to the House of Burgesses on the subject. In any event he had visited the place before January, 1715. This we know from his letter to the Bishop of London, dated January 27, 1714 [1715] in which he spoke of a

"six week's constant abode in the woods," and continues:

"It was then I formed a settlement on the Frontiers for ye

¹Thomas Jefferson: *Notes on the State of Virginia*, 98.

Tributary Indians, pursuant to their Treatys, and by the Temptation of a fine Tract of Land of Six Miles Square, the building a Fort thereon and placing a Guard of Twelve men and an officer to be assisting to them, I engaged the Saponie, Oconeechee, Stuckanox and Tottero Indians (being a people speaking much the same language, and therefore confederated together, tho' still preserving their different Rules), imediaately to remove to y't place, which I have named Christ-Anna. I have hitherto met with some difficulty to remove the Nottoways, in regard to their unwillingness to live in the neighborhood of the Saponies, and that the place at which I intended to have seaten y'm did not answer the Character I had of it, but by the means of a late Act which I have obtained to be pass'd in the assembly here, confining all the Trade with ye Indians on ye So. Side of James River (which are the most considerable of all our Tributarys), to Christ-Anna alone, I doubt not I shall be able to engage all those Indians in a short time to remove thither."¹

And farther on in the same letter he said:

"The General Assembly having entrusted me with a sum of money for finishing the Fort at Christanna and for defraying the charge of ye guard for 2 years, I intend, God willing, in the month of March, to take another Progress thither, and to stay about six weeks or two months, both to see the Trade settled and to encourage the other Tributary Indians to remove thither, as well to influence by my presence the putting their children to school. I have already establish'd there a School-Master, one Mr. Charles Griffin, at the Salary of fifty pounds a year, which I have engag'd to pay out of my own pocket during my continuance in the Government, or that other provision be made for him. At this school I intend not only that all ye children of the Saponie and other Indians aforementioned shall be educated, but y't the Nottoways shall also, according to their Treaty, send twelve of theirs untill further provision be made for a School at their own Town," etc.²

¹*Spotswood Letters*, Vol. II, p. 88.

²*Spotswood Letters*, Vol. II, p. 90.

From the Governor's letters we gather numerous items of interest respecting the Indians of our immediate concern the Nottoways and the Meherrins.

The Nottoways were not always in a pacific and amiable frame of mind for Governor Spotswood was called upon to answer charges made to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, respecting his imprisonment of the King of the Nottoways and six of his Chief men. This answer he made in a letter dated February 7, 1715 [1716], in which he referred to the Journal of the Council of May 10, which he declared "plainly show that the cause of commitment of those Indians was not" what had been reported to the Lords Commissioners—that they had merely petitioned for relief from starving—"but for their obstinate Refusal to deliver Hostages for their fidelity, as by their Treaty they were obliged to do, and for such an insolent behavior as was never before seen at the Council Board, and which strangely startled the Govenour and Council to behold all of a sudden in these Tributarys."¹

This letter throws some light upon the dignity, or lack of it, in the station of their Chief or King. He says:

"And tho' the Chief Person of the Indian Nation is distinguish'd amongst themselves by the Title of King, yet everyone knows that those Kings are of no great Consideration among the English, nor of much authority among their own People, and as to the Nottoway Nation in particular, I will maintain that there is not so great distinction between their Kings and their People as there is between a corporal and the private centinels of a company in regular Troops."²

On June 3, 1715, Governor Spotswood reported respecting the Christanna Settlement to The Lords Commissioners of Trade as follows:

"I have been for a good part of last Spring, employ'd in finishing the fortifications of Christanna, and in settling there a Body of our Tributary Indians to ye number of 300 men.

¹*Spotswood Letters*, Vol. II, p. 199.

²*Spotswood Letters*, Vol. II, p. 200.

women and children, who go under the general name of Saponies, and as they seem to be much pleas'd with their present settlement, well affected to ye English and reckoned a brave people, I hope by their means, and the Guard of White men placed among them at the fort The Neighboring frontiers will be better guarded than heretofore against the incursions of any Foreign Indians, especially when this place is further Strengthened by the Addition of the Other Nations of Indians w'ch I acquainted your Lo'ps in my last, had a desire to incorporate with the Saponies, and have by their messengers inform'd me that they only delay their coming till the Senequas, who are haunting near their habitations (and with whom they are on no good terms), are removed."¹

In a previous communication the Governor had written that he was going out upon another expedition into the woods, where before his return he expected to meet the deputies "of three or four Nations of remote Indians," but without naming the tribes or nations, "and hope to be able in my next to give a particular Acc't of their peacable disposition toward his Maj't's subjects."²

While Governor Spotswood was at Christanna in the Spring of 1715 he was visited by the King of the Tuscaroras, who came to give assurance of a desire to "live in a good corresponce with the Governm't."³

The Governor took the occasion to "settle the Limits of the hunting-grounds of the Tuscaroras and our Tributarys, that they may not interfere with one another, and also to engage them to be conformable to a late Law passed prohibiting all Indians from coming near the dwellings of any of the English. I have learned," he adds, "enough of the temper of the Indians to be fully convinc'd of the necessity of this regulation."⁴

In a communication to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, dated February 7th, 1715 [1716], in answering certain criticisms lodged against him, the Governor wrote:

¹*Spotswood Letters*, Vol. II, p. 113.

²Letter of March 28, 1715, Vol. II, p. 108.

³Vol. II, p. 114.

⁴*Spotswood Letters*, Vol. II, 114.

“I own there is a Fortress, with five Bastions, built on the Maherin River, and a settlement fortified with a Block-house and Pallisade on ye Rapidanne, both of them designed as places of Rendevous,”¹

and in the same letter, he added,

“in the Treatys w’th the Sapony, Nottoway and Tuscaruro Indians, w’ch were under several days’ deliberation of the Council here, every member of the Board concurr’d with me in making it an Article that those Forts should be built at the Indian Settlements.”²

Governor Spotswood made a trip from Williamsburg to Christanna, in April, 1716. He arrived on the second day after his departure from Williamsburg, spent six full days at the Settlement, and returning occupied two days, making ten in all. We do not discover any specific account of this trip in his correspondence. Whether he made a report of it which has been lost, or whether the events of it were of too routine and unimportant a character to officially report we can only conjecture.

On this trip he was accompanied by John Fontaine,³ a cultured Frenchman, who had the year before (on June 7, 1715) come to Williamsburg, and who because of his education, culture and companionable qualities had found high favor with

¹*Spotswood Letters*, Vol. II, p. 194.

²*Id.*, p. 195.

³This John Fontaine was a son of Rev. James Fontaine and Ann Bourciquot. He was a brother of Rev. Peter Fontaine, Minister of Westover Parish, whose son, Peter Fontaine, Jr., was present at the organization of Lunenburg County, and was the first surveyor of the Southern District of the County. Rev. Peter Fontaine’s daughter, Marianne Fontaine, married Isaac Winston. John Fontaine, the companion of Spotswood on the trip to Christanna, was the uncle of Peter Fontaine, Jr., Surveyor of Lunenburg County, and of Marianne Fontaine, who married Isaac Winston. The descendants of James Fontaine and Ann Bourciquot (the parents of the John Fontaine of the Spotswood expedition to Christanna) are legion throughout Virginia and elsewhere. Among them are Matthew Fontaine Maury, the great geographer of the seas, and Gen. Dabney H. Maury. These are descendants of Abram Maury, also of Lunenburg County.

The writer’s wife (Mary Walden Williamson) is one of these Fontaine descendants. See the Williamson Genealogy in these volumes.

the Governor. He was fourth in descent from John de la Fontaine (born A. D. 1500, in the province of Maine, near the border of Normandy, who held a commission in the households of Francis I, Henry II, Francis II, and Charles IX, of France, continuously, and who was martyred as a Protestant in 1563).

His journal of this trip is printed in *Memoirs of a Huguenot Family*,¹ and remains possibly the most graphic description extant of the Christanna Settlement. His account of the observations he made of the Indians at that time are of sufficient importance to warrant reproduction at some length.

“The Governor,” he says, “proposed a journey to his settlement, on Meherrin River, called Christanna,” and he begins his entry as follows:

“April, 1716, Williamsburg,—The first day, Governor Spotswood and I set out from Williamsburg about eight of the clock in the morning, and we went to Jamestown in a four wheeled chaise. Jamestown is eight miles from Williamsburg, and situated close upon James River. This town consists chiefly in a Church, a Court House, and three or four brick houses, it was the former seat of the Government, but now it is removed to Middle plantation, which they call Williamsburg. The place where this town is built is on an island, it was fortified with a small rampart with embrasures, but now all is gone to ruin.”²

Continuing he tells of leaving the chaise at Jamestown; having horses ferried across; of coming to a “place called Simmons’ Ferry, upon Nottoway River,” of having to swim the horses over, and cross themselves in a canoe, because “there was a great fresh in the river,” of coming to one of “Mr. Hicks’ plantation, upon one branch of Meherrin River, called Herring Creek,” and of making “in all this day 65 miles.”

Of the second day’s journey he says:

“We set out with a guide for Christanna, for this house

¹Ann Maury, George P. Putnam & Co., 1853.

²*Memoirs of a Huguenot Family*, 270-71.

[apparently the house at Mr. Hicks' plantation, where they spent the night] is the most outward settlement on this side of Virginia, which is the south side. We have no roads here to conduct us, nor inhabitants to direct the traveller. We met with several Indians, and about twelve we came to Meherrin River opposite to Christanna Fort

“About half after twelve we crossed the river in a canoe, and went up to the Fort, which is built upon rising ground. It is an enclosure of five sides, made only with palisadoes, and instead of five bastions, there are five houses, which defend the one the other; each side is about one hundred yards long. There are five cannon, which were fired to welcome the Governor. There are twelve men here continually to keep the place. After all the ceremony was over, we came into the fort and were well entertained. The day proving wet and windy, we remained within doors, and employed ourselves in reading of Mr. Charles Griffin his observations on the benefit of a solitary life. We reckon that we made this day fifteen miles; in all, from Williamsburg, eighty miles.”¹

Of his third day he says:

“About nine in the morning we got up and breakfasted. Mr. Griffin, who is an Englishman, is employed by the government to teach the Indian children, and to bring them to Christianity. He remains in this place, and teaches them the English tongue, and to read the Bible and Common Prayers, as also to write. He hath been now a year amongst them, and hath had good success. He told the Governor that the Indian Chiefs or great men, as they style themselves, were coming to the Fort to compliment him. These Indians are called Saponey Indians, and are always at peace with the English; they consist of about two hundred persons, men, women and children; they live within musket-shot of the fort, and are protected by the English from the insults of the other Indians, who are at difference with the English; they pay a tribute every year to renew and con-

¹Id., pp. 271-2.

firm the peace, and show their submission. This nation hath no King at present, but is governed by twelve of their old men, which have power to act for the whole nation, and they will all stand to everything that these twelve men agree to, as their own act.

“About twelve of the clock the twelve old men came to the fort, and brought with them several skins, and as soon as they came to the Governor, they laid them at his feet, and then all of them as one man made a bow to the Governor; they then desired an interpreter, saying they had something to represent to him, notwithstanding some of them could speak good English. It is a constant maxim amongst the Indians in general, that even if they can speak and understand English, yet when they treat of anything that concerns their nation, they will not treat but in their own language, and that by an interpreter, and they will not answer any question made to them without it be in their own tongue.

“The Governor got an interpreter, after which they stood silent for a while, and after they had spit several times upon the ground, one of them began to speak, and assured the Governor of the satisfaction they had of seeing him amongst them, and of the good-will they had towards the English. They said that some of the English had wronged them in some things, which they would make appear, and desired he would get justice done to them, that they depended upon him for it; which the Governor promised he would, and he thanked them for the good opinion they had of his justice towards them; whereupon they all made a bow, and so sat down on the ground all around the Governor.

“The first complaint they made was against another nation of Indians called Genitoes, who had surprised a party of their young men that had been out a hunting, and murdered fifteen of them, without any reason. They desired of the Governor to assist them to go out to war with these Genito Indians until they had killed as many of them; but this the Governor could not grant. He told them he would permit them to revenge themselves, and help them to powder and

ball, at which they seemed somewhat rejoiced. They also complained against some of the English, who had cheated them. The Governor paid them in full for what they could make out that they were wronged of by the English, which satisfied them, and afterwards he made them farewell presents, and so dismissed them.

“About three of the clock, came sixty of the young men with feathers in their hair and run through their ears, their faces painted with blue and vermillion, their hair cut in many forms, some on one side of the head and some on both, and others on the upper part of the head, making it stand like a cock’s-comb, and they had blue and red blankets wrapped about them. They dress themselves after this manner when they go to war the one with the other, so they call it their war-dress, and it really is very terrible, and makes them look like so many furies. These young men made no speeches, they only walked up and down, seeming to be very proud of their most abominable dress.

“After this came the young women; they all have long straight black hair, which comes down to the waist; they had each of them a blanket tied round the waist, and hanging down about the legs like a petticoat. They have no shifts and most of them nothing to cover them from the waist upwards; others of them there were that had two deer skins sewed together and thrown over their shoulders like a mantle. They all of them grease their bodies and heads with bear’s oil, which, with the smoke of their cabins, gives them an ugly smell. They are very modest and very true to their husbands. They are straight and well limbed, good shape, and extraordinary good features, as well the men as the women. They look wild, and are mighty shy of an Englishman, and will not let you touch them. The men marry but one wife, and cannot marry any more until she die, or grow so old that she cannot bear any more children; then the man may take another wife, but is obliged to keep them both and maintain them. They take one another without ceremony.”¹

¹*Memoirs of a Huguenot Family*, 272-75.

Of the fourth day of his excursion, he says :

“In the morning I rid out with the Governor and some of the people of the fort, to view the lands, which were not yet taken up. We saw several fine tracts of land, well watered, and good places to make mills on. I had a mind to take some of it up, so I asked the Governor if he would permit me to take up 3,000 acres, and he gave me his promise for it. I went through the land I designed to take up, and viewed it. It lies upon both sides of the Meherrin River and I design to have it in a long square, so that I shall have at least three miles of the river in the tract. I am informed that this river disgorgeth itself into the Sound of Currytuck. This river, though large and deep, is not navigable, because of the great rocks it falls over in some places. There is a great deal of fish in this place; we had two for dinner—about sixteen inches long—which were very good and firm.

“I gave ten shillings to Captain Hicks for his trouble in showing me the land, and he promises that he will assist me in the surveying of it. We saw several turkeys and deer, but we killed none. We returned to the fort about five of the clock.”¹

Of the fifth day he tells us that,

“After breakfast, I went down to the Saponey Indian town, which is about a musket-shot from the fort. I walked round to view it. It lieth in a plain by the river-side, the houses join all the one to the other, and altogether make a circle; the walls are large pieces of timber which are squared, and being sharpened at the lower end, are put down two feet in the ground, and stand about seven feet above the ground. These posts are laid as close as possible the one to the other, and when they are all fixed after this manner, they make a roof with rafters, and cover the house with oak or hickory bark, which they strip off in great flakes, and lay it so closely that no rain can come in. Some Indian houses are covered in a circular manner, which they do

¹*Memoirs of a Huguenot Family, 275-6.*

by getting long saplings, sticking each end in the ground, and so covering them with bark; but there are none of the houses in this town so covered. There are three ways for entering into this town or circle of houses, which are passages of about six feet wide, between two of the houses. All the doors are on the inside of the ring, and the ground is very level withinside, which is in common between all the people to divert themselves. There is in the center of the circle a great stump of a tree; I asked the reason they left that standing, and they informed me it was for one of their head men to stand upon when he had anything of consequence to relate to them, so that being raised, he might the better be heard.

“The Indian women bind their children to a board that is cut after the shape of the child; there are two pieces at the bottom of this board to tie the two legs of the child to, and a piece cut out behind, so that all that the child doth falls from him, and he is never dirty. The head or top of the board is round, and there is a whole through the top of it for the string to be passed through, so that when the women tire of holding them, or have a mind to work, they hang the board to the limb of a tree, or to a pin in a post for that purpose, and there the children swing about and divert themselves, out of the reach of anything that might hurt them. They are kept in this way till nearly two years old, which I believe is the reason they are all so straight, and so few of them lame or odd-shaped. Their houses are pretty large, they have no garrets, and no other light than the door, and that which comes from the hole in the top of the house, which is to let out the smoke. They make their fires always in the middle of the house; the chief of their household goods is a pot and some wooden dishes and trays, which they make themselves; they seldom have anything to sit upon; but squat upon the ground; they have small divisions in their houses to sleep in, which they make of mats made of bullrushes; they have bedsteads, raised about two feet from the ground, upon which they lay bear and deer skins, and all the covering they have is a blanket.

These people have no sort of tame creatures, but live entirely upon their hunting and the corn which their wives cultivate. They live as lazily and miserably as any people in the world.

“Between the town and the river, upon the river side, there are several little huts built with wattles, in the form of an oven, with a small door in one end of it; these wattles are plastered without side very closely with clay, they are big enough to hold a man, and are called sweating-houses, when they have any sickness, they get ten or twelve pebble stones which they heat in the fire, and when they are red-hot they carry them into these little huts, and the sick man or woman goes in naked, only a blanket with him, and they shut the door upon them, and there they sit and sweat until they are no more able to support it, and then they go out naked and immediately jump into the water over head and ears, and this is the remedy they have for all distempers.”¹

He tells us that on the sixth day,

“The Governor sent for all the young boys, and they brought with them their bows, and he got an axe, which he stuck up, and made them all shoot by turns at the eye of the axe, which was about twenty yards distant. Knives and looking-glasses were the prizes for which they shot, and they were very dexterous at this exercise, and often shot through the eye of the axe. This diversion continued about an hour. The Governor then asked the boys to dance a war dance, so they all prepared for it, and made a great ring; the musician being come, he sat himself in the middle of the ring; all the instrument he had was a piece of board and two small sticks; the board he set upon his lap, and began to sing a doleful tune, and by striking on the board with his sticks, he accompanied his voice; he made several antic motions, and sometimes shrieked hideously, which was answered by the boys. As the men sung so the boys danced all round, endeavoring who could outdo the one the other

¹*Memoirs of a Huguenot Family, 276-78.*

in antic motions and hideous cries, the movements answering in some way to the time of the music. All that I could remark by their actions was, that they were representing how they attacked their enemies, and relating one to the other how many of the other Indians they had killed, and how they did it, making all the motions in this dance as if they were actually in the action. By this lively representation of their warring, one may see the base way they have of surprising and murdering the one the other, and their inhuman manner of murdering all the prisoners, and what terrible cries they have, they who are conquerors. After the dance was over, the Governor treated all the boys, but they were so little used to have a belly full, that they rather devoured their victuals than anything else. So this day ended.”¹

His entry for the seventh day is as follows :

“After breakfast we assembled ourselves, and read the Common Prayer. There was with us eight of the Indian boys who answered very well to the prayers, and understood what was read. After prayers we dined, and in the afternoon we walked abroad to see the land, which is well timbered and very good. We returned to the fort and supped.”

On the eighth day he says :

“About ten in the morning there came to the fort ten of the Meherrin Indians, laden with beaver, deer and bear skins, to trade, for our Indian Company have goods here for that purpose. They delivered up their arms to the white men of the fort, and left their skins and furs also. Those Indians would not lie in the Indian town, but went into the woods, where they lay until such time as they had done trading.

“The Governor and I we laid out an avenue about half a mile long, which gave us employment enough this day.”²

¹*Memoirs of a Huguenot Family*, 278-9.

²*Id.*, 279-80.

On the ninth day they began their return journey to Williamsburg.

“About seven in the morning,” he says, “we got a horse-back, and were just out of the fort when the Cannon fired. We passed by the Indian town, where they had notice that the Governor was returning, so they got twelve of their young men ready with their arms, and one of their old men at the head of them, and assured the Governor they were sorry he was leaving them, but that they would guard him safe to the inhabitants, which they pressed upon him, so that he was forced to accept of it. They were all afoot, so the Governor to compliment the head man of the Indians lent him his led-horse. After we had rid about a mile, we came to a ford of Meherrin River, and being mistaken in our water mark, we were sometimes obliged to make our horses swim, but we got over safe. The Indian Chief seeing how it was, unsaddled his horse, and stript himself all to his belt, and forded the river, leading his horse after him; the fancy of the Indian made us merry for a while. The day being warm and he not accustomed to ride, the horse threw him before we had gone two miles, but he had courage to mount again. By the time we had got a mile farther, he was so terribly galled that he was forced to dismount, and desired the Governor to take his horse, for he could not imagine what good they were for, if it was not to cripple Indians.

“We were obliged to ride easy, that we might not get before our Indian guard, who accompanied us as far as a river, called Nottoway River, which taketh its name from the Nottoway Indians, who formerly lived upon this river. The place was about fifteen miles from the fort. When we parted with the Indians the Governor ordered them to have a pound of powder and shot in proportion to each man. So they left us, and we crossed the river and rid fifteen miles further, until we came to a poor planter’s house, where we put up for that night. They had no beds in the house, so the Governor lay upon the ground, and had his bear-skin under him, and I lay upon a large table in my

cloak, and thus we fared until day, which was welcome to us.”¹

Of the tenth day, being the last day of the return journey, he says :

“At five we got up, and at six we mounted our horses, and we took a guide who pretended to know the way, and bring us a short-cut, but instead of that, he took us about seven miles out of our way. When we found that he was lost, we dismissed him; the sun began to shine out clear, so the Governor he conducted us, and about four of the clock we came to James River and took the ferry, and about six of the clock we mounted our horses and went to Williamsburg, where we arrived about eight of the clock. I supped with the Governor; and being well tired, I went after to my lodgings and to bed.

“The journey coming and going, comes to 160 miles.”²

In a letter dated April 16, 1717, the Governor speaks of keeping up the Fort at Christanna and maintaining a constant guard there “for the security of a Fronteer that lyes most exposed to the incursions of Foreign Indians.”³

And in another of August 29, 1717, he tells of being at Fort Christanna on April 9th of that year, where he had gone to meet the Chief of the Catawba Nation, with sundry other Chiefs of the Nations in that Confederacy, when “a party of Northern Indians (of the 5 Nations under New York Governm’t), with some Tuscoruros” attacked them at about daybreak, on the morning of the 10th, while they were encamped only about fifty yards from the fort, killing five, wounding two and carrying away some prisoners.⁴

It was impossible, he reported, “to express the rage of these people on this occasion.”⁵

¹*Memoirs of a Huguenot Family*, 280-81.

²*Id.*, 281.

³*Spotswood Letters*, Vol. II, p. 233.

⁴*Spotswood Letters*, Vol. II, p. 257.

⁵Letter of May 30, 1717, to Secretary Methuen, *Spotswood Letters*, Vol. II, 251.

On June 24, 1718, he complains to the Board of Trade of the policy of the House of Burgesses as follows :

“His Majesty’s Recommendation of the Indian Company’s Expences on the publick Service of this Government has mett w’th the regard w’ch might be expected from men of such principles as compose the leading party in both Houses. The building the Indian School, the maintaining the guard at Christanna, and all ye charge of repairing that ffort, tho’ carefully enjoined by ye Act of Assembly to be performed by the said late Comp’ny, are now voted of no service to the Country. And the charge expended thereon refused to be paid And to render the whole proceedings of a piece, the Indian Hostages taken for ye security of the Colony are ordered to be sent back, the Indian Trade Voted to want No Regulation, the ffort Built for ye defence of that Frontier Resolved to be slighted. The Tributary Indians who, in Compliance of a Treaty, removed from a place of safety to that ffort, to serve as a Barrier to the Inhabitants, are voted to be entitled to no other protection than other Tributarys (who refused to perform their Engagements, and that for this extraordinary Reason, expressed in their votes because they were the only Nation of Tributarys who have complied with their Treaty.”¹

And finally on this subject he writes to the Board of Trade, September 27, 1718, as follows :

“The Saponie Indians Settled at Christanna, in pursuance of a treaty made w’th this Gov’t, were also threatened by the Northern Indians, and they went so far as to send a Message to the Officer commanding that Fort to demand that Nation of Indians to be delivered up to them, but tho’ our Assembly thought fitt to abandon those Indians by refusing to keep up the Guard of the Fort, as by the aforementioned treaty was promised, and tho’ they seem’d bent upon discouraging the late Indian Comp’ny from contributing any longer to the Support of the ffort by y’t extra-

¹*Spotswood Letters*, Vol. II, p. 282.

ordinary proceeding of theirs on ye 24th of May, when they Resolved that the Governm't be not enabled to make good its Engagem't to ye late Indian Comp'ny for rebuilding ffort Christanna, I could not think myself excusable in treating so inhumanely a people that had voluntarily submitted to the orders of the Government, desired to be Ruled according to such methods as we should direct, and agreed to have all their children brought up Christians at the school w'ch I have established there, And, therefore, I removed them all into the Fort, w'ch the late Indian Company, after their Dissolution, at the desire of The Gov't here, had rebuilt and made of sufficient strength to baffle any Indian Enemy."¹

The Governor then reports that the Northern Indians, realizing that they could not successfully attack the Indians fortified at Christanna "concluded a Kind of Treaty by w'ch they are to forbear any hostilitys against one another."

This is the last mention of Christanna in the official correspondence of Governor Spotswood, so far as is disclosed by the published documents. Two years later, on September 27, 1722, his term of office ended. He was succeeded by Hugh Drysdale, who died something less than four years from the time of taking office and Robert Carter ("King Carter"), as president of the Council served as acting Deputy for a little over a year until the arrival of Sir William Gooch.

The history of Fort Christanna after Governor Spotswood's time, until the fort was abandoned and the community dispersed, is involved in some obscurity.

One of the last acts of Governor Spotswood, before his term ended, was to attend the peace conference or Council held at Albany, New York, in September, 1722. It was also attended by the Governors of New York and Pennsylvania, and by the representatives of the Five Nations (the Iroquois), and their allies the Tuscaroras, Shawnees, and others, then principally residing on the Susquehanna. By the treaty there concluded, the Iroquois and their allies agreed with Virginia, and her

¹*Spotswood Letters*, Vol. II, p. 302-3.

tributary Indians, including those of North Carolina, that all hostilities between them should thereafter cease. The Potomac on the North and the Blue Ridge on the West were made the boundaries between them; in other words, the Iroquois agreed that in their Southern excursions they would not come south of the Potomac nor east of the Blue Ridge, without the consent of Virginia; and the other Indians, likewise agreed not to go North and West of those boundaries.

Seven years after Governor Spotswood's administration ended, we get some light upon the condition of the Meherrins and the Nottoways from mention of them by William Byrd in his *History of the Dividing Line*. He tells us that when he and his party reached the mouth of Nottoway River on April 2, 1729,

“In this camp 3 of the Meherrin Indians made us a visit. They told us that the Small Remains of Their Nation had deserted their Ancient Town, situated near the mouth of Meherrin River for fear of the Catawbias, who had killed 14 of their people the year before; and the few that survived that Calamity, had taken refuge amongst the English, on the East Side of Chowan. Tho', if the complaint of these Indians were true, they are hardly used by our Carolina friends. But they are the less to be pitied, because they have ever been reputed the most false and treacherous to the English of all the Indians in the Neighborhood.”¹

And of the Nottoways he says that on April 7, 1729,

“In the morning we dispatched a runner to the Nottoway Town to let the Indians know we intended to visit them that evening, and our honest Landlord [Mr. Kindred] was so kind as to be our pilot thither, being about 4 miles from his house.”²

“The whole number of people belonging to the Nottoway Town, if you include women and children, amount to about 200. These are the only Indians of any consequence now remaining within the Limits of Virginia. The rest are either

¹Byrd: *History of the Dividing Line*, I, 66-67.

²Id., 71.

removed, or dwindled to a very inconsiderable Number, either by destroying one another, or else by the Small-Pox and other diseases.”¹

He bears testimony to the comparative futility of Governor Spotswood’s noble efforts to educate, civilize and christianize the Indians in these words:

“Many children of our neighboring Indians have been brought up in the College of William and Mary. They have been taught to read and write, and have been carefully instructed in the Principles of the Christian Religion, till they come to be men. Yet after they returned home, instead of civilizing and converting the rest, they have immediately Relapt into Infidelity and Barbarism themselves.”²

The settlement in 1722 at the peace conference in Albany of the long-standing differences between the enemy tribes as a result of a mutual desire for peace, engendered partly by the desire to prevent further extermination of the braves, ushering in, as it did a period which enjoyed, at least for a time, surcease from savage warfare, probably did more than any other one thing to bring about the abandonment of the settlement at Christanna. Settlements of the English expanded Westward and Southward to such extent that ten years after Governor Spotswood’s term ended Brunswick County was created (in 1732). This area embraced the Fort Christanna Settlement. The law requiring trading at that point only, had been repealed, the monopoly given the Company to trade exclusively with the Indians, had ceased. Thus one of the purposes of the settlement no longer existed. The creation of Brunswick County meant that the Christanna Settlement was no longer on the frontier, so its fort was useless. Moreover as a school for the instruction of the Indian Children, it was now misplaced, for the Indians had of course retired farther westward.

Nor does it appear that the succeeding Governors of Virginia took the same interest in, or had the sanguine hopes of Spots-

¹Byrd: *History of the Dividing Line*, I, 74.

²*Id.*, 74-5.

wood respecting the education and Christianization of the Indians. Perhaps they were right; perhaps Governor Spotswood had attempted the impossible. One writer has said:

“The Red Indian in reality, though not in the romance of Fenimore Cooper, was of all savages the most irreclaimable. Wild virtues, notably fortitude, he had, as well as keenness of sense and power of endurance, but his life was full of slaughter and rapine, his cruelty was fiendish.”¹

But Governor Spotswood’s efforts show the quality of his heart, and his administration constitutes one of the brightest chapters in the record of the relations of the White man toward the Red man, on the American Continent.

The Sapponey Indians seem to have continued to make Fort Christanna their home for a considerable time after Governor Spotswood moved them into the fort in 1718.

Colonel William Byrd in the History of the Dividing Line, relates that, in 1728, while engaged in establishing the dividing line, he employed two Sapponey Indians from Fort Christanna, to assist them. One of them became sick, and could not accompany the party, but the other one, Bearskin, continued with them until the completion of the work. He kept the company supplied with game all the way to the mountains and back. “From him,” says Mr. Buford, “we derive nearly all we know of the language and folk-lore of the Sapponey tribe. As they advanced slowly westward along this line, cutting through thickets, wading swamps and fording rivers, he told them the names of the streams in his language, with the meaning in English; and sitting around the camp fire at night he taught them the secrets of the woods and the things of the Indian spirit world.”²

Upon the party’s return from the mountains, they came by a route taking them near Christanna. Bearskin went ahead, and when the party camped “all the Grandees of the Sapponey Nation,” says Colonel Byrd, “did us the honor to repair thither to meet us, and our worthy friend and Fellow Traveller, Bearskin, appeared among the gravest of them in his Robes of Ceremony.

¹Goldwin Smith, *The United States*, 26.

²Edward P. Buford, Address, *Fort Christanna*, 23.

Four Young Ladies of the first Quality came with them who had more the air of cleanliness than any Copper-Coloured Beauties I had ever seen.”¹

The Fort Christanna Settlement was abandoned by the Sapponeys, according to Colonel Byrd, because one of their chief men was hanged for murder. Some of them, it seems a greater part of the tribe, joined the Catawbas, and some settled in Orange and Spotsylvania Counties, near Governor Spotswood’s home, Germanna. Eventually most of this nation, between 1736 and 1740, removed to the region of the Susquehanna, in Pennsylvania, and in 1753 both the Tutelos and Sapponeys were adopted by the Cayugas, and they really lost their identity in becoming a part of the Six Nations.

The Meherrins, never numerous, disappeared early as a separate tribe. They may have, as Hodge suggests, lost their identity among the more numerous Conestoga. They are not mentioned in the official papers of Governor Dinwiddie, whose administration ended in 1758, although the term of his governorship was during a period when Indian affairs were uppermost in the public mind.

Mr. Jefferson, writing in 1781, merely mentions them as a tribe that once existed on the Meherrin River.²

The Nottoways were sufficiently important in Governor Dinwiddie’s time for the Government, with which they were friendly, to use them as emissaries to the Tuscarora in an effort to get their aid in making war upon the French and Indians to the westward of the Colony.³

But they were probably not considerable enough in numbers to be of any importance as a military force. Mr. Jefferson, in 1781 says, “of the *Nottoways*, not a male is left. A few women constitute the remains of that tribe. They are seated on Nottoway River, in Southampton County, on very fertile lands.”⁴

And Hodge says: “As late as 1825 they still numbered 47.”⁵

While it does not appear that the Meherrins or the Nottoways

¹Byrd’s Writings: *The Dividing Line*.

²Notes, 97.

³Dinwiddie Papers, Vol. II, 482, 507, 605, 641.

⁴Notes, 99.

⁵*Handbook of American Indians*, Vol. II, 87.

ever gave the white settlers any considerable trouble, Lunenburg as a Frontier County suffered at the hand of the Indians, especially during the period following Braddock's defeat, and when the Government was pursuing an ineffective course toward the French and Indians to the westward.

"The miscarriages in all our enterprises," says Peter Fontaine, Jr., "have rendered us a reproach, and to the last degree contemptible in the eyes of our Savage Indians, and much more inhuman French enemies.

"Those of the Indians that call themselves our friends despise us, and in their march through our inhabited country, when going to our assistance, insult and annoy us. It is not above a month ago since a party of about a hundred and twenty Cherokees, in passing through Lunenburg, insulted people of all ranks. About three weeks ago the Cattawbas behaved so ill in Williamsburg, that those in power were obliged to arm the militia, and the matter was near coming to extremities."¹

And in the same letter he further says:

"The County of Halifax, in the meantime, is threatened by our Indian enemies, and the people, in the upper part of that County, which by the late encroachments of our enemies is become a frontier, are in great consternation, and all public business at a stand. The poor farmers and planters have dreadful apprehension of falling into the hands of the savage."²

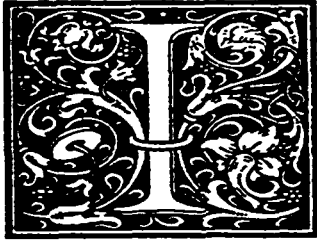
But the story of the measures taken against the Indians and the French, and Lunenburg's part in it will be told in another chapter.

¹Letter, June 11, 1757, Peter Fontaine, Jr., to Moses Fontaine. *Memoirs of a Huguenot Family*, 366-7.

²*Id.*, 367.

CHAPTER III

The Pioneers: Settlement and Development



IT is not definitely known when the white man first saw the land later to be embraced in Lunenburg County. The earliest record of an expedition traversing this territory is that of Edward Bland and Abraham Wood, who in 1650 made an extended tour of certain parts of the Indian country. These men started from Fort Henry, where Petersburg is now located, on August 27, 1650, and presumably followed a course which crossed Nottoway River several times, crossed also Sapponey Creek in Dinwiddie County, traversed a part of Brunswick County, and progressed finally to Roanoke Rapids. Turning back at that point because of the suspicions and hostility of the Indians, they followed a course which circled to the west of two of the towns of the Nottoway Indians, and the night of September 3, 1650, camped a few miles south of the Nottoway River, evidently in modern Lunenburg County.¹

These men were interested in the Indian trade, and started out with the purpose of visiting the Tuscarora Indians in North Carolina, with the view of establishing trading relations with them. This purpose, however, they did not carry out, owing to the hostility of some of the Indians they encountered, which caused them to turn back at Roanoke Rapids.²

As they were traversing a wholly new area, and the physical features either had no name, or only Indian names, or such as there were, were unknown to them, they gave their own names

¹The narrative of this expedition was printed in England in 1651. See an account of it in *Tyler's Hist. Mag.*, Vol. VII, p. 164.

²Some have supposed the point they reached and at which they turned back was that of modern Clarksville, in Mecklenburg County. But the better considered judgment, in the writer's opinion, favors Roanoke Rapids.

to several places, streams, etc., which have not survived. Thus the name of an Indian town, in what is now northeastern Brunswick County, they called Farmer's Chase; the present Meherrin River they called Pennant's Mount River, after Captain Elias Pennant, a member of the party; they record a fact interesting as showing the territory occupied by the different Indian tribes. They mention a Nottoway Indian town on the south side of Meherrin River, where they met the principal chief of the Nottoways, who then being friendly protested against their purpose of visiting the Tuscaroras.¹

In their farther progress they came to the Indian town of Maharineck, which was two miles from the Maharineck River. When they reached this river they named it Woodford River—this presumably was the Nottoway they were crossing, and they named it in honor of Colonel Abraham Wood.

After having named the Meherrin River, Pennant's Mount River, they came to and crossed this river at or near the present town of Emporia, and apparently not recognizing it as the same stream named it Brewster's River, after another member of the party, Sackford Brewster. In their progress they finally reached the river Hacomawanack, which is the Roanoke River. Not liking the aboriginal name, they named it Blandina River after Edward Bland.

It is interesting in passing to note, in this connection, that the Abraham Wood of this expedition came to Virginia in 1620, "as a little boy of ten years, in the *Margaret and John*, commanded by Anthony Chester. This vessel had a great fight in the West Indies with two Spanish men-of-war and beat them off. During the mêlée the heroic surgeon-general of Virginia, Dr. Lewis Bohun, received a mortal wound. Little Abraham escaped unhurt, and in 1625 was living at Jamestown in the employment of Captain Samuel Mathews. He rose rapidly to public prominence, was a member of the House of Burgesses, a member of the Council of State, and in 1671 was one of the four major generals commanding the military establishment of Virginia. Besides going by himself on expeditions to explore the country to the

¹*Tyler's Hist. Mag.*, Vol. VII, p. 165.

westward, he was the patron of various other expeditions. He lived at Fort Henry, where Petersburg now stands, and his daughter, Margaret, married Captain Peter Jones, whose grandson, Peter, went with William Byrd to run the line between Virginia and North Carolina. Petersburg received its name from this grandson."¹

Many of the descendants of Abraham Wood and Captain Peter Jones are living now, in Lunenburg and throughout Southside, Virginia, and elsewhere. They are very numerous.

It is quite certain also that at the time of "Bacon's Rebellion," in 1676, white men penetrated this part of Virginia. Bacon "crossed the James River at his own house, at Curles, and surprising the Appomattox Indians, who lived on both sides of the river of that name, a little below the falls (now Petersburg), he burnt their town, killed a large number of the tribe, and dispersed the rest. . . . From the falls of the Appomattox, Bacon traversed the country to the southward, destroying many towns on the banks of the Nottoway, the Meherrin, and the Roanoke."²

After Bacon's death, when Governor Berkely was hunting down and summarily executing his followers, it is thought that some of these may have sought refuge in the wilds of this unsettled region, and some have surmised that a part of his followers probably found their last earthly resting place in the "old Indian Grave Yard," the place of mystery, near Oral Oaks, in the present County of Lunenburg.³

Other Indian traders, following the example set by Bland and Wood, undoubtedly penetrated this area before 1700. Soon after this date, as we have seen, Governor Spotswood established the Fort, and founded the Indian School at Fort Christanna. This was a little below the eastern boundary of Lunenburg, and it marks the approximate location of the frontier at that time. However, roving adventurers were usually found pressing forward in advance of the permanent pioneer settlers. The fact that they left no permanent evidences upon the public records, such as

¹Note by Dr. Lyon G. Tyler, in *Tyler's Quarterly Mag.*, Vol. VII, p. 169.

²Charles Campbell: *History of Virginia*, 307.

³See Chapter I, Vol. I.

the land grants, of their presence, by no means negatives the fact that they were there. These migratory individuals, with the enormous expanses of the unsettled wilderness before them, did not choose to go to the trouble and expense of securing grants for the land upon which they lived. They were a class distinct from the permanent settlers, and moved on farther into the unbroken wilds as permanent settlers encroached upon their solitudes.

The approach of the early pioneers and settlers into the original Lunenburg area was largely up the Meherrin and the Nottoway from the territory that is now Brunswick, and from the lower Appomattox, on up that stream and its branches, such as Bush Creek, Briery and Buffalo, and thence across to the branches of the Roanoke, such as Horsepen Creek, Ward's Fork, Turnip Creek, Falling River, Difficult Creek, Banister River and the waters of the Staunton and the Dan. It would be difficult to tell which route was followed by the greater number. Others came from the same general direction, that is, from the eastward up the Roanoke. Colonel William Byrd in his account of "A Journey to the Land of Eden"¹ records the fact that after leaving Bluestone Castle, September 20, 1733, he and his party proceeded up the river, "as far as Hagen's, above which about a quarter of a mile we forded into the little Island, and from thence into the Fork of the River. The water was risen so high, that it ran into the top of my boots, but without giving me any cold, although I rid in my wet stockings. We landed 3 miles above the point of the fork, and, after marching three miles farther, reacht the Tenement of Peter Mitchell, the highest Inhabitant on Roanoke River."²

It thus appears that at this date (September, 1733) the settlement highest up on the waters of the Roanoke was only about six miles westward of the confluence of the Staunton and the Dan, the place being very likely near the present western line of Mecklenburg County.

It is not difficult to trace the influence of Prince George in the settlement of the new territory. Scores and scores of the names

¹The name he gave a part of his lands on the waters of the Roanoke.

²Byrd: *A Journey to the Land of Eden*, 10.

of families in Prince George in the early days are found in the earliest annals of Brunswick and of Lunenburg; the names of some of these are permanently preserved in names of localities or natural features, such, for example, as Ledbetter and Mason's Creeks and Banister River.

No other circumstance contributed more to the encouragement of the settling of the then unexplored area than the travels and public services of William Byrd of Westover. As the Chief Commissioner of Virginia, for surveying the State line between Virginia and North Carolina, he was the first to penetrate, and to bring back to Williamsburg and the settled communities an accurate account of the territory. He went farther into the territory than did the North Carolina Commissioners, who abandoned the work after being in the field only about fifteen days in the fall of 1729.¹

There were few persons who could make closer and more accurate observations than William Byrd. His writings abound in evidence that he took note of everything of interest and value. The character of the lands and streams, the trees, shrubs, and plants and flowers, the wild animals and fowls, the reptiles, in fact, of everything one might then reasonably desire to know.

Not only did Byrd himself enter, and secure grants for, considerable tracts of lands, but he encouraged others to do so as well. To no other person is a greater debt due for pioneering work in this territory than William Byrd II, of Westover. He not only built the lodge known as Bluestone Castle, which he liked to visit, and where he spent no inconsiderable part of his time, but he located tenants upon several tracts of his lands and sold other parts to permanent settlers. Moreover, being the first to explore, he gave the names to various streams of this territory. In 1733, on his trip to the Land of Eden, he had in his party, among the "Gentlemen," Mr. Mayo, Captain Peter Jones, and Mr. Banister; and among the other attendants, Henry Morris. After recording the fact of reaching the tenement of Peter Mit-

¹Byrd does them the justice, however, in the *History of the Dividing Line* to record the fact that they did not leave him until they had consumed the last drop of liquor he had brought along. Then they left him suddenly high and dry.

chell, who was "the highest Inhabitant on Roanoke River," he says that "we forded a water, which we named Birches Creek, not far from the mouth, which it discharges itself into the Dan."¹ "From thence we rode through charming low-grounds, for six miles together, to a large stream, which we agreed to call Banister River."²

This stream, of course, was named for his companion on the journey, "Mr. Banister." This Mr. Banister was evidently John Banister, who as early as October 13, 1727, secured a grant for a tract of land on Roanoke River, and who afterwards became Colonel. He was prominent in the French and Indian war period, and married Elizabeth Bland, daughter of Colonel Theodrick Bland and Frances Bolling, daughter of Drury Bolling of Kippax.³

After reaching and naming Banister River, the account continues: "We proceeded through low grounds, which were tolerably wide for three miles together, as far as a small creek, named by us Morris's Creek."⁴

This creek they evidently named for Henry Morris, one of the party. Other streams which they discovered and named were Maosty Creek, Medway Creek, Peter's Creek, Jones' Creek, Jesuit's Creek. Mayo River also evidently received its name from Byrd's delightful companion of that name on this trip.

The territory into which the early pioneers came in settling this section was not altogether inviting; in fact, in some aspects it was most forbidding. But it had opportunities for freedom and liberty; and no doubt, independence of the vexations of thickly settled communities was one of the chief magnets which drew the early settlers hither. It is hard to reconstruct in one's mind and imagination the country as it was then. This territory, but a little over two hundred years ago, was a "waste, howling wilderness" tenanted only by the wild animals of the forest and the savage redskins. The changes which have taken place have come about, step by step, so gradually, as in some instances to be almost imperceptible; yet at the end of two centuries, the physical

¹This seems not to be the stream now known as Birch Creek which empties into the Dan west of New Ferry in Halifax County.

²Byrd: *A Journey to the Land of Eden*, 10.

³*Dinwiddie Papers*, II, 688, note.

⁴*A Journey to the Land of Eden*, II.

features are so changed, the progress so great, the development so marked, that it would be almost as impossible for one of the present day to re-visualize the country as it was then, as it would have been for the early pioneers of those far-off days to have looked into the future and to have foreseen the great empire now embraced in Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, Charlotte, Halifax, Pittsylvania, Patrick, Henry, Campbell and Bedford, filled with cities and towns, traversed by railroads and modern highways, and served by electric light and power systems, the telegraph, the telephone and the radio; the whole section largely cleared and in cultivation, and affording opportunities for thriving, growing and diversified industries.

Then the whole country was covered by a dense growth of forest trees; there were no roads, even the Indian trails were few, and walking and horse-back riding were the only possible means of travel. Roads, even the rude affairs of the early days for wheeled vehicles, were a later development.

So few and unusual were these simple trails, that they were important enough to be referred to as notorious descriptions, in land grants. For instance, "William Bolling's path," is the chief monument of location referred to in a grant of 400 acres of land to Abraham Legrand on June 1, 1750; and the person who took the trouble and went to the expense of blazing trees to indicate a route, and who chopped out sapling and underbrush to make progress along it easier was looked upon as, in a measure at least, a public benefactor.

Some idea of the character and condition of this section, at the time it was first settled by the white man, is afforded by a few of the early names. The Bear, the Buffalo, the Elk, the Otter, the Beaver, the Wild Horse, the Deer, the Goose, the Rattlesnake, the Wild Turkey, and the Sturgeon, vied with each other in giving names to such streams as Bears Element, and Bearskin Creeks, Buffalo Creek, Elk Creek, Otterdam Creek and Otter River, Beaverpond and Beaverdam Creeks, Horsepen Creek, Buckskin Creek, Rattlesnake Swamp and Rattlesnake Creek, Goose Creek and Sturgeon Run.

While the wolf does not seem to have been commemorated by the name of any particular stream in this section, this no doubt

resulted from the fact that no one stream was in particular noted above others as the habitat of this ferocious animal. That wolves were a public menace of some proportions is indicated by the bounties offered for their killing. The act of 1738¹ designed to encourage persons to brave the perils of the section, and to settle on the waters of the Roanoke and its tributaries, provided that they should not be entitled to rewards for killing wolves during the period they enjoyed exemption from taxation.

Reedy, Briery, Difficult, Rocky Run and Stony Creeks have names which convey some suggestion of obstacles encountered in penetrating and undertaking to subdue this section.

A study of the racial strains which mingled in creating the early population of the County would be interesting indeed. Even a cursory glance at the facts is instructive. The early settlers of Lunenburg were but two or three generations from Jamestown. The same family names are found at Jamestown and among the early settlers of Lunenburg. Allen, Betts, Bell, Jones, Coles, White, Dixon, Boswell, Garland, Stokes, Edlow, Gee are illustrations of this fact. All of these were at Jamestown as early as 1635 and all are represented among the pioneers of Lunenburg County. No attempt has been made to compile an exhaustive list. These names were noted more or less at random from Hotten's Lists, and also appear among the earlier patentees of land or are otherwise identified with the early history of the Lunenburg section.

The English, the Scotch, the French, the Swiss, the Welch, the Palatines, the American Indians mingled to produce a population with characteristics of which any people might well be proud.

The English were the most numerous, and embraced such well known names as Byrd, Randolph, Bolling, Garland, Coleman, Hardy, Buford, Bacon, Bell, Read, Bouldin, Jones and Bland.

William Byrd, second of the name in Virginia, of "Westover," Charles City County, was one of the very early and at one time possibly the largest of the land owners in ancient Lunenburg. In 1728 he was one of the commissioners on the part of the

¹⁵ Hening, 57-8.

State of Virginia to run the dividing line between Virginia and North Carolina. It was no doubt at that time his attention was attracted to the two islands in the Roanoke River, for which, together with other land aggregating 1,550 acres, he secured a grant on September 28, 1728. This estate, which the Byrds called "Bluestone Castle," passed to Sir Peyton Skipwith, who built upon it the fine old mansion known as Prestwould, about 1756.¹ The tradition is that Sir Peyton won this estate from Colonel Byrd in a game of cards.²

The house on this estate is built of stone, and from its river front "there is an entrancing view of the Dan and Staunton rivers at their confluence with the Roanoke. Between the first-named rivers lie the three islands, the center one of which, Occaneeche, was the stronghold of a tribe of Indians of that name, whom Nathaniel Bacon practically exterminated in a desperate battle."³

William Byrd, who conveyed the "Bluestone Castle" to Sir Peyton Skipwith, did not lack for a landed estate in Lunenburg, notwithstanding what he may have lost to Sir Peyton, for on April 16, 1742, while the territory was still Brunswick, he secured a grant for 105,000 acres "on both sides of Dan River, and on both sides of the several branches of the same, namely, Banister river, Medway river and Hicomony river." This family was one of the greatest distinction. The second William Byrd built the present "noble brick mansion at Westover, and gathered about him the finest library on the continent."⁴ "He . . . was by long odds the most accomplished man in America."⁵ Among others of his distinctions he was a Fellow of the Royal Society.

It was his son William Byrd (the third) who represented Lunenburg in the House of Burgesses from 1752 until he was appointed to the Council, a position of great honor and influence, in 1754. He is the ancestor of the present (1926) Governor of

¹Sale: *Historic Gardens of Virginia*, 308 et seq.

²Id.

³Sale: *Historic Gardens of Virginia*, 308 et seq.

⁴Tyler: *The Cradle of the Republic*, 228.

⁵Id.

Virginia, and of Commander Richard Evelyn Byrd, who was the first person to make a flight to the North pole in an aeroplane.¹

It seems that it was while William Byrd II was visiting his "Bluestone" estate, afterwards Prestwould, in what was later Lunenburg County, that he conceived the idea of founding Richmond and Petersburg. On September 19, 1733, he made this entry in his famous diary: "After returning to 'Bluestone Castle' from a trip to the islands, we laid the foundations of two large cities, one at Shaccoes, to be called 'Richmond,' and the other at the point of the Appomattox, to be called 'Petersburg.'"

Sir Peyton Skipwith who acquired the "Bluestone Castle" estate, and built Prestwould, was a descendant of Sir Grey Skipwith, who emigrated to America during the usurpation of Cromwell. He was twice married, first to Anne Miller, and next to her sister Jean, both daughters of Hugh Miller.² Jean, the second wife, was the designer and creator of the famous garden at Prestwould.

Berry Hill, the famous home of the Bruces in Halifax County, is a part of the William Byrd land formerly in Lunenburg County. In fact, this particular part of William Byrd's land seems to have been patented while the territory was still Prince George, before even Brunswick County was formed. Byrd sold this land to Richard Bland, Bland to Benjamin Harrison of Berkeley, Charles City County, and Harrison sold it to Isaac Coles, an ancestor of the Bruces. It later passed into the hands of General Edward Carrington and James Cole Bruce, and still later became the home of Malcolm Graeme Bruce.

Colonel Richard Randolph of "Curles" on James River was one of the early explorers and landlords of the territory of ancient Lunenburg. About 1730 he in company with Colonel Nicholas Edmonds and Colonel Clement Read went on an exploring expedition into what was later to be Lunenburg County.³ They penetrated the territory as far as what is now Charlotte County.⁴ Colonel Edmonds decided not to acquire any lands in

¹His flight was made May 9, 1926.

²For a genealogy of the Skipwith Family, see Slaughter: *Bristol Parish*, 225 et seq.

³Foote: *Sketches of Virginia* (Second Series), 574.

⁴Foote: *Sketches of Virginia* (Second Series), 574.

the section; "but," says Rev. Wm. Henry Foote, "Mr. Read and Colonel Randolph purchased largely."¹ Randolph's purchases were on the Staunton River.²

Colonel Richard Randolph was the son of William Randolph of Yorkshire England (b. 1651, d. 1711), who emigrated to Virginia about 1671 and settled at "Turkey Island,"³ James River, and founded the Randolph family of Virginia. He married Mary Isham, daughter of Henry and Catherine Isham of Bermuda Hundred. Probably no single couple, in the history of America, are the progenitors of so great a number of distinguished, able and worth-while persons. Their descendants embrace Sir John Randolph, Speaker of the House of Burgesses, and Treasurer of the Colony; Peyton Randolph, Governor of Virginia, and President of the first Congress; Thomas Mann Randolph, member of the Virginia Convention of 1776; Beverly Randolph, Governor of Virginia; John Randolph, Attorney General of Virginia; Edward Randolph, member of the Virginia Convention of 1776, of the Federal Convention of 1787, and of the Convention of Virginia of 1788, which ratified the Constitution of the United States, Governor of Virginia, Attorney General of the United States, and Secretary of State of the United States; John Randolph of Roanoke; Richard Bland; the immortal Thomas Jefferson; Chief Justice John Marshall; Richard Henry Lee, signer of the Declaration of Independence; Francis Lightfoot Lee, signer of the Declaration of Independence; Henry Lee, "Light Horse Harry" of the Revolution, and Governor of Virginia; William Stith, the historian; Bishop William Meade; Robert E. Lee; Henry St. George Tucker; John Randolph Tucker; General Richard Kennon; Commodores Beverley Kennon, Sen'r and Jr.; and James Pleasants, Governor of Virginia.⁴

¹Foote: *Sketches of Virginia* (Second Series), 574.

²Id.

³This island was so named by Captain Newport and Captain John Smith who discovered it in May, 1607. They were ascending the James seeking "the head of the river, the lake, the sea, the Appalata Mountains, or some issue." They found this islet on which were many turkeys and called it Turkey Island.—Vestry Book, Henrico Parish (Ed. by Brock), 167-8. See also Slaughter: *Bristol Parish*, 213, note.

⁴Slaughter: *Bristol Parish*, 221-222; Beveridge: *John Marshall*.

Colonel Richard Randolph married Jane Bolling, a direct descendant of Pocahontas, from whom John Randolph of Roanoke, their grandson, inherited his royal Indian blood, of which he was very proud. Richard Randolph died in England, December 17, 1748, in the fifty-eighth year of his age.¹ His will was dated November 18, 1747.² By it he gave to his son John all his land "on both sides Stanton or Roanoke River in Lunenburg' County." These lands are now in Charlotte and Halifax Counties. He gave to his son Ryland land "at the fork of Appomattox River, situate on both sides the said River in the Counties of Goochland and Amelia." These lands are now in Cumberland and Prince Edward. At least a part of these lands given to Ryland later became the property of his brother John, who made his home upon them, and the plantation, at some time not precisely fixed, came to bear the name "Bizarre."

Richard Randolph's will empowered his executors to close certain contracts into which he had entered with various purchasers for the sale of portions of his located but unpatented lands, and of his unlocated lands in Lunenburg County at the rate of five pounds, current money, for every hundred acres of low ground, and of three pounds, twelve shillings, and six pence for every hundred acres of high ground.

These lands or the most of them were finally granted by the Colony or rather by the Crown on September 10, 1755. On that date grants for eleven tracts, aggregating a few acres less than forty thousand, were issued in the name of Richard Randolph.

John Randolph, son of Col. Richard Randolph, was living on the "Bizarre" lands at the time his famous son, John Randolph of Roanoke, was born. However, the son was not born there but at Cawsons, the home of his maternal grandparents, on the Appomattox River. The estate, Roanoke, "from which John Randolph of Roanoke derived his suffix, was the land, or a part of the land, on the north side of Staunton River devised to his father by Richard Randolph of Curles."³

¹Bruce: *John Randolph of Roanoke*, I, 17, citing John Randolph's Diary.

²Henrico County, Deed and Will Book 1748-50, Virginia State Library.

³Bruce: *John Randolph of Roanoke*, I, 18.

Clement Read, one of the party mentioned above, who explored this territory about 1730, acquired "about ten thousand acres on the waters of Ash Camp, Dunnivant and Little Roanoke. Mr. Read removed to his purchase, and made his residence at Bushy Forest, about four miles south of the present Village of Maryville."¹

He was born in the year 1707, and Foote tells us that he was "early bereft of his father."² Who his parents were, or where they resided, we are not informed, but "John Robinson, of Spottsylvania became his guardian." Robinson was a trustee of William and Mary College, was president of the Council, and from June 20 to September, 1749, served as Governor of Virginia, after the departure of Sir William Gooch.³

Clement Read was educated at William and Mary College, and in 1730 married Mary Hill, the only daughter of William Hill, an officer in the British Navy, the second son of the Marquis of Lansdowne. Hill had married the only daughter of Governor Edmund Jennings,⁴ and resided in that section of country created into Brunswick County. Powhatan Bouldin gives the date of his settlement at Bushy Forest as 1733.⁵ When that County was formed he became its first clerk, and was prominently identified with the politics, progress and development of the County, and the Colony for many years. He died January 2, 1763, and was buried at Bushy Forest,⁶ where his wife, who died November 11, 1780, in her sixty-ninth year, also is buried. They had five children, Isaac, Thomas, Clement, Margaret and Edmund.

The son, Isaac, was Colonel Isaac Read of the Revolution. He married a daughter of Henry Embry (or Embra) who with Clement Read were the first representatives of Lunenburg in the House of Burgesses.⁷

He became a Colonel in a Virginia Regiment in 1776, and

¹Foote: *Sketches of Virginia* (Second Series), 574.

²Foote: *Sketches of Virginia* (Second Series), 573.

³Stanard: *Colonial Register*, 19; Foote: *Sketches of Virginia* (Second Series), 573.

⁴Governor in 1706 (b. in Eng. 1659, d. in Va. Dec. 5, 1727)—*Colonial Register*, 18.

⁵*The Old Trunk*, 6.

⁶Foote: *Sketches of Virginia* (Second Series), 574.

⁷*Colonial Register*, 123.

joined Washington's army, but his career was early cut short. At the age of thirty-seven he died of some disease, in Philadelphia, while connected with the army.¹

Thomas Bouldin, whose father was an Englishman,² was born in Pennsylvania. He removed first to Maryland, and thence to Lunenburg County, Virginia, in 1744.³ He married in Maryland, Nancy Clarke, and one of their children was born on the Chesapeake Bay as they made their journey to Virginia. At the end of the water journey they had yet something more than a hundred miles of land travel before they reached their home in that part of Brunswick which is now Charlotte County. With her new-born babe, Mrs. Bouldin endured the hardships of the immigration with great fortitude but when she entered her log cabin home and found no place for her gold lace hat, for the first time, she wept.⁴ The old pioneer soothed her with the promise of as comfortable a dwelling place as the one she left in Maryland, a promise which he redeemed by building the second frame house built in what is now the County of Charlotte.⁵ The completion of it was celebrated by a "house warming" on a notable scale, an interesting account of which is given by Powhatan Bouldin, a descendant, in *The Old Trunk*.

Thomas Bouldin became a prominent and highly respected leader in the affairs of the section. "He was a merchant and farmer at the same time, and at different times sheriff, magistrate, and Colonel of the Militia. He was, besides, a most active and zealous member of the established church. Business was his *forte*, and the most distinctive trait of his character was his great moral and physical courage. He died in 1783, having lived in his adopted County thirty-nine years. . . . He was buried by the side of his wife, at the old homestead, which has been in the family one hundred and forty-eight years."⁶

¹Some mention is made of his son, Rev. Clement Read, in Vol. I, Chapter IX.

²*The Old Trunk*, 7.

³*Id.*

⁴*Id.*, 10.

⁵*Id.*, 8.

⁶This was written in 1888.

“He was the father of Major Wood Bouldin, an officer of the Revolution, the grandfather of the Hons. Thos. T., James W., and Louis C. Bouldin, great grandfather of the late Judge Wood Bouldin of the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia, and the ancestor of many bearing his name now residing in various parts of the United States.”¹ Powhatan Bouldin records the interesting fact of the old Bouldin homestead, that Nancy Clarke, the bride, brought with her from Maryland, a slip of Damask rose, which “now [1888] (after the lapse of 144 years) blossoms and blooms on the old place belonging to Judge Thomas T. Bouldin, one of her descendants.”

The Scotch were represented among the early inhabitants of Lunenburg by the Caldwells, the Calhouns, the Bells and others. One of the early groups was that led by John and William Caldwell, brothers. The exact time of the coming of the group may not be possible of determination, but its approximate date is easily established. In 1738, John Caldwell, and a group of which he was the leader, requested the Synod of Philadelphia to appoint representatives to visit Virginia and ascertain whether the Governor and Council would look with favor on their settling in Virginia.² Governor Gooch, when visited by these messengers, assured them that they might settle in Virginia, and would not be disturbed if they complied with the provisions of the Toleration Act.³ The occasion of the enquiry was that these persons were Presbyterians, and the Episcopal church was established by law in Virginia at that time, and it prescribed penalties for gathering to worship in any other form, and for absenting one's self from the established church.

The report of the mission was formally made to the Philadelphia Synod on May 28, 1739, but it may be that Caldwell and his associates were in the meantime advised of the favorable reception from Governor Gooch, and possibly proceeded to Virginia at once. They formed settlements on Cub Creek in Charlotte—this was where John Caldwell himself lived, and on Buffalo Creek in Prince Edward.

¹*The Old Trunk*, 8.

²Footnote: *Sketches of Virginia* (First Series), 103.

³See Vol. I, Chapter IX, hereof.

It seems probable that they bought lands under contracts, and that deeds were not made thereto until some time later. This surmise is based on the fact that no deeds to the parties are found recorded in Brunswick, before the formation of Lunenburg, although it is definitely known that they were residing in that part of Brunswick, cut off into Lunenburg, at the time the latter County was created; nor are any land grants in Brunswick County found as early as the settlement of this Colony. The earliest Brunswick grants found, to any of this group, are one to Thomas Caldwell, dated June 5, 1745, for 334 acres on the south side of "Bannister's" River, and another to William Caldwell, dated the same day, for 404 acres on the north side of "Banister" River opposite the fork. It was a custom, however, often indulged, to be in no hurry to secure grants. Often the parties made entry upon the land, had it surveyed, and with the County surveyor's certificate and plat, they felt secure and content to get the patents at their leisure. It is probable, however, as already suggested, that this Colony first settled upon lands which they purchased from those who had already secured grants therefor, or at any rate had made entries thereof. The Brunswick County records show that Richard Kennon conveyed lands by separate deeds to William, John and David Caldwell.¹ These deeds were made in 1750, and William Byrd, on April 3, 1750, conveyed to Alexander Caldwell a tract of land on the north side of Dan River.²

William Caldwell and John Caldwell were two of the twelve Gentlemen Justices to whom the Commission of the Peace was issued for the organization of the County, and they were both present May 5, 1746, when the first County Court met, and the County government was formally organized. This family was the only one which had two justices on the Court. Among the proceedings at the first session of the Court was the appointment of "William Caldwell Gent." to take the list of the tithables in the County from the mouth of Falling River to the mouth of Little Roanoke River.

The prominence and integrity of this family is not only at-

¹Deed Book 4, pages 58, 60 and 70.

²Lunenburg County, D. B. 1, p. 123.

tested by the public positions they held, and the leading part they took in civic and religious affairs, but by the fact that David Caldwell was the agent and attorney for William Byrd.

The John Caldwell named above was the grandfather of the South Carolina statesman, John Caldwell Calhoun.¹

The descendants of these early Caldwells, to say nothing of the other members of the group which accompanied them, are legion, and are found in practically every quarter of the United States.

The Swiss, numbered among the early inhabitants of Lunenburg, were the descendants of Baron Christopher De Graffenreid of Berne, Switzerland, "honorary citizen of London, Governor of Yverton, Lord of Worb, member of the Order of Sunshine, Knight of the Purple Ribbon, Master of Arts, Doctor of Laws, and Landgrave of North Carolina."²

The Landgrave was the son of Anton de Graffenreid, Lord of Worb, and was born on the fifteenth day of November, 1661.³ His mother was Catherine Jenner. His father is said to have been a quiet, frugal man who was content to live at home and follow in the footsteps of his father. The son, Christopher, however, was of a very different temperament. He was fond of travel and adventure, notwithstanding "misfortune went hand in hand with brilliancy and achievement."

Through the influence of Sir William Waller, who seems to have taken refuge in Switzerland, as a regicide, Christopher became interested in going to England, but this desire was not to be gratified without considerable opposition from his father, as well as some delay. He finally went to England, sought out Sir William Waller only to fail to find him because he was in prison for debt.⁴

Through a chance acquaintance with the Duke of Albermarle, son of General Monk, who became much attached to him, Christopher came to move continually in the society of courtiers, led a brilliant and eventful life, and was finally pre-

¹ Foote: *Sketches of Virginia* (First Series), 104.

² Thomas P. de Graffenreid: *History of the de Graffenreid Family* (1925), 58-59.

³ The ancestry of the de Graffenreid family is traced back to 1191, apparently with certainty. See *History of the de Graffenreid Family*, supra.

⁴ *History of the de Graffenreid Family*, 64.

sented to King Charles. He was a musician of no mean attainments and spoke four languages in addition to English, with which he made considerable progress. While in England, the Duke of Albermarle, who was Chancellor of Cambridge University, and who was not able to be present in person on one occasion to confer degrees, deputed his noble, versatile and talented young Swiss friend to represent him. The young man acquitted himself so well that the authorities proposed to confer upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws, which he modestly declined, but accepted a Master of Arts.

While in England, he fell in love with a niece of the Duke of Buckingham; his friends, including the Duke of Albermarle, looked with favor upon his pursuit of her hand. Being penniless, however, he applied to his father for funds to purchase a vacant commission in the army, which would have been sufficient for the husband of a lady of rank. Instead, his father, who had heard highly colored, and probably false accounts of his doings in England, ordered him from England. It is said that he was not provided with sufficient funds to make the entire journey home, but received remittances from time to time at different places. He spent some time in Paris where matters went quite as well with him as in London.

Eventually he returned to Switzerland, and on April 25, 1684, married Regina Tscharner, nineteen years of age, daughter of the "highly respected Beat Lewis Tscharner of very ancient lineage."¹

He became dissatisfied to remain in Switzerland and began to long to seek his fortune in the New World. One of the impelling motives was to retrieve his fortune, and be able to discharge his debts. The Baron in his own account declares that he began his journey secretly in order "not to be detained by the creditors and my own people."²

Upon reaching England he was urged to take a Colony to America. There were at that time in England about ten thousand Palatines, "among them many Switzers and people brought

¹For his ancestry see *History of the de Graffenreid Family*, 69 et seq.

²*The Landgrave's Own Story*—translated by Julius Goebel, Ph. D., and printed as Chapter X of the *History of the de Graffenreid Family*.

together from other provinces of Germany." A fund of 4000 pounds Sterling was provided him, largely by the Queen, who also granted him certain lands, "as much as we immediately needed, and moreover" gave "strong recommendations to the Governor of Virginia" in his behalf. Moreover the proprietors of Carolina made him very alluring promises. He fitted out an expedition, which he sent on in advance, he himself waiting for a Colony from Berne. They came to the coast of Virginia, where one of the ships "which was filled with the best goods and on which those in best circumstances were travelling, had the misfortune, at the mouth of the James River, in sight of an English man-of-war, which lay at anchor, to be attacked by a bold French privateer and plundered."¹ The survivors of the voyage, after they had "regained health in Virginia, where they were received very kindly," moved on into Carolina, where "the Surveyor General settled them on a point of land between the Nuse and the Trent Rivers. This place, called Chattoka, is where the city of New Berne was afterwards founded."²

This settlement of his Colony, the Baron charges, Surveyor General Lawson caused wrongfully to be made at this point "for his own advantage, because this was his own land, in order that it might be cleared by these people for his benefit."

In the fall of the same year the Baron followed with the Colony from Berne. When he arrived the Colony was in such straits that he had to send immediately to Pennsylvania and Virginia for flour and the necessaries of life.³

He seems to have managed the Colony with energy and ability "so that inside of 18 months these people were so well settled and had their affairs so well arranged that in this short time they had made more advancement than the English inhabitants in four years."⁴ However, due to a succession of events, and misfortunes over which he had no control, the

¹*The Landgrave's Own Story*—translated by Julius Goebel, Ph. D., and printed as Chapter X of the *History of the de Graffenreid Family*, 77.

²*Id.*

³*Id.*, 79.

⁴*The Landgrave's Own Story*—translated by Julius Goebel, Ph. D., and printed as Chapter X of the *History of the de Graffenreid Family*, 80.

Colony finally came to grief. The history of the adventures, misfortunes, sufferings and sacrifices of this generous-hearted nobleman read like the pages of a story book. No adequate account can be incorporated herein, but the story is interestingly told in his own words, in the *History of the de Graffenreid Family*, hereinabove referred to.

At one time before he finally left North Carolina, he and Surveyor General Lawson were taken prisoners by the Indians and condemned to death. Lawson was actually executed, while the Baron was finally spared after living for several days and nights in hourly expectation of being burned at the stake.¹ Even after his life was spared he was compelled to remain a prisoner among the Indians for several months while the war between the Indians and the whites was in progress.

The Baron, feeling himself unable to secure either justice or protection from the Carolina authorities, disposed of his property, which was heavily mortgaged, in North Carolina, and "let it be known," he says, "that I was going to Virginia to make the necessary arrangements there in the hope that they [his Colony] might settle there better than in Carolina At the same time it was impossible with my own strength and means to restore a Colony so ruined, and from Berne the prospects were not only poor, but no hopes of any assistance whatever had been given."²

Upon reaching Virginia, the Baron "went farther into Virginia toward the Potomac and Maryland in order to have everything ready with lodging, food and cattle. The place was not far from the falls of the Potomac."³

Governor Spotswood felt a hearty sympathy for the Baron, and endeavored first to get him located in the Northern Neck, but on account of defective land titles this project failed. Finally he employed a good many of his Colonists at the iron works at Germanna, the Baron himself living most of the time,

¹The Baron to Governor Hyde, Oct. 23, 1711, *History of the de Graffenreid Family*, 118 et seq.

²Id., 100.

³Id., 101.

it seems, at Williamsburg; but he had an interest in the mines with Governor Spotswood.¹

Even in Virginia his Carolina misfortunes followed him, for a resident of Carolina sold one of his notes to an English merchant who sought to have him arrested on the protested note. "But," says the Baron, to escape this "I hid myself."² In this extremity he consulted Governor Spotswood, who "knew nothing better to advise me than that I should betake myself to Europe,"³ and "after I had taken my leave of Governor Spotswood," says the Baron, "who at the last regaled me well; and in return for my present which I gave as a small token of the gratitude due him, he made me a return present in gold which far exceeded mine. I began my journey with the help of the Most High, right at Easter, 1713. Went by land clear through Virginia, clear through Maryland, Pennsylvania, Jersey, and came, the Lord be thanked, at length to New York, which is a pretty city well built in the Holland style upon an island, along by a fine sea harbor, and between two navigable rivers. The situation is especially convenient. It has a strong castle and the landscape round about it is charming. In the city are three churches, an English, a French, and a Hollandish, in which there is preaching also in German. There is all abundance and one can have whatever he wants, the best fish, good meat, grain, and all kind of vegetable products, good beer and all sorts of the most expensive wines.

"In this so pleasant a place I stayed ten or twelve days. After this I sailed in a sloop to England."⁴

He never returned to America. He died in 1735.

His son, Christopher de Graffenreid, described in genealogical tables as Christopher VI, was the son of the Landgrave, Baron Christopher, the founder of New Berne. He was born in Switzerland and came to America with his father or soon after his father's coming.⁵

On February 22, 1714, at Charleston, S. C., he married Bar-

¹*History of the de Graffenreid Family*, 110.

²*Id.*

³*Id.*

⁴*Id.*, 112-113.

⁵*Id.*, 149.

bara Tempest (nee Needham), daughter of the distinguished Sir Arthur Needham of Wymondsley, Hertfordshire, England. She was born in 1688; her mother's maiden name was Wingate. This couple first lived in Williamsburg, and the Virginia Gazette for February 18th to 27th, 1736, contained a notice of a ball to be given by Mrs. Barbara De Graffenreid on April 26, and an Assembly on the 27th. Colonel William Byrd, in his memoirs (page 336), mentions Madam De Graffenreid as living not far from Williamsburg, and the family Bible records the fact that Christopher VI died at his plantation on the James River, "on Sunday at sunrising, October 27, 1742," and that "Barbara his wife departed this life the 26th day of June, 1744."¹

While he seems to have had a town house in Williamsburg, the place where he died was probably in Prince George County. On February 27, 1734, he secured a grant for 1843 acres of land on both sides of Swiss Creek in Brunswick County, and in this Grant he is described as living in Prince George County.²

He had but one son, Tscharner De Graffenreid (b. Nov. 28, 1722, in Williamsburg, Va., and died in 1794, in Lunenburg County, Virginia). He was married four times, and had fourteen children, seven sons and seven daughters. A genealogical account of the family is embraced in Vol. II, Chapter V. *hereof*.

His descendants are numerous in Lunenburg, Prince Edward, Cumberland and Mecklenburg Counties, and indeed throughout a large part of the South today. Many of them reside in Alabama and Georgia.

The French were represented among the early inhabitants of Lunenburg by such families as the Fontaines, the Maurys, the Le Grands and the Michauxs. These French were the Huguenots who from the Massacre of St. Bartholomew to and after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes suffered most infamous outrages, which forced hundreds of thousands to flee from that country. Of these Huguenots thus driven from France, John Jay said they "carried industry, intelligence and prosperity, light, truth and happiness to other lands, including our own."³

¹*History of the de Graffenreid Family*, 151.

²Records, Va. Land Office Book 15, page 432.

³Address before the Huguenot Society of America, at New York, Oct. 22, 1885.

No inconsiderable part of these French Protestants finally came to Virginia, and a very considerable number of their descendants found their homes in ancient Lunenburg. The part which the Fontaines and the Maurys have had in the history of their times is too well known to need repetition here, and the history of the Huguenot Emigration, a history which has been quite well written, cannot for lack of space be repeated here. Almost without exception, these refugees were persons of excellent qualities, peaceable citizens, and many rose to stations of very high importance.

Peter Fontaine, Jr., the son of the rector of Westover Parish, and nephew of John Fontaine, Governor Spotswood's friend, his companion on the trip to Fort Christanna and on the expedition of the Knights of the Golden Horse-Shoe, became the first surveyor of Lunenburg County, and later of Halifax County. He was Colonel of the County and one of its most prominent citizens. From a union of the Fontaine and Maury families, both from ancient Lunenburg, sprang one of the foremost men of science America has produced—Matthew Fontaine Maury.

That the Welch were represented among the early Lunenburgers we know from the fact that in 1726, John Davis, in order that there might be no mistake as to his identity, had himself described, in a grant for a tract of land issued to him at that time, as John Davis, "the Welchman."

The foregoing list embraces but a few of the representatives of outstanding families who helped to lay the foundations of the County. That the list is imperfect and incomplete is of course true. No invidious comparisons or distinctions are intended to be made by introducing it. Its sole purpose is to illustrate and substantiate the claim that many racial strains blended to produce a citizenship of which any state might well be proud.

That philosophical writer, to whom we are indebted for a valuable contribution to the history of Virginia,¹ Reverend William Henry Foote, D. D., has justly written:

¹*Sketches of Virginia*: Phila., 1850; and *Sketches of Virginia* (Second Series), Phila., 1855.

“The genealogy for the eighteenth century, of the Morton, Watkins, Venable, Allen, Womark [Womack], Smith, Spencer, Michaux, Wilson and Scott families, and many others that occupied Lunenburg, in its original boundaries, would offer to the philosophic observer of the human race subjects for profound reflection. Coming from different divisions of the European stock, mingling in society on the frontiers, amalgamating by marriage, moulded by the religious teachings of Robinson and Davies, and their associates and successors, they formed a state of society and morals, in which the excellencies of the original constituent parts have been preserved. The courtly manners of Williamsburg, the cheerfulness and ease of the Huguenots, the honest frankness and stern independence of the English country gentleman, the activity and shrewdness of the merchant, the simplicity of republican life—all have been combined. Removed from cities, and not densely crowded in neighborhoods, relieved from the drudgeries of common life, and stimulated to activity, to preserve a cheerful independence, the increasing population have improved the opportunities for moral, intellectual and spiritual advancement, and pious examples, of excellence in manners, morals and religion, and domestic intercourse, worthy of remembrance and imitation.”¹

Dr. Foote might well have called a much longer roll of these worthy families. In fact a complete roster would embrace a large part of the original settlers, and to give such a list would be quite impossible in a work of this scope. However, space may be accorded for a brief additional account of the genesis of the County embodying something of the chronology of the settlement of the territory and some additional names of pioneers.

Numerous grants to lands on Meherrin River were issued while the territory was still Prince George. Most of these were, it seems, in the present County of Brunswick, but some of them were most probably in the area afterwards laid off

¹Foote: *Sketches of Virginia* (Second Series), 575.

into Lunenburg; some of them seem to have been in that part of Lunenburg afterwards created into Mecklenburg County. John King and John Wall were granted lands in 1720 on the south side of Nottoway River; and the records of Prince George County show that Captain Wm. Browne and John Bradford surveyed lands on Meherrin River in 1721.

While Brunswick County was created by an act passed in November, 1720, apparently no court was held in the County until 1732. This would indicate that the County government was not organized until that time. But grants for land in that County begin in 1722. The first was dated May 15, 1722, and was issued to Robert Mumford and John Anderson for 2811 acres in the Fork of Cocks Creeks.¹

By 1726 lands in the heart of the territory to become Lunenburg were being patented. On July 7, 1726, Charles Kimball secured a grant for 280 acres of land on the "lower or inward side of the Reedy Creek of Meherrin river," and on the same day Honorable Nathaniel Harrison secured a grant for 100 acres on the north side of Meherrin River. In this same year Richard Blunt patented land on the north side of Meherrin River, Henry Lettbetter on the south side of Meherrin River, Richard Lettbetter on the south side of Meherrin River "and on the south side of the Rattlesnake swamp."²

Robert Henry Dyer, in 1727, secured a grant for land on Green Creek, John Banister for lands on the south side of the Roanoke, and John Marshall for lands on the south side of Meherrin River.

On September 28, 1728, William Byrd, Esq., secured a grant for 1550 acres on the north side of Roanoke River, including two islands,³ and on the same day Drury Stith secured a grant for lands on the south side of Meherrin River "a little below the Bent of the River."

In 1731 Joseph Boswell patented lands on Briery Creek, and Henry L. Edloe on Great Creek. In 1734 Baron Christopher

¹Land Office Records, 11, p. 88.

²It was from this family, an early name in Prince George, that Lettbetter Creek in Lunenburg undoubtedly took its name.

³Land Office Records, Book 13, p. 504.

De Graffenreidt secured a grant for 1843 acres of land on both sides of a creek of Meherrin River called Swiss Creek, and Richard Randolph in 1735 acquired a grant for 1782 acres in the Counties "of Brunswick and Prince George" on both sides of Bush River. In 1737 and 1738 William Byrd secured grants aggregating some five thousand acres on both sides of the middle fork of Roanoke River, on Blue Stone, on Briery Creek, Sandy Creek, and Dan River.

In 1738 Henry Embry secured a grant for land on Banister River, and in 1739 Richard Stokes patented a tract on the ridge between the heads of the branches of Morris' Creek and the stream in recent times known as Modest Creek, but which then bore another name. In this same year John Mason Junior secured a grant for 545 acres "on both sides of the Great Branch of the nap of Reeds Creek," and John Mason patented 388 acres on both sides of the Upper Fork of Bears Element Creek. It was from him that a branch of Bears Element Creek took its present day name of Mason's Creek.

In 1739, also, John Edloe secured a grant for land on the south side of the Flat Rock Creek, and on both sides of the Beaverpond Branches, John Jefferson lands on Cattail Creek, Lemuel Lanier and James Lanier in 1740 patented lands on Three Creek, John Harding on the south side of the Second Fork of Licking Hole. John Coles secured a grant for 5600 acres on both sides of Staunton River, including the Islands, while Colonel Henry Embry secured a grant for four hundred acres on the ridge "between the nap of Reeds Creek and Couche's Creek."

In 1742 William Byrd, apparently growing enthusiastic over the progress of development of the section, secured a grant for 105,000 acres "on both sides of Dan River, and on both sides of the several branches of the same, namely Banister River, Medway River, and Hicomony River," while Theophilus Field secured a grant for a tract "on the first great creek above Christianna Fort," and Col. Richard Randolph acquired by grant 10,300 acres "including a small island in Staunton River, commonly known by the name of Fishing Place, on both sides of said Staunton River and on both sides of Licking Hole Creek

and Black Walnut Creek." Benjamin Wynsley was granted 400 acres on Bears Element Creek, and Abraham Cocke 2003 acres on Hounds Creek.

In 1743 Clement Read was granted 500 acres on Waqua Creek, Lewis Delaney a tract of land on both sides of Flat Rock Creek and on the north side of Allens Creek, Philip Lightfoot 6588 acres on the north side of Meherrin River, Tscharner DeGraffenreidt, son and heir of Christopher DeGraffenreidt, 404 acres on the north fork of Swiss Creek, and Metcalf Dickenson 249 acres on Cedar Creek. In this year also Richard Kennon acquired 31,700 acres on Staunton River and on both sides of Cubb Creek.

In 1744 Abraham Michaux was granted 400 acres on Meherrin river and on both sides of Tassekiah (Tussekih) Creek, and 400 acres on both sides of Couche's Creek, John Blackwell and Theophilus Field tracts on Nottoway River, while Richard Randolph acquired by grant 3,233 acres on the north side of Otter River, including the heads of branches of Buffalo Creek and Elk Creek.

In 1745 John Bolling secured a grant for 818 acres on the north side of Roanoke River, William Broadnax 521 acres on the branches of Reedy Creek, James Coleman 400 acres on the north side of Roanoke River, Edward Booker 694 acres on the north side of Staunton River, James Coleman 274 acres on Allen's Creek, John Ingram 2,476 acres on Williams Creek, and 250 acres on Ledbetter's Creek.

David Lee patented 1800 acres on Ward's Fork; Thomas Caldwell 334 acres on Banister River; William Petty Poole a tract on the stream known as Modest Creek; William Caldwell 400 acres on Banister River; and Young Stokes 2000 acres on present day Modest Creek.

Although Lunenburg was created by the act of 1745 and the County was organized May 5, 1746, many Brunswick County grants were issued for lands in Lunenburg for several years thereafter. This no doubt resulted from the fact that the surveys had been made while the territory was still Brunswick, and when the grants were finally issued they were issued as if the land were still in Brunswick County.

Grants issued for lands, describing the lands as if they were in Brunswick, but actually for lands in Lunenburg after the passage of the act creating Lunenburg, and many of them after the organization of the County in 1746, included the following:

To Edward Colwell, Jan. 12, 1746, for 2740 acres on Couche's Creek; to Timothy Murrell, Jan. 12, 1746, for 195 acres on Hounds Creek; to Drury Ragsdale for 370 acres on Falls Creek and Little Hounds Creek; to Thomas Mackhunny, Jan. 12, 1746, for 330 acres on Flat Rock Creek; to Joseph Morton, Jr., for 600 acres on Lickinghole Creek; to John Twetty on Jan. 12, 1746, for 1000 acres on Meherrin River; to John Cargill, Jan. 12, 1746, for 210 acres on Dan River; to Francis Calloway, Aug. 20, 1747, for 244 acres on Buffalo Creek; to Richard Calloway on the same date for 244 acres on Buffalo Creek; to Thomas Lanier, Jan. 12, 1747, for 380 acres on Mitchell's Creek; to Benjamin Lanier, April 5, 1748, for 368 acres on Allens Creek; to Edward Jordon, April 5, 1748, for 654 acres on Couches Creek; to Nicholas Brewer, Aug. 20, 1748, for 254 acres on Beaverpond Creek; to John Caldwell, Feb. 10, 1748, for 1085 acres on Cubb Creek; to Armistead Burwell, Jan. 7, 1746, for 3404 acres on Finny Wood Creek; to Matthew Talbott, Jan. 12, 1746, for 600 acres "being an Island in Staunton River below the mouth of Seneca Creek"; to Theodorick Bland, Jan. 12, 1746, for 396 acres on Nottoway River; to Thomas Bouldin, Jan. 12, 1746, for 400 acres on Twitty's Creek and branches of Little Roanoke; to John Yeates, June 25, 1747, for 204 acres on Dan River; to Nicholas S. Lanier, Oct. 1, 1747, 415 acres on Mitchells Creek; to Byrd Thomas Lanier, Jan. 12, 1747, for 374 acres on Allen's Creek; to Isaac Collier, Jan. 12, 1747, for 755 acres on Otterdam Creek.

The foregoing grants, of course, comprise but a small percentage of those issued in Brunswick County for lands afterwards embraced in Lunenburg County. They are taken at random from the grant books in the Land Office of the State of Virginia, and are simply presented as typical of the thousands of grants issued during the time immigration to this territory was at its height, especially from about 1733 to 1747.

A very large part of the territory that was to become Lunen-

burg was entered and patented before the County was formed; it is altogether probable that a major portion of the area was granted before that date. But the unseated areas were by no means exhausted, as the records of the land grants issued in Lunenburg subsequent to its organization abundantly prove.

The first grant for land described as in Lunenburg was issued August 28, 1746, to James Parrish for 208 acres on the south side of Dan River including Wolf Island. The next was issued to Henry May on September 25, 1746, for 328 acres of land on both sides of Little Roanoke River and adjoining the lands of Richard Randolph; and the third was issued to Augustine Claiborne January 12, 1747,¹ for 656 acres on the north side of "Meherrin River."

The following list, taken more or less at random from the records of the Land Office, embrace but a small part of the grants issued after the formation of the County:

William Caldwell, April 5, 1748, 280 acres on a branch of Louse Creek;

William Carrington, July 25, 1749, 400 acres on Harricane Branch of Meherrin River;

Adam Cahoon [Calhoon], July 25, 1749, 800 acres on the branches of the middle and Horse pen forks of Cub Creek adjoining Joseph Morton;

William Love, July 25, 1749, 433 acres on both sides of Meherrin River;

David Caldwell, Sept. 5, 1749, a tract of land on both sides of Snow Creek;

James Gee, Dec. 15, 1749, a tract of land on the head branches of Bears Element Creek, adjoining Mason's land;

David Stokes, September 5, 1749, 400 acres on a branch of Grassy Creek;

Clement Read, June 1, 1750, 200 acres on the head branches of Roanoke and adjoining Abraham Womack, Thomas Spencer and others;

William Caldwell, Senr., June 1, 1750, 176 acres on Sandy Creek;

¹The date on the book is 1746, which seems a clerical error.

John Caldwell, June 1, 1750, 281 acres on Bannister River;
Abraham Legrand, June 1, 1750, 400 acres near "William
Bolling's path";

Edward Booker, July 12, 1750, 475 acres on the lower side
of North Fork of Bears Element Creek, adjoining Poole's line;

Peter Jefferson, Nov. 3, 1750, 713 acres on the south side
of Staunton River, adjoining Benjamin Clement;

John Davis, Nov. 3, 1750, 2443 acres on the south side of
Roanoke River, adjoining Richard Fox;

Richard Cocke, Nov. 3, 1750, 190 acres on the Upper Side
of Bears' Element Creek, adjoining the lands of Mason, Booker
and others;

Thomas Lanier, Aug. 5, 1751, 318 acres on the lower side
of Butchers Creek;

Drury Allen, August 5, 1751, 400 acres on the head of
Couche's Creek;

William Embry, Aug. 5, 1751, 119 acres on Reedy Creek;

John Mason, June 1, 1750, 788 acres on both sides of Upper
Bears Element Creek, adjoining his own land;

Charles Stokes, June 1, 1750, 315 acres on Dry Creek;

Young Stokes and Henry Stokes, June 1, 1750, 480 acres
on Tassakea [Tussekiyah] Creek;

Sir William Skipwith, June 1, 1750, 200 acres on Little
Roanoke River;

David Stokes, June 1, 1750, 400 acres on Nut Bush Fork
of the stream now known as Modest Creek;

John Edloe, July 5, 1751, 2000 acres on Crooked Creek, and
2700 acres on Flat Rock Creek;

John Brunskill (Clk),¹ 400 acres on the middle fork of "Blew-
stone";

Peter Fontaine, Aug. 3, 1751, 2000 acres on branches of
Polecat Creek, Poplar, Reedy and Mill Creeks, adjoining John
Burk's land;

William Saffold, Aug. 6, 1753, 293 acres on Beaver Pond,
and Flat Rock Creeks, adjoining the lands of Edloe, Daw
and others;

¹Rev. John Brunskill, at one time minister of Cumberland Parish.

Lunsford Lomax, Clement Read, Robert Jones and Nicholas Edmonds, April 20, 1753, 11,267 acres on Irwin River and Beaver and Ready Creeks;

Drury Stith, Henry Morris and Michael Cadet Young, Aug. 6, 1753, 3070 acres on Grassey Creek;

Theophilus Field, June 26, 1755, 1004 acres on Roanoke River and Nut Bush Creek;

Richard Randolph, on Sept. 10, 1755, 2350 acres on Blackwater; 14,000 acres on Little Otter, Falling and Goose Creeks; 2800 acres on Snow Creek; 13,550 acres on the north branch of Staunton River and the south branch of Goose Creek; 2800 acres on both sides of Staunton River; 780 acres on Blackwater; 400 acres on Gill Creek; 250 acres on Gill Creek; 1800 acres on Staunton River, including a small Island; 300 acres on Maggoty Creek; and 940 acres on Maggoty Creek;

John Chiswell, Sept. 10, 1755, several tracts on Sandy River;

Owen Sullivant, Sept. 10, 1755, 160 acres on Ward's Fork; Matthew Talbott, Jr., Sept. 10, 1755, 400 acres on both sides of Johnsons Creek and South Branch of Otter River;

Henry Embry, Jr., Sept. 10, 1755, 400 acres on Great Toby's Creek;

Archibald Cary, Aug. 24, 1754, 10,650 acres on the north side of Goose Creek;

Matthew Marrable, May 8, 1755, many tracts in several localities;

Peter Fontaine, Jr., May 15, 1755, 825 acres on both sides of the South Fork of Terrible Creek;

Michael Macdermoutdrove, Feb. 14, 1756, 400 acres on head branches of Roanoke River;

David Caldwell and Thomas *Rodgers*, Exors. of William *Rogers*, decd., Aug. 16, 1756, 300 acres on Turnip Creek;

William Hardy, Aug. 16, 1756, 400 acres on both sides of Crooked Creek adjoining Ragsdale;

Thomas Spraggin, Aug. 16, 1756, 454 acres on south side of Catawba Creek;

James Easter, Aug. 29, 1757, 683 acres on Ash Camp Creek at the mouth of Great Branch;

John Caldwell, Sept. 26, 1760, 324 acres on Great Louse Creek;

Stephen Edward Broadnax, Aug. 16, 1756, 413 acres on Miles Creek;

James Maury (Clerk),¹ Aug. 16, 1756, 400 acres on Little Buffalo Creek;

Silvanus Stokes, May 12, 1759, 400 acres on Middle Meherrin;

Field Jefferson, July 15, 1760, 2200 acres on the north side of Roanoke River;

Owen Sullivan, July 15, 1760, 225 acres on Sandy Creek;

James Caldwell, July 15, 1760, 225 acres on Sandy Creek;

William Caldwell, Aug. 7, 1761, 375 acres on Turnip Creek;

John Sullivan, Aug. 15, 1764, 400 acres on Stith Branch;

Thomas Shelborn, Aug. 15, 1764, 300 acres on Sneeds Creek;

David Garland, June 5, 1765, 380 acres on head branches of Flat Rock and Stoney Creeks, adjoining the lands of Brown and Bishop, and 400 acres on the head branches of Stoney Creek, adjoining Gill's lands;

John Jefferson, Aug. 29, 1766, 400 acres on both sides of Crupper Run;

Stephen Coleman, Sept. 22, 1766, 214 acres on the west Branch and Terry's Run;

John Garland, Dec. 1, 1779, 321 acres;

Peter Field Trent, May 13, 1780, 765 acres on Flat Rock, and Hound's Creek, adjoining the lands of John Hardy, Thomas Hardy, James Buford and others;

Peter Garland, Sept. 1, 1780, 31 acres on the north side of Meherrin River, adjoining the lands of John Rhodes, Wm. Turner and others;

William Stokes, Feb. 1, 1781, 9½ acres on Ready Creek;

Archibald Campbell, Sept. 1, 1780, 300 acres on the head branches of Naked Creek;

William Buford, Dec. 30, 1786, 430 acres on Moodys Branch;

William Hardy, July 20, 1787, 299 acres on the south Branch of Great Rounds [Hounds] Creek;

¹Plaintiff in the celebrated "Parsons Case," in which Patrick Henry made his great Speech.

John Hardy, March 17, 1789, 474 acres on Flat Rock Creek;
Henry Gee, July 28, 1789, 43½ acres on Bears Element
Creek;

Wren Tisdale, July 24, 1789, 99 acres on the north side of
Meherrin River, adjoining the lands of Nicholas Hobson decd.

The act passed in 1745 provided that the County of Lunenburg should come into being on May 1, 1746. Four days later, on May 5, 1746, the Commission of the Peace was read, and the county machinery formally set in motion. The opening record, and proceedings of the first term of court are as follows:

“MAY COURT MDCCXLVI

LUNENBURG COUNTY &C

AT THE COURT HOUSE OF THE SAID COUNTY ON
THE FIFTH DAY OF MAY IN THE SIXTH YEAR OF
THE REIGN OF OUR SOVEREIGN LORD KING GEORGE
THE SECOND AND IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD GOD
ONE THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED AND FORTY SIX.

PRESENT

WILLIAM HOWARD
MATTHEW TALBOT
LEWIS DELONY
JOHN PHELPS
WILLIAM HILL

JOHN HALL
JOHN CALDWELL
CORNELIUS CARGILL
ABRAHAM COOK
HUGH LAWSON
THOMAS LANEAR

AND WILLIAM CALDWELL

GENTLEMEN:

A COMMISSION OF THE PEACE for this county directed to the above mentioned persons and others, and a Dedimus Potestatem for administering the oaths and both bearing date the second day of this instant, were this day openly read:

Whereupon, the said William Howard and Lewis Delony, administered the oaths appointed by act of Parliament to be taken instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy and the abjuration oath unto the said William Hill and John Phelps, which they took, and then, subscribed the abjuration oath and also the teste, and then, the said William Howard and Lewis Delony admin-

istered unto the said William Hill and John Phelps the oath of a Justice of the Peace, and the oath of a Justice of the County Court in Chancery, which they likewise took; and then the said William Hill and John Phelps administered the said oaths appointed to be taken instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy unto the said William Howard, Matthew Talbot, Lewis Delony, John Caldwell, Cornelius Cargill, Abraham Cook, Hugh Lawson, Thomas Lanear, and William Caldwell who in like manner took the same and subscribed the said abjuration oath and teste, and then the said William Hill and John Phelps administered to them the said oath of a Justice of the Peace and the oath of a Justice of the County Court in Chancery which they likewise took.

The Court being thus constituted:

Clement Read Gent produced a Commission from the Honorable Thomas Nelson Esq'r Secretary of this Colony to be Clerk of this Court during pleasure, And thereupon, the said Read having first taken the oaths appointed by the Act of Parliament to be taken instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy and taken and subscribed the abjuration oath, and subscribed the test was sworn Clerk of this Court accordingly.

A Commission from the Honorable the Lieutenant Governor to Thomas Bouldin Gent to be Sheriff of this County during pleasure, was produced in Court by the said Thomas Bouldin and read, and thereupon, he together with Thomas Jones and John Owen his securities, entered into and acknowledged their bond in One thousand Pounds Sterling payable and conditioned as in the said condition as directed.

And then the said Bouldin having first taken the oaths appointed by Act of Parliament to be taken instead of the oaths of allegiance and Supremacy, and taken and subscribed the abjuration oath, and subscribed the teste, was then sworn Sheriff of this County.

A commission from the Masters and Professors of William and Mary College at Williamsburg to John Hall Gent, to be Surveyor

of the north district of this county was produced in Court by the said John Hall and read, and then, the said John Hall having first taken the oaths appointed by Act of Parliament to be taken instead of the oaths of Allegiance and supremacy, and taken and subscribed the Abjuration oath, and subscribed the teste, was sworn Surveyor accordingly.

A Commission from the Masters and Professors of William and Mary College at Williamsburg to Peter Fontaine Jr Gent, to be Surveyor of the south district of this county, was produced in Court by the said Peter Fontaine, and read, and then, the said Peter Fontaine having first taken the oaths appointed by Act of Parliament to be taken instead of the oaths of allegiance and Supremacy and taken and subscribed the Abjuration oath and subscribed the teste, was sworn Surveyor accordingly.

Gideon Marr Gent, having this day in Court took and subscribed the usual oaths to His Majestys person and government and also subscribed the Teste, took the oath by law appointed to be taken by Attornies practicing in the County Courts.

John Phelps Gent is appointed to take the list of Tithables in this county from the mouth of Otter River to the extent of the County upwards.

Mathew Talbot Gent is appointed to take the list of Tithables in this county from the mouth of Falling River to the mouth of Otter River.

William Caldwell Gent, is appointed to take the list of Tithables in this County from the mouth of Falling River to the mouth of Little Roanoke River.

Cornelius Cargill Gent is appointed to take the list of Tithables in this county from the mouth of Little Roanoke River to the

mouth of Blewstone, and so to the County line, and also in the fork of Roanoke.

William Hill Gent, is appointed to take the list of Tithables in this county from the mouth of Blewstone, to the mouth of Allen Creek.

Lewis Delony Gent, is appointed to take the list of tithables in this county from the mouth of Allens Creek down to the line that divides this from Brunswick County.

Hugh Lawson Gent is appointed to take the list of Tithables in this county from the line that divides this from Brunswick county upwards to the mouth of Hounds Creek.

Lidall Bacon Gent, is appointed to take the list of Tithables in this county from the mouth of Hounds Creek to the extent of the County upwards.

Lewis Deloney and Thomas Lanear, Gents are appointed Commissioners to attend the Surveyor of this County on the part of this County in order to meet the Surveyor and Commissioners appointed on the part of Brunswick County to direct the running of the dividing line between this, and that county according to the directions of the Act of Assembly for that purpose made, and it is ordered that the charge and expense thereof be equally defrayed by both counties.

An Indenture of Feoffment between Anthony Pouncy of the one part and John Owen of the other part was acknowledged by the said Anthony Pouncy and Lucy, the wife of the said Anthony Pouncy being first privily examined as the law directs, the same is ordered to be recorded.

An Indenture of Feoffment between Henry Reynolds of the one part and John Owen of the other part was proved by the oaths of the witnesses thereto subscribed and ordered to be recorded.

Richard Calloway is appointed Constable of this county and it is ordered that the said Calloway be sworn into his said office at the next court.

William Hunter is appointed a Constable of this County and it is ordered that the said Hunter be sworn into his said office at the next court.

Richard Griffin is appointed a Constable of this County and it is ordered that the said Griffin be sworn into his said office at the next Court.

James Coleman is appointed a Constable of this county and it is ordered that the said Coleman be sworn into his said office at the next Court.

David Dodd is appointed a Constable of this County and it is ordered that the said Dodd be sworn into his said office at the next Court.

Silvanus Walker is appointed a Constable of this County And it is ordered that the said Walker be sworn into his said office at the next Court.

James Easter is appointed Surveyor of the Road from the mouth of Ash Camp Creek the most convenient way into Col Randolphs Road, And it is ordered that Thomas Jones' male laboring Tithables, Clement Read's male laboring tithables and Philip Jones' male laboring Tithables assist in clearing the same.

Lewis Delony Gent, is appointed Surveyor of the River Road from the dividing line up to Allen Creek and it is ordered that the male laboring tithable persons convenient thereto assist in clearing the same.

William Howard Gent, is appointed Surveyor of the Road from Allen Creek to Butchers Creek and it is ordered that all male

laboring tithable persons convenient thereto assist in clearing the same.

Abraham Cook Gent is appointed Surveyor of the Road from Butchers Creek to Blew Stone, and it is ordered that all male laboring Tithable persons convenient thereto assist in clearing the same.

William Harris is appointed Surveyor of the Road from Blew Stone to Cargill's Ferry on Staunton River And it is ordered that all male laboring tithable persons convenient thereto assist in clearing the same.

John McKneese is appointed a Constable of this County, and it is ordered that the said McKneese be sworn into his said office at the next Court.

Richard Womack is appointed Surveyor of a road to be cleared from the Middle Fork of Little Roanoke into Falling River Road, and it is ordered that all the male laboring tithable persons belonging to Thomas Spencer, Joseph Morton, Richard Womack and Robert Childsress [Childress] assist in clearing the same. Ordered that the next Court be held at the house of Mr Thomas Bouldin

Ordered that the Court be adjourned till the Court in course.

Signed

JOHN HALL"

It does not affirmatively appear where this first term of Court was held. The opening order recites that it was held "at the Court House of the said County," but that court house was likely the residence of some citizen, which became the "court house" by virtue of the fact that the Court was there held. It was likely at the residence of Clement Read, the first clerk, who was to be one of the first burgesses from the county, or it may have been held at the residence of John Hall the first of those named in the Commission of the Peace for organizing the county. But these are mere conjectures. The second term was by an

order entered at the first term, directed to be held at the residence of Thomas Bouldin, the sheriff. This was within that part of Lunenburg, afterwards to be laid off into Charlotte County.

An order was entered at the June term, 1746, directing "that the court be adjourned till the court in course and held next month at Burwell's Quarter on Butcher's Creek." This was of course in the present county of Mecklenburg.

The following order was entered July 7, 1746:

"The Surveyor of this county is appointed to run a Line a dew west course from the center of the line that divides this from Brunswick County Twenty five miles and that he proceed on the same the last Monday in this month, and Lewis Deloney and David Stokes, Gent, are appointed Commissioners to attend the said survey and that they make Report thereof to this Court."¹

A line so run would fix the location of its terminus in the present county of Mecklenburg, not very far from Chase City, and the Court House was located within the eastern limits of that town as it now exists, but an order entered in September, 1747, declares that the location was ten miles nearer the Brunswick line than it should be.

The following appears upon the records of the court for August 4, 1746:

"Lewis Deloney and David Stokes, Gentlemen who were appointed Commissioners by the last court to attend the surveyor of this county in running a line a dew west course from the center of the line that divides this from Brunswick County, twenty five miles this Day Reported to the Court that the land whereon the said line terminated is Barren and that there is no spring convenient &c, whereupon James Murray came into court and proposed to build a Courthouse, stocks and pillory on his own Land — According to the Plan offered by Lewis Deloney Gent. and lodged in the clerk's office of this County, at the most convenient place, within a mile or thereabouts of the termination of the said Line by next October come twelve months and that in the meantime he would Build a convenient House to hold Court in which house should be finished and ready for the purpose by

¹O. B. 1, p. 35.

the next Court to be held for this County, which proposal the Court are of opinion is for the Benefit of the county and do accordingly agree to accept thereof and thereupon it is ordered that Lewis Deloney and John Hall Gent. take Bond and security of the said Murray for the performance and fulfilling of the said agreement.”¹

“Lewis Deloney Gent. having proposed and offered to the Court to Build a sufficient and necessary Prison for the use of this County It is the opinion of the Court that he build such a Prison as will be convenient, strong and sufficient by the Twenty fifth day of December next, and that he also make and Build such necessary office in the Courthouse and a Press for the safe-keeping and preservation of the Law Books, Papers and Records which shall or may from time to time be left there, as will be needful and necessary as also a Table for the clerk to write on and that for the services aforesaid he bring in his Charge at the laying the next Levy for this County, and if upon examination of such account it shall be the opinion of the Court that the same is extravagant and his Charges unreasonable that then persons be appointed to view such works and services—and Report the value thereof to the next succeeding Court.”²

It will be seen from the foregoing that James Murray agreed at the August term, 1746, to build within one month “a convenient House to hold court in,” and have it ready for the September Court, 1746; and that the Court engaged him to build a court house according to the plans offered by Lewis Deloney, the same to be ready “by next October come twelve months,” which it seems meant. October, 1747.

Just what happened respecting the building of the court house is not known, but at the September term, 1747, the court entered the following order:

“This court from many month’s experience taking into their consideration the many Grievances that attend the present situation of this Courthouse, which are as follows to wit: ‘That the water near and convenient and which is now made use of is unclean, unwholesome, very bad and not fit to drink. That the

¹O. B. 1, 48-49.

²O. B. 1, 49-50.

place where the Courthouse is situate is not Centrical but Inconvenient to the majority of the Inhabitants of this County and is nearer the County line than the line that divides this from Brunswick County, by about Ten miles and is so illy scituated that it is Impracticable to have Convenient and necessary Roads to lead to it from hardly any part of the County.' It is therefore ordered that John Hall, David Stokes and Clement Read Gentlemen do Represent to the Honorable the Governor and Council of this Colony the several Grievances aforesaid in order to have them redressed, and to obtain such an order as will be for the ease and convenience of the Inhabitants of this County."¹

Neither the Court records, nor legislation, so far as our investigations have discovered them, disclose what action was taken or where the court house was located, if indeed its location was changed.

A legislative petition² presented to the General Assembly May 23, 1782, declares that the Court House is situate on a tract of land the property of a certain Mr. Joseph Smith "who admits the place is infested with persons violently suspected of Horse-stealing and sundry other crimes," and that the reputation of Smith is not above suspicion. The petition requests that the Court House be removed from that place to the place most "centrical." This petition is signed by considerably more than a hundred persons.

It was in response to this petition that the following act was passed in May, 1782, by the General Assembly:

I. Whereas it is represented to this present general assembly, that the situation of the present court house in the County of Lunenburg is inconvenient to the inhabitants thereof:

II. Be it therefore enacted, That the justices of the said County of Lunenburg, or a majority of them, shall provide for building, as soon as may be, a court-house, prison, pillory, and stocks, on some convenient place at or near the centre of the said county; and that after such buildings shall be *completed*, a court for the said county shall be constantly held at such place,

¹O. B. 1, p. 286.

²Preserved in the Archives of the Virginia State Library.

and that in the mean time, and until such buildings shall be *completed*, the justices may hold their sessions at such place as they may think most convenient.¹

The well founded tradition is that the court house of the county prior to that located under the Act of May, 1782, was located a mile and a half from the present court house on the left hand side of the road, as one travels from the Court House to Victoria. At a distance of one and a half miles from the court house on this road, a comparatively little used road turns out from it to the left; on the right hand side of this road at a distance of some two hundred yards can still be seen the remains of an old well,—the Court House well. The Court House stood between this point and the residence of the late William C. Tisdale, which was later built near the location of the old Lunenburg Tavern, at which Tarleton stopped on his raid through Lunenburg.

The tract of land embracing the old Court House site is now owned by Mrs. J. Caleb Gary of Lunenburg. It was formerly the home of her grandparents William and Jane M. Tisdale.

It seems that acting under the authority of the Act of May, 1782, the County Court fixed upon the location of the "convenient place at or near the center of the county" on the lands of Michael Johnson, as appears by the following order:

"In Lunenburg County Court September 12th, 1782.

Agreeable to an Act of Assembly, the center of the County having been ascertained upon the lands of Michael Johnson, it is ordered that Public Buildings, Courthouse, pillory and stocks, for the use of the County be forthwith erected at the place provided. The proprietor thereof gives bond with approved security for the performance of the said building and also convey to the Justices of the said County and their successors the tract of land whereon the said [Court House] is to be set in trust for the use of the said Michael Johnson and his heirs, but with full power whenever a majority of the said Justices and their successors shall disapprove of the conduct of the said Johnson to set [sell] the same and convey it away for his benefit for the best price that can be had of any person whose character may be thought unexceptionable."

¹*Henig*, XI, 31.

The justices of the County Court entered into an agreement with Michael Johnson for building the new Court House. The minutes of the County Court order book for the September term, 1782, contains the following entry:

“The Plan of the Court-House to be erected in this county by Michael Johnson, was read to him and accepted and ordered to be lodged among the records also the bond of the said Michael Johnson and his securities for the erecting of the said *Michael Johnson &* his sureties thereto and ordered to be recorded.”

The indemnifying bond for the faithful performance of the building contract was as follows:

We, Michael Johnson, William Glenn, Robert Beasley, William Parrett, Daniel Melone and William Thackson are held and firmly bound unto Christopher Billups, Thomas Chambers, John Ragsdale, Jonathan Patteson, Charles Hamlin, Joseph Winn, Anthony Street, John Glenn, Stephen Edward Broadnax, Henry Stokes, Robert Blackwell, Frances DeGraffenreidt, John Ballard, Edward Jordon, Robert Dixon, Christopher Robertson, John Powell, Nicholas Hobson, and Edward Ragsdale, Gentlemen Justices of the County of Lunenburg and their successors in the just and full sum of Ten Thousand Pounds Specie for value received to the which payment well and truly to be made to the said Justices and their successors, we bind ourselves jointly and severally, our joint and several heirs, executors, and administrators firmly by these presents.

Sealed with our seals and dated this thirteenth day of September one thousand seven hundred and eighty two.

The condition of the above obligation is such that whereas by virtue of an act of Assembly for that purpose power is vested in the said Justices, or a majority of them to fix upon a place at or near the center of the said County for the erecting of a Court house and other public buildings necessary for the holding of the Court of the said County, and whereas in consideration of the said Michael Johnson, his being a person of present character unexceptionable, and also of the said Michael Johnson, his erecting a Court House, Pillory and Stocks, the said Court-house to be agreeable to a plan proposed to and accepted by the said

Michael Johnson, which plan exhibited, is lodged in office of the records of the said County, reference being thereunto had may more fully appear, the said building to be completed in two years from this date, and also in consideration of the said Michael Johnson his giving a deed to the said Justices and their successors as is agreed to by the said Michael Johnson on record of the said Court this Term now if the said Michael Johnson shall well and truly erect the aforesaid buildings as aforesaid within the time limited as aforesaid and shall give the aforesaid deed as is aforesaid when thereunto required and shall faithfully comply and perform all and every of the aforesaid conditions as aforesaid, then the above obligation to be void, else to remain in full force and virtue.

MICHAEL JOHNSON (Seal)

WILLIAM GLENN (Seal)

His

ROBERT X BEASLEY (Seal)

Mark

WILLIAM PARROTT (Seal)

His

DANIEL X MELONE (Seal)

Mark

WILLIAM THACKSON (Seal)

At A Court continued and held for Lunenburg County the 13th day of September 1782.

The within written bond was acknowledged by the parties thereto subscribed and ordered to be recorded.

Teste:

WM. TAYLOR, C. C.

The tract of land on which the new Court House was erected was acquired by the following deed:

THIS INDENTURE made and concluded this 14th day of March, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty Three, between Michael Johnson, of the County of Lunenburg, and Win-

ney, his wife, of the one part, and Christopher Billups, Thomas Chambers, John Ragsdale, Jonathan Patteson, Charles Hamlin, Joseph Winn, Anthony Street, John Glenn, Stephen Edward Broadnax, Henry Stokes, Robert Blackwell, Francis DeGraffenreidt, John Ballard, Edward Jordan, Robert Dixon, Christopher Robertson, John Powell, Nicholas Hobson, and Edward Ragsdale, Gent Justices, of the County of Lunenburg of the other part.

WITNESSETH: That the said Michael Johnson for and in consideration of five shillings current money to him in hand paid by the said Justices, the receipt whereof has hereby acknowledged, and for and in consideration of the said Justices their settling the Courthouse of the said County on the land of the said Michael Johnson, they the said Michael and Winney, his wife, [have] granted, bargained, sold, aliened, enfeoffed and confirmed, and by these presents do grant, bargain, sell, alien, enfeoff and confirm unto the said Christopher Billups and others and their successors forever all that tract or parcel of land situate, lying and being where the Court House of the said County by an order of the said Court is directed to be erected, and on which the said Michael now lives, containing by estimation two hundred and seventy acres be the same more or less, with all houses, buildings, yards, orchards, woods, ways, waters, profits and commodities thereto belonging, or in any wise appertaining, and the reversion and remainder thereof, and all the estate, right, title, interest, property, claim and demands of them, the said Michael and Winney, his wife, of, in and to the same with the appurtenances.

To have and to hold the said land and appurtenances, to them the said Justices and their successors upon condition, nevertheless, that whereas the said Justices and the said Michael, the said Justices on their part have in consideration of the said Michael, his enfeoffing them as aforesaid, agreed to erect the Court House of their County, on the land hereby conveyed so the said Michael on his part in consideration as aforesaid expressed and for the purpose of preventing any person or persons not approved of by the said Justices by reason of their bad fame or character from possessing or being seized of the aforesaid

premises with the appurtenances hereby convey, as aforesaid to the said Justices as aforesaid.

Now if the said Michael Johnson and his heirs and the said Winney or either of them shall not rent, lease, enfeoff or convey by any instrument of conveyance whatsoever the said land with the appurtenances to any person or persons without the consent of a majority of the Justices aforesaid, or their successors, and also shall not possess *and* person or persons of any estate whatsoever in the said land and premises without such consent and approbation, then the above alienation and enfeoffment to be void, otherwise to remain in full effect and operation against him the said Michael and Winney, and the heirs of the said *Mich'l*. And the said *Mich'l*. for himself and his heirs the aforesaid [the] land and premises to the said Justices aforesaid and their successors will hereby warrant and forever defend these presents.

In Witness Whereof, the parties hereto have set there hands and affixed their seals the day and year above written.

MICHAEL JOHNSON (Seal)

Sealed and delivered
in the presence of

WINEYFRED JOHNSON (Seal)

At a Court continued and held for Lunenburg County the 14th day of March, 1783.

Michael Johnson acknowledged the within written deed which was ordered to be recorded, and Winney, the wife of the said Johnson came into Court and being first privily examined, according to law, voluntarily relinquished her right of dower in the land and premises conveyed by the said deed.

WM. TAYLOR, C. C."

But the removal was not to be effected without a contest. On November 1, 1783, a petition was presented to the Legislature, which stated that many years ago the Court House was located by actual survey very near the center of the County; that considerable improvements were made there as a result, a well supplied tavern erected, etc.; That upon the addition of a small part of Charlotte to the County of Lunenburg some supposed

that the center was so far removed as to render removal of the place of holding court necessary, and petitioned for that purpose, and an act was accordingly passed "but upon a second actual survey the center appearing only one mile and a quarter removed and equally convenient to the old court house," and falling on a place remote from public conveniences, water, etc., and on land of a disputed and doubtful title; the petition therefore requested that the General Assembly direct the justices to adjourn to the former place of holding courts.

Contrary petitions were also presented, and the foregoing petition was rejected.

It took something over four years to complete the structure, for it appears that John Ragsdale, John Glenn and William Craghead, members of the County Court, reported to the court at the March term 1787 "agreeable to an order of Lunenburg Court, we have viewed the Court House and find it finished agreeable [to] plans."

This building must not have been a very substantial or satisfactory structure for on July 11, 1793, the court appointed William Craghead and Field Clarke, "to let the repairs to the Court-House and prison to the lowest bidder also to set up posts to the prison bounds, and also to lay off two acres of land for the Court-House and other public buildings according to law."

But even with these repairs the building served a relatively short time, for on August 9, 1824, the court "Ordered that the Commissioners appointed to let the building of the new Court-House or any three of them do let to the lowest bidder the moving of this Court-House for the purpose of erecting a new one in its place, and that the said Commissioners or any three of them do cause the said Court-House to be moved to some convenient place near where it now stands as they in their discretion may select and make return thereof to this Court."

The old Court-House moved pursuant to this order was a two room frame structure, which was in existence until recently. It was first moved from the site of the present (1926) Court-House just off of the Court House Square, to a location in the rear of the old Fowlkes Hotel. Still later it was moved

across the street into the barnyard lot of the Fowlkes Hotel stables, and eventually fell into ruins.

The present Court House structure was built between August, 1824, and March, 1827.

The records of the court show the following entry made March 12, 1827:

“The new Court-House built for the use of this County having been received by a majority of the Commissioners appointed to let and receive the same, it is ordered that the Court adjourn and hold its sitting therein” and immediately following:

“The same Magistrates having taken their seats on the Bench in the new Court-House proceeded to business accordingly.”

Lunenburg Court House attained the dignity of an incorporated Village in 1816, when an act was passed incorporating Lewiston. The corporation consisted of a president and six trustees as follows:

Waddy Street, President and Peter Epes, David Street, Thomas Blackwell, Peter Jones, Wm. H. Taylor and Miles Jordan, Gentlemen, Trustees.

The town was named for Captain Lewis L. Taylor, who fell in the War of 1812.

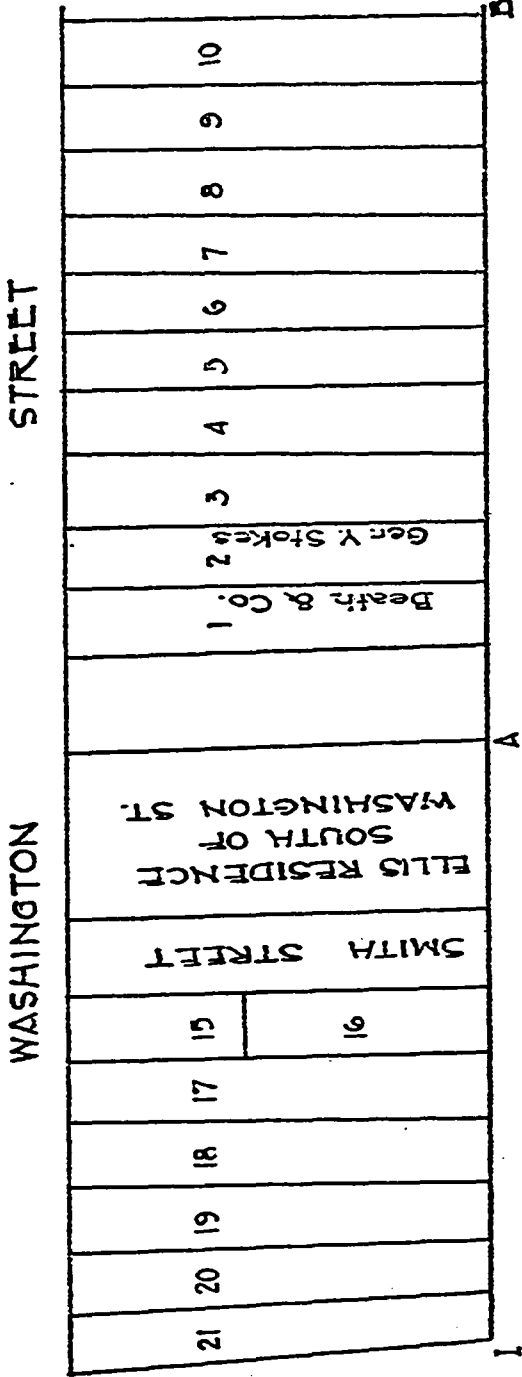
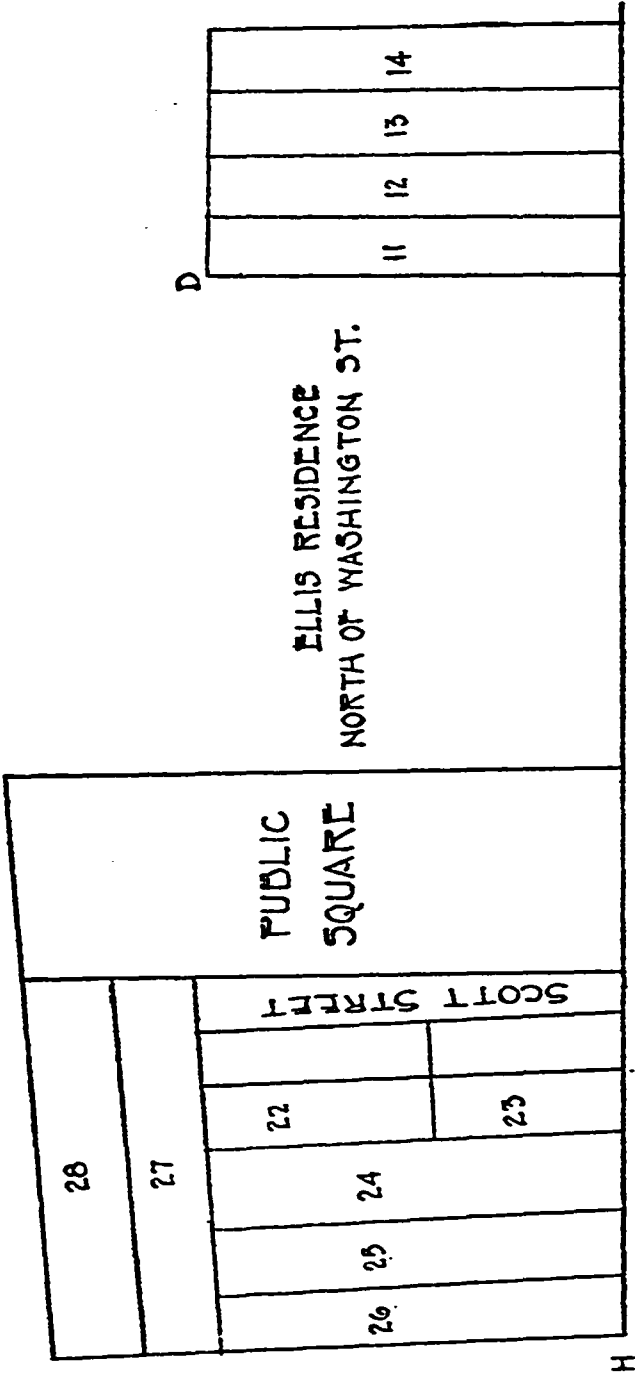
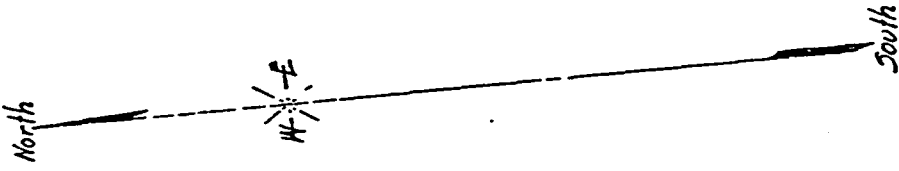
The first meeting of the Board of Trustees was held March 17, 1817. The Board with the assistance of the Surveyor of Lunenburg County, J. Knight, proceeded to lay out the town.

For plot of the town: See next page.

The record shows that Peter Epes, Elisha Collins, Miles Jordan & Co., Joel Hood, William G. Pettus, John Knight, German Y. Stokes, Ambrose Ellis, John Herring, John I. Wells, John Marable, Wilshire Bohannon, Wm. G. Pettus, and William M. White were the earliest purchasers of lots.

Wm. G. Pettus was appointed Clerk of the Board, and in 1818 he was succeeded by Abner H. Burks.

In that same year (in December) William A. Stokes became a member of the Board in the place of Col. Waddy Street, who had died, and Henry Tisdale became a member of the Board in the place of George Craghead, who refused to act.



PLAN OF THE
TOWN OF LEWISTON
LAID OUT
MARCH 17, 1817.
Scale 1/4 in. = 10 poles = 165 ft.

In 1829 additional sales of lots were made as follows: Nos. 19, 24 and 25 to Wm. H. Taylor; Nos. 26, 6 and 7 to Job. Sevail, Nos. 4 and 5 to John Beith, No. 11 to David Street, No. 2 to Robert Pamplin, and No. 13 to Josiah H. Roberts; the lots brought from \$5.00 to forty seven dollars each.

The next meeting after 1829 was in 1836. No record of any meeting between 1836 and 1844 appears and the record ends with the entry of the record of a brief meeting October 11, 1844—signed by "D. Street, Pres."

It does not appear that the enterprise was ever a real Municipal Corporation. No record is found of any policing, levying of taxes or adoption of municipal ordinances. The business attempted seemed more in the nature of that of a land company than of a Municipal Corporation.

The proceedings of this first term of court in May, 1746, show very clearly that the subject of roads was then, as it was to remain for many years, one of the most important subjects of concern to the people of the county. The clearing of six roads was provided for at this one term, most if not all of which were in what is now Mecklenburg County. These roads were gradually extended into the territory to the westward, lying higher up the Roanoke and its tributaries.

For many years scarcely a term of court passed where some road or bridge was not the subject of action by the court. An abstract of these orders through the years would fill a good sized volume. And yet these roads were so temporary, in many instances, soon became so bad, and had to be abandoned and changed, and were made in such piece meal and haphazard fashion, and the descriptions are so meagre, that it is practically impossible to be sure of the identity and location of very many of them, and thus determine the time, and the circumstances of the origin of very many that have survived.

The principal outlet from Lunenburg for many years was by way of Petersburg, the Appomattox and the James. The first map of this section is that of Peter Fontaine, Jr., first Surveyor of the South District of Lunenburg County, and the first Surveyor, and one of the first Justices of Halifax County. This map was made in July, 1752. It was drawn on the margin of

a letter dated July 9, 1752, written to his uncle John Fontaine (Governor Spotswood's friend), then in England. This map herewith reproduced shows the approximate location of the road from the headwaters of the Meherrin to Petersburg. This, of course, is merely a freehand drawing or sketch map, intended only to serve to indicate to his uncle the general situation of new counties created since he was in Virginia, the place of his residence, and other features in which he would be interested. It is safe, however, to assume that with the several years' experience in surveying he had had, his location of his residence, with reference to the Meherrin and the Nottoway is approximately correct. If so it would seem that at the time he resided in the section lying between the head springs of the Meherrin and the Nottoway in the section between Nutbush and Meherrin; and the road probably led through Hungry Town across Nottoway River thence through modern Blackstone, and followed the general course of the Norfolk & Western Railroad to Petersburg. This was the general route followed by most of the travelers from this up country in reaching markets with their produce and in going to Williamsburg, the Colonial Capitol, to transact business.

This was likewise undoubtedly the general course of a large part of the immigration to the section comprising the territory later to be created into Halifax, Charlotte and the upper counties.

One item of roadmaking history is worthy of mention in passing, for while it was not a road in Lunenburg it had much to do with the destiny of many Lunenburgers, and furthermore it was laid out by Richard Calloway of Lunenburg. This reference is to the historic *Wilderness Trail*.

In October, 1779,¹ the General Assembly passed an act which after reciting that

“Whereas great numbers of people are settling upon the waters of the Ohio River to the westward of the Cumberland mountains, in the County of Kentucky,” etc., and that it was desirable to mark out the best route practicable to be followed in reaching that country, appointed Evan Shelby and Richard Calloway “to

¹*Hening*, X, 443.

explore the country adjacent to and on both sides the Cumberland mountains, and to trace out, and mark the most convenient road from the settlements on the east side of the said mountains, over the same, into the open country, in the said county of Kentucky; and to cause such road, with all convenient despatch, to be opened and cleared in such manner as to give passage to travellers with packhorse, for the present, and report their proceedings therein to the next session of Assembly."

Shelby refused to act under this appointment and the work of looking out, locating and clearing for pack-horse travel the Wilderness Trail devolved upon Calloway.

No attempt will be made to trace the genesis of the various roads which became permanent highways in the county, but some mention may be made of the contest which developed between Cocke's (Cox) road and Saffold road for the honor of the principal north and south thoroughfare across the county.

By an act passed February 4, 1811, the Legislature took steps to provide access from the south side Counties of Mecklenburg, Lunenburg, Nottoway and Dinwiddie to the state capitol, Richmond. The commissioners ran this road through Mecklenburg County to Saffold's Bridge on Meherrin River, thence by Red Level and Liberty Meeting House to Spain's Tavern in Dinwiddie County. This location was complained of in a numerously signed petition presented to the Legislature on December 14, 1811. The petitioners contended that the proper route for a road through Mecklenburg and Lunenburg to Manchester was that from Spain's Tavern in Dinwiddie County along Cocke's road crossing Nottoway river at Cross's Bridge, Meherrin River at Hawkins's Bridge and the Roanoke River at Skipwith's Ferry. The petitioners contended that the road from Spain's Tavern to Saffold's Bridge would "run a considerable distance a new way through a very broken country and so intersected with creeks and swamps that a good road cannot be made without a great expenditure of money."

Another petition presented about the same time to the Legislature by the property owners along the new road complained that the road as laid out by the commissioners "will run through a populous and very thick settled country," where the lands

were held by various owners in small tracts, and that timber was scarce, and that the commissioners had marked out the road "pursuing a straight course, without any attention to private convenience," etc.¹

Both roads have remained to the present time, but from the standpoint of grade, possibly the advantage was with the Cocke's Road Route.

Before the advent of the railroad, one of the great problems of the southside section was that of transportation, ways and means of communication and commerce with other parts of the State, and the outside world.

Persistent efforts were made to supplement the inadequate facilities afforded by the poor dirt roads, with transportation upon the water courses, and the course of legislation through many decades, declaring insignificant streams navigable, and devoting them to use as public highways, the prohibitions against obstructing them, and the care taken to keep them open attest the interest of the populace in making the most of every means possible to facilitate travel and commerce.

The James, of course, was magnificently adapted to shipping, and in lesser degree the lower Roanoke, and the adaptability of the Appomattox to navigation by bateaux from Petersburg to Farmville, was a blessing indeed. The Meherrin and the lower Nottoway were less amenable to efforts to make them high roads of transportation.

As early as 1810 a company known as the *Meherrin Navigation Company* was organized to clear the channel of the river, remove obstructions and provide and promote navigation thereon. The charter was amended by the Legislature of 1816, but it does not appear that it accomplished anything of importance. The pressing nature of the demands for some better means of outlet than the impassable dirt roads was no doubt responsible for the revival of such an enterprise before the legislature of 1841-42, when the company was re-incorporated, or rather another of the same name was created, and the affairs of the company were before the legislature at its sessions of 1846-47 and 1847-48, but

¹Legislative Petitions, Virginia State Library, Dept. of Archives.

again the effort to make the Meherrin a high road of travel and commerce failed.

Soon after this the people of the section turned their attention to the subject of plank roads. It is highly unfortunate that some material better adapted to road making, and assuring a longer life was not selected. Probably the controlling consideration was the adaptability of a plank road to use in rolling hogsheads of tobacco to market.

Whatever was the reason, the people decided to build plank roads, and a plank road was the first highly improved highway constructed in Lunenburg County.

The Lunenburg Plank Road Company was incorporated May 25, 1852,¹ "For the purpose of constructing a plank road from Black's and White's in the County of Nottoway, across the Nottoway River, below the junction of Big and Little Nottoway Rivers, to some point on the Meherrin River in the County of Lunenburg, or to Lewiston in the County of Lunenburg, as a majority of stockholders in general meeting, when organized, shall determine."

The company was authorized to open books of subscription to its stock at Lewiston, under the supervision of Thomas Jefferson, John Orgain, William Neblett, R. H. Allen and William Irby.

The charter of the company provided that it should construct a road "not less than sixteen feet wide, exclusive of side ditches, and cover not less than eight feet wide with plank, and that its grade shall no where exceed three degrees."

It was also provided that "parts or portions of the present public roads, and highways in the counties through which the said road shall pass may be taken and used by the said company to construct their road thereon: Provided, That the County Courts, in which the said road may be, shall consent thereto, and so direct."

The road was to be begun in two years and completed within five years.

The original capitalization of the company was \$50,000.00.

¹Acts 1852, p. 135.

By an amendment passed February 25, 1853,¹ the Board of Public works of the State was directed to subscribe, on behalf of the Commonwealth, for three-fifths of the stock, whenever "two-fifths of three-fourths" was subscribed by solvent individuals, and to pay therefor "*pari passu* with the other subscribers."

The company was made subject to the general statute affecting internal improvement companies, controlling tolls, service, etc.

The Lunenburg Plank Road Company constructed its road from Black's and White's (Blackstone) to Wattsboro (Boswell's Store), and while it may not have been a profitable enterprise, it provided a highly popular highway, while it lasted.

By an act passed on February 15, 1854,² the company was authorized "to extend the said road from its present terminus across the South Meherrin River to such point in the County of Mecklenburg as a majority of the stockholders shall determine." This amendment authorized an increase in the capital stock of \$30,000.00 and the Board of Public Works was directed to subscribe to three-fifths thereof, in like manner as it had subscribed to the original capital.

This road following in the main the original location of old Cocks's Road, extended from the railroad at Black's and White's to within five or six miles of the Mecklenburg line; and it was proposed to extend the road on into Mecklenburg County; this would have crossed the county near its middle from North to South.

The enterprise was so well thought of and its beginning so auspicious that the Lewiston Plank Road Company was incorporated March 21, 1853.³ Its capital was \$30,000.00, and the road it was authorized to construct was to extend "from some eligible point on the Richmond and Danville Railroad, by way of Lewiston in the County of Lunenburg, or by any other more practicable route, to some point on the Meherrin River or to the Lunenburg plankroad," the commencement and terminus to be determined by a majority of the stockholders.

¹Acts 1852-53, p. 174.

²Acts 1853-54, p. 55.

³Acts 1852-53, p. 179.

The prime movers in this enterprise and those under whose direction the subscription books were to be opened at Lewiston were: Charles Smith, Dr. R. J. H. Hatchett, Colin Stokes, E. B. Jackson, William Y. Neal, Wm. Arvin, Junior, Henry Stokes, T. Woodson, D. R. Stokes, John A. Bishop, T. T. Shackleton, R. H. Dejarnett, John Crymes, Rober Crymes, Henry Day, Lanxton Arvin, Wm. P. Tisdale, Wm. M. Bayley [Bagley?], E. C. Scott, N. E. Davis and David Pulley.

A state subscription to the stock through the Board of Public Works for three-fifths of the capital was authorized.

The enterprise in general was modeled upon the plan of the Lunenburg Plank Road Company. Whether it actually constructed any part of its road, we have been unable to ascertain. Certainly it did not complete it, or build very much, if any.

By an Act of March 29, 1858,¹ its charter was amended and its capital stock increased by \$10,000.00, but with the proviso that the Board of Public Works should not subscribe for any part of it.

These enterprises probably would not have succeeded in the long run, in the sense of proving profitable, under any conditions that can reasonably be imagined. But with the coming on of the Civil War, the paralysis of the whole Southside, indeed, the whole of Virginia, these companies became hopelessly bankrupt, and the roads ceased to have the status of toll roads, and soon every vestige of the ambitious improvements disappeared.

¹Acts of 1857-58, p. 150.

CHAPTER IV

Lunenburg County Created: Its Extent: Subdivided



WHILE the natural expansion of population was gradual from the James River settlements as the foci, the Colonists were alive to the necessity of pushing the frontiers of the Colony westward and southward as far as possible in advance of the thickly settled communities as could be accomplished. In this they were largely actuated by two motives, protection against the Indians and growth of the Colony. This policy of the Colony had a direct influence upon the creation of Lunenburg County. In order to stimulate settlement of the vast area lying to the west of the settled areas along the Atlantic seaboard and southwest of the watershed of the James, or in other words, the most of that great area drained by the Roanoke and its tributaries, there was passed in November, 1738, an act entitled "An act to encourage settlements on the Southern Boundary of this Colony." This act provided:

"I. Whereas the lands lying upon Roanoke river, on the southern boundary of this Colony, are for the most part unseated and uncultivated; and a considerable number of persons, as well of his majesty's natural born subjects, as foreign Protestants, are willing to import themselves, with their families, and effects, and to settle upon said lands, in case they can have suitable encouragement for their so doing: And whereas the settling that part of the country will add to the strength and security of the Colony in general, and be a means of augmenting his majesty's revenues of quit-rents; therefore, for encouraging the said intended settlement,

II. Be it enacted by the Lieutenant Governor, Council, and Burgesses, of this present General Assembly, and it is hereby

enacted, by the authority of the same, That all and every person and persons whatsoever, who, within ten years next after the passage of this act, shall import themselves into this Colony, and settle upon Roanoke river aforesaid, on the south branch of the same, above the fork thereof; and on the north branch of the said river, above the mouth of Little Roanoke otherwise called Licking Hole; including all the lands on all the said branches, and the lands lying between them, now deemed to be in the county of Brunswick, and parish of St. Andrew, shall be exempted from the payment of public, county, and parish, levies, until the expiration of the said ten years; and be at liberty, at all times hereafter, to pay and discharge all officers' fees wherewith they shall be chargeable, in current money, at the rate of three farthings per pound for tobacco, without any deduction; And at all times, after the expiration of that time, shall be at liberty to pay and discharge their public, county, and parish levies in current money, at the same rate.

III. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful, for the governor, or commander in chief of this Colony, for the time being, to grant letters of naturalization to any alien settling there, as aforesaid, upon a certificate from the Clerk of any county court, of his or her having taken the oaths appointed by act of parliament to be taken, instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; and taken and subscribed the oath of objuraton, and subscribed the test in like manner, as he may do, upon taking and subscribing the same before himself. Any law, usage, or custom, to the contrary notwithstanding.

IV. Provided always, That the persons so settling upon the lands herein before mentioned, shall, during the said ten years, support their own poor, and make and maintain their own roads and bridges, without any charge upon the rest of the said parish of St. Andrew, and county of Brunswick; and shall not during that time, be entitled to any reward for Killing of Wolves."¹

The exemption from the payment of taxes and levies contained in this act would by its terms extend to November, 1748,

¹⁵ *Hening*, 57-8

ten years from the passage of the act. New settlers came, however, in such numbers and so promptly, in response to the natural urge of expansion coupled with the inducements offered by the act, and so far distant were they from Brunswick Court House, and so inconvenient was it for them to attend courts and transact other public business there, that they became anxious to create a new county. On September 14, 1744, a petition was laid before the House of Burgesses from the County of Brunswick, "for a division of the said County from the County Line where it crosses Roanoke below the Horse Foard, to strike Nottoway River, near the Fork thereof; and also a petition from the said County, against the division of the same."

Whereupon it was "Resolved that the said petitions be referred to the Consideration of the next session of Assembly."¹

At the next session of the House of Burgesses, the proposition to divide Brunswick County, and the petitions against dividing it "Which were severally referred from the last session, to the consideration of this," were considered on February 25, 1745, and referred to the Committee on Propositions and Grievances,² and the proposal was favorably reported March 7, 1745.³

Obviously, however, if a new County were created, it could not be supported if the citizenship thereof continued to be exempt from county taxes and levies. Some of the citizens, in the territory proposed to be erected into the new county, realizing this, asked that the exemption be repealed. Upon the coming in of this petition the House of Burgesses, on March 12, 1745, "Resolved that the petition of John Caldwell, and other inhabitants, above the fork of Roanoke, in Brunswick County, for repealing the Act, entitled "An Act to encourage settlement on the Southern Boundaries of this Colony; or so much thereof as particularly relates to the said inhabitants; is reasonable,"⁴ and the Committee on Propositions and Grievances were instructed to insert a clause to that effect in the Act for dividing Brunswick County.⁵

¹*Journal, House of Burgesses, 1742-47, 92.*

²*Journal, House of Burgesses, 1742-47, 161.*

³*Id.*, 179.

⁴*Id.*, 184.

⁵*Id.*

The Act dividing Brunswick County and creating Lunenburg County was passed by the House of Burgesses on March 26, 1745,¹ during the administration of William Gooch, Esq., Governor.

“At a General Assembly summoned to be held at The Capitol, in the City of Williamsburg, on Thursday the sixth day of May, in the fifteenth year of the reign of our sovereign Lord George II, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King defender of the faith, etc. And from thence continued, by several prorogations, to Thursday the twentieth day of February, in the nineteenth year of his said Majesty’s reign, and in the year of our Lord, 1745; Being the Third session of this assembly.”²

The complete Act is as follows: “An Act for dividing the County of Brunswick and parish of St. Andrew, and for other purposes therein mentioned.

I. Whereas divers inconveniences attend the upper inhabitants of Brunswick County, by reason of their great distance from the Court House and other places, usually appointed for public meetings:

II. Be it therefore enacted, by the Lieutenant Governor, Council and Burgesses, of this present General Assembly, and, it is hereby enacted, by the authority of the same. That from and immediately after the first day of May next, the said county of Brunswick be divided, by a line to be run from the county line, where it crosses Roanoke river, below the place called the Horse Foard, to strike Nottoway River at the fork; and that part of the said county which lies below the said line, be erected into one distinct county and retain the name of Brunswick; and all that other part thereof above the said line, be one other distinct county, and called by the name of the County of Lunenburg. And for the due administration of justice,

III. Be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That

¹*Journal, House of Burgesses, 1742-47, 202.*

²*Hening, V., 310.* The Act is Chapter XXII of the session.

after the said first day of May, a court for the said county of Lunenburg be constantly held by the justices thereof, on the first Monday in every month, in such manner as by the laws of this Colony is provided, and shall be by their commission directed.

IV. And whereas, by reason of the situation of the parish of St. Andrew, in the said county of Brunswick, the Minister and inhabitants do labour under divers inconveniences: For removal of which for the future

V. Be it further enacted, That from and after the first day of May, the said parish of St. Andrew shall be divided into two parishes; that is to say, all that part of the said parish that is in the county of Brunswick shall hereafter be esteemed one distinct parish, and be called and known by the name of St. Andrew; and all that part of the said parish of St. Andrew which will be in the county of Lunenburg shall be erected into one other distinct parish, and called and known by the name of Cumberland. And for the better ordering of parochial affairs in the said parish

VI. Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the vestry of the said parish of St. Andrew, as the same now stands entire and undivided, be, and they are hereby declared to be dissolved; and that the freeholders and housekeepers in the said parishes respectively, shall meet at some convenient time and place, to be appointed and publickly advertised by the respective sheriffs of the said counties of Brunswick and Lunenburg, before the first day of September next, and then and there elect twelve of the most able and discreet persons of their respective parishes; which persons so elected, having taken the oaths appointed to be taken by law, and subscribed to be conformable to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, shall, to all intents and purposes, be deemed and taken to be the vestries of the said parishes respectively; which said vestries are hereby impowered and made capable to take, receive, and hold any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, which shall be purchased or given as a glebe or glebes, for the use

of the minister of each parish respectively, for the time being, forever.

VII. Provided always, That nothing herein contained, shall be construed to hinder the sheriff or collectors of the said County of Brunswick, and parish of St. Andrew, as they now stand entire and undivided, from making distress for any levies, fees or other dues, which shall be due from the inhabitants of the said county and parish, after the said first day of May, in such manner, and not otherwise, as by law he or they might have done if this act had never been made: Any law, custom, or usage, to the contrary thereof, in anywise notwithstanding.

VIII. And whereas, by one clause of an act of Assembly, made in the twelfth year of the reign of his present Majesty, entitled an Act to encourage settlements on the Southern Boundary of this colony, it was enacted, That all and every person and persons whatsoever, who, within ten years after passing said act, should import themselves into this Colony and settle upon Roanoke River, on the South branch of the same, above the fork thereof, and on the North Branch of said river, above the mouth of Little Roanoke, otherwise called Lickinghole, including all the lands on all the said branches and the lands lying between them, then deemed to be in the county of Brunswick, and parish of St. Andrew, should be exempted from the payment of public, county, and parish levies, until the expiration of the said ten years; which said clause those persons now pray may be repealed:

IX. Be it therefore enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the same so far as relates to such exemption, be repealed."¹

At the same time, to-wit, in February, 1745, it was enacted:

"That all tobacco which shall be due in the county of Lunenburg, or levies, quit rents, secretary's, clerks, sheriffs, surveyors, or other officers fees, shall be paid and discharged in inspectors notes, of Cabbin Point, or any other warehouse above on the south side of James River: and that an abate-

¹V. *Hening*, 383-385.

ment or allowance out of the said quit-rents and officers fees, of thirty pounds of tobacco for every hundred, and so proportionately for a greater or lesser quantity shall be made to the person paying the same, which he may retain in his own hands.

“And be it further enacted, That all and every surveyor and surveyors of land of the said county of Lunenburg, shall be resident in their respective districts in the said county, during the time he or they shall continue in offices on penalty of forfeiting ten pounds sterling, for every month he or they shall reside out of the same, after the first day of October next; one moiety of which shall be to our sovereign lord the King, his heirs and successors, for and toward the better support of this government, and the contingent charges thereof, and the other moiety to him or them that will inform or sue for the same; to be recovered by action of debt, or information in any court of record within this Colony.”

Lunenburg county, thus created, and which was to have its legal existence and name “from and immediately after the first day of May, 1746,” was a princely domain in extent. It embraced the territory later to be laid out into the present counties of Halifax, Bedford, Charlotte, Mecklenburg, Pittsylvania, Henry, Campbell, Franklin, and Patrick.

Upon the creation of the County of Lunenburg the courthouse was located just east of the Staunton river, a short distance above the point where the junction of the Dan and Staunton rivers form the Roanoke. This is within the present County of Mecklenburg.

Scarcely had Lunenburg been created and organized before movements were on foot to subdivide it. On November 11, 1748, a petition was presented to the Burgesses from the inhabitants of the County “praying that an act may pass to divide the said county, by a line to be run from the Head of the westernmost fork of Sandy River, to strike Staunton River below the mouth of Little Roanoke, opposite to a place called Sandy Bar.”¹ But this proposition was rejected March 17,

¹*Journal, House of Burgesses, 1748 et seq. 282.*

1748.¹ On March 14, 1752, a petition from certain inhabitants was received requesting the county to be divided into two counties.² On March 24, 1752, the proposition "for dividing the county by Staunton River, from the mountains, to the confluence of the said River Dan, and from thence by Aarons Creek to the County line," was resolved to be reasonable,³ while the proposition for dividing the county "by a line to be run from the mouth of Falling River, to the dividing line between that county and the county of Albemarle" was referred "to the consideration of the next session of the Assembly."⁴

In February, 1752, Halifax county was created to be effective May 10, 1752. The Act provides that: "The said county of Lunenburg be divided into two counties; that is to say, all that part thereof lying on the south side of Blackwater creek, and Staunton river, from the said Blackwater creek, to the confluence of the said river with the river Dan, and from thence to Aarons Creek to the county line, shall be one distinct county and parish, and called and known by the name of Halifax and parish of Antrim; and all that other part thereof on the north side of Staunton river, from the lower part to the extent of the county upwards, shall be one other distinct county, and retain the name of Lunenburg, and parish of Cumberland."⁵

A few months after Halifax County was created Peter Fontaine (Jun), who had on May 6, 1746, at the first session of the County Court of Lunenburg, been appointed "Surveyor of the South district" of the County, wrote a letter, dated July 9, 1752, to his uncle John Fontaine, who was then in England. This was the same John Fontaine who had accompanied Governor Spotswood on the trip to Fort Christanna, and on the expedition of the Knights of the Golden Horse Shoe, when the Governor's party crossed the Appalachian mountains. John

¹*Journal, House of Burgesses, 1748 et seq., 341.*

²*Journal, House of Burgesses, 1752-53, 33.*

³*Id., 56.*

⁴*Id.*

⁵*Hening, VI, 252.*

Fontaine had himself considered taking up some land along Meherrin River, as his Journal discloses.¹

He was more or less familiar with Virginia as it was in Spotswood's time; and manifested a lively interest in the growth of the Colony. His nephew in order to give his uncle a definite idea of where he lived, and of the new counties that had been formed since his return to England, drew on the margin of the letter of July 9, 1752, a map, herewith reproduced on an enlarged scale, showing Lunenburg, Halifax and the adjoining regions. This is the earliest known separate map of this section. It will be noted that the mountains forming the divide between the watershed of the Roanoke and its tributaries and the streams which flow into branches of the Mississippi are called "Mississippi or Allegany Ridge of Mountains."

The location of Fort Christanna, though at the time deserted was shown in order to enable his uncle to "get his bearings" as he was acquainted with that locality.

With the creation of Halifax County, Peter Fontaine's identity with Lunenburg ceased. He was one of the first Justices of Halifax County; the commission of May 6, 1752, for organizing the County having been directed by Governor Dinwiddie to William Byrd, William Wynn, Peter Fontaine Junr., James Terry, William Irby, Nathaniel Terry, Robert Wade, Hampton Wade, Andrew Wade, Hugh Moore and Sherwood Walton.²

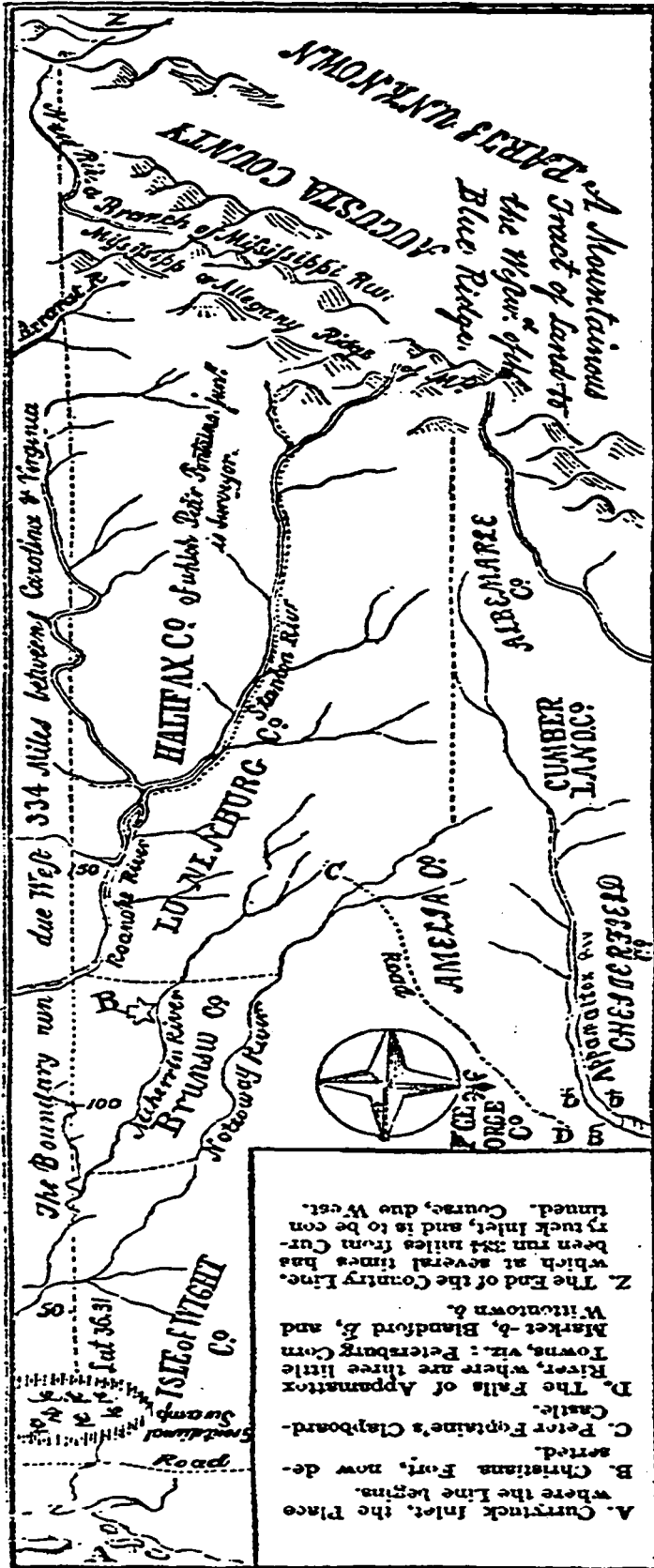
Peter Fontaine (Jun) at this time became surveyor of Halifax County. The record says that Peter Fontaine, Junr. Gent., produced a commission from the President and Masters of William and Mary College appointing him surveyor of the County, which was openly read, and that he took the oath of office.³

The proceedings of this first term of court are signed by him, indicating that he presided over the proceedings of the

¹Journal of John Fontaine; Entry of the 4th day of the trip to Christanna, April, 1716: *Memoirs of a Huguenot Family*, 275.

²Halifax County: Order Book I, page 1.

³Id., 3.



PETER FONTAINE'S MAP, 1752

Drawn on the top margin of letter to his uncle,
 John Fontaine, dated "Lunenburg, Virginia,
 9th. July, 1752."

Court. In the letter to John Fontaine, above referred to, written three months after this, he discloses the fact that he was personally not active in surveying work. "My district for surveying," he says, "lies, i. e., the chief of it, in Halifax County, in the Fork of the River Roanoke, so that I now live out of my County,¹ and by means of the indulgence granted me, of having assistants I do not go at all in the woods, which indeed my weakly constitution is not fit for."²

In quick succession after Halifax, Bedford County was formed from Lunenburg, in November, 1763. The act provided:

"That from and immediately after the tenth day of May next ensuing, the said county of Lunenburg be divided, from the mouth of Falling River, up the said river to the fork, thence up that fork, running by John Beard's to the head, thence by a line to be run from the head thereof north, twenty degrees east, to the line dividing the said county from the county of Albemarle; and all that part of the said county of Lunenburg, which lies on the upper side of the said river and line to be run aforesaid, shall be one distinct county, and called and known by the name of Bedford; and that all the other part of the said county of Lunenburg, shall be one other distinct county, and retain the name of Lunenburg."³

The Act further provided that John Payne, and Mathew Talbot the elder, gentlemen, of the county of Bedford, and Peter Fontaine, the younger, and Lyddal Bacon, gentlemen of the county of Lunenburg, should collect all moneys due Lunenburg County, pay off its indebtedness and pay the balance to the justices of Bedford and Lunenburg County, in proportion to the tithables in said counties.

It was also provided that after May 10, 1756, the territory embraced in Bedford county should be a distinct parish by the name of Russell.⁴

Lunenburg seems to have reached the conclusion that she

¹That is to say, he still lived in Lunenburg. See his map.

²*Memoirs of a Huguenot Family*, 358.

³*Hening*, VI, 381.

⁴*Hening*, VI, 382-383.

could manage the remainder of her great area, without the formation of new counties, by the creation of a number of parishes to take care of the local needs of her far flung population. There was, consequently, a lull of some eleven years in the creation of Counties by subdividing Lunenburg. But two new parishes, forerunners of counties to be formed, were created. In 1757, the parish of Cumberland, which was co-extensive with the County of Lunenburg, was subdivided, by the creation of the parish of Cornwall; in 1761 St. James Parish was created, the County thus comprising three parishes: Cumberland, Cornwall and St. James. The Act of April, 1757, creating Cornwall parish provided:

“That from and after the first day of July next the said parish of Cumberland be divided, by a straight line to be run from Colonel Byrd’s Mill, on Roanoke River, to the head of Nottaway River; and that all that part of the said parish of Cumberland which lies below the said bounds shall be one distinct parish, and retain the name of Cumberland, and all that part thereof which lies above the said bounds shall be one other distinct parish, and called by the name of Cornwall.”¹

Further provision is made in the act for the election of twelve of the “most able and discreet” persons as vestrymen for each parish; the election to be by the “Freeholders and Housekeepers.”

The Act of March, 1761, creating St. James Parish provided “That from and after the first day of May next the said parish shall be divided into two distinct parishes, by the south branch of Meherrin River, from the line of the parish of Cornwall to the confluence of the several branches of the said river Meherrin, and by the said river from thence to the line of Brunswick county; and that all that part of the said parish that is North of said river Meherrin and its several branches shall be one distinct parish, and retain the name of Cumberland; and that all that other part of the said parish that lies south of the said river Meherrin shall be one other distinct

¹*Hening*, VII, 149-150.

parish, and shall be called and known by the name of St. James.”¹

Provision is made for election of vestrymen by the Freeholders and Housekeepers.

An effort was again made to divide the county in 1759. The question was an important one in the campaign for the House of Burgesses, for the session beginning September 14 (32 Geo. II), 1758. The Candidates were Clement Read, Mathew Marrable and Henry Blagrove. Just how Read and Blagrove stood on the question of dividing the County we know only inferentially. But Marrable was committed to the proposition. Not only so, but he very injudiciously wrote a letter to David Caldwell agreeing if elected to use his utmost endeavors to divide the County or forfeit five hundred pounds. Read and Marrable were returned elected, and Blagrove on September 15, 1758, presented to the House of Burgesses a petition contesting the election of both.²

A commission was issued for taking testimony, which was duly done.

On the 20th “Mr. Attorney from the Committee on Privileges and Elections reported a resolution authorizing the taking of evidence before Daniel Claiborne, Richard Whitton, Thomas Tabb and Joseph Williams, of the said County, Gentlemen, or any three of them, touching any threats or entertainments given by the sitting members or their agents, to the Freeholders of the said county, after the writ for electing Burgesses for said County was issued, and touching any riotous or illegal proceedings at the time of the Election.”³

On March 8, 1759, The committee reported upon the matter as follows: “It appears to your Committee that after it was publicly known in the said county that the Writ was issued for electing Burgesses to serve in the present General Assembly for the same, one Memican Hunt gave a treat on behalf of Mr. Read to a company of militia he formerly had commanded, with Mr. Read’s knowledge, but not at his request,

¹*Hening*, VII, 413-414.

²*Journal, House of Burgesses*, 1758-61, 8.

³*Journal, House of Burgesses*, 1758-61, 14.

and invited Mr. Read's friends to partake thereof. That Mr. Marrable desired one Henry Williams to acquaint the Company under the Command of Captain Williams that he intended to give them a treat the next Muster Day, before which time the Writs for election of Burgesses issued, upon which he desired the said Williams to excuse him to the Company, because if he should treat it would vacate his election; and to tell them he would handsomely treat them after the election was over, which he did do; That Mr. Marrable hearing a petition to the Assembly was handed about by Captain Cox, got another in opposition thereto and declared that by carrying it about several days and treating the Freeholders, he had got forty or fifty votes, the Writ being then issued; That the day before the election a large number of Freeholders came to Mr. Marrable's and were genteely entertained; at which time their votes were solicited for Mr. Marrable in behalf of Mr. Blagrove and himself, and Mr. Marrable declared they all promised him their votes but only one of them was as good as his word; That Mr. Marrable seemed strongly in Mr. Blagrove's interest and declared he would spend eight or ten pounds rather than he should lose his election. That the morning of the election liquor was distributed to the Company of Mr. Marrable, by his orders, but with this caution, to take care they should not intoxicate themselves, lest a riot might ensue at the election, because he wanted a fair poll, and every candidate to stand or fall of his own interest; and Mr. Marrable declared he expended seven weathers and thirty gallons of rum on that occasion: That a few days after the election Mr. Blagrove was at Mr. Marrable's house, seemed very friendly, and said he was well satisfied with Mr. Marrable's proceedings in the election and was better satisfied that he should be a Burgess with Mr. Read than himself, if Mr. Marrable would bring Mr. Read to an account upon matters formerly against him alleged by Mr. Marrable, and endeavor to divide the county: That on the fifty day of July (1758) being Thirteen days before the election, Mr. Marrable wrote a letter to Mr. David Caldwell, a man of great interest in the County, strongly soliciting his interest, in which is contained the following words: "This shall

be my obligation to be liable and answerable to you, and all who are my friends, in the sum of Five Hundred pounds, if I do not use the utmost of my endeavors (in case I should be a Burgess) to divide this, our County of Lunenburg, in the following manner, to wit: Beginning at Byrd's Mill, running a straight line to the head of Nottoway, agreeably to a division lately made in our Parish; as also to use the same endeavors for this county, that shall appear for the benefit thereof; and upon consideration of the whole matter.

“Resolved, That the said Mr. Clement Read is duly elected to serve as a Burgess in this present General Assembly for the said County of Lunenburg.”

“Resolved, That the said Mr. Mathew Marrable is not duly elected to serve as a Burgess in this present General Assembly for the said County.”

“Your Committee cannot conclude this report without taking notice of the behavior of one John Hobson, which was very illegal and tumultuous, in offering to lay wagers the poll was closed when it was not; in proclaiming at the courthouse door the poll was going to be closed, and desiring the Freeholders to come in and vote, and then violently by striking and kicking of them preventing them from so doing, by which means Freeholders did not vote at the said election.”¹

The House adopted the report, removed Marrable, and requested the Governor to issue a new Writ for an election of an additional Burgess. Six days later, on March 14, 1759, The House rejected the report of the Committee on Propositions and Grievances, which had recommended the division of the County. When the new Writ was issued Marrable was returned to the House of Burgesses and re-elected to the succeeding House.

The same forces which had resulted in the creation of the earlier Counties were still at play. With the increase in population, and hence the increase in the number of local problems, the residents of the areas far removed from the county

¹*Journal, House of Burgesses* (March 8, 1759), 1758-61, 83-84.

seat, the center of all important developments and procedure, could not long remain contented with their status. They argued that new counties were needed quite as much as new parishes. The effort to create new counties, later to be Mecklenburg and Charlotte, was not to proceed without opposition.

On November 12, 1762, "a petition of divers inhabitants of the County of Lunenburg, praying that the said County may be divided into three distinct counties, and that an act may pass for that purpose, was presented to the House and read."¹

Another petition on the same matter was presented November 20, 1762, "Setting forth that the said county is so very large and extensive that the Legislature thought it expedient and necessary to divide the same into three distinct Parishes, viz: Cornwall, St. James and Cumberland; that in each of said Parishes is a sufficient number of tithables to support and maintain the expense of a county, and praying that each of the said Parishes may be erected into a distinct County."²

On the Twenty-second, the Committee resolved that the petitions "are reasonable."³ And a bill for the purpose was reported and read the first time November 23, 1762.⁴ It was read the second time December 3, engrossed and read a third time.⁵ But it failed of passage. "It passed in the negative," says the Journal, December 7, 1762.⁶

At the next session, however, which convened October 30, 1764, the proponents of the new counties met with better success. A petition for the division was presented November 1, 1764, was favorably recommended November 2, and the Committee directed to bring in a bill for the purpose of creating the new Counties.⁷

¹*Journal, House of Burgesses, 1761-1765, 91.*

²*Journal, House of Burgesses, 1761-65, 104.*

³*Journal, House of Burgesses, 1761-65, 107.*

⁴*Journal, House of Burgesses, 1761-65, 108.*

⁵*Id., 132.*

⁶*Id., 138.*

⁷*Journal, House of Burgesses, 1761-65, 233.*

The bill was reported November 7, 1764, and passed the House November 10, 1764.¹

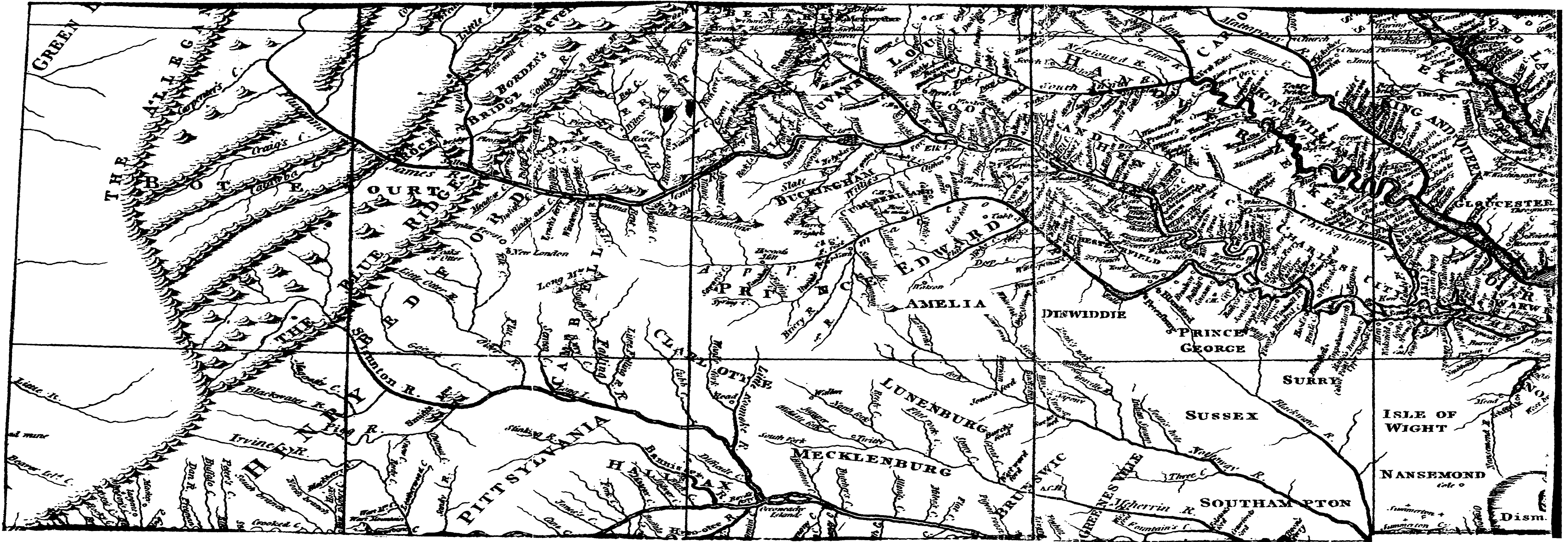
The Act (Chapter IV) is as follows:

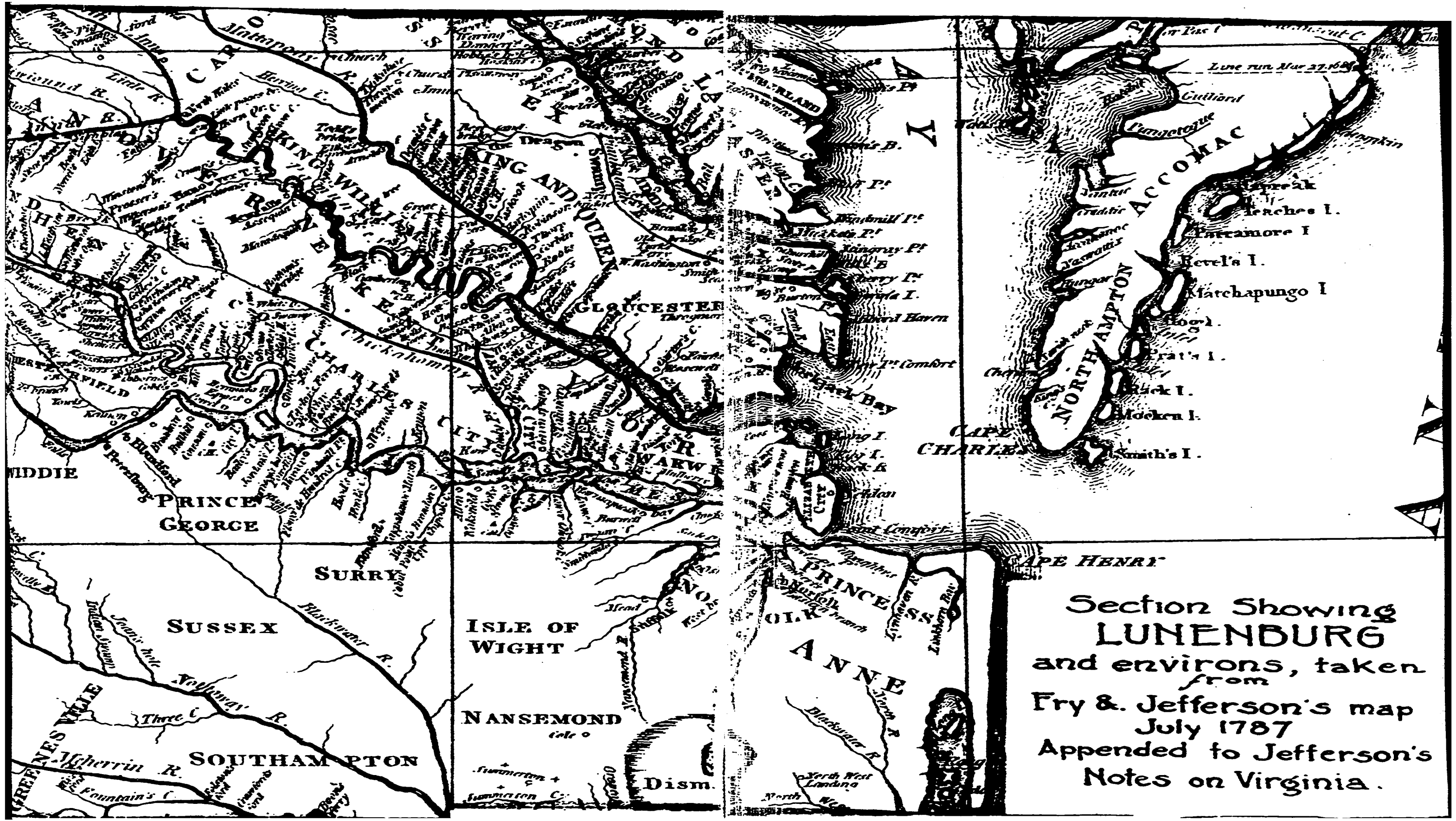
“An act for dividing the County of Lunenburg into three distinct counties.

“I. Whereas it is represented to this present General Assembly, by the inhabitants of the County of Lunenburg, that in their present situation they are subject to great inconvenience by reason of the great extent of the said county, and the remoteness of many of them from their Court-house, and they have petitioned this General Assembly that the said County may be divided into three distinct counties, to be laid off and distinguished by the boundaries of the three several parishes of Cornwall, St. James and Cumberland, into which the said county now stands divided: Be it therefore enacted by the Lieutenant Governor, Council, and Burgesses, of this present General Assembly, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That from and after the first day of March next ensuing the said County of Lunenburg be divided into three distinct counties, that is to say; All that part thereof lying within the lines and bounds of the parish of Cornwall, as by law established shall be one distinct county and shall be called and known by the name of Charlotte, that all that part thereof as is contained within the established lines and bounds of the parish of St. James shall be one other distinct county, and shall be called and known by the name of Mecklenburg; and that all the remaining part of the said county lying within the lines and bounds of the said parish of Cumberland as by law established, shall be one other distinct County, and shall retain the name of Lunenburg.

II. And for the due administration of justice in the said counties of Charlotte and Mecklenburg, after the same shall take place. Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the said first day of March a court for the said county of Charlotte shall be constantly held by the jus-

¹*Journal, House of Burgesses, 1761-65, 251.*





Section Showing
LUNENBURG
and environs, taken
from
Fry & Jefferson's map
July 1787
Appended to Jefferson's
Notes on Virginia.



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tices thereof upon the first Monday in every month, and for the said county of Mecklenburg upon the second Monday in every month.

III. Provided always that nothing herein contained shall be construed to hinder the sheriff or collector of the said county of Lunenburg, as the same now stands entire and undivided, from collecting and making distress for any publick dues or officers fees, which shall remain unpaid by the inhabitants of either of the said counties of Charlotte or Mecklenburg at the time the said division shall take place; but such sheriff or collector shall have the same power to collect or distrain for the said dues and fees, and shall be answerable for them in the same manner, as if this act had never been made, any law, usage or custom, to the contrary thereof, in any wise, notwithstanding.

IV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the court of the said County of Lunenburg shall have jurisdiction of all actions and suits, both in law or equity, which shall be depending before them at the time the said division shall take place; and shall and may try and determine all such actions and suits and issue process and award execution thereon, against the body or estate of the defendant or defendants, in any such action or suit in the same manner as if this act had never been made, any law, custom, or usage to the contrary thereof, in any wise, notwithstanding."¹

In May, 1777 (1st year of the Commonwealth), a part of Charlotte County was restored to Lunenburg County. The Act is as follows:

“Whereas part of the parish of Cornwall and county of Charlotte is very inconvenient for the inhabitants thereof, and would be more convenient to the parish of Cumberland and County of Lunenburg;

“Be it therefore enacted, That the surveyor of the said County of Lunenburg shall on or before the first day of October next, run a line to begin where Mecklenburg and Lunenburg

¹⁸ *Hening*, 41-42.

strike Charlotte County line, directly to the place called Wim-bush's ordinary; and that all that part of the said parish of Cornwall and county of Charlotte which shall lie on the east side of the said line, shall from thenceforth be added to the parish of Cumberland and county of Lunenburg.

“Provided always, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to hinder the sheriff or collector of the said parish of Cornwall and county of Charlotte from collecting and making distress for any levies which may be due and unpaid by the inhabitants thereof; but such sheriff or collector may collect and destrain for the same and be answerable for them in like manner, as if this act had never been made.”¹

This was the final change in the area and boundary of the present County of Lunenburg. Its territorial integrity has remained intact since the Act of 1777.

In order to bring down to date the record of the Counties formed from the original area of Lunenburg, mention must be made of the subsequent subdivisions of territory originally laid off from Lunenburg. Therefore a brief account must be given of the creation of Pittsylvania formed from Halifax in 1767; Henry formed from Pittsylvania in 1777; and of Patrick formed from Henry in 1791. Likewise mention must be made of Campbell, formed from Bedford in 1782; and of Franklin formed from Bedford in 1786.

Pittsylvania County was formed by the act of 7th George III, November, 1766, which enacted:

“That from and after the first day of June next ensuing, The said county of Halifax be divided into two counties by a line to be run from the mouth of Strait Stone Creek, on Staunton river, to the *Country* line, near the mouth of the *Country* line creek, on Dan river; and that all that part of the said county, which lies on the upper side of the said line shall be one distinct county, and called and known by the name of Pittsylvania; and that all the other part thereof, which is below the said line, shall be one other distinct county, and retain the

¹ *Hening*, 327.

name of Halifax.”¹ Henry County was formed by the Act of October 1776 (first year of the Commonwealth) which enacted:

“That from and after the last day of December next ensuing the said county of Pittsylvania be divided into two counties by a line beginning at the mouth of Blackwater, on Staunton river, and running parallel with the line of Halifax county till it strikes the *Country* line, and that all that part of the said county which lies to the westward of the said line shall be one distinct county, and called and known by the name of Henry, and that all the other part thereof which lies to the eastward of the said line shall be one other distinct county and retain the name of Pittsylvania.”²

Campbell county was formed by the act of December 15, 1781, by which it was enacted:

“That from and after the first day of February next, the County of Bedford shall be divided into two distinct counties, by a line to begin at the mouth of Judy’s Creek on James River, thence to Thompson’s Mill on Buffalow Creek, thence to the mouth of Back Creek on Goose Creek, thence the same course continued to Staunton River, and that part of the said County lying east of the said line, shall be called and known by the name of Campbell; and all the residue of the said county shall retain the name of Bedford.”³

The area of Campbell County was reduced by the Act forming Appomattox County,⁴ and by the act of March 28, 1848, by which an additional area was cut off from Campbell and added to Appomattox.⁵

Franklin County was created by the Act of November 29, 1785, which enacted:

“That all that part of the County of Bedford lying south of Staunton River, together with so much of the County of Henry

¹8 *Hening*, 205.

²9 *Hening*, 241.

³10 *Hening*, p. 447.

⁴Acts 1844-5, p. 38.

⁵Acts 1847-8, p. 41.

lying north of a line to be run from the head of Shooting Creek, to the west end of Turkey-cock mountain; thence along the top of the mountain to intersect the dividing line between the counties of Henry and Pittsylvania; thence along that line to the mouth of Blackwater river; shall from and after the first day of January next, form a distinct county and be called and known by the name of Franklin.”¹

By an Act of March 13, 1848, a small triangular portion of Patrick County was added to Franklin,² and by an act of February 26, 1873, a portion of Franklin County was added to the County of Floyd.³

Patrick County was formed by the Act of November 26, 1790, which enacted:

“That from and after the first day of June next, the County of Henry shall be divided into two distinct counties, that is to say, all that part of the said County lying west of a line beginning on the line dividing the counties of Henry and Franklin, one mile above where it crosses Town Creek, a branch of Smith’s River, thence a parallel line with Pittsylvania line to the county line, shall be one distinct county, and called and known by the name of Patrick, and all the residue of the said county retain the name of Henry.”⁴

By an act passed November 30, 1791,⁵ a part of Henry County was added to Patrick. The act Provided:

“That all that part of the County of Henry lying to the south of a line beginning one mile above Town Creek, on the line dividing the counties of Franklin and Henry, and running thence a direct course to the North Carolina line at the lower crossing of Crooked Creek, a branch of Mayo River, shall be and the same is hereby added to and made a part of the County of Patrick.”

The group of counties including Lunenburg which trace

¹12 *Hening*, p. 70.

²Acts 1847-8, p. 42.

³Acts 1872-3, p. 85.

⁴13 *Hening*, 160.

⁵13 *Hening*, 290.

their descent from Charles City and Prince George illustrate in their naming a wealth of Virginia history.

Charles City (1634) originally the name of a town, was the designation as shown of a very large territory. It was named for Charles, afterwards King Charles the First.¹

Prince George (1703) was named for Prince George of Denmark, the husband of Queen Anne, who was on the English throne in 1702, when the county was formed.²

Brunswick (1720, 1732) was named in honor of King George II, one of whose titles was Duke of Brunswick-Lunenburg.³

Amelia (1735) was named for the Princess Amelia Sophia, the youngest daughter of George II of England.⁴

Lunenburg County (1746) was also named in honor of King George II, who came to the English throne in 1727, one of whose titles, as noted, was Duke of Brunswick-Lunenburg, Lunenburg being the German form of Lunenburg.⁵

Halifax County (1752) was named for George Montagu Dunk, the second Earl of Halifax, one of the distinguished families of Montagu, who was First Lord of the Board of Trade, at about the time the county was formed, and greatly interested in the trade with the Colonies.⁶

Dinwiddie (1752) was named in honor of Robert Dinwiddie, Lieutenant Governor of the Colony, 1751-1758.⁷

Bedford (1754) "was named in honor of John Russell, the Fourth Duke of Bedford, who was Secretary of State of Great Britain from February 13th to June 26th, 1757."⁸

Prince Edward (1754) was named for Edward Augustus, a son of Frederic, Prince of Wales.⁹

¹Green's *Genesis of Counties*, p. 118; Long, 32; Bulletin Va. St. Lib., Vol. 9, p. 177.

²Green's *Genesis of Counties*, p. 112; Long, 38; Bulletin Va. St. Lib., Vol. 9, p. 189.

³Long, p. 48; Bulletin Va. St. Lib., Vol. 9, p. 176.

⁴Long, 50; U. S. Geological Survey, Bulletin 258, p. 23; Bulletin Va. St. Lib., Vol. 9, p. 176.

⁵Green, p. 54; Long, p. 50; Bulletin, Va. St. Lib., Vol. 9, p. 176.

⁶Bulletin, Va. St. Lib., Vol. 9, p. 181; Morrison's *Halifax County, Virginia*; Long, p. 73.

⁷Green, 51; Long, 138; Bulletin, Va. St. Lib., Vol. 9, p. 176.

⁸Historical Sketch of Bedford County, p. 4; Long, 90; Bulletin, Va. St. Lib., Vol. 9, p. 175.

⁹Green, 56; Long, 52; Bulletin, Va. St. Lib., Vol. 9, p. 189.

Charlotte (1765) was named after Princess Charlotte Sophia of Mecklenburg, the young Queen of George III.¹

Mecklenburg (1765) was also named for the Queen of George III.²

Pittsylvania (1767) was named for Sir William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, the great English statesman.³

This was the last of this group of counties created before the Revolution. Up to this time the counties generally had been named in honor of someone connected with the royal family or royal government of England or of the Colony. Upon the achieving of independence the counties thereafter to be created took names significant of the new era.

Thus Henry County created in 1777 was named in honor of the great orator of the Revolution who did so much to overthrow the royal establishment in Virginia.⁴

Greensville (1781) was named for General Nathaniel Greene who, after the Battle of Guilford C. H., North Carolina, is said to have marched into the territory now embraced in the county.⁵

Campbell (1782) County was named for General William Campbell, the hero of King's Mountain.⁶

Franklin (1786) was named in honor of the philosopher and statesman, Benjamin Franklin.⁷

Nottoway County (1789) took its name from the Indian tribe which inhabited the territory along the Nottoway River.⁸

¹Gaines' *Handbook of Charlotte County*, 7; Long, 54; Bulletin, Va. St. Lib., Vol. 9, p. 177.

²Green, p. 55; Long, 54; Bulletin, Va. St. Lib., Vol. 9, p. 185.

³Green, 56; Long, 74; Bulletin, Va. St. Lib., Vol. 9, p. 188.

⁴Brock, *Virginia and Virginians*, I, p. 72; Long, 141; Bulletin Va. St. Lib., Vol. 9, p. 182.

⁵Bulletin, Va. St. Lib., Vol. 9, p. 181. Mr. Robinson makes the statement of the Bulletin upon authority of the distinguished historian, Dr. Lyon G. Tyler. Dr. Charles Massie Long, claiming as his authority Mr. B. W. Green, says the county was named for the English statesman, Sir Richard Temple Greenville. They are evidently in error in this matter, and Dr. Tyler and Mr. Robinson right. When one remembers the date of the creation of the county, and considers the Revolutionary struggle then in progress, it is not easy to accept the view that the county was named for the Englishman mentioned.

⁶Brock, *Virginia and Virginians*, I, p. 176; Long, 104.

⁷Green, 52; Bulletin, Va. St. Lib., Vol. 9, p. 187.

⁸Long, 166; Green, 56; Bulletin, Va. St. Lib., Vol. 9, p. 187.

Patrick County (1791) the last of the group like Henry was named in honor of Patrick Henry. After the formation of Henry County, Patrick Henry made large purchases of land in the county, and subsequently Henry County was divided and the new county was named Patrick.¹

¹Brock, Id. p. 72; Long, 141; Bulletin, Va. St. Lib., Vol. 9, p. 182.

CHAPTER V

The French and Indian Wars



FROM about the year 1690 the English Colonies in America from New Hampshire to Georgia were almost constantly in conflict and hostilities with the Indians on their western borders, who were instigated by the French and the Spaniards; the Spaniards in Florida and New Spain; and the French, first, in the north, and later, both in the north and on the waters of the Mississippi.

These conflicts between the French and the English were, it seems, the inevitable result of the "fatal treaty between Charles I and Louis XIII, by which 'was restored to France, absolutely and without demarcation of limits, all the places possessed by the English, in New France, Lacadie and Canada, particularly Port Royal, Quebec and Cape Breton.'"¹ As matters stood about 1700 the actual jurisdiction of the British Colonies extended westward from the Atlantic Coast to about the line separating the area drained by the rivers emptying into the Atlantic from the area drained by the Mississippi. The actual jurisdiction of the French embraced the area including the Great Lakes and a strip of land southward of Lake Erie. It included the Maumee River and the area now embraced in Michigan.

The great territory drained by the Mississippi and its tributaries was claimed by both the French and the English; the French basing their claim on their occupancy of the Mississippi; while the English based their claim upon their occupancy of the Atlantic Coast.²

Localizing this situation for a history of Lunenburg, it may be

¹*Dinwiddie Papers*, Introduction by R. A. Brock, V, citing *Chalmers*, II, p. 372.

²Thwaite, see map No. 3, *The Colonies, 1492-1750*.

said that the French claims extended from the western boundary of Lunenburg County westward to the Rocky Mountains.¹

John Lederer, exploring for Governor Berkeley, reached the top of the Blue Ridge Mountains in 1669, but did not descend the western slope. Abraham Wood, who lived near where Petersburg now stands, in 1671 crossed the mountains and discovered the Great Kanawha; about 1700 a few adventurous traders, both English and French, were on the waters of the Ohio.

It was not, however, until Governor Spotswood's exploit that the public attention was fixed upon the transmontane country as a theatre for extensive settlement.

In August, 1716,² soon after his trip to Christanna, with John Fontaine, Governor Spotswood made his famous expedition which has become known to history as that of the Knights of the Golden Horse Shoe, across the Appalachian Mountains. This was an event of the greatest importance as it demonstrated the possibility of crossing the mountains, something which had theretofore been deemed impossible. John Fontaine was again with the Governor and has left an entertaining account of the trip.³

Thereafter, under the encouragement of Spotswood and his successors, settlements were gradually made to the westward.

Two years after Lunenburg County was created, The Ohio Company was formed in 1748 by Thomas Lee, and twelve others, including Lawrence and Augustine Washington, brothers of George Washington in Virginia, and John Hanberry, a Quaker merchant of London. The company had a grant of 500,000 acres of land on the Ohio, between the Monongahela and Kanawha Rivers. Two hundred thousand acres of the land were to be immediately settled, and on condition that the company would settle one hundred families on the land within seven years, at its

¹Thwaite: *The Colonies, 1492-1750*, and see also Peter Fontaine, Jr.'s *Map, Memoirs of a Huguenot Family*, 356.

²There is considerable confusion as to the date of Governor Spotswood's Expedition, some placing it in 1714, some in 1716. The correct date is 1716, as is shown not only by John Fontaine's journal of the trip which he kept, but by Governor Spotswood's letters as well. Even so critical a scholar as Reuben G. Thwaites has not observed the correct date. See note 1, page 64, *Withers' Chronicles of Border Warfare*.

³*Memoirs of a Huguenot Family*, 281-292.

expense, and build a fort and maintain a garrison sufficient to protect the settlement, the lands were to be free from quit-rents and taxes to the King. Governor Dinwiddie and George Mason, father of the author of the Bill of Rights, became owners of shares in the company.

Peter Fontaine, Jun., in a letter to his uncle, John Fontaine (who in 1716 made the trip to Christanna, with Governor Spotswood), dated "Lunenburg, Virginia, 7th June, 1754," wrote:

"I cannot help adding a piece of domestic news, which is, that the French on the back of us are disputing our title to the Mississippi lands, have built a fort to annoy our settlements, and have drove off about seventy families of my countrymen. The Assembly has enacted the levying of £10,000 currency to enable them to oppose the enemy. We expect every day to hear that about fifteen hundred men, levied in these colonies, have either settled on Mississippi and built a fort to countermine that of the French, or that they have, if opposed, engaged them."¹

The writer of this letter was the first surveyor of the southern district of Lunenburg, and was the first surveyor of Halifax County. Peter Fontaine, Minister of Westover Parish, father of Peter Fontaine, Jun., the Surveyor of Lunenburg and of Halifax, in a letter to his brothers, John and Moses, dated "Virginia, 15th April, 1754," in giving news of various relatives, says: "As far as I can learn, James has got a parish amongst the mountains, and is concerned in the Ohio Company, who have an entry on Halifax, beginning on the other side, or properly, west side of the great mountains, upon the line between North Carolina and Virginia, of eight hundred thousand acres of land. His wife's uncle, Colonel Walker, is the chief person in this scheme. They have it quit free for some years, and sell it to settlers at £3 the hundred acres. They have about thirty settlements upon it, if the French and their Indians have not routed them lately."²

This interest of the Fontaine family in the Ohio Company enterprise was the occasion for the reference by Peter Fontaine, Jr., to the matter of the dispute respecting these lands as "a piece of domestic news."

¹*Memoirs of a Huguenot Family*, 365.

²*Memoirs of a Huguenot Family*, 342.

The year following the creation of the Ohio Company, and three years after Lunenburg became a county, the Governor of Canada, Galissoniere, sent a French expedition, in 1749, under Celeron de Bienville, into the Ohio Valley with "a suitable escort of whites and savages to take formal possession of the valley in the name of the King of France, to propitiate the Indians, and in all ways short of actual warfare, to thwart the English plans."¹

The report of the expedition was not favorable to the French—it was to the effect that there were vast numbers of English in the valley who had secured the Indians as allies.

At this juncture the Marquis Duquesne succeeded Galissoniere as Governor of Canada, and took immediate steps to offset the trend of events favorable to the English. In the early part of 1753, he sent a force by Lake Ontario and Niagara to seize the northeastern branches of the Ohio River. These forces "passing over the portage between Presque Isle and French Creek, it constructed Forts Le Boeuf and Venango,"² and in pursuance of the "aggrandizing policy in North America," which had been adopted by the French, proceeded in the purpose to link their possessions on the lower Mississippi with those on the St. Lawrence, by a chain of forts on the Ohio.

Robert Dinwiddie had become Governor of Virginia on November 20, 1751. He was a man of great energy, vigilance and zeal, and very soon learning of the acts of the French, he dispatched late in October, 1753, Major George Washington, then only twenty-one years of age, to M. Le Gardeur de St. Pierre, the commandant of the fort which the French had constructed, "to demand by whose authority an armed force had crossed the lakes, and to urge a speedy and peaceable departure."³

Major Washington arrived on December 11, 1753, while Fort Le Boeuf was being constructed,⁴ but M. de St. Pierre declined to discuss the matter, claiming that the protest should have been made to the Marquis Du Quesne, Governor of Canada.⁵

¹Boogher, *Gleanings of Virginia History*, 10.

²Boogher, *Gleanings of Virginia History*, 11.

³*Dinwiddie Papers*, Introduction, XI.

⁴Boogher, *Gleanings of Virginia History*, 11; *George Washington Diaries*, Vol. I, 58.

⁵*Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. I, 49, note 40.

Washington had accomplished a most difficult journey, enduring many hardships, the only immediate fruits of which were the opportunity to make observation of the character of the fortifications, the number of the forces, and to become acquainted with the territory traversed. He made, too, the acquaintance of Half-King, an Indian who accompanied him to the fort, and who was to render him valuable assistance in the following year.

His guide on the journey was Christopher Gist, one of the most intelligent and best known of the early frontiersmen. He was an agent of the Ohio Company, and had made a settlement in the summer of 1753 in what is now the town of Dunbar, in Fayette County, Pennsylvania. He was the original settler of that county.

Washington returned to Williamsburg, arriving January 16, 1754.¹ Upon his report to the Governor, he immediately embarked upon a vigorous course to oppose the French. His efforts would have done honor to one in the full vigor of manhood. Governor Dinwiddie at the time, however, was suffering from a stroke of paralysis.

In January, 1754, soon after Major Washington's return, Governor Dinwiddie wrote Lord Fairfax: "As the French forces on the Ohio intend down as far as Logstown early in the spring, I think it is for His M'J's service and the protection of the settlem'ts of this Dom'n to do all in our power to prevent their building any forts or making any settlem'ts on that river, and more particularly so nigh us as that of the Logstown. I therefore, with Advice of the Council, think proper to send immediately out 200 men to protect those already sent by the Ohio Comp'a to build a fort, and to resist any attempts on them. I have commission'd Major George Washington, the bearer hereof, to command 100 men to be raised in Frederick County and Augusta, therefore I trouble Y'r L'ds to direct the Militia of Frederick to be drawn out and fifty men to be enlisted for that service, that number probably may voluntarily enlist themselves on this Expedit'n on the pay settled by Act of Assembly, but if they do not voluntarily enter on this service, I think they must

¹*George Washington Diaries*, Vol. I, 67.

ballot, that the number may be ascertained so as to prevent as far as we can, of being surprized.”¹

The pay referred to was to be made in tobacco, and ranged from twenty pounds for private soldiers, to sixty pounds for the Colonel for the “Horse”; and from fifteen pounds for the private soldier to fifty pounds for the Colonel for the “Foot.”²

Major Washington was instructed by the Governor to proceed at once to Frederick County, and take under his command the company of fifty men which the governor had directed the commander of that county to raise. Washington was directed also to send his lieutenant to Augusta County to receive a company of fifty men raised there, and then to proceed to Alexandria for supplies and equipment, and having done these things “you are to use all expedition in proceeding to the fork of the Ohio with the men under com’d and there you are to finish and compleat in the best manner and as soon as you possibly can, the fort w’ch I expect is there already begun by the Ohio Comp’a. You are to act,” the instructions continue, “on the defensive, but in case any attempts are made to obstruct the works or interrupt our settlem’ts by any persons whatsoever you are to restrain all such offenders, and in case of resistance to make prisoners of or kill and destroy them.”³

In the letter of January, 1754, to Lord Fairfax, the Governor expressed the hope that the assembly which was to meet on the 14th of February, 1754, would “see the absolute necessity of making a push at this time,” and would provide him with funds to send four or five hundred more men to the Ohio, which he thought would be sufficient “with the assistance of our neighboring Colonies and our friendly Ind’s” to “defeat the designs of the French.”

In January, 1754, Governor Dinwiddie communicated with the Six Nations, with the Catawbas, with the Governors of South Carolina, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, New York, Maryland, New Jersey and Massachusetts, acquainting them with the facts reported to him by Washington, and requesting their co-opera-

¹*Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. I, 48-9.

²*Hening*, VI, p. 116.

³*Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. I. 59.

tion in the measures to be undertaken against the French. He pointed out that the French had induced the "Chippeways, Ottaways and Arundocks to take up the hatchet ag'st the English"; that they had taken possession of lands belonging to British subjects, and were prepared with canoes, two hundred and twenty of which were already built, and others being made, with which it was their purpose to descend the river, as soon as the weather permitted in the spring, and "build forts at every place of consequence" on the Ohio.

But the co-operation which he received from the other colonies was very disappointing, especially was this so in the case of Pennsylvania. South Carolina responded by sending what, under the circumstances, was quite a satisfactory force.

The encroachment of the French and their construction of the forts on the Ohio was not only a direct challenge to the British title to, and authority over, all that great area drained by the Mississippi and its tributaries, but a matter of great local concern; it interrupted the ambitious plans of the Ohio Company, and put in jeopardy not only the title to the lands, but the lives of the families who had been settled upon the lands, pursuant to agreement with the Colonial Government, and the British Government as well.

Governor Dinwiddie convened the House of Burgesses, in special session, immediately after receiving Major Washington's report. His message to the House on February 14, 1754, clearly points out the occasion and necessity, from the British standpoint, of vigorous action against the French. After reviewing the facts reported by Major Washington as to the location of the French fort "on a creek running into the Ohio," and the degree of preparation made, and the purposes of the French to proceed down and fortify the river in the spring, making Logstown¹ their principal headquarters, he continues: "Maj'r Washington further reports that he ask'd why they had seized the goods of our traders, and sent their persons prisoners to Canada, to which the com'd't answered: 'That his orders from their Gen'l, the Governor of Canada, were not to permit any English subjects to trade

¹Located just below the present Economy, Pa., on the north side of the Ohio River, about 18 miles below Pittsburg.

on the waters of the Ohio, but to seize their goods and send them prisoners to Quebeck.' He also ask'd the reason of taking Mr. Frazier's¹ house from him w'ch he had built and lived in upwards of twelve years. He s'd that man was lucky that he made his escape, or he w'd have sent him prisoner to Canada."²

The Governor's message proceeds to relate Indian atrocities of the most horrible character, perpetrated on the Colonists, which he charged were incited by the French who usually accompanied the Indians in their "incursions" against the Virginia Frontiersmen. He informed the Burgesses that he had taken all the steps possible in advance of their meeting; had ordered out an expedition "to build a fort . . . at the forks of Monongahela," and appealed for effectual action to support the expedition sent out, and to maintain the integrity of the British domain.

The Burgesses in their reply to the Governor declared: "With hearts full of zeal for His Majesty's service and the interest of y's Col's, and fired with resentment and indignant'n at the unjustifiable proceedings and encroachment of the French and French Ind's, we do in the strongest terms express our utmost abhorrence of their late barbarous cruelties and depredat's committed on the frontiers and His Majesty's subjects inhabiting there. We are truly sensible of the importance of the several matters recommended to us by Y'r Hon'r, and we do assure you y't we will take the same into our serious consideration and act therein agreeable to the duty we owe to our King and country."³

The Burgesses made an initial appropriation of £10,000 to finance the measures being taken against the French and the Indians. Governor Dinwiddie, however, was unpopular with that body, and it may be added, with the Colonists in general, because he had revived and was enforcing the collection of fees for issuing grants for land; and while he seems to have done nothing more, in that regard, than was strictly legal, the custom had fallen into disuse, under the administration of Sir William Gooch, and its revival was viewed as obnoxious and oppressive.

¹John Frazier, an Indian trader, who lived near the mouth of a creek about ten miles up the Monongahela, from the fork of the Ohio. This was near the place where General Braddock was later defeated.

²*Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. I, 73-4.

³*Dinwiddie Papers*, 78.

So the Burgesses in making the appropriation, provided that it should be expended under the direction of a committee of their body.

It was Governor Dinwiddie's plan to raise six additional companies,¹ place them under the command of Col. Joshua Fry, and have them proceed at once to the Ohio country. He ordered measures taken throughout the colony to raise six months provisions for these forces.²

In March, 1754, he issued official instructions to Colonel Joshua Fry, styling him "Colo. and Com'd'r in Chief of the Virg'a Regiment," directing him to repair to Alexandria and take command of the forces "which I expect will be at that town the middle of next mo. You are to march them to Wills's Creek, above the Falls of Poto, from thence with the Great Guns, Amunit'n and provisions you are to proceed to Monongahela, when arriv'd there you are to make choice of the best place to erect a fort for mounting y'r cannon and ascertain'ng His M'y the King of G. B's undoubted rights to those lands."³

In the meantime Colonel George Washington at Alexandria was having trouble enlisting his force on account of uncertainty and irregularity of pay and for other reasons detailed in his letter of March 9, 1754, to the Governor.⁴ At that time he had but twenty-five men.

About March 15, 1754, the Governor received an alarming report from Colonel Thomas Cresap and Captain William Trent respecting the movements and plans of the French. These men were representatives of the Ohio Company, and Captain Trent had begun the construction of a fort at Alleghany.⁵ They reported that they had information of the purpose of the French to make the descent of the Ohio River earlier than they had anticipated.

The Governor apparently without informing himself of the

¹Letter to William Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts Bay, *Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. I, 86.

²Letter to Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania, *Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. I, 87.

³*Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. I, 88-9.

⁴*Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. I, 92-3.

⁵The present site of Pittsburg.

strength of Washington's force, and without any directions as to the minimum strength he should have, ordered Washington "to march what soldiers you have enlisted, immediately to the Ohio, and escort some waggons, with the necessary provisions. Colo. Fry to march with the others as soon as possible."¹

The Governor did not reckon on the slowness with which Col. Fry's forces would be mobilized and would proceed after Washington.

Washington received his orders on March 31, and marched on April 2, with only two companies of men.² On April 20th, about the time he reached Col. Cresap's, he received news that the French had appeared in considerable force and had taken the fort of the Ohio Company commanded by Captain Trent.³

Washington very prudently decided, in view of the number of French reported to be in the force which took the fort, that he would proceed no farther than Red Stone Creek until he was reinforced, as he had only about one hundred and sixty effective men.² As a matter of fact, he did not get that far. About May 23, he received a warning from Half-King that a force of French were lurking in the woods near his camp.⁵ By May 27, he had reached Great Meadows.⁶

Mr. Gist⁷ arrived that morning from his place and told that "a detachment of 50 men was seen yesterday at noon, com'd by Mons'r La Force:" this same force afterwards marched within five miles of Washington's camp at Great Meadows. Washington sent out a force of seventy-five men to meet them, and later receiving a message from Half-King who was encamped about six miles away, he set out with forty men, at about ten o'clock at night, to go to Half-King's camp, where they arrived just before sun up next morning. Of this march Washington says: "We reach'd the Indian's Camp, having march'd in [a] small path, a heavy rain, and night as dark as it is possible to

¹*Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. I, 106-7.

²*Diaries of Washington*, Vol. I, 73-4.

³*Diaries of Washington*, Vol. I, 75.

⁴*Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. I, 148, 152.

⁵*Id.*, 174.

⁶*Id.*, 174.

⁷Capt. Christopher Gist, agent of the Ohio Company.

conceive; we were frequently tumbling one over another, and often so lost that 15 or 20 minutes search would not find the path again."¹

He and Half-King counselled together, decided upon a method of procedure; sent out scouts who located the French, "in a very obscure place surrounded with rocks. I thereupon," says Washington, "in conjunction with the Half-King and Monacatoocha, form'd a disposition to attack y'm on all sides, which we accordingly did, and after an engagement of ab't 15 minutes, we killed 10, wounded one and took 21 prisoners. Amongst those that were killed, was Monsieur De Jumonville, the Commander; Principal Officers taken is Monsieur Druillorn and Mons'r Laforce, who your Honour has often heard me speak of as a bold enterprising man, and a person of great subtlety and cunning; with these are two cadets."²

In this engagement Washington's forces lost only one man killed, and two or three wounded.³

The papers taken from the captured French disclosed that they were instructed "to reconnoitre the country, roads, creeks, &c., to Potomack."⁴

The news of Washington's victory was added as a postscript in a letter from Peter Fontaine, Jun. to Moses Fontaine (in England), dated "Lunenburg, Virginia, 7th June, 1754," as follows: "Since the within, Colonel Washington, the commander of our three or four hundred men from Virginia, has, with a party of about forty men and some auxiliary Indians, by the intelligence of an Irish deserter, met with a party of about thirty-six French, who were in ambush in the woods waiting for him. Each party fired, and it has pleased God that we have killed or taken them all. There were thirteen killed and the rest taken. We lost only one man, and two wounded. The French seem to have a great mixture of Indian blood, and are sturdy fellows. The place in dispute is on the Ohio river, about two hundred miles back of our nearest mountains."⁵

¹*Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. I, 179.

²Letter to Governor Dinwiddie, *Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. I, 179-80.

³*Id.*, 181.

⁴Letter to Governor Dinwiddie, *Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. I, 180.

⁵*Memoirs of a Huguenot Family*, 361.

Hostilities being thus begun, Washington expected to be attacked at almost any moment by superior numbers, as he discloses in the letter to Governor Dinwiddie reporting the capture of the French. "I shall," he said, "expect every hour to be attacked, and by unequal numbers, which I must withstand, if there is 5 to 1, or else I fear the consequence will be we shall loose the Indians if we suffer ourselves to be drove back. I dispatch'd an express immediately to Colo. Fry, with this intelligence, desiring him to send re-inforcements with all imaginable dispatch.

"Your Honor may depend I will not be surpriz'd, let them come what hour they will, and this is as much as I can promise, but my best endeavours shall not be wanting to deserve more. I doubt not but if you hear I am beaten, but you will, at the same (time) hear that we have done our duty in fighting as long [as] there was a possibility of hope."¹

In addition to sending an urgent dispatch to Colonel Fry for reinforcements, he also began to construct a "Palisado'd Fort," — Fort Necessity at Great Meadows.

Governor Dinwiddie was well aware of the dangerous situation Washington was in. Upon receipt of the news of his brilliant exploit, the Governor wrote, from Winchester, where he seems to have taken up a temporary residence, to meet the Indian allies expected, and to be nearer the theatre of active operations, urging Washington not to let this success "tempt you to make any hazardous attempts ag'st a too numerous enemy."² He expressed impatience to Major Muse, who had succeeded to Colonel Fry's command (Col. Fry died on May 31, 1754), over the tediousness of his march, directed him to quit his wagons and impediments, "and march immediately to join Colo. Washington with the utmost expedition,"³ and he urged Captain James McKay, commanding an independent company of South Carolinians to make his "most expeditious endeavours to join" Colonel Washington.⁴ But few additional soldiers, however, reached Washington for the impending battle.

¹*Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. I, 181-2.

²*Id.*, 186.

³*Id.*, 187.

⁴*Id.*, 188.

On July 3, 1754, Fort Necessity was attacked by a force greatly outnumbering his own. In fact, Washington's force was outnumbered about three to one. The battle was in progress from eleven in the morning until eight o'clock at night, Washington holding his own. The French called for a parley, but Washington suspecting treachery refused it. At length they asked that an officer who could speak French be sent to them, giving their parole for his safe return. Washington realizing the untenability of his situation, and the French having taken the initiative in negotiating for a cessation of hostilities was glad of the opportunity to withdraw his forces with the honors of war; otherwise, they had determined to fight until killed, rather than be taken prisoners.¹

Washington marched his men back to Will's Creek (now Cumberland, Md.) and abandoned the Ohio valley for the time being, to the French. Washington, however, was victorious, even in defeat, for all recognized the high quality of his intrepid leadership, and were convinced that if the rest had done anything like so well there might have been a different issue.

Governor Dinwiddie wrote Colonel Innes, July 20, 1754, "The misfortune attending our expedition is entirely owing to the delay of your forces, and more particularly the two Independent Compa's from N. Y.² . . . As to your regim't I can say little to, as you are talking of disbanding them before they join the other forces."³ And writing to James Abercromby just after news of the misfortune came, he spoke of the fact that Washington's company and McKay's company of independents were all there were to oppose the French, he said these "bore the whole brunt of the action, and considering their few numbers, they behaved with great resolution, and indeed, I think they acquired much honor, though the French had the victory."⁴

Following this defeat the Governor ordered a fort built at Will's Creek (Cumberland, Md.), where the Ohio Company had a store, with a view to making it a concentration point and base for future operations.

¹*Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. I, 240.

²*Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. I, 232.

³*Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. I, 232.

⁴*Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. I, 237.

The forces becoming disorganized, some deserting, the Indians going over to the victors, Dinwiddie reported conditions to the Lords of trade, to the Secretary of War, assembled the Burgesses, planned the recruiting of larger forces and otherwise energetically occupied himself with plans for future measures.

He summoned the House of Burgesses into session in August, 1754. At this session Lunenburg County was represented by William Byrd and William Embry. At the previous session, February 14, 1754, Lunenburg had been represented by William Byrd alone. Clement Read, the other member, had for some reason not attended. The record for the session of August 22, 1754, shows that William Embry had succeeded Clement Read "who had accepted a surveyor's place."¹

Halifax County had been created in 1752, and Peter Fontaine, Jr., had resigned as surveyor of Lunenburg County and become surveyor of Halifax County, and he in turn had been succeeded in Lunenburg by Clement Read. The representatives of Halifax in the House of Burgesses at this time were John Bates and William [Samuel?] Harris.

The Governor laid the state of public affairs before them, and the Burgesses in their reply declared: "We are determined on our parts to withstand the impending danger and to pursue every measure in our power to defeat those pernicious attempts of our enemies, that we may convince the world we have nothing more at heart than a zealous discharge of our duty to the best of Kings and the sincerest regard for the safety and true interest of our country."²

The Burgesses promptly resolved to raise £20,000 for renewing the efforts against the French, who emboldened by their success were planning to build forts on the Greenbriar, Kanawha, Holstein and New River, which would have occupied territory not only embracing the whole of the present West Virginia, but would have extended far into the present State of Virginia, and into North Carolina. They, however, were unwilling to appropriate money to support any but Virginia troops, and left the Governor powerless to pay the "Independent Companies,"

¹*The Colonial Virginia Register*, 133.

²*Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. I, 294.

which were companies of soldiers officered by men who received their commissions direct from the King. No doubt the attitude of the Burgesses was largely due to Washington's experience with Capt. KcKay's troops. They declined to make roads or bridges, or do any of the rough, laborious and necessary work of this kind. Of this Washington was severe in his criticism,¹ but he was powerless to correct it so long as Capt. KcKay was not directly subject to his orders.

On September 4, 1754, the Governor in a sharp and critical address, prorogued the Burgesses until October 17th, and he and the Council refused to approve the bill for raising £20,000 as passed by the Burgesses. It carried a provision for paying Peyton Randolph a fee of £2,500 for going to England to present the case against Dinwiddie respecting the revival of the pistole fee for granting lands.

During the period of relative inaction following Washington's defeat, the Indians became emboldened to make forays upon the Colonists on the frontiers of Augusta County.

In consequence of the failure to get a vote of finances to prosecute military measures, the efforts against the French were deferred until the following year; and Washington and Innes employed their time in creating a magazine at Will's Creek, and Dinwiddie redoubled his efforts with the other Colonial Governors, and renewed his frantic appeals to England for sufficient aid from England to cope with the French.

Colonel Washington was directed to give a detachment of forty or fifty of his men to Capt. Andrew Lewis to enable him to protect the Augusta frontier from incursions by the Indians.

The Assembly at the session which convened October 17, 1754, voted a supply bill for £20,000 for military operations,² and the British Government agreed to send £10,000 and 2,000 stands of arms and other supplies.

Following these events the Governor proceeded with plans for raising a force of 1,000 men, but in view of the fact that the

¹*Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. I, 199.

²At this session Lunenburg was represented by William Embry and Matthew Marrable (in the place of William Byrd, who had been appointed to the Council). Halifax was represented by John Bates and William Harris.

officers of the independent companies refused to rank with or do duty with those appointed by the Governor, he devised a plan for ten independent companies of 100 men each. The highest rank in these companies was that of Captain, and these were subordinate to those holding commissions from the King. The effect of this plan was to reduce Washington to the rank of Captain, and to place him under officers whom he had commanded. He thereupon resigned his commission and retired to private life.

Governor Dinwiddie had been insistently urging the Government in London to send over an effective military force of capable officers and engineers and trained men to put an end to the French aggressions. This was urged as especially necessary as France was sending large forces into Canada, and thence into the Ohio valley and elsewhere to make good her claims against the English, and as several of the colonies, Maryland, Pennsylvania and South Carolina, for example, were either furnishing no men, or very few, for operations against the French. At length the British Government acted upon the recommendation. General Edward Braddock was sent to America armed with a commission as Commander-in-Chief of all his Majesty's forces, on the continent of America.¹ He arrived at Hampton, February 19, 1755.² Not only did General Braddock come over, but he was accompanied by Commodore Keppel (the Honorable Augustus, second son of William Anne Keppel, Second Earl of Albemarle), and they and Governor Dinwiddie met the Governors of New England, New York, Pennsylvania and Maryland, on April 14, 1755, and the state of the colonies was fully considered. This conference was held at Alexandria, Virginia.

To accomplish the purpose for which he had been sent to America, Braddock, with the assistance of those at this conference, planned four distinct expeditions. General Charles Lawrence, lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, was to protect the English rights in that locality; General William Johnson of New York was to enlist the aid of the Mohawk Indians, and

¹*Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. II, 21.

²*Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. I, 511.

capture Crown Point; General William Shirley undertook to drive the French from Niagara; and General Braddock reserved for himself the honor of driving the French from the Ohio valley.¹

On May 1, 1755, Governor Dinwiddie convened the General Assembly and advised them of the developments and urged the granting with promptitude adequate supplies to support the measures being taken. In his message he acquainted the assembly with the fact that the King "has of His gracious goodness to us ordered four regiments, consisting each of 1,000 men, with a large train of artillery, for our aid and assistance, besides regiments now at Nova Scotia, all at the expense of the Crown of G. Britain."² At this session Lunenburg was represented by William Embry and Matthew Marrable.

It was General Braddock's plan to proceed westward over the general route (though not in all cases following the road) of Washington's earlier expedition, to retake the fort taken by the French from the garrison of the Ohio Company, and proceeding to capture "the French Forts at River of Beuf" (Fort le Beuf) and Lake Erie, join forces in the north with those who were to conduct operations in that theatre.³

Braddock moved westward from Alexandria to Winchester, and thence to Fort Cumberland.

The Governor disclosed that plans had been made for communication between the army as it progressed and Winchester, Virginia, from which place "Express" service by carriers on horses would keep in constant communication with him at Williamsburg, and with the Governors of Pennsylvania and Maryland.⁴

General Braddock, from Fort Cumberland, communicated with Governor Dinwiddie with a view to having the militia forces in readiness to garrison that and other forts, as he progressed, so that his more mature and better trained soldiers would not be detained for garrison duty. On May 23, the Gov-

¹*Gleanings of Virginia History*, 15.

²*Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. II, 21.

³*Id.*, 33.

⁴*Id.*, 21.

ernor wrote him, concluding his letter with the wish that he would have "an agreeable march over the Allegany Mount's, a successful campaign, and health."¹

Five days later the first division of General Braddock's army began their march over the Alleghany Mountains,² and Governor Dinwiddie wrote to the Lords of Trade "I have not the least doubt of their success in retaking the Fort on the Ohio."³

The scale of General Braddock's ambitious enterprise is indicated by this letter of the Governor to the Lords of Trade. He said: "The General was retarded in his march for the want of horses, waggons, &c, and forage for his horses, which are in number upwards of 1,500."⁴

Governor Dinwiddie evidently got a hint of dissatisfaction with General Braddock's methods, for on June 13, 1755, he wrote Governor Dobbs:⁵ "The ceremony and formality of marching regular forces has retarded their march long, and the large train of artillery, requiring great numbers of waggons and horses, has also been a great hindrance to their march."⁶

At this time Governor Dinwiddie was complaining of the lack of support of the expedition by Pennsylvania and Maryland. He also declared that Governor Glen of South Carolina did everything he "could contrive to retard the expedition."⁷

In compliance with a suggestion Braddock had made, the Governor wrote him on June 16: "I shall immediately order up 10 guns with their appurtenances to Fort Cumberland, from thence to be transported to the fort, which, I hope, you will soon be in possession of. If any delay should happen in getting the guns to Fort Cumberland, if you please you may order the guns now at that fort to be immediately (after you have possession of the fort on the Ohio) sent over the Alleghany, to be mounted

¹*Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. II, 42.

²*Id.*, 52.

³*Id.*, 52.

⁴*Id.*, 52.

⁵Arthur Dobbs, of Ireland, Governor of North Carolina, from Nov. 1, 1754, until his death, March 28, 1765.

⁶*Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. II, 60.

⁷*Id.*, 60.

there, and the guns I send from this [place] may be (used) to replace them in Fort Cumberland."¹

Braddock, a haughty, self-reliant man, scorned to take the advice of Americans such as Washington. Relying upon his artillery and believing that the savage Indians could make no impression upon His Majesty's trained soldiers, he scorned to take the precautions Washington took to guard against surprise. He moved slowly, even leisurely,—declining to go a step ahead without his artillery. This necessitated making roads through a country difficult and tedious to negotiate. He crept along at such a slow pace, that Washington impatiently said he stopped "to level every mole-hill; to erect a bridge over every creek."² He even rode in his carriage as far as Fort Cumberland.

Finally, on July 9, 1755, as he moved on Fort DuQuesne, he was ambushed in a heavily wooded section and about eight hundred of his men were killed. Sixty-four out of eighty-five officers were lost.³

Upon being wounded, he was borne from the field in his officer's sash, improvised into a stretcher; and the command devolving upon Washington, he covered the retreat to Great Meadows, where General Braddock died on the 13th of July, 1755. His grave is now marked by a monument which stands but a few feet from and on the north side of the National Road.

The news of General Braddock's defeat first came to the Governor in a letter dated July 11, 1755, from Colonel Innes, who had been left by Braddock in command of Fort Cumberland.⁴

The day this news reached him, the Governor wrote Lord Fairfax: "I never doubted of the General's success, when I

¹*Dinwiddie Papers*, II, 64.

²*Gleanings of Virginia History*, 17.

³Braddock is said to have had five horses shot from under him before he was fatally wounded. He was a very arrogant man, and was obnoxious both to the native soldiery and the Indian allies. It is a generally accepted tradition that he was murdered by a Pennsylvania soldier. Thomas Fauchett, at one time a resident of Fayette County, Pa., "avowed the fact." (*Dinwiddie Papers*, note by Brock, Vol. I, 511.) "Braddock's private character," says Brock, "appears to have been that of a heartless, broken-down gambler and spendthrift, yet those who most bitterly censured him allow him certain merits. 'Desperate in his fortune, brutal in his behavior, obstinate in his sentiments,' says Walpole, 'he was still intrepid and capable.'"

⁴*Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. II, 98.

considered his forces and the train of artillery.”¹ Even before he had received news of the details of the disaster, he ordered the militia of the various counties mustered in order to repel any invasions that might occur. It was a timely measure, for almost coincident with the news of Braddock’s defeat reports came of fresh barbarities by the Indians in Augusta County, and while Braddock had but poor opinion of the colonial soldiers, and found use for no great number of them in his expedition, he realized the possibility, however, of the Indians and French harassing the frontiers of the colony when his forces were far advanced beyond the Alleghany. He therefore suggested to Governor Dinwiddie the wisdom of employing the militia, and other colonial forces, in the protection of the settlements in the communities thus exposed.

Pursuant to this purpose the militia of various counties were ordered to arms. That of Bedford County, which had been created in 1754, was ordered to arms, as we know from a communication addressed by Governor Dinwiddie to Matthew Talbott, William Callaway and John Phelps, July 21, 1755.²

The Governor also wrote, July 22, 1753, to Colonel William Byrd of Halifax County, advising him that he had ordered out the militia of that county, having received a “long representation from the Justices of the County of Halifax in regard to barbarous murders committed in the County of Augusta and their fear of being attacked by the savages.”³

The detailed military service, such as the frontier duty mentioned, seems to have been the occasion for a good many erroneous statements respecting the military services of various persons who were active at this time. This is illustrated by the statement of Alexander S. Withers, in his *Chronicles of Border Warfare*, that Captain Grant and Captain Lewis (meaning James Grant and Andrew Lewis) commanded companies in Braddock’s expedition, and were “the first to cross the river,”—the Monongahela.⁴

¹*Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. II, 98.

²*Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. II, 109.

³*Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. II, 110.

⁴*Chronicles of Border Warfare* (edited by Thwaites), 68.

The fact is, neither took any part whatever in the battle of the Monongahela.¹ Andrew Lewis at the time was a Major, and was on the frontier service, wholly detached from Braddock. July 8, 1755, Governor Dinwiddie wrote him: "You were ordered to Augusta with your company to protect the frontiers of your county,² and on the same date he wrote Col. Patton: "Inclosed you have a letter to Captain Lewis, which please forward to him. I think he is at Green Briar."³ And Capt. Robt. Orme, aide-de-camp to General Braddock, mentions that the Virginia troops were, after being clothed, ordered to Winchester for arming and drilling, and adds: "Capt. Lewis was ordered with his company of rangers to Greenbrier River, there to build two stockade forts, in one of which he was to remain himself and to detach to the other a subaltern and fifteen men."⁴

Braddock's defeat threw all plans into utter confusion. Colonel Dunbar, who succeeded to the command on Braddock's death, seemed in utter panic. Dunbar was not in the battle, but was some distance away, in the woods.⁵ His action was altogether cowardly and contemptible after the Braddock debacle. Although it was only July, and Governor Dinwiddie urged preparation for some effective measures beyond the mountains, or at least adequate protection of the frontier, Dunbar on August 2, 1755, marched all the regular forces left of the two regiments, and two independent companies to Philadelphia to go into winter quarters!⁶

Upon Dunbar's retreat, Governor Shirley disbanded all his force (which was small), and the back settlers being left defenseless, abandoned their crops and their cabins and came down into the more thickly settled communities. At this juncture, upon the assembling of the House of Burgesses, August 7, 1755, the defense of the Virginia frontier was left to two hundred

¹*Chronicles of Border Warfare*, note 1, by Lyman C. Draper.

²*Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. II, 91.

³*Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. II, 93.

⁴Sargeant, *History of Braddock's Expedition*, Appendix.

⁵*Id.*, 123.

⁶*Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. II, 139, 123.

of the Virginia forces, and one independent company at Winchester.¹

In retrospect Governor Dinwiddie spoke in the highest terms of the bravery of the Virginians, and in harsh condemnation of "the regulars from Ireland" who became panic struck, fled from the field and "left their brave officers to be inhumanly killed by the enemy."² While of the Virginians he said: "The natural bravery of our countrymen, if ever questioned, is now established beyond a doubt by those Virginia forces who purchased with their lives immortal glory to their country and themselves on the Banks of Monongahela."³

The Assembly, thoroughly aroused, voted £40,000 for military operations, and Governor Dinwiddie wrote Colonel Innes that he believed it would have given £100,000 "if there had been any probability of making a second attempt," adding, in view of Dunbar's course, "but now we must remain on the defensive and endeavor to prevent the cruel murders of the barbarous enemy."⁴

Governor Dinwiddie had practically denuded the colony of arms, so far as the government supply was concerned; he had given 1,500 stands of arms and all their accoutrements to General Braddock, and to New York and the Jerseys, in order to enable them to carry on the expeditions against Crown Point and Niagara. So when Dunbar marched to Philadelphia, and the colony had to shift for itself in raising and arming forces, it experienced great difficulty in doing so, and had to appeal to England for a fresh supply of arms.⁵

Within thirty days after Braddock's defeat the people of Lunenburg County agreed to raise a company of fifty men, and made up a subscription to pay them for six months.⁶

On August 9, 1755, Colonel Clement Read wrote Governor Dinwiddie of the action of the people of Lunenburg, and the Governor replied on the 15th. In part he said: "I received your letter

¹*Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. II, 140.

²*Id.*, 140-1.

³*Id.*, 135.

⁴*Id.*, 146.

⁵*Id.*, 145.

⁶*Id.*, 156.

of the 9th with the proposal from your county for raising fifty men and the generous subscription of your people to pay them for six months. I laid the whole before the Council, and it was very agreeably received, and I confess I am greatly pleased to see so good a spirit among your people, and I hope this laudable precedent will be followed by many other counties. Hanover and Amelia have offered each to raise a company, and the Legislature have granted a premium of £5 for every prisoner or scalp¹ they may bring in. But I desire you will inculcate to the officers and men to be very cautious in doing anything to offend our friendly Indians to the southward, particularly the Catawbas and Cherokees. . . . I have given Mr. Terry² a commission to command your company, and I send you two blank commissions for the subalterns, and I think you should make them first and second Lieutenants. There is no occasion for an Ensign, and probably they may have occasion to divide their men into parties; therefore two Lieut's is proper. I have ordered up four half barrels of powder and two barrels of shot and fifty swords, which is what Captain Terry thinks is sufficient at present. I suppose they need not be out longer than the last of November, but [it is] absolutely necessary to march out immediately, if possible, to take or destroy the enemies of our country, and Captain Terry has my instructions how to proceed if anything is omitted that may be of service. I hereby give you liberty to insert it at the foot of his instructions. And I desire you will please to receive the subscription money and pay the people agreeable to your scheme; and as Capt. Terry

¹The action of the Burgesses at the session in August, 1755, in granting a bounty for scalps, seems to have been the first time the barbarous practice was sanctioned by the public authorities. In his message (*Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. II, 135) Governor Dinwiddie had strongly urged it in retaliation for this character of outrage against the Colonists, and because the Colonies of New England had found it necessary thus to deal with their adversaries. "I hope," he wrote, "you will think the measures taken by our Brethren of New England expedient for your safety also, and by giving a reward for the taking or scalping our Indian enemies, provide such an encouragement as may induce our people to cut off the destroyers before they come to execute their proposed villainies on our helpless wives and poor defenceless babes, after whose blood the insatiate cowards thirst incessantly."

²Capt. Nathaniel Terry.

says the soldiers who will voluntarily go are in want of some small supplies, I enclose you £100 in treasury notes to be applied as you see proper for the service of that company.”¹

The commission of Governor Robert Dinwiddie to Captain Nathaniel Terry is dated August 13, 1755, and recited that parties of Indians and French are “continually committing many murders and depredations on His Majesty’s subjects,” and that it being necessary to repel such “unjust and horrible barbarities” he had thought fit “by and with the advice and consent of His Majesty’s Council, in consequence of your voluntary offer and subscription in behalf of yourself and others of the county of Lunenburg” to “appoint and constitute you the said Nathaniel Terry to be Captain of a Company of Rangers raised in the said county to scower the frontiers, kill and destroy every such Indian and others as you shall at any time or any where find insulting or maltreating His Majesty’s good subjects, or having an apparent tendency thereto. You are, therefore, to keep the said company in due and proper discipline and ready at all times for action, and to observe and follow such instructions as you may receive from me.”²

The Governor’s instructions to Captain Terry accompanied his commission of August 13, 1755. These instructions in full may be seen in the *Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. II, page 158-9; briefly they were to keep a “just sense of religion, that you may with confidence go forth under the protection of the Supreme Being”; to use the utmost endeavor to annoy and destroy the enemy; to preserve good union and harmony and assist other companies where the service of the country requires; to use the greatest caution not to offend the friendly Indians; to be particularly careful of the powder and ball; and after having taken a thorough view of the country, if a suitable place for erecting a fort is found to advise in respect thereto; and to give the Governor speedy intelligence of every important event. At the foot of the Governor’s record of the instructions to Captain Terry is noted the fact that on the 14th of August, 1755, he delivered to

¹*Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. II, 156-7.

²*Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. II, 158, where the commission in full may be seen.

Samuel Overton a commission and instructions "the same as above" to command a company of volunteers from Hanover County; and on the 20th commission and instructions to Capt. Jno. Philips to command "a company of Rangers to be raised in Bedford County."

It seems clear that the first Company of Rangers authorized in Virginia, after Braddock's defeat, was that from Lunenburg County, commanded by Captain Nathaniel Terry. But whether this company was actually organized, and if so what service it rendered, remains in considerable doubt. At any rate, in anticipation of its being raised it was ordered into Augusta County, where the local forces had been unable to cope with the situation. The Governor writing to Colonel John Buchanan, August 11, 1755, said: "There is a company of 50 men from Lunenburg County come into your county, your own company of Rangers of 50 men, another company of forty to be raised by Captain Smith with Captain Lewis's company, I think will be sufficient for the protection of your frontiers without calling out the militia, which is not to be done till great extremity."¹

On August 14, 1755, Governor Dinwiddie commissioned George Washington Colonel of the Virginia Regiment, and made him Commander-in-Chief of all forces raised or to be raised in Virginia. In order to facilitate recruiting the Regiment was separated into three divisions, with recruiting officers in charge at Winchester, Alexandria and Fredericksburg, and in his instructions Washington was advised: "As Winchester is the highest place of rendezvous which is exposed to the enemy, you are hereby required to make that your headquarters."²

Colonel Washington repaired to Winchester and found everything in confusion and the people in a panic. In order to bring some order into the situation he resorted to such military power as he had, which was inadequate under the existing law. Some of the people resenting his measures threatened, as he informed Governor Dinwiddie, to blow out his brains. As soon as he was able to gather a few recruits, learning of the perilously small strength of the force at Fort Cumberland, he hastened thither.

¹*Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. II, 154.

²*Id.*, 185.

While this fort was in Maryland, and was really more of a protection to the frontiers of Maryland and Pennsylvania than to Virginia, neither of those colonies did anything of importance to protect it or their frontiers which it defended.

Upon Colonel Washington's recommendation, Governor Dinwiddie urged upon the General Assembly the enactment of laws under which a more effective military discipline would be possible.

The Governor sent Peter Randolph and Colonel William Byrd as commissioners to the Catawba and Cherokee Indians, and it was no doubt through their instrumentality the promise of aid from the Indians was secured. In this, too, Richard Pearis was of some assistance.

An expedition against the Shawnees, which came to be known as the Sandy Creek Expedition, was determined upon, under the command of Major Andrew Lewis. It was the most pretentious effort of the year, and had as its object not only the chastisement of the Indians, but the establishment of a military post at the mouth of the "Great Sandy," the Big Sandy River of the present day, at or about the present town of Kenova, West Virginia.

The expedition never reached its destination, and accomplished practically nothing.

Frontier conditions became so bad that in August, 1756, Governor Dinwiddie ordered three forts built by the militia in Halifax County and one in Bedford, to be garrisoned by a part of them.

On August 23, 1756, Governor Dinwiddie wrote Colonel Clement Read:

"Upon your recommendation I agreed to the building a magazine for provisions and ammunition in a proper place convenient for supplying the forces and forts on the frontiers of Augusta. This now is to advise you that I have a letter from Major Lewis, from the Cherokee Nation of Indians, acquainting me that soon [after] the date of his letter, 150 warriors of that nation will come in to our assistance for the protection of our frontiers from the invasion of our brutal enemies, and I have reason also to expect fifty of the Catawba Indians. I am not acquainted

with any person in Augusta that I can confide in to provide provisions for these people; I, therefore, have thought proper to send you £500, which is here enclosed, to provide provisions by the time they arrive at Roan Oak. I know you are at a great distance from that place, but you probably are acquainted with some proper person there to make the purchase and to do justice to the country. The bearer, Colo. Buchanan (Buchanan), says he can purchase wheat there for 2s.6d., or under for ready money. If you've an opinion of this gentleman you may advance him some money for that purpose; he is to be accountable to you, and you to the country, and as I have ordered the Indians to March directly for Col. Washington, at Winchester, it will be proper to lay in some provisions for them at Augusta Court House, in their way to Winchester. The Cherokee Indians have desired some men to protect the fort built by Major Lewis in their country. I have ordered the Major to provide an officer and twenty or 25 men, to march out to that fort to remain a few months, which, if he puts in execution, I have ordered him to apply to you for provisions, &c., to carry with them, which, on his letter, you will give directions accordingly. This journey will be attended with trouble to you, for which the country will pay you. It will be necessary that provisions be immediately laid in, as I have reason to expect them at Roanoke in 14 days."¹

The Governor seems to have made Colonel Read one of his commissaries. Washington had reported Mr. Dick as wholly inefficient; and the Governor advised Capt. Hogg on August 23, 1756, "as to provision it will be pretty much left to the direction of Col. Read, and I have recommended Col. Buchanan to him for Augusta County."²

While a state of war had existed for some time between the French and English colonies in North America, war had not been formally declared between those two countries. England declared war against France May 18, 1756, while the French declaration followed on June 9th.

After Braddock's death, General Shirley became commander-

¹*Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. II, 485-6.

²*Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. II, 489.

in-chief of the British forces in America, and he in turn was succeeded by John Campbell, the Earl of Loudoun, who was noted for his inactivity and indecision, as a result of which the year 1757 was not marked by any outstanding military event.

The extent to which Colonel Read participated in the military affairs of the times is indicated by a letter to him of September 8, 1756, from Governor Dinwiddie, in which he wrote: "Your letter by Captain Stalnaker of the 2d, I received and observe its contents and the trouble you undertook in viewing some of the forts and your observations of the number of men in some of them, and the pay, &c, due to them, all which I approve of and thank you for your distinct letter thereon.

"I think a quantity of provisions should be purchased for a winter supply for the forces, but as the treasurer is not in town, I can't supply you with money properly; however, I have sent my warrant on the treasurer for £500, which he (Stalnaker) will bring you. Give Stalnaker £100 of it to qualify him to raise his company and build a little stockade fort at Drapers Meadow,¹ and take his receipt for it. I am surprised the militia are so backward in assisting to build the forts. The officer from Halifax assured me their militia would build their forts. I should be glad if we could engage the people for six months, but not to loiter idly in the forts, but parties to way-lay the Indians on their passing or repassing the mountains There are many other things I shall be glad to be advised about. At present I think we are under bad management, and the people of Augusta appear to me to endeavor to make money unjustly from the distress of the country, without a proper spirit to assist, which has been the case with many of them ever since my arrival here."²

On November 24, 1756, Governor Dinwiddie wrote Colonel Read:

"The misconduct of our militia on our western front is [an]

¹Near Smithfield, Montgomery County, Va. A portion of the lands of George Draper, the wife of whose son John, and Mary, wife of William Ingles, and the sons John and Thomas, of the latter, were carried away into captivity by the Indians in the summer of 1756. Mrs. Ingles' escape and return is a dramatic chapter in the history of the times. See Randall and Ryan's *History of Ohio*, Vol. I, 317-324.

²*Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. II, 502-3.

intolerable expence and imposition on the country, particularly in Augusta [and] has determined me to order Major Lewis to disband all those that are employed in Augusta, and to raise three companies of 60 men each under proper officers that will closely attend their duty, and keep the soldiers under good discipline and always at the fort, or sent out in scouting parties to discover the enemy if they should again invade us and as it is represented to me the absolute necessity of having a fort garrisoned in Halifax, the inhabitants of that county being greatly exposed to the inroads of the enemy, I therefore give you orders to garrison one of the three forts built on the frontiers of Halifax with a Captain, Lieutenant, Ensign, two Sergeants, two Corporals, and 40 men; that you acquaint me of a proper person to command, who will keep the men under proper discipline and to their duty, not to leave the fort but when sent out on scouting parties; the Captain to keep a diary of all his proceedings, that the duty done may be properly represented; the company to remain in pay till the 1st of March next, and the men to be picked, good men, that will obey commands and do their duty.”¹

Bodies of patriots known as Associators were formed in several parts of the colony. These were gentlemen who at their own expense provided themselves with horses, and served without pay.²

On January 13, 1757, Governor Dinwiddie wrote Colonel Read: “Your letter of the 5th was delivered (to) me by Captain Voss, . . . and from the account Captain Voss and you give of the number of the Associators, the Council agrees with me that an attempt with 250 or 300 men against the Shawnees Town may prove successful if conducted with spirit and secrecy, and as Capt. Voss says they want only to be supplied with provisions, arms and ammunition, which I think is a very reasonable demand, and that they have all plunder and £10 for every scalp or prisoner they may bring in, which is also agreed to, you are, therefore, to order a meeting of the chief of the Asso-

¹*Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. II, 557.

²*Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. II, 411, and note 93.

ciators and tell them to make choice among themselves of the officers to command the expedition. Send me their names and I will send up commissions accordingly. You are to purchase provisions sufficient for the men that may go out on this expedition, and have them carried to Voss's fort, or as near to it as you conveniently can; from thence they must be carried by horses to the pass of the mountains, where the horses must be left under a guard till they return. As Capt. Stalnaker and Morris Griffith go on the expedition they will be proper guides, and I sincerely wish success may attend. I hope you and Mr. Callaway have arms and ammunition sufficient, but if any deficiency, write, and it shall be supplied from this [place], and I shall endeavor to procure some kettles for them. As the association has been greatly promoted by you, I hope you will continue to support it with your interest and advice that they may proceed with spirit and resolution. The first and second ought to be persons of courage and good sense, and to encourage them I leave the choice of the officers to themselves, which in other cases I should not agree to. You may further tell them besides the plunder &c, they will, on their return, be considered by the Assembly, and they shall have my countenance in their application to them. The sooner they proceed the better, therefore examine what ammunition, &c., you have, and let me know as soon as you have [entered] into the affair what will be wanting from this [place], which I can send up to Warwick, and from thence by wagons to the place proposed for the rendezvous of the forces. I wish it may be kept as secret as possible, for I fear there are wicked persons in the back counties that give intelligence to the enemy of all our motions. Capt. Voss is very sanguine in this affair and assures me he has no doubt of having 300 volunteers who will cheerfully march out on this expedition. I say, this gives me great hope of success, if begun and conducted with spirit and under proper command and due discipline. The arms I sent you were borrowed, therefore in your giving them out take the names of the persons you deliver them to, to be restored on their return from the expedition, if not lost or destroyed in any action. I hope nothing will occur to prevent this expedition being put into execution."¹

¹*Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. II, 581-2.

On the same day Governor Dinwiddie wrote Colonel William Calloway on the same subject, from which it appears that Colonel Calloway and Captain Vance favored the proposed expedition against the Shawnees.

On February 1, 1757, Governor Dinwiddie wrote Colonel Read:

"I received yours of the 24th January. As I am of opinion you have arms sufficient for the Associators, those arms lent to Col. Fontaine [Fontaine] and Stalnaker ought to be called in for the use of the expedition, and as Col. Lewis has orders to raise 3 companies on the frontiers of Augusta, and Captain Nash in Halifax, with Capt. Hogg's company, I think sufficient for the defence of the frontier till the return of the Associators. I shall be glad how soon the chief of the subscribers meet to choose their officers, and am glad to hear of the people being so hearty in subscribing and determining to go out. As to the time of their marching, I leave it to those most acquainted with the proper season, but am of opinion it should be early in March."¹

The expedition did not, it seems, materialize, and the reason therefor is explained by Governor Dinwiddie to Col. Read in a letter of April 5, 1757. "Last Thursday," he says, "I arrived from Philadelphia, where I was much surprised after the sanguine expressions and assurances of 300 men from Augusta & entering into an association to march against the Shawnees. Town is defeated by a presumption; they will not proceed with fewer than 600. This, I conceived, was intended to load the country with extraordinary expence, and to furnish arms &c for that number, which cannot be done. . . . I believe its only a few persons that wanted commissions occasioned this hindrance, and I find it has been usual with the people of Augusta to form schemes out of lucrative views, which for the future I will endeavor to prevent."²

About March, 1757, Governor Dinwiddie's state of health is

¹*Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. II, 589.

²*Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. II, 592.

came such that he decided to relinquish the duties of the Governorship.

On April 12, 1757, Governor Dinwiddie wrote Col. Read:

"You should have mentioned who the Indian was that they scalped in your yard. I suppose it was one of their own company, for some great fault. I observe they went to Bedford Court House, where probably they received some presents from the goods lodged there."

On April 15, 1757, the Governor wrote Colonel Read:

"I received your letter of the 10th yesterday. It gives me much concern to hear that 2 parties of Indians have been ranging in the county of Halifax for upwards of a fortnight, without any notice given me till I received your letter. . . . I . . . desire you will send a few men to them to offer them a safe conduct to Williamsburg and let them know if they continue their robberies, &c, that I shall be obliged to order them to be taken prisoners and brought down here. We have treaties subsisting with the several nations of Indians that they are to have passes signed by the magistrates to protect them in traveling through the country. Have you seen any person that has seen the pretended pass, and by whom signed. Have you any information of any Shawnees being among them? if so, I shall be glad they were taken and sent down prisoners to this place."¹

On May 7, 1757, the Governor wrote Col. Peter Fontaine, acknowledging a letter which expressed apprehension for the frontiers of Halifax. The Governor expressed surprise that the people allowed the Indians so freely to pass among them. "I approve," he says, "of your sending out James Dillard with 50 men, which please order him to continue out a ranging and keep his company complete till the House of Burgesses vote money for the service."²

On August 24, 1757, the Governor wrote Colonel Fontaine, "I desire you will accept of a commission for Colonel of the militia in your county, and the bearer will deliver you a few blanks to fill up with commissions that may be vacant."³

¹*Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. II, 612-3.

²*Id.*, 619.

³*Id.*, 687.

Governor Dinwiddie's term of office ended in January, 1758. Governor Francis Fauquier, who was appointed Governor February 10, 1758, did not reach the colony until June 7 following. In the meantime John Blair, as President of the Council, acted as Governor.

The Indian war continued and the frontiers of Halifax were an active theatre of hostilities. On April 18, 1758, Colonel Clement Read, the County Commander of Lunenburg, issued the following order to Captain Thomas Bouldin, a Captain of a company of Lunenburg militia.

"You, with the men under your command, are to march to Halifax Court-house, there to joyn a company raised by Col. Maury,¹ whose orders you are to receive.

"I am informed that Major Harris has received cost and orders from the government to furnish such forces as are sent to the assistance of Halifax County with provisions. To Col. Maury then you are to apply for his orders to Major Harris for a supply for your men. In the meantime you are to take the steps appointed by law to procure those necessary.

"Col. Maury will meet you at the court-house, and give you directions where to march to the relief of the frontier of this county."

And he added:

"You must cause your Lieutenant to keep an exact journal of all your marches, and the different routes you take, and of all transactions relating thereto, that it may be returned to the President at Williamsburg, according to order.

"You must also cause him to keep an exact muster-roll, and keep an account of all provisions expended on the company, and of all the ammunition, &c."²

¹"Abraham Maury, son of Matthew Maury, who was born in Dublin but died in Virginia in 1752. His wife's name was Mary Ann Fontaine. Abraham Maury married Susanna Poindexter The Rev. James Maury was a brother of Abraham, and the great-grandfather of the distinguished Commodore Matthew Fontaine Maury, whose fame extends over the civilized world."—*The Old Trunk*, 8.

²*The Old Trunk*, 4.

The dangerous state in which the inhabitants then lived, because of exposure to attack from the Indians, is indicated by the action taken by the County Court of Lunenburg at November Court, 1758; at that time "There was levied by the court the sum of fifty pounds, current money, to be collected by the sheriff and paid to Thomas Bouildin, Gent., for him to purchase armes for the poor, &c, according to Act of Assembly."¹

The Marquis de Montcalm had, in the meantime, taken charge of the French forces in America, and had taken the initiative capturing Fort George, thus acquiring complete control of Lake Champlain and Lake George. The French also destroyed the English fort at Oswego, thus giving them complete control of the Great Lakes. They held Fort Duquesne, thus controlling the Mississippi valley.

At this juncture a change in the administration in England occurred which placed William Pitt at the head of the British Ministry. He was in high favor in America, and his promise of a new order of things inspired great confidence throughout the colonies. He assured the colonial governments of the full coöperation of the home government in the colonial war against the French.

Under this new order of things three major operations were planned: the first was against Louisburg, which was captured by Major-General Jeffrey Amherst, with a force of 14,000 men, July 26, 1758.

The second was an attack on Ticonderoga, under the command of Lieutenant-General James Abercrombie, who had succeeded the Earl of Loudoun as Commander-in-chief in America. This enterprise was a disastrous failure, the British killed and wounded numbering 2,000 men.

The third was the second expedition against Fort Duquesne. It was under the command of Brigadier-General John Forbes, who was born in Scotland in 1710, and who early exchanged the medical for the military profession. He had a notable career before coming to America.

He had under his command in his campaign against the French

¹Certificate of Clement Read, C. L. C., *The Old Trunk*, 5.

at Fort Duquesne about 8,550 men: of these 1,200 were Highlanders; 350 royal American troops; and about 5,000 provincials, of which Virginia furnished 2,000. These Virginia troops were divided into two regiments, with Colonel Washington (in chief command) as Colonel of the first, and Colonel William Byrd (the third of the name in lineal succession in Virginia), of the second. This Colonel William Byrd was the same William Byrd who had represented Lunenburg in the House of Burgesses in 1752, 1753, 1754, and who while a Burgess from Lunenburg County was elevated to the Council during the administration of Governor Dinwiddie.

Forbes moved very slowly, but probably it was better so, for although he started from Philadelphia in July, 1758, he did not reach the present site of Somerset, Pennsylvania, until September, and by the time he reached Fort Duquesne on November 25, the garrison had been deserted by the Indians and was so weak, in comparison with Forbes' army, that they abandoned the fort the evening before the arrival of the British forces, and escaped down the Ohio river, in boats. Forbes took possession of the fortification, stationed a garrison in it, and changed its name to Fort Pitt,—whence the name of Pittsburg, which city occupies the site of the former fortifications.

The following year, 1759, witnessed success of the British arms in almost every quarter of operations. Fort Niagara capitulated July 25; Presque Isle, Venango and Le Boeuf surrendered to Colonel Bouquet; Ticonderoga and Crown Point were captured; and Quebec was taken in September. Montreal alone remained to the French, and the British, concentrating their various armies which had taken part in the several operations in Canada against it, captured that city September 8, 1760.

The British conquest was thus complete, and New France was at an end. The treaty of Paris, February 10, 1763, formally and finally terminated the claim of the French King to his entire possessions in the new world.

Indian warfare, however, could not be terminated, by a treaty between the French and the English, made in Paris.

Pontiac, who had assisted the English in their later efforts, although he is supposed to have been an ally of the French at

Braddock's defeat, now, again turned against the British. He is said to have pursued this course because he felt that the English had not accorded him the recognition his services merited. As a result of his activities an Indian war was waged upon the Colonists,—the movement being known in history as "Pontiac's Conspiracy." It resulted, in May, 1763, in the destruction or dispersion of nine garrisons, ranging from Western Pennsylvania to Mackinaw. He conducted a prolonged campaign against Detroit; and placed the garrison at Fort Pitt in such a precarious condition that it was necessary to send a force under Colonel Henry Bouquet to its relief. The Indians met him at Bushy Run on August 5, 1763, and were defeated in a stiff battle, in which he lost eight officers and one hundred and fifteen men. His total force on this expedition comprised but five hundred men. Two days after defeating the Indians at Bushy Run, he reached and relieved Fort Pitt.

He conducted another expedition against the Ohio Indians in 1764, and defeating them concluded a treaty of peace at Tuscarawas; but Pontiac did not finally come to terms with the British until 1766. And during all this time Indian depredations on the frontiers of Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania were frequent. The Colonial military forces of Virginia were intermittently employed in giving the frontier settlements protection from these incursions.

Events were rapidly moving in the direction of the crisis between the colonies and the mother country, which produced the Revolution. While the General Congress of the colonies in 1774 was directing its efforts against the encroachments of Great Britain upon their civil and political rights, the Indians continued to harrass the frontiers, and Lord Dunmore who was Governor of Virginia from 1772 to 1776, was suspected of playing a double role, and of actually inciting the Indians to make war upon the colonists in order to distract their attention from their grievances against Great Britain. However that may be, he had to make a pretense of defending the colony he was entrusted to govern, and he was forced, reluctantly it seems, by the indignant populace, to take up arms against the Indians who were committing the border outrages.

Dunmore was commander-in-chief of the Virginia forces, Colonel Andrew Lewis being one of his officers. The principal stronghold of the Indians was at the point of junction of the Great Kanawha with the Ohio, at what is now Point Pleasant. Dunmore marched his army in two columns; one under his own command, the other under the command of Colonel Lewis. The one under Colonel Lewis he directed to proceed to Point Pleasant. On the alleged purpose of first destroying certain Indian towns higher up the river, he led his own force thither, avowing the purpose of joining Lewis at Point Pleasant as soon as this purpose was accomplished.

His real purpose, however, is generally believed to have been to so maneuver the campaign as to allow Lewis to be attacked and defeated without going to his aid. But if such was his purpose he was disappointed, for while Lewis fought the battle of Point Pleasant without any aid from the Governor, and with numbers inferior to the Indians, he gained a complete victory. The battle lasted all day, and Lewis lost most of his officers, but he there dealt the death blow to the Indian power on the Virginia and other frontiers.

“The immediate effect was visible in the migration, which at once began, to seek homes in Kentucky, eastern Tennessee, and the more remote regions of the northwest. It developed the pioneer movements of Boone in Kentucky, Robertson and Sevier in East Tennessee, and George Rogers Clark in the northwest.”

It is quite impossible to rescue the names even of all the soldiers of Lunenburg who participated in the various military activities beginning with Washington's expedition to the Ohio, in 1754, and ending with the defeat of the Indians at Point Pleasant, October 10, 1774, much less to indicate with any degree of certainty the specific service rendered by any great number of them.

The list of those who participated in some manner in these military operations, so far as such a list can now be compiled is too important to be omitted. It is as follows:

¹Boogher: *Gleanings of Virginia History*, 22.

Colonial soldiers of Lunenburg County, including rangers and militia.

Captain John Cargill,
Cornelius Cargill, Jun.,
Lieutenant,
William Hunt, Ensign,
Bryan Coker, sergeant,
John Flin, sergeant,
Joseph Coker,
John Ashworth,
M'Kerness Goode,
Samuel Ashworth,
Isaac Ashworth,
James Bardin,
William Blanks,
Daniel Cargill,
Joel Elam,
James Flin,
Philip Goode,
John Hight,
William Hudson,
James Hudson,
Richard Hudson,
Francis Linsey,
Henry Prewitt,
Alexander Strange,
John Ragsdale,
Augustine Rowland,
John Thompson,
William Tibbs,
Henry Wade,
Aaron Williams,
Thomas Dandy,
John Cargill, Jun.,
Edward Darby,
John Lucas,
Joseph Huse,

William Caldwell, Major
(Captain),
Richard Dudgeon, lieut.,
John M'Ness, ensign,
William Dudgeon, sergeant,
Andrew Rogers, sergeant,
Thomas Daugherty,
John M'Connal,
Talton East,
Leonard Keeling,
Joseph Bohannon,
Samuel Meredith (Captain).
John Atkinson,
Henry Cockerham,
Thomas Hix,
John Winn,
James Vernon,
Thomas Howle,
Barned Roberson,
David Logan, Jun.,
John East,
William East,
William Cunningham,
James Ross,
Robert Sanders,
John Ward,
Thomas Keasy,
Thomas Moore,
William Dixon,
Thomas Pollett,
John Caldwell,
Mathew Watson,
Robert Caldwell,
Hezekiah Jarrott,
John Orr,
Robert Martin,

James Caldwell,
 John Vernor,
 Richard Berry,
 Richard Adams,
 James Martin,
 Daniel Slayton,
 William Anderson,
 George Levil,
 Torrance M'Daniel,
 William Philby,
 Edward Shipley,
 John Gregory,
 James Doherty,
 Thomas Boldin (Bouldin),
 lieutenant,
 Jacob Womack, ensign,
 Samuel Mortou (Morton),
 sergeant,
 Abraham Vaughn,
 Peter Young,
 David Maddox,
 Thomas Jones,
 Francis Moore,
 John Hankins,
 James Fauster,
 Gabriel Ferrill,
 John Acuff,
 John Hall,
 Thomas Smith,
 Peter Hamlin,
 Nathan Adams,
David Perryman,
 John Perrin,
 Thomas Williams,
 John Williams,
 Daniel Handcock,
 Thomas Hall,
 Isaac Munday,

Richard Hicks, Jun.,
 John Worsham,
 William Skelton,
 Abraham Martin,
 Williams Stokes, lieutenant,
 James Guillum (Gilliam?),
 ensign,
 Thomas Jones, ensign,
 Thomas Jones, sergeant,
 Joshua Wharton, ensign,
 Peter Hamblin, sergeant,
 William Poole, sergeant,
 James Letts, sergeant,
 Peter Hamlin,
 James Lett,
 Gabriel Ferrill,
 James Fauster,
 James Marshborne,
 John Williams,
 John Perrin,
 Nathan Adams,
 Thomas Smith,
 John Davis,
 James Cooper,
 James Norrell,
 Thomas Hill,
 William Eastis,
 Robert Lark,
 John Abraham Degranch,
 John Mannin,
 Aaron Drummon,
 Frass Atkins,
 Edward Atkins,
 Henry Stokes,
 Richard Ward,
 Bennett Halloway,
 Thomas Bell,
 James Spead,

William Ashley,
 Francis Norrell,
 John Ather,
 Thomas Leftwich,
 Merry Carter,
 Henry Snow,
 William Leftwich,
 John Hall,
 Hezekiah Hall,
 Aquilla Hall,
 Jacob Matthews,
 John Hams,
 Thomas Pate,
 James Daulton,
 John Lett,
 Micajah Scoggins,
 Richard Jones,
 Stephen Hatchill (Hatchett?)
 John Pallert,
 William Parsons,
 Alexander Richey,
 William Harvey,
 David Parish,
 Thomas M'Cormack,
 James Thweat,
 Nance Hitchcock,
 Zachariah Dodd,
 Clement Read, Colonel,
 ——— Hunt, lieutenant,
 James Taylor,
 John Austin,
 Pinkithman Hawkins, Capt.
 William Mitchell, lieut.
 John Colson, ensign,
 Jacob Gunson, sergeant,
 William Farrar, sergeant,
 Charles Knight, sergeant,
 John Hammons, sergeant,

John Mitchell, sergeant,
 William White,
 Edmund Haines,
 John Trusty Matthews,
 Samuel Glass,
 Adam Thomson,
 William Townsend,
 Lawrence Matthews,
 Nathan Richeson,
 Henry Sage,
 Henry Talley, Jun.,
 John Hammons,
 John Coleman,
 Charles Allen, Jun.,
 Charles Knight,
 Peter Knight,
 William Monroe,
 Richard Hamblet,
 Samuel Wilson,
 James Henderson,
 John Bray,
 John M'Neal,
 John Warren,
 Richard Ragsdale,
 James Vaughan,
 William Comer,
 William Parham,
 Vachel Dillingham,
 William Howard,
 Ephraim Hudson,
 James Kidd,
 Nathan Ellis,
 Reuben Keith,
 James Ellis,
 William Dillin[g]ham,
 George Benn,
 Arthur Matthews,
 John Fann,

John Warsham,
John Hankins,
John Hall,
Robert Hall,
William Russell,

Francis Moore,
Abraham Womack,
John Mitchell,
Bryan Lester.

The following appear to have aided the colonial military establishment during this period, in some non-military service, such as for example furnishing supplies, wagons, etc.

James Roberts,
David Cloyd,
Thomas Williams,
Thomas Waller,
Liddal Bacon,
Benjamin Dixon,
David Caldwell,
Robert Caldwell,
Erwin Paterson,
Richard Dudgeon,
John Rodgers,
Andrew Martin,
Thomas Joyce,
John Caldwell,
John Dudgeon,
John Murphy,

Benjamin Clement,
Joshua Chafin,
Clement Read,
David Gwinn,
Richard Ward,
Joel Towns,
Richard Stith,
Thomas Covington,
John Logan,
James Roberts,
John Camp,
Joseph Austin,
David Gwin,
John Ashworth,
Bryan Lester.

CHAPTER VI

The Revolution



NO comprehensive account of the Revolutionary War can have an appropriate place in a local history; but no local history should omit to give, so far as they are available, the incidents of the locality respecting the Revolution. Most of these incidents, from their local and relatively unimportant character, cannot find place in a general history of that great struggle. At the same time, our debt to the patriots of that period, and our pride in them and in what they achieved, should be such as to give us pleasure in recording, and helping to preserve, all the facts available of whatever degree of importance in connection with that heroic chapter of our history.

The roots of the Revolution far antedated 1776. Virginia had a representative government from 1619; and its constitution, in Colonial days, though unwritten, was quite well defined. It recognized three powers in the colony: the King, the Parliament and the Colonial Assembly.¹

The King was represented by the Governor; the parliamentary authority was, by the general acceptance, confined to matters of commerce, or shipping; while in the Colonial Assembly resided all other governmental power over the people.

The Assembly was composed of two bodies, the Governor's Council, or upper chamber, and the House of Burgesses. The Governor's Council was composed of members appointed for life, by the British Privy Council (on the recommendation of the Governor usually). This Council, presided over by the Governor, constituted the General Court. The House of Burgesses was the popular branch of the government, the members being elected.

The House of Burgesses controlled the purse strings of the

¹Eckenrode: *The Revolution in Virginia*, 8-9.

colony, in that it initiated all bills for raising or appropriating money, and it jealously and zealously guarded its prerogatives. True, the Governor and Council had a veto power, but they had no power after veto to do other than wait the motion of the Burgesses as to the next step respecting the raising of funds. This the Colonial Governors found exceedingly irksome, as for example, in the case of Governor Dinwiddie, when the House of Burgesses refused to make any provision for raising money for military measures against the French and Indians, except in conjunction with an appropriation to pay Peyton Randolph, whom they had sent to London to complain against the Governor in respect to the charge of the pistole fee for granting lands.

While the British Government claimed the ultimate and final legislative power over the colony, the position of the Burgesses was well expressed by Richard Bland, in the protest against the charge of the pistole fee for signing grants of land, in "the memorable and prophetic words"¹ following: "The rights of the subject are so secured by law, that they cannot be deprived of the least part of their property but by their own consent."

In theory, as well as the practice that had prevailed, the King's assent was the final stage in Colonial legislation. But during the French and Indian wars, the Assembly passed an act called the "Twopenny Act" which compounded the salaries due the ministers, which were payable in tobacco, at two pence per pound in money. The Assembly put this legislation into effect without waiting for the King's signature, which was in practical effect legislating as a self sufficient body in real disregard of the King. This was in 1758. The Bishop of London, at the instigation of the clergy of the established church in Virginia, denounced the Colonial Government, and the legislation as unconstitutional, hinting even that it amounted to treason. In the colony the clergy were warmly supported by John Camm, president of William and Mary College, while the position of the Burgesses was ably upheld by Landon Carter and Richard Bland. It was in the course of this dispute that "the theory of the Co-

¹Eckenrode: *The Revolution in Virginia*, 8.

lonial constitution was first clearly defined by the chief writer participating," Richard Bland, who "more than any other man was the author of the Revolution in Virginia."¹

Bland defended the right of the assembly to set aside a law approved by the King, and to put into effect laws without waiting to learn the King's wishes on the ground that action was sometimes necessary before the King's will could be learned, and "*Salus populi, Suprema lex.*" But the Royal Council in London, not liking the action of the Colonial legislature, vetoed the "Two-penny" act, which opened the way for the clergy to bring suits against the vestries for the difference between the value of their salaries at the current prices of tobacco in 1758 and the two pence per pound prescribed by the act of the assembly.

It was in one such suit, that of a parish minister named Maury against a vestry in Hanover County, that the then little known lawyer, Patrick Henry, made his famous argument, in which he boldly proclaimed Bland's doctrine that the Assembly had the right to pass necessary legislation without interference from England, and he went so far "as to declare, in terms that simply thrilled his audience, that the King in vetoing a reasonable and beneficial measure had forfeited the right to his subjects' obedience."² The jury returned a verdict for one penny damages.

The termination of this litigation marked the end of the controversy begun five years earlier in 1758 by the passage of the twopenny act. And Henry's speech in this case is usually regarded as marking the beginning of the Revolutionary movement, in Virginia.

In 1764 the British Government prepared the way for the Stamp Act by the declaratory act which affirmed the right of Parliament to tax the colonies. The House of Burgesses entered a protest, both emphatic and dignified, but it did not prevent the Parliament from passing the Stamp Act in the following year, 1765.

It was that year, at the May session, that Patrick Henry first

¹Eckenrode: *The Revolution in Virginia*, 11; *Separation of Church and State in Virginia*, 24 et seq.

²Eckenrode: *The Revolution in Virginia*, 12.

took his seat as a member of the House of Burgesses, from Louisa County.

Lunenburg at this session was represented by Henry Blgrave and by William Taylor (in place of Clement Read, who had accepted the office of coroner): Bedford was represented by William Callaway and John Talbot: and Halifax by Edward Booker. The vacancy created by Nathaniel Terry's accepting the office of Sheriff had not been filled. Mecklenburg was represented by Edmund Taylor and Robert Munford.

Patrick Henry's appearance upon the scene at just this time seems almost providential. The Colonies had not yet taken a stand on the Stamp Act matter, and their action was uncertain. A failure to make protest would be tantamount to conceding the right of Parliament to thus tax the colonies. And regardless of the fine spun theories that may be woven on the legality of the action of Great Britain, there can be no doubt the stamp tax was in essence oppressive. If the theory upon which the tax was laid were admitted, regardless of the amount of the tax, the way was open for any amount of tax laid in the name of colonial defense, or for other alleged colonial purposes, without limit. The obvious purpose was to create a *modus operandi* under which the British Government could "milk the fat American cow for its own benefit."¹

Henry took the lead in opposition to the Stamp Act, and with great boldness precipitated a sensational crisis by introducing in the House of Burgesses a set of resolutions which openly and indignantly denied the right of Parliament to tax the colonies. They passed. It was in effect the beginning of the American Revolution.²

Thereafter, in Virginia until hostilities were actually begun there were in fact two parties, but they differed mainly as to methods, not so much in their constitutional views.

When the commissioner, with the stamps, arrived from England October 30, 1765, he was mobbed by the citizens of Williamsburg and forced to resign.³

¹Eckenrode: *The Revolution in Virginia*, 18.

²Id., 17.

³*Journals*, House of Burgesses, 1761-65, LXIX; *The Revolution in Virginia*, 25.

In February, 1766, Richard Henry Lee, of Westmoreland, organized in that county the first of the "Associations," the members of which agreed not to import goods from England until the Stamp Act was repealed. The Stamp Act was repealed, but the Townshend Acts of 1767 evidently designed to keep alive the principle, and adroitly based upon the long recognized right of Parliament to regulate commerce, were passed. They laid duties on tea, paper and lead, shipped to America.

The House of Burgesses, in April, 1768, adopted a complaint or protest written by Richard Bland, contending that these duties amounted to "internal" control and were unconstitutional.

The Colonists throughout their long struggle with the Colonial Governors over matters of principle, showed a quite clearly defined conception of their rights. It was a long time, however, before they grew to sufficient strength to have a thought of anything but to look to Great Britain for protection. Even in the French and Indian wars, appeals were constantly made to England for protection of the Colonies from external foes. Conceiving themselves too weak to subdue the French and the Indians, no thought at that time occurred to them of separating from Great Britain. And even under George the III, many of the best men in Virginia labored earnestly up to the very eve of hostilities, and even after they were begun, to accomplish a peaceable settlement of the controversies, feeling that it was best for the Colonies to remain dominions of the British Crown.

But the course of conduct of the British Ministry and the failure of its military establishment in the French and Indian wars, especially in the Braddock campaign, wrought a great change in many of the Colonists.

One of the results of Braddock's defeat was to disillusion the Colonists respecting the invincibility of the armies of the Mother Country.

"It was a revelation . . . that the red-coated professional soldiers were not the unconquerable warriors the Colonists had been told they were."¹

¹Beveridge: *John Marshall*, Vol. I, 5-6.

Not only were they not unconquerable, but some at least were cowards. "Colonel Dunbar," says Beveridge, "and his fifteen hundred British regulars, who had been left a short distance behind as a reserve, made off to Philadelphia as fast as their panic-winged feet could carry them."¹

While "The Virginia companies behaved like men and died like soldiers of three companies scarce thirty were left alive"² and Washington and the Colonial Rangers had prevented the extinction of the British regulars, and they alone had come out of the conflict with honor and glory.

"Thus it was," concludes Beveridge, "that the American Colonists suddenly came to think that they themselves must be their own defenders."³

With the conviction they had always had respecting their constitutional rights, and the demonstration made of the inability of the British arms to protect them, and the reliance they came to have in their own strength, it is scarcely strange that the Virginians, with such intrepid political leaders as Henry, Bland, Lee and Randolph, to mention only a few, determined that a power that could not protect, should not tax them, especially without representation, and resolved not only not to submit to the Stamp tax, but to no other taxes whatever, except such as were laid by their own representatives.

In May, 1769, after Governor Botetourt dissolved the House of Burgesses because of its protest against British policy, the members merely adjourned to a private house and adopted a non-importation agreement similar to Richard Henry Lee's of three years earlier. At this meeting Peyton Randolph presided, and George Mason, who was not a member of the assembly, drew up the paper, which was presented by George Washington.

One of the major causes of grievance against the British Ministry was the proposal to transport Americans to England for trial for offenses alleged to have been committed by them in the Colonies. This was a harsh and cruel measure. It great-

¹Beveridge: *John Marshall*, Vol. I, 5.

²Ford: *Washington's Writings*, Vol. I, 173-4.

³Beveridge: *John Marshall*, Vol. I, 5.

ly aroused the Colonists, and when on March 12, 1773, the first of the standing committees for inter-colonial correspondence was appointed, it was directed to inform itself "particularly of the principles and authority on which was constituted a court of inquiry, said to have been lately held in Rhode Island, with powers to transport persons accused of offences committed in America to places beyond the seas to be tried."¹

In 1773 matters had progressed to the point where Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Lightfoot Lee, with two new and promising young men, Dabney Carr and Thomas Jefferson, felt that the conservative leaders were less zealous than they should be; and they brought forward the plan of forming inter-colonial committees of correspondence. The measure passed the House of Burgesses, but the Conservatives secured a majority membership on it. "This first inter-colonial intelligence bureau" owed its inception to the fertile brain of Richard Henry Lee.²

When news of the Boston Port Bill reached Williamsburg, the House of Burgesses passed a resolution for a day of fasting, whereupon Dunmore, the Governor, dissolved them May 25, 1774. The Burgesses obeyed his order of dissolution by vacating the state house. They met, however, in the Apollo room of the Raleigh Tavern and adopted another non-importation resolution, and made the momentous decision of proposing a general congress of all the colonies. Philadelphia was suggested as the place, and September 5, 1774, as the date.

The Radicals, led by Henry, Mason and Richard Henry Lee,

¹Howard: *Preliminaries of the Revolution*, 257.

²Eckenrode: *The Revolution in Virginia*, 33.

Either through ignorance or excessive sectional enthusiasm some historians seem to have attempted to bestow the honor for the inauguration of the work of the Committee of Correspondence elsewhere; see for example, Howard's *Preliminaries of Revolution*, chapter XIV; and in the same way the action of the town meeting at Boston, May 11, 1774, in urging a suspension of importation and exportation to Great Britain, except the West Indies, is set out at length, as if it were the original non-intercourse action. (See Howard: *Preliminaries of Revolution*, 282-31.) The fact is such measures originated with Richard Henry Lee of Westmoreland County, Virginia, in 1766, and the Burgesses of Virginia, meeting as a body after being dissolved by Botetourt, in May, 1769, adopted a non-importation agreement specifically boycotting slaves, wine and British manufactures. (See Eckenrode: *The Revolution in Virginia*, 28-29.)

proposed the stopping of importations and exportations, the refusal to pay British debts and the closing of the courts; the Conservatives, led by Paul Carrington of Charlotte, supported by Carter Braxton, Thomas Nelson, Jr., and Peyton Randolph, advocated the payment of debts and continuance of exporting. The program adopted prohibited both importing and exporting, but not debt paying, nor did it affect the courts. In addition to adopting the boycott resolutions, and proposing a general congress of the Colonies, the informal meeting in the Apollo room of the Raleigh Tavern also issued a call for the election of delegates from all counties to a convention to be held at Williamsburg, August 1, 1774. This convention met August 1, 1774, and adjourned August 6, 1774.¹ Lunenburg was represented in it by Richard Claiborne and Thomas Pettus,² both of whom were at the time members of the House of Burgesses from Lunenburg.³

Mecklenburg was represented by Robert Munford and Matthew Marable, both of whom were Burgesses at the time from that county, and both had, prior to the creation of Mecklenburg County, represented Lunenburg in the House of Burgesses. Charlotte was represented by Paul Carrington and James Speed, who were likewise the Burgesses from that county at the time; Pittsylvania was represented by Hugh Innes and John Donelson, and Bedford was represented by John Talbot and Charles Lynch, who were also its Burgesses. Halifax was represented by Nathaniel Terry and Isaac Coles (or Micajah Watkins): Terry and Coles were Burgesses from that county. In Lunenburg and all these counties named the membership in the Convention and in the House of Burgesses was the same except in the case of Pittsylvania County, where the members appearing for the meeting of the House of Burgesses called for August 11, 1774, but prorogued from time to time until June 1, 1775, were Peter Perkins and Benjamin Lankford.⁴ This convention elected Peyton Randolph to preside over it, and proceeded to most important business. Among other things:

It agreed: "We will neither ourselves import, nor purchase,

¹Breneman: *Virginia Conventions*, 12.

²*Id.*, 13.

³*Colonial Register*, 196, 199.

⁴*Id.*, 200.

any slave or slaves, imported by any person, after the first day of December next, either from Africa, the West Indies, or any other place ;”

It resolved that as tea is the detestable instrument which laid the foundation of the present sufferings of our distressed friends in the town of Boston, “we will not, from this day, either import tea of any kind, nor will we use, or suffer even such of it as is now on hand to be used, in any of our families.”

It resolved that unless “American Grievances” are redressed before the 10th day of August, 1775, they will not after that day directly or indirectly export tobacco or any other article whatever to Great Britain; nor would they sell any such article as might be exported “to Great Britain with a prospect of gain to any person or persons whatever with a design to putting it into his or their power to export the same to Great Britain, either on our own, his, or their account.” The resolution recommended the cultivation of less tobacco, and the devoting of attention to such articles as may form the basis of manufactures in the colony.

In this convention George Washington is declared to have said that he was willing to raise one thousand men, subsist them at his own expense, and march himself at their head for the relief of Boston.¹

The Convention appointed Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison and Edmund Pendleton to represent the colony in the General Congress (the first Congress) to meet at Philadelphia, September 5, 1774.²

The Convention authorized the “Moderator of this meeting (Peyton Randolph) and in case of his death, Robert Carter Nicholas to convene the delegates at such time and place as he may judge proper.”³

The Convention adjourned on the 6th of August, 1774, and the delegates went their several ways. On August 11, 1774, The *Virginia Gazette*, carried an account of “a very full meeting of delegates from the different counties in the colony and

¹John Adams: *Works*, II, 360.

²Breneman: *Virginia Conventions*, 14-15.

³*Id.*, 15.

Dominion of Virginia, begun in Williamsburg on the first day of August, in the year of our Lord 1774, and continued by several adjournments to Saturday, the 6th of the same month," which gave a full account of the proceedings, including the names of the delegates to the general congress.

Both Charles Campbell and John Esten Cooke, in their histories state that the delegates to the General Congress were appointed August 11, 1774, but this is an error. The first error was no doubt made by confusing the date of the issue of the Virginia Gazette, which carried the account of the meeting, with the date of the meeting itself. The evidence is abundant that the convention adjourned on the 6th of August.¹

Upon the calling of the convention of 1774 the British sovereignty was really overthrown. There was not the slightest jar, relatively speaking, in changing from British to Colonial control in the colony. "This lack of jar was due to the fact that the class in control of affairs wrought the change."² The Burgesses, the County Courts and the Vestries were the all powerful institutions in the colony, and they were practically a unit in resisting British aggression. So upon the calling of the convention of 1774 the Burgesses generally became the delegates to the convention which inaugurated the Revolution; the justices, vestrymen and other prominent citizens formed the new county committees, and when the time came, the county courts and the vestries continued to function under the new order of things, without a hitch, while the British Governor sat in his "palace" at Williamsburg, scarcely conscious of the actual change, and hoping everything would come out all right.³ However, but one session of the House of Burgesses was ever held after the convention of August 1st to 6th, 1774. The Burgesses, though originally summoned to meet August 11, 1774, were delayed in assembling by various prorogations until June 1, 1775. On June 24th the assembly adjourned until October 12th, but on that date only thirty-seven members were present; they were adjourned until the 7th of March, 1776, when only thirty-two

¹Breneman: *Virginia Conventions*, 15.

²Eckenrode: *The Revolution in Virginia*, 41.

³*Id.*, 41-42.

members were present, not a quorum. On May 6th, the journal shows that "several members met, but did neither proceed to business or adjourn." Below these words, written in heavy lettering is the word "Finis." Thus ended the record of the last of the Virginia Colonial Legislatures.¹

The Convention was called again to meet on Monday, March 20, 1775, at Richmond. The convention at its meeting August 1st to 6th, 1774, in providing for its reassembling upon the call of Peyton Randolph, or in case of his death by Robert Carter Nicholas, directed that in case of the death or absence of any delegate another be chosen in his place. There were a number of changes in the personnel of the convention between August, 1774, and March, 1775.

Lunenburg was represented by Richard Claiborne and David Garland,

Mecklenburg by Robert Burton and Bennett Goode,
Charlotte by Paul Carrington and Isaac Read,
Halifax by Nathaniel Terry and Micajah Watkins,
Pittsylvania by Peter Perkins and Benjamin Lankford,
Bedford by John Talbott and Charles Lynch.

This convention met in St. John's Church and elected Peyton Randolph President and John Tazewell clerk, and it was during its sessions that Patrick Henry offered his famous resolution directing that the colony be put immediately "into a posture of defence; and that Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Robert Carter Nicholas, Benjamin Harrison, Lemuel Riddick, George Washington, Adam Stephan, Andrew Lewis, William Christian, Edmund Pendleton, Thomas Jefferson and Isaac Zane, Esquires, be a committee to prepare a plan for the embodying, arming and disciplining such a number of men as may be sufficient for that purpose."²

This resolution was coupled with others declaring for a militia system, and that a well regulated militia would render it unnecessary for Great Britain to keep in the colony "any standing army of mercenary forces, always subversive of the quiet and dangerous to the liberties of the people."

¹*Colonial Register*, 198.

²Breneman: *Virginia Conventions*, 19.

Henry's resolutions were supported by Jefferson, the Lees, Pages, Mason and others. They were opposed by Bland, Harrison, Pendleton, Nicholas and Wythe. It was in the course of the debates thereon that Patrick Henry made his speech in which he used these immortal words:

“They tell me that we are weak; but shall we gather strength by irresolution? We are not weak. Three millions of people armed in the holy cause of liberty, and in such a country, are invincible by any force our enemy can send against us. We shall not fight alone. A just God presides over the destinies of nations, and will raise up friends for us. The battle is not to the strong alone; it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave. Besides, we have no election. If we were base enough to desire it, it is too late to retire from the contest. There is no retreat but in submission and slavery. The war is inevitable—and let it come! let it come!

Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death.”¹

Henry's resolution was passed 65 to 60,² and the Convention, among other things it did, appointed Thomas Jefferson “a Deputy to represent this colony in General Congress, in the room of Hon. Peyton Randolph, Esq., in case of the non-attendance of the said Peyton Randolph, Esquire.”³ It also recommended to the people of the colony that they choose delegates to represent them in Convention for one year.

Very soon after the adjournment of the Convention, Dunmore removed the powder from the magazine at Williamsburg to a British ship lying in James River, on the pretense of fearing a slave uprising. Henry, seizing the “heaven-born opportunity” for vigorous action, raised the Hanover militia and marched on Williamsburg. The frightened Governor, aided by Peyton Randolph, Robert Carter Nicholas and some other of the conservatives, made payment for the powder and took away from

¹Breneman: *Virginia Conventions*, 19.

²Eckenrode: *The Revolution in Virginia*, 47.

³Breneman: *Virginia Conventions*, 20.

Henry the opportunity to make the coup that otherwise would have been easy. "There can be little doubt that he marched on Williamsburg prepared to take advantage of Dunmore's folly by seizing the government and inaugurating the Revolution without further delay."¹

Pursuant to the recommendation of the March convention, the people elected delegates to another convention which met in Richmond, July 17, 1775.

Some of the delegates to this convention were as follows:

For Lunenburg, David Garland and Thomas Tabb,
For Mecklenburg, Robert Burton and Bennett Goode,
For Charlotte, Paul Carrington and Isaac Read,
For Halifax, Micajah Watkins,
For Bedford, John Talbot and Charles Lynch.

Unless the record in Breneman's *Virginia Conventions*, is incorrect, Pittsylvania was not represented in this convention.

In the meantime, after various prorogations, Dunmore had called the General Assembly together, on the first Thursday of June, 1775. The Assembly met and the Burgesses by resolution indorsed the action taken by the March convention and "recommended to all the good people of this colony strictly to conform to and observe the same."²

Feeling ran so high against Dunmore that he fled with his family on board a ship, the *Fowey*, at Yorktown, and from his floating headquarters attempted to play the Governor for some time afterwards, sending communications to the Assembly from time to time. The Burgesses protested against his absenteeism, but Dunmore, remembering Richard Bland's proposal to hang him, kept safe aboard an armed ship. The Burgesses completed their work without him. The *Virginia Gazette* of July 1, 1775, says: "The General Assembly have adjourned themselves to the 12th of October next, and the delegates are summoned to meet in convention at the town of Richmond, on the 7th instant." It would appear therefore that the Burgesses and the delegates to the convention were one and the same body. And they seemed

¹Eckenrode: *The Revolution in Virginia*, 51.

²Breneman: *Virginia Conventions*, 21.

not averse to assembling under the old constitutional form as Burgesses, but they took the liberty of approving what was done by the convention. It was at this juncture of affairs in the colonies generally that the Continental "Congress found it necessary to undertake a sovereign function of the highest importance—the creation of a national army";¹ and having decided that Continental troops should be raised, on June 15, 1775, George Washington was unanimously selected to "command all the continental forces, raised, or to be raised, for the defense of American liberty."²

The convention of July, 1775, elected Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Harrison, Thomas Nelson, Richard Bland and George Wythe to represent Virginia in the General Congress for one year,³ and adopted a declaration respecting the state of public affairs, in view of the abandonment of the seat of the government by Dunmore, and the determination of the Continental Congress to put "this whole country into a full state of defense, both against invasions and insurrections."⁴

The Convention met again on December 1, 1775; and Peyton Randolph, having in the meantime died, on the motion of Paul Carrington, Edmund Pendleton was elected President of the Convention. It reorganized the Committee of Safety, and made reply to Dunmore's proclamation endeavoring to free the slaves, and to Capt. Bellew, commanding the ship *Liverpool*, who had made dire threats if he were not supplied with suitable provisions.⁵

The next Convention, that of May 6, 1776, was one of the most important deliberative bodies ever assembled in the world, for it "framed the first written constitution of a free state in the annals of the world,"⁶ and moreover it unanimously re-

¹Howard: *Preliminaries of Revolution*, 311.

²Journals of Congress, I, 69-71.

³Breneman: *Virginia Conventions*, 23.

⁴This Declaration in full may be seen in Breneman's *Virginia Conventions*, 24-26.

⁵Breneman: *Virginia Conventions*, 31.

⁶Discourse by Prof. Washington, before the Virginia Historical Society, in 1852, quoted by Hugh Blair Grigsby in his discourse on the Virginia Convention of 1776, pages 25 and 26, and Grigsby adds: "and he has said truly."

solved: "That the delegates appointed to represent this colony in General Congress be instructed to propose to that respectable body to declare the United Colonies free and independent states, absolved from all allegiance to, or dependence upon, the crown or parliament of Great Britain; and that they give the assent of this colony to such declaration, and to whatever measures may be thought proper and necessary by the congress for forming foreign alliances, and a confederation of the colonies, at such time, and in the manner, as to them shall seem best; provided, that the power of forming, government for, and the regulations of the internal concerns of each colony, be left to the respective colonial legislatures."¹ And moreover this convention elected Patrick Henry the first Governor of Virginia, under the constitution.

This convention was held in Williamsburg, and in it, Lunenburg and "her children" were represented as follows:

Lunenburg by David Garland and Lodowick Farmer,
Mecklenburg by Joseph Speed and Bennett Goode, —
Charlotte by Paul Carrington and Thomas Read,
Halifax by Nathaniel Terry and Micajah Watkins,
Pittsylvania by Benjamin Lankford and Robert Williams,
Bedford by John Talbot and Charles Lynch.

The events leading to the creation of the State, the adoption of its constitution, and the election of the first Governor, bring us to a period when, for a time at least, the military activities overshadowed all others in the colonies. The war was already well under way, and Virginia was fully participating; the extent of that participation cannot be traced in this work. It will be difficult for the historian who directs his efforts to that one subject alone to do it justice. It is impossible to establish the numbers, much less the names and residences of the soldiers of the Revolution from Virginia.² It is even more difficult to definitely locate, name and number the Revolutionary soldiers from any given county.

¹Journal of the Convention, quoted in Breneman's *Virginia Conventions*, 36.

²See a discussion of the Revolutionary Soldiers of Virginia by Eckenrode, in 8th Annual Report of the Library Board and State Librarian, 1910-11, 1-12, and in 9th Annual Report, 3-9, of the special reports on Revolutionary Soldiers.

The Virginia forces in the Revolutionary War served in four general groups: first, the soldiers of the continental line; second, the regular state troops; third, the militia; and fourth, the navy.¹

Virginia furnished fifteen regiments of the continental line. The troops were drawn from the whole state; were entirely in the service of the Continental Congress, and in the present state of knowledge of the records (such as survive), it is almost impossible to identify any great number of them with the counties from which they came. In addition to these, there were other forces raised mostly or wholly in Virginia, such, for example, as Nathaniel Gist's, Grayson's and Thurston's regiments of infantry, Moses Rawlings' rifle company, Harrison's artillery, Bland's and Baylor's dragoons and Lee's and Armand's legions.²

The state line troops included three regular infantry regiments, an artillery regiment, a cavalry regiment, what was known as the "State Garrison Regiment," two regiments in Illinois, the troops engaged in guarding the Saratoga prisoners near Charlottesville, and Dabney's State Legion.³

The militia are almost impossible to chronicle, with any degree of detail. These forces were raised on so many different occasions, for such varying terms or service, formed parts of so many different forces, under such a variety of commands, both within and without the State of Virginia, that anything approaching an adequate account of them remains a work for the future, after records which are supposed to be in existence have been edited and made available, and after, it is hoped, many new sources of information shall have been discovered.

At the time of the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, Lunenburg, due to the creation of much of the fairest and most populous part of her domain into new counties, was relatively less strong in man power than her children, Halifax, Mecklenburg, Charlotte, Bedford and Pittsylvania.

Thus, in 1776, a manuscript list of the militia supposed to be

¹Eckenrode: *Special Report*, 1911, 3.

²Id.

³Id.

available for the field at that time, shows the militia strength of these counties to be as follows:

Lunenburg 573
Halifax 1000
Mecklenburg 850
Charlotte 812
Bedford 1400
Pittsylvania 1438

Virginia kept up well her quotas in every department of the military establishment. In 1776, in addition to her large number of continentals,—the third largest of all the states,¹ she sent a large force of militia into the field against Dunmore, another for the relief of North Carolina, and still another for the Cherokee expedition, in the west.

In 1777 the losses among the Virginia troops, “always in the forefront of the battle”² were very severe. At Germantown, a whole regiment was captured. As a result the first two regiments of the state line joined the Continental Army to make up the state’s quota in that force.

Lunenburg soldiers saw service in many important theatres of action during the war, but when certain companies took the field and where they served first, is in some instances doubtful. Captain Ellison Ellis was among the earliest officers of the Revolutionary period from Lunenburg. Captain Edward Garland’s company appears among the first from this section to join General Washington’s army. The companies of Captain James Johnson, Captain Nicholas Hobson, Captain Peter Garland, Captain John Hockaday and Captain John Stokes, are known to have participated in the Northern campaigns, and it is quite certain several others did also. Material probably does not exist, and certainly is not known, at present, from which can be constructed anything approaching a detailed history of the movement of the Lunenburg companies. It is difficult, even, to trace with a degree of relative completeness the history of much larger units

¹Eckenrode: *Special Report*, 1911, 6.

²*Id.*, 6.

or commands, and it is practically impossible to establish with certainty their composition from time to time.

Lunenburg has shared the common fate of all peoples who neglect their own history. What is known by everybody of one generation is known by none of succeeding generations unless someone takes the pains to record the facts. The gathering dust of the passing years dims any neglected record, and is sufficient, if it be long enough neglected, to entirely obscure and even to destroy it. Many of the participants in the Revolutionary struggle do not even have their names preserved to posterity, and many exist as names only, so that present day investigators find it difficult, if not impossible, to assign them a definite locality or to trace their descendants.

Relatively few of the old original records, such as the muster rolls and pay rolls are in existence; and many of these show the disintegrating effect of time and of unavoidable exposure and ill usage incident to military activities. No records of many companies remain. They are known to have existed by statements in official documents and correspondence and by incidental mention in contemporary records, but their records, such as would have shown the organization of their companies, the names of the officers and of the men, and the general locality of their activities, have passed into oblivion.

Enough, however, has survived to give us some idea of the terrible hardships they endured, and to abundantly establish their brave and heroic participation in the great and glorious struggle which achieved our independence.

The movements of the Lunenburg companies which served with the Northern army prior to the campaign in New Jersey and Pennsylvania are not known. But the companies of Captain James Johnson, Captain Edward Garland, Captain Nicholas Hobson, Captain Peter Garland and Captain John Stokes participated in the military operations in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and at least the companies of Captain Hobson, Captain James Johnson and Captain Peter Garland spent the terrible winter of 1777-78 at Valley Forge. It is highly probable that Captain Edward Garland's Company also was at Valley Forge, but the company's records for that period have not been

found. John Stokes, until February, 1778, a lieutenant, was also at Valley Forge.

Captain Edward Garland's company was attached to the Fourteenth Virginia Regiment, commanded first by Colonel Charles Lewis and then by Colonel Wm. Davies. The muster roll of July 3, 1777¹ affords some information as to the movement of this body. It shows that from May 7th to 10th, 1777, the company was at Alexandria, Virginia, and between that time and July 3, 1777, it left certain of the company's sick at Baltimore and at Philadelphia. One of the corporals of this company, John Daws, had the signal honor of being selected as a member of the General's Life Guard.

The roll of this company as returned July 3, 1777, was as follows:

Edward Garland, Captain,
William Winn, 1st. Lt.²

Sergeants:

Jeffrey Russell,
Reuben Cooper,
Rodwell McGuire,³

Corporals:

Henry Maning (Manning)
James Hooker,
Richard Wilson
John Daws,⁴

Drummers and fifers:

Joseph White, Drummer,
Robert Mitchell, Fifer,

Privates:

John Thompson,⁵
John Boze,

David Morgan,
John Riddle,⁶
Anthony Wells,
Jeffrey Russell, Jr.,⁷
Thomas Sikes,
Baxter Pool,
Charles Cooper,
Henry Thornton,
Jonathan Grady,
William Rhodes,
Benjamin Stubbs,
William Slaughter,
Owen Conner,
Dennes Murphy,
Abner Quarles,
James Wells,
Charles Maddox,⁸

¹This roll is undated, but was sworn to July 3, 1777.

²In Virginia recruiting.

³In regimental hospital.

⁴"In the General's Life Guard."

⁵In hospital in Philadelphia.

⁶Died at Alexandria, May 10, 1777.

⁷Deserted March 8, 1777.

⁸Sick in Virginia.

Rees Riddle,¹
 John Riddle, Junr.²
 Thomas Wilkins,³

Thomas Mitchell,⁴
 Thomas Wilkinson,⁵

In addition to the names shown on this roll, the roll for August, 1777, contains the name of Joseph White.

The muster roll of Captain James Johnson's company for the period from February 2, 1776, to May 31, 1777, with the notations thereon affords some evidence of the movement of the troops to which it was attached. Hugh Wallace, James Hungerford, Joseph Bohannon, Elisha Arnold, Thomas Gandon, Jno. Armistead Valentine and Stephen Brown are noted as "sick at Mindon." John Wilkerson, Wm. Newell and Howell Cobb are recorded "sick at Black River." James Arven was "sick at Philadelphia," while Langford Walker and Daniel Harper were "sick at Wilmington." The muster roll for June, 1777, mentions certain of the soldiers as sick at Middlebrook, Mindon and Black River.

Philip Snead, in his pension declaration⁶ dated April 23, 1819, declares: "That he, the said Philip Snead, enlisted for the term of two years on the second day of February in the year 1776, in Lunenburg in the State of Virginia, in the company commanded by Captain James Johnson of the regiment commanded by Colonel Mordecai Buckner, in the line of the State of Virginia on the Continental Establishment; that he continued to serve in the said corps, or in the service of the United States, until the 14th day of February, 1778, when he was discharged from service at Valley Forge, State of Pennsylvania; that he was in the battles of Brandywine, Trenton, Germantown and at the siege of Mud Island." And in another declaration made on November 13, 1820, he mentions in addition to the above mentioned battles, that of Fort Mifflin.⁷

Hugh Wallace, another member of the company, in a pen-

¹Sick in Baltimore.

²In hospital in Philadelphia.

³In regimental hospital.

⁴Died May 7, 1777, at Alexandria, Va.

⁵Deserted May 3, 1777.

⁶Pension office, Washington.

⁷He states that he would be 66 years of age Dec. 11, 1820.

sion declaration dated September 23, 1818, states that he enlisted in the County of Lunenburg in the company commanded by Captain James Johnson, of the 6th Virginia Regiment, and served until December 1st, 1777, having served one year and nine months, when he was discharged at White Marsh Camp in the State of Pennsylvania. He further stated that he was in the skirmish called Raritan Run, a little above the town of Brunswick (New Jersey), and that he lost a leg in the service; and a certificate¹ of Beverley Randolph (Colonel), dated July 20, 1787, shows that Wallace lost his right leg in the service, from a wound.²

In the archives of the War Department³ is preserved the original muster roll of Captain James Johnson's company for the period from February 2, 1776, to the 31st of May, 1777. It is entitled: "A Muster Roll of Capt. James Johnson's Company, in the 6th Virginia Regiment of Continental Forces, commanded by Lieut. Colo. James Hendricks from 2nd. Feby. 1776, to the 31st May, 1777."

All the men of this company were enlisted.

This roll (omitting notations and memoranda) is as follows:

Captain, James Johnson,

1st Lt., Peter Garland, appointed June 19, 1776.

2nd Lt., Beverly Stubblefield, appointed December 28, 1776.

Sergeants:

Wm. A. Whitlock,

Hugh Wallace,

Wm. Winn,

Wm. Hobson,

Philip Snead.

James Winn,

Dudley Terrell,

Elisha Winn,

Joshua Hawkins.

Privates:

Music:

Wm. Croker.

John Ragsdale,

Jno. Consalver,

Corporals:

Thomas Hoskins,

Wm. Brown,

Jacob Johnson,

¹In the pension file at Washington.

²An affidavit made by Wallace, July 10, 1820, shows that he was 76 years old; and that his family consisted of a wife and three daughters, aged 50, 48 and 40 years.

³Old Records Division.

Richard Brooks,	Davd. B. Watts,
Benj. Riddle,	Jonathan Edings,
Wm. Allen,	James Butler,
Jesse Blanks,	Jacob Brown,
Isaac Allen,	Ja—n Edes,
Jno. Bailey,	James Andrews,
Tandy Walker,	Wm. Thompson,
Jno. Sneed,	Benjamin Johnson,
James Hungerford,	Philip Bowers,
Wm. Colley,	Jas. Ragsdale,
Thomas Wright,	Sugar Wright,
Caldwell Petty Pool	Edmd. Buckner,
[Pettypoole],	Wm. Hanks,
Anthony Hundley,	Jarrold Lynes,
Jno. Wilkerson,	Israel Sneed,
Wm. Newell,	James Wallace,
Joseph Bohannon,	Young Stokes,
Parsons Wright,	Anslam [Anselm] Bailey,
Howell Cobb,	Wm. Riddle,
Elisha Arnold,	Jno. Chambless,
Thos. Gordon,	Thos. Phillips,
Langford Walker,	Moses Spilman,
Benjamin Thomerson	Rd. Herring,
[Thomason],	Jno. Estis [Estes],
James Arven [Arvin],	Reuben Rogers,
Daniel Harper,	Guy Smith,
John Armstead Valentine,	Robert Fargerson
Stephen Brown,	[Ferguson?],
Benjamin Sneed,	Wm. Walker, fifer,
Jno. Calther,	Rd. Hudson,
Lightfoot Calliham,	Robert Smith,
Joseph Bradley,	Jno. Smithson,
Jno. Hinton,	Drury Pulliam,
Thomas Redman,	John Bowers,
Jno. Willis,	Wm. Perramon.
Hen. Vendyke,	

This company, including officers and men, numbered eighty-six. Thirty-nine of them were killed or died before May 31, 1777.

The pay roll of Captain James Johnson's company for the month from April 1st to May 1st, 1777, showed the following:

James Johnson, Captain,
 Peter Garland, Lieut.
 Beverly Stubblefield, Ensign,
 Hugh Wallace, Sergeant,
 Philip Snead, Sergeant,
 James Winn, Sergeant,
 John Wilkerson, Sergeant,
 William Crocker, Drum Mjr.
 William Walker, Fifer,¹
 Thomas Hoskins, Corpl.
 Elisha Winn, Corpl.
 John Ragsdale, Corpl.
 Joshua Hawkins, Corpl.

Privates:

William Hobson²,
 William A. Whitlock³,
 William Gill,
 Langford Walker,
 James Arvin,
 Daniel Harper,
 John A. Valentine,
 Stephen Brown,
 Robert Fergusson,

John Consalver,
 William Newell,
 Joseph Bohannon,
 Parsons Wright,
 William Brown,
 Benjamin Johnson⁴,
 Jacob Johnson,
 Richard Brooks,
 Benjamin Riddle,
 William Allin [Allen],
 Young Stokes,
 Isaac Allin [Allen],
 Howell Cobb,
 Jesse Blanks,
 Anselmn Bailey,
 John Bailey,
 Elisha Arnoll [Arnold],
 James Hungerford,
 Anthony Hundley,
 James Jones,⁵
 Richard Hooper,
 William Colley,
 Tandy Walker,
 Richard Herring,⁶

The original pay rolls of Captain Johnson's company for May and June, 1777, and the original muster rolls for the period from February 2, 1776, to May 31, 1777, and also for June, 1777, are preserved in the archives of the War Department at Washington. It is from these originals that the foregoing data have been taken.

The records of the War Department show that Captain John-

¹William Walker was a prisoner at this time.

²In Virginia at that date.

³In Virginia at that date.

⁴Died April 20, 1777.

⁵In Virginia at that date.

⁶At that time a prisoner.

son was ordered to Virginia, December 26, 1776, on recruiting service and that he returned May 15, 1777. The pay roll of his company for May, 1777, is certified by Lieut. Peter Garland, instead of by Captain Johnson. The records also show January 4, 1778, "Lieut. John Hockaday entitled to Captaincy by the promotion of Captain James Johnson, April 15, 1777."

Some of the original rolls of Captain Nicholas Hobson's company are also preserved. The War Department's archives contain the "Muster roll of Captain Nicholas Hobson's Company of the Sixth Virginia Regiment of Continental Forces, commanded by Lieut.-Col. James Hendricks to the 31st of May, 1777." This shows the following:

Captain: Nicholas Hobson,

1st Lieut: John Bell,¹

Ensign: John Jordan,²

Sergeants:

William Gregory, O. M. Segt.

William Parrish,

William Maynard,³

Daniel Crighton,

M. D. Sherman,⁴

Music:

Robert Phillips,

John Hood.

Corporals:

James Christian,

John Brown,

William Wright,

John Hardyman,⁵

Privates:

Edward Parker,⁶

Reubin Francis,

James Bullifant,

William Roach,⁷

Robert Barnes,⁸

Phillip Lightfoot,⁹

Edward Holdcroft,

David Davidson,¹⁰

John Peters,¹¹

Edward Davidson,¹²

John Harefield,

William Murrell,¹³

Peter Barrow,

¹At that time on recruiting service.

²At Morristown on command.

³Sick at hospital.

⁴Left in Virginia.

⁵Sick at Morristown.

⁶On guard.

⁷On detachment.

⁸On guard.

⁹On guard.

¹⁰On guard.

¹¹Sick in camp.

¹²On guard.

¹³Left in Virginia.

Joseph Bishop,
 Jesse New,
 Jacob Johnson,
 William Jackson,
 John Perry,
 William Williams,¹
 Gideon Hamlett,²
 William Allen,³
 David Buttler,⁴
 Thomas Buck,⁵
 John Akny(?),⁶
 William Partin,⁷
 Benja. Christian,⁸
 Rob. Going (enlisted),
 William Estes,
 Josiah Crew,⁹
 Philip Partin,¹⁰
 Henry Russell,¹¹

John Holdcroft,¹²
 William Wardoiton(?),¹³
 Benja. Barnes,¹⁴
 David Hilliard,¹⁵
 Richard Binge,¹⁶
 Julias [Julius] Francis,¹⁷
 John Pearman,¹⁸
 Littleberry Fuqua,¹⁹
 James Pearman,²⁰
 John Crewe(?),²¹
 James Edwards,²²
 William Hood,²³
 Francis Bullifant,²⁴
 Benja. Brewer,²⁵
 Thornton Bishope
 [Bishop],²⁶
 Freeman Johnson,²⁷
 Job Hilliard,²⁸

¹Sick at Morristown.

²Sick at Morristown.

³Sick at Philadelphia.

⁴Dec'd Jan. 15, 1777.

⁵Dec'd Jan. 10, 1777.

⁶Dec'd Jan. 10, 1777.

⁷Dec'd Jan. 15, 1777.

⁸Dec'd Jan. 4, 1777.

⁹Dec'd Jan. 4, 1777.

¹⁰Dec'd Jan. 20, 1777.

¹¹Dec'd Jan. 4, 1777.

¹²Dec'd Jan. 8, 1777.

¹³Dec'd Jan. 12, 1777.

¹⁴Dec'd Jan. 10, 1777.

¹⁵Dec'd Jan. 14, 1777.

¹⁶Dec'd Jan. 4, 1777.

¹⁷Dec'd Jan. 4, 1777.

¹⁸Dec'd Dec. 30, 1776.

¹⁹Dec'd Dec. 30, 1776.

²⁰Dec'd Jan. 8, 1777.

²¹Dec'd Dec. 30, 1776.

²²Dec'd Dec. 30, 1776.

²³Dec'd Dec. 30, 1776.

²⁴Dec'd Dec. 31, 1776.

²⁵Dec'd Dec. 30, 1776.

²⁶Dec'd Dec. 30, 1776.

²⁷Dec'd Jan. 15, 1777.

²⁸Dec'd Jan. 15, 1777.

Warwick Booker,¹
Isham Gill,²
Edward Partin,³

William Pavely,⁴
John Faqua,⁵
James Roberson.

On the pay roll of Capt. Hobson's company for May, 1777, the name of James Edmunds appears with the notation "not drawn for in October last & is since dead."

The muster roll of Captain Hobson's company for June, 1777,⁶ is as follows:

Nicholas Hobson, Capt.
John Bell, 1st Lt.
M. Duke Sherman, Sergeant,
William Parrish, Sergeant,
William Maynard, Sergeant,
Daniel Creighton, Sergeant,⁷

Music:

Robert Phillups [Phillips],
John Hood.

Corporals:

James Christian,
John Hardiman
[Hardyman],⁸
Jno. Brown,
William Wright.

Privates:

Reuben Treneis(?),
James Bullifant,
William Roach,

Robert Barnes,⁹
Edward Holdcroft,
Edward Davidson,
David Davidson,¹⁰
Jacob Johnson,
William Jackson,
George Estes,
William Estes,
John Peters,
Edward Parker,
Philip Lightfoot,
William Williams,
Gideon Hamlet,
William Allen,
William Murrell,
Peter Barrom,
John Perry,
Joseph Bishop,
Jesse New.

A notation in the records of the War Department is as fol-

¹Dec'd Mar. 6, 1777.

²Dec'd Mar. 18, 1777.

³Dec'd Mar. 20, 1777.

⁴Dec'd Feb. 10, 1777.

⁵Dec'd Feb. 1, 1777.

⁶Original in the War Department, Old Records Division.

⁷On the September, 1777, roll this name appears "Daniel Clayton."

⁸Sick in hospital.

⁹Sick at Morristown.

¹⁰Sick at Morristown.

lows: "It appears that Capt. Hobson's commission ought to have been dated the 11th April, 1776, in consequence of the death of Captain Ruffin who died that day." The records further show that his company was at Newark, N. J., Nov. 25, 1776, and at "Araratan" (Raritan) Nov. 30, 1776.

The records of the company note the fact that Captain Hobson was sick at Germantown, September 3, 1777, and that he resigned his command September 30, 1777. No doubt his resignation was due to his inability to discharge his duties because of his sickness. He probably proceeded to Virginia, and escaped the rigors of the winter at Valley Forge, which was no place for a sick man. There is a slight discrepancy between two contemporary records as to the date of his resignation. There is a record in the War Department as follows: "Lt. Benjamin Talferro entitled to a captaincy by the resignation of Capt. N. Hobson, Sept. 23, 1777," whereas, the other record as above noted places the date of Captain Hobson's resignation as September 30, 1777.

Captain Hobson, as we shall see, served Lunenburg as County Commander with the rank of Colonel, in the later stages of the war, during the years 1780-81, and possibly earlier.

From the December, 1777, roll it appears that John Bell, First Lieutenant, was the only commissioned officer with the company. His affidavit verifies the roll for this month. From the January, 1778, roll it appears that Captain John Hockaday had been assigned to command this company, but it also appears that he had not assumed the command. First Lieutenant John Bell, who commanded this company during this winter (at Valley Forge), after Captain Hobson's resignation in September, had gone to Virginia on recruiting service. The company during this fearful winter at Valley Forge was reduced to fourteen men. Major Samuel Hopkins, of the 6th Regiment, endorsed on the roll for January, 1778, the statement that with Lt. Bell in Virginia recruiting, the company was without an officer, and for that reason he verified the roll of the company.

The company's pay roll for February, 1778, carries the name of Captain John Hockaday and that he resigned February 16, 1778. It is altogether probable that he never assumed com-

mand of the company at all. In fact, such seems to be quite clearly indicated by the records. This roll also shows that ten men were discharged in February, 1778, undoubtedly because their term of enlistment had ended. These were:

James Christian, Corp., discharged February 10, 1778.
 Jno. Hardiman, Corp., discharged February 20, 1778.
 Wm. Wright, Corp., discharged February 10, 1778.
 John Brown, Corp., discharged February 10, 1778.
 Robert Philips, fifer, discharged February 10, 1778.
 Edward Parker, private, discharged February 10, 1778.
 Edward Holdcroft, private, discharged February 10, 1778.
 William Williams, private, discharged February 10, 1778.
 William Jackson, private, discharged February 10, 1778.
 Edwd. Davison, private, discharged February 10, 1778.
 James Bullifant, private, discharged February 10, 1778.

This roll is certified by Jno. Stokes, Lt., although he is not listed as a member of the company.

The March, 1778, pay roll shows that this company had but five private soldiers. The complete list is as follows:

John Bell, 1st Lt.,	William Roach,
William Parrish, Sergt.,	Robert Barnes,
James Christian, Corp.,	John Perry,
George Estes,	John Peters.

These were the heroic survivors from this company of that incredible winter at Valley Forge.

The roll for April, 1778, shows that the strength of the company had been brought up to twenty-one by the addition of the following men who had been drafted in February (from the 10th to the 17th), 1778:

Marcus Gililien,	John Hudson,
James Johnson,	Thomas Steward,
John Hicks,	William Carroll,
Nathaniel Crenshaw,	Andrew Adamson,
Daniel Crenshaw,	Duncan McGuriman,
James Hooper,	David Callaham.
James Breadlove,	

Another Lunenburg Company at Valley Forge was that of Captain Peter Garland, of the Sixth Virginia Regiment.¹

The muster roll of this company for January, 1778, is in existence² and it shows the following:

Commissioned officers:	William Starke, 1st Lt., ⁴
Peter Garland, Captain, ³	James Mabon, Ensign.
Sergeants:	
Daniel Willson, ⁵	Jonathan Poindexter.
Music:	
Robert Dillemore [Delamore], ⁶	
Corporal:	
Hezekiah Stone, ⁷	
Privates:	Wm. Wilbourn [Wilbon], ¹⁴
Arglon Toone,	Thomas McGray, ¹⁵
Jesse Carter,	Robert Erskine, ¹⁷
Wm. Coller [Collier], ⁸	Joshua Grennage [Grunage], ¹⁶
Pressley Hunt (waggoner),	Robt White, ¹⁸
Thomas Goode, ⁹	Wm. Pulley [Tulley?], ¹⁹
Thomas Meoler, ¹⁰	Thomas Ketton, ²⁰
Ulisie Rogers, ¹¹	John Carroll,
Archer Willson, ¹²	Jarrott Williams, ²¹
Joseph Hester, ¹³	Reubin Jackson.

¹Commanded by Lt. Col. Charles Simms.

²In the Old Records Division, War Department.

³Recruiting in Virginia.

⁴On furlough.

⁵Discharged Feb. 19, 1778.

⁶Discharged Feb. 19, 1778.

⁷Discharged Feb. 16, 1778.

⁸Discharged.

⁹In hospital.

¹⁰In hospital.

¹¹In hospital.

¹²In hospital.

¹³Discharged.

¹⁴Sick.

¹⁵Discharged.

¹⁶Discharged.

¹⁷Sick.

¹⁸On furlough.

¹⁹On furlough.

²⁰On furlough. This name is variously spelled on the company's records "Kelton," "Keyton," "Keating," and "Keaton." The correct spelling is "Keaton."

²¹Died Feb. 14, 1778.

It will be observed that this roll for January, 1778, carries notation of events in February, 1778. These were of course notations subsequently made for bringing it down to date for a later roll.

Charles Kenley is on the February roll, in addition to those appearing on the January roll, with the notation, "Enlisted Sept. 23, 1777." And this roll also shows that Reuben Jackson enlisted August 5, 1777.

The pay roll of this company for February, 1778, shows the following were discharged:

Daniel Wilson, Sergeant, February 19, 1778.
 Jona Poindexter, Sergeant, February 19, 1778.
 Robert Delamore, Drummer, February 19, 1778.
 Hezekiah Stone, Corp., February 16, 1778.
 Argelon Toone, Private, February 26, 1778.
 Jesse Carter, Private, February 23, 1778.
 William Collier, Private, February 19, 1778.
 Presley Hunt, Private, February 26, 1778.
 Thomas Goode, Private, February 26, 1778.
 Thomas Meador, Private, February 19, 1778.
 Ullis Rogers, Private, February 19, 1778.
 Archer Willson, Private, February 19, 1778.
 Joseph Hester, Private, February 19, 1778.
 William Wilbon, Private, February 19, 1778.
 Thomas McGray, Private, February 19, 1778.
 Joshua Grunage, Private, February 19, 1778.
 Robert Erskine, Private, February 19, 1778.

In March, 1778, the company had but seven privates. The entire pay roll is as follows:

Peter Garland, Captain.
 William Starke, 1st Lt.
 James Mabon, 2nd Lt.

Privates:

Reuben Johnson,
 Robert White,

William Pulley,
 Thomas Keaton,
 John Carroll,
 Charles Kenley,
 Godfrey Owen.

And in April, 1778, with the same officers, the privates were:

Reuben Jackson,	John Carroll,
Ralph Love,	Harrison Pearman, ✓
Robert White,	William Perrey [Perry],
William Pulley,	Godfery [Godfrey] Owen.
Thos. Keating [Keaton],	

The records further show that First Lieutenant John Stokes, whose lieutenant's commission was dated December 28, 1776, was promoted to a captaincy, February 20, 1778, and was at Valley Forge during the winter of 1777-78, and as late as April 5, 1778.

This period ought not to be passed over without attempting to indicate the debt of gratitude and the homage due the soldiers who endured the indescribable hardships and the heart breaking suffering of the winter at Valley Forge, possibly without a parallel in the annals of warfare.

Notwithstanding the defeat at the battle of the Brandywine, the American army hoped to prevent the British from occupying Philadelphia, but this whole section of Pennsylvania was Tory, and the inhabitants aided the British rather than the Americans. The result was that the British "by a variety of perplexing maneuvers, thro' a country from which," wrote Washington, "I could not derive the least intelligence (being to a man disaffected) marched immediately toward Philadelphia."¹

John Adams wrote in his diary² that Philadelphia "seemed asleep, or dead, and the whole state scarce alive. Maryland and Delaware the same." Indeed, Philadelphia was so largely Tory that many were undoubtedly happy to see the city in the possession of the British instead of the Americans. The Congress fled to York, and the British occupied the Capitol, placing most of the army at Germantown.

Washington, although his army had suffered great loss both in dead and prisoners at Brandywine, and though he was lacking in all kinds of munitions, due to the failure of support from Congress, and especially from many of the states, decided to

¹Washington to President of Congress, Sept. 23, 1777, Ford, VI, 80.

²*Works*, Adams, II, 437.

attack the British. He devised a plan for the attack which the British afterwards conceded was admirable, and "in the twilight of a chilling October day, Washington gave orders to begin the advance."¹ The attack all but succeeded, but a force of British took possession of the Chew House, the house of a Tory judge, a stone structure, from which they poured a murderous fire into the American ranks. This saved the day for the British and turned an American victory into defeat.²

Washington was urged from many quarters to "storm" Philadelphia and take it from the British. Congress desired it, "public opinion" demanded it, and one reason assigned was that it was necessary to remedy a ruinous situation and stop the depreciation of the Continental currency.

Washington refused to undertake such a "mad enterprise," and his best officers sustained him in his decision. Risking the destruction of his army was not the way to prevent depreciation of the currency; its value had fallen for want of taxes to sustain it and could be raised only by their levy. "The corruption and defection of the people, and their unwillingness to serve in the army of the United States were evils which would be very greatly increased by an unsuccessful attempt on Philadelphia."³

Jacob Duche, an Episcopal preacher of Philadelphia, wrote Washington, contending that the American cause was hopeless, and that "the most respectable characters" had abandoned it, and urging him to end the war. "Deeply offended, Washington sent the letter to Congress, which, however, continued to find fault with him and to urge an attack on the British in the Capitol."⁴

Although Washington was unwilling to risk attacking the British in Philadelphia, he was eager to meet them, if they attacked him, in the field. He took up a position near White Marsh, on some hills toward the Schuylkill, and was there stationed when Howe came out of Philadelphia, in December, as if

¹Beveridge: *John Marshall*, I, 102.

²Pa. Mag. Hist. & Biog., XI, 330.

³Marshall: *Life of Washington* (First Ed.), III, 287.

⁴Beveridge: *John Marshall*, I, 105.

to attack the Americans. The two armies, after some maneuvering, came into close contact,¹ and the British waited a considerable time in view of the Americans, but without attacking, presumably in the hope of inducing Washington to make the attack. This he refused to do, but was ready in case the British made the attack. Chief Justice Marshall thus describes Washington's preparation for the expected attack:

"The American chief rode through every brigade of his army, delivering, in person, his orders respecting the manner of receiving the enemy, exhorting his troops to rely principally on the bayonet, and encouraging them by the steady firmness of his countenance, as well as by his words, to vigorous performance of their duty."²

In the meantime the Americans were doing some skirmishing, and Morgan's Virginia riflemen were particularly effective. Smarting from these thrusts, and fearing the result if they attacked, the British suddenly returned to Philadelphia, and Washington went into winter quarters on the hills at Valley Forge.

No adequate account of the winter at Valley Forge can be incorporated in a work of this limited character. The contrast between the circumstances of the British quartered in one of the best cities of the continent, and Washington's army exposed to the cruel cold of an unusually hard winter, in hastily provided temporary quarters, on exposed windswept hills, was very great. The winter was "a period of rest and safety for the red-coated privates in the city, where, during the preceding year Liberty Bell had sounded its clamorous defiance; a time of revelry and merry-making for the officers of the crown. Gay days chased nights still gayer, and weeks of social frolic made the winter pass like the scenes of a warm and glowing play."³

"For those who bore the King's commission there were balls at the City Tavern, plays at the South Street Theatre; and many a charming flirtation made lively the passing months for the ladies of the Capitol, as well as for Lieutenant and Captain, Major and Colonel, of the invaders' army. And after the

¹Ford: *Washington's Writings*, VI, 238.

²Marshall: *Life of Washington*, I, 184.

³Beveridge: *John Marshall*, I, 108.

social festivities, there were, for the officers, carousels at the 'Bunch of Grapes' and all night dinners at the 'Indian Queen.'¹

Many of the people of Philadelphia as already stated were Tories, and were happy that the city was in the occupancy of the British. Many families whose present day representatives are proud and haughty, and who enjoy honors of state and prosperity under the government of the United States, were then the foremost opponents of the cause of American Liberty, and most lavish in their entertainment of the British. Rebecca Frank, Peggy Chew, Williamina Bond and Margaret Shippen, afterwards the wife of Benedict Arnold, and the probable cause of his treason, may serve sufficiently to illustrate this class. Of the British, Banastre Tarleton of the Dragoons, twenty-three years old, handsome and accomplished, who was a few years later to carry fire and sword through Virginia, including Lunenburg, Richard Fitzpatrick of the Guards, and Captain John Andre, may be mentioned as typical.

"You can have no idea of the life of continued amusement I live in," wrote Rebecca Franks to Mrs. Paca, the wife of a patriot, "I can scarce have a moment to myself. I spent Tuesday evening at Sir William Howe's, where we had a concert and dance. . . . Oh, how I wish Mr. Paca would let you come in for a week or two! You'd have an opportunity of raking as much as you choose at Plays, Balls, Concerts, and Assemblies. I have been but three evenings alone since we moved to town."²

Such was the life of the higher society of the city. "For the common soldiers there were the race-course and the cock-pit, warm quarters for their abodes, and the fatness of the land for their eating. Beef in abundance, more cheese than could be used, wine enough and to spare, provisions of every kind, filled pantry and cellar. For miles around the farmers brought in supplies. The women came by night across fields and through woods with eggs, butter, vegetables, turkeys, chickens, and fresh meat. For most of the farmers of English descent in that section hated the war and were actively, though in furtive manner,

¹Beveridge: *John Marshall*, I, 108-9, citing *Trevelyan*, IV, 279.

²Trevelyan: *The American Revolution*, IV, 280.

Tory. They not only supplied the British larder, but gave news of the condition and movements of the Americans."¹

But with the American army at Valley Forge it was very different. Through no fault of Washington or of the army, their condition was deplorable. Congress had almost ceased to function. The Articles of Confederation created so loose a union as to be almost ineffective. There was no way of enforcing its requirements upon the states.

North Carolina was largely Tory, as were to a great degree South Carolina and Georgia. We have already seen what John Adams said of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Delaware.

Ragged, ill-fed, suffering from the defeats at Brandywine and Germantown, Washington's soldiers were quartered "on the bleak hills and black ravines of Valley Forge" not twenty miles distant from the scenes of "plenty and content, of cheer and jollity, of wassail and song," amid which the British were spending the winter in Philadelphia. The encampment of the Americans, says Trevelyan, "bids fair to be the most celebrated in the world's history."² The hills were wooded and the freezing soldiers were set to work in parties of twelve to build huts in which to winter.³ It was more than a month before the camps were completed. The huts were fourteen by sixteen feet, and twelve soldiers occupied each hut.⁴ While the huts were being built, the men, some at least of them, were practically naked. Baron Steuben said that "the men were literally naked, some of them in the fullest extent of the word."⁵ While the huts were being built, there were tents for some to sleep in, "but most of them lay down beneath the trees."⁶ And for want of blankets, hundreds had "to sit up all night by fires."⁷

After the battle of Germantown, during the entire winter

¹Beveridge: *John Marshall*, I, 110; Trevelyan: *The American Revolution*, IV, 278-80, 268-69.

²*The American Revolution*, IV, 290.

³Beveridge: *John Marshall*, I, 111.

⁴Sparks: *Life of Washington*, 245.

⁵He was reporting conditions Feb. 1, 1778. Kapp: *Life of Major-General Von Steuben*, 118.

⁶Hist. Magazine, V, 170; Beveridge: *John Marshall*, I, 111.

⁷Washington to the President of Congress, Dec. 23, 1777; Ford: *George Washington, Writings*, VI, 258.

Washington's men had but little to eat at any time.¹ On December 2, 1777, "the last ration had been delivered and consumed."² "Through treachery, cattle meant for the famishing patriots were driven into the already over-supplied Philadelphia."³ General Washington reported to Congress two days before Christmas, 1777, that there was "not a single hoof of any kind to slaughter, and not more than twenty-five barrels of flour."⁴ Elkanah Watson after a visit to the camp declared "The poor soldiers were half naked, and had been half starved, having been compelled, for weeks, to subsist on simple flour alone and this too in a land almost literally flowing with milk and honey."⁵ "Men died by the score from starvation."⁶ "Most of the time 'fire cake' made of dirty, soggy dough, warmed over smoky fires and washed down with polluted water was the only sustenance."⁷ Sometimes, testified Chief Justice Marshall, who spent the winter at Valley Forge, soldiers and officers "were absolutely without food."⁸ On the day after Christmas, 1777, the soldiers waded through snow half way to their knees. "Soon it was red from their bleeding feet."⁹ The huts were like "dungeons and . . . full as noisome."¹⁰ Tar, pitch and powder had to be burned in them to drive away the awful stench.¹¹ "The horses 'died by hundreds every week,' and the soldiers staggering with weakness as they were, hitched themselves to the wagons and did the necessary hauling."¹² Often blankets were torn into strips and wrapped around the naked feet of the soldiers only to be rent into shreds by the sharp ice under foot.¹³ "Sick

¹Beveridge: *John Marshall*, I, 111.

²Marshall: *Life of Washington*, I, 213.

³Beveridge: *John Marshall*, I, 111, citing Marshall's *Life of Washington*, I, 215.

⁴Washington to the President of Congress, Dec. 23, 1777. Ford: *George Washington, Writings*, VI, 258.

⁵Winslow C. Watson: *Men and Times of the Revolution*, 63.

⁶Beveridge: *John Marshall*, I, 111.

⁷*Id.*, 112.

⁸Marshall: *Life of Washington* (1st Ed.), 111, 341.

⁹Trevelyan: *The American Revolution*, IV, 297.

¹⁰*Id.*

¹¹*Id.*, 298.

¹²*Id.*

¹³Beveridge: *John Marshall*, I, 114, citing Personal Narrative of Shreve, in *Magazine of American History*, Sept., 1897, 568.

men lay in filthy hovels covered only by their rags, dying and dead comrades crowded by their sides."¹ Such was the indescribable suffering, horror and inhumanity of Valley Forge. There is little wonder that Captain Peter Garland's company was reduced to seven men, and that commanded by Lieut. John Bell (Captain Nicholas Hobson's old company) was reduced to but five men during that terrible winter. Some companies fared even worse, for John Marshall in his *Life of Washington* records the fact that of forty members of a Virginia regiment, the "pride of the old dominion," only three came out alive.²

What a debt do we owe to those who suffered the ordeals of that cruel time? What a neglect, what a shame, that it should require painstaking research among crumbling records a century and a half old in order to resurrect the names of the patriots who suffered the unspeakable horrors of Valley Forge, for the cause of liberty! They are deserving of a better fate. Instead of being neglected and forgotten they merit some fitting memorial which will enable us and our children and our children's children forever to hold them in grateful and honored remembrance.

The movements of the Lunenburg companies following the winter at Valley Forge, we can only surmise from the knowledge we have of the history of the units to which they were presumably attached. Captain John Stokes, in 1778 and 1779, commanded a company which embraced a number of men from the companies already mentioned. His captain's commission was dated February 20, 1778, but the earliest roll of his company found is that for November, 1778. The company's pay roll for that month shows that it was a part of the Second Virginia Regiment, commanded by Colonel Christian Fibeger. The roll is as follows:

John Stokes, Captain,³
Beverly Stubblefield, Lt.⁴

James Mabon, Lt.⁵
Isaac Taylor, Sergt.

¹Trevelyan: *The American Revolution*, IV, 298; Beveridge: *John Marshall*, I, 114.

²Marshall: *Life of Washington*, I, 227.

³He had previously served as Brigade Major.

⁴Formerly in Capt. James Johnson's Company, in the 6th Va. Regt.

⁵Formerly Ensign in Capt. Peter Garland's Company, in the 6th Va. Regt.

William Gordon, Sergt.	William Pulley, ⁵
Hubbard Stephens, Drummer.	John Wheeler,
William Spencer, Fifer.	Robert Barnes, ⁶
Benjamin Thompson, Corp.	Robert White,
James Christian, Corp. ¹	Samuel Leake,
Anthony Hunter,	William Roberts,
John Consalver, ²	Nathaniel Crenshaw, ⁷
Reuben Jackson, ³	Daniel Crenshaw, ⁸
William Ray,	James Hooper, ⁹
James Bowman,	John Hudson, ¹⁰
Elisha Jeffers,	David Clopton,
William Bailey,	Joseph Pope,
Richard Cumlie,	John Gay,
Thomas Wright,	David Calliham, ¹¹
William Roach, ⁴	Abram Helton.

The pay rolls of this company for December, 1778, and from February to June inclusive, 1779, are in the archives of the War Department, as is that for November, 1779, also.

The roll for May, 1779, is as follows:

John Stokes, Captain.	William Roach, Corp.
James Mabon, Lt.	George Eastes [Estes], Corp.
William Gordon, Sergt.	Privates:
Isaac Taylor, Sergt.	Anothny Hunter,
William Higginbotham, Sergt.	Richard Cumbo,
Benj. Thompson, Corp.	Robert White,
James Christian, Corp.	

¹Formerly Corporal in Captain Nicholas Hobson's Company in the 6th Va. Regt.

²Formerly in Capt. James Johnson's Company, in the 6th Va. Regt.

³Formerly in Capt. Peter Garland's Company, in the 6th Va. Regt.

⁴Formerly of Captain Nicholas Hobson's Company in the 6th Va. Regt. and one of the six who spent the entire winter at Valley Forge.

⁵Formerly of Captain Peter Garland's Company of the 6th Va. Regt. and one of the seven who spent the entire winter at Valley Forge.

⁶Formerly of Capt. Nicholas Hobson's Company of the 6th Va. Regt.

⁷Formerly of Capt. Nicholas Hobson's old company. It was commanded by Lt. John Bell, when Crenshaw became a member.

⁸Id.

⁹Id.

¹⁰Formerly member of company commanded by Lt. John Bell (after resignation of Capt. Nicholas Hobson), in the 6th Va. Regt.

¹¹Id.

Jesse New,
Thomas Keaton,
Elisha Jeffries,
Robert Barnes,
Henry Evans,
Moses Hedgpeth,
Daniel Conner,
William Ray,
William Pulley,
William Lyons,
David Lindsay,
William Roberts,
John Melton,
William Brown,

Peter Survive(?),
Thomas Wright,
Lewis Fox,
Francis Deavenport,
John Bland,
John Peters,
John Perry,
Joseph Hilliard,
Philip Lightfoot,
Thomas Ray,
George Scott,
Ralph Core,
Samuel Leake.

In the fall of this year, 1778, a British force landed at Portsmouth and devastated a considerable section of country. In consequence a large additional militia force was mobilized.¹

General George Rogers Clark, with Virginia forces, was established in Illinois and a thousand men were raised in Virginia and North Carolina for the protection of the frontier.

In 1779, the Governor was authorized to send one thousand five hundred militia to South Carolina, and he was granted special military powers in case of invasion of the state. The state troops for the defense of the eastern part of the state were incorporated with the artillery and garrison corps, the cavalry was reduced, and the commands in the west consolidated into one regiment.

In 1780, a considerable detachment of Virginians were lost at the surrender of Charleston, and Colonel Buford's troops, 400 in number, were massacred by Tarleton at the Waxhaw.

The drain of the war was beginning to tell. Massachusetts which in 1777 was credited with having 12,600 men in the military service now had but 4,453, while Virginia, whose forces likely exceeded those of Massachusetts in 1777² now had but 2,486 men in its Continental establishment.

¹Eckenrode: Special Report, 1911, 6.

²Eckenrode: Special Report, 1911, 6.

When the theatre of war was shifted to the southern area in 1780, Virginia responded anew with a generous measure of her waning strength.

On the eve of Camden, General Stevens joined Gates, August 14, 1780, with a force of 700 militia. At King's Mountain on October 7, 1780, several hundred Virginia militiamen, commanded by Colonel William Campbell, were in the engagement.

Captain Sylvanus Walker's Company from Lunenburg served under Gates from May, 1780, until November 30th of that year, and among other services were in the battle of Camden.¹

When the British decided to execute the plan of Lord Germaine to reduce "the southern provinces" and thereby "give the death-wound to the rebellion," Clinton despatched Lord Cornwallis to take command, and execute the decision.

The events of the campaign that followed are largely outside the scope of this work. We must be content with incidental mention of some of its principal features and with picking up the narrative where it becomes germane to our story.

Events so developed that General Washington entrusted the southern command to General Greene. On November 23, 1780, attended by Baron Steuben and others, he set out for Charlotte, N. C. He had previously submitted to Washington his plans for the creation of an army, and had his approval. The Southern army at that time was, as General Greene wrote to General Knox, "shadow rather than substance, having only an imaginary existence."²

As Greene passed through Virginia he found Virginia absorbed in devising measures for its own defense, General Leslie having taken possession of Norfolk and Portsmouth, and fortified both.

Generals Muhlenberg and Weedon were there, at Washington's directions, organizing the militia, their object being to prevent Leslie from advancing beyond the immediate limits of the two garrisoned posts.³

¹Pension declaration of William Bragg and John Brown, Pension Office, Washington.

²Carrington: *Battles of the Revolution*, 529.

³Id., 529-30.

General Greene left Baron Steuben in command in Virginia; selected Colonel Edward Carrington to organize his quartermaster's department and also directed him "to explore the Dan, Yadkin and Catawba, and make himself thoroughly acquainted with the streams into which they discharged themselves."¹ Colonel Carrington surveyed the Dan, General Stevens the Yadkin, and Kosciusko, Greene's engineer in chief, the Catawba.

On December 2, 1780, General Greene relieved General Gates of his command at Charlotte, North Carolina. Upon assuming the command he wrote Governor Jefferson, upon whom he had called as he passed through Virginia, on his way to relieve Gates: "I find the troops in a most wretched condition, destitute of everything necessary for comfort or convenience, and may literally be said to be naked."²

It was necessary for General Greene to remain two months in camp before he got his troops in condition to move.

In the meantime, Cornwallis's plans were to prosecute a winter campaign and destroy Greene. "My plan for the winter's campaign," he wrote Lord Germaine, "was to penetrate into North Carolina, leaving South Carolina in security against any probable attack in my absence. Lord Rawdon with a considerable body of troops had charge of the defensive, and I proceeded about the middle of January upon the offensive operations I hoped by rapid marches to get between General Greene and Virginia, and by that means force him to fight without receiving any re-enforcement from that province; or failing of that, to oblige him to quit North Carolina with precipitation, and thereby encourage our friends³ to make good their promises of a general rising to assist me in establishing his majesty's government."⁴

So, after burning his baggage, Cornwallis, in the latter part of January, 1781, marched forth to capture Greene. But Greene realized full well the insufficiency of his force to risk battle with Cornwallis. Instead, he conducted a masterly retreat. And

¹Carrington: *Battles of the Revolution*, 531.

²Id.

³The large element in North Carolina favorable to Great Britain.

⁴Ross: *Cornwallis Correspondence*, I, 516; Johnston: *The Yorktown Campaign*, 24.

due to the foresight in having Colonel Carrington map the country through which he expected to retreat, if necessary, and to provision having been made in advance for boats and rafts at Boyd's Ferry and Irwin's Ferry¹ he was able to escape across the river in time to avoid the necessity of giving battle to Cornwallis at that time. This was a great disappointment to Cornwallis, for knowing nothing of the survey that had been made, and the secreting of boats for just such a contingency, he expected to be able to attack Greene's forces, while delayed by the necessity of constructing means to cross the stream. And so close was he upon Greene at the time, that he would have been able to do so, but for the provision made in advance for crossing the stream. "I was informed," says Cornwallis, "that the American commander could not collect many flats at any of the ferries on the River Dan."²

The plight of Virginia, at this stage of the Revolution, appears upon the verge of desperation. Leslie, who had commanded at Norfolk and Portsmouth, had joined Cornwallis. Sir Henry Clinton had placed Benedict Arnold (the traitor) in command, and Phillips too came to Virginia and operated in conjunction with Arnold, Phillips, however, being the superior in command.

There has been considerable criticism of Governor Jefferson's administration of affairs during these trying times,—but there seems little just ground therefor. No man can achieve the impossible. The chief complaint that can be lodged against him is that he was not able to raise as many additional forces and provide as many additional arms as the situation seemed to demand. But that was not his fault,—the fault, if fault it was, grew out of the fact that Virginia had supported the cause of Liberty from 1775 to this date, five years, with so much enthusiasm, and with such generous measure of her men, arms and money, that the resources of the colony were at a low ebb. It was to her honor, rather than to her discredit, that she had impoverished herself in the cause of Liberty.

Notwithstanding the importance of opposing the British forces

¹Carrington: *Battles of the Revolution*, 552-3.

²*Id.*, 552.

in Eastern Virginia, operating from the vicinity of Norfolk, Jefferson realized that Greene must be given assistance.

Among the military measures which he took at his period are the following:

On January 2, 1781, he communicated with the County Lieutenants of various counties, including Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, Charlotte, Prince Edward, Halifax and Bedford, advising them that the arrival of a hostile force within the state¹ "renders it necessary to call for . . . your militia under proper captains and subaltern officers to rendezvous."²

He ordered out 700 riflemen from Washington, Montgomery and Bedford Counties, and 500 militia from Pittsylvania and Henry³ for the purpose of reenforcing General Greene, and at the same time he ordered all the militia of Cumberland, Powhatan, Chesterfield, Dinwiddie, Amelia, Lunenburg and Brunswick, for which arms could be found, to oppose Cornwallis' advance.⁴

On February 20, 1781, Governor Jefferson wrote Baron Steuben of calling "out all the militia who could be armed of Cumberland, Powhatan, Chesterfield, Dinwiddie, Amelia, Lunenburg and Brunswick, to oppose Lord Cornwallis. "Prince Edward," he said, "was not called on because we knew them to have actually marched." Mecklenburg, Charlotte and Halifax were so near the enemy that we knew they must be in the field before any orders could reach them.⁵ He explained that he had confined the call to certain counties south of the James, because he did not desire to disturb the drafting of men in that section, which a call for the militia would have done.

Jefferson was enabled to act in calling out this militia because of information brought him by an express from General Lawson.⁶

Respecting the response to his call to arms, Governor Jeffer-

¹This referred to the arrival of a British fleet consisting of 19 ships, 2 brigs and 10 sloops and schooners. Jefferson to Baron Steuben, Jan. 2, 1781.

²*Writings of Jefferson* (Ford), II, 397-8.

³A newly formed county from a part of the original area of Lunenburg.

⁴Eckenrode: *Special Report*, 1912, 6.

⁵*Writings of Jefferson* (Ford), II, 461-2.

⁶Jefferson to Brigadier-General Robert Lawson, Feb. 25, 1781—*Writings of Jefferson* (Ford), II, 467-8.

son, on February 26, 1781, wrote the President of Congress, "I have the pleasure to inform you that the spirit of opposition was as universal as could have been wished for. There was no restraint on the numbers that embodied but the want of arms."¹

February 25, 1781, Brig. General Robert Lawson informed Governor Jefferson that "Agreeable to instructions received from General Greene, I have ordered out the militia of P. Edward, Cumberland, Amelia, Charlotte, Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, Brunswick, Buckingham and Amherst."²

A company of dragoons had previously been raised in Prince Edward, Amelia and Nottoway, and had become a part of Lee's famous Legion, commanded by Colonel Henry Lee, "Light-horse Harry," the father of General Robert E. Lee. Lee's Legion joined Greene's army at "Camp Repose," on the headwaters of the Pee Dee.³

News had come of the splendid victory at the Cowpens on January 17, 1781, and this following so soon upon the glorious triumph at Kings Mountain "roused the sinking hopes of the patriots."⁴

As a matter of fact, the Prince Edward militia marched to Greene's assistance before Jefferson's orders were received.⁵ And so high did the martial spirit run that the President of Hampden-Sidney College, Rev. John Blair Smith, set out to join the company raised in Charlotte County by Captain William Morton. He overtook the company from Halifax in its march, and the captain urged him to return to Prince Edward, contending that he could better serve the cause at home by his patriotic speeches than by his presence in the camp. "Worn out by fatigue, rather than convinced by his friend, he returned to the college."⁶

The company of Captain William Morton referred to was one which he raised among his neighbors in two days.⁷

¹*Writings of Jefferson* (Ford), II, 470.

²Calendar, Va. State Papers, I, 540.

³Schenck: *North Carolina, 1780-81*, 198.

⁴Foote: *Sketches of Virginia* (1st Series), 402.

⁵Eckenrode: *Special Report, 1912*, 6.

⁶Foote: *Sketches of Virginia* (1st Series), 403.

⁷Foote: *Sketches of Virginia* (1st Series), 403.

In Prince Edward, Captain Thomas Watkins raised a company of militia dragoons. In this company Philemon Holcomb, Charles Scott and Samuel Venable were officers.¹ A member of this company was the giant Peter Francisco, whose deed of strength and valor at Guilford Court House is mentioned hereinafter.

From Mecklenburg, Captain John Brown's company; from Nottoway, Captain Overstreet's company; from Pittsylvania, Captain James Brewer's company; and from Halifax, Captain John Wynn's company² and from Lunenburg, the company of Captain William Dawson³ and that of Captain Sylvanus Walker, participated in the battle of Guilford Court House.

Upon being reenforced, General Greene recrossed the Dan and offered Cornwallis battle at Guilford Court House on March 15, 1781. The battle was a stubborn and bloody affair. After a day of sanguinary conflict, the armies on both sides were disorganized and scattered. Greene withdrew to reorganize and reform his forces for a second shock; but Cornwallis declined to attack him. Greene, it is said, would have attacked Cornwallis on the 16th, but for the fact that it rained the night of the 15th and continued to rain on the 16th, and in the meantime Cornwallis retreated. When pressed by the American forces at Ramsey's Mill, he made a hurried flight across the bridge which he burned, in order to make himself more secure from Greene's pursuit.

Jefferson, according to Bancroft,⁴ declared of the battle of King's Mountain, "That memorable victory was the joyful communication of that turn of the tide of success which terminated the Revolutionary War with the seal of independence." Of the battle of Guilford Court House, it may be said, that if King's Mountain marked the turn of the tide, Guilford Court House kept that tide running in the direction of a successful termination of the war.

¹For Prince Edward Militia in the Revolution, see: McAllister: *Virginia Militia in the Revolution*, 223-227. This record is, however, by no means complete.

²McAllister: *Virginia Militia in the Revolution*, 34, 37, 38, 39.

³Pension declaration of William Bragg, Pension Office, Washington, and petition of John Pettus in Virginia State Library's archives.

⁴*Bancroft*, V. 400.

Greene did not claim that he had won the battle; he conceded victory to Cornwallis. Writing on the day of the battle, Greene said: "The enemy gained his cause, but is ruined by the success of it."¹

Tarleton characterized "the victory as the pledge of ultimate defeat."²

The historian, David Ramsey, has well said: "The British had the name; the Americans the good consequences of victory."

Fox said in the House of Commons: "Another such victory would ruin the British army," and Pitt regarded it as the "precursor of ruin to British supremacy in the south,"³ and speaking of Cornwallis' situation on the eve of this battle, Schenck says: "It was a supreme moment in the life of Cornwallis and the crisis in the revolution. This victory won, there was no foe to obstruct his passage into the defenceless province of Virginia; North Carolina would be at the mercy of the Crown, and Georgia and South Carolina, already prostrate and subdued, could never rally for defence again."

"Should Greene be beaten, Cornwallis could take up his triumphal march to the sea to be welcomed by the English fleets that rode unchallenged in the harbors of Norfolk and New York."

"The prisoners of war at Charlottesville, Virginia, would be set free to plunder and pillage their captors. France, capricious and fickle, would forsake the waning fortune of the colonies, and, making peace for herself, leave her allies to their fate. Washington would be crushed by the army of Clinton in his front and that of Cornwallis in his rear, or be driven into the frozen regions of the north for refuge. Congress would be scattered from its halls and carry dismay wherever they fled for safety."⁴

This may be a rhetorical and declamatory statement of the case; but in substance it is not overdone. It is inconceivable

¹Carrington: *Battles of the Revolution*, 564.

²Id., 564.

³Id., 564.

⁴*North Carolina, 1780-81*, 332-3.

that anything short of the direst calamity would have followed the crushing of Greene's army at Guilford Court House.

His victory, for in reality it was victory that he achieved on that field of glory, if not wholly won by, was at least made possible by the militia reinforcements which he received from Charlotte, Halifax, Mecklenburg, Lunenburg and the neighboring counties of Southside Virginia. It was only after he had received these reinforcements on the north side of the Dan, from Virginia militia, that he felt strong enough to recross the Dan and engage the British army in mortal combat.

One of the many deeds of that field of heroism was that credited to Captain Thomas Watkins' company of militia dragoons. In the battle of Guilford they were attached to Colonel Washington's command. Of this company Foote says: "It is said Captain Watkins offered himself and company to Lee, who refused them because they were not 'fine enough dressed.'"¹

This story of their being rejected by Lee may be apocryphal. However that may be, they signalized themselves in the battle by an heroic charge made upon one of the prize British units known as the Queen's Guards. In the attack these horsemen crossing a ravine attacked the enemy who were "rejoicing in victory and safety, and before they suspected danger, multitudes lay dead. The strong arm of Francisco leveled three of the enemy during one charge, and eleven before the fight was over."²

According to some historians, among them Johnson, the biographer of Greene, the North Carolina militia did anything but cover themselves with glory on this occasion, and a book³ has been written, the principal object of which is to acquit the North Carolinians of the charge of cowardice in this battle. No such question has ever arisen with respect to the Virginia forces, all authorities agreeing that they behaved with the utmost bravery and gallantry.

Governor Jefferson, reporting the battle to the President of the Continental Congress, March 21, 1781, stated that the mili-

¹Foote: *Sketches of Virginia* (1st Series), 403.

²Id.

³Schenck: *North Carolina, 1780-81*.

tia as well as the regulars "behaved exceedingly well."¹ His information was authentic for Major Charles Magill, writing to him on March 16th, the day after the battle, from "Camp at the Iron Works, Guilford County," gave him an account of the battle, in the course of which he said that the British made an attack "on our front line composed entirely by [of] militia, who returned their fire, and the greater number from Virginia, behaved in such a manner as would do honor to veterans Never was ground contested for with greater obstinacy, and never were troops drawn off in better order. Such another dear bought day must effectively ruin the British army."²

In the brief pause which General Greene made after this battle to collect his scattered forces, he was so prostrated from his strenuous exertions, that he fainted from sheer exhaustion. He wrote his wife that for six weeks he had not taken off his clothes.

After the battle of Guilford Court House, General Greene decided to move directly against the British posts in South Carolina, and thus departed from the scope of our narrative.

Cornwallis, who had retreated to Wilmington, wrote Clinton: "I could not remain at Wilmington, lest General Greene should succeed against Lord Rowdon, and, by returning to North Carolina, have it in his power to cut off every means of saving my small corps, except that disgraceful one of an embarkation, with the loss of the cavalry, and every horse in the army. . . . I was most firmly persuaded, that until Virginia was reduced, we could not hold the more southern provinces; and that after its reduction, they would fall, without much difficulty."³

Thus was Cornwallis resolved to settle the issue of the war by subduing Virginia. Phillips and Arnold (the traitor) were already in Virginia, but Cornwallis hoped for but little from them unless he joined them. On April 18, 1781, he wrote Lord Germaine, "The great reinforcements sent by Virginia to General Greene, whilst General Arnold was in the Chesapeake, are convincing proofs that small expeditions do not frighten that

¹Writings of Thomas Jefferson (Ford), II, 505-6.

²Calendar, Virginia State Papers, I, 574.

³Carrington: *Battles of the Revolution*, 566-7.

powerful province.”¹ And he wrote General Clinton on the 10th of April, 1781, “I can not help expressing my wishes that the Chesapeake may become the seat of war, even (if necessary) at the expense of abandoning New York. Until Virginia is in a measure subdued, our hold of the Carolinas must be difficult, if not precarious.”²

That Clinton and Cornwallis did not agree upon the wisdom of the contemplated move by Cornwallis upon Virginia is very evident.

In a “*secret and most private*” dispatch from Clinton to Phillips, he says: “His Lordship (Cornwallis) tells me he wants reinforcements. I would ask—how can that be possible? As my invitation to Lord Cornwallis to come to the Chesapeake was upon a supposition that everything would be settled in the Carolinas, I do not think he will come.”³ And Clinton to Cornwallis on May 29, 1781, wrote: “Had it been possible for your Lordship, in your letter to me of the 10th ult., to have intimated the probability of your intention to form a junction with General Phillips, I should certainly have endeavored to have stopped you, as I did then, and do now, consider such a move as likely to be dangerous to our interests in the southern colonies.”⁴

Clinton evidently complained to the British Ministry about the matter, for Lord George Germaine wrote him suggesting that he either remain in a good humor or avail himself of the leave to come home, adding: “Lord Cornwallis’ opinion coincides with mine, of the great importance of pushing the war on the side of Virginia, with all the force that can be spared.”⁵

And so to Virginia, Cornwallis came. After repairing from Guilford Court House to Wilmington, he “remained eighteen days at that port to refresh and refit his army.”

He then began his march on April 25, 1781, proceeding northwardly to Halifax, North Carolina, and thence in practically a direct line to Petersburg, Virginia, having ordered General Phillips to join him at that place. In executing this march

¹Carrington: *Battles of the Revolution*, 567.

²Id.

³Id.

⁴Id.

⁵Id., 567-8.

Cornwallis marched through Greenesville, Sussex and Dinwiddie Counties. Phillips reached Petersburg on May 8th, and there died of sudden illness on the 13th, and his command devolved on Benedict Arnold, pending the arrival of Lord Cornwallis, on the 20th of May, 1781.¹

As Cornwallis resolves upon and begins the execution of his plan to conquer Virginia, it is necessary to notice the trend of events elsewhere.

Clinton, as we have seen, having decided upon offensive operations in Virginia, sent General Phillips and Benedict Arnold (the traitor) thither. Arnold sailed from New York, December 16, 1780, and on the third of January, 1781, anchored off Jamestown Island. Two days later he plundered Richmond, and then withdrew to Portsmouth and fortified himself.

In February, 1781, Washington and Lafayette made plans under which Lafayette was to undertake to capture Arnold. This contemplated cooperation from a part of the French fleet from Newport to prevent his escape from Portsmouth by water. But the plan failed because the French fleet, after an engagement with the British, returned to Newport. Lafayette proceeded ahead of his troops and reached Yorktown and conferred with Baron Steuben. When he learned of the action of the French fleet he returned to Annapolis and awaited orders from Washington, as in his original order he had been directed "to return to the main army, in case Arnold quitted Virginia, or the French lost superiority of naval force."²

Lafayette was ordered to Philadelphia, and then on April 6, 1781, to join General Greene, but when Washington learned of the landing of Phillips in Virginia, with reinforcements for the British army, he countermanded the order and assigned Lafayette to command in Virginia under General Greene, to whom, as well as to Washington, he made his reports.³ Greene had been delighted at the prospect of having Lafayette with him. In a letter written "Ten miles from Guilford Court House, March

¹Carrington: *Battles of the Revolution*, 569.

²Carrington: *Battles of the Revolution*, 585.

³Id., 585-6.

eighteenth," (three days after the battle of Guilford Court House he said: "I am happy to hear the Marquis de Lafayette is coming to Virginia, though I am afraid from a hint in one of Baron Steuben's letters, that he will think himself injured in being superseded in the command. Could the Marquis join us at this moment, we should have a most glorious campaign. It would put Lord Cornwallis and his whole army into our hands."¹

Jefferson wrote to the President of Congress, March 31, 1781, "The amount of the reinforcements to the enemy arrived at Portsmouth is not yet known with certainty.² Accounts differ from 1500 to much larger numbers. We are informed they have a considerable number of horses. The affliction of the people for want of arms is great, that of ammunition is not yet known to them. An apprehension is added that the enterprise on Portsmouth being laid aside, the troops under the Marquis Fayette will not come on. An enemy 3,000 strong, not a regular in the state, nor arms to put into the hands of the militia are indeed discouraging circumstances."³ At the time Jefferson wrote this letter he was thinking only of the British under Phillips and Arnold who were devastating the country around Norfolk and Portsmouth and along the James. His anxiety and perturbation would have been infinitely greater had he then known that only six days before Cornwallis had marched out of Wilmington, N. C., with the avowed purpose of joining Phillips and Arnold at Petersburg, taking command of the combined armies and giving the death blow to the Revolutionary cause by subduing Virginia and reducing that colony to the same helpless and hopeless condition as South Carolina.

On the 18th of April, 1781, Phillips sailed up James River as far as Burwell's Ferry, and marched to Williamsburg, from which the small number of militia there stationed fled. The British proceeded to Petersburg, where Generals Steuben and Mullenberg were with about a thousand militia, who also were compelled to retreat.

On April 27, 1781, Phillips marched to Chesterfield Court

¹Carrington: *Battles of the Revolution*, 586.

²Under the command of Phillips.

³*Writings of Jefferson*, III, 236-7. (Paul Leicester Ford. G. P. Putnam's Sons. Federal Ed.)

House, and burned the barracks and three hundred barrels of flour. This was one of the principal concentration depots in Virginia, with barracks to accommodate two thousand men.

Phillips, continuing the progress of his devastating raid along James River and its environs, proceeding from Petersburg, arrived on the opposite side of the James from Richmond. Lafayette had accurately diagnosed the case. Writing to General Greene, from Hanover Court House, on April 28, 1781, he said: "Having received intelligence that General Phillips' army were preparing for offensive operations, I left at Baltimore everything that would impede our march—to follow us under a proper escort, and with about a thousand men, officers included, hastened toward Richmond, two hundred miles, which I apprehended would be a principal object with the enemy."¹

Lafayette arrived just in time,—for when Phillips arrived "Opposite the place, then an inconsiderable town, he was forced to pause. The hills north of the river were lined with American troops; and the force proved to be a body of twelve hundred (Lafayette said 1000) regulars sent by Washington, under command of the Marquis de Lafayette, to defend Virginia."²

Phillips declined to engage in battle with Lafayette, returning toward Petersburg. Lafayette hastened in the same direction, endeavoring to occupy it in advance of Phillips, but Phillips got there first. He was soon being cannonaded from the Appomattox hills. Phillips took up his headquarters at "Bollingbrook," and there died of the fever, during a bombardment of his position, complaining pathetically, "They will not let me die in peace."³ He was buried in the Old Blandford Cemetery.

On May 8th, 1781, Governor Jefferson issued another call for militia. He addressed a letter to the County Lieutenants of Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, Greensville, Brunswick, Amelia and Cumberland, advising that the British army under Phillips had landed at Brandon and meant to press southwardly, and that Lord Cornwallis was advancing northwardly, with a view of uniting their forces. Such being the case he said, "It behooves

¹Carrington: *Battles of the Revolution*, 593.

²John Esten Cooke: *History of Virginia*, 458.

³*Id.*, 459.

us immediately to turn out from every county as many men as there are arms to be found in the county, in order to oppose these forces in their separate state if possible; and if not to do it when combined; you will therefore be pleased with the assistance of the captains and subalterns to collect immediately every fire arm in your county in anywise fit for military service, and to march so many men with these arms in their hands to Prince Edward Court House or to Taylor's ferry or Roanoke, as shall be most convenient, having respect to what you shall hear of the movements of the hostile armies and our army under Major General Marquis Fayette; the object of your detachment being to join the latter, and keep clear of danger from the former."¹

"Cavalry," he said, "in a due proportion, being as necessary as Infantry, you will be pleased to permit and even encourage one-tenth part of those who are to come into duty, as above required, to mount and equip themselves as Cavalry."²

Cornwallis arrived at Petersburg May 20, 1781, and there found Phillips' army under the command of Arnold,³ Phillips having died a few days before his arrival.

Arnold's operations in Virginia and elsewhere, consisted of destroying property and harassing the non-combatant population, while avoiding collision with the American military forces. It was publicly known, and known to Sir Henry Clinton, that Washington's instructions forbade any terms with Arnold which would exempt him from punishment for desertion and treason.⁴

After Phillips' death, Arnold wrote Lafayette, but the Marquis declined to have any correspondence with him, for which he was commended by General Washington as follows:⁵

"Your conduct upon every occasion meets my approbation, but in none more than in your refusing to hold a correspondence with Arnold."

Clinton seemed under peremptory obligation to protect Arnold, this probably being a term of his treason, and so he wrote from New York, March 24, 1781, "Pray send Brigadier-General Ar-

¹*The Writings of Jefferson* (Ford), III, 30-31.

²Id.

³Johnston: *The Yorktown Campaign*, 28.

⁴Carrington: *Battles of the Revolution*, 595.

⁵Letter of May 31, 1781.

nold here by the first opportunity, if you should not have particular occasion for his services.”¹ Accordingly he was sent to New York and escaped falling into the hands of the Americans upon the surrender at Yorktown.

On May 26, 1781, Cornwallis acknowledges the arrival of reinforcements under General Leslie, 2,278 men, and informs Clinton that he “should proceed to dislodge Lafayette from Richmond.” On the same day he wrote: “I have consented to the request of Brigadier Arnold, to go to New York. . . . He will represent the horrid enormities which are committed by our privateers in Chesapeake Bay; and I must join my earnest wish that some remedy may be applied to an evil which is so very prejudicial to his Majesty’s service.”²

With the departure of Arnold from Virginia, and the arrival of reinforcements under Leslie, and the orders from General Greene to Lafayette to take command of all forces in Virginia and report direct to the Commander-in-Chief,³ Virginia became the theatre of the crucial and paramount military operations.

Cornwallis was reinforced until he had seven thousand efficient British troops.⁴ He began a vigorous campaign for overrunning Virginia. His policy was to avail himself of his superior force, and strike the American forces wherever he could do so with advantage and especially to annihilate concentration depots, and destroy and prevent the accumulation of supplies, which were vital to General Greene’s army in the south, as well as to the operation of the army in Virginia itself.⁵

Both the political as well as the military authorities realized the crucial character of the period. For the British to gain the ascendancy in Virginia would make the severance of the North and South complete, “and would leave to General Greene a barren triumph in Virginia.”⁶

It was at this juncture that the proposal was made to grant to Washington, dictatorial powers, in order to enable him to

¹Carrington: *Battles of the Revolution*, 596.

²Carrington: *Battles of the Revolution*, 595.

³*Id.*, 594.

⁴*Id.*, 598.

⁵*Id.*

⁶*Id.*, 598.

concentrate all forces and use them as military necessity required, for the ultimate success of the cause, regardless of local needs, and the hardships and exposure to which particular localities might be subjected. Such measures, however, were opposed (as it would seem unwisely) by Jefferson and others of his school.

Lafayette and Cornwallis realized the magnitude and gravity of the issues staked upon the campaign they had undertaken; and both appealed to their respective Commanders-in-Chief for the utmost support possible. As meagre as Washington's resources weré, he "knew how and when to disregard all exposed localities and seize determining opportunities in view of the whole theatre of war."¹

Clinton seemed to be deficient in strategy, and at this time bewildered and confused by the extent of the operations requiring attention.

General Greene, the great General that he was, realized the superior importance of the campaign in Virginia, and took steps accordingly. To Governor Jefferson he wrote: "The moment I got intelligence that Lord Cornwallis was moving northwardly, I gave orders for the Marquis (Lafayette) to halt and take the command of Virginia, and to halt the Pennsylvania line and all the Virginia drafts."²

Thus it was that General Wayne with his Pennsylvanians, came to Virginia, where he effected a junction with Lafayette, at Raccoon Ford, on the Rapidan, on June 7, 1781.³

During Cornwallis' campaign in Virginia, a part of the force under his command consisted of the famous Cavalry of Lieutenant Colonel Banestre Tarleton. Tarleton was an able and dashing officer, as well as a ruthless and cruel one. He had a well-trained and superbly mounted force. They were mounted on the finest blooded horses that could be found in their numerous and largely unopposed raids. He made almost numberless incursions into various parts of the colony and was almost as destructive, cruel and oppressive as Sherman was during the Civil War.

¹Carrington: *Battles of the Revolution*, 599.

²Greene: *Life of Greene*, III, 556.

³Carrington: *Battles of the Revolution*, 603.

In one of his raids he attempted to capture Governor Jefferson and the Virginia legislature, then in session at Charlottesville. In fact he did, on June 4, 1781, capture several members of the legislature, and would probably have captured the whole body including Jefferson, but for the fact that Captain John Jouett, whose house Tarleton passed, suspecting what was up, mounted a swift horse and rode with all speed, arriving in Charlottesville in time to warn the Assembly. As it was, Jefferson barely escaped, for Captain McLeod, of Tarleton's Legion, who was despatched to Monticello to capture him, arrived in less than ten minutes after Jefferson left the house.¹

For Captain Jouett's heroic service the Legislature of Virginia, on behalf of the state, presented him with an "elegant sword and pair of pistols."²

On another of Tarleton's raids, he left Cobham, July 9, 1781, "with orders to ravage the country as far as New London, in Bedford County; to destroy a depot of supplies supposed to be at Prince Edward Court House, to intercept any British prisoners or American light troops, returning to the northward from Greene's army; and then to retire at his leisure to Suffolk. The expedition was gone fifteen days and marched four hundred miles."³

In order to subsist, Lafayette's and Greene's armies, magazine and commissary depots were established in various localities throughout the south side of the state. One of these was established in Lunenburg, another in Amelia, another at Prince Edward Court House, and another in Bedford County.

The one in Lunenburg, especially for the production of flour for the armies, was established at Craig's mill on Flat Rock Creek. It was owned by an ardent patriot, a parish minister, James Craig. His mill was located near a mill of later days known as Bagley's Mill, on the plantation at one time owned by Dr. Robert S. Bagley. This mill was about a mile and a quarter from the present town of Kenbridge. Its location is shown upon the Jed Hotchkiss map of Lunenburg (1871) else-

¹Burk: *History of Virginia*, IV, 502.

²Resolution of June 12, 1781.

³Carrington: *Battles of the Revolution*, 610.

where reproduced herein. The writer's father pointed out to him, sometime in the 90's, some of the material of the foundation of the original structure of the dam.

On this raid Tarleton made a visitation of his cruelty upon the inhabitants of Lunenburg County. Shortly after it happened on July 23, 1781, David Garland wrote Governor Nelson in regard thereto, as follows: "I think it the duty of every good citizen, not only to pay a strict obedience to the law of the State, but to give every intelligence that may be subservient too and enable the executive the better to execute his office. If I am mistaken, impute it to ignorance and a zeal for my country, and not a desire of being troublesome—Let me then inform you, Col. Tarleton with his legion came through this county last week, and considering his rapid march (thirty or forty miles a day) has done considerable damage in destroying the public grain &c, as also wounding three persons & carrying off some others as prisoners. He threatens to return immediately after the 16th of next month, when he assures us that he will carry the sword & fire through the land, not sparing any persons but such as hath or may take parole before that time. As there is not one man in twenty that has a gun &c in this county (they having (been) at three several times impressed into the countries' service and not returned), and (there being) no army between this and the enemies camp at Portsmouth, & only three days march (as Tarleton goes) the people are much alarmed, not knowing what to do, provided Tarleton, or any other of the British forces should come among us. I am apprehensive if that should be the case, the consequences would be disagreeable, as the people would be obliged to submit. This would not be the case if they had arms and ammunition. If there is any to be spared, you'll be a judge whether it's proper to arm such militia as above described. Would it not be of good account to issue your orders to all commanding officers of the militia on the south side of James River, to embody or have in readiness, every militia man that can raise a gun to prevent the enemy (in case they should come) going about in small parties to plunder &c."¹

¹Calendar of Virginia State Papers, II, 240-41.

To this letter he added a postscript: "I heard Col. Hobson, the commanding officer of this county, say that the draft of militia ordered to Genl. Green could not go for want of arms."

One of Tarleton's acts was to destroy the Reverend Mr. Craig's¹ mill and the depot there maintained, except it seems, the flour was saved. Bishop Meade gives an account of this episode. He says that Tarleton, knowing of the Craig mill as a "storehouse for public provisions," and that Mr. Craig was a true American and zealous in the cause of the Revolution, took the mill in his route, and after he and his men had feasted on Mr. Craig's good mutton and fed their horses on his corn, caused all the barrels of flour to be rolled into the mill-pond and the whole establishment to be burned down."² This brief account seems inaccurate in some respects. Tarleton burned the mill, but he did not destroy the flour.

Howe's account of this occurrence is as follows: "When the British invaded Virginia in 1781, Tarleton, with his legion, passed through this county and committed depredations upon the people. His men entered private dwellings, and wantonly ripped open beds and scattered their contents, notwithstanding the tears and remonstrances of the females, whose husbands and brothers were mostly with the army. The Rev. Mr. Craig, a strenuous Whig, owned a fine mill a few miles from the C. H., where flour was manufactured for the American troops. To this mill Tarleton was guided by a young Tory. The old parson, hearing of the proximity of the enemy, was busily engaged in rolling the last barrel of flour with the U. S. mark (upon it) into the mill-pond, when Tarleton appeared at the head of his men. They burnt the mill, a trace of the dam of which is now to be seen [Howe's volume was copyrighted in 1845], and compelled the good old parson to off with his coat and assist in slaughtering his pigs for their use. They carried off his slaves, but they, with a single exception, returned reporting that they were harshly used by the enemy."³

¹An account of Rev. James Craig may be seen in Bishop Meade's *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia*, Vol. I, 484-5.

²Bishop Meade: *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia*, Vol. I, 484-5.

³Howe: *Virginia, Its History and Antiquities*, 359.

Howe adds a note that the facts of his narrative were derived from the "Manuscript of R. F. Astrop, Esq., containing historical and descriptive matter relating to this section of the state."

Howe's account accords with the tradition in the county, (where the writer was raised, and where he heard it, first as a boy), that parson Craig saved the flour by hiding it in the mill pond, from which it was salvaged with little loss after Tarleton's departure. If Tarleton had discovered the flour and had attempted to destroy it, he probably would not have endeavored to do so by rolling the barrels in the mill pond. Such would have been an ineffective measure, for the water would only strike into the flour a short distance, the residue remaining perfectly good.

Tarleton in his raid through Lunenburg, continuing the tactics which he seemed to have always employed, required all the male citizens to take a parole "Not to take arms, be of counsel, or commit any other act that might militate against the success of the British arms." Such a parole he required the Rev. James Craig to take. It was the subject of the following interesting communication, dated August 12, 1781:

"To his Excellency Thomas Nelson Esquire, Governor, or Chief Magistrate of the State of Virginia, and the Honorable the members of the Privy Council of the same:"

"The petition of the inhabitants of Lunenburg County humbly sheweth, That in a late excursion of Col. Tarleton's Legion through this county, many citizens were greatly injured in their property; and compelled (in order to obtain their personal liberty) to sign such paroles as their captors thought proper to dictate. We know these paroles, by Law, are not binding on peaceable citizens, thus taken from their own homes: But your Petitioners beg leave to represent to your Excellency and your Honors, the peculiar case of the Reverend James Craig, rector of Cumberland Parish in this county; a person eminently distinguished for his zeal & attachment to the cause of American Liberty; a rule of conduct adopted in the very earliest period and pertinaciously persisted in, through every vicissitude of the present contest; no less esteemed for his charity, devotion and exemplary piety in his public character, than respectable for his

virtues in private life; equally alert in engaging in every scheme for the welfare of his country and the success of its arms; and successful in removing dangerous prejudices from the minds of the people, by drawing the proper line, and pointing out the true distinctions between resistance of Lawless power and Rebellion. This Gentleman, after seeing the cruel vengeance of the enemy, in the destruction of a very great part of his property, and himself treated with indignity and insult, tho' in a very low and precarious state of health; was detained as a prisoner untill he subscribed an engagement 'not to take arms, *be of council*, or commit any other act that might militate against the success of the British Arms,' and all this under a pretence, that in addition to his other crimes, he had at that time a Public Magazine at his house.

Your Petitioners consider it as a public misfortune to be deprived of the ministerial office which has been exercised by Mr. Craig, since the declaration of independency, for a very small and precarious reward, no way adequate to the trouble & fatigue attending it, but which he can now no longer execute in the manner directed by Congress, without exposing himself to dangers, from which his country, in its present vulnerable state, cannot protect him.

Your petitioners therefore pray that the Executive will consider how far Mr. Craig is bound by these engagements; and as far as may be consistent with the Constitution and the Articles of War, endeavor to have him exchanged—And your Petitioners, as in duty bound will ever pray &c.

D. Stokes, Jnr. Colo.

Ed'd Brodnax L., Collo.

J. Garland, Magistrate

Joshua Ragsdale Capt.

James Johnson, Magistrate

Wm. Taylor

John Ballard, Jr. Magistrate

and ninety-two other signatures."¹

There is an entry in Washington's diary respecting this raid, under date of July 29th, 1781. He says:

"A letter from the Marqs. de la Fayette (commanding in Virginia) informs me that after Lord Cornwallis had crossed James River he detached Tarleton with a body of horse into Amelia

¹Calendar of Virginia State Papers, II, 323-4.

County with a view, as was supposed, to destroy some stores which had been deposited there, but which had been previously removed; that after this the enemy's whole force removed to Portsmouth with a design it was said, to embark part of them and that he had detached General Wayne to the south side of the James River to cover the country, while the enemy lay in it, and to march southerly, if they did not; he himself with the main body of his army having taken his position at a place called Malvin Hill¹ not far from Shirley."²

Tarleton thus describes the result of the raid: "The stores destroyed, either of a public or private nature, was not in quantity or value, equivalent to the damage sustained in the skirmishes on the route, and the loss of men and horses by the excessive heat of the climate. The stores which were the principal object of the expedition had been conveyed from Prince Edward Court House and all that quarter of the country, to Hillsborough (N. C.) and General Greene's army, upward of a month before the British light troops began their movement."³

Some insight into the situation of the section at the time is afforded by a letter from County-Lieutenant N. Hobson and others to Col. Wm. Davies, dated "Lunenburg Co., July 24, 1781," in which they inform him:

"They find it impossible to arm one-seventh of the militia; such have been the draughts of arms," that there are not remaining "ten fire-locks fit for use in the County; nor are there as many pounds of ammunition of any kind"—They have repeatedly had the mortification to make this apology for not complying with the demands of the Executive—The force of the county, by last returns, "amounts to 382 militia, of whom 86 are now in service, and a relief of 34, just marched"—They have on hand "a considerable quantity of grain collected, and thirty beeves, which will soon be consumed by the Troops on their march Southward, going that way." Col: Brown had sent ninety of their beeves to the Army—Their largest "magazine of

¹Malvern Hill, Charles City County, Virginia.

²*Diaries of George Washington* (Fitzpatrick), II, 246.

³Tarleton's *History of Campaigns of 1780 and 1781* (London, 1787), quoted by Carrington, *Battles of the Revolution*, 610. Tarleton in his narrative gives a map of his route.

grain was destroyed by Col. Tarleton"—The difficulty of making a correct return of the provisions collected, "arises from the fact that one of the Co. Commissioners is a prisoner with the enemy having refused to take a parole, and the other declined to give information, because he is paroled by them—Col: Brown should be informed of this state of things."¹

One of the commissioners of the Provision Law in Lunenburg was John Cowan,² but whether he was the one taken prisoner, or the one paroled, we have not been able to discover.

And further light on the general state of affairs is afforded by a letter of July 30, 1781, from Col. Lewis Burwell, of Mecklenburg County to Governor Nelson, in which he wrote: "The order for one-fourth the militia of the county to march to the south just received. The officers were engaged in collecting the seventh part, the number first required. The men will be enrolled and officered, but it will be absolutely impossible to arm them. The frequent impressment of arms from the people has well nigh disarmed the county. He does not think five men can be supplied with good guns. The people hide their arms, and say they will risk their lives, rather than give up what few remain. He therefore desires to know whether he is to send them without arms. He has received from Mr. George Nicholas, a receipt for thirteen horses impressed in the county."³

At this time Clinton in the north, with what he considered inadequate forces, faced Washington, while Cornwallis conceiving himself to be in a similar state, faced Lafayette; but Clinton was the Commander-in-Chief, and he ordered Cornwallis to send certain of the troops from Virginia to New York.

While Tarleton was on his raid, Cornwallis at Suffolk, sent to Portsmouth such of his troops as were destined for New York, and awaited Tarleton's return. On July 20, 1781, Cornwallis received a dispatch from Clinton, dated July 11th. It directed him, if he had not crossed the James, to continue on the

¹Calendar, Virginia State Papers, II, 245.

²Calendar, Virginia State Papers, I, 607.

³Calendar, Virginia State Papers, II, 270.

It is apparent of course that this letter is not given in the words of Colonel Burwell. It has been condensed, and rendered in the third person by the editor of the Calendar of Virginia State Papers.

Williamsburg neck "until the frigate arrives with my dispatches to Captain Singleton. If you have passed and find it expedient to recover that station, you will please do it, and keep possession until you hear from me."¹

On the first of August, 1781, Cornwallis proceeded by water to Yorktown, the main body of his army arriving on the fourth. On the sixth Tarleton sailed to Hampton, threw his horses into deep water, landed without loss, and joined Cornwallis on the seventh. General O'Hara's division remained at Portsmouth to destroy the works, and on the twenty-second of August, 1781, the British army was concentrated at Yorktown and Gloucester Point, just across the river.²

On the 13th of August, Lafayette established his headquarters, in the forks of the Pamunky and Mattaponey rivers, from which place he detached light troops to the rear of Gloucester to anticipate any attempt of the British to retreat northward. He sent General Wayne across the James, for the purpose of preventing Cornwallis' retreat toward North Carolina, and also to be in position to occupy Portsmouth if Cornwallis attempted to go in that direction.

In the meantime of course actual plans were under way for cooperation from a French fleet which was expected in the Chesapeake.

On August 21, 1781, Lafayette wrote Washington: "We have hitherto occupied the forks of York River, thereby looking both ways. Some militia have prevented the enemy's parties from remaining any time at or near Williamsburg, and false accounts have given them some alarm. Another body of militia under Colonel Ennis has kept them pretty close in Gloucester town and foraged in their vicinity. . . . In the present state of affairs, my dear general, *I hope you will come yourself to Virginia.* Lord Cornwallis must be attacked with pretty great apparatus; but when a French fleet takes possession of the bay and rivers, and we form a land force superior to his, that army must sooner or later be forced to surrender, as we may get what reinforcements we please. I heartily thank you for having ordered me to re-

¹Carrington: *Battles of the Revolution*, 610.

²*Id.*, 611.

main in Virginia; it is to your goodness that I am indebted for the most beautiful prospect which I may ever behold."¹

Washington in his diary under date of August 1, 1781, records the fact that "everything would have been in perfect readiness to commence the operation against New York, if the states had furnished their quotas of men agreeably to my requisitions."² He complained especially of Connecticut, New York and Massachusetts. "Thus circumstanced" he said, ". . . . I could scarce see a ground upon which to continue my preparations against New York; especially as there was much reason to believe that part (at least) of the troops in Virginia were recalled to reinforce New York and therefore I turned my views more seriously (than I had before done) to an operation to the southward. . . ."³

On August 14, 1781, he records the fact that he had received news that Count de Grasse intended to sail from Cape Francois, San Domingo, with between 25 and 29 "Sail of the line and 3200 land troops on the 3rd instant for the Chesapeake Bay and (of) the anxiety to have everything in the most perfect readiness to commence our operations in the moment of his arrival as he should be under a necessity from particular engagements with the Spaniards to be in the West Indies by the middle of October"⁴

"Matters having now come," says Washington, "to a crisis and a decisive plan to be determined on, I was obliged, from the shortness of Count de Grasses' promised stay on this coast, the apparent disinclination in the Naval Officers to force the harbour of New York and the feeble compliance of the states to my requisition for men, hitherto, and little prospect of greater exertion in the future, to give up all idea of attacking New York; and instead thereof to remove the French troops and a detachment from the American Army to the Head of Elk⁵ to be transported to Virginia for the purpose of co-operating with the force from the West Indies against the troops in that state."⁶

¹Carrington: *Battles of the Revolution*, 612.

²*Diaries of Washington* (Fitzpatrick), II, 248.

³*Id.*, 249.

⁴*Diaries of Washington* (Fitzpatrick) II, 254.

⁵At the head of Chesapeake Bay, Maryland.

⁶*Diaries of Washington* (Fitzpatrick) II, 254.

On August 15, 1781, he dispatched a messenger to Lafayette "requesting him to be in perfect readiness to second my views and to prevent if possible the retreat of Cornwallis toward Carolina."¹

Washington maneuvered his forces so as to give the impression of operations in the vicinity of Sandy Hook to facilitate the entrance of the French fleet within the bay, for operations against New York,² and himself set out for Virginia. He marched his army through Philadelphia to the Head of Elk, himself, Count de Rochambeau and Chevr. de Castellux proceeding ahead; he passed Baltimore on September 8, 1781, and reached Mount Vernon on the 9th. This was the first time he had seen Mount Vernon since May 4, 1775. From this point he communicated to Lafayette his plans for his future travel to join him, and added a somewhat humorous postscript: "I hope you will keep Lord Cornwallis safe, without provisions or forage until we arrive." He left Mount Vernon on the 12th and reached Williamsburg on the 15th of September, 1781.³

Count de Grasse had arrived in the Chesapeake Bay on August 30, 1781. On September 17th, Washington with his aides called on the admiral to perfect plans of operations against Cornwallis.

Enthusiastic hope was instilled into the dispirited people by the masterly campaign of Lafayette, which was greatly heightened when it was known that General Washington was to join Lafayette, with his regular troops, many of whom were from Virginia, and who regarded the march from New York to Virginia as a going back home. The militia from all over the state, —all that could be armed,—marched with great enthusiasm to the standards of Lafayette and Washington. Some men who did not have arms went in the hope that they might be supplied when they reached headquarters.

Gen. Nelson (then Governor) took the field at the head of the Virginia militia forces.

The militia from Lunenburg and Mecklenburg were ordered to camp at Williamsburg, and some information respecting the

¹*Diaries of Washington* (Fitzpatrick), II, 254.

²*Diaries of Washington* (Fitzpatrick), II, 257, entry for Aug. 30, 1781.

³*Id.* 260.

movement of a part of the forces, is afforded by a letter from Colonel Burwell to Governor Nelson, dated September 26, 1781. It was written from "Camp Newsum's Old Field." He wrote: "Your Excellency will receive enclosed a return of the militia at this camp. Col. Blunt has wrote you & given an account of the men under his command at Surry Old Court House. Col. Elliott who is encamped seven miles from this (place), has promised to make you a return of his Battalion. You will please to inform me by the bearer, whether any of the militia are to be discharged & what proportion There appears to be a large number of the Mecklenburg militia on furlough. It happened by the officers in the county not attending to their duty."¹

Upon arrival at Williamsburg, September 30, 1781, Colonel Burwell reported to Governor Nelson, by the following letter:

"I marched with the Mecklenburg and Lunenburg militia as soon as I received your Excellency's orders, but the wind being high & none but raw men to manage the boats, we could not get over 'till late last night. The men will be in town this morning, and Major Walker waits on you to know where we are to be armed, as we have not above twenty guns, & they but indifferent—You will please to direct where we are to cross York River, that we may avoid falling into the enemy's hands. The militia of these two counties do not make a command for all the field officers that are down from there, there being two colonels and two majors—Major Walker will furnish you with a return & your Excellency will be pleased to direct, if either of us is to return home, who it shall be."²

In view of the fact that it had not been possible to arm a sufficient body of the militia from Lunenburg and Mecklenburg to make a command for all the field officers, some of them were, per force, left without a command. One thus unfortunately situated was Colonel David C. Stokes, of Lunenburg. It appears that Governor Nelson assigned the command of the militia from these counties to Colonel Lewis Burwell, of Mecklenburg. Just why, we can only surmise. Possibly it was because the greater

¹Calendar, Virginia State Papers, II, 492.

²Calendar, Virginia State Papers, II, 510.

numbers of the militia in the combined force were from Mecklenburg, which was likely as it was considerably more populous, at the time, than Lunenburg. In any event, the circumstances do not indicate the slightest reflection upon Colonel Stokes, however much he may have been disappointed thereby. His fame is possibly more secure, than if he had not suffered the disappointment for it was the occasion of his inditing a letter to Governor Nelson, on October 1, 1781, from "College Camp," Williamsburg, before his return home, which does honor to his patriotism, and the fine quality of his mettle. His letter was as follows:

"Sir,

Tis neither easy nor proper for me to determine, whether it was with most surprise, mortification, or another principle less modest, in me to mention, that I last night read your Excellency's instruction to Col: Burwell, by which it appears that I am the only Field Officer of Militia, commanded to leave the service, whilst other inferior to me in rank and seniority are retained—This distinction, Sir, injurious as it is to the feelings of a man of honor: is still heightened, by having occurred at the only period when the militia were flattered with the prospect of doing anything, either beneficial to their country, or honorable to themselves—If thus, the militia are to be collected like droves of cattle for market, Sir, it is to be feared they will in future exceed all their former unruly licentiousness; and if the constant reward of officers for spending their fortunes in training the militia at home, collecting them for service, providing for their wants and marching them to the different posts where their assistance is required, is that of being dishonorably discharged within sight of the field of action, it is almost certain no man of sense or influence, will ever undertake to be a County drudge, or laborer in the field, to plant those laurels, which he will forever be forbidden to gather. If in some Counties there are minions of Power, and in others, wretches mean enough to bow down before such imaginary godheads; an honest people will soon learn to detest the one, as much as an honest heart will always despise the other. I am sir, as much above the weakness of fearing to offend, as I am above the baseness of desiring to flatter, or the remotest wish to gain myself a temporary in-

fluence by the ridiculous daubings of fawning and adulation—Whilst I am permitted to think myself the citizen of a free State, I will always speak the language of a free man! and when my liberty is invaded I will always dare to complain. However small the number, or insignificant the men I have brought out, they are half the militia of a county entitled to representation; they are men willing to follow me into the field, or anywhere else; they are men I know I can control (which is what can seldom be said of militia) and they are men who I flatter myself, have by long experience, acquired a confidence in me not easy to be obliterated—I have this once deceived them, by bringing them out with the idea of remaining under my command, which is not permitted me to perform.

It must be my care to make them no more soothing promises under the faith of Government; and perhaps some person more desirous of ingratiating himself by such means, may as successfully undertake to execute designs of like nature for the future—I shall return home and endeavor to comfort the families of these poor men whom I have involuntarily deluded ever steady to the cause of liberty & the support of Government upon the true Principles of the Constitution.

And have the honor to be with the highest esteem & veneration

Your Excellency's most Obt Hble Servt."¹

Clinton's intelligence service was good. On the 2nd of September, while the American army was marching through Philadelphia, he sent a courier vessel to Yorktown advising Cornwallis that Washington was moving an army to the southward with the appearance of haste "and gives out that he expects the co-operation of a considerable French armament."² He added: "Your lordship, however, may be assured, that if this should be the case, I shall either endeavor to reinforce the army under your command by all the means within the compass of my power, or make every possible division in your favor."³

On September 6, 1781, Clinton having learned that De Grasse

¹Calendar, Virginia State Papers, II, 515-16.

²Carrington: *Battles of the Revolution*, 624.

³Id.

was in the Chesapeake, and surmising that Washington was moving against Cornwallis, wrote him: "I think the best way to relieve you, is to join you, as soon as possible, with all the force that can be spared from here, which is about four thousand men. They are already embarked, and will proceed the instant I receive information from the admiral that we may venture."¹

By good strategy Clinton was isolated in New York; and equal strategy in Virginia had isolated Cornwallis.²

On September 16, 1781, Cornwallis having learned of Washington's arrival at Williamsburg,—he said on the 14th—Washington's diary says the 15th—wrote Clinton (in cypher), "If I had no hopes of relief, I would rather risk an action than defend my half finished works; but as you say Digby³ is hourly expected and promise every exertion to assist me, I do not think myself justified in putting the fate of the war on so desperate an attempt. By examining the transports with care, and turning out useless mouths, my provisions will last six weeks from this day, if we can preserve them from accidents. . . . If you can not relieve me very soon, you must be prepared to hear the worst."⁴

On October 15, 1781, Cornwallis advised Clinton. "Last evening the enemy carried my two advanced redoubts by storm, and during the night have included these in their second parallel, which they are at present busy in perfecting. My situation has now become very critical. We dare not show a gun to their old batteries, and I expect that their new ones will open to-morrow morning, so that we shall soon be exposed to an assault in ruined works, in a bad position, and with weakened numbers. The safety of the place is therefore so precarious that I cannot recommend that the fleet and army should run great risk in endeavoring to save us."⁵

Cornwallis in his desperation decided to endeavor to get his army across to Gloucester Point, and under cover of the night pass the American infantry, and retreat northward, leaving a

¹Carrington: *Battles of the Revolution*, 624.

²Carrington: *Battles of the Revolution*, 631.

³Admiral Digby.

⁴Carrington: *Battles of the Revolution*, 631-2.

⁵Id., 639.

small force to surrender the next day. But the weather being bad, and other obstacles being encountered, he was unable to execute this plan. He thereupon surrendered. His proposal of a cessation of hostilities looking to the surrender was sent to Washington "at about ten o'clock of the morning of the seventeenth of October and almost at the hour when Sir Henry Clinton, with a land force of seven thousand choice troops under convoy of twenty-five ships of the line, two fifties and eight frigates were sailing down the Bay of New York to" come to his relief.¹

Before concluding this chapter, we must record such additional fragmentary data as we have been able to gather. Relatively little has survived the ravages of time and neglect. Lunenburg's part in that great struggle seems to have been strangely neglected, during the one hundred and forty-five years since the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. No one has essayed the task of narrating the history of her contribution to the cause of American Independence. A strange neglect. And the same largely may be said also of Mecklenburg, Charlotte, Halifax, Pittsylvania, Bedford, Prince Edward, Brunswick, Amelia, Nottoway and other counties of Southside Virginia. And now when an historian attempts the story, especially as far as Lunenburg is concerned, the available data are meagre indeed, in respect to details. Many old files, which might have served a useful purpose, have been destroyed.

From various reliable sources, largely from the County Court Order Books which are intact, the following list has been compiled of Lunenburg soldiers in the Revolutionary War. They are principally of the militia units. This list supplements to some extent the lists already incorporated above:

Stokes, D. C., Jr., Colonel,	Tomlinson, Benjamin, Major,
Maury, Abraham, Colonel,	Billups, Ed'd. (Edward), Lt
Hobson, N., Colonel,	Col.
Stokes, D., Jr., Colonel, ²	Billups, Joseph. Capt.,
Glenn, John. Colonel,	Blackwell,——, Capt.,
Tomlinson, Benjamin, Col.	

¹Carrington: *Battles of the Revolution*, 640-1.

²D. C. Stokes, Jr., and D. Stokes, Jr., seem to be the same person.

- Brodnax,¹ Stephen Edward, Capt.,
 Dixon, —, Capt.,
 Edwards, Thomas, Capt.
 Ellis, Ellison, Capt.
 Fisher, William, Capt.
 Garland, Edward, Capt.
 Garland, Peter, Capt.
 Garland, Samuel, Capt.
 Glenn, John, Capt.
 Johnson, James, Capt.
 Jordan, Edward, Capt.
 Jordan, Henry, Capt.
 Ragsdale, Joshua, Capt.
 Robertson, Christopher, Capt.
 Street, Anthony, Capt.
 Tomlinson, Benjamin, Capt.
 Walker, Sylvanus, Capt.
 Winn, (William?), Capt.
 Tomlinson, Benj., Major,
 Bacon, Lyddall, 2nd Lieut. in
 Captain Winn's Company,
 Dix, James, 1st Lieut. in Cap-
 tain Fisher's Company,
 Dowsing, William, Lieut.
 Eastham, James, Lieut.
 Edwards, Thomas, 2nd Lieut.
 in Capt. Benj. Tomlinson's
 Company,
 Farmer, Lodowick, 2nd Lieut.
 in Capt. Billup's Company,
 Hobson, Nicholas, First Lt.
 Hayes, William, Lieut.
 Jordan, Samuel, Lieut.
 Minor, Cyrus, Lieut.
 Pulliam, James, 2nd Lieut. in
 Capt. Edward Jordan's Co.
- Tabb, Thomas, Lieut. (County
 Lieutenant),
 Tomlinson, Harris, 1st Lieut.
 Walker, Sylvanus, Lieut.,
 Garland, Thomas, 2nd Lieut.
 in Capt. Brodnax's Com-
 pany,
 Garland, David, 2nd Lieut.,
 Garland, Peter, 2nd Lieut.,
 Johnson, Jesse, 2nd Lieut.,
 Liverett, Thomas, 2nd Lieut.
 in Capt. Blackwell's Com-
 pany,
 Mitchell, Robert, 2nd Lieut.,
 Pettus, David, 2nd Lieut. in
 Capt. Ellis' Company,
 Ragsdale, John, 2nd Lieut.,
 Ragsdale, Joshua, 2nd Lieut.,
 Tabb, Francis, 2nd Lieut.,
 Tomlinson, Benj., Lieut.,
 Tomlinson, Harris, 2nd Lt. in
 Capt. Benj. Tomlinson's
 Company,
 Vaughn, Craddock, 2nd Lieut.
 Covington, John, Ensign,
 Cureton, John, Ensign in Capt.
 Edward Jordan's Company,
 Downing, William, Ensign,
 Farmer, Lodowick, Ensign,
 Herring, William, Ensign in
 Capt. Billup's Company,
 Jeter, Joseph, Ensign,
 Jones, Joseph, Ensign,
 Jones, Thomas, Ensign,
 Pamplin, (Parmlyn), John,
 Ensign,
 Pettus, David, Ensign,

¹This name is also spelled Broadnax

- Pettus, John, Ensign in Capt. Ellis' Company,
 Pettus, Joel, Ensign in Capt. Ellis' Company,
 Stokes, Peter, Ensign,
 Stokes, John, Ensign,
 Smithson, Charles, Ensign in Capt. Christopher Robertson's Company,
 Anderson, James,
 Bennett, Richard,
 Bohannon, W.,
 Bohannon, Jo. (wife Margaret),
 Boze, (or Boaz), John, (wife Catherine),
 Brady, John, (wife Catherine),
 Bragg, William,
 Brown, John,
 Brown, Stephen,
 Chambless, —, (wife Millicent),
 Cooksey, Charles,
 Connell, —, (wife Ann),
 Cooper, Sterling,
 Connor, Owen, (wife Hannah),
 Cooper, —,
 Cooper, —, (son of Lucretia Cooper),
 Cooper, —, (son of Lucretia Cooper),
 Cannon, Owen,
 Deagles, —, (son of Ann Deagles),
 Deagler, —,
 DeGraffenreid, Tscharner,
 Estes, John,
 Evan, Thomas,
 Fam, John,
 Grady, —,
 Grady, John, (wife named Catherine),
 Graves, Blodick,
 Graves, —, (wife named Milly),
 Gravett, Abraham, (wife named Milly),
 Halm, (or Hulm or Holm), (wife Mary),
 Hardy, Thomas,
 Hungerford, —, (son of George Hungerford),
 Hungerford, —, (son of George Hungerford),
 Hardy, William,
 Hightower, —, (wife Elizabeth),
 Hudson, Peter,
 Knight, Woodson,
 Lightfoot, —, (wife Mary),
 Lewis, Edward,
 Maiden, Rob, (wife Margaret),
 Martin, Bill,
 Martin, Robert, (wife named Peggy),
 Mason, Peter,
 Mitchell, Robert,
 Mitchell, —, (wife Mary),
 Moon, Thomas,
 Moore, —,
 Oldham, Isaac,
 Stokes, John,
 Stokes, Young,
 Sykes, —, (son of Jonas Sykes),

Sykes, —, (son of Jonas Sykes),	Thornton, —, (son of John Thornton),
Thompson, —, (wife named Mary),	Wallace, Hugh,
Thornton, H., (wife named Mary),	Wallan Hugh, (wife Mary),
Thornton, —, (son of John Thornton),	Watkins, Abner,
	Wilkinson, —, (wife named Elizabeth),
	Winn, Elisha,
	Wood, Thomas.

Among the legislative petitions preserved in the archives of the Virginia State Library, are pension petitions which show that John Pettus was in the battle of Guilford Court House as a member of Captain William Dawson's Company (this name is often spelled Dowsing), and that James Anderson was also a member of that Company, participated in that battle and was wounded in the knee, as were also Woodson Knight and Thomas Wood. This company was a part of Col. Nathaniel Cocke's Regiment of Virginia Militia. John Pettus was living on October 8, 1808.

A petition of Elisha Winn, dated December 8, 1813, states that he was a corporal in the Sixth Virginia Regiment on Continental establishment in the Revolutionary War and that he contracted a disease in his eyes, "during the cold winter of 1777 while encamped at Valley Forge," and an affidavit of Hugh Wallace supporting this petition, states that Elisha Winn was a member of Captain James Johnson's Company.

An affidavit made in this connection by Stephen Brown shows inferentially that he was a Revolutionary soldier.

From another petition it appears that Edward Lewis was a soldier from Lunenburg, a member of Captain Edward Broadnax's (Brodnax) Company, and that he lost the thumb and forefinger of his right hand, while on parade at Williamsburg, by the explosion (bursting) of his gun.

And among the Lunenburg petitions is one of Thomas Evans, a free negro, a Revolutionary soldier from Mecklenburg County, but living in Lunenburg in 1819. He enlisted in the Company of Captain Henry Dudley in the Second Virginia Regiment commanded by Col. Brent, and was in care of the Colonel's baggage while the battle of Monmouth was being fought; and was with General Muhlenburgh's Brigade, in charge of baggage at the battle of Stony Point.

CHAPTER VII

The War of 1812



THE infant nation embarked upon a period of repose and prosperity following the success of its arms in the Revolutionary War, and the adoption of the Constitution to replace the Articles of Confederation. But this was not to be a protracted era. It was destined that the new nation should again engage in war with England. It came in 1812; and it came, not as the result of the British impressment of American seamen, as was usually taught in the earlier histories, but as a result of quite different influences. Undoubtedly the British impressment policy was a contributing cause,—an aggravation—rather than the producing cause.

Dr. Pratt¹ in his highly instructive and most interestingly written volume, *Expansionists of 1812*, has shown that the United States went to war with Great Britain in 1812 at the insistence of Western and Southern men, and over the opposition of the Northeast. There had been from a very early time in America a feeling that the United States was destined to occupy the whole of this continent. Such was believed by many to be its “manifest destiny.”² Enthusiastists like Jefferson had dreamed for years of a nation destined to embrace the continent,³ and Gouverneur Morris, who was not an expansionist, wrote that at the time of the convention which adopted the Constitution of the United States, he knew “that all North America must at length be annexed to us—happy, indeed,” he added, “if the lust of dominion stop there.”⁴ And indeed the leaders of the American

¹Julius W. Pratt, Ph. D., Dean of American History, University of Buffalo.

²Dr. Pratt shows that this idea had a much earlier origin than has usually been assigned to it by historians, such for example as E. D. Adams, in *The Power of Ideals in American History*.

³Pratt: *Expansionists of 1812*, 14.

⁴Diary and Letters of Gouverneur Morris, II, 442. He wrote this in 1803.

Revolution, as Dr. Pratt points out, regarded the union of Canada with the colonies as a matter of first importance.¹

Benjamin Franklin at one time during the Revolution framed tentative terms of peace, which provided for the cession by Great Britain to the United States, of Quebec, St. John's, Nova Scotia, Bermuda, East and West Florida and the Bahama Islands, with all adjoining and intermediate territories, in exchange for a sum of money, and guarantee of the British possession of the West Indies. Franklin regarded "it as absolutely necessary for us to have them for our own security."²

George Washington wrote in May, 1778, from Valley Forge, that if Canada "is not with us, it will, from its proximity to the Eastern States, its intercourse and connection with the numerous tribes of Western Indians, its communion with them by water and other local advantages, be at least a troublesome if not a dangerous neighbor to us; and ought, at all events to be in the same interests and politics, of the other states."³

And even in England some viewed the eventual acquisition of Canada by the United States as inevitable. John Adams records the fact that on his mission to Great Britain, 1785, he found the opponents of Pitt expressing the opinion that Canada and Nova Scotia must soon pass to the United States. "There must," they said, "be a war for it; they know how it will end, but the sooner the better; this done, we shall be at peace; till then, never."⁴

In the agitation of the subject of expansion in the era in which this war was fought, in the press of the country and in the congressional debates this idea of the manifest destiny to expand and embrace the continent is repeatedly put forward. The editor of the *Nashville Clarion*, on April 28, 1812, probably interpreted aright a large body of public opinion when he asked: "Where is it written in the book of fate that the American republic shall not stretch her limits from the Capes of the Chesapeake to Nootka Sound, [and] from the Isthmus of Panama to Hudson Bay?"⁵

¹*Expansionists of 1812*, 17.

²*Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, VI, 352-4.

³*Writings of George Washington*, VII, 38.

⁴*Works of John Adams*, VIII, 333.

⁵Quoted by Dr. Pratt, *Expansionists of 1812*, 15.

The Northwest, as Washington suggested it would be, was annoyed by the Indians, and the rise of Tacumseh was universally believed to be backed by the British. This led to the demand from the frontier states that the British be expelled from Canada. "This demand was a factor of primary importance in bringing on the war."¹ But the Southerners who had long wanted Florida, and who by the activities of General Mathews, with the sympathy of both Madison and Monroe, were in a fair way of getting it in the spring of 1812, were not willing to see the annexation of Canada, unless they were assured the compensating expansion by the annexation of Florida.

On this subject Dr. Pratt says: "Neither section [North or South] was anxious to see the other increase its territory and population. But if both could gain at the same time, and in something like equal proportion, such objections would be obviated on both sides. There is good evidence that, before the declaration of war Northern and Southern Republicans came to a definite understanding that the acquisition of Canada on the north was to be balanced by the annexation of the Floridas on the south. Thus the war began with a double-barrel scheme of territorial aggrandizement."²

At the time of the declaration of war, Lunenburg, Brunswick, Mecklenburg and Dinwiddie comprised a congressional district, which was represented by Thomas Gholson, Jr., of Brunswick. Charlotte, Prince Edward, Buckingham and Cumberland formed another district represented by the famous John Randolph of Roanoke. Randolph alone of the Virginia Republicans joined with the Federalists in voting against the declaration. On this issue Randolph parted company with his most intimate friends, such, for example, as Nathaniel Macon of North Carolina, for whom he had the warmest affection all his life.

It was on this issue that Randolph was defeated, the only time he was ever defeated as a candidate for Congress. On account of his breaking with Jefferson and Madison, it was decided to put a candidate in the field to oppose him. And Jefferson and his friends realizing that the man who had defeated Patrick

¹Pratt: *Expansionists of 1812*, 12.

²*Expansionists of 1812*, 12-13.

Henry and who had shown such ability and power as Randolph exhibited in the National House of Representatives, on the great questions, such as the Yazoo frauds, which had engaged the public attention during his incumbency of office, was no mean opponent, decided to "import" a candidate to oppose Randolph. Jefferson's son-in-law, John W. Eppes, was selected, and took up his residence in Randolph's district, and was elected by a small majority to the Thirteenth Congress, 1813-15. But Randolph's constituents, realizing the mistake they had made, and (after the event), the soundness of his views on the questions of the war of 1812, returned him to the Fourteenth Congress—and he remained in Congress until he positively declined to be elected again, with the exception of the time when he was absent from the House as a result of his election to the Senate to succeed James Barbour. But Randolph's attitude toward the war was very different from that of the unpatriotic New Englanders. When once the country was engaged in hostilities he supported it in fullest measure, even taking up arms himself, when the British appeared in the domain of Virginia. The New Englanders, on the other hand, who met and debated, at the Hartford Convention, the question of seceding from the union, really gave more support to England than they did to the United States, in this conflict. New England made enormous sums out of her manufactures due to this war, while the agricultural sections, Virginia, for example, were impoverished beyond belief. Between 1810 and 1814, deposits in Massachusetts banks increased three-fold, while the specie held, increased four-fold. It was estimated that of approximately seventeen millions in specie in 1814, New England banks held about ten millions.¹ But New England flatly refused to support the government loans, and thereby largely contributed to the failure of the war. Dr. Pratt says: "Federalist bankers appeared to consider British Treasury notes not only a safer but a more righteous investment than United States bonds,"² and Henry Adams says: "Probably New England lent to the British Government during the war more money than she lent to her own. The total amount subscribed

¹Pratt: *Expansionists of 1812*, 164.

²*Id.*

in New England to the United States loans was less than three millions."¹

The war of 1812 was the cause of great hardship and suffering in Lunenburg County and Southside Virginia generally. New England, which had opposed the war, prospered enormously, as a result of it, while Virginia, which had supported it, was prostrated by the measures taken to support the conflict.

The resolution declaring war passed the House of Representatives June 3, 1812, but the Senate did not pass it until some two weeks later. Before war was declared, however, upon President Madison's recommendation, an embargo had been declared, which rigidly prohibited all exportations by sea or land. This paralyzed the agriculture of the South quite as completely as the war itself. Southside Virginia at the time was a country of no roads worthy of the name; it was without manufacturing industries; and it was largely dependent upon England not only as the purchaser of its tobacco, but also for many of the indispensables manufactured which had been supplied to Virginia from that source. Both for exports and imports Southside Virginia was almost wholly dependent upon water transportation. It is scarcely possible at this era to visualize the conditions as they then existed. The James and the Appomattox were the high roads of commerce. Large ships navigated the James while batteaux navigated the Appomattox from Petersburg to Farmville. With the embargo, trade ceased, navigation stagnated and the people suffered. Tobacco growing, the chief occupation of the farmers, ceased,² and the straw from a crop of wheat was worth more than the wheat itself. John Randolph wrote to Josiah Quincy that it is "a fact that the *straw* of a crop of wheat, near market, is worth more than the *grain*; and that flour, so far from being reckoned a *luxury*, as with you, is purchased by some planters as a cheaper food for their horses and oxen than oats or Indian corn; these last bearing a good price for the consumption of our towns. This relief, however, ex-

¹Adams: *United States*, VII, 386.

²John Randolph of Roanoke, in a letter to Francis Scott Key, during the war, complains "my occupation [tobacco making] is . . . gone." Bruce, *John Randolph of Roanoke*, I, 395.

tends only a few miles around Richmond, Norfolk and Petersburg,"¹ and in another letter to this same correspondent he says: "The whole country, watered by the rivers which fall into the Chesapeake, is in a state of *paralysis*. We, in this quarter² are sending our wheat to *Fayetteville on Cape Fear River* to exchange it for *salt*, for which we have to pay at home 15 shillings a bushel, lawful money."³

The straits of Virginia's economic position are further indicated by the fact that her necessities for dry goods were such that they had to be imported from the North, but she was not able to export tobacco enough to pay for one-hundredth part of their cost. The desperate plight of Virginia at the time is shown in one of Randolph's remarkable letters to Quincy: "'Tis true," he says, "we drive a little trade in tobacco, which pays for about the hundredth part of the dry goods which we import land-wise from the north. The balance is made up in specie; so that our banks, once the richest in the union in that important article, are nearly drained of their last dollar, and, so far from being able to lend the state the amount of its quota of the direct tax, they are importuning payment of former advances to the sum of nearly four hundred thousand dollars, when our treasury has not an unappropriated cent."⁴

This matter of importing goods "land-wise from the north," was a formidable undertaking. To realize that, it is only necessary to remember the lack of roads, and the condition of such as were in existence. Roads at this time were but little if any better than they were a few years before when they were so bad that the stage coach driver would shout to the passengers to "lean to the right" to keep the coach from turning over on its left side, and would soon thereafter order them to lean to the left, in order to preserve the center of gravity and prevent the coach from overturning. Such was the main thoroughfare from Baltimore to Philadelphia.⁵ The roads of Southside Virginia, and indeed of the whole of the state, were scarcely more than

¹*Life of Quincy*, 339 (Dec. 11, 1813).

²In Charlotte—on the waters of the Roanoke.

³*Life of Quincy*, 335 (Letters from *Roanoke*, his plantation, August 30, 1813).

⁴*Life of Quincy*, 339; *John Randolph of Roanoke* (Bruce), I, 403.

⁵*Travels of Isaac Weld*, I, 37-8, quoted in Beveridge's *Life of Marshall*, I, 251.

cleared spaces through the forests, and lanes through the open spaces. When the "road" became so bad it could not be traveled, a new turnout was made, and often a dozen such new "roads" were made in places all leading to the same ultimate destination. So utterly confusing were the ways that it is recorded that a traveler endeavoring to go from Alexandria to Mount Vernon, a distance of nine miles, became confused and lost in the woods, and was all day on the road;¹ and the roads from Richmond to New York were such that Jefferson wrote to his son-in-law, "we could never go more than three miles an hour, sometimes not more than two, and in the night, but one."² The best road in Virginia was that from Williamsburg to Richmond, sixty-three miles, yet it required two days to make the trip.³ Even after this date Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington was "a long lake of mud"⁴ and in March, 1813, Nathaniel Macon wrote a friend that it took fifty hours to traverse the distance of 50 miles between Fredericksburg and Alexandria.⁵

Living in the isolation produced by the embargo, with agriculture prostrate, with no market for anything, and hence soon, nothing to market, there is but little wonder that strong resentment developed against the measures, which had the effect of oppressing the people, and at the same time playing into England's hand respecting the shipping trade. "By shutting up all our ships in our own ports, we surrendered to her [England] the whole commerce of the world,"⁶ and it was over this question that Calhoun broke with his old associates, and "cut loose from the traditions not merely of Madison, but of his great master, Jefferson."⁷ "The restrictive system," he declared, "as a mode of resistance . . . has never been a favorite one with me It does not suit the genius of our people, or that of our government, or the geographical character of our country. . . . We have had a peace like a war; in the name of Heaven let us not have

¹*Travels of Isaac Weld*, I, 91.

²Ford: *Works of Jefferson*, VI, 36.

³Beveridge: *John Marshall*, I, 260.

⁴Bruce: *John Randolph of Roanoke*, I, 558.

⁵Nicholson MSS., Lib. Cong.

⁶Bruce: *John Randolph of Roanoke*, I, 322.

⁷Babcock: *Rise of American Nationality*, 70.

the only thing that is worse—a war like a peace.”¹ These words of Calhoun’s aptly describe the feelings and situation of Southside Virginia. Their condition under the embargo which preceded the war, was indeed “a peace like a war,” in the deprivation and suffering which had come to them during that unhappy period.

Bad as was the embargo preceding the war, the war itself was worse, and it fell with crushing force upon the patriotic part of the United States. Not only did New England not support the war, but as a section it was guilty of treason in giving aid and comfort to the enemy. Furthermore if there had been laws against trading with the enemy such as were enacted during the late World War, and all the guilty convicted, a considerable per cent of the New England population would have been put in the penitentiary.

The behavior of New England is thus described by Babcock:

“With grim reserve they almost withheld subscriptions to the national loans, no matter how urgent the needs of the administration: the south and west had made the war . . . let them pay for it! Of the \$11,000,000 loan of the spring of 1812, New England took less than \$1,000,000; and during the whole war her subscription to national loans was less than \$3,000,000, while the middle states paid in nearly \$35,000,000.² In other words, in a time of great financial difficulty the government of the United States was deprived of *almost* a third of the financial accumulations which might have been its reliance, just when the winding up of the Bank of the United States bore away another resource.

“Moneyed interests of the east were not content with passive resistance; they bought British drafts at a discount with specie sent to Canada; they supplied beef to the British armies in Canada, and furnished subsistence to British fleets off the eastern coasts—all for highly profitable considerations. Madison wrote sharply of this practice in his message of December 9, 1813, and the British Commander wrote to the home government of the continuance of the same condition in the following August:

¹*Annals of Congress*, 12 Cong., 1 Sess., 1539-1541, quoted by Babcock, *supra*.

²Albert Gallatin: *Writings*, III, 284.

'Two-thirds of the army in Canada are at this moment eating beef provided by American contractors. . . . This circumstance, as well as that of the introduction of large sums of specie into this province, being notorious in the United States, it is to be expected Congress will take steps to deprive us of those resources, and under that apprehension large droves are daily crossing the lines coming into lower Canada.'"¹

The disloyalty of the New Englanders went to an even greater extent, for before the war came to an end they assembled the odious body known in history as the Hartford Convention. As early as August, 1812, Judge Joseph Story, a New Englander, wrote: "I am thoroughly convinced that the leading Federalists meditate a severance of the union, and that if public opinion can be brought to support them they will hazard a public avowal of it."² Story was a Republican. And Timothy Pickering declared in October, 1814, in a letter to Gouverneur Morris: "I have even gone so far as to say that the separation of the northern section of the states would be ultimately advantageous."³ And following all this came the Hartford Convention, which aimed at a secession of New England from the Union. The movement for this convention began early in the year 1814 when many memorials from various parts of Massachusetts were sent to the legislature suggesting a convention in order that steps might be taken to "obtain such amendments and explanations of the Constitution [of the United States], as will secure them from further evils."⁴

Massachusetts appointed twelve delegates to attend such a convention, and opened correspondence with Connecticut and Rhode Island, who in turn appointed delegates to the convention. The *Columbian Sentinel* of Boston boldly announced the action of Connecticut in appointing delegates under the following significant heading: "Second Pillar of a New Federal Edifice

¹*Rise of American Nationality*, 157-8, citing Henry Adams' *History of U. S.*, VII, 146. The letter of the British commander was Prevost to Bathurst, quoted by Adams.

²Story: *Story*, I, 229.

³John Adams: *Works*, VI, 629.

⁴Dwight: *Hartford Convention*, 341.

Reared"¹ and it announced the action of Rhode Island as the "Third Pillar Raised."

The convention met in Hartford, December 15, 1814, and was attended by twelve delegates from Massachusetts, seven from Connecticut, four from Rhode Island, and three "unofficial delegates from New Hampshire, and one from Vermont."

The convention adopted a series of resolutions primarily designed to oppose the war, and looking to a secession from the Union if their views were not met. One of the resolutions demanded that the states represented take the necessary steps to prevent their citizens from serving in the army of the United States. It demanded that the states "protect their citizens from the provisions of all acts of congress providing for the draft, conscription, or impressment of the militia." Another of the resolutions provided for each state to make such defence of its territory as it thought proper, and demanded the payment by the Federal Government into the State Treasury of revenue collected within the state; and the convention recommended that in the event the suggested measures were not taken the states should send delegates to another convention to meet in June, 1815, "with such powers and instructions as the exigencies of a crisis so momentous may require."²

The *Columbian Sentinel* carried an article addressed to the convention in which it was said: "The once venerable constitution has expired by dissolution. . . . At your hands therefore we demand deliverance. New England is unanimous, and we announce our irrevocable decree, that the tyrannical oppression of those who at present usurp the power of the Constitution is beyond endurance, and we will resist it."³ And Gouverneur Morris of New Jersey wrote Timothy Pickering: "I care nothing now about your action and doings [in Congress]. Your decrees of conscription and your tremendous levy of contributions . . . are alike indifferent to one whose eyes are fixed on a star in the East, which he believes to be the star of freedom and glory. The mad men and traitors assembled at Hartford will,

¹Nov. 9, 1814.

²Dwight: *Hartford Convention*, 378.

³Babcock: *Rise of American Nationality*, 164.

I believe, if not too tame and timid, be hailed hereafter as the patriots and sages of their day and generation.”¹

What this seditious and treasonable movement might have amounted to, had the war not ended so soon,—before the date of the suggested second convention,—we can never know. It had a most disheartening and cruel effect upon Madison. Monroe was more hopeful. He did not believe that the disaffected could dismember the Union,² and he expressed the hope that the leaders would “soon take rank in society with Burr, and others of that stamp.”³ Grundy, Calhoun and other leaders of the Republican party regarded the Federalist opposition to the war culminating in the Hartford Convention as amounting to “moral treason,”⁴ while John Quincy Adams is said to have asserted that the Hartford Convention was “unconstitutional and treasonable, wholly abominable, hideous and wicked.”⁵

The behavior of the Virginians, even those who opposed the war, was in marked contrast to that of the New Englanders. Even John Randolph of Roanoke, who had opposed entering into the war, and had lost his seat in Congress as a result, did nothing to embarrass the administration in the prosecution of the war, although he had several years before ceased to have any admiration for Madison, and is said to have repeatedly declared “that Madison was as mean a man for a Virginian as John Quincy Adams was for a Yankee.”⁶ Randolph not only supported the war but he actually volunteered and joined the army for a time. “As soon as he heard of the sack of Washington, he hastened to Richmond, and tendered his services to the Governor.”⁷ He was given an assignment as a vidette and duly took the field, and we know from a letter to his nephew, Theodore Dudley, that he saw service in the field in the vicinity of the confluence of the Pamunkey and Mattaponi Rivers.⁸

¹Morris: *Gouverneur Morris*, II, 575.

²Morse: *Writings* (Hamilton's Ed.), IV, 305.

³Id.

⁴Babcock: *Rise of American Nationality*, 165.

⁵Id. This last statement, however, is attributed to Adams in 1829, and rests upon Henry Cabot Lodge's summary of an unpublished MS. of Adams.

⁶Bruce: *John Randolph of Virginia*, I, 253, citing Parton, *Famous Americans*, 201.

⁷Id., 413, citing Randolph's Diary.

⁸*Letters to a Young Relative*, 159.

There is a singular deficiency of information regarding the Lunenburg soldiers in the war of 1812. Such data as are available indicate that most of them were members, at least at one time, of the First and Second Battalions of the Seventy-third regiment. The assumption is, however, that such companies as saw service were attached to other regiments when actually in the field, for no evidence has been discovered that the 73rd regiment, as such, took the field.

The Lunenburg records show that in April, 1811, Robert Love was recommended as a Captain in the 2nd Battalion, 73rd Regiment, Samuel Pettus as Lieutenant, and Robert Harding, Jr., as Ensign. At the same time Edmund Winn was recommended as Captain in the 1st Battalion of the 73rd Regiment, and Lyddall Winn as Lieutenant and Thomas H. Jeffress as Ensign.

Other recommendations during 1811 were as follows:

William Buford, Cornet of Cavalry in the place of Reuben Vaughan, promoted.

George Craig, Lt., in 1st Bat. & 73rd Regt., in the place of Lyddall Winn who did not qualify.

Thomas Blackwell, Captain, in the 1st Battalion and 73rd Regiment in the place of Upton Edmundson, resigned.

Edmund F. Taylor, Lt., in the place of Matthew Hubbard, resigned.

Reuben Rogers, Ensign.

Lewis L. Taylor, Captain 1st Battalion and 73rd Regiment
"being a new Company District formed by the last regimental Court of Enquiry."

Thomas Buford, Lt.

Jones Allen,¹ Ensign.

Sylvanus Ingram, Captain in the place of Capt. William Ragsdale.

Julius Johnson, Lt.

Edmund Bishop, Ensign.

Boswell B. deGraffenreidt, Lt., in the 2nd Battalion and 73rd Regiment in the place of William Branch, resigned.

Merriwether Hart, Ensign, 2nd Battalion and 73rd Regiment in the place of Boswell B. deGraffenreid, promoted.

¹Grandfather of Captain Cornelius Tacitus Allen, C. S. A.

The following qualifications and recommendations appear during the year 1812:

Lewis L. Taylor, Captain in first battalion and 73rd regiment of Virginia Militia.

Thomas Buford, Lt., in same.

Jones Allen, Ensign, in same.

Boswell B. deGraffenreidt, Lt. in Second Battalion and 73rd Regiment of Virginia Militia.

Reuben Rogers, Ensign in First Battalion and 73rd Regiment.

Thomas Blackwell, Captain.

Sylvanus Ingram, Captain.

Julius Johnson, Lt. of the company of Grenadiers attached to the First Battalion and 73rd Regt. of Virginia Militia.

Edmund Bishop, Ensign in Volunteer Company commanded by Sylvanus Ingram.

Jones Allen, Captain in 1st Battalion, 73rd Regiment of Virginia Militia, in the room of Lewis L. Taylor, who is appointed a Captain in the army of the United States.

This recommendation of Captain Allen was made June 11, 1812 (O. B. 21, page 98), and he qualified August 13, 1812 (O. B. 21, page 119).

John Wilkinson, Ensign, in room of Jones Allen, promoted.

Thomas Wyatt, Lt., in room of Macon Hunt, deceased.

George Craig, Lt., 1st Battalion and 73rd Regt., qualified June 11, 1812.

Thomas Wyatt, Lt., 1st Battalion and 73rd Regt., qualified June 11, 1812.

Peter Jones, Major, in place of John Taylor, resigned.

Lyddall Bacon, Captain, in room of Peter Jones, promoted.

Henry Tisdale, Lt., in room of Lyddall Bacon, promoted.

Thomas C. Clark, Ensign, in room of Henry Tisdale, promoted.

John H. Knight, Ensign, in Captain John Stokes' Company in room of Joseph Townsend, resigned.

An order entered November 14, 1812, shows that Waddell Street was Lieutenant Colonel, and Commandant of the 73rd

Regiment. It directed him to "return his account of the drafts for the years 1810 and 1811" by December Court, 1812.

The following qualifications and recommendations appear during the year 1813:

Francis Robertson, Major, 1st Battalion and 73rd Regiment, in the room of James Hinton, resigned.

Thomas Morgan, Ensign, in the room of William Skinner, resigned.

William Jones, Captain of Artillery in the 1st Battalion and 73rd Regiment, Virginia Militia, in the room of Francis Robertson, promoted.

William B. Cowan, 1st Lt., in the room of Thomas Harding, resigned.

James Tisdale, 2nd Lt., in the room of Leonard Crymes, resigned.

John Bigger, 1st Lt., in Cavalry, attached to the 73rd Regiment.

Benjamin Tomlinson, Lt., in the room of Julius Johnson, deceased, in Captain Silvanus Ingram's Company of Volunteers of Light Infantry, 1st Battalion and 73rd Regiment (O. B. 21, p. 312).

The following qualifications and recommendations appear during the year 1814:

Charles Smithson, 2nd Lt., in Captain William Jones' Company of artillery, in the room of James Tisdale, resigned.

James S. Ragsdale, Ensign in Captain Silvanus Ingram's Company in the room of Edmund Bishop, cashiered.

Edmund Hardy, 2nd Lt., in troop of Cavalry attached to 73rd Regiment, in room of Reuben Vaughan, resigned.

John W. Scott, Cornet, in the room of William Buford.

The records further show that on November 10, 1814, Captain Jones Allen was a supernumerary officer, and applied to fill the next vacancy in his rank; and on December 8, 1814, Thomas Buford, a lieutenant, and John Wilkerson, an ensign in Captain Jones Allen's Company applied to fill the next vacancies in the ranks in the 73rd Regiment.

In the printed volumes of the muster rolls and pay rolls of soldiers of the war of 1812, entitled to Land Bounty under the act of Congress of September 28th, 1850, no record is found of the 73rd Regiment nor of any of the Lunenburg Companies under any of the captains mentioned above.

That some of these soldiers saw some character of service does not admit of doubt, despite the inexplicable omission from the printed record of muster rolls and pay rolls above mentioned.

In the Department of Archives of the Virginia State Library is preserved the following original letter:

“Lunenburg County Dec. 13, 1813.

His Excellency, James Barbour

Sir;

Inclosed is a recommendation of the County Court of Lunenburg made at their last court of a Lieutenant in the Company of Light Infy. attached to the 1st Battn of the 73rd Regt. This *Company of Light* Infantry is now in requisition at Norfolk attached to the 6th Regiment.

The vacancy in this comp’y was occasioned by the death of Lt. Johnson (who returned Home from Norfolk sick and has recently died). Mr. Tomlinson the Gentleman recommended by the Court is now at Norfolk acting as Sergeant in the Company. I have thought it my duty to make known these circumstances to your Excellency, That you may be apprized of the most direct channel of forwarding Mr. Tomlinson’s commission to him. With respect I am yr. Excellency’s most obt. St.

W. Street, Lt. Col.

Commdr. of the 73rd Rgt.”

Endorsed:

Commission to issue to be sent to Norfolk.

The Lieutenant Johnson here referred to was Lt. Julius Johnson, and the Company to which he belonged, then stationed at Norfolk and attached to the 6th Regiment, was the Company of Captain Silvanus Ingram. This we know from the order above referred to entered December 9, 1813, recommending Benjamin

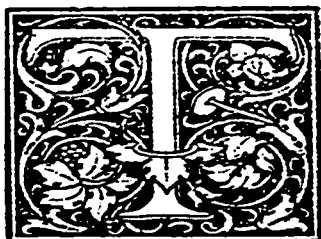
Tomlinson as a Lieutenant "in the room of Julius Johnson, decd., in Captain Silvanus Ingram's Company of Volunteers."¹

The military activities of the Lunenburgers in the War of 1812, deserve further research at the hands of some future historian.

¹Lunenburg County Court Order Book 21, page 312.

CHAPTER VIII

The Courts: The County Courts



THE history of the County Courts naturally falls into several divisions, marked by the Colonial period, and the different eras under the successive Constitutions of the State.

The County Courts of the Colonial Period

The County Courts, under the Colonial regime, were from many points of view, the most interesting and important of Virginia's institutions. The whole Colonial judicial establishment was interesting. The Governor and Council of State composed the supreme judicial tribunal of the Colony. It was known as the General Court. The Governor was the President of the Court and there were twelve members of the Council, who were appointed by the King upon the recommendation of the Governor. This court sat at Williamsburg and held two terms each year. It was a Court of Oyer and Terminer. It was a Chancery Court in cases involving twenty pounds value, and otherwise having grounds for chancery jurisdiction. The Governor served as Chancellor. The decisions of the General Court were final in cases involving five hundred pounds or less. Above that amount its decision could be appealed from, to the King in Council.

From 1680 to the end of the Colonial period the Council constituted an upper house of the Assembly; the House of Burgesses being the lower house.

Membership in the Council was deemed a very high honor, and the position was one of many privileges. The member was exempt from taxes, and in addition to being judge, he was a colonel of his county, and was often also a naval officer, collector, auditor and farmer of the quit-rents.¹

The County Courts were composed of gentlemen of the county appointed Judges or "Justices" by the Governor in the first in-

¹Note by R. A. Brock, Vol. I, p. 50, *Spotswood Letters*.

stance. Thereafter appointments were made upon the recommendation of the court itself. The number was originally determined by the Governor's wishes.¹

Presumably he was influenced in that matter by the needs of the situation, due to the number of the population and other like reasons. The County Courts sat monthly, and had criminal jurisdiction in all but capital cases. They were Civil Courts also; had jurisdiction of probates, and final jurisdiction in civil cases in amounts of less value than twenty pounds. Above that sum litigants could appeal to the General Court.

During the interregnum, there were different modes prescribed for appointing the Justices. At one time the method included a proviso for confirmation by the Assembly, but upon the restoration of the royal government the power of appointment was lodged in the Governor, but was only exercised upon recommendation of the County Courts; it was thus lodged and exercised from the creation of Lunenburg County to the end of the Colonial era.

The County Courts and the vestries constituted the agencies through which the people of the counties conducted practically all of the local public affairs. The vestries were elected by the "freeholders and housekeepers" of their respective parishes. The parishes were usually co-terminous with the counties, but not always: for example, Lunenburg County at one time comprised Cumberland, St. James and Cornwall parishes. The method of electing the vestries, or rather the qualification for voting for them in Colonial days, was a far cry from the present with its practically universal manhood and woman suffrage. In order for one to be entitled to vote for a vestryman he had to be qualified by the ownership of a freehold, that is to say of an inheritable interest in land. He had, in other words, to own the

¹Preface to *Justices of the Peace of Colonial Virginia, 1757-1775*, Bulletin Va. St. Lib., Vol. XIV, Nos. 2, 3.

Mr. Brock in a note to the *Spotswood Letters* (Vol. I, p. 50) says they were eight in number, of whom four constituted a quorum. This statement without qualification is too broad. At one time this was the number prescribed but at other periods the number far exceeded this, and that eight was the standard membership of the County Courts during the Colonial period is not true.

land in fee simple, or at least an estate for the life of another, which, of course, if the other person outlived him he could transmit; or he had to be a housekeeper. It is easy to see, that such being the qualifications for voting and the method of electing the vestries, they were very likely to represent the point of view and to reflect the wishes of the great rank and file of the citizenship, who owned the property, paid the taxes, fought the battles in war, and generally carried a large part of the burdens and represented the financial responsibility of the community.

The vestries, in the Colonial days, were in the main drawn from the more prominent and prosperous citizens of the community. Their election to the vestries indicated that the majority of their fellow-citizens qualified to vote had confidence in their honesty, integrity and ability. They represented the popular point of view in the sense that they more nearly than any other local body were the direct representatives of the people. The Justices of the County Courts on the other hand were neither chosen directly by the freeholders, nor by the Burgesses, but were a self-perpetuating body appointed first, upon the creation of a county by the Governor, who, of course, was in turn appointed by the King or his Ministers.

While these facts suggest an almost inevitable development of different points of view, and different courses of conduct, the difference actually developed at least for a considerable time seems not so marked as might have been expected. The vestries did have a notable controversy with the Colonial Governors. But the County Courts were not directly parties to that controversy. Furthermore, while the royal governors had it seems unrestrained choice and power in the naming of the original members of the County Courts, they had to select them from the citizenship of the county; and to have selected any but from among the best educated, most able and highly respected elements of the community, would have tended to destroy respect for the Governor. Furthermore, it may be said generally, to the credit of the Colonial governors, that they seem never to have felt a desire to appoint any but entirely worthy men to these offices. And the body once created was careful to maintain the high

character of the court by recommending only capable men for vacancies and additions.

The County Courts became the most influential bodies in the Colonial establishment. Careful historians have ascribed to them generally a high sense of justice and fairness and an unusual measure of ability. To the character of these courts as an institution, was undoubtedly due the great satisfaction of the people with the administration of the judicial affairs of the community.

In the manner of their creation, the lack of the popular voice in their selection, and their aloofness, so far as the tenure by which they held their titles was concerned, from the influences which so often weigh heavily with public representatives, they represented the very antithesis of Mr. Jefferson's idea. But so deservedly great was the influence of these Colonial County Courts, and their successors, under the Constitutions of 1776 and 1829-30, that they resisted the leveling influence of the Jeffersonian idea for nearly half a century after his death.

The members of the County Court, once appointed, held office for life. It does not appear that there was any provision or precedent for removing them from office. We know of no case, during the Colonial era where any member of any County Court was removed, or his removal attempted. Being, as it was in substance and effect, a self-perpetuating body, it was for that reason, chiefly, as we shall see, eventually opposed as being an institution, essentially unrepresentative and undemocratic.

Lunenburg County came into existence May 1, 1746, during the administration of William Gooch. The circumstances under which he appointed the first County Court of Lunenburg County we may never know. What acquaintance he had with the individuals and the reasons weighing in their selection are matters about which we may speculate. But we do know, that in the light of history, he had excellent material to choose from, and made a wise choice, in deciding upon the personnel of Lunenburg's first County Court.

The members of the first County Court of Lunenburg constituted such in the Commission of the Peace for the County, and

the *Dedimus Potestatem* for administering the oaths were as follows:

John Caldwell,
John Hall,
William Howard,
Matthew Talbot,
Lewis Deloney,
John Phelps,

William Hill,
William Caldwell,
Cornelius Cargill,
Abraham Cook,
Hugh Lawson, and
Thomas Lanear [Lanier].

These were all present "at the Court House of the said County on the fifth day of May in the sixth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord King George the Second and the year of our Lord God one thousand seven hundred and forty-six."¹

The court composed of additions to this body, and their successors, recommended by themselves, in office at the time of the fundamental change in the government, the creation of a free commonwealth by the adoption of the constitution of May 6, 1776, was not disturbed.

Ordinarily, upon the overthrow of a government and the erection of a new one in its place, the institutions are changed,—and if not in name, the officials in charge would be. In Virginia, by the Constitution of 1776, neither was disturbed. The County Court as an institution was continued and no provision was made for the termination of the tenure of the justices. On the contrary, those in office were given power to recommend enlargements of the court and the successors for vacancies, and no appointments for either purpose could be made without such recommendation.

The effect of the provisions on the subject in the Constitution of 1776, as we shall see, was that those Justices in office at the time simply continued to function under the Constitution without any interruption whatever in the routine of their duties. There was no necessity for change to secure support of the Constitution, for it was largely made by members of the County Courts. Both David Garland and Lodowick Farmer who represented Lunenburg in the Convention which framed that Constitution were at the time members of the County Court of Lunenburg.

¹Opening order, Lunenburg County Order Book.

An analysis of the membership of the Convention of 1776 would undoubtedly show that a large majority were members of the various County Courts of the Colony.

The County Courts Under the Constitution of May 6, 1776

The Convention which framed this constitution met in the city of Williamsburg, Monday, May 6, 1776. The constitution which it framed was "the first written constitution of a free State in the annals of the world."¹

When the convention met it proceeded to a choice of president. Edmund Pendleton of Caroline County was nominated by Richard Bland of Prince George, and the nomination was seconded by Archibald Cary of Chesterfield. Thomas Ludwell Lee of Stafford County was nominated by Thomas Johnson of Louisa, the nomination being seconded by Bartholomew Dandridge of New Kent County. Pendleton was elected, assumed the office, and the convention under his presidency made such expeditious work of its business that its labors were completed July 5, 1776.

Lunenburg was represented in this convention by David Garland and Lodowick Farmer, while her daughters, Halifax, Bedford, Charlotte and Mecklenburg, and her grandchild, Pittsylvania, were represented as follows: Halifax by Nathaniel Terry and Micajah Watkins; Bedford by John Talbot and Charles Lynch; Charlotte by Paul Carrington and Thomas Read; Mecklenburg by Joseph Speed and Bennett Goode; and Pittsylvania by Benjamin Lankford and Robert Williams. It will be interesting to recall the names of some of the more distinguished patriots who were fellow-members with these men in this convention. There were the immortal Patrick Henry of Hanover; George Mason, author of the Bill of Rights, of Fairfax; James Madison, of Orange; Robert C. Nicholas, of James City; Benjamin Harrison of Charles City; Edmund Randolph of Williamsburg;

¹Discourse before the Virginia Historical Society in 1852 by Prof. Washington. Quoted by Hugh Blair Grigsby in his discourse on the Virginia Convention of 1776, pages 25 and 26; and Grigsby adds, "and he has said truly."

See *History of Virginia Conventions*, Breneman, p. 33.

Richard Lee of Westmoreland; and Thomas Nelson of York, to mention only a few, and to make selection, where selection is most difficult.

To this convention some of those entitled to seats sent alternates or proxies to represent them; thus Edmund Randolph appeared for George Wythe, and John A. Washington for Richard Henry Lee. Thomas Jefferson with Charles Lewis had been named for the County of Albemarle, but as Jefferson was elected to Congress, and was needed upon a wider, and if possible more important theatre of action, he sent George Gilmer in his stead.¹

This convention elected Patrick Henry Governor of the State, on June 29, 1776, he receiving 60 votes, Thomas Nelson 45, and John Page 1.

The Convention on May 15, 1776, instructed their delegates in the Continental Congress, at Philadelphia, to propose to that body to declare the United Colonies free and independent states. The Declaration of Independence was the result. Lunenburg's direct connection with that event and that immortal document, through the part her representatives, David Garland and Lodowick Farmer, had in giving these instructions to Virginia's representatives in Congress is clearly seen.

The Convention appointed a committee to prepare a declaration of rights and a plan of government. The personnel of this committee, this writer has not been able to ascertain. It appears, however, that Archibald Cary was its Chairman, and that George Mason was not originally on it. He was added to the committee on May 18th,² and it was he who drafted the Declaration of Rights. After some amendments made in committee of the whole, it was adopted by the Convention on the 12th of June, 1776, without a dissenting vote.

Likewise George Mason made the draft of the Constitution.³

Thomas Jefferson had drawn up a constitution for the consideration of this Convention and placed it in the hands of George Wythe. But for some reason Wythe was late in arriving at

¹For a full list of the delegates, see *History of Virginia Conventions* (Breneman), pp. 33-35.

²Code of 1860, p. 32.

³Letter of James Madison, Sparks' *Washington*, Vol. 9, p. 548; Code of 1860, p. 34.

Williamsburg, and when he arrived Mason's draft had been reported by the special committee, and it was under consideration by the committee of the whole.¹

The preamble to Jefferson's draft was adopted, and prefixed to Mason's draft of the Constitution; and two or three parts of Jefferson's plan with some minor changes were introduced into the Mason draft, and the instrument, thus put in shape as a whole, was adopted.

Whether Mr. Jefferson at that early date, entertained the advanced views respecting universal suffrage which he later held, we do not know. It seems quite certain, however, that he did not hold the radical views respecting the popular election of all public officials which he in later years avowed; nor, it seems, did he then have the feeling of strong hostility toward the County Courts which he afterward entertained.

We do not know whether the County Court System was even the subject of any particular controversy or debate in the Convention of 1776. Likely not, for larger questions, and more important and vital matters than the reformation of the county machinery, absorbed the public attention, and demanded decisive action. Be all of this as it may, the County Court System was but slightly modified. Indeed, it may be said that only such changes were made as were necessary to change from the Colonial or Monarchical to a Republican form of Government. On the subject the Constitution provided:

"The Governor, with the advice of the Privy Council, shall appoint justices of the Peace of the Counties; and in case of vacancies, or a necessity of increasing the number hereafter, such appointments to be made upon the recommendation of the respective County Courts. The present acting Secretary in *Virginia*, and Clerks of all the County Courts, shall continue in office. In case of vacancies, either by death, incapacity, or resignation, a Secretary shall be appointed as before directed, and the clerks by the respective courts. The present and future clerks shall hold their offices during good behavior, to be judged of and determined in the General Court. The Sheriffs and Coroners shall be

¹Wythe to Jefferson, July 27, 1776.

nominated by the respective courts, approved by the Governor, with the advice of the Privy Council, and commissioned by the Governor. The Justices shall appoint Constables, and all fees of the aforesaid officers to be regulated by law.”¹

This constitution provided for two houses of the General Assembly, one to be called the House of Delegates, and the other the Senate; the Privy Council above mentioned was a council of eight members chosen by joint ballot of the House and Senate, either from their membership or from the people at large. It was also provided that the Secretary of the Commonwealth should be likewise chosen by joint ballot.

It will thus be seen that the County Courts continued to be appointed by the Governor and Council, and continued self-perpetuating bodies since in case of vacancies or necessity for increasing the number such appointments by the Governor were to be made only upon the recommendation of the County Courts. In other words, the Governor appointed the person selected by the Court itself, or at least the appointee had to be recommended by the County Court upon which he was to serve.

These Courts appointed their own Clerks, who served during good behavior, of which the County Courts were *not* the Judges. They could appoint, but could not remove the Clerk. In effect the Clerk, once appointed, had a life tenure, unless removed by the General Court, which was a court of ten judges, chosen by a joint ballot, and which held its terms at the State Capitol.

The County Courts Under the Constitution of 1830

In the latter part of the Eighteenth Century and the early part of the Nineteenth Century, the period following the success of the American arms in the Revolutionary war, and a part of which was to some extent under the influence of the French Revolution, there was a tendency, too great as many believe, toward throwing off the wholesome restraints of established institutions. There developed a great desire for innovation; change, in the direction of greater republicanism, more democracy, a liberalization or popularization of institutions, were everywhere de-

¹Article XV, of Chapter II, Revised Code, 1803.

manded. If this was not true, as of course it was not, of the whole community, it was distinctly true of a sufficient element to raise the issue. There were, in the common phrase, two schools of thought on the subject. The extent that the French Revolutionary ideas made their impression in our section is indicated by the fact that in certain parts of Southside Virginia men ceased to use the common appellation of "Mr." and used that of "Citizen" instead. But this was, it seems, something of a fad, and was short-lived. Moreover, a school of thinkers, more or less abstract philosophers, arose, who conceived the times auspicious for constructing a plan of Government, as it should be theoretically, largely regardless of experience with past institutions, all of which were viewed as, in one way or another, the products of Kingly domination, and the bulwarks of the aristocracy which still survived. The governmental institutions then in existence, and especially the ways provided for designating the public officials, who were the agencies and functionaries of these institutions, did not please this liberal school.

The Constitution of 1776 provided that the House of Delegates should consist of two representatives "to be chosen for each county, and for the district of West Augusta, annually, of such men as actually reside in and are freeholders of the same," and provision was made for the election at the same time of a Senate of twenty-four members.¹

With the election of members of the House of Delegates and the Senate, the voter was through. All other offices were filled in some other manner. The Governor was chosen by the joint ballot of the two houses; as were also the Council of State, and the Judges, except Justices of the County Courts, whose members were appointed by the Governor on the recommendation of the Court itself. The militia officers were appointed by the Governor on the recommendation of the County Courts.

With the right of suffrage limited to the "freehold basis,"—that is to say, to those who owned an estate of freehold in land; and with the right of these voters practically limited to the election of members of the General Assembly, it is not difficult to

¹Constitution of 1776, Sec. V, Sec. VI.

understand that dissatisfaction with the system developed. And so it did. The demand became insistent for extension of the right to the other citizens of the community; and for the right to elect other officers besides members of the House of Delegates and the Senate.

Mr. Jefferson was one of the most liberal as well as the ablest in advocacy of the extension of the elective franchise. He and others had desired the calling of a convention, very soon after the termination of the Revolutionary War, to establish a new Constitution. They had hoped that the Convention would be called in the summer of 1783. Instead, however, the state lived relatively well for over fifty years under George Mason's constitution of 1776.

What his ideas were at this time (1783) respecting the suffrage we know very definitely; for in anticipation of the calling of a Constitutional Convention then, he made a draft of a Constitution to be submitted to it. The voters under his proposed constitution would have been of three classes: First, citizens who had resided for a year in the county; second, those who for a year had possessed real property of a given value; and third, those enrolled in the militia. The provision as he wrote it was:

“All free male citizens, of full age, and sane mind, who for one year before shall have been resident in the county, or shall through the whole of that time have possessed therein real property of the value of _____ or shall for the same time have been enrolled in the militia, and no others, shall have a right to vote for delegates for the said county, and for senatorial electors for the district. They shall give their votes personally, and *viva voce*.”¹

Not only was there dissatisfaction with the matter of suffrage, but the “aristocratic” County Courts were anathema in the views of the ultra republicans.

In propagating these views Jefferson had probably the leading part. The evolution of his ideas and theories, while a most interesting and inviting subject, we must hold outside the scope of this work.

¹*Jefferson's Notes*, p. 224 (Lilly and Waite, 1832).

Of him it has well been said: "The events through which he had passed in early manhood unquestionably inflamed his imagination in its outlook even on the events of the normal years in which his later life was spent. The arrogant conduct of the British Government toward the American colonies before the Revolution; the exasperations of that conflict after it had once begun; his observations of the unequal laws in France, and the consequent prostration of its people in the mass, previous to the destruction of the monarchy,—all this had convinced him that there was an instinctive and unavoidable antagonism between rulers and ruled, unless the rulers were chosen by the majority of the people; and that, even when they were, eternal vigilance was the price of liberty."¹

With all his practical ideas (and in some respects he was the most practical of men), Jefferson was a theorist and a speculator in the realms of political economy and the science of government. Not only is this abundantly proven by his writings, but it was the opinion of his contemporaries. William B. Giles, a man for whose abilities Mr. Jefferson had the highest regard, and who was his trusted lieutenant respecting important measures of the Jefferson Administration, once said of him: "Mr. Jefferson was certainly a highly respectable man, but as we all know, he dealt very much in theories."²

But it does not appear that his theories had led him as early as 1783 to the antagonism toward the County Courts which he afterwards developed, for his draft of Constitution prepared for submission to the Convention which he hoped would be called that year had, among other provisions, these:

"The *Judiciary* powers shall be exercised by County Courts and such other inferior courts as the legislature shall think proper to continue or to erect. . . ."

"The justices or judges of the inferior courts already erected, or hereafter to be erected, shall be appointed by the Governor, on advice of the council of state, and shall hold their offices during good behavior, or the existence of their court."

¹Philip Alexander Bruce: *History of the University of Virginia*, Vol. I, p. 9.

²*Debates of the Convention of 1829*, p. 509.

“All courts shall appoint their own clerks, who shall hold their offices during good behaviour, or the existence of their court..”¹

It seems reasonable to find a basis for a part of his later hostility toward the County Courts, in a disappointment which he met in one of his educational schemes.

As early as 1779 “he sought to create in his native State . . . a system of public instruction so far ahead of his times that the community continued too unripe to receive it until the War of Secession had removed every one of those impediments, which he, with all his zeal and persistency, had found it impossible to surmount.”²

In 1796 a bill, based in substance on the principle of the bill of 1779, was passed. It provided for the division of each county into districts, and for appointing “aldermen” to decide upon the expediency of summoning the householders of each district together to pass upon the question of erecting primary schools for that district. If its citizens were found to be favorable to the establishment of the school, a tax was to be laid to meet the cost of providing the schoolhouse, and the services of the teacher. The plan contemplated that every child in the district should have the right to attend the school free three years.

Concerning this act, Dr. Bruce says:

“Unfortunately, an amendment granted the right to the County Court to determine the year in which the aldermen were to be appointed, and until this was done, no valid election could be held by the householders. This clause, which was really inserted to sound the death-knell of the bill, was a subtle political device at bottom. The members of the General Assembly knew that the measure was a popular one with the lower class of voters, and an unpopular one with the highest class, and they, therefore, shifted the responsibility from themselves to the magistrates without appearing to be at all opposed to the wishes of their constituents. It is certain that the magistrates as a body felt no sympathy with any general plan of popular education; and in addition, were not disposed, as the representatives of the wealthy

¹*Jefferson's Notes, Appendix II (p. 231).*

²Philip Alexander Bruce: *Hist. of U. Va.*, Vol. I, p. 65.

of the community, to shoulder the expense of providing free instruction for the children of their less fortunate neighbors. They refused to acknowledge the force of Jefferson's argument that they would profit by public education because it would people every countryside 'with honest, useful, and even enlightened citizens'; nor did they discover any pertinency to themselves in his suggestion that, as there were only three generations between shirt-sleeves and shirt-sleeves, their grandchildren, having fallen to the level of the poor, would have to depend upon the taxes paid by the rich for their restoration, through education, to the affluence and social position of their grandfathers."¹

Jefferson once declared, in his old age, that the cause of public education had been the earliest of his concerns, and would be his last. It may be said, it was also the one at all times that kept his most devoted interest.

It is not strange, therefore, that when he saw, in the years following 1796, the County Courts set at naught, the dearest of his schemes, he should have turned against them as an institution. Jefferson probably did not realize that the General Assembly might not have passed his bill at all, if it had not felt a moral certainty that the County Courts would do just what they did. It is easy to imagine his feelings when he saw an act of the Legislature, initiating, as he rightly believed it, a great and noble policy, made a dead letter through the inaction of the County Courts. He immediately conceived the remedy to be to make the Justices of the County Courts responsive to the popular will through the medium of practically unrestricted popular suffrage.

Probably there were reasons other than this one which confirmed him in the position he took. At any rate, he spoke with no uncertain meaning. On few subjects did he ever deliver himself with more vigor and firmness than on this.

Whatever may have been the course of his reflection, or the experiences upon which he based his conclusions, by 1816 he had come to the point of absolute opposition to them. He not only opposed, he emphatically condemned. And what is possibly more important still he declared himself for general suffrage, appar-

¹Philip Alexander Bruce: *Hist. of U. Va.*, Vol. I, 83.

ently meaning thereby adult manhood suffrage without any qualification whatsoever.

In a letter from Monticello, July 12, 1816, to Samuel Kerchival, he wrote:

“The justices of the Inferior Courts are self-chosen, are for life, and perpetuate their own body in succession forever, so that a faction once possessing themselves of the bench of a county, can never be broken up, but hold their county in chains, forever indissoluble. Yet these justices are the real Executive as well as Judiciary, in all our minor and most ordinary concerns. They tax us at will; fill the office of sheriff, the most important of all the Executive officers of the County; name nearly all our military leaders, which leaders, once named, are removable but by themselves. The juries, our judges of all fact, and of law when they choose it, are not selected by the people, or amenable to them. They are chosen by an officer named by the Court and Executive. Chosen, did I say? Picked up by the sheriff from the loungings of the courtyard, after everything respectable has retired from it. Where then is our republicanism to be found? Not in our Constitution certainly, but merely in the spirit of our people. That would oblige even a despot to govern us republicanly. Owing to this spirit, and to nothing in the form of our Constitution, all things have gone well. But this fact, so triumphantly misquoted by the enemies or reformation, is not the fruit of our Constitution, but has prevailed in spite of it. Our functionaries have done well, because generally honest men. If they were not so, they feared to show it.

“But it will be said, it is easier to find faults than to amend them. I do not think their amendment so difficult as is pretended. Only lay down true principles, and adhere to them inflexibly. Do not be frightened into surrender by the alarms of the timid, or the croakings of wealth against the ascendancy of the people.

“The organizations of our county administrations may be thought more difficult. But follow principle, and the knot unties itself. Divide the counties into wards of such size as that every citizen can attend when called on, and act in person. Ascribe to them the government of their wards in all things relating to them-

selves exclusively. A Justice, chosen by themselves, in each, a constable, a military company, a patrol, a school, the care of their own poor, their own portion of the public roads, the choice of one or more jurors to serve in some court, and the delivery, within their own wards, of their own votes for all elective officers of higher sphere, will relieve the county administration of nearly all its business, will have it better done, and by making *every citizen* an acting member of the Government, and in the offices nearest and most interesting to him, will attach him by his strongest feelings to the independence of his Country, and its republican Constitution. The justices thus chosen by every ward, would constitute the County Court, would do its judiciary business, direct roads and bridges, levy county and poor rates, and administer all the matters of common interest to the whole county. These wards, called townships in New England, are the vital principle of their Governments, and have proved themselves the wisest invention ever devised by the wit of man for the perfect exercise of self-government, and for its preservation. We should thus marshall our Government into, first, the general Federal Republic, for all concerns foreign and Federal; second, that of the state, for what relates to our own citizens exclusively; third, the county republics, for the duties and concerns of the county; and fourth, the ward republics, for the small, and yet numerous and interesting concerns of the neighborhood; and in Government, as well as in every other business of life, it is by division and sub-division of duties alone, that all matters, great and small, can be managed to perfection. And the whole is cemented by giving to every citizen, personally, a part in the administration of the public affairs."

"The sum of these amendments is, first, General Suffrage. Second, Equal representation in the Legislature. Third, an Executive chosen by the people. Fourth, Judges elective or amovable. Fifth, Justices, jurors and sheriffs elective. Sixth, Ward divisions. And seventh, Periodical Amendments of the Constitution."¹

Nine days, after the date of the letter to Samuel Kerchival, on

¹Jefferson's Works.

July 21, 1816, he wrote to Col. John Taylor, a member of the County Court of Caroline County, in part, as follows:

“Nor, I believe, do we differ as to the County Courts. I acknowledge the value of this institution; that it is in truth our principal executive and judiciary, and that it does much for little *pecuniary* reward. It is their self-appointment I wish to correct; to find some means of breaking up a cabal, when such a one gets possession of the bench. When this takes place, it becomes the most afflicting of tyrannies, because its powers are so various, and exercised on everything most immediately around us. And how many instances have you and I known of these monopolies of county administration! I knew a county in which a particular family (a numerous one) got possession of the bench, and for a whole generation never admitted a man on it who was not of its clan or connexion. I know a county now of one thousand and five hundred militia, of which sixty are federalists. Its court is of thirty members, of whom twenty are federalists (every third man of the sect). There are large and populous districts in it, without a justice, because without a federalist for appointment; the militia are as disproportionately under Federal officers. And there is no authority on earth which can break up this junto, short of a general convention. The remaining one thousand four hundred and forty, free fighting and paying citizens, are governed by men neither of their choice nor confidence, and without a hope of relief. They are certainly excluded from the blessings of a free Government for life, and indefinitely, for aught the Constitution has provided. This solicism may be called anything but republican, and ought undoubtedly to be corrected.”¹

The agitation of the matter of amending the constitution of 1776, began certainly as early as 1783, for we have seen that Mr. Jefferson in that year, or prior to it, prepared the draft of a constitution which he hoped to submit to a Constitutional Convention in 1783. The efforts of those who wanted to amend the Constitution continued, and resulted in a meeting at Staunton, August 19-23, 1816, of sixty-five delegates representing thirty-five western counties.²

¹Jefferson's Works.

²Ambler: *Sectionalism in Virginia from 1776-1861*, pp. 94-5.

Jefferson's letters to Kerchival and Taylor became the texts of the arguments of the proponents of a Constitutional Convention to effectuate the proposed reforms. In modern parlance, these were a part of the propaganda on the subject.

Eventually the Constitutional Convention was called. The legislature of 1827-8 passed a bill for the purpose of ascertaining the wishes of the voters on the question. The voters by a vote of 21,896 to 16,646 approved the calling of a convention.

Under the act, pursuant to which the Convention was called, there was no restriction in the right of selection of delegates, either as to the office which was then held, or as to the place where the delegate resided. The twenty-four Senatorial Districts, into which the state was then divided, were entitled to four delegates each. In some cases, the people of one district selected their delegates, or some of them, from residents of other districts. It was the case, in many instances, that counties within a given district, were not honored by having a resident among the delegates.

It so happened in the case of Lunenburg County. The district was composed of Brunswick, Dinwiddie, Lunenburg, and Mecklenburg Counties. The delegates elected for this district were:

William H. Brodnax, of Dinwiddie,
George C. Dromgoole, of Brunswick,
Mark Alexander, of Mecklenburg, and
William O. Goode, of Mecklenburg.

The Convention assembled on October 5, 1829, in the Hall of the House of Delegates, in the Capitol at Richmond. Ex-president Madison, when the delegates were well assembled, arose and nominated Ex-president Monroe as chairman or president of the Convention, and he was unanimously chosen, no other person being put in nomination.

While no attempt will be made to describe the Convention, a purpose may be served by giving some glimpse of the surroundings, and the background of its work.

One of the districts represented in the Convention was com-

posed of Charlotte, Halifax and Prince Edward Counties. This district was represented by :

John Randolph, of Charlotte (the famous John Randolph of Roanoke),
William Leigh, of Halifax,
Richard Logan, of Halifax, and
Richard N. Venable, of Prince Edward.

Lunenburg's other children and grandchildren had the following representation in the Convention :

Bedford: William Campbell, and Callohill Mennis.
Campbell: Samuel Clayton, and James Saunders.

The district composed of Franklin, Patrick, Henry, and Pittsylvania (all grandchildren, and great-grandchildren of Lunenburg), was represented by :

George Townes, of Pittsylvania,
Benj. W. S. Cabell, of Pittsylvania,
Joseph Martin, of Henry, and
Archibald Stuart, Jun., of Patrick.

The Convention was an interesting and important body in every aspect. The liberal provisions regulating the choice of delegates, enabled the voters to make the best choices possible, both in respect to the character and talent of the delegates.

Among the delegates were two ex-presidents, Madison and Monroe. Mr. Madison enjoyed the unique distinction of being the only survivor of the Convention of 1776, which formed the first Constitution of the State, and was one of the two surviving members of the Convention, which formed the Constitution of the United States.¹

The Chief Justice of the United States, John Marshall, was a delegate, as were Governor William B. Giles, United States Senators, John Tyler and Littleton Waller Tazewell. There were also eleven representatives in Congress, including John Randolph of Roanoke, Charles F. Mercer, Philip P. Barbour, and Philip Doddridge.

¹*Debates, Convention of 1829, p. 1, preface.*

Other prominent members were John W. Green, of Culpeper, Abel P. Upshur of Northampton, Lewis Summers of Kanawha, Alexander Campbell, the minister, and founder of the restoration movement to re-establish the Christian Church, Gen. Robert B. Taylor of Norfolk, Benjamin Watkins Leigh of Chesterfield, Chapman Johnson of Augusta and John R. Cooke of Frederick.

The distinguished scholar and careful historian, William Cabell Bruce,¹ has said of the Virginia Convention of 1829-30: "All local self-conceit aside, there can be no doubt that these debates constitute one of the most remarkable gifts that the political genius of the Anglo-Saxon race has ever made to Parliamentary History. To reach this conclusion, there is no need that the *ipse dixit* of anyone, Virginian or otherwise, should be accepted. All that the skeptic need to do is to take up the volume itself, with a mind not completely sealed to persuasion, and to read the imperishable record of those discussions, in which the proper basis and distribution of representation, the reorganization of the Executive and Judicial Departments of the State Government, and other constitutional questions of high import were agitated with a range of knowledge, a philosophical breadth and insight, a strength and clearness of reasoning, an animated eloquence, an academic gloss, and a punctilious courtesy such as has rarely distinguished any convention, parliament, or congress in the annals of free institutions."²

On October 10, 1829, President Monroe appointed the committee on the Judicial Department. It was composed of

John W. Jones, of Chesterfield,
Mark Alexander, of Mecklenburg,
Chief Justice John Marshall, of Richmond,
Peachy Harrison, of Rockingham,
Briscoe G. Baldwin, of Augusta,
Fleming B. Miller, of Botetourt,
Augustine Claiborne, of Greenvsille,
Richard N. Venable, of Prince Edward,
Robert Stanard, of Spottsylvania,

¹Now, 1926, United States Senator from Maryland.

²*John Randolph of Roanoke*, Vol. I, p. 603.

Joseph Martin, of Henry,
Richard H. Henderson, of Loudon,
Thomas Griggs, Jun., of Jefferson,
Elisha Boyd, of Berkeley,
Andrew M'Millan, of Lee,
Richard Morris, of Hanover,
John P. Mathews, of Wythe,
John Laidley, of Cabell,
Alexander Campbell, of Brooke,
John Scott, of Fauquier,
Robert B. Taylor, of Norfolk,
Callohill Mennis, of Bedford,
Lucas P. Thompson, of Amherst, and
Thomas M. Bayly, of Accomack.

The Committee elected Chief Justice Marshall its Chairman.

On October 20, Chief Justice Marshall for the Judiciary Committee reported as follows:

“1. Resolved, That the Judicial power shall be vested in a Court of Appeals, in such Inferior Courts, as the Legislature shall from time to time ordain and establish, and in the County Courts. The jurisdiction of these tribunals shall be regulated by law. The Judges of the Court of Appeals and the Inferior Courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, or until removed in the manner prescribed in this Constitution; and shall, at the same time, hold no other office, appointment, or public trust: and the acceptance thereof, by either of them, shall vacate his judicial office. No modification or abolition of any Court, shall be construed to deprive any Judge thereof of his office; but such Judge shall perform any judicial duties which the Legislature shall assign him.

2. Resolved, That the present Judges of the Court of Appeals, Judges of the General Court, and Chancellors remain in office until the expiration of the first session of the Legislature, held under the new Constitution, and no longer. But the Legislature may cause to be paid to such of them, as shall not be re-appointed, such sum as, from their age, infirmities, and past services, shall be deemed reasonable.

3. Resolved, That Judges of the Court of Appeals and Inferior Courts, except Justices of the County Courts, and the Aldermen or other Magistrates of Corporation Courts, shall be elected by the concurrent vote of both Houses of the General Assembly, each House voting separately, and having a negative on the other; and the members thereof voting *viva voce*. [The remainder of this section had to do with appointments by the Governor in case of the failure of the Legislature to name the judges.]

4. Resolved, That the Judges of the Court of Appeals, and of the Inferior Courts, shall receive fixed and adequate salaries, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

5. Resolved, That on the creation of any new county, Justices of the Peace shall be appointed, in the first instance, as may be prescribed by law. When vacancies shall occur in any county, or it shall, for any cause, be deemed necessary to increase their number, appointments shall be made by the Governor, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, on the recommendation of their respective County Courts.

6. Resolved, That the Clerks of the several Courts shall be appointed by their respective Courts, and the tenure of office be prescribed by law.

7. Resolved, That the Judges of the Court of Appeals and of the Inferior Courts, offending against the state, either by maladministration, corruption, or neglect of duty, or by any other high crime or misdemeanor, shall be impeachable by the House of Delegates, such impeachment to be prosecuted before the Senate. If found guilty by a majority of two-thirds of the whole Senate, such persons shall be removed from office. And any Judge so impeached shall be suspended from exercising the functions of his office until his acquittal, or until the impeachment shall be discontinued or withdrawn.

8. Resolved, That Judges may be removed from office by a vote of the General Assembly; but two-thirds of the whole number of each House must concur in such vote, and the cause of removal shall be entered on the Journals of each. The Judge against whom the Legislature is about to proceed shall receive

notice thereof, accompanied with a copy of the causes alleged for his removal, at least twenty days before the day on which either House of the General Assembly shall act thereupon."¹

While the proceedings of the Convention do not, of course, show the debates, in the special committees, nor the votes upon which the reports made to the Convention were adopted by the committee, an interesting fact appears in connection with this Judiciary Committee report. Mr. Campbell (Rev. Alexander Campbell), who was on the committee said in the course of the debate on the report before the Committee of the Whole: "The County Courts were once rejected as Constitutional Courts, in the Judicial Committee. You [Mr. Chairman] moved for a re-consideration, a member being then present who was absent when they were rejected—they were then carried by one of a majority, one of the friends of reform being absent. This fact will show that the report of this Judicial Committee, at the head of which is the venerable gentleman from Richmond, is not to be regarded with all the authority which is commonly attached to the reports of committees."²

On October 21, 1829, on the motion of Chief Justice Marshall the report was referred to a Committee of the Whole Convention, and made the order for the 22nd.

On October 24, 1829, Alexander Campbell, stating that he had been in a considerable minority in the Judicial Committee, offered certain resolutions which he asked to be considered by the Committee of the Whole. These included provisions that the "Judicial power shall be vested in a Court of Appeals, and in such Inferior Courts as the Legislature shall from time to time ordain and establish. The jurisdiction of these tribunals shall be regulated by law. The Judges of the Court of Appeals and of the Inferior Courts shall hold their offices during good behavior, or until removed in the manner prescribed by the Constitution."

And that "The counties, cities and boroughs shall be divided into wards for the apportionment of Justices of the Peace among the people; and the persons authorized to vote for members of the General Assembly in each ward shall elect the Justices of the

¹*Debates*, p. 33.

²*Debates*, p. 525.

Peace therein, who shall be commissioned to continue in office for the term of _____ years, but removable for any bribery, corruption, or other high crime or misdemeanor, by indictment or information, in any Court holding jurisdiction thereof.”¹

On the 22nd, however, the Report of the Judiciary Committee was not taken up by the Committee of the Whole, the convention concluding that the Committee of the Whole should have reports from the other committees, on the Executive and Legislative departments, and on the qualifications for suffrage, and the basis of representation before it proceeded to debate the merits of the report of the Judiciary Committee. And many desired to dispose of the plan for the Legislative department and the suffrage matter first. That plan, in fact, prevailed.

It was not until Monday, November 30, 1829, that the Convention, on motion of Mr. Mercer, went into Committee of the Whole to consider the report of the Judiciary Committee.

Upon the reading of the first article of this report, Mr. Bayly moved to amend it by striking out the words “and in the County Courts.”²

This, and the resolution which had been offered on October 24, by Alexander Campbell, threw the whole matter before the Convention for general debate, and it was debated with an earnestness and zeal, and at such length as scarcely to be exceeded by the debates on the questions of the qualifications for suffrage and the basis of representation.

The report of the Convention contains a memorial presented to it from the citizens of Nelson County, after it became known that the Judicial Committee had reported in favor of continuing the County Courts as in the past. It was as follows:

“Your memorialists beg leave to represent to your honorable body, that it was with deep concern they received the intelligence, that a proposition to make a change in the mode of appointing Magistrates, was rejected by the Judicial Committee. Your memorialists do consider the present mode of those appointments to be aristocratic in its features, and tending to the

¹*Debates*, p. 42.

²*Debates*, p. 502.

establishment of a privileged order in this Commonwealth; that a body should be established in this Commonwealth, with self-creating powers, appears to them an anomaly of most alarming tendency, and in practice well calculated to dethrone the supremacy of the people's will. It must be known to your honorable body as it is known to your memorialists, that the present mode of appointing those officers, is well calculated to place the Judicial powers of the country, as well as the destinies and well-being of the counties, into the hands of a few families. It is known, that the County Courts have been invested, in this state, with the extraordinary powers of appointing militia officers—of supplying vacancies in their own body—of the appointment of overseers of the poor—of establishing and changing roads—of levying county taxes at their own discretion—and of managing the whole county police, according to their own will and pleasure, without consulting the supreme will of the people; their powers are great, and often improperly exercised, because the Courts are in no way responsible to the people; in fact, they are a power without responsibility. Your memorialists have thought proper to make this very brief statement, in order to call the attention of your honorable body, particularly to this subject. They, therefore, pray that some mode may be adopted by you, which will take away a self-creating power from the County Courts.”¹

In opening the debate in support of his motion to amend by striking out the words “and in the County Courts,” Bayly said:

“My motion, if agreed to, will not destroy the County Court system; all it demands is to place them with the other Inferior Courts of this Commonwealth, subject to the control and organization of the General Assembly; that the power may be given to the people, by their representatives, to change them whenever, from their incapacity, they become unfit to administer justice, or to abolish them whenever they become corrupt, and are unworthy to be trusted with any authority. If my proposition shall prevail, it will make the Court of Appeals the only Supreme and Constitutional Court, and leave all other courts

¹*Debates*, p. 349-50.

subject to legislation as circumstances and the good of the Commonwealth may require: it will not destroy these courts, but place them by the side of the Superior Courts of Chancery and Common Law; and all will remain as now organized until the people experience the necessity of a reformation, and therefore it is proper that the Legislature should have the power of protecting them, if worthy of protection, or of destroying them, if they deserve such a fate. I do not understand why courts of higher grade, and the Judges of these courts, which it is the wish of gentlemen should be so perfectly independent, should be put in the power of the General Assembly to abolish or reform, and the County Courts, so inferior in every requisite qualification to exalt a tribunal of justice, shall be held too sacred to be changed."¹

Proceeding he made a powerful argument, which amplified and illustrated the objections to the institution, but which in its essence embodied practically the same points as those outlined by Mr. Jefferson in his letters to Samuel Kerchival and Col. John Taylor, and as were embodied in the protest of the Citizens of Nelson County.

Among those participating in the debate and supporting in general Mr. Bayly's motion were his colleague Thomas R. Joynes of Accomack, Richard H. Henderson of Loudon, and Philip Doddridge and Alexander Campbell of Brooke, all of whom discussed the matter at great length.

The argument in favor of the report of the Judiciary Committee as reported by Chief Justice Marshall, was maintained by Philip P. Barbour, of Orange, William B. Giles, at that time Governor of Virginia, Chapman Johnson, of Augusta, Benjamin Watkins Leigh, of Chesterfield, John Scott, of Fauquier, Alfred H. Powell, of Frederick, Chief Justice Marshall and John Randolph, of Roanoke.

The first to reply to Mr. Bayly was Chief Justice Marshall. "The question," he said, "now before the Committee is substantially the question, whether the County Courts shall continue to exist or not. Any objection to the details of the system

¹*Debates*, p. 502.

is not sufficient to induce us to strike out the clause which is the subject of the present motion. If the jurisdiction of these Courts is considered as defective, let the system be so modified, as to make their jurisdiction more perfect. The matter is perfectly open, and will continue to be perfectly open, if this clause is permitted to stand. If the motion succeeds, either the County Courts must be abandoned, or the article modified. The article, as it stands, purports to enumerate all the courts, in which the judicial power of the Commonwealth is to be vested. County Courts form one of these depositories. If we expunge County Courts from this list, we shall virtually deny to them any part of the judicial power of the state: it follows, that no objection to the jurisdiction of those courts as at present exercised, ought to induce us to consent to the proposed amendment, unless it is our purpose that County Courts shall not continue to constitute any part of our Judiciary system. The article, as it now stands, leaves the whole subject open to the Legislature. They may limit or abridge the jurisdiction of all the courts as they please. If the Legislature chose to give them all Chancery Jurisdiction, or if they shall think fit to limit their jurisdiction in common law cases to a specific sum, the Legislature can do so. The whole subject of jurisdiction is submitted, absolutely, and without qualification to the power of the Legislature. The only effect therefore of the amendment will be, to abolish the County Courts. Is the Committee prepared for this? I certainly am not. The County Courts may be for some causes, an ill organized tribunal. It may be, for instance, unfit for Chancery jurisdiction; but that is no reason why such courts shall not exist. We must have a County Court of some kind; its abolition will affect our whole internal police. I am not in the habit of bestowing extravagant eulogies upon my countrymen. I would rather hear them pronounced by others; but it is a truth, that no state in the union, has hitherto enjoyed more complete internal quiet than Virginia. There is no part of America where less disquiet and less of ill-feeling between man and man is to be found than in this Commonwealth, and I believe most firmly that this state of things is mainly to be ascribed to the practical operation of our County Courts. The magistrates who compose those courts, consist in

general of the best men in their respective counties. They act in the spirit of peacemakers, and allay, rather than excite, the small disputes and differences which will sometimes arise among neighbours. It is certainly much owing to this, that so much harmony prevails amongst us. These courts must be preserved: if we part with them, can we be sure that we shall retain among our justices of the peace the same respectability and weight of character as are now to be found? I think not."¹

In answer to this argument of Chief Justice Marshall, Thomas R. Joynes replied: "Notwithstanding all my respect for the contrary opinion expressed by the Chief Justice, I cannot avoid the conclusion, that if the motion to strike out County Courts prevail, it will still be entirely *competent to the Legislature, if they think proper to do so*, to retain the County Courts precisely as they are now organized, and to confer upon them precisely the same powers now conferred upon them by law. If the report of the Judicial Committee be adopted, the existence of the County Courts *as now organized*, will, forever, be placed entirely beyond the reach of legislation; whereas, if they be stricken out of the report, they will not be thereby abolished, but will be subjected to the power of the Legislature, who may continue them or not, or change their organization as past or future experience may render necessary."²

Joynes' statement was evidently correct, that the failure to specifically name the County Courts in the Constitution, but empowering the Legislature to create such inferior courts as it might think proper, left the Legislature with power to create and maintain County Courts if it desired so to do. But, in that event, it could destroy the County Court system, as it existed, by failure to provide, by legislation, for their existence. This was the crux of the whole matter.

¹*Debates of the Convention*, p. 505.

Later on, discussing another part of the report of the Judiciary Committee, Chief Justice Marshall uttered before this Convention the sentence, which has been quoted the world over: "I have always thought, from my earliest youth till now, that the greatest scourge an angry Heaven ever inflicted upon an ungrateful and a sinning people, was an ignorant, a corrupt, or a dependent Judiciary." (P. 619.)

²*Debates*, p. 505.

Continuing his argument, Joynes said: "In supporting the motion to strike out County Courts from the report of the Committee, I am not actuated by any wish to destroy those Courts; very far from it; I think it would be unwise either to *destroy or retain* them by Constitutional sanction; but my wish is to subject them, and all the other Judicial tribunals of the Commonwealth, to the unlimited control of the Legislative power, which may from time to time *establish, modify, or abolish* them, as experience may render advisable."¹

P. P. Barbour, who was elected president of the Convention after President Monroe, on account of ill health was compelled to relinquish that office, joining in the debate said: "I have practised in these courts for a quarter of a century, and I can say with the utmost truth, that my confidence in them has grown with my growth, and strengthened with my strength. After a twenty-five years' acquaintance with the County Courts of Virginia, it is my conscientious opinion that there is not, and never has been a tribunal under the sun, where more substantial practical justice is administered. I am for giving them a Constitutional foothold in the Commonwealth, above the control of the Legislature; for myself, I would sooner part with any other department of the Government: I look to our County Courts as *tabula in naufragio*."²

Mr. Bayly replied to Mr. Barbour, introducing in the course of his address, the celebrated letters of Mr. Jefferson to Samuel Kerchival and Col. John Taylor noticed above.

Governor Giles then entered the debate. In the course of his remarks he expressed surprise at the quarter from which Mr. Jefferson's views had been adduced, as Mr. Bayly had seldom agreed with Mr. Jefferson, Bayly being a Federalist, and Mr. Jefferson a Republican. Saying that to strike the words out of the report would be giving a very broad hint to the Legislature to destroy the County Courts, he continued: "The gentleman has introduced the opinions of Mr. Jefferson. I respect Mr. Jefferson's opinions very highly, but I confess I was not a little

¹*Debates*, p. 505.

²*Debates*, p. 507.

astonished to see the quarter from which the opinions of that gentleman are now urged upon this Assembly. Sir, it is something anomolous that this should come from gentlemen who tell us that they have no respect, and never had, for his political opinions.

* * * * *

“We are told that Mr. Jefferson made a great discovery, viz.: that this is not a Republican Government. Mr. Jefferson was certainly a highly respectable man, but as we all know, he dealt very much in theories. He allows that the spirit of the people is republican in a high degree, yet the people have sustained this Government: and whence I ask is this republican spirit of the people derived? I say, they have derived it from their Government; and more especially to (*sic*) that feature of it which relates to the County Courts. Going extensively into theories, sometimes deprives us of a knowledge of facts; all acknowledge that the County Courts are of great importance. The gentleman from Accomac moves to strike them out of the Constitution, and in the next breath he tells us, that he does not wish to see them abolished. To say the least, he puts their existence at imminent hazard. He will not destroy the courts; but he will leave them almost to the winds, and will himself give them a pretty good breeze to begin with.”¹

Chapman Johnson spoke in support of the report of the Judiciary Committee, and in opposition to Mr. Bayly’s amendment,² and this notwithstanding he had supported the cause of the so-called progressives, in the matter of the extension of the elective franchise, and the basis of representation, and notwithstanding the fact also that he had been an associate of Jefferson in his educational schemes, and was early a member of the Board of Visitors of The University of Virginia,³ a position he would not likely have occupied if he had not been thoroughly acceptable to Mr. Jefferson.

Richard H. Henderson of Loudon, in a brief speech, recorded himself as in favor of the Bayly amendment,⁴ and he was

¹*Debates*, p. 509.

²*Debates*, p. 512.

³Philip Alexander Bruce: *Hist. U. Va.*, Vol. I, p. 201.

⁴*Debates*, p. 513.

answered, in an argument of considerable length, and of great ability by Benjamin Watkins Leigh, who was a distinguished lawyer—a man whose attainments had led the Legislature to entrust to him alone, a codification of the laws, which able work, is known to lawyers as the “Code of 1819.”

This is the concluding paragraph of his address :

“When I was, sometime since, in the city of Philadelphia, a gentleman said to me, partly in jest, ‘You Virginians are very proud’; I replied, that I had often heard that charge advanced, and believed that there might be some truth in it, and that since I had crossed the Potomac, I felt a little inclined to indulge such a feeling myself. The gentleman answered, ‘Proud as you are, you are not as proud as you ought to be,’ and he then went into an eulogium of our institutions, which I am unwilling to repeat. How he got his information I do not know, but he was intimately acquainted with our circumstances, and especially with our County Court system, which he appeared to understand, at least as well as I did myself. By way of showing the contrast between the state of matters in his own Commonwealth and ours, he related to me this anecdote. He had once been foreman of a jury, when a black man was tried for stealing a side of leather. There was but one witness, and he was an apprentice. The black man had sold a side of leather to a white man, who was to pay the money down, but failed to do so. The black man, sometime after, went to the house of the white man to get the money; the white man was absent from home, and the side of leather lay in a shop where the apprentice was at work. Seeing his own property, which had not been paid for according to agreement, the black man laid it on his shoulder and carried it home. For thus resuming his own property, he was committed by a justice of the peace to be tried for grand larceny. When a gentleman remonstrated with the justice on the hardship of the case, and asked him how he could do such a thing; the justice replied, ‘It was all his own fault, if he would have paid the costs, I would not have committed him.’ Sir, thus it is, and thus it will be obliged to be, if you put men into the commission of the peace, and allow them fees for their services. Litigation; petty litiga-

tion with all its evils will prevail and increase. Instead of composing the disputes of their neighbors, they will incite them to strife, for the sake of the lucre of the gain. The office of a justice will come to serve as a mere place for petti-fogging. But, gentlemen say, they do not wish us to abolish the County Courts, but only to give fees to the justices. Kentucky tried this tack, and enacted a fee-bill, and from that ill-fated moment, she found the justices of the peace prove a curse and not a blessing. All respectable men withdrew from the office, and to cure the evils which followed, the legislature was obliged to narrow down the jurisdiction of the County Courts, until they reduced it to almost nothing. No, Sir. If you abolish the County Court system as it is now established, there is no other alternative, than a set of petty Judges with fees; than whom I can imagine no greater pest to this or any other community. I do trust, that this ancient feature of the internal polity of Virginia, will be permitted to remain. Gentlemen profess vast veneration for the Constitution, but, I would thank them to tell me, what part of the Constitution they do venerate. Let what change be proposed that will, it is sure of having their vote. They abolish all they can, and yet they tell us of their great and profound veneration for our ancient institutions. From such veneration, may God deliver all that I hold dear."¹

In the course of the debate from this point forward, Philip Doddridge and Alexander Campbell, both of Brooke County, supported Mr. Bayly's resolution, while Alfred H. Powell of Frederick, who like Chapman Johnson had been with Doddridge and Campbell on the suffrage and representation questions, supported the County Courts.

The matter finally reached a vote on December 1, 1829, when the supporters of Mr. Bayly's amendment were able to muster but twenty-two votes.²

The astute Rev. Alexander Campbell thereupon, immediately, moved to strike out the word "the" before "County Courts."

Some confusion resulted. Chief Justice Marshall thought this could do no harm; John Randolph, of Roanoke, enquired what

¹*Debates*, pp. 515-16

²*Debates*, p. 530.

good would it do ; Judge Coalter averred that if the amendment "was to have no effect, he did not object to it," and without any particular debate, Campbell's motion carried 48 to 42.¹

The clause, as thus amended, would have read :

"Resolved, That the Judicial power shall be vested in a Court of Appeals, in such Inferior Courts as the Legislature shall from time to time ordain and establish, and in County Courts."²

The idea behind Campbell's motion was that the language "the County Courts" would refer to the existing system of County Courts, while the language "County Courts" would be susceptible of being construed as applying to courts to be created by the Legislature.

On the day after this motion was carried, Mr. Powell moved a re-consideration, saying that he and many others had voted under an entire misapprehension of the effect of the action that was taken. He had ascertained that "The effect must be, that the Legislature would be required forthwith to build up anew the County Court system, with whatever power or jurisdiction attached to it, that body might deem it proper to confer."³

Thereupon the debate upon the whole subject was renewed, even with redoubled energy.

John Randolph of Roanoke was the first to follow Mr. Powell in support of the motion to reconsider. He said that no other subject "could have induced him, in the present pitiable condition of his frame, to throw himself upon the attention of the Committee. He had long considered the County Court system, and the freehold suffrage, as the two main pillars in the ancient edifice of our State Constitution. In the course of my life I have repeatedly been called upon by various eminent men, to explain to them the system of Government in this Commonwealth, and I never knew a single individual of the number who was not struck with admiration at the structure of our County Court system. I have been asked, whether it was the effect of design, or of one of those fortunate combinations of circumstances, which

¹*Debates*, p. 531.

²*Debates*, p. 531.

³*Debates*, p. 531.

enabled its framers to 'snatch a grace beyond the reach of art.' Whether it was design or chance, one thing is certain, that the plan has proved in practice, to be one of the very best which the wit of man could have devised for this Commonwealth; preserving in the happiest manner, a just administration of our affairs, between the instability attendant upon popular elections, and the corruption or oppression of Executive patronage.

* * * * *

"Great stress has been laid on the opinions of Mr. Jefferson, by a gentleman not now in his place. But I have no hesitation to say, that on a subject like this, I have not much deference for the opinions of Mr. Jefferson. We all know he was very confident in his theories—but I am a practical man and have no confidence *a priori* in the theories of Mr. Jefferson, or of any other man under the sun.

"Not an argument has been advanced against the County Courts, but would be equally good *a priori* against jury-trial. What could have taught us its value, but experience? *A priori*, it seems absurd to trust a dozen ploughmen—good and lawful of the vicinage I grant, but still ploughmen—with a point of law in criminal cases, without appeal—and in civil cases under circumstances almost equivalent. We can hardly conceive anything more ridiculous in theory—yet we find none half so valuable in practice:—So vain is it to argue against fact.

* * * * *

"Sir when we shall have given up County Courts, and jury-trial, and Freehold Suffrage, there will be nothing in the Commonwealth worth attention to any one of practical sense. The County Courts hold the just balance between popular mutability (the opprobrium and danger of all popular systems), on the one hand, and Executive patronage, on the other."¹

After some further relatively unimportant debate the motion to reconsider was carried 53 to 41,² and upon reconsideration, the motion to strike out the word "the" before "County Courts" was lost by a vote of 50 to 44,³ Madison, Monroe and Marshall voting against striking out the word "the."

¹*Debates*, pp. 532-3.

²*Debates*, p. 535.

³*Debates*, p. 537.

It will be observed that the representatives from the second district, embracing Brunswick, Dinwiddie, Lunenburg and Mecklenburg, took practically no part in the debate on this subject. These representatives were William H. Brodnax, George C. Dromgoole, Mark Alexander and William O. Goode. Their refraining from participation was not for any lack of fitness so to do. John Randolph of Roanoke at one time during the sittings of the Convention mildly chided them for not participating in the discussion of the question under debate, averring that their failure so to do, ("I say so from my personal knowledge" of them) does not result "from any want of ability, nor from the want of a just, modest and manly confidence in the abilities they possess."¹

But they probably felt that they could add nothing to the arguments of Chief Justice Marshall, John Randolph of Roanoke, Governor Giles, Benjamin Watkins Leigh, Philip P. Barbour and Chapman Johnson, and in this view of the matter, their refraining from participating in the debates was much to their credit.

All these men were in favor of the provisions respecting the County Courts as reported by Chief Justice Marshall for the Judiciary Committee, as is evidenced by the recorded vote when the matter came to be acted upon by the Convention proper on the report of the committee of the whole.²

The Convention of 1829 completed its labors and adopted a Constitution on January 15, 1830. This Constitution was submitted to the voters at the election held in April, 1830, and was ratified by a vote of 26,055 to 15,563.³

In this election the vote of Lunenburg was 218 for ratifying and 4 against ratifying; Mecklenburg voted 488 for and 24 against; Halifax 636 for and 15 against; Charlotte 335 for and 12 against; Patrick 274 for and 246 against; Henry 208 for and 71 against; Pittsylvania 955 for and 40 against; Bedford 609 for and 36 against; Campbell 446 for and 22 against; Dinwiddie 327 for and 21 against; Brunswick 382 for and 27 against ratifying.

¹*Debates*, p. 312.

²*Debates*, p. 724.

³Supplement to the *Revised Code* (of 1819), p. 15.

By the Constitution thus adopted, it was provided that :

“The judicial power shall be vested in a supreme court of appeals, in such superior courts as the legislature may from time to time ordain and establish, and the judges thereof, in the county courts and in justices of the peace,”¹ and also :

“On the creation of any new county, justices of the peace shall be appointed in the first instance, in such manner as may be prescribed by law. When vacancies shall occur in any county, or it shall, for any cause, be deemed necessary to increase the number, appointments shall be made by the governor, on the recommendation of the respective county courts.”²

These provisions read together, with one other presently to be mentioned, are necessary to understand the status of the County Courts under this Constitution. The Constitution, in the several sections of Article V, contained provisions for the method of electing judges of the supreme court of appeals and of the judges of the superior courts provided for, and also for their terms of office. But in all these provisions the County Courts are carefully excluded. There is therein no provision for appointing Justices of these County Courts, except that above quoted, Article V, Sec. 7, which, it will be observed, is carefully confined to the cases of newly created counties, and vacancies. And in the case of vacancies the appointments are to be made “by the governor on the recommendation of the respective County Courts.”

By the last article of this Constitution, it was provided :

“The executive department of the government shall remain as at present organized, and the governor and privy councillors shall continue in office, until a governor, elected under this constitution, shall come into office; and all other persons in office, when this constitution shall be adopted, except as is herein otherwise expressly directed, shall continue in office, until successors shall be appointed or the law shall otherwise provide; and all the courts of Justice now existing, shall continue with

¹Article V, Sec. 1.

²Article V, Sec. 7.

their present jurisdiction, until and except so far as, the judicial system may or shall be hereafter otherwise organized by the legislature.”¹

In the convention there had been in evidence a general line of cleavage of views between the western part of the state, as it then existed, and the eastern part, on many questions.

The question of suffrage was one; the question of the County Courts was another.

The West, including what is now West Virginia, insisted upon free white suffrage as the only proper basis for representation. The East insisted upon the time-honored basis, and contended that representation should be compounded partly of numbers and partly of property.

On the question of the basis of representation in the House of Delegates a resolution favoring white population as the sole basis was carried 13 to 11, James Madison, formerly President of the United States voting with the West, and the famous and much-maligned John Randolph of Roanoke, voting with the East. But a resolution favoring white population as the sole basis of representation for the Senate was defeated by a tie vote 12 to 12, Madison, in this instance, voting with the East.

The constitutional definition of the right of suffrage was the burning question which had led to the calling of the convention. John Randolph of Roanoke declared in the convention, and no one questioned or contradicted his statement, that “The great moving cause, which led to the Convention has been the regulation of the right of suffrage.”²

Nowhere in the debates of the convention did the question of an educational qualification crop up. Illiteracy was too general. The West would have opposed more strenuously such a requirement than it did the freehold limitation. Even Jefferson seems to have abandoned (if he had had *before* that) the idea that the citizen exercising the right of suffrage should have “a certain degree of instruction.” Jefferson is quoted as saying “It is an axiom of my mind, that our liberties can never be safe but in

¹Article VII.

²*Debates*, p. 346.

the people's hands; I mean the people with a certain degree of instruction."¹

It was this proviso, says Dr. Bruce, "that saved his sweeping opinion [in favor of the enjoyment by every man of the right of suffrage, whether he was a property owner or not] from the taint of demagogism."²

But Jefferson did not always remember to add the proviso. He made no mention whatever of it in the famous letter to Samuel Kerchival, which must be regarded as one of his most deliberate expressions. In that letter he declared for "General Suffrage," and speaks of making "every citizen," without any qualification as to his "degree of instruction" or his ownership of property "an acting member of the government" and enabling him to vote in choosing all public officials and representatives.

Whether the failure of Mr. Jefferson and his followers to insist upon the proviso tainted them with demagogism, as Dr. Bruce suggests, would be the implication of such failure, we shall not attempt to decide.

The fact is, that while at that time popular education was not far advanced, academic and collegiate education was more common in Virginia than in any other state in the union,³ and the larger part of that academic and collegiate training was the possession of the eastern part of the state, as it then existed. These cultured men were the "nabobs" and the sons of the "nabobs" of Eastern Virginia, as they were sometimes called by the Westerners, in the heat of the arguments over the basis of representation and other kindred questions.

The fact is that illiteracy was too general in both the East and the West to make it in any degree a test of the right to vote. But how far wrong, if at all, our forefathers were, in insisting, in the absence of an educational qualification, upon a land-owning or householding basis, may not be for us to decide. To the writer it seems a tribute to their wisdom, that their sober

¹Bruce: *Hist. of U. Va.*, Vol. I, p. 10.

²*Id.*, p. 9.

³*The Cotton Kingdom*, Wm. E. Dodd, 111 (note); *Old Churches, etc., of Va.*, Meade, 90 (note); *John Randolph of Roanoke*, Bruce, Vol. II, p. 117.

judgment was able to withstand the clamorous insistence for too great liberalization of the right of franchise.

The provision finally incorporated in the Constitution (of 1830) seems very liberal, indeed, for while it stuck to the principle of an interest in land as necessary, in general, to confer the right of suffrage, it required only an interest in land of freehold, reversion, or vested remainder, etc., of the value of twenty-five dollars, and the payment of taxes thereon as a prerequisite to vote; and moreover housekeepers and heads of families, who paid any taxes, whether they owned interests in land or not, were admitted to the right of franchise.¹

Liberal as these provisions were and notwithstanding they were the result of compromise in the convention, they were not satisfactory to a large part of the state, principally that now in West Virginia, where seemingly they wanted the full right of equal franchise, whether they owned any land or paid any taxes whatever.

Not a single vote was cast in favor of ratifying the Constitution in Brooke County, and in Logan but two were so cast. Large majorities were cast against ratification in Cabell, Giles, Grayson, Greenbrier, Hardy, Harrison, Kanawha, Lewis, Mason, Monroe, Montgomery, Morgan, Nicholas, Ohio, Pendleton, Pocahontas, Randolph, Tazewell, Tyler, Wood and Wythe Counties.

But however the delegates to the convention may have lined up on the question of suffrage, and the basis of representation and the limiting of the terms of Judges of inferior courts; and whatever may have been the spirit and the need for compromise and concession, so ably urged by the venerable Madison, and accepted in large measure by many of the members on most of the subjects under consideration, the majority of the members were in no mood to permit any tampering with the County Courts. This institution, in the record of its ancient and valuable services, the venerable and incorruptible character of the personnel of the benches, and in the leadership exercised throughout the Commonwealth by the individual members of the courts, to say nothing of the fact that their services were

¹Article III, Sec. 14, Constitution.

rendered without any cost to the state, was so highly esteemed by the majority of the public leaders of the time, that even with the force of Mr. Jefferson's prestige and fame on their side, the opponents of the County Courts were not only not able to abolish them; they were not able to modify the system in the slightest degree.

It seems not too much to say that the County Courts came through the ordeal of the Constitutional Convention of 1829 with less change than any institution which was the subject of its jurisdiction. The Jeffersonian idea of popular equality, and of making public men directly responsible to the electorate made great gains in that convention. Especially in the matter of the qualification to vote did the liberalizing and popularizing tendencies receive great extension.

But the effect of the provisions respecting the County Courts embodied in the constitution was to leave them in existence just as they were, with the justices thereof continuing to hold office for life, and with the right, in case of vacancy, such as by death, for example, to recommend to the governor the person who should be named to fill the vacancy.

These courts were thus, in the words of Philip P. Barbour, given "a Constitutional foothold in the Commonwealth, above the control of the Legislature." And we concur entirely with Senator Bruce when he says: "To the old County Courts and the freehold suffrage which withstood the levelling influence of Jefferson until 1851, was unquestionably due the extraordinary capacity exhibited by Virginia for filling the highest public places with the men worthiest, in point of character and talent, to fill them."¹

A list of the justices of the County Courts from the Colonial days up until they ceased to be a practically self-perpetuating body presents groups of the foremost citizens of the respective counties during the periods in which they lived. The local history of any county is scarcely complete without the names of the justices of its old County Courts. Those who composed this unique institution possibly contributed more than can ever be

¹Note (a), Vol. II, p. 736, *John Randolph of Roanoke*.

accurately known to the creation of a high conception of disinterested public service, in the state and the nation.

The list given below is compiled from the original Order Books in Lunenburg County Court Clerk's office, to which are added a few names appearing upon a manuscript list presumably made up by the Secretary of the Colony or the Clerk of the Executive Council, and printed by the State Library of Virginia.¹

The dates following the names indicate as nearly as can now be determined the period during which the justices served. These periods have been determined, in the main, by noting month by month those in attendance upon the terms of the court. It is not always easy to analyze the records with confidence, without more extended collateral geneological research than can always be indulged. For example, the records show service as a Justice of the County Court by Lydal Bacon during the years 1746 to 1749, inclusive, 1752 to 1766, inclusive, and 1770 to 1775, inclusive. Whether this is the service of one man, or two or three may not be apparent from the naked record of the service on the County Court. But the approximate dates of the services rendered by the various justices has been regarded as information too important to the historian, and especially to the genealogist, to be omitted. The list is as follows:

Justices of the County Court of Lunenburg from the organization of the County May 5, 1746 to 1851 (inclusive):

Abernathy, William T., 1837-8.

Adams, Thomas, 1809-1817, 1827-29, 1834-36.

Allen, Charles, 1763-4.

Allen, James, 1830-31.

Allen, Jones, 1828-33.

Bacon, Edmund P., 1794-1814.

Bacon, Gillie M., 1823-1850.

Bacon, Gillie M., Jr., 1843.²

Bacon, Lydal (Lidall, Lydall), 1746-49, 1752-66, 1770-75.³

¹Bulletin, Va. St. Lib., Vol. XIV, Nos. 2, 3.

²It is probable that from 1843 to 1850 Gillie M. Bacon, Jr., who first appears on the court in 1843, should be credited with the service. He likely dropped the Jr. shortly after his first appearance on the court.

³This seems to possibly indicate service by two or more persons.

Baird, Benjamin, 1763-65.
Ballard, John, 1780-84.
Bayne, George L., 1829-1851.
Bedford, Thomas, 1756-1764.
Betts, Charles, 1809-1816.
Betts, Elisha, 1770-1779.
Betts, William, 1789-1794.
Billups, Christopher, 1764-1789.
Billups, John, 1785-1800.
Blackwell, Joel, 1815-1851.¹
Blackwell, Joel, Sr., 1828-1847¹
Blackwell, Joel, Jr., 1828-1849.¹
Blackwell, John, 1804-1808, 1815.
Blackwell, John, 1820, 1826-27, 1831.
Blackwell, Robert, 1778-1788.
Blackwell, Robert, 1838-1851.
Blackwell, Robert, Jr., 1844.
Blackwell, Thomas, 1800-1820.
Blagrove, Henry, 1764-1776.
Bouldin, Thomas, 1749-1759.
Bracy (Basse), John, 1761.
Broadnax, Edward, 1781-1787.
Bugg, Jacob, 1757.

Caldwell, David, 1762.
Caldwell, John, 1746-1748.
Caldwell, William, 1746-1752, 1758-1760.
Camp, John, 1762-1764.
Cargill, Cornelius, 1746-1763.
Carter, James, 1748.
Carter, Josephus, 1847-1850.
Chambers, Thomas, 1764-1770, 1772-1783.
Chappell, Robert, 1804, 1817, 1820-22.
Chappell, Robert, Sr., 1822.

¹It seems unlikely that Joel Blackwell, who was first on the court in 1815, served on it longer than both Joel Blackwell, Sr. and Jr. It may be that the first Joel Blackwell is the same person as the Joel Blackwell, Sr., of 1828, so designated then to distinguish him from the son.

Claiborne, Daniel, 1757-8, 1760, 1763-67.
Claiborne, David, 1764-5.
Claiborne, Richard, 1766-1774.
Clark, Ellison, 1829, 1831, 1834-36, 1845.
Clarke, Field, 1792-1810, 1814-15.
Clay, Levi (Levy), 1816-1824.
Coleman, John, 1848-1851.
Cook, Abraham, 1746-1748.
Cowan, William, 1800-1803.
Cowan, William B., 1822-1823.
Cox, John, 1754-7.
Craghead, William, 1784-1802.
Craghead, Wilson, 1799.
Craig, George, 1816-1821.
Cralle, Alexander B., 1838-1846.
Cralle, John L., 1844, 1846, 1848.

Degraffenreidt, Tscharner, 1764-1765, 1781-83.
Degraffenreidt, Francis, 1780-1796.
Degraffenreidt, Joseph (Joseph I.), 1822-1827.
Degraffenreidt, Thomas, 1781.
Deloney, Henry, 1757-59, 1761-63.
Deloney, Lewis, 1746-48.
Dixon, Robert, 1781-2.
Downing, Edward, 1770-1777.
Downing, Everard, 1774-1777.
Dowsing,¹ Edward, 1781.
Dowsing, Everard, 1766-1770, 1777, 1781.
Dyer, Robert Henry, 1746-49, 1754-55.

Edmundson, Upton, 1808.
Embry, Henry, 1749-1750.
Embry, William, 1754-1757.
Epes, Francis, 1797-1799.
Epes, John C., 1832-1851.
Epes, Peter, 1799-1808.

¹This spelling of the name may have been a clerical error for Downing. It may be Dawson.

- Epes, William P., 1837-1851.
Elder, Brooken (Brooker), 1850-1851.
Ellis, William, 1805-9, 1811-17, 1823-1825.
- Farmer, Lodowick (Loderick), 1770-1778.
Fisher, William, 1793-1799, 1804-1807.
- Garland, David, 1754, 1764-1770, 1776-77.
Garland, David, 1837.
Garland, David S., 1820-1831, 1836-1847.
Garland, John, 1780-81.
Garland, John R., 1844-1850.
Garland, Nathaniel, 1757.
Garland, Samuel, 1770.
Garland, Thomas, 1784-1787, 1791-1793.
Gee, Charles N., 1835.
Gee, Lucas, 1811, 1813, 1817.
Glen, Jeremiah, 1766.
Glenn, John, 1782-1790.
Goode, William, 1757-1763.
Gordon, William, 1766.
Gregory, Richard C., 1839, 1842-1844.
Gunn, John, 1782.
- Hall, John, 1746-1748.
Hamlett, James, 1806, 1808.
Hamlett, Jesse, 1803-1819.
Hamlin, Charles, 1766-1785.
Harvey, John, 1757.
Harwood, Warren R., 1838-1839.
Hatchett, Haynie, 1819, 1825-1842.
Hatchett, William H., 1852.
Hayle, Nicholas, 1749.
Hepburn, Ebenezer M., 1842, 1847.
Hill, William, 1746.
Hinton, James, 1812-1814, 1821-1822.
Hobson, Nicholas, 1782-1783.
Howard, William, 1746-1749.

Hunt, James, 1755-1762.

Hurt, John T., 1830.

Hurt, Memican (Memucan), 1756-1757.

Hurt, Meriwether, 1810-1819.

Hurt, Patrick H., 1838-1850.

Ingram, Sylvanus (Silvanus, Sylvaniaus), 1824-1839, 1842-43.

Jameson, Clement J., 1844.

Jameson, William H., 1828, 1830-33, 1836-37.

Jefferson, Field, 1749-1752.

Jeffress (Jeffreys), James, 1796-1802, 1805-1807, 1811-1818.

Jeffreys, Richard J., 1852.

Jennings, John, 1755-56, 1764-65.

Johns, John A., 1823-1831.

Johnson, James, 1780-1782.

Jones, Edward M., 1820-1822.

Jones, Lew., 1800-1820.

Jones, Peter, 1812-1815, 1830.

Jones, Peter, Jr., 1809-1811, 1813.

Jones, Robert, 1746-1748.

Jordan, Edward, 1780-1797.

Jordan, James, 1781.

Jordan, Miles, 1818-1823.

Knight, F. W., 1833.

Knight, John, 1809-1815.

Knight, John, 1826-1832.

Knight, Tarlton W., 1819-1841, 1844-1852.

Lampkin [Lamkin], Peter, 1789-1806.

Lampkin, Peter, Jr., 1790-1795.

Lanier (Lanear), Thomas, 1746-47, 1761.

Lawson, Hugh, 1746-1756.

Maddox, Samuel, 1836.

Maddux, Washington, 1830-1851.

Marable, Matthew, 1752, 1759-1762.

Martin, Abraham, 1750-1754.

Maury, Abraham, 1764-1771, 1776-77.

Mitchell, James, 1746-1752.

Munford (Mumford), Robert, 1763-64.

Nance, Frederick, 1793, 1798, 1800.

Nance, Frederick, Jr., 1789-90, 1795-96.

Nash, Thomas, 1757.

Neal, James, 1841-1851.

Neal, Jos., 1851.

Neblett, Sterling, 1789-1793.

Neblett, Sterling, 1803-1813.

Neblett, Sterling, 1823, 1828.

Neblett, Sterling, 1840-1846.

Neblett, Sterling, Jr., 1827, 1830, 1832.

Orgain, John, 1850.

Orgain, John, Jr., 1850.

Patterson, Jonathan, 1771-1783.

Patterson, Jonathan, Jr., 1766-1770.

Pattus [Pettus?], John, 1804, 1806, 1808.

Pettus, John, 1789-92, 1795, 1799.

Pettus, John, 1805, 1807.

Pettus, Stephen, 1819, 1821-22, 1827, 1829, 1838.

Pettus, Thomas, 1770, 1774-1776, 1778-79.

Phelps, John, 1746, 1748, 1750.

Poultney, John A., 1827.

Poultney, John L., 1823, 1837.

Poultney, John N., 1832, 1834, 1836, 1839.

Powell, John, 1781-1783.

Pultney [Poultney?], John N. (M.), 1844, 1846.

Ragsdale, Edward, 1786-1797.

Ragsdale, Joel M., 1839-41, 1846-47, 1850.

Ragsdale, John, 1766-1786.

Ragsdale, William, 1798, 1802-1823.

Redmond, Thomas, Jr., 1844.

Robertson, Christopher, 1781-1797.

Robertson, John, 1804, 1806, 1808, 1812, 1813.

- Saunders, Robert, 1816-1833.
 Scott, James, 1784-1799.
 Smith, Benjamin E., 1851.
 Smith, James, 1813-1831.
 Smith, James, Sr., 1822-1826.
 Smithson, Elizabeth, 1836.¹
 Smithson, Charles, 1836.¹
 Smithson, Sarah, 1836.¹
 Smithson, William C., 1836.¹
 Speed, John, 1756-1765.
 Staples, Thomas A., 1832.
 Staples, Thomas H., 1835, 1836, 1839, 1840-1845, 1846,
 1849, 1850.
 Stokes, Allen, 1840.
 Stokes, Colin (Collen), 1840-42, 1846-49, 1850.
 Stokes, David, 1746-48, 1764.
 Stokes, Henry, 1778-1794.
 Stokes, Henry, 1840.
 Stokes, Henry, 1848-1851.
 Stokes, John, 1817-1822, 1826.
 Stokes, William, 1806-1815.
 Street, Anthony [Col.], 1777-1788.
 Street, Anthony, 1802-1808.
 Street, Anthony, Sr., 1807.²
 Street, David, 1799-1819.
 Street, David, 1825-1848.
 Street, James, 1818.
 Street, John T., 1823-1831, 1835-36, 1838, 1840-42, 1846.
 Street, John Y.,³ 1843.
 Street, Waddy, 1798-1800, 1810, 1813, 1818.

¹The Order Book for July court, 1836, shows: "Present: James Wilson, Tarlton W. Knight, John N. Poultney, Geo. L. Bayne, William C. Smithson, Elizabeth Smithson, Charles Smithson, and Sarah Smithson. Justices." All these Smithsons seem to have been guests of the court or visitors. The women, of course, were not members of the court, and there is no proof other than this order that Charles and William C. Smithson were Justices. They are not found on the bench at any other term of court.

²This, it seems, was Col. Anthony Street. The three entries seem to represent but two persons.

³This may be a clerical error for John T. Street.

Street, Waddy, 1847-49.

Stone, William A., 1826, 1831-38, 1841-1852.

Tabb, Thomas, 1757-1770.

Tabb, Thomas, 1772-1780.

Talbott, Matthew, 1746-1748.

Taylor, Edmund, 1761-62.

Taylor, Edmund F., 1816-1826.

Taylor, James, 1755-1763.

Taylor, John, 1810-1812.

Taylor, Walter, 1826.

Thweatt, William, 1779.

Thompson, Clement (Clement J.), 1840-1848.

Tisdale, Richard K., 1838-1841.

Wells, Abner, 1784-1799.

White, Elisha, 1762-1763.

Wilkerson,¹ William, 1832-1838, 1840-1844, 1848-1850.

Will, Joseph, 1780.

Williams, John, 1777.

Williams, Joseph, 1755-1758, 1760-61, 1764-1770, 1775-1778.

Williamson, Joseph, 1774.

Willson, James, 1820, 1825, 1827-1830, 1834-1837.

Willson, Robert B., 1832-1846.

Wilton², Richard, 1750-1765.

Winn, Alexander, 1796-1822.

Winn, Edmund, 1799-1817, 1823, 1825, 1827, 1829, 1832,
1834, 1836, 1847.

Winn, Edmond C. (Edmund C.), 1847-1851.

Winn, Edward,³ 1842.

Winn, Elder C., 1851.

Winn, Joseph, 1779, 1883, 1885, 1886, 1896-1899.

Winn, Thomas, 1766-1781.

Wooten, Lucius T., 1848-1851.

¹This name appears also Wilkinson on the records.

²This name is sometimes spelled Welton. It is so spelled where it first appears in the Order Book, but is usually spelled Wilton thereafter.

³This may be a copyist's error for Edmund.

Yancy, Richard, 1757-1758.

Yarbrough, Joseph, 1789-1828.¹

The County Courts Under the Constitution of 1851

The great questions upon which there were such noticeable differences of opinion in the Constitutional Convention of 1829, were not so settled by that convention as to remove them from the realm of debate. The champions of the different points of view continued to hold the views they had entertained and urged in the convention, and the matters of the basis of representation, the qualification to vote, and the judiciary system continued to claim the attention of those interested in public affairs.

While the county court system had been given a footing in the constitution above the power of the legislature to change or abolish it, and its opponents would, perforce, have to await the assembling of another Constitutional Convention to attempt to change it, such was not the case with other subjects which absorbed the public interest to an even greater degree.

Under the compromise provisions of the Constitution of 1830, after 1841 the General Assembly at intervals of ten years, two-thirds of both houses concurring, was authorized to make reapportionment of Delegates and Senators throughout the Commonwealth. No basis for the reapportionment was prescribed by the constitution.

By the census of 1830 it appeared that the counties east of the Blue Ridge contained 57,012 more white inhabitants than those west of it; by 1840 the two sections were almost equally divided with respect to white population, the west containing 2,172 more than the east, and this slim margin increased, as was shown by the census of 1850, to 90,392.

In view of this great growth of population in the west, that section expected the General Assembly of 1841-42 to make a reapportionment of representation. The legislature appointed a committee to consider the matter, and it reported a recommenda-

¹This long period of service suggests the possibility that it was by father and son of the same name. Whether it was, and if so, when the one service ended and the other began, opportunity has not been had to investigate.

tion for a reapportionment on a suffrage basis, that is, on the basis of the distribution of the qualified voters.

A minority of the committee advocated a mixed basis on the ground that "persons and property are alike subject to legislation and entitled to like protection." The west failed to muster the necessary two-thirds vote, and so the matter was indefinitely postponed. At the time the west with a total white population of 271,000 had only ten senators and fifty-six delegates, while the east with 269,000—2,000 less white population than the west, had nineteen senators and seventy-eight delegates.

On the face of it, a bad showing, truly. But the subject was much deeper than the surface.

If it had not been for the matter of the slaves, undoubtedly the subject would have been one of no great difficulty. Apportionment on a suffrage basis would have been acceptable, and if not, a basis of persons and property could have afforded no great ground of controversy, since the property in the west in 1850 was but \$15,000,000 less in value than that in the east.

But the Constitution of the United States provided that:

"Representation and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other Persons."¹

This was the circumlocutory way of avoiding the use of the word slaves in the Constitution of the United States. The provision meant that a state's representation in Congress was to be based upon its whole white population plus three-fifths of its slave population. The figures thus arrived at were commonly spoken of as the "Federal Numbers."

The argument of the section afflicted with the ownership of slaves was that a basis of representation by which the state had larger representation in Congress, than if based on a suffrage plan, ought to be maintained in the interest of the state as a whole, and that a basis good enough for representation in the

¹Constitution of U. S., Article I, Sec. II, Sub-Sec. 3.

Federal Congress ought to be good enough for representation in the General Assembly of the state.¹

John Randolph of Roanoke, in the Convention of 1829, again with prophetic vision had seen clearly the implication of such a move. He enquired: "Is it possible that any gentleman can believe that the great southern and western slave-holding interests of the United States will ever abandon this provision for the representation of three-fifths of their slave population?"² and going to the heart of the matter he said, "Sir, the question is—shall the apportionment of representation which the Federal Constitution secures to the slave-holding states, be the apportionment on which members of Congress shall be elected, or shall it not?"³

Answering that question he declared that to change the basis in the state amounted practically "to the direct affirmation—that this part of the Constitution of the United States, Virginia stands ready to give up."⁴

These and other arguments were potent enough to prevent the advocates of the suffrage basis from mustering the necessary votes to make the reapportionment.

Defeated thus in the legislature where a two-thirds vote was necessary, the advocates of the suffrage basis began to turn their attention to the possibilities of constitutional relief, feeling that with the great change in population which had taken place they would have a far greater chance of success with a body constituted as a new convention would likely be, than they had in the convention of 1829, or could expect to have with the legislature under the provisions of that constitution.

Upon the defeat of the effort to reapportion the representation at the session of 1841-2, the representatives of the west endeavored to get the General Assembly to take the steps necessary to call a Constitutional Convention, but this effort also failed.

The subsequent development of a demand for a Constitutional

¹The whole subject of this controversy between the eastern and western sections of the state is discussed in *Sectionalism in Virginia* (Ambler), Chap. VIII.

²*Debates*, p. 858.

³*Id.*

⁴*Id.*

Convention we need not undertake to record in detail. It is beyond the scope of this treatment. But the leaders of thought in the eastern section realized that the demand for so-called "reform" was so insistent that it was not the part of wisdom further to combat the calling of a convention. Believing, it seems, that they could control the basis of representation matter, they were willing to make concessions respecting the extension of suffrage and "reforms" in the judicial and executive departments.

Events were again verifying Randolph's foresight. In the convention of 1829, in opposing a resolution which provided that the constitution of the state ought to be amended so as to provide a mode in which future amendments should be made,¹ he said:

"Sir, I am not a prophet or a seer; but I will venture to predict, that your new Constitution, if it shall be adopted, does not last twenty years."²

He was, almost, at least, what he claimed not to be; his words were prophetic. The Constitution of 1830 was ratified at the election held in April of that year. The General Assembly on March 4, 1850, passed an act submitting to the voters in April the question of whether a Constitutional Convention should be assembled; the vote largely favoring a convention. An election was held on the fourth Thursday in August, 1850, for the election of delegates, and the Convention assembled at the Capitol in Richmond, Monday, October 14, 1850.

The district embracing Lunenburg, Brunswick, Nottoway, and Dinwiddie Counties was represented by John E. Shell, Robert D. Turnbull, and James L. Scoggin.

Respecting the County Courts, the constitution adopted by this convention, and which went into effect January 1, 1852, provided:

"25. There shall be in each county of the commonwealth a county court, which shall be held monthly, by not less than three nor more than five justices, except when the law shall require the presence of a greater number.

¹*Debates*, p. 789.

²*Debates*, p. 790.

“26. The jurisdiction of the said courts shall be the same as that of the existing county courts, except so far as it is modified by this constitution, or may be changed by law.

“27. Each county shall be laid off into districts, as nearly equal as may be in territory and population. In each district there shall be elected, by the voters thereof, four justices of the peace, who shall be commissioned by the governor, reside in their respective districts, and hold their offices for the term of four years. The justices so elected shall choose one of their own body, who shall be the presiding justice of the county court, and whose duty it shall be to attend each term of said court. The other justices shall be classified by law for the performance of their duties in court.

“28. The justices shall receive for their services in court a per diem compensation, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the county treasury; and shall not receive any fee or emolument for other judicial services.

“29. The power and jurisdiction of justices of the peace within their respective counties shall be prescribed by law.”¹

This was a radical change in the County Court System, as it had existed since its inception in Virginia. It was to a large degree the triumph of the ideas put forth ably, but without success by Thomas M. Bayly, Philip Doddridge, Alexander Campbell and others in the Convention of 1829-30.

The jurisdiction of these courts was not substantially changed by the constitution, but the legislature was given control and empowered to change it. The authority of the court itself to recommend persons to fill vacancies or enlarge its membership and the power of the Governor to make appointments were taken away. The tenure of the justices during good behavior, that is to say, for life, unless removed for cause, was ended. Likewise their service without pay ceased. The power to choose the clerk of the court, sheriff of the county and other officers was lodged elsewhere.

A four-year term for the members of the court was prescribed;

¹Article VI, Constitution of 1851.

and, as we have seen, they were elected by districts, from residents of the district, and the justices thus elected chose the presiding justice. Here was a triumph of the Jeffersonian idea of making these courts responsive to the popular will, for the people by electing new justices at the end of the four-year term, could change entirely the personnel of the county court.

This provision, together with that for the qualification of voters, extending the right to vote unrestrictedly to "Every white male citizen of the commonwealth, of the age of twenty-one years, who has been a resident of the state for two years, and of the county, city or town where he offers to vote for twelve months next preceding an election,"¹ seems as great a triumph as Jefferson and those other opponents of the old county court system could have desired.

The following were the Justices of the County Court of Lunenburg County under the Constitution of 1851, from January, 1852, to March, 1870:

Allen, Robert H., 1852-1868.

Atkinson, Benj. M., 1856-58.

Bagley, George L., 1852-1869.

Bailey, Richard H. L., 1856-60.

Barnes, Mastin, 1865-1869.

Bayne, George L., 1852.

Bayne, John S., 1856-1866.

Bishop, John A., 1852-56.

Blackwell, Joel, 1852.

Blackwell, Robert, 1852-56.

Blackwell, Wm. F., 1858-1865.

Blackwell, Wm. Thos., 1860-1868.

Bridforth, Geo. B., 1857-1867.

Brown, A. J. J., 1854-1859.

Chumney, Wm. N., 1864-5.

Coleman, Jno. L., 1852-1859.

Cralle, Jno. L., 1852-1856.

Crymes, Robert, 1852-1858.

¹Article III, Sec. 1, Constitution of 1851.

Davis, Nicholas E., 1857-1860.
Davis, Samuel S. [L.?), 1869-1870.
Deshazor, John J., 1869-1870.
Deupree, William S., 1852-1854.

Elder, Brooken, 1852-1860.
Elder, William T., 1861.
Epes, Wm. P., 1852.

Gary, Henry R., 1869-1870.
Gary, Wm. T., 1859-1861.
Gee, Thomas H., 1852-1862.

Hamlett, James C., 1867-1869.
Hardy, Edwin S., 1865-1867.
Hardy, George W., 1854-1858.
Hardy, Henry G., 1859-1860.
Hardy, Joseph Y., 1860-1869.
Hardy, Wm. H., 1852-1856.
Harris, John A., 1852-1868.
Hatchett, John R., 1852-1863.
Hatchett, Peter M., 1866-1868.
Hatchett, Wm. H., 1852-1855.
Hawthorne, Samuel W., 1864.

Jackson, George C., 1864-1867.
Jefferson, Thomas, 1864-1868.
Jeffress, Richard J., 1852-1859.
Jeffress, Robert J.,¹ 1856.
Jones, John R., 1860-1863.

Knight, L. H., 1862-1867.
Knight, Tarleton W., 1851-1852.

Lee, Samuel E., 1852-1865.
Lester, Frederick, 1856-1864.

¹This may have been a clerical error for Richard J.

Maddux, Washington, 1852.
May, Charles, 1863-1868.
Merriman, John T., 1861-1862.
Neal, Alexander R., 1852-1867.
Neal, William Y., 1864-1867.
Neblett, Sterling, Jr., 1852-1865.
Orgain, Jno., 1852.
Orgain, John, Jr.,¹ 1852.
Ragsdale, Joel M., 1852-1856.
Scott, E. C., 1869.
Scott, Edm'd. C., 1867.
Scott, Edward C., 1852-1856, 1864-1869.
Seay, George N., 1852-1856.
Shackleton, Thomas T., 1859-1869.
Smith, J. H., 1866.
Smithson, F. S. N., 1864-1869.
Spencer, Matthew L., 1852-3.
Stokes, Colin, 1851-1856.
Stokes, Henry, 1851-1853.
Stokes, John H., 1857-1864.
Stone, William A., 1852.
Talley, William S., 1866-1869.
Thompson, Clement J., 1852-1860.
Thweatt, William, 1864.
Tisdale, H. W., 1856.
Tisdale, John D., 1860-1869.
Wall, H. W., 1860.
White, David M., 1869-1870.
Wilson, Paul, 1864.
Winn, Edmund C., 1852-1868.
Winn, Edward C.,² 1868.
Winn, Thomas W., 1860-1863.

¹John Orgain and John Orgain, Jr., evidently indicates but one person on the court.

²This is likely a clerical error for Edmund C.

The County Court Under the Constitution of 1869

The Carpet Bagger Constitution of 1869, ratified July 6, 1869, contained the following provision respecting the County Courts:

“Sec. 13. In each county of this commonwealth there shall be a court called the County Court, which shall be held monthly by a judge learned in the law of the state, and to be known as the County Court Judge: provided, that counties containing less than eight thousand inhabitants shall be attached to adjoining counties for the formation of districts for county judges. County Court Judges shall be chosen in the same manner as judges of the circuit courts. They shall hold their office for a term of six years, except for first term under this constitution, which shall be three years, and during their continuance in office they shall reside in their respective counties or districts. The jurisdiction of said courts shall be the same as that of the existing county courts, except so far as it is modified by this constitution or may be changed by law.”¹

Under this provision the County Judges were chosen by the joint ballot of both houses of the General Assembly, that being the method prescribed for choosing Circuit Judges.²

It requires no comment to show that the County Court System was thus entirely changed. It was no longer to be composed of Justices of the Peace, but was to consist of a single judge chosen by the General Assembly.

Various changes in the county organization were made by this constitution; for example, the counties were divided into townships. This was a new provision, and justices of the peace became township officers, one being elected for each township.

Under this Constitution, too, the Board of Supervisors first came into existence.³

Two Judges served the County of Lunenburg, under this Constitution, until County Courts were abolished by the Constitution of 1902. These Judges were: Honorable William H. Perry, who occupied the County Court bench from April, 1870, to December, 1891, and Honorable George C. Orgain, who served from January, 1892, until January, 1904.

¹Article V, Sec. 13.

²Article V, Sec. 11.

³Article VII, Sec. 2.

The Circuit Court

In the beginning of the Circuit Court System, the Judges of the General Court were assigned to hold courts in the districts or circuits established by law.

In 1809 in districting the state, Lunenburg was embraced in the Fifth Circuit. This circuit was composed of the counties of Dinwiddie, Brunswick, Lunenburg, Nottoway, Amelia, Powhatan and Chesterfield.

The Council of State February 9, 1809, "alloted" "The Honorable William H. Cabell, one of the Judges of the General Court," to the Fifth Circuit. Judge Cabell appeared with the order of the Council and held "A Superior Court for the County of Lunenburg on Monday the 17th day of April, 1809." He continued on the bench of this Circuit until April 15, 1811. The April term, 1811, of Lunenburg was held by Judge Dabney Carr, one of the Judges of the General Court.

At the April term, 1812 (beginning April 20), Judge Peter Randolph, one of the judges of the General Court, presided.

In September, 1812, Judge James Semple and Judge Peter Randolph exchanged Circuits, and Judge Semple of the Second Circuit held the Lunenburg Court. The agreement for the exchange was dated June 18, 1812, and provided that it should not be effective longer than until November 6, 1812.

The April Court, 1813, was presided over by Judge Peter Randolph, Jr., a Judge of the General Court; and the September term, 1813, was held by Judge Peter Johnson of the Thirteenth Circuit, he and Judge Peter Randolph having on June 10, 1813, agreed to exchange circuits for the courts to be held in September and October of that year.

Such exchanges were permissible under the law, but had to be approved by the General Court.

These Circuit Superior Courts were held in Lunenburg twice a year. In the beginning they were held in April and October, and were changed to April and September; and beginning with the April term, 1814, Judge Peter Randolph presided at all the terms up to and including the September term, 1820. He was succeeded by Judge Thomas T. Bouldin, who, beginning with the April term, 1821, presided at all the terms until 1829. His

last term was the April term, 1829. Succeeding him was Judge John F. May, who held the September term, 1829, and both terms in 1830.

Beginning with 1831, the times of holding the courts were changed from April and September to May and October. Judge William Leigh succeeded Judge May, and beginning with the May Court, 1831, Judge Leigh served up to and including the first term in 1852. He thus served continuously for a period of twenty-one years.

From 1852 to 1856 the courts were held in March and September, and then changed to April and October. Beginning with the September court, 1852, Judge John W. Nash served the circuit up to and including the April term, 1859. He was succeeded by Judge Thomas S. Gholson, who ended his service with the April term, 1863. No term seems to have been held from April, 1861, to July, 1862, and the July term was the only term held in 1862.

Judge William T. Joynes succeeded Judge Gholson, and held but two terms of court, those for October, 1862, and April, 1864, which last mentioned term was the only one held in 1864. The next term of court held was in October, 1865, when Judge Edward R. Chambers began his term of service, which ended with March court, 1869. Following him a single term was held, in September, 1869, by Judge S. S. Weisiger. The next Circuit Judge was Hon. A. D. Dickenson, whose first term of court was held in October, 1870. Judge Dickenson's term of office ended with May court, 1884.

Judge Dickenson was succeeded by Judge F. D. Irving. The first court he held in Lunenburg was the November term, 1884, and his term of service ended with the May court, 1891. Judge Samuel F. Coleman succeeded Judge Irving, his occupancy of the Judgeship extending from May court, 1892, to November court, 1897. Judge Coleman died during his term of office, and Judge George J. Hundley was appointed to succeed him, and served as Judge from May, 1898, until November, 1903. Judge William R. Barksdale succeeded Judge Hundley, beginning his service at the April term, 1904. His incumbency of the Judgeship ended with the October term, 1924. Succeeding Judge Barksdale, Judge Don P. Halsey presided over the terms of

Lunenburg Circuit Court, beginning with that of April, 1925, and ending with the April term, 1926.

There were from time to time several changes in the composition of the circuit which embraced Lunenburg County. In 1926 Lunenburg, Mecklenburg and Halifax were created into a separate circuit and Judge E. W. Hudgins became the Judge of the new circuit.

The Clerks of Courts

The following are the Clerks of the County with their terms of service:

1. Clement Read, from 1746 to 1763.....17 years
2. William Taylor, from 1763 to 1814.....51 years
3. William H. Taylor, from 1814 to 1846.....32 years
4. William W. Webb, from 1846 to 1858.....12 years
5. William P. Austin, from 1858 to 1869.....11 years
6. Henry E. Boswell, from 1870 to 1878..... 8 years
7. W. W. Webb (pro tem. Henry E. Boswell died in office), from February to June, 1878..... 4 months
8. John L. Yates, 1878 to 1926, and Mr. Yates is at present the incumbent of the office.

CHAPTER IX

The Early Churches



IN the Colonial period Virginia had, of course, a state church. In other words, the Episcopal Church was established by law, and supported by a compulsory charge or tax.

The state was therefore divided into parishes for the administration of the religious and semi-religious affairs coming under the jurisdiction of the vestries. These parishes frequently, but not always, coincided with the boundaries of the counties. Sometimes, for convenience counties were divided into more than one parish. There were often noticeable differences between the character and calibre of the men composing the vestries and the early ministers who came over from England. The vestries, in general, were composed of men drawn from the more able and important part of the citizenry of the parish; the ministers were such as were willing to become adventurers, more or less, in the new, sparsely settled, and relatively impecunious communities of the new world. That a minister was willing to come to America at that time, often was indicative of the fact that he was not of the character and capacity to make a success at home, or that there were other reasons of not wholly creditable character impelling the move.

The ministers who came over seeking the livings afforded in the colony, were, as a general rule, so indifferent and undesirable,—many of them being gamblers, and intemperate and immoral,—that it was a very serious thing for a community to have such a person settled upon them, with legal powers to enforce their salaries by the levy and collection of taxes.

There were notable exceptions. Some of the parish ministers were men of the highest integrity, morality and character, such for example as Reverend Peter Fontaine of Westover Parish, Reverend James Craig of Cumberland Parish, and Reverend

James Maury, who, notwithstanding his controversy with the vestry over the two penny act, was a man of high character and a patriot in the cause of American liberty.

Bishop Meade contends, not without considerable reason, that the vestries were the real depositaries of power in Colonial Virginia. He says, "They not only governed the church by the election of ministers, the levying of taxes, the enforcing of laws, but they made laws in the House of Burgesses; for the burgesses were the most intelligent and influential men of the parish, and were mostly vestrymen."¹

This is perhaps a slight overstatement of the case. The county courts were undoubtedly greater depositaries of power than the vestries, and it was but a limited class of laws that the vestries were charged with administering, and possibly too the county courts were as numerous, possibly more numerous represented in the House of Burgesses, than the Vestries. Still the vestrymen and the magistrates of the County Courts were often the same persons; and that the vestries were great powers in the Colonial establishment, is an undeniable fact.

The vestries were exceedingly cautious about permitting ministers to be inducted into office, and the Clergy complained bitterly to the Bishop of London and even to the King, because of the uncertain tenure by which they had their livings from year to year. The Governors complained of the vestries that their policies prevented more and better ministers from coming over; but the policy of the vestries was no doubt the wise one, for if inductions had been permitted the offices would have been filled in many instances with such scapegraces as were at hand, and they would have been slow in dying off to make room for the better ministers who might follow.

Virginia saw a notable struggle between the Colonial governors and the vestries. The governor claimed to be the representative of the King in Church and State, and patron of all the parishes; and also to be the representative of the Bishop of London, having the disposal of the ministers and the exercise of discipline over the clergy. The vestries had the right to elect or choose a

¹Bishop Meade: *Old Churches, Ministers, etc.*, I, 151.

minister, but the governor inducted him into office. The vestries had a right to choose a minister, but the governor might induct a minister into the office for life. Once inducted into office the clergyman could not be removed except for some great crime or misdemeanor. In theory, the vestries upon selecting a minister, were supposed to apply to the governor to induct him into office, which induction, as noted, gave the minister a life tenure.

Not only was the Episcopal Church recognized by law, but it was supported by taxes upon all the taxable citizens, and the law required church attendance, and provided punishments for not attending church.

Marriage ceremonies could be validly performed only by Clergymen of the established church, and it was an offense for a minister of any other denomination to preach in the state, and as we shall see when ministers of the dissenting sects or denominations came into the state they were arrested and punished as itinerants and as disturbers of the public peace.

The rigor of this illiberal policy was somewhat relaxed as the years went by, and the Toleration Act was recognized as in force in Virginia. But the restrictions which were placed upon those who registered under it were such as to make it difficult to adequately conduct missionary campaigns or indeed minister to the needs of the sparsely settled communities without violation of a strict interpretation of the license granted registered dissenters.

While members of some of the non-conformist groups were found in Virginia as early as 1683, it was not until the coming of the Presbyterians somewhere between 1738 and 1745, that the dissenters became an element to be reckoned with east of the Blue Ridge Mountains, including the territory originally embraced in Lunenburg County. Although the Presbyterians generally pursued a course intended to avoid unseemly clashes with the public authorities, and by their character and culture won the friendship of the higher officials, such as the Governor and Council, they were bitterly assailed by some of the parish authorities and instances are not wanting of very harsh and unchristian treatment accorded them. They, however, maintained the spiritual conflict with dignity and a fair measure of success under extremely trying circumstances.

Eventually the Revolution came on, and its results "produced a modified religious liberty, but it had not settled the relations of church and state in a broad sense."¹

On November 19, 1776, the Virginia Assembly adopted a set of resolutions for the dis-establishment of the English Church. This brought on a considerable debate in the legislature. As the act was finally passed, it declared null and void all acts of Parliament "which render criminal the maintaining any opinions in matters of religion, forbearing to repair to church, or the exercising any mode of worship whatsoever." A part of the act recited the fact that there were in the Commonwealth great numbers of dissenters from the church established by law who have heretofore been taxed for its support; that such taxation to maintain a church which their consciences did not permit them to join is contrary to the principles of reason and justice, and exempted dissenters from all taxes and levies for the support of the established church, after January 1, 1777. This legislation while it exempted dissenters, continued to recognize an established church; but by another article of the act it suspended the levies for the Episcopal ministers on the ground that in view of the exemption allowed dissenters it would be too burdensome, in some parishes, to levy the cost of the parish ministers upon those who were not dissenters. The Assembly enacted that "it is judged best that this should be done for the present by voluntary contributions."

This act, in effect, destroyed the church as an establishment supported by law. No taxes for religious purposes were ever paid in Virginia after January 1, 1777.²

The controversy which followed was bitter. The Anglican ministers and the vestries, where they had influence in some quarters, secured petitions to be sent down to the legislature asking for a return to the pre-revolutionary status. One of this character came from Mecklenburg.³

Others, however, feeling that a half loaf was better than none, sought the enactment of measures for the general support of all

¹Eckenrode: *Separation of Church and State in Virginia*, 72.

²Id., 53.

³Journal: H. of D. May, 1777, 36.

religions, which might be supported by the citizenship. This was called the movement for "a general assessment." At the fall session of the Assembly petitions pro and con poured in. One from Caroline approved the exemption of dissenters from supporting the Church of England, but insisted "that as public worship is a duty we owe, it ought to be enjoined and regulated by the Legislature so as to preserve public peace, order and decency, without prescribing a mode or form of worship to any."¹

A petition from Lunenburg, caustic and bitter in some of its terms, even charged the dissenters with fraud in getting up the great petition of 1776. It contained this sentence: "The undue means taken to overthrow the established church, by imposing upon the credulity of the vulgar, and engaging infants to sign petitions handed about [by] dissenters, have so far succeeded as to cause a dissolution of our usual mode of support."²

Due to a variety of reasons during the next few years there was possibly something of a decline in the support of religious affairs; at least some alleged that to be the case. This was referred, by some, as for example, those sending up a petition from Amherst, to the withdrawal of the salaries. The decline noted was likely more in the Established Church from which compulsory support was withdrawn. However, the citizenry was in no condition to support bountifully any church, for these were the days when the Revolutionary War was in progress, and Virginia went far toward impoverishing herself in men, money and material resources in supporting that cause. And during the progress of events the vestries did not escape wholesale criticism. The fact that they were a self-perpetuating body irritated some; they still administered the poor relief, and in some parishes vestrymen were not in full sympathy with the Revolution.³

Requests began to come in to the legislature for the dissolution of certain vestries, and the movement to that end took such shape that the vestries were finally entirely "dissolved"—abolished.

In the bill of 1776, says Jefferson in his autobiography, "was inserted an express reservation of the question, whether a general assessment should not be established by law, on everyone, to the

¹Journal: H. of D., Oct., 1777, 14.

²Journal: H. of D., 1777, 57.

³Eckenrode: *Separation of Church and State in Virginia*, 54.

support of the pastor of his choice; or whether all should be left to voluntary contributions.”¹

That question was debated by the legislature at every session thereafter until it was finally settled years later; and during the period it was a topic of conversation wherever the subject of religion and the church was discussed.

In favor of such a general assessment law, a petition from Lunenburg was presented to the General Assembly November 8, 1783. It is as follows:

“The humble petition and remonstrance of all Sects and Denominations of Christians within the State; Sheweth That soon after the Declaration of Independency the General Assembly, with a view to the promotion of religious liberty and free Toleration, thought proper, by Act to suspend the collection and payment of the salaries formerly allowed by Law Inducted Ministers of the Gospel; whereby all the Citizens of the state became emancipated & free from contributions to any church revenue.

“That from that period we have with pain and regret, seen the propagation of the Gospel die away in many parts of the country; and its diligent and faithful ministers neglected; through a want of that Holy zeal in their adherents as Christians to support their respective churches with the Dignity becoming their profession; and public virtue as citizens, to propogate and cherish the sacred test of truth; as a necessary and indispensable branch of Civil Government.

“That the indifference and impiety of those who are careless of their own salvation, and equally deaf and negligent to all religions must greatly encrease the burdens of the people of God who would wish to support the Cause of Christianity (as they have done that of freedom), even with their last mite.

“That confined to Christianity alone; we wish for the establishment of a free and universal Toleration Subject to the Constitution; we would have no sect or Denomination of Christians privileged to encroach upon the rights of another. For the accomplishment of these desirable purposes we wish

¹Jefferson: *Writings* (Memorial Asso.), I, 58.

to see the reform'd Christian religion supported and maintained by a General and equal contribution of the whole state upon the most equitable footing that is possible to place it. "We therefore pray that you our Representatives in General Assembly taking the matter into consideration will adopt such mode as your wisdom shall suggest to raise just, equitable and adequate contribution for the support of the Christian Churches, to be collected or distrained for as other taxes, but with Liberty nevertheless reserved to each of the contributors respectively, at the time he gives in his list, or otherwise becomes liable to the payment of such contribution; to direct for whose benefit it is contributed. The framers of this petition and remonstrance, will not presume to descend further into particulars; intending only by this to tell you their complaints & wishes and to trust to your wisdom and Justice for the redress."¹

This able paper was signed by John Ragsdale, D. A. Stokes, Joshua Ragsdale, Anthony Street, The. Buford, N. Hobson, Wm. Hardy, Edwd. Jordan, Robt. Dixon, James Hamlett, Mich'l McKie, William Tysdale, Fran. DeGraffenreid, Josiah Whitlock, Benja. Estis, Thos. Edwards, Joseph Smith, Daniel McKie, Will. Glenn, Drury Murrell, Elisha Winn, John Hix, Isaac Brigandine, Joel Farguson, Wm. Stokes, Ths. Winn, Jun., John Gooch, Gab. Fowlkes, Peter Lamkin, Rawleigh Carter, ~~Bowler Hall~~, Sterling Wallington, Thos. Mitchell, Ambrose Jeter, Stith Bolling, Charles Bailey, Henry Buford, Josiah Jackson, Asa Davis, L. Royal, John Jennings, William Gooch, John Winn, Gabl. Fowlke[s], Sen., John L. Crutz, Robert Crutz, Ste. Cooke, Rich'd Jones, Jun., Wm. Cross Craddock, Heh. Bland, Christn. Ford, Edmd. Booker, Jnr., Jan Wills, Abram Green, Jnr., Isham Clay, Jas. Jenkins, John Jones, Edwd. Munford, Wm. Greenhill.

In 1784 Patrick Henry advocated a General Assessment plan in the House of Delegates; and in this Richard Henry Lee who had great differences with Henry supported him. Both were utterly opposed to any established state religion,—both believed in an entire freedom of religious belief. There has been con-

¹Journal: H. of D. Oct. 1783, 12.

siderable speculation as to how or why Henry, who sided with the dissenters, came to support the General Assessment idea, when it was generally opposed by the dissenters, and supported by the Episcopal church.

It may have been that he was genuinely impressed with the need for a better support of all religion, for religious affairs following the war were at a low ebb. Dr. William Hill said "The demoralizing effects of the war left religion and the church in a most deplorable condition. The Sabbath had been almost forgotten, and the public morals sadly deteriorated."¹

"The Anglican Church had nearly gone to wreck during the war; the few ministers who continued to serve existed precariously on the voluntary contributions of their diminished congregations. The Presbyterian ministers lived in the same way, and their congregations were poor. The Baptists and Methodists received little or no hire for preaching and eked out a living by following secular employments."²

In this state of things, it is not strange that many seeking to produce a better condition turned to the ideas of incorporating the religious bodies, and assessing all taxpayers for the support of some religious body, allowing them to choose which they would support.

It is interesting to observe, in connection with the history of this period that, notwithstanding the Bill of Rights, which had been passed as a part of the Constitution eight years earlier, the General Assembly was still supposed to have power to fix Church doctrines and regulations, and the ecclesiastical laws existing prior to the Revolution were treated as in effect.³

The Sixteenth Article of the Bill of Rights provided "That religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence, and therefore all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience; and that it is the mutual duty of all to practise Christian forbearance, love, and charity, towards each other."

¹ Foote: *Sketches of Virginia* (1st Series), 412).

² Eckenrode: *Separation of Church and State in Virginia*, 75.

³ Id. 78.

It seems clear that all had not grasped, as Jefferson and a few others had, the true significance of what was involved in the "free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience."

Patrick Henry on the one side and James Madison on the other headed respectively the forces which favored and those which opposed a general assessment. The debate was begun on November 11, 1784, and of this debate Foote says: "The true relations of church and State was enquired into with patience, vigor, conscience, keenness and judgment, in the exercise of great talents and eloquence."¹

The Committee of the Whole after the conclusion of the debate, reported out a resolution "That the people of the Commonwealth, according to their respective abilities, ought to pay a moderate tax or contribution annually for the support of the Christian religion, or of some Christian Church, denomination or communion of Christians, or for some form of Christian worship."²

This resolution was passed by a vote of 47 to 32, Anthony Street one of the representatives from Lunenburg voting in the negative. John Glenn the other representative from Lunenburg must not have been present as he is not shown as voting either way on the proposition.

After Patrick Henry had thus mustered a complete majority in the house, and secured the adoption of this resolution, he left the House on November 17, 1784, to become Governor of Virginia a second time. This was a decided advantage to Madison and the progressives, and to this circumstance is largely to be attributed the fact that on December 24, 1784, the bill for an assessment was deferred until the following session. Before this action was taken, however, various petitions pro and con came in, among them one from Lunenburg.

The matter being deferred until the next session of the legislature, those who opposed the Assessment Bill, which had been reported pursuant to Henry's victorious resolution, deemed it necessary to direct at the bill before the next session assembled a vigorous and hostile criticism. George Nicholas and George

¹*Sketches of Virginia* (1st Series), 339.

²Journal: H. of D. 1784, 19.

Mason, therefore, persuaded Madison to undertake the task. To this undertaking he brought the full power of his mental strength, and the *Memorial and Remonstrance*, justly famous as an elaborate argument on the relation of religion to the state, was the result.

This paper was widely circulated and signed throughout Virginia, and was "destined to draw forth such an expression of public opinion as the state had never seen before."¹

Before the Assembly met the Presbyterians formally went on record as opposing the Assessment bill,² as did the Baptists.³

The Baptist General Association at Orange in September, 1785, adopted a remonstrance in which they took the ground that the civil power had no right to establish a religious tax, and in so doing grounded themselves upon the rock bottom of the fundamentals of the proposition.

When the General Assembly met October 24, 1785, petitions began coming in, in such numbers as had never been known before, and they were chiefly opposed to assessment; among these was one from Lunenburg and others from Mecklenburg and Charlotte.

Sentiment was so clearly developed as against the assessment bill that it never even came up at the session. No mention is made of it in the journal of the House for this session, although it is said it was considered in the Committee of the Whole. Thus although Henry had been able to get a favorable vote on the proposition, the bill never came to a vote, and Madison was the victor on this question in the end.

The struggle over the matter of assessment was but one phase of the religious controversy. While this matter was being debated, the question of incorporating churches, and of relieving the Presbyterians, Baptists and other dissenting denominations of certain disabilities was also receiving attention; and they were earlier resolved than the assessment question. While it was pending the laws were so amended that dissenting ministers could legally perform the marriage ceremony. On November 17, 1784,

¹Eckenrode: *Separation of Church and State in Virginia*, 106.

²Madison: *Works* II, 163.

³Semple: *History of Virginia Baptists*, 96.

the House of Delegates resolved that "Acts ought to pass for the incorporation of all societies of the Christian religion, which may apply for the same."¹

The vote on the resolution was 62 to 23, Anthony Street of Lunenburg being one of the twenty-three voting in the negative. The bill introduced pursuant to the resolution passed December 22, 1784, by a vote of 47 to 38, John Glenn of Lunenburg being one of those voting in the negative.

Following the failure of the Assessment bill to be brought up at the session of 1785, Jefferson's bill for religious freedom was introduced on December 14th. The bill as drawn by Jefferson was amended in Committee and reported to the House.² On December 16th, the House struck out the Committee substitute for the preamble by a vote of 66 to 38, and the bill passed the House 74 to 20 on December 17, 1785, Lunenburg voting for the bill. Owing to some differences as to phraseology which developed between the Senate and the House the bill was not finally passed until January 16, 1786.³

This bill after a lengthy and noble preamble, enacts: "That no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or Ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burthened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief; but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities.

"And though we well know that this Assembly elected by the people for the ordinary purposes of legislation only, have no power to restrain the Acts of succeeding Assemblies, constituted with powers equal to our own, and that therefore to declare this act to be irrevocable, would be of no effect in law; yet we are free to declare, and do declare, that the rights hereby asserted are of the natural rights of mankind, and that if any act shall be hereafter passed to repeal the present, or to narrow its operation, such Act will be an infringement of natural right."

¹Journal: H. of D. 1784, 92.

²Journal: H. of D. 1785, 94.

³Journal: H. of D., 1785-6, 143.

Not only has this act never been repealed, but it has been followed in all free countries throughout the world.

Although the incorporation act was passed by a considerable majority its wisdom was widely questioned, and it was justly criticised "because it established an immediate, a dangerous and unwarrantable connection between the legislature and the church,"¹ and it was repealed January 8, 1787.²

By the defeat of the General Assessment bill, the passage of the act for establishing religious freedom, and the repeal of the act incorporating the Episcopal Church, the complete separation of Church and State in Virginia was effected, and all denominations placed upon an equal footing respecting their legal and civil rights and privileges.

With this inadequate review of the general religious situation during the period indicated, we may pass to a brief notice of the early activities of the several denominations, which in a measure have to do with the early period of the history of Lunenburg.

THE EPISCOPALIANS

Lunenburg had, as we shall see, an important part in the struggle between the vestries and the Colonial Governors.

When the county was created in 1745 it embraced, in addition to its present area, that now comprised in Mecklenburg, Charlotte, Halifax, Pittsylvania, Henry, Franklin, and the greater part of Bedford and Campbell counties.

This great area was comprised in one parish and was named Cumberland. While Lunenburg County and Cumberland parish were created by the act of 1745, it was provided that they should come into existence "from and immediately after the first day of May next."³

It was directed by the Act that the sheriff should advertise "some convenient time and place" for the meeting of the "freeholders and housekeepers" to elect "twelve of the most able and discreet persons" of the parish as vestrymen.

The first vestry of Cumberland parish seems to have been

¹Eckenrode: *Separation of Church and State in Virginia*, 124.

²Senate Journal, 1787, 92.

³Hening V. 3110.

composed of the following: Lewis Deloney, Clement Read, Matthew Talbott, Abraham Martin, Lyddall Bacon, David Stokes, Daniel Ferth, Thomas Bouldin, John Twitty, Field Jefferson, John Edloe, and John Cox.

In 1746 the vestry ordered a chapel forty-eight feet by twenty-four feet to be built near Reedy Creek. This was near Lunenburg Court-House. This was burned, as Bishop Meade informs us, "between thirty and forty years since, during the ministry of Rev. Mr. Philips."¹

The vestry also took steps, in 1746, to select places for a chapel and reading-house, near Otter River and the Fork of Roanoke; and in the following year a committee was appointed to purchase a site for a chapel on the Little Roanoke River.²

The locations of all the churches built by the first vestry we do not know; but apparently they built seven. Rev. John Brunskill, as we shall see, was the first minister of the parish, and in this connection Bishop Meade gives some idea of the number of churches in this far-flung parish at that time. He says: "It would appear that the vestrymen had not been inactive in the erection of churches during the two years since entering on their office, for the[y] contract with Mr. Brunskill, to preach at the four churches already built, and at another place on South River, and two others, are determined on this year."³

The vestry elected for the newly created parish of Cumberland were not ignorant of the character of the controversy between the vestries and the Colonial Governors.

They were alive to the necessity of saving the people from having an unworthy minister saddled upon them for life, by being inducted into the office by the governor.

The vestry in 1748 took firm ground on this matter in the following communication to Sir William Gooch, at that time the Governor of the Colony:

"Letters commendatory from Sir William Gooch, Baronett and Lieutenant-Governor, and Mr. Commissary Dawson, in

¹Bishop Meade's book was printed in 1891.

²Bishop Meade, Vol. I, p. 482.

³Bishop Meade, Vol. I, p. 483.

favor of the Rev. John Brunskill being presented to the vestry: they are willing to pay due respect and deference to the Governor's and Commissary's recommendation, and are willing to receive the said Mr. Brunskill into this parish, as a minister of the Gospel, for one year, and at the expiration thereof to cause to be paid him the salary by law appointed. But, forasmuch as they are not willing to be compelled to entertain and receive any minister, other than such as may answer the end of ministerial function, they only intend to entertain and receive him as a probationer for one year, being fully minded and desirous that, if they should in that time disapprove of his conduct or behavior, they may have it in their power to choose another."¹

This letter was signed by: Lewis Deloney, Clement Read, William Howard, Lyddall Bacon, David Stokes, Thomas Bouldin, Abraham Martin, John Twitty, and Matthew Talbott, vestrymen.

Commenting on this communication, and the caution with which the vestry employed Rev. John Brunskill, Bishop Meade says: "Mr. Brunskill remained but one year; and, if he was the man who so disgraced himself and the church in Faquier, soon after this, the vestry did wisely in their mode of engaging him."²

In this connection Bishop Meade seems to have fallen into an error. The circumstances affecting the church in Faquier to which the Bishop here alludes, he sets forth in his account of Hamilton and Leeds parishes, in Faquier County.³

In his article on Hamilton parish he says: "In the year 1758, the Rev. Joseph Brunskill was the minister,"⁴ and in a note to this text he says:

"He was a notorious evil-liver, being given to intemperance and other vices. His vestry complained of him to Governor Dinwiddie, who summoned him and his accusers, with their witnesses, to Williamsburg. They appeared before the Governor and Council, Commissary Dawson being one of the Council. Being found guilty, the Governor ordered the vestry

¹Bishop Meade, Vol. I, p. 482-3.

²Bishop Meade, Vol. I, p. 483.

³Vol. 2, p. 217.

⁴Id.

to dismiss him and choose another minister. On his return to the parish, Mr. Brunskill posted the Governor and Council on the church-door, and perhaps elsewhere, declaring that they had no jurisdiction in the case, and adding in the same notice a canon of the English Church, whereby none but a Bishop could pass sentence on a clergyman. The justification of the Governor was, that although none but a Bishop could absolutely deprive of orders, yet the Governor as Supreme Ruler in Virginia, and representing the Crown, which was chief in Church and State in England, had a right and was bound to exercise some discipline and prevent such dishonor to religion, and that, as ministers were tried before the civil courts in England, so Mr. Brunskill had been tried before the Governor and Council, which was the supreme court in Virginia. Commissary Dawson entertained some doubt as to the canonical regularity of the proceeding, but in a letter to the Bishop of London justified it on the ground of necessity."

The minister in Lunenburg County above referred to was Rev. *John* Brunskill; the one who had the trouble with his vestry in Faquier was Rev. *Joseph* Brunskill. They were different persons therefore, unless Bishop Meade has confused the names—at least according to Bishop Meade's account, Rev. John Brunskill, who held a charge in Lunenburg, had no trouble with a vestry in Faquier.

As to the succession of ministers in Cumberland parish, and the activities of the established church we will in the main follow the account of Bishop Meade, the leading authority on this subject.

After Rev. John Brunskill, who only remained a year, the next minister was Rev. George Purdie. The vestry, says Bishop Meade, "are yet more careful in their contract with him; for, although recommended by the President of the Council, Mr. Burwell, and Commissary Dawson, they will only receive him on trial for six months, and agree with him that either party may dissolve the connection by giving six months' notice. He remained about eighteen months, and, having occasion to visit England, resigned his charge. The vestry, however, speak well of his conduct while he was their minister. On his return from Eng-

land (if he went), he became, in the following year, minister of St. Andrew's, in Brunswick, as we have seen. In the year 1751, the Rev. William Kay, of whom we shall have more to say in another place, became the minister on a probation of two years, with the understanding that either party might be released at the end of one year. Mr. Kay, being a worthy minister, remained with them until his death in 1755."¹

Rev. Mr. Kay (or Key, as it is frequently spelled) served Lunenburg Parish, in Richmond County, prior to coming to Cumberland parish, in Lunenburg County. There he had a painful and protracted controversy with a portion of the vestry led by Colonel Landon Carter. The dispute arose over the right of Mr. Kay to the parish in preference to another desired by a part of the vestry and the people. The dispute was heard by the Governor and Council, and then carried to the higher tribunal in England. The clergy and Commissary appear to have favored Mr. Kay in the controversy. The church was locked against him, at least for a time, but the attachment of a part of the vestry and people to his cause was so strong that he held services in the churchyard.

Bishop Meade says: "How it" (the controversy) "was finally settled in the English courts, does not appear, but we find Mr. Kay in Cumberland parish, Lunenburg County, in the year 1754."²

This date—1754—is evidently an inadvertence. The contract between the vestry of Cumberland parish and Mr. Kay was made in 1751 and he served the parish until his death in 1755.³

Continuing his account, Bishop Meade says:

"In 1756, the Rev. Mr. Barclay, became the minister on the condition that he or the vestry might dissolve the relation at a moment's warning. After continuing one year and some months, Mr. Barclay resigned, and recommended to the vestry to give a title to the parish to Mr. James Craig, student of divinity, in order that he might obtain Orders,—that being necessary, according to the English canons. They agree to this, and as they did a few years after to Mr. Jarratt, but only on condition of his enter-

¹Bishop Meade, Vol. 1, p. 484.

²Bishop Meade, Vol. 2, p. 179.

³Id. Vol. 1, p. 483.

ing bond, with proper security, that he shall not by virtue of this title insist upon being the minister of this parish if he shall not be found agreeable to the gentlemen of the vestry and the parishioners, after trial. This was the common custom of the vestries in Virginia in regard to those who were only candidates for the ministry and wished to be able to comply with the canon and obtain Orders. In the year 1759, the Rev. James Craig became their minister. About this time several other chapels are ordered.

“After a few years Mr. Craig thinks of leaving the parish; and the Rev. Mr. Jarratt¹ who was about to go to England for orders, receives a title on the same condition which had been agreed on with Mr. Craig. Mr. Craig, however, still continues in the parish until his death in 1795. He appears to have had the esteem of his people. A good glebe and glebe-house are prepared for him, and he was allowed to practice medicine in connection with his ministry. At one time,—about 1790,—he appears to have left the parish, or to have been officiating in some parish or parishes around, as the vestry pass an order that if he will return to the parish and preach every Sabbath, they will raise sixty pounds for him. Whether the sixty pounds was raised or not, he appears to have laboured in his old parish until his death. His ministry was of thirty-five or thirty-six years duration, in this one parish.

“Mr. Craig united the practice of medicine with the duties of the ministry. Whether it was from the necessity of obtaining a support for his family, or from Charity to the poor I cannot say. He prospered in his worldly matters. His glebe was larger and better than most of those in the State, and he was a better manager. He had a mill of his own, and during the war it was a kind of storehouse for public provisions. Tarleton, knowing this, and that Mr. Craig was a true American and zealous in the cause of the Revolution, took the mill in his route, and, after he and his men had feasted on Mr. Craig’s good mutton and fed their horses on his corn, caused barrels of flour to be rolled into the mill-pond and the whole establishment to be burned down.”²

¹This was evidently Rev. Devereux Jarratt, who was ordained in London, on Christmas day 1762, and who in 1763, became minister of Bristol parish in Dinwiddie County.

²Bishop Meade, Vol. 1, p. 484.

Rev. Mr. Craig's mill was on Flat Rock Creek, a short distance below the mill later built and known as Bagley's Mill. It was but a short distance from the present town of Kenbridge.

Bishop Meade's account continues :

"To Mr. Craig, the Rev. John Cameron succeeded. He was one of four brothers who came from Scotland,—one of them besides himself, being in the ministry. The family was ancient and highly respectable. He was educated in King's College, Aberdeen, was ordained by the Bishop of Chester, in 1770, and came over that year, to Virginia. His first charge was St. James's church, Mecklenburg. From thence, in 1784, he went to Petersburg, and after spending some years there, removed to Nottoway parish. Mr. Jarratt, in speaking of the migratory course of the clergy for want of support after the Revolution, says :

"Among others, we have a recent instance in the case of Dr. Cameron, whom you saw at my house as a visitor. He then lived at Petersburg, but induced by necessity, having a large and increasing family, he removed into a parish above me, called Nottoway, where the vestry obligated themselves to pay him a hundred pounds annually, for three years successively—But meeting with no assistance from any one of the people, the whole fell upon themselves alone. This burden they found too weighty, and it caused them to wish to get rid of the incumbent, which I am told they have effected, and Dr. Cameron is now the minister of a parish in Lunenburg County. Few or none of the people would go to hear him (at least very seldom), and very few of the vestry made a constant practice of going to church, as I have been informed, so that frequently his congregation would not exceed five or six hearers. Surely this was enough to worry him and make him think of new quarters.'

"His new quarters not being, in this respect, sufficient for his support, he was obliged to resort to school-keeping, and had a select classical school, for which, by his scholarship, he was eminently fitted. He was made Doctor of Divinity, by William and Mary College. If for his strictness he was even then complained of, how would such a school as his be now endured, by either parents or children? By nature stern and authoritative, he

was born and educated where the discipline of schools and families was more than Anglican. It was Caledonian. But he made fine scholars. There is one, at least, now alive, who is an instance of this, and bears testimony to it. His sincere piety and great uprightness commanded the respect of all, if his stern appearance and uncompromising strictness prevented a kindlier feeling. I never saw him but once, and then only for a few hours around a committee-table at our second Convention, in Richmond, and then received a rebuke from him; and, though it was not for an unpardonable sin, yet, I sincerely thanked him, and have esteemed him the more for it ever since. The father's piety and integrity have descended to more than one of his posterity. Judge Duncan Cameron, of North Carolina, was his son, and educated by him. Of him it might be said, in some good degree, as of Sir Matthew Hale, 'a light saith the Pulpit; a light saith the Bar.' Judge Walker Anderson, of Florida, is his grandson, and was his scholar, and but for ill health would have been in the ministry. I might speak of others, but it enters not into my place to enlarge more.

"Dr. Cameron continued the minister of Cumberland parish until his death in 1815. He was buried beside his daughter, Anna M. Cameron. A tombstone has been erected to their memory by his son, of whom we have just spoken,—the late Hon. Duncan Cameron, of North Carolina.

"About three or four years after the death of Mr. Cameron, the Rev. Mr. Philips, of whom I wrote in the article on Hanover, took charge of this parish and continued in it until his death."

The Rev. Mr. Philips here referred to was Rev. John Philips. He was an Englishman, of the Wesleyan school, and ordained for the Episcopal Church by Bishop Moore. Bishop Meade records of Mr. Philips that he was an exceedingly small man. "His person was," says Bishop Meade, "the most diminutive I ever saw or heard of in the pulpit, but it was remarkable for its quickness and energy of action. He required to be elevated on a high block or platform to be seen at all in the pulpit. When praying in private houses, he always knelt in the chair, not by it. He was very animated in preaching, putting his soul and voice into his extempore sermons."

The circumstance of his death was very remarkable. He and his wife were riding in a conveyance, which Mrs. Philips was driving; she always drove for him. While thus travelling he expired, and his wife did not discover the fact until she stopped at a tavern to water the horse. She then found that he was sitting by her side, a corpse.

During the interval between the death of Mr. Cameron and the coming of Mr. Philips, Mr. Ravenscroft, of Mecklenburg, then a candidate for Orders in Virginia, was recommended by Bishop Moore and accepted by the vestry as lay reader in the parish.

"The Rev. Charles Talaifero, after an interval of some years, succeeded Mr. Philips in 1831, and for six years laboured most diligently and successfully, being the means under God of rousing up the slumbering energies of the old parish. St. John's Church was the only one standing in the parish at that time. Reedy Creek Church had been consumed by fire. Being deserted of worshippers, it was filled with fodder, and [is] said to have taken fire while some negroes were playing cards in it by night. Old Flatrock church had been disposed of and the proceeds applied to the building of St. John's. St. Paul's was built during the ministry of the honest and zealous Mr. Taliafero. At his entrance upon duty there were only seven regular attending communicants in the parish. During his brief ministry forty-six were added to the communion. Mr. Talifero was succeeded by the Rev. Thomas Locke, who has continued to be the minister until within the last two years. The Rev. Mr. Henderson is its present rector.

"I take from the old vestry-book the following list of Vestrymen:

"Lewis Deloney, Clement Read, Matthew Talbot, Abraham Martin, Lyddall Bacon, David Stokes, Daniel Ferth, Thomas Bouldin, John Twitty, Field Jefferson, John Edloe, John Cox, Francis Ellidge, Luke Smith, William Embry [or Embra], Peter Fontaine, Robert Wade, George Walton, Joseph Morton, Thomas Hawkins, William Watkins, Thomas Nash, John Speed, Henry Blagrove [Blagrave], John Jennings, Matthew Marraball, John Parrish, John Ragsdale, Daniel Claiborne, Edmund Taylor, Thomas Pettis, Thomas Lanier, Thomas Tabb, William Gee,

David Garland, John Hobson, George Philips, Thomas Wynne, William Taylor, Thomas Chambers, Christopher Philips, Benjamin Tomlinson, Charles Warden, Elisha Betts, Thomas Buford, William Harding, David Stokes, John Ballard, Robert Dixon, Anthony Street, Edward Jordan, Nicholas Hobson, Sterling Niblett [Neblett], John Cureton, Christopher Robertson, James Buford, Covington Hardy, Ellison Ellis, J. E. Broadman, William Buford, James Smith, Thomas Stephenson, Bryan Lester, William Glenn, Obadiah Clay, William Tucker, Edmund P. Bacon, Thomas Garland, John Billups, David Street, Peter Eppes, W. Farmer, James McFarland, Thomas M. Cameron, William Buford, Jr.

“It will be seen that the name of Buford often occurs on this list. At one time four of the name were in the same vestry. To Mr. Thomas Buford, a pious member of the Church, the parish is now, and has been for a long time, indebted for its ability to support a minister. About sixty years ago he left an estate to the parish, which, though badly managed, has rendered effectual aid to the vestry in the support of a minister.

“To the above list I add the first election after the effort at renewing the Church began: David Street, Colonel John Street, William Overton, Roger Atkinson, Thomas Atkinson, James McFarland, Charles Smith.”¹

THE PRESBYTERIANS

The Presbyterians were the first sect or denomination to make any appreciable inroads upon the Anglican church; but Presbyterianism did not make any considerable headway in the Colony for a long time after its first appearance. As early as 1683 some Presbyterians were living in eastern Virginia.²

Josias Mackie was, so far as is known, the first legal dissenting minister in Virginia.³

He qualified under the Toleration Act of 1689, and was the pastor of a congregation on Elizabeth River until his death

¹Bishop Meade, Vol. 1, p. 486-7.

²T. C. Johnson: *Virginia Presbyterianism and Religious Liberty*, 13.

³Eckenrode: *Separation of Church and State in Virginia*, 31, citing McIlwaine, 31.

which occurred in 1716. But the person who was regarded as the real founder of Presbyterianism in the United States was Francis Mackemie, who came from Ireland and settled in Accomac County, Virginia. He was licensed to preach in 1699¹ and lived a time in Virginia, but the greater part of his life in America was spent in the North. After his removal from Virginia, Presbyterianism practically died out in the eastern part of the state.

It is to Mackemie rather than to Mackie that Foote gives the honor of being the first in Virginia. He says: "The interest attached to the name, birthplace, and labors of Mackemie arises from the circumstances, that he was, in all probability, the first consistent Presbyterian minister in the United States; certainly the first in Virginia."²

In 1738 a group of Presbyterians led by John Caldwell³ "who are about to settle in the back parts of Virginia," requested the Synod of Philadelphia to appoint persons to wait upon the Governor and Council of Virginia "in order to procure the favour and countenance of the government of that province to the laying a foundation of our interest in the back parts thereof, where considerable numbers of families of our persuasion are settling."⁴

The request was granted, an address to Governor Gooch prepared and it was sent by "Messrs. Robert Cross, Anderson, Conn and Orme."

Governor Gooch assured the Philadelphia Synod that such Presbyterians as might settle in Virginia would not be disturbed by the Virginia authorities if they complied with the provisions of the Toleration Act.⁵

The Toleration Act permitted dissenters who qualified under it to absent themselves from the established church and to hold their own meetings once in two months.⁶

John Caldwell and his associates seem to have remained in Pennsylvania a year following the action of the Synod, for the

¹Johnson: *Virginia Presbyterianism and Religious Liberty*, 16.

²Foote: *Sketches of Virginia* (1st Series), 41.

³The Grandfather of John Caldwell Calhoun of South Carolina.

⁴Foote: *Sketches of Virginia* (1st Series), 103.

⁵Foote: *Sketches of Virginia* (1st Series), 104.

⁶Hening, III, 171.

next year, on May 28th, "Mr. Anderson,"¹ reported upon his trip to Virginia and submitted the letter he had obtained from Governor Gooch.

Pursuant to this understanding John Caldwell and his group of associates removed to Virginia, and he settled on Cub Creek in Brunswick County.

Rev. William Henry Foote, in his *Sketches of Virginia*, says, "The John Caldwell named in this transaction was grandfather to the Hon. John Caldwell Calhoun of South Carolina. The Colony he was the means of introducing laid the foundation of Cub Creek—in Charlotte,—Buffaloe, and Walker's Church in Prince Edward,—and Hat Creek and Concord in Campbell. He himself settled at Cub Creek; the greater part of the families that formed that settlement, ultimately removed to West Virginia, now Kentucky."²

Foote does not give the date of the settlement of John Caldwell's colony on Cub Creek and Buffaloe. The date of his coming can be established with approximate certainty from existing records. He was living in Brunswick County, Va., in that part created into the County of Lunenburg before the 5th day of May, 1746, for on that date he seemed to have helped to organize the county.³

John Caldwell and William Caldwell were members of the first county court of the county.

The will of John Caldwell bears date November 26, 1748, and was probated and recorded in Lunenburg County April 3, 1751.⁴

He therefore died before that date. William Caldwell's will was dated December 22, 1750, and was probated April 2, 1751.⁵

One of the earliest, if not the first, of the Presbyterian preachers to preach in Lunenburg County was Rev. William Robinson, who was born near Carlyle, England,⁶ of Quaker parents. His father was a physician of eminence and wealth. He was con-

¹This was Rev. James Anderson. See Foote: *Sketches of Virginia* (2nd Series), 51.

²*Sketches of Virginia* (1st Series), 104-5.

³See Chapter VII.

⁴Lunenburg County, Will Book 1, page 498.

⁵Id. page 501.

⁶Foote: *Sketches of Virginia* (1st Series), 124-5.

verted to Presbyterianism while residing at Hopewell, now Penning, New Jersey.¹ He was sent as an evangelist in the winter of 1742-3 by the Presbytery of New Castle to visit the Presbyterian settlements in Virginia, and on Haw River in North Carolina. It is said that "on entering Virginia, he was seized near Winchester by the sheriff of Orange County, which then extended to the north branch of Potomac, and was sent on his way to Williamsburg to answer to the Governor for preaching without a license. Before he had proceeded far the sheriff released him to pursue his mission."²

He spent the winter in North Carolina, and on his return preached to the Presbyterians in that part of Brunswick County,³ which was in the next year cut off into Lunenburg.

Robinson refused money that was raised for him by the people to whom he preached in Virginia; but upon being pressed to take it he consented saying he did not need it himself and would not use it for his own needs. But he said "there is a young man of my acquaintance of promising talents and piety, who is now studying with a view to the ministry, but his circumstances are embarrassing, he has not funds to support and carry him on without much difficulty; this money will relieve him from his pecuniary difficulties. I will take charge of it and appropriate it to his use; and as soon as he is licensed we will send him to visit you; it may be, that you may now, by your liberality, be educating a minister for yourselves."⁴

The student to whom he referred was Samuel Davies, a great and famous preacher, who in later years became so prominently identified with this section of Virginia, a man who was said

¹ Foote: *Sketches of Virginia* (1st Series), 125.

² Id. 126.

³ Foote says he preached to the Presbyterians in Charlotte County. Of course what he means is that he preached to the Presbyterian settlements located in what afterwards became Charlotte. This was twenty years before Charlotte became a county. Throughout his valuable writings he is constantly confusing by his failure to observe in any degree the chronology of the counties. Thus he speaks of reports having reached Governor Gooch respecting the activities of the Presbyterians, prior to 1745, "in Lunenburg, Charlotte, Prince Edward, Appomattox," etc. This was nine years before there was any Prince Edward; twenty years before Charlotte and one hundred years before Appomattox was created.

⁴ Foote: *Sketches of Virginia* (1st Series), 129.

to be as great as he looked, and whose appearance was such as to cause one to exclaim "He seems an ambassador of some mighty king."¹

On coming to Virginia he passed down the Eastern Shore through the territory where Makemie had preached and went to Williamsburg. His destination was Hanover; and though Roan and others were under indictment in the General Court for blasphemous behavior and preaching without a license there, Davies won the favor of Governor Gooch, and of the Council, and was licensed as a Dissenting Minister to preach on the lands of Samuel Morris, David Rice, and Stephen Leacy in Hanover, and Thomas Watkins in Henrico, the very scene of Roan's alleged misdemeanors. Davies at this time was described as "a tall, slim, well-formed youth, pale and wasted by disease, dignified and courteous in manner."²

Davies had not been long in Virginia before he realized that a vast field was before him and a pressing need for more ministers. In this situation he endeavored to get the Rev. Jonathan Edwards, the great New England divine, to come to Virginia. On July 4, 1751, writing from Hanover, to Rev. Mr. Joseph Bellaney, he said: "I never received any information of the kind in my life, that afforded me so many anxious thoughts, as yours concerning the great Mr. Edwards. It has employed my waking hours, and even mingled with my midnight dreams. The main cause of my anxiety, was, the delay of your letter, which I did not receive till about three weeks ago, when I was in Lunenburg, about one hundred and thirty miles from home. This made me afraid lest Mr. Edwards had settled somewhere else, being weary of waiting for the invitation from Virginia. Should this be the unhappy case, and should the obligation to his new people be deemed undissolvable, I shall look upon it as a severe judgment of incensed heaven on this wretched colony. . . .

* * * * *

"I assure myself, dear sir, of your most zealous concurrence

¹Bruce: *John Randolph of Roanoke*, I, 62; Foote: *Sketches of Virginia* (1st Series), 221.

²Foote: *Sketches of Virginia* (1st Series), 160.

to persuade him to Virginia. . . . Do not send him a cold, paper message, but go to him yourself in person. . . .

"We need the deep judgment and calm temper of Mr. Edwards among us. . . .

* * * * *

"As soon as I returned from Lunenburg, I wrote to the elders in the upper part of my congregation (which I want to cast off when they have an opportunity of obtaining a minister), urging them to take pains with the people of their respective quarters to obtain subscriptions for Mr. Edwards' maintenance; and though they had no knowledge of him, but by my recommendation, they made up about 80 pounds of our currency, which is about 60 or 65 pounds sterling, and it is the general opinion of the people, that if Mr. Edwards does in any measure answer the character I have given him (and I doubt not ~~but he will~~), they can easily afford him 100 pounds per annum.

. . . . The people about the lower meeting house, which is my more immediate charge, assure me they will contribute toward the expenses of his first year's settlement; and the people in Lunenburg told me they would cheerfully subscribe toward his maintenance the first year, should he settle anywhere in Virginia."¹

To this letter is added a postscript, dated July 13, in which he says: "I did not receive the complete subscription for Mr. Edwards till yesterday, which happily exceeds my expectation. It amounts to about 97 pounds which is near 80 pounds sterling. This will undoubtedly be a sufficient maintenance."

But just as Davies had feared the distance was so great, and it took so long to communicate with one in New England from Virginia that Mr. Edwards located elsewhere before he received the message of Mr. Davies through Mr. Bellaney. That he probably would have come to Virginia is clearly indicated by a letter written July 7, 1752, to a Mr. Erskine. "I was," he says, "in the latter part of the last summer applied to, with much earnestness and importunity, by some of the people of Virginia, to come and settle among them, in the work of the ministry; who subscribed

¹Footnote: *Sketches of Virginia* (2nd Series), 41-42.

handsomely for my encouragement and support, and sent a messenger to me with their request, and subscriptions; but I was installed at Stockbridge before the messenger came."¹

In 1752, John Todd, a member of the second class graduated by the College of New Jersey (he graduated in 1749), came to Virginia. It was the purpose of Mr. Davies to locate him in that part of Lunenburg which is now Charlotte, or in the territory which is now Prince Edward. But the General Court objected to granting a license for more than the seven places already granted Samuel Davies; so Todd became an assistant to Davies and as such was licensed April 22, 1752.²

But notwithstanding Mr. Todd did not have a regular charge in Lunenburg, he preached in the county, as, for example, at the time Robert Henry was constituted pastor of the Cub Creek church, of which Henry became pastor on June 4, 1755.³ Robert Henry was a native of Scotland and a graduate of New Jersey College in 1751. Foote states that on June 4, 1755, "the installation services were performed by Mr. Todd, and Mr. Henry was constituted pastor of Cub Creek in Charlotte, and Briery in Prince Edward, both then forming a part of Lunenburg County."⁴

The Briery congregation had its origin in the conversion of Little Joe Morton, at whose house Samuel Davies spent the night on one of his missionary excursions.⁵

The other charge of Mr. Henry, that at Cub Creek was in the community where John Caldwell settled when he brought his Colony to Brunswick County. Foote says "Cub Creek Congregation was made up of a Colony of Scotch-Irish, led to the Frontiers of Virginia, by John Caldwell about the year 1738,"⁶ and that this was the place John Caldwell made his home is definitely stated by him in his sketches (First Series), where after mentioning the

¹Foote: *Sketches of Virginia* (2nd Series), 43.

²Id. 45.

³Id. 49.

⁴Id. The statement that Prince Edward was a part of Lunenburg is erroneous, as is the other statement that Prince Edward County had not then been formed. Prince Edward was formed from Amelia County, and was created the year before the event of which Foote writes. See *Virginia Counties*, etc., Bulletin of the Virginia State Library, Vol. 9, 64.

⁵Foote: *Sketches of Virginia* (1st Series), 215; (2nd Series), 50.

⁶Id. (2nd Series), 50.

different places where some of those who accompanied him settled, he says, "He himself settled at Cub Creek."¹ Of this settlement on Cub Creek Foote says: "Part of the immediate descendants of the colony on Cub Creek went to Kentucky, some to South Carolina."²

To trace the courses of the various Presbyterian preachers who in the early years faithfully labored in the territory originally comprised in Lunenburg would lead us beyond any possible limits that can be assigned to the subject. That would require a volume in itself, as the readers of Foote's two volumes several times quoted are aware.

With the founding and development of Hampden-Sidney College, in Prince Edward, just beyond the bounds of old Lunenburg, this section became an even greater stronghold of Presbyterianism than it had been before. This school had been projected by Rev. Samuel Stanhope Smith, and on February 1, 1775, the Presbytery met at Captain Nathaniel Venable's, in Prince Edward to determine upon the question of the location of the seminary.³ On the following day they determined "to build an academy-house, and a dwelling for the superintendent, and other necessary houses, as far as the subscriptions will admit, at the head of Hudson's Branch, in Prince Edward County, on an hundred acres of land, given for the use, by Mr. Peter Johnson"; and continues the record, "We entrust Mr. Peter Johnson, Col. John Nash, Jr., Mr. James Allen, Capt. John Morton, and Capt. Nathaniel Venable, or any three of them, to draw plans of the houses and let them to the lowest bidder, of which they shall give timely notice to the publick."⁴

At the same time the Presbytery appointed trustees for the institution: "We appoint the Rev. Messrs. Richard Sankey (of Buffaloe), John Todd (of Louisa), Samuel Leake (of Albemarle) and Caleb Wallace (of Cub Creek), together with Mr. Peter Johnson, Col. Paul Carrington, Col. John Nash, Jr., Capt. John Morton, Capt. Nathaniel Venable, Col. Thomas Read, Mr.

¹Page 105.

²Among these were the Calhouns. John Caldwell was the grandfather of John Caldwell Calhoun (*Foote's Sketches*, 1st Series, 104).

³Foote: *Sketches of Virginia* (1st Series), 394.

⁴Id. 395.

James Venable, Mr. Francis Watkins, and the superintendent *ex-officio*, trustees of the Academy. Seven of the Trustees shall be a quorum.”¹

This was the beginning of Hampden-Sidney College.

In November, 1775, Rev. David Rice, Colonel Patrick Henry, Colonel John Tabb, Colonel William Cabel and Colonel James Madison, Jr., were added to the board of trustees.

Very soon after the school was founded Rev. John B. Smith was engaged as a teacher, and soon became the head of the institution, Rev. Samuel Stanhope Smith having accepted the chair of Moral Philosophy in New Jersey College. Inasmuch as he left in October, 1779, and Rev. John Blair Smith's services began almost with the inception of active work he is regarded as the real founder, as his brother was the projector of the institution.

The territory that now remains in the county of Lunenburg, as distinguished from the area cut off into the more westerly counties, did not, it seems, embrace such a large element of population of the Presbyterian faith as were to be found in the more immediate vicinity of the settlements of the John Caldwell Colony. Nevertheless we find in 1793, after Lunenburg county had been reduced to its present size, Presbyterian churches, or at least members of the Presbyterian church in sufficient numbers to have the services of a minister, for a record of the Presbytery for that year shows that Rev. Carey Allen and Rev. William Calhoun, who had done missionary work in Kentucky had returned, had secured their dismissal from the Synod, and had been recommended to the Presbytery, whereupon on the next day Mr. Allen was appointed to supply in Albemarle, Madison, Goochland and Buckingham; and Mr. Calhoun in Mecklenburg, Lunenburg, Nottoway, and Amelia.²

One element of the Presbyterians in Lunenburg had an interesting history,—the denomination called the Republican Methodists. Their history is closely woven with that of Rev. Clement Read, grandson of Clement Read, the first Clerk of Lunenburg County, and one of the original vestrymen of Cumberland Parish. The grandmother of young Clement Read was

¹ Foote: *Sketches of Virginia* (1st Series), 395.

² Foote: *Sketches of Virginia* (2nd Series), 231.

a woman notable for her efforts to maintain religion in her family. She, like her husband, had been raised in the Episcopal church. But the grandson grew up "under religious influences in the Presbyterian form."¹

The Presbyterian creed, beginning with the time Samuel Davies preached at the house of Little Joe Morton, became in time the prevailing form of belief in that section. And the grandson, who became the minister, Clement Read, pursued and completed a course of study at Hampden-Sidney College. Many of his relatives had become members of the Presbyterian Church, and he grew up under its instruction. He joined that church and decided to become a minister of the gospel.

On October 10, 1788, along with Nash Legrand, at a meeting of the Hanover Presbytery at Cumberland Meeting House, he was received as a candidate for the ministry. In January, 1789, at the time that Cary Allen was received as a candidate the preparatory trials of Read and Legrand were had. In the following April, Legrand was licensed but Read was not, and in October, 1789, the "Presbytery suspended any further preparatory steps for the licensure of Mr. Read."²

The reason was that he had "become interested with the Methodists, who were numerous in some neighborhoods, and their ministers very active and acceptable."³

They were at that time still regarded as a part of the Episcopal Church.

Finally, however, they separated from the Episcopal Church and "a large body in Old Lunenburg formed a denomination called Republican Methodists," and of this body "Mr. Read was for years a minister."⁴

In fact, says Foote: "He associated with these and began preaching before he had finished his preparatory course under Presbytery,"⁵ and "was ordained by the Republican Methodists, and was an amiable, devout, and earnest preacher, respected and beloved by all that loved the gospel."⁶

¹Foote: *Sketches of Virginia* (2nd Series), 576.

²Id. 577.

³Id.

⁴Id.

⁵Id.

⁶Id.

In 1801 an effort was made "to promote unity of feeling and action among Christians in the bounds of ancient Lunenburg,"¹ as a result of which ten Baptists, ten Methodists and six Presbyterian ministers met on December 25, 1801, at Bedford Court House to discuss the subject of their differences and to see if they could not adopt some terms for living "more friendly than we have done, and even to commune together."²

The plan adopted by this group of ministers for recommendation to their respective governing bodies was for each Presbytery to admit two Baptists and two Methodists to sit in the Presbytery as correspondents; likewise each Association of Baptists, and each Conference of Methodists admitted a like number of Correspondents from the other denominations. Although it does not appear that the plan was formally adopted by the Presbytery, Association and Conference concerned, it had a good effect. Even in advance of submitting the plan to their respective church organizations, the preachers who had participated in the Bedford Conference frequently preached together, and under date of May 17, 1802, Rev. Mr. Lacy wrote: "Since that time," the time of the Conference at Bedford Court House, "greater harmony and brotherly love have been apparent among the different denominations."³

In April, 1804, at a Presbytery held at Hampden-Sidney Rev. Messrs. John Robinson and Clement Read "appeared as a committee of the Republican Methodists to confer with the Presbytery 'on the subject of an union, which it appeared their constituents anxiously desired to form with the Presbyterian Church.'"⁴

A committee was appointed to confer with them with power "to adopt such measures respecting the union contemplated, as to them may appear eligible, and to make their report to Presbytery at their next meeting." From the report made to the Presbytery at Cub Creek, it appeared that the two committees conferred, but the committee of the Republican Methodists desired to confer

¹Foote: *Sketches of Virginia* (2nd Series), 578.

²Letter of Rev. Drury Lacy, quoted by Foote, *Sketches* (2nd Series), 578, where the whole letter is given.

³Foote: *Sketches of Virginia* (2nd Series), 578.

⁴Id. 579.

with their church upon some important points that arose. And it does not appear that the subject was followed up.

By 1809 Rev. Clement Read decided to join the Presbyterians and at a called meeting of the Presbytery on September 28th and 29th at Briery Church he was received into the Presbyterian Church.

The Republican Methodists, however, continued to exist in this part of Virginia until 1822. In that year "Rev. Messrs. Henderson Lee, John Davidson, Samuel Armstead, and Matthew W. Jackson, Ministers of the Republican Methodist Church, met the Presbytery at Charlotte Court House, and 'having adopted the Confession of Faith of the Presbyterian Church, and answered the questions put to candidates, were received and took their seats as members of Presbytery.' By this act the Republican Methodist Church, as a body, in that part of Virginia, became extinct."¹

THE BAPTISTS

The Baptists of Virginia came from three sources: From England, from Maryland, and from New England.² Virginia had been settled a full century before that denomination is mentioned by name in its annals.³

The first Baptists in Virginia "were emigrants from England, who, about the year 1714, settled in the southeastern parts of the state."⁴

The next group about 1743 came from Maryland and settled in the northwestern part of the State,⁵ while still a third and more important party came from New England. The New England group were disciples of Rev. George Whitefield, and were known as *New Lights*.⁶

This "New Light Stir" became an extensive movement, and those adhering to it "conceiving that the parish congregations, a few excepted, were far from the purity of the Gospel, determined

¹ Foote: *Sketches of Virginia* (2nd Series), 579.

² Cook: *The Story of the Baptists*, 217.

³ Id. 214.

⁴ Semple: *History, etc. of the Baptists*, 11.

⁵ Id.

⁶ Id.

to form a society to themselves. Accordingly they embodied many churches. Into these none were admitted who did not profess vital religion. Having thus separated themselves from the established churches, they were denominated Separates.”¹

“The Separates first took their rise, or rather their name, about the year 1744.”²

In 1751 Shubal Stearns, who was born in Massachusetts, was converted to the Baptist faith. He came to Virginia in 1754, but not meeting with the encouragement he expected in Frederick County, he went on to North Carolina where he had some friends, and founded a church on Sandy Creek in Guilford County. He was accompanied from New England by a party of followers. Stearns was a brother-in-law of Rev. Daniel Marshall, who accompanied him from Frederick County to Sandy Creek,³ and Rev. Joseph Breed was also a member of the Sandy Creek church.

The activities of the Sandy Creek group extended into Virginia, and among the converts was Dutton Lane, who shortly after his baptism by Shubal Stearns in 1758, began to preach.⁴

The Presbyterians in general had been content to observe the interpretation of the Toleration Act by the Colonial authorities, and hence had but little trouble with the constituted authorities or with the established church. There were isolated cases of complaints against them, and occasionally an incident such as that precipitated by Roan in Hanover. But in the main the policy of the Presbyterians was to avoid conflict. With the Baptists it was different. They did not conceive it to be possible in a sparsely settled country to do the Lord's work as they believed it ought to be done by confining their preaching to a limited number of definitely fixed and licensed places. Their preachers were all, or practically all, itinerants, and “the itinerants considered the British laws concerning religion as wholly un-

¹Semple: *History of the Baptists*, 12.

²Id.

³Semple: Id. 13-14. Semple speaks of his coming in 1754 to Opeckon, in Berkeley County. This was then Frederick County. Berkeley was not formed until 1772.

⁴Taylor: *Virginia Baptists Ministers* (1st Series), 29; Semple: *History, etc., of the Baptists*, 17.

justifiable, and in this spirit they disregarded them although occasionally they applied for licenses and were refused. As a consequence, an inevitable legal prosecution followed which placed the Baptists in the light of sufferers for the cause of religious freedom. . . . the Baptists could not have done their work if they had strictly complied with the Toleration Act. Itinerancy was a vital feature of their agitation; it was only by going out into the fields and hedges that they could reach a sparse population scattered over a large territory.”¹

In the conflict which followed the Baptists suffered at the hands of the public authorities far more than the Presbyterians.

The early Baptist preachers generally lacked the classical education, which, for example, the Presbyterians as a rule had, but nevertheless, and possibly largely for that reason, the Baptist church grew by leaps and bounds until the movement became one of the events of Virginia history. Not only did their persecution and prosecution help them in the eyes of the populace, but there were other reasons for their success. They were democratic in politics as well as in religion “and whole hearted in their sympathy with the Colonial cause as against England.”² “But,” says Mr. Eckenrode, “the chief reason for success lay in the fact that the Baptists presented the great evangelical movement in the way which appealed most strongly to the masses.”³

The history of the Baptist church in Virginia abounds in instances of the prosecution and punishment of Baptist preachers. Possibly the first imprisonment of any of the Baptist ministers was that of John Walter, Lewis Craig, and James Childs who were arrested in Spotsylvania County, taken before three magistrates in the meeting house yard who bound them in the penalty of one thousand pounds to appear at court for trial two days later. At court they were arraigned as disturbers of the peace; on their trial, they were vehemently accused by the King’s attorney who said, “May it please your worships, these men are great disturbers of the peace; they cannot meet a man upon the road, but they must ram a text of Scripture down his throat.”

¹Eckenrode: *Separation of Church and State in Virginia*, 37-38.

²Id. 38.

³Id.

They were offered their liberty if they would desist from preaching but this they refused, and were committed to prison. After being in prison four weeks Craig was released. He went to Williamsburg, laid the matter before John Blair, who interceded in their behalf; and the others, after continuing in prison forty-three days, were released.¹

William Webber and Joseph Anthony were imprisoned in Chesterfield² in 1770, and Webber, along with John Waller, James Greenwood and Robert Ware were imprisoned in Middlesex in 1771.³

Samuel Harriss, too, though he was known to be a man of high character, and had served the colony in important positions, civil and military, was arrested and taken into court as a disturber of the peace.⁴ He was accused in Culpeper "as a vagabond, a heretic, and a mover of sedition everywhere."⁵ The court ordered that he should not preach in the county again for the space of twelve months, on pain of being committed to prison. He stated to the court that he lived two hundred miles away and was not likely to disturb them again for a year, and was dismissed. But on his way home, before he got out of the county, he happened to attend a meeting. He felt the urge to preach, and he arose and said: "I partly promised the devil, a few days past, at the court-house, that I would not preach in this county again in the term of a year. But the devil is a perfidious wretch, and covenants with him are not to be kept; and therefore I will preach."⁶

The details of the persecution of Baptist ministers in Lunenburg have not been preserved, but at the opening session of the House of Burgesses in 1772, a petition was presented from Lunenburg Baptists declaring that they "find themselves restricted in the exercise of their Religion, their teachers imprisoned under various pretenses, and the Benefit of the Toleration Act denied them, though they are willing to conform to the

¹ Semple: *History of Virginia Baptists*, 31-32.

² Id. 33.

³ Id. 34.

⁴ Cook: *Story of the Baptists*, 223.

⁵ Id.

⁶ Id. 223.

true spirit of that act, and are loyal and quiet subjects; and therefore praying that they may be treated with the same kind Indulgence, in religious matters, as Quakers, Presbyterians, and other Protestant Dissenters enjoy;"¹ and a similar petition from Mecklenburg County was presented on February 22, 1772.²

The persistent conflicts of the Baptists with the colonial authorities, acting in the interest mainly of the established church, and the persecution of them tended to help rather than to hurt their cause. The imprisonment of the ministers excited the sympathy of the populace; and gradually in response to public sentiment the efforts at enforcing legal restraint against the dissenters relaxed. Rev. William Henry Foote, the historian of the Presbyterians, has said: "The attempts to prevent the spread of dissent, which fell so heavily on the Baptists from the year 1768 and onwards, but convinced the more thoughtful Episcopalians that some degree of restricted toleration must be granted to the citizens of Virginia, or society must be shaken to its foundations. To appease the agitated community a bill was proposed granting privileges to dissenters."³

The different steps in an effort to satisfactorily formulate these privileges we shall not attempt to trace. This development embraced the drafting of several bills, which were not acceptable to the dissenters. It embraces too Madison's celebrated *Memorial and Remonstrance*,⁴ of which Semple says: "For elegance of style, strength of reasoning, and purity of principle, it has, perhaps, seldom been equalled; certainly never surpassed by anything in the English language."⁵

It is an interesting circumstance that the first permanent church established by the Baptists in Virginia, was within the original area of Lunenburg.

As early as January, 1760, the Baptists formed an association, embracing this section of Virginia. This was the first of the Baptist associations in this section and is called the *Original Separate Baptist Association*.⁶ It was formed largely through the

¹Journal House of Burgesses, 1770-72, 161.

²Id. 183.

³Foote: *Sketches of Virginia* (1st Series), 320.

⁴Madison, *Works*, II, 183, Note.

⁵Semple: *History of Virginia Baptists*, 52.

⁶Id. 64.

the activity of Rev. Shubal Stearns. After organizing in January it met again in July, 1760, at Sandy Creek Church, near a stream of that name in Guilford (now Randolph) County, North Carolina. Rev. William Murphy attended representing Lunenburg County, Virginia, Elder Samuel Harriss was present, representing Dan River, Pittsylvania County, Virginia.¹

Soon after this meeting of the Association a church was established in Virginia, which is said to have been the first Baptist church in the state. Of it Rev. Mr. Semple says:

“In August, 1760, a church was constituted under the pastoral care of Rev. Dutton Lane. This was the first Separate Baptist Church in Virginia, and, in some sense, the mother of all the rest.”²

From the meager evidence which has come to our notice, it seems this church was within that part of the original territory of Lunenburg erected into Halifax, and later created into Pittsylvania. If the assumption of location is correct, it was in Halifax at the time it was created, as Pittsylvania was not formed until 1767.

One of the early and important converts to the Baptist Church in this section was Samuel Harriss, already mentioned in connection with his persecution in Culpeper. He was a burgess of Halifax County from 1755 to 1758,³ and perhaps from an earlier period than 1755; was a justice of the peace, sheriff of the county and Colonel of Militia. He was also Captain of Mayo's Fort, and served in the commissary department during the French and Indian wars. He was converted under the preaching of Joseph and William Murphy, widely known as “the Murphy boys,” at a meeting-house near Allen's Creek, on the road leading from Booker's Ferry, on Staunton river, to Pittsylvania Court House.⁴

¹Such is the statement of Mr. Semple, *History of Virginia Baptists* (Beale), page 64, quoting (it seems) Bacchus's *History of the Baptists of New England*. However the statement as to Mr. Harriss' representing Dan River, Pittsylvania County, is not strictly accurate. Pittsylvania had not been then formed. Pittsylvania was formed from Halifax in 1767, and Halifax was formed from Lunenburg in 1752. It was Pittsylvania at the time the account was written, thus, no doubt, crept in, the inaccuracy of statement.

²Semple: *History, etc. of the Baptists*, 17.

³*The Colonial Register*, 138-145.

⁴Semple: *History, etc. of the Baptists*, page 18, note.

In 1759 he was ordained a ruling elder, and as a Baptist preacher he labored in a wide field,—from Culpeper and Orange on the one hand, and into North Carolina on the other. He, James Read, and Jeremiah Walker were among the earliest Baptist ministers to preach in the present counties of Lunenburg, Amelia, Mecklenburg, Charlotte and Halifax.¹

In 1769 about forty members were organized into a church called Nottoway. The meeting house was situated about five miles east of Burkeville. Jeremiah Walker, a native of North Carolina, at the age of about twenty-two years became the pastor of this church the year it was organized; and the church under his ministry largely prospered. In his missionary excursions, during the time of his pastorate here, he organized, or laid the basis for organizing, over twenty churches, south of James River.²

Not long after the Nottoway church was organized it was found to have such a numerous membership some distance from the church house that Meherrin Church was organized November 27, 1771. At the date of its organization it was the only Baptist church in the present counties of Lunenburg, Mecklenburg and Charlotte. It was organized with one hundred and eight members, among these being John Williams, Elijah Baker, John King and James Shelburne, who became ministers in the Baptist Church. At the first Jeremiah Walker preached for this congregation as well as the one at Nottoway, but in December, 1772, John Williams was ordained to the ministry and became their pastor. The Meherrin church prospered and its influence became so extensive that five or six churches were built to accommodate those living at too great a distance from the parent church.³ Beale,⁴ who in 1894 edited a revised edition of Semple's *History of the Baptists in Virginia*, says the original Meherrin church was maintained for thirty or forty years, and that the church house bearing the name Meherrin (in 1894), was several miles from the location of the original church, the exact location of which is no longer known.

¹Semple: *History of the Baptists*, 28.

²Semple: *History, etc. of the Baptists*, 28 and note.

³Id. 295-6.

⁴Rev. G. W. Beale.

To John Williams, Elijah Baker, John King and James Shelburn this tribute is paid by Robert B. Semple, the historian of the Virginia Baptists: "The four preachers mentioned above will always stand as monuments of honor to this, their mother church. The Baptist cause has probably not been more advanced by any four preachers in Virginia."¹

In the course of time, the General Association of the Baptist Church was for convenience, and the better administration of affairs, divided into several associations. One of these subdivisions was the Middle District Association. It met and organized in 1784. The second session was held at Rice's meeting-house, Prince Edward County, May 9, 1785. At a meeting at Mossington in May, 1788, the Roanoke Association was laid off from a part of this association. The boundaries were laid off as follows: "beginning where the Kehukee Association line crosses the Meherrin river; from thence upward by Lunenburg Courthouse to the Double Bridges; from thence to Charlotte Courthouse; thence the Lawyer's Road to New London to the upper line dividing Strawberry District."²

It must be confessed this description is not very clear and explicit. Professor Beale further explains the subject. He says: "This dividing line between the Portsmouth and Middle District Associations ran in a northwesterly direction from the Brunswick line nearly through the center of Lunenburg, Charlotte and Campbell counties to the edge of Bedford at a point ten or twelve miles below Lynchburg."

In October, 1803, at a meeting of the Middle District Association held at Walker's meeting-house, in Prince Edward County, a proposal was made to divide the district; this resulted in the creation in 1804 of two new districts from the Middle District. These were the Appomattox Association, and the Meherrin Association. We have found no record of the precise geographical lines of this district; but it seems that formerly a part of Lunenburg was within the Middle District, and a part within the Portsmouth district.

After the proposal was made in 1803 to divide the Middle

¹Semple: *History, etc. of the Baptists*, 296.

²Semple: *History of Virginia Baptists* (Beale), 256.

District, action thereon was deferred until the next meeting, and the Portsmouth Association and also the Roanoke Association were requested to be represented "so that they might, if agreeable, strike off a part of their churches in order to make the associations by the new arrangement more convenient for all parties." We are not positively advised that these associations were represented, but they must have been, for the Meherrin District clearly embraces territory not, at the time of its creation, within the Middle District. The Meherrin Association, as the district was originally laid out, embraced one church in Charlotte County, four in Mecklenburg, five in Lunenburg, two in Dinwiddie, two in Brunswick, and two in Greensville County. Lunenburg therefore had more churches than any other county of the association. The churches in Lunenburg were: Meherrin, Reedy Creek, Cedar Creek, Tussekiah and Flat Rock.

Meherrin. As early as the year 1757 or 1758 Reverend Dutton Lane preached in this locality. He was charged by Mr. Joseph Williams, a magistrate, not to come there to preach again. About twelve years later Mr. Williams became a convert and was afterwards a deacon in the church formed at that place. In 1768 Samuel Harriss and Jeremiah Walker preached there; the church was founded by Jeremiah Walker, and began its existence, as elsewhere noted November 27, 1771, with one hundred and eight members.

Reedy Creek. This church was organized in June, 1775. It was located near the stream Reedy Creek, five or six miles southeast of Lunenburg Courthouse (formerly known as the village of Lewiston). It was founded by Jeremiah Walker, and James Shelburne became its first pastor. He served this church for the period of about forty-five years. The church book of Reedy Creek church, beginning a notice of Mr. Shelburne soon after his death says: "On Monday, March 6, 1820, departed this life at his residence in Lunenburg County, in his eighty-third year, Elder James Shelburne, who had been the diligent and affectionate pastor of this church about forty-five years." Reedy Creek church began its existence with thirty-six members. In the year 1809 it had one hundred and ten members.

Cedar Creek. This church, also planted by the labors of Rev. Jeremiah Walker, began its existence in 1779. Its first minister was Rev. Stephen Jones, who died in the year 1806 at about the age of sixty-three. The membership in 1808 was fifty-five.

Tussekiah. This is a notable church. It, too, was founded by Rev. Jeremiah Walker, and began its existence in 1777, with a membership of twenty-five. The meeting house was situated about four miles west of Lunenburg courthouse on the opposite side of the road. The first house stood about one hundred yards from the location of the present house of worship. The Meherrin church of 1865 is an off-shoot of Tussekiah; and so is Mt. Carmel, which is located on the road leading from Lunenburg Courthouse to the present town of Kenbridge, and is on the same side of the road as the courthouse. Like Tussekiah it is beautifully located in an oak grove.

The first pastor of Tussekiah Church was Thomas Crymes, who was succeeded by William Ellis. Among other preachers who have served the church may be mentioned, Pleasant Barnes, Aaron Jones, T. W. Sydnor, E. S. Taylor, William Fisher and W. L. Lemon. Rev. James G. Jeffries entered the ministry from this church.

Flat Rock. This church was the youngest of the Lunenburg churches in the Meherrin district at the date of its creation. In fact it seems that the church at this place had not been actually organized at that time, for the Meherrin Association was created in 1804, and Flat Rock church, according to Elder Semple, was not "constituted" until 1805. However it is included in the table of churches of Meherrin Association as compiled by Mr. Semple. This church was founded by Rev. James Shelburne, who was its first pastor, giving it a part of his time while of course retaining Reedy Creek as his principal charge.

The use of the name Meherrin Association was discontinued. After 1819 the association was known as the Concord Association. The territory it embraced nearly coincided with the counties of Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, Dinwiddie, Brunswick and Greensville Counties.

The marriage records of Lunenburg show that the following Baptist ministers performed marriage ceremonies in the county between 1781 and 1794: James Shelburne, Thomas Crymes, David Ellington, William Ellis, William Creath and John Williams.

THE METHODIST

Rev. Robert Williams is credited with founding Methodism in Virginia. He was born in England, but settling in Ireland, he became a local preacher of the Methodist Societies, and received from Mr. Wesley license to preach in America under the regular missionaries. He is said to have been a very poor man, and sold his horse to pay his debts before embarking for the New World. When he sailed his outfit consisted of "a pair of saddle-bags containing a few pieces of clothing, a loaf of bread and a bottle of milk."¹ His fare for the passage was paid by a Mr. Ashton who came over in the same ship. He landed in New York in the fall of 1769. His labors were confined to the northern section of the country until the fall of 1771 when he was on the Eastern Shore of Maryland; he passed down the peninsula toward the lower part of Virginia. He first appeared in Virginia in 1772. This was at Norfolk where he preached his first sermon at the door of the court house. He first began to sing; the hymn finished he kneeled and prayed, and then announcing his text he preached to a disorderly crowd, who were chiefly curious, and not a little amused at the preacher's performances. Nevertheless, the church thus inauspiciously planted has prospered in the state to a marked degree.

It is said that upon the burning many years ago of the Cumberland Street church, in Norfolk, the Methodists unwittingly built their church edifice upon the very spot where Mr. Williams stood to preach his first sermon in the state of Virginia.²

Mr. Williams and Rev. Devereux Jarratt, of whom some brief mention is made in the account of the Episcopal Church, in this chapter, became intimate friends. They first met in March, 1773; Mr. Jarratt in his writings draws a picture of Mr. Williams as a plain, artless, indefatigable preacher of the gospel, with keen

¹*Memorials of Methodism in Va.* (Bennett), 47.

²*Id.* 52.

insight, superior faculties of reasoning, and capable of stirring up believers to a remarkable pitch of enthusiasm.

Upon the assembling of the first American Conference of the Methodists, in Philadelphia on July 14, 1773, the whole number of members reported from Virginia was one hundred.¹ The whole number of members in America reported at that time was 1160.² Not more than six or seven preachers attended this conference, but it laid out six circuits and stationed ten preachers; of these Virginia had two: "Norfolk, Richard Wright; Petersburg, Robert Williams."

From the most reliable accounts, the entire year 1773 was spent by Mr. Williams in preaching and forming societies in "that section of the state south of Petersburg." He no doubt traveled and preached within the present limits of Lunenburg. As many societies were organized in 1774, in Mr. Jarratt's parish, and "in other places, as far as North Carolina," it can reasonably be presumed that Lunenburg and the counties formed from her original territory were within the scope of these activities, and Methodism may be regarded as dating from that year.

Brunswick was the first circuit formed in Virginia. It returned two hundred and eighteen members to the conference of 1774. While the exact geographical bounds of the Brunswick Circuit seem not to have been described with great precision, it is certain, however, that Petersburg was included in this circuit, and so was Lunenburg County, for it "extended from Petersburg to the south, over Roanoke River, some distance into North Carolina."³ It is probable that Edward Dromgoole, George Shadford and others preached within the territory of Lunenburg in 1775, but the first important acquisitions to the Methodist ranks came following a quarterly meeting in May, 1776, at Boisseau's Chapel, in Dinwiddie County. Of this meeting Jesse Lee, a noted minister of the Methodist church, writes: "The windows of heaven were opened indeed, and the rain of divine influence continued to pour down for more than forty days." On the last day, he

¹*Memorials of Methodism in Va.* (Bennett), 64.

²From New York 180; from Philadelphia 180; from New Jersey 200; from Maryland 500; Virginia 100.

³*Memorials of Methodism in Va.* (Bennett), 72.

says: "They continued in the meeting house till some time in the night. . . . I left them," he continues, "about the setting of the sun, and at that time their prayers and cries might have been heard a mile off."

Sinners fell to the floor, mourners rose with shouts of joy, Christians gave testimony, and hundreds cried aloud for mercy. The enthusiasm of the occasion was "excessive," according to Dr. Bennett, the venerable historian of the Virginia Methodists. He quotes Jesse Lee to the effect that the Boisseau Chapel meeting "was not quite free from" excessive enthusiasm. "But," says Mr. Lee, "it never rose to any considerable height, nor was it of long continuance, . . . some wept for grief; others shouted for joy, but the voice of joy prevailed, the people shouted with a great shout, so that it might be heard afar off."

Commenting upon the effects of this meeting, Dr. Bennett says:

"Hundreds from this meeting returned home, published the glad tidings as they went; the flame spread far and wide; in less than a month several hundred were converted, and hardly anything was talked of but the wonderful work of God. The counties of Dinwiddie, Amelia, Brunswick, Sussex, Prince George, Lunenburg and Mecklenburg, all shared in the revival."¹

The minutes of the General Conference in 1777 showed a membership of 4,449, of the gain since the last report, 1,993 were from Virginia, and only 54 from all other localities.² Much of this gain was in "fourteen counties in Virginia" and the movement "crossed the Roanoke into North Carolina."³ So, Lunenburg and the contiguous counties were within the area of this remarkable religious expansion.

While the activities that have been mentioned are credited to the Methodist church, this is scarcely accurate, for the reason that there was no Methodist denomination as such then. The movement was that of the Methodist Societies within the Episcopal Church.

These actors, when the separate sect was established, identified

¹*Memorials of Methodism*, 88.

²*Id.* 97.

³*Id.* 94.

themselves with it, and by relation back their efforts from the first were credited to that denomination.

The Methodist missionaries began their work in Virginia under great difficulties. They were at the beginning not a separate church or sect but a society within the Episcopal Church. They could preach, but they could not perform the ordinances of the church. This was an especially unsatisfactory state of affairs for a group of religious zealots who believed themselves to be, and who undoubtedly were, superior, in Christian principles and a correct mode of living, to a great many of the ministers of the established church who were empowered to perform the sacraments. Of this situation one has said: "Placing ourselves in the times of which we write, unless we would excommunicate Christ from his high priesthood in the church, and his leadership over it, we must maintain that the man of loose principles and worse habits, ordained by the Bishop of London and sent to Virginia as a minister, was in every attribute of the office, whether of personal fitness or official authority, inferior to the ministers of Methodism in every essential qualification for the administration of Christian ordinances."¹

There was at least one minister, Rev. Devereux Jarratt, in the Episcopal Church, who had been ordained, and who "travelled far and wide to give the Societies the benefit of the ordinances, but he could not keep pace with the rapid strides of Methodism,"² and the converts "could not doubt, that the men who had been instrumental in bringing them to Christ for salvation, possessed, in virtue of their sacred call, the right to bring them into his visible Church by baptism, and to dispense to them the emblems of his dying love."³

The converts were willing and anxious to receive them "at the hands of those whose right to administer them rested upon a call to the ministerial office, which had been put above all human questioning by the sanction of the Holy Ghost in the conversion of multitudes of souls. In their views, the great right to preach the gospel involved the lesser right to administer its appointed

¹Dr. Lee, quoted in *Memorials of Methodism in Virginia*, 107.

²*Memorials of Methodism in Virginia*, 106.

³*Id.* 107.

ordinances,"¹ and yet "there was not a preacher from Asbury down, that could administer the Holy Sacrament, celebrate the rights [rites] of matrimony, or baptize a child. These rights [rites] they were compelled to seek at the hands of the Established Clergy."²

At the time, the doctrines of the Presbyterians, Baptists and Methodists were rapidly spreading in Virginia, and the Presbyterians at least were "in the proper sense" organizing churches.³

In meeting the Presbyterians and even the Baptists the Methodist preachers felt their official inferiority. "In all things else they were equal to the best ministers among the dissenting sects; but in respect to the ordinances, there was a painful and embarrassing inequality."⁴

The Revolutionary War was in progress, and no one knew how long it might continue. All connection with England was severed, nothing could be expected from Wesley because he was a staunch Episcopalian, and was believed to be "uncompromisingly opposed to all steps looking toward a separation from the Established Church."⁵ He had always refused to exercise the right of ordination, and he desired the American Methodist Societies to consider themselves as belonging to the Church of England.

In this state of the case there arose a feeling, among the leaders of Methodist thought in America, of "necessity for some measure that should give them the character and permanence of a Christian Church."⁶ In other words, the question arose of separating from the Episcopal Church and forming an independent church. This question really first arose in Virginia and Maryland it seems, for in the very first conference of the Methodist Societies it was decided that "Every preacher who acts in connection with Mr. Wesley, and the brethren who labor in America, is strictly to avoid administering the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper," and

¹*Memorials of Methodism in Virginia*, 107-8.

²Id. 105.

³Id. 108.

⁴Id.

⁵Id.

⁶Id.

“All the people among whom we labour [are] to be earnestly exhorted to attend the church, and receive the ordinances there; but in a particular manner to press the people in Maryland and Virginia to observe this minute.”¹

The question of the ordinances agitated the societies for several years, some in the south insisting on administering them, while those in the north were against so doing. The controversy came near causing a permanent rupture, but it was finally healed. There can be little doubt that Wesley himself was at this time, 1779-80, approaching the decision which a few years later resulted in the establishment of the Methodist Episcopal Church.²

The movement for establishing the Methodists as a separate church was a logical growth, which the early adherents to the Methodist Societies, at least in the beginning, were unconscious of promoting. From the beginning of the movement about 1771 until the Baltimore Conference of 1784, the work of the pioneers was such as to lead almost inevitably to the action that was taken.

Some of these early itinerants are closely identified with the section of which we write. One of these was Henry Ogburn of Mecklenburg County who was converted in the great revival of 1776. He became a minister, was received on trial in 1779, but was not then assigned a charge, probably because there was an over supply.³ Of him Dr. Bennett says:

“He labored with great zeal and success for ten years as an itinerant was sent as a pioneer to the Kentucky Circuit, and amid savage tribes he planted Methodism, preaching to the hardy settlers in their ‘stations,’ or little forts, and sowing seed from which rose the Methodist church in Kentucky.”⁴ He spent several years in Western Virginia, where “his preaching was signally blessed.”

But his more important work was that in Kentucky. There at “Kenton’s Station” in the cabin home of Thomas and Sarah Stevenson he organized the first Methodist Society in Kentucky.

¹*Memorials of Methodism*, 109-10.

²Id. 120.

³Id. 135.

⁴Id.

Another of the pioneers was John Easter, supposed to have been born in Lunenburg County, in that part now Mecklenburg.¹ His parents were among the earliest converts to Methodism in the Lunenburg section, and from them *Easter's Meeting House*, one of the oldest preaching places, afterwards embraced in Mecklenburg Circuit, took its name.²

He is mentioned by Dr. Bennett, in connection with Philip Bruce and Jesse Lee in this fashion: "Near the close of the Revolution," he says, "three men appeared in the ranks of Methodism whose labors and success as preachers of the gospel have rarely been surpassed in any age of the church. These men were John Easter, Philip Bruce, and Jesse Lee; each of whom merits a separate volume in which to record his labors, his sufferings, and his victories in the cause of Christ. Only the last named has received a tribute worthy of his noble deeds from the able pen of an accomplished kinsman, and a worthy successor in the ministerial office,"³ and continuing his account of John Easter he says: "Never did a man work with greater zeal and with greater success. . . . Beyond all doubt, John Easter was the most powerful hortatory preacher of his day. His word was like a sharp sword piercing through flesh, and bones, and marrow. His faith was transcendent, his appeals irresistible, his prayers like talking with God face to face. He lived and moved in a flame of love. A heavenly fervor dwelt in his heart, breathed in his words, and beamed in his eyes. Plain, unlettered, simple in style, almost rude in speech, he yet spoke with an authority and power before which pride fell humbled, and wicked gainsayers cowered in the dust. He never failed to reach the deepest and strongest emotions of the soul, when addressing the people, and it was no unusual thing for scores and hundreds to fall down in the pangs of sudden and powerful conviction."⁴

On one circuit, in a year, he added eighteen hundred converts to the church. Among his converts were some of the brightest minds of Methodism, including, among others, William McKendree and Enoch George.

¹*Memorials of Methodism in Va.*, 170.

²Id.

³Id. 170.

⁴Id. 171.

The traditions of the effect of his preaching and his faith, which have come down to us "almost exceed the bounds of belief. And yet they rest on the testimony of eye-witnesses."¹

He was credited with almost miraculous power. This occurrence is recorded by Dr. Bennett, and is widely accepted as true, as no doubt it was though not necessarily to be accounted for either as miraculous or as a direct answer to prayer. At Merritt's Meeting House in Brunswick a quarterly meeting was in progress and the assemblage was so large that the service was held in a grove near the church. A heavy cloud arose and swept rapidly toward the place of worship. The rain could be seen approaching across the fields. "The people were in consternation; no house could hold a third of the multitude, and they were about to scatter in all directions. Easter rose in the pulpit in the midst of the confusion. 'Brethren,' cried he at the top of his voice, 'be still, while I call upon God to stay the clouds, till his word can be preached to perishing sinners.' Arrested by his voice and manner, they stood between hope and fear. He kneeled down and offered a fervent prayer, that God would then stay the rain that his work might go on, and afterwards send refreshing showers. While he prayed, the angry cloud, as it swiftly rolled up toward them, was seen to part asunder in the midst, pass on either side of the ground and to close again beyond, leaving a space several hundred yards in circumference perfectly dry. The next morning a copious rain fell again, and the fields that had been left dry were well watered. It is needless to say that this visible answer to prayer filled the minds of the people with awe, and gave a great impulse to the work of God."²

John Easter had a brother Thomas who also became an itinerant preacher.

Of the father, whose name strangely is not given by the early Methodist historians, Rev. James Patterson, a pioneer preacher, said: "When I preached at Easter's in 1799, the good old man got his soul so full of the love of God that it overflowed, and he praised God and shouted until his frail body could scarcely contain his enraptured spirit. His lamp was not only burning, but

¹*Memorials of Methodism in Va.*, 172.

²*Id.* 172-3.

was in a full blaze, his wings plumed, and nothing prevented him from soaring to the realms above, but the casket of dust which contained the immortal spirit."¹

The work prospered to such extent that by 1778 a separate circuit was created in Lunenburg which was served by James Easter, and the Lunenburg circuit was officially recognized as such for the first time at the conference at Leesburg, May 19, 1778.²

The intimate relationship which Rev. Devereux Jarratt sustained to the Methodist Societies, so different from that of most of Jarratt's fellow ministers of the Episcopal Church, is shown by the records of the conference which met April 17, 1782, at Ellis' Meeting House, in Sussex County. Rev. Francis Asbury (the Bishop) attended this conference. The work of the Societies had become so extensive that it was found impractical for all the preachers to attend one conference at the north, so the plan was adopted of holding the conference in two sessions, one in the south and one in the north. The conference in the south met first, and was adjourned to meet the ensuing month at some place in the north.³

At this particular meeting the reports showed the society to comprise 11,785, of which 3,368 were in Virginia.

The conference unanimously chose Asbury to "act according to Wesley's original appointment, and preside over the American Conferences and the whole work."⁴

A vote of thanks to Rev. Devereux Jarratt was passed in the following resolution: "The Conference acknowledge their obligations to the Rev. Mr. Jarratt for his kind and friendly services to the preachers and people from our first entrance into Virginia, and more particularly for attending our Conference in Sussex, in public and private; and advise the preachers in the south to consult him and take his advice in the absence of Brother Asbury."⁵

¹*Memorials of Methodism in Virginia*, 171.

²*Id.* 102.

³*Id.* 145-6.

⁴*Memorials of Methodism in Virginia*, 148, apparently quoting the original record.

⁵*Memorials of Methodism in Virginia*, 148-9.

The record of these early Methodist activities show that one of the questions which caused grave concern was that of the preachers marrying. The preachers with wives had to be paid more than those unmarried and the inclusion of 206 pounds to support eleven preacher's wives, in the amounts to be raised "met the disapprobation of the leading laymen in some circuits." "They thought it unreasonable," says Jesse Lee, one of the oldest of the historians of the Methodist Church, "that they should raise money for a woman they never saw and whose husband never preached among them. But," he adds philosophically, "the Methodist cause is but one in every place; and he who loves his neighbor as himself, will feel for every circuit, every preacher and every preacher's family."¹

Not only did some of the laymen object to supporting the wives of preachers who did not preach for them, but Asbury himself opposed his preachers marrying. It is reported that when he heard that a favorite among his "thundering legion" as the itinerant brotherhood was called, "was a captive fast bound in love's golden fetters," he exclaimed, "I believe the devil and the women will get all my preachers."²

His objection to preachers marrying was no doubt founded on the fact that the preachers who married were not willing to subject their "families to the privations and hardships of the itinerancy."³

But notwithstanding all the opposition that could be made the records show that the Methodist preachers as a class showed a distinct inclination to become benedicks.

Between 1782 and 1784 the Methodists in America increased in number from 11,785 to 14,988, and in Virginia from 3,368 to 4,453;⁴ and it was in the last named year, 1784, at the Conference held at Baltimore, in December that the Methodist Societies in America took the definite action of forming a church organization, in the strict sense, under the title *The Methodist Episcopal Church*.⁵

¹*Memorials of Methodism in Virginia*, 153-4.

²*Id.* 184.

³*Id.*

⁴*Memorials of Methodism in Virginia*, 148, 159.

⁵*Id.* 210-11.

The Conference of December, 1784, at which the church was organized took a strong stand against slavery, one of the ordinances adopted requiring every member of the society to emancipate his slaves within twelve months, the emancipations to become effective at certain times after the date of the deed of emancipation according to the age of the slave.¹ Another ordinance directed the immediate expulsion of any one who bought or sold a slave unless the slave were bought in order to set him free.²

The Conference elected Dr. Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury "to the office of Superintendents of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America,"³ and Coke who visited Virginia to preach in 1785 did the cause a distinct disservice by his utterance on the subject of slavery. He seems not to have had the judgment and poise of Asbury, and even his most ardent admirers concede that "his zeal against slavery carried him beyond the bounds of prudence."⁴

His utterances were of such character that they were regarded as tending to incite insurrection among the slaves;⁵ and when Coke learned this upon his return from North Carolina, where he had gone, after preaching his offensive sermons in Virginia, he endeavored to correct the matter by urging upon the slaves the duty of obedience while in a state of bondage, while urging the owners to set them free. By this course "he hoped, but vainly hoped, to preserve a sort of balance in the public mind."⁶ But his course was a mistaken one. Dr. Bennett says "No plan could have been more deceptive."⁷

Requests for a suspension of the rules, Coke met with flat refusal. The Conference under his influence "declared that they would withdraw the preachers from every circuit in which the rules were not allowed to operate to their full extent."⁸

¹*Memorials of Methodism in Virginia*, 213.

²Id. 215. The Conference authorized the non-enforcement of its decrees on slavery in South Carolina, ordering "one thousand Forms of Discipline prepared for the use of the South Carolina Conference, in which the section and rule on slavery be left out."—*Memorials of Methodism*, 544.

³Id. 211.

⁴Id. 220.

⁵Id. 223.

⁶Id. 223.

⁷Id. 223.

⁸Id. 224.

A petition to the Legislature of Virginia was drawn up requesting an immediate or a gradual emancipation of the slaves, and the preachers in every circuit were directed to obtain as many signatures as possible.

Coke and Asbury called on General Washington at Mount Vernon, whose views in favor of abolition of slavery were well known. He received them kindly and entertained them, and while he declined to sign the petition he assured them that when the Assembly came to consider the matter he would express to it his sentiments in a letter. But Coke and the extremists found it impossible to put their plans into effect without disrupting the church, and "the petition went to the shades of oblivion before it had time to pass around a single circuit."¹ And "one month after the bold stand taken in Virginia, the preachers were compelled to suspend the rules at a Conference at Baltimore."²

Coke did not oppose the suspension of the rules. He realized his mistake, and prepared to return to England. Viewing "the sad effects which had been produced by Dr. Coke's mistaken zeal against slavery," Dr. Bennett declares, "Hardly anything could have been more fortunate for the peace of the church than his departure at this time."³

The new church had been in existence less than ten years when it suffered the loss of a considerable group in the secession of Rev. James O'Kelly and his associates. O'Kelly had been a minister in the Methodist Societies since 1778. He began his ministry in an old colonial church, whose "parish minister was greatly enraged that an upstart Methodist preacher should have the temerity to preach in his chapel; and what was worse, that he should attract more people than the regular Successor of the Apostles."⁴

He became one of "Asbury's Ironsides," and was one of the thirteen preachers selected for the office of elder, and he continued a presiding elder until he withdrew from the church. "During the whole of his time he labored in what was called the 'South District of Virginia,' which embraced nearly all the Southern Counties of the state, with a portion of North Carolina."⁵

¹*Memorials of Methodism in Virginia*, 225.

²*Id.*

³*Id.* 226.

⁴*Id.* 314.

⁵*Id.* 314.

He made a very favorable impression on Asbury, as his writings show; and one of his contemporaries describes him as "laborious in the ministry, a man of zeal and usefulness, an able defender of the Methodist doctrine and faith, and hard against negro slavery, in private and from the press and pulpit."¹

Everything went well in his relations to Methodism during the days of the Societies, and for some time after the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1784. Thereafter he developed opposition to what he characterized as undemocratic and autocratic methods of government and procedure. Jesse Lee records the fact that after his return to Virginia following the adjournment of the first Council (of which he was a member), in 1789, "he exclaimed bitterly against the proceedings and against what he himself had done in the business. He refused to have anything at all to do with the second Council."²

It has been claimed, it would seem somewhat uncharitably, that O'Kelly's course was due to his failure to be promoted in the Church, and his consequent disappointment and mortification. Likewise it has been suggested that he was not sincere in the belief he expressed that "a great overshadowing, ecclesiastical tyranny, was growing up in the Methodist Church."³

But just what ambition he had which was not gratified has not been suggested; and there is ground to suspect that the charge of a lack of sincerity may have found its basis in the animosities which the schism occasioned rather than in the facts of the case.

It must be remembered that this was a period immediately following the Revolutionary War, when in many quarters at least there was the strongest kind of feeling against arbitrary power and methods, and when the doctrines of Republicanism were highly popular and sometimes urged to an unwise extent.

Be all of this as it may, O'Kelly is credited with being the real power which caused the Virginia Conference of 1790 to turn the Council "out of doors,"⁴ and he believed it necessary to introduce the principle of Republicanism into the economy of

¹*Memorials of Methodism in Virginia*, 315.

²Jesse Lee, quoted by Dr. Bennett, *Memorials of Methodism in Virginia*, 315.

³*Memorials of Methodism in Virginia*, 318.

⁴*Id.* 316.

Methodism. This meant, for one thing, the taking away from the Bishop of the absolute and arbitrary power of appointment to office, of the circuit riders and the various other appointees under the Methodist Episcopal establishment.

The assembling of the General Conference at Baltimore November 1, 1792, was looked upon as the most important event in the annals of the Methodist movement, since the Christmas Conference of 1784. The council had proved an utter failure, and some expected an issue to be made of its revival. But the most important matter to come before the Conference was that of the revision of the Discipline. The matter of the council was not brought up, the Bishop requesting that the name of the council be not mentioned in the Conference.

In the course of the general discussion of the Discipline, O'Kelly offered the following amendment:

“After the Bishop appoints the preachers at Conference to their several circuits, if any one thinks himself injured by the appointment, he shall have liberty to appeal to the Conference and state his objections, and if the Conference approve his objections the Bishop shall appoint him to another circuit.”¹

This proposition, analogous to requiring appointments by civil authorities to be confirmed, for example, appointments by the Governor to be confirmed by the Council of State was referred to as a “startling proposition,” and some professed to see in it an attack upon Asbury. As such Asbury seemed to take it, for he retired from the body while the matter was being considered leaving Dr. Coke to preside. He submitted a brief statement to the Conference in which he said: “I am happy in the consideration that I never stationed a preacher through enmity, or as a punishment. I have acted for the glory of God, the good of the people, and to promote the usefulness of the preachers.”

Notwithstanding the charge of the Methodist historians that this was but a personal attack upon Bishop Asbury by O'Kelly, it seems difficult, in an unimpassioned consideration of the circumstances, to wholly accept that view. Dr. Bennett, who seems unduly severe toward O'Kelly, says: “The debate on the Amend-

¹*Memorials of Methodism in Virginia*, 319.

ment was highly exciting. The ablest men of Methodism were arrayed against each other. Three days the strife went on. At first there appeared to be a majority in favor of O'Kelly. The friends of the time-honored Wesleyan plan, feared that it would be swept away by the spirit of innovation."¹

If this had been but a personal matter between O'Kelly and Asbury, it is not conceivable that the conference would have found its ablest men arrayed against each other on the proposition, so that a majority appeared to favor the Amendment, nor would it have required three days to debate the matter. Any mere personal attack upon Asbury, great and good man that he was, would have been almost summarily rejected by the Conference.

The real state of the case seems to be that O'Kelly's proposition embodied an idea about which great and good men might reasonably differ, and did differ, regardless of the relations between Asbury and O'Kelly.

The question was finally brought to an issue upon the motion of John Dickins, to divide the proposition into two questions, and vote on them separately. These were stated as follows:

1st. "Shall the Bishop appoint the preachers to the circuits?"

2nd. "Shall a preacher be allowed an appeal?"

Over the first question there appeared to be no controversy. O'Kelly's amendment had not challenged the procedure by which the Bishop had the duty to appoint the preachers—but only provided an appeal in case he were dissatisfied. "The first question was put and carried unanimously."¹

As autocratic as the vesting of the absolute power in the Bishop seems, it was argued that to give effect to O'Kelly's amendment would "involve the destruction of the itinerant system."²

It might readily occur to one to suggest that if the Bishop upon making his appointments, had such numerous appeals therefrom to the Conference, and if the Conference sustained a suf-

¹*Memorials of Methodism in Virginia*, 320.

²*Id.* 319.

ficient number of such appeals to bring about "the destruction of the itinerant system," these facts would argue strongly that the Bishop had made a very poor lot of appointments.

It is scarcely conceivable that the Conference would have overruled the Bishop except in meritorious cases; and the opposition to a provision so reasonable in principle, does seem to indicate a degree of ecclesiastical stubbornness, more akin to bigotry than to Christian forbearance; and it is not easy to understand the stubbornness of these Christian pioneers in view of these considerations.

The second question, however, was answered in the negative when the vote was taken.¹

This vote was taken after a debate which lasted all day and until bed-time at night. The next morning O'Kelly and his adherents, by letter informed the Conference that they could no longer retain their seats in that body. Efforts were made to conciliate them; a committee was appointed to wait upon them, and Dr. Coke had an interview with them, but their efforts availed nothing, the seceders expressing the firm purpose to have nothing more to do with their deliberations.

O'Kelly was at this time described by Jesse Lee as an old man, and Asbury said, "We agreed to let our displeased brethren still preach among us; and as Mr. O'Kelly is almost worn out, the Conference acceded to my proposal of giving him forty pounds per annum as when he travelled in the connexion, provided he was peaceable, and forbore to excite divisions among the brethren."²

These measures did not have the desired effect. Speaking of the departure of O'Kelly and his party from Baltimore, Jesse Lee said: "I stood and looked after them as they went off, and observed to one of the preachers that I was sorry to see the old man go off in that way, for I was persuaded he would not be quiet long, but he would try to be the head of some party."³

Thirty-six preachers withdrew from the Methodist Episcopal Church and associated themselves with O'Kelly,⁴ and the alarm

¹*Memorials of Methodism in Virginia*, 321.

²*Id.* 321.

³*Id.* 321.

⁴*Id.* 541.

which those who remained felt at this tremendous defection can scarcely be realized at this time. It was so great that some of the ablest leaders in the cause, and close associates of Asbury doubted whether the Methodist Episcopal Church as a separate organization could survive. This seems to have been the view of Dr. Coke, who sought out Bishop White and Dr. Magaw, and at a conference he had with them in Philadelphia proposed "a union between the Methodist Episcopal and the Protestant Episcopal Churches."¹ When he was later called to account, after his efforts for the union failed, and became known publicly, one of his defenses was based upon the weakness of the church and the alarm felt over the withdrawal of such a large part of the denomination in association with O'Kelly.

Jesse Lee's prediction was verified.

O'Kelly and his associates organized a new church known as *The Republican Methodists*, and after considering the matter of rules for some time "renounced all rules of Church government, and took the New Testament as their guide."²

The historians of the Methodist Church have professed to see nothing good or reasonable in O'Kelly after his withdrawal from the Methodist Church, notwithstanding his valiant services in the ranks of that body for more than fourteen years. Dr. Bennett says: "O'Kelly seemed to see nothing but Asbury climbing over the ruins of a prostrate church to the seat of an Archbishop. We can only look back with feelings of pity on a man who could thus wantonly assail Francis Asbury, whose course as a Christian Bishop affords not the slightest ground for such charges or suspicions."³

The history of the so-called O'Kellyan Schism has been chiefly written by those adhering to the Church from which he seceded. The Methodist Episcopal Church has survived, while the Republican Methodist Church has not, and the circumstances have not been such as to assure always an impartial account of the matter.

The parties engaged in a war of pamphlets and of pulpit discussion, which were not always temperate in tone or charit-

¹*Memorials of Methodism in Virginia*, 543, 541.

²Id. 327.

³Id. 326.

able in substance. But the historian who attempts to be impartial must record that O'Kelly's adversaries in this verbal warfare were quite as much open to criticism as he was.

There may be evidence that O'Kelly's complaint was against Asbury, but Dr. Bennett does not adduce it. To "show the spirit of the man, and the nature of his complaints against Asbury"¹ he adduces two letters written by O'Kelly, in neither of which is Asbury's name mentioned. In the first of these O'Kelly said: "What have I done? Overturned government? What? the Council—not Methodism. I only say no man among us ought to get into the Apostle's chair with the Keys and stretch a lordly power over the ministers and Kingdom of Christ. . . . A consolidated government is always bad."² And in the other letter he wrote: "I protest against a consolidated government, or any one Lord, or Arch-Bishop, claiming apostolic authority, declaring to have the Keys. Thus our ministry have raised a throne for Bishops, which being a human invention, a deviation from Christ and dear Mr. Wesley, I cordially refuse to touch. Liberty is contending for at the point of the sword in divers ways, monarchy, tyranny tumbling both in Church and Kingdoms, while our preachers are for erecting a throne for gentlemen Bishops in a future day, when fixed with an independent fortune they may sit and lord it over God's heritage."³

The evidence adduced goes to show that it was the system to which O'Kelly was opposed, and his opposition to Asbury was incidental and due to the fact that he occupied the office he did. He would have opposed the system regardless of who happened to be the titular head. Certainly no one can fairly conclude from the evidence at hand that O'Kelly opposed the system because Asbury was Bishop, rather than that he opposed Asbury because he was a part of the system.

In the bitter controversy that ensued it may be conceded that O'Kelly did not hesitate to give thrust for thrust endeavoring in every move to go his adversaries "one better." The truth is that the disputations reached the stage where neither side was

¹*Memorials of Methodism*, 323.

²*Id.* 224.

³*Id.* 325.

moderate or reserved in the language they used toward the other; but it does seem that the Methodists are largely responsible for the conversion of the controversy from one of principles to personalities. O'Kelly's opponents seemed to feel that if they could make it appear that the whole movement was a personal attack upon Asbury they would have a great advantage because of the universally high esteem in which the latter was held. It can scarcely be felt that his friends did him a service in diverting the controversy into this channel.

The uncharitable vein in which an historian of the Methodist Church, writing ninety years after the event, speaks of O'Kelly shows the depth to which the Methodists were stirred by the Schism, and how the embittered spirit had been nursed by them through the years.

Speaking of the growth of the Republican Methodist Church Dr. Bennett says: "The spirit of division prevailed chiefly in the Southern Counties of the State, and in the border counties of North Carolina. In all this region the influence of O'Kelly was very great, and he scrupled not to use it to the utmost of his ability in building up his own cause. And although his success in gaining Proselytes from the ranks of Methodism was far less than he anticipated, yet the history of this painful schism is full of sad memorials, families were rent asunder; brother was opposed to brother, parents and children were arrayed against each other; warm friends became open enemies; the claims of Christian love were forgotten in the hot disputes about Church government."¹

The point of view has everything to do with it. O'Kelly and his followers are thus condemned for winning converts to their church. They were engaged in gaining these adherents from every quarter from which they could be obtained. Asbury and his "ironsides" and his "thundering legion" were doing the same. When a Methodist circuit rider or evangelist succeeded in winning a convert in a family of Episcopalians, or Presbyterians or Baptists, he was not regarded by these critics of O'Kelly as rending asunder families, nor as setting brother against brother

¹*Memorials of Methodism in Virginia*, 328.

nor friend against friend. He was hailed as doing God's service in bringing conviction to one in error, and the glorious hope was entertained that the others might follow his example; to such extent does our zeal sometimes involve us in contradictions.

Some very able and thoughtful people became the associates of O'Kelly in the Republican Methodist Church. One of these was Rev. Clement Read, grandson of Col. Clement Read, the first Clerk of Lunenburg County, and a grandson also of Henry Embry, a member of the House of Burgesses. His father was Col. Isaac Read. His grandfather, Col. Clement Read, was a member of the Episcopal Church, and a vestryman of Cumberland Parish.¹

His father died at the age of thirty-seven while serving in the Revolution with the rank of Colonel, leaving the son Clement but six years old. This son was raised under Presbyterian influences, and was educated at Hampden-Sidney College, where, at the time among the trustees, were his step-father Thomas Scott, Paul Carrington who was trained in his grandfather's office, and who married his Aunt Margaret, his Uncle Thomas Read, William Cabell, who married his cousin, a daughter of Paul Carrington, Nathaniel Venable, who had also married a daughter of Paul Carrington, and Judge Nash, two of whose sisters had married his Uncles Thomas and Clement Read; and the President of the College had also married a sister of Judge Nash. He first joined the Presbyterian Church and became an applicant for a license to preach.²

He, however, became a convert to the Republican Methodists, was ordained by them "and was an amiable, devout and earnest preacher, respected and beloved by all that loved the gospel."³ Among other preachers in the Republican Methodist Church were Rev. Henderson Lee, Rev. John Davidson, Rev. Samuel Armistead and Rev. Matthew W. Jackson.⁴

It is indicative of the religious unrest and doctrinal uncertainty of the times that so important a group should have found

¹Bishop Meade: *Old Churches, Ministers, etc.* I, 486.

²Foote: *Sketches of Virginia* (2nd Series), 577.

³Id.

⁴Id. 579.

dissatisfaction with the Methodist Episcopal Church, and should have conferred earnestly with both the Baptists and the Presbyterians,¹ in efforts to find affiliations which would give them spiritual repose and contentment. They finally consolidated with the Presbyterians in 1822.²

Dr. Bennett, speaking of O'Kelly in his old age, says: "He saw hundreds of his own followers forsaking him, and rallying again to the standard of Methodism."³

If the inference intended to be conveyed is that practically all of O'Kelly's followers returned to or united with the Methodist Church, it can scarcely be said to be accurate. Some of his followers joined the Baptist Church, while it seems the greater part at least of the preachers affiliated with the Presbyterians. Dr. Foote records the fact that "In 1822, the Rev. Messrs. Henderson Lee, John Davidson, Samuel Anderson, and Matthew W. Jackson, ministers of the Republican Methodist Church, met the Presbytery at Charlotte Court House, and 'having adopted the Confession of Faith of the Presbyterian Church, and answered the questions put to candidates, were received and took their seats as members of Presbytery.' By this act," he adds, "the Republican Methodist Church, as a body, in that part of Virginia, became extinct."⁴

Rev. Clement Read had a number of years before gone back to the Presbyterian Church.⁵

O'Kelly's "stormy and eventful life closed on the 16th of October, 1826, in the ninety-second year of his age,"⁶ and it is recorded of him that he "went down to the grave satisfied with the past, and peaceful and trusting with respect to the future."⁷

While his effort to found a separate church was unsuccessful and seemingly a misguided adventure, the secession of himself and his associates from the Methodist Church, conceivably may have done good, unfortunate as was the bitterness of the strife

¹Foote: *Sketches of Virginia* (2nd Series), 579.

²Id. 579.

³*Memorials of Methodism in Virginia*, 333.

⁴*Sketches of Virginia* (2nd Series), 579.

⁵Id.

⁶*Memorials of Methodism in Virginia*, 334.

⁷Id.

which it engendered. It was a telling, even dramatic protest against autocracy in church government, and that it had effect in preventing any further tendencies in that direction can scarcely be doubted, and much of the liberalization of procedure in various ecclesiastical bodies may be due directly or indirectly to the vigor with which he contended against a system which allowed absolute sway to "one who declares his authority and succession from the Apostles."

In the following years the Methodist Episcopal Church grew and prospered throughout this general section of Virginia. Bishop Asbury and other notables of the church visited the section, and Mecklenburg, in particular, became a stronghold of Methodism. Asbury, in his journals, mentions particularly "Ogburn's," "Holmes'," and "Salem." This last named was the famous "Salem Chapel," which seemed to hold a place of special affection in the hearts of the Methodists. The Conference for 1796 assembled there November 24, 1795,¹ and many subsequent Conferences were held there.

Prior to 1797 the Annual Conferences had no fixed limits, but the Conference at Baltimore, held in October, 1796, limited the number to six and fixed their boundaries. By this action "The Virginia Conference" was created, and as then defined embraced all of Virginia on the south side of the Rappahannock River and that part of North Carolina, north of Cape Fear River.²

It took in all of Virginia, except the Northern Neck, which was attached to the Baltimore Conference.

In the year 1797 Asbury came to Virginia, where, his health failing, he spent the winter of 1797-98 "among his old and cherished friends in Brunswick and the adjacent counties."³

It is clear from entries in his journal that he scarcely expected to survive the illness of this period, and the wonder is that he did, for he records the remedy he was taking. "I am now," he says, "taking an extraordinary diet—drink made of one quart of hard cider, one hundred nails, a handful of black snake-root, one handful of fennel seed, one handful of wormwood, boiled

¹*Memorials of Methodism in Virginia*, 344.

²Id. 353-4.

³Id. 357.

from a quart to a pint, taking one wine-glass full every morning for nine or ten days, using no butter, or milk, or meat.”¹

The year 1803 is famous in the annals of Methodism as that marking the introduction of Camp meetings, an institution which became famous and remained in vogue for many years. It is a matter of local interest that the first meeting of the kind was held in Brunswick County, in the spring of that year.² The fact was commemorated by the naming of the church *Camp Meeting House*. Jesse Lee, the historian of the early church, says this meeting was held “at a new meeting house, which was named *Camp Meeting House*, that it might be remembered in future, the first camp-meeting in that part of the world was held at that place.”³

“Soon after the rise of camp-meetings,” says Dr. Bennett, “appeared that singular affection known as Jerks.” He gives an extended account citing many instances, some of them very ludicrous of the way persons under the influence of the spell, behaved. He quotes Rev. Jacob Young’s biography, which, among other instances, gives that of a Presbyterian preacher named Doke, a man of high standing, and one of the first men of eminence to suffer from this affliction. Of him he says: “Often it would seize him in the pulpit with so much severity, that a spectator might fear it would dislocate his neck and joints. He would laugh, stand and halloo at the top of his voice, finally leap from the pulpit, and run to the woods, screaming like a madman. When the exercise was over he would return to the church calm and rational as ever.”⁴

Rev. Mr. Young also says: “I have often seen ladies take it at the breakfast table; as they were pouring out tea or coffee they would throw the contents toward the ceiling, and sometimes break the cup and saucer. Then hastening from the table, their long suits of braided hair hanging down their back would crack like a whip. . . . In many cases its consequences were disastrous, in some fatal.”⁵

¹*Memorials of Methodism in Virginia*, 357-8.

²*Id.* 417.

³*Memorials of Methodism in Virginia*, 417.

⁴*Id.* 428.

⁵*Id.*

The marriage records of Lunenburg County show that between 1790 and 1802, the following Methodist ministers performed marriage ceremonies in the county: Henry Ogburn, John Chappel, John Easter, John Rogers, Aaron Brown, John Jones, John Neblett, Wm. McKendree, and Will Spencer; and between 1802 and 1825, Thomas Adams, T. Adams, Baxter Ragsdale, John Doyle, Littleberry Orgain, James McAden, and J. R. Foster; and between 1825 and 1845, Henry A. Reeves, James W. Hunnicutt, John G. C. Claiborne, James P. Arven, Wm. G. Wilson, Willis H. Peace, John C. Blackwell and William J. Norfleet. Some of these performed but a few marriages in a single year, and were undoubtedly itinerants or visitors, such for example as Wm. McKendree, afterwards Bishop, who performed a single marriage; but of several the list indicates a long-time residence in Lunenburg, John Neblett, for example, performing many ceremonies between 1792 and 1806, and Baxter Ragsdale between 1812 and 1830.

Bishop Asbury "founded the first Methodist Academy ever established in America."¹ Dr. Cumings, says Mr. Irby, places the date as 1784, but with better reason, it seems, Mr. Irby fixes 1785 as the date of the establishment of this school. "This school or academy was located in Brunswick County, Virginia, on the road leading from Petersburg to Boydton, at a point about midway between the two places."²

The growth of Methodism was such that several institutions of learning were founded, notably Asbury College, located near Baltimore, which was the first incorporated Methodist college in the United States. The oldest of the chartered institutions in Virginia was Randolph-Macon College, chartered February 3, 1830. Unlike several other institutions founded soon thereafter, it did not succeed to buildings and equipment already in existence, but it was built "wholly out of new materials."³

In 1828 the conference appointed a committee to consider the question of establishing a college, and the location thereof. At the conference in 1829, this committee reported. It had met in

¹Irby: *Hist. of Randolph-Macon College*, p. 7.

²Id.

³Id. 9.

the meantime to consider the question of the location, at Zion Church, in Mecklenburg County. There was a strong effort to have the college located at Physic Springs in Brunswick County, near old Ebenezer Academy. But a site offered by citizens near Boydton was finally chosen, "mainly through the influence of Rev. Hezekiah G. Leigh, the prime mover in the college enterprise, and Howell Taylor, a very influential Methodist of the county, together with Hon. William O. Goode and Col. William Townes, men of great popularity."¹

It is well known that the college was named for John Randolph of Roanoke and Nathaniel Macon of North Carolina, but why, remains in doubt. Mr. Irby says: "How it came about that a Christian and Methodist College should have been named for men who were not professed Christians, and who had never, so far as is known, shown any preference or kindly interest for the Methodist Church, has been a question of interest and speculation."²

The college continued at Boydton until it closed during the war. On account of the dire poverty of the country it was not opened for a few years after the war.

Dissatisfaction with the location of the college began even before the war and "had been increasing since 1863."³

By a resolution of the Board of Trustees, June 24, 1868, and by a vote of 19 to 9, it was decided to remove the college "to a more accessible and eligible location."⁴ And Ashland was selected. There was litigation over the removal, but soon thereafter the removal was arranged.

THE DISCIPLES OF CHRIST

The era from the Revolutionary time for a period of some fifty years was one marked by sectarian controversy and doctrinal strife. All the sects had with one accord complained of the character of the religious establishment under the Colonial regime. But with the adoption of the Bill of Rights, the disestablishment

¹Irby: *Hist. of Randolph-Macon College*, 14.

²Id. 16.

³Id. 172.

⁴Id. 173.

of the Episcopal Church, and the enactment of the Statute of religious freedom, no millenium of universal peace and concord among the different denominations was ushered in. On the contrary the strife became more bitter as the restrictions disappeared. The bodies which had complained of the autocracy of the established church, and of the arbitrary course that institution pursued became measurably subject to the same indictment they had made against it.

Not only was there generous and ungenerous rivalry of the sects against each other, but there developed factions within these separate churches, due to divergences of opinions respecting various matters of doctrine and of practice.

There had been from time to time efforts at reformation of the existing churches. Such, for example, was Wesley's effort to reform the Episcopal Church, which eventually resulted, not in its reform, but in the establishment of the Methodist Episcopal Church as a separate body. Such also, was the effort of James O'Kelly and his associates to bring about reforms in the arbitrary method of church government obtaining under Asbury in the early Methodist Church. This too resulted not in reforming the Methodist Episcopal Church, but in the organization of the body known as the Republican Methodist Church.

One of the subjects of disagreement, which especially disturbed the religious world during the general period mentioned was that of creeds. Creeds or Confessions of faith, being statements or declarations formulated by the respective religious bodies, were by them made the test of orthodoxy, and their acceptance the prerequisites of fellowship within the several bodies.

"Human creeds were authoritative and binding. Sectarianism was rife everywhere. Party lines were rigidly drawn. Christian union was ridiculed. Sects were pronounced essential to the purity, health and vigor of the body of Christ. True religion was lost sight of in contentions over rival dogmas, and human opinions and speculations were preached rather than the Gospel. Total hereditary depravity and unconditional election and reprobation were commonly taught."¹

¹Frederick D. Power, Address at World's Fair, St. Louis, October 30, 1904.

Many taught that the regeneration of the sinner was a miracle, and could come only through special and direct operation of the Holy Spirit. "Every case of conversion was a distinct act of direct and irresistible grace, and supernatural voices, dreams, visions or trances were to attest the fact of acceptance with God."¹

Such were some of the conditions when thinkers and students, in widely separated places, belonging to different religious groups, and at the time, unknown to each other began to reflect upon and question the logic and the justification of such a state of affairs. The Haldanes in Scotland, James O'Kelly and his associates in Virginia and North Carolina, Barton W. Stone and a group in Kentucky, Walter Scott and a few others in the Ohio country, and Chester Bullard in the mountains of Western Virginia, ministers of different denominations, were, unconscious of the thoughts and views of each other, through their own logical processes, in the study of the Bible coming to like conclusions.

Feeling that religion was retarded and the religious life shackled by the entanglements of human creeds and man-made systems they inscribed upon their banners the principle of "Faith in Jesus as the true Messiah, and obedience to him as our Law-giver and King the only test of Christian character, and the only bond of Christian union, communion and co-operation, irrespective of all creeds, opinions, commandments, and traditions of men."²

One of the earliest manifestations of this awakening to the lack of Biblical authority for the religious practices of the times occurred in Lunenburg County. The Philadelphia Confession of Faith prescribed by the Baptist Church had been adopted generally by the Baptist congregations in Virginia. But when in 1771, at a meeting of Meherrin Baptist Church, in Lunenburg County, the Baptist minister, Jeremiah Walker, endeavored to introduce it for adoption by that congregation, this action was opposed by James Shelburne, a young man who was a member of that church. Shelburne had "already attracted some attention

¹Frederick D. Power, Address at World's Fair, St. Louis, October 30, 1904.

²Frederick D. Power, quoted by Hodge in *The Plea and the Pioneers in Virginia*, 14.

as a fearless speaker," and "when Walker's proposition was made he arose and opposed the adoption of any human creed, maintaining that the Scriptures were a sufficient rule of faith and practice."¹

This was a very advanced position to take at that early date. Had it been followed to its logical conclusion it "must have resulted in a reformation similar to the one inaugurated by the Campbells nearly fifty years later."² Shelburne became a prominent Baptist preacher "and throughout his life earnestly advocated the abolishment of all ecclesiastical authority save that of God's Word. He stood on ground in advance of that taken by his brethren, but he never lived to see the light of the reformation dawn in the Old Dominion."³

Twenty-two years after Shelburne had declared in the Baptist Church at Meherrin that "the Scriptures were a sufficient rule of faith and practice," James O'Kelly and his followers withdrew from the Methodist Church and "renounced all rules of Church government, and took the New Testament as their guide."⁴

These are specific instances showing the dissatisfaction with the existing order of things. "In different parts of the United States simultaneously arose teachers among the religious denominations who pleaded for the Bible alone, without human additions in the form of creeds or formulas of faith, and for the union of Christians of every name upon the basis of the Apostles' teachings."⁵

The movement which thus began to take shape was not really a reformation; it was more. It was an effort at a restoration to original purity. In 1807 Thomas Campbell came from Scotland to America, to be followed two years later by Alexander Campbell, his son, a native of Ireland, who had been educated at the University of Glasgow. Thomas Campbell was a regular minister of the seceders—and as such was assigned to the Presby-

¹Hodge: *The Plea and the Pioneers in Virginia*, 29.

²Id. 30.

³Id.

⁴*Memorials of Methodism in Virginia*, 327.

⁵Frederick D. Power: Address at the World's Fair, St. Louis, October 30, 1904.

tery of Chartiers, in Washington County, Pennsylvania. His views of union and of the sufficiency of the Bible as a religious guide, led him to withdraw from that connection.

In 1809 he formed *The Christian Association of Washington*, and in September of that year issued his celebrated "Declaration and Address." This paper, notable in the theological literature of the time, "deplored the tendencies of party spirit among Christians and the enforcement of human interpretations of God's Word in place of the pure doctrine of Christ, and pleaded for the restoration of simple, original, evangelical Christianity as exhibited upon the sacred page, without attempting to inculcate anything of human authority, of private opinion, or invention of men as having any place in the constitution, faith or worship of the Christian Church."¹

He set forth the object of the association as follows: "to come firmly and fairly to original ground, and take up things just as the Apostles left them," that, "disentangled from the accruing embarrassments of intervening ages," they might "stand upon the same ground on which the church stood at the beginning."²

Alexander Campbell, the son, found himself in entire accord with the position taken by his father in the Declaration and Address and he began in 1810 publicly to urge the principles therein declared. Shortly afterwards in examining the question of infant baptism and "abandoning all uninspired authorities, and appealing to the Scriptures with critical search for the significance of words rendered from the original Greek, 'baptize' and 'baptism,' he became satisfied that they could mean only immerse and immersion, and accordingly he and his father were immersed."³

From that time forward Alexander Campbell became the Master Spirit in the movement. The Campbells and their associates organized a church at Brush Run, Pennsylvania, May 4, 1811, which in 1813 united with the Redstone Baptist Association, and ten years later with the Mahoning Association.

In 1823 Alexander Campbell started the publication of the

¹Frederick D. Power: Address at The World's Fair, 1904.

²Id.

³Id.

Christian Baptist, a monthly religious journal, which effectively brought home to religious professors and teachers in Eastern Virginia the need "of a thorough restitution of the primitive Apostolic Christianity."¹

Nowhere did this publication have more marked effect than in Eastern Virginia where education and culture were more advanced than "in more recently settled communities."²

Mr. Campbell was at the time a member of the Baptist Church at Wellsburg, Virginia (now West Virginia), which was in full fellowship with the Mahoning Association.³

The movement for the restoration "took for a time the form of a reformation in the ranks of the Baptists."⁴

In some cases, in Eastern Virginia, a majority of a congregation became allied with the restoration movement, accepting the principles set forth in the *Christian Baptist*, but there is no record of a single instance, so far as is known of their attempting to form a distinct religious body.⁵ "They were content to remain in fellowship with the congregations of which they were members so long as their religious liberties were not infringed. Often, however, individuals and sometimes a majority of some congregations were forced to sever their connection with their brethren because of the religious intolerance of the latter."⁶

"The first congregation in Eastern Virginia owing its existence to the movement for the restoration of New Testament Christianity was formed in the lower part of Louisa County in 1826."⁷

James M. Bagby and N. H. Turner were forced by their Baptist brethren to take letters of dismission from the Old Fork congregation. They and their associates built a meeting house near what is now Bumpass Station, and called it Bethany. The present Bethany is about three miles from the original site.⁸

In the summer of 1825 Alexander Campbell visited Eastern Virginia and as a Baptist minister preached the doctrine of the

¹Hodge: *The Plea and the Pioneers in Virginia*, 30.

²Id.

³Id. 30.

⁴Id.

⁵Id. 31.

⁶Id.

⁷Id. 32.

⁸Id.

Restoration in a number of Baptist Churches in that section.¹

He was well received and met among others Robert B. Semple and Andrew Broaddus, two Baptists who were later to oppose Campbell and to have a somewhat humiliating experience in so doing. Semple set about to win Campbell to the established customs and usages of the Baptists, and Campbell generously opened the columns of the *Christian Baptist* to him. In the course of the debate through its columns Campbell set forth the foundation upon which the restoration rested, in a way which may be summed up briefly as follows: "in faith, unity; in opinions, liberty."²

Broaddus too under the nom de plume of "Paulinus" joined in the debate of the subjects by contributing articles to the *Christian Baptist*.

The controversy between Campbell and Semple excited great interest in Eastern Virginia. Semple, though an able man, was no match for Campbell, who was in fact a profound thinker, a keen analytical mind, and a logician of such powers as to enable him, for example, to take rank among the leaders of the Constitutional Convention of 1829 which had in its membership such men as Chief Justice Marshall, Ex-Presidents Madison³ and Monroe, John Randolph of Roanoke, Benjamin Watkins Leigh, Chapman Johnson, William B. Giles and John R. Cook.

Semple wrote of Campbell "he is so much of a champion that to be beaten by him would not be so discreditable as it might be with some other antagonist. . . . I think him a generous combatant with one who wishes nothing but fair play."⁴

A sample of Campbell's conclusively unanswerable way in handling Bishop Semple may be given. In a letter published in

¹Hodge: *The Plea and the Pioneers in Virginia*, 35.

²Id. 39.

³Ex-president Madison in returning from the Convention spent the night with Edmund Pendleton at his home in Louisa County. Pendleton "was somewhat of an admirer of Mr. Campbell," and asked Mr. Madison his opinion of Campbell. "Mr. Madison, in answer, spoke in very high terms of the ability shown by him in the convention. 'But,' he continued, 'it is as a theologian that Mr. Campbell must be known. It was my pleasure to hear him very often as a preacher of the Gospel, and I regard him as the ablest and most original expounder of the Scriptures I have ever heard.'"—*The Plea and the Pioneers in Virginia*, 50.

⁴Hodge: *The Plea and the Pioneers in Virginia*, 46.

the *Baptist Recorder*, Semple spoke disparagingly of the restoration movement and advocated and defended the use of creeds. In it he said: "Creeds are good servants but bad masters. Give them too much authority, and they will tyrannize; but let them, as messengers carry the digested opinions of one set of men to another, and their effect is excellent. The Baptists have been a divided people ever since my knowledge of them, owing (I think) to the want of proper respect for established opinions, customs and regulations, whether written or otherwise."¹

Analysing this Campbell wrote: "On the supposition that you trace these divisions to the want of sufficient respect for a creed, then you have made a creed to mean 'established opinions, customs and regulations.' Is this the Servant? Surely if the opinions, customs and regulations are established, they are, or must be, masters; and we must submit. To this I have no objections, provided the authority that establishes them be paramount to every other.

"But what right has one generation to establish 'opinions, customs and regulations' for another? And why should you and I submit to the 'opinions, customs and regulations' established by any human authority? If I must examine for myself, what shall I examine? The Creed or the Bible? If I must not take the creed upon trust, but if you say I must go to the Bible as well as to the creed, may I not as well go to the Bible at first as at last? Say, Bro. Semple, may I not—ought I not—go to the Bible at first? If I take the creed at all, you will say: Take the creed in one hand and the Bible in the other. And of what use then is the creed? Why, say you, it will help you to understand the Bible or guide you in the examination of it. If so, then I must make the creed a pair of spectacles instead of a staff, and wear it upon my nose instead of keeping it in my hand. If I must examine the Bible through the creed, then the creed is my eyes; my artificial eyes (for it cannot be my natural eyes), my spectacles. If my spectacles are green glass, the Bible is green; if blue, the Bible is blue; and as is the creed, so is the Bible to me. I am a Calvinist, or an Arminian, or a Fullerite, according to

¹Quoted in *The Plea and the Pioneers in Virginia*, 47.

my spectacle or my creed, my 'established opinions, customs and regulations.' ”¹

This character of searching analysis was too much for Bishop Semple. He declined to give his reasons for opposing the reformation, and it was believed that his reason for so doing was his unwillingness to submit them to the critical examination to which he knew they would be subjected at the hands of Campbell. Those letters which he had already written and which were so ruthlessly and effectively dissected by Campbell, were in a tone of apology admitted by James B. Taylor in his biography of Robert B. Semple to have been “too hastily written.”

Semple's “refusal to give his reasons for opposing the reformation was regarded by many as a virtual acknowledgment of the weakness of his position.”²

Semple was regarded as the champion of the Baptist cause in Eastern Virginia. This episode excited great interest and greatly increased the circulation of the *Christian Baptist* in that section. Many of the Baptist Ministers recognizing the unanswerable logic and scriptural soundness of Campbell's position began publicly teaching the Gospel according to these views. The public interest was challenged and great excitement prevailed in the ranks of the Baptist Church, when Thomas M. Henley, of Essex County, one of the most earnest and talented Baptist preachers in the state, took this course. Other Baptist Ministers who did likewise were Dr. John Du Val, Peter Ainslie, Dudley Atkinson, M. W. Webber and John Richards.³

The reformers seeking a restoration of the Baptist Church to the purity of Apostolic practice were content to work in the Baptist Church. In some instances whole churches accepted the principles of the restoration, while in others the membership were divided on the question. That part of the Baptist membership not agreeing with the reformers was not content to permit them to affiliate and fraternize in the same body. “Unable to refute by logic and scriptural testimony the doctrine of the

¹Hodge: *The Plea and the Pioneers in Virginia*, 48.

²Id. 49.

³Id. 48.

reformers" the Baptist Churches and Associations, "tried the high hand of ecclesiastical authority."¹

The Baptists in Eastern Virginia followed the example of the Beaver Association in proscribing the churches of the Mahoning Association, all of whose churches except three, had adopted the principles of the restoration movement.

These pious, early Baptists who continued as they termed it "orthodox," not being able to win back to their way of thinking, those who supported the restoration movement, decided to stamp out the movement root and branch by the heavy heel of ecclesiastical authority. Imitating to some extent at least, the practice of the popes in issuing bulls of excommunication, they resorted to the issuance and publication of "proscriptive decrees." The earliest of these decrees, in Eastern Virginia, was directed at Silas Shelburne of Lunenburg County, son of James Shelburne, the Baptist Minister, who in 1771, had contended against Jeremiah Walker in the Meherrin Baptist Church that the Scriptures were a sufficient rule of faith and practice. Silas Shelburne grew up under the preaching of his father, and himself became a minister, preaching with his father, until the death of the latter when he was called to the pastorate of the church which his father had served.

At this time Abner W. Clopton, one of the leading Baptist preachers in Eastern Virginia was a member of the Appomattox Association. In the beginning he was much pleased with the work of Campbell, but later took exception to his views on "experimental religion," and he eventually became one of the most bitter partisans in the Baptist ranks. Clopton resented the action of the Meherrin Association in permitting Silas Shelburne and his co-laborers to preach as they did in Baptist Churches. The Appomattox and Meherrin Associations covered territory which adjoined each other, and so great did Clopton's resentment become that he introduced and procured the passage by the Appomattox Association of what are known as the Appomattox Decrees.²

These recommended that the Church discountenance the writ-

¹Hodge: *The Plea and the Pioneers in Virginia*, 67.

²Id. 68.

ings of Alexander Campbell, and that the Churches not invite into their pulpits any minister who holds the sentiments condemned "in the Beaver Anathema." While of course this association had no jurisdiction outside its bounds, the resolution against inviting such preachers into their pulpits was recognized as aimed at Silas Shelburne and his associates who often preached within the bounds of the Appomattox Association.¹

The Meherrin Association, or at least a majority of it, were in sympathy with the restoration, and when at one of its meetings one of Clopton's men endeavored to have the reformers cast out, he was defeated, and himself declared his non-fellowship and vacated his seat.²

The effort to combat the progress of the restoration by proscribing its advocates became popular with the Baptists. Bishop Semple was the pastor of Bruington Church in King and Queen County, and, hearing that certain persons had been immersed upon the confession of their faith, he took the matter in hand and appointed a committee to confer with other churches, and recommend what measures should be taken in the premises. Without, however, waiting for the Committee to report he sought out Andrew Broaddus, and they decided to call a conference of churches on the subject. Eight churches were represented at the meeting held in the Upper King and Queen meeting-house December 30 and 31, 1830. The subject was discussed the first day, and a committee appointed to sit at night and bring in a report for consideration the next day.

The report, after a lengthy preamble, which recited that the cause of their distress and meeting was a "system of religion known by the name of Campbellism," introduced seven resolutions dealing with the subject of spiritual regeneration, denying the sufficiency "of human nature aided by the mere written word, in salvation," recommended non-fellowship with those holding the views of the reformers, and that the churches take a decided stand against such preachers and not receive persons baptized by them.³

¹Hodge: *The Plea and the Pioneers in Virginia*, 69.

²Id.

³Id. 70.

These resolutions or decrees were dubbed by Campbell the Semple and Broaddus Decrees. Bishop Semple suffered what was possibly the greatest chagrin and humiliation of his life when on March 5, 1831, Bruington, the church of which he was pastor, rejected and refused to ratify them. Commenting on this occurrence, Campbell wrote:

“The very church, which it is said, was so aggrieved at the spread of our views as to justify R. B. Semple and Andrew Broaddus in calling a council to proscribe us; that very church, which, it is said, the mover of these decrees planted, and in which he has labored for so many years, has done itself the honor to reject the decrees of the elders. Thus has the sceptre departed from Judah and a law giver from Dover.”¹

The Meeting of Bruington Church was a large one, every member except one, who was sick, being present. The decrees or resolves were read and their adoption advocated by Semple, Broaddus and Todd. The opposition devolved primarily upon Dr. John Du Val, who was fully equal to the task; his argument is said to have been very eloquent and powerful.

Upon the defeat of the proposal to ratify the report, Semple demanded that his “opponents,”—those who would not vote with him should take letters of dismission, and join some other church.²

The members, however, feeling that the church was as much theirs as it was Semple’s refused so to do. Then somewhat, it would seem, in the hope to intimidate some of the weaker members, he ordered every man’s name written down, and the list called over for another vote, so that each was required to answer and record his vote. This was done and the members remained firm in their determination not to approve his proposed decrees. Thus completely defeated, no alternative was left him, but to fellowship those he desired cast out, or himself withdraw from that pastorate. He did not withdraw; but the next day preached and broke the loaf with reformers and anti-reformers alike.

As time went by, however, the tension within the Baptist

¹Hodge: *The Plea and the Pioneers in Virginia*, 71.

²Id.

Church became greater rather than less. In December, 1831, Thomas Campbell, the father of Alexander Campbell visited Eastern Virginia. He visited Richmond and preached several times in a Baptist Church of which John Kerr was pastor. Through some misunderstanding it was announced that he would preach on a certain Sunday morning, and it was known that several from a distance were coming to Richmond at that time to hear him. Mr. Kerr, however, declared he had given no permission for Campbell to preach in his church at that time, and declared he would preach at that time and place himself. This was satisfactory to Campbell, but those who had circulated the announcement felt that it would not do to disappoint those who were coming in to hear Campbell, and so it was arranged for him to preach in the State Capitol. This greatly angered Kerr. He announced that the meeting at the Capitol had been highly offensive and that certain members of his church "whom others choose to call 'Campbellites' would have to withdraw." He finally succeeded, not without great opposition, in getting his congregation to adopt a resolution recommending the withdrawal of those not in sympathy with Kerr's position.

Immediately after this those believing in the principles of the restoration movement drew up and signed the following preamble and resolution :

"Whereas a resolution, connected with a preamble, stating that certain members entertaining opinions of Scripture doctrine and church government materially different from the great body of the First Baptist Church and all the Regular Baptists in Virginia, was, on the 14th of February, 1832, adopted by a majority of said church, and whereas we are satisfied that the above preamble and resolution are intended to operate upon the opinions we hold, though we have disclaimed, and do disclaim, any opinion not founded upon the New Testament; and whereas they have invited us to withdraw; therefore

"Resolved, that we whose names are hereunto subscribed do withdraw ourselves from the First Baptist Church."¹

This document was signed by sixty-eight members of the

¹Hodge: *The Plea and the Pioneers in Virginia*, 82.

church, including all the trustees and many of the other prominent and influential members.¹

These organized a separate church, and erected a brick church building on Eleventh Street between Broad and Marshall, adjoining the City Hall and Capitol. It became known as Sycamore Church, from a large sycamore tree which stood near the entrance.²

Matters soon reached such a state that "it needed but the suggestion to launch the Baptist Churches of" Eastern Virginia, "upon a course that savoured strongly of the ancient spirit of Romish bulls and interdicts. This suggestion was given in the fall of 1832, just before the annual meeting of the Dover Association, by Eli Ball, editor of the *Religious Herald*, when he published an editorial in which he advised the necessity of casting out the reformers from the Baptist ranks at the coming Association. To make the work of ejection doubly sure he advised the packing of the jury for the coming meeting of the Dover Association, and admonished the brethren not to send any one as a messenger of the churches who was suspected of having any attachment to the principles of reform."³

In order that all things might be in readiness the decree was drafted in advance in Richmond by John Kerr.

The Dover Association convened in October, 1832, and without preferring any charges, without giving any notice to the parties, or providing an opportunity for them to be heard, and without any form of trial or inquisition the Association adopted some preambles and then the following decree:

"We, therefore, the assembled ministers and delegates of the Dover Association, after much prayerful deliberation, do hereby affectionately recommend to the churches in our connection to separate from their communion all such persons as are promoting controversy and discord under the specious name of 'Reformers.' That the line of distinction may be clearly drawn, so that all who are concerned may understand it, we feel it our duty to declare that, whereas Peter Ainslie, John DuVal, Matthew W.

¹Hodge: *The Plea and the Pioneers in Virginia*, 82-3.

²Id. 83.

³Id. 84.

Webber, Thomas M. Henley, John Richards, and Dudley Atkinson, ministers within the bounds of this Association, have voluntarily assumed the name of 'Reformers,' in its party application, by attending a meeting publicly advertised for that party, and by communing with and otherwise promoting the views of the members of that party, who have been separated from the fellowship and communion of Regular Baptist Churches—

*"Resolved, That this Association cannot consistently and conscientiously receive them, nor any other minister maintaining their views, as members of their body; nor can they in future act in concert with delegates from any church or churches that may encourage or countenance their ministrations."*¹

Commenting in the *Harbinger* on the action of the Dover Association, Alexander Campbell said:

"The excommunicated brethren, with whom we are proud to fraternize, view 'sin' as the transgression of the law; 'faith' as the belief of the testimony of God; 'repentance,' as sorrow for sin; 'regeneration,' as being born again; 'baptism,' as an immersion into the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, on confession of faith in Jesus, for the remission of sins; 'the agency of the Spirit,' as essential to the demonstration of the mission of Jesus, and to our faith in the testimony of God; 'Church government,' as the government of the church by the laws of Jesus, executed by the public servants of the church; 'the Christian ministry,' as the ministers of Jesus Christ, called and sent by his authority; 'the whole scheme of Christian benevolence,' as the Church of the Living God. But such it appears are not the views of John Kerr, who, it is published by Eli Ball, had the honor to pen this preamble and decree, nor of those who voted with him in excluding these brethren from what they call the 'Kingdom of God.'"²

After the action of the Dover Association separation was inevitable. "The die was cast. Henceforth, within the bounds of the Dover Association the so-called 'Reformers' were to be separate and distinct from the Baptists . . . they were still,

¹Hodge: *The Plea and the Pioneers in Virginia*, 86-87.

²Id. 87-88.

however, members of the Church of Christ, and as disciples of their excommunicated chief they now took upon themselves the simple name of 'Christians,' in conformity with Acts 11:26. This indeed was one of the reforms they had urged as Baptists. They did not assume to be [the] only Christians, but forced to cast off their sectarian or divisional name, and taking the Bible as their guidebook, they became Christians only."¹

The Baptists had hoped to wholly eradicate the pernicious movement by excommunicating the heretics, but as has always been the case, such measures fail of their end, and stimulate rather than stifle the object of their oppression. So it was in this case. "The publication of the Dover Decree gave a forward impetus to the movement for the restoration of the principles and practices of the Apostles, in Eastern Virginia. It was a confession of the inability of Baptists' principles to hold their own members."²

In various communities wherever there were a sufficient number in a group for a congregation, local church groups were organized. There were a considerable number of churches with substantial memberships in what was known as the Tidewater District. This group of people employed Peter Ainslie, in the fall of 1832 to act as General evangelist of Eastern Virginia. With these developments the Disciples of Christ or Christians became a separate church organization in the state.

As a separate body they are sometimes called "Campbellites," a name they did not choose, nor have they ever approved. This name has been used because of the prominence of Thomas and Alexander Campbell in the movement which resulted in their separation from the Baptist Church. Their attitude toward the matter of name is clearly stated by Frederick D. Power in the remarkable address delivered by him at the World's Fair, in St. Louis, on "Disciples of Christ Day," October 30, 1904, following the great international convention of the Disciples. He said: "The Disciples were called Christians first at Antioch.' As the bride of Christ the church should wear the name of the bridegroom. Party names perpetuate party strife. Disciples of Christ

¹Hodge: *The Plea and the Pioneers in Virginia*, 88.

²Id. 95.

have been charged with presumption in calling themselves Christians and their churches Christian churches, or churches of Christ. They do not deny that others are Christians, or that other churches are churches of Christ. They do not claim to be the Church of Christ or even a Church of Christ. They simply desire to be Christians only, and their churches to be only churches of Christ. Hence they repudiate the name 'Campbellite.' The Church will be one only under the name of Christ."

Among the early preachers of the Disciples of Christ who preached in Lunenburg may be mentioned Silas Shelburn, Daniel Petty (or Pettie as the name is sometimes spelled), Chester Bullard, R. A. Smith, Benjamin Creel, A. B. Walthall, and Pleasant Barnes. Alexander Campbell is said to have preached in Old Bethany Church, near Wattsboro, before the date of the Dover Decree, or, in other words, before the separation from the Baptist Church took place. Bullard was born in Montgomery County, Virginia, Creel in Fauquier, and Walthall in Amelia.

Silas Shelburn was the son of James Shelburne, who for many years was pastor of Reedy Creek Baptist Church, a church located five or six miles southeast of the county seat of Lunenburg County. A sketch of James Shelburne's life appears in the first series of Taylor's *Virginia Baptist Ministers*. In the Church Book of Reedy Creek Church a minute respecting him begins: "On Monday, March 6, 1820, departed this life at his residence in Lunenburg County, in his eighty-third year, Elder James Shelburne, who had been the diligent and affectionate pastor of this church about forty-five years."¹

He was born about 1737, and began the pastorate of Reedy Creek Church the year it was "constituted," four years after he had challenged the Philadelphia Creed, when it was proposed to the Meherrin church. Reedy Creek church began its existence in June, 1775.² It is deserving of special mention for it was different from most Baptist churches. In fact, it can scarcely be regarded as a Baptist church at all, except in name, for James Shelburn did not believe in human creeds, and from the time of the episode, in Meherrin Baptist church in 1771

¹Sample: *History of Virginia Baptists*, 296, note by Beale.

²Id. 297.

until his death he in fact believed and taught "that the Scriptures were a sufficient rule of faith and practice." His church was therefore practically in substance and effect, what the churches of the Restoration were, minus the name. James Shelburn therefore was in a very essential sense, the forerunner of Campbell and his associates who soon after his death appeared in Eastern Virginia. He had well prepared the ground for their labors.

Silas Shelburn called "The 'Raccoon' John Smith" of Virginia, was born at the Shelburn home near Reedy Creek, about five miles from Lunenburg court house June 4, 1790. He early decided to follow in the footsteps of his father as a minister and sometime between 1810 and 1815 began to accompany his father on his preaching tours.¹

The young man early began to help his father in his ministrations, and eventually they held joint meetings.

"In one of the first meetings they held together several persons presented themselves for baptism and church membership. Father Shelburn said, 'Let the candidates be examined to see if their Christian experiences are satisfactory,' when his son, Silas, spoke up and said, 'Father, that is not in accord with the Scriptures; that is not the way the Apostles did. How can these men, who have been sinners all their lives, and who have never lived a Christian life, give a Christian experience? You might as well require every young couple who comes to you to be married to give a married experience before you perform the marriage ceremony.' 'Go on, Silas, and do right,' said the old man, and from that time forth they baptized believing penitents on their confession that 'Jesus is the Christ, the son of God.'"²

It is recorded that shortly before his death in 1820 James Shelburn thus addressed his son Silas: "Oh, my son, the church lies heavy, very heavy, on my mind. I fear that a cold and trying time is approaching, and that many will be seeking a more fashionable religion. Watch over their souls as one who must give an account unto God, and keep yourself unspotted from

¹Hodge: *The Plea and the Pioneers in Virginia*, 265.

²Id.

the world. Do not aspire after men of great swelling words, but study the Scriptures, preaching the Gospel in its simplicity; be meek, lowly and unassuming in your manners, with all holy conversation, as becometh the Gospel of Christ. Never aim at things too deep, and incomprehensible for mortals to know, remembering that there is as much made plain as it is the will of our Heavenly Father we should know; for 'Secret things belong to God, and things that are revealed belong to us.' Throughout life, whatever difficulties you may have to encounter, never return railing for railing, but contrariwise, in doing which you will overcome ten where you will one by any other method."¹

Although a true and unquestioned reformer Silas Shelburn remained nominally in the Baptist ranks much longer than many ministers with whom he fraternized, and with whom he entertained identical views. This was due to the failure of Abner Clopton to have Shelburn "disfellowshipped" by the Meherrin Association. Ultimately, however, the group of churches for which he preached dissolved their relations with the Baptist Association and "became simply churches of Christ."²

Silas Shelburn finally discontinued serving a local group of churches, and became an evangelist, and in this capacity travelled all over, and preached throughout the length and breadth of Virginia. He died September 7, 1871.

It is said of him that he was not highly educated so far as scholastic attainments were concerned, but he was deeply versed in the Bible and its philosophy. Says one: "Few could get the marrow and fatness of Scriptures as he could."³

On one occasion he was scheduled to preach at a meeting where Alexander Campbell was to be present. He was one of the best educated men of this time, and some one remembering Shelburne's lack of educational attainments, asked him if he was not afraid to preach before Mr. Campbell. "No," he answered, "I have preached before God Almighty many a time, and I don't know why I should be afraid to preach before Alexander Campbell."⁴

¹Hodge: *The Plea and the Pioneers in Virginia*, 266.

²Id.

³Id. 267.

⁴Id. 268.

While he was, it is said, one of the kindest of men, he was not averse to taking the wind out of the sail of the pretentious, especially those who seemed to have too exalted an opinion of themselves. Two anecdotes of him, which have been preserved illustrate the fact.

“A young preacher who had rather an exalted opinion of his powers, after preaching in the presence of Bro. Shelburn, asked him what he thought of the sermon. ‘Wall, brother,’ said the old man, ‘there’s a pint down on the Eastern Shore they call ‘Pint No Pint.’ You were as near there today as you’ll ever get.’”¹

At another time a “preacher who had gone rather deeply into some metaphysical speculation in a sermon, to which Silas Shelburn had listened, asked him what he thought of his metaphysics. The reply was, ‘Metaphysics.’ Wall I didn’t know what kind of physic it was, but it made me mighty sick.”²

Besides *Reedy Creek*, among the earliest of the churches of the Disciples of Christ in Lunenburg were *Mt. Olivet*, which stood (and still stands) on the Rehoboth road, between the North and Middle Meherrin rivers, *Bethany*, which stood near Wattsboro, on Cox road, *Cool Spring*, which was located northwest of Rehoboth, on the road leading northwest from McCormick’s Mill, in the section between Juniper Creek and Grassy Fork of Middle Meherrin river, *Perseverance*, in the lower end of the county on the Two Notch road, and *Spring Hill* church on Flat Rock Road near Non Intervention.

Between 1818 and 1844, Silas Shelburn, Pleasant Barnes, Daniel Petty and Chester Bullard seem to have been the most active of the members of the Disciples of Christ Church in performing marriage ceremonies.

In addition to those identified with the several denominations mentioned, the Lunenburg County marriage records show marriages by various ministers whose denominational affiliations are not indicated by the marriage returns. Some of these performed great numbers of marriages over a considerable period of time.³

¹Hodge: *The Plea and the Pioneers in Virginia*, 268.

²Id.

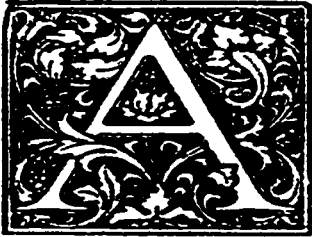
³For details as to each see Chapter IX, Vol. II.

The list of those whose affiliations are not indicated embrace: Archibald McRoberts, Matthew Dance, M. M. Dance, Charles Ogburn, Renard Anderson, Garner McConnico, John Paup, Edward Almond, Joel Johns, William Davis, Richard Dabbs, Hezekiah W. Leland, Jesse Brown, James Robertson, Milton Robertson, William Richards, Stephen Jones, George Petty, Caleb N. Bell, Francis Smith, Thomas H. Jeffreys, William Hatchett, Joshua Featherston, Sterling W. Fowler, John Thompson, Benjamin Watkins, Abner Watkins, James Smith, John Wesley Childs, J. W. Fowler, Thomas D. Garrott, Robt. J. Carson, Thodowick Pryor, James M. Jeter, W. S. Wilson, B. R. Duval, Samuel G. Mason, Freemon Fitzgerald, Albert Anderson, Thomas Y. Castleman, George A. Bain, Robert Michaels, Wm. Wilson, Richard E. G. Adams, Louis Dupree and Wm. Doswell.

CHAPTER X

Slavery, Secession and the Civil War

SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE TRADE



CAUSE which succeeds, seems in the opinion of many, largely to justify itself in history, by the very fact of success. Especially is this true if its history, as well as that of the opposition to it, is written by the victors. But a cause which is defeated in an appeal to arms must, at least to the unthinking, justify itself by truth and reason at the bar of history. Presumptions are not indulged in its favor.

If one, therefore, maintains that the offenses which caused the Civil War were committed by the North, that the North was the aggressor in bringing on the war; and that the South was wholly justified in its course, one must produce his evidence and submit his case. Especially is this necessary in view of the false histories, and the erroneous impressions conveyed by the general literature of the North, for there is what amounts to a widespread determination amounting in substance to a conspiracy in that section to suppress the truth respecting the Civil War.

It has been well said that "History is the great purifier, the great leveller of mankind. Its recording angel is no respecter of persons. It is the impartial custodian of truth. It analyzes the actions of men, discovers their motives and makes plain their purposes. It separates the true from the false. It lifts up on high real heroes and drops into obscurity the base and ignoble."

But this is true of history in the abstract. For the verdict of history to properly purify and level, it must proceed upon truthful narratives. Its records must be made without respect to persons. History cannot always have its materials preserved by a "recording angel." It too often happens that those who mar and confuse her records are anything but impartial custodians of truth.

In view of the widespread falsification of the facts respecting the events out of which the Civil War grew, and the suppression of the truth or what is quite as bad, the ignoring of it, no apology need be made for a somewhat extended discussion of this subject.

The history of slavery in the country now embraced in the United States constitutes a dark chapter in its annals. Relatively small as is the praise to be bestowed upon any respecting the subject, on the one hand, and great as is the condemnation to be visited on the other, neither the praise nor the blame have been, generally speaking, justly placed. Either because of ignorance of the facts, or of ingrained prejudice, or because of motives less excusable than ignorance, many writers have misstated facts, misrepresented motives, and misapplied both praise and blame. They have condemned where censure was not due and have failed to give even a word of commendation where the highest eulogy would be but faint praise.

Few great events in the history of the world have been so falsified as the history of the causes and the facts of the Civil War. It has been said that "the conquerors write the histories of all conquered peoples;" and while the Southerners are in no sense a conquered people, yet certain it is that northern writers have attempted to write, and many to write falsely the history of the Civil War.

No people ever had better right than the people of the South, especially those of Virginia, who lived before the war and those who participated in it, to look to the tribunal of history for an assured and enduring justification for their cause and their conduct in the events which led to the war, and in the course of the war itself.

Yet in the decades which followed the termination of the war, while the South was prostrate and endeavoring painfully and patiently to rebuild its institutions and its altars destroyed, in defiance and violation of the laws of God and man and of the usages of all civilized nations even in wars, by such vandals and savages as Sherman and Milroy, Sheridan, Hunter and Pope, the youth even of the South were fed upon and instructed in errors, misrepresentation and falsification of the aims of the people of the South, and of their governments; the characters of great and

good men were belittled and defamed, and a determined effort has persisted to misrepresent to the children of the South the motives of their fathers. With audacious effrontery they were taught that the motives and purposes of their fathers were not only mistaken but altogether dishonorable.

For a considerable period practically all the histories were written at the North, and these histories as well as the general literature of the North were permeated and saturated with the grossest falsehoods, the most malicious and insidious untruths; and so general and widespread was, and is, the teaching of falsehoods, and the omissions to declare the truth and the refusal or failure of teachers of the North to tell the truth, that the condition even now amounts to a national historical scandal in which authors, publishers, school officials and teachers, are in one degree or another, widely involved.

It would seem that in the time that has elapsed since the Civil War, the bitterness of that struggle would have been so far forgotten that the truth of history might be written and taught with candor. It does not seem too much to ask that the motives and the purposes of those responsible for, and who participated in that great struggle, be examined to ascertain the truth. It might be reasonably supposed that the causes of the war would now be inquired into in a spirit of fairness. But such is not the case. Some there may be who investigate with soberness and candor and aim at fidelity to truth, but this cannot be affirmed as a general rule. The fact is that but relatively few treat with anything approaching adequacy and accuracy such subjects as that of slavery, the secession doctrine, the efforts of the Northern States to nullify the constitution of the United States and to coerce the states of the South.

The persistence of such false accounts as are currently accepted may be due, in considerable degree, to a slavish following of the false histories written in the heat of passion after the war, and it may be due in some degree to a lack of industry in searching into original sources. But above all the real reason for our false histories seems to be found in the desire of historians to write what is popular, to teach what the people want to believe, whether it is accurate or not. Writers who cater to the patronage

of public school officials find it necessary to ignore or gloss over some unpalatable things. If they did not do so their books would not be used. The result is that at the North histories are produced which tell what the people like to hear, and which do not tell what they prefer be not mentioned, even though the result is to outrage historical facts and defame the people of the South for the course they pursued. This process of teaching history made to order was illustrated a few years ago in Ohio, where a widespread demand arose for the removal of a Director of Education because he permitted the use in the schools of the state of a history whose author expressed the opinion that General Lee was an abler general than General Grant.

It is an undeniable fact that in many parts of the North a wholly wrong impression is, even now, given to the rising generation respecting the ante-bellum South, and the causes and conduct of the Civil War. This may be due, only in part, to the printed pages of the history books used in instructing the youth of the country. It seems due, in some measure at least, to the ingrained prejudices which are a part of the heritages of many, and which remain because of the failure to eradicate them by declaring and teaching the truth. There seems to be a lack, even among many school teachers, of a comprehensive understanding of the origin and the development of the subjects out of which grew the Civil War. Thus, for example, the legal, social, political and geographical factors which had so much to do with the slavery question, seem, by many, to be little understood. And yet, no just or intelligent appraisal of responsibility, of merit or demerit, of guilt or innocence can be made, without an inquiry into and an understanding of these complex matters.

It is not too much to say that the opinion held in some quarters, and, indeed, in broad and indiscriminating outline taught children in their young and impressionable years, divides the United States into two great sections, the North and the South. At the South lived before the war a wicked, bad, if not inhuman lot of white people, who were engaged in hunting down and capturing and holding in bondage the black man; while at the North were the good people, who from the beginning looked with horror upon the slavery of the blacks, and whose principal efforts and exer-

tions for generations were devoted to securing their freedom. The picture held up to the admiring gaze of innocent, uneducated and misinstructed childhood and youth, is that of these good people of the North, earning their own livings, by the sweat of their own brows, while the people of the South, rich beyond the dreams of avarice, dawdled in idleness, living upon the product of the toil of slaves, who were driven to inhuman exertions by the lash of the taskmaster.

Another phase of the picture so ignorantly and falsely presented is that at the South, in the former slave holding states, negroes were treated with the utmost harshness and cruelty, while, at the same time at the North, negroes were treated with the utmost kindness and consideration and were fully accorded the same freedom and the same rights which white persons enjoyed, without any discrimination whatsoever.

These good people at the North, thus feeling and thus treating the negroes, looked with horror upon the spectacle of negroes in bondage at the South; and the horror finally increasing to the point where the North could no longer restrain its righteous indignation, its citizenry shouldered their muskets and marched to war and freed the slaves! Such is history as it is too often taught!

In the interest of truth and in justice to the memory of the hundreds of Lunenburgers who so proudly and with such honor wore the Gray, and who shed their blood and gave up their lives on so many fields of glory, a few neglected facts of history should be recalled and repeated.

No attempt is made to write such a history of slavery and the Civil War period as should be written. That service will some day, no doubt, be performed. In the course of this discussion some unpleasant truths may be stated; some facts which most historians, especially those whose books find their way into the public schools of the North, persist in ignoring, slighting, or even falsifying, may be emphasized. This by no means indicates that the author holds a brief against the sections, for example New England, of which the unpalatable truth is told; but in view of the widespread misconception and lack of knowledge of this subject by the rank and file of the country, a need exists for

dwelling at some length upon the historical development of the slavery situation in this country. To challenge some of the popular misconceptions may contribute in some small degree to the more even balance of the scales of historical truth and justice.

Possibly not the least value of such a treatment may be the opportunity it will afford some of the severest critics of the South to become acquainted with a few neglected or ignored (and not altogether creditable) facts respecting the history of their sections and their ancestors.

The African slave trade had its origin with the Spaniards and the Portuguese, who "in the course of their African discoveries, were the first to institute the traffic in slaves, and they made great profit thereby. The English followed the example. Sir John Hawkins made several voyages, commencing in 1562, for the purpose of seizing negroes in Africa, and selling them in the West Indies; and in 1585 a company for carrying on the traffic was incorporated by letters patent of Queen Elizabeth. Thenceforward great encouragement was given to it by royal charters, treaties, and acts of parliament."¹

The first slaves in Virginia were brought into the colony by a Dutch man-of-war in 1620. It landed twenty negroes for sale.²

The people of Virginia generally were opposed to the introduction of slavery, but were powerless to prevent the purchase of slaves by those who desired them, or to prevent the growth of the slave population by natural increase as well as importation unless they were permitted to enact laws for that purpose. This the British Government steadfastly refused to permit the colony to do. The antipathy of the early Virginians to the system is evidenced by the fact that, though the system of slavery was approved by England, and a company chartered by Queen Elizabeth to carry on the trade the very year Sir Walter Raleigh first attempted to settle Virginia, when the colony got its name (1585), and although it was actually introduced into the colony in 1620, and the British Government not only countenanced but legalized

¹*Minor's Institutes*, I, 196.

²*Beverley's Hist. of Va.* 35, 1. *Robertson Practice* (2d ed.), 15 et seq.; *Minor's Institutes*, I, 182-3.

and encouraged the importation and owning of slaves, yet the system was so opposed by the Virginians and grew so slowly against that opposition that in 1671, Sir William Berkeley, then the Governor of the colony, stated that the slaves only numbered two thousand out of a total population of forty thousand, and he adds that the importation did not exceed two or three cargoes in seven years.¹

“In 1699 the General Assembly commenced the series of restrictive acts (as many as *twenty-six* in all), by which it sought to arrest or discourage the further introduction of slaves, the last being in 1772, which was accompanied by an earnest petition to the throne to ‘*remove all restraints which inhibited his majesty’s governors assenting to such laws as might check so very pernicious a commerce as that of slavery.*’”²

“This reasonable petition, like its predecessors, was disregarded; and it serves,” says Professor Minor, “to show the depth of the general sentiment upon the subject, that the preamble to the State Constitution of 1776 (which has also been the preamble to every succeeding constitution, as it is to the present one) complains of it as one of the acts of ‘detestable and insupportable tyranny’ of the King of Great Britain, that he had prompted our negroes to rise in arms among us,—‘those very negroes whom, by an inhuman use of his negative, he had *refused us permission to exclude by law.*’”³

Not only does the record of the Colony of Virginia officially attest its staunch opposition to slavery and the slave trade, but the leaders of thought and the most influential of her citizens always deplored and opposed the institution.

The celebrated Colonel William Byrd of Westover, he who had such a prominent part in founding Lunenburg, under date of July 12, 1736, wrote Lord Egmont as follows: “Your Lord’s opinion concerning rum and negroes is certainly very just, and your excluding both of them from your colony of Georgia will be very happy.

¹II *Hening*, 215; *Minor’s Institutes*, I, 184.

²*Minor’s Institutes*, I, 184, citing I *Tucker’s Blackstone*, Appendix, 51, note.

³*Minor’s Institutes*, I, 184.

"I wish, my Lord, we could be blessed with the same prohibition. They import so many negroes here that I fear this colony will some time or other be confirmed by the name of New Guinea. I am sensible of the many bad consequences of multiplying the Ethiopians amongst us. They blow up the pride and ruin the industry of our white people, who seeing a rank of poor creatures below them, detest work for fear it should make them look like slaves. Then that poverty which will attend upon idleness disposes them as much to pilfer as it does the Portuguese. . . .

"But these private mischiefs are nothing if compared to the public danger. It were therefore worth the consideration of a British Parliament, my Lord, to put an end to this unchristian traffick of making merchandise of our fellow creatures. At least, the further importation of them into our colony should be prohibited lest they prove as troublesome and dangerous elsewhere as they have been lately in Jamaica. . . . All these matters duly considered, I wonder the Legislature will indulge a few ravenous traders to the danger of the publick safety."¹

And the ranks of those who consistently opposed the traffic embraces the names of John Dawson, Zachariah Johnson, John Tyler, James Madison, George Mason, Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, George Washington, St. George Tucker, the Randolphs, and the Lees, to mention only a few who were conspicuous for their opposition to the nefarious business.

Speaking of the efforts which the people of the Colony of Virginia made to prevent the importation of slaves, Bancroft says:

"Again and again they had passed laws restraining the importation of negroes from Africa, but their laws were disallowed. How to prevent them from protecting themselves against the increase of the overwhelming evil was debated by the King in Council; and on the 10th of December, 1770, he issued an instruction under his own hand commanding the Governor 'upon pain of the highest displeasure, to assent to no law by which the

¹From unpublished Byrd Manuscripts at Lower Brandon, Va., quoted by Munford, in *Virginia's Attitude Toward Slavery and Secession*, 16-17.

importation of slaves should be in any respect prohibited or obstructed.' ”¹

The attitude and general policy of Great Britain toward the slave trade is abundantly established, and it is highly discreditable to that country. Says Moore:² “She had aided her colonial offspring to become slaveholders; she had encouraged her merchants in tempting them to acquire slaves; she herself excelled all her competitors in slave-stealing; and from the reign of Queen Anne, the slave-trade was among the most envied and cherished monopolies, its protection and increase being a principal feature in her commercial policy. The great ‘distinction’ of the Treaty of Utrecht, as the Queen expressly called it, was that the *assiento* or contract for furnishing the Spanish West Indies with negroes, should be made with England, for the term of thirty years, in the same manner as it had been enjoyed by the French for ten years before.”³

“This was what her great statesmen and divines of the Church of England were so eager and proud to secure for their country! For all her sacrifices in the war, the millions of treasure she had spent, the blood of her children so prodigally shed, with the glories of Blenheim, of Ramillies, of Oudenarde, and Malplaquet, England found her consolation and reward in seizing and enjoying, as the lion’s share of results of the Grand Alliance against the Bourbons, the exclusive right for thirty years of selling African slaves to the Spanish West Indies and the coast of America.”⁴

“Who will wonder,” says Moore, “that men who had thus been taught to believe ‘that the negro-trade on the coast of Africa was the chief and fundamental support of the British colonies and plantations,’ in America, should frown upon legislation in the colonies so utterly inconsistent with the interest of British commerce.”⁵

The attitude of the British Government was: “We cannot

¹Bancroft: *History of United States*, Vol. III, 410.

²George H. Moore, Librarian of the New York Historical Society, in his volume, *History of Slavery in Massachusetts* (N. Y. 1866).

³Queen’s Speech, June 6, 1712.

⁴Moore: *History of Slavery in Mass.*, 140-41.

⁵Id. 141.

allow the colonies to check or discourage, in any manner, a traffic so beneficial to the nation."¹

It will thus be seen that the indictment of the King of Great Britain and the British Government in the preamble to the first constitution of Virginia (1776) was a very just and well based indictment, for, as Professor Minor well says, slavery "was imposed on the colony in the first instance against the earnest and oft-repeated protests of the General Assembly, by the negatives of the King of England or of his governors, on the laws enacted to prohibit the importation of and traffic in slaves."²

In other words, from the foundation of the colony until the colonies achieved their independence, slavery existed in Virginia because the English King vetoed all laws passed by the Colonial Legislature of Virginia looking to the prohibition of the slave traffic.

As soon as Virginia asserted her independence of Great Britain, and set up her own government, even while she was engaged in the life and death struggle of the Revolutionary War, she passed a law in 1778, prohibiting, under heavy penalties, the further importation of slaves.³

This was "almost *thirty years* before it was prohibited by Great Britain, and before New England would consent entirely to forego its profits by allowing the United States to prohibit it. Virginia was thus the *first country* in the world to set the seal of reprobation upon that *opprobrium of modern civilization*, the African slave-trade."⁴ However, before "the commonwealth acquired the power to direct her own policy, the number of slaves was so great (exceeding 230,000) and compared with the whites (about 360,000) as to make it alike disastrous to both races to liberate the blacks."⁵

The attitude of the people of New England toward slavery and the slave trade presents a striking contrast to that of the people of Virginia. But the actual attitude of the New Eng-

¹Moore: *History of Slavery in Mass.*, 142; *Bridges' Jamaica*, II, 475, notes.

²*Minor's Institutes*, I, 183.

³*Id.*

⁴*Id.*

⁵*Minor's Institutes*, I, 183; *Tucker's Commentaries*, I, 75; *Dew's Essay on Slavery*, 76 et seq.; *Elliot's Debates*, 3, p. 590, Speech of Patrick Henry.

landers during the colonial period, and even down to the period of the Civil War, is involved in a maze of misstatements, in false narratives and biased historical writings which appall the seeker for historical truth.

There are few subjects upon which there appears such a wealth of misstatement, and respecting which there is apparently such a determined effort from so great a variety of sources to misinform posterity and write history contrary to facts, as there is respecting the attitude of the North toward slavery, and the actual history of slavery in that part of the United States. And surprising as it is, many of the persons supporting such a purpose and engaging in such an effort have held places of high respectability and have been well esteemed by public opinion.

Thus it has been asserted that slavery was never sanctioned by law in Massachusetts; that no person was ever born a slave on the soil of Massachusetts; that the children of slaves in Massachusetts were born free; and that the abolition of slavery in Massachusetts was accomplished at one fell stroke by the constitution of 1780. Every one of these assertions is false. They are by no means a complete catalog of the claims which have been falsely made in respect to the slavery question, but they are sufficient for illustrative purposes; and the variety and character of those supporting such statements, in the face of the historical facts and the indisputable records to the contrary, present a situation unparalleled; it amounts essentially to a conspiracy against truth. When was there ever before, such an illustration of a people ashamed of their past and determined to write the history of two hundred years of their existence, not as the facts were, but as they wish they had been?

Contrary to the common opinion at this time, especially at the North, it would be difficult to find a blacker chapter in the history of human slavery within the area now comprised in the United States than that of Massachusetts. "A few years after the Puritan settlement of the colony," at "the period of the Pequot war," slavery as an "institution first appears clearly and distinctly in the enslaving of Indians captured in war."¹ And George H. Moore, a northern man, Librarian of the New York

¹George H. Moore: *History of Slavery in Mass.*, i.

Historical Society, writing in 1866, at the very close of the Civil War, when extreme views against the Confederacy, in that quarter, were current, wrote: "The stains which slavery has left on the proud escutcheon even of Massachusetts are quite as significant of its hideous character as the satanic defiance of God and humanity which accompanied the laying of the corner-stone of the Slaveholders' Confederacy."¹ After this biased implication respecting the South, Moore, in what he says of slavery in Massachusetts certainly will not be accused of doing so out of friendship or tenderness for the states of the South.

In 1637, after a capture of some of the Pequods, Roger Williams wrote Winthrop that as it had pleased the Most High to put into their hands "another miserable drove of Adams degenerate seed, and our brethren by nature, I am bold . . . to request the keeping and bringing up of one of the children. I have fixed mine eye on this little one with the red about his neck, but I will not be peremptory in my choice, but will rest in your loving pleasure for him, or any."² And from Salem, where they hanged witches and whence they sent out slave ships, in 1736 Hugh Peters wrote John Winthrop: "Mr. Endecot and myself salute you in the Lord Jesus. . . . We have heard of a dividence of women and children in the bay³ and would be glad of a share, viz.: a young woman or girl and a boy if you think good. I wrote to you for some boys for Bermudas, which I think is considerable."⁴

Winthrop's Journal discloses the fact that when these Indian slaves ran away and were recaptured they were "branded on the shoulder."⁵ And Governor Winthrop, writing to Governor Bradford of Plymouth, July 28, 1637, after giving an account of the success against the Pequods, says: "The prisoners were divided, some to those of the river [the Connecticut Colony] and the rest to us. Of these we send the male children to Bermuda,

¹*History of Slavery in Mass.*, 1-2.

²Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., IV, VI, 195-6; Moore: *Hist. of Slavery in Mass.*, 2-3.

³Massachusetts Bay Colony.

⁴Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., IV, VI, 95; Moore: *History of Slavery in Mass.*, 4.

⁵Winthrop, I, 232.

by Mr. William Peirce, and the women and maid children are disposed about in the towns. There have now been slain and taken in all, about 700.”¹ Governor Bradford’s note to this letter says that instead of being sent to Bermuda “they were carried to the West Indies.”²

“At the very birth of the foreign commerce of New England the African slave trade became a regular business. The ships which took cargoes of staves and fish to Madeira and the Canaries were accustomed to touch on the coast of Guinea to trade for negroes, who were carried generally to Barbadoes or the other English Islands in the West Indies, the demand for them at home being small.”³ Winthrop illustrates the course of trade by an entry in his journal in 1645: “One of our ships,” he says, “which went to the Canaries with pipe staves in the beginning of November last, returned now and brought wine, and sugar, and salt, and some tobacco, which she had at Barbadoes, *in exchange for Africoes*, which she carried from the Isle of Maio.”⁴

Not only did these New Englanders enslave the Indians and send the males to the West Indies, keeping the rest in slavery at home, but they brought negro slaves from the West Indies to New England. Winthrop, in his journal, on February 26, 1638, records the fact that Mr. Peirce, the same who took the Indians to West Indies, “returned from the West Indies after seven months . . . and brought some cotton, and tobacco, and negroes.”⁵ This Mr. Peirce was master of the ship *Desire*, built at Marblehead in 1636, one of the earliest ships built in the colony.⁶ It was almost immediately put into the slave trade. After recording the facts above mentioned respecting Peirce’s voyage, he adds: “Dry fish and strong liquors are the only commodities for those ports,” and Dr. Belknap long afterwards, in a retrospective view of the subject declared that the “rum distilled in Massa-

¹Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., IV, iii, 360.

²Moore: *Hist. of Slavery in Mass.*, 5.

³Moore: *Hist. of Slavery in Mass.*, 29.

⁴*Winthrop’s Journal*, II, 219.

⁵*Winthrop*, I, 254.

⁶*Id.* 193.

chusetts was 'the mainspring of this traffick.'"¹ But the New Englanders were not always satisfied to buy "negroes in the regular course of traffic, which, under the fundamental law of Massachusetts . . . would have been perfectly legal."² Sometimes they stole them. A case involving the crew of a Boston ship illustrates this practice. The Boston ship in question joined with other ships from London, engaged in the same nefarious business, and together landed on the coast of Africa a small cannon, "attacked a negro village on Sunday, killed many of the inhabitants, and made a few prisoners, two of whom fell to the share of the Boston ship."³

The master, the mate and the owners had a lawsuit, in which the whole story came out. When it did, a magistrate presented a petition to the General Court, in which he charged the master and the mate with three offenses, murder, man-stealing and Sabbath breaking. The magistrates who decided the case, doubted their authority to punish crimes committed on the coast of Africa; "but they ordered the negroes sent back, as having been procured not honestly by purchase, but unlawfully by kidnapping,"⁴ and, says Moore, "In all the proceedings of the General Court on this occasion, there is not a trace of anti-slavery opinion or sentiment, still less of anti-slavery legislation; though both have been repeatedly claimed for the honor of the colony."⁵

Moore points out that the first entrance of Massachusetts into the slave trade was "not a private, individual speculation. It was the enterprise of the authorities of the colony."⁶ He quotes an order by the General Court on March 13, 1639, "that 31 8s should be paid Lieutenant Davenport for the present, for charge disbursed for the slaves, which, when they have earned it, he is to repay it back again."⁷

¹George H. Moore: *History of Slavery in Massachusetts*, 6; Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., I, IV, 197.

²Moore: *Hist. of Slavery in Mass.*, 29.

³Id.

⁴Moore: *History of Slavery in Mass.*, 29-39, citing: *Hildreth*, I, 282; *Mass. Records*, II, 67, 129, 136, 168, 176, 196; III, 46, 49, 58, 84; *Winthrop's Journal*, II, 243, 379.

⁵Moore: *Hist. of Slavery in Mass.*, 30.

⁶Id. 9.

⁷Id., citing Mass. Rec. I, 253.

The attitude of the people of Massachusetts on the slavery question is indicated in a letter written about the summer of 1645 by Emanuel Downing to the elder Winthrop, whose sister, Lucy Winthrop, Downing married. His son was the famous Sir George Downing, English ambassador at the Hague. Emanuel Downing came to New England in 1638, and "there were few more active or efficient friends of the Massachusetts colony during its earliest and most critical period."¹ In this letter he said: "A war with the Narragansett is very considerable to this plantation, for I doubt whether it be not sin in us, having power in our hands, to suffer them to maintain the worship of the devil, which their pow wows often do; secondly, if upon a just war the Lord should deliver them into our hands, we might easily have men, women and children enough to exchange for Moores, which will be more gainful pillage for us than we conceive, for I do not see how we can thrive until we get into a stock of slaves sufficient to do all our business, for our children's children will hardly see this great continent filled with people, so that our servants will still desire freedom to plant for themselves, and not stay but for very great wages. And I suppose you know very well how we shall maintain twenty Moores cheaper than one English servant.

"The ships that shall bring Moores may come home laden with salt which may bear most of the charge; if not all of it."²

In 1708 Governor Dudley reported to the Board of Trade that there were four hundred slaves then in Boston, one-half of whom were born there.³ In February, 1720, Governor Shute reported to the same body that the number of slaves in Massachusetts was 2,000.⁴ In 1735, there were 2,600 in the province, and in 1742, 1,514 in Boston alone,⁵ and says Moore, "It is a curious fact that the first census in Massachusetts was a census of negro slaves."⁶

¹Moore: *Hist. of Slavery in Mass.*, citing the editors of the Winthrop Papers.

²Mass. Hist. Society Collection, IV, VI, 65; Moore: *History of Slavery in Massachusetts*, 10.

³Moore: *Hist. of Slavery in Mass.*, 50.

⁴Id.

⁵Moore: *Hist. of Slavery in Mass.*, 50, citing Douglass, I, 531.

⁶Moore: *Hist. of Slavery in Mass.*, 50.

In 1754, an account of the property in the province liable to taxation was required, and Governor Shirley sent a special message to the House of Representatives, in which he said: "There is one part of the estate, viz., the negro slaves, which I am at a loss how to come at the knowledge of, without your assistance."¹ Thereupon the legislature directed the assessors of the several towns and districts to ascertain and report "the exact number of the negro slaves, both male and female, sixteen years old and upwards, within their respective towns and districts."²

This was a revenue measure pure and simple, which is not only shown by the message of Governor Shirley, but by the fact that the act of the legislature directed that only the slaves who were taxable (those above sixteen years of age), be reported.

Felt's account of this census in the *Collections of the American Statistical Association*³ is a good illustration of the seeming inability of many writers to refrain from prevarication respecting slavery in the North. He says the General Court passed this order "for the purpose of having an accurate account of slaves in our commonwealth, as a subject in which the people were becoming much interested, relative to the cause of liberty."

This order made no attempt to get "*an accurate account of slaves*" in Massachusetts, but only "the exact number" subject to tax. Mr. Moore very justly ridicules Felt's statement saying "There is not a particle of authority for this suggestion—such a motive for their action never existed anywhere but in the imagination of the writer himself."⁴ "It is a humiliating fact," says Moore, "which should not be omitted here, that the most distinct and permanent evidence of service of the colored patriots of the Revolution, belonging to Massachusetts (most of whom were or had been slaves), has been found in the reports of the law courts in pauper cases."⁵

Not only did Massachusetts not make any suitable provision for the support of her pauper negroes and mulattoes, but the

¹Journal, p. 119.

²Id., and Moore: *Hist. of Slavery in Mass.*, 51.

³Vol. I, p. 208.

⁴Moore: *Hist. of Slavery in Mass.*, 51, note 1.

⁵Id. 222.

individual owners of slaves endeavored to rid themselves of the aged and infirm, in order to escape the expense of their support. This was in striking contrast to the attitude of the slave owners in Southside Virginia, indeed in Virginia and the South generally, where the support of the aged and infirm slaves was looked upon as a sacred and humanitarian duty, as well as a legal obligation. That in Virginia this duty was recognized as a moral and religious duty is well attested; and the kind and considerate attention to the aged slaves is evidenced by the fact that they lived to great ages, and so fully was this duty recognized that the masters often impoverished themselves in the support and care of the slaves during years not blessed with prosperity. John Randolph of Roanoke may be cited in this connection, and he was but one of thousands of whom similar facts could be affirmed. At his death many of his slaves were of great age, quite a number being over a hundred years of age. During his lifetime they were well fed and cared for and "when, because of some natural catastrophe, there was any reason for him to doubt his ability to supply them with abundant food, his distress was poignant. Productive as Roanoke was Randolph had to buy, after his return from Russia, nearly \$2,000 worth of provisions for the maintenance of his slaves."¹

The sensitiveness of the Yankee pocket nerve, which plays so prominent a part in the history of negro slavery in America, is illustrated in the history of freeing slaves in Massachusetts. Here the masters kept the slaves until they were old and then gave them their freedom in order to avoid the expense of keeping and providing for them in their old age. The practice, says Moore, prevailed "to manumit aged or infirm slaves, to relieve the master from the charge of supporting them."² So widespread did this reprehensible practice become that the colony found it necessary to enact a law requiring masters upon freeing slaves to give security that they would not become a public charge, and also enacted that "none were to be accounted free for whom security is not given." Furthermore, it was expressly enacted that such persons were to continue "to be the proper charge of their re-

¹Bruce: *John Randolph of Roanoke*, II, 691.

²Moore: *History of Slavery in Mass.*, 53.

spective masters or mistresses, in case they stand in need of relief and support, notwithstanding any manumission or instrument of freedom to them made or given."¹ And this act was still in force as late as 1807.² But it was evaded by some masters, at least, through sham suits, in which the slave was permitted to recover his freedom, on some pretext or another, the master making no real defense.³ The ingenuity of the New Englanders in responding to the urge of the pocket nerve should command universal admiration.

Although some are fond of assuming for the Puritan of New England a religious quality superior to that possessed by the Cavaliers of Virginia, and indulge in religious comparisons not altogether flattering to the Virginians, that quality if it was so possessed by the New Englanders, manifested itself strangely toward the Indians, the negroes, and indeed toward all who were not of their clan and sect.

The religious, or some other quality or characteristic, of the early New Englander caused him to have a harsh, cruel and unchristian attitude toward the aborigines, the negroes, and even toward groups of the white race who did not accept the religious dogmas of the Puritans. The early New Englanders may have abounded in a certain brand of religion, their sectarian zeal may have been most abundant, but it was of a quality which enabled them as a people to visit, apparently without a qualm of conscience, the most inhuman barbarities upon the Indians and the negroes. Of the Virginians, it may be undoubtedly justly affirmed that they did not have the same measure of "religious zeal" as the New Englanders, if by that is meant that they did not have the same narrow sectarian views, the distorted beliefs, the illiberal, cruel and unchristian attitude of the Puritans toward the aborigines and the negroes. It was the absence from Virginia of the New England brand of piety which accounts for the policy of Virginia both toward the Indians and the slave trade. And that policy was far more charitable, just and generous than was that of New England. The Virginian, without

¹Laws of 1703, Chap. 2.

²Moore: *Hist. of Slavery in Mass.*, 54.

³Id. 120-21.

quoting the Bible or calling upon the name of the Almighty, in the spirit of justice which gave the world the Bill of Rights and the first written constitution of a free people in the history of the world, accorded the Indians a reasonable measure of justice and fair treatment, and persistently opposed the slave trade and prohibited the importation of slaves before either New England or Great Britain took that action, while the New Englander read his Bible with the distorted vision of the fanatic, and gathered from its texts a justification "to treat the Indians on the footing of Canaanites and Amalekites";¹ and calling upon the name of the Lord, sold even unoffending Indians into West Indian slavery as they did the young son and the wife of King Philip,² and thousands of others.

Cotton Mather wrote: "We know not *when* or *how* these Indians first became inhabitants of this mighty continent, yet we may guess that probably the Devil decoyed these miserable savages hither, in hopes that the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ would never come here to destroy or disturb his *Absolute Empire* over them."³

In the early days, in Massachusetts, in order to facilitate with the forms of legality the enslaving of the Indians, it was enacted that upon complaint of trespass Indians might be seized, and "because it will be chargeable keeping Indians in prison"—the sensitiveness of the pocket nerve again—the magistrates were authorized to "deliver up the Indians seized to the party or parties endamaged, either to serve, or to be shipped out and exchanged for negroes. . . ."⁴

Moore's *History of Slavery in Massachusetts* abounds in numberless detailed specifications of instances wherein the colony engaged in this nefarious traffic as a part of the public business. The record is too voluminous to be embodied herein. There is a terrible significance in the recurring phrase in the public records, "sent away by the Treasurer." "It means," says Moore, "sold into slavery."⁵ And John Eliot's petition to the Governor and Council, "sitting at Boston," declared that Indians who yielded

¹Moore: *Hist. of Slavery in Mass.*, 30.

²Id. 43.

³Id. 31.

⁴Moore: *Hist. of Slavery in Mass.*, 32, citing Plymouth Records, IV, 71.

⁵Moore: *Hist. of Slavery in Mass.*, 36.

themselves "to your mercy" were sold into perpetual slavery in the islands.¹ No attention was paid to Eliot's petition and protest, but on the contrary, on the same day a resolution was adopted under which "several were to be sent away."²

This inhuman policy toward the Indians was extended even to the Indians who were converted to Christianity, for it is recorded: "Nor did the Christian Indians or praying Indians escape the relentless hostility and cupidity of the whites . . . instances are not wanting in which some of these were sold as slaves . . . under accusations which turned out to be utterly false and without foundation."³

Some Indians were taken away on a ship, but the master being unable to sell them, put them ashore at Tangier, and left them to their fate.⁴ John Eliot endeavored to get the authorities to arrange to have them brought home. But the Puritans saw in the cruel condition of these Indians thus abandoned in a foreign land a fulfillment of prophecy, Cotton Mather triumphantly declaring "Moreover, 'tis a prophecy in Deut. 28, 68, The Lord shall bring thee into Egypt again with ships, by the way whereof I spoke unto thee. Thou shalt see it no more again; and there shall ye be sold unto your enemies, and no man shall buy you."⁵

It was not difficult for the Puritans to apply their cruel practices to any outside the pale of their communion, as the following case illustrates: On June 29, 1658, certain persons were punished by fines by the County Courts at Salem and Ipswich for siding with the Quakers, attending a Quaker meeting and "absenting themselves from the publick ordinances." Among these were Lawrence Southwick and his wife and their two children, a son Daniel and a daughter Provided Southwick. The parents of these children were separated from them and banished from the colony "on pain of death, and took refuge in Shelter Island, where they shortly afterwards died."⁶ These children

¹Moore: *Hist. of Slavery in Mass.*, 36.

²Id. 37.

³Gookin's *Hist. of the Christian Indians*; Moore: *Hist. of Slavery in Mass.*, 41.

⁴Moore: *Hist. of Slavery in Mass.*, 41-42.

⁵*Mather's Magnolia*, Book III, part III, cited in Moore: *Hist. of Slavery in Mass.*, 42.

⁶Moore: *Hist. of Slavery in Mass.*, 33, citing Mass. Records, IV, I, 367, Hazard, II, 564, Bishop, 83.

were fined ten pounds, but not being able to pay the fines, and having no estates out of which it could be collected, the General Court, the highest legislative and judicial authority in the colony, "were called upon in the following year, May 11, 1659, to decide what course should be taken for the satisfaction of the fines.

"This they did, after due deliberation, by a resolution empowering the County Treasurers to sell the said persons to any of the English nation at Virginia or Barbadoes."¹

It seems that these children were not actually sold into slavery only because the shipmasters would not transport them, fearing loss in the matter, as white persons were not bought as slaves in Virginia or in Barbadoes.²

It is a noteworthy fact that:

"The first statute establishing slavery in America is to be found in the famous *Code of Fundamentals, or Body of Liberties of the Massachusetts Colony in New England*,—the first code of laws of the colony, adopted in December, 1641."³

This statute provided for the system of slavery "as an existing, substantial fact."⁴

The ninety-first article of these laws, this "Body of Liberties," provided:

"91. There shall never be any bond slavery, villinage or captivity amongst us unless it be lawful captives taken in just wars, and such strangers as willingly sell themselves or are sold to us. And these shall have all the liberties and Christian usages which the law of God established in Israel concerning such persons doth morally require. This exempts none from servitude who shall be judged thereto by authority."⁵

This statute appears in the second edition of these laws, printed in 1660,⁶ with the addition of a word or two to correct its language. It continues in the edition of 1672.⁷

¹Moore: *Hist. of Slavery in Mass.*, 33, citing Mass. Laws, 1675, p. 51; Felt's Salem, II, 581; Mass. Records, IV, I, 366; Mass. Laws, 1675.

²Bishop's *New England*, 190; Sewel's *Hist. of the Quakers*, I, 278.

³Moore: *History of Slavery in Massachusetts*, 11.

⁴Id.

⁵Mass. Hist. Col., III, VIII, 231; Moore: *Hist. of Slavery in Mass.*, 12-13.

⁶Massachusetts Laws, Ed. 1660, page 5.

⁷Id., Ed. 1672, pp. 10, 170.

Action was taken in 1670 to collect and draw up all the laws in force and to correct errors therein, etc. This was done and reported to the General Court; and as passed a change was made to remove the possibility of construing the old law so as to exempt children of slaves from slavery. In other words, if the old law required "alienage or foreign birth as a qualification for slavery," the new law "took off the prohibition against the children of slaves being 'born into legal slavery in Massachusetts.'"¹

The "Massachusetts law of slavery was not a regulation of indented servants. 'Bond-slavery' was not the name of their service."²

Mr. Moore shows conclusively that there was a clear distinction between the two, in Massachusetts, and that slavery in Massachusetts was slavery in fact, in its usually accepted form with all its hideousness.

"Thus stood the statute through the whole colonial period, and it was never expressly repealed. Based on the Mosaic code, it is an absolute recognition of slavery as a legitimate status, and of the right of one man to sell himself as well as that of another man to buy him. It sanctions the slave-trade, and the perpetual bondage of Indians and Negroes, their children and their children's children, and entitles Massachusetts to precedence over any and all the other colonies in similar legislation. It anticipates by many years anything of the sort to be found in the statutes of Virginia, or Maryland, or South Carolina, and nothing like it is to be found in the contemporary codes of her sister colonies in New England."³ And yet, says Mr. Moore: "with the statute before them, it has been persistently asserted and repeated by all sorts of authorities, historical and legal, up to that of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth, that 'slavery to a certain extent seems to have crept in; not probably by force of any law, for none such is found or known to exist.' Commonwealth vs. Aves, 18 Pickering, 208, Shaw, C. J."⁴ But the authentic history of the subject is not confined to the statute law, various cases and records illustrate the facts.

¹Moore: *History of Slavery in Mass.*, 16, 17.

²Id.

³Id. 18-19.

⁴Id. 19.

A fugitive slave case, of some notoriety in Connecticut, in 1703, held: "According to the laws and constant practice of this colony and all other plantations (as well as by the civil law), such persons as are born of negro bond-women are themselves in like condition, that is, born in servitude. Nor can there be any precedent in this government, or any of her Majesty's plantations, produced to the contrary. And though the law of this colony doth not say that such persons as are born of negro women and supposed to be mulattoes, shall be slaves (which was needless, because of the constant practice by which they are held as such), yet it saith expressly that 'no man shall put away or make free his negro or mulatto slave,' etc., which undeniably shows and declares an approbation of such servitude, and that mulattoes may be held as slaves within this government."¹

Lay, in his tract entitled *All Slave-Keepers Apostates*, at page 11, in enumerating the hardships of the institution, says: "Nor doth this satisfy, but their children also are kept in slavery, *ad infinitum*. . . ."

The instructions of the town of Leicester to its representatives in 1773 suggested the extinguishment of slavery and proposed: "that every negro child that shall be born in said government after the enacting such law should be free at the same age that the children of white people are,"² and in 1777 certain negro slaves petitioned the General Court of Massachusetts that "their children (who were born in this land of liberty) may not be held as slaves after they arrive at the age of twenty-one years."³

In the case of Perkins, Town Treasurer of Topsfield, v. Emerson,⁴ it was held, in 1796, that a certain negro girl born in the Province in Wenham, in 1759, was a slave belonging to Emerson from 1765 to 1776, when she was freed. In this case "The decision of the court was given on the question of law alone, as presented upon an agreed statement of facts."⁵

¹Moore: *Hist. of Slavery in Mass.*, 24-25.

²Id. 26.

³Mass. Archives, Revolutionary Resolves, Vol. VII, p. 132; Moore: *Hist. of Slavery in Mass.*, 26-27.

⁴See Dane's Abridgement, II, 412; Moore: *History of Slavery in Mass.*, 23.

⁵Moore: *History of Slavery in Mass.*, 24.

The sensitiveness of the pocket nerve of the New England Yankees has served one good historical purpose. It has caused some important facts respecting this subject to be preserved in judicial records and decisions. And here it may be noted, as will more fully appear later, that the attitude of Massachusetts and New England generally toward slavery as a system, and toward the slave trade was largely controlled by economic and pecuniary considerations. Generally speaking, the record abundantly shows that questions of trade and commerce, profit and gain, a desire for money, and anxiety to escape the expense of pauper black men, rather than nobler humanitarian considerations controlled the attitude of that section generally, toward slavery and the slave trade.

A highly enlightening case is that respecting a slave named Edom London. As early as 1757 he had been a slave, and passed through the hands of nine separate owners before 1775. From his ninth owner he absconded, and enlisted in the Massachusetts army among the eight-months' men, at Cambridge, at the beginning of the Revolutionary War. His term of service under his first enlistment had not expired when he was sold again, in July, 1776, to another citizen of Massachusetts, with whom he lived about five weeks, when he enlisted in the army for a three-year term of service. His last owner received the whole of his bounty and part of his wages.

In 1806 this old black Revolutionary patriot was "poor," and "had become chargeable" to the town in which he resided. "That town magnanimously struggled through all the courts, from the Justice Court up to the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth, to shift the responsibility for the maintenance and support of the old soldier from itself to one of the numerous other towns in which he had sojourned from time to time as the slave of his eleven masters."¹

The case involving this matter is *Winchester v. Hatfield*.²

The attempt of the town to avoid its responsibility was unsuccessful. Chief Justice Parsons, in the course of his opinion in the case, said that since the introduction of slavery into Massa-

¹Moore: *History of Slavery in Mass.*, 20.

²IV Mass. Reports, 123.

chusetts, soon after the first settlement of the colony, "The issue of the female slave, according to the maxim of the civil law, was the property of the master," and answering the citation of the opinion given in 1796 by Chief Justice Dana that a negro born of a slave mother was free, he said "it is very certain that the general practice and common usage had been opposed to this opinion."

And Chief Justice Parker, in 1816, in *Andover v. Canton*¹ fully confirmed this view of the law. "The practice," he says, "was . . . to consider such issue as slaves, and the property of the master of the parents, liable to be sold and transferred like other chattels, and as assets in the hands of executors and administrators," and further he says, "We think there is no doubt that, at any period of our history, the issue of a slave husband and a free wife would have been declared free.

"His children, if the issue of a marriage with a slave, would, immediately on their birth, become the property of his master, or of the master of the female slave."

This was generally the law wherever slavery existed, that the children of female slaves were born into slavery.

And yet Charles Sumner, in the United States Senate, June 28, 1854, in a speech often spoken of as famous (but which was more nearly infamous) boldly and falsely "asserted that 'in all her annals no person was ever born a slave on the soil of Massachusetts,' and 'if, in point of fact, the issue of slaves was sometimes held in bondage, it was never by sanction of any statute-law of colony or commonwealth.'"² And says Mr. Moore "recent writers of history in Massachusetts have assumed a similar lofty and positive tone on this subject. Mr. Palfrey says: 'In fact, no person was ever born into legal slavery in Massachusetts.' Hist. N. E., II., 30, note."³

And Mr. Justice Gray, in a note to the case of *Oliver v. Sale*,⁴ said: "Previously to the adoption of the State Constitution in 1780, negro slavery existed to some extent, and negroes held as slaves might be sold, but *all children of slaves were by law free.*"

¹113 Mass. Reports, 551-552.

²Moore: *History of Slavery in Mass.*, 21.

³Id. 21.

⁴Quincy's Reports, 29.

"So distinct and positive an assertion," says Mr. Moore, "should have been fortified by unequivocal authority."¹ "In this case," he continues, "Mr. Gray gives us two or three dozen separate references. These are numerous and conclusive enough as to the facts in the first clauses of his statement—that negro slavery existed in Massachusetts, and that negro slaves might be sold; but for the last and most important part of it, that *all children of slaves were by law free*, there is not an iota of evidence or authority in the entire array, excepting the opinion of the court in 1796 already referred to."² And Dana's statement in that case had been shown by Chief Justice Parsons in *Winchester v. Hatfield*, and Chief Justice Parker in *Andover v. Canton* to be incorrect.

Mr. Moore, after an exhaustive examination of the subject upon ample evidence, states that no fact of history is more patent to the reader of history than "that the children of slaves were actually held and taken to be slaves, the property of the owners of the mothers, liable to be sold and transferred like other chattels and as assets in the hands of executors and administrators."³

Gray, whose remarkably inaccurate statement is quoted above was a Supreme Court Justice of Massachusetts and later served on the United States Supreme Court bench, and his statement has been widely cited as that of a gentleman of "distinguished ability," as indeed he was. But Mr. Moore, while entertaining the highest respect for his attainments, does not hesitate to point out the "serious error" into which the Justice fell which he affirms "not even the great weight of his authority can establish or perpetuate in history."⁴ Yet, no doubt, the incorrect statement of the case given by Gray is repeated and affirmed for truth much oftener than is Mr. Moore's exhaustive and truthful version of the matter.

In the early part of 1777 the Legislature of Massachusetts was engaged in the first effort of that state at making a constitution. At the same time it had before it propositions to "put an end to slavery in Massachusetts."⁵

¹Moore: *History of Slavery in Mass.*, 22.

²Id. 22-23.

³Id. 26.

⁴Id. 22.

⁵Id. 180.

This was "the first and last and only direct and formal attempt to abolish slavery in Massachusetts," and its failure "was as signal and complete as possible."¹

The whole matter was side-stepped by suggesting that the subject be taken up with Congress. And when it did come up in a national way ten years later, in the Constitutional Convention of 1787, Massachusetts, among others, maneuvered to continue the slave trade until 1808.

The "Legislature-Convention" which prepared the draft of the constitution of 1777-1778, debated at length the slavery and negro question, and it was "not unconsciously or without notice, that a majority of the Legislature of Massachusetts, specially instructed to frame the organic law for the new state, deliberately, in the year 1778, excluded negroes, Indians and mulattoes from the rights of citizenship."² This constitution was not adopted by the state, when referred to a vote, but apparently its recognition of the institution of slavery and its exception of Negroes, Indians and Mulattoes from the rights of citizenship played little part in that result. Mr. Moore says: "We have seen no evidence that this feature of the instrument elicited such opposition as might be expected in a community already prepared for negro emancipation and enfranchisement."³

Dr. Gordon, Chaplain of the Legislature, was summarily dismissed from that position because he wrote a letter condemning the draft of the constitution for not prohibiting slavery.⁴

Massachusetts finally adopted a constitution in 1780. It had prefixed to it a Declaration of Rights, which contained language nearly the same as that of the Bill of Rights of Virginia written by George Mason and adopted by the Virginia Convention, June 12, 1776, when "Virginia proclaimed the rights of man."⁵ George Mason's language was substantially, and almost literally adopted in the Declaration of Independence, and in the Pennsylvania Declaration of Rights before it was appropriated also by Massachusetts. As Moore states it, "this affirmation of natural and

¹Moore: *History of Slavery in Mass.*, 180.

²Id. 186-7.

³Id. 191.

⁴Id. 194.

⁵Bancroft, VIII, 381; Moore: *History of Slavery in Mass.*, 202.

even unalienable rights had long ceased to be a novelty before Massachusetts repeated it in her convention of 1779-80."¹

This subject illustrates the reckless disregard of facts with which latter-day historians attempt to write the history of slavery in Massachusetts and New England, as they wish it had been rather than as it was. For example, Chief Justice Shaw in 1836, says that if slavery was not abolished in Massachusetts before that date, it was abolished by the Declaration of Rights in the Constitution of 1780.² This same claim has been repeatedly made even down to the present day, notwithstanding we are living in an era of alleged impartial, critical and painstaking historical research.

The facts are that slavery as an institution gradually died out in fact but not in law in Massachusetts. It was not abolished by the constitution of 1780. Mr. Moore, in his history, characterized by a wealth of research and painstaking analysis, which should make some of the more boasting and protesting historians of the present day blush with shame for their superficial inaccuracy, has collected and cited abundant material to demonstrate that fact.³

Daniel Webster, a few years before his death, had not been able to determine when and under what circumstances slavery ceased to exist in Massachusetts.⁴

If slavery had been abolished by repeating the language of the Virginia Bill of Rights in the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780, Daniel Webster would have known it. He was too great a lawyer to have remained ignorant of so patent a fact, if it had been a fact. And a Massachusetts writer says: "Much interest has been felt of late years to know when and under what circumstances, slavery ceased to exist in Massachusetts."⁵ That it was not the intention of the Declaration of Rights to abolish slavery, and that it did not have that effect is easily demonstrable.

The petitions of the slaves for freedom were ignored.⁶ John Adams, who wrote the Declaration of Rights, was not in favor

¹Moore: *History of Slavery in Mass.*, 202.

²*Commonwealth v. Aves*, 18, Pickering, 209.

³See his *Hist. of Slavery in Mass.*, page 198 to the end of the volume.

⁴Moore: *History of Slavery in Mass.*, 202.

⁵Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., IV, 333.

⁶Moore: *History of Slavery in Mass.*, 198 et seq.

of immediate emancipation;¹ there was no debate in the convention on the subject of abolishing slavery. Such a debate could not have been avoided if the proposal to abolish slavery had been made. Not only did the legislative history of the subject prior to this time prove this, but slaves were a recognized property in Massachusetts, and their value at this time amounted to at least half a million dollars.² To say that the members of the Constitutional Convention which made the constitution of 1780 intended "deliberately to divest the recognized title to property of their fellow-citizens, amounting to not less than half a million dollars, without a word of explanation of the high grounds of justice or public policy on which they based their action," is to make not only a false, but an absurd claim.

If it had been the intention of the constitution of 1780 to abolish slavery in Massachusetts, that purpose would have excited the public attention. The abolition of slavery would have earned encomiums pronounced by the small and impotent group who had theretofore advocated it, as it would have excited the denunciation of those who opposed abolition, and the howl of agony of those who suffered so painful an injury of the pocket nerve would have registered most emphatically. But the proceedings of the convention, the newspapers of the day, and the writings of those who constituted the convention and of their contemporaries are all devoid of any evidence to show that such was the intent or purpose of any act done by the convention which made the constitution of 1780.

Furthermore, the address of the convention on submitting the result of its labors to the voters of the state, makes no allusion whatever to the subject. "No one can read it—setting forth as it does the principal features of the new plan of government, the grounds and reasons upon which they had formed it, with their explanations of the principal parts of the system—and retain the belief that they had consciously, deliberately and intentionally adopted the first clause in the Declaration of Rights for the express purpose of abolishing slavery in Massachusetts."³

¹Adams' Works, X, 315, VI, 511, X, 379, and Moore: *History of Slavery in Mass.*, 204.

²Moore: *History of Slavery in Mass.*, 205.

³Id.

If the constitution of 1780 had abolished slavery, if that had been the effect of the Bill of Rights, or if that had been understood to be its object and purpose, the laws of Massachusetts which regulated and controlled and sustained slavery in that state would have been repealed by the legislature when it assembled under that instrument. The first legislature contained many men who had been members of the convention which framed the constitution. Yet the legislature did nothing of the kind.¹

Not only did the constitution of 1780 not abolish slavery, but the legislature, when expressly considering the subject, did not do so. In 1783 a committee was instructed to bring in a bill:

“1st. Declaring that there never were legal slaves in this Government.

“2nd. Indemnifying all masters who have held slaves in fact.

“3rd. To make such provisions for the support of negroes and mulattoes as the committee may find most expedient.”²

The committee reported a bill, but it never reached a second reading, “and this last attempt in the legislative annals of Massachusetts to provide, at the same time, for the history and law of slavery within her own borders, came to an untimely end, like all its predecessors.”³

Respecting this legislative attempt to falsify the history of the subject, Moore dryly observes: “As to the proposed declaration, that there never were legal slaves in Massachusetts, we need only say, that its authors could hardly have been familiar with all the facts of that history which they thus determined to sum up in a contradiction.”⁴ Furthermore, after this constitution was adopted, “the newspapers continued to advertise the sale of negroes as before.”⁵ This continued for an indefinite time after the constitution was adopted.

Moreover the anti-slavery men of Massachusetts were not aware of the alleged intention of the Constitutional Convention to

¹Moore: *History of Slavery in Mass.*, 215.

²House Journal III, 444; Moore: *History of Slavery in Massachusetts*, 220.

³Moore: *History of Slavery in Mass.*, 221.

⁴Id. 221.

⁵Id. 204, 207, 208.

abolish slavery in Massachusetts by the Bill of Rights, and were not aware after the constitution was adopted that slavery was abolished or that anybody contended that the constitution abolished slavery.¹

The controversy between Deacon Colman and the father of Chief Justice Theophilus Parsons, which covered a period of five years, 1780 to 1785, shows clearly that neither of them understood that the Bill of Rights of the Constitution of 1780 had any bearing upon the question of abolishing slavery.²

On November 1, 1780, Deacon Colman wrote: "The slaves in this state have petitioned for liberty and freedom from bondage, since our troubles began, in the most importunate and humble manner; *yet they are not set free in a general way.*"³ The deacon had been suspended from communion "on account of the violence of his zeal against the institution" of slavery, and in this same month, November 3, 1780, he wrote a letter to the brethren of the church from which he had been excluded, in which he declared he had been shut out "for bearing testimony against the detestable practice of slave keeping, and making merchandise of human people."⁴ This controversy raged, and these letters were written "after the establishment of the new Government and months after the (Constitutional) Convention had completed their work. . . ."⁵ Says Moore: "The legislative annals of Massachusetts record no attempt to repeal the local laws by which slavery had been established, regulated and maintained."⁶ And pointing out that "sympathy for the slave, and moral scruples against slavery" troubled Massachusetts but little, he shows that Massachusetts, after the power to deal with the subject passed to the states "uncontrolled by the action of the mother country" did not take the lead that has been claimed for that state in opposition to slavery and the slave traffic;⁷ and he further shows that "This pernicious commerce was never absolutely

¹Moore: *History of Slavery in Mass.*, 206.

²Id. 206-7; *Coffin's Newbury*, 342-50.

³Moore: *History of Slavery in Mass.*, 206.

⁴Id. 207; *Coffin's Newbury*, 342 et seq.

⁵Moore: *History of Slavery in Mass.*, 206.

⁶Id. 142.

⁷Id. 143.

crushed until the power of the nation was exercised against it under the authority of the constitution.”¹

“It is not by any means well ascertained at what period, if ever, the negro was placed on the footing of political equality with the white man in Massachusetts. . . . The slave was ‘emancipated by the force of public opinion,’ and the same authority, without the absolute declaration and forms of law, continued to exclude the negro from actual practical equality of civic and political, as well as social rights.”²

If the statements and claims of the conspiracy of historians and writers is true that slavery was abolished in Massachusetts by the Constitution of 1780, the spectacle we have presented in the Colman-Parsons controversy was that of two well-educated and well-informed citizens of that state, one contending for the abolition of slavery, which was already abolished, and the other undertaking to discipline him for inveighing against an established, legal institution, when the institution had no existence whatever.

“The people of Massachusetts all,” says Moore, were “utterly ignorant of the abolition intention of the first clause in the Declaration of Rights.”³

It is true that several ineffectual efforts were made in Massachusetts to prohibit the slave trade, but except to take action to prevent negroes from other states coming into Massachusetts⁴ nothing was done. A petition against the slave trade in 1787 was answered by merely referring the subject to a committee to report upon the “subject matter of negroes in this commonwealth at large.”⁵ And it is significant that this was the very year that the representatives of Massachusetts, as well as of all the rest of New England, joined with North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, in the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia, in assuring the continuance of the slave trade until 1808.

As the result largely of a most “flagrant and outrageous case

¹Moore: *History of Slavery in Mass.*, 144.

²Id. 196.

³Id. 207.

⁴Id. 225.

⁵Senate, Vol. VIII, 81; H. of R., Vol. VIII, 88; Moore: *History of Slavery in Mass.*, 225.

of kidnapping” which occurred in Boston in February, 1788, a law was at length passed in Massachusetts looking to the prohibition of the slave trade.¹ But even the law that was passed as the result of this outrage, was a cowardly thing, for it had a section incorporated in it “That this act do not extend to vessels which have already sailed, their owners, factors, or commanders, for and during their present voyage, or to any insurance that shall have been made, previous to the passing of the same.”

Commenting on this, Moore says: “It is obvious that the ‘public sentiment’ of Massachusetts in 1788 was not strong enough against the slave-trade, even under the atrocious provocation of kidnapping in the streets of Boston, to treat the pirates, who had already sailed, as they deserved.”² And the statute was largely a dead letter, for the Massachusetts ships and ship-owners continued openly or covertly to engage in the trade for a long time thereafter.

This act was passed March 25, 1788. On the very next day the legislature passed an act entitled “An act for suppressing and punishing of rogues, vagabonds, common beggars, and other idle, disorderly, and lewd persons.”

Among other things, this law enacted “that no person being an African or negro, other than a subject of the Emperor of Morocco, or a citizen of some one of the United States (to be evidenced by a certificate from the Secretary of the State of which he shall be a citizen), shall tarry within this commonwealth, for a longer time than two months, and upon complaint made to any Justice of the Peace within this commonwealth, that any such person has been within the same more than two months, the said Justice shall order the said person to depart out of the commonwealth, and in case that the said African or negro shall not depart as aforesaid, any Justice of the Peace within this commonwealth, upon complaint and proof made that such person has continued within this commonwealth ten days after notice given him or her to depart as aforesaid, shall commit the said person to any house of correction within the county, there to be kept to hard labour, agreeable to the rules and orders of the

¹Moore: *History of Slavery in Mass.*, 225.

²Id. 227.

said house, until the Sessions of the Peace, next to be holden within and for the said county."¹

The section then proceeds to provide that if the court finds that the African or negro had "continued within the commonwealth contrary to the tenor of this act, he or she shall be whipped not exceeding ten stripes and ordered to depart out of this commonwealth within ten days; and if he or she shall not so depart, the same process shall be had and punishment inflicted, and so *toties quoties*."²

Respecting this law, Moore says: "We doubt if anything in human legislation can be found which comes nearer branding color as a crime!"³

"By this law," he continues, "it will be observed that all negroes, resident in Massachusetts, not citizens of some one of the states were required to depart in two months, on penalty of being apprehended, whipped, and ordered to depart. The process and punishment could be renewed every two months."⁴

In a single issue of the *Massachusetts Mercury*, published in Boston, that for September 16, 1800,⁵ the names of two hundred and thirty-seven negroes and mulattoes were published along with the following notice:

"NOTICE TO BLACKS."

"The officers of police having made return to the subscriber of the names of the following persons, who are Africans or negroes, not subjects of the Emperor of *Morocco* nor citizens of the *United States*, the same are hereby warned and directed to depart out of this commonwealth before the 10th day of October next, as they would avoid the pains and penalties of the law in that case provided, which was passed by the Legislature, March 26, 1788.

"Charles Bulfinch,
"Superintendent.

"By order and direction of the selectmen."⁶

¹Moore: *History of Slavery in Mass.*, 228-229.

²Id. 229.

³Id.

⁴Id. 229-30.

⁵Vol. XVI, No. 22.

⁶This notice and the list of names is reproduced in Moore's *History of Slavery in Massachusetts*, pages 231 to 236.

One of the objects of this law was to relieve the state of the presence of negroes so far as possible, and to place upon other states the burden of pauperism which might occur among those ejected from Massachusetts. At the same time this notice was published in Boston, similar steps were taken in other cities. The particular occasion of the revival of drastic measures to enforce this law in the fall of 1800 seems to have been the Gabriel insurrection in Virginia. This "affair" assumed at once a very serious aspect, and the alarm was 'awful' in Virginia and South Carolina. It was not confined to Virginia. "Even in Boston, fears were expressed and measures of prevention adopted."¹

The *Gazette of the United States and Daily Advertiser* of Philadelphia, on September 23, 1800, copied the notice to the Blacks printed in the Boston paper, with these remarks: "The following notice has been published in the Boston papers: It seems probable from the nature of the notice, that some suspicion of the design of the negroes are entertained, and we regret to say there is too much cause."²

The truth of the matter is undoubtedly that as slavery was not suited to the climate and conditions in New England, the holding of slaves, for labor and as servants there, gradually ceased, but the slave carrying trade continued, and the buying and stealing and importing and selling slaves by New Englanders continued to thrive and flourish.

When the New Englanders found the keeping of slaves unprofitable, it practically ceased, and Moore's statement is undoubtedly correct "that a determination gradually grew up to *consider slavery as abolished*, notwithstanding the failure of every attempt to destroy it by legislation."³ Nor is it true that in the early days there was any particular sentiment in New England against slavery or that the negro found in New England the land of justice, freedom and opportunity which has so often been claimed for that section.

Moore says: "If there was a prevailing public sentiment against slavery in Massachusetts—as has been constantly claimed of

¹Moore: *History of Slavery in Mass.*, 237.

²Id. 237.

³Id. 210.

late—the people of that day, far less demonstrative than their descendants, had an extraordinary way of not showing it.”¹ And again, “The Puritans of New England appear to have been neither shocked nor perplexed with the institution, for which they made ample provision in their earliest code.”²

Their callous indifference to the inhumanity of the system is indicated in a statement by Dr. Belknap, who says: “Negro children were considered an incumbrance in a family; and when weaned, were given away like puppies.”³

“They were,” says Moore, “frequently publicly advertised ‘to be given away,’—sometimes with the additional inducement of a sum of money to anyone who would take them off.”⁴

To themselves the New Englanders “appeared as the elect to whom God had given the heathen for an inheritance, they . . . believing themselves the favorites of Providence, imitated the example and assumed the privileges of the Chosen People, and for their wildest and worst acts they could claim the sanction of religious conviction. In seizing and enslaving Indians, and trading for negroes, they were but entering into possession of the heritage of the saints.”⁵ And the attitude of the New Englanders toward free negroes, the descendants of former slaves, was scarcely less uncharitable.

In 1846 a Massachusetts author wrote: “A prejudice has existed in the community, and still exists against them on account of their color, and on account of being the descendants of slaves. They cannot obtain employment on equal terms with the whites, and wherever they go a sneer is passed upon them, as if this sportive inhumanity were an act of merit . . . owing to their color and the prejudice against them, they can hardly be said to receive . . . even so cordial a sympathy as would be shown to them in a slave state, owing to their different position in society.”⁶

¹Moore: *History of Slavery in Mass.*, III.

²Id. 105.

³Mass. Hist. Soc. Col., I, IV, 200.

⁴Moore: *History of Slavery in Mass.*, 57.

⁵Moore: Id. 71.

⁶*Chickering's Statistical View*, 156; Moore: *History of Slavery in Mass.*, 223.

No such stricture can justly be made upon any part of Virginia. There children were all taught, and taught early, to treat negroes with kindness and consideration. It was made clear to children that negroes were the victims of circumstances, were not responsible for their condition in life; and should always be treated with justice, kindness and generosity, and that they merited pity rather than contempt.

While the keeping of slaves by persons in Massachusetts practically ceased at an early date, it is not true that slavery was abolished in Massachusetts by the Constitution of 1780. As a matter of fact, slavery remained a legal institution so far as the laws of Massachusetts were concerned until the year 1866, when the amendment to the Constitution of the United States terminated slavery forever in the entire United States. In point of law slavery continued to subsist in Massachusetts, as Mr. Moore points out, until it was there abolished "by the votes of South Carolina and Georgia!"¹

Slavery died out in New England because the New Englanders found no profit in working slaves. Horace Greeley says: "The harsh climate, the rocky soil, the rugged topography of New England, presented formidable, though not impassable, barriers to slaveholding. Her narrow patches of arable soil, hemmed in between bogs and naked blocks of granite, were poorly adapted to cultivation by slaves. . . . Slaveholding in the Northern States was rather coveted as a social distinction, a badge of aristocracy and wealth, than resorted to with any idea of profit or pecuniary advantage."² But while the New Englanders did not find it very profitable to employ slave labor in their pursuits, for the reasons pointed out by Greeley, they did find it very profitable to engage their ships in the slave trade. They might not be able to make money by working slaves, but they found it very profitable to buy and kidnap negroes and bring them in, in their ships, and sell them into slavery. This traffic beginning certainly as early as 1638 continued through the whole colonial period, and its profitable character for New England was the reason why the constitution was so phrased that the importation

¹Moore: *History of Slavery in Mass.*, 242.

²Greeley: *The American Conflict*, I, 30.

of slaves could not be stopped until 1808, even by the Federal Government.

“‘The Guinea Trade,’ as it was called then, since known and branded by all civilized nations as piracy . . . continued to flourish under the auspices of Massachusetts merchants down through the entire colonial period. . . .”¹

Mr. Moore, “To gratify those who are curious to see what the instructions given by respectable merchants in Massachusetts to their captains were in the year 1785,” gives a copy of a specimen taken from *Felt’s Salem*,² as follows:

“—————, Nov. 12, 1785.

“Capt. —————.

“Our brig. of which you have the command, being cleared at the office, and being in every other respect complete for sea; our orders are, that you embrace the first fair wind and make the best of your way to the coast of Africa, and there invest your cargo in slaves. As slaves, like other articles, when brought to market, generally appear to the best advantage; therefore, too critical an inspection cannot be paid to them before purchase; to see that no dangerous distemper is lurking about them, to attend particularly to their age, to their countenance, to the straightness of their limbs, and, as far as possible to the goodness or the badness of their constitution, &c., &c., will be very considerable objects.

“Male or female slaves, whether full grown or not, we cannot particularly instruct you about; and on this head shall only observe, that prime male slaves generally sell best in any market. No people require more kind and tender treatment to exhilarate their spirits, than the Africans; and, while on the one hand you are attentive to this, remember that on the other hand, too much circumspection cannot be observed by yourself and people, to prevent their taking the advantage of such treatment by insurrection, &c. When you consider that on the health of your slaves, almost your whole voyage depends; for all other risques, but mortality, seizures and bad debts, the underwriters are ac-

¹Moore: *History of Slavery in Mass.*, 66.

²Vol. II, 289-90; Moore: *History of Slavery in Mass.*, 66-68.

countable for;—you will therefore particularly attend to smoking your vessel, washing her with vinegar, to the clarifying your water with lime or brimstone, and to cleanliness among your own people, as well as among the slaves.

“As the factors on the coast have no laws but of their own making, and of course such as suit their own convenience, they therefore, like the Israelites of old, do whatever is right in their own eyes; in consequence of which you ought to be very careful about receiving gold dust, and of putting your cargo into any but the best hands, or if it can be avoided, and the same dispatch made, into any hands at all, on any credit. If you find that any saving can be made by bartering rum for slops, [sic] and supplying your people with small stores, you will do it; or even if you cannot do it without a loss, it is better done than left undone; for shifts of clothes, particularly in warm climates, are very necessary. As our interest will be considerable, and as we shall make insurance thereon, if any accident should prevent your following the track here pointed out, let it be your first object to protest publicly, why, and for what reason you were obliged to deviate. You are to have four slaves upon every hundred, and four at the place of sale; the privilege of eight hogsheads, and two pounds eight shillings per month;—these are all the compensations you are to expect for the voyage.

“Your first mate is to have four hogsheads privilege, and your second mate two, and wages as per agreement. No slaves are to be selected out as privileged ones, but must rise or fall with the general sales of the cargo, and average accordingly. We shall expect to hear from you, by every opportunity to Europe, the West Indies, or any of these United States; and let your letters particularly inform us, what you have done, what you are then doing, and what you expect to do. We could wish to have as particular information as can be obtained, respecting the trade in all its branches on the coast; to know if in any future time, it is probable a load of N. E. Rum could be sold for bills of exchange on London, or any part of Europe; or, for gold dust; and what despatch in this case might be made.

“You will be careful to get this information from gentlemen of veracity, and know of them if any other articles would answer

from this quarter. We should be glad to enter into a contract, if the terms would answer, with any good factor for rum, &c. If any such would write us upon the subject, and enclose a memorandum with the prices annexed, such letters and memorandums shall be duly attended to. We are in want of about five hundred weight of camwood, and one large elephant's tooth of about 80 lbs., which you will obtain. If small teeth can be bought from 15 to 30 lbs., so as to sell here without a loss, at three shillings, you may purchase 200 lbs. Should you meet with any curiosities on the coast, of a small value, you may expend 40 or 50 gallons of rum for them. Upon your return you will touch at St. Pierre's, Martinico, and call on Mr. John Mounreau for your further advise and destination. We submit the conducting of the voyage to your good judgment and prudent management, not doubting of your best endeavours to serve our interest in all cases; and conclude with committing you to the almighty Disposer of all events.

"We wish you health and prosperity,

"And are your friends and owners."

"The slaves purchased in Africa were chiefly sold in the West Indies, or in the Southern Colonies; but when these markets were glutted, and the price low, some of them were brought to Massachusetts."¹

Dr. Belknap records seeing one cargo "which consisted almost wholly of children."² And "Sometimes the vessels of the neighboring colony of Rhode Island, after having sold their prime slaves in West Indies, brought the remnants of their cargoes to Boston for sale."³

Not only did the New Englanders engage upon a huge scale in the importation of slaves, but "the traditions of one town at least preserve the memory of the most brutal and barbarous of all, 'raising slaves for the market.'"⁴ And the advertisements listed by Moore indicate the callous cruelty of these New England

¹Moore: *History of Slavery in Mass.*, 68.

²Id.

³Mass. Hist. Soc. Col., I, IV, 197; Moore: *History of Slavery in Mass.*, 68.

⁴Moore: *History of Slavery in Mass.*, 69, citing *Barry's Hanover*, 175.

slave-mongers,¹ various advertisements, the paper and issue in which they appeared being specifically cited by him, offered: "A young negro that has had the smallpox"; "Likely negro men and women just arrived;" "Negro men new and negro boys who have been in the country some time;" "just arrived, a choice parcel of negro boys and girls;" "A likely negro man *born in the country*, and bred a farmer, fit for any service;" "A negro woman about 22 years old, with a boy about 5 months;" a "likely negro woman about 19 years and a child of about six months of age, *to be sold together or apart*;" and "a likely negro man, *taken by execution*, and to be sold by publick auction at the Royal Exchange Tavern in King Street."

The history of Massachusetts, and of all the rest of the New England States, is devoid of any appeals to Great Britain, during the Colonial era, to cease vetoing measures designed to discourage and prevent the importation of slaves, such as appear in the history of Virginia.

There were, of course, in Massachusetts and New England, here and there individuals who desired the abolition of slavery and a prohibition of the slave traffic, but they were so relatively few that they could not control the policy of the colony in regard thereto.

While particular mention has been made of Massachusetts, just criticism of the northern section of the country for its attitude toward slavery and the slave trade, is not to be confined to the early history of Massachusetts and New England; nor can the measure of the well-merited censure be determined without frequent reference to and comparison of the acts of the different sections respecting this subject.

Virginia's attitude in this matter is so clearly and indelibly written in the record of her annals that all of the ignoble twaddle of the modern pseudo-teachers and historians cannot obscure the truth from posterity. Speaking of Virginia's law enacted as soon as she renounced the authority of Great Britain over her as a colony, Ballagh says: "Virginia thus had the honor of being the first political community in the civilized modern world to prohibit the pernicious traffic."²

¹Moore: *History of Slavery in Mass.*, 70.

²Ballagh: *History of Slavery in Virginia*, 23.

Not only did Virginia as a colony and a state oppose the slave trade with all her resources, but Virginia labored with all her power to induce all the other colonies to do likewise. The Virginia representatives in the Continental Congress endeavored to secure the adoption by all the colonies of a Non-importation Agreement similar to that already adopted by Virginia, which included a pledge neither to hire "our vessels nor sell our commodities or manufactures to those who are concerned in it."¹ And says DuBois: "Virginia gave the slave trade a special prominence and was in reality the leading spirit to force her views on the Continental Congress."²

But Virginia's efforts were largely unavailing against the money-getting desire which shaped the sentiment and policy of New England; for while, as already noted, it was Virginia's desire to end the slave traffic in 1787, New England in conjunction with North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, set the time at 1808 instead of 1787, as the limit, before which congress could not enact laws prohibiting the traffic. And even after the constitution with this provision in it, was adopted, it was the voice of Virginia which ever demanded the enactment of laws under its provisions against the slave trade, and it was the element in the North which was making money out of the traffic which opposed these laws, and continued, after they were enacted, systematically to violate them.

Virginia's attitude toward slavery is further evidenced by the history of the cession of the northwest territory. This "imperial domain" from which Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin have been created, was embraced in Virginia's Colonial Charter, and while Massachusetts, Connecticut and New York asserted some sort of claim to the area they were insubstantial and unfounded. Not only was the area embraced in Virginia's Charter, but it had been conquered and reduced to possession by Virginia's soldiers "led by her son, George Rogers Clark, acting under a commission of her Governor, Patrick Henry, and her council."³ These, says Bancroft, were "Virginians in the service

¹DuBois: *Suppression of the Slave Trade*, 45.

²Id. 43.

³William Wirt Henry: *Life of Patrick Henry*, I, 583; Munford: *Virginia's Attitude Toward Slavery and Secession*, 26.

of Virginia." And declares John Fiske, "It was Virginia that had actually conquered the disputed territory," and that in ceding it to the General Government, "Virginia gave up a magnificent and princely territory of which she was actually in possession."¹

The day Virginia's deed of cession, March 1, 1784, was accepted by the Continental Congress, Mr. Jefferson reported a bill, the ordinance of 1784, under a provision of which "Slavery would have been excluded not only from the five states created out of the northwest territory, but from the country south of it and from which were subsequently formed the states of Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi."² This provision failed by the vote of one state; but in 1787, Jefferson's views to a large extent prevailed for in that year the celebrated ordinance of 1787 was enacted into law. "No one was more active," says Fiske, "in bringing about this result than William Grayson of Virginia, who was earnestly supported by Lee."³ And Bancroft says: "Thomas Jefferson first summoned congress to prohibit slavery in all the territory of the United States a congress composed of five Southern States, to one from New England and two from the Middle States, headed by William Grayson, supported by Richard Henry Lee, and using Nathan Dane as scribe, carried the measure to the goal in the amended form in which King had caused it to be referred to a committee; and, as Jefferson had proposed, placed it under the sanction of an irrevocable compact."

As passed, it was necessary for the State of Virginia to acquiesce in it, because the ordinance contained various provisions in addition to those set out in her deed of cession. The Virginia Assembly, at its next session, passed an act fixing for all time the validity of both the deed and the ordinance. Of this procedure, Bancroft says: "A powerful committee on which were Carrington, Monroe, Edmund Randolph, and Grayson, successfully brought forward the bill by which Virginia confirmed the ordinance for the colonization of all the territory then in the possession of the United States, by freemen alone."⁴

¹Fiske: *Critical Period of American History*, 191, 195.

²Munford: *Virginia's Attitude Toward Slavery and Secession*, 27-28.

³Fiske: *Critical Period of American History*, 205.

⁴Bancroft: *History of the United States*, VI, 291.

"Thus," says Munford, "the old commonwealth which had won the land from England and the Indians bore a foremost part in the legislative work by which slavery was forever excluded from the empire north of the Ohio River."¹

After the bargain had been struck between Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Connecticut on the one side and North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia on the other, in the Constitutional Convention of 1787, by which the slave trade was prolonged, under constitutional sanction until 1808, Virginia had opportunity to record the sentiments of her leaders on the subject when the state came to consider the ratification of that instrument.

That instrument was ratified by Virginia, but under such circumstances as to make it exceedingly questionable, whether the convention of 1788 expressed the popular will of the state. Indeed it is almost the boast of Albert J. Beveridge that the advocates of adoption engineered it through the convention although a great majority of the people were opposed to it.² One of the principal objections of the Virginians to it was that it saddled the slave trade upon the country for twenty more years, the Virginians knowing that this meant the dumping upon the South tens of thousands of slaves and that these poor creatures and their innumerable progeny would remain through no fault of theirs a curse upon the land throughout unnumbered generations and uncounted years, while the North, whose boats transported them hither, and whose ship-masters bought or stole them from their native shores, would be afflicted only with the cash profits of the nefarious trade.

George Mason, in the convention at Philadelphia, in 1787, had spoken the sentiments of the mother commonwealth, when in a speech against the provision of the constitution legalizing the slave traffic until 1808, "which reads like prophecy and judgment," he said:

"This infernal traffic originated in the avarice of British merchants. The British Government constantly checked the at-

¹Munford: *Virginia's Attitude Toward Slavery and Secession*, 28.

²See Beveridge's *Life of John Marshall*, Vol. I, Chapter XII, entitled "The Strategy of Victory," and especially pages 468 to 480.

tempts of Virginia to put a stop to it. The present question concerns, not the importing states alone, but the whole Union... Maryland and Virginia, he said, had already prohibited the importation of slaves expressly—North Carolina had done the same in substance. All this would be in vain if South Carolina and Georgia be at liberty to import. The western people are already calling out for slaves for their new lands; and will fill that country with slaves if they can be got through South Carolina and Georgia. Slavery discourages arts and manufactures. The poor despise labor when performed by slaves. They prevent the emigration of whites, who really enrich and strengthen a country. They produce the most pernicious effect on manners. Every master of slaves is born a petty tyrant. They bring the judgment of Heaven on a country. As nations cannot be rewarded or punished in the next world, they must be in this. By an inevitable chain of causes and effects, Providence punishes national sins by national calamities. He lamented that some of our Eastern brethren, from a lust of gain, embarked in this nefarious traffic. As to the states being in possession of the right to import, this was the case with many other rights, now to be properly given up. He held it essential in every point of view, that the General Government should have power to prevent the increase of slavery.”¹

Fiske in describing the insertion of this provision in the constitution and referring to Mason’s speech in the convention of 1787, says: “But these prophetic words of George Mason were powerless against the combination of New England and the far South.”²

Governor Randolph and Madison earnestly supported Mason in the convention of 1787, Randolph declaring that the provision continuing the importation of slaves up to 1808 rendered the constitution so odious as to make doubtful his ability to support it;³ while Madison declared: “Twenty years will produce all the mischief that can be apprehended from the liberty to import slaves. So long a term will be more dishonorable to the

¹Munford: *Virginia's Attitude Toward Slavery and Secession*, 30-31.

²Fiske: *Critical Period of American History*, 264.

³He did, however, urge and vote for ratification in the Virginia Convention of 1788.

American character than to say nothing about it in the constitution."¹

We have seen above that while Madison was constrained to vote for the ratification of the constitution in the Virginia Convention, he did so only because he felt that a constitution with the odious provision in it was better than the chaotic condition that would obtain if no constitution were adopted.

In the course of the debate in the Virginia Convention of 1788, elected to consider the draft of the constitution submitted by the convention of 1787, slavery and the slave trade were denounced in no uncertain language.

George Mason said in this convention:

"We are told in strong language, of dangers to which we will be exposed unless we adopt this constitution. Among the rest, domestic safety is said to be in danger. This government does not intend our domestic safety. It authorizes the importation of slaves for twenty-odd years, and thus continues upon us, that nefarious trade. Instead of securing and protecting us, the continuation of this detestable trade adds daily to our weakness. Though the evil is increasing, there is no clause in the constitution that will prevent the northern and eastern states from meddling with our whole property of that kind. There is a clause to prohibit the importation of slaves after twenty years, but there is no provision made for securing to the Southern States those they now possess. It is far from being a desirable property. But it will involve us in great difficulties and infidelity to be now deprived of them. There ought to be a clause in the constitution to secure us that property which we have acquired under our former laws, and the loss of which would bring ruin on a great many people."²

And discussing the eighth section of the constitution, in a speech on June 15, 1788, Mason said:

"Mr. Chairman, this is a fatal section, which has created more dangers than any other. The first clause allows the importation of slaves for twenty years. Under the royal govern-

¹Rives: *Life and Times of Madison*, II, 446.

²Elliot: *Debates*, Vol. 3, p. 262-3.

ment, this evil was looked upon as a great oppression, and many attempts were made to prevent it; but the interest of the African merchants prevented its prohibition. No sooner did the revolution take place than it was thought of. It was one of the great causes of our separation from Great Britain. Its exclusion has been a principal object of this state, and most of the states in the union. The augmentation of slaves weakens the states; and such a trade is diabolical in itself, and disgraceful to mankind. Yet, by this constitution, it is continued for twenty years. As much as I value an union of all the states, I would not admit the southern states into the union, unless they agree to the discontinuance of this disgraceful trade, because it would bring weakness and not strength to the union. And though this infamous traffic be continued, we have no security for the property of that kind which we have already. There is no clause in the constitution to secure it, for they may lay such tax as will amount to manumission. And should the government be amended, still this detestable kind of commerce cannot be discontinued till after the expiration of twenty years. For the fifth article which provides for amendments, expressly excepts this clause.”¹

Patrick Henry, June 24, 1788, in the course of the debate, said: “Slavery is detested. We feel its fatal effects—we deplore it with all the pity of humanity.”² “As much as I deplore slavery, I see that prudence forbids its abolition. I deny that the general government ought to set them free, because a decided majority of the states have not the ties of sympathy and fellow-feeling for those whose interest would be affected by their emancipation. The majority of congress is to the North, and the slaves are to the South. . . . I repeat it again, that it would rejoice my very soul that every one of my fellow-beings was emancipated. As we ought with gratitude to admire that decree of heaven which has numbered us among the free, we ought to lament and deplore the necessity of holding our fellow-men in bondage. But is it practicable by any human means to liberate them, without producing the most dreadful and ruinous consequences? . . . This is a local matter and I can see no propriety in subjecting

¹Elliot: *Debates*, Vol. 3, p. 417.

²Id., p. 534.

it to congress.”¹ And he called attention to the fact that the quota of troops requisitioned by the Federal Government from a state “will be in proportion to the number of your blacks as well as your whites, unless they violate the constitutional rule of apportionment.”² “How oppressive and dangerous must this be to the southern states who alone have slaves? This will render their proportion infinitely greater than that of the northern states.”³

John Dawson said:

“I have such a fixed aversion to the bitter cup of slavery, that in my estimation a draught is not sweetened, whether administered by the hand of a Turk, a Briton, or an American.”⁴ And Zachariah Johnson declared:

“Slavery has been the foundation of that impiety and dissipation, which have been so much disseminated among our countrymen. If it were totally abolished it would do much good.”⁵

James Madison, in answering George Mason, while differing from him respecting the advisability of ratifying the constitution, showed that he was equally as antagonistic to slavery. He said: “I should conceive this clause to be impolitic, if it were one of those things which could be excluded without encountering greater evils. The Southern States⁶ would not have entered into the union of America without the temporary permission of that trade. And if they were excluded from the union, the consequences might be dreadful to them and to us. We are not in a worse situation than before. That traffic is prohibited by our law, and we may continue the prohibition. The union in general is not in a worse situation. Under the articles of confederation, it might be continued forever; but by this clause an end may be put to it after twenty years. There is, therefore, an amelioration of our circumstances. A tax may be laid in the meantime,

¹Elliot: *Debates*, Vol. 3, p. 534-5.

²Id., p. 289.

³Id. 299-300.

⁴Id., p. 553.

⁵Id., p. 583.

⁶The states to the south of Virginia—South Carolina and Georgia.

but it is limited, otherwise congress might lay such a tax as would amount to a prohibition. From the mode of representation and taxation, congress cannot lay such a tax on slaves as will amount to manumission. Another clause secures us that property which we now possess. At present, if any slave elopes to any of those states where slaves are free, he becomes emancipated by their laws. . . . But in this constitution, 'no person held to service, or labor, in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor; but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.' This clause was expressly inserted to enable owners of slaves to reclaim them."¹

Mr. Madison, then adverting to the circumstances which induced the convention at Philadelphia to include this clause which prohibited congress from preventing the importation of slaves for twenty years, but conferring the power after that time, said:

"The gentlemen from South Carolina and Georgia argued in this manner: 'We have now liberty to import this species of property, and much of the property now possessed, had been purchased, or otherwise acquired, in contemplation of improving it by the assistance of imported slaves. What would be the consequence of hindering us from it? The slaves of Virginia would rise in value, and we would be obliged to go to your markets. I need not expatiate on this subject. Great as the evil is, a dismemberment of the union would be worse. If those states should disunite from the other states, for not indulging them in the temporary continuance of this traffic, they might solicit and obtain aid from foreign powers.'"²

John Tyler followed Madison and strongly opposed the section extending the slave trade until 1808. His words are not given, but his remarks are reported as follows:

"Mr. Tyler warmly enlarged on the impolicy, iniquity, and disgracefulness of the wicked traffic. . . . It was one cause of the complaints against British tyranny, that this trade was

¹Elliot: *Debates*, Vol. 3, p. 417-18.

²*Id.*, p. 418.

permitted. The revolution had put a period to it, but now it was to be revived. He thought nothing could justify it. . . . His earnest desire was that it should be handed down to posterity that he had opposed this wicked clause."¹

After the constitution was adopted, in the first congress to assemble under it, Josiah Parker, of Virginia, endeavored to have the tariff bill levy a tax of ten dollars upon every slave brought into the country. This was the utmost limit of the power of congress to tax that traffic under the Ninth Section of Article I, of the Constitution. In supporting his proposal, Parker declared: "He was sorry the constitution prevented congress from prohibiting the importation altogether," and Parker's proposal was advocated by Theodoric Bland and James Madison. In the course of Madison's remarks, he said: "The clause in the constitution allowing a tax to be imposed though the traffic could not be prohibited for twenty years, was inserted, he believed, for the very purpose of enabling congress to give some testimony of the sense of America with respect to the African trade. By expressing a national diapprobation of that trade, it is to be hoped we may destroy it, and so save ourselves from reproaches and our posterity from the imbecility ever attendant on a country filled with slaves."²

This proposal to lay a tax on the importation of slaves failed, but the discussion brought to the attention of the country the fact that congress, in addition to laying a tax upon slaves imported, could prohibit citizens of the United States from engaging in the traffic with foreign countries. Parker was a leading member of a committee which submitted a report, which was adopted embodying these conclusions. Among the petitions presented to the next congress was one from Virginia in which the slave trade was denounced as "an outrageous violation of one of the most essential rights of human nature."³

President Jefferson, in his message to Congress, at its session of 1806-7, said:

"I congratulate you, fellow-citizens, on the approach of a

¹Elliot: *Debates*, Vol. 3, p. 418-19.

²*Annals of Congress*, Vol. I, Col. 336.

³DuBois: *Suppression of the Slave Trade*, 80.

period at which you may interpose your authority constitutionally to withdraw the citizens of the United States from all further participation in those violations of human rights which have so long been continued on the unoffending inhabitants of Africa, and which the morality, the reputation and the best interests of our country have long been eager to proscribe.”

Pursuant to this presidential suggestion, a law was passed prohibiting the slave trade and imposing forfeitures and fines upon ships and ships' crews engaged in the traffic. But those who in 1787 were not willing for the traffic to end until 1808, were, when this latter date arrived, unwilling to forego the profits to be derived from the employment of ships in this abominable trade. Notwithstanding the contempt in which the slave trade was held, and notwithstanding it had now been made solemnly and constitutionally unlawful, it continued. Northern ships and northern capital continued to be employed in the business and the trade “continued from time to time between the coast of Africa, the United States, West Indies and Brazil, despite the efforts of the federal authorities to enforce the laws made for its suppression. In all these efforts Virginians, holding official places, were most earnest and energetic in their warfare against the trade.”¹

The notorious violations of the law, which continued, caused President Madison in his message to congress, December 5, 1810, to declare:

“Among the commercial abuses still committed under the American flag . . . it appears that American citizens are instrumental in carrying on the traffic in enslaved Africans, equally in violation of the laws of humanity and in defiance of those of their own country,” and he urged congress to devise more effective means for suppressing the evil. President Madison had occasion again in his message on December 3, 1816, to urge congress in the same direction.

The original federal law prohibiting the slave traffic provided for the forfeiture of the slaves illegally imported, and that the disposition of such slaves should be left to the states wherein

¹Munford: *Virginia's Attitude Toward Slavery and Secession*, 35.

they were found. In the course of time certain slaves illegally brought into the country were captured and sold, thus "defeating one of the prime objects of the law, which was to prevent any increase in the slave population."¹ Thereupon, in 1819, under the leadership of Charles Fenton Mercer and John Floyd, both of Virginia, a law was enacted requiring the President to use armed cruisers off the coasts of Africa and America to suppress the trade, providing for the immediate return to Africa of any imported slaves, directing the President to appoint agents to receive and care for them on their return and appropriating one hundred thousand dollars to carry out the general purposes of the law. The House of Representatives, on the motion of Hugh Nelson, of Virginia, fixed the death penalty as punishment for violating the law, but this provision was stricken out in the Senate.²

In February, 1823, Mercer introduced and secured the adoption of a resolution by the House of Representatives, directing the President to enter upon negotiations with all maritime powers of Europe and America for the effective abolition of the slave trade, and its denunciation as piracy under the laws of nations.³

It was realized that in order to effectually enforce the law a "right of search" was essential, and Mercer was indefatigable in his efforts to have that right accorded. He secured the adoption in May, 1821, of a resolution in the House, according a right of search to Great Britain in return for a like right to be accorded by Great Britain to the United States. The Senate, however, failed to concur in this resolution.

Subsequently President Monroe submitted to congress a treaty with England embodying this provision, and in his message on the subject dated May 21, 1824, he said: "Should this convention be adopted there is every reason to believe that it will be the commencement of a system destined to accomplish the entire abolition of the slave trade."

But the ship owners for some reason did not want their ships searched for slaves, and mustered sufficient strength in the Senate to prevent the ratification of this treaty. The same "Eastern

¹Munford: *Virginia's Attitude Toward Slavery and Secession*, 36.

²DuBois: *Suppression of the Slave Trade*, 120, note 3.

³*Annals of Congress*, 17th Congress, second session, pp. 435, 928.

brethren" or their children or successors, who as George Mason charged, "had, from lust of gain, embarked in this nefarious traffic," for the same reason continued in it, in defiance of the constitution and the laws made pursuant thereto.

President Tyler, a Virginian, in his message to Congress, June 1, 1841, informed that body as follows:

"I shall also at the proper season invite your attention to the statutory enactments for the suppression of the slave trade which may require to be rendered more effective in their provisions. There is reason to believe that the traffic is on the increase. . . . The highest consideration of public honor as well as the strongest promptings of humanity require a resort to the most vigorous efforts to suppress the trade."

In December, 1841, in a message to Congress, President Tyler said:

"I invite your attention to existing laws for the suppression of the African slave trade, and recommend all such alterations as may give to them greater force and efficiency. That the American flag is grossly abused by the abandoned and profligate of other nations is but too probable." And in the following year, 1842, in the preparation of the Ashburton Treaty, President Tyler secured the insertion of a clause providing for the cooperation of squadrons to be maintained by the United States and Great Britain, off the coast of Africa, to suppress the slave trade.¹

Although Brazil had by statute prohibited the African slave trade, yet the traffic there continued with apparently but little effort to suppress it, and in this traffic citizens of the United States, as ship owners, or crews, were engaged despite the laws of the United States.

The length to which some citizens of the United States went "from lust of gain" is indicated by a communication from Henry A. Wise² of Virginia, Consul at Rio de Janeiro, under date of February 18, 1845, to the Secretary of State:

¹Tyler: *Letters and Times of the Tylers*, II, 219.

²Later Governor of Virginia, and a Brigadier-General of the Confederacy; always a strong anti-slavery man.

"I beseech, I implore the President of the United States to take a decided stand on this subject. You have no conception of the bold effrontery and the flagrant outrages of the African slave trade, and of the shameless manner in which its worst crimes are licensed here, and every patriot in our land would blush for our country did he know and see, as I do, how our citizens sail and sell our flag to the uses and abuses of that accursed practice."¹

On December 4, 1849, President Tyler in his message to Congress said:

"Your attention is earnestly invited to an amendment of our existing laws relating to the African slave trade, with a view to the effectual suppression of that barbarous traffic. It is not to be denied that this trade is still in part carried on by means of vessels built in the United States and owned or navigated by some of our citizens."

The facts here set forth by no means exhaust the record, but they, possibly, sufficiently indicate the attitude of Virginia toward the slave traffic. Virginia's representatives at the first meeting of the Continental Congress defined her position in the "Notable memorial," which declared:

"The abolition of domestic slavery is the great object of desire in those colonies, where it was unhappily introduced in their infant state. But, previous to the enfranchisement of the slaves we have, it is necessary to exclude all further importations from Africa."²

The attitude of the leading Virginians from the Colonial period forward, was one of uncompromising hostility toward the African slave trade. They denounced it as inhuman, and sought by state laws, by federal statutes, by concert with foreign nations, to end the traffic and to drive it from the seas. They resolutely opposed in every way additions to the slave population of America because they were "profoundly convinced that every such importation was fraught with menace to the social, economic and moral well-being of the nation and rendered more difficult

¹Spear: *American Slave Trade*, 81.

²Ford: *Writings of Jefferson*, I, 440.

the emancipation of those who had already been brought to her shores."¹

The position Virginia declared to the first Continental Congress was "the philosophy of the situation as defined by the great statesmen of the Revolutionary period and to their views their ablest successors in Virginia adhered down to the outbreak of the Civil War."²

Having seen the attitude of Virginia and of the North respectively toward the slave trade, it is interesting to look into the position of the North toward slavery itself, and toward the negro race. The actual facts regarding the attitude and acts of the different states of the North toward slaves and the free black men, in the decades preceding the Civil War, will be viewed as unaccountably strange by the rank and file of the uninstructed and the falsely informed of that section of the present day.

The examination shows that generally speaking the people of the North, who were so ready later to intermeddle with the affairs of the South, had no real love for the negro. The evidence is lacking of a genuine practical interest in his well-being, supported by public measures for its accomplishment.

We have already seen the treatment accorded the blacks in Massachusetts; anything more hostile it would be difficult to conceive. Under the antagonistic and hostile policy adopted by Vermont and New Hampshire, the negro population of these two states decreased in the half century between 1810 and 1860.³ Even the biographers of William Lloyd Garrison record the fact that there existed a "Spirit which everywhere at the North, either by statute or custom, denied to a dark skin, civil, social and educational equality—which in Boston forbade any merchant or respectable mechanic to take a colored apprentice; kept the colored people out of most public conveyances; and permitted any common carrier by land or sea, on the objections of a white passenger, to violate his contract with 'a nigger' however cultivated or refined."⁴ New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania

¹Munford: *Virginia's Attitude Toward Slavery and Secession*, 40.

²Id.

³Id. 169.

⁴*William Lloyd Garrison* (by his children), I, 253.

by statute deprived free negroes of most of the privileges which they enjoyed in the period succeeding the Revolution. In New Jersey in 1807 and in Pennsylvania in 1838, they were deprived of the right of suffrage. In New York in 1821, as a prerequisite to voting, a much higher property qualification was required of them than was required of the whites.¹

But these restrictions in the far north were nothing compared to the laws obstructing the immigration of the blacks and their exercise of rights in the "free states" on the same lines of latitude as Virginia and Maryland, and in which the free negroes were most likely to settle when manumitted in the South.

These laws, antagonistic to the black man, are illustrated (but not exhausted) by the following: In Ohio laws were enacted inhibiting negroes from settling in that state, unless they produced certificates of their freedom from a court of record, and executed bonds with approved security, not to become charges upon the counties in which they settled. "They were not permitted to give evidence in court in any cause where a white man was party to the controversy or prosecution, nor could they send their children to the public schools."²

In Indiana, free negroes were at first allowed to settle in that state, provided they gave bonds, with approved security, not to become charges upon the counties where they lived. But in 1851 this stringent provision was made much more drastic by the constitution adopted that year which specifically provided that "no negro or mulatto shall come into or settle in the state after the adoption of this constitution."³ Moreover this clause in the constitution of Indiana was adopted by over ninety thousand majority of the popular vote.⁴

In Illinois in 1853, a series of laws was enacted designed "to prevent the immigration of free negroes into this state." The third section of the law declared it a misdemeanor for a negro or mulatto, bond or free, to come into the state with the intention of residing, and the next section provided that any negro

¹Hart: *Slavery and Abolition*, 83.

²Munford: *Virginia's Attitude Toward Slavery and Secession*, 170-71.

³Article XIII, Sec. 1; Williams: *History of the Negro Race in America*, II, 119-122.

⁴Wilson: *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America*, II, 185; Munford: *Virginia's Attitude Toward Slavery and Secession*, 171.

coming into the state in violation of the act should be fined and sold for a time sufficient to pay the fine and the cost. These provisions were not deemed sufficiently drastic and the next succeeding Constitutional Convention enacted that "No negro or mulatto shall immigrate or settle in this state after the adoption of the constitution."¹

The constitution embodying this provision was submitted to popular vote, and this article was submitted separately. The constitution was rejected by a vote of approximately 16,000, but the above provision was approved and became a part of the organic law of Illinois by a majority of 100,590 votes. This vote was taken in August, 1862. Thus, the fact is that barely a month before Abraham Lincoln issued his first Emancipation Proclamation, the people of his own state, Illinois, by this enormous majority wrote into their constitution a clause preventing free negroes from coming into that state.

In 1857 the State of Oregon adopted a constitution which provided that:

"No free negro or mulatto, not residing in this state at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall come, reside or be within this state and the legislative assembly shall provide by penal laws for the removal by public officers of all such negroes and mulattoes, and for their effectual exclusion from the state, and for the punishment of persons who shall bring them into the state or employ or harbor them."² This provision of the Oregon Constitution was adopted by a popular vote of 8,041 for to 1,081 against it.

These facts indicate, what a full consideration of the subject demonstrates, that the people of the North were willing, many of them even fanatically determined, to force upon the South a condition and a status respecting the blacks which they would not think of subjecting themselves to, in the North.

In these northern states, as we have seen, they not only would not permit slaves to be held in their midst, but they would not permit black men to reside in those states. Their antipathy to slavery is understandable enough, but if they were the real

¹Constitution of 1862, article XVIII, Sec. 1.

²*The Organic and Other General Laws of Oregon*, 97-98.

friends of the blacks, can the same be said of their refusal to permit free black persons to live in their midst, and endeavor to earn an honest living? Scores of instances can be cited of slaves emancipated in Virginia, and money bequeathed to settle them in Ohio, Illinois, or Indiana; and in many instances these provisions failed because these states shut their inhospitable doors in the face of the black man whether he was slave or free.

John Randolph of Roanoke freed all his slaves, and directed his executors, Judge William Leigh, Bishop William Meade and Francis Scott Key, to purchase a body of land not exceeding four thousand acres, to remove the slaves thither, erect houses and provide clothes and utensils for them; all of his estate, with certain exceptions, was given to his executors to carry out the provisions of his will. Among other things, his will provided:

“I give my slaves their freedom to which my conscience tells me they are justly entitled. It has a long time been a matter of the deepest regret to me that the circumstances under which I inherited them, and the obstacles thrown in the way by the law of the land have prevented my emancipating them in my lifetime, which it is my full intention to do, in case I can accomplish it.”

The reference here to the “circumstances under which I inherited them,” etc., is to the fact that the property which he inherited was encumbered by enormous debts—the “British debts,” which were the burden of his life, and which he did not finally discharge until late in his life.

Litigation arose over Randolph’s will, at the end of which Judge Leigh acquired 3,200 acres of land in Mercer County, Ohio, as a home for Randolph’s former slaves. The writer has heard his father recount the story of the journey of this colony as told by one of Judge Leigh’s representatives (Wiltshire Cardwell, as he now recalls), who was in actual charge of the party. When the company were arrived in Ohio, night coming on they prepared to make camp. The people of the neighborhood protested, and suggested a better camping place farther on; they moved along, and when they halted again, protests were again made against their camping; but as night was near at hand they had no disposition to go farther; threats were then made that if they camped, forcible, and if necessary violent means would be

employed against them; thereupon, Cardwell mounted a wagon rifle in hand, announced his determination to camp, declared he was not awed or intimidated by the threats made, indicated his picket lines, and assured his auditors that while he was a peaceable man, and engaged in a peaceable and lawful business, yet he would not hesitate to return shot for shot and would visit a full measure of retaliation for any injury done. The party camped that night without disturbance, and pursued their journey in peace on the following morning.

Henry Howe, in his *Historical Collections of Ohio*, treats the case with the greatest brevity, and evinces no disposition to record the full details of the treatment of black free men in Ohio. Speaking of Judge Leigh's efforts to find a home for Randolph's slaves, and of their settlement in Ohio, he says: "These arrived in the summer of 1846 to the number of about 400, but were forcibly prevented from making a settlement by a portion of the inhabitants of the county.¹ Since then, acts of hostility have been commenced against the people of this settlement; and threats of greater held out if they do not abandon their lands and homes."²

So, it turned out, the attitude of the North regarding the freeing of the slaves was that they insisted they should be freed by the slave states, but that they should not be allowed even as free men to go into the northern and western states. This of course meant that if freed they would either have to be colonized in some place like Liberia or remain free, in the states in which they had been slaves. The North proposed to create by the freeing of the slaves a domestic problem of the greatest proportion and magnitude but declined to assume any part of the responsibility in solving that great problem. A more absurd, illogical, selfish attitude it would be impossible to conceive.

In Virginia, with the slave population, by natural increase, growing more and more numerous, her soil becoming more and more impoverished, and the slave owner finding it more and more difficult to make ends meet, with mortgages on practically every plantation, the owners of slaves were forced to seek some

¹Mercer County, Ohio.

²VOL. II, 505.

measure of relief from the congestion of the slave population. This was done in various ways: by emancipation where possible, but the slaves would not always accept freedom.¹

The Virginians purchased lands in Mississippi and Alabama, and under their sons, sons-in-law or others, founded new plantations, largely for the purpose of providing for the expansion of the slave population. Thither were removed parts of the slaves by families so as to disturb family ties as little as possible. This kindly policy, which under the circumstances was the most humane a justly disposed and generous hearted people could devise, has been malevolently misrepresented and viciously falsified. The emigration of slaves from the congested plantations of Virginia, under some such circumstances, furnishes, in large measure, the statistics upon which the vicious calumniators at the North base the charge that the practice in Virginia was general of breeding slaves for market.

After reviewing the constitutional provisions and the laws of Northern States excluding negroes, Beverly B. Munford asks: "If the people of the North thus regarded their few negroes as a dangerous and perplexing element, how much more should the people of Virginia hesitate in face of the conditions and problems which confronted them? If Indiana and Illinois, with populations of over three million whites and less than twenty thousand blacks, felt constrained to deny free negroes the right to enter their states, how much more should their sister, Virginia, with only one million whites and nearly half a million black slaves, fear to add to her already large free negro population?"²

Lincoln well knew the feeling at the North, and when driven finally in the face of calamity to the northern arms to advocate at a day too late, terms of emancipation that might have succeeded, if properly urged at an earlier time, he endeavored to allay the northern fears. In his message to Congress in December, 1862, he said:

¹See an account of the Freeing and Colonization of the slaves of John Thom, and of the return of practically all of them within a year to the plantation of their former master, in *Virginia's Attitude Toward Slavery and Secession*, 73-74.

²*Virginia's Attitude Toward Slavery and Secession*, 172-73.

“But it is dreaded that the freed people will swarm forth and cover the whole land. Are they not already in the land? Will liberation make them more numerous? Equally distributed among the whites of the whole country, and there would be but one colored to seven whites. Could the one in any way disturb the seven?

“But why should emancipation South send the free people North? People of any color seldom run unless there be something to run from. Heretofore colored people to some extent have fled North from bondage and now perhaps from both bondage and destitution. But if gradual emancipation and deportation be adopted they will have neither to flee from. . . . And in any event cannot the North decide for itself whether to receive them.”¹

Under the policy of demanding that the slaves be freed but refusing black free men the right to reside in the Northern States, Virginia had no such choice as Lincoln declared the North had of deciding “whether to receive them.”

¹*Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, VI, 140-141.

CHAPTER XI

Slavery, Secession and the Civil War—Continued

THE RISE OF THE ABOLITION FANATICS—NULLIFICATION AT THE NORTH



ADISON had warned New England, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, in the convention of 1787, that the constitutional permission to import slaves for twenty additional years would produce "all the mischief that can be apprehended from the liberty to import slaves." His statement was amply justified by the event. With the determined antipathy in Virginia to the slave trade, the detestation of slavery as an institution, and the general sympathy throughout Virginia for that unfortunate element of the population, if the slave trade had been ended in 1787 there is little doubt that emancipation would have been accomplished at an early date in Virginia. Even though she was burdened with the great influx of slaves which the extension of the traffic to 1808 made inevitable, and notwithstanding the subject was one of the greatest difficulty, Virginia addressed herself to the task with great earnestness.

There was in fact no great difference of opinion as to the wisdom of emancipating the slaves in Virginia, until the rise of the fanatical abolitionists in the North, who by their acts, doctrines and course of conduct forced the Virginians, in justice to themselves, and in order to preserve their self-respect, to dispute the falsehoods and maintain their statehood, individual and constitutional rights to deal with the subject as a matter of state concern.

But while there was practical unanimity as to the wisdom of abolishing slavery, there was grave difference of opinion as to the means best suited to accomplish this. It was admitted on every hand, by all who had intelligence enough to be entitled to

an opinion, that simply to free the slaves *en masse* would produce an intolerable condition, and would leave them in a far worse state than they were in slavery.

Hundreds throughout the state freed their slaves either by will or deed, and in some instances left all their property for the settlement and support of the slaves. In many instances provisions were made for their settlement in Ohio, or Indiana, or Illinois or some state where slavery did not exist, or for their settlement in Liberia.

The creation of that free republic in Africa was in fact an outgrowth of Virginia's effort to solve the problem of freeing the slaves, and leaving them in a state of freedom, in happier and more congenial surroundings than had been their lot in slavery. Several plans of emancipation were suggested, notably those of Thomas Jefferson and of St. George Tucker; and the wisest men of Virginia, as well as the rank and file of her citizenry discussed the subject with the greatest earnestness and persistence, in endeavors to find the solution of the problem. This widespread interest in the subject led to its consideration by the legislature of 1832-3. No detailed account of the consideration of the subject by that legislature can be embodied in a work of this limited scope. It belongs to a history of the institution of slavery, rather than to a local county history. There are several accounts which give with more or less fulness the history of the subject.¹

The seriousness with which the Virginians addressed themselves to the subject is indicated by the fact that it occupied the greater part of the time and interest of the Legislature, and the subject was discussed with a breadth and range and frankness seldom paralleled in the consideration of any subject. Thomas Jefferson Randolph, Thomas Jefferson's grandson; Thomas Marshall, son of John Marshall, the great Chief Justice; James McDowell, afterwards Congressman and Minister to France; William Ballard Preston, afterwards Congressman and Secretary of the Navy in President Tyler's cabinet, and other men of similar ability, rank and standing were among the anti-slavery

¹See: Wilson, *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America*; Ballagh, *History of Slavery in Virginia*; Slaughter, *Virginian History of African Colonization*; Munford, *Virginia's Attitude Toward Slavery and Secession*.

members of that body, and earnestly sought a solution of the vexing problem. Of the debate of the subject in this legislature, Henry Wilson says: "It was one of the ablest, most eloquent and brilliant debates that ever took place in the legislature of any of the states. Most of those who participated in it were young and rising men who afterwards achieved high position and commanding influence."¹ And Ballagh in his *History of Slavery in Virginia*, says: "Day after day multitudes thronged the Capitol to hear the speeches. The assembly in its zeal for the discussion set aside all prudential considerations, such as the possible effect of incendiary utterances that might make the slave believe his lot one of injustice and cruelty, and so give him the excuse of a revolt, or might encourage further aggressions by Northern Abolitionists."²

It was the feeling of many that the sentiment throughout Virginia for emancipation was so widespread, that the practical difficulty of the question of what to do with the slaves after they were freed, was all that was in the way to the inauguration of emancipation on so widespread a scale that it would mean the end of the system in as short a time as was prudent for its accomplishment. Many, indeed most of the slave owners, were poor. They had to a large extent impoverished themselves in supporting the thriftless blacks and their ever increasing progeny. They were not, as a general rule, able to bear the expense of freeing the slaves and of their removal from the state. William H. Brodnax, a Southside Virginian, from the heart of the "Black Belt," no doubt expressed the general view when he declared that many owners "would manumit their slaves if means for their removal were furnished by the state, but who could not if the additional burden of removal were placed upon them."³

The House of Delegates adopted a resolution providing that the Commonwealth should provide for the immediate removal of the negroes now free and those who may hereafter become free, "believing that this will absorb all of our present means." This was adopted by a vote of 65 to 58.⁴ And the House thereupon

¹Wilson: *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America*, I, 195.

²Page 138.

³Slaughter: *Virginia History of African Colonization*, 48.

⁴*Journal of the House of Delegates*, 1832, 110.

passed a bill which comprehensively provided for a continuous system of deportation and colonization of free negroes, of the Commonwealth, and such as thereafter might become free. This bill, however, was lost in the senate by one vote. Thereafter several plans for the gradual emancipation of the slaves were brought forward and discussed. The views as to means, however, were divergent, and opinion could not be crystallized on any one sufficiently to enable it to be enacted into law. "No enlarged, wise or practical plan of operations was proposed by the abolitionists," says Dew;¹ and of the efforts made at the time, Ballagh declares: "Will was not wanting but method unhappily was."²

One great difficulty in any solution of the problem was to find means for solving the slavery problem without leaving behind "a greater problem, the negro problem."³ It was this difficulty, real to those in direct contact with the conditions, but ignored by the fanatical abolitionists, which caused such friends of abolition as the great Virginian editor, Thomas Ritchie, to hesitate as to the best means to be employed.

The failure to adopt at this time a system of emancipation was a great disappointment to the anti-slavery people of Virginia, especially so, as the failure resulted principally from inability to agree upon the means to be employed, rather than from disagreement respecting the desirability and wisdom of emancipation. The question, however, was so large a one, it was involved in so many perplexing difficulties, that the wonder is, in retrospect, not that they failed to agree, but that they came so near, at that early date, to agreement upon so comprehensive a plan of treatment of the subject. Even Lincoln, it will be remembered, years later declared that the subject was so difficult a one that a hundred years would not see the end of the abolition question.

There is little doubt but what Virginia would have followed the subject with such vigor and determination after the memorable events of 1832-33, that decisive action would have been taken within a decade or two, but for the rise of the fanatical

¹Thomas R. Dew, *An Essay on Slavery*, 6.

²*History of Slavery in Virginia*, 138.

³Ambler: *Thomas Ritchie*, 168.

abolitionists in the North, the projection into the matter of elements over which she had no control, and the embarrassment to which she was subjected in dealing with the subject, by the necessity to which she was put to defend her constitutional rights from the officious intermeddling of outsiders.

Thomas Jefferson Randolph, who was the foremost advocate of gradual emancipation, in the Virginia Legislature of 1832, says that "after the adjournment of the Legislature in 1833, the question was discussed before the people fairly and squarely, as one of the abolition of slavery. I was re-elected on that ground in my county. The feeling extended rapidly from that time in Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri until Northern abolitionism reared its head."¹ The re-election of Randolph, to which he alludes, was from one of the largest slave holding counties in the state. This instance typifies the situation throughout the state; everywhere there was continued interest and a growing determination to end the system.

Such being the record of the Virginians in opposition to the slave trade, and to slavery, and such being her manifest desire to see all slaves freed, the question will of course occur to those who have learned their Civil War history from the books of Northern enemies of the South: Why did Virginia secede and fight to perpetuate slavery? The answer is, she neither seceded nor fought for that purpose.

Virginians generally heartily desired to see the end of the system. General Robert E. Lee was opposed to it. "In this enlightened age," he wrote, "there are few, I believe, but will acknowledge that slavery as an institution is a moral and political evil. It is useless to expatiate on its disadvantages. I think it is a greater evil to the white than to the colored race, and while my feelings are strongly interested in the latter my sympathies are more deeply engaged for the former."² And General Lee never owned any slaves except those he inherited, and these he freed long before the war.³

¹T. J. Randolph, Pamphlet, Sept. 25, 1870, in Virginia Historical Society, quoted in *Virginia's Attitude Toward Slavery and Secession*, 51.

²Henderson: *Campaigns of Stonewall Jackson*, I, 108.

³McGuire and Christian: *The Confederate Cause and Conduct in the War Between the States*, 23.

General Jackson held views similar to General Lee's. "He never owned but two slaves, both of whom he bought at their request, one a man and the other a woman. The owner of the negro man had to sell him because of financial difficulties. The negro asked General Jackson to buy him, and let him work until he accumulated enough money to pay him back. This he did, and in working as a waiter in a hotel he earned the money, repaid General Jackson and secured his freedom. The other of General Jackson's slaves was a negress, who was about to be sold and sent away from Lexington. She asked General Jackson to buy her, which he did, and he offered to allow her to work and repay him his money and have her freedom. She preferred to remain with General Jackson and his wife, as a slave, and was an honest, faithful and affectionate servant."¹

General Joseph E. Johnson never owned a slave. Dr. Hunter McGuire, who was a member of the Stonewall Brigade, testifies that in that brigade "not one soldier in thirty owned or ever expected to own a slave."²

General A. P. Hill never owned a slave, and regarded the institution as an evil, much to be deplored.³

General J. E. B. Stuart never owned but two slaves; one he disposed of for cruelty to one of his children, and the other he returned to his home in Kentucky.⁴

General Fitzhugh Lee never owned a slave.⁵

Commodore Matthew Fontaine Maury never owned but one slave, a woman who remained a member of his family until her death, years before the war. He owned no slave at the time of the war.⁶

Major Robert Stiles, formerly a prominent member of the Richmond Bar, and a member of the Richmond Howitzers, speaking of the motives which impelled the men to fight, says:

"Why did they volunteer? For what did they give their

¹McGuire and Christian: *The Confederate Cause and Conduct of the War Between the States*, 22.

²Id. 22-23.

³Munford: *Virginia's Attitude Toward Slavery and Secession*, 157.

⁴Id.

⁵Id.

⁶Id.

lives? Surely, it was not for slavery they fought. The great majority of them had never owned a slave, and had little or no interest in the institution. My own father, for example, had freed his slaves long years before."¹ Certainly not one in twenty of the soldiers from Lunenburg owned a slave.

Albert Bushnell Hart, the Harvard Professor, says: "Out of 12,500,000 persons, in the slave holding communities in 1860, only about 384,000 persons—or one in thirty-three—was a slaveholder."² And Admiral Chadwick in his analysis of the census returns for Virginia shows that of the 52,128 slaveholders in the state, one-third held but one or two slaves, half one to four, and that but one hundred and fourteen persons held as many as one hundred each. He also shows that the great majority of the soldiers in the ranks of the Confederate Armies, from Virginia and the South, possessed no such interest.

So it is nothing but a miserable perversion of the truth to assert that Virginia fought to perpetuate slavery.

It may be interesting to some to note in passing that General Grant was a slave owner and never set his slaves free. He continued to own them to the last and they were freed by Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation.

And yet in the face of the record of Virginia on the subject, John Fiske, in his *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors*, would convey the impression that with the year eighteen hundred and eight all thought of emancipation in Virginia disappeared; and he would have his readers believe that Virginians fought the Civil War to perpetuate slavery because they found it profitable. Worthy thought for a New England Yankee, in view of the history of that money grubbing, slave-trading people!

One of the post-war services to posterity of that ever-thinning line of those who wore the Gray has been to help to keep the record straight, and Fiske's work has been appropriately characterized by them.

The late Dr. Hunter McGuire, Medical Director of Jackson's Corps, Army of Northern Virginia, Chairman of the History Committee of the Grand Camp of Confederate Veterans, has laid

¹Stiles: *Four Years Under Marse Robert*, 49.

²Hart: *Slavery and Abolition*, 67.

bare Fiske's special pleading and "slanderous sentences," and demonstrated the "utter unreliability of this historian when speaking of slavery, the causes of the war, or the rights asserted by the South." It is to be deeply regretted that his entire account cannot be incorporated herein.¹

In part, he says of Fiske: "He has seen, more plainly than any other perhaps (what the Northern orators and writers are silently or openly yielding), that every claim of the South, of such sort as naturally rests upon categorical facts, is already *res adjudicata* in our favor at the bar of the world. He knows from the writers around him (Mr. Lodge and others), that our claim to the right of secession cannot be resisted; that the right of coercion cannot be maintained; that the superior personal and military character of our leaders is beyond dispute; that estimating Americans, foreign mercenaries, and the negroes in their ranks, the average type and quality of their private soldiers was far below ours; and their numbers so far superior that the Southern victories set the world wondering. He knows, too, that the records made up along the track of armies and their own statistics of deaths in prison have forever proved our higher civilization in war. So he foresees and dreads the day of doom, when, as already prophesied, history is to declare the truth triumphant and his the 'Lost Cause.' His writings, the others as well as the history, prove his consciousness that there remains to his section only this last resort—to make the world believe that our motives were base—a charge which they hope will be answered with more difficulty, inasmuch as it rests upon unsubstantial and intangible interpretation of facts, and not upon facts themselves. . . . He is an advocate seeking to procure pardon for the wrong-doings of his own section by persuading the world of the guilt of ours; by convincing all who read or study his book (our own children among them), that in defiance of all reasons to know the wrong of slavery, we argued before the war and fought in it, not from conviction of duty or loyalty to our constitutional rights and

¹It may be seen in *The Confederate Cause and Conduct in the War Between the States* (Richmond), by Hunter McGuire and George L. Christian.

those of our children, not even from insulted and outraged manhood, but simply to hold the negro in possession.”¹

The total falsity of the charge of Fiske thus so adequately characterized by Dr. McGuire must be recognized by all who give any heed to the facts.

It is not only an utterly false charge to claim that the Virginians gave no thought to the question of emancipating the slaves after 1808, but it is a fact that their inability to make progress on the subject in the decades preceding the Civil War was due almost entirely to the attitude of the Northern people, and the measures taken by the Northern States.

The riot of contumelious slander indulged by Northern writers against the South and Southerners has run the gamut from stupid, uninformed mendacity to deliberate, voluntary, inexcusable falsification.

In the course of the prosecution of these purposes, it has been charged that the South was the aggressor in the war; that Virginia seceded and joined the Confederacy to perpetuate slavery, because the people of Virginia found slavery profitable, and that after 1808, Virginia ceased to give any thought to the possibility of emancipating her slaves.

The South has been described as the wrong-doer, the malefactor throughout the entire history of this era, while the North has been held up as the defender of the Constitution and the preserver of the Union.

The Southern States have been scoffed at and maligned as the author of secession, and those who upheld the doctrine are denounced as utterly base, and as rebels and traitors.

Respecting all of this the South can with confidence await the historical judgment of a posterity sufficiently removed from the event to consider the facts with a calm impartiality.

Respecting slavery, at the North, and in the Northwest, various views were represented. There were those who recognized slavery as the domestic concern of the individual states, who realized that slavery was an evil that was with us when the Union was formed and the Constitution adopted, who recognized

¹McGuire and Christian: *The Confederate Cause and Conduct in the War Between the States*, 13-14.

the fact that the Federal Government had no authority over slavery in the states, and who knew that the Union would never have been created, if the control of that institution had not been left to the states, and who knew that the constitution would never have been adopted if the fugitive slave provision had not been inserted therein. They deprecated the institution of slavery, just as Jefferson, and Henry, Washington and Mason, Madison and Marshall did, but they had respect for the Constitution and the laws made pursuant thereto. That element at the North, respectable as it was, and embracing the North's greatest men, as the event proved, found itself in the minority.

There were also at the North the abolitionists. The term abolitionist had a different signification in the North from what it had in the South, or to speak more accurately, there was a great difference between the views and tenets of abolitionists in the North and those of the South. The Southern abolitionist wanted to see the institution of slavery abolished by some reasonable, practical, constitutional plan, while the group of Northern abolitionists, of which we now speak, held very different views. "Southern abolition was reform and an appeal to the master; Northern abolition was revolution and an appeal to the slave; one was peaceful and the other mutually destructive of both races by a servile insurrection."¹

Under the leadership of such men as William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips, the Northern abolitionist regarded the instant, immediate freedom of the slaves as paramount to every other consideration. Obsessed with but one idea, characteristic of fanatics generally, they reckoned not the consequences to the country, to the union, to the states or even to the negroes. In sober thought, it would have been easy for any sane man to conclude that such a program as they advocated would have had the worst consequences imaginable for the negroes themselves. Such considerations affected them not at all. Systematically, deliberately, with the cunning of the madman, the resourceful, persistent vigilance of the religious fanatic, they sowed the seeds of discord, preached the gospel of hatred, spread the doctrine of sedition,

¹T. J. Randolph, pamphlet already cited.

and proclaimed a treasonable revolt against the Constitution of the United States.

Holding the Constitution of the United States a "League with death and a covenant with hell," they openly advocated violations of it, and of the laws made pursuant thereto; they incited slaves to murder their masters and their masters' families; they stole and enticed away slaves, and spirited them by the underground railroad to Canada; they sent their spies and emissaries, in every garb and disguise, often posing as teachers or missionaries to stir up revolution and revolt, and to incite slaves to every form of horrible crime.

Garrison and his followers knew that under the Constitution "Congress has no right to interfere with any of the States in relation to this momentous subject."¹ And knowing that "The Constitution could not be changed without the consent of the slave states, or a considerable portion of them; and certainly that consent was not likely to be given,"² and finding that instrument, the creature of the wisdom of the founders of the republic in the way of their fanatical desires, they easily solved their difficulty by deliberately ignoring, violating and denouncing it. True, it is claimed by Garrison's biographer that when Garrison denounced the Constitution as a "covenant with death" and an "agreement with hell," "the American people . . . lifted up their hands as if they had heard the most awful blasphemy."³ But that did not prevent the doctrine from growing with astonishing rapidity at the North. Approving Garrison's doctrine and appropriating his words, the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society in January, 1843, adopted the following resolution: "That the compact which exists between the North and the South is a covenant with death and an agreement with hell—involving both parties in atrocious criminality, and should be immediately annulled."⁴ Garrison's position was that the constitutional provisions, respecting slavery were not to be acknowledged as binding "for a single day."⁵ He declared, "There is but one honest, straightforward

¹Johnson: *Garrison and His Times*, 335.

²Id.

³Id. 336.

⁴*William Lloyd Garrison*, by his children, III, 88.

⁵Johnson: *Garrison and His Times*, 336.

course to pursue . . . the Union must be dissolved."¹ And Wendell Phillips voiced the same view when he said: "As to disunion, it must and will come. Calhoun wants it at one end of the Union, Garrison wants it at the other. It is written in the counsel of God."²

The rise of the Northern abolitionists, their fanatical doctrine, their unlawful and criminal acts, their reckless irresponsible preachments aroused the resentment of Southerners, whether favoring the freedom of the slaves or not, and did the cause of the black man infinite harm.

Thomas Jefferson Randolph, speaking of the activities of the Northern abolitionists, said: "The Southern people feared to trust to the intervention of persons themselves exempt by position from the imagined dangers of the transition."³

In 1843 George Tucker, Professor of Political Economy, at the University of Virginia, said: ". . . it may be confidently asserted that the efforts of abolitionists have hitherto made the people in the slave-holding states cling to it more tenaciously. Those efforts are viewed by them as an intermeddling in their domestic concerns that is equally unwarranted by the comity due to sister states, and to the solemn pledges of the federal compact. In the general indignation which is thus excited, the arguments in favor of negro emancipation, once open and urgent, have been completely silenced, and its advocates among the slaveholders, who have not changed their sentiments, find it prudent to conceal them. . . . Such have been the fruits of the zeal of the Northern abolitionists in those states in which slavery prevails; and the fable of the Wind and the Sun never more forcibly illustrated the difference between gentle and violent means in influencing men's wills."⁴

Dr. Henry Ruffner, President of Washington College, in 1847, describing the halt of the progress in anti-slavery measures, said:

"But this unfavorable change of sentiment is due chiefly to the fanatical violence of those Northern anti-slavery men usually

¹*William Lloyd Garrison*, by his children, III, 414.

²Martin: *Wendell Phillips*, 207.

³Pamphlet (Sept. 25, 1870), in Virginia Historical Society.

⁴*Progress of Population and Wealth*, 108.

called abolitionists. . . . They have not, by honorable means, liberated a single slave, and they never will by such a course of procedure as they have pursued. On the contrary, they have created new difficulties in the way of all judicious schemes of emancipation by prejudicing the minds of slave holders, and by compelling us to combat their false principles and rash schemes in our rear; whilst we are facing the opposition of men and the natural difficulties of the case in our front.”¹

The same character of testimony as to the mischief done the anti-slavery cause by the abolitionists is given by thoughtful Northern men. Thus Dr. William Ellery Channing said, as early as 1835:

“The adoption of the common system of agitation by the abolitionists has not been justified by success. From the beginning it created alarm in the considerate and strengthened the sympathies of the free states with the slaveholder. It made converts of a few individuals but alienated multitudes.

“Its influence at the South has been almost wholly evil. It has stirred up bitter passions and a fierce fanaticism which have shut every ear and every heart against its arguments and persuasions. These effects are more to be deplored because the hope of freedom to the slaves lies chiefly in the disposition of his master. The abolitionist proposed indeed to convert the slaveholders; and for this reason he approached them with vituperation and exhausted upon them the vocabulary of reproach. And he has reaped as he sowed. . . . Thus, with good purpose, nothing seems to have been gained.”² George Lunt of Boston has written:

“After the years of 1820-21, during which that great struggle which resulted in what is called the Missouri Compromise was most active and came to its conclusion, the states of Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee were earnestly engaged in practical movements for the gradual emancipation of their slaves. This movement continued until it was arrested by the aggressions of the abolitionists upon their voluntary action.”³ And George

¹*The Ruffner Pamphlet* (1847), Lexington.

²*The Works of William E. Channing*, 735.

³*The Origin of the Late War*, 33.

Ticknor Curtis, also of Boston, after describing the events in the Virginia legislature of 1831-32, and of the continued progress of the movement for gradual emancipation, citing the reelection of Thomas Jefferson Randolph, the leader of the movement, from Albemarle, one of the largest slave-holding counties in the state, said:

“But in the meantime came suddenly the intelligence of what was doing in the North. It came in an alarming aspect for the peace and security for the whole South; since it could not be possible that strangers should combine together to assail the slaveholder as a sinner and to demand his instant admission of guilt, without arousing fears of the most dangerous consequences for the safety of Southern homes, as well as intense indignation against such an unwarrantable interference. From that time forth emancipation whether immediate or gradual could not be considered in Virginia or anywhere else in the South.”¹

Thomas Ewing of Ohio, speaking of the officious intermeddling of the abolitionists, said:

“The North has taken the business of abolition into its own hands and from the day she did so we hear no more of abolition in Virginia. This was but the natural effect of the cause.”²

Daniel Webster, in pointing out the harm the abolitionists were doing, said:

“Public opinion, which in Virginia had begun to be exhibited against slavery and was opening out for the discussion of the question, drew back and shut itself up in its castle. I would like to know whether anybody in Virginia can now³ talk openly as Mr. Randolph, Governor McDowell and others talked in 1832, and sent their remarks to the press? We all know the facts and we all know the cause; and everything that these agitating people have done has been not to enlarge but to restrain, not to set free, but to bind the faster the slave population of the South.”⁴

¹Curtis: *Life of James Buchanan*, II, 278.

²Crittenden: *Proceedings of the Peace Convention*, 142.

³He was speaking in 1850.

⁴Whipple: *Webster's Great Speeches*, 619.

Stephen A. Douglas, in the Bloomington, Illinois, speech of July 16, 1859, said:

“There is but one possible way in which slavery can be abolished and that is by leaving the state according to the principle of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, perfectly free to form and regulate its institutions in its own way. That was the principle upon which this republic was founded. . . . Under its operations slavery disappeared from six of the twelve original slave-holding states; and this gradual system of emancipation went on quietly, peacefully and steadily so long as we in the free states minded our own business and left our neighbors alone. But the moment the abolition societies were organized throughout the North, preaching a violent crusade against slavery in the Southern States, this combination necessarily caused a counter-combination in the South, and a sectional line was drawn which was a barrier to any further emancipation. Bear in mind that emancipation has not taken place in any one state since the Free-soil Party was organized as a political party in this country. The moment the North proclaimed itself the determined master of the South, that moment the South combined to resist the attack, and thus sectional parties were formed and gradual emancipation ceased in all the Northern slaveholding states.”¹

And even Abraham Lincoln, before he began to make one character of speech in the section where abolition sentiment was strong, and another character of speech where the sentiment was to the contrary, described the Northern abolitionists as “those who would shiver into fragments the Union of the States, tear to tatters its now venerated constitution, and even burn the last copy of the Bible, rather than [that] slavery should continue a single hour.”²

Although the question of abolishing slavery within a state was legally a matter of concern for that state alone, and was so left by the Constitution of the United States, yet it is conceivable that the anti-slavery people of the nation might have gone about the national eradication of the institution, in a manner that would

¹*Lincoln-Douglas Debates* (Columbus), 31.

²Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln*, I, 174.

not only not have been opposed, but would have been supported by the slave states, or at least a great majority of them.

If the abolitionists and the majority of the people of the North had conformed to the usages of civilized people, and had recognized the authority of the constitution and had sought by moral means and suasion, and by legal procedure to change the constitution and had conducted a campaign which resulted in so doing, and if that change had taken from the states and lodged in the federal government the authority and the power to abolish slavery, and if the federal power had then abolished the institution, little fault could be justly found with this procedure, however far it may have departed from the status produced by the original instrument.

But such were not the methods of the abolitionists and the Black Republicans. They did not deign to be required to conform to law, to recognize constitutional limitations, or obey the decisions of the most august judicial tribunal on the face of the earth. With smug hypocrisy and malicious purpose, they prated of ignoring the constitution,—denouncing it as a league with death and a covenant with hell,—they denounced and damned the Supreme Court,—and appealed to a “Higher Law” than the constitution and the laws of the United States, as a mask and justification of their malicious, murderous purposes.

Their record is a record of blackness and infamy, and the thousands and thousands of pages of false history and literature, which since the war have been written to make the ‘worse appear the better reason’ cannot obscure from posterity the truth of their infamous course toward the people of the South.

The course which the Northern abolitionists chose to pursue was a blow at all law, and was an ignorant interference with the growth of the emancipation principle by the voluntary acceptance by the community at large of continually improving standards of treatment of the colored race.

The extension of the control of the fanatical abolitionists over representative public men in the North presents a study of interest. It presents a curious intermingling of forces, and few subjects better illustrate the willingness of public men,—politicians, some of whom are reputed to be statesmen,—to stultify

themselves by yielding their honest opinions to the clamor of a noisy and insistent group, rather than run the risk of being retired to private life for the sake of principle.

In 1837, in protesting against a resolution adopted by the legislature of Illinois, Abraham Lincoln and Dan Stone caused to be spread upon the journal of that body a paper which contained the following: "They believe that the Congress of the United States has no power under the Constitution to interfere with the institution of slavery in the different states.

"They believe that the Congress of the United States has the power under the Constitution to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, but that the power ought not to be exercised unless at the request of the people of the District."¹

In the course of the famous Lincoln-Douglas debates, Lincoln said in his Charleston speech of September 18, 1858: "I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way, the social and political equality of the white and black races; I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of making voters or jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people; and I will say, in addition to this, that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together, there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I as much as any man am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race. . . . I do not understand that there is any place where an alteration of the social and political relations of the negro and the white man can be made, except in the State Legislature,—not in the Congress of the United States. . . ."² And continuing, he said: "Now, at this day in the history of the world we can no more foretell where the end of this slavery agitation will be than we can see the end of the world itself. The Nebraska-Kansas bill was introduced four years and a half ago, and if the agitation is ever to come to an end, we may say we are four years

¹Nicolay and Hay: *Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. I, 140; Munford: *Virginia's Attitude Toward Slavery and Secession*, 54.

²Ill. Hist. Collection, III, 267-8.

and a half nearer the end. So, too, we can say we are four years and a half nearer the end of the world; and we can just as clearly see the end of the world as we can see the end of this agitation. . . I say, then, there is no way of putting an end to the slavery agitation amongst us but to put it back upon the basis where our fathers placed it; no way but to keep it out of our new territories,—to restrict it forever to the old states where it now exists. Then the public mind *will* rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction.”¹ And he added: “I do not mean that when it takes a turn toward ultimate extinction it will be in a day, nor in a year, nor in two years. I do not suppose that in the most peaceful way ultimate extinction would occur in less than a hundred years at least; but that it will occur in the best way for both races in God’s own good time, I have no doubt.”²

In his speech at Quincy, October 13, 1858, Lincoln said, speaking of slavery: “We have a due regard to the actual presence of it amongst us, and the difficulties of getting rid of it in any satisfactory way, and all the constitutional obligations thrown about it. I suppose that in reference both to its actual existence in the nation, and to our constitutional obligations, we have no right at all to disturb it in the states where it existed, and we profess that we have no more inclination to disturb it than we have the right to do it. We go further than that; we don’t propose to disturb it, where, in one instance, we think the Constitution would permit us. We think the Constitution would permit us to disturb it in the District of Columbia. Still, we do not propose to do that, unless it should be on terms which I don’t suppose the nation is very likely soon to agree to,—the terms of making the emancipation gradual, and compensating the unwilling owners. Where we suppose we have the constitutional right, we restrain ourselves in reference to the actual existence of the institution and the difficulties thrown about it. We also oppose it as an evil so far as it seeks to spread itself.”³

Lincoln in his speech at Alton, October 15, 1858, said:

“It is nothing but a miserable perversion of what I *have* said,

¹Ill. Hist. Collection, III, 305.

²Id.

³Id. 405.

to assume that I have declared Missouri, or any other slave state, shall emancipate her slaves: I have proposed no such thing.”¹ And again in the same speech:

“The Judge alludes very often in the course of his remarks to the exclusive right which the states have to decide the whole thing for themselves. I agree with him very readily that the different states have that right. He is but fighting a man of straw when he assumes that I am contending against the right of the states to do as they please about it. Our controversy with him is in regard to the new territories. We agree that when the states come in as states they have the right and the power to do as they please. We have no power as citizens of the free states, or in our federal capacity as members of the Federal Union through the General Government, to disturb slavery in the states where it exists.”² And again: “If there be a man amongst us who is so impatient of it as a wrong as to disregard its actual presence among us and the difficulty of getting rid of it, suddenly in a satisfactory way, and to disregard the constitutional obligations thrown about it, that man is misplaced if he is on our platform. We disclaim sympathy with him in practical action. He is not placed properly with us.”³

But Lincoln came to repudiate these doctrines, as the world well knows. Many others at the North held the views which Lincoln quite clearly expressed, but they were not strong enough for the abolitionists, and the politician was too much in the ascendancy, in the make up of most of them to enable them to stand staunchly by their convictions. They yielded to the clamorings of the fanatics, and changed position on constitutional, legal and moral questions, in order apparently to follow, at least not lose the support of, the wild, fanatical abolitionists led by such irresponsible men as Garrison and Phillips, even when doing so involved them in contradictions of positions they had maintained for years. Some who thus changed may have been sincere, they doubtless were, but it is impossible to believe that all, or indeed very many were, or that they were primarily animated by any reason, except that of expediency.

¹Ill. Hist. Collection, III, 473.

²Id. 480.

³Id. 482.

It was in vain that sober-minded, level-headed men, whether of the North or the South, warned the abolitionists of the folly of their course, and the mischief they were doing.

Dr. James Waddell Alexander, a Northerner, who came to Southside Virginia "with all the prepossessions of a Northern man against slavery" and who resided in Charlotte County several years and was in the habit of returning for frequent visits, a man who resided there in close association with the whites and blacks, thought the slaves of Southside Virginia "unspeakably superior to the Northern free blacks."¹ He soon came to the conclusion that what to do with the slaves was a matter for the state, a local matter, which the agitators of the North did not understand, and with which they should not intermeddle. In one of his letters he said:

"The servants, who wait upon genteel families, in consequence of having been bred among refined people all their lives, have often as great an air of gentility as their masters. The comfort of slaves in this country is greater, I am persuaded, than that of the free blacks as a body in any part of the United States. They are no doubt maltreated in many instances; so are children; but in general, they are well clad, well fed, and kindly treated. Ignorance is their greatest curse, and this must ever follow in the train of slavery. The bad policy and destructive tendency of the system is increasingly felt; you hear daily complaints on the subject from those who have most servants. But what can they do? Slavery was not their choice. They cannot and ought not to turn them loose. They cannot afford to transport them; and generally the negroes would not consent to it. The probable result of this state of things is one which philanthropists scarcely dare contemplate."² And only six years before the beginning of the Civil War, he wrote:

"I am deeply convinced that a majority of the South will one day come to the point of mitigating slavery, so far as to make a sort of feudal apprenticeship; and that it will be abolished. Every year—even in the face of Northern rebuke—hundreds of new

¹Alexander: *Forty Years Familiar Letters*, V. I, 353.

²Id. 93.

voices are raised in behalf of marriage, integrity of families and license to read. To a practical mind it is striking that abolitionism has abolished no slavery."¹ While favoring emancipation, Dr. Alexander did not favor immediate emancipation. After he had been observing slavery for twenty years he wrote: "That the most miserable portion, physically and morally of the black race in the United States, is the portion which is free, I am as well assured as I can be of any similar proposition. That immediate emancipation would be a crime I have no doubt."²

The Rev. Dr. Nehemiah Adams, of Boston, during the decade before the war, spent some months in the study of slavery in Georgia, South Carolina and Virginia. He had strong prepossessions against it, but his study of the actual conditions on the ground, led him upon his return to Boston to warn the abolitionists in these words: "Hands off! The question is a domestic one best settled by the South, and only delayed and hampered by interference from without."³

But the warnings and the protests were of no avail.

Virginia reaped the harvest of abolition incendiarism in such grim facts as the Southampton Insurrection of 1831. Under the leadership of Nat Turner, a negro preacher, who had been accorded considerable freedom of movement, the negroes attacked the whites in the night and before the insurrection was suppressed fifty-seven white persons, principally women and children, had been killed. The leader of this insurrection was a slave to whom the privilege of an education had been accorded, and one of his lieutenants was a free negro. It was the widespread belief, and undoubtedly the fact, that influences and instigations from without the state were responsible for these murders.

The extreme abolitionists openly proclaimed the right and the duty of the slave to secure his freedom by murder or any other act necessary to that end. They taught the doctrine by every manner of means possible to be employed. Among these were the employment of pictures to convey the suggestion of uprising

¹*Forty Years Familiar Letters*, V. 2, 218, Jan. 14, 1856.

²*Id.*, V. 2, 52.

³Bruce: *John Randolph of Roanoke*, II, 132.

and of murdering their masters, to those who could not read. Many of these were intercepted in the mails, and the curious inconsistency of the abolitionists is seen, in their complaints regarding the illegality of the suppression of their pictures and literature. When it served their purpose they appealed to the protection of the laws under the Constitution; when it did not serve their purpose they denounced it, violated it, called a crusade of revolt against it, and branded it a covenant with death and an agreement with hell.

From the rise of the abolitionists until the opening of the Civil War, the people of Virginia were constantly harassed by the emissaries of these Northern agitators. They sent their spies into communities, and they quietly and stealthily did their work while ostensibly engaged in some lawful business. The brazen effrontery of some of the acts committed was truly astonishing. A happening at Petersburg illustrates the fact. Some of the abolition spies had persuaded five slaves to run away from their owners. In order to transport them out of the state, a barque, the *Kesiah* from Brandywine, Delaware, on May 30, 1858, was brought to Petersburg on this nefarious mission and tied up at the wharf, the runaways were smuggled aboard, and before any suspicion was excited, it weighed anchor, dropped down the river and was well on its way to the high sea. However, her mission became known, she was followed by a steamer with several policemen and a number of citizens aboard, and was overtaken and searched. The negroes were found stowed away in the hold of the vessel.¹

The Captain of the *Kesiah*, one Bayliss, was arrested, brought back to Petersburg, and tried on five indictments for kidnapping, found guilty on each, and sentenced to eight years in the penitentiary on each, forty years in all. He was ably defended by Messrs. Jones and May, two of the most prominent lawyers of that day. Bayliss remained in the Virginia penitentiary until the Federals captured Richmond in 1865.

It did not always happen that the marauding emissaries of the abolitionists were captured, as was Bayliss; in fact, they usually were not, so stealthily did they work.

¹Claiborne: *Seventy-five Years in Old Virginia*, 137.

The capture of the *Kesiah*, the trial and conviction of Bayliss, created a very serious impression throughout Southside Virginia. "This incident," says Dr. Claiborne, "not only served to awaken our citizens to a sense of the insecurity of their property, with secret emissaries plotting crime on their streets, but it also aroused resentment toward a people who, under the guise of friends, could arm and employ such emissaries as robbers and assassins to do their own dirty work."¹ Dr. Claiborne was fully able to correctly interpret the feeling of the people at the time. He was a lifelong resident of the section, and personally observed the things of which he wrote.

Throughout the long and painful period of the activities of the Northern Abolitionists, extending from before 1830 up to about 1859, many of the people of Virginia did not suppose that the acts of these fanatics were widely endorsed at the North. They believed them to be the work of a relatively few individuals. They were unwilling to believe that the people of the North endorsed the injustice and wrong perpetrated upon them, who had done them no evil, and who had a right to claim, and to expect, equal rights and equal protection under the law and the constitution of the whole country.²

A thorough and critical consideration of the legislation at the North might have given the Virginians a different view. The enactment in state after state of laws designed to prevent southern owners of slaves from having the benefit of the provision of the United States Constitution and of the federal laws respecting runaway slaves, should have been notice to them that the hostility of the North toward the South was not confined to a small group of fanatics. Such laws, presumably, could not have been enacted and kept on the statute books of various states, if a majority of the voters did not approve them.

However, the Virginians may have misjudged the ill temper and the unfairness of the North, they were soon to be disillusioned. They were soon to learn that the antagonism to slavery, North and Northwest, was such as to countenance any measures for its abolition, lawful or unlawful, peaceful or violent. Whether

¹Claiborne: *Seventy-five Years in Old Virginia*, 137.

²*Id.*

a majority of the people of the North were of the extreme abolition type, may, of course, well be doubted, but "whether that was true or not, it is certain that a vast majority of every Northern community was in sympathy with obstacles thrown in the way of recapturing escaped slaves. Everybody, North and South, was well aware that in many instances the slave was enticed from his home by abolition emissaries. Yet when he reached the North, thousands who would not have gone South to incite him to escape did all they could to make the work of the emissaries effectual.

"In such a condition of affairs, the practical difference between the abolitionist and the sympathizer, to the man who lost his slave and could not recover it, was very nebulous."¹

The matter more and more absorbed the national attention. It became impossible to attribute the views that were expressed, and the acts committed, to a class of unrepresentative men. Wendell Phillips might represent an undefined constituency or indeed no constituency at all, in his vituperative denunciation of the Southerners and all things Southern, but he was no more insulting and abusive than were Charles Sumner and Ben Wade, the former a United States Senator from Massachusetts, and the latter a Senator from Ohio. "We may search," says John S. Wise, "through the congressional debates in vain for more coarse and insulting language than that used by Senator Ben Wade, of Ohio, upon the floor of the Senate."²

The states of the South contended for their rights under the Constitution of the United States. While Virginia deprecated the institution of slavery, and desired to see the end of it, as we have abundantly shown, she insisted upon the right to deal with the institution within her borders as she saw fit. She did not recognize the right of Garrison or Phillips, or Lovejoy, or Giddings, or Ben Wade, or Sumner, or the negro, Fred Douglas, to tell her what she, a sovereign state, should do.

The legal position of the Southern States under the Constitution was impregnable; and Virginia in insisting upon her right to deal with the slavery question within her borders, was insist-

¹John S. Wise: *The End of An Era*, 114.

²*The End of An Era*, 115.

ing upon a position which had been well established since the government was created, and universally admitted at all times, except latterly by a small group of abolitionist fanatics. No one had more clearly or fully recognized this principle and right than Lincoln himself, as we have seen.

“The Republican party was organized in 1854 to maintain the tenet that Congress had the right, as it was its duty, to exclude slave owners with their slaves from the territories.”¹ That party had its origin in a constitutional misconception; or to put the matter another way, it was organized to do an unconstitutional thing. The Supreme Court of the United States, three years later, really so decided, for it decided that Congress possessed no such power.

The Republican party was the party of the abolitionists and the anti-slavery men of the North, and that party thought its party tenets more sacred than the Constitution of the United States and more important than the independence and prestige of the United States Supreme Court; and in pursuance of that position the Republican party reasserted its position, and advanced the doctrine that Congress had a right to legislate upon the subject in disregard of the mandates of the Supreme Court of the United States. This meant, of course, that it took the position that on this subject Congress should be privileged to legislate as it saw fit, regardless of constitutional limitations, and regardless of the decisions of the Supreme Court upon the constitutional questions.

Garrison and the extreme abolitionists railed at the court, and their contempt of it almost as much as their reprobation of the Constitution, was responsible for their insistent demand for a dissolution of the Union.

Lincoln was more wordy, less frank in his avowal, but the substance of his stand on the Dred Scott case was to place him completely in the ranks of the abolitionists on the question of repudiating the Supreme Court decision.

The discussion of the general subject in the Lincoln-Douglas debates was to further enlighten the South as to party position, and the personal views of leading public men. The alarm of that

¹Munford: *Virginia's Attitude Toward Slavery and Secession*, 186.

section was but natural, upon the political turn of affairs, within the next few years.

In the course of the Lincoln-Douglas debates of 1858, the Dred Scott decision came in for its full measure of discussion.

Douglass, in his speech at Quincy, October 13, 1858, speaking of it, said: “. . . . I choose to abide by the decisions of the Supreme Court as they are pronounced. It is not for me to inquire, after a decision is made, whether I like it in all the points or not. I tell you that I take the decisions of the Supreme Court as the law of the land, and I intend to obey them as such.”¹

In this same debate, Lincoln said: “. . . . we oppose that decision as a political rule which shall be binding on the voter to vote for nobody who thinks it wrong; which shall be binding on the members of Congress or the President to favor no measure that does not actually concur with the principles of that decision.”² This no doubt meant that Lincoln and those of his view proposed “a political rule” through the instrumentality of Congress and the President to produce a result directly contrary to the decision of the Supreme Court. This likely accounted for the reaffirmation of its original position, by the Republican party in its platform of 1860, in defiance of the Supreme Court’s decision.

Answering Lincoln, Douglas said:

“He,” Lincoln, “tells you that he does not like the Dred Scott decision. Suppose he does not, how is he going to help himself? He says that he will reverse it. How will he reverse it? I know of but one mode of reversing judicial decisions, and that is by appealing from the inferior to the superior court. But I have never yet learned how or where an appeal could be taken from the Supreme Court of the United States! The Dred Scott decision was pronounced by the highest tribunal on earth. From that decision there is no appeal, this side of Heaven. Yet, Mr. Lincoln says he is going to reverse that decision. By what tribunal will he reverse it? Will he appeal to a mob? Does he intend to appeal to violence, to lynch law? Will he stir up

¹Ill. Hist. Col., III, 418-19.

²Id. 405.

strife and rebellion in the land, and overthrow the court by violence? He who attempts to stir up odium and rebellion in the country against the constituted authorities, is stimulating the passions of men to resort to violence and to mobs instead of to the law.”¹

But no extended view can be here indulged of the range of debate and discussion of the subject, during this period.

In its discussion, doctrines and counter doctrines, refinements and qualifications of opinions, were announced, and the vocabulary of explanation was well-nigh exhausted. Sumner in “polished oratory” and Ben Wade in the coarse billingsgate of which he was an acknowledged master, breathed their deep malice toward the South. Men like Senator Seward of New York, while declaring adherence to the constitution and to its guarantees, declared that “an irrepressible conflict” existed between the North and the South. Lincoln, in 1858, in the debate with Douglas, had declared that a house divided against itself could not stand and that the Union could not continue part free and part slave. Public men, some of them at least, spoke in contradictions, under such circumstances as to leave doubt as to their good faith. Lincoln was one of these. He did not hesitate to preach one doctrine in Northern Illinois, which was largely abolitionist, and another doctrine in Southern Illinois, which was largely pro-slavery. Few things in the history of political debate can be compared to the transcendent ability with which Douglas crushed him in that campaign; and Douglas dealt few blows more telling than that by which he exposed Lincoln’s vacillation and duplicity. For example, he questioned Lincoln as to how he would vote if Congress should not prohibit slavery in a territory, and it applied for admission with a Constitution recognizing slavery; for some time he did not answer. When Lincoln finally answered, his answer was evasive and, in fact, no answer at all to the questions asked. Thereupon, Douglas in the course of his speech at Quincy, October 13, 1858, pounced upon him in characteristic fashion.

“I submit,” he said, “to you whether that answer of his to my suggestion does not justify me in saying that he has a fertile

¹Ill. Hist. Col. III, 418-19.

genius in devising language to conceal his thoughts. I ask you whether there is an intelligent man in America who does not believe that that answer was made for the purpose of concealing what he intended to do. He wished to make the Old Line Whigs believe that he would stand by the compromise measures of 1850, which declared that the states might come into the Union with slavery or without, as they pleased, while Lovejoy and his abolition allies up North explained to the abolitionists that in taking this ground he preached good abolition doctrine, because his proviso would not apply to any territory in America, and therefore there was no chance of his being governed by it. It would have been quite easy for him to have said that he would let the people of a state do just as they pleased, if he desired to convey such an idea. Why did he not do it? He would not answer my question directly, because up North the abolition creed declares that there shall be no more slave states, while down South, in Adams County, in Coles, and in Sangamon, he and his friends are afraid to advance that doctrine. Therefore, he gives an evasive and equivocal answer, to be construed one way in the South and another way in the North, which, when analyzed, it is apparent is not an answer at all with reference to any territory now in existence."

Again Douglas drew a fatal parallel between two of Lincoln's speeches. In a speech at Chicago, Lincoln had said:

"I should like to know, if taking this old Declaration of Independence, which declares that all men are equal upon principle, and making exceptions to it, where will it stop? If one man says it does not mean a negro, why may not another man say it does not mean another man? If that declaration is not the truth, let us get the statute book in which we find it, and tear it out."

And in concluding this speech, Lincoln said:

"My friends, I have detained you about as long as I desire to do, and I have only to say, let us discard all this quibbling about this man and the other man, this race, and that race, and the other race being inferior, and therefore they must be placed in an inferior position, discarding our standards that we have left us. Let us discard all these things, and unite as one people throughout

this land until we shall once more stand up declaring that all men are created equal.”

In a speech at Charleston, Illinois, September 18, 1858, Lincoln said:

“I will say then, that I am not nor ever have been in favor of bringing about in any way, the social and political equality of the white and black races; that I am not nor ever have been in favor of making voters of free negroes, or jurors, or qualifying them to hold office, or having them to marry with white people. I will say in addition that there is a physical difference between the white and black races, which I suppose will forever forbid the two races living together upon terms of social and political equality, and inasmuch as they cannot so live, that while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I as much as any other man am in favor of the superior position being assigned to the white man.”¹

Upon this parallel Douglas commented: “Thus you see that when addressing the Chicago Abolitionists he declared that all distinction of race must be discarded and blotted out because the negro stood on an equal footing with the white man; that if one man said the Declaration of Independence did not mean a negro when it declared all men created equal, that another would say that it did not mean another man; and hence we ought to discard all difference between the negro race and all other races, and declare them all created equal. Did old Giddings, when he came down among you four years ago, preach more radical abolition than this? Did Lovejoy, or Lloyd Garrison, or Wendell Phillips, or Fred Douglass ever take higher abolition ground than that?”

Then turning to what Lincoln had said at Charleston, he declared his declaration there good doctrine, but said he, “Mr. Lincoln is afraid to advocate it in the latitude of Chicago, where he hopes to get his votes. It is good doctrine in the anti-abolition counties, for him, and his Chicago speech is good doctrine in the abolition counties. I assert, on the authority of these two speeches of Mr. Lincoln, that he holds one set of principles in

¹Ill. Hist. Col. III, 414-415.

the abolition counties and a different and contradictory set in the other counties.”¹

Lincoln had made a weak attempt to dodge Douglas’ logic by quoting from a speech he had made at Ottawa some time before, but it did not and could not reconcile the contradictions involved in the Chicago and the Charleston speeches. And mercilessly Douglas drove home his point. “I do not question,” said Douglas, “that he said at Ottawa what he quoted; but that only convicts him further, by proving that he has twice contradicted himself, instead of once. Let me ask him why he cannot avow his principles the same in the North as in the South—the same in every county—if he has a conviction that they are just? But I forgot—he would not be a Republican if his principles would apply alike to every part of the country. The party to which he belongs is bounded and limited by geographical lines. With their principles they cannot even cross the Mississippi River on your ferry-boats. They cannot cross over the Ohio into Kentucky. Lincoln himself cannot visit the land of his fathers, the scenes of his childhood, the graves of his ancestors and carry his abolition principles, as he declared them at Chicago, with him.

“This Republican organization appeals to the North against the South; it appeals to Northern passion, Northern prejudice, and Northern ambition, against Southern people, Southern States, and Southern institutions, and its only hope of success is by that appeal.”²

With the spread of their doctrines at the North, the fanning of the flames of hatred of the South, the winning of converts and the intimidation and control of politicians, the abolitionists took advance ground, or rather felt more secure in the position they had taken.

Under the cover of a pestilential breed of so-called “Personal Liberty” laws, the abolitionists undertook to totally nullify the provisions of the Constitution and the Federal Fugitive Slave laws. A distinguished Northern historian admits, or rather we should say frankly records, the fact that the Northern “States set out with the deliberate intention of avoiding or interfering

¹Ill. Hist. Col. III, 414-415.

²Id. 415.

with the act of 1793,"¹ and from time to time passed laws to make their resistance to recovery of the fugitives more certain and effective.

A splendid summary of these laws, as they existed upon the eve of the Civil War is contained in the *Report of the Joint Committee of the General Assembly of Virginia, on the Harper's Ferry Outrages*, dated January 26, 1860. This report is printed as Appendix I, in Robertson's *Life of Alexander Hugh Holmes Stuart*. They are reviewed at length in *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate States Government*.²

To such extreme did some of the Northern States go that persons who committed murder in inciting slaves to insurrection, and who escaped out of the state where the crime was committed, were harbored and prevented from being tried. For example, Governor Dennison of Ohio, refused to honor a requisition from Governor Wise of Virginia, for one of John Brown's co-assassins, who had committed murder in Virginia and escaped to Ohio.

No extended or exhaustive effort need be made to trace the history of nullification measures invented, sponsored and championed by the abolitionists and the Black Republicans throughout the North. It may be noted, in passing, however, that it does seem singular that Northern histories and Northern literature have laid at the door of the South all the odium attaching to the doctrine of nullification. To the distinction and the honor of a long time devotion to the principle and the practice of it in a variety of reprehensible ways, the North seems to have a clear and undisputed title.

No historian North or South will deny that slavery was an established institution in all the states when the Constitution of the United States was formulated by the Convention at Philadelphia in 1787, nor contend that the Constitution would have been adopted by the requisite number of states if it had not contained the provisions it did for representation based on slave property, and respecting the return of fugitive slaves. Not only will these propositions not be controverted, but everyone must

¹Hart: *Slavery and Abolition*, 283.

²By Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederacy.

admit that the whole of the Constitution as adopted by the states was equally and impartially binding upon all the states, and the citizens of all the states.

Such then, being the case, how, it will be asked, did it come about that the North arrogated to itself the prerogative of supervising the institution of slavery within the states at the South?

The answer is that a majority at the North succumbed to the falacious doctrines of the abolitionists, and with their rise and the organization of the Black Republican Party prostituted their energies to repeated assaults upon the Constitution. James G. Blaine wrote: "Abolitionists from the very beginning of their energetic crusade against slavery had seen the Constitution standing in their way, and with the unsparing severity of their logic had denounced it as 'a league with hell and a covenant with death.'"¹

The abolitionists contended that: "The time had come when it was absolutely necessary to destroy the idolatrous reverence for the Constitution which had so long been the shield and buckler of slavery, and a covert for tricksters and hucksters of every sort."² And declared one of them: "It was a high service rendered to the people of this country when the anti-slavery movement assailed their fortress, and showed it to be full of dead men's bones and all uncleanness."³ And speaking of the position of Congressmen, one of the abolitionists said: "The simple truth was that, between what the Constitution forbade them to do in opposition to slavery and required them to do for its support, there was hardly an inch of ground on which they could stand; and so, one after another, smitten by the popular idolatry of the instrument, they found no place for the soles of their feet save in the slippery ways of compromise, where they were utterly powerless to help the slave. . . . How could men be true to the slave, and at the same time obey an oath to sustain a pro-slavery constitution? Under such conditions, Congress became a sepulchre, where free souls could hardly draw the breath of life.

¹Blaine: *Twenty Years of Congress*, I, 176.

²Johnson: *Garrison and His Times*, 338.

³Id.

If Sumner and Wilson and Hale and Chase did breathe and do noble work there, it was only because they found a way to break through the web which the Constitution wove about them, and thus maintain their allegiance to the Higher Law. That they were able to do this may have been owing very largely to the influence of the Garrisonian movement in diminishing the popular reverence for the Constitution as it had so long been interpreted, and in forming a public opinion which would pardon a breach of sinful compromises, but would *not* pardon a want of fealty to the cause of freedom."¹ This was written by Oliver Johnson, a contemporary follower and associate of Garrison, and no one will question that he accurately portrays their position.

It will be observed that there is not the slightest reference to or acknowledgment of the authority of the states to deal with the question. There is the frank admission that under the Constitution Congress had no power to deal with the question; and there is the demand that it assume such power. There is further praise for those who broke their oaths and "found a way" to violate the Constitution, and there is praise and pardon for those who broke "sinful compromises,"—meaning thereby laws of the United States, which had been legally and solemnly enacted.

With such a philosophy, and such leaders, there is little wonder that the course of the conduct of the North was such that George Lunt, the Northern writer, declared: "Of four several compromises between the two sections of country since the Revolutionary War, each has been kept by the South and violated by the North."

Not only was this true, but during the whole history of the agitation of the subject no instance can be cited where "the South violated the Constitution or any of the laws made in pursuance thereof; whilst, on the contrary, fourteen of the Northern States passed acts nullifying the fugitive slave law, passed by Congress in obedience to the Constitution,"² and denounced and defied the decisions of the Supreme Court.³

¹Oliver Johnson: *Garrison and His Times*, 338-39.

²McGuire and Christian: *The Confederate Cause and Conduct in the War Between the States*, 184.

³*Id.*

Thousands of instances could be cited, but one will serve for illustration. A fugitive slave in Ohio was arrested under the fugitive slave law. He was taken from the officers of the law by a mob composed of students from Oberlin College, led by one of the professors. Two members of the mob were arrested, tried and convicted, and imprisoned in the jail at Cleveland. These proceedings, of course, were had in the Federal Court for the Northern District of Ohio. Thereupon a writ of *habeas corpus* was granted by a judge of the Supreme Court of Ohio, and the release of the prisoners sought on the claim that the Supreme Court of Ohio could nullify the Fugitive Slave Act, and likewise the judgment of the United States Court for the Northern District of Ohio.¹ Instead of pursuing the orderly process of appeal to the higher Federal Courts, this absurd course was taken, and it was taken because the Fugitive Slave Law had been repeatedly upheld by the Federal Courts; and because it was hoped the Ohio Court would be so far subservient to the abolitionists' cause, as to assume a jurisdiction it did not have, and render a decision in defiance of all law and orderly procedure. The decision was against the prisoners by a vote of three to two, but that any judge should have voted as the two did, shows the extent to which even those in high office in the North, would sometimes show their subserviency to the abolitionists, and violate their oaths, in deference presumably to the so-called "Higher Law," the catch phrase of the abolitionists.

Judge Swan who rendered the opinion in the case had been elected in 1854, by the anti-slavery sentiment in Ohio. "The Fugitive Slave Law was extremely odious from a political standpoint to Judge Swan and his party associates."² But he could not see any possible ground for such a decision as was asked at the hands of the court by the abolitionists. Randall and Ryan, in their history of Ohio, declare that "a more courageous opinion from an honest judge was never given." They admit that the decision was right, and that there was really not two sides to the question. What then must have been the public senti-

¹Ryan: *Lincoln and Ohio*, 26; Randall and Ryan: *History of Ohio*, IV, 135-138.

²Randall and Ryan: *History of Ohio*, IV, 135.

ment of the state, to justify at their hand such extravagant praise for courage to decide rightly so plain a case?

And yet Judge Swan was kicked out of office, by the Republican Party which he helped to found, although he had been elected by a majority exceeding seventy-seven thousand.¹

Of him, Randall and Ryan say: "His fine career as a jurist, his high character, his decided views against the extension of slavery, all called for a nomination to the high office which he held, but his opinion had aroused the indignation of the radical element of the Republican Party, and under the leadership of Wade, Chase and Giddings a renomination was refused him."² Continuing, they say: "It is difficult in moments of deliberation to conceive how men well versed in the law and having high ideals of citizenship could take this attitude. Judge Swan's position was such as any just and honorable judge, who had due regard for his oath of office and who honored his conscience would take, but the intolerance of the abolitionists was exercised against him."³

The trouble was these men who were responsible for kicking Judge Swan out did not have the high ideals of citizenship which these magnanimous historians attribute to them. To respect his oath of office and honor his conscience was exactly what they did not want Judge Swan to do.

Rufus P. Spaulding, one of the attorneys in this case, wrote concerning the defeat of Judge Swan for renomination: "He was dropped for the reason that he, as a judicial officer, recognized the Fugitive Slave enactment of 1850 to be of binding force in Ohio."⁴ And he added that the other two judges who concurred with him would be dropped as soon as their terms were up.

Commenting on this subject, Randall and Ryan say: "The proposition was, that a Judge of the Supreme Court should ignore a law that was duly passed by the Congress of the United States and declared constitutional by the highest tribunal of the land;

¹Randall and Ryan: *History of Ohio*, IV, 135.

²Id. 137.

³Id.

⁴Id.

and this should be done because the judgment of the majority of the citizens of Ohio was opposed to the law in principle and for that reason would decline to obey it.”¹

By such means throughout the North did the sections where the Black Republicans were in the ascendancy turn out of office faithful and upright men, and put into office those who would do what that “just and honorable judge, who had due regard for his oath of office and who honored his conscience” would not do.

Thus in Ohio (and the same was largely true elsewhere in the North), the successor of Judge Swan was expected by the dominant party to subscribe to an extreme doctrine of nullification. They were in fact committed to a proposition which struck at the very foundation of the Constitution. It was demanded that they adhere to the doctrine that the laws of Congress duly passed and declared constitutional by the United States Supreme Court should nevertheless be declared unconstitutional by the State Courts in Ohio; that the judgments and decrees of Federal Courts in Ohio should be reviewed and reversed by the State Courts of Ohio; and that prisoners convicted of violating the laws of the United States, and imprisoned by the Federal Courts therefor, should be freed by the State Courts! And yet the latter day historians and writers of the North, ignoring and suppressing these facts, point the finger of scorn at the South because of the alleged nullification doctrines of some of its citizens.

Garrison protested that no one should swear to support the Constitution of the United States, and insisted that an oath to do so was not binding.

The determination in the North to nullify the Constitution on the subject of slavery was open and persistent. A Northern historian² has cited at length instances which he declares “showed the determination of the abolitionists that the Fugitive Slave Law should not be carried out,” and by 1847 he declares “the tide of anti-slavery feeling had . . . risen to a point where, law or no law, decision or no decision, the return of fugitives was openly resisted.”³

¹*History of Ohio*, IV, 138.

²Albert Bushnell Hart: *Slavery and Abolition*, 282.

³*Id.* 284.

Not only were such measures adopted by the legislatures, the public officials and courts of the North, in defiance of the Constitution, the laws, and of the comity which should obtain between states, but other measures, more reprehensible, if possible, were employed by the people of the North. Societies and secret groups were organized throughout the North, and their activities took on almost every imaginable form. They financed and ran the "Underground Railroad." They created and distributed incendiary and insurrectionary literature. They financed the activities of those who endeavored to incite the slaves to murder by violence, poison and arson; they secretly manufactured, paid for and distributed arms, some of them of special design, such as the pikes furnished John Brown, for the use of the slaves. These they believed the slaves could use with more deadly effect than fire arms, with the use of which they were not familiar; and these things were done, it was hypocritically claimed, in obedience to the dictates of the "Higher Law."

It is, of course, not true that there was absolute unanimity of views or perfect concert of action at the North; but matters were strongly running thus in the grooves marked out by the abolitionists; and politicians, in endeavoring to keep in their good graces and still receive a respectable conservative following, were finding their positions more and more untenable.

CHAPTER XII

Slavery, Secession and the Civil War—Continued

THE DOCTRINE OF SECESSION



HOWEVER, theretofore, politicians might have been able to successfully pursue an equivocal course, and whatever the apparent success of their duplicity in endeavoring to confuse with words designed to conceal rather than to reveal their thoughts, events were in the making which would show them in their true colors, and prevent the people from being further misled as to where they stood on the great issues of the day.

This revelation came as the result of the John Brown raid. John Brown was born in 1800 and lived for fifty-six years without any sort of prominence. In 1855 he appeared in Kansas and became the leader of an armed band of free-soilers. On his way to Lawrence in 1856, he heard of the conflict that had there occurred and he decided to get into the fray. He reckoned up that five free-soil men had been killed and he decided to kill an equal number of victims. On Saturday night, May 24, 1856, he and his band of assassins visited house after house upon Pottawatomie Creek, and "calling man after man from his bed, murdered them in cold blood."¹ These men were called from their homes, unarmed, forced to go a distance with Brown's band, and were then murdered and mutilated in the most revolting manner. For example, a man named Doyle and his two sons were among their victims. They were taken about two hundred yards from their home, and the father was "shot in the forehead and stabbed in the breast." One "son's head was cut open, and there was a hole

¹Wise: *The End of An Era*, 125.

in his jaw as though made by a knife." The other son was found dead nearby in the grass, "his fingers cut off and his arms cut off, his head cut open, and a hole in his breast."¹

Armed conflicts ensued, and the uprisings were not put down until United States dragoons under Colonel Sumner arrived. Before these soldiers came Brown had captured a number of men, who were being held prisoners. These he was required to release, but he, himself, was not molested, either by the military or by the civil authority, although a United States Marshal was with Sumner at the time, and Brown was known, or at least strongly suspected of the murders on the Pottawatomie.

Soon after this Brown conceived the idea of gathering a band and going to Virginia, inciting the negroes to rise, and massacre the white inhabitants indiscriminately. He assembled his party at Tabor, Iowa, in the autumn of 1857 and thence came to Ashtabula County, Ohio, with a view to attending a military school and obtaining such rudimentary instruction as was deemed needful in the enterprise on Virginia. For two years Brown and his more active confederates were cautiously engaged in procuring information by means of secret emissaries, collecting money, recruiting men, and obtaining supplies and arms and ammunition "to be used in the accomplishment of their fiendish purpose."²

Brown and his conspirators met at Chatham, Canada, in May, 1858, and "formed what purported to be a constitution for a provisional government which was to be substituted for the fundamental law of Virginia when it should have been subverted."³

Under this "Constitution," W. C. Munroe, a free negro, was elected President, A. M. Chapman, Vice-President, John Brown, Commander in Chief, Richard Realf, Secretary of State, J. H. Kagi, Secretary of War, George B. Gill, Secretary of the Treasury, Owen Brown, Treasurer, and M. K. Delaney, Corresponding Secretary. Subordinate military officers were appointed

¹Wise: *The End of An Era*, 125.

²Report of the Joint Committee of the General Assembly of Virginia on the Harper's Ferry Outrages.

³Report of the Joint Committee of the General Assembly of Virginia on the Harper's Ferry Outrages. Wise: *End of An Era*, 128-9.

under the authority of this alleged constitution, all of whom were required to take oaths to support it.¹

With these arrangements completed, "Brown and his associates established a secret military rendezvous in Washington County, in the State of Maryland, a short distance from Harper's Ferry."² This rendezvous was on a farm Brown had rented, and here while ostensibly engaged in agricultural pursuits he was able quietly, without exciting suspicion, to collect his arms and ammunition. To this point he "caused to be conveyed 200 Sharpe's rifles, which had been furnished to Brown by the Emigrant Aid Society of Massachusetts, to accomplish his bloody purposes in Kansas; about the same number of revolver pistols, with large quantities of ammunition and clothing, and 1,500 pikes, which had been manufactured to his order by Charles Blair of Collinsville, Connecticut. These pikes are very formidable weapons, and peculiarly adapted for the use of the slave population, who are unskilled in the management of fire-arms. The heads are about fifteen inches in length, with sharp edges, and the handles are longer than the ordinary musket, with a view to give those who employ them an advantage in a hand-to-hand contest with troops armed with the musket and bayonet."³

In October, 1858, John E. Cook, one of the conspirators, one of Brown's most trusted Lieutenants, was dispatched, under false pretenses, into the interior of Jefferson County to ascertain the number of able-bodied slaves in particular neighborhoods, and to learn their dispositions toward their masters; and Brown himself went on a similar mission to other localities.⁴

Brown seems to have had no doubt that the slaves would rise. He took it as a matter of course that the slaves, to a man, would eagerly rise at his call, and fall upon and slay all the unsuspecting whites within their reach. He had not, it seems, the slightest understanding of the kindly, even affectionate relations between many of the masters and the slaves of Virginia. The wide-

¹*Report of the Joint Committee of the General Assembly of Virginia on the Harper's Ferry Outrages.*

²Id.

³Id.

⁴Id.

spread extent to which he expected support from the slaves seems to be argued by the paucity of the number of his followers which he assembled at Harper's Ferry for his grand attack. He assembled his cohorts to the number of twenty, composed partly of black and partly of white men, at his farm house, and Sunday night, October 16, 1859, they marched on Harper's Ferry. About 10:30 at night they seized and took prisoner the watchman at the railroad bridge across the Potomac, and then descended upon the United States Armory and took possession of it. The possession of the armory gave them possession of "about 50,000 stand of arms of different kinds."¹

Having secured possession of the armory, "Parties were sent into the neighborhood, who broke into the dwellings of unsuspecting citizens, seized them in their beds, and carried them and their slaves as captives to Harper's Ferry, where they were held in close custody."²

In the morning local troops assembled in considerable number, but they hesitated to storm the engine-house, in which Brown and his band had taken position as the more impregnable fortress, because many citizens were held prisoners in it. During the day's skirmishes four citizens of Virginia were killed and ten wounded. On the following night, Col. Robert E. Lee, in command of a detachment of marines from Washington, arrived. Awaiting daylight, early on the morning of the 18th, the marines stormed the engine house, captured it, released all the captives and either killed or took prisoners all the conspirators therein.

Among the conspirators taken prisoners were Brown, Stevens and Coppoc. Cook, one of Brown's chief lieutenants, and another named Hazlitt, had been sent to the farm in Maryland with teams and wagons, with several slaves pressed into service, to bring over the rifles, pistols and pikes assembled there. When they heard of the condition of their confederates at Harper's Ferry, Cook and Hazlitt fled to the mountains and made their escape. They were both captured in Pennsylvania and returned to Virginia for trial and punishment. The slaves at the first opportunity returned to their masters.

¹*Report of the Joint Committee of the General Assembly of Virginia on the Harper's Ferry Outrages.*

²*Id.*

It was possibly an "ill omen" for Brown's venture that early in the morning the first person killed was an inoffensive colored man, a porter at the railway station. He was frightened it seems by the warlike display and sought to escape. He was shot as he ran away. "The next victim was a citizen killed standing in his own doorway. The next, a graduate of West Point, who, having heard of the trouble at the Ferry, was shot from the armory as he rode into town on horseback armed with a gun."¹

Brown and his co-conspirators who were captured were indicted and tried for treason, murder, and inciting slaves to insurrection. They were, on pleas of not guilty, convicted and hanged. Brown was accorded a trial conceded to have been fair, and conducted in the most unexceptionable manner. He was defended by Honorable D. W. Voorhees of Indiana and other counsel of his choice from Massachusetts and Ohio, and every witness he desired was summoned and appeared at the trial.²

In later years some have suggested insanity as an excuse for John Brown's acts. Neither he nor his counsel made that claim, and it is not generally made by the historians of the North. There is nothing in the suggestion, but if such a plea is to be allowed old John Brown, it must be with full implication upon the sanity of the hundreds and thousands in the North who were cognizant of his plans, and fully supported them.

Of John Brown's acts, Dr. Claiborne well says:

"It was vain to say that these were the acts of a fanatic and a madman. Unhappily, this was not true, or, if true, there were thousands of madmen and assassins and traitors at his back, proclaiming a higher law than the law of their country, and a law calling for 'pikes for the slave-holder, fire for his dwelling, and poison for his water.'"³

John Brown has been described no doubt justly, as "the character of murderous monomaniac found at the head of every such desperate venture," as "an uncompromising, blood thirsty fanatic."⁴ After brutally murdering the unoffending, unarmed

¹Wise: *The End of An Era*, 128-29.

²Claiborne: *Seventy-five Years in Old Virginia*, 140; Wise: *The End of An Era*, 130.

³*Seventy-five Years in Old Virginia*, 141.

⁴Id. 124.

citizens on the Pottawatomie, "it was said that on the next morning, when the old man raised his hands to Heaven to ask a blessing, they were still stained with the dry blood of his victims."¹ And that he had the "overweening egotism the inordinate vanity of lunacy," there seems little doubt.

The constitution which he and his group of followers adopted in the "convention" in Canada, presided over by a negro preacher, for the government to be set up in Virginia, when the state government was overthrown, his issuing military orders from his farmhouse near Harper's Ferry, described by them as "Headquarters War Department, Provisional Army, Harper's Ferry,"² were the acts at least of a vainglorious, blood-thirsty fanatic. It seems altogether probable that John Brown, in the exaltation of his stupendous conceit, expected the same immunity for any act he might do in Virginia as had been accorded him respecting the murders committed in Kansas. He may have been a conceited bigot, a vainglorious fool, a blood-thirsty fanatic, but he knew right from wrong and he fully understood the character of the crime he committed against the Virginians.

The Virginians felt no exultation at the fate of the deluded old fanatic. He was a victim of his own lawlessness. In giving an account of how the verdict was received the *New York Herald* said: "Not the slightest sound was heard in the vast crowd, as this verdict was returned and read; not the slightest expression of elation or triumph was uttered from the hundreds present . . . nor was this strange silence interrupted during the whole of the time occupied by the forms of the court."³ And John Brown himself said, before the sentence of death was pronounced upon him: "I admire the truthfulness and candor of the greater portion of the witnesses who have testified I feel entirely satisfied with the treatment I have received on my trial. Considering all the circumstances, it has been more generous than I expected."⁴

In the circumstances of the case no other result was possible.

¹See Rhodes: *History of the United States*, II, 162.

²Claiborne: *Seventy-five Years in Old Virginia*, 138-39.

³Quoted in *The End of An Era*, 130-31.

⁴Id. 131.

John Brown had indeed "whetted knives of butchery" for the Virginians "and had come a thousand miles to kill people who had never heard his name."¹ "Any other penalty" than the one inflicted upon him, "would have been a travesty of justice, and a confession that the organized governments which he assailed were mockeries, affording no protection to their citizens against midnight murder and assassination."²

When Virginia had performed the imperative, if unpleasant, duty of executing John Brown, it was with the deepest indignation that she learned of the attitude toward her at the North because she had done the natural and inevitable thing in protecting her citizens and upholding the majesty of the law.

"Instead of receiving sympathy and support from her Northern brethren in capturing and executing with form of law a notorious murderer, Virginia was denounced throughout the North, her Governor threatened with death, and John Brown received the honor of an apotheosis."³

"When it was learned that, in many parts at the North, churches held services of humiliation and prayer; that bells were tolled; that minute-guns were fired; that Brown was glorified as a saint; that even in the legislature of Massachusetts, eight out of nineteen senators had voted to adjourn at the time of his execution; that Christian ministers had been parties to his schemes of assassination and robbery; that women had canonized the blood-thirsty old lunatic as 'St. John the Just'; that philanthropists had pronounced him 'most truly Christian'; that Northern poets like Whittier and Emerson and Longfellow were writing panegyrics upon him; that Wendell Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison approved his life, and counted him a martyr,—then Virginians began to feel that an 'irrepressible conflict' was indeed upon them."⁴

At a meeting in Tremont Temple, Boston, many bitter speeches were made, and one by J. I. A. Griffith was applauded, in which

¹Quoted in *The End of An Era*, 130-31.

²Id. 130.

³Claiborne: *Seventy-five Years in Old Virginia*, 141. And they are still, in Ohio, glorying in John Brown's murderous career. *Columbus Dispatch*, Sept. 29, 1926.

⁴Wise: *The End of An Era*, 133-34.

he declared: "The heinous offense of Pilate in crucifying Jesus whitened into virtue when compared with that of Governor Wise in his conduct toward John Brown,"¹ and Wendell Phillips said in Henry Ward Beecher's Church in Brooklyn that John Brown had as much right to hang Governor Wise as he had to hang John Brown, and that "on the banks of the Potomac history will visit that river more kindly because John Brown has gilded it with the eternal brightness of his glorious deed, than because the dust of Washington rested upon one side of it."²

The great jurist and writer, Judge Black, of Pennsylvania, says the abolitionists "applauded John Brown to the echo, for a series of the basest murders on record. They did not conceal their hostility to the Federal and State Governments nor deny their enmity to all laws which protected white men. The Constitution stood in their way, and they cursed it bitterly. The Bible was quoted against them, and they reviled God the Almighty himself."³

In January, 1860, a joint committee of the General Assembly of Virginia investigated the Harper's Ferry Outrages. Notwithstanding the Democrats had full control of the executive and legislative departments of the government, the committee elected as its chairman, that great Virginian, Alexander Hugh Holmes Stuart, an old Whig who was then a member of the American party. As chairman of this committee he prepared an elaborate report,⁴ which was adopted by the committee and read before the Legislature, January 26, 1860.

After reviewing immediate events of Brown's raid, the arrest, trial and execution of Brown and some six or seven of his conspirators, the report said:

"But, in the opinion of your committee this is but a single and comparatively unimportant chapter in the history of this outrage. They would cheerfully have undertaken the task of investigating the subject in all its relations and ramifications if they

¹Claiborne: *Seventy-five Years in Old Virginia*, 141.

²Claiborne: *Seventy-five Years in Old Virginia*, 142.

³McGuire and Christian: *The Confederate Cause and Conduct in the War Between the States*, 184.

⁴Which among other places may be seen as Appendix I, in Robertson's *Alexander Hugh Holmes Stuart*.

had possessed the power to compel the attendance of witnesses who reside beyond the limits of the Commonwealth; but having no such power, they are constrained to leave that branch of the investigation in the hands of the Committee of the Senate of the United States.

“Your Committee have no hesitation, however, in expressing the opinion, from the evidence before them, that many others besides the parties directly engaged in the raid at Harper’s Ferry are deeply implicated as aiders and abettors, and accessories before the fact with full knowledge of the guilty purpose of their confederates. Some of these, like Gerritt Smith of New York, Dr. S. G. Howe of Boston, Sanborn and Thaddeus Hyatt of New York, and probably others, are represented to have held respectable positions in society; but whatever may have been their social standing heretofore, they must henceforth, in the esteem of all good men, be branded as the guilty confederates of thieves, murderers and traitors.

“The evidence before your Committee is sufficient to show the existence, in a number of Northern States, of a widespread conspiracy, not merely against Virginia, but against the peace and security of all the Southern States.”

The report is a long, detailed and able document. It is regretted it cannot be here noticed at greater length. It declared:

“Whether the recent outrages perpetrated upon the soil and citizens of Virginia will have the effect of awakening the conservative sentiments of the North into efficient action remains to be seen. Your Committee cannot relinquish the hope that such will be its effect, and thus good may come out of evil. Your Committee have no appeals or remonstrances to address to their fellow-citizens of the North. They doubtless comprehend their obligations under the Constitution to the people of the South. . . . As Virginia was among the foremost in the struggle for national independence, and contributed as much as any other state to the formation of the Constitutional Union, she would be among the last to abandon it, provided its obligations be faithfully observed.

“But the Union which they have been taught to love and revere

is the Union contemplated by the Constitution,—a union of communities having equal rights,—a union of sovereign states entitled to regulate their domestic affairs in their own way, and bound to fulfil their obligations to each other with scrupulous fidelity. When it shall cease to be such a Union, it will forfeit all claims to their respect and affection. Virginia feels that she has discharged her whole duty to her sister states, and she asks nothing from them that is not guaranteed to her by the plain terms of the Federal Compact. . . . We desire nothing but friendly relations with our sister states of the North. We ask of them nothing to which they have not solemnly bound themselves by the compact of the Constitution. But we understand our rights, and we are resolutely determined to maintain them. We disclaim all aggressive purposes. But when we are threatened with the knife of the assassin and torch of the incendiary, we cannot fold our arms in blind security.”¹

In the presence of such an event as the John Brown massacre, his trial and execution, and the widespread discussion which ensued, no public man at the North could conceal his views on the subject, even if he desired so to do. The position taken on this subject clarified and explained equivocal statements of the past.

Horace Greeley, the editor of the leading Republican newspaper of the North, the *New York Tribune*, declared he would “not by one reproachful word disturb the bloody shrouds wherein John Brown and his compatriots are sleeping”; John A. Andrews presided at a John Brown meeting, praised John Brown and declared he was right, whether the enterprise against Virginia was wise or foolish, and the next year Andrews was elected Governor of Massachusetts; Northern elections in the months succeeding John Brown’s raid on Harper’s Ferry showed Republican gains.

But possibly the most significant utterances by public men in the North respecting the John Brown raid were those of William H. Seward and of Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln spoke in February, 1860, at Cooper Institute, New York. What he would say regarding the ordeal Virginia had gone through as a result of the John Brown raid was awaited with great interest. To the

¹Robertson: *Alexander Hugh Holmes Stuart*, 174-76.

amazement of the people who supposed he stood for law and order whatever his views on slavery might be, he merely characterized John Brown's effort as "peculiar," and while he said it was absurd, he had no word of censure whatever. Soon afterwards, Seward spoke in the Senate. His detestation of slavery was more widely known than Lincoln's. "Up to this time, he had no formidable competition for the Republican nomination for the Presidency."¹ In his speech in the Senate, Seward said: John Brown "attempted to subvert slavery in Virginia by conspiracy, ambush, invasion and force," and he added "this attempt to execute an unlawful purpose in Virginia by invasion, involving servile war, was an act of sedition and treason, and criminal in just the extent that it affected the public peace and was destructive of human happiness and life." Seward was a man of more refinement than Lincoln and he represented a constituency more highly civilized, and one in which there existed a greater respect for law and order. Just and right as was Seward's manly avowal, it no doubt cost him the nomination of his party and the Presidency of the United States.

Lincoln's doctrines became clearer to the people of the South. His advocacy of reversing the Dred Scott decision by political action took on a definite and sinister meaning, in view of his countenancing the acts of John Brown, which even Seward declared were sedition and treason, and which Judge Black, of Pennsylvania, declares were "a series of the basest murders on record."

The aggressions of the North revived, and in a different quarter, the discussion of the doctrine of secession. Since the Civil War it has been quite the fashion to refer to secession as the unpardonable sin, and many writers at the North have vied with each other in violent, even vicious denunciation of Virginia and the South for seceding. Those who pursue this course are strangely forgetful of the facts of history.

The earliest insistence upon that right came from the North, and the earliest secession movements originated in the North. Not only was this so but the abolitionists who precipitated the

¹Wise: *The End of An Era*, 135.

Civil War were up to the very opening of that conflict loud in their insistence upon a severance of the Union.

The right to secede from the Union was so generally held by the statesmen of the South that no collation or summary of their views need be here made. A profound lawyer has declared: "We venture the assertion that no unprejudiced mind can to-day read the history of the adoption of the Constitution and the formation of this government under it without being convinced that the right of secession as exercised by the South did exist."¹

It is at the present day possibly a matter of greater interest that the right of the South to secede is fully sustained by Northern and foreign writers.

A Northern writer has said:

"A popular notion is that the state-rights-secession or disunion doctrine was originated by Calhoun, and was a South Carolina heresy. But that popular notion is wrong. According to the best information I have been able to acquire on the subject, the state-rights, or secession doctrine, was originated by Josiah Quincy and was a *Massachusetts heresy*."²

Quincy's doctrine was announced in 1811, when he was opposing the admission of the territory, now Louisiana, into the Union. He declared that if the bill passed it would be subversive of the Union "and the several states would be freed from their federal bonds and obligations, and that, as it would be *the right of all (the States)*, so it will be *the duty of some to prepare* definitely for a separation, amicably if they can, violently if they must."³

But this writer might have found the doctrine sponsored from Massachusetts even earlier, for in 1803, Timothy Pickering, a Senator from Massachusetts, Secretary of State in the cabinet of John Adams, complaining of what he chose to call the "oppression of the aristocratic Democrats of the South," meditated and suggested the secession of the New England States. "I will not despair," he said: "I will rather anticipate a new con-

¹Judge George L. Christian, in *The Confederate Cause and Conduct in the War Between the States*, 37.

²McGuire and Christian: *The Confederate Cause and Conduct in the War Between the States*, 39.

³Id.

federacy. That this can be accomplished without spilling one drop of blood I have little doubt. *It must begin with Massachusetts.* The proposition would be welcomed by Connecticut; and could we doubt of New Hampshire? But New York must be associated; and how is her concurrence to be obtained? She must be made the center of the confederacy. Vermont and New Jersey would follow, of course, and Rhode Island of necessity.”¹

In 1814 the Hartford Convention, consisting of delegates sent by the legislatures of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, as well as from various counties and towns from other Northern States, deliberated behind closed doors, and debated the question of seceding from the Union. The sentiment was strong for leaving the Union, and no doubt that section, which had done all it could to help England win the War of 1812, would have withdrawn from the Union but for the termination of the war before the plans of the seceders could be put into effect.

In 1839, Ex-President John Quincy Adams, in an address delivered in New York, said:

“The indissoluble link of union between the people of the several states of this confederated nation is, after all, *not in the right*, but in the heart. If the day should ever come (may Heaven avert it) when the affections of the people of these states shall be alienated from each other, the bonds of political association will not long hold together parties no longer attracted by the magnetism of consolidated interests and kindly sympathies; *and far better will it be for the people of the disunited states to part in friendship with each other than to be held together by constraint.*”²

Soon after General Taylor was nominated for the Presidency, a petition was presented to the United States Senate “asking Congress to devise means for the dissolution of the Union,” and Seward, Chase and Hale, among others, voted for it.³

¹McGuire and Christian: *The Confederate Cause and Conduct in the War Between the States*, 40.

²Id. 40-41.

³Id. 41.

In 1844 the Legislature of Massachusetts threatened that if Texas were annexed to the United States a dissolution of the Union might be expected.¹

During Lincoln's first term in Congress he made a speech which Judge Black declares advocated the right of secession. In the course of this speech he said:

"Any people anywhere being inclined and having the power have the right to rise up and shake off the existing government, and form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable, most sacred right, a right which we hope and believe is to liberate the world. Nor is this right confined to cases in which the whole people of an existing government may choose to exercise it. Any portion of such people that can may revolutionize and make their own any or so much of the territory as they inhabit."²

Discussing the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of 1798 and 1799, Henry Cabot Lodge declares the North in respect to them was controlled by *expediency* and not by *principle*. In his life of Webster he says that when the resolutions were submitted, "they were not opposed on *constitutional grounds*, but only on those of *expediency* and hostility to the revolution they were considered to embody."

The foreign point of view was declared by a distinguished English writer as follows:

"I believe the right of secession is so clear, that if the South had wished to do so, for no better reason than that it could not bear to be beaten in an election, like a sulky school boy out of temper at not winning a game, and had submitted the question of its right to withdraw from the Union to the decision of any court of law in Europe, she would have carried her point."³

M. de Tocqueville, in his work, *Democracy in America*, says:

"However strong a government may be it cannot easily escape from the consequences of a principle which it has admitted as

¹McGuire and Christian: *The Confederate Cause and Conduct in the War Between the States*, 41.

²Nicolay and Hay: *Abraham Lincoln*, I, 105.

³Quoted by Judge Christian in *The Confederate Cause and Conduct in the War Between the States*, 38.

the foundation of its constitution. The Union was formed by the voluntary agreement of the States; and in uniting together they have not forfeited their nationality nor have they been reduced to the condition of one and the same people. If one of the states chose to withdraw its name from the contract, it would be difficult to disprove its right of doing so; and the Federal Government would have no means of maintaining its claims directly, either by force or by right.”¹

Lord Brougham in his *Political Philosophy* says of the character of the government of the United States:

“There is not, as with us, a government only and its subjects to be regarded; but a number of governments, of states, having each a separate and substantive, and even independent existence, originally thirteen now six and twenty, and each having a Legislature of its own with laws differing from those of the other states. It is plainly impossible to consider the constitution which professes to govern this whole Union, this federacy of states, as anything other than a treaty.”² And Mr. Gladstone in his famous speech at Manchester, April 24, 1862, put the matter tersely and succinctly when he said: “We have no faith in the propagation of free institutions at the point of the sword.”³

There was not only the early insistence upon the doctrine of secession, at the North, to which we have called attention, but there was no denial of it up to the very opening of the Civil War. On November 9, 1860, in discussing the contemplated secession of the Cotton States, Horace Greeley wrote in the *New York Tribune*:

“If the Cotton States shall decide that they can do better out of the Union than in it, we insist on letting them go in peace. The right to secede may be a revolutionary one but it exists nevertheless; and we do not see how one party can have a right to do what another party has a right to prevent.”⁴ And again Greeley wrote:

¹Vol. II, 257.

²Part 3, p. 336.

³Rhodes: *History of the United States*, IV, 80.

⁴Id. III, 140.

“If it [the Declaration of Independence] justified the secession from the British Empire of three millions of colonists in 1776, we do not see why it would not justify the secession of five millions of Southerners from the Federal Union in 1861. If we are mistaken on this point, why does not someone attempt to show wherein and why?”¹ And as late as February 23, 1861, he wrote:

“We have repeatedly said and we once more insist that the great principle embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of American Independence that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed is sound and just; and that if the Slave States, the Cotton States, or the Gulf States only, choose to form an independent nation they have a clear moral right to do so.”²

It is not to Greeley’s credit, therefore, that “he had the audacity (and may we not justly add mendacity, too?) to say, after the war, that he never at any moment of his life had ‘imagined that a single state, or a dozen states, could rightfully dissolve the Union.’ ”³

But Greeley is but one of tens of thousands who after the war denied and repudiated the views they espoused before the war.

Representative Daniel E. Sickles, in a speech in the House of Representatives, December 10, 1860, said: “In our Federal System, the recognized right of secession is a conservative safeguard. It is the highest constitutional and moral guarantee against injustice. . . . The opposite dogma which is extensively believed at the North, that no matter what wrongs a state may have to endure, it may and ought to be compelled by force to remain in the Union, even as a conquered dependency, is a most dangerous error in our system of government, and has contributed largely to the existing anarchy.”⁴

This man was afterwards an officer in the Union Army, and

¹Curtis: *Life of James Buchanan*, II, 430.

²Id.

³McGuire and Christian: *The Confederate Cause and Conduct in the War Between the States*, 44-45.

⁴Congressional Globe, 36 Cong., 2 Session, Part I, p. 40.

some of his acts reflected no credit upon him either as a soldier or as a citizen.

President Buchanan, in his message to Congress on December 3, 1860, said:

“The fact is that our Union rests upon public opinion and can never be cemented by the blood of its citizens shed in civil war. If it cannot live in the affections of the people it must one day perish. Congress possesses many means of preserving it by conciliation; but the sword was not placed in their hands to preserve it by force.”

Edward Everett, in a written communication on February 2, 1861, to the union meeting called to assemble at Faneuil Hall, said:

“To expect to hold fifteen states in the Union by force is preposterous. The idea of a civil war, accompanied, as it would be, by servile insurrection, is too monstrous to be entertained for a moment. If our sister states must leave us, in the name of Heaven, let them go in peace.”¹

And even Wendell Phillips, speaking at New Bedford, Massachusetts, on April 9, 1861, said:

“Here are a series of states girding the gulf who think that their peculiar institutions require that they should have a separate government. They have a right to decide that question without appealing to you or me. A large body of people, sufficient to make a nation, have come to the conclusion that they will have a government of a certain form. Who denies them the right? Standing with the principles of '76 behind us, who can deny them the right?”²

Whittier was opposed to coercion. He wrote: “As to fighting, in any event, to *force back* the seceders I see no sense in it.”³ And again (to Sumner): “The conflicting rumors from Washington trouble me. I am for peace, not by conceding our prin-

¹Lunt: *Origin of the Late War*, 431.

²Schouler: *History of Massachusetts in Civil War*, I, 45.

³Pickard: *Life and Letters of Whittier*, II, 436.

ciples, but by simply telling the slave states, 'go'—border ones and all."¹

The New York Times, on March 21, 1861, declared editorially that "there is a growing sentiment throughout the North in favor of *letting the Gulf States go*. . . . Let us separate in peace—let us dissolve the partnership and let the Slave States take care of themselves, rather than run the risk of a civil war—is the sentiment and language of thousands who have no sympathy with the ultraists on either side."

And as late as April 10, 1861, Seward, the Secretary of State, in an official communication to the American Minister to Great Britain, wrote:

"For these reasons he [the President] would not be disposed to reject a cardinal dogma of theirs [the Secessionists], namely, that the Federal Government could not reduce the seceding states to obedience by conquest, even though he were disposed to question that proposition. But, in fact, the President willingly accepts it as true. Only an imperial or despotic government could subjugate thoroughly disaffected and insurrectionary members of the state. This Federal Republican system of ours of all forms of government is the very one which is most unfitted for such labor."²

There were able men in the North, Republicans and Democrats, who seeing nothing odious about secession sought to have all the other states of the Union secede from New England. That section was regarded as a noisy, troublesome busy body, the elimination of which would assure the peace and harmony of the rest. It was proposed that all the states, except New England, one at a time join the South.³

The contention was that "to join our destinies with the South will be to continue our trade and intercourse, our prosperity, progress and happiness, uninterrupted and perhaps in an augmented degree."⁴ And Horace Greeley declares that "arguments

¹Pierce: *Sumner*, IV, 5, note. This was written March 13, 1861.

²*Diplomatic Correspondence*, 1861, 58.

³Greeley: *The American Conflict*, I, 439.

⁴Ex-Governor Rodman M. Price of New Jersey to L. W. Burnett. Greeley: *The American Conflict*, I, 439.

nearly identical were used to like purpose by Governor Seymour of New York, but in private conversations only.”¹ And on December 9, 1860, the *New York Herald* declared: “The current of opinion seems to set strongly in favor of a reconstruction of the Union, without the New England States. The latter states are supposed to be so fanatical in their views as to render it impossible that there should be any peace under a government to which they were parties.”

But exemplifying a fact which has been but too prominent in its history, the North found considerations of sordid, material advantage strong enough to overcome philosophical considerations of right and abstract principles of justice.

Thus although the *New York Herald* originally fully upheld the right of the Southern States to secede, yet when it contemplated the loss of material prosperity to the North, it did not hesitate to reverse itself on the question of principle, because of reasons of gain and expediency.

The weight which such considerations had with it are clearly apparent. Speaking of the commercial situation of the Northern cities it said:

“The union of the North with the South is the source of their prosperity, for by that union the North reaps immense profits on Southern products, by doing for the South its foreign trade, and thus accumulates capital which enables the North to establish manufactures and reap a second harvest from the South.”² And again: “In less than two years, unless a reaction shall be produced by the omnipotent voice of the people, New York will be on the verge of ruin, and the false calculations of anti-slavery despotism will be seen in the prostration of trade commerce and manufactures, in the states between Canada and the Potomac.”³

The New York Times confessed outright that it was consideration of material prosperity rather than question of right which controlled the final action of the North when it said: “There never has been a time since the election when there was so much

¹*The American Conflict*, I, 439.

²Nov. 4, 1860.

³March 25, 1861.

unity of conviction and purpose as at the present moment *we were divided and confused till our pockets were touched.*"¹ And yet again the charge is confessed in this language:

"The West will never consent to have the Mississippi at its outlet or in any part of its course in the hands of a foreign, and possibly a hostile, power."² And the readiness with which many of the North were willing to turn their coats, and reverse their doctrines is illustrated by Daniel Sickles, who declared in a speech in Congress, December 10, 1860, that no troops should ever pass the limits of New York City for the purpose of holding a state in the Union,³ but he succumbed to the economic argument and on January 17, 1861, declared that the commercial interest of the North as well as the "national destiny" required that the Federal Government keep both political and territorial control of the whole country.⁴

James Ford Rhodes, speaking of the condition of things in 1861, says:

"There were at this time in the Border States of Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri unconditional Secessionists and unconditional Union men; but the great body of the people, although believing that the wrongs of the South were grievous and cried for redress, deemed secession inexpedient. All denied either the right or the feasibility of coercion."⁵ This is an accurate statement of the matter. As Mr. Munford well says: "There were two distinct schools of thought and yet both denied the right of the Federal Government to coerce the people of the Cotton States."⁶

Charles Francis Adams says:

"Virginia made state sovereignty an article—a cardinal article—of its political creed. So logically and consistently it took the position that though it might be unwise for a state to secede,

¹March 30, 1861.

²*Springfield Republican*, December 25, 1860.

³Congressional Globe, 36 Cong., 2 Session, Part I. 40.

⁴Congressional Globe, 36 Congress, 2 Session, Appendix, 87.

⁵*History of the United States*, III, 214.

⁶*Virginia's Attitude Toward Slavery and Secession*, 290.

a state which did secede could not and should not be coerced. . . . This position is based on the fundamental principle of the consent of the governed; and in the days immediately preceding the Civil War something very like it was accepted as an article of correct political faith by men afterwards as strenuous in support of a Union re-established by force as Charles Sumner, Abraham Lincoln, William H. Seward, Salmon P. Chase, and Horace Greeley. The difference was that confronted by the overwhelming tide of events, Virginia adhered to it; they in the presence of that tide, tacitly abandoned it.”¹

No one ever more strongly championed the principle than Daniel Webster the great “expounder of the constitution.” Webster’s views, and Webster’s position have been falsified by the historians and the literature of the North, until Webster if he were to return to earth and read the stuff would suppose that it all referred to another man. He would never recognize himself. Those who are so busily engaged in the falsification of facts, and the misrepresentation of history, go back to Webster’s reply to Hayne, a speech made in 1830. And so far as much teaching is concerned one might well believe based upon it, that this speech was almost his sole deliverance upon public topics. But even in this speech Webster did not deny the fundamental ground taken by the South in the matter of secession. He was discussing nullification not secession.

Henry Cabot Lodge, in his *Life of Webster*, speaking of his reply to Hayne, says:

“The weak places in his [Webster’s] armor were historical in their nature. It was probably necessary (at all events Mr. Webster felt it to be so) to argue that the Constitution at the outset was not a compact between the states, but a national instrument, and to distinguish the cases of Virginia and Kentucky in 1799, and of New England in 1814, from that of South Carolina in 1830. The former point he touched upon lightly; the latter he discussed ably, eloquently and at length. Unfortunately the facts were against him in both instances.”² And Lodge further says:

¹*Lee at Appomattox and Other Papers*, 403-4.

²Lodge: *Daniel Webster*, 176.

“When the Constitution was adopted by the votes of the states at Philadelphia, and accepted by the votes of the states in popular convention, it is safe to say that there was not a man in the country, from Washington and Hamilton on the one side to George Clinton and George Mason on the other, who regarded the new system as anything but an experiment entered into by the states, and from which each and every state had the right peaceably to withdraw—a right which was very likely to be exercised.”¹ But whatever may have been his views then, Webster left no doubt in later years as to what he thought about the course pursued by the North toward the South and the merits of the question involved. Webster saw during a period of twenty-one years after that speech was made, the rise of the abolitionists, the encroachments of the North, urged by malice and vindictiveness, upon the South; and while we hold no brief for Webster, and believe that he was far from the measure of greatness some have claimed for him, yet we are prompt and ready and eager to record him as a champion of law and order, a lawyer of ability and leagues above the mediocrity of the section which produced him.

Webster witnessed the enactment throughout the North of the “pestilential breed” of “Personal Liberty Laws.” He observed the growth of the abolitionists who had no respect for the Constitution, for law and order, for human life, or for divine revelation.

He saw the growth of the determination at the North, “law or no law, decision or no decision,” that the Constitution of the United States and the decision of the Supreme Court would be defied on the question of slavery.

It was in view of these things that Webster in a speech at Capon Springs, Virginia, in 1851, said:

“If the South were to violate any part of the Constitution intentionally and systematically, and persist in so doing from year to year, and no remedy could be had, would the North be any longer bound by the rest of it; and if the North were deliberately, habitually and of fixed purpose to disregard one part of it, would the South be bound any longer to observe its obligations?

¹Lodge: *Daniel Webster*, 176.

How absurd it is to suppose that when different parties enter a compact for certain purposes, either can disregard any one provision and expect nevertheless the other to observe the rest! A bargain cannot be broken on one side and still bind the other.”¹ And in another speech made at Buffalo, N. Y., during the same year, Webster said:

“The question, fellow-citizens (and I put it to you as the real question)—the question is, whether you and the rest of the people of the great State of New York, and of all the States, will so adhere to the Union—will so enact and maintain laws to preserve that instrument—that you will not only remain in the Union yourselves, but permit your Southern brethren to remain in it and help to perpetuate it.”²

Even Ben Wade, of Ohio, of odious memory in the South, who afterwards was one of the most notorious “South-haters,” in 1855 said in a speech in the United States Senate:

“Who is the judge in the last resort of the violation of the Constitution of the United States by the enactment of a law? Who is the final arbiter, the General Government or the States in their sovereignty? Why, sir, to yield that point is to yield up all the rights of the States to protect their own citizens, and to consolidate this government into a miserable despotism.”

In a speech on December 18, 1860, he said:

“I do not so much blame the people of the South because I think they have been led to believe that we today, the dominant party, who are about to take the reins of government, are their mortal foes, and stand ready to trample their institutions under foot.”³ Yet, “notwithstanding the expression of these sentiments, we know, as we say, that this man became one of the most ardent supporters of the ‘miserable despotism’ established by Abraham Lincoln, and became the second officer in that ‘despotism’ on the assassination of Mr. Lincoln.”⁴

¹McGuire and Christian: *The Confederate Cause and Conduct in the War Between the States*, 42.

²Id.

³Id. 43.

⁴Id.

Despite Webster's warning and his plea, as well as that of many other able and patriotic men, not the slightest progress was made in turning the North from its fatal course of nullification, which drove the Cotton States to secession. Rhode Island alone repealed the obnoxious statutes.

William Lloyd Garrison, resenting Webster's eulogies of the Constitution, said: "Let Daniel Webster, the greatest and meanest of his countrymen, exhaust his powers of eulogy upon it if he will; the effort will but render his character base and contemptible with posterity."¹ While Wendell Phillips, scoffing at Webster as the "Defender of the Constitution," said: "God gives us great scoundrels for texts to anti-slavery sermons. See to it, when nature has provided you a monster like Webster, that you exhibit him — himself a whole menagerie — throughout the country."²

William Rawle, a distinguished lawyer and jurist of Pennsylvania, whose work on the Constitution was recognized as an authority, and was taught at West Point up to the outbreak of the Civil War, said:

"It depends on the State itself to retain or abolish its principle of representation, because it depends on itself *whether it will continue* a member of the Union. To deny this right would be inconsistent with the principles on which all our political systems are founded, which is that the people have in all cases a right to determine how they will be governed."³

James C. Carter, of New York (a native of New England), one of the greatest lawyers America has produced, said:

"I may hazard the opinion that if the question had been raised not in 1860, but in 1788, immediately after the adoption of the Constitution, whether the Union, as formed by that instrument could lawfully treat the secession of a State as rebellion and

¹William Lloyd Garrison, by his children, III, 457.

²Wendell Phillips: *Speeches, Lectures, Letters* (Lee and Shepard), 43.

³Goode: *Recollections of a Lifetime*, 57; McGuire and Christian: *The Confederate Cause and Conduct in the War Between the States*, 41.

suppress it by force, few of those who participated in forming that instrument would have answered in the affirmative.”¹

But authorities and quotations need not be multiplied, on the question of the right of secession or the legality of the position of the South. It was everywhere admitted, from the foundation of the Union up to the eve of the Civil War; and the position has seldom if ever been more clearly stated than by Benjamin J. Williams, a distinguished writer of Massachusetts. After pointing out that when the thirteen colonies threw off their allegiance to Great Britain they became independent states, independent of each other, and that the Articles of Confederation provided that “each state retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence,” he says: “The Constitution of the United States, which immediately followed, was first adopted by the States in convention, each State acting for itself, in its sovereign and independent capacity, through a convention of its people. And it was by this ratification that the Constitution was established, to use its own words, ‘between the States so ratifying the same.’ It is then a compact between the States as sovereigns, and the Union created by it is a federal partnership of States, the Federal Government being their common agent for the transaction of the federal business within the limits of the delegated powers.”²

Such was the doctrine of the right of secession, for the exercise of which the South has been so reviled, although as Judge Black, the distinguished Pennsylvania jurist and author, says, it “like slavery was first planted in New England. There it grew and flourished and spread its branches far over the land before it was ever dreamed of at the South.”³

With the North’s record on the doctrine of secession, and the widespread opinion at the North that if the two sections could not agree a peaceful parting of the ways was entirely in order; with the demand of the abolitionists for a severance of the Union, and with the Cotton States withdrawing from the Union,

¹McGuire and Christian: *The Confederate Cause and Conduct in the War Between the States*, 187.

²*Lowell Sun*, June 5, 1886.

³McGuire and Christian: *The Confederate Cause and Conduct in the War Between the States*, 186.

and the extreme wing of the abolitionists expressing delight that they did so, the responsibility for the war that was waged to force the seceded states to re-enter the Union, the responsibility for the blood that was shed to destroy the Government that was left us by our Revolutionary fathers, and to substitute in its place a consolidated government created by force of arms, becomes an important and interesting inquiry.

The determination to coerce the States—to compel them to remain in the Union by violence, if necessary, seems to have been reached some time between the time of Lincoln's election to the Presidency and his famous call upon the States for troops to accomplish that purpose on April 15, 1861.

This determination seems to have been reached by Lincoln and a small group or clique, who were at some pains to devise ways to prevent this purpose from being checkmated at the North. This conclusion seems to have been typically a politician's conclusion, rather than that of a statesman or a patriot. Questions of political patronage, party and personal prestige undoubtedly had much to do with the course this clique decided to pursue.

At one of the last meetings of President Buchanan's Cabinet, the members were unanimous that the Federal Government had no constitutional authority or power to coerce a state to remain in the Union. We have reviewed at sufficient length above, the views of Northerners, including Lincoln, on the subject of the right to withdraw from the Union.

The idea of coercion was sprouting in Lincoln's mind as early as November 15, 1860, for then he said:

"My own impression is, leaving myself room to modify the opinion, if, upon further investigation, I should see fit to do so, that this Government possesses both the authority and the power to maintain its own integrity. That, however, is not the ugly point of this matter. The ugly point is the necessity of keeping the Government together by force as ours should be a Government of fraternity."¹

While Lincoln "cut his cards" so as to get the votes of the

¹Schouler: *History of Massachusetts in the Civil War*, I. 45.

abolitionists, he did not hesitate to repudiate some of them on occasions. Thus he declared that John Brown was not a Republican; and extremists like Wendell Phillips only admitted Lincoln to half, if that much, fellowship. The truth is, it seems, Lincoln was always so much concerned to know where a majority stood, that he always left himself a loophole in committing himself to anything. Be all of this as it may, Lincoln and the group under whose influence he was, did not hesitate to espouse the doctrine of coercion, when they thought they could "get away with it," even if it involved such gravely questionable measures as in effect making war, without the authority of Congress. Lincoln's proclamation calling for troops to subdue the seceded states is generally now, if not universally admitted, to have been an act of war, and many believe he pursued the course he did without assembling Congress to pass on the question of war, because he and his advisers believed it doubtful whether Congress would pursue the course he desired. He had fallen under the influence of such men as Chandler who demanded a course that would assure some "bloodletting."

A course which would result in a peaceful accommodation and avoid war was not deemed in the interest of the Black Republican party.

There was apparently something akin to consternation in the ranks of the Black Republican party, when an Ohio newspaper, *The Ohio State Journal*, always anti-slavery, advocated "peaceful separation," and even went so far as to suggest the expulsion of South Carolina from the Union in order to preserve peace, on the ground that South Carolina had always been "a source of vexation, trouble and expense."¹ This paper contended that the body which had the power to admit a state into the Union had the power to expel a state. It suggested that petitions be circulated for the expulsion of South Carolina, and that the Ohio members of Congress take the lead in this expulsion business.² But, to use a slang expression, South Carolina "beat them to it." She seceded before such measures could be taken.

¹Ryan: *Lincoln and Ohio*, 167.

²Issue of November 17, 1860.

Protesting against the growth of coercion sentiment in the North, the *Springfield Republican* said:

“The first principle of a Republican Government is violated, the civilization of the age is disgraced, by forcing, through superior brute power, a single state to remain in the confederacy against her will. The Federal Government will not sustain or justify itself by such a course of violent coercion.”¹

The *New York Tribune*, always strongly anti-slavery and anti-southern, as late as April 5, 1861, declared that if the Union men of the South were not strong enough and numerous enough to keep their states from going out of the Union, what was the use of fighting. Its idea of the Union sentiment and the spirit of the Unionists at the South must have been stupid and unintelligent indeed. Its declaration against coercion was emphatic: “It is perfectly idle to talk of subduing even half the people of seven states if the other half dumbly, abjectly submit to whatever exactions the dominant power shall see fit to impose. . . . The Free States will not attempt to subjugate even the Gulf States and hold them in vassalage, for that neither can nor should be done.”

Such was the doctrine of the leading Republican paper, while the *New York Herald*, the leading Democratic paper, said:

“This government can never exist by force. Its basis, its structure, and whole theory entirely preclude such an idea; and to keep unwilling states in the Union it will become necessary to subvert the principles of the Declaration of Independence and change the Union into a military despotism, resting for its support not on public opinion but on bayonets.”²

How and why the Black Republican party decided on the doctrine of coercion, we need not undertake now to inquire. It is beyond the scope of this treatment. It is an intricate and difficult subject, the full truth of which will probably never be known, because it would involve telling the truth regarding the sordid, personal, ambitious hopes of gain and preferment, which those who shaped the policy were ashamed to tell or decent

¹December 3, 1860.

²December 21, 1860.

enough to refrain from recording. One thing, however, is plain, and is written indelibly with the blood of multiplied thousands, upon innumerable battlefields, the Black Republican party, then in power, adopted that policy,—and the Civil War was the fatal result.

On December 20, 1860, South Carolina, by a convention assembled to consider the question, repealed the ordinance adopted May 23, 1788, by which it ratified the Constitution of the United States, and resumed all of the rights it had delegated to the Federal Government. Other states followed in withdrawing from the Union; Mississippi on January 9, 1861; Alabama, January 11, 1861; and Louisiana, January 26, 1861.

The consideration of what course Virginia should pursue was an all absorbing topic in that state.

While Virginia resented the unlawful course of the states of the North, and deplored the violations of the Constitution not only by the Northern States, but by the federal authorities, she had no desire to abandon the Union. She had taken a foremost part in making the Union; her sons had in greater measure than any other similar group, helped to create the Constitution; she felt the keen injustice of being driven out of the Union by a fanatical element which according to Abraham Lincoln “would shiver into fragments the Union of these states [and] tear to tatters its now venerated Constitution,” and that, too, led by this same Lincoln who had now become their plastic tool.

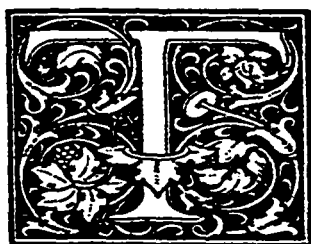
She exhausted every resource to preserve the Union. James Ford Rhodes says: “Virginia, whose share in forming the Union had been greater than that of any other one state, was loath to see that great work shattered, and now made a supreme effort to save it.”¹

¹Rhodes: *History of United States*, III, 290.

CHAPTER XIII

Slavery, Secession and the Civil War—Continued

COERCION OF THE STATES—THE WAR FOR SOUTHERN INDEPENDENCE



THE General Assembly of Virginia issued a call to all the states who desired a settlement of the questions absorbing the public attention, so the Union might be saved, to send commissioners to a conference to meet in Washington on February 4, 1861. This Assembly is known in history as the Peace Convention or Peace Congress. At the same time Virginia sent commissioners to South Carolina and to other seceded states, to urge them to avoid any act or course of conduct which would embarrass the work of the Peace Convention.

Twenty states sent representatives to the Washington Convention, but some of these from the North came more for the purpose of preventing accomplishment of a peaceful accommodation than for any other purpose. It was by the Republican States of the North looked at from the standpoint of what was expedient for the Republican party, rather than what was good for the country. The party that was in the saddle was the Black Republican party; it was the party of the abolitionists, the south haters, and those who held the Constitution of no esteem when it interfered with their purposes. As a party matter its leaders did not feel that they could afford not to live up to a program of sectional hatred and malice toward the South which the extreme abolitionists expected of them. To pursue any other than such a partisan course would be to desert the extreme ground of the Northern faction then in power, and to take the ground of the less extreme element in the North, which, while numerous, and probably constituting an actual majority, were not in control,

as a result of the peculiar distribution of ballots, which produced the election of Lincoln although he had only a minority of the popular votes.

The Republican politicians, in other words, felt that to pursue a course which would preserve the Union would weaken if not turn out of power the Black Republicans.

The Peace Convention was therefore doomed to failure before it assembled.

Ex-President John Tyler was elected President of the Convention, and in a speech of great ability recited Virginia's adherence to the Union, her desire to see it preserved, and invoked the co-operation of all to accomplish its preservation.

Ex-Senator William C. Rives, in the course of one of his speeches said of the position of Virginia: "She is just now the neutral ground between two embattled legions—between two angry, excited and hostile portions of the Union. Something must be done to save the country, to allay these apprehensions, to restore a broken confidence."

And George W. Summers, another of the Virginia delegates, opened an address of great logic, power and patriotism, with these words:

"Mr. President, my heart is full! I cannot approach the great issues with which we are dealing, with becoming coolness and deliberation! Sir! I love this Union. The man does not live who entertains a higher respect for this government than I do. I know its history—I know how it was established. There is not an incident in its history that is not precious to me. I do not wish to survive its dissolution."¹

So ably, eloquently, even pathetically, did such men as these plead for justice, for a patriotic rather than a partisan consideration of the subject that it seems impossible to believe that success would not have crowned the efforts of the convention but for the purpose of the Black Republican politicians to defeat it. A detailed account of their activities need not be here attempted. Their position and purpose are indicated by the now well known

¹Crittenden: *Proceedings of Peace Convention*, 14, 135, 151.

letter of Zachariah Chandler, a Senator from Michigan, to the Governor of that State. The letter follows:

“Washington, February 11, 1861.

“*My dear Governor:*

“Governor Bingham and myself telegraphed you on Saturday, at the request of Massachusetts and New York to send delegates to the Peace, or Compromise Congress. They admit that we were right and that they were wrong; that no Republican state should have sent delegates; but they are here and cannot get away. Ohio, Indiana, Rhode Island are caving in and there is danger of Illinois; and now *they beg us, for God’s sake, to come to their rescue and save the Republican Party from rupture.*¹ The whole thing was gotten up against my judgment and advice and will end in thin smoke. Still, I hope as a matter of courtesy to some of our erring brethren that you will send the delegates.

Truly your friend,

Z. Chandler.

His Excellency, Austin Blair.

P. S. Some of the manufacturing states think that a fight would be awful. Without a little blood-letting this Union will not, in my estimation, be worth a rush.”²

The Peace Convention thus failed, and the country moved toward dis-union and civil war, but history cannot but ascribe to Virginia motives of the highest patriotism, in calling the states into council, with a view to avoiding war and preserving the Union. The Northern historian Rhodes says: “The historical significance of the Peace Convention consists in the evidence it affords of the attachment of the Border Slave States to the Union.”³

The delay of Virginia in acting upon the question of secession, and the opposition to her leaving the Union voiced by some of her ablest sons and the leading newspapers, was exceedingly dis-

¹This language is not italicized in the original. We have done so for emphasis.

²Crittenden: *Proceedings of Peace Conference*, 468.

³*History of the United States*, III, 307.

appointing to the Southern States which had seceded. They were disposed to censure the people of the state as "Submissionists,"—that is, as being willing to continue to submit to the denials of constitutional rights to which they were subjected at the North, and to the unjust calumnies and indignities to which they were subjected. They did not accurately gauge the temper of the people. Their delay, deliberation and caution, was prompted by patriotism, not by fear; their patience and delay was that of judgment and was not to be attributed to a lack of courage.

A newspaper correspondent at this period, writing from Richmond, said:

"I wish very much there could have been a stenographic report of all the sermons that were preached, and that they could be given to the public in a double issue of the *Whig* or *Enquirer*, for they would convince both the North and South, if anything could, that Virginia means to have a settlement of the vexed questions at issue between the two sections of the country, as a *sine qua non* of her remaining in the just broken Union. At the North it is fondly believed by the infatuated Black Republicans that the Old Dominion has not the remotest idea of severing the ties which bind her to the federal government, and at the South, we are regarded as 'Submissionists,' because we do not wish to go out *instanter*. The publication of yesterday's discourses would speedily disabuse both the extremes of their false impressions. These efforts, so far as I can gather their general meaning from street conversation and report, were marked by a deep love for the Union as established by our fathers, but spoke out a very firm purpose not to keep it up at the expense of principle and through the forfeiture of freedom."¹

The popular feeling on the question of principle was no doubt well embodied in a resolution introduced in the Virginia Senate, January 8, 1861, by Mr. Douglass of King and Queen, which declared that the use of force by the Federal Government for the purpose of maintaining union among the states "would of itself be destructive of the true spirit of the federative system, sub-

¹*The Daily Express* (Petersburg), Jan. 9, 1861, article from the Richmond Correspondent dated Jan. 6.

versive of the ends for which it was constructed, and revolutionary in all its natural and inevitable results," and that Virginia ought to and will, resist all attempts by the Federal Government thus to overthrow and destroy the Union, and "will regard any forcible measures taken against any of the constituent members who shall have dissolved their connection with it, as dangerous to her freedom and security, and demanding the most active preparations for defence."¹

In few sections of the country was the drama playing upon the national stage being watched with greater interest than in Lunenburg; it was watched not only with great interest, but with an understanding which was unsurpassed in the state. The people of Lunenburg saw, and saw clearly, what others seem not to have seen, or refused to recognize, that the policy of the Black Republican party was one which sooner or later would drive all the Southern States out of the Union. The action of the mass meeting of Lunenburgers, January 14, 1861, was clear-cut and emphatic upon the subject of attempting to maintain a union by force, and respecting the policy of coercion of the states.

The *Richmond Enquirer* of January 28, 1861, carried the following account of the Lunenburg mass meeting:

"PUBLIC MEETING IN LUNENBURG.

"At a public meeting of the citizens of Lunenburg County, without distinction of party, held at the Court House, on Monday, the 14th day of January, 1861, that being court day, John R. Garland, Esq., was called to the Chair, and W. W. Webb was appointed as Secretary.

"The object of the meeting was explained by Dr. Ro. H. Crawley at the request of the Chair.

"On motion of Wm. A. Nash.

"Resolved, That the Chair appoint a committee of five to draft resolutions for the consideration of the meeting.

"Whereupon the following named gentlemen were appointed to constitute said committee: Wm. A. Nash, Wm. M. Bagley, Ro. H. Crawley, Geo. W. Hardy, and Wm. Y. Neal, and the following gentlemen were on motion, added to the committee:

¹The *Daily Express* (Petersburg), Jan. 9, 1861.

Col. John A. Stokes, Col. Wm. H. Hatchett, and O. Smith, who immediately retired for consultation.

“While the committee were out, Thomas H. Campbell, Esq., of Nottoway, who was called on by the meeting, made an able and eloquent address, maintaining the right of secession, and the importance of Virginia’s taking position immediately with her sister Southern States.

“The committee through their chairman, reported the following resolutions :

1. Resolved, That the County Court, now in session, be requested to levy a tax on the county sufficient to arm three volunteer companies of militia of fifty men, each: one in the upper end, one in the lower end, and one in the center of the county.

2. Resolved, That the Court appoint a committee to negotiate for the purchase of said arms.

3. Resolved, That in the opinion of this committee, Virginia is bound by every principle of honor, interest and justice to make common cause with any seceding state if coercion should be *attempted* by the Federal Government.

“The resolutions were unanimously adopted.

“On motion,

“Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the newspapers of the cities of Richmond and Petersburg, and in the New York Herald.

“The Justices having been summoned for the purpose, and a majority being present decided unanimously, to make the levy necessary to arm the companies, as prayed for in the resolutions above.

“On motion, the meeting adjourned.

John R. Garland, Chairman.”

“W. W. Webb, Sec’y.”

Such views were by no means confined to Lunenburg County. The people of Mecklenburg County held similar views.

On January 21, 1861, “A tremendous meeting in the Court House” was addressed by several gentlemen, who took decided ground “in favor of putting Virginia immediately out of the

Union, among these were Tucker Carrington and Thos. F. Goode, who are the only candidates for the Convention in Mecklenburg.”¹

The sentiment in Mecklenburg could not be mistaken, but apparently the meeting adopted no resolutions.

The action of the Lunenburg people in adopting the foregoing resolutions was taken in view of what they felt sure was the plan and purpose of the incoming national administration, and before Lincoln made his famous Indianapolis speech, which was everywhere regarded as an avowal of the doctrine of force and coercion, and was looked upon by the people of Lunenburg as a justification and confirmation of their worst fears. The conditional reference to coercion in the foregoing resolutions is in marked contrast to resolutions adopted later after that policy was more clearly avowed by the Republicans.

The *Richmond Enquirer* printed in its issue of February 4, 1861, the exchange of letters between Lincoln and J. A. Spencer, of Wheeling, Virginia, in which Lincoln disclosed that he was prepared to accept the extreme doctrine that he would not treat decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States as binding upon the people of the North if he regarded the decisions as “hostile to the advancement of Republican principles.”

Spencer in his letter had asked Lincoln two questions, the second of which was:

“2d. Do you regard the *Dred Scott* decision as binding upon the people of the North?”

Lincoln replied from Springfield, Illinois, January 2, 1861.

“To your second, I reply in the negative, for this reason: Said decision is hostile to the advancement of Republican principles, and therefore attended with danger in a Government like ours.”

The General Assembly of Virginia, then in session, had called the National Peace Congress or Convention, at Washington, and in addition it also provided for the election of delegates to a convention of the entire state to take into consideration the grave problems and dangers then confronting the country. The election

¹*Richmond Dispatch*, January 25, 1861.

was held February 4, 1861. In most sections of the state candidates representing the different shades of thought were put forward to be voted for. Some were for immediate secession, others unconditionally for the Union, while still others, conservatives, were for secession, but only in the event every possible resource could not save the Union, upon terms possible to be accepted at the South. The great question was whether the state would, as the issues were then made up, adhere to the Union. At the time this election was ordered, South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia and Louisiana had seceded, and two days before the Virginia election was held the great state of Texas seceded.

The campaign for seats in the Convention was exceedingly spirited, and the issues were discussed with a range and ability seldom equalled. The popular interest was very great, and conventions and mass meetings made known their views and wishes by means of carefully considered and ably drawn declarations and resolutions. A mass meeting of the students of Hampden-Sidney College, on January 17, 1861, was typical. After an able, lengthy and fiery preamble, among other resolutions adopted was this one:

“That while we look with horror upon civil war, and desire that not a drop of blood be spilt, yet we believe that we would be justly branded as ignominious cowards if we do not take a noble stand now; therefore, if Virginia wishes her honor unsullied and her name free from reproach, she should, as soon as the convention assembles, pass an ordinance declaring the severance of all connection with the Union, and if war must come let her place her trust in the God of battles, who is also the God of right, and will sustain us in our just cause.

“That we have thought it proper thus to express our opinions, because we are directly interested in the honor and welfare of Virginia, and if war comes, we will be among those who have to fight her battles.”¹

Lunenburg was one of the few counties in the state where the candidate for the convention, favoring secession had no oppo-

¹*The Daily Express* (Petersburg), Jan. 23, 1861.

sition. This group of counties embraced also Mecklenburg and Charlotte. In Brunswick there were two candidates, but both favored secession, one immediately, while the other advocated waiting until the efforts of the Peace Commission failed. This latter candidate, the conservative, won. Petersburg by a vote (for the two Union candidates) of 1165 to 427, elected a Union candidate, and Dinwiddie, Chesterfield, Prince George, Surry, Greensville, Halifax and Prince Edward all returned Union men. While there was a Union candidate in the field in Nottoway and Amelia, the secession candidate won.

Thus it will be seen that Lunenburg, Mecklenburg and Charlotte were the center and the focus of a very strong secession sentiment, and that Nottoway and Amelia were a close second to this group.

The correspondent of the *Richmond Enquirer*, reported the result of the election of February 4, 1861, as follows:

“For Wm. J. Neblett, ‘Irrepressible Secessionist,’ 375 votes. No opposition. Against referring to the people, 360; for referring only 24.

“Old Lunenburg is a ‘South Carolina’ of a county, only 24 men that are willing to submit to the rule of Lincoln; but I fear there are not enough Lunenburgs in the state.”¹

The returns from the election throughout the state showed that a large majority of the delegates elected were opposed to Virginia’s secession, and by a vote of 100,536 to 45,161, “the people commanded that the findings of the Convention should be submitted to them for ratification or rejection.”²

Of the result of this election, Charles Francis Adams, a Northern man, says:

“Thus be it always remembered, Virginia did not take its place in the secession movement because of the election of an anti-slavery President. It did not raise its hand against the National Government from mere love of any peculiar institution, or a wish to protect or perpetuate it. It refused to be precipitated

¹*Richmond Enquirer*, Feb. 8, 1861.

²Munford: *Virginia’s Attitude Toward Slavery and Secession*, 256.

into a civil convulsion; and its refusal was of vital moment. The ground of Virginia's final action was of wholly another nature, and of a nature far more creditable."¹

The result of the election in Virginia was of the greatest importance to the whole Union. On the day before the election William H. Seward wrote from Washington: "The election tomorrow probably determines whether all the slave states will take the attitude of disunion. Everybody around me thinks that that will make the separation irretrievable and involve us in a flagrant civil war. Practically everybody will despair." A few days later he wrote that the result of the Virginia election had come "like a gleam of sunshine in a storm," and that "at least the danger of conflict, here or elsewhere, before the 4th of March has been averted."²

Seward thus not only correctly characterized the result of the election, but he indicated very definitely his belief that Lincoln's attitude upon and after his inauguration would decide the question of whether there would be war.

And Adams says: "Though over forty years ago, I well remember that day—gray, overcast, wintry—which succeeded the Virginia election. Then living in Boston, a young man of twenty-five, I shared—as who did not—in the common deep depression and intense anxiety." Adams describes the first receipt of the news and then says: "Virginia, speaking against secession, had emitted no uncertain sound. It was as if a weight had been taken off the mind of everyone."³

The historian Rhodes says:

"The election in Virginia for members of her State Convention had much significance. The one hundred and fifty-two delegates chosen were, with substantial correctness, classed as thirty so-called Secessionists, twenty Douglas men and one hundred and two Whigs, which proves, asserted the *Richmond Whig*, a journal which argued strenuously for delay, that 'the Conserva-

¹*Lee at Appomattox and Other Papers*, 403.

²Adams: *Lee at Appomattox and Other Papers*, 402.

³*Id.* 402.

tive victory in Virginia is perfectly overwhelming,' the precipitators having sustained 'a Waterloo defeat.'"¹

But, however it might be with others, Lunenburg was highly disappointed at the result of the election in Virginia, and felt that to delay withdrawing from the Union was but to play into the hands of the enemies of the South. And while the course Virginia pursued was highly creditable to her, and establishes beyond the peradventure of doubt her attachment to the Union, yet it can scarcely be questioned that if she had pursued a different course the whole issue of the war might have been different.

If the sentiment of Lunenburg had been predominant in the state, Virginia would have seceded before Lincoln was inaugurated.

Speaking of the secession of Texas two days before the Virginia Convention election, Robert B. Munford says:

"Had Virginia at that critical moment declared for a like policy, it is almost certain that the remaining Southern States would have followed her example. In such an event, President Lincoln would on the day of his inauguration have found the Capital of the Union encompassed by the States of Virginia and Maryland, both members of the new confederation."²

Thus, it is a reasonable speculation that if Virginia had then gone out of the Union, the tremendous sentiment in the North for a peaceful separation would have prevailed. And even if hostilities had been begun the National Capital would have fallen easily into the hands of the Southern Confederacy. It is altogether unlikely that Lincoln would have precipitated war by calling on the states for troops, if Virginia, Maryland and the rest of the border states had been out of the Union when he was inaugurated.

The Convention assembled on the 13th of February, 1861, a day or two before Lincoln had made his Indianapolis speech. The *Richmond Enquirer*, on February 14, 1861, printed an edi-

¹James Ford Rhodes: *History of United States*, III, 309.

²*Virginia's Attitude Toward Slavery and Secession*, 255.

torial entitled: "*Mr. Lincoln has spoken,*" in the course of which it said:

"Mr. Lincoln describes invasion and coercion to consist only in 'marching an army' into a Southern State '*with hostile intent.*'

Concluding the editorial said:

"Holding that a state possesses no sovereignty whatever—no more sovereignty than a county—Mr. Lincoln deems it his duty to repress, by force of arms, if necessary, any exercises or, as he would term it, any usurpation of sovereignty by state authority.

"Comment on this development is unnecessary. It is sufficient that we attract to it the attention of the people of Virginia. Sooner or later, this position of Mr. Lincoln must compel from the State Convention an ordinance of active and effectual resistance. So far as the Convention is concerned, nothing is involved but a question of time. We would urge the people of the state to take time by the forelock. Fill up the ranks of your volunteer companies. Form new companies. Organize and drill without ceasing. Brighten and sharpen your arms, and keep them bright and sharp. The time is close at hand when well drilled corps and well polished arms will be eminently useful."

On February 15, the *Richmond Dispatch* said that Lincoln's Indianapolis speech "is everywhere understood as declaring for coercion."

But notwithstanding the complexion of the State Convention just assembled, and even in advance of news of Lincoln's Indianapolis speech, the people of Lunenburg knew the time had come to prepare for action. The Indianapolis speech only served to confirm them in the views they already held. Nor did they need the call to arms so eloquently made by the editor of the *Enquirer*. They had already reached the conclusion that an appeal to arms would not likely be avoided and acted accordingly.

On February 6, 1861, a "straight-out, unconditional" secession meeting was held at Non-Intervention, in the lower end of the county. The following account of it appeared in the Petersburg and Richmond papers:

“LUNENBURG PREPARING FOR WAR.”

“At Non-intervention, on Wednesday, the 6th of February, was held a meeting, composed of the citizens of the lower end of the county, for the purpose of organizing a corps of cavalry.

“On motion of J. R. Featherston, George L. Bagley was called to the chair, and C. Tacitus Allen, appointed Secretary.

“After some preliminary business, the following officers were unanimously elected:

“Captain—David R. Stokes; Lieutenants—1st, Colin Neblett; 2nd, C. Tacitus Allen; 3rd, J. R. Featherston; Sergeants—1st, J. W. Wilkinson; 2nd, John H. Ragsdale; 3rd, W. T. Blackwell; 4th, E. D. Boswell; Corporals—1st, John T. Rudd; 2nd, J. J. Johnson; 3rd, Lewis J. Hite; 4th, R. E. Ragsdale. Color Sergeant—R. A. Blackwell. Bugle-blower, Samuel Waddy Snead. Surgeon, Wm. T. Elder, M. D.; Surgeon’s Mate, W. J. Allen, M. D.

“At the suggestion of the Secretary, the company adopted ‘Loch Leven Rangers,’ as its title; and at the suggestion of the committee on selection of a motto, *Sic Semper Tyrannis* was adopted amid vociferous shouts and thunders of applause.

“After all business was done, many gentlemen were called on to address the audience. Messrs. Wm. A. Nash, John H. Ragsdale, J. Maclin Smith and C. Tacitus Allen responded in strong Southern speeches, all advocating straight-out unconditional and eternal separation from the infamous North. When one of her adopted sons remarked during his speech that ‘Lunenburg had covered herself *all over* with glory,’ shouts, such as never before greeted the ears of man, continued without intermission for several minutes.

“The people of Lunenburg are thoroughly aroused, and they will never rest until the carcasses of Scott and Seward are rent asunder by the glittering edge of a Southern sword. Never again will they listen to the syren voice of compromise, though its melody may exceed that of the nightingale.

George L. Bagley, Chm’n.”

“C. Tacitus Allen, Sec’y.”¹

¹*Richmond Enquirer*, Feb. 16, 1861.

On March 4, 1861, the day Lincoln was inaugurated, the *Enquirer* appeared in the garb of mourning, and said editorially:

“On this day, the chosen and avowed representatives of the tyranny of fanaticism—of the meanness of political corruption—of the violence of inequality, injustice and intolerance—is installed as the Chief Executive of the shattered residuum of a once glorious Union of co-equal sovereign states, peopled by communities of freemen. Fellow-citizens of Virginia, we mourn in the grief of shame.”

And on the following day it editorially denounced Lincoln’s inaugural as “the declaration of war.”

Lincoln’s inaugural and the announcement of his cabinet created a profoundly painful impression throughout Virginia. One paper¹ said of the inaugural: “Every Southern man will at once see that it declares war against the seceded states.”

And the whole tenor of all the papers was in criticism of the coercion position taken by him; his position on slavery which was quite well known, was scarcely noticed. Papers which up to this time had been strongly opposed to secession now came out in firm advocacy of it, not on the score of slavery at all but because of the determination to reduce sovereign states from that condition to a condition of servile subordination to superior force.

Lincoln had not only been apprised of what a policy of coercion would mean so far as Virginia was concerned, but John B. Baldwin, one of the leading Union men of the Convention of 1861, told Lincoln that if he would issue a proclamation declaring that the Federal Government had no intention of coercing the Cotton States, there would be no danger of Virginia’s leaving the Union. “Only give this assurance to the country, in a proclamation of five lines, and we pledge ourselves that Virginia will stand by you as though you were our own Washington.”²

But Lincoln was committed to the fatal policy; he was under the influence and orders of the leaders of the extreme wing of the Black Republicans.

In its issue of March 9, 1861, *The Daily Express* of Peters-

¹The *Norfolk Day Book*.

²Munford: *Virginia’s Attitude Toward Slavery and Secession*, 270.

burg, a paper of considerable circulation in Southside Virginia, which had steadfastly opposed secession up to this time, said:

“Lincoln’s Inaugural and Cabinet effectively crushed out all our Union sympathies, and put an end to all our previously cherished feelings against secession.

“Until the inauguration of Lincoln, and the official announcement of his cabinet, we were disposed to go and did go with those who favored plans of adjustment upon fair and equitable terms. . . . We entertained the hope—yea, we cherished the expectation—that there would be found in the moderate wing of the Black Republicans sufficient strength to co-operate successfully with the olive-branch men of the Southern States for the re-establishment of peace upon a mutually satisfactory basis, and that thus would be laid the foundation for a re-union of the severed states, that might possibly follow.”

And referring to the action of the Black Republicans in the Peace Conference and in Congress, the editorial said: “Swine have just as good a conception of the real nature and value of pearls as the Chandler-Lovejoy wing of Black Republicans have of the real nature and value of our free institutions. We are totally disgusted with the intolerable and irreclaimable viciousness of these creatures, and are ready to greet a separation from them with our whole heart.

“They have pretty essentially and effectually cured us of *Unionism*. We have not another word to say against secession. Let it go on until it sweeps away every Southern State in its course.”

In its issue of March 9th, *The Daily Express* says:

“The *Farmville Journal*, a neutral paper, edited by a gentleman hitherto as conservative as any in his section, came out unqualifiedly in favor of immediate secession. The intelligent editor has been several days in attendance upon the Convention; he has given the fullest consideration to the arguments on both sides, and his conclusion now is that Virginia cannot remain, without dishonor, in a Union of which Lincoln, Seward and Chase are President, Directors and Company.”

The *Richmond Whig*, the leading Union newspaper in the state, while avowing its stand for the Union, demanded fair treatment for the South and repudiated the doctrine of coercion. In its issue of March 9, 1861, it led with an article demanding that the state legislation at the North designed to nullify the United States Constitution be repealed, and warned that coercion would be a fatal policy.

These items indicate the change in the public opinion that was taking place throughout Virginia. Although the great majority of the Convention had been elected as anti-secessionists, the fact that such views were no longer in the ascendant could not be denied. Representative citizens "back home" informed the representatives in the Convention of the change of position by the rank and file of the citizenship. Mass meetings were held and resolutions sent up telling their representatives that, whereas, they had heretofore opposed leaving the Union, no other course consistent with honor and right could now be pursued. The Virginia newspapers widely carried the news that Lincoln had made Joshua R. Giddings Consul General at Montreal, so that he could the more effectively handle the receiving end of the "Underground Railroad."

On March 11, 1861, the people of Lunenburg held one of the most notable meetings in the history of the county. Strong as had been the sentiment of her people on the great issues before them, on no previous occasion were their views expressed with such eloquent determination as on this one. A report of the meeting and the resolutions adopted were sent to William J. Neblett, her representative in the Convention, and were by him presented for the consideration of the delegates.

The *Richmond Enquirer* of March 15, 1861, carried the following account of the matter:

"Thursday, March 14, 1861.

"The Convention met pursuant to adjournment, at 12 o'clock, and was called to order by the President.

"Prayer by the Rev. Mr. Baker.

"Public meeting in Lunenburg."

"Mr. Neblett—I desire to present the following resolutions,

which were adopted by my constituents at a meeting on the 11th ult. [inst.]. I will merely remark that these resolutions were adopted unanimously, and that the gentleman who presided at that meeting, has, until very recently, been a submissionist. These resolutions point in but one direction, for my constituents are aware of the fact that there are between two and three hundred thousand of our kinfolk at the South with whom they are anxious to unite their destinies without delay:

“On Monday, the 11th inst., the people of Lunenburg assembled at their Court House, it being court day, for the purpose of taking into consideration the great crisis under the galling pressure of which we are now suffering.

“On motion of R. H. Crawley, David R. Stokes was called to the chair, and, on motion of John T. Merryman, C. Tacitus Allen was appointed Secretary.

“Dr. Crawley briefly stated the object of the meeting.

“Dr. Merryman moved that a committee of five be appointed to draw up and present to the meeting for adoption, resolutions expressive of the sense of the county. Wm. C. Snead, Dr. E. T. Merryman, Col. R. H. Allen, J. R. Garland and Dr. Passmore constituted the committee, who reported the following preamble and resolutions:

“Whereas, we believe that our proud Commonwealth will be ruined unless the stern voices of her independent sovereigns interpose to arrest the dire calamity; and whereas a certain man called Abraham Lincoln, on the 4th of March, 1861, did disgrace the Presidential Chair of this country; and, whereas, a certain method of adjustment of political troubles is before the sovereigns of this country for adoption or rejection, which was elaborated and recommended by what was wrongfully called a Peace Congress, we, the sovereigns of the County of Lunenburg, do unanimously adopt the following resolutions, which embrace our well guarded opinions on the present crisis:

“1st. Resolved, That secession, *direct, straight out, eternal*¹ is the salvation of Virginia.

“2d. Resolved, That as far as we were concerned, Abraham

¹Italics in original.

Lincoln should never have waved his sceptre over the state that boasts of a Washington's grave.

"3d. Resolved, That we are irreconcilably opposed to *any* border State Convention, and do hereby request our delegate in the State Convention now in session, to oppose every effort tending to that end, and to press with all his might and ability the *immediate* and *everlasting* separation of Virginia from *all* the non-slaveholding states, and to a union with the Cotton States.

"4th. Resolved, That we regard as coercion the retaking of forts, the collection of the revenue, or the *assumption* or even maintenance of any power in the seceded states by the government at Washington, and will resist the same to the point of the bayonet.

"5th. Resolved, That in the Peace Congress report, we recognize a willful and deliberate encroachment upon the rights of the South, consequently we repudiate it, we scorn and regard it as 'the *scum* that rises when a nation boils.'

"6th. Resolved, That we have ever been and are now opposed to compromise of any character with Lincoln's party or sympathizers.

"7th. Resolved, That we are *for the South, the whole South, and nothing but the South*, so help us God.

"The preamble and resolutions were received by an intensely enthusiastic meeting, with such plaudits of approval as never before greeted the ears of mortal man, and adopted without a single dissenting voice. No speeches were made. All passed off in all the eloquence of silence, which indicated a determined spirit. The day for speeches has long since passed, and the time for *action* is present. Upon the brow of every man was written, in unmistakable and indelible characters, 'my home is in the South, my grave shall be there too.' If ever determination characterized the action of any people, it is stamped upon the actions of the people of Lunenburg. In days now gone forever, they cherished a devoted love for the American Union, and for that flag which has floated in splendor over every sea, which has been hailed with rapture in every clime where civilization has made a foot-print. They have witnessed the downfall of the

nation's citadel of honor, and now desire to leave its dishonored ruins to the care of those who wantonly undermined its once grand and lofty pillars. They are eager to detach the 'old mother of states and statesmen' from the accursed North, ere its fierce and desolating tide of furious fanaticism shall sweep her hallowed soil. Their ardent affections are closely entwined around the destiny of the Old Dominion. May oblivion never shroud her splendor is their only prayer. But if their mother state should ever conclude to cling to the North, in all its hideousness and heinousness, we dare say every citizen of Lunenburg will leave her to the *owls* and *bats* of abolition and seek some spot of earth where the sceptre of Lincoln can never desecrate their graves.

David R. Stokes, President.

C. Tacitus Allen, Secretary."

The *Richmond Whig*, a powerful organ in Virginia, ably edited, was wholly opposed to the secessionists and their propaganda. In its issue of March 15, 1861, it made the briefest reference possible to the Lunenburg Resolutions in the following language:

"Mr. Neblett presented the proceedings of a meeting of citizens of Lunenburg. Referred to the Committee on Federal Relations."

And editorially, in this same issue, under the title, *A Grand Prospective Stampede*, it took a slap at the Lunenburgers and those of the same way of thinking in these words:

"The precipitation newspapers and politicians are terribly exercised, at present, about a grand 'prospective stampede' of our Virginia population to the Gulf States, which they are fully advised is in active operation in all the rural districts of the state! Numbers of the largest slave-holders are to leave the state very soon, and many of the most flourishing agricultural districts are to be left as desolate as the wilderness of Jamaica!—*unless* the Convention forthwith pass an ordinance of secession!" etc.

And in another editorial of the same date it scoffed at such meetings as that held in Lunenburg, saying:

“A little knot of persons about the court-houses and cross-roads of some of the counties commit a grievous mistake in imagining, as they evidently do, that because *they* are in favor of immediate secession and revolution, therefore the whole people of the state are equally as run-mad as themselves and occupy the same position.” It characterized the meetings as “one-sided” and as “great humbugs worthy of but little respect,” and was stout in its advocacy of a conference or convention of the Border States.

The Lunenburg resolutions excited considerable discussion, as well they might, for nothing comparable to them in force, vigor and eloquent determination are to be found among the contemporary proceedings in any county.

Lunenburgers were jocularly twitted respecting their determination to leave the Union, and as a result of the vigorous, independent course Lunenburg pursued, beginning with the meeting of January 14, and culminating with that of March 11, 1861, Lunenburg came to be known as “The Free State of Lunenburg,” or as the “Old Free State,” names in which she takes a pardonable pride.

In the *Free State News* of August 1, 1913, there is an account of how Lunenburg County got the name of the “Free State.” This article was written by Captain C. T. Allen, giving his recollection of the matter after the lapse of over fifty years. It is of course correct in the main, but not in all details. It fixes the date of the meeting as in January, 1861, without naming the precise date. But some parts of the article do not coincide with the published account of the meeting of January 14, 1861, hereinabove given, nor of the meeting of March 11, 1861.

Captain Allen’s version of the nick-naming of the county is as follows:

One of the speakers at the meeting was “a beardless boy, now an old man of seventy-odd years, and a citizen of Kenbridge, Captain C. T. Allen. He favored secession straightout, thorough preparedness for war, and fight-fight-fight to the last ditch. If

Virginia didn't secede and join the Southern States that had seceded, he favored the secession of Lunenburg County from the state. Just at this juncture someone in the audience yelled out in a stentorian voice: 'Yes, and set up a Free State of our own.'

* * * * *

"A committee on resolutions was appointed. They reported several resolutions in keeping with the thoughts and utterances of the speakers, which largely favored secession. An account of the meeting was published in the Petersburg Index.¹

"The papers in Richmond and Petersburg, in a somewhat sarcastic vein, dubbed the county as 'The Free State of Lunenburg.' It bears that name today."²

It is possible that this account is intended to refer to the meeting of February 6, 1861, at Non-Intervention. That meeting was presided over by George L. Bagley, and none of the others were.

A day or two after Lunenburg adopted her resolutions of March 11, 1861, Mecklenburg also adopted resolutions, briefly but firmly declaring that the honor and the dignity of Virginia require her secession and her taking her place with the South. These resolutions were presented to the Convention at Richmond by Mr. Goode on March 16, 1861.

A correspondent of the National Intelligencer, from Nottoway Court House, declared "Secession is in the ascendant here, and the people are anxious for the Convention to act. . . . Lincoln's inaugural is very generally and properly denounced."

The Daily Express, of Petersburg, of March 11, 1861, carried notice of a meeting signed "Many Citizens," as follows:

"All true lovers of Constitutional Liberty, and of the Union, as our fathers formed it, are requested to meet at Phoenix Hall, on Monday night, at 8 o'clock, in order to instruct our delegate in the State Convention, now assembled, to go for *Immediate Secession*. Let there be a Grand Rally."

Commenting on this notice the paper said: "If Virginia ever intends to do anything now is the time."

¹It was some other paper. The Index was not published then.

²*Free State News*, August 1, 1913.

Petersburg, a conservative stronghold, had sent an anti-secessionist to the Convention, but this paper now said "that since the adjournment of Congress there have been changes enough in the city to reverse that majority and as it has been in Petersburg so it has been in every other conservative stronghold of the state."¹

The correspondent of *The Daily Express* on March 15, wrote that, "Mr. Goode² of Mecklenburg in a beautiful speech of several minutes, presented a series of resolutions passed by the citizens of his county, expressing a determined and unmistakable desire for Virginia to leave a dishonored Union, and immediately take her position by the side of her sisters of the South."³

In the face of all this change in sentiment in what had been strongholds of Unionism, the Convention debated the great issues, and hesitated to give up hope of weathering the storm. On April 8, 1861, the Convention determined to make a final effort to prevent a dissolution of the Union. It adopted the following resolution:

"Whereas in the opinion of this Convention the uncertainty which prevails in the public mind, as to the policy which the Federal Executive intends to pursue towards the seceded states is extremely injurious to the industrial and commercial interests of the country, tends to keep up an excitement which is unfavorable to the adjustment of pending difficulties, and threatens a disturbance of the public peace; therefore,

Resolved, That a committee of three delegates be appointed by this Convention to wait upon the President of the United States, present to him this preamble and resolution, and respectfully ask of him to communicate to this Convention the policy the Federal Executive intends to pursue in regard to the Confederate States."

William Ballard Preston, Alexander H. H. Stuart and George W. Randolph were chosen as the delegates to lay this matter before the President. They left Richmond on the 9th, but due to a

¹*The Daily Express, Editorial*, March 11, 1861.

²Thomas F. Goode.

³*The Daily Express*, March 16, 1861.

violent storm and a washout on the railroad they did not reach Washington until mid-day Friday, April 12th. Lincoln granted them an audience the following day, and while he was evasive, Mr. Stuart declared "his declarations were distinctly pacific, and he expressly disclaimed all purpose of war." Seward, the Secretary of State, and Bates, the Attorney General, gave Mr. Stuart the same assurance of peace. And yet at the time of these interviews the demand for troops was already formulated, and when the commissioners returned to Richmond, "the same train on which they traveled brought Mr. Lincoln's proclamation for seventy-five thousand men to wage a war of coercion against the Southern States."¹

Mr. Stuart says of this matter: "This proclamation was carefully withheld from us, although it was in print, and we knew nothing of it until Monday morning when it appeared in the Richmond papers. When I saw it at breakfast, I thought it must be a mischievous hoax, for I could not believe Lincoln guilty of such duplicity."²

In the Presidential election of 1860, Virginia had voted for the Bell and Everett ticket, the candidates of the Constitutional Union party. John Letcher, a strong Union man, was Governor of Virginia, and the Convention then in session was overwhelmingly composed of delegates opposed to secession. Their anger and chagrin can scarcely be imagined, when Lincoln's call for troops to make war on the seceded states became public. This call "fell as a bombshell upon the Union men of the Convention."³

Everyone now saw that the Virginia Secessionist leaders, such as Dr. John Herbert Claiborne, had rightly interpreted the trend of events, and had correctly foreseen the purposes of the Black Republicans. They had correctly prophesied the perfidy which could now no longer be concealed or denied.

Upon receipt of Lincoln's call Governor Letcher promptly replied:

"I have only to say that the militia of Virginia will not be

¹McGuire and Christian: *The Confederate Cause and Conduct in the War Between the States*, 14.

²Id.

³Claiborne: *Seventy-five Years in Old Virginia*, 156.

furnished to the powers at Washington for any such use or purpose as they have in view. Your object is to subjugate the Southern States, and a requisition made upon me for such an object—an object in my judgment not within the purview of the Constitution or the Act of 1795—will not be complied with. You have chosen to inaugurate civil war; and having done so, we will meet it in a spirit as determined as the administration has exhibited toward the South.”

And on April 16, 1861, the *Richmond Whig*, which had so ably fought against Virginia's leaving the Union, carried as the first article in its first column the following:

“LINCOLN'S PROCLAMATION.

“WAR ON A GRAND SCALE.

“To your tents O Israel!

“Just as we were going to press last night, we received a telegram with President Lincoln's Proclamation, calling for 75,000 men to invade the Southern States. We have no time or space for comment. The only fitting reply from Virginia is a levy *en masse* of every man able to bear arms, to fight to the death for our altars and firesides.”

Virginia declared herself upon the question of secession, in electing delegates to the Convention of 1861. But when the Republicans declared their policy of coercion that was quite another matter.

Even men, who like Governor Wise hotly opposed secession, coupled their declaration with the further one that they were equally opposed to Northern coercion.¹

“No one,” says Beverley B. Munford, “acquainted with the historic position of Virginia could doubt what her action would be if called to decide for or against coercion.”² And Charles Francis Adams, discussing the crisis thus precipitated, says:

“So now the issue shifted. It became a question not of

¹John S. Wise: *The End of An Era*, 158.

²*Virginia's Attitude Toward Slavery and Secession*, 260.

slavery or of the wisdom, or even the expediency of secession, but of the right of the National Government to coerce a sovereign state. This, at the time, was well understood.”¹

Lincoln and his advisers wholly misunderstood and misinterpreted the temper, spirit and purpose of Virginia. They thought that with a Union Governor in office, and a vast majority of the Convention “Union,” Virginia would not take her stand with the Southern States, regardless of the extent or character of the measures the administration might adopt. Lincoln was insistent that the Virginia Convention adjourn. Feeling that Virginia was safely “Union,” he thought the convention afforded the secessionist a forum in which to air their views and in which to make converts to their cause.

When the convention did not adjourn in response to his suggestion, he devised a scheme to place Virginia irrevocably on the Union side, regardless of the fact that the Convention continued in session. This scheme involved the famous call for the 75,000 militia. He had no doubt that Virginia through her Union Governor would respond to this call and place the military forces of Virginia under the direction of the Federal Administration. It was a game of gigantic bluff. But Governor Letcher promptly and effectively called Lincoln’s bluff.

Two days after Lincoln’s proclamation was made public, Virginia seceded. In the concluding hours of the Convention “strong men spoke for or against secession, with sorrowful hearts and in voices trembling with emotion.”²

Virginia was, by Lincoln’s proclamation, reduced to the alternative of furnishing her quota of troops to be used in coercing her sister states, or of refusing to do so, and refusal was equivalent to secession. Where the state stood on that issue could not be doubted.

The Convention voted for secession eighty-eight to fifty-five (nine not voting), and a month later the people of the state approved secession by a vote of 128,884 against 32,134.

While the action of the Convention provided for the vote

¹Lee at *Appomattox and Other Papers*, 404.

²Munford: *Virginia’s Attitude Toward Slavery and Secession*, 281, citing Rhodes: *History of United States*, III, 386.

which was afterwards taken with the result above mentioned, events marched with such rapidity that the state had actually taken an unmistakable stand in the civil conflict before the election was held.

While, as has been shown, there never had been, until the rise of the Black Republican party, any question of the right of a state peaceably to withdraw from the Union, and resume all the rights of a sovereign state, which it had before it ratified the Constitution of the United States, and although the Convention of Virginia in ratifying the Constitution of the United States expressly declared that the rights granted might be resumed by the people for whom the Convention spoke, whenever the powers granted were perverted to their injury or oppression, the party which assumed control of the Federal Government March 4, 1861, the Black Republican party, had put forth the doctrine of the right of one group of states to establish their supremacy over the other by force of arms. This was a new and strange doctrine, and one which found no warrant in the entire history of the Union from its foundation.

Hamilton said in the convention of 1787: "It has been well observed that to coerce the states is one of the maddest projects that was ever devised." Yet upon the maddest of projects the Lincoln administration was determined to embark.

In view of the overwhelming Union sentiment shown throughout the state, in the election of delegates to the State Convention of 1861, there is no reason to question that Virginia would have remained in the Union if the Black Republican administration had not sought to put its policy of coercion into effect against the seceded states. While Virginia had not elected to secede, she recognized the right of the states to do so, in the exercise of their sovereign will. The question was one not of right but of wisdom and expediency. While Virginia did not doubt her own right to secede, she did not believe it wise or expedient so to do. But she would not countenance measures of coercion against sovereign states, who exercised not only a sovereign, but a constitutional right in withdrawing from the Union. These states while in the Union had been most shamelessly abused in their constitutional rights by the states of the North; for that reason they

were amply justified in withdrawing; but over and above all, in withdrawing they were but exercising a right which the states individually had, a right no where, in the past, more fully expounded and insisted upon, than at the North.

From this review of events and this consideration of the facts of the case, it will be seen that the origin of the Civil War was very different from what is widely stated in most of the books and literature of the North which deal with the subject. These books and this literature widely misrepresent the facts, and as a result there is great misunderstanding of the subject where these books are read and given credence.

The Civil War had its origin in persistent and repeated violations of the Constitution of the United States by the Northern States and by the citizens of these states, with the knowledge and connivance of their public officials. It originated in constant infringement of the Constitutional rights of the people of the South; and the denial of the rights of the states of the South to conduct their domestic affairs as they saw fit; it originated in the denial of the sovereignty of the states and in the determination of the Northern States to force the Southern States to conform to Northern wishes and desires respecting their internal institutions; it originated in the denial by the North of the right of states peaceably to withdraw from the Union; these were all real, and contributing causes,—but the primary, the proximate cause of the war, at least so far as Virginia was concerned, was the determination of the North by coercion and force of arms to keep the states of the South from withdrawing from the Union.

Thus Virginia left the Union; and such, in brief were the succession of events, and the philosophy of the subject, which impelled Virginia to enter the arena of arms with her sisters of the South.

Into the conflict thus precipitated, Lunenburg entered with a zeal born of outraged justice and nursed through months of waiting for the call to vindicate herself and her state from half a century of mendacious, malicious, misrepresentation and calumny.

And when the issue came, whatever had been the differences, Virginia was of one opinion now.

As late as March 4, 1861, Matthew Fontaine Maury wrote: "Virginia is not at all ready to go out of this Union; and she is not going out for anything that is likely to occur, short of coercion—such is my opinion."¹

But when coercion was employed, the whole of Virginia, all Virginians of every complexion of opinion theretofore, went out with absolute unanimity.

John B. Baldwin, when asked after President Lincoln's proclamation what would be the position of the Union men in Virginia, wrote:

"We have no Union men in Virginia now. But those who were Union men will stand to their guns, and make a fight that will shine out on the page of history as an example of what a brave people can do after exhausting every means of pacification."²

It is impossible at this date to tell the number of soldiers Lunenburg furnished to the Confederate cause. After the first companies left the county, with their quotas full, soldiers enlisting from the county were placed, it seems, almost indiscriminately in whatever company had a deficiency without reference to where the units were from. And even at the very beginning of the war many Lunenburgers enlisted in companies being raised in other counties, and likewise some, at least, from other counties joined Lunenburg companies.

As we have seen above, the Loch Leven Rangers were organized on February 6, 1861, at Non-Intervention. As such that organization never saw service.

It was reorganized in May, 1861, as the *Flat Rock Riflemen*.

Captain Cornelius Tacitus Allen, who was 2nd Lieutenant in the Company when it was reorganized explains the reason therefor as follows: "It was first intended," says he, "that the company should be a Cavalry Company, but the idea prevailed that cavalry wouldn't be needed, and would be of but little service, that if we desired to be *in the war* at all, we must go as infantry, so the company's name was changed from *Loch Leven Rangers*

¹Corbin: *Life of Matthew F. Maury*, 186.

²Jones: *School History of the United States*, 239.

to *Flat Rock Riflemen*.”¹ Captain Allen says the company was organized on the 23rd day of April, 1861, at Spring Hill Church in Lunenburg County, and that shortly thereafter it went into camp at the “Old Taylor Place” near St. John’s Church, which thus came to be known as Camp Taylor; and the photostat copy of the muster roll preserved in the Virginia State Library bears notations showing that many of the company enlisted May 20, 1861, at St. John’s Church.

The following is the roster of the company when it was mustered into service:

Muster roll of Captain David R. Stokes Company (C) of the Twentieth Regiment of Va. Volunteers Army of the Confederate States of America, Lieut. Col. Jas. R. Crenshaw, formerly Lt. Col. J. Pegram from the 30th June, 1861, when last mustered to the 31st of August, 1861.

(This company was enlisted May 20, 1861, at St. John’s Church.)

David R. Stokes, Captain.	Bragg, Alex. B.
Colin Neblett, 1st Lt.	Blackwell, Ro. A.
C. Tacitus Allen, 2nd Lt.	Bell, F. Nat.
Jno. R. Featherston,	Boswell, Thos. R.
Brt. 2nd Lt.	Bowers, S. Y.
H. E. Boswell, 1st Sgt.	Browder, J. W.~
E. S. (G?) Hardy, 2nd Sgt.	Bottom, Wm. W. (or A.)
N. M. Neblett, 3rd Sgt.	Cralle, Ed. A.
I. (or J.) W. Wilkerson,	Crowder, Green A.
4th Sgt.	Crowder, Geo. W.
J. J. (or I. I.) Featherston,	Cox (?), C. B.
1st Corp.	Dix, Wm. A.
J. D. May, 2nd Corp.	Dix, Jno. G.
L. J. (or I.) Hite, 3rd Corp.	Estis, Jno. Jas.
C. M. Hardy, 4th Corp.	Gee, George E[ldige]
Allen, Wm. J.	Gallion, T. G.
Andrews, Wm. G.	Elder, Jno. H.
Andrews, Jno. F.	Gallion, W. T.
Andrews, Lowry	Hite, Jas. L.
Atkinson, Wm. M.	Hawthorne, F. S.
	Hawthorne, Sam W.

¹Captain Allen’s manuscript in the writer’s possession.

Hardy, R. V.	Ragsdale, Thos. W.
Hardy, A. A.	Rainey, C. B.
Hardy, Jno. Y. (or G.)	Rainey, R. W.
Harriss, Chas. H.	Reese, W. L. (or G. or T.)
Harriss, Junius H.	Smith, Ben. E.
Hudson, Jno. J. (or I.)	Smith, R. J.
Hazlewood, Jno. J. (or I.)	Saunders, Dr. Archer
Hines, J. J. (or I. I.), (T. S.)	Shell, Jack R.
Hawkins, Sam S.	Saunders, E. T.
Hall, Ro. J. (or I.)	Saunders, Wm. H.
Ingram, Thos. L.	Saunders, S. Y.
Ingram, Saml. H.	Snead, S. W. (or I. W.)
Inge, T. N.	Snead, J. J. (or I. I.)
Johnson, J. W. (or I. W.)	Snead, Thos. A.
Johnson, J. J. (or I. I.)	Skinner, John C.
Jackson, J. G. (or I. G.)	Taylor, W. D. (or W. W.)
Laffoon, J. A. (or I. A.)	Taylor, E. J. (?) ¹
Laffoon, W. G.	Taylor, B. I. (?) ¹
Laffoon, R. G.	Tomlinson, T. B. (or F. B.) ¹
Laffoon, M. M.	Tisdale, R. (?) W. ¹
Laffoon, W. D. (or W. W.)	Tucker, W. H. ¹
Leonard, P. D.	Tucker, S. L. ¹
Magher, J. G.	Tucker, G. (?) M. ¹
Marable, Z. M. P.	Houk, J. M. (or I. M.) ¹
Manson, T. F.	Vailes, Jos.
Murrell, Geo.	Walthall, W. I. (or W. J.)
Mathews, Wm.	White, Chester B.
Malone, C[laiborne]	Walker, J. Abner
Malone, Thos. B.	(or I. Abner)
Moore, John I. (or J.)	Walker, G. E.
Moore, Abram F.	Wilkerson, Thos. A.
Phillips, Jas. R.	Winn, J. J. (or I. I.)
Peace, Jno. J. (or I.)	Winn, W. R.
Ragsdale, Geo. A.	Wilmoth, A. C.
Ragsdale, Jas. G.	Winn, W. H. (or U. H.)

Miss Nannie Neblett, daughter of Dr. Sterling Neblett, at that time a patriotic young belle of the county, sister to Colin

¹These names illegible on muster roll are supplied from pay roll of Sept. 25, 1861.



Battle Flag of the Flat Rock Riflemen.

Neblett, a Lieutenant in the company, presented to the company "a beautiful silken flag with the name of the company embroidered on it and also *Our Rights*."¹ "At her request," says Captain Allen, "I presented the banner to the company at Spring Hill Church on May 18, in a speech of a few minutes."²

The company remained in camp until Friday, May 23, 1861. The men then dispersed to their homes with instructions to rendezvous at Camp Taylor the following Monday. "So," says Captain Allen, "on said date we gathered at Camp Taylor about 9 o'clock. It was a sad day, yet good spirits prevailed. All the neighbors, and many who lived too far off to be called neighbors, collected at Camp Taylor to bid us 'Good-bye.' Many sent their wagons and buggies to take us to the railroad station, Blacks and Whites (now Blackstone), in Nottoway Co., on the (then) South Side Railroad."³

The company proceeded to Richmond by way of Burkeville "Junction" and the Richmond & Danville Railroad. Upon reaching Richmond the company bivouacked in Old Trinity Church for several days, and on May 29th, 1861, the company was inspected by Col. Jno. B. Baldwin and mustered into the service of the State of Virginia for one year.⁴

Two of the company, R. E. Ragsdale and J. G. T. Shell, were rejected because they were not eighteen years of age.

"At the time of this muster, after excluding these rejected men, the company," says Captain Allen, "had 102 men." It had a few more a month or so later, according to the first official muster roll that has survived.

Upon being inspected and mustered into service, the company was ordered to the camp of instruction at the Hermitage Fair Grounds, and that evening the soldiers there assembled were addressed by President Davis and Honorable Louis T. Wigfall of Texas, and great enthusiasm prevailed.

Major Nat. Tyler was assigned to command the battalion of which this company was a part, and the ten companies in the in-

¹Captain Allen's MS.

²Id.

³Id.

⁴Id.

struction camp were organized into the 20th Regiment of Virginia Volunteers.¹ This regiment was commanded by Lieut. Col. John Pegram, an old United States army officer, afterwards a Major General in the Confederate Army, who was killed at Five Forks, April 2nd or 3rd, 1865.

Captain George C. Orgain enlisted a company at Lewiston (Lunenburg C. H.), on May 21, 1861, which also became a part of the 20th regiment of Virginia Volunteers. The detailed movement of this company from the time of its enlistment until it became a part of this regiment seems not to have been recorded. Its roll is as follows:

Muster roll of George C. Orgain's company of the 20th Regt. Virginia Volunteers. Lt. Col. James R. Crenshaw (formerly Jno. Pegram), from June 30, 1861, to August 31, 1861.

This company was enlisted at Lewistown on May 21, 1861.

George C. Orgain, Captain.	Buckner, William R.
James L. Williams, 1st Lieut.	Buckner, James H.
George C. Lester, 2nd Lt.	Bayne, John W.
Thomas A. Orgain, 2nd Lt.	Bentley, John J.
Samuel R. Brown, 1st Sgt.	Barton, William A.
James R. Orgain, 2nd Sgt.	Barton, John T.
William J. Cox, 3rd Sgt.	Bridgforth, William L.
John T. Crymes, 4th Sgt.	Crafton, Richard W.
Richard D.(?) White,	Crafton, John A.
1st Corp.	Crafton, William T.
Joel M. (W.) Parrish,	Crafton, Lewellyn M.
Corpl.	Collins, John C.
Samuel C. Fowlkes, Corpl.	Coleman, Thomas C.
Douglass B. Woodson, Corpl.	Dodd, James W.
	Dungans, John A.
Ashworth, Joel T.	Dupriest, James A.
Arvin, Samuel T.	Dupriest, John H.
Burnette, James R.	Eggleston, E. J.
Barnes, Clement	Fowlkes, William E.
Barnes, Pleasant	Flowers, John R.
Bradshaw, William L.	Foster, Josiah W.

¹Captain Allen's MS.

Gills, Daniel A.	Pamplin, David L. A.
Green, Thomas C.	Roach, Elijah
Gallion, Thomas A.	Roach, William J.
Hudson, Gideon B.	Robey, Archer N.
Hazlewood, John J.	Rutledge, William C.
Hazlewood, George W.	Snead, George W.
Harding, Robert W.	Smith, Thomas A.
Harding, A.	Smithson, Darius M. B.
Hall, John T.	Tisdale, Henry M.
Inge, Edward G.	Verser, Leroy J.
Jones, Charles W.	Williamson, James W.
Lester, Sterling H.	Woodson, Abner T.(?)
Mize, Jacob R.	Worsham, James S.
Mize, William H.	Wilkes, Benjamin W.
Mize, Benjamin H.	Wilkes, William R.
Marker, Philip C.	White, Edward B.
McKinney, John Q. A.	Winn, Lewellyn P.
McLaughlin, Peter B.	Winn, Lewis E.
Parrish, Edward H.	Winn, Joseph (?) H.

On June 11th, 1861, the 20th Regiment embracing Captain Stokes' and Captain Orgain's companies were ordered to join the army of Northwestern Virginia, then at Laurel Hill, Randolph County, Virginia (now West Virginia). The troops proceeded over the Fredericksburg & Potomac Railroad to Fishersville, and thence to Staunton, where General Wise (former Governor Henry A. Wise), the commander of the forces in this section, was presented with a fine horse by the citizens of Augusta County. Judge Sheffey of Staunton made the presentation address.

Captain Stokes' company was compelled to leave three sick men at Staunton, J. W. Wilkerson, Jas. (Jno.) F. Andrews and Thos. F. Manson. Dr. J. L. Hite was detailed to attend them.

From Staunton the troops marched to Buffalo Gap, reached Bull Pasture River by June 15, crossed the Greenbrier on the 17th, and reached Beverley, the county seat of Randolph County on Tygarts Valley River, on the 19th, and on the 20th the forces reached Laurel Hill, after seven days' march from Staunton.

The regiments at this time at Laurel Hill were those of Col.

Taliaferro, Col. Jackson, Col. Fulkerson and Col. Pegram. There were also two companies of cavalry, one from Greenbrier County and one from Bath. There was also a small artillery force.

On June 27th, one of Captain Stokes' men, Charles H. Harriss, was shot and killed by Joel T. Ashworth, a member of Captain George C. Orgain's Company, who was on picket duty, and who mistook him for a Federal soldier. The circumstances were such that no blame attached to Ashworth, as Harriss had disobeyed orders and had gone too far in front of the encampment. Harriss was buried with military honors, and his funeral was preached by Captain J. M. P. Atkinson, of the "Hampden-Sidney Boys." Captain Atkinson was a Presbyterian Minister, and a professor at Hampden-Sidney College.¹

On July 3, the force at Laurel Hill, or at least a part of them, embracing Captain Stokes' and Captain Orgain's companies, were ordered to Rich Mountain to reinforce Col. Heck; the force moved under Major Tyler, Col. Pegram being absent. After some skirmishing for several days, during which some men were wounded and a few killed, the battle of Rich Mountain was fought on July 11, 1861.

The Confederates held a clearing of some 30 or 40 acres, on the summit of Rich Mountain, embracing the house of one David L. Hart. The Federals made two charges, and were repulsed, but with reinforcements "their overwhelming numbers overcame our brave troops, and they were forced to retreat to avoid being completely surrounded."²

Captain Allen estimated that Gen. Rosencranz had between 4,000 and 5,000 men, while Col. Pegram's command at Rich Mountain was between 1,200 and 1,500; a part of his force was in the entrenchments before the camp expecting an attack.

General George B. McClellan was in general command of the Federal forces, Rosencranz commanding between 4,000 and 5,000 men and McClellan himself between 7,000 and 8,000 men.

Upon the repulse of the Confederates on the top of Rich Mountain, they retired toward the entrenchments in the rear and ambushed the road, expecting the Federals to follow up their

¹Capt. Allen's MS.

²Id.

advantage, but they did not do so. The explanation was that they had conceived the plan of getting in the rear of the Confederates, which they were able to do through the treachery of David L. Hart, who was very familiar with the entire territory.

After the repulse from the top of the mountain and the failure of the Federals to follow up and attack, Col. Pegram decided to attack them, and he selected Captain Stokes' Company to lead the charge. The attack was to be a surprise charge at midnight. Careful reconnoitering, however, disclosed that the Federals had moved up and were encamped about 3,600 strong, on the previous field of battle, while Col. Pegram had not exceeding 500 men for this particular enterprise, so it was abandoned.

Discovering the men under Rosencranz in their rear and those under McClellan in front and in such force, nothing remained but to endeavor to get out of the trap as best it could be done. Five companies were placed under command of Major Tyler with directions to make their way through the mountains to Beverley and thence to Gen. Garnett at Laurel Hill. Col. Pegram himself proceeded to the camp at Rich Mountain in an endeavor to save the forces there.

After a march of incredible hardship and suffering, Major Tyler's command got through, but as Gen. Garnett had retreated from Laurel Hill, the forces were marched in the direction of Staunton. When the retreating party reached Monterey, Captain Stokes resigned his commission, "for which he was severely criticized."¹

Col. Pegram and 600 or 800 men undertook to retreat and eluded the pursuers for several days, but were finally captured. Among those captured were twenty-nine of Captain Stokes' men.

The Lunenburg companies received their baptism of fire and blood at Rich Mountain. "Here," says Captain Allen, "I saw for the first time wounded, bleeding, dying and dead men—my first sight of human blood—I shall carry with me to my grave the awful feeling that possessed me as I looked at those men! They were crying, groaning, praying, and at the same time *cheering* us who had come to their aid, urging us to go forward and save the day or die in the attempt."²

¹Captain Allen's MS.

²Id.

The entries on the rolls extant of Captain Orgain's Company as to casualties are dim and indistinct, in some cases illegible, but sufficient can be made out to show that some forty or fifty men were killed and many taken prisoners.

The flag presented to Captain Stokes' Company by Miss Nannie Neblett was hid in a hollow log, preparatory to the night attack at first decided upon and was subsequently found by the enemy and taken away. It was returned to Virginia under the Act of Congress for the return of the captured battle flags, and is now preserved in the Confederate Museum at Richmond, Virginia.¹

On the retreat from Rich Mountain, on the night of July 13th, one of the prisoners attempted to escape, and the guards shot at him. This occurred on a night march. The firing produced a panic (some of the soldiers thinking they were being attacked), especially among the men of Col. W. C. Scott's regiment, the 44th Virginia. They shot wildly and at random and some were killed.

When the forces reached Monterey, Highland County, they were met by Gen. Robert E. Lee, then comparatively little known, who had been sent to reinforce them.

Before they could reach Staunton practically the whole force were sick, some had measles, and others distempers of various sorts. Captain Allen, then a 2nd Lieutenant, was very ill; and after some time in Staunton, was taken home.

The remnants of the companies which had composed the 20th Virginia were ordered from Monterey to Richmond, and were there furloughed for twenty-two days. Nearly all were sick and several died.

In September, 1861, those who remained of the unit, and were able to do so, reported in Richmond, when by order of the Secretary of War the 20th Virginia Regiment was disbanded in consequence of "utter prostration by disease, etc."

Thus ended the career of the *Flat Rock Riflemen*.²

Another Lunenburg Company, of which too few details are available respecting its history, was Company "H" of the 59th Regiment of Wise's Brigade. This company was enlisted in

¹Where the writer saw it Sept. 3, 1926.

²Capt. Allen's MS.

1861, and surrendered at Appomattox. The roster of this company as it appears in Volume 6 at page 433 et seq. of the Confederate Soldiers, in the Virginia State Library, is as follows:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Ellis, J. W., Capt. | Bragg, R. R. |
| Surrendered at Appomattox. | Bishop, R. L. |
| Bishop, J. A., 1st Lt. | Surrendered at Appomattox. |
| Surrendered at Appomattox. | Bailey, A. J. |
| George, W. W., 2nd Lt. | Surrendered at Appomattox. |
| (Captured June 3, '64, at | Brown, R. A. |
| Morris Ts(?). Was also | Died in hospital. |
| 2nd Lt. Co. H, 26 Bat. in | Crafton, R. E. |
| Va. Int.). (Cap. June 3, | Clark, Zeb. |
| '64, at Cold Harbor.) | Davidson, J. H. |
| Gregory, E. J., 3rd Lt. | Davis, J. W. |
| Bryant, J. J., Lieut. | Died in hospital. |
| Tisdale, R. W., 2nd Sgt. | Ellis, E. F. |
| Surrendered at Appomattox. | Elder, (H.) |
| Pollard, L. J., 3rd Sgt. | Fowlkes, T. C. |
| Surrendered at Appomattox. | Gunn, S. H. |
| Goodwin, M. T., 4th Sgt. | Gee, H. M. |
| Surrendered at Appomattox. | Goodwyn, E. W. |
| Marshall, W. S., 1st Corpl. | Green, F. A. W. |
| Surrendered at Appomattox. | (Had 7 sons in C. S. Army. |
| Ashworth, A. J. | See Acts 1889-90.) |
| Wounded at Deep Creek. | Green, T. C. |
| Anderson, T. H. | Hodgins, A. H. |
| Ashworth, J. S. | Hardy, R. V. |
| Surrendered at Appomattox. | Hawkins, S. Branch. |
| Binnes, R. E. | Surrendered at Appomattox. |
| Disabled in the service. | Hawkins, R[obert]. |
| Bishop, Alf. | Surrendered at Appomattox. |
| Bohannon, R. | Hart, T. B. (or T. P.). |
| Bayne, E. G. | Wounded at the Crater. |
| Bohannon, Benj. | Hankins, J. T., or |
| Bragg, W. L. | (Hawkins, J. T.) |
| Burnett, W. H. | Wounded at the Crater. |
| Surrendered at Appomattox. | Hayth, C. T. |
| | Jones, S. H. |

- Jones, G. R.
 Kelton, J[os.] H.
 Wounded near Richmond.
 Moore, J. B.
 Died in the service.
 Moore, R. A.
 McGarry, John.
 Transferred to Navy S. V.
 309. Dec. 30, '63.
 Mason, E. H.
 Wounded at 5 Forks.
 Marable, J. E.
 Merrell, J. W.
 Matthews, I. A.
 In 1st Co. H, 9th Va.
 Inftry. Transferred to 28
 Bat. of Co. C—discharged
 Sept. 9, '62, subsequently
 this Co. became Co. H of
 the 59th Va. Infantry.
 War Dept., May 27-15.
 Nunnally, J. L.
 Overton, J. T. B.
 Wounded at Nottoway
 Bridge.
 Overton, Thomas B.
 Procise, J. H.
 Rutledge, W. R.
 Roberts, J. L.
 Surrendered at Appomattox.
 Ragsdale, W. H.
 Surrendered at Appomattox.
 Robertson, G. C.
 Wounded at Five Forks.
- Ragsdale, Richard
 (See Co. E, 59.)
 Prisoner Roanoke Island
 Feb. 2, 1862, released at
 Elizabeth City, N. C., Feb.
 21, '62.
 Spain, E. M.
 Surrendered at Appomattox.
 Shelton, J. F.
 Died in hospital.
 Slaughter, W. S.
 Disabled in service.
 Tucker, W. A.
 Veale, Amos E.
 (11 years old). Drummer.
 “Served through the war
 whenever the Reg. went
 into a fight. Veale laid
 aside his drum, got a
 musket and did as good
 shooting as anyone in the
 Co. He lived through the
 war without receiving a
 wound. Porter's History.”
 White, E. B.
 Surrendered at Appomattox.
 Winn, C. M.
 White, C. A.
 Wounded near Petersburg.
 Wallace, J. C.
 Wounded.
 Wallace, S. A.

In addition to the infantry companies of Captain David R. Stokes and Captan George C. Orgain and Captain J. W. Ellis, Lunenburg, at the beginning of the war sent a company of cavalry known as the *Lunenburg Light Dragoons*. It was Company G of the Ninth Regiment of Cavalry.

“This company was organized several years prior to the war, and was styled ‘The Lunenburg Light Dragoons.’ Its first Captain was William E. Stockdell, who was succeeded by W. H. Hatchett. After some time spent at Ashland, where the company was drilled by Colonels Fields and Lomax, it was ordered early in 1861 to West Virginia, where it remained with the ‘Lee Rangers’ under Captain W. H. F. Lee until the latter part of the winter of 1862, when it was ordered to Fredericksburg, where it was made one of the constituent companies of the Ninth Regiment of Virginia Cavalry.”¹

The roster of the company appears in Volume 9, at page 401 et seq. of the Confederate Soldiers in the Virginia State Library. The compiler of this list has evidently endeavored to embrace the names of all who were at any time members of the company. Certainly all those whose names are given were not all members of the company at the same time.

The roster is as follows:

Hatchett, W[m.] H., Captain. Resigned 1861, in Pocahontas Co.	Hardy, C. B., Orderly Sgt. Lt. Wounded.
Knight, O[scar] M., Captain. Resigned.	Winn, George (G. A.), Orderly Sgt.
Stokes, Jno. A., 1st Lt.	Bragg, John O., 2nd Sgt.
Staples, James T., 2nd Lt.	Smith, Orlando, 2nd Lt.
Fowlkes, A. E., 2nd Lt. Killed at Boonesboro.	Wilson, R. W., 2nd Sgt.
Davis, N. E., 2nd Lt. Killed at Manassas.	Tisdale, W. H., 2nd Sgt. Wounded. Capt'd. In prison to end of war.
Neblett, N. M., 2nd Lt.	White, Frank, 2nd Sgt.
Averett, C. E., Orderly Sgt. Discharged on act. disability. Promoted Lieut. Col.	McCormick, B. D., 2nd Sgt. Promoted from Corporal.
Bolling, Stith, 1861, Orderly Sgt. Captain. Wounded 6 times.	Hatchett, Peter M., 4th Sgt.
Love, D. R., Orderly Sgt. Lt. Wounded at Nance's Shop.	Love, Allen H., 2 Corpl.
	Hatchett, P. M., Corpl.
	Staples, Servetus A., Corpl.
	Smith, W. W., Corpl., Sgt. Wounded.
	Staples, Egbert A., 3rd Corpl.

¹Roster 9, page 401, Virginia State Library.

- Fowlkes, Armstead E.,
4th Corpl.
Privates
Arvin, George T.
Arvin, Marcellus
Arvin, Mortimore (L.)
Armes, R. A. (or R. J.)
Wdd. at Culpeper.
Arvin, T. J.
Atkinson, W. (Wm. M.)
Averette, Chapel E.
Atkinson, W. M.
Bailey, Jim
Barnes, P[eter] B.
Barnes, W. A. (or W. H.)
Barrow, Henry (or Barron)
Baugh, J. A.
Baugh, William J.
Bell, Adam
Blackwell, J. C.
Blackwell, R. A.
Blackwell, W. T.
Bishop, J. H. (or I. H.)
Bolling, J. R.
Bolling, H.
Bolling, H. E.
Boswell, Thomas (T. R.)
Boswell, H. E.
Bruce, R. L.
Bolling, J. E.
Bruff, I. H. (or J. H.)
Burnett, William (W.)
Burke, John
Burton, Thomas (T. C.)
Brooks, John (J. T.)
Wounded.
Butterworth, James (J. M.)
Brown, Saml. Robert
Bishop, Chapman
- Brydy, Ro. B.
Brown, S. D.
Clark, Robert E.
Couch, J. W.
Clarke, George
Clarke, James H.
Wounded at Falmouth.
Clarke, James T. Killed.
Clarke, VanBuren F.
Wounded at Nance's Shop.
Coleman, W[at] (or A. W.)
Cox, G. W. (George M.?)
Crowder, R. B.
Chumney, Grief C.
Chumney, W. M.
Crymes, Leonard
Crowder, Marcellus A.
Clarke, Robert E.
Dance, Wesley S.
Daniel, George
Dawson, R. G.
Surrendered at Appomattox.
Davis, Ashley L.
Wounded at Fredericksburg.
Dawson, John
Dowdy, John
Dowdy, W. B.
Durby, H.
Dyson, F. H.
Dodson, Lloyd
Dodson, W. R.
Davis, Nicholas E.
Dowdy, James (W.)
Davis, W. S.
Edmunds, Saml. W.
Edmonds, Sit.
Edmondson, J. B. (or J. R.)
Wounded at Gettysburg.

- Estes, John J. (J. J. or I. I.)
 Estis, Duck
 Eubank, A. J.
 Eubank, James (F.)
 Eubank, John
 Eubank, William
 Eubank, Robert (T.).
 Trans. fr. Co. K, 1st Rgt.
 Res. S. O. 15 Jan. 1865.
 Elder, John H.
 Eubank, J. E.
 Ellis, Joseph
 Faris, Booker L.
 Featherstone, Jim (J.).
 Wounded.
 Featherstone, (J.) Richard
 Figg, B. E.
 Forrest, R. J.
 Fowlkes, C. B.
 Forrest, Wm. B.
 Fitzgerald, D. C.
 Fuqua, Littleton T.
 Fuqua, S. A.
 Findlay, James W., Sgt.
 Figg, B. F.
 Gary, W. T.
 Gary, Warner K.
 Gary, L. M.
 Gillispie, W.
 Gee, George E.
 Gee, L. M.
 Gaulding, A. E.
 Gaulding, James M.
 Gregory, _____.
 Hardy, J. T.
 Trans. from Co. K. Regt.
 Reserved S. O. 15, Jan. 19,
 1865.
 Hamlin, William C.
- Hardy, A. A. Wounded.
 Hardy, John J.
 Hardy, Luther C. Wounded.
 Hardy, J. E.
 Harding, H. A. (or H.)
 Hardy, Wilson M.
 Killed at Hagerstown, Md.,
 on retreat from Gettysburg.
 Harris, J. M. (Joseph M.)
 Hardy, C[harles] M.
 Harding, A. D.
 Hatchett, A.
 Hite, L. J.
 Harris, J. H.
 Hawthorne, H. (W.)
 Hawthorne, Fred (Fed)
 Hite, James
 Hughes, Mather J. P. Killed.
 Hurt, John P.
 Hurt, M. B. (Munford B.)
 Harding, E. D.
 Wounded in Nottoway Co.
 Hardy, Littleton
 Hazzlewood, _____
 (Hazlewood)
 Harris, Joseph M.
 Jeffress (Jeffries), Llewellyn
 Jones, M.
 Jones, P. E.
 Jones, J. W.
 Johns, B. T. (Branch T.?)
 Johnson, J.
 Johnson, Rufus
 Johnson, William
 Jordan, _____
 Johnson, J. R. (or T. R.)
 Jenkins, Joseph R.
 Johnson, J. (W.)
 Knight, George

- Knight, L. H. (or L. N.).
 Discharged 1861 at Ash-
 land, Va.
 Lee, J. H.
 Lee, William A.
 Love, J. (N.)
 Love, S. H. (Stephen Henry)
 Trans. from 1st Reg. Res.
 Co. K. S. O. 15, Jan. 15,
 1865.
 Love, Tom
 Love, D. R. (David R.)
 Malone, C.
 Malone, W.
 Manson, F. S.
 Marable, Jim
 Mize, Jacob (R.).
 Wounded at Gettysburg.
 Mize, S. S.
 Moore, T. G.
 Mug, John
 Marshall, E. O.
 Moore, John or J. J.
 Malkintine, _____
 McCormick, D. P.
 Mann, J. A.
 Died in service.
 Monteith, A. K.
 Manson, Richd.
 May, Charles
 McIntire, Dan'l
 McCormick, Beverly D.
 Neblett, H.
 Nickleson, _____
 Nash, F. Killed.
 Neale, J. C.
 1865, 3 mos. Trans. fr. Co.
 K, 1 Reg. Res. S.. O. 15,
 Jan. 19, 1865.
- Norman, Henry
 Nicholson, John W.
 Nicholson, Vancouver
 Nethers, Arnold
 Overton, Richard J.
 Wounded at Ream's Station.
 Orgain, James. Killed.
 Orgain, _____
 Palmer, J. W.
 Passmore, William
 Petty, John D.
 Phillips, William
 Powell, L.
 Pugh, _____
 Powell, J. L.
 Ransom, John
 Ransom, P. J. (or T. J.)
 Richards, H. B.
 Robinson, R. F.
 Robertson, A. S.
 Rennolds, _____
 Richerson, John
 Ragsdale, J. G.
 Russell, J. (Joel H.).
 Captured 1862 at Fal-
 mouth, Va.
 Rux, A. P.
 Rowlette, A. E. (Aurelius E.)
 Russell, J. B.
 Rudd, T. J. (or John T.)
 Snead, F. M.
 Shackleton, J. A. (James A.)
 Singleton, _____ (D. W.)
 Smith, C. C. (Charles C.)
 Smithson, Buck
 Smith, J. B.
 Smith, H. C. (Henry C.)
 Smith, John H.
 Smith, O. M. (Orlando M.)

Smith, B.	Tonkin (Tompkins),
Smith, Robert	William F.
Street, W.	Tisdale, William H.
Discharged 1861 at Ashland.	Thomas, John R.
Smith, George	Vaughan, N. H.
Shelton, L. (E.)	Died and buried at
(Llewellyn E.).	Pt. Lookout, Md.
Wounded at Brandy Station.	Vaughan, W.
Stokes, S. A. (or S. Y.)	Wagstaff, G. B. (George B.)
Stokes, E. M. (Edward M.)	Walker, Al.
Stokes, J. Bedford. Killed.	White, E[dwin]
Stokes, William H.	White, F[rank]
Sturdivant, T. W. or P. W.	Winn, George (A.)
Stuart, James P.	Winn, W. H. (or Harrison)
Staples, Egbert A.	Winn, Jno. (A.)
Smithson, Dal.	Winn, Wash[ington] C.
Smith, Joshua	Wilson, Ad. (or J. A.)
Stokes, Jno. A., 1st Lt.	Wilson, William A.
Resigned 1861 in W. Va.	Wise, W. A.
disability.	Whitmore, G. A.
Smith, William W.	Williams, T. J. (Tingnal J.)
Tarry, G. W. (George W.)	Wilkerson, J. W.
Thomas, Pomp	Weakley, James K.
Thomas, William R.	Wilson, Richard H.
Tisdale, W. C. (William C.)	Winn, L. M.

The muster rolls show that in April, 1862, this company had the following officers:

O. M. Knight, Captain	A. E. Fowlkes, 2nd Lt.
Orlando Smith, 1st Lt.	Stith Bolling, 2nd Lt. Jr.

The roll for December, 1862, is entitled "Captain Stith Bolling's Company" but shows: Orlando Smith to be the Captain with the notation, "resigned Jan. 17, 1863," and shows 1st Lt. Stith Bolling promoted to the captaincy. At that time

N. E. Davis was 1st Lt. and
David R. Love, 2nd Lt.

The roll for April 30, 1864, shows the company serving under

Col. R. L. Y. Beale. The personnel of the company at that time was as follows:

Stith Bolling, Capt.	Chumney, G. C.
D. R. Love, 1st Lt.	Crowder, M. A.
N. M. Neblett, 2nd Lt.	Dawson, R. G.
C. B. Hardy, 1st Sgt.	Estes, J. J.
Wm. M. Chumney, 2nd Sgt.	Edmundson, J. B.
G. A. Winn, 3rd	Eubank, Wm. L.
Jas. M. Gaulding, 4th	Eubank, J. E.
H. W. Hawthorne, 5th	Eubank, A. J.
W. W. Smtih, 1st Corp.	Eubank, J. F.
E. A. Staples, 2nd Corp.	Faris, B. S.
B. D. McCormick, 3rd Corp.	Fuqua, L. T. (or S. T.)
T. (or S.) J. Williams,	Fuqua, Saml.
4th Corp.	Fitzgerald, D. C.
Arvin, M. L.	Featherstun, J. J.
Arvin, M.	Featherstun, J. R.
Arvin, T. J.	Forrest, P. J.
Arvin, G. T.	Gillispie, W. S. (or L.)
Armes, R. J.	Gaulding, E. A.
Atkinson, Wm. M.	Gaulding, D. E.
Baugh, W. J.	Hardy, S. C. (or L. C.)
Brooks, J. T.	Hardy, A. A.
Butterworth, J. M.	Hardy, C. M.
Boswell, T. R.	Harding, H. A.
Burton, T. C.	Hurt, J. P.
Blackwell, R. A.	Hite, J. L. (or S.)
Blackwell, T.	Hite, S. J. (or L. J.)
Broff, J. H.	Johns, B. T.
Burke, W. J.	Jeffress, L. M. (or S. M.)
Boswell, H. E.	Johnson, J. J.
Burnett, W. W.	Johnson, T. R.
Barnes, J. D.	Johnson, J. W.
Barnes, W. H.	Jones, I. W. (or J. W.)
Clark, V. F.	Jones, P. E.
Clark, J. H.	Jones, M.
Clark, James	Lee, J. W. (or I. W.)
	Lee, J. H. (or I. H.)

Lee, Wm. E.	Singleton, D. W.
May, J. D. (or I. D.)	Staples, J. T.
Mise, J. B.	Tarry, G. W.
Neblett, H. M.	Tisdale, W. H.
Nicholas, J. E. (or I. E.)	Tisdale, W. C.
Overton, R. J.	Thomas, J. R.
Passmore, Wm.	Thomas, Wm. R.
Petty, J. D.	Vaughan, G. W.
Palmer, J. W.	Vaughan, N. H. (or W. H.)
Russell, J. H.	White, Edwin
Richardson, J. (or I.) W.	Winn, Jno. A.
Runyan, T. G.	White, Francis
Richards, H. B.	Winn, W. H.
Robertson, A. S. (or L.)	Walker, J. A.
Smith, C. C.	Whitmore, G. A.
Smith, H. C.	Wilkinson, J. W.
Shelton, L. E. (or S. E.)	Wilson, W. A.
Stokes, W. H.	Wagstaff, G. B.
Smith, J. B. (or I. B.)	Wilson, J. A.
Smith, R. A.	Hughes, J. P. (or J. R.)
Smith, W. F.	

After the Rich Mountain disaster and the disbanding of the Twentieth Virginia Regiment, the survivors of the Lunenburg companies returned to their homes. But the stirring scenes in the national drama called them again to battle after a brief recuperation.

In the winter of 1861 some of the survivors of that campaign and others joined in the organization of an artillery company from Lunenburg. Captain Cornelius Tacitus Allen, who had been a lieutenant in Captain David R. Stokes' Company, has left an account of the organization and the service of this company.

"The company," says Captain Allen, "was organized at St. John's Church in the lower end of Lunenburg in January, 1862."¹ The official roster, in the archives of the Virginia State Library gives the added item that the date of its organization was January 6, 1862.² At the organization Dr. Samuel W. Hawthorne

¹Capt. Allen's MS.

²Roster 14, page 371.

was elected Captain, C. Tacitus Allen, First Lieut., F. S. Hawthorne, Second Lieut., and M. M. Laffoon, Junior Second Lieutenant.¹

The company was re-organized under an Act of Congress in May, 1862,² when the officers were:

Dr. Samuel W. Hawthorne, Captain,
C. Tacitus Allen, First Lieutenant,
George C. Lester, Second Lieutenant,
James C. Hamlet, Junior Second Lieutenant.

Captain Hawthorne resigned in June, 1862, and C. Tacitus Allen was promoted to the Captaincy, George C. Lester to First Lieutenant, James C. Hamlet to Second Lieutenant, and Thomas A. Wilkerson was made Junior Second Lieutenant.³

The name adopted upon the organization of the company was *Lunenburg Rebel Artillery*.⁴ "It was mustered into service in January, 1862, and became Co. F, 2nd Regt. Virginia Artillery."⁵

In Roster 14, at page 371, of the records of Confederate soldiers preserved in the Archives Department of the Virginia State Library appears this entry:

"This company was organized as the 'Lunenburg Artillery' but was assigned on May 23, 1862, to the 22nd Battalion, Virginia Infantry as Co. F, and by S. O. 63, March 16, 1864, was permanently detached from the 22nd Battalion—became a part of J. Hampton Gibbs 13th Battalion Virginia Artillery—never a part of the 22nd Battalion of Infantry. (See War Dept. Acts 17, 1916.)"

Dr. Samuel W. Hawthorne, Captain of this company at its organization, did not accompany it into the active service. "He resigned after two or three months non-active service, in compliance with a pressing request from the people in his section of the county that they needed his services as a physician at home. There was at that time a scarcity of physicians in the county."⁶

¹Capt. Allen's MS.

²Id.

³Id.

⁴Id.

⁵Id.

⁶Roster 14, p. 371, Va. St. Lib.—note by Capt. Allen.

The roll of this company as it appears on the Roster¹ in the Virginia State Library seems to have been compiled with great care and diligence. Captain C. T. Allen was the Captain of the Company from the time it went into service at Chaffins Bluff until he was captured at Sailor's Creek three days before Lee's surrender. The list that follows taken from the Roster mentioned is evidently intended to embrace all who were at any time members of the company, and to note the rank attained at any time during the term of service.

Allen, C. Tacitus, Captain²
 Hawthorne, F. S., 1st Lt.
 Lester, Geo. C., 1st Lt.
 Wilkerson, T. A., 2nd Lt.
 Hamblette (Hamlet), J. C.,
 3rd Lt.
 Laffoon, M. M., 2nd Lt.
 Laffoon, Jugurtha A., 1st Sgt.
 Manson, Thos. F., 2nd Sgt.
 Lucas, J. T., 3rd Sgt.³
 Cralle, W. C., 4th Sgt.
 Bridgforth, W. L., 5th Sgt.
 Laffoon, R. G., 1st Corpl.
 Cralle, E. A., 2nd Corpl.
 Hudson, J. J. (I. I.),
 3rd Corpl.
 Allen, E. M., 4th Corpl.
 Arvin, M.
 Allen, W. J. (W. I.), (Hospital
 Steward Chaffins Bluff)
 Andrews, J. E.
 Andrews, Lowery (L.)
 Andrews, Geo. W.
 Andrews, W. S.
 (Wm. Sterling)

Andrews, B. W.
 Andrews, C. N.
 Bowers, John T.
 Bradshaw, J. T. (John T.)
 Barrow, L. E.
 Surrendered at Appomattox.
 Blunt, J. F.
 Burks, Geo. W.
 Bragg, T. C.
 Barr, J. R.
 Surrendered at Appomattox.
 Burnett, S. J.
 Connally (or Connelly),
 W. H.
 Crowder, John
 Callis, Geo. W.
 Coleman, W. S.
 Coleman, L. M.
 Coleman, A. H.
 Cumbia, W. A.
 Crafton, L. M.
 Crawley, R. R.
 Surrendered at Appomattox.
 Coleman, E. M.
 Callis, J. H.

¹Vol. 14, page 371 et seq.

²Wounded at Sailor's Creek; captured, in prison in Washington, D. C., and at Johnson's Island, in Lake Erie. Released in June, 1865.

³Surrendered at Appomattox.

- Davis, J. H.
 Surrendered at Appomattox.
 Dodd, Geo. W.
 Dupriest, Chas. A.
 Daniel, W. J.
 Daniel, Winston J.
 Dolan, T. J.
 Daniel, Joel W.
 Drake, Silas J.
 Dyson, F. A.
 (Douglas, R. H.) ("Should
 be C. A. 28th Rgt.")
 Edmunds, W. H.
 Eanes, R. W.
 Epperson, D. J.
 Elder, E. M.
 Died in service.
 Floyd, Robt.
 Flippin, Jno. F. Wounded.
 Featherston, W. B.
 Surrendered at Appomattox.
 Floyd, W. W.
 Killed at Sailors Creek.
 Floyd, Geo. W. (Geo. J.)
 Farley, G. H.
 Faris, M. R.
 Gallion, W. T.
 Grant, W. R.
 Gills, J. M.
 Gallion, T. G.
 Gregory, J. H.
 Garland, R. C.
 Hamblett (Hamlett), C. R.
 Hawthorne, P. W.
 Hawthorne, R. P.
 Hines, T. S.
 Hazlewood, J. J.
 Hazlewood, W. G.
- Hazlewood, J. W.
 Hammock, W. C.
 Harris, G.
 Hart, John (Substitute)
 Halmburg, John (Substitute)
 Hudson, J. J.
 Wounded at Sailors Creek.
 Inge, T. N.
 Inge, C. W.
 Jackson, J. G.
 Justice, W. T.
 Justice, G. W.
 Jackson, B. W.
 Jackson, T. A.
 Kirk, Geo. M.
 Detailed S. O. 6, Jan. 9, '65.
 Kirk, G. W.
 Love, J. M. (I. M.)
 Lambert, John A.
 (Substitute)
 Laffoon, W. D.
 Laffoon, W. G.
 Laffoon, M. L. (W. L.)
 Laffoon, R. G., 5th Sgt.
 Lambert, T. H.
 Love, Jennings M.
 McAllister, James N. Died
 and buried Pt. Lookout, Md.
 Moore, W. M.
 Moore, T. E.
 Moore, J. U.
 (or J. N. or I. U.)
 Moore, C. R.
 Moore, J. M.
 Moore, J. J.
 Manson, R. W.
 Detailed as Courier.
 Surrendered at Appomattox.

- Murrell, Geo. W.
 Morgan, O. B., App. Sgt.
 Major Gibbs 13th Battalion
 Va. Art.
 Matthews, J. R.
 Marshall, R. T.
 Marable, Z. M. P.
 Morgan, Richd.
 Moore, S. J.
 Moore, W. F.
 Manson, T. F.
 Nolley, Geo. M.
 Nash, James W.
 Nolley, G. W.
 Surrendered at Appomattox.
 Ozmore, E. A.
 Overby, J. W.
 Wounded at Sailors Creek.
 Overby, W. E.
 Potts, Albert
 Parrish, Joel W.
 Parrish, Geo. W.
 Parrish, Ed. H.
 Parrish, Jno. W. J.
 Parrish, James W.
 Parrish, Joseph M.
 Parrish, William A.
 Piercy, Thos. L.
 Pettus, S. V.
 Peace, W. F.
 Peace, J. J.
 Phillips, J. R.
 Purdy, W. H.
 Deserted May 11, 1862.
 Parrish, W. H.
 Parrish, L. M.
 Perkins, W. P. (W. B.)
 Parrish, J. J.
- Ragsdale, R. E.
 Ragsdale, Thos. W.
 Ragsdale, S. G.
 Ragsdale, Jas. G.
 Rainey, Charles B.
 Robertson, Jas. (J. S.)
 Roberts, James H.
 Ragsdale, John H.
 Ragsdale, Irvin S.
 Robinson, T. V.
 Scraggs, W. H.
 Skinner, C. V.
 Skinner, J. B.
 Surrendered at Appomattox.
 Skinner, J. C.
 Skinner, D. A.
 Skinner, J. R.
 Stone, B. A.
 Snead, J. J. (Substitute)
 Trans. to Stokes reserve
 S. O. 23, Jan. 28, 1865.
 Snead, E. M., 4th Corpl.
 Snead, John W.
 Smith, B. E.
 Surrendered at Appomattox.
 Smithson, W. B.
 Saunders, Albert.
 Jan. 22, 1862.
 Surrendered at Appomattox.
 Skinner, E. A.
 Skinner, C. F.
 Snead, G. W.
 Snead, Geo. Hainey
 Smith, A. S.
 Saunders, J. A.
 Surrendered at Appomattox.
 Saunders, W. H.
 Saunders, E. T.

Stokes, Colin. Surrendered at Appomattox.	Taylor, James J. (M. D.) (Capt. Allen has this name, T. James Taylor, M. D.).
Stokes, Henry (Hainey)	Vaughan, Alex.
Singleton, R.	Watkins, C. L.
Saffoon [Laffoon] W. S. Surrendered at Appomattox.	Wilson, R. H.
Tucker, R. P.	Waller, J. R.
Tucker, Geo. M.	Winn, W. R.
Tucker, S. L.	Winn, J. J.
Tomlinson, R. H.	Whipple, W. K. (Substitute)
Tomlinson, T. B.	Wilkes, B. W. Died and buried at Pt. Lookout, Md.
Taylor, E. L. Wounded at Sailors Creek, Apr. 6, 1865.	Wilkinson, W. O. J.
Taylor, W. D.	Watkins, T. M.
Taylor, B. J. Surrendered at Appomattox.	Walker, W. E.
Taylor, R. H. Surrendered at Appomattox.	Woodson, Beverly. Surrendered at Appomattox.
Turner, H. H.	Winn, Wm. E.
	Wilson, I. H. Died in service.

Not all of the men of this company were from Lunenburg. Some of them were from Brunswick and some from Nottoway Counties.¹

This list may be regarded as a practically full and accurate roster of this company. It checks with remarkable accuracy with the list of the company made up by Captain Allen primarily from the muster roll of December 31, 1863,² and yet there is evidence to convince that the two lists were from different sources.

Captain Allen states that the company may have contained, at some time, a few men whose names he had forgotten and who did not appear on the muster roll which he had before him in making his roster, and accordingly we find upon the roster in the State Library the names of T. C. Bragg, J. R. Barr, S. J. Burnett, J. H. Callis, Winston J. Daniel, T. J. Dolan, R. C. Garland, J. J. Hudson, C. W. Inge, J. M. Love, James N. McAllister, W. F. Moore, G. W. Nolley, John W. Snead, R. P. Tucker,

¹Captain Allen's MS.

²Id.

W. O. J. Wilkinson, Wm. E. Winn and I. H. Wilson, who are not on Captain Allen's list. In a few cases the list in the State Library seems to carry duplications. For example, it has J. M. Love and Jennings M. Love. Captain Allen's list has Jennings M. Love, but no J. M. Love. They were likely one and the same individual.

The first service of this company is thus described by Captain Allen: "In the spring of 1862," he says, "the United States Government was using with great effect Iron-clad Gunboats—afterwards called 'Monitors,' along the rivers of the South; and the Confederate Government, then established at Richmond, Va., became seriously apprehensive that such gunboats would ascend James River and attack Richmond and possibly destroy it. The moral effect of the great naval engagement between the *Merri-mack* and the *Monitor* in Hampton Roads gave good grounds for such apprehension. Thereupon, the Confederate Government turned its attention to a defence of Richmond against the 'Monitors,' and this company on account of its size and the good material comprising it, was detached from the 2nd Regiment of Artillery to man the 'Powhatan Battery,' situated on the north bank of James River within a couple of hundred yards south of the 'Old Mayo' residence a mile or so below Richmond."¹

Here the company was stationed during the seven days battles around Richmond, and within hearing of many of the battles, but it did not participate in any of them, because, as Captain Allen says, "The apprehension was that if General McClellan should be victorious in said battles, the 'Monitors' would at once ascend the James and attack Richmond. Hence the detention of the company at Powhatan Battery." But "McClellan was defeated, routed and driven from Eastern Virginia in a series of battles, the like of which for hard fighting, superb strategy, and splendid bearing of the Confederate soldiers, the world has never seen!"²

After this development, "The company was then sent down the James, some 8 or 10 miles, on the same side thereof, to Chaffin's Bluff, one mile below Drury's Bluff, which was on the

¹Capt. Allen's MS.

²Id.

south side of the river, and put in charge of the 'Iron Battery.' There the company remained, guarding the city of Richmond against gunboats, which were ever in the lower James in considerable numbers, until the end of the war."¹

On September 28th, 1864, in the night, a Federal force under General B. F. Butler, crossed the James on a pontoon bridge thrown across at or near Varina, a few miles below Chaffin's Bluff. On the morning of the 29th they attacked in force Fort Harrison, a strong fort in the outer line of entrenchments around Richmond. It was situated about a mile in the rear of Chaffin's Bluff. In resisting Butler's assault upon Fort Harrison, Captain Allen's company participated, and though the Federals succeeded, by the concentration of a large force against the relatively small number defending the fort, in taking it before sufficient forces could be concentrated at that point to successfully defend it, yet the defenders held the entrenchments with great stubbornness until Pickett's Division of Lee's Veterans came to their rescue about two o'clock in the afternoon.

In this fighting a considerable number of Captain Allen's Company were killed and wounded, Captain Allen being among the wounded.

The company continued at Chaffin's Bluff until the spring of 1865, when General Grant made his left-flank movement on General Lee around Petersburg, and broke his line, which disaster necessitated the evacuation of Richmond.

Captain Allen's company left Chaffin's Bluff Sunday night, April 2, 1865, at midnight and crossed over the James at the military bridge just above Drury's Bluff,² and joined in the general retreat towards Lynchburg.

The circumstances of the retreat are best told in Captain Allen's words:

"We went," he says, "in the direction of Lynchburg, moving on as rapidly as we could, day and night. We left the 'Bluff' with about one day's rations, which were consumed on Monday. From that time until Thursday evening, April 6th, we had noth-

¹Captain Allen's MS.

²Id.

ing to eat. Four days and four nights retreat without anything to eat, and without rest and sleep, had a terrible effect on us all. I saw men stagger as they plodded along the road, and some fell asleep and dropped their guns as they walked along—so utterly exhausted they were. On Thursday evening, April 6, 1865, we were confronted by Federal infantry and artillery in our rear. Under such circumstances was fought the last general battle of Lee's Army—the battle of Sailor's Creek—(a few miles northward from Burkeville, a railroad station on the old Richmond & Danville and the old Southside Railroad) and in Amelia County.

“Our company went into this battle, utterly exhausted from loss of sleep and fatigue, and greatly weakened by hunger, with about 65 or 70 men.

“The battle lasted about an hour or more. It began about 4 o'clock in the evening. The Confederate loss was, as was reported and I had no doubt then of the truth of the report, about 3,000 or 4,000 killed and wounded and several thousand captured.

“As well as I remember about 30 of our men, i. e., of my company, were killed and wounded, and the balance captured. A few escaped.”¹

“Johnny Blunt,” says Captain Allen, “was desperately wounded,—both legs broken by balls,—and he died afterwards. One of the Andrews boys was killed, but which one I do not now remember.” Captain Allen was slightly wounded, the fragment of a shell striking his left foot.

Captain Allen, and others of his company captured, were taken to Burkeville, thence to City Point, where the officers and men were separated. The officers were taken to Washington and confined in the old Capital Prison, and the men were sent to Point Lookout or Fort Delaware.

Captain Allen was one of some 3,000 Confederate officers confined in the old Capital Prison at the time President Lincoln was assassinated. The whole number of Confederates would undoubtedly have been massacred by an infuriated mob, but for “the timely action and thoughtful humanity of General Green Clay Smith, then a member of Congress from Kentucky.”²

¹Captain Allen's MS.

²Id.

Captain Allen was afterwards sent a prisoner to Johnson's Island, in Lake Erie, where upon taking the oath of allegiance in the latter part of June, 1865, he was released. He reached his father's house in Lunenburg County, June 25, 1865. The men of his company who had been taken prisoner, and who had not died in prison were released about the same time.¹

Another company which was composed partly at least of Lunenburg men was Company "C" of the 44th Battalion of Virginia Infantry. It is not, in the present state of investigation, now possible to give a history of the first services of this company. It was possibly not organized at the very beginning of the war. At any rate some Lunenburgers who did not, because of their youth, enter the army at first, found their way into it along in 1863.

The roll of the company as it stood March 1, 1865, is as follows:²

Morrison, A. B., Capt.	Davis, William
Allen, R. A., 1st Lt.	Davis, Rich'd
Smith, G. E., 2nd Lt.	Davis, W. A.
Green, S. M., 3rd Lt.	Delbridge, J.
Phipps, W. E., 1st Sergt.	Deshazor, H. C.
Trotter, T. H., 2nd Sergt.	Duffer, John
Drake, J. F., 3rd Sergt.	Dugger, S. J.
Petterway, G. W., 4th Sergt.	Heath, R. G.
Cox, A. S., 1st Corpl.	Harwell, T. A. (or W.)
Estes, W. T., 2nd Corpl.	Johnson, R. T.
Jackson, R. E., 3rd Corpl.	Maby, A.
Bowen, T. A., Private	McLaughlin, J. R.
Bailey, W. H.	Myrick, J. C.
Bridyman, J. W.	Moore, J. W.
Bryant, Edwin	Moore, G. W.
Coleman, J. W.	Mullins, J. M.

¹Captain Allen's MS.

²This record has been preserved in the diary kept during the war by 2nd Lieut. George E. Smith, after the war a prominent and honored citizen of the county. He represented Lunenburg in the Legislature, was County Treasurer, and prominently identified with the public interests of the county. He lived for many years at Rehoboth, later moved to Victoria, where he died in 1925.

Murray, J. R. H.
 Norwood, Wm.
 Norwood, Peter
 Nunnally, E. E.
 Peebles, James
 Reese, J. J.
 Rooke, Benj.

Robertson, A. T.
 Rutledge, J. H.
 Saddler, J. W.
 Shearin, H. S.
 Stansbury, James
 Sledge, C. L. A.
 Wells, Robt.

Mr. George E. Smith has also preserved in his diary the following "List of the men lost [from this company] the week previous to the surrender."

Phipps, Sergt.
 Drake, Sergt.
 Cox, Corpl.

Harwell
 McLaughlin
 Moore
 Robertson
 Shearin
 Stansbury
 Wells

Bowen, Private
 Deshazor
 Dugger

And the following entry in this invaluable original record gives the men of this company who surrendered at Appomattox:

"Appomattox C. H. Apl. 10th [1865].

"Members of Co. 'C' 44th Va. Battalion who were present at the surrender of the Army of N. Va. at Appomattox C. H. April 9th, '65:

Capt. A. B. Morrison
 Lts. R. A. Allen
 " G. E. Smith
 " S. M. Green
 Sgt. Trotter, T. H.
 " Petterway, G. W.
 Corpl. Estes, W. T.
 " Jackson, R. E.
 Pvts. Brightman, J. W.
 " Coleman, J. W.
 " Duffer, John
 " Heath, R. Y.

Pvts. Johnson, R. T.
 " Moore, J. W.
 " Murray, J. R. H.
 " Norwood, Wm.
 " Norwood, Peter
 " Peebles, James
 " Nunnally, E. E.
 " Myrick, James
 " Reese, J. J.
 " Reese, John
 " Sledge, C. L. A.
 " Sadler, J. W.

Captured in retreat: J. F. Drake; W. A. Cox."¹

¹From the Diary of George E. Smith.

From information contained in the diary of George E. Smith who was elected a Second Lieutenant in this company, October 13, 1863, we are able to trace to some extent the movements of this unit. He joined the 44th Battalion of Virginia Volunteers, September 12, 1863, and joined the command in Petersburg and went into camp at the Model Farm on September 25th, and later was stationed at the Powder Mills. On December 18th, a portion of this command under Lt. Smith was detailed as a train guard on the railroad between Petersburg, Virginia, and Weldon, N. C.

In January, 1864, Lt. George E. Smith and his guard were ordered to report to Lt. Samuel Jones at Gaston, N. C., and to Captain Finn at Weldon. On February 4th, 5th and 6th these soldiers at Weldon watched the marching through of Pickett's Division on its way to Newberne, N. C.

In March, 1864, this guard was ordered to rejoin the battalion which was then guarding the High Bridge on the Southside Railroad, but before this was done the order was countermanded and the guard was ordered to the front with the militia "as the enemy are reported to be advancing on City Point,"¹ and the battalion was ordered from the High Bridge to Petersburg. Upon its arrival it did guard duty of one character or another until May 6, when General Butler's army was reported to be advancing on Petersburg from City Point, thereupon this command was ordered to proceed to Jordan's farm between City Point and Petersburg, and was assigned to take charge of Battery No. 2 one mile from Jordan's farm, and two days later was transferred to Battery No. 5. It was subsequently ordered from Battery No. 5 to Dunn's farm to meet a body of Negro Cavalry, which, however, did not put in its appearance.

From Dunn's farm this force was moved to Butterworth's Bridge, and shortly thereafter ordered into camp at Model Farm for a short rest.

On May 25th the command went to the front again, and was stationed successively at Jordan's farm and Friend's farm and was then moved down to guard the Norfolk and Petersburg Railroad. On the 28th, Lt. Smith was detached, put in command of

¹George E. Smith's Diary, in the possession of the writer.

Company "A" and sent on picket duty down the Baxter road, after which service he rejoined his own company. Again on June 2, Lt. Smith was put in command of Company "E" and assigned to picket duty along the Norfolk and Petersburg Railroad, and thence on the same character of duty on the Broadway road.

On June 9th the Federals with a force of about 4,000 cavalry attacked the Confederate lines on the sector where these men were stationed, but the attack was repulsed by the 44th Battalion assisted by the 46th Virginia Regiment. Several men of the 44th were wounded, but none killed. After this encounter General Beauregard inspected the line of works and passed Battery 5, where this company was stationed. The works at Battery 5 were strengthened and more guns mounted.

On June 14th Lt. Smith, with twenty-five men from Company "C," was ordered to take charge of Battery No. 3, which mounted two Napoleon guns. Captain Morrison with the rest of the company was ordered to Battery No. 2, and the men were drilled in artillery practice.

The events of June 15, 1864, we will tell in Lt. Smith's words:

"The enemy," says he, "fifteen or twenty thousand strong under Generals Butler and Smith advance from City Point on our position which extends from Battery No. 1 to No. 9. Our force consisted of the 44th and Hood's Battalions and a portion of Wise's Brigade and Sturdivant's Artillery, a total of about 1,200 men. Skirmishing commenced about sunrise; the enemy made several assaults on our position during the day and were handsomely repulsed until late in the evening, when they forced us back about a quarter of a mile on our right by a concentration of their forces on that point. After our right gave way, I dismounted the guns at Battery No. 3 and fell back to No. 2, as Battery No. 3 was enfiladed by the Yankee Infantry and Artillery. The enemy had about twenty-four pieces of artillery engaged and we had about the same number. The Yankees lost 1,500 men in killed, wounded and prisoners. Our loss was two hundred and fifty. Major Batte¹ was captured together with

¹Commanding the 44th Battalion of Virginia Infantry.

twenty-five men from our Battalion, only two companies of which (A and C) were engaged. We also lost several men killed and wounded. Our artillery was very destructive to the enemy indeed. I fired 225 rounds of shell at the enemy during the day from Battery No. 3. I had a very narrow escape from the explosion of a shell after I left the Battery. We fell back to Battery No. 2 where we halted and held the enemy in check until the morning of the 16th, when we were reinforced by Johnson's and Hoke's divisions."¹

Of the events of the 16th of June, 1864, he says:

"The enemy commenced an enflading fire on Battery No. 2 about sunrise from Batteries Nos. 5 and 8. Four men belonging to the 27th S. C. regiment were wounded at Battery 2 soon after the enemy commenced shelling it."²

Lieutenant Smith's command was ordered by General Hagood to report to General Beauregard, and it left for Petersburg, where it was relieved from duty for twenty-four hours; they evidently needed rest for Lt. Smith briefly records on the 16th that we "haven't slept any for two days and nights."

On the next day General Lee arrived in Petersburg to begin the grim struggle which was to hold the attention of the world for so many weary months. On the 17th of June, 1864, says Lieut. Smith, "Gen. Lee's army begin to march through town today. Saw Gen. Lee and staff for the first time . . . the enemy commence shelling the city tonight."

On the 18th of June, 1864, the army of Northern Virginia was still passing through Petersburg.

Our Lunenburg soldiers were put on duty to guard the Pocahontas Bridge, where on July 10 "Sergeant Tucker" was killed by a shell. The guard under the command of Lieut. Smith in July, 1864, were ordered into camp on an island above Campbell's Bridge and were largely employed in provost duty in Petersburg.

On September 26th, 1864, Lieut. Smith visited Chaffin's Bluff,

¹George E. Smith's Diary.

²Id.

arriving there soon after the fall of Fort Harrison, and due to the movement of troops from Petersburg to meet this threat upon Richmond he was compelled to walk from Chaffin's Bluff back to Petersburg, and when he arrived he found that his company had been ordered to the trenches where he joined them on the night of the 27th at Battery 45 "on the right of our line."

Early in October this company was ordered from Battery 45 to the trenches at Wilcox's farm, where they constructed "Bomb-proofs," and were under the shells of the enemy almost continuously; in November they were shifted to the trenches on the Southern Railroad. In December they were encamped on the Squirrel Level road, where they were "entirely without quarters," and where they suffered greatly as it was very cold, hailing and snowing much of the time.

While in this locality they fought the battle of Bellefield on the 10th of December, repulsing the enemy.¹ Here they remained until the 14th of December, when says Lieut. Smith, "We are relieved by Scale's N. C. Brigade, and ordered back to Wilcox's, Hallelujah!"

During the following two months this company fought in various localities along the battle line before Petersburg.

On February 8, 1865, Lt. Smith made the entry in his diary that "negotiations for peace are going on at Norfolk," and on the next day that "all peace negotiations cease, without a cessation of hostilities." He records the fact that on the 18th and 19th of March there were "Heavy movements of troops on both sides to our extreme right," and on the 25th he records that General Gordon, who had relieved Johnson's Division, attacked and carried the enemy's works "just to our left." There was, he says, heavy picket firing "in our front tonight," the night of March 28th, and he records that on the 29th of March there was "very heavy picket firing and mortar shelling from immediately in our front on Wilcox's farm to the Appomattox river," and the troops remained in "the ditches" expecting an attack. On March 30th there was fighting near Hatcher's Run. On April 1st, 1865, a part of the 44th Battalion was sent on picket duty.

¹George E. Smith's Diary.

On April 2nd, says Lieut. Smith, there was "Heavy fighting on the lines around Petersburg, the enemy assault and capture a portion of the works on our left. Our Battalion is ordered into the fight about sunrise and continue to fight until late in the evening. We retake our works (except one fort) and capture 1,000 prisoners. The enemy assault our works six times after we retake them, and are repulsed each time with prodigious loss to them. The fighting ceases about 8 o'clock in the evening. Our loss in today's fighting is not very heavy. We lost two Captains killed and eight men wounded in our Battalion.

"The army commence evacuating the lines around Petersburg about dark. Our Battalion with Grimes Division leave the city about 11 o'clock at night and take up the line of march for Amelia C. H. March until nearly daybreak when we halt a while to rest as the men are almost exhausted, not having slept any of consequence in three days. The roads are very muddy indeed."¹

On March 3rd, 1865, Grimes' Division, of which this company was a part, was the rear-guard of Lee's army in its retreat. At 11 o'clock it crossed the Appomattox and drew up in battle formation to prevent the enemy from attacking the wagon trains; it went into camp about 10 o'clock at night, and resumed the march about daybreak the following day, and reached Amelia C. H. at about 11 o'clock. During the 4th and the 5th this division skirmished with the enemy, at times drawing up to give battle to retard his progress.

On the 6th of March, the day of the battle of Sailor's Creek, Lieut. Smith records that the skirmishing began about 8 o'clock, and says he, "My Battalion was engaged with the enemy five different times today. We lost 7 men from Company 'C' in today's fighting," and the enemy captured a portion of the wagons about dark.

Lieutenant Smith was detached on skirmish line duty with the 2nd Louisiana Regiment, and reached High Bridge about ten o'clock at night on the 6th of March.

The following day, March 7th, 1865, this force marched

¹George E. Smith's Diary.

through Farmville and camped near Willis' Mountain in Buckingham County. At early dawn on the 8th they moved in the direction of Lynchburg and went into camp near Appomattox C. H. at six o'clock in the evening.

We tell the story of April 9, 1865, in Lieutenant Smith's words:

"We leave camp at 4 o'clock and reach Appomattox C. H. about sunrise. When we reached the C. H. we found the enemy in line of battle about half a mile beyond. Gen. Lee attacked the Yanks after he arrived and drove them nearly a mile when he ordered his men to fall back, as the enemy were in such overwhelming numbers that our army was almost entirely surrounded. The whole army halted here, and hostilities ceased about 9 o'clock A. M. and negotiations commenced immediately for the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia. Lee surrendered the army to General U. S. Grant about 12 o'clock. There were about 21,000 men surrendered and only 8,000 of them were arms bearing men. Our provision was nearly exhausted and the army was completely broken down. We were all paroled, and remained in camp on the field where we surrendered until the morning of the 12th of April."¹

Lieutenant Smith and some of the rest of the Lunenburgers left Appomattox C. H. on the 12th of April and returned by way of Prospect depot, Burkeville, Blacks and Whites (Blackstone), and thence to Lunenburg, arriving on April 14th, 1865.

As the war progressed and the man power of the South became depleted, reserve forces, composed of men too old or infirm, and boys too young ordinarily to be called to military duty, were formed. One of the companies of this class of soldiers was Company K of the 1st Battalion of Virginia Reserves. The captain of this company was W. H. Stokes of Lunenburg County. Its full membership is not known but Isaac Bonaparte Bell (I. B. Bell), M. Barnes and E. J. Harding were members of it.

Isaac Bonaparte Bell was one of three brothers who served in the Confederate Army. The other two brothers were Frank Nathaniel Bell (F. Nat. Bell), a member of Captain David R.

¹Lieut. George E. Smith's Diary.

Stokes' Company; taken prisoner at Rich Mountain and paroled, the other brother, David T. Bell, was a hospital nurse most of the time, but the unit to which he belonged is not now known.

The alacrity with which the Lunenburgers responded to the call to arms is indicated by the way they hastened to join companies being formed in adjoining counties. The *Nottoway Grays* were organized January 12, 1861. This company was Company G, 18th Regiment, Hunton's (Garnett's) Brigade. Captain Reps Connolly was its captain. The following Lunenburgers were members of this company:¹

- T. A. Orgain ("Killed at Gaines Mill—the first man of the Co. killed.")
- E. Boswell. Killed at Gaines Mill.
- W. W. Boswell
- Jno. Campbell
- A. L. Davis
- J. Deshazor
- Jas. A. Elder. Killed at Gettysburg.
- Thomas Gregory. Wounded at Gettysburg.
- J. T. (or J. S.) Hardy
- L. (or Leroy) Hudson. Wounded at Five Forks.
- H. (or A.) Hatchett. Wounded at 1st Manassas, and died of disease in August, 1861.
- W. (or W. J.) Jeter.
- Edmund Irby. Wounded at Gettysburg, and died in prison of disease, 1865.
- G. W. Moore
- R. B. Munford. Wounded at Sailor's Creek.
- S. Neal. Discharged, unable to render service.
- E. C. Orgain. Killed at Gaines Mill, 2nd member of the company killed.
- J. Orgain. Transferred to Lunenburg Cavalry, killed in 1862.
- B. Russell.
- J. A. Webb. Wounded at Gettysburg.

¹Roster 2, page 352 et seq. Va. State Library.

L. E. Webb. Wounded at Boonesboro and Sharpsburg, surrendered at Appomattox, served through entire war, having enlisted in 1861.

W. H. Winn. Wounded at Sharpsburg.

J. H. Snead.

This record of the Lunenburg soldiers of the campaigns of 1861-1865 is, as the writer is painfully aware, incomplete. Respecting the degree of incompleteness he hesitates to venture a speculation. His being apparently the first attempt after more than sixty years have elapsed since the close of the war to compile a roster of Lunenburg troops, completeness can scarcely be expected. Undoubtedly these names will be supplemented from time to time by other investigators and his hope is that an approximately complete list will eventually result. The efforts of this writer in this field can be viewed in no other light than that of preliminary pioneering.

Two Lunenburg Confederate soldiers, who were well known to the writer, seem not included in any of the companies mentioned above. They were Robert R. Hazlewood and Abner C. Dixon. Hazlewood was a veteran of the Gettysburg campaign and was one of the soldiers who made Pickett's immortal charge. The writer as a small boy heard him several times describe, with considerable detail, not now remembered, the particulars of that unparalleled feat of bravery.

Entirely too few of the Confederate soldiers left accounts of the part they took in the great and memorable struggle. Captain C. T. Allen was a notable exception, and every Lunenburger owes him a debt of gratitude for the memorial he has left. Captain Allen contemplated writing a history of Lunenburg, or rather a series of sketches of Lunenburgers, which would have probably embraced much Civil War material, but his manuscript and the material he had accumulated through many years were destroyed when his residence in Kenbridge was burned some years ago. He put off the preparation of this work until too late. He was past seventy when in 1914 he announced his purpose to write this book.

The diary of Lt. George E. Smith is an invaluable document,

but Mr. Smith could have told many interesting things in addition to the items mentioned in his journal. He promised the writer to prepare a written memorandum covering his recollections of the Civil War period, but he died before that was ever done.

Mr. Richard Wilkins Manson (familiarily known as "Dick" Manson), one of the few surviving Confederate soldiers of the county (83 years old in 1926), in a conversation with the writer on August 29, 1926, gave a brief and interesting account of his participation in the war.

He enlisted in Captain Samuel Hawthorne's Company, Company F of the 2nd Virginia Artillery, afterwards commanded by Captain C. T. Allen, and was stationed at Chaffin's Bluff. The service of that company is detailed above. Captain Allen received a request for two of the most daring men of this company to serve as couriers. He detailed for this duty Mr. Manson and W. L. Bridgforth, and Mr. Manson became a courier on the staff of General Custis Lee.

This command was in the thick of the fight at Sailor's Creek. Mr. Manson escaped and on the next day, April 7, 1865, he saw General Robert E. Lee in Farmville, when General Lee inquired regarding the fate of General Custis Lee. Mr. Manson reported to him that he had been captured, but he thought he had not been wounded in the battle. This was apparently the first authentic news General Lee had of the fact.

General Lee then directed Mr. Manson to join his own staff until there was other service for him, and he accompanied them to Appomattox Court House. When it was decided to open negotiations for the surrender Mr. Manson was sent on the detail with a flag of truce to General Grant, and he went back with General Lee and his staff to General Grant's headquarters, and was present and heard the conversation when General Lee stated to General Grant the terms upon which he would surrender the Army of Northern Virginia. Briefly they were that he would parole his Generals, the Generals their Colonels, and they their Captains, and the Captains their men; the Confederates to retain their private side arms, private property, etc. During the interview, says Mr. Manson, General Grant was as kind and courteous to General Lee as if they had been brothers.

After this interview, states Mr. Manson, General Grant moved his headquarters to the McLean house, where the paroles were printed and where General Lee signed the articles of surrender. Mr. Manson's parole was signed by General Lee's Adjutant, Colonel Walter Taylor, who read General Lee's last order, his memorable farewell, to the army.

THE
OLD FREE STATE

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE
History of Lunenburg County
and
Southside Virginia

By

LANDON C. BELL

Ph.B., M.A., LL.B.

Life Member Virginia Historical Society and of
Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society



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CHAPTER I

Post Bellum

THE NEGROES BEFORE AND AFTER THE WAR



STUDY of the actual condition of the negroes before the war, and some observations of the changes wrought by, and as a result of the war, would be interesting, but cannot be undertaken at any length in this work; neither can any adequate account be given of the post-war period, the so-called era of reconstruction. This account cannot fully describe the horrors of that time or consider comprehensively the tragic consequence to constitutional government of the changes wrought by force in our governmental institutions.

Probably no negroes as a group have ever been so well treated and so happy as were the slaves of Southside Virginia in the decades before the war. That they were treated with consideration far too lenient, even for their own good, is well attested. But few cases of ill treatment are recorded, and that they received far more than they gave economically does not admit of doubt. In fact, slavery was an impoverishing institution, a non-profitable luxury so to speak—although it was one not of the choice or preferment of the people.

The slaves in the main were devoted to their masters, and the masters not only looked after their comfort and welfare in an unexceptionable manner, but were bound to the slaves by genuine ties of friendship and sympathy. If the continent were sought over for the place where the greatest number of negroes lived, under the most favorable conditions for their happiness, where there were most generally bonds of sympathy and respect between masters and slaves, where they were treated with the greatest measure of humanity, where the most attention was given to their religious instruction, and where they were in fact the happiest and most contented, it is altogether likely that Southside

Virginia would be chosen as most completely answering the description.

The friendly, trustful relations between the old slaves and their masters, and masters' children, were dissolved only with death. The carpet-baggers did all they could to destroy these ties, and for a time to a large degree they succeeded, and with the younger negroes they produced in many cases entire alienation, not only from the friendship of the whites, but from the older blacks as well. But notwithstanding these mischievous influences, the slaves, almost to a man (and woman as well), came to know that their old masters and their families were their best and most dependable friends. In the end most of them came to recognize the carpet-baggers for what they were, and when the South emerged from that nightmare, the former kindly relations between the old slaves and their masters and masters' families were fully restored.

It was not, generally speaking, the better class of the negroes who left Virginia, after obtaining freedom. Usually in the cases of those who left after the war there was some good reason for their going, some circumstance which made the re-establishment of former confidence and friendship impossible. The great numbers who remained, and who continued until death devoted to their former masters, belie the suggestion that their lot was hard or that they were cruelly treated in slavery.

A glimpse of the true situation is afforded by that scholarly, pious and godly man, Dr. Richard McIlwaine, in an intimate account of his own career. In the course of the interesting narrative of his life's experiences he gives an insight into the relations between the masters and mistresses of slaves, and their dependent blacks in Southside Virginia. It happens that the scene of his narrative is Amelia County, but *mutatis mutandis* it was true of Lunenburg and any other Southside County.

Says Dr. McIlwaine:

“An interesting feature of the Amelia church was the fact that it had on its rolls some twenty-five or thirty colored members, men and women, against not one of whom was there ever during my pastorate any charge of immorality or impropriety.

Among them was that old saint, Uncle Hampton, their leader and guide, who by appointment had oversight of their spiritual condition. Most of them were generally at church in good weather, the gallery being full, Uncle Hampton always occupying his accustomed seat, no matter how great the crowd. On sacramental occasions the colored communicants were invited to take their seats on the right and left of the pulpit and were served with the elements just as were the others.

“Uncle Hampton was an unusual old man, pious, devout and regular. When I knew him he was superannuated; that is, he was beyond the period of work. His master, Mr. J. G. Jefferson, provided him with a comfortable cabin and with everything necessary for his comfort and welfare. He had a little garden which he cultivated himself, a pig and some chickens, with the freedom of the plantation. He was contented and happy, his mind being much occupied with the truths of the gospel and the glorious hope it inspires. He enjoyed the respect of all who knew him, old and young. Many a time when I was preaching and would say something that struck him, he would ejaculate, ‘Thankee Jesus! Thankee Jesus!’ in a clear, audible voice, but I never at such times saw a smile on the countenance of a child or grown person. No one ever thought of restraining his religious fervor.

“During the spring, summer and fall, I preached to the negroes once a month at the church in the afternoon, when the building was filled to repletion. There was close attention and apparently a deep impression. At other times I held service on the plantation. At the home of Mr. Jefferson it was understood that when I was seen on the place, except at seed time and harvest, we would have a religious meeting, the bell being rung to call together the servants and family in a house set apart for that purpose. Good Mrs. Jefferson, aided by the ladies of her family, conducted a Sunday School for the children of the plantation every Sabbath afternoon, which was largely attended by the older people who had not gone to church. In order to make the service specially attractive she would always start out with a basket of cakes and pies on her arm, to be distributed as a benediction at the close of the exercises. Other good men and women

in the county were equally forward in promoting the moral and spiritual welfare of their people. How little do our Northern friends, or the young people of the present generation in the South, know of the relations existing between Christian masters and their slaves!"¹

A thoughtful writer has well said: "The conduct of the negroes during the war between the states proves their [the slaves] love and devotion to the whites—a love too strong to have grown out of bad treatment. The old slaves protected and supported white women and children while the white men were away in the armies . . . masters trusted the negroes, and the negroes proved equal to the trust."² "The changed condition of master and slave at the close of the war was, in the main, gracefully accepted by both races. The tender ties that bound them were too strong to be broken by any order of men or nations.

"The old plantation left its sweet memories in the hearts of both whites and blacks—memories so deeply implanted that the misguided efforts of politicians, pulpits, magazines and newspapers have failed to destroy them. The affection of the older generations will hold till death, and the younger generation will not wholly forget the courtesies of the olden time."³

And a Northern woman who has studied the subject, and who has an understanding of it, seldom met with in the North, has written:

"The tie of love that bound the black man to the white man has never been understood in the North, and it never will be. The same love will never again bind the two races together. Governor Allston, of South Carolina, put up marble monuments in memory of faithful servants. The inscription upon one of them reads:

¹Dr. Richard McIlwaine, *Momories of Threescore Years and Ten*, 178-9. (Published 1908.)

²DuBose: *History of Alabama*.

³Id.

In Memory
of
My Servant, Thomas
Carpenter,
Honest and True,
He died, as for forty years
He had lived,
My faithful Friend,
1850.”¹

This writer further says: “No doubt, there were some cruel masters. So are there cruel husbands and fathers, and everywhere and under all conditions one finds wickedness and cruelty. Harriet Beecher Stowe did not tell the truth, as anybody at any time in the last fifty years could have found out. The suppressed part of the truth of slavery days was good and beautiful, and it is well, in justice, to know and proclaim it.

* * * * *

“The living negroes, who were reared in slavery, will tell you that their masters were their best friends and that the happiest years of their lives were ‘befo’ de wah.’ Said one: ‘Befo’ de wah, eberthing was free, our clo’es, our cabins an’ plenty t’ eat. Now, we has to pay fer eberthing, unless we steal it.’ The old slaves who have died left a similar testimony behind.”² And the instances in Virginia, from Lunenburg County and elsewhere, before the war of petitions by free negroes to the Legislature for the right to sell themselves into slavery are the strongest of proofs that the institution as it existed in Southside Virginia was not the horrid, inhuman thing it has been painted.

The benefits conferred upon a savage, pagan people by their kind and considerate masters is ungrudgingly conceded by the most intelligent of the colored race. Booker T. Washington said: “We went into slavery pagans; we came out Christians. We went into slavery a piece of property; we came out American citizens. We went into slavery without a language; we came out speaking the proud Anglo-Saxon tongue.”³

¹Essie Collins Matthews: *Aunt Phebe, Uncle Tom and Others*, 16-17.

²Id.

³*Aunt Phebe, Uncle Tom and Others*, 16.

THE REGIME OF THE CARPET-BAGGERS: "RECONSTRUCTION"

The period following the Civil War, was in many respects worse than the war itself. The history of "Reconstruction," of Carpet-Baggery, is not only the history of Lunenburg during that period; it is the history of Virginia and the South as well.

The Freedman's Bureaus were set up, and became known in the parlance of the negroes, as the "Nunion Burer." Of those who composed these Bureaus, and who otherwise exercised the paramount military and civil authority, Dr. Claiborne has given us a graphic description. Says he: "The military appointee was generally a little lieutenant satrap, with shoulder straps, whose fine clothes proclaimed him innocent of the smoke of battle, and who, 'dressed in a little brief authority, showed such fantastic tricks before high heaven as made the angels weep.' These unfledged younglings, worthy of the cesspools from which they were taken, were usually the sons of sires holding high places in political office, and were sent down to set aside our honorable courts, to supplant the able and peerless judiciary which had construed our laws, and constituted themselves as judges, counsel and jury to administer so-called justice in the land."¹

Immediately after the war the ex-slaves, most of them, accepted employment for wages from their former masters and proceeded to help plow the soil for much needed crops, and to renovate and upbuild the estates broken and wasted by four years of war.

Upon the arrival of the Carpet-baggers, and the setting up of the "Nunion Burers," this was changed, and then began the nightmare of oppression, which, all things considered, was possibly without a parallel in the history of the world.

The Carpet-baggers summoned the negroes to report to the "Burer" and the carpet-bagging satraps informed the negroes that they were wards of the nation and free men, and that the "Boss of the Burer" had come to take care of them until each should come into possession of his estate of "forty acres of land and a mule."

They were told that it was not compatible with the character

¹Claiborne: *Seventy-five Years in Old Virginia*, 320-21.

of freemen to work for others, especially if that other was a white man.¹ He was further told that the lands of his former master soon would be taken by the "Nunion" men and divided amongst his slaves, and that each negro would receive a mule and forty acres of land, and that he would have opportunity to work for himself alone. The negroes believed these statements and promises and relied upon them fully. Most of them refused to work, and the carpet-baggers did everything in their power to break and destroy the old trusting and kindly relations between the races.

Under the policy outlined for the negroes by the carpet-bag authorities, the negroes drifted into careers of aimless idleness. There was nothing for them to do but to loaf, during the day, especially if, as was usually the case, the headquarters of the Bureau happened to be at some little village or courthouse. At night they roamed over the land. This career of loafing in the daytime and prowling and roaming about at night, while fed and supported by the "Burer," was an ideal existence for the more worthless of the negroes.

This loafing in the day and roaming around at night "covered," says Dr. Claiborne, "all the ground of his capabilities and desires; and in roaming of course he frequently over-reached upon his neighbor's property and invaded his neighbor's preserves, his pig-pen, his corn-house, or his chicken-house, and his neighbor would catch him in flagrant detection and would inflict upon him punishment both just and appropriate. And it was always a white neighbor, and for this his white neighbor was always reported at headquarters—headquarters being, in scalawag and carpet-bag lingo, the place where the 'Nunion Bosses' held court. And then followed a travesty of justice which no pen or pencil could describe or portray."²

Speaking of Thomas Nelson Page's description "of the assizes in one of these civic-military districts," in *Red Rock*, although this is a novel, Dr. Claiborne says:

"He has failed to exaggerate, if it were his purpose to do so, the pollution, the corruption, the crime, the darkness of the

¹Claiborne: *Seventy-five Years in Old Virginia*, 321.

²Id. 322.

deviltry which characterized the proceedings of these judicial sessions. At the mouths of their witnesses, suborned or otherwise, strife and contention were continuously stirred and promoted. And the more quiet, conservative and respectable the citizen, the more it was their pleasure to persecute and humble him; and if he had any means, to pluck him, and to prosecute and fine and imprison him, under false charges of this pestiferous crew of cormorants, until many a man sorrowed that he had not laid down his life, instead of his musket at Appomattox.

“These were the days of Reconstruction, so called, in comparison with which the bloody days of battle were as pastime; and I know of no man now, whatever his party affiliation, who does not look back upon them with combined horror and indignation. And I hold now that the greatest achievement of the Southern soldier was not that, for four years, he faced death at such odds in an hundred fights, and ever held his own with foemen worthy of his steel, but that as citizen, and unarmed, he had the fortitude to endure and to live down the humiliation of those bitter days, and that now he only holds them in his memory as a horrid hell-dream of the unreal.”¹

Dr. Irby, in his *History of Randolph-Macon College*, has given a glimpse of one of these carpet-bag courts in action, and in a few graphic lines describes the post-war condition of Southside Virginia. He tells of being at Nottoway Court House just after the war, and attending a session of “court” presided over by the “Boss of the Burer.” He records that:

“Just as he entered the court house, where a number of people were assembled, he saw a venerable man of more than three-score years and ten standing before the officer, with tears streaming down his furrowed cheeks, and heard him say: ‘Every scrap of meat, every grain of corn, everything in the way of food I had, has been taken from me. I know not where I shall get my meat and bread tomorrow.’ This man had been for many years one of the foremost men in the country, a Senator in the General Assembly of Virginia, and for many years a Trustee of Randolph-Macon College.”²

¹Claiborne: *Seventy-five Years in Old Virginia*, 322-23. Dr. Claiborne's book was published in 1904.

²Irby: *History of Randolph-Macon College*, 165.

“Military satraps filled the seats of judges and magistrates. The ignorant slave was often shown more deference than his former cultured master. Most of the flower of the manhood of the state had died by the sword or disease.”¹

Dr. Claiborne, Dr. Irby and other Southern writers have not overdrawn the horrible picture. The writer knew hundreds of Confederate soldiers and citizens of Virginia, who, while they have left no written record of the infamy of the Carpet-Baggers, communicated to him facts of which they had personal knowledge, which corroborate all they say. Some may assume, however, that the Southerners are too severe toward the miserable breed of Carpet-Baggers who infested the South during the “Reconstruction” period. Let us, therefore, refer briefly to some Northern testimony on the subject.

The New York publicist, S. S. Cox, says: “No people ever suffered such humiliation and degradation as was suffered by the South from the rule of the Carpet-Bagger. . . . The thesaurus of our English tongue may do justice to the plagues of Egypt, but here were plagues tenfold more numerous and worse.”² He confesses his inability and *feebleness* of expression to do justice to the subject.

Judge Jeremiah Black, of Pennsylvania, one of the ablest jurists this country has produced, says of those “in the saddle” in the South in those days:

“These were called carpet-baggers, not because the word was descriptive or euphonious, but because they have no other name by which they are known amongst the children of men. They were unprincipled adventurers who sought their fortunes in the South by plundering the disarmed and defenseless people; some of them were the dregs of the Federal army, the meanest of the camp followers; many were fugitives from Northern justice; the best of them were men who went down after peace, ready for any deed of shame that was safe or profitable. These, combining with a few treacherous scalawags and some leading negroes to serve as decoys for the rest, and backed by the power of the Federal Government, became the strongest body of thieves that

¹Irby: *History of Randolph-Macon College*, 165.

²Quoted in *Seventy-five Years in Old Virginia*, 323.

ever pillaged a people. They swarmed all over the Southern States, from the Potomac to the Gulf, and settled in hordes, not with any intent to remain there, but merely to feed on the substance of a prostrate and defenceless people. They took whatever came within their reach.

“By force or fraud they controlled or prevented elections. They returned sixty of themselves to our Congress, and ten or twelve of the most ignorant and venal amongst them were at the same time thrust into the Senate. The pretended representative was always to vote for any measure that would oppress or enslave his so-called constituents; his hostility was unconcealed and he lost no opportunity to do them injury.”¹

Judge Black further illuminates the subject of Carpet-Baggery in the South, in another notable utterance. He says:

“The greediest Roman Proconsuls left something to the provinces which they had wasted, the Norman did not strip the Saxon quite to the skin, the Puritans under Cromwell did not utterly desolate Ireland; their rapacity was confined to visible things which they could handle and use; they could not take what did not exist. But the carpet-bagger had an invention unknown to these old-fashioned robbers, which increased his stealing power as much as the steam engine adds to the mechanical force of mere natural muscles. He made negotiable bonds of the State, signed and sealed them according to forms of law, sold them and converted the proceeds to his own use, and then ‘defied justice to go beyond the returns.’ By this device his felonious fingers were made long enough to reach the products of posterity. He laid his lien on property not yet created; he anticipated the labor of coming ages and appropriated the fruits of it in advance; he coined the industry of future generations into cash, and snatched the inheritance from children whose fathers were unborn. Projecting his cheat forward by this contrivance, and operating laterally at the same time, he gathered an amount of plunder which no country in the world would have yielded to Goth or vandal.”²

¹Quoted by Dr. Claiborne: *Seventy-five Years in Old Virginia*, 323-24.

²Jeremiah Black: *Essay on the Electoral Commission, the Great Fraud of 1876*.

After this, little further need be said of the Carpet-bagger. Nothing in his defence for he has none; nothing in further condemnation for Judge Black, S. S. Cox, Dr. Claiborne and Dr. Irby, while they have by no means exhausted the subject, have at least indicated the true character of the carpet-bagger and reconstruction policies.

There is a disposition at the North to disclaim responsibility for that horrible era at the South; that disposition while admitting the enormity of the offense against the South, would shoulder it upon the carpet-baggers and scalawags. The blame for that era cannot in this way justly be evaded.

The principal, and more powerful, part of the carpet-bagging machine were those placed in power by, and under the policy adopted by, the Federal Government. And as Judge Black truthfully declares they were "backed by the power of the Federal Government" and so backed "became the strongest body of thieves that ever pillaged a people."

The Federal Congress, and the people of the North, not all the people of the North, but the majority, those who were responsible for the personnel of the Congress, were not without blame. Especially was Congress culpable. It knew full well what was going on at the South. Many were not secret in their approval; they did not conceal their satisfaction with the degradation and humiliation heaped upon the South by the cormorant carpet-baggers declared by Judge Black to have been worse than "Goth or vandal."

Leading men, men of Virginia, men who were Union men until Virginia was driven out of the Union, men who before the war were prominent in National affairs and who were the peers of any members of the Congress—House or Senate—went to the Northern leaders and portrayed and protested against the Saturnalia of misrule at the South, but to no avail. Not only was carpet-baggery the legitimate product of the legislative and military policy adopted toward the South, but that it was so intended is evidenced by the fact that when the conditions described came into being and continued indefinitely, the North did nothing about it. If these conditions had been the unexpected, unintended result of a policy, when they arose measures

would have been promptly taken to correct them. That no such measures were taken is proof conclusive that the majority at the North intended that the South should have visited upon it the unspeakable horrors of the despotism of the Reconstruction. No; the North cannot escape responsibility by claiming that it rests upon the carpet-bagger alone. But there is no wonder that it should desire to do so, for no blacker page ever marred the history of any people.

The histories taught in the public schools of the North might well carry a brief chapter expounding the history of carpet-baggery and explaining that it, like Nullification, "personal liberty laws" and the doctrine that the Constitution is a league with death and a covenant with hell, are facts and doctrines for which the North is entitled to practically exclusive credit.

The South has achieved a marvel of recuperation since the days of the Carpet-Bagger. Through weary years of poverty, toil and humiliation, the white people of the South gradually achieved ascendancy over the carpet-baggers and the scalawags. Finally most of them disappeared but the visible traces of the institution remained in instances where they found it profitable to linger among the people they had done all they could to injure in order to reap the fruits of Federal patronage, when the party responsible for the regime of carpet-baggery happened to be in power.

But while in the great majority of cases the carpet-bagger is not physically present in the communities of the South, the malign effect of his blighting presence, the burden of the heritage of his infamy is still there, and it would be impossible to reckon the sum total of the aggregate injury or definitely to ascertain when it will have finally disappeared.

In view of the causes which produced the Civil War, and the incidental result of the war in abolishing slavery, and the reckless act of the vindictive majority in immediately conferring full civil and political rights of citizenship upon so numerous a class, so ill-fitted to exercise these rights, it becomes an interesting speculation what might have been the result if the war had terminated otherwise than as it did.

SOME RESULTS OF THE WAR

It is not infrequent that we hear some such expression as that "I am glad the South did not win the war." Usually all that is meant is that the person who makes such a statement is glad that slavery is ended. Many at this day and time suppose that the war was necessary to end slavery, and that the success of the Confederacy would have made its prolongation indefinite. We hold no such views. The view that slavery would not have long survived the war regardless of which side won, is fully supported by the judgment of the ablest thinkers. But it is, to say the least, a debatable question whether the emancipation of the slaves and immediately conferring upon them all the rights of citizenship, under the circumstances under which it was done, was wise or beneficial, either to the negroes or to the white people of the United States. Our judgment is that it was not.

If the fanatical agitation at the North had never occurred, slavery, in process of time, would have disappeared in the remaining slave states, just as it disappeared in six out of the original thirteen slave states. Slavery thus disappeared before the rise of the fanatics and the organization of the Black Republican party; it did not disappear in a single state thereafter. There is no reasonable doubt that slavery would have thus disappeared in all the states, and this would have been accomplished just as soon as it was wise, in the interest of the negroes themselves, for it to be done.

If that process had gone on peaceably, unembarrassed by the agitation of the Northern fanatics and hypocrites, it may be conceded that the slave might not have had the right to vote as early as he got it as a result of the Civil War. But there are those who do not believe the conferring of full civil rights upon the negroes upon being freed and before they were better ready for it, was an act of statesmanship of the highest wisdom.

It may be conceded, too, that but for the Civil War and its results the white people of some sections of the North, Ohio, for example, might not have had the privilege of legally marrying negroes. But it is conceivable that that boon might have been forgone without any great harm to either race, and the deprivation of a privilege so great is one for which the legislature ought

not to be too severely censured. In fact, there are some who would censure the legislature which conferred that boon rather than those who through the ages had neglected so to do.

Ohio for many years had a law which forbade under severe penalties either the intermarriage or the "illicit carnal intercourse" of "any negro, or person having a distinct and visible admixture of African blood" with white persons.¹

That law was repealed in order that the promiscuous marriage of negroes and whites would be fully legal. The writer knows, however, from many years residence in Ohio, that the better class of white people in Ohio have no desire to avail themselves of the privileges extended by this repeal. But the old law was largely a dead letter, for many cases of intermarriages between whites and blacks took place before its repeal, and we have never heard of a prosecution in Ohio, under that law before it was repealed. The repeal of the law, however, undoubtedly increased the number of marriages between the whites and the blacks. Possibly it is of no immediate concern, in such a work as this to discuss the determination of the white people of Ohio, to so fix their laws that they could marry negroes if they wanted to; but it certainly illustrates the maxim *de gustibus non est disputandum*.

But such things are the natural result of a cause.

The Abolition Fanatics and the extreme wing of the Black Republican party sowed the wind, precipitated the Civil War, and reaped the whirl-wind—and the North is reaping it now, and will through many years to come continue to reap it.

As a measure of vindictive malice toward the South, the people of the North thought it a great idea to humiliate the white people of the South by carpet-bagism, the horrors of the reconstruction, and by elevating the negroes to full civil and political equality with the white people of the South, and this notwithstanding such men as Lincoln had only a few short years before declared that the negroes were a century or two behind the white race in development, and that the negroes in the United States were not fit for, and ought not to have, the right to vote, to serve as jurors or perform the functions of citizens generally. They did not

¹Sayler's Statutes of Ohio, I Chap. 6.

stop to reckon the consequences to the North. The great bulk of the negro population was at the South. Whatever grave problems might be precipitated in such sections, sections for example where the negro voters immediately became the majority, either because they were actually the greater number or because most of the white men were disfranchised, did not then disturb the North; they gloried and reveled in the orgy of political and civil confusion they had thus produced.

But chickens come home to roost. The South has largely solved its "negro problem." Thoughtful men at the North have expressed to the writer their opinion that the North is just beginning to face its negro problem. And the problem is manifesting itself in hundreds of different ways. At the North the grandchildren of those who created and forced upon the country this status of absolute civil and political equality of the whites and the blacks are struggling against its consequences, and pronounce imprecations upon those (their fathers and grandfathers) who left them this precious heritage.

Being assured and guaranteed civil and political equality, many colored persons aspired to social equality as well.

There are, here and there, no inconsiderable numbers of the whites, so abandoned that they intermarry with the blacks. The mongrel, variously complexioned progeny which result in two or three generations present a problem of grave social concern.

The negroes and the whites go to the same schools and universities, and where the numbers of negroes are considerable numerous unhappy situations are created. For example, the negroes and the whites attend the same classes, generally without any apparent friction; it is the law that both have equal right so to do. But off the campus, in the restaurants, confectioneries, dance pavilions, do they mix? Not to any great extent. A few "climbers" among the negroes have given such places grave trouble. Such resorts dare not accept negro patronage; if they do the whites will not patronize them. But the negroes claim that such places are public places, where in the exercise of their full equality civilly and politically, they have a right to demand service. And they hail the proprietors into court when they are "discriminated against."

Thus the North begins to reap some of the sweets of the humiliation it prepared for the South in its reconstruction policies and in the post-war amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

THE "LOST CAUSE"; FALSIFYING HISTORY

The cause for which the South fought is often referred to as the "Lost Cause." In a sense it is a lost cause. In the appeal to arms the South was defeated, and in that sense her cause was lost, and Virginia and Lunenburg went down with the rest into the abyss of the post-war period, during which they suffered all that military rule in the hands of cowardly satraps and marauding carpet-baggers could invent and inflict.

But a battlefield is not a judicial forum, and success of arms is not equivalent to a righteous judgment. The fact that the army of Northern Virginia, with a record of achievement which excited the admiration of the world, "weary with victory" and overwhelmed by numbers, laid down its arms at Appomattox is no proof that the cause for which they fought was ignoble or unworthy. The issue of right and reason joined between the North and the South, and which led Virginia at least, to appeal to arms, was not settled by the surrender of the army of Northern Virginia. Final judgment upon that issue is yet to be rendered in the tribunal of history of an impartial posterity.

During such a period as has elapsed since the Civil War, truth, as is often the case, has had a hard time to have her voice heard. People do not like to hear it when it is unpleasant; and it too often happens that when there are two accounts of the same thing, the one false the other true, the false account becomes, for a time at least, the orthodox account, if it is what the people would like the truth to be. In such a state of the case truth has but small chance, and it requires a long time for the historians to finally establish the definite veracious narrative to which posterity is entitled. This observation is illustrated by historical works by two Northern writers,—both from Massachusetts. George Lunt, of Boston, years ago wrote a book entitled *The Origin of the Late War*, and John Fiske has written *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors*, and various other historical works.

Lunt's book tells the truth about slavery and the origin of the war. These truths are unpalatable to the North, especially to New England. His work is now out of print, for lack of demand. Fiske's books do not tell the truth about slavery and the origin of the war, and are in considerable part, a piece of special pleading unjustly condemning Virginia, and untruthfully excusing the North. They go through edition after edition, are eagerly sought and widely read and taught, thus imposing upon the impartial scholars of the future the necessity of undoing all this work, inspired by a hostile sentiment, the back-wash of the enmities engendered by the unholy war forced upon the South.

Shakespeare said, "A lie will travel a league while truth is getting her slippers on."

The philosophy of that observation seems to account for the insistence of some Northerners in writing about Southerners, and things Southern. What was the motive behind the mendacious "Life" of John Randolph of Roanoke, by Henry Adams? When there was so much around him in his own section to praise, so much to justly condemn and denounce if he wanted to, or to lie about, if that was his preference, what was it that induced him to neglect this entire field and come to Virginia, and pick out John Randolph, and write of him, a volume which is one of the finest examples known of what a biography ought not to be, and which for inaccurate statement, false suggestion and unpardonable misrepresentation constitutes a monument of infamy to its author?

It is the opinion of the informed that Henry Adams wrote his life of John Randolph to pay off an old score, because Randolph was the principal factor in dethroning from the presidency the "Adams dynasty," and his book was written in a spirit of vituperative resentment, and in a blue funk of hatred.

What was the motive behind such writings as John Fiske has embodied in his *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors*? Here is a writer of sufficient intelligence, training and talent, to write history, much as it should be written, if he desired so to do. Here is an author capable of exploring, understanding and interpreting the facts of history if he desired to do it. How are we to account for the perverted and false account he has given of im-

portant phases of Virginia's history? Why should he, like Henry Adams, want to write about Virginia at all unless he was willing to tell the truth about the subjects of which he wrote?

That question Dr. Hunter McGuire has answered in an imperishable record which will be an ineffaceable stain upon the integrity of Fiske as an historian as long as the printed page shall survive.¹

KEEPING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

But some may ask, "why discuss those matters now? The war is over. Such discussions only tend to keep alive sectional strife." Such expressions are sometimes heard at the North and even at the South.

Not to discuss such matters, and point out the truth would tend to recognize as true the false accounts which became current at the hands of Northern writers following the Civil War; accounts which are too often now blindly, ignorantly and slavishly accepted and followed. With poor grace does the suggestion to let the subject alone come from that section which has so seriously falsified history. It amounts in substance to a plea for falsehoods to be perpetuated in history, to a demand that a false account be transmitted to posterity as true; and that without protest from those whose ancestors' purposes, motives and acts are misrepresented, and whose characters are blackened.

When such suggestions come from the people of the South they in substance amount to a declaration of a willingness to avoid controversy and sectional strife at the price of allowing the memories of their ancestors to rest under the charge of dishonor imputed to them by their enemies.

The memories of the Confederate soldiers ask only that the truth be told, and we should be satisfied with nothing less. When history is so written that it must be accepted alike, as the truth and nothing but the truth both North and South, then indeed,—and let the day be hastened,—may unpleasant controversy entirely disappear.

¹McGuire and Christian: *The Confederate Cause and Conduct in the War Between the States*, 3-16.

But the enormous mass of Northern "history" and literature to be de-bunked in that process is appalling.

Charles Francis Adams has indicated the character of the task. Describing in another connection (he was discussing New England's pretensions to freedom of religion) the unreliability in things historical of the New Englanders he uses words equally applicable to Slavery, Secession and the Civil War, and most Northern histories of the South. He says: "There was almost no form of sophistry to which the founders of New England did not have recourse then—for they sinned against the light, though they deceived themselves while sinning; *and there is almost no form of sophistry to which the historians of Massachusetts have not had recourse since—deceiving themselves in the attempt to deceive others.*"¹

Captain Cornelius Tacitus Allen, more than thirty years after the war, made a manuscript record of his part in the war, and left it as a contribution to the truth of history. In this he declared:

"Many of the histories of the war, written by men blinded by passion and for various reasons unwilling that the whole truth should be told, are really libels upon the Southern people."²

He fought through the entire war, and declares at the end and in retrospect, speaking for himself and those he led: "I will say, for myself and, I believe I can say for these good and brave men, that I have never seen the day nor the hour when I regretted my action in 1861-5. God forbid that I should ever see such a day!"³

Theodore Roosevelt said:

"The world has never seen better soldiers than those who followed Lee, and their leader will undoubtedly rank as, without any exception, the very greatest of all the Captains that the English-speaking peoples have brought forth."⁴

No one should feel the need to apologize for defending the

¹Adams: *Massachusetts, Its Historians and Its History*.

²Capt. Allen's MS. in the writer's possession.

³Id.

⁴Roosevelt, *Thomas H. Benton*, p. 34.

characters of such soldiers, even if it excites controversy from the vicious or the uninformed. In the glowing words of Captain Allen, "We know they had virtues as bright as any that ever lifted man to the highest niche of fame. We know they had convictions as honest, as earnest, as honorable, as ever marked the character of men in any age or country. We know they did what their highest sense of honor commanded, and they did it well."¹

The sons of such men would be justly branded as cravens if they failed to lift their voices in repudiating the malicious calumnies heaped upon them by ignorant, malicious vindictiveness.

And their hands will not be staid, nor their tongues stilled, by a clamor for allowing false history to remain unchallenged as the truth, upon the specious plea that to do otherwise would tend to produce unpleasant disputations.

Let the truth be told, even if some experience a sense of discomfort; for the children and the youth of the South should know that the Confederate soldiers, "their sires and grand sires have left them examples of unselfish devotion to a righteous cause and a heritage of imperishable honor."²

GUILT FOR CAUSING THE WAR

One of the very natural *post-bellum* reflections concerns the final judgment of history respecting the responsibility for the war. Possibly the time has not yet come for history to assess that final responsibility, involving, as it does, the guilt for the war itself and all its attendant horrors, as well as for the result which the issue of the war will inevitably, in the course of time, produce.

When that is done, there is reason to believe, and that with confidence, that the final judgment will embrace these findings of facts, and these conclusions thereon:

That the slavery of Virginia was a system which was forced upon the colony against the will of its people and against the desire of the Colonial Government by the superior power and authority of the Government of England;

¹Captain Allen's MS.

²Rev. James Power Smith, D. D., Introduction to, *The Confederate Cause and Conduct in the War Between the States.*

That slavery from a very early date existed in all the original thirteen colonies, and so existed in all at the time of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States;

That the slavery system was pointedly before the fathers who founded this Republic by the creation of the Constitution of the United States;

That the slavery system was, in the debates in the convention, and in the Constitution itself recognized in, and as to, all existing states, the legal concern of those states only; and that whether the system continued or not, in any particular state, was a matter over which neither the Federal Government nor the people of the other states had any legal control;

That the states in which there were few slaves, obtained their representation in Congress on a basis which explicitly recognized the system of slavery, and which gave to the states where slaves were numerous, a representation based on the number of free white citizens plus three-fifths of the slaves; and that the constitution recognized property in slaves as it existed under the laws of the several states and provided that:

“No person held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.”

That without these provisions the constitution would not have been adopted, and the union of the states under it would not have come into existence;

That in Virginia many of her leading men, both public and private citizens, realizing that the matter was the state's concern only, and sincerely believing that the system was, in principle, indefensible, both before God and man, were directing their best efforts to devising some wise mode of abolishing it, under which the condition of the black man would not be more intolerable with freedom than it was in slavery; who were seeking to solve the slavery problem without leaving a greater one,—the negro problem;

That the great rank and file of slave owners, in Virginia, realized that slavery was a far more expensive system of labor

than was that of free labor; and that because of the necessity of keeping and feeding and clothing the whole slave family, the young and the old, the sick and the decrepit, and of the traditions under which no gentleman, unless under the compulsion of necessity, sold his slaves, the master was quite as much a slave to his slaves, as they were servants to him;

That a great majority of slave owners would have welcomed any feasible plan which while safeguarding the public interest, would have secured to the slave the freedom to which by the law of nature he was entitled, and which would have freed the master from the responsibility of keeping and maintaining him;

That a very large element of the slave owners of Virginia (the element to the contrary being negligible), felt a responsibility, sympathy, and in many instances real affection for the slaves, which was the basis of their unwillingness to see them freed as a body, unless under some plan which would reasonably assure them at least the minimum of comfort and well being, which they enjoyed in a state of servitude;

That in many localities in the North and with the rank and file in those sections, the interest in the colored man was emotional and theoretical, as was evidenced by such facts as that they were unwilling for colored persons, either slave or free to be settled or to live in their midst;

That a great part of the agitation for the abolition of slavery, emanating from the North, was by fanatical, impractical persons, who were unwilling for slaves to be held in bondage, but who were quite as unwilling for them, if free, to settle at will in the North; and who were unable to devise or suggest any comprehensive, practical scheme or plan for abolishing or dealing with the system of slavery which commanded the respect or endorsement of either the Northern states themselves, or the Federal Government;

That no scheme was ever devised, and endorsed by the United States, or a majority of the Northern States, and proposed to the slave holding states as a solution of the problem;

That the State of Virginia was well on the way to solving the problem of slavery within her borders, her citizens fervently desiring its abolishment, and firmly believing that the passing of the system was only a matter of time, and that it was a sacred

duty of her leaders to devise, in their wisdom, some plan for its accomplishment ;

That Virginia and her citizens, regardless of their individual views upon the subject of slavery, resented the intermeddling of hostile outsiders, respecting the matter, especially the interference of those who advocated the uprising of the slaves, and who urged the slaves to assert their right to freedom by violence and the murder of their masters ; and particularly the interference of those who advocated the freeing of the slaves by Federal action, in violation of the Constitution of the United States, and without any provisions being made to assure the well being of the slaves after emancipation ;

That a considerable element at the North, in utter defiance of law and order, holding the Constitution of the United States in supreme contempt, as a league with death and a covenant with hell, conspired to violate and repeatedly violated the plain mandate of its fugitive slave provision and the laws of the United States passed in pursuance thereof, and pretended to find justification therefor in a "Higher Law," and yet claimed to find justification for making war upon the South in the sacred obligation to preserve the Constitution and maintain the Union ;

That the Civil War would not have resulted, if the matter of slavery had been dealt with as the Constitution of the United States contemplated ; and if the slavery problem and the negro problem had been left to each state as a matter of state concern ; and would not have resulted but for the agitation of visionaries, theorists and fanatics who were willing to intermeddle with and destroy a system of long standing, even though they had no practical plans for solving its problems, and had no plans for preventing a negro problem of greater moment than the slavery problem ; and notwithstanding thoughtful people sincerely believed that the condition into which they would plunge the black people, the objects of their fanatical and misguided zeal, would be far worse, if their object were accomplished than if their purposes were defeated ;

That being responsible for the precipitation of the Civil War, these misguided, non-resident, fanatical abolitionists, and the Black Republican party which came into power largely through their influence, have the responsibility for the blood that was

shed and the lives that were lost in that war. They have the responsibility for the mutilation of the constitution which followed, and for the destruction of respect for constitutional restraint which the policies pursued in that war necessarily involved, as well as for the tragic consequences which followed the vesting in an inferior race the power to exercise the full rights of citizenship, for which it was at the time almost totally unqualified.

Volumes might be written on the results of the Civil War. From a national standpoint the result can be briefly summarized.

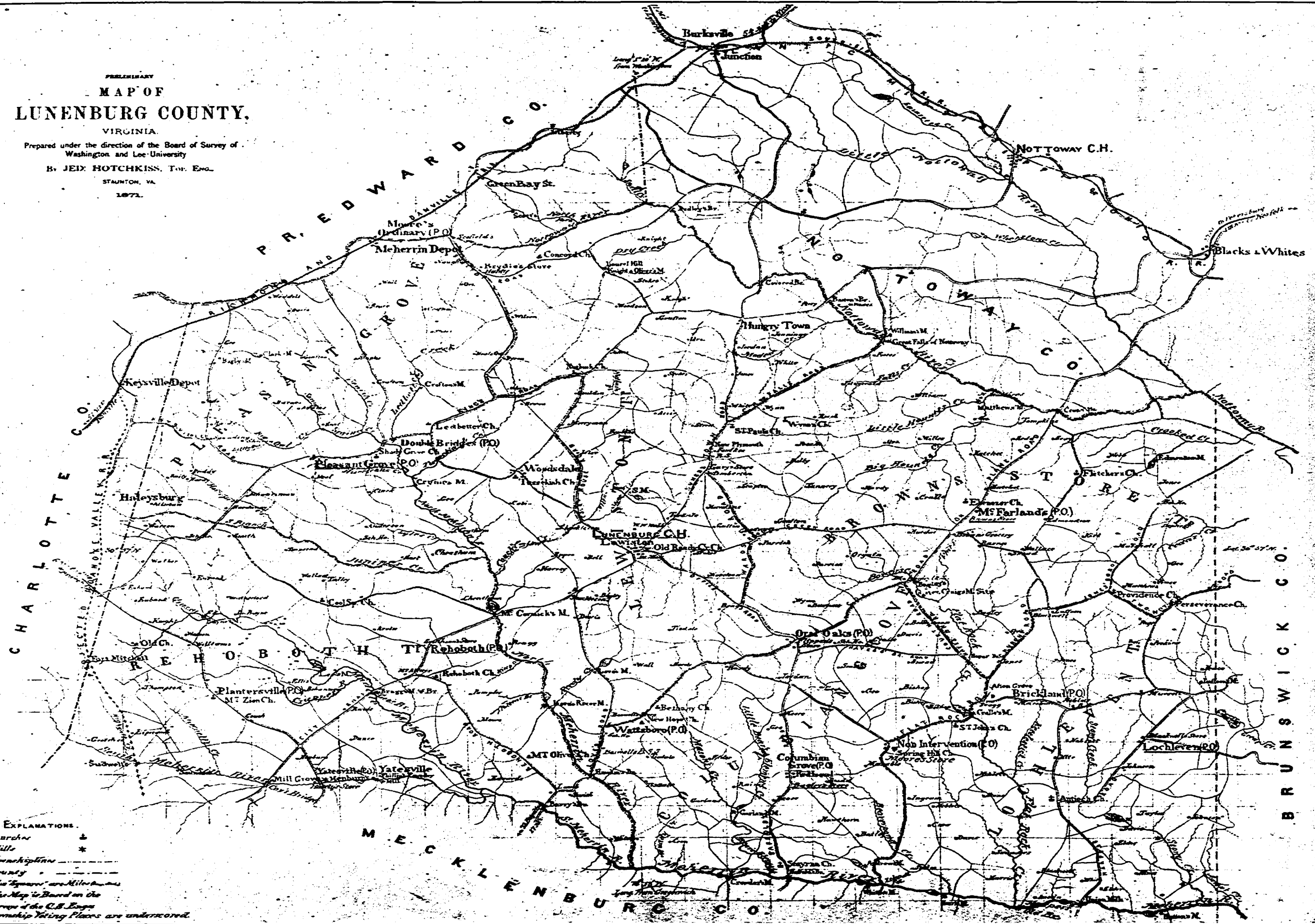
The country survived, but the Constitution did not. The governmental institution was essentially changed. The sovereignty of the states disappeared, for most practical purposes, the doctrine remaining as little more than an historic fiction. The states as the makers of the Constitution knew them, practically disappeared. Instead of the states remaining the great repositories of all the sovereign powers, and the Federal Government a mere instrument of the states, to do for the United States certain things which the states decided to create an agency to do, the Federal Government became the great and overshadowing power, yielding to the states such functions as it did not care to assume, and repressing the scope of statehood activities into constantly contracting limits.

And ever since the Civil War the concentration of power and authority in the Federal Government has been going on at such an alarming rate that now we have a centralized national government of such character as not only would not have been set up by the makers of the Constitution, but such as not even the extremest advocates, at that day, of a strong national government would have approved.

If this government ultimately falls, it will be brought about by the excessive centralization and concentration of arbitrary power in the Bureaucrats of the Federal Government at Washington; and it is entirely conceivable that the drift may continue so far in that direction that revolutionary measures may be necessary to restore a proper status to the states, and to protect the citizens from the tyranny of the irresponsible minions of an over centralized and therefore arbitrary and tyrannical government.

PRELIMINARY
**MAP OF
 LUNENBURG COUNTY,**
 VIRGINIA.

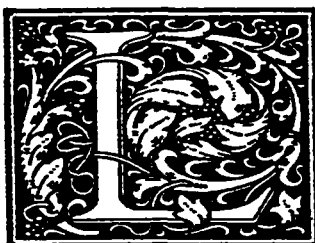
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 Washington and Lee University
 By JEDY HOTCHKISS, Top. Eng.
 STAUNTON, VA.
 1872.



EXPLANATIONS.
 Church &
 Mills *
 Township ---
 County ---
 The Squares are Miles
 The Map is Based on the
 Survey of the C.B. Engle
 Township Naming Places are underscored.

CHAPTER II

Dr. Boswell Invents an Airplane



LEWIS ARCHER BOSWELL was born May 9, 1834, at "Aspen Hill," as the old Boswell home at Wattsboro in Lunenburg County was called. This old residence was later occupied by the late W. W. Boswell while he conducted a very thriving mercantile establishment at Wattsboro, some quarter of a mile from the residence, "Aspen Hill."

Lewis Archer Boswell was the youngest child of John Iverson Boswell, Jr., and Nancy D. Coleman, and was the grandson of John Iverson Boswell, Sr. (b. Apr. 5, 1761, in Gloucester Co., Va.), and Mary Coleman. For his further ancestry see the Boswell Genealogy herein. His mother died just twenty days after his birth. He was nursed by a black "mammy" and raised by his sister Sallie. His father died December 15, 1846, when he was twelve years old. Upon the death of his father a Mr. Winn became his guardian; and as he was left sufficient means he was well educated at the University of Virginia, The Jefferson Medical School at Philadelphia, and at Johns Hopkins University where he pursued a special course of study.

Dr. Boswell was not only a highly educated physician, but his educational attainments in other fields were of an extraordinary character. He was a profound student of the classics of Literature; and was said to be able to repeat from memory several of the Shakesperean dramas.

Upon his graduation in Medicine he returned to Lunenburg and resided for a brief time with his aunt, Mrs. Ragsdale (sister of his father); and then removed to Mississippi, locating at Greenwood where he practised his profession until the beginning of the Civil War.

At the beginning of the Civil War he came back to Virginia and entered the Military Service of the C. S. A. as a private in Major Scott's Battalion, but he was very soon promoted and sent

to Richmond as Surgeon of the Wynder Hospital. He continued in the Military Service until the end of the War.

After the Surrender he returned to Greenwood, Mississippi, and resumed the practise of medicine; and in 1868 married Miss Bettie Liddell of Carroll County, Mississippi. It was while he was residing in Greenwood, Miss., after the War that he became interested in Aeronautics. His ideas first took definite form upon reading an article upon Bird Flight in The Edinburgh Review by the Duke of Argyle. He was boarding with Col. Roades at the time. When he read the article, he remarked in the Colonel's presence, "It can be done." Whereupon the Colonel inquired, "What can be done?" and Dr. Boswell replied, "Why people can fly through the air, with proper adjustments, like birds."¹

Thereupon the Colonel laughed and pronounced Dr. Boswell crazy. But the doctor immediately began to construct a machine embodying his ideas of the principles which should control the flight of a heavier than air mechanism. He succeeded in making a rough model, which demonstrated the feasibility of his idea. This he completed in 1868.²

There seems to be some doubt as to the reason why he destroyed this model. At any rate he junked the model, put it in a sack and sank it in the Yazoo River. Some have assumed that he did this provoked by the ridicule heaped upon him in the Community because of his idea that he could make a machine which would enable men to fly. Some have thought that the impelling motive was the determination to prevent anyone else from getting possession of his idea.

It was shortly after the construction of this original model that he married. In 1869 he moved to Alabama to reside on a plantation inherited by his wife from her mother. It is altogether possible that the destruction of the model made at Greenwood, Mississippi, was due to the fact that it was inconvenient to transport; furthermore, in all likelihood, it was crude and imperfect, as compared with what he felt capable of producing with the proper facilities for construction, and no doubt his ideas were developing so that he felt the need of a new and more perfect

¹Letter of Dr. Boswell's widow to the writer, Jan. 5, 1926.

²Letter of Dr. Boswell's widow to the writer, Jan. 5, 1926, *Birmingham News*, July 12, 1925.

model to give expression to his more mature conception of The Machine that would fly.

However all of this may be, the model was destroyed, he and his wife removed to Alabama in 1869, they settled on their plantation "Red Hill" at Eastabogo, in the County of Talladega, in Alabama, where he continued his inventive reflections, with what results, we shall see.

On April 4, 1874, he filed an application in the United States Patent Office for *Improvement in Aerial Propeller-Wheels*. The patent, including the specifications and drawings, was as follows:

No. 155,218.

The United States of America.

To All to whom these presents shall come:

Whereas: Lewis A. Boswell, of Talladega, Alabama, has presented to the Commissioner of Patents a petition praying for the grant of Letters Patent for an alleged new and useful Improvement in Aerial-Propeller Wheels, a description of which invention is contained in the Specification of which a copy is hereunto annexed and made a part hereof and has complied with the various requirements of Law in such cases made and provided, and

Whereas, upon due examination made the said claimant is adjudged to be justly entitled to a patent under the Law,

Now therefore these Letters Patent are to grant unto the said Lewis A. Boswell, his heirs or assigns, for the term of seventeen years from the Twenty-second day of September one thousand eight hundred and seventy-four, The exclusive right to make, use and vend the said invention throughout the United States and the Territories thereof.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the Patent Office to be affixed at the City of Washington, this twenty-second day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the ninety-ninth.

C. DELANO,
Secretary Of The Interior.

(Seal)

Countersigned: J. M. Thacher, Acting Commissioner of Patents.

UNITED STATES PATENT OFFICE.

LEWIS A. BOSWELL, OF TALLADEGA, ALABAMA.

IMPROVEMENT IN AERIAL PROPELLER-WHEELS.

Specification forming part of Letters Patent No. 155,218, dated September 22, 1874; application filed April 4, 1874.

To all whom it may concern:

Be it known that I, Dr. LEWIS A. BOSWELL, of Talladega, in the county of Talladega and State of Alabama, have invented a new and Improved Aerial Propeller-Wheel, of which the following is a specification:

My invention consists of an aerial propeller-wheel in which the fans or vanes are mounted horizontally on a hub of a vertical axis, so as to revolve on their own axes independently of each other, and they have an arm or projection which moves against a stationary cam and turns the vanes edgewise to the wind at the time of beginning the return movement, so as to offer little or no resistance while going backward, and a spring and chain are combined with each vane-arm in such manner as to turn the vane back so as to take the wind when the vane begins the forward movement at the moment the arm escapes from the cam.

Figure 1 is a plan view of an aerial propeller with wheels constructed according to my invention. Fig. 2 is a transverse section.

Similar letters of reference indicate corresponding parts.

A represents the vanes; B, the vane-arms; C, the rim; and D, the hub of the middle portion of the wheel, on which they are mounted in bearings E, so as to revolve freely. F represents the lateral arms on the vane-arms; G,

stationary arms for turning the vane-arms out of the wind; H, the spring, and I the chain mounted on the wheel and connected to the arm of a vane, so that the chain is wound on and draws the spring when the vane turns out of the wind, when its arm F comes to point L to turn it back by the tension of the spring, when the arm E escapes from cam G, which occurs when the vane arrives at the point K, where it begins the backward movement, all of which will be understood by inspection of Fig. 1. The wheels are mounted on a vertical shaft, J, which gears with a driving-shaft, H, to be driven by any suitable power.

Thus it will be seen that the vanes can be run with direct action against the wind and without material resistance when returning rear to front.

Having thus described my invention, I claim as new and desire to secure by Letters Patent—

The vanes, arranged to revolve on their axes in the hub of the wheel, and provided with an arm, E, chain I, spring H, in combination with a stationary cam, G, substantially as specified.

LEWIS A. BOSWELL.

Witnesses:

M. H. CRUIKSHANK,
H. E. HAMIL.

L. A. BOSWELL.
Aerial Propeller Wheels.

No. 155,218.

Patented Sept. 22, 1874.

Fig. 1.

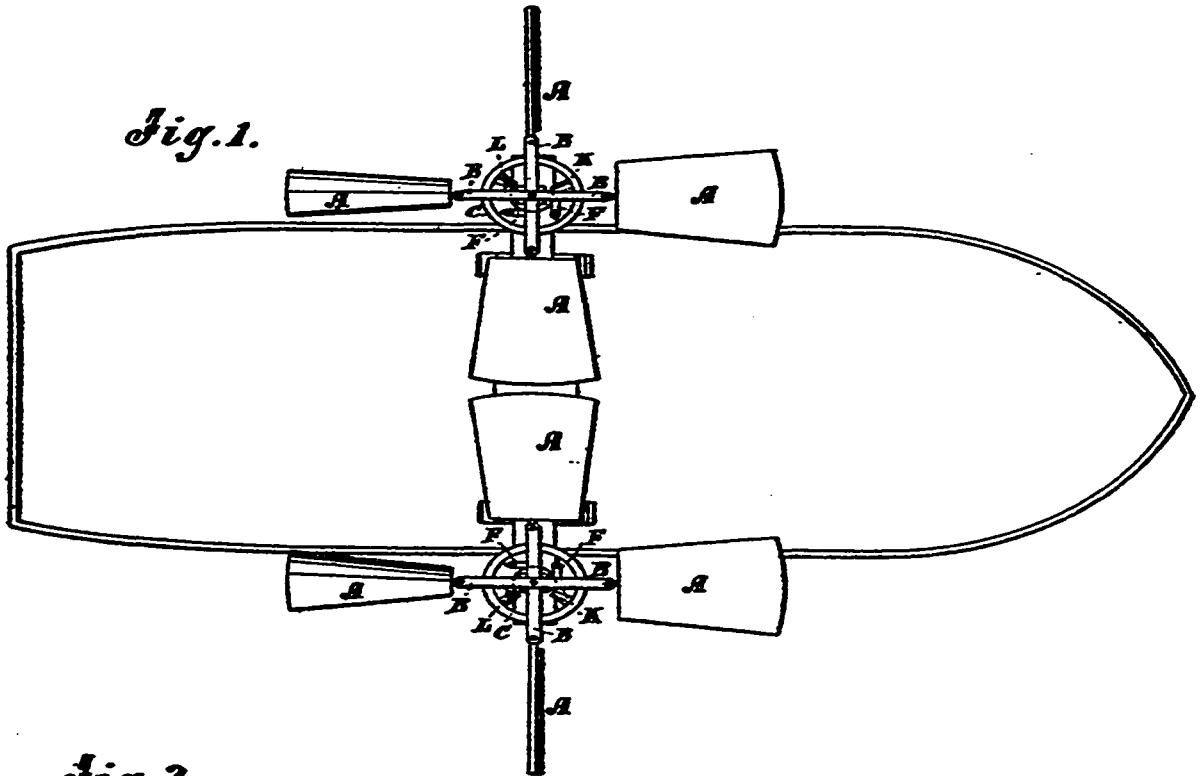
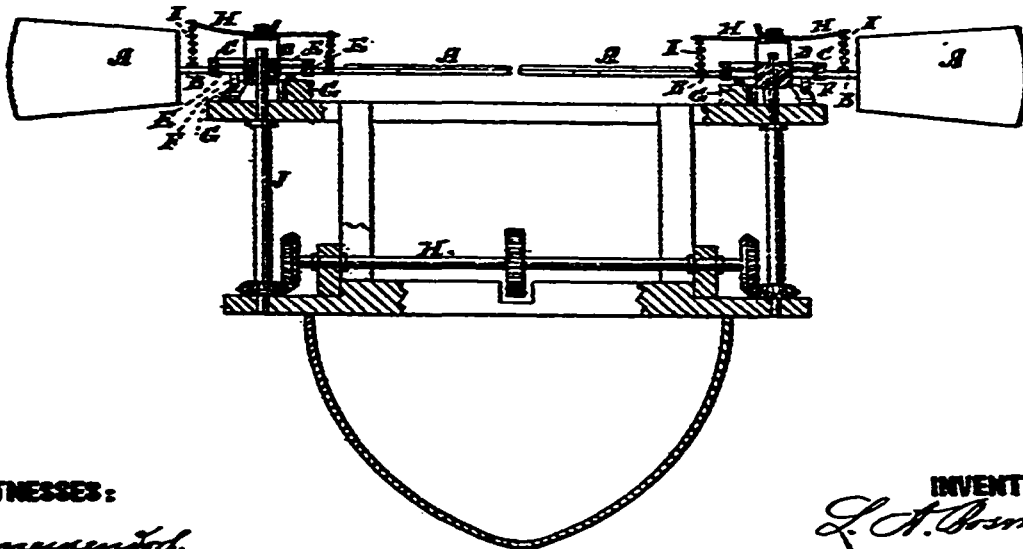


Fig. 2.



WITNESSES:

A. Demme
Chelquist

INVENTOR:

L. A. Boswell

BY

Wm. H. ...

ATTORNEYS.

Dr. Boswell had submitted his plans to Munn & Co., patent solicitors sometime prior to February 7, 1874. This we know, because, while the doctor retained no copies of his letters, we find among his papers (which are meagre), which have survived the ravages of time, their report of their preliminary examination upon, as they term it, improvement in "wind wheels," dated February 7, 1874, No. 34,416. This was a very reputable firm of its day, but their report does them no great credit. They thought that a patent might be obtained, but seemed not to grasp the significance of Dr. Boswell's idea, and to think his mechanism but little different from a windmill invention of one Frazee of St. Louis, Mo.¹

However, the authorities of the Patent Office had no misgivings whatever about the matter and without hesitation granted the patent No. 155,218, on September 22, 1874.

Prior to submitting his application for a patent Dr. Boswell had actually demonstrated that a craft heavier than air, propelled by his "Aerial propeller wheels" would fly through the air. The model submitted with his application was built according to his plans and under his directions, by a jeweller in Talladega, Ala., by the name of Lowry. The model was about twelve inches long, and its power was furnished by a clock spring mechanism. Mrs. Boswell and her sons John and Frank (all now—1926—living) remember well this model, and all saw it in operation. Dr. Boswell would place it on a table and start it, and it would sail across the room.²

"The evolution of this little aerial boat," writes Mrs. Boswell to the writer, "was witnessed by Col. Boynton, J. A. Storey and Bernard Smidth" and others. This model was similar to but an improvement on that built by Dr. Boswell in 1868-9, and sunk in the Yazoo river.³

After obtaining the patent of September 22, 1874, on "Aerial propeller wheels" the Doctor continued his reflections and researches. Unfortunately he retained no copies of the letters he

¹Original report of Munn & Co. to Dr. Boswell, dated Feb. 7, 1874, examined by the writer.

²*Birmingham News*, July 12, 1925; and Statement of Mrs. Boswell to the writer.

³Autograph memorandum of Mrs. Boswell, for the writer.

wrote, and those he received, have in the main, not been preserved. Feeling that he had in theory mastered the problem of propulsion through the air, by his aerial propeller wheels, he turned his attention to the matter of controlling the direction of the craft. He shipped a model of some description to the Patent office authorities in the early nineties, but he never heard from it. It was claimed that it was never received. Slowly he "buildded anew" and his patent covering that feature, the steering mechanism, was obtained May 26, 1903, but of the fact that he had perfected his ideas respecting the matter long before that date there is abundant evidence. For example, in a letter to the Secretary of War, dated June 29, 1900,¹ he wrote: "You need a Flying Machine. I can make that egg stand upon its end; and the simplicity and cheapness, will be the most surprising thing about it. I write to make the U. S. Gov. through your honor a definite proposition and to make it plain to all parties, beg leave to state who and what I am." He then proceeded to explain who he was, a physician, farmer, etc. Then the letter continued: "Now if the Government will loan me one thousand dollars, and persuade Duryea Power Co., of Reading, Penn., to work for me I will put my machine on the wing in sixty days or less time." Then after offering to secure the loan with all his property, he said: "What I propose to do is simply to run a *Kite* through the air with a gasoline motor such as is made by Mr. Charles E. Duryea of Reading, Penn. I claim to have contrived all needful devices to ascent and descent at will, with ease and safety, and to guide right and left as readily as one does a canoe on a still lake." Then after referring the Secretary of War to Mr. J. E. Camp, Probate Judge of Talladega County, and Mr. W. H. Boynton, Cashier of Isbell National Bank, in order that he might determine "whether or not I am what I say I am" (though he stated they knew nothing about his invention), he wrote: "My invention has been complete for many years and been waiting for a suitable motor, with sufficient power and not too heavy to run it. That motor has come at last. The Triple Cylinder Gasoline Engine made by Mr. Duryea. And now there is nothing lacking but a little money; can I get it?"

¹The original letter is in the hands of the writer as he pens these lines.

The pathetic tragedy of it! for the need of a paltry thousand, or a few thousand dollars at the most, Dr. Boswell lost the opportunity, as candid judgment must conclude, of actually flying the first, heavier than air, flying machine. He came out of the Civil War, as did all Confederate soldiers, ruined in fortune. If his invention had been conceived under happier circumstances, when he would have been able to finance its construction without the appeal for public aid, and without disclosing his designs to others seeking honors in the same endeavor, what might not be the difference in the history of the development of the art of aeronautics. To the Doctor's appeal to the Secretary of War, for so paltry a sum as a thousand dollars, he received this reply, endorsed on his letter:

"Washington D. C. July 3, 1900.

"Respectfully returned. The Board [of Ordnance and Fortification] is now conducting a series of experiments in air navigation under the direction of Mr. S. P. Langley of the Smithsonian Institute and until the result of his work is known will make no further allotments for experimentation in this line.

G. H. Powell, Secretary Board of
Ordnance and Fortification."

Failing thus to receive any encouragement from the Government, the Doctor firm in the conviction of the correctness of his ideas, proceeded to take steps to secure a patent for his "Flying Machine." He secured the services of R. S. and A. B. Lacey, solicitors of Patents, of Washington, D. C., and furnished them with full details respecting the matter. They wrote him, September 11, 1901, enclosing "complete papers in the matter of your application for Letters Patent for Flying Machine, and we trust same will meet with your full approval. Should you desire any changes made either in the specification or drawings, indicate same on separate paper and we will incorporate." That he did desire certain changes is indicated by their letter to him under date of September 18, 1901, wherein they said:

"We are in receipt of your valued favor of the 15th inst., enclosing executed papers and draft for \$22.50, representing 1st

Govt. fee and fee for drawing and \$2.50 for copies of drawings and specifications, in the matter of your Flying Machine.

“Noting your request that a tricycle be shown in the drawings, the same equipped with your device, we think best to inform you, before making said changes, that the incorporation of this matter will involve an expense of \$5.00 for an additional sheet of drawing and you should forward us a rough drawing showing your general idea of the preferred manner of attaching your device to the tricycle.”

The idea of incorporating the tricycle seems to have been abandoned because of the view of these attorneys that “the incorporation of this new matter will be of no benefit to your case patentably, since it simply constitutes a demonstration of one of the adaptations of the invention.” This they wrote him in their letter of September 18, 1901. Two days later, September 20th, he wrote them—just what we do not know—but they acknowledged receipt of a letter from him under that date, on September 26, 1901, and wrote:

“We have filed your case in the patent office and hand you herewith official receipt of filing.” This official receipt—Series of 1900. No. 76365, bears date September 24, 1901, and acknowledges “The receipt of the petition, specification, oath, and drawing of your alleged improvement in Flying Machine.”

Evidently Dr. Boswell enquired of these Attorneys for information respecting an aeronautical society, with a view to interesting it in his invention, for they wrote him:

“We do not know of an aeronautical society in the United States, but believe that any information you desire will be procured by addressing Prof. Langley, inventor of Langley’s Flying Machine, c/o Smithsonian Institute, This City.”

What communication Dr. Boswell had with Prof. Langley and others, the discreetness, or lack of it, in his disclosures respecting his ideas we can only conjecture. For one reason or another it took the authorities of the Patent Office a long time to pass upon his application, but eventually the patent was granted embracing all his claims. The patent No. 728,844, was dated May 26, 1903, and including the specifications and drawings was as follows:

No. 728,844.

The United States of America.

To all to whom these presents shall come :

Whereas Lewis A. Boswell, of Eastaboga, Alabama, has presented to the Commissioner of Patents a petition praying for the grant of Letters Patent for an alleged new and useful improvement in Steering Mechanism for Dirigible Air Ships, a description of which invention is contained in the specification of which a copy is hereunto annexed and made a part hereof, and has complied with the various requirements of Law in such cases made and provided, and

Whereas upon due examination made the said claimant is adjudged to be justly entitled to a patent under the law.

Now therefore these Letters Patent are to grant unto the said Lewis A. Boswell, his heirs or assigns for the term of seventeen years from the twenty-sixth day of May one thousand nine hundred and three, the exclusive right to make, use and vend the said invention throughout the United States and the territories thereof.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the Patent Office to be affixed at the City of Washington, this Twenty-sixth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and three and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and twenty-seventh.

F. I. Allen, Commissioner of Patents.

(Seal).

No. 728,844.

Patented May 26, 1903.

UNITED STATES PATENT OFFICE.

LEWIS A. BOSWELL, OF EASTABOGA, ALABAMA.

STEERING MECHANISM FOR DIRIGIBLE AIR-SHIPS.

SPECIFICATION forming part of Letters Patent No. 728,844, dated May 26, 1903.

Application filed September 24, 1901. Serial No. 76,385. (No model.)

To all whom it may concern:

Be it known that I, LEWIS A. BOSWELL, a citizen of the United States, residing at Eastaboga, in the county of Talladega and State of Alabama, have invented certain new and useful improvements in Steering Mechanism for Dirigible Air-Ships; and I do hereby declare the following to be a full, clear, and exact description of the invention, such as will enable others skilled in the art to which it appertains to make and use the same.

This invention has relation to the steering mechanism of dirigible air-ships, whereby the ascent, descent, sweep in circles, and departure from a direct line either to the right or to the left are wholly under control.

The improvement consists, essentially, of the novel features, details of construction, and combinations of parts which hereinafter will be more particularly set forth, illustrated, and finally claimed.

In the drawings forming a part of the specification, Figure 1 is a perspective view of the deck of an air-ship provided with steering mechanism embodying the invention. Fig. 2 is a front view, the dotted lines showing an adjusted position of the aeroplane. Fig. 3 is a vertical central longitudinal section, the dotted lines showing different positions of the component parts of the aeroplane.

Corresponding and like parts are referred to in the following description and indicated in all the views of the drawings by the same reference characters.

The ship (not shown) may be of any make or design and is provided with the deck 1, upon which is mounted the pilot-house 2, above which is arranged the aeroplane. Within the pilot-house are located two drums 3 and 4 at different elevations, the drum 3 being in a higher plane than the drum 4 and arranged at a right angle thereto. The cordage for operating the sections of the aeroplane and the rudder is connected to these drums in the manner presently to be explained in detail. These drums are adapted to be rotated by any convenient means and, as shown, cranks 5 have connection with the upper drum 3 and a crank 6 with the lower drum 4. An arch or bow 7 rises from the pilot-house 2 and supports the aeroplane in such a manner as to

admit of its universal movement to cause the car or ship to travel in the desired direction. The aeroplane has direct connection with the central portion of the arch or bow, so as to turn and tilt thereon, the connection 8 being such as to admit of the movement of the aeroplane in every possible direction. The aeroplane is composed of sections 9 and 10, flexibly or hingedly connected. The front section 9 is approximately of fan shape—that is, it is widened toward the front end and contracted toward the rear end, the front corners being rearwardly curved. The edges of the section are straight and forwardly diverged. The section 9 is connected about centrally with the arch or bow 7. The rear section 10 is comparatively narrow and is hingedly connected at its front end to the rear end of the section 9, the longitudinal edges being straight and rearwardly diverged. The manner of connecting the sections 9 and 10 is unimportant so long as they are adapted to flex on a line corresponding to the juncture of the two sections. The aeroplane is moved toward and from a horizontal plane transversely by means of cords or ropes 11 and 11^a, which have connection at their upper ends with the extremities of the section 9 and have their lower ends connected to the drum 4 and reversely wound thereon, so that upon turning the drum 4 either to the right or to the left one of the cords is wound upon the drum and the other unwound, with the result that one side of the aeroplane is thrown up and the other side down, thereby causing the ship to travel in a circle the sweep of which is determined by the position of the aeroplane. The aeroplane is tilted longitudinally toward and from a horizontal line by cords or ropes 12 12^a and 13 13^a, which have their lower ends attached to the drum 3 and reversely wound thereon. The cords 12 12^a have their upper ends attached to the section 9 and the cords or ropes 13 13^a to the section 10. Upon turning the drum 3 either to the right or the left one set of cords is wound upon the drum and the other set unwound, thereby simultaneously changing the longitudinal inclination of the sections 9 and 10 to cause the ship either to ascend or to descend, as required. The front cord or rope 13^a passes over the adjacent ends of the sec-

2

728,844

tions 9 and 10, thence through an opening in the front section 9 and around the rear side of the drum 3. The rear cord or rope 13 passes around the front side of the drum 3 and directly to the section 10. Upon turning the drum 3 to lower the rear end of the section 9 the rear end of the section 10 is correspondingly elevated, and upon turning the drum in the opposite direction to elevate the rear end of the section the rear end of the section 10 is lowered. This has been found necessary in order to balance the ship and cause the plane to effectively ride upon the air, so as to cause the ship to move in the desired direction.

The rudder 14, hinged to the rear end of the deck, is controlled by cords or ropes 15 15", extending to the drum 4 and attached to and reversely wound therein. It will thus be seen that the rudder is simultaneously moved with the up-and-down transverse movement of the aeroplane. When one side of the plane is moved downward, the rudder is caused to swing toward the same side, and when the opposite side of the aeroplane is moved downward the rudder swings toward this side. Hence there is a mutual cooperation between the aeroplane and rudder with reference to controlling the sweep, lateral swirling, or circling of the ship.

Having thus described the invention, what is claimed as new is—

1. In a dirigible air-ship, an aeroplane composed of front and rear sections flexibly connected, a drum, cords connecting the front and rear parts of the front section with the said drum, said cords being connected at one end to the said parts and at the other end to the drum and reversely wound thereon, and other cords having connection with the rear section and attached to and reversely wound upon the said drum, one of the last-mentioned cords passing over the adjacent ends of the sections, substantially as and for the purpose set forth.

2. In a dirigible air-ship, an aeroplane mounted for movement toward and from the horizontal laterally, a rudder, a drum, and cords connecting the aeroplane and rudder with the said drum, whereby the aeroplane and rudder are moved simultaneously toward the same side, as and for the purpose set forth.

In testimony whereof I affix my signature in presence of two witnesses.

LEWIS A. BOSWELL. [L. S.]

Witnesses:

F. B. BOWIE,
S. J. JOHNSON.

Encouraged by the granting of the patent May 26, 1903, by the United States Patent Office, Dr. Boswell took the necessary steps to patent his invention in Canada, and he secured a Canadian patent identical with No. 728,844, on November 10, 1903. The number of his Canadian patent is 83,878.

Subsequent to receiving his second patent, that of May 26, 1903, on Steering Mechanism for Dirigible Airships, Dr. Boswell combined his plans (those of the patent of September 22, 1874, for aerial propeller wheels with that for the steering mechanism), into a completed plan for an airship. The drawings and specifications were prepared by Garland Boswell, the doctors' nephew—son of the late W. W. Boswell of Wattsboro, Lunenburg County, Va. These were sent to Glenn Curtiss—now maker of the Curtiss Airplane—at Hammondsport, New York.¹

The members of Dr. Boswell's family say that these plans were never returned and Dr. Boswell had considerable correspondence with Curtiss respecting the subject.

Curtiss, pursuant to directions, built for Doctor Boswell the

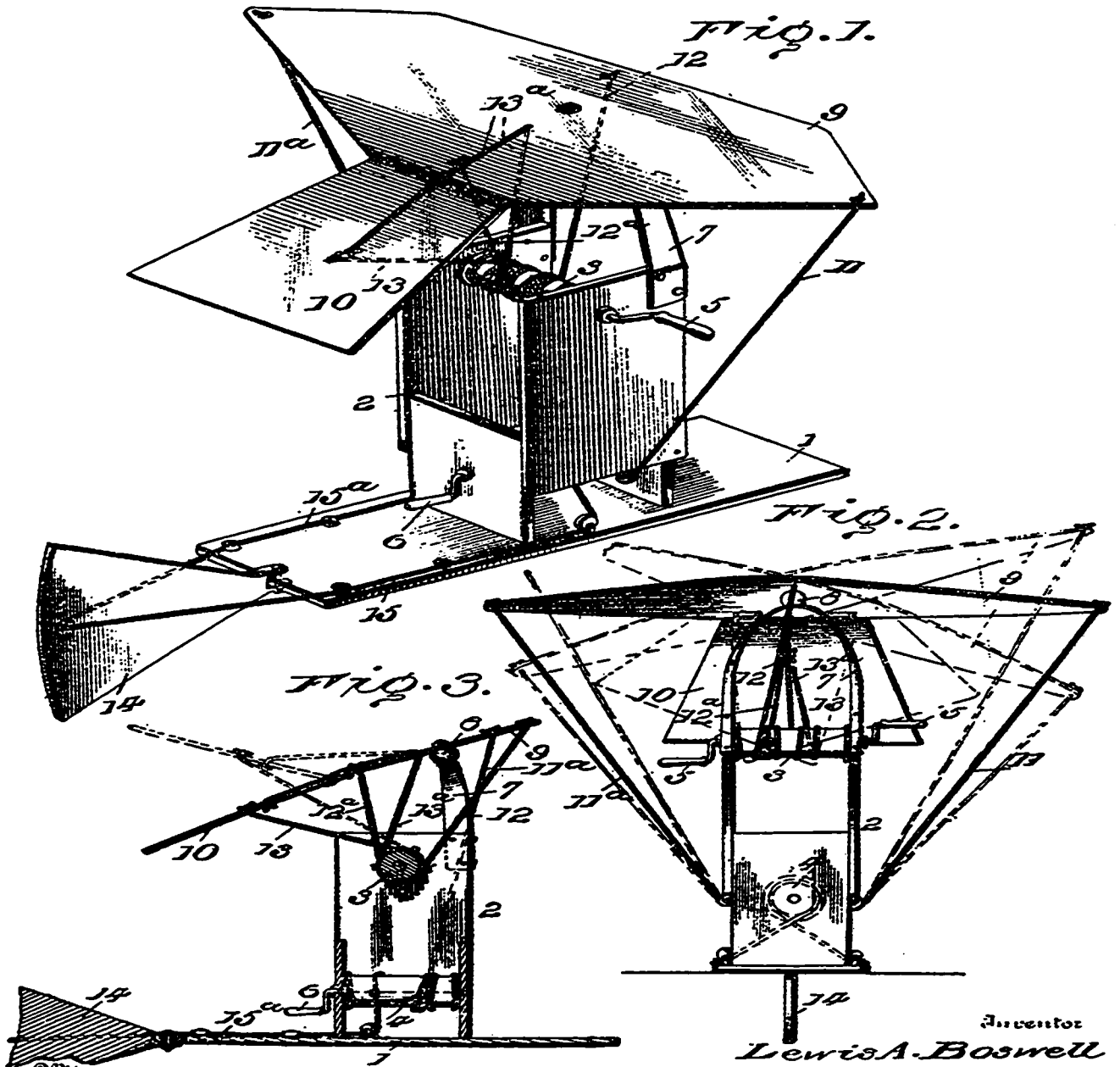
¹The Birmingham News, July 12, 1925; Statement of Mrs. Boswell.

No. 728,844.

PATENTED MAY 26, 1903.

L. A. BOSWELL.
STEERING MECHANISM FOR DIRIGIBLE AIR SHIPS.
APPLICATION FILED SEPT. 24, 1901.

NO MODEL.



Inventor

Lewis A. Boswell

Witnesses
J. M. Smith
Gladys C. Thompson.

By
R. S. A. Racey Attorney

running gear for his plane and installed a motor and shipped it to him at his home in Alabama. John Boswell, the Doctor's son, well remembers hauling the device from Lincoln to the family home about ten miles north Talladega, where it was put up. The engine proved to be an old and imperfect one.¹

In 1904 he advertised in a Charleston, S. C., paper for a partner, or for someone to join him in the necessary steps to make a practical demonstration of the capabilities of his mechanisms. What he wanted was someone who would finance the building of his machine. He did not feel the need of anyone to help him on the theory—that he felt, and justly felt he had mastered, at least relatively, and far earlier and more completely than anyone else up to that time. It was through this advertisement that he made the acquaintance of Israel Ludlow of New York, who was working on the subject of Mechanical flight.² Ludlow's response to the advertisement led to some character of business arrangement between them, under which Ludlow hoped to receive part of the proceeds for making a disposition of the patent. And, at least at the first, his efforts seem to have been confined to this phase of the matter.

In the beginning Ludlow seemed chary of giving information of his own ideas. In the first letter to Dr. Boswell (of which we have any knowledge), apparently in answer to a question, he mentions, seemingly as briefly as possible that his "plan of guiding is by shifting of weights." He added that "I would be glad to hear and consider your invention."³

What reply Dr. Boswell made to this letter we do not know. The exact date of the receipt of the gear and motor from Curtiss we have not been able to ascertain, but it is reasonably certain it was well up in the year 1906, for it was in September of that year that the mechanism was dismantled at his home for transportation to Anniston, Ala., for further work on the motor. This was done in order that an automobile mechanic named Charles E. Sanger, from Nashville, Tenn., who had recently come into that section, and who had become greatly interested in

¹*The Birmingham News*, July 12, 1925; Statement of Mrs. Boswell.

²Dr. Boswell's widow to the writer.

³Letter of November 6, 1905.

Dr. Boswell's machine, might try his hand upon setting the motor to rights. Only one letter from him to Dr. Boswell has survived: it is undated, but was postmarked at Anniston, Ala., September 19, 1906. It explained that he had been sick and unable to work on the machine, but expected to begin right away. One paragraph of his letter is worth quoting. He says:

"I am afraid I am going to have some trouble about going out on the street with the machine. The officers don't like the looks of that propeller, they say it is dangerous. But I think I will work that all right."

It does not appear, however, that they were ever successful in getting the motor into running order. About this time Ludlow wrote him:

"Sometime ago I received a letter from you in regard to the proposed flying machine, and I write to inquire if you have a model, or have recently tested your invention. "There is to be an exhibition by the Aero Club during the first week of December, 1906, and I would suggest that it would be a good plan for you to make an exhibit in order to attract attention to the value of your discoveries. The Aero Club will pay transportation to and from New York on all models."¹

In response to this suggestion Dr. Boswell sent some letters and photographs to Ludlow, and a "photograph" of his flying machine to the Secretary of the Aero Club, in care of Ludlow. These facts we know from a letter from Ludlow to Dr. Boswell as follows:

"I received your letter and photographs. The one addressed to the 'Secretary of the Aero Club' in my care, I will have placed in the Club rooms, and also exhibited in the coming Aeronautical Exhibition to be held in this City from December 1st to the 8th.

"I doubt very much whether it would be possible to sell any invention relating to aeronautics unless you have at least practically demonstrated its value."²

The "photograph" here referred to was evidently a fanciful

¹October 12, 1906.

²October 23, 1906.

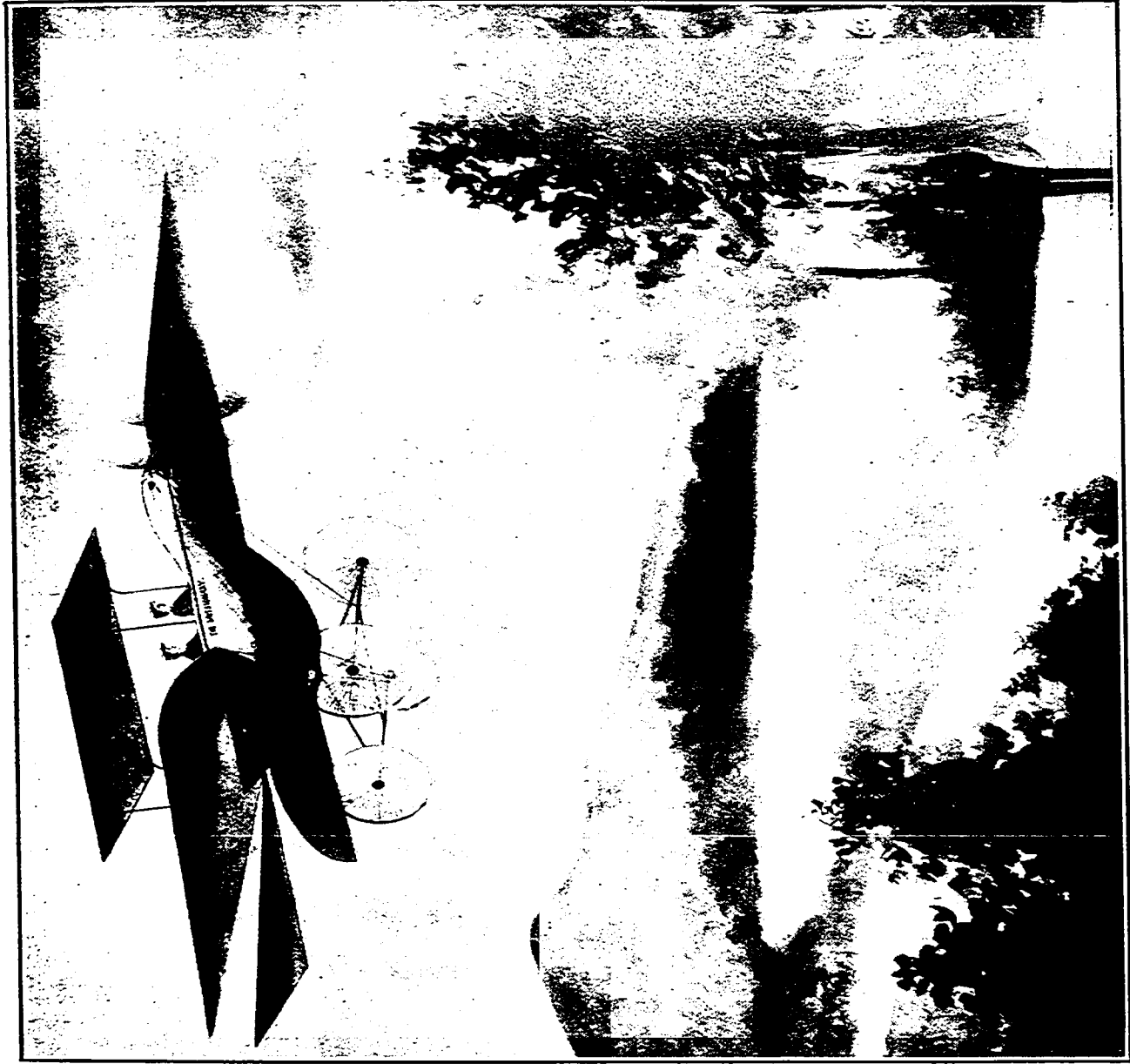
picture, part photograph and part drawing, which is reproduced in *The Birmingham News* in the issue of July 12, 1925, in an article on Dr. Boswell's invention. The picture is herewith reproduced from the same original from which *The Birmingham News* obtained its copy. That paper says: "above, left, photograph said to have been made of an airplane flight made near Anniston, Ala., in 1902. Dr. L. A. Boswell, whose inventions are said to have antedated those pioneers of aviation usually credited with being the first to fly, is shown standing in the road. The Anniston photographer who took this picture has long since left that city." In the text of the article it is said: "It was there [at Anniston, Ala.] that the first flight ever made by a heavier-than-air machine was reported to have taken place in November, 1902—and Orville and Wilbur Wright did not make their famous flight at Kitty Hawk, N. C., until December 17, 1903."

This is interesting reading, and may be good "newspaper stuff," but in the interest of accuracy it must be stated that no such flight ever took place, nor was any such photograph ever taken. The original "photograph" is now in the writer's possession as he pens these lines (January, 1926).

The only part of the picture that is real photography is that of Dr. Boswell standing in the road pointing as if toward an object in the air. After this photograph was made with ample space left for the purpose, the features of the landscape were sketched in with a brush, and the airplane—*The Missionary*—was sketched in by drawing and painting. That the matter was thus made up is apparent to the eye even of one untrained either in art or photography. It was simply Dr. Boswell's conception of the possibilities of his inventions. It was what he believed they could and would do, if embodied in a suitably designed airship; and this expression of his conception was prepared to aid him in interesting others financially able to join him in the building of some such craft as *The Missionary*.

Not only are these facts evident, as stated, from an examination of the picture itself, but Dr. Boswell's daughter writes: "He had these pictures made to use as an advertisement when he was trying so hard to raise money to build his machine. . . .

"You understand that picture is an imaginery affair, and I



Dr. Boswell's Airplane.

don't know how the report of that flight in Anniston in Nov. 1902 ever got started. I never heard papa say one word about it. I knew he was up there a good deal, and I knew of his efforts."¹

Further she says: "Papa spent most of his life in the study of this thing and was always making experiments but he *never* flew, he could tell you *how* it could be *done*, but he *did not do it*. He never could get a motor, could never get anyone who had the money to build the machine, to take any interest in his invention; no one believed in it; he lived too soon."²

Dr. Boswell became convinced that others were taking unwarranted liberties with the ideas covered by his patents. He wrote Ludlow on the subject—the exact purport of his communication we do not know—unfortunately he seems never to have kept a copy of any of the letters he wrote. But on August 11, 1908, Ludlow wrote him: "May I ask you to send me the number of your patent or a patent specification? It seems to me as if there might be something in your claim for infringement." Evidently the Dr. promptly complied, for on August 17, 1908, Ludlow wrote him:

"The Wright Brothers, I am informed, use levers instead of a drum and wheel to twist their surfaces. I have not yet seen their machine, but expect to go to Washington to visit and inspect it. I believe that the aeroplane manufactured by G. H. Curtiss, of Hammondsport, N. Y., is clearly an infringement. I am willing to take this matter up and push it for you if you will pay me as a legal fee 33-1/3% of the amount recovered.

"I would not advise you to go to the expense of joining the Aero Club of America. There is too little in it. The dues are \$25.00 initiation fee and \$10.00 annually. If, however, you want to join I will be pleased to propose you as a member."

Dr. Boswell evidently concurred in the view that Curtiss was infringing his patent, and he had considerable correspondence with him. The letters which he received from Curtiss have now been lost. On August 26, 1908, Ludlow wrote Dr. Boswell: "Nor do I think that the fact that your invention is called a

¹Miss Margaret Boswell to the writer, Dec. 31, 1925.

²Id.

steering device for airships rather than flying machines a bar to your asserting your rights against any who may use the same mechanisms on aeroplanes, under these circumstances I could not bring an action against the United States Patent Office as suggested.

“All that I can do at present is to keep a watch out for any infringement on your patent and stop it unless a royalty is paid.”

There may have been communications between Ludlow and Dr. Boswell, between August 26, 1908, and March 4, 1909, for on this latter date Ludlow wrote the doctor:

“Enclosed find a clipping of today’s issue of the *New York Times* referring to the formation of a new company to manufacture aeroplanes, etc. You are particularly interested because as far as I have been able to learn they are using a steering device covered by your patent.

“I cannot be positive of this fact until I see and inspect carefully their new machines, which I will do at the earliest opportunity. In the meantime the best policy for us to pursue for the present is one of utmost secrecy. If it proves to be correct that your invention is being used and is a necessary piece of mechanism to their aeroplane, there is no doubt if your interests are carefully and rightfully managed that you will obtain thousands of dollars for your patent. You may rest assured, having as I have a contingent interest in this matter, that I will do everything that possibly can be done.”

On May 20, 1909, Ludlow wrote Dr. Boswell:

“I have been waiting either to see or to learn more definitely about the Curtiss’ and Herring aeroplanes before taking action. Nothing yet is known about them, it is said that Mr. Herring will not fulfill his contract with the War Department.

“I also wrote to C. F. Blackmore of Brooklyn in response to that postal card but received no reply. I do not think that anything can be expected of him, he is not known as an experimenter and writing on a postal card is not an evidence of financial resources.”

It seems that Dr. Boswell obeyed the injunction of Ludlow

to pursue a policy of secrecy, of saying nothing. Upon just what theory it was to work out to Dr. Boswell's interest to pursue such a course, does not appear.

Ludlow wrote Dr. Boswell on January 5, 1910.¹ Whether this was a belated reply to some letter the doctor wrote shortly before his death, or was in pursuance of a desire to keep some sort of touch with the doctor and his invention is not entirely clear. It may have been that with the great and somewhat sudden revival of interest in aeronautics consequent upon the experiment of the Wrights, Curtiss, Langley and others, and especially the suits of Wright against Curtiss, and Wright against Paulhan, the Frenchman who brought the Bleriot and Farman models to this country, Ludlow perceiving as he did that Dr. Boswell was the real pioneer, who had broad basic patents entitled to liberal interpretations, became anxious to establish a firm and definite relationship with the doctor. It was more than probable that because of his inaction and because of the course pursued by both him and Doctor Boswell, there were no definite contractual relations subsisting between them at the time. Seeing the possibilities in the aeronautical outlook, Ludlow's interest in Dr. Boswell's invention was greatly stimulated. In this letter he wrote:

"The matter of your patent has always had my attention, for I thoroughly believe in its value, and was of the opinion that this could be shown in time. If you recall our last correspondence was in reference to taking some steps against the Curtiss Aeroplane.

"Since then the Wrights began suit against Curtiss, and of course it was best to wait until that litigation was out of the way. Then the Wrights formed their million dollar company which included the Vanderbilts, Goulds and other very prominent men.

"Day before yesterday the United States Federal Court handed down a decision in the Wright suit perpetually enjoining Curtiss from manufacturing, exhibiting or using his aeroplane. Paulhan of France has just arrived in this country with two Bleriot and two Farman aeroplanes. Fifteen minutes after he landed the

¹Dr. Boswell died Nov. 26, 1909.

Wrights served him with papers in a suit to prevent him from exhibiting his aeroplanes. All this has created great excitement in aeronautical circles here.

“It is essential that you either build or litigate to establish your rights, for as you know a patent is only a ‘license to litigate.’ Of course to fight will require a vast amount of time and no little capital. If I succeed in obtaining either the funds to build or to prosecute your claims in Court I will expect no small fee in the event of success. The Courts do not favor what are known as ‘non-users’ in patent litigation, therefore will you tell me exactly what you have done in building models, etc., which would bring you in the class of ‘users.’”

Two days later—January 7, 1910—before of course Dr. Boswell could have received and answered had he been living the letter of January 5, 1910—written from New York City to him at Eastaboga, Ala., Ludlow wrote him this letter:

“Matters have shaped themselves so that it will be possible for me to enter the fight to establish your rights in the litigation the Wrights have begun against M. Paulhan of France. It is necessary to obtain an affidavit from you setting forth all of your experiments; What construction work have you done, and give the reasons why this work has not been successfully completed. Inability to pay the cost of construction is a good excuse, and one that should be alleged when it is true.

“It would be better if you would write me immediately giving the record asked for; and then an affidavit will be drawn in proper form and returned to you for signature and acknowledgment before a Notary Public. The first hearing will be next Friday, great haste therefore is necessary, for while it is expected that an adjournment will be obtained, it will not be well to count upon it.

“Enclosed find a special delivery stamped envelope to facilitate prompt delivery of your answer.”

On January 10, 1910, he wrote Dr. Boswell again:

“I write to urge upon you the importance of secrecy at this time. It would be very inadvisable to make any statement about your patent at *one* [all?] at this time. When in litigation clients

leave all public statements to their attorneys and you should refer all questions no matter how seemingly unimportant to me.

“Of course you should [not] sell your patent or any share in it without consulting me. You have made the statement that you thought that the Wrights do not infringe.¹ Do not say that in the future, the interpretation of patent is a question for the Courts.”

The next day—January 11, 1910—Ludlow wrote him:

“Enclosed find a clipping from the morning paper giving an interview with Wilbur Wright. It may interest you also to receive the account in *Times* of the Aviation Meeting in California. I have entered the suit and will prosecute vigorously your claims. The argument will come off before the U. S. District Court on January 28th having been postponed from next Friday to give further time for preparation.

“If this work of mine is successful it will make your patent very valuable, under these circumstances you owe it to me to follow closely my advice. Say nothing to anyone who makes enquiries of you, not to friends, strangers, newspaper reporters or any one else about your patent or what it covers. Give away no descriptions or drawings of it. Refer all persons who make enquiries to me. If you do this it is very possible that I will be able to make something of value out of your patent. I will enlist all aid that may be had to your side. With best wishes.”

Dr. Boswell died, at his home in Alabama, November 26, 1909, and therefore of course never received or replied to any of these more or less frantic appeals of Ludlow to authorize and expedite Dr. Boswell's entrance into the litigation between the Wrights and Paulhan. Nor does it appear that any of Dr. Boswell's family communicated with Ludlow in response to these letters until January 11 and 12, 1910—after his son, J. I. Boswell, had been appointed administrator of his estate. No doubt this delay was unavoidable and incident to the sorrow and confusion following the doctor's death, and due in part, at least, to a feeling of

¹This letter was written a month and a half after Dr. Boswell's death—but apparently in ignorance of that fact. When, where, or under what circumstances, if at all, Dr. Boswell made such a statement, does not appear.

uncertainty as to what was proper under the circumstances. The letters of the administrator to Ludlow we do not have, but in reply to them Ludlow wrote him on January 17, 1910, as follows:

“I have your letters of Jan. 11 and 12th. I greatly regret to hear of the death of Mr. Boswell. For a number of years owing to our mutual interest in aeronautics we have been in correspondence. It has always been my opinion that he was one of the men who by intelligent study and natural ability learned one of the basic principles of aeronautical flight. The principle he incorporated in his Letters Patent No. 728,844. It was one of the unfortunate incidences of life, that a lack of means and age and circumstances combined to render it impossible to properly carry forward his invention. He died at the time when his dreams on the thought of human flight were about to be proven true.

“During his lifetime I wrote him that time would prove that he was right and that one of these days he would come into his own, because of the worth of his patent. We corresponded as to what could be done and it was agreed between us that I should take up and handle it in the way that I considered best and that if it was possible to realize money, either from the sale of the patent, or from the sale of the licenses, that I should receive as a fee one-third of the amount realized. It being understood that I was to bear what expenses I incurred and if nothing was made out of the patent he was to be under no obligations to pay me any fee for any disbursements.

“As you are undoubtedly aware, in aeronautics everything is in confusion. No one's rights are established and no one seems willing to acknowledge the rights of others claiming all for themselves and unwilling to give consideration to the claims of others. The various men who have patents are self-satisfied with what they possess. A patent is nothing more than ‘a license to fight in the courts.’ The first decision establishing any patent right was handed down by Judge Hazel of the United States Circuit Court of the Western District of New York in the action of Wright Brothers vs. Herring Curtiss Company and Glen. H. Curtiss on Jan. 4th of this year. This established the priority of the claims of the Wrights over those of Mr. Curtiss. The Wrights then brought suit against Mr. Paulhan who brought

over four European machines with which to give exhibitions in Los Angeles, California. It is this suit that I have entered, and will there uphold the rights of the estate of Dr. Boswell. I expect this litigation may last one year or three or four years. However, we are fighting for something worth while. I would not take it under these contingent fee arrangements unless I believed that if successful I would be well rewarded for my efforts. Under these circumstances, I expect that the estate of Dr. Boswell will back me whole-souled and heartily. That is, that they will follow my advice; that they will, under no circumstances enter into negotiations with others while the litigation is pending and that in the event the patent is sold I will without question be paid one-third of the amount realized.

“Will you kindly confirm this agreement on behalf of the Estate of Dr. Boswell.”

Presumably the administrator confirmed the arrangement.

Knight Brothers, Patent, Trade-mark and Copyright Attorneys of St. Louis, Mo., presumably acting for some client took up with Ludlow the matter of acquiring or securing a license under Dr. Boswell's patent and the matter was the subject of correspondence between the administrator, Knight Brothers and Ludlow in March and April, 1910. In the course of this correspondence Ludlow wrote Knight Brothers, on March 30, 1910:

“J. I. Boswell, administrator of Dr. Lewis A. Boswell of Eastaboga, Alabama, has referred to me your letter of March 23, 1910, enquiring about Patent No. 728,844 for ‘Steering Mechanism for Dirigible Airship.’ I represent the Estate of Dr. Boswell as attorney and agent in the matter of this patent and would be pleased to enter into negotiations in reference to the sale of the patent.

“The patent has a high value, it antedates by two years the Wright patent, it is a practical design as I have personally determined by experiments with models, and it is a pioneer invention entitled to a broad interpretation of its claims. It is one of the few designs which are non infringing of the Wright patent under the Circuit Courts rulings in the case of Wright vs. Curtiss and Wright vs. Paulhan. I would call your attention to the fact that

it is possible to make several modifications of the Boswell patent without departing in any way from the principles on which the claims are based. I speak with knowledge at first hand as I am one of the Counsel for the defendant in the case Wright vs. Paulhan."

On the same day in sending the administrator a copy of his letter to Knight Brothers he wrote:

"Your letter enclosing the letter of the Knight Brothers of St. Louis, Mo., received. A copy of my reply to that letter is enclosed. I believe you agree with me that it is not worth while to sell the patent at a nominal price. The patent may be worth a great deal, the Court's decision will finally determine its value. The principles involved are now being carried up on appeal in the suit of the Wright Company vs. Louis Paulhan, which case will probably go to the United States Supreme Court at Washington, D. C., and where I am one of the attorneys for Mr. Paulhan."

Apparently nothing ever came of the negotiations with Knight Brothers.

In view of Ludlow's advice that the principles determining the priority and consequently the relative values of the patents including Dr. Boswell's would be decided in the case of the Wright Company v. Louis Paulhan, which might not be decided for three or four years, the members of Dr. Boswell's family patiently waited. Finally desiring some information relative to the status of things, Dr. Boswell's daughter, Miss Margaret Boswell, wrote Ludlow in August, 1915, and received the following reply dated September 4th, 1915:

"Your letter of August 31st received and I hasten to reply. The Paulhan suit was never completed. In the midst of that litigation, Mr. Paulhan left this country but failed to leave any money for carrying on the lawsuit and it was perforce dropped by the attorneys.

"The patent litigation since then has been between Glenn H. Curtiss and the Wright Company but in their legal actions, I have taken no part. The law suits are still in Court, but will, I believe, be finally settled during the coming winter. This

litigation has cost each side between \$75,000 and \$100,000 each.

“Until the questions there involved are out of the way, all other patents must wait, for under the circumstances, it would be inadvisable to enter into the expensive litigation.

“I regarded your father with a great deal of admiration, for I think he, at a very early period, discovered some of the elementary principles of mechanical flight.

“If the patent expires before the development of the art benefits his descendants, they will have suffered because he, like many another pioneer, was too far before his time.

“Many of his letters I have preserved and a short time ago, I reread some of them and I was struck with their enthusiasm and earnestness. They might have been written in these great days of aviation rather than when to be interested in flying-machines carried with it an implication on one’s intelligence.”

The scope and purpose of this work make it impractical to undertake any detailed notice of the technical points of patent law which would be involved in a discussion of the similarities in and differences between Dr. Boswell’s patents and those of others. A very brief mention of the cases referred to in the Ludlow correspondence may be in order and of interest.

Orville and Wilbur Wright filed application March 23, 1903, for improvements in flying machines, or in other words, for a structure commonly known as an aeroplane. The patent thereon was granted May 22, 1906.

Dr. Boswell filed his application for a patent for Steering Mechanism for Dirigible Air-ships on September 24, 1901, and the patent was granted him May 26, 1903. His application was filed a year and a half almost to the day before the Wrights filed theirs. His patent was issued to him three years (lacking but four days) before the Wrights received their patent.

Dr. Boswell contemplated but never patented a completed Flying Machine, embracing in one mechanism the propellers and the steering devices covered by his patents.

The Wrights were more fortunate financially as were the Curtiss-Herring interests, than was the doctor. The Wrights transferred their patents to a company strong financially; and the Herring-Curtiss Company was also organized. Curtiss had been

a visitor at the Wrights camp near Kitty Hawk, N. C., and was claimed to have utilized ideas there gathered in the construction of the machine which was afterwards enjoined as an infringement of the Wrights' patent.

As soon as the Herring-Wright Company manufactured and began using one of the Curtiss planes, the Wright Company brought a suit in equity to enjoin the manufacture and use of their machine. A preliminary injunction was granted by the Circuit Court of the United States for the Western District of New York, January 3, 1910.¹

While this suit was pending Paulhan the Frenchman came to this country as detailed in one of Ludlow's letters. The Wright Co. immediately instituted in the Circuit Court for the Southern District of New York the suit of Wright Co. v. Paulhan, in which a preliminary injunction was granted against Paulhan, February 17, 1910.²

The newspapers of the day credited Ludlow's argument in the Paulhan case, in which he relied principally upon Dr. Boswell's patents, with being the determining factor in inducing the Court to defer granting an injunction for sufficient time to enable Paulhan to complete his tour of exhibition flights in the United States. He had been employed as an expert in his field to assist Clarence J. Shearn, who was chief counsel for Paulhan.

The case of Wright Co. v. Herring-Curtiss Co., and Glenn H. Curtiss in which the preliminary injunction was granted January 3, 1910,³ reached final hearing, and was decided February 21, 1913.⁴

Speaking on the general subject of the mechanisms in controversy, Judge Hazel said:

"That such structures are supported in their flight by the reaction of the air against an inclined surface, and that the advancing air presses against the plane surfaces, thereby inclining them to rise, while at the same time a resistance to forward motion is encountered, which is overcome by the propelling motor,

¹177 Fed. 257.

²Id. 261.

³Id. 257.

⁴204 Fed. 597.

are facts now reasonably familiar to us," owing he says, to articles in the daily papers, etc., and notable flights in this country and abroad by the late Wilbur Wright, Orville Wright, defendant Glenn H. Curtiss and other venturesome aviators.

The objects of the Wright patent, he said, according to the specification are:

"To provide means for maintaing or restoring the equilibrium or lateral balance of the apparatus, to provide means for guiding the machine both vertically and horizontally, and to provide a structure combining lightness, strength, convenience of construction, and certain other advantages," etc.

After mentioning certain difficulties which the Wrights encountered, the opinion on page 600 says:

"In this situation the patentees conceived the idea of hinging dihedral planes to supports at their front and rear margins, with flexible joints to permit warping or tilting them at their extreme lateral ends by the use of suitable levers to impart to the aeroplane surface a helicoidal twist. On this point the specification says:

"'We prefer this construction and mode of operation for the reason that it gives a gradually-increasing angle to the body of each aeroplane from the central longitudinal line thereof outward to the margin, thus giving a continuous surface on each side of the machine, which has a gradually increasing or decreasing angle of incidence from the center of the machine to either side. We wish it to be understood, however, that our invention is not limited to this particular construction, since any construction whereby the angular relations of the lateral margins of the aeroplanes may be varied in opposite directions with respect to the normal planes of said aeroplanes comes within the scope of our invention.'"

"It was believed in the beginning that, by warping or depressing the margins of the supporting planes at opposite ends, the aeroplane could be controlled in its movements and its equilibrium maintained in flying, and the proofs show that in their earlier efforts the inventors did not design to use either a horizontal rudder in front of the machine or a vertical rudder at the rear,

but later, before the application for a patent was filed, these instrumentalities were added. The movable vertical rudder or tail exerts a retarding influence on the side of the machine, which in flying has a tendency to move ahead of the opposite side, and thus assists the wings or marginal ends in keeping the aeroplane balanced.”

So far as we gather from the opinions of Judge Hazel in the case of Wright Co. v. Herring-Curtiss Co., and Glenn H. Curtiss, both in the matter of the preliminary application for injunction and upon the final hearing Dr. Boswell's patent was not brought up in that case.

In the Wright Co. v. Paulhan case the application for the preliminary injunction was made before Judge Hand. On the motion for preliminary injunction and in granting the same Judge Hand, in speaking of the Wright Patent, said:

“The specifications and diagram upon which this claim was allowed after a pendency of three years in the Patent Office, showed the tiller ropes of the vertical rudder attached to the rope which ran along the rear of the lower plane, in such wise that, when the marginal parts of the two planes were warped as indicated, the rudder was turned toward the margin which had the lesser angle of incidence. Moreover, there was a constant proportion between the degree of deflection of the rudder and that of warping of the plane. The Bleriot and Farman planes, which the defendant uses, do not have the combination described, and the complainants have in fact at times abandoned it.

“To an intelligent understanding of the invention and of how essential is the attachment of the tiller ropes to the warping rope, the method of maintaining equilibrium under the patented combination must be first set forth,” etc.

In the course of the opinion in noticing several patents bearing on the general subject of the litigation set up by the defendant in resisting the application for injunction, the Judge thus notices Doctor Boswell's Patent.

“This is a device to be attached to a dirigible airship, consisting of a plane adjustable in all directions used in connection with a vertical rudder. It is not apparent to me how the tilting of

the plane in any of the positions in which it offered no plane of incidence to the drift would cause the ship to turn in one direction or the other, nor, how, if it did, it could even then turn it, but, whatever might be its action, it was specified simply as a steering device, and it is so wholly unlike the patent in suit both in structure and operation that I can see no similarity between them."

It should be remembered, however that this opinion was upon a preliminary application. What might have been the final decision, after testimony was taken, and proper scientific explanation made of the mechanism, and upon adequate argument, we can only conjecture. But at the time this opinion was written Dr. Boswell was dead. No one representing him or his estate appeared, at least at that time in the case; and to what extent Mr. Paulhan and his counsel, Mr. Shearn, had studied the history of Dr. Boswell's invention or how well or ill they understood it we do not know.

Ludlow wrote Dr. Boswell's administrator that he was one of the attorneys for Paulhan, and that he had entered this suit and would there "uphold the rights of the estate of Dr. Boswell." This he may have done, but no opportunity was afforded for the hearing of the case on its merits after full proof because Mr. Paulhan abandoned the litigation and left the United States.

The case of Wright Co. v. Herring-Curtiss Co. and Glenn H. Curtiss reached the Circuit Court of Appeals of the second Circuit, and was there decided January 13, 1914.¹

In sustaining the injunction and affirming the decision from which appeal had been taken the Court said:

"We are satisfied from the testimony, as was the Court below, that during some parts of their flight defendants machines use the rudder synchronously with the wings, so that by their joint action lost balance may be restored, or a threatened loss of balance be averted. Such use of the rudder constitutes infringement, and a machine that infringes part of the time is an infringement, although it may at other times be so operated as not to infringe."

¹211 Fed. 654.

In the Wright patent there were claims of provision of "means for maintaining or restoring the equilibrium or lateral balance of the apparatus," and for "guiding the machine both vertically and horizontally."

The Wrights also, according to the Court, in the above quoted opinion :

"Conceived the idea of hinging dihedral planes to supports at their front and rear margins, with flexible joints to permit warping or tilting them at their extreme lateral ends by the use of suitable levers to impart to the aeroplane surface a helicoidal twist."

Judge Hand points out that the Wrights' patent: "showed the tiller ropes of the vertical rudder attached to the rope which ran along the rear of the lower plane, in such wise that, when the original parts of the two planes were warped as indicated, the rudder was turned toward the margin which had the lesser angle of incidence. Moreover there was a constant proportion between the degree of deflection of the rudder and that of warping of the plane.

"To an intelligent understanding of the invention and how essential is the attachment of the tiller ropes to the warping rope, the method of maintaining equilibrium under the patented combination must be first set forth," etc.

Now keeping these various points in mind let us look at the specifications of Dr. Boswell's Mechanism. His specifications embrace means, "whereby the ascent, descent, sweep in circles and departure from a direct line either to the right or to the left are wholly under control."

"The aeroplane is composed of sections 9 and 10, flexibly or hingedly connected."

"The aeroplane is moved toward and from a horizontal plane transversely by means of cords or ropes . . . which have connection at their upper ends with the extremities of the section 9 and have their lower ends connected to the drum 4 and reversely wound thereon, so that upon turning the drum 4 either to the right or to the left one of the cords is wound upon the drum and the other unwound, with the result that one side of the aeroplane

is thrown up and the other side down, thereby causing the ship to travel in a circle the sweep of which is determined by the position of the aeroplane. The aeroplane is tilted longitudinally toward and from a horizontal line by cords or ropes . . . which have their lower ends attached to the drum 3 and reversely wound thereon. The cords 12 12a have their upper ends attached to the section 9 and the cords or ropes 13 13a to a section 10. Upon turning the drum 3 either to the right or to the left one set of cords is wound, thereby simultaneously changing the longitudinal inclination of the sections 9 and 10 to cause the ship *either to ascend or to descend, as required*. The front cord or rope 13a passes over the adjacent ends of the sections 9 and 10, thence through an opening in the front section 9 and around the rear side of the drum 3. The rear cord or rope 13 passes around the front side of the drum 3 and directly to the section 10. Upon turning the drum 3 to lower the rear end of section 9 the rear end of the section 10 is correspondingly elevated and upon turning the drum in the opposite direction to elevate the rear end of the section the rear end of the section 10 is lowered. *This has been found necessary in order to balance the ship and cause the plane to effectively ride upon the air,*¹ so as to cause the ship to move in the desired direction.

“The rudder 14, hinged to the rear end of the deck is controlled by cords or ropes 15 15a extending to the drum 4 and attached to and reversely wound thereon. It will thus be seen that the rudder is simultaneously moved with the up-and-down transverse movement of the aeroplane.”²

“When one side of the plane is moved downward, the rudder is caused to swing toward the same side and when the opposite side of the aeroplane is moved downward the rudder swings toward this side. Hence there is a mutual cooperation between the aeroplane and rudder with reference to controlling the sweep, lateral swirling, or circling of the ship.”³

¹What is this but “maintaining equilibrium” of which Judge Hand speaks.

²Here is the synchronous use or movement of these respective parts commented on in the Circuit Court of Appeals opinion.

³Here we have the “synchronous movement,” and the “constant proportion” incident to the degree of deflection of the rudder.

The fact is that in the Wright patent descriptions and drawings the connection between the wing and vertical rudder was fixed and rigid, and if the court had construed their patent as it was plainly written, it would have limited its claims to a mechanism where the vertical rudder and warping wings are connected rigidly, which would have given them nothing of practical value, for all their pioneering work. The way out of the difficulty was found by holding their patent to be a broad basic patent, and entitled to a liberal, elastic interpretation, which permitted other means than those specified. Such in fact was the holding.

This is not the place to try the case that might have been made upon the merits of these inventions.

Dr. Boswell, as his daughter well says, "lived too soon." He was ahead of his time. His patent expired in 1920. But while this is not the place to try the law suit that might have been made, it does seem, nothing more than a simple act of justice to his memory, to call attention to the fact that he wrestled with the fundamental problems of the airplane in a masterful way; he thought, before the Wrights, upon the various aspects of the difficult problem; he correctly envisaged the component parts of this great problem, and he embodied in his invention a more intelligent and comprehensive plan for achieving his objective than any theretofore formulated; and indeed it is not too much to say that he grasped the theory of aerial flight, by heavier than air mechanism, with relative fullness and correctness far in advance of those who first successfully navigated the air.

Dr. Boswell was the first to conceive the idea of placing the flying machine on wheels, as all airplanes are now mounted. It will be remembered he suggested in 1901 to his patent attorneys, Messrs. R. S. and A. B. Lacey, that a tricycle be shown in the drawings as their letter of September 18, 1901, to Dr. Boswell clearly shows. They wrote him "Noting your request that a tricycle be shown in the drawings, the same equipped with your device, we think best, to inform you, before making said change, that the incorporation of this matter will involve an expense of \$5.00 for an additional sheet of drawing and you should forward us a rough drawing showing your general idea of the preferred

manner of attaching your device to the tricycle. Of course the addition of this matter will necessitate changes in the specification claims and descriptions of figures, but for that we will make no additional charge. While the incorporation of this new matter will be of no benefit to your case patentably, since it simply constitutes a demonstration of one of the adaptations of the inventions, yet we will, of course be governed by your wishes in the matter, and will await your advices."

In deference to their advice that the addition of the tricycle would not affect the matter of the patentability of his device, it was not shown in the drawings of the mechanism; but the photograph, or photograph and drawing herewith reproduced and explained show his conception of the mounting of airplanes on wheels. He was thus ahead of Langley, who thought it necessary to shoot the plane from a catapult and of the Wright Brothers who thought the start should be made from a railed track by the aid of a derrick and a dropping weight.

There are four principal features of the airplane of the present day: (1) it is mounted on wheels; (2) it has warping wings or ailerons; (3) its propeller is in front; (4) it has a vertical rudder for steering to right or left. And Ludlow, who is really an authority points out that "The first three points Dr. Boswell conceived as necessary to a flying machine, for," says he, "you will find in his drawings the propeller placed in front at a time when the Wrights and Curtiss had a push propeller, an antiquated design that has been discarded by all. The other points are covered by Dr. Boswell's patent antedating both the Wright and Curtiss patents."¹

Furthermore, Dr. Boswell was the earliest patentee of the movable wing surface. In fact he thus covered practically every essential feature of the modern airplanes. About the only thing he did not cover in his patented design was the vertical rudder to steer to the right or left, which improvement as Ludlow well says "would have come almost immediately with practical tests had he [Dr. Boswell] had financial resources to adequately experiment and had the gasoline motor been available in his day."²

¹Ludlow to the writer: Feb. 5, 1926.

²Letter to the writer: Jan. 30, 1926.

It is impossible, at least at this time, to write an adequate account of his labors. He preserved no copies of the letters he wrote, and those he wrote Ludlow have been destroyed;¹ and apparently not even the models he made now exist. Even the letters he received from many of his correspondents have only in part survived to this day.

The wisdom or unwisdom of his disclosures to others must remain a matter, more or less, of conjecture. It appears that he communicated, respecting one matter or another with the Wrights, with Curtiss and with Israel Ludlow, from whose letters we have freely quoted herein.

His connection with Ludlow was possibly not the most fortunate, for he was not able to finance the development of the doctor's ideas and inventions, such for example as the building of models and making experiments. He did, however, find in Ludlow one who seemed to grasp the principles of his invention and who had a quite just appreciation of the significance of it. Ludlow seemed to be relatively lacking in financial resources—as was the doctor; and it does not appear that the doctor expected him to provide funds, except for his own incidental expenses. Under these circumstances, and with these limitations the just view seems to be that Ludlow did all that he was able to do in behalf of the doctor's invention.

Probably no one can state better the reasons why a greater measure of success did not attend Dr. Boswell's efforts than Ludlow did, in the letter already quoted, where he said: "It is one of the unfortunate incidences of life, that a lack of means, and age and circumstances combined to render it impossible to carry forward his invention."

One can well believe, in view of what is now known on the subject of navigating the air, that if Dr. Boswell had had access to sufficient financial resources to enable him to construct experimental models, and thereby to test and correct, amplify and develop his theory and plans, that he would have put his "machine on the wing" (to use the phrase he employed in 1900 in his letter to the Secretary of War) long before those who so gloriously first achieved that marvellous feat.

¹Ludlow to the writer: Jan. 30, 1926.

We detract not one whit from the honor and the glory that is theirs; but all who examine the subject and ascertain the facts, must, in candor admit, that Dr. Boswell is deserving of something more than the brief paragraph with which, consideration of his invention was cavalierly dismissed in the Court's opinion in the Wright Company's application for a preliminary injunction against Paulhan. He was a pioneer in this great field and he spent the greater part of that period of his life embracing the span from 1868 to 1909 in working on the subject, in the profound conviction that he was right. And this conviction was not that of a crank or a shallow visionary, but of a scientifically educated scholar who came of a line noted for their mental ability and their mechanical bent.¹

As a scientist, and as a man who made the contribution we have seen, to the effort to solve the problems of aerial navigation, he should be held in honored and grateful remembrance by his country and especially by his native county.

¹Both his mother and his grandmother were Colemans—a family well known in Lunenburg for their mechanical and inventive genius.

CHAPTER III

Lawmakers

LUNENBURG IN THE HOUSE OF BURGESSES AND THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY



LUNENBURG was formed from Brunswick, Brunswick from Prince George, and Prince George from Charles City County, so, in order to give as completely as possible the "legislative succession," we embrace in the list below the Burgesses from Charles City County, up until Prince George was formed, and those from Prince George up to the creation of Brunswick, and then those from Brunswick until Lunenburg was created, and after that event those from Lunenburg until the House of Burgesses ceased to exist. Thereafter we give the delegates from Lunenburg, and the Senators representing the district embracing Lunenburg.

These lists follow:

Members of the House of Burgesses

Charles City

- 1619: Samuel Sharp, Samuel Jordan.
- 1639: Captain Francis Eppes, Captain Thomas Pawlett, Edward Hill, Joseph Johnson.
- 1641: Mr. Walter Aston, Mr. Joseph Jackson, Mr. Walter Chiles.
- 1642-3: Walter Aston, Thomas Stegg, Speaker, Walter Chiles.
- 1644: Edward Hill, Speaker, Francis Poythers (Poythress), John Bishop, John Westrapp.
- 1645: Captain Fra. Eps, Captain Edward Hill, Edward Prince, Rice Hooe, William Barker, Charles Sparrow, Anthony Wyatt.

- 1646: Rice Hoe, Dan Lluellen.
1647: Captain Edward Hill, Captain Francis Poythers.
1649: Captain Edward Hill, Charles Sparrow.
1652: Session of Apr. 26: Colonel Edward Hill, Captain John Bishop. Session of Nov. 25th: Captain Hen. Perry, Captain Dan Llewelin, Major Abraham Woode, Captain Woodlife, Captain Charles Sparrow.
1653: Captain John Bishopp, Anthony Wyatt.
1654: Colonel Edward Hill, Speaker, Captain Henry Perry, Major Abraham Wood, Stephen Hamlin.
1655-6: Anthony Wyatt, Col. Abraham Wood, Captain Daniel Lluellen.
1657-8: War'm Horsmenden, Captain Robert Wynne.
1658-9: The Speaker: War'm Horsmenden.
1659-60: Theodorick Bland, Captain Robert Wynne, Charles Sparrow.
1663: Captain Robert Wynne, Speaker, Stephen Hamelyn, Captain Francis Gray.
1666: Captain Robert Wynne, Speaker, Captain Thomas Southcoat.
1685: Major John Stith.
1688: Peter Perry.
1692-93: Captain John Taylor, Captain John Styth.
1696-97: Charles Goodrich, John Taylor.
1700: Richard Bland.
1702: Richard Bland, Jno. Wynn.

Prince George.

- 1704: Robert Bolling.
1706: Richard Bland.
1714: Edward Goodrich, Jno. Hamlyn.
1718: Edward Goodrich, Robert Hall.
1720-22: Edward Goodrich (deceased), Robert Mumford [Munford], John Hamlin.
1723: Robert Bolling, John Paythress.
1726: Robert Bolling, John Paythress.
1730: Robert Bolling.

Brunswick County.

- 1736: Henry Embry, John Wall.
 1738: Henry Embry, John Wall.
 1740: Henry Embry, John Wall.
 1742: John Wall.
 1744: John Wall.
 1745: John Wall.
 1746: John Wall.
 1747: John Wall.
 1748: Sterling Clack, Drury Stith.

Lunenburg County.

- 1748: Session of Oct. 27: Clement Reade, Henry Embry.
 1749: Clement Reade, Henry Embry.
 1752: William Byrd,¹ Clement Reade.
 1753: William Byrd, Clement Reade.
 1754: Session of Feb. 14: William Byrd. Session of Aug. 22: William Byrd, William Embry (in place of Clement Reade, who had accepted surveyor's place). Session of Oct. 17: William Embry, Matthew Marrable (in place of William Byrd, appointed to the Council).
 1755: Session of May 1: William Embry, Matthew Marrable. Session of Aug. 5: William Embry, Matthew Marrable. Session of Oct. 27: William Embry, Matthew Marrable.
 1756: Session of March 25: Thomas Nash, William Embry.
 1757: William Embry, Thomas Nash.
 1758: Session of March 30: William Embry, Thomas Nash. Session of September 14 and November 9: Clement Reade and Matthew Marrable.
 1759: Session of Feb. 22: Clement Reade, Matthew Marrable. (On contest during this session the last named Burgess was unseated, and a new election ordered.) Session Nov. 1: Clement Reade, Matthew Marrable (re-elected)
 1760 and 1761: Clement Reade, Matthew Marrable.
 1761: Session of Nov. 3: Clement Reade, Henry Blaggrave.

¹This was William Byrd III, of "Westover," Charles City County, Virginia. He died January 1, 1777.

- 1762: Session of Jan. 14: Clement Reade, Henry Blagrove.
Session of March 30: Clement Reade, Henry Blagrove.
Session of Nov. 2: Clement Reade, Henry Blagrove.
- 1763: Session of May 19: Henry Blagrove, Clement Reade
(Jr.) (in place of Clement Reade, deceased).
- 1764: Session of Jan. 12: Henry Blagrove, Clement Reade, Jr.
Session of Oct. 30: Henry Blagrove, Clement Reade, Jr.
- 1765: Session of May 1: (By adjournment from previous
session) Henry Blagrove, William Taylor (in place of
Clement Reade, who had accepted the office of coroner.)
- 1766: Session of November 6: William Taylor, Henry
Blagrove.
- 1767: Session of March 12: (By adjournment from last ses-
sion) William Taylor, Henry Blagrove.
- 1768: Session of March 31: William Taylor, Henry Blagrove.
- 1769: Session of May 8: Henry Blagrove, John Randolph
(Atty. Gen.).
- 1769: Session of Nov. 7: Thomas Pettus, Lodowick Farmer.
- 1770: Session of May 21: Thomas Pettus, Lodowick Farmer.
- 1771: Session of July 11: Thomas Pettus, Lodowick Farmer.
- 1772: Session of Feb. 10: Richard Claiborne. (Thomas Pettus
was returned as one of the members; but on contest
was unseated and Henry Blagrove was given his place.
Later in the session Blagrove was declared unduly
elected and a new election ordered to fill his seat. This
time Thomas Pettus was duly elected.)
- 1773: Session of March 4: Richard Claiborne, Thomas Pettus.
- 1774: Session of May 5: Richard Claiborne, Thomas Pettus.
- 1775: Session of June 1: Richard Claiborne, Thomas Pettus.

“This last Assembly was summoned to meet on August 11, 1774; but its assembling was delayed by various prorogations and it did not actually convene until June 1, 1775. On June 24, it adjourned until October 12, when thirty-seven members were present; but as there was no quorum no business was transacted, and there was another adjournment to the first Monday in March succeeding. On March 7, 1776, thirty-two members met, but there was again no quorum and they adjourned to the first Monday in May next. On that day (May 6th), the journal records

that 'Several members met, but did neither proceed to business or adjourn. And below these words the clerk has written in heavy lettering, 'Finis,' and finally finished the record of the last of the Virginia Colonial Legislatures with an elaborate corkscrew like tail piece. Therefore, there was really only one session of this Assembly.'—Colonial Virginia Register.

Members of the General Assembly

1776-1926

Showing the Representatives from Lunenburg and the Senator from the District embracing Lunenburg.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Session</i>	<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Senators</i>
1776,	Oct. 7-Dec. 21,	David Garland, Lodowick Farmer,	John Jones.
1777, 1777-8,	May 5-June 28 } Oct. 20-Jan. 24 }	John Glenn, Thomas Pettus,	John Jones.
1778,	May 4-June 1 } Oct. 5-Dec. 19 }	John Glenn, Thomas Tabb,	John Jones.
1779,	May 3-June 26 } Oct. 4-Dec. 24 }	John Garland, James Johnson,	John Jones.
1780 } 1781 }	May 1-July 14 } Oct. 16-Jan. 2 } Mch. 1-22 }	John Garland, John Glenn,	John Jones.
1781 } 1782 }	May 7-June 23 } Oct. 1-Jan. 5 }	Nicholas Hobson, Sylvanus Walker,	John Jones.
1782,	May } Oct. 21-Dec. 28 }	Henry Stokes, Sylvanus Walker,	John Jones.
1783,	May 5-June 28 } Oct. 20-Dec. 22 }	Henry Stokes (Stoakes) Edward Ragsdale,	John Jones.
1784 } 1785 }	May 3-June 30 } Oct. 18-Jan. 7 }	Anthony Street, John Glenn,	John Jones.
1785 } 1786 }	Oct. 17-Jan. 21 }	Samuel Garland, Christopher Robertson (Robinson),	John Jones.
1786 } 1787 }	Oct. 16-Jan. 11 }	Christopher Robertson, James Johnson,	John Jones.
1787 } 1788 }	Oct. 15-Jan. 8, }	Richard Johnson, Edward Garland,	John Jones.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Session</i>	<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Senators</i>
1788,	June 23-June 30 } Oct. 20-Dec. 19 }	Richard Johnson, Edward Garland,	John Jones.
1789,	Oct. 19-Dec. 19,	Sterling Niblett (Neblett), John Stevenson,	John Jones.
1790,	Oct. 18-Dec. 29,	Sterling Niblett, John Stevenson,	Thomas Claiborne.
1791,	Oct. 17-Dec. 20,	Edward Ragsdale, Abraham Maury,	Thomas Claiborne.
1792,	Oct. 1-Dec. 28,	Sterling Niblett, Abraham Maury,	Thomas Claiborne.
1793,	Oct. 21-Dec. 12,	Sterling Niblett, William Cowan,	Jesse Browne (?).
1794,	Nov. 11-Dec. 27,	Peter Garland, James Scott,	Edward Birchett.
1795,	Nov. 10-Dec. 29,	Peter Garland, Jr., John Stevenson,	Edward Birchett.
1796,	Nov. 8-Dec. 27,	Sharp Lamkin (Lampkin, Lumpkin), John Stevenson,	Edward Birchett.
1797-8,	Dec. 4-Jan. 25,	Francis Eppes, Sharp Lamkin (Lampkin),	Edward Birchett.
1798-9,	Dec. 3-Jan. 26,	Francis Epes, William Cowan,	Richard Kennon.
1799 } 1800 }	Dec. 2-Jan. 28,	Francis Eppes, William Cowan,	Richard Kennon.
1800-1,	Dec. 1-Jan. 23,	Lewelling Jones, Waller Taylor,	Richard Kennon.
1801-2,	Dec. 7-Feb. 2,	Lewellyn Jones, Waller Taylor,	Richard Kennon.
1802-3,	Dec. 6-Jan. 29,	Sterling Neblett, Peter Lampkin,	William Munford.
1803-4,	Dec. 5-Feb. 3,	Sterling Neblett, Peter Lamkin,	William Munford.
1804-5,	Dec. 3-Feb. 1,	Robert Chapell, Edmund Winn,	William Munford.
1805-6,	Dec. 2-Feb. 6,	Edmund Winn, Robert Chappell,	William Munford.
1806-7,	Dec. 1-Jan. 22,	David G. Williams, Robert Chappell,	Thomas Maclin.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Session</i>	<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Senators</i>
1807-8,	Dec. 7-Feb. 10,	Robert Chappell, James Smith,	Thomas Maclin.
1808-9,	Dec. 5-Feb. 18,	James Smith, Edmund Win,	Thomas Maclin.
1809-10,	Dec. 4-Feb. 9,	John Taylor, William Mason,	Thomas Maclin.
1810-11,	Dec. 3-Feb. 14,	William Mason, Richard C. Gregory,	James Harrison.
1811-12,	Dec. 2-Feb. 21,	Richard C. Gregory, George Craig,	James Harrison.
1812-13,	Nov. 30-Feb. 23,	Sterling Niblett, Robert Chappell,	James Harrison.
1813-14,	May 17-26, Dec. 6-Feb. 16	} Robert Chappell, Sterling Niblett,	James Harrison.
1814-15,	Oct. 10-Jan. 19,	Sterling Niblett, Robert Chappell,	Thomas Taylor.
1815-16,	Dec. 4-Feb. 28,	Llewelyn Jones, Joseph Degraffenreid,	Thomas Taylor.
1816-17,	Nov. 11-Feb. 22,	Edmund F. Taylor, James Smith,	Thomas Taylor.
1817-18,	Dec. 1-Feb. 26,	James Smith, Joseph J. Degraffenreid,	Thomas Taylor.
1818-19,	Dec. 7-Mar. 13,	Sterling Niblett, Jr., Joseph J. Degraffenreid,	John Tucker.
1819-20,	Dec. 6-Feb. 25,	Sterling Niblett, Jr., Joseph J. Degraffenreid,	John Tucker.
1820-21,	Dec. 4-Nov. 5,	Joseph Degraffenreid, James Smith,	John Tucker.
1821-22,	Dec. 3-Mar. 4,	James Smith, Sterling Niblett, Jr.,	John Tucker.
1822-23,	Dec. 2-Feb. 25,	James Fisher, Wm. H. Macfarland, Thomas Chambers,	Burwell Goodwin.
1823-24,	Dec. 1-Mar. 10,	James Fisher, Wm. H. McFarland,	Burwell Goodwin.
1824-25,	Nov. 29-Feb. 18,	James Fisher, John T. Street,	Burwell Goodwin.
1825-26,	Dec. 5-Mar. 9,	John T. Street, James McFarland,	Burwell Goodwin.
1826-27,	Dec. 4-Mar. 9,	John T. Street, James Smith, Sr.	George C. Dromgoole.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Session</i>	<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Senators</i>
1827-28,	Dec. 3-Mar. 1,	John T. Street, James Smith, Sr.,	George C. Dromgoole.
1828-29,	Dec. 1-Feb. 17,	John T. Street, Malcolm McFarland,	George C. Dromgoole.
1829-30,	Dec. 7-Feb. 23,	John T. Street, Malcolm McFarland,	George C. Dromgoole.
1830-31,	Dec. 6-Apr. 19,	John T. Street,	Joseph Wyatt.
1831-32,	Dec. 5-Mar. 21,	John T. Street,	Joseph Wyatt.
1832-33,	Dec. 3-Mar. 9,	John T. Street,	Joseph Wyatt.
1833-34,	Dec. 2-Mar. 14,	Richard May,	Henry E. Watkins.
1834-35,	Dec. 1-Mar. 12,	Richard May,	Henry E. Watkins.
1835-36,	Dec. 7-Mar. 24,	Joel M. Ragsdale,	Archibald A. Campbell.
1836-37,	Dec. 5-Mar. 31, and June 12-24, 1837.	John Marshall,	Archibald A. Campbell.
1838,	Jan. 1-Apr. 9,	John Orgain,	Louis C. Bouldin.
1839,	Jan. 7-Apr. 10,	John Orgain,	Louis C. Bouldin.
1839-40,	Dec. 2-Mar. 19,	John Orgain,	Louis C. Bouldin.
1840-41,	Dec. 1-Mar. 22,	Robert T. Marshall,	Louis C. Bouldin.
1841-42,	Dec. 6-Mar. 26,	Robert T. Marshall,	Louis C. Bouldin.
1842-43,	Dec. 5-Mar. 28,	Robert T. Marshall,	Louis C. Bouldin.
1843-44,	Dec. 4-Feb. 15,	John T. Street,	William H. Dennis.
1844-45,	Dec. 2-Feb. 22,	Robert Blackwell,	William H. Dennis.
1845-46,	Dec. 1-Mar. 6,	Thomas Hebburn, Robert S. Bagley,	William H. Dennis.
1846-47,	Dec. 7-Mar. 23,	Upton Edmondson,	William H. Dennis.
1847-48,	Dec. 6-Apr. 5,	Upton Edmondson,	William H. Dennis.
1848-49,	Dec. 4-Mar. 19, May 28-June 4, June 11-Aug. 17, '49,	Upton Edmondson,	William H. Dennis.
1849-50,	Dec. 3-Mar. 22,	William H. Stokes,	William H. Dennis.
1850-51,	Dec. 2-Mar. 31,	William J. Neblett,	William H. Dennis.
1852-53,	Jan. 12-June 7, '52, Nov. 22, '52, Apr. 11, '53,	George W. Hardy,	Thomas H. Campbell.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Session</i>	<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Senators</i>
1853-54,	Dec. 5-Mar. 4,	George W. Hardy,	Thomas H. Campbell.
1855-56,	Dec. 3-Mar. 19,	George W. Hardy,	Thomas H. Campbell.
1857-58,	Dec. 7-Apr. 8,	George W. Hardy,	Thomas H. Campbell.
1859-60,	Dec. 5-Apr. 2,	} John Orgain,	Asa D. Dickinson. William C. Knight.
1861,	Jan. 7-Apr. 4,		
1861-63,	Dec. 2-Mar. 31, Apr. 1-May 14, Sept. 15-Oct. 3, Jan. 7-Mar. 31,	} John Orgain, Jr.,	Asa D. Dickenson.
1863-65,	Sept. 7-Nov. 2, Dec. 7-Mar. 10, Dec. 7-Mar. 15,		
1865-67,	Dec. 4-Mar. 3, Dec. 3-Mar. 2, Mar. 4-Apr. 29,	} W. T. Scott,	Nathaniel Alexander.
1869-71,	Oct. 5-Oct. 20, '69 Feb. 8-Jul. 11, '70 Oct. 1-Nov. 10, '70 Dec. 7, '70, Mar. 31, '71,		
1871-73,	Dec. 6-Mar. 26, Mar. 27-Apr. 5, Dec. 4-Apr. 2,	} Stith Bolling,	George W. Graham.
1874-75,	Jan. 1-Apr. 30, Dec. 2-Mar. 31,		
1875-77,	Dec. 1-Mar. 29, Dec. 6-Apr. 4,	} John L. Coleman,	Guy Powell.
1877-79,	Dec. 5, '77, Mar. 14, '78, Dec. 4, '78, Apr. 2, '79,		
1879-80,	Dec. 3-Mar. 9,	George E. Smith,	B. F. Williams.
1881-82,	Dec. 7-Mar. 6, Mar. 7-Apr. 22,	} John L. Coleman,	B. F. Williams.
1883-84,	Dec. 5-Mar. 19, Aug. 13-Dec. 1,		
1885-87,	Dec. 2-Mar. 6, Mar. 16-May 24,	} Thomas C. Matthews,	William E. Gaines. William W. Worsham.
1887-88,	Dec. 8-Mar. 5,		
1889-90,	Dec. 4-Mar. 6,	W. L. Bridgeforth,	J. R. Rawlings.
1891-92,	Dec. 2-Mar. 4,	Nathaniel Matthews,	Walter A. Watson.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Session</i>	<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Senators</i>
1893-94,	Dec. 6-Mar. 8,	Nathaniel Matthews,	Walter A. Watson.
1895-96,	Dec. 4-Mar. 5,	Thomas F. Williams,	Robert Turnbull.
1897-98,	Dec. 1-Mar. 4,	N. H. Neblett, George E. Passmore,	Robert Turnbull.
1899- 1900,	Dec. 6-Mar. 7,	J. W. Ellis, T. A. Overby,	William Hodges Mann.
1901- 1904,	Dec. 4-Apr. 2, July 15-28, Nov. 12-May 19, Nov. 10-Jan. 12,	} T. A. Overby,	William Hodges Mann.
1904,	Jan. 13-Mar. 15,		
1906,	Jan. 10-Mar. 15,	E. P. Wallace,	William Hodges Mann.
1908,	Jan. 8-Mar. 27,	S. H. Love,	William Hodges Mann. J. J. Owen.
1910,	Jan. 12-Mar. 17,	S. H. Love,	William Hodges Mann. J. J. Owen.
1912,	Jan. 10-Mar. 15,	S. H. Love,	Robert K. Brock.
1914- 15,	Jan. 14-Mar. 20, Jan. 13-Mar. 19,	} S. H. Love,	Robert K. Brock.
1916,	Jan. 12-Mar. 18,		
1918,	Jan. 9-	T. W. Ozlin,	George E. Allen.
1919,	Aug. 13-Sept. 9,	T. W. Ozlin,	George E. Allen.
1920,	Jan. 14-Mar. 19,	Thomas W. Ozlin,	Louis S. Epes.
1922,	Jan. 11-Mar. 20,	Thomas W. Ozlin,	Louis S. Epes.
1924,	Jan. 9-Mar. 18,	Thomas W. Ozlin,	Louis S. Epes.
1926,		Thomas W. Ozlin,	Dr. Edwin L. Kendig.

LUNENBURG IN CONGRESS

Upon the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, and the setting up of the Federal Government, Virginia took appropriate action to be represented in the Congress. By an act passed November 20, 1788,¹ a congressional district was created composed of the following counties: Brunswick, Sussex, Greensville, Prince George, Dinwiddie, Mecklenburg, Lunenburg, Amelia, Cumberland and Powhatan. By an act passed Decem-

¹*Hening*, 12, 653; Acts 1788, 4.

ber 26, 1792,¹ the congressional districts were rearranged and Brunswick, Mecklenburg, Lunenburg and Greensville Counties were formed into a district.

On January 30, 1802,² the counties were again re-grouped and Brunswick, Lunenburg and Mecklenburg became a separate Congressional District.

In 1813, by an act passed February 6,³ the counties were again re-grouped but the Brunswick, Lunenburg, Mecklenburg district was not disturbed.

Under the re-arrangement made on January 24, 1823,⁴ Dinwiddie County was added to this district.

By the act of February 27, 1833,⁵ the state was re-districted. The district comprising Brunswick, Lunenburg, Mecklenburg and Dinwiddie was not disturbed. The districts were laid off in compact groups of counties, beginning with Norfolk on the Atlantic Seaboard and proceeding westward. The above group of counties was the fourth enumerated. The numbers of the districts, while no part of the act, are noted in the margin, in printing. This seems to be the first designation of this district as the *Fourth*, a grouping in which Lunenburg was to remain until the present time.

By the act of March 7, 1843,⁶ it was enacted that "Campbell, Buckingham, Charlotte, Prince Edward, Cumberland, Fluvanna and Lunenburg, shall compose the *fourth* district." Mecklenburg, Brunswick and Dinwiddie, theretofore in the fourth district, were placed in the Second District.

This act seems to be the first, when the groups of counties were designated numerically in the districting act itself.

By the act of April 6, 1853,⁷ the counties of Nottoway, Prince Edward, Dinwiddie, the City of Petersburg, Brunswick, Amelia, Lunenburg, Charlotte, Mecklenburg, Cumberland and Powhatan were formed into the Fourth District.

¹*Hening*, 13, 331.

²Statutes at Large (New Series), II, 327.

³Acts of 1812-13, p. 30.

⁴Acts 1822-23, p. 41.

⁵Acts of 1832-33, p. 29.

⁶Acts of 1842-43, pp. 30-31.

⁷Acts of 1852-53, p. 3.

On March 13, 1872,¹ the Fourth District was made up of the City of Petersburg, and the counties of Dinwiddie, Brunswick, Mecklenburg, Lunenburg, Nottoway, Amelia, Greensville, Prince Edward, Charlotte, Powhatan and Cumberland.

By the re-districting act of February 22, 1884,² the Fourth District consisted of the City of Petersburg and the counties of Prince George, Sussex, Dinwiddie, Greensville, Brunswick, Mecklenburg, Lunenburg, Nottoway, Amelia, Powhatan and Prince Edward.

By the act of February 15, 1892,³ this district was left intact; and by the act of February 23, 1906,⁴ the only change that was made was the addition to the district of the county of Surry; and no change was made by the re-districting act of March 14, 1908.⁵

Lunenburg, it will thus be seen, is the only county which at all times, and in every re-apportionment and re-districting of the counties, has always been a part of the Fourth Congressional District.

The Congressmen who have represented the Lunenburg District are as follows:

In the First Congress, under the Constitution, the district embracing Lunenburg County was represented by Colonel Theodorick Bland, Junior; and after his death by William Branch Giles. Colonel Bland had for three years been a member of the old congress, under the Articles of Confederation. He had had a gallant career as an officer in the Revolution.⁶ He was a descendant of William Randolph, of Turkey Island, and his wife Mary Isham, the pair from whom are descended more notable persons of ability, possibly, than any other in America. Theodorick Bland, Junior, was the son of Theodorick Bland, Senior, and brother of Frances Bland who married John Randolph, and who was the mother of John Randolph of Roanoke.

The Congressman, Theodorick Bland, Junior, was born in

¹Acts of 1871-72, pp. 258-259.

²Acts of 1883-84, p. 183.

³Acts of 1891-92, p. 348.

⁴Acts of 1906, p. 40.

⁵Acts of 1908, pp. 638-39.

⁶Bruce: *John Randolph of Roanoke*, I, 14.

Prince George County, Virginia, March 21, 1741, was sent to England to be educated in 1753; studied medicine in Edinburgh and was admitted to practice; he returned home in 1759, and as stated had a gallant part in the Revolution, which he entered with the rank of Captain in the first troop of Virginia Cavalry.

He was a member of the Virginia Convention of 1788, and was one of the minority which voted against the adoption of the Federal Constitution. He died in New York City, June 1, 1790, while a member of the First Congress.

The vacancy caused by the death of Colonel Bland was filled by election. The candidates were Colonel Thomas Edmunds and William Branch Giles. Colonel Edmunds was "a wounded veteran of the Revolutionary War, and very popular," but Giles "vigorously espousing the cause of the new constitution, disdain[ing] to ask for a vote or adopt any questionable means to secure the victory, won by virtue of his cause and his ability."¹

Giles was born in Amelia County, Virginia, August 12, 1762, graduated from Princeton in 1781, studied law, was admitted to the bar, and practiced in Petersburg, Va., from 1784 to 1789. He was a presidential elector on the Jefferson ticket in 1801. After being elected to fill the unexpired term of Col. Bland, he was re-elected to the Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth Congresses and served from December 7, 1790, to October 2, 1798. He resigned his seat to become a candidate for the Virginia Legislature, where he joined in the memorable contest between the Federalists and the Republicans led by Thomas Jefferson. He was elected to the Seventh Congress; was appointed to the United States Senate to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Senator Abraham B. Venable, and served from August 11, 1804, to December 4, 1804. He was elected to the United States Senate to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Wilson Cary Nicholas, and was re-elected in 1805 and in 1811, and served from November 5, 1804, until he resigned March 3, 1815. He was a member of the State Legislature, in 1826; was Governor of Virginia 1826 to 1829, and was a member of the State Constitutional Convention of 1829-1830. He died in Albemarle County, Virginia, December 4, 1830.

¹Anderson: *William Branch Giles*, 8-9. This Life of Giles by Dr. Anderson is an admirable piece of biographical writing.

He was an able, vigorous, upstanding, outspoken man, one of the ablest men Southside Virginia has produced, a man who never had justice done his ability, patriotism and public services until Dr. Dice R. Anderson wrote his notable biography of him some years ago.

Thomas Claiborne represented the Lunenburg district in the Third, Fourth, Fifth, Seventh and Eighth Congresses, the period embracing, with the exception of the Sixth Congress (1799-1801) the years 1791 to 1805. Curiously enough we have not been able to satisfy ourselves as to who represented the Lunenburg district in the Sixth Congress. Possibly it was Samuel Goode.

Congressman Claiborne was born in Brunswick County, Virginia, in 1749; was sheriff of Brunswick County from 1789 to 1792, Colonel of the Brunswick County Militia in 1789, was a member of the Virginia House of Delegates from 1784 to 1786, and was elected to the Third, Fourth and Fifth Congresses (March 4, 1801, to March 3, 1805). He died in Brunswick County, Virginia, in 1812.

Thomas Claiborne was succeeded by John Claiborne, who was elected from the district to the Ninth Congress, 1805 to 1807. He was born in Brunswick County, Virginia, in 1777, graduated from the Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania in 1798, and practiced his profession, was elected to the Ninth and Tenth Congresses and served from March 4, 1805, until October 9, 1808, the date of his death, which occurred in Brunswick County, Virginia.

Upon the death of Congressman Claiborne, October 9, 1808, Thomas Gholson, Jr., was elected to succeed him, and he took his seat November 7, 1808. He was born in Brunswick County, Virginia, studied law, was admitted to the bar, and practiced in Brunswick County; was elected as a Democrat to the Tenth Congress to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Congressman Claiborne, and was re-elected to the Eleventh, Twelfth, Thirteenth and Fourteenth Congresses, and served from November 7, 1808, until July 4, 1816, when he died in Brunswick County, Virginia.

Upon the death of Congressman Gholson, during his term of office, Thomas Manduit Nelson was elected to fill his unexpired

term in the Fourteenth Congress and took his seat December 4, 1816; he was re-elected to the Fifteenth Congress, and thereafter declined re-election.

He was born at Oak Hill, Mecklenburg County, Virginia, September 27, 1782, and received only a common school education. In the war of 1812 he was Captain of the Tenth Regiment of Infantry and Major of the Thirtieth and Eighteenth Infantries.¹ He removed to Georgia, and died in that state near Columbus, November 10, 1853.

Congressman Nelson was succeeded by Mark Alexander who represented the district in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth, Nineteenth, Twentieth, Twenty-first and Twenty-second Congresses, and served from March 4, 1819, to March 3, 1833. He was elected as a States Rights Democrat. He was born in Mecklenburg County, Virginia, February 7, 1792, and attended the University of North Carolina; studied law, was admitted to the bar and practiced at Boydton and elsewhere. His home was Lombardy Grove. He was a member of the State Legislature from 1817 to 1819; and was a member of that able body, the Constitutional Convention of 1829. He died near Scotland Neck, North Carolina, October 7, 1883.

In the Twenty-third Congress the district was represented by James Herbert Gholson, a Democrat, who was born at Gholsonville, Virginia, in 1798. He was a graduate of Princeton, in the class of 1820. He studied law, was admitted to the bar; resided at Percivals, Virginia, and was Judge of the Circuit Court for the Brunswick Circuit, many years. He died in Brunswick County, July 2, 1848.

George C. Dromgoole succeeded Judge Gholson in Congress and represented the district in the Twenty-fourth, Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Congresses, from March 4, 1835, to March 3, 1841, and in the Twenty-eighth and Twenty-ninth Congresses, March 4, 1843, to March 3, 1847. He declined re-election to the Twenty-seventh Congress. He was a Democrat.

Congressman Dromgoole was born in Lawrenceville, Virginia, May 15, 1797, and received only a preparatory school education. He studied law, was admitted to the bar, served in both the state

¹Biographical Congressional Directory, 1774 to 1911, p. 888.

House of Representatives and Senate, before being elected to Congress.

George C. Dromgoole deserves more than passing mention, since he was one of the able men of the Southside, and until the brief sketch of him by Judge Walter A. Watson, printed in *Notes on Southside Virginia*, his memory was almost entirely neglected.

The *Richmond Enquirer*, of May 24, 1847, states that the Dromgooles were originally Scandinavians, and in the issue of May 22, 1847, it prints a letter from Congressman Dromgoole to William L. McKenzie, in which he says: "My parents were not both natives of the Emerald Isle. My father, Edward Dromgoole, was born in Sligo. When a youth he came to America, a poor boy with religious impressions and a strong desire for religious freedom. He landed in Philadelphia in 1772; came to Baltimore and resided in that city, or its vicinity, with a Mr. John Haggerty, a tailor by trade and a man of most exemplary piety. Edward Dromgoole had been brought up in Ireland to the trade of linen weaver. At Baltimore he assisted Haggerty at tailoring that he might not eat the bread of idleness. They both became disciples of John Wesley. In 1774 he commenced preaching and traveled extensively in Virginia and North Carolina as an itinerant Methodist preacher. He held the first Methodist class meeting in America. He settled in Brunswick County in the State of Virginia, where he resided until his death in 1835, in the 84th year of his age, having been a minister of the gospel for more than sixty years. He intermarried with Rebecca Walton in said county, whose ancestors had early emigrated from England to America. Whether they descended from the family of the bishop, the author of the Polyglot Bible, or from old Isaac the fisherman, is not known, nor is it material. They lived happily together, raised and educated a family of children and left them a competency acquired neither by speculation nor extortion; it was the result of economy and honest industry. I am their youngest child."¹

It is the opinion of Judge Watson that "George C. Dromgoole

¹Watson: *Notes on Southside Virginia*, 13-14.

was one of the most brilliant and original men ever produced by the Southside.”¹

Prior to his entrance into Congress, Dromgoole had had no insignificant part in public affairs. As stated, he had been a member of the Virginia Legislature, having served in both branches, and he was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1829-30. When the question of calling this convention was being considered by the Virginia Legislature, “John Randolph came from Washington to Richmond to attend the debate. It was upon this occasion that he declared the speech delivered by Dromgoole against the reform convention to be the ablest plea in behalf of conservative institutions he had ever heard.”²

In the campaign of 1833, when Dromgoole was a candidate for Congress, for the first time, the other candidates were Alexander Knox and William O. Goode, of Mecklenburg, and James H. Gholson, of Brunswick. The first three were Democrats; Gholson was a Whig, and he was elected; but in 1835 the contest was between Dromgoole and Gholson alone, and Dromgoole was elected over his able competitor and “never after failed at an election.”³

His physical appearance is thus described by Judge Watson: “He was,” says Judge Watson, “rather below the average height and was inclined to stoutness. His picture exhibits most striking features, strong in expression and in outline. The mouth is of prodigious size, the forehead proportionately huge, like Mr. Webster’s; his eye was most engaging and his hair was worn long after the Southern fashion of that day; altogether he must have been a man of prepossessing appearance, as we know him to have been of most prepossessing address. He dressed plainly, but well; a blue dress coat with grey trousers and slouch hat constituted his usual costume. He was a man of simple tastes and while a slave-holder of competent means never aspired to the ostentations of social life. . . . At one period he gave some attention to military affairs and became Brigadier-General of the State Militia. He was educated at the University of North Carolina and at William and Mary College, and had as contemporaries

¹Watson: *Notes on Southside Virginia*, 13-14.

²Id. 15.

³Id. 16.

at William and Mary, William O. Goode, of Mecklenburg County, Judge Clopton, of New Kent County, and Alexander Brodnax, of Brunswick County.”¹

An article in the *Richmond Enquirer*, May 30, 1845, declares that General Dromgoole was the leader of the Democrats in the House of Representatives on all trying occasions, no matter who had been chosen nominal leader, and that as a parliamentary tactician he was unrivalled in this country.

In the campaign of 1847 he was opposed by Colonel George E. Bolling, of Petersburg, a “Whig leader of courage and character, who had achieved distinction in the Legislature.” An attack was made on General Dromgoole on account of his alleged excessive “libations to Bacchus,” and “as designed by the Whigs from the outset, the contest became largely one of personalities between the two candidates and, as was natural, it assumed an acrimonious and sometimes unpleasant spirit.”²

Colonel Bolling was a bold and aggressive fighter, and while respectful did not hesitate, in the joint debates which took place, to boldly criticise what he claimed were personal and official delinquencies of his opponent.

At one of the joint discussions, at Nottoway Court House, he undertook to show by the Journals of Congress that Dromgoole had been inattentive to his duties; had not been present, and had not voted when numerous important questions “vital to your interests, fellow-citizens,” had been debated and voted upon; and that in fact Dromgoole had voted but eleven times during the entire session.

Bolling’s friends were highly elated at the telling effect of his spirited assault, and he seemed to have command of the situation.

Dromgoole, however, was equal to such an emergency. He opened his reply as follows:

“Fellow-citizens, Colonel Bolling has read you the *Journal of Congress*, and I presume he states the facts as they are; it may be true that I voted as he asserts, but every time I did vote I represented you and your interests. Should you elect Colonel Bolling to Congress I have no doubt in the world that if the session continued through every day in the year there he would be in his

¹Watson: *Notes on Southside Virginia*, 14.

²Id. 16.

seat every day, and every day vote against you and your interests. One of us two must be returned, and the question for you to determine, my friends, is whether you would rather have a man to represent you eleven times or one to misrepresent you three hundred and sixty-five times.¹ And, says Judge Watson: "From this the old war-horse went on to defend his record and expose the pretensions of his opponent until Whigs themselves hung their heads in shame."²

He was elected, but by the meagre majority of twenty-one votes. It was his last campaign. He never married, and died in quiet seclusion on his estate in Brunswick County, April 27, 1847.

Some idea of the esteem in which he was held by his contemporaries, and their estimate of his ability may be gathered from the newspaper comment upon his career.

The *National Intelligencer*, in its issue of May 3, 1847, said of him:

"Mr. Dromgoole was a distinguished politician, endowed by nature with the sagacity to plan and courage to execute. He was the ablest debater of his party and unrivalled as a legislative tactician. His death will be sincerely regretted by those who have always known him, as we have done, as a decided political opponent, it is true, but also as a courteous and kind-hearted gentleman."

In its issue of May 1, 1847, *Nile's Register* said that "The Hon. G. C. Dromgoole, the late distinguished and talented representative of the State of Virginia in the United States Congress" was "generally recognized as the administration leader in the House at the last session."

One newspaper declared he was "one of the first men in Virginia, occasionally the strongest man in the House of Representatives," and it added "Everyone admitted the extent of his powers and the stability of his principles."³

The *Richmond Whig* said: "Tho' opposed to him politically, we have always felt profound respect for his fine endowments and an admiration of many traits in his personal character—

¹Watson: *Notes on Southside Virginia*, 16-17.

²Id.

³*Washington Daily Union*, April 29, 1847.

qualities which enabled him to wield a powerful influence over public sentiment—particularly in that portion of the state where he resided and where he was best known,”¹ while the *Richmond Enquirer* declared that he was the first parliamentary lawyer in Congress,² was a giant in mind, a man whose honor and character were never impeached³ and that “Not only in Virginia, but throughout our whole country the solemn tidings of the death of this distinguished statesman have been received with the deepest regret.”⁴

In the United States Senate, Senator James M. Mason paid him a high tribute in an address in which he declared: “Virginia and the Union may both regret the death of one of the most able and practical legislators that ever rendered valuable service to either.”⁵

In the Twenty-seventh Congress (1841 to 1843), the district was represented by William Osborne Goode, Democrat, who was born in Mecklenburg County, Virginia, September 16, 1798. He graduated from William and Mary College in 1819, studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1821. He located for the practice of his profession at Boydton, served several years in the Legislature before being elected to Congress and again after his term in Congress. He was speaker of the House of Delegates three times, and was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1850. He also represented the Lunenburg District in the Thirty-third, Thirty-fourth, Thirty-fifth, and up to July 2, 1859, in the Thirty-sixth Congress.

In 1843 Lunenburg was formed along with Campbell, Buckingham, Charlotte, Prince Edward, Cumberland and Fluvanna into a district which was represented in the Twenty-ninth Congress by Edmund W. Hubard, a native of Buckingham County.

Thomas Stanley Bocock succeeded him. He was a Democrat, a native of Buckingham County, and resided in Appomattox, after that county was created. He was born May 18, 1815, and graduated from Hampden-Sidney College in 1838; studied law, and

¹April 30, 1847.

²April 16, 1847.

³April 30, 1847.

⁴May 12, 1847.

⁵*Richmond Enquirer*, December 24, 1847.

was for several years a member of the Virginia House of Delegates. He was elected to the Thirtieth, Thirty-first, Thirty-second, Thirty-third, Thirty-fourth, Thirty-fifth and Thirty-sixth Congresses (1847 to 1861). For the most part of that time, however, Lunenburg was not in his district.

In 1861 he was elected to the Confederate Congress, and on February 18, 1862, was elected Speaker of that body. He was a member of the State Legislature from 1869 to 1870, and was a delegate to the Democratic National Conventions of 1868, 1876 and 1880.

He died in Appomattox County, Virginia, August 5, 1891.

Upon the death of Congressman William O. Goode, July 2, 1859, Judge Roger A. Pryor, of Petersburg, was elected to the vacancy and took his seat December 7, 1859, in the Thirty-sixth Congress.

He was born in Dinwiddie County, Virginia, July 19, 1828, graduated from Hampden-Sidney College in 1845, and from the University of Virginia in 1848; was admitted to the bar in 1849 and practiced law in Petersburg a short time, giving up the law on account of ill health. He entered newspaper work, and was on the editorial staff of the *Washington Union* in 1852, and of the *Richmond Enquirer* in 1854. He was special minister to Greece in 1854. He established a paper called *The South* in 1857, but gave up the enterprise to join the *Washington States*.

He served in the Confederate Army, was a member of the Confederate House of Representatives; was captured by the Federal troops in November, 1864, and confined in Fort LaFayette.

After the war he moved to New York City where he practiced law from 1866 to 1890. He was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention of 1876. From 1890 to 1894 he was Judge of the Court of Common Pleas in New York City, and from 1894 to 1899 he was a Justice of the Supreme Court of the State of New York; from this position he retired upon reaching the age limit.

Roger A. Pryor was one of the ablest, most accomplished, most versatile men produced by Southside Virginia. "A man of striking and graceful presence, of most fascinating manner and

irresistibly charming speech. He was orator, editor, soldier, politician, leader of popular assemblages, tribune of the people.”¹

“With long hair, classic face, dressed in the finest style; with gestures which he practiced as a boy before a glass; with the fire of genius in his eye and his clear, well-toned and penetrating voice; and with a speech carefully prepared and, it is said, committed to memory and the same nearly all over the district, he came from the editorial chair in Washington; entered the lists and beat all the old political leaders. He certainly produced the greatest effect before the people ever produced here by any man except Randolph.”²

One of his choice bits of effective description was his characterization of Lincoln as “a feculent excrescence of Northwestern vulgarity.”³

Judge Pryor was the last of the ante-bellum congressmen. During his term Virginia seceded, and was not thereafter represented in the Congress of the United States until after the war.

In the Forty-first and Forty-second Congresses (1869 to 1873) the Lunenburg district was represented in Congress by the Vermont Carpet-bagger, James H. Platt, Jr., who settled in Petersburg, Virginia, April 6, 1865; he took his seat January 27, 1870.

Platt moved to Norfolk, and went to Congress from that district, while the Lunenburg District was represented in the Forty-third Congress (1873-1875) by another carpet-bagger from Vermont, William H. H. Stowell, who chose Burkeville as his place of residence during his carpet-bag operations. He remained in the Forty-fourth Congress, and made way for another carpet-bagger, this time Joseph Jorgensen, of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, who settled at Petersburg. He continued in the Forty-sixth and Forty-seventh Congresses, and was succeeded in the Forty-eighth Congress (1883 to 1885) by Benjamin Stephen Hooper of Farmville, Virginia, elected on the Readjuster ticket. He was a native of Buckingham County.

In the Forty-ninth Congress (1885 to 1887), the district was represented by James Dennis Brady of Petersburg, Virginia. He

¹Watson: *Notes on Southside Virginia*, 177.

²William Pope Dabney, quoted by Judge Watson, in *Notes on Southside Virginia*, 177.

³*Richmond Enquirer*, March 19, 1861.

was born in Portsmouth, Virginia, April 3, 1843, but was living in New York when the war began. He served in the Union army against the South, in the Judge Advocate General's and Inspector General's departments. He was a carpet-bagging Republican; elected as a Republican to the Forty-ninth Congress and was a delegate from Virginia to the Republican National Convention of 1884. He died in Petersburg, Virginia, November 30, 1890.

In the Fiftieth Congress (1887 to 1889), the district was represented by William Embre Gaines, of Charlotte County, Virginia, elected as a Republican.

In the election of Congressmen for the Fifty-first Congress, Edward Carrington Venable was opposed by the negro John M. Langston. Venable was elected and served until September 23, 1890, when after a contest Langston was seated.

Langston was an Ohio negro, who had been among the chief of the carpet-baggers having been "inspector general of the bureau of freedmen, refugees, and abandoned lands." He had no real legal residence in Virginia, but a Republican Congress had no difficulty in seating him, regardless of the merits of the matter. The behavior of the majority of Congress in this case was so outrageous that it was in connection with it that "the minority party adopted for the first time the plan of withdrawing in a body from the hall of the House, to avoid being counted as part of a quorum."¹

Congressman Venable was a native of Prince Edward County, Virginia, was born January 31, 1853, attended McCabe's University High School in Petersburg, and the University of Virginia. He taught school for several years; and settled in Petersburg in 1876.

James Fletcher Epes, a Democrat, represented the district in the Fifty-second and Fifty-third Congresses. He was a native of Nottoway County; born May 23, 1842. He studied at the University of Virginia, served in the Confederate Army during the entire war, graduated in law from Washington and Lee University in 1867, and located at Blackstone, Virginia. He was succeeded in Congress by William R. McKinney of Petersburg, who was opposed by a Republican, Robert T. Thorp, a native of North Carolina, who had settled at Boydton, Virginia.

¹*Biographical Congressional Directory, 1774 to 1911, 333.*

Congressman McKinney was born in Petersburg, Virginia, December 2, 1851, attended McCabe's University school, and the University of Virginia; taught school, practiced law, was prominent in city affairs; was presidential elector in 1888 and a delegate to the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, in 1892. He was a speaker of great charm.

Sydney Parham Epes, of Nottoway County, was elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, but upon a contest, Robert T. Thorp, a Republican, was seated. Epes was elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress, and died during this term in Washington, D. C., March 3, 1900.

Francis R. Lassiter, of Petersburg, was elected to fill this unexpired term and took his seat April 28, 1900. He was re-elected to the Fifty-seventh Congress; and again served in the Sixtieth and Sixty-first Congresses; Robert G. Southall, of Amelia, having been elected to the Fifty-eighth and Fifty-ninth Congresses (1903 to 1907).

Congressman Lassiter was born in Petersburg, February 18, 1866, graduated from several academic schools, attended the University of Virginia, studied law, was admitted to the bar in Virginia, and practiced in Petersburg and elsewhere. He was a member of the Virginia State Central Committee, presidential elector in 1892, and United States District Attorney for the Eastern District of Virginia.

Congressman Southall was born in Amelia County, Virginia, December 26, 1852; graduated in law from the University of Virginia in 1876, was admitted to the bar and began to practice in January, 1877. He was a delegate to the Democratic Convention at St. Louis in 1888 and that at Chicago in 1896; a member of the House of Delegates from 1899 to 1903, and after his service in Congress was elected Judge of the Circuit Court for the Amelia Circuit.

Robert Turnbull, of Lawrenceville, Brunswick County, Virginia, was elected to succeed Congressman Lassiter, who died during his term of office, October 31, 1909, and took his seat March 16, 1910. He was re-elected to the Sixty-second Congress.

Congressman Turnbull was born in Lawrenceville, Brunswick County, Virginia, January 11, 1850, and graduated from the

University of Virginia in 1871; he studied law, was admitted to the bar and became one of the foremost lawyers of the Southside. He was a member of the State Senate in 1894; a delegate to the Constitutional Convention in 1902, and was a delegate to the Democratic National Conventions of 1896 and 1904.

He was a Southside Virginian of whom the country may well be proud. He was sprung from a very old Colonial family which had been prominently identified with the progress of the section from a very early date. Charles Turnbull is mentioned in the records of Bristol Parish in 1753, while "Robert Turnbull Gentleman" was appointed a vestryman of the Parish, November 1, 1784, to succeed "Roger Atkinson Gentleman" who had resigned.¹

Congressman Turnbull's father was Edward R. Turnbull, who married Elizabeth Harrison, daughter of Dr. Nathaniel Harrison and his first wife Mary Dandridge Minge. Dr. Nathaniel Harrison was the son of Benjamin Harrison, whose wife was a Turnbull. She was widow Osborne when she married Benjamin Harrison, but her maiden name was Turnbull. This Benjamin Harrison was the son of Nathaniel Harrison (b. Sept. 30, 1742, d. Dec. 24, 1782), and his second wife (whom he married March 12, 1768), Ann Gilliam (d. April, 1781). Nathaniel Harrison was the son of Carter Henry Harrison of Clifton (b. after Aug. 22, 1726), and his wife Susanna Randolph. Carter Henry Harrison was a brother of Benjamin Harrison, signer of the Declaration of Independence, and they were sons of Benjamin Harrison of Berkeley.

Susanna Randolph was the daughter of Isham Randolph of *Dungeness*, and thus these Turnbulls are the descendants of William Randolph of Turkey Island and his wife Mary Isham, the famous progenitors of so many illustrious persons.

Robert Turnbull, before his election to Congress, served as a clerk of Brunswick County, and was, as stated, a member of the State Senate, a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1902, and served also in other political and public capacities. In all of his spheres of service he met every requirement with ability, often performing his duties with the display of such brilliant

¹Chamberlayne: *Bristol Parish*, 269.

qualities as to attract to a marked degree the interest and the admiration of his fellows.

But, however able and efficient he may have been in the discharge of political and official duties, it was, in the opinion of the writer, as a lawyer that his talent and his genius, his full learning and ample scholarship found the fullest opportunity for their masterful display. He was a man of medium size and stature, weighing about 160 or 165 pounds, but he was so well knit he seemed smaller; in height he was about five feet nine inches. He was straight and trim, and moved with certainty and precision. His attire was always faultless, elegant one might say, but without a touch of the fantastic. His elegance was that of simplicity and dignity. His feet were inclined to be small, his arms of average length for his size, the hands were fine and supple and the fingers long. His shoulders were square, firm, erect; and the head firmly set upon a neck slightly large, possibly, in proportion to the rest of his physical make-up, was flawless. His hair was black—raven-black, his forehead was high and broad, one of the finest ever seen; his chin was regular, the mouth ample, the lips thin, the nose straight, slightly inclined to be large. His eyes, very dark brown, were the most striking feature of the face. They were quick, nervous, alert; they missed nothing. Altogether he was one of the handsomest figures of his day at the Bar of Southside Virginia.

With such fine physical endowments, with a splendid mentality, an ample education, a pleasing speaking voice, a full and ready vocabulary, and unlimited industry, he was one of the most formidable adversaries a lawyer of his day could meet. He was of the Aristocracy of the Bar, if such an expression may be permitted. His conduct always conformed to the highest traditions of this noble and exacting profession. He refused to compete on their own ground, with those who resorted to tricks, or unethical means or questionable practices of any sort; and the large measure of his success vindicated the upright course which he pursued.

Not only were his cases tried with a skill which always held the attention of the court and jury, but his arguments were so interesting, were such fine displays of rhetorical eloquence, were

illustrated with such happy anecdote, such a wealth of classical and literary allusion, and yet salted with such common sense, that he seldom failed to attract groups who had no other interest than that derived from the pleasure of hearing so talented a speaker.

He was opposed for the Democratic nomination for the Sixty-third Congress by Judge Walter A. Watson, of Nottoway. Two more worthy men, of equally and nicely balanced abilities have seldom opposed each other for public office.

Judge Watson schooled with the "Martin-Swanson" machine at the time, and indeed until his death, while Congressman Turnbull yielded no allegiance to that group, and it was doubtless to this circumstance that Judge Watson was "counted in" for the nomination in the primary in which they opposed each other. The race was exceedingly close. Turnbull was first declared by the unofficial returns the winner by about eight votes. In such a close contest it was not difficult for the Central Committee to find ground here and there for questioning the regularity of a vote, with the result, as the writer now recalls (without verifying his recollection), the committee finally certified Judge Watson as the nominee by a majority of three votes.

The result so certified was, as many believed, an unjust one. But so far as the writer knows it reflected upon the canvassers of the votes rather than upon Judge Watson personally, who was a very able, and one of the most upright of men.

After his defeat for the Sixty-third Congress, Congressman Turnbull resumed the practice of law, became Clerk of Brunswick County, and resided in Lawrenceville until his death, which occurred January 22, 1920.

Walter Allen Watson was born November 25, 1867, near Jennings's Ordinary, Nottoway County, Virginia. He was the son of Meredith Watson (b. Sept. 5, 1841, d. Aug. 22, 1893), and Josephine Leonora Robertson, of Powhatan County, Virginia. They were married September 5, 1866, and Walter Allen Watson was the oldest of their thirteen children. Six of these children, however, died in infancy or early youth.

Meredith Watson was the son of Robert Alexander Allen Watson (b. July 31, 1807, d. Dec. 31, 1883), of Lunenburg and

Nottoway Counties, and his wife Mary Elizabeth Watson (b. Sept. 21, 1819, d. March 14, 1906), daughter of John Allen Watson (b. Sept. 2, 1789, d. Nov. 17, 1822).

Robert Alexander Watson was the son of Colonel Jesse Watson and his wife Mary Meredith Watson. Jesse Watson was a lieutenant of militia of Prince Edward County in 1780, and served "at the battles of Camden and Guilford C. H." His widow was allowed a pension of \$120.00 per year on an application executed February 22, 1839. At that time she was seventy years old and was residing in Lunenburg County. Jesse Watson's marriage took place in 1790 and he died October 22, 1812. It seems that he became a Colonel of Militia in 1803, hence he was known as Colonel Watson.

The future Judge and Congressman, Walter Allen Watson, was educated at an Academy at Worsham, Prince Edward County, Virginia, a preparatory school for Hampden-Sidney College, where he studied four years and at Hampden-Sidney which he entered in 1884 and from which he graduated with the degree of A. B. in 1887. He studied law one year at the University of Virginia, 1888-1889, and thereafter was admitted to the bar and began practicing law in Nottoway County in 1889.

At the age of twenty-four, in 1891, he was elected to the Virginia State Senate, and was said to have been its youngest member at that time. From 1895 to 1904 he was Commonwealth's Attorney of Nottoway County; in 1902 was a member of the Virginia Constitutional Convention, and in 1904, upon the death of Judge Beverly A. Hancock, he was elected (by the Legislature) Judge of the Fourth Judicial Circuit of Virginia.

He took a prominent part in the work of the Constitutional Convention, and was, as he desired, assigned places on the Committees on Suffrage and Education.

In the course of his discussion of the character of education which he thought the negro should have, he thus described the negro's place in history:

"This man, sir, has been exposed to and has associated with nearly every civilization that has existed upon the face of the earth. He was in Egypt when the pyramids were built, and yet he learned no useful art. He was in contact with the Roman

Empire when that great government was building up a policy which gave itself an eternal name in the history of mankind. He has been acquainted with all the civilizations of Asia and all which have flourished in Europe, and yet he has never absorbed enough to lift his head above that dead line of darkness which has hidden his face in all the history of the world.

“I say, sir, that there are problems confronting the American people as grave and as serious as ever pressed themselves upon the attention of thoughtful men. It will require all of the patriotism, all of the intelligence, all of the character, all of the courage of this race to which we belong to maintain itself against the temptation and the evils which confront it at the present time, and unless it be so that we are stronger than the Greek and mightier than the Roman, unless it be so that there is some special providence that takes care of an American which never took care even of the Hebrew in his chosen land, we have no right to assume that we can preserve this civilization if we undertake to incorporate with it this great black problem which has dragged down everything that it has touched since the curse of Ham was pronounced by the Almighty.”

He repudiated with fervor, the suggestion that the people of Virginia had not dealt generously with the negro race.

After giving some historical account of the subject, he said: “But, Mr. Chairman, the record does not end here. A ruined and conquered commonwealth went to work amid its desolated resources, and in thirty years it taxed its people to the extent of \$37,000,000, for public education, out of which it has given the negro a third.”

And adverting to the debt which the negro race owed the white race, he said: “But, Mr. Chairman, that is not all we have done for him. I say, sir, the white race of the United States of America has spent more money and shed more blood in undertaking to establish the rights and the privileges of the negro than the entire negro race of the world has expended and shed for its own liberty and its own rights in the history of mankind.”

Although he found himself not in accord with the ideas of many respecting the character of educational policy which should be adopted for the negro race, he had no antipathy for the black

man, but on the contrary held that he should be treated with justice, generosity and mercy. Said he: "I believe, and I believe all my people believe, that in all the domestic and private relations of life we must treat this man honestly. We must treat him generously, treat him with mercy, in compassion, and give him that degree of enlightenment which may make for his good and that of the community."

One of his associates in the Convention¹ has written of him, with feeling, respecting his work in the Convention, this splendid tribute:

"No difference of opinion, no matter how pronounced or how acute, left a single shadow between him and any of his associates. He laid down his duties at the Convention's end, more beloved, more respected and more admired—because he was better known—than when he entered it. He, of course, grew and developed under his responsibilities, as all capable men do. He brought to the performance of his duties a heart that was pure and undefiled, a consecrated purpose, a dauntless and unflinching courage, and a measure of ability that will rank him always among the honored and foremost leaders of his people."

Judge Watson was a lawyer of ability, but was of the judicial type better fitted for the bench than for the bar; and it seems no detraction from his reputation either as a lawyer or as a congressman to say that his service as Judge of the Circuit Court was marked by greater ability than were his labors in either of the other fields.

He achieved more than state-wide reputation in 1911, as the presiding Judge in the notable murder case of the Commonwealth versus Henry Beattie. Because of the sensational character of the case it was widely reported throughout the United States by a special staff of newspaper correspondents, many of them accustomed to report criminal cases tried in other states, in a manner far different from the solemn, impressive procedure of the courts of Virginia. It was not strange, therefore, that the procedure in Judge Watson's court, as well the procedure in the courts of any of the rest of Virginia's circuits might have, struck

¹Honorable Alfred P. Thom.

the "foreign" newspaper men as something unusual and admirable.

The impression was so marked that the conduct of the case was widely and justly commented upon. For example, the *New York Times* said editorially: "The trial will be remembered as one of the most impressive in our criminal annals. It was rendered impressive by Judge Watson, and the way he controlled and ordered it was an object-lesson to judges all over the land. He conducted the case with wonderful moderation and held the balances with an even hand. . . . If criminal trials were patterned after this one, the complaint of miscarriage of justice and of the law's delays would cease."

The popularity he attained as a result of the recognition so widely accorded his abilities as displayed in the Beattie case was quite remarkable. He had always been popular within the circles where he was well known, but his reputation was greatly enhanced by this circumstance, and it is no doubt due thereto that he was able to make the showing he did in his race for Congress against the courtly, able, talented and popular Robert Turnbull.

It seems unfortunate that with his aptitude for the judicial function, and with no doubt an indefinite tenure of office before him, Judge Watson should have desired, or should have been persuaded to leave the bench for a political career. But he had a liking for politics, and the leaders of the dominant wing of the Democratic party had a score to settle with Congressman Turnbull, because he was not of "the ring," would not take orders from it, and was altogether too independent to suit the "machine" politicians.

In this state of the case Judge Watson was induced to make the race for Congress. He entered it with the full support of the State Democratic organization, the so-called "Martin-Swanson machine," with the whole election machinery in the congressional district in the hands of his friends, and with his judicial laurels, especially those of the Beattie case skillfully displayed for public admiration.

It is of course apparent that Congressman Turnbull was at considerable disadvantage, to say the least, in what seemed an unequal contest.

The campaign was spirited; but as between the principals none

could have been conducted upon a higher plane. The vote was practically a tie in the district. The Canvassing Committee (a majority of which were Watson sympathizers) after several days sessions, finally declared Judge Watson nominated by (as the figure is now remembered) three votes. But many have always remained convinced that the majority of the votes were cast for Turnbull, and that the canvassing board were not over-scrupulous in the rulings and methods by which they declared Judge Watson the nominee.

But aside from the questions that arise as to the correctness of a result where admittedly the votes were so evenly balanced, Judge Watson had nothing but honor to his credit as a Congressman. Everyone, of course, recognized that either Robert Turnbull or Walter Watson would worthily represent the Fourth District in Congress. And Congressman Turnbull accepted his defeat gracefully, and so far as this writer knows,¹ never uttered a critical or unkind word of his successful opponent.

In a body so large as the Federal Congress, with a man so comparatively new as Congressman Watson, it was of course impossible that he should at once take the rank to which his ability and talents entitled him. But before he died, in the zenith of his powers, he was widely known in Congress for his quiet, unostentatious, refined, accomplished personality. He never failed to have decided convictions, and did not hesitate to express them with emphasis and clarity.

In an address in favor of a declaration of war against Germany, he said:

“Mr. Speaker, in this world there are things dearer than peace, and some things worse than war. Peace is not an end in itself, but only a means to a higher and nobler national life. Honor is dearer than peace, liberty is more important, humanity is far nobler.

“Hence I lift my voice for war in the profound conviction that in this crisis, when liberty and law and humanity are all at stake, when the foundation for the future governments of the world are

¹The writer was Congressman Turnbull's law partner for a few years, and his father and Congressman Turnbull were law partners for some thirty years.

being laid, it is better for America and mankind that we should take our predestined place in the great conflict.”

Judge Watson on January 18, 1905, married Miss Constance R. Tinsley, of Richmond, Virginia. He died during his term of office December 24, 1919. He left no children.

It is a curious fact that although Lunenburg County is the only county that through all the different changes made in the Fourth District, has at all times been in that district, it has never furnished a Congressman for the district. It has been the heart and center of the district; the county around which the district has always been built, yet the old Free State has never been allowed the honor of providing the district with a representative in the National Legislature.

CHAPTER IV

Lunenburg Cousins

GENEALOGIES OF SOME LUNENBURG FAMILIES

Allen, Bagley, Barry, Bell, Betts, Blackwell, Bolling, Bridgforth



No apology need be made for embodying in such a history as this genealogies of the people of the locality.

Daniel Webster has well said: "There may be, and there often is, indeed, a regard for ancestry, which nourishes only a weak pride; as there is also a care for posterity, which only disguises an habitual avarice, or hides the workings of a low and groveling vanity. But there is also a moral and philosophical respect for our ancestors, which elevates the character and improves the heart. Next to the sense of religious duty and moral feeling, I hardly know what should bear with stronger obligation on a liberal and enlightened mind, than a consciousness of alliance with excellence which has departed; and a consciousness, too, that in its acts and conduct, and even in its sentiments, it may be actively operating on the happiness of those who come after it."

If the traditions of the people of Virginia, and of Lunenburg, in their devotion to principles, in their respect for the best in governmental institutions, in their struggles for religious and political freedom and for liberty, be not worthy of veneration, then why should a people strive to transmit blessings to posterity? And if those who in the past have struggled to assure a better condition of society are worthy to be honored for their efforts, their sacrifices and their accomplishments, what is more appropriate than to preserve their names and their lineages that their descendants to the remotest time may know the facts, and preserve them in grateful remembrance.

But there is sometimes a lack of interest in one's ancestry, due

to an incorrect point of view. Some are prone to criticize anyone who feels a pride in his progenitors, as disposed to rest upon the laurels of his ancestors rather than upon his own merits. Too many seem to feel that any interest in one's genealogy is evidence of a false pride. Such an attitude is most unfortunate and generally is unjust.

For those who have such a point of view the labor of preparing these chapters has not been expended. They have been written for those who would do honor to the memory of their forefathers, who beset with almost insurmountable obstacles, endured untold hardships, and by virtue of rugged ability and sterling qualities of character, laid the foundations for our freedom and happiness; they have been written for those who would honor the memory of the patriots who stood in staunch adherence to the principles upon which the Republic was founded and in defence of these principles as embodied in the Declaration of Independence, resisted efforts to subjugate them by military force, in a conflict forced upon them by the insolent and ignorant interference of foreign fanatics, and in doing so did not hesitate to challenge ignorance, selfish bigotry, fanaticism and political despotism upon the thousand bloody battlefields of the Civil War; they are written for those who, in emulation of the sturdy patriots of the past, are endeavoring in their day and time to do something worth while to preserve, in their integrity and purity, the institutions and the traditions of the fathers, and to transmit to future generations a determination to maintain and preserve what they so worthily won and established; they are written for those who, themselves, desire not to be entirely forgotten by posterity.

It is not only for the memories of those departed, mentioned herein, that the service of preserving their names from oblivion is performed. For them it is a service of affection and of veneration, but the service to their memories is insignificant compared to the benefits conferred upon future generations. "Since the world began, no people have ever risen to power or splendor who have not cherished and striven to perpetuate the memory of their great men,"¹ and "all things prove that the qualities which

¹Col. Thomas L. Crittenden, oration upon General Charles Scott.

nations honor will be cultivated by their sons.”¹ So by according honor where honor is due, and preserving the memories of those who have deserved well of the country, we assure that the state “will never want for heroes in the day of battle, nor statesmen in the Council Chamber.”

It is with a feeling that it is worth while to attempt to add something in the way of a substantial contribution to the genealogy of the Lunenburg people that these chapters are prepared. That the presentation made is incomplete, even fragmentary, the writer is well aware. That it is so was inevitable; the reasons need not be gone into, in detail. Many have generously responded to requests for information, which in the nature of the case could be obtained only from private sources. Some, altogether too large a number, have failed to manifest the degree of interest, which, for the benefit of posterity, could have been wished. To those who have rendered assistance, acknowledgment is gratefully made, and as to the others, we may be permitted a sincere regret that they were not disposed to help in so interesting an undertaking.

In the genealogies which follow, the belief is that a substantial contribution is made to existing printed sources, and it is hoped that they may at least serve as the bases for future building by other genealogists.

The families noticed in these brief genealogies by no means constitute a complete list of those whose histories should be written and preserved. It is hoped that others better qualified for the task will supplement what is here attempted until the record shall become fairly complete.

The field is broad and inviting and the angles from which the subject may be approached are sufficiently numerous to engage a variety of tastes and talents.

Of the native Virginians who became governors of other states:

Benjamin Howard, Governor of the Missouri Territory, 1810-12;
Matthew Talbot, Governor of Georgia, 1819;
Wilson Lumpkin, Governor of Georgia, 1831-35;

¹Col. Thomas L. Crittenden, oration upon General Charles Scott.

John Breathitt, Governor of Kentucky, 1832-34;
 Clement Comer Clay, Governor of Alabama, 1835-37;
 James Clarke, Governor of Kentucky, 1836-38;
 John M. Morehead, Governor of North Carolina, 1841-45;
 Henry W. Collier, Governor of Alabama, 1849-53;
 John P. Gaines, Governor of the Oregon Territory, 1850-53;
 Fayette McMullen, Governor of Washington Territory, 1851-61;
 Samuel Adams, Governor of Arkansas, 1844;
 Cowles Meade, Governor of Mississippi, 1806; and
 Montfort Stokes, Governor of North Carolina, 1830, were
 from the area originally embraced in Lunenburg County, that is
 to say, they were either born within the present Lunenburg
 County, or within one or other of the counties created from the
 soil that was originally Lunenburg.¹

States other than Virginia have been represented in the United States Senate, and in the Lower House of Congresses by a notable array of native sons of Lunenburg,—men born in Lunenburg County, or in the counties created from the territory originally embraced in ancient Lunenburg.

This list includes:

William Taylor Barry, a Representative and Senator from Kentucky, born in Lunenburg County, February 15, 1784.

Robert Burton, a Representative from North Carolina, born in Mecklenburg County, Virginia, October 20, 1747, a Colonel in the Revolution and a member of the Continental Congress, 1787-1788.

General James Ronald Chalmers, a Representative from Mississippi, born in Halifax County, January 11, 1831.

Joseph William Chalmers, a Senator from Mississippi, born in Halifax County, in 1807.

Henry Chambers, Senator from Alabama, born in Lunenburg County, in 1785, and died in Lunenburg County, January 25, 1826. A monument to his memory stands in the grove at the Dr. Robert S. Bagley homestead, near Kenbridge.

James Clark, a Representative from Kentucky, born in Bedford County, January 16, 1757.

¹Va. Hist. Mag. Vol. II, pp. 80, 185, 422.

Clement Comer Clay, a Representative and Senator from Alabama, born in Halifax County, December 17, 1789.

Walter Terry Colquitt, a Representative and Senator from Georgia, born in Halifax County, December 27, 1799.

David Patterson Dyer, a Representative from Missouri, born in Henry County, February 12, 1838.

James Edward Gay, a Representative from Louisiana, born in Bedford County, February 3, 1816.

Presley T. Glass, a Representative from Tennessee, born in Halifax County, October 18, 1824.

Joseph J. Gravely, a Representative from Missouri, born in Henry County, in 1828.

James Madison Gregg, a Representative from Indiana, born in Patrick County, June 26, 1806.

Charles Eaton Haynes, a Representative from Georgia, born in Mecklenburg County, April 15, 1784.

Joseph Chappell Hutcheson, a Representative from Texas, born in Mecklenburg County, May 18, 1842.

John Kerr, Jr., a Representative from North Carolina, born in Pittsylvania County, February 10, 1811.

John William Leftwich, a Representative from Tennessee, born in Bedford County, September 7, 1826.

James Hamilton Lewis, a Representative from Washington, and Senator from Illinois, born in Pittsylvania County, May 18, 1868.

Wilson Lumpkin, a Representative and Senator from Georgia, born in Pittsylvania County, January 14, 1783.

Thomas Patrick Moore, a Representative from Kentucky, born in Charlotte County, in 1797.

John William Noell, a Representative from Missouri, born in Bedford County, February 22, 1816.

Alexander G. Penn, a Representative from Louisiana, born in Patrick County (first elected to the Thirty-first Congress, and then to several succeeding Congresses).

Thomas Lawson Price, a Representative from Missouri, born in Pittsylvania County, January 19, 1809.

Richard Clausell Puryear, a Representative from North Carolina, born in Mecklenburg County, February 9, 1801.

Montfort Stokes, a Senator from North Carolina, born in Lunenburg County, March 12, 1762.

Isham Talbot, a Senator from Kentucky, born in Bedford County, in 1773.

Waller Taylor, a Senator from Indiana, born in Lunenburg County, before 1786, territorial Judge in 1806; aide-de-camp to General William Henry Harrison; died in Lunenburg County, August 26, 1826, and

Robert Weakley, a Representative from Tennessee, born in Halifax County, July 2, 1764.

To call the roll of these native sons who attained to positions of importance and honor in other states, naturally suggests an inquiry of broader scope. If these emigrants from the area of ancient Lunenburg so made their impression in new localities, amid strange surroundings, what may not be said of the scope of the influence of the *descendants* of these and other Lunenburgers who cast their lots in other states and have had their part in the building of the nation? To adequately answer that question would require a volume of no mean proportions. It would lead us into almost every field of honorable endeavor; the press, the pulpit, the cause of education, of scientific research, the army, the navy, the bench, the bar, the legislative forums of the states and the nation, would acknowledge their indebtedness to descendants of the sons and the daughters of the Old Free State, and the list would include such notable names as that of Sidney Lanier, the poet, that of Matthew Fontaine Maury, the great historiographer of the seas, founder of the United States Naval Academy, and originator of the observations which resulted in the establishment of the Weather Bureau—one of the foremost men of science of all time; it would include numerous descendants of Lucas Sullivant (founder of Columbus, Ohio), and Lyne Starling; and descendants of Bryant Lester, among whom are the Barkesdales of Mississippi, and the Bankheads of Louisiana. But no list can be attempted; these are cited off-hand, at random, as illustrative of the field which is ready for exploration of the investigator with the industry to enter upon the quest.

It is to be regretted that space does not permit, in the genealogies which follow, an effort to give something of the individual history of many whose names will appear as we proceed. That must be, however, the labor of another time, and a different place.

ALLEN

According to the late Captain Cornelius Tacitus Allen, the earliest, definitely known ancestor of the Lunenburg Allens was:

William¹ Allen (b. June 20, 1756, in Lunenburg County, Virginia, d. 1839). He was of Scotch descent; and had a long period of service in the Revolutionary army, and was a member of Captain James Johnson's Company, 6th Virginia Regiment, Regular Continental Line. This writer is of the opinion that he was a son of Turner Allen of Lunenburg County (Will in Lunenburg County, dated Sept. 16, 1799, probated Apr. 10, 1800, W. B. 5, page 12). The Will of Turner Allen mentions his wife, Sallie Allen; and sons, John, James, Sterling, William; also daughters: Lucy, Sallie, Nancy (married to a man named Williams), Elizabeth and Patsy.

William¹ Allen's mother, according to Capt. Allen, was a Miss Jones. William Allen married Sallie Andrews of Lunenburg County.

They had a number of children, one of whom was:

Jones² Allen (b. July 22, 1785), married Dorothy Gee, daughter of William Gee of Lunenburg County.

They had, among other children:

Robert Henderson³ Allen (Colonel) (b. March 17, 1817, d. Jan. 1900), who married in 1836, Ann Eliza Bagley, daughter of William Bagley, of Lunenburg County, Virginia.

They had eleven children. Two died in infancy. The others were:

1. William Jones⁴ Allen, M. D. (died prior to 1895).
2. Cornelius T.⁴ Allen (b. June 5, 1841, at "Oral Oaks," residence of Col. Robert H. Allen).
3. Edward Marshall⁴ Allen (b. May 27, 1844, d. Jan. 29, 1913)
4. Robert Alexander⁴ Allen (died prior to 1895).
5. Anderson Bagley⁴ Allen (died prior to 1895).
6. Anna Cralle⁴ Allen.
7. George Thomas⁴ Allen.
8. Horace Morrison⁴ Allen.
9. Charles DeGraffenreid⁴ Allen.

Cornelius T.⁴ Allen (b. June 5, 1841, d. June 22, 1919), graduated from Richmond College, Richmond, Va., class of 1860;

studied law and taught school at Oral Oaks High School, Lunenburg Co., Va., 1860-61; entered the Confederate Army in 1861 as Lieutenant of the "Loch Leven Rangers" Company C, 20th Regiment Virginia Volunteers, under Captain D. R. Stokes. He served practically through the entire war; was in the battle of Rich Mountain, the second battle of the war, and was also in the engagement at Sailor's Creek, just north of Burkeville, Va., the last general battle of Lee's army. He attained the rank of Captain in June, 1862, when he succeeded Captain Samuel W. Hawthorne as Captain of the "Lunenburg Rebel Artillery." The Company was Company F, 2nd Regiment, Virginia Heavy Artillery. He was wounded many times,—three times in one battle,—the charge on Fort Harrison, one mile in the rear of Chaffin's Bluff on the James River. He was captured at Sailor's Creek, taken to the Old Capitol prison in Washington, where he was on the night of the assassination of President Lincoln, April 14, 1865. From there he was taken to the prison on Johnson's Island, in Lake Erie, near Sandusky, Ohio. He reached Oral Oaks, Lunenburg County, Va., June 25, 1865, after his discharge from prison. He was twice married, 1st on May 6, 1863, while the war was still raging, to Lucy Ashby Meade (b. Sept. 30, 1843, d. July 24, 1882), dau. of Honorable Robert E. Meade, of Octagon Hall, Brunswick Co., Va., 2nd on March 24, 1884, to Lizzie T. Meade (also a daughter of Hon. Robert E. Meade), a half sister of his first wife.

Issue of the first marriage:

1. Robert Meade⁵ Allen (d. in infancy).
2. Ellen Taylor⁵ Allen, married in 1888, Hugh Mayes of Princeton, Ky.
3. Stuart Ashby⁵ Allen.
4. Annie Meade⁵ Allen (d. in infancy at Princeton, Ky.).
5. Herbert Percy⁵ Allen (d. in infancy at Princeton, Ky.).
6. Hattie Carr⁵ Allen (d. at Princeton, Ky., October 21, 1889, nearly sixteen years of age).

Issue of the second marriage:

7. Lucy Meade⁵ Allen (b. ca. 1885).
8. Flora Hays⁵ Allen (b. ca. 1887).

Edward Marshall⁴ Allen (b. May 27, 1844, d. Jan. 29, 1913), served from 1862 until end of the war in the Artillery Company of his brother, Capt. Cornelius Tacitus Allen; captured at Sailor's Creek; confined in the military prison at Point Lookout, Md.

Married in Petersburg, Virginia, Kate Triplett White, daughter of J. Andrew and Ann (Triplett) White.

They had:

1. Fannie White⁵ Allen, who married Thomas Anselm Dines, of Denver, Colorado, and had:
Donna Virginia⁶ Dines,
Thomas Marshall⁶ Dines.
2. Andrew Henderson⁵ Allen, who married Rena Mason Wright, of Waycross, Georgia. Reside in East Orange, N. J.
3. Ann Bagley⁵ Allen, who married Anthony G. Fidel, of Casper, Wyoming, and had:
Edward Allen⁶ Fidel,
John Anthony⁶ Fidel.
4. Kate Marshall⁵ Allen, who married Benjamin Turner White, of Norfolk, Va., reside in Raleigh, N. C., and had:
Katherine Triplett⁶ White,
Frances Allen⁶ White,
Wilson Reed⁶ White.
5. Virginia White⁵ Allen, who married Dr. Frank Wallace Patch of Framington, Mass.

George Thomas⁴ Allen, of Lunenburg County, Virginia, married Mollie Burke.

Issue:

Lucy Ashby⁵ Allen, m. Charles E. Bryant.

George Edward⁵ Allen (b. in Lunenburg Co., Va., March 31, 1886). B. L., U. Va. 1910, Atty., Victoria, Va.

Married twice:

First: May 20, 1913, Susie Lee Jones (d. Oct. 14, 1918),
dau. John Blackwell Jones of Lunenburg County, Va.

Children :

George Edward⁶ Allen, Jr., b. April 4, 1914.

Anna Florence⁶ Allen, b. Jan. 31, 1916.

Second : April 22 ,1920, Mary Lee Bridgforth, dau. George Thomas Bridgforth, of Lunenburg County.

Horace Morrison⁴ Allen (b. June 26, 1855, d. Sept. 8, 1916). Married Oct. 9, 1884, Ruth Whitfield Wall (See Hardy Genealogy), b. May 24, 1866.

Charles DeGraffenreid⁴ Allen (b. March 9, 1859), married Nov. 20, 1888, Dora Eugenia Toone (b. Apr. 26, 1870), daughter of Montfort Stokes and Evelyn (Cooksey) Toone, of Lunenburg Co., Va.

They had :

1. Horace Lynwood⁵ Allen (b. Dec. 18, 1892), married April 21, 1926, Mae Catherine Bradley, of Richmond, Va.
2. Eleanor Spencer⁵ Allen (b. July 29, 1894).
3. Anna Evelyn⁵ Allen (b. Jan. 20, 1899).

The ancestry of the wives (who were half-sisters) of Captain Cornelius T. Allen, is a proud and distinguished one. Their father, Robert E. Meade, of Brunswick County, was married three times : 1st to a Miss Booth ; 2nd to Martha Ashby, who was the mother of Captain Allen's first wife, Lucy Ashby Meade (married May 6, 1863) ; and 3rd to Eliza S. Taylor, dau. of John J. Taylor of Brunswick Co., Va., who was the mother of his second wife, Lizzie Taylor Meade, to whom he was married March 24, 1884.

The emigrant ancestor of Robert E. Meade was Andrew Meade of Cork Co., Ireland, who immigrated to New York in 1650, and who died in 1700. He removed from New York to Virginia and settled in Nansmond County, Va. He married Mary Latham of Flushing, N. Y.

Andrew Meade was a Col. of Militia, Justice of the County Court, and member of the House of Burgesses.

They had issue :

Priscilla Meade, who married Wilson Curle, of Hampton, Va., and

David Meade, who married Susanna Everard, daughter of Sir Richard Everard (Everhard), Colonial Governor of North Carolina, who qualified at Edenton, July 17, 1725.

David Meade and Susanna Everhard had several children:

1. Ann Meade, who married Richard Randolph of Curles (on James River), Va.
2. Mary Meade, who married Col. Walker (of Va.).
3. David Meade, who married Miss Waters (of Williamsburg, Va.), and who moved to Kentucky and founded Chaumière de la Prairie, a celebrated country place.
4. Richard Kidder Meade, aide-de-camp to General Washington, and father of Bishop William Meade.
5. Everhard (or Everard) Meade, aide to General Lincoln.
6. John Meade (who died young).
7. Andrew Meade, of *Octagon Hall*, Brunswick County, Va., who married Susanna Stith.

Andrew Meade, of Octagon Hall, and Susanna Stith, his wife, had issue:

1. David Meade, who married Nancy Stith.
2. Maria Meade, who married John Stith.
3. Richard Kidder Meade, member of Congress, and Minister to Russia, father of Richard Kidder Meade of Petersburg, Virginia.
4. Susan Meade, who married Fitzhugh, and
5. Anne Meade, who married Dr. Richard Field.

David Meade and Nancy Stith, had issue:

1. Oliver H. Meade,
2. Ellen Meade, who married Dr. John Field.
3. Robert E. Meade, who married:
1st, Miss Booth,
2nd, Martha Ashby, and by her had:
 - (1) Lucy Ashby Meade, who married May 6, 1863,
Capt. Cornelius T. Allen.
 - (2) Robert Turner Meade.

3rd, Eliza S. Taylor, dau. of John J. Taylor, of Brunswick Co., Va., and by her had:

1. Lizzie Taylor Meade, who married March 24, 1884, Capt. Cornelius T. Allen (his 2nd wife).
2. Waller Lee Meade.

Note: It may be of interest to note the further ancestry of this family through Sir Richard Everard (or Everhard,—as the name is spelled in the histories of N. C.):

Sir Richard Everhard was the son of Sir Richard Everhard, of Much, Waltham, Essex, England, and his wife Joan Barrington.

Joan Barrington was the daughter of Sir Francis Barrington and his wife Joan Cromwell, sister of Oliver Cromwell, and daughter of Sir Henry Cromwell.

And through this line the ancestry goes back to Edward III, of England, 1317 to 1377; and beyond that on back to Peter, King of Castile and Leon.

Andrew Meade's wife, Susanna Stith, was the daughter of Captain Buckner Stith, and Ann, his wife, of Rock Springs, Brunswick Co., Va.; Captain Buckner Stith was the son of Col. Drury Stith, and his wife Elizabeth Buckner; and Col. Drury Stith was the son of Col. Drury Stith, the first clerk of Brunswick Co., and he was the son of Col. John Stith.

David Meade, son of Andrew Meade, and grandfather of Captain Cornelius T. Allen's two wives, married Anne (or Nancy) Stith. She was the daughter of Robert Stith, who married Mary T. Washington.

Mary T. Washington was the daughter of Lawrence Washington and Elizabeth Dade;

Lawrence Washington was the son of John Washington and his wife, who was a Miss Massey;

John Washington was the son of John Washington and Mary Townshend; this,

John Washington was the son of Lawrence Washington and Jane Fleming;

Lawrence Washington was the son of Lawrence Washington, Rector of Purleigh; and

Rector Lawrence Washington was the son of Lawrence Washington of Sulgrave Manor, England.

Martha Ashby, the wife of Honorable Robert E. Meade, was a first cousin of Gen. Turner Ashby of Confederate Cavalry fame. He was a son of Turner Ashby, while she was a daughter of Turner's brother, William Ashby.

William Ashby married Lucy Strother.

Lucy Strother was a daughter of John Strother and Helen Piper.

John Strother was the son of Francis Strother and Susan Dabney, and

Francis Strother was the son of Jeremiah Strother, who died in 1741.

William Ashby, the husband of Lucy Strother, was the son of John Ashby, Capt. 3rd Va. Regt., and Mary Turner.

Capt. John Ashby was the son of Lewis Ashby and Leanna Buckner.

Lewis Ashby was the son of Colonel John Ashby (b. 1707, d. 1797), and

Col. John Ashby was the son of Edward Ashby, of Fauquier County, Va., and

Edward Ashby was the son of Edmund Ashby.

As stated, Captain Cornelius T. Allen's second wife was Lizzie Taylor Meade. Her mother, Eliza Stanfield Taylor (b. Feb. 7, 1843), married Honorable Robert E. Meade, in 1852.

Her father was Captain John J. Taylor, whose wife was Sarah Ann Walker (b. Apr. 10, 1808, d. Apr. 29, 1889, in Richmond Co., Va.). After Captain Taylor's death she married a second time, Dr. D. J. Claiborne.

Sarah Ann Walker was the daughter of David Walker and Elizabeth Hicks Hardaway (b. May 22, 1791). After the death of David Walker, his widow married John Coleman.

Elizabeth Hicks Hardaway, was the daughter of Robert Hardaway (b. 1758), and Sarah Hicks (b. April 24, 1762), of Brunswick Co., Va.

Robert Hardaway (b. 1758), was the son of James Hardaway (b. 1710), who married in 1734, Million Stanfield, and

James Hardaway (b. 1710), was the son of Thomas and Jane Hardaway.

Sarah Hicks (b. April 24, 1762), wife of Robert Hardaway (b. 1758), was the daughter of Captain James Hicks and Judith Collier (b. Aug. 25, 1730), and

Judith Collier was the daughter of Isaac Collier and Ann his wife, of York County, Virginia.

BAGLEY

The Bagleys of Lunenburg County are said to be descended from a family at one time resident of North Carolina. The Bagley family is found early in that state. In the office of the Secretary of State of North Carolina is found the Will of Thomas Bagley, dated July 19, 1727,* but in what county he lived does not appear. His wife was named Susanna; and he had sons named Thomas and William and a daughter named Hanna. But the connection, if any, of this family with the Lunenburg Bagleys, is not established.

The names of several Bagleys appear among the Revolutionary soldiers of Virginia, but the records are so meagre that it is difficult to place the section or family with which they are identified.

The tradition in one branch of the Bagley family that several brothers of the name came from North Carolina into Mecklenburg County, and were the progenitors of those of that name in Lunenburg, cannot be accepted except with some reservation. This writer strongly inclines to the belief that the Lunenburg Bagleys came originally from Amelia and were the descendants of or at least of the same family as James Bagley and George Bagley, shown as heads of families in that county by the first census of the United States. (*Heads of Families—Virginia*, 1785.)

The authentic history of the Bagley family of Lunenburg begins with:

Anderson¹ Bagley, who married a Miss Chappel.†

*Grimes: *Abstract of North Carolina Wills*, 13.

†The late Capt. Cornelius T. Allen wrote: "My great-grandmother Bagley's mother was an Anderson, and her mother was a Cross." Of the Andersons and Crosses he stated he knew nothing.

They had:

1. William² Bagley.
2. Robert² Bagley.
3. Anderson² Bagley.

Anderson² Bagley never married. It is said that he was well educated and spent a considerable part of his time teaching school. He resided with his brother William.

4. Frances² Bagley, who married Upton A. Edmundson.

William² Bagley married Phoebe Marshall, daughter of Col. William Marshall of Mecklenburg County. It is said Col. Marshall, after the Revolution, came to Mecklenburg County to manage the Prestwoud estate, for the widow of Sir Peyton Skipwith, but in 1810 emigrated to Kentucky and settled near Henderson.

Colonel Marshall's wife was Lucy Goode, daughter of Bennett Goode, whose wife was Martha Jefferson, aunt of Thomas Jefferson.*

It is further said that William² Bagley and his wife Phoebe went to Kentucky in 1812, but decided not to settle there and returned to Lunenburg County, at the request of his Uncle Dancey McCraw, who had no children, and who promised to leave his estate (he was a large land owner) to his nephew if he would come and live with him and his wife, and take care of them, they then being advanced in years. Thus it was that William² Bagley succeeded to the ownership of a considerable landed property in Lunenburg, near Columbian Grove. He became a prominent citizen of the county, and at one time served as Sheriff of the County, a position of dignity and distinction.

They had:

1. George L.³ Bagley, who married 1st Lucy Adams, daughter of Thomas Adams, a noted early Methodist Minister, and had:
 - (1) Lucy⁴ Bagley, who married E. B. Maddux, of Notoway County, Va.

*Tyler's Quarterly Mag., VII, 214-15.

(2) Cornelia⁴ Bagley, who married Samuel Jefferson, of Augusta, Ga. (presumably), the son of Thomas⁶ Jefferson and Susan L. Hardy. (See Jefferson Genealogy herein.)

George L.³ Bagley, married (2nd) Virginia Sanford, of Brunswick County, Virginia, and had:

(1) Virginia⁴ Bagley, who married Robert L. Bragg, of Lunenburg County, and had:

(a) Dr. Robert L.⁵ Bragg, and several other children.

2. Lucy³ Bagley, who married Sebourn (Seaborn) Cralle, of Lunenburg County, Va., and had four children, all of whom died in early life, leaving no children.

3. William McCraw³ Bagley, who married Ann Gaulding, daughter of John B. Gaulding, of Lunenburg County, Virginia. William McCraw³ Bagley's home was known as Columbian Grove, on Saffold's Road. He was a prominent citizen of the county; farmed on a considerable scale, owned a mill, and was the proprietor of a mercantile establishment. At one time he made a notable demonstration of intensive methods of farming; produced twenty-eight barrels and two bushels of corn upon an acre of ground, and won three prizes, one offered by the *Southern Planter*, one by the Richmond Guano Company, and one by the Avery Plow Works, of Louisville, Kentucky. The contest was open to three states, Virginia, Kentucky and North Carolina. He also produced three thousand pounds of tobacco upon an acre of land, and thirty bushels of wheat on a single acre.

They had (nine children):

(1) William Marshall⁴ Bagley, who married June 27, 1877, Marietta Prudence Williams (b. June 3, 1853, d. June 16, 1926).

For issue see Hardy Genealogy herein.

(2) John G.⁴ Bagley, who married Lina Hawthorn, daughter of Henry C. Hawthorn, of Lunenburg County.

For issue see Hardy Genealogy herein.

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- (3) Nannie⁴ Bagley, who married George E. Smith (Lt. Geo. E. Smith of the account of the Civil War herein), Treasurer of Lunenburg County for many years, Representative in the Legislature, member Board of Supervisors. They had no children. Mr. Smith is dead. Mrs. Smith is living (1926).
 - (4) Helen⁴ Bagley, who married May 6, 1872, Richard Jones Chilton Hatchett (b. Feb. 23, 1851, d. 1885). For issue see Hatchett Genealogy herein.
 - (5) Melville⁴ Bagley (never married).
 - (6) Horace⁴ Bagley, who married Louisa Tolls, of Henderson, Kentucky, where they resided, and had:
 - (a) Annie Alves⁵ Bagley,
 - (b) Louise Helm⁵ Bagley,
 - (c) William⁵ Bagley,
 - (d) John⁵ Bagley,
 - (e) Susan⁵ Bagley.
 - (7) Robert Anderson⁴ Bagley, who married Mamie Bagley (a distant relative) of Salsbury, Maryland, and a relative of Ensign Worth Bagley, killed in the Spanish-American war.

They had:

 - (a) Worth⁵ Bagley,
 - (b) Mamie⁵ Bagley.
 - (8) Thomas Jackson⁴ Bagley, who married Lucy Lee, daughter of the Lunenburg lawyer, Henderson L. Lee. (See Lee Genealogy herein). They had:
 - (a) Thomas⁵ Bagley,
 - (b) Lucy⁵ Bagley.
 - (9) Robert Lee⁴ Bagley, who married (his cousin) Virginia Gaulding, of Lunenburg County, Va. They had:
 - (a) Mildred⁵ Bagley, who married Charles Dupriest.
 - (b) Norwood⁵ Bagley,
 - (c) George⁵ Bagley,
 - (d) Loveline⁵ Bagley,
 - (e) Richard⁵ Bagley,
 - (f) Helen⁵ Bagley,

- (g) Arthur⁵ Bagley,
- (h) Bessie⁵ Bagley,
- (i) Richard⁵ Bagley.

4. Ann Eliza³ Bagley, who married in 1836, Col. Robert Henderson Allen (b. March 17, 1817).
For issue see Allen Genealogy herein.
5. Anderson³ Bagley, moved to Louisiana, when young, and lived on a plantation at Bunche's Bend of the Mississippi. He was a doctor, and during the Civil War had charge of a Confederate Hospital in New Orleans, where during an outbreak of cholera he remained at his post, contracted the disease and died. He married (name of wife not ascertained) and had:
 - (1) Robert⁴ Bagley,
 - (2) Kate⁴ Bagley (who married a Spanish Consul),
 - (3) William⁴ Bagley.

Robert² Bagley, son of Anderson¹ Bagley (name of wife not known), had:

1. Edward G.³ Bagley, who married Julia Trotter, of Brunswick County, Virginia.
2. Dr. Robert S.³ Bagley, who married April, 1851, Susan Stokes (b. Jan. 3, 1832), daughter of Colin Stokes, of Lunenburg County, Virginia.
For issue see Stokes Genealogy herein.

BARRY

The data are not at hand for a genealogy of the Barry family, but any account of those of whom the old Free State is proud would be incomplete without some mention of William Taylor Barry. He was the son of William Barry, a soldier of the Revolutionary War,* whose home was near Meherrin River, not far from Barry's bridge, the name of which in late years has been corrupted into "Berry's Bridge."

*Eighth Annual Report, Library Board and State Librarian (1910-11), 35.

William Taylor Barry was born at this place, in Lunenburg County, February 15, 1784, and with his father removed in 1796 to Kentucky and settled in Jessamine County. There his father became a prosperous farmer. The son was sent back to Virginia to be educated at William and Mary College, from which he graduated in 1803. He studied law and began to practice in Lexington, Kentucky, and thereafter served in both branches of the State Legislature. He was elected as a Democrat to the Eleventh Congress to fill a vacancy caused by the resignation of Benjamin Howard, and served from December 13, 1810, to March 3, 1811. In the War of 1812 he was aid to Governor Shelby, and was present at the battle of the Thames, October 5, 1813.

Subsequently he was elected to the United States Senate to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of George M. Bibb, and served from December 16, 1814, until he resigned in 1816 to become Judge of the Supreme Court of Kentucky. He was elected Lieutenant-Governor of Kentucky, and at another time Secretary of State.

In 1821 he was appointed Professor of Law and Politics, in Transylvania University, Lexington, Kentucky. Later he became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Kentucky, and on March 9, 1829, President Jackson appointed him Postmaster General of the United States, which position he resigned April 10, 1835. He was appointed Minister to Spain, and died August 30, 1835, in Liverpool, England, while on his way to Madrid.

In 1854 the remains of Major Barry (for such was his rank, and the title by which he was usually known), were brought back to his native land from England, and re-interred in the State Cemetery at Frankfort, the Capitol of Kentucky. On the same occasion the remains of two other distinguished men of that state, Ex-Governor Charles Scott, and Major William Ballard, were likewise re-interred. The day was thus a notable one in the annals of Kentucky.

The *Commonwealth*, a newspaper published at Frankfort, at that time, thus describes the event:

“Strangers began to arrive on Tuesday, and on Wednesday morning (November 8, 1854), every avenue leading to our little

city poured in a living stream of humanity. The public square, streets, sidewalks, private houses, were soon swarming with the crowd. Among those present were a great many of Kentucky's noblest sons—men distinguished on the field of battle, and men distinguished in almost every department of public service and of life—in the Executive Chair, in Congress, in the Legislature of the State, upon the bench, at the bar, at the bedside of the sick, in the sacred desk, in the editorial office, in the mercantile pursuits, and in the mechanics arts. Kentucky beauty was well represented in maiden loveliness and matronly grace; and the whole blending together formed an immense concourse of just such men and women as would have swelled the hearts of the honored dead with gratitude and joy, could their mortal eyes have opened upon them."

Governor Powell, in referring to Major Barry, said he was "one of the most accomplished statesmen and gifted and eloquent orators this or any other state or country has produced." He introduced Colonel Theodore O'Hara, author of that noble poem *The Bivouac of the Dead*, who delivered the following address upon the life and character of Major Barry:

FELLOW-CITIZENS: The people of this Commonwealth, through their representatives in the last General Assembly, ordered that the mortal remains of William T. Barry, which had rested in a foreign soil for eighteen years, be brought home to Kentucky, and re-interred with due honors in this Cemetery. In pursuance of that order, His Excellency, the Governor, very appropriately dispatched the only and worthy son of its illustrious subject on the pious mission of recovering his father's remains; and the interesting ceremonies of this day are designed in part to express the formal welcome of Kentucky to those honored ashes of one of her most cherished sons, on their arrival at this their destined abode. To me has been assigned the flattering part in these ceremonies of reciting the customary funeral memento of the illustrious personage I have named; and well may I approach, with a tremulous and almost appalling diffidence, a theme which this grand pageant and these impressive rites themselves announce as one of a most exacting import.

The occasion which has brought us hither today, in its connection with the subject which it is my particular task to treat, is one of an unusual and most exalted interest. Although we shall deposit this venerated relic of one of Kentucky's most illustrious dead in its last resting place, it is yet something more grandly solemn and more sublimely sanctifying than his mere funeral obsequies that we are here to accomplish. We come not with hearts freshly rent by this bereavement, and eyes wet with the recent overflow of grief, to perform the last sad office to a loved and revered fellow-citizen, whose death has just desolated our bosoms and dissolved our manhood with sorrow. No tears are here invoked; no wail of mourning mars the lofty grandeur of these rites. The value of the honors we have come to render, and the glory of him who is their object, are secure from those excessive manifestations which the extravagance of fresh affliction might distort from the just proportion of his worth, and thus offend the dignity of his fame. The tribute we are here to pay is that which a people's cool sense of gratitude and justice, purified by time and separation from the bias of regret, or the partiality of personal attachment, dispassionately renders to exalted merit and appreciated public service. It is the tribute which the imperial power of a genius, undethroned by death, unweakened by the lapse of years, and unsubdued by the captivity of a grave beyond the sea, has exacted from the still devoted subjects of its living sway. It is the tribute which an immortal eloquence, mingling its undying echoes in eternal harmony with her joyous anthem of freedom and peace and happiness, has won from the land which it charmed with melody and fertilized with fame. It is the tribute which a burning patriotism, that glowed like the flaming sword of the Angel before the portal of this Eden of liberty has extorted from the grateful memory of the country which now garners these sacred ashes to her bosom with a rite so devout and so becoming. We are here, in pursuance of the solemn decree of this great Commonwealth, to execute upon these remains, as it were, that consecrating judgment of ancient Egypt, which, upon a severe trial of her greatest worthies after death, and a cold scrutiny of their whole lives, admitted those of spotless fame and of the loftiest worth to the sublime repose of her everlasting pyramids.

Such is the peculiar feature which exalts the grandeur and solemnity of this occasion to an interest and a glory far higher than belong to the ordinary burial of one of our country's distinguished dead. No! This is no funeral pageant in which we have mingled today. It is the triumphal return of an illustrious chieftain of the Commonwealth, whom we have come with tributary ceremonies to welcome home, from his accomplished career of glory, to the proudest recompense of public worth. And may we not boast that our dead hero has marched here to his tomb today in a triumph more glorious than Rome's proudest conqueror ever enjoyed? He brings no spoils of vanquished nations. No trophies of victorious rapine adorn his progress. No fragrant cloud of incense canopies the proud scene; no captive princes swell the pompous spectacle. Yet who will say that the honors of that occasion, where the living and laureled chief, reeking from fields of slaughter, drank the obsequious plaudit of the multitude, can compare with the glory of this purer and loftier triumph which Kentucky has awarded to her dead victor in the bloodless strife of patriotism?

In discharging the task assigned me here, it is not my purpose to attempt a eulogy of the man upon whom his country, in ordaining the honors of this day, has pronounced a panegyric that beggars all the resources of language. I will best perform my office in recalling to your minds the events of that life which forms one of the proudest chapters of your country's history; in spreading before you the record of those patriotic services which claim your liveliest gratitude; in developing to your view the features of that character which challenges your most affectionate regard and remembrance; and in thus attuning your thoughts and emotions to the pitch that will most worthily harmonize with the lofty expression of these sublime ceremonies.

WILLIAM TAYLOR BARRY was born in Lunenburg County, Virginia, on the 15th day of February, 1784. It is enough to say of his ancestry that his father was a soldier of the Revolution, who served with honor through that great struggle. Sprung from loins which the sword of Independence girded, and ushered into life while the shout that proclaimed the triumph of liberty

was reverberating through his birth-land, it may be said that no fairer omens could have set their seal upon his infancy, and marked him for the high destiny which he vindicated. His father having removed to Kentucky in 1796, young BARRY had the benefit of being trained from early boyhood amid those circumstances of pioneer life, so well calculated to develop the noblest energies of our nature, and to give to the character that enduring stamp of freedom, vigor and boldness which forms one of the chief elements of greatness. Early indications of extraordinary capacity, and of that aspiring prowess of soul which betokens genius, determined his father to give him the best advantages of education which he could command; and accordingly, having received the best education that could be obtained at the Kentucky Academy, in Woodford County, and Transylvania University, he entered upon the study of the law under the Hon. James Brown, since Minister to France, finishing his course of studies at the College of William and Mary, in Virginia. Thus prepared for the career which he was destined to pursue with such brilliant success, he established himself at Lexington, in the year 1805, at the age of twenty-one, and entered upon the practice of the law. His instantaneous eminence in his profession is a striking intimation, at that early age, and on the first trial of its powers, of that astonishing capacity and intuitive grasp of genius which he so wonderfully exemplified in the multitude and variety of the public employments he subsequently held, and which bore him always at once, and seemingly without an effort, to the summit of pre-eminence in all. The ability and eloquence displayed in his first essays at the law, gave him rank at once with its ablest veterans, and secured for him, very soon after his admittance to the bar, the appointment of Attorney for the Commonwealth in his circuit, a post in which he won the highest distinction.

With his election to the lower branch of our State Legislature, in 1807—as soon as he was eligible—he commenced that brilliant political career, which, for the number and variety of the positions it embraces, the dramatic rapidity of its advancement and change of scene, the marvelous versatility of talent it indicates, and the extraordinary faculty of popularity which it exhibits, is

altogether unrivalled in the history of any of the numerous eminent men that Kentucky has produced. The distinguished capacity for the legislative service which he signalized during his first session in the House of Representatives, induced the people of Fayette to retain him in that position until his attainment of the requisite age enabled them to promote him to a wider field of usefulness; and accordingly, he served several successive sessions in that body. During this service in the House of Representatives, and subsequently in the Senate of the State, he established perhaps the most brilliant reputation as a State legislator which the annals of our General Assembly exhibit. Stimulated and guided by a fervent patriotism, endued with an instinctive wisdom, and gifted with an impassioned and potent eloquence, he was the powerful advocate of every measure that might best promote the welfare and happiness of the people, and the vigilant and bold champion of every principle essential to the safety, permanency and improvement of our institutions. He was essentially of that class of statesmen to whom mankind are indebted for all they enjoy of happiness resulting from the most enlarged political freedom. He was a reformer—one of those bold philosophers in the field of political science who are not satisfied with what has been already developed and achieved for human liberty and human happiness, and whose noble faith shrinks not from experiment from that craven fear of innovation which marks inferior minds. Much of the sagacious and salutary views of State policy which he promulgated while in our Legislature constitute the oracle with whose borrowed wisdom many of our subsequent politicians have made their reputations. His excellent report upon the subject of a system of public education is a signal example of this truth. All of the most wholesome and approved counsels that have since been taken in our State on that important question, as well as all the best essays of later statesmen upon it, are but a diffusion of the lights contained in that admirable monument of statesmanship. Nor is it the least that may be recollected to the credit of his achievements as a Kentucky statesman, that we are indebted to him, in a great degree, for the establishment and encouragement of most of those institutions of public charity, as well as of learning, which mark the enlightened civilization of our noble Commonwealth.

The high appreciation with which the people estimated the eminent ability and capacity for the public service which MR. BARRY had so early displayed, was manifested by his election in 1810, without opposition—on the occurrence of the first vacancy in his district after he had become eligible—to a seat in the House of Representatives of the United States. Although he served but a short time in that body—having declined a reelection on the expiration of his term—he yet had time to vindicate his title to the first rank of statesmen and orators, and to signalize that ardent patriotism which was the animating principle of his great powers.

The nation was then in the abyss of that gloomy crisis, when, yet in her infancy, and slow to resentment from conscious weakness, she was groaning under the ruthless load of those insults and outrages by which Great Britain finally goaded her into the war of 1812; when pusillanimous counsels fettered the arm of vengeance; when sectional selfishness and the bigotry of party opposed a relentless obstacle to that indignant sentiment that burned to redress the national honor; and when all the energies of patriotism were demanded to prepare the public mind, and the resources of the country, for the second struggle for Independence. In that critical juncture, so well calculated to “try the souls of men,” no lips more burningly than the bold and ardent BARRY’S poured forth from the halls of Congress the fiery stream of patriotism, no voice more zealously or effectively than his assisted to kindle that spirit which, in the bloody lessons of Chalmette and the Thames, taught proud Britain “the might that slumbers in a freeman’s arm.” After the war was declared, and when the same unworthy opposition strove, by every means in their power, to thwart and embarrass its prosecution, the same devoted patriot bent all his great powers to support it to an honorable and glorious termination. Though not then in Congress, his voice was continually heard here at home, rousing the people of Kentucky to “their dearest action” in defence of the national honor, and counselling the most efficient measures to make her arm felt against the common enemy.

Nor was his patriotism satisfied with the powerful service which he rendered the cause by his eloquent advocacy and zealous

counsels. When the mournful disaster of the Raisin—in which the blossom of Kentucky's chivalry was cropped in so cruel a sacrifice—called the glorious old Shelby to retrieve the Northwestern frontier, MR. BARRY accompanied him to the field in the capacity of an aide-de-camp; and, where death was busiest on the bloody day of the Thames, he approved by deeds of noble daring that devotion to country which had so often blazed in the burning torrents of his eloquence.

When the campaign of 1813 in the Northwest closed with the complete defeat of the British in that quarter, MR. BARRY returned home to resume his civic pursuits, with a new and livelier claim upon the admiration and gratitude of his countrymen, acquired by heroic self-devotion amid the severe duties of the camp and the stern perils of the battlefield. His admiring fellow-citizens of Fayette testified their sense of his meritorious services in the campaign by returning him again, at the first election, to the lower branch of the State Legislature; and the high place which his distinguished career in peace and war had won for him in the general esteem was evinced by his election as the Speaker of that body, and further by his promotion from that position, at an early period of the session, to a seat in the Senate of the United States. It is perhaps to be regretted, for the perfection of his public history, that he did not remain in that position longer than he did; as, with endowments that certainly made him the peer in capacity of the greatest lights that have illustrated that august council, he would also, had he continued there, without doubt, have become their peer in national renown. But those tender claims which, with the noble and magnanimous heart, are stronger than the lust of ambition or the temptation of genius, called him down, after two years of service, from that congenial eminence; and, after having attained with giant strides and eagle swiftness almost the pinnacle of political advancement in this nation, he relinquished his high career in order to provide for the necessities of his family.

He now devoted himself particularly to the practice of his profession; and, in the continual encounter, during the several succeeding years, with that famous band of forensic gladiators who made the bar of Kentucky at that day the most brilliant

arena of legal ability and eloquence in America, he won that distinction which is generally accorded him, of having been the greatest advocate that Kentucky has ever produced.

The great abilities which he thus continued to display before the country rendered it, however, impossible for him to adhere to his purpose to devote himself exclusively, for a time, to his private affairs. Continually suggesting his eminent fitness for the public service, they served to increase the desire of the people for their employment in the public affairs; and he was constrained, in consequence, to submit to a partial sacrifice of his private interests in accepting a seat in the Senate of the State. I have already alluded to his distinguished service in that position, which, however, he resigned, before the expiration of his term, upon the occasion of being appointed a Circuit Judge, which post he also resigned, after a short time, in order to resume again the practice of his profession.

But the insatiable appreciation of his fellow-citizens would not still allow him to withhold his great talents from their service. In 1820 the political party to which he belonged, desiring to avail themselves of his great eloquence and popularity, nominated him on their ticket for Lieutenant Governor. Regarding it ever as the duty of a good citizen, and the part of a patriot, to obey every call of his country, he undertook the candidature, and the ticket was triumphantly elected.

He discharged the duties of presiding officer of the Senate of Kentucky in a manner to add to his already high column of reputation as a public servant, whilst he employed the intervals between the legislative sessions in winning the highest prizes of professional success at the bar. During a portion of this period, also, he filled the chair of Professor of Law in Transylvania University, and many of our most distinguished lawyers and statesmen of the present day caught their inspiration from his oracular mind, and are the living monuments of his learning.

At the succeeding election for Governor, he was strongly urged by his political friends to consent to a nomination for that office, but begged them, in view of the necessities of his private affairs, to dispense with his services for that occasion. He was constrained, however, by the irresistible solicitations of his party,

to give them the benefit of his able counsels and active service under the new administration, which was cast upon a most tumultuous period in the history of our State; and accordingly he accepted the office of Secretary of State under Governor Desha.

That memorable contest on the questions of Relief and the Old and New Courts, which so fearfully agitated this Commonwealth, and in which MR. BARRY took a leading part, had arisen in the meantime, and was now at the height of its fury. On the one hand the people of Kentucky, agonizing under a most calamitous financial pressure, were crying aloud in a voice of keen distress for some measure of relief; on the other, an unbending judiciary, repulsing legislative interposition between the indebted and their creditors, ordered that the pound of flesh be paid, even though it should draw with it the vital blood. In such an issue it was natural that the generous-hearted BARRY, whose bosom swelled with the largest humanity, and whose every impulse throbbed in sympathy with the people, should espouse the cause that proposed to alleviate their sufferings. It is not for me to discuss the merits of that celebrated contest, nor does the fame of the illustrious man, whose public history I am tracing, require any apology for the part he bore in it—even were it true that he had, in the fullness of his sympathy with his suffering fellow-citizens, for once lost sight of a clear principle of constitutional law or wise policy. But the principles involved in that controversy were such as wise men would differ upon equally much at this day, and, although the people of Kentucky finally decided against the views which MR. BARRY maintained in relation to them, may it not still be doubted if these opinions were erroneous, which were held in common with such luminaries of jurisprudence, statesmanship and patriotism as Rowan, Bibb, Sharp, Haggin, Bledsoe, and the like?

The New Court party being triumphant in the State, and the old Court of Appeals being legislated out by the emphatic command of the people at the polls, when a new Court came to be organized, MR. BARRY was at once suggested, in view of his superior abilities and pre-eminent standing, for the position of Chief Justice. He here gave perhaps the most remarkable proof

of his astonishing genius, in exhibiting at once that familiar and profound knowledge of the law, in all its ample and recondite learning, which is usually only attained by great jurists through a lifetime of undivided application. Hurried onward, as he had been, from the very outset of his life, in a career of the most rapid and unceasing advancement and change of situation, through a more variegated series of employments and public trusts; involved in a constant and active connection with politics; pre-eminent as a legislator, orator, advocate, senator, soldier, and executive officer—that he should also, on taking his seat on the bench of one of the most distinguished tribunals in the nation, have shown himself at once completely and eminently equal to all its exigencies, is certainly one of the most prodigious manifestations of the power of a great mind that has ever been witnessed in this Commonwealth, fruitful as it has been in great capacities.

The fierce contest between the Old and New Court parties, after having violently convulsed the State for several years, terminated, at length, however, in the reversal by the people of that decision which had given ascendancy for some time to the party of the New Court; and one of those irresistible re-actions, which so frequently mark the restless energies of the popular mind, involved this party in an overwhelming defeat. The old order of things was restored, and the Court question was an extinguished volcano, whose surviving fires, nevertheless, served to impart a fiercer heat to a new strife which had broken out in the meantime, and in which they mingled and merged—the exciting struggle which grew out of the casting of the vote of Kentucky by her Representatives in Congress for John Quincy Adams for President in 1825. In that contest the Old and New Court parties respectively identified themselves with the Adams and Clay party and the Jackson party, and MR. BARRY became the leader of the latter, as Mr. Clay was of the former. MR. BARRY'S party was thus at the disadvantage of lying under the pressure of the recent disastrous defeat which it had suffered on the Court question, and against it was arrayed all the influence of that great man to whom Kentucky has shown a more passionate and enduring devotion than to any other. The struggle for the election of a Governor came on in 1828, and the Jackson party nominated

MR. BARRY as their candidate, while the candidate of the Clay and Adams party was Mr. Metcalfe, a veteran Representative in Congress, and a very popular man. The history and results of that contest furnish the most signal exemplification of the immense intellectual and moral resources of MR. BARRY. His career on that occasion somewhat resembles that unparalleled rally of the great Napoleon, when, from the very depth of discomfiture on the isle of Elba, he was enabled, by the magic of his imperial genius, within the short space of an hundred days, to confront the hosts of combined Europe, and to come within a mere accident of conquering them. MR. BARRY took the field against a triumphant and powerful adversary, burdened with the late severe defeat of his party, and bearing all the odium of his own prominence in the Court controversy; yet such was the potency of his eloquence, the weight of his character, and the strength of his hold upon the affections and confidence of the people of Kentucky, that, in spite of all the disadvantages which he had to buffet with, he was only beaten by seven hundred votes. This was certainly in itself a great triumph, but it is not the extent of the triumph he achieved. He had by his powerful canvass of the State so turned and directed the tide of popular sentiment, that although the gubernatorial election occurred too soon to give himself the benefit of the re-action, the effect of that canvass contributed, in the greatest measure, to give the vote of Kentucky to the candidate of his party for the presidency—General Jackson—the ensuing November, by eight thousand majority.

Here ended the career of this illustrious patriot in connection with the immediate politics of Kentucky—a career, from its commencement to its close, and through all its changeful and exciting vicissitudes, marked by all those high characteristics of mind and soul which constitute true greatness, and give the most imposing claim to the admiration, the gratitude, and the affectionate remembrance of his countrymen. The remainder of his life is associated with the history of the National Government.

On his accession to the Presidency, General Jackson—with that discerning appreciation of the most available ability and worth in his party which characterized him—called MR. BARRY

into his cabinet to the position of Postmaster General. Here, as one of the most distinguished of the council of Jackson, during the greater part of his incumbency, he is entitled to his full share of the fame of that glorious administration. His health, however, failing him under the wasting labors of the toilsome department over which he presided, he was forced to relinquish it before the administration terminated; and General Jackson, unwilling entirely to lose the benefit of his able services, appointed him, in 1835, Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to Spain, a post in which, while its dignity did not disparage his civil rank, it was hoped that the lightness of the duties, and the influence of a genial climate, might serve to renovate his impaired health. But it was otherwise ordained above. He had reached Liverpool on the way to his mission, when the great conqueror, at whose summons the strongest manhood, the noblest virtue, the proudest genius, and the brightest wisdom must surrender, arrested his earthly career on the 30th of August, 1835; and here is all that is left to us of the patriot, the orator, the hero, the statesman, the sage—the rest belongs to Heaven and to fame.

Such, fellow-citizens, is a most cursory and feeble memento of the life and public services of the illustrious man in whose memory Kentucky has decreed the solemn honors of this day. It is well for her that she has felt "the late remorse of love," and reclaimed these precious ashes to her heart, after they have slumbered so many years unsepulchred in a foreign land; that no guilty consciousness of unworthy neglect may weigh upon her spirit, and depress her proud front with shame; that no reproaching echo of that eloquent voice that once so sweetly thrilled her, pealing back upon her soul amidst her prideful recollections of the past, may appal her in her feast of memory, and blast her revel of glory; that no avenging muse, standing among the shrines of her departed greatness, and searching in vain for that which should mark her remembrance of one she should so devoutly hallow, shall have reason to sing of her as she has sung

"Ungrateful Florence! Dante sleeps afar;
And Scipio, buried by the upbraiding shore."

Here, beneath the sunshine of the land he loved, and amid the scenes which he consecrated with his genius, he will sleep well. Sadly, yet proudly will his fond foster-mother receive within her bosom today this cherished remnant of the child she nursed for fame; doubly endeared to her, as he expired far away in a strange land, beyond the reach of her maternal embrace, and with no kindred eyes to light the gathering darkness of death, no friendly hand to soften his descent to the grave, no pious orisons to speed his spirit on its long journey through eternity. Gently, reverently let us lay him in this proud tabernacle, where he will dwell embalmed in glory till the last trump shall reveal him to us all radiant with the halo of his life. Let the Autumn's wind harp on the dropping leaves her softest requiem over him; let the Winter's purest snows rest spotless on his grave; let Spring entwine her brightest garland for his tomb, and Summer gild it with her mildest sunshine. Here let the marble minstrel rise to sing to the future generations of the Commonwealth the inspiring lay of his high genius and his lofty deeds. Here let the patriot repair when doubts and dangers may encompass him, and he would learn the path of duty and of safety—an oracle will inhabit these sacred graves, whose responses will replenish him with wisdom, and point him the way to virtuous renown. Let the ingenious youth who pants for the glories of the forum, and "the applause of listening Senates," come hither to tune his soul by those immortal echoes that will forever breathe about this spot and make its silence vocal with eloquence. And here too let the soldier of liberty come, when the insolent invader may profane the sanctuary of freedom—here by this holy altar may he fitly devote to the infernal gods the enemies of this country and of liberty.

We will now leave our departed patriot to his sleep of glory. And let no tear moisten the turf that shall wrap his ashes. Let no sound of mourning disturb the majestic solitude of his grand repose. He claims no tribute of sorrow. His body returns to its mother earth, his spirit dwells in the Elysian domain of God, and his deeds are written on the roll of Fame.

"Let none dare mourn for him."

Thus did Kentucky honor the poor Lunenburg boy, who at twelve years of age, trod the long Wilderness Trail to seek his fortune beyond the mountains.

Captain Cornelius Tacitus Allen no doubt spoke the literal truth when he declared, "Major Barry was beyond all question the ablest, the most distinguished and most accomplished son of Lunenburg."

BELL

The Bells who came direct from England to Virginia, as distinguished from certain of the Scotch-Irish immigrants, who came later, are among the earliest of the Virginia Colonists.

Thomas Bell, age 17, embarked for Virginia June 6, 1635, in the *Thomas & John*,* and sailed from Gravesend after being examined by the Minister concerning his conformity to the orders and discipline of the Church of England, and after taking the oath of allegiance.

Among those who came over in this ship were:

Wm. Bett,	Samuel Walden,
Richard Jones,	Jane Catesby,
Thomas Mann,	Wm. Mann,
Zachary Taylor,	Griffin Jones,
Edward Coles,	Wm. Jones,
Edward Mountfort [Montfort],	William White,
Tho. Allin [Allen],	Wm. Dixon.

This list is interesting as containing, in all probability, the ancestors of several Lunenburg and Southside families.

John Bell, age 30, embarked for Virginia, August 10, 1635, in the *Safety*,† and another John Bell, age 21, embarked for Virginia in the *George*, August 21, 1635.‡

The immediate descendants of these immigrants are not known, nor can it be affirmed with certainty that the Bells whose descent is traced below from David Bell of St. Peter's Parish, are descended from any of them. It is highly probable that they so descend, but in the present state of knowledge of the subject, it

**Hotten*, p. 83.

†*Id.* 122.

‡*Id.* 124.

cannot be affirmed as an established fact. The parents of David Bell, of St. Peter's Parish, New Kent County, are not known.

David¹ Bell, of St. Peter's Parish, New Kent County, Virginia, is the earliest progenitor of the Lunenburg Bells, definitely established, in the present state of investigation of the family genealogy.

St. Peter's Parish Register has an entry of the birth of a daughter, but owing to some mutilation of the old manuscript the name of the daughter is missing. The following entry appears on page 2: "_____ daughter of David Bell born 2 Jany., _____," and the twenty-first entry following is as follows: "_____ of David Bell bapt. ye 21 May, 1704." The entry of the birth of the daughter is followed a few lines below by entries of several births in 1697. His wife's name was Bethea.

David² Bell (b. 1698, bap. July 10, 1698), was the son of David and Bethea Bell of New Kent County. The entry of him in St. Peter's Parish Register (p. 7), is as follows: "David son of David and Bethea Bell, bap. the 10 July, 1698."

His wife's name was Mary, as we learn from his will, but when and where he married is not known.

He seems to have moved to Hanover County and then to Goochland County, where he died. His will is dated April 26, 1744, O. S. and was proved in Goochland County Court, January 15, 1744, N. S.

By this will he disposes of various items of property, including four hundred acres of land "in Goochland County I now live on" to his son James Bell. He also gave James certain personal property in Hanover. Among these were one thousand ten penny nails and one thousand eight penny nails. Also "one Bible that was left me by my father Bell which is in New Kent."

He gives certain property to his "loveing wife Mary Bell," a horse and cow given her he describes as those that "come out of Hanover."

He directs that certain items be paid his three sons, David, George and John, "when they come to age."

He gives certain property to his daughter Ann Bell, and certain to his daughter Elizabeth Bell.

One provision of his will is as follows: "I give to my two sons David and George three hundred and thirty acres of land which is my new sirvey beginning at my loer eand of my old one to be equally divided between them."

He gives his son David one iron pot now in Hanover, and he gives to his son John "one hundred and forty acres of land lieing in New Kent County and my will and desire is that my son John have benefit of the plantation after the death of my sister till he is possessed with the same."

He also gives to the "Lad John Smith," certain personal property, and disposes of certain hides in tan in Hanover, and gives equally to his wife and children "my part of my father's estate."

He appoints his brother George Bell, his wife Mary Bell, and son James Bell, his executors.

David² Bell lived in that part of Goochland County which was cut off into Cumberland County in 1749. This is shown by several circumstances, but sufficiently by the fact that the land left David and George Bell jointly was in that county. By deed dated August 18, 1773, George Bell of Prince Edward County, Virginia, conveyed to "Martha Jefferson,* Elizabeth Eppes, and Ann Skipwith, daughters and devisees of John Wayles, deceased,"

"One tract or parcel of land situate lying and being upon Great Guinea in the County of Cumberland and is one moiety or half of a tract of land left by David Bell Senr. late of the County of Goochland to his sons David Bell, Junr. and George Bell and upon the death of David Bell, Junr. his moiety or half descended to James Bell as heir at law and was by the said James Bell sold unto them the said Martha Jefferson, Elizabeth Eppes and Ann Skipwith before any division was made between the said James Bell and George Bell, the whole tract contained three hundred and thirty acres more or less, therefore the tract sold by these presents containeth one hundred and sixty five acres more or less."†

George³ Bell (b. Jan. 3, 1740, d. 1816), (David,² David¹),

*This was the wife of Thomas Jefferson.

†Cumberland County, Va., D. B. 5, pages 194-5.

married 1773, Rebecca Calhoun (b. 1753, d. 1822),* daughter or sister of Adam Calhoun.

George Bell settled the place in Prince Edward County known as *Bell View*. This was evidently the tract of land which he purchased from Gideon Freeman of Amelia County, in 1771. By deed dated February 9, 1771, Gideon Freeman, of Amelia County, conveyed to George Bell, of Prince Edward County, a "tract or parcel of land containing two hundred and thirty five acres lying and being in the County of Prince Edward, bounded as followeth, viz: beginning at a bounded white oak standing on James Carter's line, thence North 13° West one hundred & fifty two poles to a white oak standing on Adam Calhoun's line, thence North 86° West 82 poles to a white oak standing on the top of a hill, thence S. 60° West fifty four poles to a red oak, thence South 65° West 118 poles to a hickory standing on John Biggar's line, thence S. 10° West one hundred and seventy five poles to a hickory standing on the said John Biggar's line, N. 83°, East three hundred and nine poles to the beginning."

This tract of land it will be observed, was adjoining to the place where Adam Calhoun lived. Two years after purchasing the place he married Rebecca Calhoun, Adam Calhoun's daughter. (Some think his wife was the sister instead of the daughter of Adam Calhoun.)

They had the following children:

1. Elizabeth⁴ Bell (b. Nov. 3, 1775),
2. James⁴ Bell (b. Nov. 23, 1776),
3. David⁴ Bell (b. Feb. 3, 1779).
4. Adam⁴ Bell (b. May 13, 1780).
5. George W.⁴ Bell (b. Feb. 8, 1782),
6. John⁴ Bell (b. July 29, 1783),
7. Violet⁴ Bell (b. Sept. 5, 1785),

*The specific dates of George Bell's birth and of his marriage to Rebecca (Rebekah) Calhoun, and the dates of her birth and death are from the manuscript (letter) of Nathan Adam Bell, of Darlington Heights, Prince Edward County, Va., July 26, 1912.

8. Nathan⁴ Bell (b. June 6, 1788),

9. William Calhoun⁴ Bell (b. March 20, 1790).*

Elizabeth⁴ Bell (b. Nov. 3, 1775, d. 1856), (George,³ David,² David¹), married ——— Daniel.

Issue:

A daughter,⁵ who married B. W. Womack.

Children (six):

1. Elizabeth D.⁶ Womack,
2. Violet Jane⁶ Womack,
3. James W.⁶ Womack,
4. William D.⁶ Womack,

*The foregoing record Nathan Adam Bell writes, July 26, 1912, he took from "Elizabeth's Bible," that is to say, from the Bible of Elizabeth Daniel, the daughter of George Bell.

George Bell's will, dated June 12, 1815, and probated Nov. 18, 1816 (Will Book 5, page 135, Prince Edward County, Virginia), mentions all these children. It indicates that Elizabeth Daniel, his daughter, was a widow at the time he made a codicil Feb. 29, 1816. In addition to these children the will also mentions his grandson, George I. Bell, but does not indicate which son was his father. He mentions also his grandson, George W. Bell, son of D. Bell. He mentions his daughter Velette (Violet) Daniel, indicating that both his daughters married husbands named Daniel. He mentions his grandson, George B. Daniel, but does not indicate whether he was the son of Elizabeth or Violet.

George Bell in his lifetime seems to have acquired considerable property. The records of Prince Edward County, Virginia, show that in 1771 he acquired from Gideon Freeman 235 acres of land (D. B. 4, p. 66); in 1790 from Samuel Stanhope Smith (the first president of Hampden-Sidney College), of Princeton, N. J., 650 acres of land on both sides of Briery River (D. B. 8, p. 312); in 1797 from Thomas Jones 347 acres (D. B. 11, p. 62); in 1799 from Thomas Owen 338 acres (D. B. 11, p. 297); in 1799 from John Nelson 200 acres (D. B. 12, p. 49); in 1800 from James Dixon 400 acres (D. B. 12, p. 3); in 1801 from Richard Jones 497 acres (D. B. 12, p. 19); in 1801 from John Allen, Sr., 330 acres (D. B. 12, p. 152); in 1802 from John Allen, Sr., 303 acres (D. B. 12, p. 280); and in 1805 from Archer Womack 358 acres (D. B. 13, p. 322).

During this time he conveyed in 1795 to Adam Calhoun 235 acres (D. B. 10, p. 308); in 1807 to Adam Bell 747 acres (D. B. 14, p. 66), and to George W. Bell 358 acres (D. B. 14, p. 64).

It would appear therefore that he had something more than three thousand acres of land after accounting for that conveyed away. His will shows that he had settled several of his children on various of these lands in his lifetime, and he gives these lands to them by his will. His will also disposes of forty slaves to his wife and children.

The appraisal of his personal property (Prince Edward Co. Will Book 5, page 343-4-5), shows his personal property was of the value of 5,023 pounds.

5. Benjamin A⁶. Womack,
6. Nathan B.⁶ Womack.*

James⁴ Bell (b. Nov. 23, 1776), (George,³ David,² David¹).
(Note: Descendants not traced.)

David⁴ Bell (b. Feb. 3, 1779, d. Nov. 15, 1836), (George,³ David,² David¹), married November 29, 1804, Elizabeth C. Davis (b. July 18, 1786, d. Aug. 16, 1852),† daughter of Nicholas Davis.‡

David⁴ Bell was born at Bell View, in Prince Edward County, Virginia, the home of his father George Bell. On November 3, 1806, his father and mother, George and Rebecca Bell, conveyed him a tract of land on Little Roanoke River, in Charlotte County, Virginia (Charlotte Co. D. B. 11, page 19), and he died in that county. His will was dated October 28, 1836, and was probated December 5, 1836, and is of record in Charlotte County Will Book 8, page 43. It was witnessed by Henry Carrington and

*Elizabeth Daniel's will was dated April 1, 1856, and probated Sept. 15, 1856. It is recorded in Prince Edward County, Va., in Will Book 10, page 288. It mentions all of these grandchildren.

†The original marriage bond, preserved in the clerk's office of Prince Edward County, Va., is as follows:

"Know all men by these presents, that we David Bell and Nicholas Davis are held and firmly bound into his excellency John Page Esquire, Governor or Chief Magistrate of the Commonwealth of Virginia, in the just and full sum of one hundred and fifty dollars, to which payment well and truly to be made to our said governor or his successors, for the use of the said Commonwealth, we bind ourselves, our heirs, executors and administrators, jointly and severally, and firmly by these presents.

"Sealed with our seals and dated this 19th day of November, 1804.

"The condition of the above obligation is such that whereas there is a marriage shortly intended to be had and solemnized between the above bound David Bell and Elizabeth Davis, spinster, daughter of Nicholas Davis.

"If therefore there be no lawful cause to obstruct the said marriage then the above obligation to be void, or else to remain in full force and virtue.

DAVID BELL (Seal)
NICHOLAS DAVIS (Seal)

"Executed in presence of
F. WATKINS, C."

‡The wife of Nicholas Davis was named Lucy. Last name not established. Nicholas Davis was First Lieut. in the Company of Militia of Prince Edward County commanded by Captain Williamson Bird. He qualified at Prince Edward County Court, May 17, 1779.

William D. Bell. He names as his executors "my brother William C. Bell and my son George W. Bell."

The will mentions "my beloved wife,"

"My younger sons James T. Bell and Adam W. Bell,

"My two elder sons George W. and John D. Bell,

"My daughter Elvira N.,

"My daughter Ann E. D.,

"My daughter Lucy R.,

"My daughter Pauline L.,

"My daughter Sarah E.,

"My brother Adam Bell,"

and mentions "a legacy of \$100.00 given by my brother Adam Bell to my son Adam W."

Nicholas Davis, the father of Elizabeth C. Davis, David Bell's wife, was born (about) 1750, and died in 1818. His will was dated August 20, 1818, and probated September 7, 1818 (Charlotte County Will Book 4, p. 204).

The children of David⁴ and Elizabeth C. (Davis) Bell, were as follows:

1. Elvira Nicholas⁵ Bell (b. Dec. 4, 1806), married November 29, 1827, Edward M. Ligon.*

They emigrated to Tipton County, Tenn., sometime before 1860.†

The David Bell Bible records the birth of the following children:

David Thomas⁶ Ligon (b. Sept. 15, 1829),

John Booker⁶ Ligon (b. April 17, 1832),

Lucy Ann⁶ Ligon (b. November 4, 1833),

William Floyd⁶ Ligon (b. Sept. 4, 1835).

2. George Washington⁵ Bell (b. Dec. 31, 1808).

(Note: He is said to have left a daughter and granddaughter living in Prince Edward County, Va., and to have numerous descendants residing in Richmond, Va. On August 4, 1912, his nephew, the late David Thomas Bell, son of John Davis Bell, stated that he removed to Georgia between ten and twenty years prior to the Civil War, and was lost sight of by his Virginia relatives.)

*David Bell's family Bible.

†Statement of David T. Bell, nephew of Elvira Nicholas Bell, son of John Davis Bell, Aug. 4, 1912, to the writer. This trip was made over land from Virginia to Tennessee in wagons.

3. John Davis⁵ Bell (b. June 19, 1810, in Charlotte County, Virginia, d. Dec. 21, 1891, in Lunenburg County, Virginia), (David,⁴ George,³ David,² David¹). He lived on Bell's Branch of Mason's Creek about three quarters of a mile north of the place marked "Garland" on the Jed Hotchkiss map of Lunenburg of 1871. This plantation adjoined and was north of the plantation "Wilburn" owned by his son Isaac Bonaparte Bell,—"Wilburn" being the name given the old Garland Homestead by the Bells. He is buried on the farm where he lived and died. He was twice married. He married first, August 13, 1839, Susan Frances Williamson Davis* of Charlotte County, Va., and second, June 10, 1856, Mary Frances Keeton, daughter of Captain Thomas Keeton, of Lunenburg County, Va.

As to the first marriage: J. C. Carrington, Clerk of Charlotte County, writes May 15, 1913. "I don't find the marriage bond of John D. Bell, so am sending you a certificate of the marriage as appears upon the marriage register."

The certificate is as follows:

"State of Virginia:

Charlotte County, To-wit:

"I, J. C. Carrington, Clerk of the Circuit Court of Charlotte County, in the State of Virginia, do hereby certify that the Marriage Register of said county shows that John D. Bell and Susan F. Davis were married on August 1st, 1839, by the Rev. E. W. Roach.

"Given under my hand this 15th day of May, 1913.

J. C. Carrington

Clerk of Charlotte Circuit Court."

John Davis Bell's family Bible contains the entry: "John Davis Bell and Susan Frances Williamson Davis were married August 13th, 1839." The discrepancy between the dates is likely accounted for by a clerical

*For her ancestry see *Davis Genealogy* and *Williamson Genealogy*.

error in the copyist who made the entry in the Marriage Register.

John Davis Bell and his first wife were first cousins. His mother was Elizabeth C. Davis, daughter of Nicholas Davis, and Susan Frances Williamson Davis was the daughter of Stephen Davis, a brother of Elizabeth C. Davis.

The children of John Davis⁵ Bell, and Susan Frances Williamson Davis were:

Frank Nathaniel⁶ Bell (b. March 20, 1841). He was a soldier in the Civil War; entered the war from Lunenburg County, Va., in Co. C (Captain David R. Stokes' Company) of the Twentieth Regiment of Virginia Volunteers. Captured at the battle of Rich Mountain and paroled. After the war he married in Kentucky, and settled there. He had two children, a son and a daughter: son, Benj. Andrew Jackson⁷ Bell (died in infancy); dau. Basha⁷ Bell, married John Bell (of Kentucky).

Nannie Elizabeth⁶ Bell (b. April 22nd, 1843, d. October 22, 1884), married April 7, 1880, Benjamin J. Jones.*

They had one child Lelia Ada⁷ Jones (b. May 10, 1881), now the wife of Dr. William Chappel Flake, of Richmond, Virginia. Dr. Flake was born Oct. 9, 1880. They were married Oct. 14, 1904. Their children are:

Carlyle Gregory⁸ Flake (b. Sept. 22, 1905),

William Chappel⁸ Flake (b. Nov. 5, 1908),

Katherine Ida⁸ Flake (b. June 25, 1911).

David Thomas⁶ Bell (b. March 12, 1845, Confederate soldier).

Married December 18, 1867, Maria Louise Crowder (b. May 1, 1840, d. June 3, 1903), dau. of Green Crowder of Mecklenburg County, Va.

*She was his second wife. His first wife was Mary Edwards Astrop (b. 1854, d. 1878), married in N. C. in 1872. By the first marriage he had one child, Mary Jones (now 1927), the wife of Aurelius Wilson Bohannon (b. 1878) of Surry County, Virginia.

The father of Mary Edwards Astrop was Robert Francis Astrop (d. circa 1866), Lt. in the Mexican War, and Colonel of Militia, who published a volume of poems in 1835; he married Narcissa Bowen (d. circa 1865), of North Carolina.

They had:

Rosa Lee⁷ Bell (b. June 12, 1869), married Walter Cook (of England), living in Seattle, Wash., 1910.

Children: Three, only one living Aug. 4, 1912.

First child died at birth.

Virginia⁸ Cook (living 1912),

Earl Hampton⁸ Cook (d. Feb. 22, 1911).

Eddie W.⁷ Bell (b. March 7, 1873, living 1926).

Married Gertie Gee.

Children:

Eddie Lewis⁸ ("Dewey") Bell,

Lillian Gertrude⁸ Bell,

Jamie Louise⁸ Bell,

Morris Harold⁸ Bell,

Maude Bruce⁸ Bell.

Lucy Ainslie⁷ Bell

Married James Hamlin Hazlewood (dead).

Children:

David Thomas⁸ Hazlewood (b. Sept. 4, 1910),

James Hamlin⁸ Hazlewood, Jr. (b. Oct. 26, 1911),
and others.

Isaac Bonaparte⁶ Bell (b. August 7, 1847, d. July 23, 1919, at the home of his son, Walton E. Bell, in Lunenburg Co., Va.), attorney at law, and Confederate soldier in the Company of Captain William Henry Stokes (Company K), in the First Regiment of Virginia Reserves. Married November 28, 1877, in Dinwiddie County, Virginia, Etta Wilburn Hardy (b. Nov. 24, 1859, d. March 19, 1916, at the home of her son Landon C. Bell, in Columbus, Ohio). Buried at Wilburn. Daughter of John Covington and Sarah Anne (Boswell) Hardy. (See Hardy Genealogy). Resided at *Wilburn*, Lunenburg County, Virginia, all their married life, and are buried there.

They had thirteen children:

1. Walton Elliott⁷ Bell (b. Sept. 23, 1878). Farmer; resides at Wilburn, Lunenburg Co., Va.

Married Sept. 16, 1908, Ethel Arvin (b. April 29, 1880), daughter of Thomas J. Arvin, of Lunenburg Co., Va.

They had:

Walton Elliott⁸ Bell, Jr. (b. Oct. 11, 1909),
Arvin Bonaparte⁸ Bell (b. Sept. 5, 1911),
Simeon Marshall⁸ Bell (b. Oct. 17, 1914),
Eleanor Wilburn⁸ Bell (b. Jan. 23, 1920).

2. Landon Covington⁷ Bell (b. September 14, 1880), Ph. B. and M. A. Milligan College, 1900. B. L. U. Va. 1902, attorney. Resides in Columbus, Ohio; married October 19, 1912, in Asheville, N. C., Mary Walden Williamson (b. July 29, 1890), dau. of John Alexander Galt and Mary Henry (Walden) Williamson. (See Williamson Genealogy.)

They had:

Mary Walden⁸ Bell (b. Jan. 25, 1914),
Landon Covington⁸ Bell, Jr. (b. May 8, 1915),
Hardy Winston⁸ Bell (b. Oct. 16, 1916, d. July 23, 1922),
John Williamson⁸ Bell (b. July 5, 1918),
William Ritter⁸ Bell (b. Nov. 26, 1919),
Robert Johnson⁸ Bell (b. Nov. 30, 1921),
James Hardy⁸ Bell (b. March 24, 1925).

3. Isaac Washington⁷ Bell (b. June 21, 1882), of Lunenburg Co., Va., now (1926) residing in Altavista, Va., married Dec. 21, 1905, Ossie M. Harding (b. Dec. 11, 1882), of Lunenburg Co., Va., daughter of Samuel Anderson (b. Aug. 5, 1861), and Thaddenia (Price) Harding (b. March 19, 1861); married Jan. 9, 1882.

They had:

Isaac Bonaparte⁸ Bell, Jr. (b. Sept. 7, 1907),
Samuel Dennis⁸ Bell (b. Dec. 18, 1908),
Bennett Carlyle⁸ Bell (b. May 17, 1910).

4. Berta Lou⁷ Bell (b. Sept. 19, 1884, d. June 26, 1885).

5. Annie Wilburn⁷ Bell (b. Dec. 5, 1885), educated at Blackstone Female Institute, and D. O. of American School of Osteopathy, Kirksville, Mo., now (1926) residing in Asheville, N. C. Note: died Jan. 4, 1927.
6. Haney Hardy⁷ Bell (b. Dec. 26, 1887), B. A. (1909) Virginia Christian College, Lynchburg, Va., D. O. (1912) American School of Osteopathy, Kirksville, Mo. Residing at Petersburg, Va. Married Oct. 7, 1916, Martha Lee Morriss (b. Jan. 30, 1888), daughter of James Tollison Morriss, Jr. (b. Apr. 7, 1830, d. June 8, 1890), and his third wife, Parthenia Lee Ladd (d. July 1, 1922).

One child:

Haney Hardy⁸ Bell, Jr. (b. Aug. 25, 1917).

7. Etta Mabel⁷ Bell (b. April 24, 1890), B. A. (1909) Virginia Christian College, Lynchburg, Va., Post Graduate student Peabody Conservatory, Baltimore, Md. Married October 14, 1916, Charles Luthur Guthrie (b. July 17, 1879), of Petersburg, Va.

Children:

Charles Luthur⁸ Guthrie, Jr. (b. July 5, 1917),

William Bell⁸ Guthrie (b. July 9, 1922).

8. Myrtle Clyde⁷ Bell (b. Nov. 17, 1891), B. A. (1910) Virginia Christian College, Lynchburg, Va. Married October 7, 1914, Edward H. Lane (b. July 4, 1891), of Altavista, Va., son of John Edward and Ella Florence (Misely) Lane.

Children:

Edward Hudson⁸ Lane, Jr. (b. Nov. 4, 1915),

Landon Bell⁸ Lane (b. July 26, 1919).

9. John Thomas⁷ Bell (b. June 2, 1893). Graduate South Hill, Va., High School. Student University of Virginia. Graduated United States Military Academy, West Point, Class of 1918. Veteran of the World War, Captain. Resides Gates Mills, Ohio. Married June 12, 1919,

Judith Stager (Calkins) Cheney, of South Manchester, Conn.

One child:

Patricia Stager⁸ Bell (b. Sept. 15, 1921).

10. Willie Wingo⁷ Bell (b. Nov. 30, 1894), South Hill, Va., High School, Massey Business College, Richmond, Va. Resides in Kansas City, Mo. (1926). Married twice: (first) July 3, 1918, to Catherine Sides (d. Dec. 11, 1920), of Greensboro, N. C.

One child:

William⁸ Bell (b. Oct. 7, 1920), adopted by wife's relatives in Greensboro, N. C., and named William Bell Hutton.

Married (second) to Catherine Dearing (b. Nov. 13, 1900), of Albuquerque, N. M., daughter of James and Lura (Higgins) Dearing.

One child:

Willa Dearing⁸ Bell (b. Aug. 14, 1924).

11. Mamie Lee⁷ Bell (b. Dec. 1, 1896, d. Dec. 8, 1896).
12. Bernard Marshall⁷ Bell (b. Sept. 19, 1898), Blackstone Military Academy, B. L. University of Virginia. Resides in Lincolnton, N. C.
13. Anita Owen⁷ Bell (b. Oct. 28, 1900), B. A. Lynchburg College, Lynchburg, Va., married July 20, 1926, William McClellan Ritter, founder of W. M. Ritter Lumber Company; philanthropist, business man, of Washington, D. C.

Josephine Anzilia⁶ Bell (b. Aug. 1, 1850, d. March 21, 1885, unmarried).

John Archer⁶ Bell (b. Jan. 26, 1853), married Bettie Johnson of Mecklenburg County. They had:

Charles D.⁷ Bell,

Carrie⁷ Bell,

Married Hallie Hardy, of Lunenburg Co., Va.

Calvin⁷ Bell,
 Lucas⁷ Bell,
 Hunter⁷ Bell,
 Robert⁷ Bell,
 Mary Lizzie⁷ Bell,
 Lessie⁷ Bell.

Children of John Davis⁵ Bell and his second wife, Mary Frances Keeton:

James Edward⁶ Bell (b. March 26, 1857), married July 28, 1886, in Mecklenburg County, Va. Lila G. Field (b. Jan. 21, 1867, d. June 10, 1922), daughter of Dr. Wister Field (b. Aug. 10, 1828, d. 1875), and his wife Ellen Goode, whose mother was Eliza Goode. Dr. Wister Field was the son of Dr. Thomas Field. They had:

1. Fannie May⁷ Bell (b. May 6, 1888), who married Aug. 9, 1916, William H. Willis, and had:
 - (1) Margaret Louise⁸ Willis (b. Nov. 18, 1917),
 - (2) William H.⁸ Willis, Jr. (b. April 29, 1921).
2. Henry A.⁷ Bell (b. Nov. 30, 1889).
3. Mary Goode⁷ Bell (b. Aug. 2, 1893).

Susan Elizabeth⁶ Bell (b. May 15, 1859, d. Feb. 1894), married 1893, William W. Moore and died without issue.

Daniel Baker⁶ Bell (b. Nov. 7, 1863), married April 28, 1897, Inez Minerva Ozlin (b. July 27, 1867), daughter of Samuel Wilkins Ozlin (b. May 12, 1812, d. 1895), and his wife Amelia Frances Callis (b. Dec. 27, 1827, d. 1897), Samuel Wilkins Ozlin was a son of Isaac Ozlin, who married Ann Marshall Pennington; and Amelia Frances Callis' mother was Elizabeth Hite, daughter of Julius Hite of Lunenburg County, Virginia. They had one child:

Leslie D.⁷ Bell.

Ada Miller⁶ Bell (b. July 1, 1866, died 1896, unmarried).

Robert Lee⁶ Bell (b. Sept. 26, 1868, d. Jan. 1893, unmarried).

4. Lucy Rebecca⁵ Bell (b. Jan. 10, 1812), (David,⁴ George,³ David,² David¹), married Thomas Cheatham, October 12, 1848. They had no children. They adopted Sallie E. Bell (Sarah Elender Bell) and Pauline R. Cheatham.* Pauline R. Cheatham married William A. Wilson, of Lunenburg County, Va.
5. Ann Elizabeth Daniel⁵ Bell (b. Dec. 10, 1813, d. Oct. 8, 1847), (David,⁴ George,³ David,² David¹), married Benjamin W. Morton, June, 1832. They had:
- Elizabeth Agnes⁶ Morton (b. Aug. 23, 1834),
John Anderson⁶ Morton (b. Jan. 29, 1836).
6. James Tarlton⁵ Bell (b. Oct. 17, 1816), (David,⁴ George,³ David,² David¹), married Oct. 18, 1847, Ann E. Thompson. Lived in Tennessee. They left no descendants.†
7. Adam William⁵ Bell (b. August 2, 1825), (David,⁴ George,³ David,² David¹).

(Note: Descendants, if any, not traced.)

8. Sarah Elender⁵ Bell (b. November 11, 1831, d. Sept. 4, 1860, unmarried. She was said to have been a noted beauty.)
Adam⁴ Bell (b. May 13, 1780).
(George,³ David,² David¹).

Married twice:

1st, March 31, 1809, Sarah Montfort Street,

2nd, March 23, 1836, Eliza Goode.

Sarah Montfort Street was the sister of Judge David Street of Lunenburg County, Virginia. At the time Adam Bell married her she was Sarah Smith, widow of ———— Smith. By this marriage she had one son, Dr. Anthony Smith, of Mecklenburg County, Virginia.

Issue by first marriage (two):

1. Caspar Wistar⁵ Bell (b. Feb. 2, 1821), married August 6, 1854, Madeline Leontine Owen (d. July 3, 1907). Casper Wistar Bell was born in Prince

*Mrs. William A. Wilson; Pauline R. Cheatham to the writer Jan. 7, 1913.

†Letter of Mrs. William A. Wilson (Pauline R. Wilson), Jan. 7, 1913.

Edward County, Va., was educated at William and Mary College (graduated in 1837); graduated in Law at University of Virginia, 1839; read law in office of Henry S. Foote, Surveyor General of Mississippi; moved to Missouri, practiced law in Brunswick, Mo., from 1845 until outbreak of Civil War; was Adjutant General of Clark's Division. Elected to the Confederate Congress in October, 1861. His wife was the daughter of General Ignatius Owen of the Black Hawk War. One of his wife's sisters married General Sterling Price, U. S. A. They had ten children. Surviving in 1906 were:

Frances⁶ Bell (who died unmarried).

Marie⁶ Bell, who married T. J. Fort, of St. Louis, Mo.

2. John Nash⁵ Bell.

(Note: Descendants, if any, not traced.)

Issue by second marriage:

Nathan Edward⁵ Bell.

(Descendants not traced.)

Adam⁵ Bell (b. March 12, 1840, d. June 11, 1905, married in Lunenburg County, Virginia, June 25, 1862, Ann Thornton Forrest (b. Sept. 15, 1843), daughter of Richard Short Forrest (b. June 5, 1801, d. Aug. 7, 1865), and Martha Elizabeth Jones (b. Feb. 2, 1815, d. Dec. 9, 1859).*

They had six children:

Annie Eliza⁶ Bell (b. March 26, 1863, d. Apr. 27, 1904), married William Walter Tiller, of Richmond, Va. Children:

Emily Bell⁷ Tiller (b. Aug. 12, 1896),

William Walter⁷ Tiller, Jr. (b. July 30, 1898).

Rosa⁶ Bell (b. Sept. 3, 1866), married Edward Clifford Woodward, of Richmond, Va. Children:

*Richard Short Forrest and Martha Elizabeth Jones were married Oct. 10, 1832. She was a native of Nottoway County, and he resided in Prince Edward, at the time of their marriage.

Georgia⁷ Woodward (b. Nov. 27, 1899),
 Clifford⁷ Woodward, Jr. (b. April 21, 1905).
 William Stith⁶ Bell (b. May 17, 1869), married
 Bessie Linkus. Children:
 Jessie⁷ Bell.
 Peter Eddie⁶ Bell (b. Sept. 4, 1871), married Lottie
 Napier. Children:
 Edward Wortham⁷ Bell (b. July 12, 1904).
 Cornelia⁶ Bell (b. April 6, 1874), married Joseph
 Lee Davis. Children:
 Lee Thornton⁷ Davis (b. May 24, 1896),
 Rosalie⁷ Davis (b. Nov. 7, 1908),
 Cornelia Bell⁷ Davis (b. Jan. 8, 1910).
 Georgia Goode⁶ Bell (b. June 24, 1877, d. Apr. 30,
 1887).

George W.⁴ Bell (b. Feb. 8, 1782, d. 1856),* (George,³ David,²
 David¹), married 1807† Lucy T. (or S.) Bigger, daughter
 of Thomas Bigger, dec'd.

(Note: Descendants not traced, but "Margaret E. Farley, wife
 of Paul A. Farley," may have been a daughter, or niece, and
 George H. Farley, son of Paul A. Farley, and Elizabeth S.
 Farley, daughter of Paul A. Farley, were evidently relatives.
 "John Bell Bigger, son of Thomas B. Bigger," was evidently
 a grandson.

John⁴ Bell (b. July 29, 1783), (George,³ David,² David¹).
 (Note: Descendants, if any, not traced.)

Violet⁴ Bell (b. Sept. 5, 1785), (George,³ David,² David¹),
 married ——— Daniel, and had a son George B.⁵ Daniel.
 (Note: Descendants not traced.)

Nathan⁴ Bell (b. June 6, 1788, d. Oct. 27, 1851), (George,³
 David,² David¹), married (M. B. dated May 6, 1812), Martha
 Allen,‡ daughter of James Allen, dec'd.

*Will in Prince Edward County, in Will Book 10, page 274, is dated
 Feb. 28, 1856, probated Aug. 18, 1856.

†The marriage bond is dated Jan. 19, 1807.

‡Marriage Bond calls her "Patsey" Allen. Her real name was Martha.
 Letter July 26, 1912, from her grandson Nathan Adam Bell.

Issue: Four children:

1. George William⁵ Bell (b. June 3, 1819, d. March 5, 1885), married May Allen Anderson (b. Feb. 7, 1827, d. June 19, 1865). They had:

Francis Anderson⁶ Bell (b. July 7, 1847, d. Aug. 22, 1873),
Nathan Adam⁶ Bell (b. Aug. 19, 1853, d. 1912).

Married Jan. 19, 1876, Mary M. Allen.

Children (Five):

George Francis⁷ Bell (b. Nov. 7, 1876), married Margaret Allen of Little Rock, Ark., and in 1912 had one child: Margaret Ellen⁸ Bell.

Joseph Watson⁷ Bell (b. Nov. 6, 1878),

Nathan Sims⁷ Bell (b. March 27, 1880), married Nov. 18, 1908, Martha Terrell, of Hanover County.

Richard McDearmond⁷ Bell (b. Aug. 11, 1882), married June 18, 1907, Mary M. Terrell. Two children (in 1912):

Virginia Terrell⁸ Bell,

Agnes⁸ Bell.

Mary Letitia⁷ Bell (b. Sept. 11, 1884).

2. James Allen⁵ Bell (Nathan,⁴ George,³ David,² David¹), married Sarah E. Cunningham (M. B. dated April 21, 1845).

Issue:

Nathan W.⁶ Bell (d. Feb. 1912), left a family residing in Prince Edward County, Va.

Robert C.⁶ Bell,

Martha⁶ Bell.*

3. Adam L.⁵ Bell, (d. Aug. 19, 1858), (Nathan,⁴ George,³ David,² David¹), married Elizabeth A. Faulkner. Adam L. Bell probably had no descendants. His will dated in June, 1858, and probated Sept. 20, 1858 (Prince Edward

*The names of these children are taken from the will of their great-uncle, George W. Bell, which is dated Feb. 28, 1856, and probated Aug. 18, 1856 (Prince Edward County Will Book 10, page 274).

Nathan Adam Bell says that one of the children, James Allen Bell, moved to Texas. Letter July 26, 1912. Also he gives the full name of Nathan W. Bell as Nathan Washington Bell, and gives the date of his death, as about Feb. 1912.

Co. Will Book 10, page 503), mentions: "My beloved wife Elizabeth A. Bell," and brothers George Wm. Bell and James A. Bell, and sister Elizabeth S. Spencer. Also he mentions "My nephew Nathan A. Bell, son of my brother George Wm. Bell."

Elizabeth A. Bell's will is of record in Charlotte County, Va. (Will Book 15, page 349). It is dated Dec. 25, 1869, and was probated at August term 1871. It mentions:

Mary Elizabeth Faulkner, daughter of Leander Faulkner.
Theresa Grace Faulkner, daughter of Alexander H. Faulkner.

Ada Bell Faulkner, daughter of Jno. B. Faulkner.

Lelia Weston Faulkner, daughter of John B. Faulkner, and appoints as executor "My brother Jno. B. Faulkner."

4. Elizabeth S.⁵ Bell, (d. Jan. 26, 1875), (Nathan,⁴ George,³ David,² David¹), married Thomas B. Spencer.

Issue:

Nathan Bell⁶ Spencer,
Martha C.⁶ Spencer,
Margaret E.⁶ Spencer.*

William Calhoun⁴ Bell (b. March 20, 1790), (George,³ David,² David¹), married Mary Ann Booker, daughter of John Booker (M. B. Sept. 7, 1819), and had at least one child:

John Booker⁵ Bell (d. about 1902), who married and had:
John Calvin⁶ Bell, of Prince Edward Co., Va., and a daughter,⁶ who married E. L. Edmonson, of Staunton, Va.

BETTS

Hotten's Lists show that William¹ Betts, 20 years old, sailed from England June "vjo" 1635 for Virginia, in the *Thomas and John*.† An account which appeared some years ago in the *Roa-*

*The names of these children of Elizabeth S. Spencer were taken from the will of their grandfather, Nathan Bell, dated Oct. 18, 1851, probated Nov. 17, 1851, recorded in Prince Edward County Will Book 9, page 495. There may have been other children.

†Hotten, p. 83.

noke Times states that this William Betts was born in England in 1615, "came to America in his early twenties and settled in Northumberland County, Virginia, in 1635," and died in 1685, "leaving two sons, William and Charles."

Unfortunately the authority for these statements is not given. But doubtless this emigrant William Betts was the progenitor of the Betts family of Virginia.

The son Charles² Betts married in 1685, Mary Royston, daughter of Jonathan Royston, a planter of Northumberland County. They had six children:

1. William³ Betts,
2. Mary³ Betts,
3. Charles³ Betts,
4. Elizabeth³ Betts,
5. Jonathan³ Betts,
6. Hannah³ Betts.

William³ Betts (b. 1690 and died at the age of 78), married (name of wife not known), and had:

Elisha⁴ Betts (b. Aug. 21, 1720, will recorded in Lunenburg, May 13, 1784—W. B. 3, p. 159), married Mary Anne (last name not known). They were in Northumberland as late as 1763. He is believed to have settled in Lunenburg in 1764. His will mentions:

Daughters: Judith⁵ Oliver,
Nancy⁵ Jeffress,
Sallie Carter⁵ Betts, and

Sons: William⁵ Betts,
Spencer⁵ Betts (b. April, 1759),
Barbee⁵ Betts,
Charles⁵ Betts.

The will of Mary Anne Betts, dated June 5, 1802 (Lunenburg W. B. 6, p. 201), mentions:

Children of her daughter Molly Crenshaw, deceased, Elizabeth Hatchett, Sallie Mills and Judith Oliver.

Also mentions "Children of deceased son William Betts."

She gives certain property to her son Spencer Betts, to her

son Elisha Betts, to her son Barbee Betts, to her son Charles Betts, to the children of her deceased daughter Nancy Jeffress and to her granddaughter Nancy Bacon McConico.

Spencer⁵ Betts (b. April 6, 1759, d. Nov. 2, 1837), married twice:

First, on December 7, 1780, Nancy Fowlkes (b. January 3, 1763, d. April 22, 1804),

Second, on February 15, 1808, Betsy (last name not known).

Children of the first marriage:

1. Henry⁶ Betts (b. Jan. 22, 1782, d. Jan. 22, 1806).
2. Sallie⁶ Betts (b. Jan. 10, 1783), married 1801, John Hardy.
3. Mary Ann Parrot⁶ Betts (b. Oct. 24, 1785), married 1802, Vincent Hardy.
4. Elisha⁶ Betts (b. Nov. 22, 1789, d. Oct. 5, 1872) (Mrs. S. B. Wilson's grandfather).
5. William⁶ Betts (b. March 18, 1792).
6. Nancy⁶ Betts (b. Aug. 9, 1794).
7. Lucy Haney⁶ Betts (b. Feb. 9, 1797), married _____ Blackwell.
8. Permelia⁶ Betts (b. Sept. 1799).

(This is supposed to be the daughter referred to sometimes as "Polly.")

9. _____ (b. 1802).

(The entry of this name in Spencer Betts' family Bible is now (1926) so indistinct that it cannot be read.)

Children of the second marriage:

10. Martha⁶ Betts (b. Sept. 24, 1809, d. 1827), married in 1825, Robert Palmer.
11. Mary⁶ Betts (b. Sept. 1811, d. 1812).
12. Saluda⁶ Betts (b. March 22, 1814).

(Mrs. S. B. Wilson adds this note: "I don't think 'Aunt Saluda' ever married. I have heard my mother—who was married in 1837—often speak of her. She must have died in the early 40's.")

Sallie⁶ Betts (b. Jan. 10, 1783), married John Hardy. (For their descendants see the Hardy Genealogy herein.)

Mary Ann Parrot⁶ Betts (b. Oct. 24, 1785), married Vincent Hardy. (For their descendants see the Hardy Genealogy herein.)

Permelia⁶ Betts (b. Sept. 1799), married Dec. 13, 1824, Henry Hardy (b. Nov. 25, 1783). This was Henry Hardy's second marriage; his first wife was Mary S. Neblett. (For their descendants see the Hardy Genealogy herein.)

Elisha⁶ Betts (b. Sept. 22, 1789, d. Oct. 5, 1872), was married three times,

First, to Frances ("Fannie") Marable (b. Sept. 4, 1793, d. May 15, 1833), daughter of Matthew Marable. Matthew Marrable (Marable) was a Burgess from Lunenburg County 1754, 1755, 1758, 1761, and from Mecklenburg County in 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, 1773, 1774 and 1775.

Second, to Parthenia Johnson, on Feb. 27, 1834.

Third, to Elizabeth Everett.

Children by the first marriage:

1. William Spencer⁷ Betts (b. April 18, 1817, d. Oct. 16, 1901, in his 85th year).*
2. George⁷ Betts (d. July 31, 1828).†
3. Nannie Fowlkes⁷ Betts.‡

William Spencer⁷ Betts (b. April 18, 1817, d. Oct. 16, 1901), married June 1, 1837, Mary Faulkner (b. June 24, 1819, d. June 3, 1896), dau. of Colonel Obodia Faulkner and his wife Sallie McGee Stanfield.

*Mrs. S. B. Wilson, in a manuscript memorandum for the writer adds the note after this name, "My father."

†Mrs. Wilson adds this note: "died . . . a youth. No mention (in the Bible) of his birth date."

‡In supplying these data Mrs. Wilson writes: "I see no record (in the Family Bible in her possession) of the birth, marriage or death of my father's only sister, Nannie Fowlkes, who married Warren Overby, and died, leaving a son, I have never met. You will notice that these records are very incomplete."

Children:

1. George⁸ Munford Betts (b. Aug. 1838). Killed in the Civil War.
2. Sarah Frances⁸ Betts (b. Aug. 1, 1840, living 1926), married June 15, 1861, Rev. Dr. Norvel Winslow Wilson, a minister of the Baptist Church. Died a victim of yellow fever in New Orleans, in 1878.

Issue:

- (1) Littell⁹ Wilson (b. April 4, 1862, d. Feb. 18, 1903), married Miss Hamilton of Washington. They had a son and a daughter.
 - (2) Lily⁹ Wilson (b. Oct. 24, 1865), married Dec. 1897, Prof. L. R. Hambelin (d. Apr. 1902).
 - (3) Ernst Betts⁹ Wilson (b. Aug. 20, 1867, d. July 24, 1919), married Clara Fox. They had (four children):
 - (a) Elizabeth¹⁰ Wilson,
 - (b) Ernst¹⁰ Wilson,
 - (c) Clair¹⁰ Wilson,
 - (d) Littell¹⁰ Wilson.
 - (4) Hurtz⁹ Wilson (b. June 25, 1869), married Miss Agnew of Philadelphia. They have a son who is married and has two children.
 - (5) Knox⁹ Wilson (b. Sept. 7, 1870), married Ruth Tanner. (No children.)
 - (6) Daisy⁹ Wilson (b. Aug. 5, 1873), married Witcher Keen. They have (one daughter):
 - (a) Virginia Fontaine¹⁰ Keen ("nearly fifteen" 1926).
 - (7) Joins Faulkner⁹ Wilson (b. March 9, 1876), married Miss Hodgkin. They have (one daughter):
 - (a) Frances¹⁰ Wilson ("nearly six," 1926).
3. Elisha⁸ Betts (b. Dec. 17, 1842, d. Feb. 1911).
 4. Elannah Mildred⁸ Betts (b. July 9, 1844, d. May 17, 1915), married Dr. R. H. Lewis, of North Carolina. They left seven children.
 5. Roston [Royston]⁸ Betts (b. Dec. 13, 1845, d. Dec. 16,

- 1912), married a Miss Bernard of Petersburg, Va., and died leaving two sons, both of whom are dead.
6. William Obadiah^s Betts (b. Sept. 2, 1848, d. Feb. 17, 1916), married and left seven children: three daughters and four sons.
 7. Charles Hubert^s Betts (b. Feb. 1850, d. March, 1915), married and left seven children: four daughters and three sons.
 8. Mary Elizabeth^s Betts (b. March 20, 1852, living 1926), married a Mr. Graves of Washington, D. C. (dead). They had one son, who is dead.
 9. John Thomas^s Betts (b. April 14, 1856, living 1926), married and has one daughter.
 10. Emma Mason^s Betts (b. Nov. 20, 1858), married George Lea of Danville, Virginia. They have one son and two daughters living (1926).
 11. Mattie Louise^s Betts (b. March 21, 1860), married William Thomas (dead). They had three sons.
 12. Edmund Lee^s Betts (b. June 1, 1861), married and had one daughter. Wife dead.
 13. Maude Alice^s Betts (b. Oct. 19, 1862), married Charles Jordan (dead). They had two sons and one daughter.

BLACKWELL

In a family Bible now in the possession of a member of the Blackwell family is recorded a genealogy of the family, which was evidently prepared by someone who knew a great deal about the family history, and it bears evidence of having been carefully compiled. Most of this account is compiled from that record, supplemented with data from the Lunenburg marriage records.

Robert¹ Blackwell (b. 1620 in England), came to York County, Virginia, in 1645, and married a daughter of Major Joseph Croshaw. They had:

James² Blackwell (b. 1647, d. 1719), who married and had:

James³ Blackwell (baptized 1680), who married in 1699, Mary Glenn. They had:

James Glenn⁴ Blackwell (b. 1701), who married and had:

1. John⁵ Blackwell (b. 1725), who married in 1762, Catherine Richardson and moved to Kentucky.
2. Robert⁵ Blackwell (b. 1730, d. 1789), who married November 15, 1765, Elizabeth Goodwin (d. 1828), daughter of James Goodwin of Hampton Parish, York County, Virginia. He bought a tract of land in Lunenburg County from William Raines, and settled upon it. They had:

(1) Robert⁶ Blackwell, who married Jincey Jones (d. April 15, 1823), daughter of Reps Jones, and had:

- (a) Christianne⁷ Blackwell, who married June 12, 1816, Thomas H. Jeffreys.
- (b) Thomas⁷ Blackwell (d. young).
- (c) Stephen J.⁷ Blackwell, who married Maria W. Winn (M. B. dated July 13, 1829, and moved to Tennessee.
- (d) Elizabeth G.⁷ Blackwell, who married Thophilus Denton (M. B. dated March 14, 1825).
- (e) Anna J.⁷ Blackwell, who married in Dec. 1820, Sterling Smith.
- (f) James G.⁷ Blackwell, who moved to Tennessee.
- (g) John⁷ Blackwell, who moved to Tennessee.
- (h) Robert⁷ Blackwell, who moved to Tennessee.
- (i) Jane⁷ Blackwell (d. young).
- (j) Mary Reps⁷ Blackwell.

(2) Thomas⁶ Blackwell, who married Sept. 5, 1795 (first), Marie Bridgforth (d. 1820), a widow, and (second) Susanna (last name not known).

Apparently all the children were by the first marriage:

- (a) Nancy⁷ Blackwell, married Robert Bolling.
 - (b) Robert⁷ Blackwell, married Polly Ann Abernathy.
 - (c) John⁷ Blackwell.
 - (d) Maria⁷ Blackwell, married John Booth.
 - (e) Joel⁷ Blackwell, married June 2, 1830, Sallie Blackwell. (No children.)
 - (f) James G.⁷ Blackwell, who married Mary R. Williams (M. B. dated Dec. 29, 1830).
 - (g) Jane⁷ Blackwell.
 - (h) Louis⁷ Blackwell.
 - (i) Martha E.⁷ Blackwell, married (M. B. dated March 9, 1829), Thomas D. Fisher, and moved to Tennessee.
 - (j) William Henry⁷ Blackwell.
 - (k) Edward⁷ Blackwell (d. young).
 - (l) Sarah⁷ Blackwell (d. young).
- (3) Christianne⁶ Blackwell, married Robert Jones, son of Reps Jones, and had:
- (a) Robert⁷ Jones, who married Elizabeth G. Blackwell.
 - (b) Nancy⁷ Jones, who married Samuel Edmundson.
 - (c) Jane⁷ Jones, who married (first), J. Edmundson; (second), Dr. S. Wright.
- (4) Nancy⁶ Blackwell, married Peter Hawthorne, Jr. (d. 1821), and had:
- (a) Joel B.⁷ Hawthorne (b. 1800), moved to Louisiana.
 - (b) Peter Wilkins⁷ Hawthorne.
 - (c) Elizabeth⁷ Hawthorne, who married 1831, Brooker Elder.

- (d) Susan Hines⁷ Hawthorne, who married John Manson.
- (e) John⁷ Hawthorne, who moved to Louisiana.
- (f) Mary Ann Bolling⁷ Hawthorne, who married William Edmundson.
- (g) T. Frederick⁷ Hawthorne.
- (h) Anna B.⁷ Hawthorne.
- (5) Chapman⁶ Blackwell, who married (M. B. dated March 13, 1806), (first), Polly Hatchett; (second), Prudence Jeffreys,* and moved to Kentucky.
- (6) John⁶ Blackwell, who married Mary Edmundson, daughter of Upton Edmundson (d. 1835), and had:
 - (a) Elizabeth G.⁷ Blackwell, who married Dec. 20, 1815, Robert Blackwell Jones.
 - (b) Benjamin⁷ Blackwell, who married Elizabeth W. Jones.
 - (c) Robert⁷ Blackwell, who married (M. B. dated Dec. 13, 1830), Minerva Hardy, daughter of Vincent Hardy, and had:
 - (I) Sallie Orgain⁸ Blackwell (b. 1843, d. 1910), married 1885 (second wife of) Dr. Sterling Neblett, Jr. (b. Sept. 14, 1825, d. Oct. 8, 1877). (See Neblett Genealogy and Hardy Genealogy herein). They had:
 - (aa) Mary Elizabeth⁹ Neblett, who married J. Thomas Saunders.
 - (bb) Malcolm⁹ Neblett (d. young).

*There is a discrepancy here between the record in the Bible referred to and other records. The returns of marriages by Rev. William Ellis show that he married Chapman Blackwell and Polly Hatchett, April 2, 1806, and Chapman Blackwell and *Prudence R. Rutledge*, Jan. 25, 1809. It may be that Prudence Jeffreys and Prudence R. Rutledge were one and the same person.

- (cc) Sallie Blackwell⁹ Neblett, who married Waverly S. Manson.
- (dd) Lucy⁹ Neblett, who married J. Thomas Turner.
- (II) Thomas⁸ Blackwell, killed at the battle of Gettysburg.
- (III) John⁸ Blackwell (d. 1873).
- (d) Susan⁷ Blackwell, who married William Wilkinson.
- (e) John⁷ Blackwell, who married Mary Letcher.
- (f) Thomas⁷ Blackwell, who married Martha A. Hardy (M. B. dated Aug. 9, 1841).
- (7) Joel⁶ Blackwell, married: (first), March 24, 1800, Sally B. Gunn; (second), Martha F. Dance (M. B. dated Jan. 29, 1821), and had (but by which wife not known):
 - (a) Sallie⁷ Blackwell, who married (M. B. dated May 24, 1830), a cousin Joel Blackwell. (No children.)
 - (b) Henrietta⁷ Blackwell, who married Capt. William Williams.
 - (c) William Fletcher⁷ Blackwell, who married a Miss Ferguson.
- (8) Elizabeth G.⁶ Blackwell, who married (M. B. dated Aug. 15, 1796), Cannon F. Green, and had:
 - (a) William Henry⁷ Green.
 - (b) Thomas⁷ Green.

Note: There are among the Lunenburg County marriage bonds those for the following marriages:

James J. Blackwell to Mary B. Jeffreys, dated March 29, 1836.

Joel Blackwell, Jr., to Jane M. Cralle, dated Aug. 8, 1836.

Martha H. Blackwell to Christopher C. Haskins, dated May 10, 1841.

The marriage returns of Rev. John Neblett show that he married John Blackwell and Polly Edmundson, July 6, 1796, but which *John* was a party to this marriage we do not know.

The marriage returns of Rev. Thomas Adams show that he married Mary A. Blackwell and William Wilkinson, Sept. —, 1820.

The marriage returns of Rev. Silas Shelburne show that he married Hugh F. Norment and Mary H. Blackwell in 1829 (date and month not stated).

An unnamed minister's returns show the marriage of Nancy J. Blackwell to William Aires, Sept. 20, 1832, and of Nancy J. Blackwell to John Crow, Nov. 1, 1832.

BOLLING

No attempt will be made to embrace in this account such a comprehensive genealogy of this family as can readily be constructed from the various printed sources. The family, at least certain branches of it, are fortunate in the attention that has been given it by various genealogists, and in the wealth of published material respecting it.

The effort here will be principally to add something to the available genealogies in well known sources, rather than to repeat and reproduce what is there available; however, sufficient repetition must be indulged respecting the early generations to enable the new data presented to be definitely placed, and to show the place of the new names presented, on the family tree.

Much more attention has been paid to the genealogies of the descendants of Robert Bolling and Jane Rolfe than to the descendants of Robert Bolling and his second wife, Anne Stith, although the latter are probably more numerous, and certainly as important as the former. Information respecting them is desired by the writer.

“The Bolling family is very ancient. Robert Bolling, Esq., in the reign of Edward IV possessed and resided in his elegant house of Bolling Hall, near Bradford, in Yorkshire, England, where many generations of his ancestors, in the enjoyment of private life, had lived. After his death he was buried in the family vault in the church of Bradford. It is probable that his

family had been benefactors of that church, and even had built it, since its coat of arms, alone, was engraved upon it, which perhaps would not have been permitted, had it not been for that or some other circumstance of the same kind.”*

“This Robert Bolling died in the year 1485, and Bolling Hall passed in succession to the families of Tristan Bolling and Sir Robert Tempest (who intermarried with Rosamond, the daughter and heiress of the former) and others.”†

John¹ Bolling and his wife Mary (of the Bollings of Bolling Hall, near Bradford, Yorkshire, England), had a son

Robert² Bolling (of Allhallows, Barkin Parish, Tower Street, London), “the first of the name who settled in Virginia, was born December 26, 1646. He arrived in Virginia, October 2, 1660, and married, first, in 1675, Jane, dau. of Thomas Rolfe and granddaughter of Pocahontas; second, 1681, Anne, dau. of John Stith, of Brunswick County, and lived at ‘Kippax’ (sometimes called ‘Farmingdale’), Prince George County; died July 17, 1709.”‡

He had by the first marriage, a son John³ Bolling (b. Jan. 27, 1676). The issue and descendants of this son,—the so-called “Red Bollings,” may be found in many sources.

Robert² Bolling (b. Dec. 26, 1646, d. July 17, 1709), and his second wife, Anne Stith, had issue as follows:

1. Robert³ Bolling (b. Jan. 25, 1682, d. 1749), married Jan. 27, 1706, Anne Cocke.
2. Stith³ Bolling (b. March 28, 1686).
3. Edward³ Bolling (b. Oct. 3, 1687).
4. Anne³ Bolling (b. July 22, 1690).
5. Drury³ Bolling (b. June 21, 1695).
6. Thomas³ Bolling (b. March 20, 1697).
7. Agnes³ Bolling (b. Nov. 30, 1700).§

**Bolling Memoirs*, p. 3, quoted by Bishop Meade, in *Bristol Parish*, p. 140.

†*Bristol Parish*, p. 140.

‡This statement of Bishop Meade respecting Brunswick County is technically erroneous. Brunswick was not formed until 1732. His statement of the relationships of the parties, their marriages, etc., is no doubt accurate.

§This list of the children is taken from Bishop Meade, *Bristol Parish*, p. 141.

Robert³ Bolling (b. Jan. 25, 1682), married Jan. 27, 1706, Anne Cocke. They had:

1. Mary⁴ Bolling (b. Jan. 25, 1708), who married William Starke.
2. Elizabeth⁴ Bolling (b. Dec. 17, 1709), married James Munford.
3. Anne⁴ Bolling (b. Dec. 12, 1713), married John Hall.
4. Lucy⁴ Bolling (b. May 3, 1719), married Peter Randolph of "Chatsworth."
5. Jane⁴ Bolling (b. April 1, 1722), married Hugh Miller.
6. Martha⁴ Bolling (b. Nov. 17, 1726), married Richard Eppes, of Bermuda Hundred.
7. Susanna⁴ Bolling (b. June 16, 1728), married Alexander Bolling of "Mitchell's," Prince George County, Virginia.
8. Robert⁴ Bolling (b. June 12, 1730, d. Feb. 24, 1775), settled at *Bollingbrook*, Petersburg, Va., and married first, Martha Banister, sister of Col. John Banister, of *Battersea*, M. C.; married second, April 11, 1758, Mary Marshall Tabb (d. Oct. 14, 1814), only daughter of Col. Thomas Tabb, of *Clay Hill*, Amelia County, Virginia.*

Stith³ Bolling (b. March 28, 1686), married after 1714 Mrs. Elizabeth Hartwell, widow of John Hartwell, whose will was proved in Surry County, May 19, 1714. They had:

1. Stith⁴ Bolling (of "Mitchell's," Prince George Co.) (b. March 12, 1721, d. July 11, 1766), who married Dec. 23, 1745, Susanna Bolling (b. June 16, 1728, d. after 1766), his first cousin, daughter and 7th child of Robert Bolling and Anne Cocke.
3. John⁴ Bolling.
4. Robert⁴ Bolling.

Alexander⁴ Bolling (of "Mitchell's," Prince George County, Va.) (b. March 12, 1721, d. July 11, 1766), married Dec. 23,

*The foregoing record of the children of Robert³ Bolling (b. Jan. 25, 1682), and Anne Cocke, is taken from Bishop Meade's genealogy of the family in *Bristol Parish*, p. 141. In one place (on p. 141), he states that Robert Bolling married *Anne* Cocke, in another place, on the same page, he says his wife was *Mary* Cocke.

1745, Susanna⁴ Bolling (b. June 16, 1728, d. after 1766), his first cousin. They had:

1. Elizabeth⁵ Bolling (b. June 24, 1747, d. Nov. 2, 1776), married, first, Peter Jones (d. Jan. 10, 1771). Married, second, Nov. 24, 1771), Christopher Manlove. Issue of second marriage:
 - (1) Jane⁶ Manlove (b. Oct. 8, 1772).
 - (2) Rebecca Bolling⁶ Manlove (b. Apr. 24, 1774, d. July 5, 1817).
 - (3) Thomas Bolling⁶ Manlove (b. Nov. 4, 1776).
 2. Robert⁵ Bolling (b. March 24, 1751—O. S.), married twice: First, May 10, 1772, to Frances Green (d. March 15, 1773). Second, Dec. 18, 1779, Clara Bland (a widow). Issue of first marriage:
 - (1) John⁶ Bolling (b. March 10, 1773, d. May 1, 1817). Issue of second marriage:
 - (1) Eliza Yates⁶ Bolling.
 3. Stith⁵ Bolling (b. May 11, 1753) (N. S.), married October 10, 1776, Charlotte Edmunds. They had:
 - (1) Rebecca B.⁶ Bolling (b. Feb. 14, 1778), who married Melchijah Spragins, and they had:
 - (a) Stith Bolling⁷ Spragins, who married Eliza Apperson Green, dau. of Col. Grief Green.
 - (b) Melchijah⁷ Spragins, who married Anne B. Carter.
 - (2) Alexander⁶ Bolling.
 - (3) Robert⁶ Bolling (b. Feb. 1, 1781?), who married Feb. 27, 1805, Lucy Bass (b. Sept. 18, 1781).
 4. John⁵ Bolling (b. Oct. 13, 1756, d. Nov. 9, 1759).
 5. Alexander⁵ Bolling, Jr. (b. Dec. 2, 1761), married Mary Pryor (M. B. Amelia, Dec. 24, 1782).
 6. Susanna⁵ Bolling (b. Dec. 5, 1764).
 7. Sally⁵ Bolling (b. March 25, 1766, d. June 17, 1773).
- Robert⁶ Bolling (b. Feb. 1, 1781?), married Feb. 28, 1805, Lucy Bass (b. Sept. 18, 1781).

(Note: This line should not be here recorded without the ex-

planation that there is some doubt whether the Robert⁶ Bolling who married Lucy Bass was the son of Stith⁵ Bolling and Charlotte Edmonds. The meagre evidence seems to favor that hypothesis; and it seems reasonably certain that he was a son of one or the other of the brothers Stith, Robert, John and Alexander Bolling, sons of Alexander⁴ Bolling and Susanna Bolling.

With this explanation, in the hope that the doubt may be entirely cleared up by some future genealogist, we are taking what seems to be most likely the correct line).

They had:

1. Charlotte⁷ Bolling (b. July 22, 1807—never married).
2. Robert⁷ Bolling (b. Cir. 1810), married first, Mary A. E. Stokes. Marriage Bond in Lunenburg County, dated Aug. 4, 1829. Consent to his marriage was given by Armistead Bruce, his guardian, and by German Y. Stokes, father of Mary A. E. Stokes. He married a second time Pattie P. Mann. The license for this marriage was issued Jan. 21, 1868, and shows that he was then a widower 57 years old, a resident of Nottoway County, and that Pattie P. Mann (19 years old) was the daughter of Benjamin and Louisa Mann of Prince Edward County, Va. The record of the marriage to Pattie P. Mann shows that Robert⁷ Bolling was the son of Robert and Lucy Bolling.

Issue by first marriage:

- (1) Alpheus⁸ Bolling (b. July 15, 1835).
- (2) Thaddeus⁸ Bolling (b. March 28, 1838).
- (3) Lucy Jane Edmonia⁸ Bolling (b. July 16, 1840).
- (4) Rebecca Susan⁸ Bolling (b. June 1, 1843).
- (5) Mary Stokes⁸ Bolling.
- (6) Junius Edward⁸ Bolling.

Issue by second marriage:

- (7) Robert⁸ Bolling.
- (8) William⁸ Bolling.
- (9) Norman⁸ Bolling.
- (10) Julian⁸ Bolling.
- (11) Evelynne Irby⁸ Bolling.
- (12) Lottie⁸ Bolling.

Lucy Jane Edmonia⁸ Bolling (b. July 16, 1840), of Lunenburg Co., married July 23, 1862, Joseph J. Price, of Cumberland County, Va. (b. Nov. 22, 1835, d. Nov. 11, 1887). The Lunenburg marriage records show that Joseph J. Price was 26 years of age and the son of Warner W. and Susan E. Price.

They had one child:

Thadina⁹ Price, who married Samuel A. Harding, of Lunenburg County, Va.

(For issue see Stokes Genealogy.)

3. John Stith⁷ Bolling (b. Aug. 6, 1808, d. May 30, 1888), married Nov. 16, 1830, Mary Thomas Irby.

They had (ten children):

(1) John E.⁸ Bolling.

(2) Robert Williams⁸ Bolling (b. 1833), married Julia Beville.

(3) Stith⁸ Bolling (General Bolling).

(4) Pocahontas⁸ Bolling.

(5) Virginia⁸ Bolling.

(6) Henry⁸ Bolling.

(7) Thomas⁸ Bolling.

(8) Martha⁸ Bolling.

(9) and (10)—children who died in childhood.*

Robert Williams⁸ Bolling (b. 1833), married in 1873, Julia Beville.

They had:

(1) Robert Floyd⁹ Bolling (b. 1876), who married in 1900, Lou G. Miller, and they had:

(a) Robert Floyd¹⁰ Bolling, Jr.

General Stith⁸ Bolling (b. 1835, in Lunenburg County, Va., died in Petersburg, Va., Nov. 1, 1916), married May 9, 1860, Cornelia Scott Forrest (18 years of age), daughter of Richard S. and Elizabeth Forrest, of Lunenburg County, Va.

They had:

(1) Lizzie⁹ Bolling.

(2) C. Irby⁹ Bolling (a daughter).

*This information as to the children of her grandfather was given the writer by Miss C. Irby Bolling, daughter of Gen. Stith Bolling, in a letter of October 7, 1926.

General Bolling entered the Confederate service as Orderly Sergeant of Captain Wm. H. Hatchett's Company, known as the *Lunenburg Light Dragoons*, Company G of the Ninth Regiment of Cavalry. He became Captain of this company in December, 1862. A sketch of his life which appeared in the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* November 2, 1916, states that he was successively promoted to First Sergeant, Lieutenant, Captain and then Lieutenant-Colonel, and later was appointed by the Governor and confirmed by the Senate of Virginia, Brigadier-General, in the State establishment.

He commanded the largest cavalry troop in General J. E. B. Stuart's command, and late in the war he commanded the Fourth Squadron of Sharpshooters composed of Companies G and H of the Ninth Cavalry.

During the war he was often detailed as Assistant Adjutant-General, and Assistant Inspector-General on General W. H. F. Lee's staff. He was wounded six times during the war, and was at Appomattox at the surrender, but refused to surrender, and got through the enemy's lines with the intention of joining General Johnson, but General Johnson surrendered before he reached him, and General Bolling surrendered to General Wilcox at Hobson's Station.

After the war General Bolling represented Lunenburg in the Legislature two terms. He was appointed State Inspector of tobacco, at Petersburg, and removed to that city, and resided there until his death.

Martha^s Bolling (b. 1842, in Lunenburg County, Va., d. in Richmond, Va., Aug. 27, 1913), married February 23, 1882, John F. Beville.

They had one child, a daughter,

(a) Mamie M. B. Beville (of Richmond, Va.).

BRIDGFORTH

Bridgforth is, relatively speaking, a rare name, in the early annals of Virginia.

The Register of Christ's Church, Middlesex County (p. 91),

contains an entry of the birth of James Bridgforth, May 12, 1715, and his baptism May 15, 1715. He was the son of Henry and Mary Bridgforth.

The records of Spotsylvania County show that in August, 1725, James Bridgeforth of St. Stephen's Parish, King and Queen County, conveyed 400 acres of land to Gawin Corbin. This was then St. George's Parish, Spotsylvania County, formerly King and Queen. Also in the same month he executed a bill of sale for cattle, etc., on the plantation conveyed. These circumstances indicate he was preparing to move.

In the records of *Heads of Families—Virginia*, 1785 (First census of the United States), there appears one lone person by the name of Bridgforth,—Benjamin Bridgforth—of Amelia County. He had a family of seven persons. But, of course, there are no records for a number of counties—Lunenburg among them—in this census.

The connected genealogy of the Bridgforth family of Lunenburg begins with:

John¹ Bridgforth of Brunswick County, Virginia. He, presumably, died in 1828, since the record of the inventory of his estate appears in that year. It does not appear that he made a will. He had a son,

Thomas² Bridgeforth, who married Lucy Rives Collier, of King and Queen County, Va. She was, it seems very certain, a descendant of John Collier, of "Porto Bello" (mentioned in connection with the *Watkins Family* herein), this being the family from which Governor Henry Watkins Collier of Alabama, was sprung. The line of Lucy Rives Collier, it is regretted, has not been worked out.

They had:

1. William Louis³ Bridgforth (b. March 21, 1817, d. July 11, 1847), married Frances Washington Maddux (b. March 22, 1823, d. April 14, 1896), daughter of Washington Maddux and his wife Frances Ragsdale, and had:

- (1) William Louis⁴ Bridgforth, Jr. (b. October 6, 1843, d. May 29, 1893), who married December 15, 1869, Frances A. Tisdale (b. May 19, 1844, d. September 16, 1909), daughter of John Daniel Tisdale (b. Oct.

8, 1808, d. June 2, 1883), and Elizabeth A. Crenshaw (b. Nov. 3, 1805, d. June 9, 1847). John Daniel Tisdale's home was the place now (1925) owned and occupied by Walton Elliott Bell, on the east side of North Meherrin River. The place is shown northwest of the Garland plantation, and lying between it and Hawkins Bridge, on the Jed Hotchkiss Map of 1871, of Lunenburg County.

They had:

- (a) Anne⁵ Bridgforth (b. Nov. 17, 1871), who married November 22, 1894, Walter Haskins Harris (b. Aug. 21, 1870), son of Junius Harris and his wife Laura Wall. (See Hardy Genealogy.)

They had:

- (I) Frances Washington⁶ Harris (b. May 1, 1896).

- (II) Dorothy Hardy⁶ Harris (b. Aug. 20, 1899).

2. George Baskerville³ Bridgforth (b. Nov. 15, 1823, in Essex County, Virginia, d. Oct. 20, 1869), removed when young to Mississippi, and attended schools in Wilkinson County in that State. Returned in 1846 and resided at the family plantation *Woodlawn*; President and General Manager of a company which conducted an iron foundry near Blacks & Whites; Magistrate (Nottoway County); Captain Commissary General, C. S. A. Married Nov. 26, 1850, Sallie Ann Seay, of Lunenburg County, Virginia, and had:

- (1) George Thomas⁴ Bridgforth (b. Nov. 14, 1852).

- (2) Mary Collier⁴ Bridgforth (b. July 8, 1855).

- (3) Ann Jane⁴ Bridgforth (b. 1857).

- (4) Sallie Lee⁴ Bridgforth (b. Aug. 10, 1859).

- (5) Louis William⁴ Bridgforth (b. July 9, 1863).

- (6) Austin Seay⁴ Bridgforth.

- (7) Baskerville⁴ Bridgforth (b. Dec. 12, 1869).

George Thomas⁴ Bridgforth (b. Nov. 14, 1852), House of Representatives 1904, married Nov. 14, 1876, Lucy Edmonds Bagley (b. Oct. 6, 1856). They had ten children:

1. Julia Bagley⁵ Bridgforth (b. Sept. 15, 1877, d. June 22, 1885).

2. Sallie Garland⁵ Bridgforth (b. Nov. 29, 1878), married Oct. 10, 1923, Samuel Tarry.
3. Clarence Edward⁵ Bridgforth (b. July 19, 1880, d. June 16, 1882).
4. Edward Garland⁵ Bridgforth (b. April 16, 1884, d. June 22, 1885).
5. George Baskerville⁵ Bridgforth (b. April 19, 1886), married Nov. 4, 1922, Mary Emma Quigg (of Fairfax County, Va.), and had:
 - (1) A son (b. Feb. 1924, d. at birth).
 - (2) George Lewis⁶ Bridgforth (b. Aug. 12, 1925).
6. Mary Lee⁵ Bridgforth (b. Nov. 16, 1887), married April 22, 1919, George E. Allen (See Allen Genealogy herein), and had:
 - (1) Lucy Burke⁶ Allen (b. Jan. 15, 1920).
 - (2) Ashley Bridgforth⁶ Allen (b. March 17, 1922).
 - (3) Wilber Coleman⁶ Allen (b. March 15, 1924).
7. Faith Bagley⁵ Bridgforth (b. March 25, 1890), married June 24, 1917, Otis Ottway Tucker, and had:
 - (1) Lucy Bridgforth⁶ Tucker (b. Oct. 10, 1920).
 - (2) Otis Ottway⁶ Tucker, Jr. (b. Feb. 1, 1922).
 - (3) Son (b. Feb. 1925, d. Feb. 1925).
8. William Austin⁵ Bridgforth (b. Oct. 26, 1891), married June 24, 1916, Cornelia Maben Adams, of Blackstone, Virginia, and had:
 - (1) William Adams⁶ Bridgforth (b. March 30, 1917).
 - (2) Ann Bagley⁶ Bridgforth (b. Nov. 10, 1917).
9. Lucy Trotter⁵ Bridgforth (b. Sept. 11, 1893).
10. James Pegram⁵ Bridgforth (b. Nov. 26, 1898).

Mary Collier⁴ Bridgforth (b. July 8, 1885), married Feb. 14, 1882, Theodore Orgain, son of John Orgain, and brother of Judge George C. Orgain. They had:

1. Lucy Lee⁵ Orgain (b. June 2, 1883), married Aubrey Gaines Fray, and had:
 - (1) Audrey Lee⁶ Fray (b. March 17, 1914).
 - (2) Aubrey Gaines⁶ Fray, Jr. (b. Oct. 4, 1920).
2. Sarah Baskerville⁵ Orgain (b. Sept. 12, 1885).

3. Ann Craig⁵ Orgain (b. March 11, 1888).
4. James Robert⁵ Orgain (b. June 13, 1890), married Mary Alice Clarke, and had:
 - (1) James Robert⁶ Orgain, Jr. (b. Sept. 19, 1917).
 - (2) Clarence Theodore⁶ Orgain (b. Nov. 18, 1920).
5. Eva Chambers⁵ Orgain (b. Dec. 20, 1892), married Feb. 24, 1914, John Richard Adams, son of Samuel L. Adams, and had:
 - (1) Mary Jacqueline⁶ Adams (b. Nov. 20, 1917).
6. Mary Collier⁵ Orgain (b. Jan. 26, 1896), married Nov. 18, 1919, Robert Edwin Baylor, son of John E. Baylor, and had:
 - (1) Ann George⁶ Baylor (b. Oct. 25, 1920).
 - (2) Julia Craig⁶ Baylor (b. March 31, 1925).

Sallie Lee⁴ Bridgforth (b. Aug. 10, 1859), married Colin S. Bagley, Jan. 26, 1893, and had:

1. Coline⁵ Bagley (b. July 15, 1894).
2. Burdette⁵ Bagley (b. Jan. 15, 1902).

Louis William⁴ Bridgforth (b. July 9, 1893), married Dec. 10, 1891, Bertha Maria Welch, daughter of John Welch, and had:

1. Bertha Lee⁵ Bridgforth (b. July 30, 1893), married May 11, 1915, Walter Scott Irby (banker), son of Walter M. Irby of Nottoway County, Virginia, and had:
 - (1) Walter Scott⁶ Irby, Jr. (b. May 3, 1916).
 - (2) Lewis William⁶ Irby (b. Feb. 25, 1919).
 - (3) Edward Crawley⁶ Irby (b. July 26, 1924).
2. John Baskerville⁵ Bridgforth (b. June 23, 1895).
3. Joseph William⁵ Bridgforth (b. Feb. 25, 1900).
4. Sidney Seay⁵ Bridgforth (b. March 12, 1904).
5. Edward McPhail⁵ Bridgforth (b. June 16, 1906).
6. George Howard⁵ Bridgforth (b. Dec. 13, 1908).

Austin Seay⁴ Bridgforth, married Nov. 11, 1896, Sallie Sidney Manson, daughter of Richard W. Manson, C. S. A., a distinguished citizen of Lunenburg County, and had:

1. Richard Baskerville⁵ Bridgforth (b. Sept. 16, 1897), married April 10, 1920, Elizabeth Cunningham, daughter of C.

Booker Cunningham, of Farmville, Virginia. Their home is *Brickland*, the historic Neblett home, one of the finest homesteads in Lunenburg County.

They had:

- (1) Betty⁶ Bridgforth (b. May 18, 1923).
- (2) Richard Baskerville⁶ Bridgforth (b. Jan. 3, 1925).
2. Austin Seay⁵ Bridgforth, Jr. (b. March 11, 1900), married Nov. 11, 1924, Katherine Allen, daughter of C. A. Allen, and had:
 - (1) Katherine Sue⁶ Bridgforth (b. March 25, 1926).
3. George Blackwell⁵ Bridgforth (b. Jan. 22, 1903).
4. Susan Baldwin⁵ Bridgforth (b. April 29, 1905).
5. Dorothy⁵ Bridgforth (b. July 25, 1910).
6. William Lee⁵ Bridgforth (b. March 16, 1913).

Baskerville⁴ Bridgforth (b. Dec. 12, 1869), married Jan. 1, 1908, Rachael Cooke, daughter of General John R. Cooke, and had:

1. Baskerville⁵ Bridgforth, Jr. (b. Nov. 19, 1909).
2. Nancy Patton⁵ Bridgforth (b. Feb. 23, 1913).

CHAPTER V

Lunenburg Cousins — Continued

GENEALOGIES

*Boswell, Buford, Caldwell, Coleman, Davis, DeGraffenreid,
Edmundson, Gee.*

BOSWELL



THE Boswell family in Virginia seems first to have located in and about what is now Gloucester County. The early history of the family in Virginia has been obscured through the destruction of the public records of Gloucester County. There are authentic records of persons of the name in Virginia as early as 1650, but the state of the records, unfortunately, does not make possible a connected genealogy of the earlier generations.

John¹ Boswell married Phoebe Iverson. (Some authorities say Phoebe Colgate.) They had at least one son:

Joseph Colgate² Boswell (d. 1794), of Gloucester County, Virginia, married, 1753 (marriage bond dated Jan. 17, 1753), Elizabeth Elliott, of Amelia County, Virginia.

They had:

1. William Colgate³ Boswell, who married Mary Hamlin, of Lunenburg County, Va.
2. Clarissa³ Boswell, who married: 1st, Richard Lamb; 2nd, William Whitehead.
3. John Iverson³ Boswell, Sr. (b. April 5, 1761, in Gloucester Co., Va.). He was a Revolutionary soldier; served as a private in the 1st Virginia Regiment. He was twice married: 1st, in March, 1784, to Mary Coleman; 2nd, October 27, 1797, to Barbara Walker.
4. Nancy³ Boswell, married John Botts.

5. Ermine³ Boswell (b. March 28, 1759, d. March 4, 1821), married Francis DeGraffenreid (b. 1747, d. Feb. 24, 1815). (For issue see DeGraffenreid Genealogy.)

William Colgate³ Boswell married Mary Hamlin. They had:

1. A daughter (d. unmarried).
2. Margaret⁴ Boswell, who married Stratton Bott.
3. Louisa⁴ Boswell, who married Charles Hamlin.
4. Thomas⁴ Boswell, who married Laura Lamb.
5. Charles⁴ Boswell (d. never married).
6. John⁴ Boswell (d. never married).

Clarissa³ Boswell, married, 1st Richard Lamb; 2nd William Whitehead. We have no record of the issue of the first marriage.

Issue of second marriage:

1. Nathan⁴ Whitehead, M. D., who married Mrs. Grigsby, a widow, mother of Hugh Blair Grigsby.
2. Joseph⁴ Whitehead, who married: 1st, Lizzie Andrews; 2nd, Lelia Smith.

John Iverson³ Boswell, Sr. (b. April 5, 1761, in Gloucester County, Va., Revolutionary soldier), married twice: 1st, in March, 1784, Mary Coleman, dau. of Cluverius Coleman of Mecklenburg County, Va.; 2nd, on October 27, 1797, Barbara Walker.

Issue by first marriage:

1. Elizabeth⁴ Boswell (b. Nov. 28, 1784), married Pettus.
2. Joseph⁴ Boswell (b. Sept. 3, 1786, father of Dr. Joseph Boswell, of Chase City, Va.
3. Thomas⁴ Boswell (b. April 20, 1790, d. Sept. 15, 1791).
4. Ann⁴ Boswell (b. March 11, 1792), married Ragsdale.
5. Mary⁴ Boswell (b. Feb. 26, 1794, d. Nov. 6, 1805).
6. John Iverson⁴ Boswell, Jr. (b. Jan. 23, 1796, d. Dec. 15, 1846), married: 1st, Nancy D. Coleman, dau. of Thomas Coleman. (See Coleman Genealogy); 2nd, Ellen J. Somerville, dau. of John Somerville and his wife Elizabeth Ann Colget DeGraffenreid. (See DeGraffenreid Genealogy.)

Issue by second marriage:

7. Charity⁴ Boswell (b. Oct. 28, 1798), married Almond.

8. William Washington⁴ Boswell (b. Apr. 13, 1801).
9. Susanna⁴ Boswell (b. March 11, 1803), married Marable.
10. Lucy⁴ Boswell (b. Nov. 1, 1805).
11. Mary⁴ Boswell (b. May 4, 1808).
12. Martha⁴ Boswell (b. July 3, 1811).

Nancy³ Boswell (dau. of Joseph Colgate² Boswell, d. 1794, and Elizabeth Elliott), married John Botts.

They had:

1. John⁴ Botts.
2. William⁴ Botts.
3. Elizabeth⁴ Botts.
4. Archer⁴ Botts.
5. Nancy⁴ Botts.
6. Thomas⁴ Botts.
7. James⁴ Botts.
8. Lucy⁴ Botts.

John Iverson⁴ Boswell, Jr. (b. Jan. 23, 1796, d. Dec. 15, 1846), married: 1st, Nancy D. Coleman, dau. of Thomas Coleman (see Coleman Genealogy); 2nd, Ellen J. Somerville, dau. of John Somerville and his wife Elizabeth Ann Colget DeGraffenreid. (See DeGraffenreid Genealogy.) Her full name seems to have been Ellinor Josephine Somerville.

Issue by first marriage:

1. Elliott⁵ Boswell, who married Henrietta Yates. (See Yates Genealogy.)
2. Sarah Anne⁵ Boswell (b. Dec. 3, 1819, d. March 12, 1887), who married Sept. 25, 1844, John Covington Hardy. (The writer's grandmother.) She was John Covington Hardy's second wife. (See Hardy Genealogy.)
3. Joseph C.⁵ Boswell (b. 1820), married Hester A. C. Smith.
4. Mary L.⁵ Boswell (b. 1821, d. 1821).
5. Edwin S.⁵ Boswell (b. 1824, d. 1826).
6. Henry I.⁵ Boswell (b. 1826).
7. John Iverson⁵ Boswell, M. D. (b. Sept. 18, 1829, d. May 9, 1895), married Dec. 5, 1855, Mary L. Robertson.
8. Llewellyn⁵ Boswell.

9. Louis A.⁵ Boswell (b. 1834), married Elizabeth Liddell.
Issue by second marriage:
10. Mary Elizabeth⁵ Boswell ("Aunt Bettie"), (b. 1840), married Embra Williams.
11. Edmund D.⁵ Boswell (b. 1841).
12. Thomas R.⁵ Boswell (b. 1843).
13. William W.⁵ Boswell (b. 1845), married Thea Garland, dau. John R. Garland.

Elliott⁵ Boswell married Henrietta Yates. They had:

John⁶ Boswell, who married Hanie Forrest. They had:

1. Elliott⁷ Boswell, who married Margaret Leith, and they had: Henry Elliott⁸ Boswell.
2. Forrest⁷ Boswell, who married Una Pasteur, and they had: John Forrest⁸ Boswell, and Louis⁸ Boswell.
3. Lillian⁷ Boswell, who married Percy Bostick, and they had: Elizabeth⁸ Bostick, and Mabel⁸ Bostick.

Sarah Anne⁵ Boswell (b. Dec. 3, 1819, d. March 12, 1887), married Sept. 25, 1844, John Covington Hardy (7th in descent from John Hardy 1613-1670, of "The Old House," Isle of Wight Co., Va.). For their issue and descendants see Hardy Genealogy.

Joseph Colgate⁵ Boswell (b. Nov. 2, 1822, d. Dec. 17, 1787), married May 2, 1848, Hester A. C. Smith (b. July 1, 1827, d. Feb. 18, 1902).

They had:

1. Joseph H.⁶ Boswell (b. April 29, 1849, d. May 31, 1863).
2. Sarah A.⁶ Boswell (b. Sept. 8, 1851, d. Aug. 1890), married Feb. 1889, J. W. Rodgers.
3. Mary E.⁶ Boswell (b. Sept. 3, 1857), married Nov. 16, 1876, A. W. Hawks.
4. Joseph Colget⁶ Boswell (b. April 25, 1859, d. June 20, 1863).
5. William Iverson⁶ Boswell (b. Oct. 19, 1861), married Sept. 18, 1895, May L. Grigg.
6. Martha⁶ Boswell (b. Feb. 18, 1866), married June 14, 1888, J. T. Kirks.

-
7. John H.⁶ Boswell (b. April 4, 1868), married Dec. 19, 1894, Bettie R. Smith.

John Iverson⁵ Boswell, M. D. (b. Sept. 18, 1829, d. May 9, 1895), married Dec. 5, 1855, Mary L. Robertson (b. March 13, 1833).

They had:

1. Charles M.⁶ Boswell (b. Sept. 18, 1856).
2. Ballard E.⁶ Boswell (b. Oct. 12, 1858).
3. Margaret A.⁶ Boswell (b. July 11, 1861, d. March 7, 1912).
4. John I.⁶ Boswell (b. Oct. 14, 1863).
5. Henry L.⁶ Boswell (b. Apr. 18, 1866, d. Dec. 4, 1902).
6. Thomas G.⁶ Boswell (b. Jan. 18, 1869).
7. Henson R.⁶ Boswell (b. July 9, 1871), Banker, Charlottesville, Virginia.

Louis Archer⁵ Boswell* (b. in 1834, in Lunenburg County, Virginia, in the Boswell home later occupied by W. W. Boswell, at Wattsboro (d. Nov. 26, 1909, near Eastaboga, Ala.), married in 1868, Miss Elizabeth ("Bettie") Liddell, of Carroll County, Miss.

They had six children:

1. Margaret Liddell⁶ Boswell (b. 1869).
2. Nannie Coleman⁶ Boswell (b. Aug. 4, 1872, d. Oct. 23, 1872).
3. John Iverson⁶ Boswell (b. May 25, 1874), married Aug. 31, 1910, Miss Hallie Boswell (not related, so far as known).

They have two daughters:

- (1) Laura Elizabeth⁷ Boswell (b. Nov. 30, 1912).
- (2) Hallie Liddell⁷ Boswell (b. Nov. 3, 1914).
4. Agnes E.⁶ Boswell (b. Jan. 3, 1877), married Sept. 26, 1906, R. C. Middleton.
5. Lewis Elliott⁶ Boswell (b. Oct. 18, 1879, d. Nov. 11, 1902).
6. Frank White⁶ Boswell (b. Jan. 30, 1883), married Feb. 27, 1915, Mabelle C. Jenks.

*This is Dr. Louis Archer Boswell, aeronautical inventor. See Chapter II of Volume II.

Mary Elizabeth⁵ Boswell (b. 1840), married Embra Williams of Roxton, Lunenburg County, Va.

They had:

1. Thomas F.⁶ Williams. Represented Lunenburg County in the House of Delegates. Married Emma Gregory, dau. of Cas. Gregory, of Lunenburg Co., Va., they had: Fenton⁷ Williams; Winnie Claire⁷ Williams; Merlin⁷ Williams; William⁷ Williams, and Shirley⁷ Williams (a daughter).
2. Mary⁶ Williams, married L. Witt Garner, of Mecklenburg County, Va.—resided at Charleston, S. C. They had only one child,—Annie Nyra⁷ Garner, who married Rufus Nelson, and died without issue.

William W.⁵ Boswell (b. 1845), married Thea Garland, dau. of John R. Garland, of Lunenburg County, Va.

They had:

1. Garland⁶ Boswell.
2. Claire⁶ Boswell, who married Dr. Mahood, of Emporia, Va.
3. Edmund⁶ Boswell.

BUFORD

This is a numerous and honored family. The name is found well distributed in the learned callings and professions, and the members of the family are widely disbursed over the United States.

The progenitor of the American family was Richard Beauford, who emigrated from Gravesend, England, in the ship *Elizabeth*, August 1, 1635. The record shows that he was examined by a Minister of the Church of England as to his loyalty to the King and took the prescribed oath of allegiance. According to *Hotten's Lists*, he was then eighteen. He was born therefore about 1617-1618. He is very definitely identified as the founder of the American family as "There is no other Beaufort, Beauford, or Buford to be found in any list of immigrants."*

Richard Beauford seems to have settled in Lancaster, Vir-

*Buford: *Buford Family in America*, 14.

ginia. This surmise is based upon the fact that the deed records of Lancaster County show that April 15, 1656, "John Vause assigned Richard Beauford three hundred acres of land lying on the south side (of) Rappahannock River, up in the freshes, bounding on the land of Thomas Hawkins," etc. Nothing else has been found concerning Richard Beauford.*

He is supposed to be the progenitor of the Beaufords, Beauports, Bluefords, Blufords, Bulfords, Burfords and Bufords in America, and of the descendants who trace through John Beauford, of Christ Church Parish, Middlesex County, Virginia.

One of the first entries in the register of Christ Church, Middlesex County (which begins in 1653), is that of the marriage of John Blueford and Elizabeth Parrot, April 11, 1662. "He was then probably twenty years of age, and, therefore, born in 1642. It is also probable that he was the son of Richard, and not born in Middlesex County, where Richard is found in 1656, but came there with his father, for in the register there is an entry to the effect that Richard Perrott, Jr., who was born the 24th of February, 1650, was the first male child that was born in that county of English parents."†

On March 17, 1663, John Beauford and Francis Broughton were granted 300 acres of land "in the County of Lancaster (now Middlesex)," etc.

It is the assumption that Richard Beauford was the father of John Beauford, who married Elizabeth Parrot, April 11, 1662, but this fact is not definitely proved. The historian of the Buford family has allowed this assumption and we may follow him. The definitely established line begins with John Beauford (d. April 18, 1722), who married Elizabeth Parrot.

Richard¹ Beauford (The Emigrant), shipped from Gravesend, England, in the *Elizabeth*, August 1, 1635.

He is presumed to have married and had a son:

John² Beauford (d. April 18, 1722), of Christ's Church Parish, Lancaster County, Virginia, married April 11, 1662, Elizabeth Parrot.‡

*Buford: *Buford Family in America*, 14.

†Id. 17.

‡Id. 18.

They had:

1. Thomas³ Beauford (b. 1663).
2. Ambrose³ Beauford (b. 1665).
3. Susannah³ Beauford (b. 1667).
4. Elizabeth³ Beauford (b. 1669).

Thomas³ Beauford (b. in Lancaster County, Va., in 1663, d. Dec. 9, 1716), son of John and Elizabeth (Parrot) Beauford, married Mary (last name not known), who died Dec. 29, 1720.

They had:

1. Thomas⁴ Beauford, Jr. (b. 1682, baptized May 21, 1682).
2. Henry⁴ Beauford (b. 1684, baptized March 15, 1684).
3. Mary⁴ Beauford (b. March 18, 1688).

Henry⁴ Beauford, Sr. (b. 1684, baptized March 15, 1684, d. Jan. 16, 1720,—will dated Jan. 15, 1720,—personal estate £3,327—very large for the time), son of Thomas and Mary Beauford of Lancaster County, Va., married September 12, 1707, Mrs. Mary Parsons, widow of John Parsons and daughter of Henry Osborne.*

They had:

1. William⁵ Beauford (b. June 17, 1708).
2. Henry⁵ Beauford, Jr. (b. 1710).
3. James⁵ Beauford (b. 1712).
4. Thomas⁵ Beauford (b. April 11, 1716).
5. John⁵ Beauford (b. Feb. 2, 1718).

Henry⁵ Beauford, Jr. (b. in Lancaster County, Va., in 1710, settled in the Parish of Nottoway, Amelia County, Va., about 1740), son of Henry and Mary (Osborne) Beauford, married Frances (last name not known).

They had:

1. Thomas⁶ Buford (b. Nov. 22, 1733, d. June 5, 1735).
2. Mary⁶ Buford (b. Nov. 24, 1735).
3. Elizabeth⁶ Buford (b. Dec. 3, 1738).

*Henry Osborne married, first, Mary Simpson, Aug. 1684, daughter, Mary (b. 1685-1687), married John Parsons, Sept. 28, 1704. Henry Osborne married, second, Alice George, May 15, 1688, daughter Ann, baptized April 28, 1689.

4. William⁶ Buford (b. May 15, 1742).
5. Catherine⁶ Buford (b. April 26, 1744).
6. James⁶ Buford (b. July 5, 1746).
7. Frances⁶ Buford (b. May 17, 1748).
8. LeRoy⁶ Buford (b. April 29, 1751).
9. Josiah⁶ Buford (b. May 11, 1753).
10. Letitia⁶ Buford (b. Sept. 1, 1758).

William⁶ Buford (b. May 15, 1742), lived in Lunenburg County, where he died Jan. 23, 1816 (Buford Family in America, page 275), son of Henry and Frances Beauford, married in 1781, Mary Ragsdale (d. May 4, 1792), dau. of Captain John Ragsdale—(See order book II, July, 1765).

They had:

1. Abram⁷ Buford (b. Nov. 25, 1782).
2. Sarah⁷ Buford (b. Feb. 17, 1784).
3. William⁷ Buford (b. Apr. 13, 1785).
4. Thomas⁷ Buford (b. Sept. 16, 1786).
5. John⁷ Buford (b. January 12, 1788).
6. Catherine⁷ Buford (b. Sept. 4, 1791).

Catherine⁶ Buford (Beuford) (b. Apr. 26, 1744), dau. of Henry⁵ Beauford, Jr., and Frances, married in 1767 (Marriage Bond in Amelia County, Virginia, dated May 30, 1767), Covington Hardy. For descendants see the Hardy Genealogy herein.

Abram⁷ (or Abraham) Buford (b. Nov. 25, 1782, of Nottoway Parish, Amelia County, Va., d. in October, 1852, in Marengo County, Alabama), son of William and Mary (Ragsdale) Buford, married December 27, 1805, Mrs. Susan Pegram Manson Ingram, of Lunenburg County, Virginia.

They had:

1. William Pegram⁸ Buford (b. July 20, 1807).
2. Thomas Manson⁸ Buford (b. May 18, 1808).
3. Abram⁸ Buford (b. April 5, 1814).

William Pegram⁸ Buford (b. July 20, 1807, d. at "Farmington," his home, Brunswick Co., Va., Dec. 16, 1868), son of Abram and Susan P. Buford of Nottoway Parish, Amelia Co., Va., married, May 9, 1833, Lucy A. Rice (b. March 12, 1807,

d. Aug. 27, 1895, at Farmington), dau. of Col. William Rice, of Brunswick County, Va. They had: 12 children, the two eldest dying in infancy. The others were:

1. Francis Emmet⁹ Buford (b. Nov. 17, 1836).
2. Lelia Fitzwilliam⁹ Buford (b. May 5, 1839).
3. Margaret Susan⁹ Buford (b. May 4, 1841).
4. Mary Elizabeth⁹ Buford (b. April 11, 1843).
5. James Rice⁹ Buford (b. April 29, 1845).
6. Virginia Pegram⁹ Buford (b. June 19, 1847).
7. Charles⁹ Buford (b. August 8, 1849).
8. Francis Rice⁹ Buford (b. Sept. 23, 1851).
9. Andrew⁹ Buford (b. Oct. 30, 1853).
10. Preston⁹ Buford (b. March 2, 1856).

Francis Emmet⁹ Buford (b. Nov. 17, 1836), son of William Pegram and Lucy (Rice) Buford, married Nov. 24, 1858, Pattie Hicks (dau. of E. B. Hicks and granddaughter of ex-governor Stone of North Carolina), lawyer, com. atty., legislator, judge, editor *Brunswick Gazette*, Residence Sherwood, near Lawrenceville, Va.

They had:

1. Emmet¹⁰ Buford (b. Jan. 8, 1861).
2. Elizabeth Stone¹⁰ Buford (b. Jan. 2, 1863).
3. Edward Price¹⁰ Buford (b. Dec. 19, 1865).
4. Frank¹⁰ Buford (b. Aug. 25, 1868).
5. Robert Pegram¹⁰ Buford (b. Feb. 4, 1870).
6. Mary Amanda¹⁰ Buford (b. Aug. 26, 1885).

William⁷ Buford (b. Apr. 3, 1785), son of William and Mary (Ragsdale) Buford, married Susan R. Shelton,* of Pittsylvania County, Va.

*Note: *Shelton*:

“William and Clough Shelton signed the ‘Renunciation of Allegiance to Great Britain,’ in Albemarle County, Virginia, in 1776. Abram and Crispin Shelton were vestrymen in Camden Parish, Pittsylvania County; William, Edwin, Ralph C. and Richard of Amherst County. Sarah Shelton married Patrick Henry, John, grandson of Sir Ralph Shelton, married Ann Barrett, daughter of Peyton Randolph and his wife, Helen Maxwell McCauley Southall. Children—Alexander (never married), Harriet, John (married ——— Boyer; son John, married Amanda McRae), Turner Southall, Philip, and Southall. Miss Shelton married Robert Anderson.” *Buford Family in America*, 289.

They had:

1. William Henry⁸ Buford (b. Sept. 10, 1820).
2. Algernon Sidney⁸ Buford (b. Jan. 2, 1826).
3. Charles James Fox⁸ Buford (b. May 24, 1830).

Algernon Sidney⁸ Buford (b. Jan. 2, 1826), son of William and Susan Shelton Buford, married, 1st, Emily Townes.

Issue: Emily⁹ Buford (b. July 4, 1859).

2nd, Kate Wortham of Richmond, Va.

Issue: Katy Thomas⁹ Buford (b. May 2, 1871).

3rd, Mary Cameron Ross, widow of Robert Strother.

Issue:

1. Elise Mayo Strother⁹ Buford.
2. Algernon Sidney⁹ Buford, Jr. (b. Dec. 19, 1879).
3. Mary Rose⁹ Buford (b. Jan. 4, 1882).
4. William Erskine⁹ Buford (b. July 5, 1887).

Buford-Hardy.

In the *Buford Family in America* occurs this statement:

“Henry, son of Abraham and Sophia L. Buford, married Eleanor Hardy,—Children, Abraham (died young); John A., born Jan. 18, 1827; Paschal G., July 1, 1833; Massinella M., Feb. 29, 1836; Judith, and Mildred.”*

Their descendants are found in Missouri, California and Oregon; they are traced to some extent in *Buford Family in America*.

Also on page 315 of *Buford Family in America* is this statement:

“Martha M., daughter of Charles and Sarah G. Buford, married November 26, 1833, C. C. Hardy, of Lunenburg County, Virginia. (See Catherine, daughter of Henry and Frances.) Children—James (died young), Ann, Mary, Charles (died young), Emma (married and died), Caroline (died young), Philip.”

The C. C. Hardy here referred to is evidently Charles Coleman Hardy (b. Dec. 21, 1808), son of Charles Hardy (b. Apr.

*P. 161.

7, 1772, d. Jan. 25, 1830), of Lunenburg County, Virginia, and his second wife Sally Jordan Green (b. Oct. 25, 1783, d. Apr. 4, 1862), also of Lunenburg County, to whom he was married Feb. 22, 1804. (See Hardy Genealogy.)

This valuable volume also contains this paragraph:

“William Robert, son of Thomas and Martha P. Manson Buford, married Oct. 12, 1837, Emma J. Hardy (See Catherine Buford, below). Children: James H. and Mary R. (both died young). William Robert died July 5, 1850; lived at Dinwiddie C. H., Va., died there, and was buried, with his daughter, in the Old Pegram burying-ground. His son, James H., was buried at *White Hall*. Emma H. Buford married, second, E. J. Powell, and is a widow a second time. Lives in Nashville, Tenn.”*

The Bufords who trace the family stock through Lunenburg and the counties formed from Lunenburg are a numerous company.

Thus John and Judith Buford had several sons: Henry Buford of Bedford County, Virginia, who married Mildred Blackburn of Kentucky; Thomas Buford who served in the French and Indian Wars under Braddock (and Washington), and who is said to have commanded a company and been killed at the battle of Point Pleasant; James Buford, William Buford, Simeon Buford and Colonel Abraham Buford, whose force was massacred by Tarleton at the Waxhaws.

James, William, Simeon and Col. Abraham Buford, all, are said to have emigrated to Kentucky and became early settlers of Woodford County. Colonel Abraham Buford was the grandfather of Marcus B. Buford, the author of *The Buford Family in America*.

CALDWELL

This family is a very ancient one. It is said to be descended from the Albigenses and Waldenses of the Piedmont section of Italy, who were driven into France by the Roman Catholic persecutions. Some of the Caldwells, who were living at Mount Arid, near Toulon, France, earned the enmity of Francis I, of France, and after his escape from imprisonment under Charles

**Buford Family in America*, 292.

V, of Germany, three Caldwells, brothers, John, Alexander and Oliver, emigrated to Scotland, and there with the consent of James I, purchased the estate of a Bishop named Douglas, located near Solney Frith. It was provided that "the said brothers, John, Alexander and Oliver, late of Mount Arid," should have their estate known as "Caldwell" on condition that when the King should require they should each send a son with twenty men of sound limbs, to aid in the wars of the King.*

There is a cup, preserved as an heirloom, which represents a chieftain and twenty mounted men, all armed, and a man drawing water from a well, with the words underneath, "Alexander of Cauldwell." It also shows a fire burning on a hill, over the words, "Mount Arid," and also a vessel surrounded by high waves, which latter was intended to commemorate the fact that their ancestors were seamen in the Mediterranean, in the latter part of the Fourteenth Century.†

Oliver Cromwell's grandmother was Ann Cauldwell, and Joseph, John, Alexander, Daniel, David and Andrew, of Cauldwell, went with Cromwell to Ireland, and in various capacities served his interest there, after his accession to the Protectorate. Upon the restoration of Charles II, a number of the family emigrated to America.

There are traceable three distinct immigrations of the Caldwells from Ireland.

First, John Caldwell, who with his family landed at New Castle, Delaware, Dec. 10, 1727.

Second, James Caldwell, of County Tyrone, Ireland, with his family who came in 1769. With him also came two younger brothers, John who settled in Virginia, and David who settled in one of the Carolinas.

Third, John Caldwell of Harmony Hill, near Ballymony, County Antrim, Ireland, who with his family somewhere between 1798 and 1800 settled on the present site of Salisbury Mills, Orange County, New York, except the youngest son, who settled in Charleston, S. C. Two brothers later came to

*Account of Elsie Chapline Pheby Cross, in *Journal of American History*.

†Id.

America, one James Caldwell settled in Philadelphia, and the other, Richard Caldwell, settled in Baltimore.

We are concerned chiefly with the first emigrant John Caldwell and his group, comprising his wife, five children and three brothers-in-law, Moore, Richey and Dudgeon, who landed at New Castle, Delaware, Dec. 10, 1727, for he was one of the pioneer settlers of the territory created into Lunenburg County. After landing and before emigrating to Virginia he located for a time in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.

The circumstances under which he and his Presbyterian associates came to Virginia are given in the account of the early Presbyterians in Chapter IX, Vol. I, on the Early Churches. He was born in Ireland (probably in County Derry), and there married Margaret Phillips. Five of their children were born before they came to America.

John¹ Caldwell (b. in Ireland, d. 1750-51,* in Lunenburg County, Virginia), married, in Ireland, Margaret Phillips (d. evidently before 1748, for the will of John Caldwell dated Nov. 26, 1748, makes no mention of her).

Issue:

1. William² Caldwell, who married Jean _____.
2. Thomas² Caldwell,
3. David² Caldwell, who married Mary _____.
4. Margaret² Caldwell, who married, 1st, John Rogers, and 2nd, James Mitchell.
5. John² Caldwell,
6. Robert² Caldwell (d. July 30, 1808), married Mary Logan.
7. James² Caldwell (b. Apr. 1734, d. Nov. 24, 1781), married March 14, 1763, Hannah Ogden. Graduated from Princeton in 1759.

William² Caldwell (son of John¹ Caldwell and Margaret Phillips), married Jean _____.

Issue:

1. Thomas³ Caldwell,

*One authority says Oct. 1750. His will was probated in Lunenburg County, Va., April 3, 1751. It is reasonable to assume that it was not long before that date.

2. John³ Caldwell,
3. Elizabeth³ Caldwell, who married Robert Gilham.
4. Martha³ Caldwell, who married Patrick Calhoun.
5. Henry³ Caldwell.

David² Caldwell (son of John¹ Caldwell and Margaret Phillips), married Mary ———.

Issue:

1. John³ Caldwell, who married 1st, Dicey Mann; 2nd, Jane Nelly Walker.
2. David³ Caldwell, who married Phoebe Mann.
3. Robert³ Caldwell.
4. William³ Caldwell.
5. Thomas³ Caldwell.
6. James³ Caldwell.
7. Margaret³ Caldwell.
8. Sarah³ Caldwell.
9. Mary³ Caldwell.
10. Jeanne³ Caldwell.

Margaret² Caldwell (daughter of John¹ Caldwell and Margaret Phillips), married:

1st, John Rodgers.

Issue: John³ Rodgers* and four other children.

2nd: James Mitchell.

Issue: Five children.

James² Caldwell (son of John¹ Caldwell and Margaret Phillips), b. April, 1734, graduated at Princeton in 1759, licensed by the Presbytery of New Jersey, July 29, 1760, and ordained Sept., 1760. Installed as pastor of First Presbyterian Church (Elizabethton, N. J. (?)), was shot by a sentinel at Elizabeth Point, N. J., Nov. 24, 1781.† Married: March 14, 1763, Hannah Ogden (daughter of John Ogden, who was shot

*John Rodgers married and had a daughter, Ann P. Rodgers, who married Felix Grundy, and Felix Grundy married and had a daughter Felicia Grundy.

†The account does not say whether this was a fatal shot or not.

and killed by a British soldier at Connecticut Farms, N. J., Nov. 22, 1781).

Issue:

1. Margaret³ Caldwell (b. Jan. 25, 1764, d. Jan. 3, 1831), married Isaac Canfield of Morristown, N. J.

Children:

Eliza⁴ Canfield,
Robert⁴ Canfield,
James⁴ Canfield,
Annie⁴ Canfield,
Dayton⁴ Canfield,
Sallie⁴ Canfield,
Isaac⁴ Canfield,
John⁴ Canfield,
Hannah⁴ Canfield,
Josiah⁴ Canfield.

2. John Dickenson³ Caldwell (b. Jan. 29, 1765, d. May 11, 1766).

3. Hannah S.³ Caldwell (b. Sept. 20, 1767, d. Feb. 20, 1825). Married James R. Smith (Merchant) of New York City.

Children:

Jeanet⁴ Smith,
Hannah R.⁴ Smith, who married Matthew St. Clair Clark,
Clerk of the House of Representatives.
James C. R.⁴ Smith,
Elizabeth⁴ Smith, who married Governor Duncan of
Illinois.

4. John Edwards³ Caldwell (b. Feb. 2, 1769, d. Mar. 9, 1819). Educated in France by Lafayette; was one of the founders and General Agent of the American Bible Society. Married a Mrs. VanWyck.

Children:

Louisa⁴ Caldwell,
John B.⁴ Caldwell.

5. James Baxter³ Caldwell (b. Jan. 8, 1771, d. Feb. 12, 1826).

Lawyer at Woodbury, N. J., and Judge of Gloucester Co.
Married (unknown).

Children:

James⁴ Caldwell,
Mary⁴ Caldwell,
William⁴ Caldwell,
John⁴ Caldwell,
Annie⁴ Caldwell.

6. Esther Flynt³ Caldwell (b. Oct. 26, 1772, d. 1844). Married Rev. Robert Finley, one of the founders of the Colonization Society, and President of Franklin College, Ga.

Children:

Mary L.⁴ Finley,
Helen⁴ Finley,
James C.⁴ Finley,
Robert S.⁴ Finley,
Josiah⁴ Finley,
Ann⁴ Finley,
John⁴ Finley,
Susan⁴ Finley,
Hannah⁴ Finley.

7. Josiah Flynt³ Caldwell (b. Aug. 23, 1774). Employed in the U. S. Post Office Dept., Washington, D. C. Married Mariah McGruder.

Children:

Mariah⁴ Caldwell,
Margaret⁴ Caldwell,
LaFayette⁴ Caldwell,
Elias B.⁴ Caldwell,
John F.⁴ Caldwell,
Elizabeth⁴ Caldwell.

8. Elias Bequinet³ (?) Caldwell (b. Apr. 3, 1776, d. May 31, 1825). For many years clerk of the United States Supreme Court. One of the founders and Corresponding Secretary of the Colonization Society. A town in Africa was named in his honor. Married (unknown).

Children:

Anna M.⁴ Caldwell,
 James⁴ Caldwell,
 Harriet⁴ Caldwell,
 Elias⁴ Caldwell,
 John E.⁴ Caldwell,
 Mary⁴ Caldwell,
 Hannah⁴ Caldwell,
 Susan⁴ Caldwell.

9. Sarah³ Caldwell (b. June 12, 177—, d. Aug. 25, 1826).
 Married Rev. John S. Vredenburgh of Louisville, N. Y.

Children:

Hannah S.⁴ Vredenburgh,
 Margaret S.⁴ Vredenburgh,
 Maria C.⁴ Vredenburgh,
 Peter⁴ Vredenburgh,
 Harriet⁴ Vredenburgh,
 Ann⁴ Vredenburgh,
 Elizabeth⁴ Vredenburgh,
 Helen W.⁴ Vredenburgh,
 Sarah⁴ Vredenburgh,
 John S.⁴ Vredenburgh,
 Catherine V.⁴ Vredenburgh.

10. Maria³ Caldwell (b. Sept. 29, 17—, d. Apr. 5, —).
 Married Robert S. Robertson (Merchant), of New York
 City.

Children:

Alexander⁴ Robertson,
 Neal⁴ Robertson,
 Helen⁴ Robertson,
 William⁴ Robertson,
 Louisa⁴ Robertson.

John³ Caldwell (David² Caldwell, John¹ Caldwell) (d. June
 11, 1829 (1822?)).

Married, 1st: June 1, 1775, Dicey Mann (b. Sept. 3, 1753,
 d. Feb. 27, 1785).

Issue:

David⁴ Caldwell (b. Mar. 16, 1776), married Lucy Cabiness.

William⁴ Caldwell (b. Aug. 10, 1777), married,
1st, Eliza Pyle; 2nd, Nancy Trabue.

Beverly⁴ Caldwell (b. Oct. 3, 1779), married Phoebe Hatcher.

Mary⁴ Caldwell (b. Feb. 28, 1782), married ——— McCoun.

Phoebe⁴ Caldwell (b. Feb. 10, 1784), married James Cald-
well, son of Robert Caldwell.

Married, 2nd: Jane Nelly Walker (b. Jan. 7, 1755).

Issue:

Samuel Walker⁴ Caldwell, married Betsey Caldwell (dau. of
David Caldwell).

John⁴ Caldwell, married Betsey Conover.

Dacey Mann⁴ Caldwell, married Willis Caldwell (a cousin).

Margaret⁴ ("Peggy") Caldwell, married ——— Watson.
(Lived in Tennessee).

Isaac⁴ Caldwell (b. Nov. 30, 1795. Killed in a duel at Canton,
Miss., about 1836.)

David³ Caldwell (David² Caldwell, John¹ Caldwell), married
Phoebe Mann.

Issue:

Jackson Josiah⁴ Caldwell (b. Dec. 28, 1774), married Mary
Henderson.

Thomas⁴ Caldwell (b. Dec. 12, 1776).

Frances Mann⁴ Caldwell (b. Aug. 1778).

Sally⁴ Caldwell (b. Oct. 1, 1780).

David⁴ Caldwell (b. March 15, 1782).

James⁴ Caldwell (b. Jan. 17, 1784).

Dacey⁴ Caldwell (b. Sept. 28, 1785), married 1st, Curry;
2nd, McAfee.

William⁴ Caldwell (b. June 17, 1787), married, 1st, Betsey
———, and 2nd, Rachel Rennick.

Phoebe⁴ Caldwell (b. Mar. 3, 1789), married Archie Adams.

John⁴ Caldwell (b. Nov. 2, 1790), married Mary Knox.

Cary⁴ Caldwell (b. Nov. 6, 1792).

Betsey⁴ Caldwell (b. Feb. 10, 1795), married Samuel Walker
Caldwell.

Jackson⁴ Caldwell (b. Aug. 3, 1797).

Samuel⁴ Caldwell (b. May 23, 1799).

William⁴ Caldwell (John³, David,² John¹), (b. Aug. 10, 1777), married twice. 1st, Aug. 15, 1802, Eliza Pile, or Pyle (d. Sept. 3, 1809).

Issue:

Maria⁵ Caldwell (b. Feb. 1, 1804, d. Aug. 13, 1813).

Matilda⁵ Caldwell (b. Mar. 9, 1806, d. at Rushville, Ill.), married Oct. 1822, Jonathan Patterson.

Eliza Ann⁵ Caldwell (b. June 13, 1809), married twice, 1st, George Wagley of Adair County, Kentucky; 2nd, Judge Ben Munroe, of Frankfort, Ky., and died there.

Married 2nd: Sept. 20, 1810, Ann Trabue.

Issue:

Elizabeth H.⁵ Caldwell (b. Nov. 26, 1811), married William Trabue.

Ann Jane⁵ Caldwell (b. Mar. 29, 1813), married Dr. J. D. Winston.

George Alford⁵ Caldwell (b. Oct. 8, 1814, d. Sept. 17, 1866).

Phoebe Lucretia⁵ Caldwell (b. July 30, 1816), married Dr. Helm.

William⁵ Caldwell (b. Apr. 3, 1818), married Augusta Guthrie.

Junius⁵ Caldwell (b. Mar. 2, 1820), married Miss Rochester.

Isaac⁵ Caldwell (b. Jan. 30, 1824), married Kate Smith.

Mary Letitia⁵ Caldwell (b. Oct. 3, 1825), married C. Rochester.

Beverly⁴ Caldwell (John,³ David,² John¹), (b. Oct. 3, 1779), married Phoebe Hatcher.

Issue:

Henry⁵ Caldwell (died at the age of two years).

John Jackson⁵ Caldwell (d. in Christian Co., Ky., in 1855); married Ermine Willis, daughter of William Willis, and had eight children, six of whom, and his wife, survived him.

Robert Haskins⁵ Caldwell (d. May, 1841), married Betsey Hodgen, his second cousin, granddaughter of William Trabue. His wife and three children survived him.

Nancy Hatcher⁵ Caldwell (d. at home in Todd Co., Ky., in 1849); married Nathan Penick (d. in Louisville, Ky., in 1843). Three children died in infancy. They had eight sons and three daughters who grew to mature years.

Mary McCoun⁵ Caldwell (d. in 1828).

William Henry⁵ Caldwell (d. in Adair Co., Ky., about 1838).

Married Parthenia Ingram, and had two children.

James Shipp⁵ Caldwell (living July, 1882); married in 1839,

America Garnett, niece of John Jackson Caldwell's wife.

Resided in Glasgow, Ky.

Isaac Hedges⁵ Caldwell, married Nov. 18, 1847, Eva S. Stites.

Sarah Ann⁵ Caldwell, married in 1844, William Edwards of

Todd Co., Ky., residing in 1882, in Gordonsville, Logan Co., Ky.

Josiah Hatcher⁵ Caldwell, married Maria Anderson.

Beverly⁵ Caldwell (died unmarried in Christian Co., Ky.).

COLEMAN

The Coleman family is closely allied with that of Boswell.

Henry Coleman secured a grant for 1,000 acres of land in Elizabeth City County in 1632.

He had a son Richard Coleman, who in 1654 married Rebecca Claiborn.

They had a son, Robert Coleman, who married (name of wife not known), and had at least four children:

1. John Coleman, who in 1677 married, in Abingdon Parish, Gloucester County, Virginia; and who also married a second time. His first wife was named Margaret, his second Ann. The last name of neither is known.

This John Coleman had three children, but which were by the first and which, if any, by the second wife, is not known. These children were: Samuel Coleman (b. 1728); Richard Coleman (b. 1703), who had a son John Coleman (b. 1745); and James Coleman (b. 1743), whose wife was Elizabeth, who also had a son John Coleman (b. 1722).

2. Joseph Coleman (of Abingdon Parish, Gloucester County, Virginia), whose wife's name was Agnes. Joseph and Agnes had two children: Adelston Coleman, baptized 1689, and John Coleman (baptized April 15, 1688), whose wife, Grace, died in 1758.

John and Grace had: (1) James Coleman (b. 1732), the

name of whose wife is not known, but they had five children: Richard Coleman (b. 1761), who married Ann Stubbs, John Coleman (b. 1758), Grace Coleman (b. 1755), Mary Coleman (bap. 1745), and Esther Coleman; (2) John Coleman; (3) Joseph Coleman (b. 1735), whose wife was Grace, and who had a daughter Sarah (b. 1757, d. 1761); (4) Richard Coleman (b. 1723), whose wife was Johanna, and who had two children: Thomas Coleman (b. 1745), and George Coleman (b. 1743).

3. Thomas Coleman (of Abingdon Parish, Gloucester Co., Va.), whose wife's name was Rebecca.

They had: Robert Coleman, John Coleman, Mary Coleman, Thomas Coleman, whose wife was Elizabeth (who died in 1750), Sarah Coleman (1687), Rebecca Coleman (1684), Grizelle Coleman (1692), and Ann Coleman (1680).

Of the descendants of these eight children we have available only those of Thomas Coleman and Elizabeth (who died 1750). They were: John Coleman (b. 1738), Susannah Coleman (b. 1735), married Armstead Wallington, Dianna Coleman, Rachel Coleman, Mary Coleman, Sarah Coleman, who married in 1744 Josiah Ryland; Thomas Coleman, Elizabeth Coleman, who married in 1737 William Robins; Rebecca Coleman, who married John Hall; and Joseph Coleman (b. 1715), and whose wife was Rebecca. These last named, Joseph Coleman (b. 1715) and his wife Rebecca had: Dianna Coleman (bap. 1752), Mary Coleman (bap. 1749), John Coleman (bap. 1748), Elizabeth Coleman (bap. 1744), and Jane Coleman (bap. 1742).

4. Robert Coleman (of Abingdon Parish, Gloucester Co., Virginia, in the parish in 1674), wife named Ann. His will was probated in Essex County, Va., in 1713.

They had: (1) Grizelle Coleman who married John Chamberlain (whose will is proved in 1725). Their son John Chamberlain had a son Robert Chamberlain (bap. 1713), whose wife was Elizabeth, and they had three chil-

dren: Robert Chamberlain (b. 1743), Elizabeth Chamberlain (b. 1749), and Whiley Chamberlain (b. 1751).

(2) Ann Coleman.

(3) Howard Coleman, of *Berkley Place*, Spotsylvania County, Va., whose will was proved in 1794, and whose wife was Sarah. They had: John Coleman, Henry Coleman, William Coleman, Thomas Coleman, James Coleman, Robert Coleman, Kate Coleman (married Wagoner), and Phoebe Coleman.

The Lunenburg and Mecklenburg Colemans are certainly from Gloucester County stock, and presumably are descended from the first named Henry Coleman (1632), but the line of the descent is not clearly established. Doubtless a painstaking genealogist would not find the work of correlating and systematizing the available data in the various counties, so as to show the descent of the Lunenburg and Mecklenburg Colemans, an insuperable task, but it would be a tedious and laborious one.

Cluverius¹ Coleman (Will in Mecklenburg County, Va., dated September 14, 1799, probated Oct. 14, 1799), wife named Massey.

They had:

1. James² Coleman, who married and had four children: (1) Elizabeth³ Coleman, (2) Benjamin Whitehead³ Coleman, (3) Jane³ Coleman (who married Swepson), (4) Mary Anne³ Coleman.
2. Elizabeth² Coleman, who married Jeffries. They had four children: (1) Mary Elizabeth³ Jeffries, (2) Massey³ Jeffries, (3) Robert³ Jeffries, (4) James³ Jeffries.
3. Rebekah² Coleman, who married Phillips.
4. Mary² Coleman, who married March, 1784, John Iverson Boswell, Sr. (b. April 5, 1761), Revolutionary soldier. They had five children: (1) Elizabeth³ Boswell, (2) Joseph³ Boswell, (3) Nancy³ Boswell, (4) Polly³ Boswell, and (5) John Iverson³ Boswell, Jr., who married his cousin Nancy Coleman. (See Boswell Genealogy.)
5. Grace² Coleman, who married one Hicks.
6. John² Coleman.
7. Annie² Coleman, who married one Green.

8. William² Coleman.
9. Thomas² Coleman, of Lunenburg (Will dated Jan. 15, 1826, probated Sept. 21, 1827), married Sally Rowlett. They had: (1) Eliza B.³ Coleman, (2) Cluverius R.³ Coleman, (3) William G.³ Coleman, (4) James A.³ Coleman, (5) John L.³ Coleman, (6) Peter W.³ Coleman, (7) Whited M.³ Coleman, (8) Nancy D.³ Coleman (b. Feb. 7, 1801, d. May 29, 1834), married Nov. 24, 1818, John Iverson Boswell, Jr. (b. Jan. 23, 1796, d. Dec. 15, 1846), (9) Sally N.³ Coleman, married Richardson, (10) Jannette N.³ Coleman, (11) Mary E.³ Coleman.

DAVIS

The early history of the family from which the Davises of Prince Edward, Charlotte and Lunenburg are sprung is not definitely known. That is to say, the ancestors of Nicholas Davis, the progenitor of the family, are in the present state of investigation, not definitely ascertained.

Nicholas¹ Davis (b. circa 1750, d. 1818), of Prince Edward County, died in Charlotte County, Virginia. His will is dated Aug. 20, 1818, and was probated Sept. 7, 1818.*

He was Lieutenant of Militia of Prince Edward County, Virginia, in the Revolutionary War, as is shown by the following record:

“At a Court held for Prince Edward County, May 17th, 1779.

“Present: Thomas Scott, Peter LeGrand, William Booker, Jacob Woodson, Thomas Scott, Junr.

Gentlemen Justices.

“Williamson Bird is appointed Captain of the Militia in the room of Charles Venable, resigned, took the oath according to law.

“Nicholas Davis, First Lieutenant, Robert Venable, 2nd Lieutenant, took the oath required by law.

“Sharpe Spencer appointed Captain of the Militia, George Booker, first Lieutenant, took the oath required by law.

*Charlotte County W. B. 4, p. 204.

“John Clark, Junr., Ensign, James Parks, 2nd Lieutenant, Jesse Watson, 2nd Lieutenant, Drury Watson, Ensign, took the oath required by law.”

Nicholas Davis' wife was named Lucy, as is proved by deeds executed by them. But her last name has not been ascertained, nor the date and place of their marriage.

They had:

1. Kate (or Katy)² Davis, who married Routin.
2. Polly² Davis, who married Mosley.
3. Elizabeth C.² Davis (b. July 18, 1776, d. Aug. 16, 1852), who married November 29, 1804, David Bell (b. Feb. 3, 1779, d. Nov. 15, 1836), son of George and Rebecca (Calhoun) Bell.

For their descendants see the Bell and Hardy Genealogies herein.

4. Stephen² Davis (b. 1795, d. 1866), who married in 1815, Ann Roach of Charlotte County, Virginia.

Ann Roach was a descendant of John Williamson and his wife Rebecca Chamberlayne. The line was as follows: John Williamson married Rebecca Chamberlayne; they had among others: Cuthbert Williamson who married Elizabeth Allen; they had among others, Cuthbert Williamson who married (first) Elizabeth (last name not known) and (second) Susanna White. By the second marriage, among others he had Martha Williamson, who married John Roach. Ann Roach was their daughter.

Stephen² Davis and his wife Ann Roach had:

1. Susan Frances Williamson³ Davis (d. Dec. 8, 1854), who married Aug. 13, 1839, her first cousin, John Davis Bell.

For their descendants see the Bell and Hardy Genealogies herein.

2. William Nicholas³ Davis (b. circa. 1818-20, d. 1872 in Richmond, Virginia), married about 1840 Miss Jenkins, of Farmville, Virginia.

They had:

William Nicholas⁴ Davis, of Chatham, Virginia.

3. Mary Elizabeth³ Davis (b. 1824, at Charlotte C. H., Virginia, d. 1889 at Pleasant Grove, Lunenburg County, Virginia), married in 1845 Captain James Chappel Love, of Lunenburg County, Va.
4. Ebner Banks³ Davis (b. circa 1825), married Fannie Brydie, of Mecklenburg County, Va.
5. Abner Brown Clopton³ Davis (generally known as "Brown" Davis), (b. circa 1828), married Jane Whitlock, of Baltimore, Md.; lived in Charlotte County, Virginia, until the close of the Civil War, then moved to Richmond, Virginia, where he died in the seventies. (His widow then married a Mr. Powers.)
6. Robert Henry³ Davis (b. circa 1830), married, first, Miss Leonard Estelle Duffle; second, Miss Clara Hoover of Baltimore, Md.
7. Betty Reed³ Davis (b. circa 1836), married James Morrison.
8. Nannie Haller³ Davis (b. circa 1840), married twice: First in 1858 to David Morrisette; second, to Captain J. T. Crymes. .

David Morrisette was a Confederate soldier and fought bareheaded through the battle of First Manassas. He passed through the battle without being wounded, but as a result of the exposure had brain fever, from which he died in a few days.

9. Lucy Booker³ Davis (b. circa 1843), married in 1868, Puryear Cobb, of Charlotte County, Va.
10. John³ Davis (died in infancy).
11. Martha³ Davis (died in infancy).

Mary Elizabeth³ Davis (b. 1824, d. 1889), married, 1845, Captain James Chappel Love, of Lunenburg County, Virginia. They had:

1. Stephen Henry⁴ Love (b. Oct. 21, 1846), Confederate soldier at the age of seventeen, entering the reserve forces from which he was transferred to the 9th Regiment of Virginia Cavalry. Was wounded in a rear guard action on the retreat of Lee's army from Petersburg to Ap-

pomattox C. H. After the war he was a prominent farmer of Lunenburg County, and represented the County in the House of Delegates for eight or more years. He married Feb. 21, 1866, Lucy Mildred Dickenson.

They had:

1. Aurelius Arthur⁵ Love (b. Nov. 25, 1866, d. Nov. 6, 1867).
2. Mary Ellen⁵ Love (b. June 13, 1868), married April 10, 1889, T. E. Bibb, of Beckley, W. Va.

Children:

Edgar Earle⁶ Bibb, married.
Harry⁶ Bibb,
Carlyn⁶ Bibb,
Mildred⁶ Bibb,
James⁶ Bibb,
Clarence⁶ Bibb.

3. Willie Madaline⁵ Love (b. Apr. 25, 1870), married March 7, 1889, W. H. Faris.

Children:

Florence E.⁶ Faris, married in 1911, Ernest Smith.
Guy⁶ Faris,
Hugh⁶ Faris,
Lucy Mildred⁶ Faris,
Thelma⁶ Faris,
Phillip⁶ Faris,
Mary⁶ Faris,
Madaline⁶ Faris.

4. Florence Jane⁵ Love (b. Oct. 8, 1871), married Sept. 14, 1893, S. T. Carter, of Fayetteville, W. Va.

Children:

Vivian Love⁶ Carter.

5. Henry Clarence⁵ Love (b. May 12, 1873), married in 1897, Mae Winn, of Lunenburg County, Va.

Children:

Pearl⁶ Love,
Carter⁶ Love,
Marguerite⁶ Love.

6. Fred Oscar⁵ Love (b. Dec. 11, 1874).

7. John Albert⁵ Love (b. Mar. 13, 1876), married in 1899,
Lela R. Bruce.

Children:

1. Harry⁶ Love,
2. Lawrence⁶ Love,
3. Thorbon⁶ Love,
4. Ruth⁶ Love.

8. Lucy Violet⁵ Love (b. Mar. 20, 1878), married in 1903,
George C. Snead, of Lunenburg County, Va.

Children:

1. Gladys⁶ Snead,
2. Benjamin⁶ Snead.

9. Leon Luxford⁵ Love (b. Feb. 9, 1880), married in 1903,
Lizzie Snead.

Children:

1. Everett⁶ Love,
2. Willard⁶ Love,
3. Stephen Henry⁶ Love.

10. James Hunter⁵ Love (b. July 23, 1882), married Nannie
B. Gee, in 1904.

Children:

1. Florence⁶ Love (dead),
2. Hazel⁶ Love,
3. Harold⁶ Love.

11. Bernice Aubry⁵ Love (b. Apr. 22, 1884), married in
1906, May Coleman Love.

Children:

1. Aubry⁶ Love,
 2. Aurelius Arthur⁶ Love.
12. Ernest Paul⁵ Love (b. Aug. 15, 1886), married in 1908, Lizzie Terrel.

Children:

1. Myrium Pauline⁶ Love.
13. Frank Hazel⁵ Love (b. Nov. 10, 1892).
2. Ellen Brown⁴ Love (b. 1847), married in 1866, Washington E. Winn, of Lunenburg County, Virginia.

They had:

1. Delle⁵ Winn (b. circa 1868, d. circa 1898), married about 1886, William T. Passmore, of Lunenburg County.

Children:

1. Nellie⁶ Passmore,
 2. Lawrence⁶ Passmore,
 3. Gordon⁶ Passmore,
 4. Lula⁶ Passmore.
2. Maude⁵ Winn (b. 1875), married 1904, A. B. M. Fowlkes, of Lunenburg County, Va.

Children:

1. Ellen⁶ Fowlkes.
3. Lula⁵ Winn, married Eddie Passmore. She died within a year.
4. Pearl⁵ Winn, married Eddie Passmore, widower of her sister. He is now dead.

Children:

1. Myriam⁶ Passmore,
 2. Ellen⁶ Passmore,
 3. George E.⁶ Passmore,
 4. Washington⁶ Passmore.
5. Fannie⁵ Winn, married Callie Abbott, of Manchester, Va.

6. Bennie⁵ Winn, married Claire Overby, daughter of Hon. Thomas A. Overby, of Lunenburg County, Va.
3. Mary Eliza⁴ Love (b. June 15, 1850, d. July 8, 1908), married March 23, 1871, Olando Love Hardy (b. Sept. 13, 1848).

They had:

1. Henry Hallie⁵ Hardy (b. May 8, 1872), married Dec. 21, 1910, Carrie Jane Bell.
2. Eva Maude⁵ Hardy (b. Nov. 25, 1873), married Nov. 18, 1898, Stanley Merle Arvin, of Lunenburg County, Va.

Children:

1. Eva⁶ Arvin,
2. Merle⁶ Arvin,
3. Iva⁶ Arvin,
4. Eugenia⁶ Arvin.
3. William Chappel⁵ Hardy (b. May 13, 1875).
4. Laura Estelle⁵ Hardy (b. Mar. 13, 1877), married Dec. 23, 1898, Ottie Ofield Barnes, of Lunenburg County, Va.

Children:

1. Lawson Chappel⁶ Barnes,
2. Otis Olando⁶ Barnes,
3. Laverne Elmo⁶ Barnes.
5. Lillian Clarie⁵ Hardy (b. Feb. 24, 1880), married Dec. 19, 1906, Oscar Lyons Harris, of Lunenburg Co., Va.

Children:

1. Wiley Bernice⁶ Harris.
6. Vernie Love⁵ Hardy (b. Nov. 11, 1883), married April 17, 1907, Jackson Boyne Pettus, of Mecklenburg County, Va.

Children:

1. Hallie Mason⁶ Pettus,
2. Irma Reid⁶ Pettus.

-
7. Bettie Reid⁵ Hardy (b. Oct. 26, 1887).
 8. Glenna Mildred⁵ Hardy (b. June 17, 1890).
 4. William Nicholas⁴ Love (b. 1857, d. 1906), married Dorcas Coleman, of West Virginia.
They had: Four sons and five daughters.
 1. Ampie⁵ Love,
 2. Minnie⁵ Love,
 3. Hoten⁵ Love,
 4. James⁵ Love,
 5. Gracie⁵ Love,
 6. Estelle⁵ Love,
 7. Allie⁵ Love,
 8. Mabel⁵ Love,
 9. Wallace⁵ Love.
 5. Laura Estelle⁴ Love (b. 1859), married in 1883, A. Y. Hurt (dead). They had: Three boys, two girls.
 1. Blanche⁵ Hurt.
 2. Clude⁵ Hurt,
 3. Verne⁵ Hurt,
 4. Homer⁵ Hurt,
 5. Lottie⁵ Hurt.
 6. James Chappel⁴ Love, Jr. (b. 1862), married Miss Kincaid, of West Virginia.
They had:
 1. Edward⁵ Love,
 2. Earle⁵ Love,
 3. Ada⁵ Love,
 4. Blanche⁵ Love.
 7. Clara Hoover⁴ Love (b. 1863, died in infancy).
 8. Ada Miller⁴ Love (b. 1865), married in 1886, Charles Faris.
They had:
 1. Roy⁵ Faris,
 2. Lillian⁵ Faris,

3. Bertha⁵ Faris,
4. Violet⁵ Faris,
5. Carl⁵ Faris.

Ebner Banks³ Davis (b. circa 1825), married Fannie Brydie, of Mecklenburg County, Virginia.

They had:

1. Leslie⁴ Davis (died in childhood).
2. Alberta⁴ Davis, married J. J. Mackay, for many years Registrar of Deeds of Buncombe County, N. C.
3. Gracie⁴ Davis, married John Wesley Cook.
4. Fannie Miller⁴ Davis, married twice: first in 1882, to Hugh Postell; second, to William B. Wild of North Carolina.
5. Charles Banks⁴ Davis, married Hattie Culpeper. He was a tobacconist of Danville, Va.

Children:

1. Ruth⁵ Davis,
2. Kathleen⁵ Davis,
3. Charles⁵ Davis.
6. Lula⁴ Davis, married John S. Montgomery, of LaCrosse, Mecklenburg County, Virginia.

Abner Brown Clapton³ Davis (b. circa 1828), married June Whitlock.

They had:

1. Walter⁴ Davis,
2. John⁴ Davis.

Robert Henry³ Davis (b. circa 1830, d. "in the '60's"), married twice: First, Miss Leonard Estelle Duffle. There were no children by this marriage; second, Clara Hoover, of Baltimore, Md.

They had:

1. Maude⁴ Davis, who married Ernest Gaither.
2. Clara⁴ Davis, who married one Smoot.
3. Alma⁴ Davis, who married one Pitt.

Bettie Reed³ Davis (b. circa 1836), married James Morrison.

They had:

1. Lillie⁴ Morrison, who married one Webster, of Reidsville, N. C.

Nannie Haller³ Davis (b. circa 1840), was twice married: First, in 1885 to David Morrisette; second, to Captain J. T. Crymes, of Lunenburg County, Va. Soon after their marriage Captain Crymes moved to Drakes Branch, Virginia, and there resided until his death in 1908. There were no children by the second marriage.

Children of the first marriage:

1. Thomas⁴ Morrisette,
2. Dee⁴ Morrisette.

DEGRAFFENREID

This is a Swiss family, and Christopher, the Baron (b. Nov. 21, 1661), was the first to come to America. There are several variations in the spelling, for example, Degraffenreid, deGraffenreidt.

Peter¹ DeGraffenreid (d. 1562), married Elizabeth Lenheer. They had issue:

Anton² DeGraffenreid (b. 15—, d. 1611), married twice: 1st, Susannah Abbuhl; 2nd, Maria Luensprung. By the first marriage he had:

Abraham³ DeGraffenreid, b. 15—, d. 1620), married Ursula VonDiesbach. They had:

Christopher⁴ DeGraffenreid IV (b. 1603, d. 1687). He was married three times: 1st, to Anna von Mulien; 2nd, to Barbara Ougsberger; 3rd, to Margaret Tscharner. By the first marriage he had a son:

Anton⁵ DeGraffenreid (b. 1639, d. 1730). He was married twice: 1st, to Catherine Jenner; 2nd to Susannah Lambach. By the first marriage he had a son:

Christopher⁶ DeGraffenreid V, the Baron (b. Nov. 21, 1661. d. 1735). With a colony of Swiss and Palatines he founded New Berne, North Carolina, in 1710, and named it in honor of his home city, Berne, Switzerland. He married Regina Tschar-

ner (b. 1665), daughter of the Noble Beat Lewis Tscharner. They had a son:

Christopher⁷ DeGraffenreid, Jr. (b. 1691), in Switzerland, settled in Virginia, and died in Virginia, October 27, 1742. He married in Charleston, S. C., Feb. 22, 1714, Barbara Tempest (nee Needham, daughter of Sir Arthur Needham, of Wymondely, England). She died in 1744.

The following interesting record of the proof of the marriage of Christopher DeGraffenreid and Barbara Tempest appears upon the county records of Lunenburg County, Virginia, in Deed Book 16, page 124:

South Carolina:

Before us personally appeared EDWARD STOCKER who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, deposeth and saith,

That in the year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and fourteen he was in the City of Charleston in the State of South Carolina aforesaid, and then and there did see Christopher Degraffenreidt and Barbara Tempest joined together in matrimony according to the laws and customs of the County at the time prevailing by a regular Clergyman named Jones.

Edward Stocker.

Sworn and subscribed this the 27th Day of July in the year of our Lord one Thousand seven hundred & ninety.

Before us,

Zacha. Bullock Acting Magistrate
(SEAL)

Obadiah Trimmer, Acting Magistrate
(SEAL)

South Carolina,

We hereby certify that according to our judgment & belief Edward Stocker is of sound memory and recollection and would be deemed a competent witness in any of our courts of our State.

Given under our hands & seals this 27th Day of July in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and ninety,

Zacha. Bullock (SEAL)

Obadiah Trimmer (SEAL)

South Carolina: S S.

Before us also appeared Penewell Lambkin, who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God deposeth and saith that this deponent is aged about Eighty Eight years as he verily believes, and that he knows the deponent Edward Stocker, named in the deposition above written and subscribed; and that he well recollects the said Edward Stocker to have been a man grown when he this deponent was a boy.

his
Penuwell X Lambkin.
mark.

Sworn to and subscribed this the 2nd day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety.

Before us,

Zacha. Bullock,
Acting Magistrate (SEAL)
Obadiah Trimmer
Acting Magistrate (SEAL)

There follows on the deed book a certificate of Charles Pinckney, Governor of South Carolina, and of Peter Frenau, dated Aug. 23, 1790, under the Seal of the State, certifying to the official character of Zachariah Bullock and Obadiah Trimmer.

These documents were placed upon the records of Lunenburg County after he took up his residence in the County, and it has been suggested that proof of the marriage was needed in respect to the descent or succession of title of certain property of the Baron, in Switzerland.

Christopher⁷ DeGraffenreid, Jr. (b. 1691, d. Oct. 27, 1742), and Barbara Tempest, had a son:

Tscharner⁸ DeGraffenreid (b. Nov. 28, 1722, in Williamsburg, Virginia, and d. in Lunenburg County, Virginia, in February or March, 1794. His will was proved in Lunenburg County, April 7, 1794). He was married four times: 1st, to Mary Baker of North Carolina, July 5, 1742; 2nd, to Sarah Lowry (nee Rust); 3rd, to Eliza Embry (nee Allen), in 1765; 4th, to Lucretia Robertson (nee Towns) in 1783.

By the first marriage he had :

1. Baker⁹ DeGraffenreid, who married Sarah Vass (b. 1744).
2. William⁹ DeGraffenreid, who married (M. B. Dec. 25, 1772), Elizabeth Robertson (b. 1749), dau. Francis Robertson.
3. Tscharner⁹ DeGraffenreid (b. 1752), never married. Shot and maimed for life in the battle of Guilford, N. C., in the Revolutionary War.
4. Mary⁹ DeGraffenreid, who married _____ Woodson.
5. Sarah⁹ DeGraffenreid, who married _____ Hobson.
6. Martha⁹ DeGraffenreid, who married _____ Strong.
7. Francis⁹ DeGraffenreid (b. 1747, d. Feb. 24, 1815), married Ermine Boswell (b. March 23, 1759, d. March 4, 1821). For her family connections see Boswell Genealogy. She was the daughter of Joseph Colgate Boswell, of Gloucester Co., and his wife Elizabeth Elliott, of Amelia Co., Va.

By the second marriage he had :

8. Metcalf⁹ DeGraffenreid, who married June 2, 1783, Mary Ann Maury, dau. Abraham Maury.

By the third marriage he had :

9. Allen⁹ DeGraffenreid.
10. Regina⁹ DeGraffenreid, married (M. B. Apr. 30, 1785), Charles Patteson.
11. Christopher⁹ DeGraffenreid.

By the fourth marriage he had :

12. Lucretia⁹ DeGraffenreid.
13. Catherine Jenner⁹ DeGraffenreid.
14. Nancy Needham⁹ DeGraffenreid.

Francis⁹ DeGraffenreid (b. 1747, d. Feb. 24, 1818), married Ermine Boswell (b. March 23, 1759, d. March 4, 1821), and had issue :

1. Elizabeth¹⁰ ("Betsey") Ann Colget DeGraffenreid, who married John Somerville; their daughter Ellen J. Somer-

ville married John Iverson Boswell, Dec. 18, 1838. She was his second wife. (See Boswell Genealogy.)

2. Baker Boswell¹⁰ DeGraffenreid (b. 1789). In Francis DeGraffenreid's will of record in Lunenburg County, this son is mentioned as Boswell B. DeGraffenreid.
3. Edwin Louis¹⁰ DeGraffenreid, who married Martha Kirkland.
4. Joseph¹⁰ DeGraffenreid, who married ——— Jamerson, of Tennessee.
5. John¹⁰ DeGraffenreid, who married ——— Olslon, of North Carolina.
6. Thomas¹⁰ DeGraffenreid, who married ——— Olslon, of North Carolina.
7. Francis¹⁰ DeGraffenreid.
8. Ermine¹⁰ DeGraffenreid, who married ——— Hobson.
9. William¹⁰ DeGraffenreid.

Elizabeth Ann Colget¹⁰ DeGraffenreid married John Somerville.

They had a daughter,

Ellen¹¹ J. Somerville, who married Dec. 18, 1838, John Iverson Boswell.

For their descendants see Boswell Genealogy.

Metcalf⁹ DeGraffenreid (d. in Williamson Co., Tenn.), married June 2, 1783, Mary Ann Maury (b. 1768), fifth child of Col. Abraham Maury, of Lunenburg Co., Va.

They had issue:

1. Abraham Maury¹⁰ DeGraffenreid, who married: 1st, Mary Hill, daughter of Col. Green Hill, of Williamson County, Tenn. They had: One son Abram¹¹ DeGraffenreid, who moved to Louisiana and died many years ago. Abraham Maury¹⁰ DeGraffenreid married 2nd, Maria White, daughter of an immigrant from Scotland who married in Charlottesville, Va., a Miss Tabb and moved to Williamson County, Tenn. There his youngest daughter Maria married Abram Maury¹⁰ DeGraffenreid. They had: (1) Thomas¹¹

DeGraffenreid (d. 1842), married Miss Guthrie, of Columbus, Miss.; their son Thomas¹² DeGraffenreid entered the army of the C. S. A. at 16 and was killed at Atlanta, Ga. (2) Fontaine¹¹ DeGraffenreid (d. in Decatur, Ala., in 1879, never married); (3) Tscharner¹¹ DeGraffenreid, served in the Sixteenth Alabama Regiment, during the Civil War. After the war he married a widow White and moved to Texas. (4) Matthew Maury¹¹ DeGraffenreid married three times: 1st, S. W. Patrick, daughter of Edward Patrick. She died in 1871, leaving two children, Mary F.¹² DeGraffenreid, who married Dr. E. T. Simms, of Hillsboro, Ala., and Maury¹² DeGraffenreid, who married Lula Gibson, daughter of Col. O. D. Gibson. The second wife of Maury¹¹ DeGraffenreid was the widow Dandridge, from near Courtland, Ala. She lived but a short time. He married 3rd, a widow named McDaniel. (5) Freeman F.¹¹ DeGraffenreid, never married. He served in the Civil War in Roddy's (Ala.) command. Later he went to Arkansas, and died in 1869. (6) Susan M.¹¹ DeGraffenreid married Captain J. W. Allen (d. 1880); their children were: Lizzie M.¹² Allen, who married Dr. John H. Farley; Mary C.¹² Allen, who married J. C. Kumpe, Probate Judge; and one other daughter. (7) Sally C.¹¹ DeGraffenreid, the youngest child of Abraham Maury¹⁰ DeGraffenreid, married Rev. W. E. Mabry, of the Alabama Conference. There were several children of this union, who were orphaned, and the burden of rearing the family fell upon two of these children, Mary Ann¹² Mabry and Elizabeth¹² Mabry; another of the children was Beverly Reese¹² Mabry.

2. Metcalf¹⁰ DeGraffenreid (2nd son of Metcalf⁹ DeGraffenreid and Mary Ann Maury), married three times. 1st, the beautiful Dorothy (Dolly) Pearsall, daughter of Mr. Jeremiah Pearsall. She lived but two years after the marriage. They had one child Catherine¹¹ DeGraffenreid, who married Powhatan Perkins, son of James Perkins, of Williamson County, Tenn. They had: Metcalf¹² Perkins who was killed during the Civil War; a daughter¹² who married Benjamin Allen; another daughter¹² who married Edmund

Baxter of Nashville, Tenn.; and another daughter¹²—name not known. Mrs. Perkins became widowed and married John H. Ewing, of Nashville, Tenn. (a druggist). They had a number of sons and daughters. One daughter¹² married Martin Baldwin, of Montgomery, Ala., and her granddaughter, Eliza¹³ Baldwin, married Mr. Hutchinson, of Montgomery.

3. Sarah¹⁰ DeGraffenreid (3rd child of Metcalf⁹ DeGraffenreid and Mary Ann Maury) married Rev. Lewis Garrett (b. Apr. 24, 1772, d. Apr. 28, 1857, in Pennsylvania). He was a son of Lewis Garrett, who moved first to Botetourt Co., Va., and in 1779 to Kentucky. After his marriage he removed with his brother-in-law, Abram Maury DeGraffenreid, to Lawrence County, Ala. He was a prominent figure in the Methodist Church for many years. With John Newland Moffitt he founded the *Western Methodist*, the forerunner of the *Christian Advocate*. He died in Mississippi at the home of his son, Abram Maury Garrett. They had: (1) Abram Maury¹¹ Garrett of Mississippi; (2) Phineas¹¹ Garrett; (3) James¹¹ Garrett; and (4) Anne¹¹ Garrett.
4. Susan¹⁰ DeGraffenreid (4th child of Metcalf⁹ DeGraffenreid and Mary Ann Maury), married Beverly Reese, son of a wealthy and pious member of the Methodist Church. He lived a few miles south of Franklin, Ala. They had issue:
 1. Sallie¹¹ DeGraffenreid, who married Mordecai Puryear. They are both dead. They had an only child, a daughter¹² who married Thomas Watson. They had: Two sons and five daughters.
 2. Elizabeth¹¹ DeGraffenreid, married John Currin, nephew of Robert P. Currin, a leading citizen of Franklin, Ala. They had: Sallie P.¹² Currin, of Franklin, Ala., and Evelyn Metcalf¹² Currin, who married Dr. Bellville Temple, of Mt. Megis, Ala. They had a son,¹³ and a daughter,¹³ names not supplied.
5. Matthew Fontaine¹⁰ DeGraffenreid (5th child of Metcalf⁹ DeGraffenreid and Mary Ann Fontaine), was known as

General DeGraffenreid both in Tennessee and Mississippi. He married, first, in Mississippi, Miss Stewart (of a wealthy and prominent family). They had thirteen children, of whom only three lived to maturity. They all live near Eddyville, Ky., and are: (1) Mary Ann¹¹ DeGraffenreid, who married Mr. Pritchell. He died leaving the widow surviving with several children. (2) Matthew Fontaine¹¹ DeGraffenreid, who was twice married: 1st, to a daughter of Mr. Stith, of Franklin, Ala., who died without issue; 2nd, to Henrietta Williams, of Tuscaloosa, Ala. (3) Duncan¹¹ DeGraffenreid, who was twice married: 1st, to a Miss Pope, of Williamson County, Tenn., who died leaving one son, Matthew F.¹² DeGraffenreid, who married and had children; 2nd, to Sallie Kennedy, of Oxford, Miss. They had a number of children.

General Matthew Fontaine¹⁰ DeGraffenreid married a second time, Miss McLemore, of Williamson County, Tenn. They had a number of children. Of those who lived to maturity were: John¹¹ DeGraffenreid, of Tennessee, who married and had children; Thomas¹¹ DeGraffenreid, of Tennessee, who married and had children; Jefferson¹¹ DeGraffenreid, of Texas; Reese¹¹ DeGraffenreid, of Texas; a daughter Minor¹¹ DeGraffenreid, who married William Daniels, of Clarksville, Tenn.; Penelope¹¹ DeGraffenreid (of Clarksville, Tenn.), married; Flora¹¹ DeGraffenreid, of Clarksville, Tenn., married; Dixie¹¹ DeGraffenreid, of Clarksville, Tenn., married; and Susan¹¹ DeGraffenreid, of Clarksville, Tenn., married.

6. Benjamin D.¹⁰ DeGraffenreid (6th son of Metcalf⁹ DeGraffenreid and Mary Ann Maury), of Lawrence County, Ala. He made his home with his brother, Abram Maury¹⁰ DeGraffenreid, and died in the summer of 1824, during an epidemic of fever.

EDMUNDSON

The Edmundsons of Lunenburg are traced from Rappahannock County and the progenitor of the family was:

Thomas¹ Edmundson, who in 1667 obtained a grant of 220

acres of land on the south side of Rappahannock River. In 1687 he added 600 acres to this. The records of Rappahannock and Essex Counties refer to him by the title of "Mr." a designation used sparingly in the Seventeenth Century, showing he was a man of standing.

He was one of the justices of Essex in 1702; Sheriff in 1703; a member of the House of Burgesses in 1696-7 and 1700-1702.

He was twice married; his first wife was named Ann, his second Mary.

He had the following children:

1. James² Edmundson,
2. Joseph² Edmundson,
3. Benjamin² Edmundson,
4. William² Edmundson,
5. Bryan² Edmundson,
6. Thomas² Edmundson,
7. John² Edmundson,
8. Samuel² Edmundson.

Of these

Benjamin² Edmundson (Will dated Nov. 23, 1726, proved Nov. 21, 1727), of Essex County, married Margaret (last name not known—probably it was Underwood), and had:

1. Thomas³ Edmundson,
2. Benjamin³ Edmundson,
3. Upton³ Edmundson,
4. Mary³ Edmundson.

Of these

Upton³ Edmundson moved to Amelia County, where his will, dated May 25, 1771, was proved October 24, 1771.

In his will he names his wife Mary and son

Benjamin⁴ Edmundson,

a daughter,

Constance⁴ Edmundson, wife of Edgecomb Suggett (her homestead in Mecklenburg County), and

Mary⁴ Edmundson (married to a Robertson), and granddaughter,

Constance⁵ Robertson.

Capt. C. T. Allen, who made some notes upon the Edmundson Family of Lunenburg, states that the first member of the family he located in Lunenburg was Upton A. Edmundson; where he came from or who his ancestors were he did not learn.

There is some lack of absolute certainty about the matter, but there is in Lunenburg County a marriage bond for the marriage of Benjamin Edmondson and Martha Tomlinson, dated May 12, 1791. This was very probably

Benjamin⁴ Edmundson, son of Upton³ Edmundson, of Amelia County, and

Upton A.⁵ Edmundson was very likely his son. He was the first of the name very prominently identified with the affairs of Lunenburg County.

He represented the County in the Legislature from 1846 to 1849, inclusive. He married Frances Bagley, daughter of Anderson¹ Bagley.

They had:

1. Upton⁶ Edmundson, Jr., a soldier of the War with Mexico, 1846-7, who died unmarried.
2. Caroline⁶ Edmundson, who married (second wife), Aaron J. J. Brown, of Nottoway County. Soon after this marriage they removed to Lunenburg County, and resided, not far from the present town of Kenbridge. They had:
 - (1) Upton E.⁷ Brown, who married Alice Williams, daughter of Thomas W. Williams, of Lunenburg County, a Confederate soldier, and granddaughter of John C. Redd. They had:
 - (a) Thomas Horace⁸ Brown, who married Mattie B. Robertson, of Lunenburg County.
 - (b) Fannie Lillian⁸ Brown, who married W. S. Spruill, of N. C., but later resided in Lunenburg, near "Ben Lomond," one of the handsome old homes of Lunenburg, so named by William G. Overton, who in 1817, while living in Amelia Co., married Ann Stokes Jones, and soon thereafter moved to Lunenburg County. The place was later owned by Upton E. Brown.

- (c) Kate Drucilla⁸ Brown, who married Frank Irby, of Nottoway County.
- (2) Constance⁷ Brown, who married Edward Gills, of Lunenburg County, Virginia. They reside at the old Edmundson home, near Fletcher's Chapel Church.

There is a genealogy of the Edmundson family in Vol. VII of Tyler's Quarterly Magazine, but it does not trace the line as far down as Upton A. Edmundson.

GEE

Hotten's Lists show that John Gee, 18 years of age, came to Virginia, July 4, 1635, in the ship *Transport*; but he was not the first of the name in Virginia, for it appears that a John Gee died in James City County in 1624.

In a poll, or census of heads of families in Henrico County, in 1679, a number of names appear, before which is found the term "Mr.," a very significant designation at that time. Among these were Henry Gee.* This Henry Gee married Mary Elam, the daughter of Gilbert Elam.†

The family was quite numerous and fairly broadly distributed in Virginia, in the Colonial days. Thus, Henry Gee was living in Henrico in 1704; Charles Gee in Prince George in the same year; Gilbert Gee in Prince George in 1726-27; James and Henry Gee in Prince George in 1738; and Robert Gee, Jr., was living in Brunswick County in 1776.

Henry Gee of Sussex was a notable member of the Gee family. He was a member from that county of the Virginia Conventions of 1775 and 1776,‡ the latter one of the most notable assemblages in the history of government, in the annals of the world, for it was that convention which adopted the first written constitution for the government of a free people, ever adopted. He was later a Colonel in the Revolution.

The following were among the Revolutionary soldiers of Virginia:

Henry Gee (14 Va. Reg.);

*William and Mary Quarterly, Vol. 24, p. 262.

†Id. 277.

‡Colonial Register, 203.

John Gee (2 Va. Reg.);
 Moses Gee (8 Va. Reg.);
 Richard Gee (12 Va. Reg.).

George Washington Gee (b. Aug. 11, 1811, d. Dec. 28, 1862), married Dec. 24, 1839, Martha Jordan Mason (b. Oct. 25, 1817, d. Sept. 12, 1895).

They had three children:

1. Virginia A. Gee (b. 1841, d. 1873).
2. Henry Mason Gee (b. Sept. 4, 1843, d. May 23, 1921).
3. Martha Elizabeth Gee (b. Mar. 5, 1846, d. Sept. 29, 1926).

Henry Mason Gee (b. Sept. 4, 1843, d. May 23, 1921), married Sept. 27, 1871, Emma Jane Wood (b. 1850, d. 1898), and had seven children:

1. Martha Ann Gee (b. June 8, 1874), married Nov. 1892, John E. Wilson, and had three children.
2. Mary Wood Gee (b. Oct. 20, 1876).
3. Lucy Macon Gee (b. Dec. 2, 1878).
4. George Henry Gee (b. April 1, 1880), who married Nov. 28, 1913, Daisy Vaughn, and had three children.
5. John Albert Gee (b. July 23, 1882), married in 1911, Minnie Abernathy, and had one child.
6. Elma Virginia Gee (b. Sept. 14, 1884), married in August, 1909, Edward Rash, and had five children.
7. Henry Mason Gee, Jr. (b. July 31, 1897).

Martha Elizabeth Gee (b. March 5, 1846, d. Sept. 29, 1926), married Dec. 8, 1869, William Joel Walthall (b. in 1851, d. April 12, 1900, son of William Walthall and his wife Sophie Avery. They had four children:

1. Sarah Elizabeth Walthall (b. May 13, 1871), married Jan. 18, 1888, John Henry Love, and had twelve children:
 - (1) Henry W. Love (b. June 27, 1889, d. Feb. 27, 1911).
 - (2) Lawrence M. Love (b. Jan. 20, 1891), married in Jan. 1915, Ruth Love, and had four children.
 - (3) Martha Ellington Love (b. Jan. 27, 1893), who married June 24, 1914, Raymond Gee, and had four children, three of whom are living (1926).

- (4) George Edward Love (b. March 15, 1895), who married in Dec., 1916, Annie Simmons, and had four children.
 - (5) Norman N. Love (b. Dec. 20, 1897), who married in June, 1918, Lillian Bell, and had three children.
 - (6) Thomas Jordan Love (b. Feb. 27, 1900, d. June 16, 1900).
 - (7) Gresham W. Love (b. March 12, 1901).
 - (8) Sarah V. Love (b. Aug. 31, 1903), who married Dec., 1925, Harris Love.
 - (9) and (10) Mary Agnes Love, and Louie Love (twins), (b. Jan. 4, 1907).
 - (11) Emily C. Love (b. Aug. 12, 1910).
 - (12) M. Christine Love (b. Aug. 2, 1913).
2. Virginia A. Walthall (b. Sept. 1, 1873), married Nov. 12, 1893, Herbert H. Gary, and had nine children:
 - (1) Mary Elizabeth Gary (b. Nov. 29, 1894, d. Aug. 3, 1896).
 - (2) William Henry Gary (b. Dec. 3, 1896).
 - (3) Virginia Agnes Gary (b. Jan. 31, 1899).
 - (4) Anita Gertrude Gary (b. Apr. 2, 1901, d. Sept. 24, 1902).
 - (5) Katherine Russell Gary (b. July 13, 1903).
 - (6) Madeline Hart Gary (b. Nov. 13, 1905).
 - (7) Louise Walthall Gary (b. Nov. 19, 1907).
 - (8) and (9) Esther Lily Gary and Edith Violet Gary (twins), (b. Jan. 23, 1909).
 3. George William Walthall (b. Jan. 22, 1877), married Nov. 28, 1900, Betty G. Watkins. No children.
 4. Agnes M. Walthall (b. July 1, 1879, d. March 30, 1922, unmarried).

CHAPTER VI

Lunenburg Cousins — Continued

GENEALOGIES

HARDY



It is said that the name of this family both in this country and in England is variously spelled Hardy, Hardie, Hardey and Hardee,* and it is affirmed that this numerous family, with the different variations of spelling are descended from the Norman Knight DeHardie.†

The earliest Hardy of whom there is authentic record in America was

John¹ Hardy (b. 1613, d. 1670), who came from England to Virginia before 1666, and who was of "The Old House," Isle of Wight County, Virginia. He married in 1632, Olive Council (d. after 1670).‡ From them are descended all of the persons of the Hardy blood, embraced in this genealogy.

They had:

1. John² Hardy (Will dated Oct. 7, 167—, probated June 9, 1677). His will discloses that his wife's name was Alice.
2. Olive² Hardy, who married Colonel John Pitt, of Isle of Wight County, Virginia, son of Robert and Martha (Lear) Pitt of that county.
3. Captain George² Hardy (b. 1633, d. 1693), who came from England about 1650 (before his parents). He was a Captain of Militia, and a Vestryman in Isle of Wight County, Virginia. He married in 1663, Mary Jackson (b. 1640, d. before 1693), daughter of Honorable Richard Jackson.§

**Colonial Families of the Southern States*, 261.

†Id.

‡*The Abridged Compendium of American Genealogy*, I, 146.

§Id.

4. Richard² Hardy (b. 1640, d. 1734).

John² Hardy (Will dated Oct. 7, 167—, probated June 9, 1677), and his wife Alice had:

1. Olive³ Hardy, who married Giles Driver, of Isle of Wight County, and they had:
 - (1) Hardy⁴ Driver,
 - (2) Charles⁴ Driver,
 - (3) Giles⁴ Driver,
 - (4) John⁴ Driver,
 - (5) Robert⁴ Driver.
2. Lucy³ Hardy, who married Hodges Council, of Isle of Wight County, Virginia, and they had:
 - (1) Christian⁴ Council, who married Edward Birand.
 - (2) Lucy⁴ Council,
 - (3) Robert⁴ Council,
 - (4) Hardy⁴ Council,
 - (5) John⁴ Council,
 - (6) Hodges⁴ Council.
3. Ann³ Hardy, who married Robert Burnett, of Isle of Wight County, Virginia, and they had:
 - (1) Ann⁴ Burnett.
4. Isabel³ Hardy, who married William Mayo, of Isle of Wight County, Virginia, and they had:
 - (1) William⁴ Mayo,
 - (2) James⁴ Mayo,
 - (3) John⁴ Mayo,
 - (4) Peter⁴ Mayo,
 - (5) Mary⁴ Mayo,
 - (6) Margaret⁴ Mayo,
 - (7) Patience⁴ Mayo.
5. Debora³ Hardy.

Olive² Hardy married Colonel John Pitt, of Isle of Wight County, Virginia, son of Robert and Martha (Lear) Pitt, of Isle of Wight County, Virginia.

They had:

1. Robert³ Pitt, who married Sarah Smith, daughter of Colonel Arthur Smith.
2. Sarah³ Pitt, who married one Norsworth.
3. John³ Pitt.
4. Prudence³ Pitt, who married one Driver.
5. Henry³ Pitt.
6. Mary³ Pitt.
7. James³ Pitt.

George² Hardy (b. 1633, d. 1693), came from England (before his parents) about 1650, married in 1663, Mary Jackson (b. 1640, d. before 1693), daughter of Honorable Richard Jackson. George Hardy was the owner of the Old Hardy Mill, in Isle of Wight County (still standing). He owned lands in both Isle of Wight and Surry Counties.

They had:

1. Mary³ Hardy, who married one Jarett (or Jarrett), of Isle of Wight County, and they had issue:
 - (1) Richard⁴ Jarett,
 - (2) George⁴ Jarett.
2. Richard³ Hardy.
3. Thomas³ Hardy (b. 1670, d. after Jan. 7, 1711).
4. Margaret³ Hardy.
5. Sarah³ Hardy.

Richard² Hardy (b. in England in 1640, d. in Virginia in 1734), married in 1694, Mary Vincent (d. 1702).

They had:

1. Richard³ Hardy (b. 1699).
2. Mary³ Hardy (b. 1702).

Thomas³ Hardy (b. 1670, d. after Jan. 7, 1711), of Isle of Wight County, Va. (son of George and Mary Jackson Hardy), married Mary Peter, daughter of Moses Peter.

They had:

1. George⁴ Hardy (who inherited the famous old mill, and the family seal. The seal is still in the possession of his descendants).

2. Richard⁴ Hardy, Burgess 1772-1774, father of Honorable Samuel Hardy, member of House of Delegates 1781, of Congress 1783 to 1785. Samuel Hardy died in Philadelphia, Pa., Oct. 17, 1785. He was educated at William and Mary and admitted to the bar in 1778. Hardy County, Virginia (now in West Virginia), was named in his honor.
3. Thomas⁴ Hardy (b. May 4, 1705, d. 1790-91, in Kentucky, where he was visiting his son Charles Hardy).

Richard³ Hardy (b. 1699), son of Richard Hardy (b. 1640, d. 1734), and Mary Vincent Hardy, married Mary Covington of Amelia County, Virginia.

They had:

1. John⁴ Hardy (b. circa 1740), married Ann Williams.
2. Covington⁴ Hardy.
3. William⁴ Hardy, of Lunenburg County (Will dated Oct. 21, 1790).
4. Benjamin⁴ Hardy (said to have removed to North Carolina and to have reared a large family).
5. Richard⁴ Hardy, married, but to whom not known; reared a large family. Resided in Isle of Wight County, Va.
6. Mary⁴ Hardy.

Thomas⁴ Hardy, of Lunenburg County, Virginia (b. May 4, 1705, in Isle of Wight County, Va., d. 1790-91, in Kentucky, where he was visiting his son Charles Hardy). He was a son of Thomas³ Hardy (b. 1670), and Mary (Peter) Hardy. He married March 4, 1750, Elizabeth Austin (b. Jan. 13, 1730), daughter of William Austin, of Virginia.

They had:

1. Joseph⁵ Hardy (b. Feb. 22, 1751).
2. Thomas⁵ Hardy (b. Jan. 18, 1753).
3. George⁵ Hardy (b. Aug. 30, 1754).
4. Charles⁵ Hardy (b. June 6, 1756, removed to Kentucky and reared a large family).
5. Robin⁵ Hardy (b. Feb. 22, 1760, of Bedford County, Virginia. Reared a large family).
6. John⁵ Hardy (b. Jan. 13, 1763).

7. Elizabeth⁵ Hardy (b. April 9, 1765).
8. Mary⁵ Hardy (b. Dec. 25, 1770).
9. Richard⁵ Hardy (b. Oct. 15, 1772).

John⁴ Hardy (b. circa 1740, in Isle of Wight County, Va., resided in Mecklenburg County, and died in that county 1810-12), son of Richard³ Hardy (b. 1699) and Mary (Covington) Hardy. He married in 1773, Ann Williams.

They had:

1. John⁵ Hardy, removed to South Carolina, married and had issue.
2. Richard⁵ Hardy, removed to South Carolina, married and had issue.
3. Daniel⁵ Hardy (b. 1777).
4. William⁵ Hardy, removed to South Carolina, married and had issue.
5. Robert⁵ Hardy, removed to South Carolina, married and had issue.
6. Sallie⁵ Hardy, removed to South Carolina, married and had issue.
7. Mary⁵ Hardy, removed to South Carolina, married and had issue.

William⁴ Hardy (Will dated October 21, 1790), of Lunenburg County, Virginia, son of Richard³ Hardy (b. 1699), of Isle of Wight County, Virginia, and his wife, Mary Covington, of Amelia County, Virginia. William Hardy's wife was named Mary (last name not known). William Hardy was a Revolutionary soldier. He entered the army February 14, 1778, and served in the company of Captain William Grimes, in the 15th Virginia Regiment, commanded by Major Gustavus Wallace; he was transferred in June to Lt. Col. John Cropper's Company, 11th and 15th Virginia Regiment, commanded successively by Lt. Col. John Cropper and Col. Daniel Morgan. He was again transferred about December, 1778, to Captain David Mason's Company, 11th Virginia Regiment, in which he served until February, 1779, when the company's muster roll shows he was discharged.

They had:

1. Samuel⁵ Hardy,
2. Thomas⁵ Hardy,
3. Covington⁵ Hardy (d. 1814), married Catherine Buford (Beuford), of Amelia County, Virginia. Marriage Bond in Amelia County, dated May 30, 1767.
4. Stith⁵ Hardy,
5. Mary⁵ Hardy, married Lyddal Bacon of Lunenburg County, Virginia.

Joseph⁵ Hardy, b. Feb. 22, 1751, in Lunenburg County, Va., d. May 22, 1831, in Bedford County, Va.), son of Thomas⁴ Hardy, of Lunenburg County, and his wife Elizabeth Austin (b. Jan. 13, 1730), married in 1788, Margaret Mackenzie (b. 1768, d. before 1830). He was a Revolutionary soldier, in Captain John Peyton Harrison's Company, Second Regiment, commanded by Col. Alexander Spottswood.

They had:

1. William Austin⁶ Hardy (b. June 12, 1789).
2. Margaret⁶ Hardy (b. Dec. 29, 1793).
3. Sarah⁶ Hardy (b. 1797), married Alexander McCluer, and emigrated to St. Louis, Mo.
4. Mary⁶ Hardy (b. 1795), married John Jeter, of Bedford County, Virginia.
5. Joseph⁶ Hardy (b. 1798), emigrated to Missouri, married and reared a family.
6. Suckie⁶ Hardy (b. 1800), married Jacob Feazel, of Bedford County, Virginia.

Daniel⁵ Hardy (b. in 1777, in Mecklenburg County, Virginia, removed first to Edgefield District, S. C., and then in 1818 to Dallas County, Alabama, where he died). He was a son of John⁴ Hardy of Mecklenburg County, and his wife, Ann Williams. He married in 1807 Mary Robuck, of Edgefield District, S. C.

They had:

1. Elizabeth⁶ Hardy, who married a Mr. Sorelle.
2. Robert William⁶ Hardy (b. Sept. 25, 1810).

3. Miles⁶ Hardy, who married Ann Caroline Toney.
4. Susan⁶ Hardy.
5. Martha⁶ Hardy.
6. Ursula⁶ Hardy, who married William Ansley.
7. Mary Jenette⁶ Hardy, who married Spencer Johnson.
8. Marian⁶ Hardy (d. unmarried).
9. Sarah Ann⁶ Hardy, who married A. J. Rutherford.

Covington⁵ Hardy (d. 1814), of Lunenburg County, will dated Jan. 3, 1814, probated August 11, 1814, vestryman of Cumberland Parish, son of William⁴ Hardy and Mary his wife; married in 1767 (marriage bond in Amelia County, dated May 30, 1767), Catherine Beuford (Buford), daughter of Henry and Frances Beuford. (See Buford Genealogy.)

They had:

1. Vincent⁶ Hardy (b. January 17, 1770), of Lunenburg County, Va., who married Mary Ann P. Betts. (See Betts Genealogy.)
2. Charles⁶ Hardy (b. April 7, 1772, d. Jan. 25, 1830), of Lunenburg County, Virginia.
3. John C.⁶ Hardy (b. Oct. 2, 1774), of Lunenburg County, Va., married Feb. 5, 1801, Sallie Betts, sister of Mary Ann P. Betts. (See Betts Genealogy.)
4. Miles⁶ Hardy (b. Jan. 15, 1777), married Hannah Pettus (M. B. Nov. 22, 1803).
5. Amelia⁶ Hardy (b. July 7, 1779), married one McQuie.
6. Letitia⁶ Hardy (b. Oct. 17, 1781), married one Barnes.
7. Henry⁶ Hardy (b. November 25, 1783), married (first) June, 1812 (M. B. June 11, 1812), Mary S. Neblett. (See Neblett Genealogy.) Married (second) December 13, 1824, Permelia Betts, sister of Sallie Betts and Mary Ann P. Betts. (See Betts Genealogy.)
8. Priscilla⁶ Hardy (b. Jan. 2, 1787), married Thomas Wyatt (M. B. Nov. 21, 1814).

Vincent⁶ Hardy (b. Jan. 17, 1770), of Lunenburg County, Virginia, son of Covington⁵ Hardy and Catherine Buford, his wife, married (first) June 5, 1802, Mary Ann P. Betts

(b. Oct. 24, 1785, d. Oct. 25, 1804), and (second) Feb. 14, 1809, Sallie Penn (nee Orgain).

Issue by first marriage:

1. Miles⁷ Hardy (b. March 7, 1803, d. Jan. 29, 1834), married Tabitha Lambert (M. B. Oct. 21, 1830).
2. Abraham⁷ Hardy (b. Oct. 25, 1804).

Issue by second marriage:

1. Edwin⁷ Hardy (b. Nov. 29, 1808, d. Sept. 11, 1830).
2. Griffin O.⁷ Hardy (b. March 14, 1811, d. 1896), married Lucy R. Bridgforth (M. B. Jan. 8, 1849).
3. Dabney⁷ Hardy (b. 1812), twice married.
4. Minerva Elizabeth⁷ Hardy (b. Dec. 17, 1814, d. Aug. 30, 1877), married (M. B. Dec. 13, 1830), Robert Blackwell.
5. Lucy D.⁷ Hardy (b. Sept. 5, 1816, d. Sept. 2, 1896), married Richard H. Sharp (M. B. Feb. 17, 1843).
6. Petronella Sharpe⁷ Hardy (b. Apr. 1, 1820), married William H. Hardy (M. B. Dec. 16, 1845).
- 7 Martha Armistead⁷ Hardy (b. July 29, 1821), married H. O. Eanes.
8. Sallie⁷ Hardy.

Charles⁸ Hardy (b. April 7, 1772, d. Jan. 25, 1830), of Lunenburg County, son of Covington⁵ Hardy and Catherine Buford, his wife, married (first), December 27, 1794, Dorothy Bruce (b. Feb. 26, 1774, d. Nov. 23, 1803); married (second), Feb. 22, 1804, Sally Jordan Green (b. Oct. 25, 1783, d. April 4, 1862), of Lunenburg County.

Issue by first marriage:

1. William Buford⁷ Hardy (b. Dec. 20, 1795), never married.
2. John Covington⁷ Hardy (b. May 17, 1798, d. June 12, 1873), married twice: (first), Emeline T. Eldridge, (second), Sarah Anne Boswell. (See Boswell Genealogy.)
3. Elizabeth Catherine⁷ Hardy (b. Jan. 17, 1800), married John Barrow, of Brunswick County, Va.
4. Amelia⁷ Hardy (b. March 20, 1802), never married.

Issue by second marriage:

1. Dorothy Jones⁷ Hardy (b. March 26, 1806), married November 3, 1829, Daniel Petty.

2. Henry G.⁷ Hardy (b. Nov. 24, 1806, d. July 27, 1862), married (first), Permelia Gee; (second), Dorothy Thomas.
3. Ann Rowland⁷ Hardy (b. May 18, 1809, d. July 28, 1892), married Nov. 22, 1872, Alexander H. Bassett. No children.
4. Charles Coleman⁷ Hardy (b. Dec. 21, 1808), married Martha (last name not known).
5. Madison⁷ Hardy (b. June 13, 1810, d. July 22, 1831).
6. Jordan Robert⁷ Hardy (b. Nov. 11, 1811, d. March 27, 1897), married Ann Eliza Love, of Lunenburg Co., Va.
7. Vincent Jones⁷ Hardy (b. May 18, 1813), never married.
8. Saluda H.⁷ Hardy (b. Feb. 11, 1815, d. Nov. 23, 1849), never married.
9. Caroline⁷ Hardy (b. Nov. 13, 1816, d. July 8, 1854), married Jan. 8, 1840, George H. Lee, of Lunenburg County.
10. Sally Green⁷ Hardy (b. March 12, 1818, d. December, 1868). Married William E. Robertson (M. B. March 13, 1844).
11. Joseph⁷ Hardy (b. December 21, 1819, d. Feb. 26, 1845), never married.
12. Benjamin Watkins⁷ Hardy (b. June 23, 1821).
13. Marietta Eliza Prudence⁷ Hardy (b. Feb. 4, 1823, d. Oct. 18, 1856), married Robert M. Williams.

John C.⁶ Hardy (b. Oct. 2, 1774), of Lunenburg County, Va., son of Covington⁵ Hardy and Catherine Buford, his wife, married Feb. 5, 1801, Sallie Betts (b. 1783.) (See Betts Genealogy.)

They had:

1. Larkin⁷ Hardy (b. Jan. 11, 1802), married Ann Palmer and had one daughter:
 - (1) Eliza⁸ Hardy, who married a Mr. Merriwether, of Mississippi.
2. Elisha⁷ Hardy (b. Sept. 24, 1803).
3. Mary Ann Betts⁷ Hardy (b. July 28, 1805), married Benjamin Smith (M. B. Dec. 12, 1825).
4. John L.⁷ Hardy (b. April 16, 1807).
5. Anna⁷ Hardy (b. January 6, 1809, d. in infancy).
6. Alanson⁷ Hardy (b. Feb. 12, 1810).
7. Eliza⁷ Hardy (b. Feb. 9, 1812), never married.

8. Asa E.⁷ Hardy (b. March 6, 1814, d. young).
9. Nancy F.⁷ Hardy (b. December 29, 1815, d. 187—), married William Madison Gill (M. B. Sept. 20, 1834), and had:
 - (1) John⁸ Gill (killed in the Civil War).
 - (2) Crichton⁸ Gill.
 - (3) William⁸ Gill.
 - (4) Nannie⁸ Gill.
 - (5) Lou Carter⁸ Gill.
 - (6) Sallie⁸ Gill.
10. Susan⁷ Hardy (b. Sept. 17, 1818), married Thomas Jefferson (See Jefferson Genealogy), and had:
 - (1) Samuel L.⁸ Jefferson, who married and with his family resided in Atlanta, Georgia, at present (1926) in Rome, Georgia.
11. George E.⁷ Hardy (M. D.), (b. Aug. 21, 1821, d. March 1, 1894), married Nov. 9, 1853, Mary Ellen Irby (d. July 19, 1879).
12. Samuel⁷ Hardy (b. Aug. 31, 1825, d. 1881), married (first) in 1860, Bettie Fannie Porter, married (second), in 1865, Henrietta Hall, of Greensville County, Virginia. Samuel Hardy was a Confederate soldier, and lost an arm in the battle of Cold Harbor.
Issue by first marriage:
 - (1) Rev. Porter⁸ Hardy (b. 1861), a Methodist Minister.Issue by second marriage:
Three sons and two daughters, names not ascertained.

Miles⁶ Hardy (b. Jan. 15, 1777), of Lunenburg County, Virginia, son of Covington⁵ Hardy and Catherine Buford, his wife, married, in 1803, Hannah Wilson (b. Jan. 22, 1777).

They had:

1. Amanda W.⁷ Hardy, married John S. Weatherford (M. B. June 12, 1843).
2. Martha⁷ Hardy.
3. Cephas⁷ Hardy (b. 1808).
4. Robert⁷ Hardy (b. 1810).
5. Miles⁷ Hardy (b. 1815).
6. James Wilson⁷ Hardy (b. 1816).

Henry⁶ Hardy (b. Nov. 25, 1783), of Lunenburg County, Va., son of Covington⁵ Hardy and Catherine Buford, his wife, married twice: first, in June, 1812, Mary S. Neblett (See Neblett Genealogy); second, Dec. 13, 1824, Permelia Betts (See Betts Genealogy).

Issue by first marriage:

1. Virginia Katherine⁷ Hardy (b. Aug. 7, 1813), who married William J. Barrow (M. B. Sept. 2, 1837).
2. Emma Jane⁷ Hardy (b. May 9, 1815), married William R. Buford (M. B. Oct. 4, 1837).
3. James S.⁷ Hardy (b. Nov. 20, 1816).
4. William Henry⁷ Hardy (b. July 24, 1818), married a Miss Marshall.
5. Sharpe Lampkin⁷ Hardy (b. Feb. 25, 1820).
6. Edwin Covington⁷ Hardy, and
7. Mary E.⁷ Hardy, twins (b. Aug. 9, 1822).

Mary E.⁷ Hardy married James Madison Lloyd.

Issue by second marriage:

1. George H.⁷ Hardy (b. Oct. 11, 1825), died unmarried.
2. Cornelius⁷ Hardy (b. Jan. 2, 1827), married Clifford Winston.
3. John S.⁷ Hardy (b. Jan. 21, 1829), married Belle Estes.
4. Charles Betts⁷ Hardy (b. April 25, 1831), married a Miss Barnes, daughter of Asa G. Barnes, of Lunenburg County.
5. Permelia Henry⁷ Hardy (b. Jan. 3, 1833), married a Miss Blackwell.
6. Missouri Helen⁷ Hardy (b. Dec. 20, 1835), married a man named Ligon.
7. Herbert E.⁷ Hardy (b. Oct 22, 1837), married Mary Ward, of Columbus, Mississippi, and had:
 - (1) Belle⁸ Hardy,
 - (2) Herbert⁸ Hardy,
 - (3) A daughter, who resided in Denver, Colorado.
8. Leonora Josephine⁷ Hardy (b. Jan. 5, 1839), married Lew Jones and had:
 - (1) J. H.⁸ Jones, who married S. Fanny Hardy.
 - (2) Peter⁸ Jones.

9. Susan Petro⁷ Hardy (b. Nov. 22, 1841, d. unmarried).
10. Lucy Hanie⁷ Hardy (b. Dec. 3, 1843), married Frank White.
11. S. Fanny⁷ Hardy (b. Dec. 4, 1845), married J. H. Jones.

William Austin⁶ Hardy (b. June 12, 1789, d. Sept. 17, 1878), of Bedford County, Virginia, son of Joseph⁵ Hardy (b. Feb. 22, 1751, d. May 22, 1831), and his wife Margaret Mackenzie, married (first), in 1818, Jane Watts (b. 1798), daughter of Capt. James and Elizabeth (Durett) Watts, of Bedford County, Va.; (second), Kitty Gnatings, daughter of Col. William Gnatings; (third), Martha (Carnifix) Dixon, a widow.

Issue by the first marriage only:

1. James Andrew⁷ Hardy (b. Jan. 12, 1819).
2. Eliza Margaret⁷ Hardy (b. Feb. 26, 1821, d. March 30, 1907), married in 1839, Wesley Shelton, of Bedford County, Va.
3. Joseph Stoggedele⁷ Hardy (b. Feb. 17, 1823, d. April, 1891).
4. Sarah Winston⁷ Hardy (b. May 16, 1825), married John Gills, of Bedford County, Va.
5. Frances Susan⁷ Hardy (b. Oct. 28, 1827, d. 1862), married Thomas Lee, C. S. A., of Bedford County, Va., son of John Lee of Shenandoah County, Virginia.
6. William Austin⁷ Hardy (b. March 20, 1830, d. 1855, unmarried).
7. Charles Watts⁷ Hardy (b. Feb. 14, 1835), of Montvale, Va., served in the C. S. A., married Eliza Pondexter.

Margaret⁶ Hardy (b. Dec. 29, 1793, d. April 7, 1870), daughter of Joseph⁵ Hardy (b. Feb. 22, 1751, in Lunenburg County, d. May 22, 1831, in Bedford County, Va.), and his wife Margaret Mackenzie, married in 1816, Anthony Rucker (b. Jan. 18, 1793, d. July 15, 1858), of Bedford County, Virginia.

They had:

1. Ambrose C.⁷ Rucker (b. June 27, 1817), married a daughter of John Board.

2. Eliza M.⁷ Rucker (b. May 21, 1819), married Dr. Silas Rees, of Franklin County, Virginia.
3. Mary Leek⁷ Rucker (b. April 18, 1821), married Rev. Alfred Norman.
4. Sophia⁷ Rucker (b. July 19, 1823), married William Thaxton, of Bedford County, Va.
5. Susan⁷ Rucker (b. Sept. 23, 1825), married Benjamin Burr, of Bedford County, Va.
6. Susannah H.⁷ Rucker (b. Dec. 11, 1827, d. unmarried).
7. Joseph Hardy⁷ Rucker (b. Jan. 5, 1830), married (first) Eliza Brown; (second), Fanny Pondexter.
8. John Hammet⁷ Rucker (b. Jan. 19, 1832).
9. Demaria A.⁷ Rucker (b. Feb. 8, 1835), married Thomas H. Love, of Bedford County, Va.
10. Moses Peter⁷ Rucker (b. March 10, 1837).

Robert William⁶ Hardy (b. Sept. 25, 1810), son of Daniel⁵ Hardy (b. in 1777 in Mecklenburg County, Va., d. in Dallas County, Ala.), married (first), Aug. 12, 1830, in Lowndes County, Ala., Temperance L. Toney (b. Oct. 25, 1813, in Greenville, S. C., d. Sept. 16, 1877, at Paulding, Miss.), daughter of Charles and Margaret (Hamilton) Toney of Alabama.*

Married (second) Carrie Chapman.

Issue by first marriage:

1. Margaret Elizabeth⁷ Hardy (d. Sept. 16, 1877), married Henry W. Evans.
2. Hance Hamilton⁷ Hardy (d. at age 22, unmarried).
3. William Harris⁷ Hardy (b. 1837).
4. Miles Boardman⁷ Hardy (d. age four).
5. Thomas Judson⁷ Hardy, an attorney of Ellisville, Miss., married Nannie Heidelberg.

Issue by second marriage:

1. Marion⁷ Hardy, of Chicago, Ill.
2. Miles⁷ Hardy, of Ellisville, Miss.

*Temperance L. Toney was the granddaughter of Thomas and Temperance (Arnold) Hamilton, of Virginia. Thomas Hamilton and his brothers, Edward, John, Thomas, Hendricks and William served in the Revolution.

Miles⁷ Hardy (b. March 7, 1803, d. Jan. 29, 1834), son of Vincent⁶ Hardy (b. Jan. 17, 1770), and Mary Ann P. Betts (b. Oct. 24, 1785), married Tabitha Lambert (nee Edmonson), (M. B. Lunenburg County, Oct. 21, 1830).

They had:

1. Upton⁸ Hardy (died young).

(Note: After the death of Miles Hardy, his widow, Tabitha Edmonson Lambert Hardy married William Penn, son of Sallie Penn (nee Orgain), second wife of Vincent Hardy, and had issue:

- (a) Sallie Penn, who married "Buck" Blackwell.
- (b) Constance Penn, who married William Bragg.
- (c) Elizabeth Penn, who married Dr. Haney Hatchett.

Abraham⁷ Hardy (b. Oct. 25, 1804), of Lunenburg County, Va., son of Vincent⁶ Hardy (b. Jan. 17, 1770), and Mary Ann P. Betts, married Miss Boku (?).

They had:

1. Irby⁸ Hardy (died unmarried).
2. William⁸ Hardy (lived in Missouri).
3. Mary⁸ Hardy.
4. Eliza⁸ Hardy.

Griffin O.⁷ Hardy (b. March 14, 1811, d. 1896), of Lunenburg Co., Va., son of Vincent⁶ Hardy (b. Jan. 17, 1770), and Sallie Penn (nee Orgain), married Lucy R. Bridgforth. (Marriage Bond in Lunenburg County, Jan. 8, 1849.)

They had:

1. Thomas W.⁸ Hardy, who married Sadie Bailey.
2. Louis A.⁸ Hardy, who married Sallie Matthews.
3. Lutie O.⁸ Hardy, who married Eddie Michaels.
4. Eugenia⁸ Hardy, who married one Taylor.
5. Baskerville⁸ Hardy, who married Lucy Bailey.
6. Dabney⁸ Hardy.
7. Collier⁸ Hardy, who married Ethel Alison.
8. Lillian⁸ Hardy, who married Charles Weisiger.
9. Annie⁸ Hardy, who married George P. Adams, Secretary and Treasurer Blackstone Female Institute.
10. Mattie⁸ Hardy, who married Max Seay.

Dabney⁷ Hardy (b. 1812), son of Vincent⁶ Hardy (b. Jan. 17, 1770), and Sallie Penn (nee Orgain), married Maria Worsham.

They had:

1. Nannie⁸ Hardy, who married Peter Hawthorne, of Lunenburg County, and they had a daughter:
 - (1) Fannie⁹ Hawthorne, who married Mort Clarke.
2. William⁸ Hardy.
3. Olin⁸ Hardy, who married a Miss Blanton.
4. Lula⁸ Hardy.
5. Sallie Vincent⁸ Hardy, who married Frank Orgain.
6. Fannie⁸ Hardy (d. in infancy).

Minerva Elizabeth⁷ Hardy (b. Dec. 17, 1814, d. Aug. 30, 1877), daughter of Vincent⁶ Hardy (b. Jan. 17, 1770), and Sallie Penn (nee Orgain), married Robert Blackwell, of Lunenburg County. (M. B. dated Dec. 13, 1830.)

They had:

1. Edwin⁸ Blackwell (d. young).
2. Sallie Orgain⁸ Blackwell (b. Aug. 9, 1839), married Dr. Sterling Neblett. (See Neblett Genealogy.)
3. Thomas⁸ ("Tommie") Blackwell (b. 1842, d. in the Civil War).
4. Mary Dunne⁸ Blackwell (b. 1845, d. young).
5. John⁸ Blackwell (b. 1848), married three times. His first and second wives were sisters, Lou Gill and Sallie Gill, his first cousins. His third wife was Lizzie Miller.

Lucy D.⁷ Hardy (b. Sept. 5, 1816, d. Sept. 2, 1896), daughter of Vincent⁶ Hardy (b. Jan. 17, 1770), and Sallie Penn (nee Orgain), married Richard H. Sharpe. (M. B. in Lunenburg, dated Feb. 17, 1843).

They had:

1. Richard Henry⁸ Sharpe.
2. Edward⁸ Sharpe.
3. Martha⁸ Sharpe (d. young).
4. Robert⁸ Sharpe, married a Miss Herndon.

Petronella Sharpe⁷ Hardy (b. April 1, 1820), daughter of Vincent⁶ Hardy (b. Jan. 17, 1770), and Sallie Penn (nee Orgain),

married William H. Hardy. (M. B. in Lunenburg County, dated Dec. 16, 1845.)

They had:

1. Sterling^s Hardy, who married a Miss Fowlkes.
2. Mary^s Hardy (d. young).

Martha Armistead^r Hardy (b. July 29, 1821), daughter of Vincent⁶ Hardy (b. Jan. 17, 1770), and Sallie Penn (nee Orgain), married (first) Thomas Blackwell (M. B. in Lunenburg dated August 9, 1841), and (second) Henry O. Eanes.

Issue by first marriage:

1. A son (who died in infancy).

Issue by second marriage:

1. Sallie^s Eanes, who married a Barnes.
2. Oscar^s Eanes, who married Hortense Guerrant.

Sallie^r Hardy, daughter of Vincent⁶ Hardy (b. Jan. 17, 1770), and Sallie Penn (nee Orgain), married (first) Enos H. Barnes, of Lunenburg County; married (second) Asa George Barnes.

Issue by first marriage:

1. Helen^s Barnes, who married a Crafton.

No issue by second marriage.

John Covington^r Hardy (b. May 17, 1798, d. June 12, 1873), son of Charles⁶ Hardy and his first wife Dorothy Bruce, married twice: first, July 30, 1833, Emeline Thomas Eldridge (b. Sept. 23, 1813, d. Feb. 22, 1843); second, Sept. 25, 1844, Sarah Anne Boswell (b. Dec. 3, 1819, d. March 12, 1887). (See Boswell Genealogy.)

Emeline Thomas Eldridge, the first wife, was the daughter of Thomas Eldridge, of Brunswick County, Virginia. Her mother was Elizabeth C. Neblett, of Brunswick County, a sister of Dr. Sterling Neblett, of Lunenburg County.

Issue by first marriage:

1. Emeline C.^s Hardy (b. July 23, 1834), married Nov. 30, 1854, William P. Spain.
2. Rosalie A.^s Hardy (b. March 11, 1836, d. Feb. 10, 1843).
3. Amelia Caroline^s Hardy (b. March 27, 1838), married Romulus Hurt.

4. Eugenia Alice^s Hardy (b. Jan. 11, 1840, d. Jan. 28, 1853).
5. William James^s Hardy (d. Feb. 11, 1843).

Issue by second marriage:

1. Rodolph Covington^s Hardy (b. July 6, 1845).
2. Alberta A.^s Hardy (b. Dec. 4, 1847, d. July 5, 1871), never married.
3. John Calhoun^s Hardy (b. Aug. 27, 1849).
4. Loubenia A.^s Hardy (b. Feb. 19, 1852, d. Feb. 11, 1926), married Robert W. Tucker, of Dinwiddie County, Va., no children.
5. Sarah Anna B.^s Hardy ("Nannie"), (b. Feb. 15, 1854, d. Dec. 15, 1882), married Fitz O. Robertson, of Dinwiddie County, Virginia.
6. William Joseph Newton^s Hardy (b. Jan. 24, 1856), married Arie Gunn, of Lunenburg County, Virginia.
7. Etta Wilburn^s Hardy (b. Nov. 24, 1859, d. March 19, 1916), married Isaac Bonaparte Bell, of Lunenburg County, Virginia. (See Bell Genealogy.)

Elizabeth Catherine^r Hardy (b. Jan. 17, 1800), daughter of Charles⁶ Hardy and his first wife, Dorothy Bruce, married John Barrow, of Brunswick County, Virginia.

They had:

1. Robert Bruce^s Barrow (b. May 8, 1839), of Nottoway County, Virginia. He was married three times: first, Dec. 20, 1865, to Miss Sallie B. Marshall, of Lunenburg County, Virginia; second, August 29, 1877, Miss Sallie Euphemia Barrow (d. June 14, 1880), his cousin, of Brunswick County, Virginia; third, January 15, 1901, Mrs. Mary Rachel Bellingham (nee Hemingway), of Norfolk, Virginia.
2. John^s Barrow (b. 1842, d. Oct. 6, 1906), of Amelia County, Virginia, married, May 5, 1878, Emma Flournoy (daughter of John J. and Ann Pamela Flournoy).

Dorothy Jones^r Hardy (b. March 26, 1805), daughter of Charles⁶ Hardy and his second wife Sally Jordan Green, married

Nov. 3, 1829, Daniel Petty (b. April 30, 1790, d. Jan. 20, 1848) (Jan. 17, 1843?). They resided, at least a part of the time, on a plantation on Mason's Creek, later occupied by Benjamin Sculthorpe, near *Wilburn*, the Bell homestead.

They had:

1. Ann Susan⁸ Petty (b. July 30, 1830), who married Sept. 4, 1850, Joel Gibbon Wall.
2. John Daniel⁸ Petty (b. Jan. 10, 1839, d. Sept. 4, 1905), who married, June 21, 1859, Virginia V. Stone.

Henry Green⁷ Hardy (b. March 4, 1806, d. July 27, 1826), son of Charles⁶ Hardy and his second wife Sally Jordan Green, married (first), Dec. 12, 1832, Permelia Gee (d. Dec. 1856); married (second), Nov. 11, 1857, Dorothy Thomas (b. March 21, 1819, d. 1869).

Issue by first marriage:

1. Sarah E.⁸ Hardy (b. Feb. 25, 1834), who married Henry C. Hawthorne, of Lunenburg County, Virginia.
2. Charles M.⁸ Hardy (b. June 15, 1836), married Sue Smith, daughter of Benjamin Smith.
3. Richard V.⁸ Hardy (b. July 25, 1838).
4. Joseph H.⁸ Hardy (b. Aug. 18, 1840).
5. Robert L.⁸ Hardy (b. Aug. 18, 1840). Joseph and Robert were twins. Robert moved to the State of Missouri, about 1860.
6. Lewis Emmet⁸ Hardy (b. Nov. 10, 1842), married a Miss Beckwith, and resided in Brunswick County, Virginia.
7. John T.⁸ Hardy (b. Oct. 8, 1844), was twice married: first, to Fanny Clark, of Dinwiddie County, second, to Mattie Scott, of Nottoway County, Virginia.
8. Martha W.⁸ Hardy (b. Jan. 1, 1847), married Benjamin Boyd, of Kentucky. She had two children who emigrated to the West.
9. Saluda⁸ Hardy (b. Sept. 16, 1849), never married.
10. Jeremiah⁸ Hardy (b. Dec. 18, 1852), married a lady from California.

Issue by second marriage:

1. Henry Thomas Steinback⁸ Hardy (b. Oct. 25, 1861), of Wattsboro, Lunenburg County, Virginia, who married Mary C. Wilson, of Reedy, Lunenburg County, Virginia, daughter of Joseph and Jennie Wilson.
2. A child who died in infancy.

Jordan Robert⁷ Hardy (b. Nov. 11, 1811, d. March 27, 1897), son of Charles⁶ Hardy and his second wife Sally Jordan Green, married, March 16, 1841, Ann Eliza Love (b. Dec. 1, 1822), daughter of Henry Hix Love, whose wife was a Miss Jeffries (or Jeffress).

They had:

1. Luther Chappell⁸ Hardy (b. June 18, 1843, d. Sept. 13, 1900), who married about 1875, Miss M. E. Hurt.
2. Joseph Thomas⁸ Hardy (b. June 19, 1846, d. Aug. 10, 1884), married, about 1876, a Miss Johnson. No children.
3. Olando Love⁸ Hardy (b. Sept. 13, 1848), married, March 23, 1871, Mary E. Love (b. June 15, 1850, d. July 8, 1908), daughter of Captain James C. Love, and his wife Mary E. Davis. (See Davis Genealogy.)
4. Henry Hix⁸ Hardy, married, about 1882, Laura Russell, of Lunenburg County, Virginia.

Carolina⁷ Hardy (b. Nov. 13, 1816, d. July 8, 1854), daughter of Charles⁶ Hardy and his second wife Sally Jordan Green, married Jan. 8, 1840, George H. Lee.

They had:

1. Adele⁸ Lee (b. 1844), married in Oct., 1864, Dr. John R. Dillard, of Martinsville, Virginia.
2. Helen⁸ Lee (b. 1849, d. in Aug., 1904), married John Roberts (d. Nov., 1911), of Lunenburg County, Virginia. John Roberts, with his family, removed to Kentucky in 1900.
3. George H.⁸ Lee (b. 1851, d. 1863).
4. An infant (d. at the age of eight months).

Sally Green⁷ Hardy (b. March 12, 1818, d. Dec., 1868), daughter of Charles⁶ Hardy and his second wife Sally Jordan Green, married, March 15, 1844, William E. Robertson.

They had:

1. Fitz Orman⁸ Robertson (b. March 3, 1845, d. May 6, 1925), married (first), Sarah Anna B. Hardy; (second), Rosa Frances Spain.
2. Prudence Adelaide⁸ Robertson (b. May 28, 1846), married Rodolph C. Hardy (b. July 6, 1845, d. Nov. 23, 1910).
3. Benjamin H.⁸ Robertson (b. Aug. 18, 1848).
4. Robert Roland⁸ Robertson (b. June 29, 1850), married about 1874, a lady from Texas, and had three daughters and two sons.
5. Daniel Henry⁸ Robertson (b. Nov. 21, 1853), married Fanny Pool, of Sussex County, and died leaving three sons.
6. Sally Edmondson⁸ Robertson (b. Dec. 17, 1854).
7. Thomas Hamlin⁸ Robertson (b. Aug. 25, 1856), married in 1880, Ida Goulden, of Dinwiddie County, Virginia, and died leaving two daughters and one son.

Marietta Eliza Prudence⁷ Hardy (b. Feb. 4, 1823, d. October, 1856), daughter of Charles⁶ Hardy and his second wife Sally Jordan Green, married Robert Miles Williams* (b. Sept. 19, 1819, d. April 12, 1886).

They had:

1. Adora Robert⁸ Williams (b. Oct. 4, 1846, d. in July, 1889), married in 1868, John Walter Watkins, of Amelia County. There were no children of this union.
2. Marietta Prudence⁸ Williams (b. June 3, 1853, d. June 16, 1926), married June 27, 1877, William Marshall Bagley, of Columbian Grove, Lunenburg County, Va.

George E.⁷ Hardy (b. Aug. 21, 1821, d. March 1, 1894), son

*Robert Miles Williams was the oldest son of Captain John R. Williams, of Brunswick County, and his wife Martha Jones. The parents of Captain John R. Williams were Miles Williams of Brunswick County, Virginia, and Priscilla Hill, of North Carolina. Robert Miles Williams had an only brother who moved to the State of Arkansas.

of John C.⁶ Hardy (b. Oct. 2, 1774), and his wife Sallie Betts, married Nov. 9, 1853, Mary Ellen Irby (d. July 19, 1879).

They had:

1. William Irby⁸ Hardy, M. D. (b. Aug. 19, 1856, d. Feb. 1, 1886), who married Oct. 1, 1885, Sarah Jane Turnbull, a sister of Congressman Robert Turnbull. (See sketch of him, in Chapter III, Vol. II.)
2. John Arthur⁸ Hardy (b. Dec. 10, 1858), married Jan. 27, 1886, Julia Pegram Bagley (b. Nov. 5, 1859), daughter of Edward G. Bagley and his wife Julia Pegram Trotter.

Issue:

- (1) Mary Bagley⁹ Hardy (b. Feb. 16, 1887).
 - (2) Ellen Irby⁹ Hardy (b. May 1, 1889).
 - (3) George Eggleston⁹ Hardy (b. July 29, 1894).
 - (4) Edward Bagley⁹ Hardy (b. June 6, 1891, d. Mar. 6, 1893).
 - (5) Irby⁹ Hardy (b. Feb. 10, 1893, d. Apr. 8, 1893).
 - (6) John Arthur⁹ Hardy, Jr. (b. Nov. 29, 1896).
 - (7) Isham Trotter⁹ Hardy (b. March 28, 1899).
3. Richard Benjamin⁸ Hardy (b. Sept. 15, 1865), married April 20, 1906, Fannie Randolph Cralle (b. Feb. 6, 1875), daughter of Grief Truly Cralle, of Nottoway County, and his wife Lizzie Gilliam Willson, of Amelia County.

Issue:

- (1) Truly Cralle⁹ Hardy (b. July 3, 1908).
 - (2) Frances Randolph⁹ Hardy (b. Jan. 10, 1910).
 - (3) Richard Benjamin⁹ Hardy (b. May 29, 1911).
 - (4) Irby⁹ Hardy (b. Oct. 8, 1912, d. 1915).
4. Martha Ann⁸ Hardy (b. Jan. 5, 1862, d. July 3, 1871).
 5. George E.⁸ Hardy, Jr., M. D. (b. July 12, 1868), married Nov. 13, 1895, Katherine Coriel (b. Apr. 13, 1875), daughter of Alvin Coriel and his wife Mary Lawrence.

Issue:

- (1) Katherine⁹ Hardy (b. Sept. 24, 1896), married Feb. 20, 1918, Lawrence Kent Harper, and they have:
 - (a) Lawrence Kent¹⁰ Harper, Jr. (b. Dec. 26, 1919).

- (b) Jessie Kent¹⁰ Harper (b. Jan. 10, 1922).
- (c) George Edward Hardy¹⁰ Harper (b. Dec. 28, 1922).

(2) Mary⁹ Hardy (b. Dec. 11, 1897).

Cephas⁷ Hardy (b. Nov. 16, 1808, d. Oct. 3, 1865), eldest son of Miles⁶ Hardy and his wife Hannah Wilson, married Dec. 19, 1832, Elizabeth Jane Brame (b. Dec. 2, 1815, d. March 5, 1903), daughter of Thomas and Martha (Johnson) Brame. Cephas Hardy served in the C. S. A., as a member of the Home Guards.

They had:

1. Mary Elizabeth⁸ Hardy (b. March 17, 1836, d. March 9, 1855), never married.
2. Martha Isabelle⁸ Hardy (b. Aug. 28, 1838, d. June 13, 1839).
3. Amanda Vernon⁸ Hardy (b. Oct. 15, 1839, d. Dec. 23, 1839).
4. Sarah Katherine⁸ Hardy (b. May 5, 1841), married in May, 1861, Lieutenant William Russell, C. S. A., of Mecklenburg County, Va.
5. Thomas James⁸ Hardy (b. Nov. 30, 1842, d. July 3, 1865), served in the C. S. A. in Company A, Third Regiment of Virginia Cavalry, commanded by Col. Thomas F. Goode; never married.
6. Miles Wilson⁸ Hardy (b. Feb. 19, 1845, d. July 6, 1863), served in the C. S. A. in Company K, Ninth Regiment of Virginia Cavalry, under Captain Knight, in W. H. F. Lee's command. Killed in the streets of Hagerstown, Md., on the retreat of the Army of Northern Virginia, from Gettysburg. Never married.
7. Samuel Graham⁸ Hardy (b. April 17, 1847, d. Nov. 24, 1885), married in 1875, Sarah Kate Moore; served in the C. S. A. as a member of the Hillsboro Academy Cadets.
8. Goodrich Wilson⁸ Hardy (b. June 26, 1849), married Dec. 12, 1872, his cousin Louise Haskins Hardy, daughter of James Wilson and Harriet Ann (Haskins) Hardy, of Mecklenburg County, Va.

9. Cephas^s Hardy, Jr. (b. Dec. 23, 1851), married in 1885, Fannie Fouche, daughter of Simpson Fouche, of Rome, Georgia.
10. Jane Lee^s Hardy (b. Aug. 7, 1853), married Dr. J. J. Crowder (his second wife); Dr. Crowder was a member of the Third Regiment of Virginia Cavalry, commanded by Col. Thomas F. Goode, Fitzhugh Lee's Brigade, J. E. B. Stuart's Division. No issue of this marriage.
11. Mollie Ella^s Hardy (b. May 4, 1856), married in 1881, John Fair, son of Daniel Fair of Philadelphia.
12. Robert Dabney^s Hardy (b. March 27, 1859, d. unmarried, Sept. 26, 1886).

Robert^r Hardy (b. 1810), second son of Miles⁶ Hardy and his wife Hannah Wilson, of Lunenburg County, married Mary Marable.

They had:

1. John^s Hardy, who married Pattie Oliver.
2. Allan^s Hardy.
3. Miles Edward^s Hardy, of Chase City, Va., who married, (first), Binna Roberts, of Chase City, (second), Alice Nelson, of Chase City, and had by the second marriage:
 - (1) Robert⁹ Hardy.
4. Mary Frances^s Hardy, who married John ("Jack") Hayes, and had:
 - (1) Martha⁹ Hayes.
 - (2) Sue⁹ Hayes.
 - (3) Mary⁹ Hayes, who married R. L. West, of Atlanta, Ga.
 - (4) John⁹ Hayes.
5. William^s Hardy, who married Mary Lewis Finch.
6. Melville^s Hardy.
7. Mollie^s Hardy, who married Harvey Dodson.

Miles^r Hardy (b. Feb. 7, 1815, d. Aug. 15, 1907), son of Miles⁶ Hardy and Hannah Wilson, of Lunenburg County, married December 15, 1846, Elizabeth Wilson Holmes (b. Dec. 10,

1817, d. May 28, 1867), daughter of Isaac and Henrietta (Wilson) Holmes.

They had:

1. William Miles⁸ Hardy (b. Oct. 15, 1847).
2. Elizabeth Alice⁸ Hardy (b. Feb. 28, 1850), married Feb. 16, 1869, Capt. John R. Morris, of Texas, and had:
 - (1) Clyde⁹ Morris, who married Rosa Cellers.
 - (2) Lizzie⁹ Morris, who married Dr. Isaac D. Walker.
 - (3) Eliza Etta⁹ Morris, married Ralph Bowden.
 - (4) Dora Alice⁹ Morris, who married Charles Weise.
3. Henrietta Isaac⁸ Hardy (b. May 20, 1853), married Dec. 31, 1874, William Richard Harris, of Tennessee, later of Clark Co., Ark., and had:
 - (1) Elizabeth Wilson⁹ Harris (b. Dec. 17, 1875), married May 5, 1901, Espy Langly.
 - (2) Sue Alice⁹ Harris (b. March 27, 1879).
 - (3) Gilberta⁹ Harris (b. July 23, 1882).
 - (4) Jessie Rosanna⁹ Harris (b. July 6, 1885), married March 10, 1909, Walter Tell Davidson.
 - (5) William Miles⁹ Harris (b. Oct. 25, 1887).
4. Gilberta Sinclair⁸ Hardy (b. July 3, 1856, d. Dec. 3, 1876).

James Wilson⁷ Hardy (b. 1816), of Mecklenburg County, Virginia, fourth son of Miles and Hannah (Wilson) Hardy, of Lunenburg County, married in 1848, Harriet Ann Haskins (b. May 4, 1827), daughter of Edward Haskins, a soldier of the war of 1812.

They had:

1. Edward Miles⁸ Hardy (b. Dec. 26, 1848), married Dec. 18, 1871, Martha Ann Reekes, daughter of Captain Thomas Reekes and his wife Sarah Walker.
2. Louise Haskins⁸ Hardy, who married Dec. 18, 1872, her cousin Goodrich Wilson Hardy, son of Cephas and Elizabeth Jane (Brame) Hardy.
3. Martha Virginia⁸ Hardy, who married March 5, 1879, Philip St. John Duke.

4. Cora Gertrude⁸ Hardy, who married Sept. 7, 1881, William R. Wilson.
5. Marian Lee⁸ Hardy (b. July 19, 1863), who married Feb. 20, 1884, Walter Scott Moseley (b. Nov. 23, 1853), son of Robert and Eliza (Finch) Moseley, and grandson of Hillary Moseley and Lankston Finch.
6. James Wilson⁸ Hardy, Jr. (b. Sept. 3, 1865), who married Jan. 11, 1893, Edith Luella Sloan (b. April 10, 1866), daughter of John Milton and Mary Jannette (Prentiss) Sloan.
7. Harriet Ann⁸ Hardy (b. June 15, 1872), married Oct. 26, 1897, Robert Clinton Carden (b. Oct. 18, 1871), of West Point, Virginia, son of Peter Smith Carden, and his wife Maria Louisa Jones, of Halifax County, Virginia, and grandson of John and Elizabeth (Smith) Carden, and of David Harriet (Yost) Jones, of Harrisonburg, Virginia.

Emma Jane⁷ Hardy (b. May 9, 1815), daughter of Henry⁸ Hardy (b. Nov. 25, 1783), and his first wife Mary S. Neblett, married Oct. 12, 1837 (M. B. in Lunenburg County, Oct. 4, 1837), William Robert Buford (d. July 5, 1850).

They had:

1. James H.⁸ Buford (d. young—unmarried).
2. Mary R.⁸ Buford (d. young—unmarried).

William R. Buford lived at Dinwiddie C. H., he died there, and he and his daughter are buried in the Old Pegram burying-ground. The son James H. Buford is buried at *White Hall*, the old Hardy homestead in Lunenburg County.

Emma Jane Hardy, after the death of her first husband, married a second time E. J. Powell. She survived him, residing in Nashville, Tenn.

Edwin Covington⁷ Hardy (b. Aug. 9, 1822, d. 1886), son of Henry⁶ Hardy and his first wife Mary Sterling Neblett, married (first) in 1858, Ann Eastman (b. 1840, d. 1870); (second), Mrs. Sarah Jane Lee.

Issue by first marriage:

1. Mary E.⁸ Hardy (b. May 31, 1859), married R. S. Brown, and had:
 - (1) Richard Hardy⁹ Brown (b. Apr. 16, 1861, d. June, 1882).
2. John H.⁸ Hardy (b. June 18, 1864).

Issue by second marriage:

1. Jennie Anderson⁸ Hardy (b. Oct. 18, 1882), married Dr. J. K. Lindsey, of Elmore City, Oklahoma, and had:
 - (1) Virginia⁹ Lindsey (b. 1905).
 - (2) Laura May⁹ Lindsey (b. 1908).
 - (3) Mary Ruth⁹ Lindsey (b. 1910).

Mary E.⁷ Hardy (b. Aug. 9, 1822), daughter of Henry⁶ Hardy and his first wife Mary Sterling Neblett, married James Madison Lloyd, of Columbus, Mississippi.

They had:

1. William H.⁸ Lloyd (b. 1861), married Mary Williams and resided at West Point, Miss.

Cornelius⁷ Hardy (b. Jan. 2, 1827), son of Henry⁶ Hardy and his second wife Permelia Betts, married in 1858, Clifford Winston, of Columbus, Miss.

They had:

1. Cornelia⁸ Hardy (b. 1859, d. 1877).
2. Winston⁸ Hardy (d. at the age of seven).

S. Fanny⁷ Hardy (b. Dec. 4, 1845), daughter of Henry⁶ Hardy and his second wife Permelia Betts, married August 7, 1877, J. H. Jones.

They had:

1. Henry Epes⁸ Jones (b. Dec. 22, 1879), married Lizzie Abbit.
2. Charles Hardy⁸ Jones (b. Aug. 27, 1882), married Maude Fowlkes, of Lunenburg County, Virginia. They reside

(1926), at the old Hardy place, *White Hall*, in Lunenburg County, Virginia.

3. Peter Harriss⁸ Jones (b. Aug. 6, 1887), married Virginia Eanes.

James Andrew⁷ Hardy (b. Jan. 12, 1819, d. July 23, 1863), of Bedford County, Va., son of Captain William Austin⁶ Hardy and his wife Jane Watts, married in 1847, Lucy Douglas Horton (b. July 18, 1827, d. July 27, 1880), daughter of Dr. William Henry and Martha Ann (Clarkson) Horton, of Campbell County, Va. James Andrew Hardy served in the C. S. A. as a corporal in Company I, 34th Regiment, Wise's Brigade, Johnson's Division. He was killed by deserters from the Union Army.

They had:

1. Ann E.⁸ Hardy (b. March 6, 1848, d. April 6, 1863).
2. Jane Mildred⁸ Hardy (b. April 11, 1849), married March 10, 1869, John Bond Elliott, C. S. A., of Roanoke, Virginia, son of James A. and Fannie (Bond) Elliott.
3. Elizabeth Watts⁸ Hardy (b. June 10, 1851, d. Jan. 14, 1886), married James Grubbs of Newport, Ark. No issue.
4. Margaret Virginia⁸ Hardy (b. June 20, 1852), married Dr. Henry Hopkins, of Bedford County, Virginia, son of Henry Hopkins.

They had:

- (1) Alma⁹ Hopkins (d. 1895).
- (2) Henry G.⁹ Hopkins, who married Allen Dickenson, of Shreveport, La., son of Edward M. and Sarah (Byers) Dickenson, of Washington, D. C.
- (3) Almond⁹ Hopkins.
- (4) Lucile⁹ Hopkins, who married Edgar Fitzhugh, of New York.
5. William Henry⁸ Hardy (b. Dec. 18, 1853).
6. Sarah Frances⁸ Hardy (b. Sept. 23, 1857).
7. James Andrew⁸ Hardy (b. Aug. 20, 1859), of Batesville, Ark.
8. Roberta F.⁸ Hardy (b. July 30, 1861, d. Oct. 12, 1869).
9. Lucy Horton⁸ Hardy (b. Dec. 11, 1862), married Dec. 30, 1886, Levy Jasper Cypert, of Searcy, Ark.

Eliza Margaret⁷ Hardy (b. Feb. 26, 1821, d. March 30, 1907), daughter of Captain William Austin⁶ Hardy and his wife Jane Watts, married in 1839, Wesley Shelton, of Bedford County, Va.

They had:

1. Jane Watts Hode⁸ Shelton (b. 1851), married in 1868, Cornelius A. Lupton, C. S. A., of Bedford County, Virginia, son of Jonah Lupton, and had:

(1) Dora A.⁹ Lupton, who married John Piley and had:

(a) Nellie Virginia¹⁰ Riley, who married Thomas Murphy, and had issue.

(b) George Amos¹⁰ Riley.

(c) John Shirley¹⁰ Riley.

(2) John Wesley⁹ Lupton, of Bedford Co., Va., who married, in 1908, Nancy Harvey.

(3) Edward Dalma⁹ Lupton, of Bedford Co., Va., who married Frances Wise.

(4) Lula May⁹ Lupton, who married Henry Thompson, and had:

(a) Herbert¹⁰ Thompson.

(b) Spotsworth¹⁰ Thompson.

(c) Jennie¹⁰ Thompson.

(d) Margaret¹⁰ Thompson.

(e) Lupton¹⁰ Thompson.

(f) Francis¹⁰ Thompson.

(5) Eliza Ola⁹ Lupton, who married Newton Hazlewood, of Montvale, Va., and had:

(a) Geniveve¹⁰ Hazlewood.

(b) Taverner¹⁰ Hazlewood.

(6) Taverner⁹ Lupton.

(7) Frederick William⁹ Lupton.

(8) Charles Ashby⁹ Lupton.

(9) Goldie Harrison⁹ Lupton (d. young).

(10) Mary Elizabeth⁹ Lupton.

(11) Thomas Allen⁹ Lupton.

(12) Annie Lois⁹ Lupton.

(13) Jennie Ruby⁹ Lupton.

(14) Clark Pursell⁹ Lupton.

Joseph Stoggedele⁷ Hardy (b. Feb. 17, 1823, d. April, 1891), of Bedford County, Va., son of Captain William Austin⁶ Hardy, and his wife Jane Watts, married (first), in 1849, Pauline Pondexter (b. 1833, d. 1861), daughter of Dabney and Eliza (Watts) Pondexter; (second), Jane Nichols.

Issue by first marriage:

1. William Preston⁸ Hardy, who married, and lives in Bedford County, Va., and has a son.
2. Mildred Jane Hoard⁸ Hardy, who married Samuel Pondexter.
3. Dabney Pondexter⁸ Hardy, of Bedford County, Va., who married Annie Bell Crisman.
4. Mary Catherine⁸ Hardy, who married Charles Woolfolk, of Bedford County, and had:
 - (1) Norma⁹ Woolfolk, who married Fred Faqua.
 - (2) Mary Catherine⁹ Woolfolk.
 - (3) Irvin⁹ Woolfolk.

Issue by second marriage:

1. Emma⁸ Hardy, who married Samuel J. White, of Bedford County, Va.
2. Ida Mackenzie⁸ Hardy.
3. Lilly⁸ Hardy, who married David H. Rucker, of Moneta, Va., son of Moses Peter and Sallie Frances (Parker) Rucker.
4. Josephine⁸ Hardy, who married William Penn Rucker, of Moneta, Va., son of Moses Peter and Sallie Frances (Parker) Rucker.
5. Joseph Griffin⁸ Hardy, who married Annie White, daughter of Walter White.

Sarah Winston⁷ Hardy (b. May 16, 1825), daughter of Capt. William Austin⁶ Hardy and his wife Jane Watts, married John Gills, of Bedford County, Virginia.

They had:

1. Tabitha⁸ Gills, who married Daniel Calwell, of Danville, Virginia, who had:
 - (1) James⁹ Calwell,

- (2) Sarah⁹ Calwell,
 - (3) Maud⁹ Calwell,
 - (4) Robert⁹ Calwell.
2. Cornelia Leek⁸ Gills, who married Thomas Lee,* and had:
 - (1) Thomas E.⁹ Lee, who married Ester Wells.
 - (2) Newell⁹ Lee,
 - (3) Randolph⁹ Lee,
 - (4) Kitty⁹ Lee, who married Charles Clark.
 - (5) George⁹ Lee, and (6) Josie⁹ Lee, twins.
 3. Joseph⁸ Gills (d. young).
 4. Eliza⁸ Gills (d. young).
 5. John⁸ Gills, who married (first), a Miss Chandler; (second), Nannie Perkins. Issue by both marriages.
 6. Sarah⁸ Gills, who married Rush Burnett, and had issue.
 7. Leay⁸ Gills, who married a Mr. Chandler, and had issue.

Frances Susan⁷ Hardy (b. Oct. 28, 1827, d. 1862), daughter of Capt. William Austin⁶ Hardy and his wife Jane Watts, married Thomas Lee, C. S. A., of Bedford County, Va., son of John Lee of Shenandoah County, Virginia.

They had:

1. Calpurnia⁸ Lee, who married Richard Markham, of Boteourt County, Va., and had:
 - (1) Mary Bell⁹ Markham, who married a Mr. Lesley.
 - (2) Lilly⁹ Markham, who married E. Theobald, of Michigan.
 - (3) Willie⁹ Markham, who married a Mr. Vest.
 - (4) James⁹ Markham, who married a Miss Shakespeare, of Delaware.
 - (5) Ella⁹ Markham, who married a Mr. Theobald, of Michigan.
 - (6) George⁹ Markham.
 - (7) Walter⁹ Markham.

*Second wife. His first wife was Frances Susan Hardy, aunt of his second wife.

2. Elizabeth Watts⁸ Lee, who married (first), Allie Hatcher, of Bedford County, Virginia; (second), Robert Foggy, of Bedford County, Virginia, and had:

By the first marriage:

- (1) Virginia⁹ Hatcher,
- (2) Lola⁹ Hatcher,
- (3) Richard⁹ Hatcher.

3. Jennie⁸ Lee, who married Robert Craig, of Washington County, Virginia, and had issue.

Charles Watts⁷ Hardy (b. Feb. 14, 1835), of Montvale, Va., son of Capt. William Austin⁶ Hardy and his wife Jane Watts, married Eliza Pondexter. He was a Confederate soldier.

They had:

1. Peter Horner⁸ Hardy, M. D., of Bedford County, Va., who married Jennie Hutcheson, and had issue.
2. Stuart⁸ Hardy.
3. Warren⁸ Hardy.
4. Ella⁸ Hardy, who married Ebb Isaac, of Bedford County, Va., and had issue.

Ambrose C.⁷ Rucker (b. June 27, 1817), of Bedford County, Va., son of Margaret⁶ Hardy and Anthony Rucker, married a Miss Board, daughter of John Board.

They had:

1. Olando C.⁸ Rucker, of Bedford County, Va., a lawyer, who married Guanita (Junita?) Miller, and had:
 - (1) Margaret⁹ Rucker,
 - (2) Ambrose⁹ Rucker,
 - (3) Olando⁹ Rucker,
 - (4) Warren⁹ Rucker,
 - (5) Richard⁹ Rucker,
 - (6) Nave⁹ Rucker,
 - (7) Guanita⁹ Rucker.

Moses Peter⁷ Rucker (b. March 10, 1837), of Bedford City, Va., son of Margaret⁶ Hardy and Anthony Rucker, married in 1866, Sallie Frances Parker, daughter of Josiah Parker. Moses

Peter Rucker served in the C. S. A. in the Second Virginia Cavalry, Fitzhugh Lee's brigade, Stuart's division,—was under fire fifty-five times, and never wounded.

They had:

1. Anna Mary⁸ Rucker (b. Jan. 16, 1867), who married William Southern, of Unionhall, Franklin Co., Va.
2. David D.⁸ Rucker (b. June 26, 1869), of Monita, Va., who married Lilly Hardy, daughter of Joseph Stoggedele and Jane (Nichols) Hardy, of Bedford County, and had: (1) Janie⁹ Rucker.
3. Joseph Anthony⁸ Rucker, M. D. (b. June 28, 1871), of Bedford City, Va., married Eliza Coffin, and had issue.
4. William Penn⁸ Rucker (b. Oct. 4, 1873), of Monita, Va., married Josephine Hardy, daughter of Joseph Stoggedele and Jane (Nichols) Hardy.
5. Moses Peter⁸ Rucker, M. D. (b. June 27, 1876), of Bedford City, Va.
6. Sallie Margaret⁸ Rucker (b. Dec. 20, 1881), married Isom Dixon, of Callaghan, Va.

Margaret Elizabeth⁷ Hardy (d. Sept. 16, 1877), daughter of Robert William⁶ Hardy, of Lowndes County, Ala., and later of Jasper County, Miss., and his wife, Temperance L. Toney, married Henry W. Evans.

They had:

1. William Hardy⁸ Evans.
2. Thomas⁸ Evans.
3. Robert⁸ Evans, who married a Miss Stennis.
4. Sallie⁸ Evans, who married Dr. Stennis.
5. Perle⁸ Evans, who married a Mr. Stennis.

Honorable William Harris⁷ Hardy (b. 1837, in Lowndes County, Ala.), son of Robert William⁶ Hardy and his wife Temperance L. Toney, married: (first), Oct. 10, 1850, in Brandon, Miss., Sallie A. Johnson (d. Sept. 16, 1872, at Paulding, Miss.), daughter of Thomas and Ellen (Weaver) Johnson; (second), Dec. 1, 1873, in Mobile, Ala., Hattie Lott (d. May 18, 1895, at Meridian, Miss.), daughter of Elisha B. and Eliza-

beth (Swain) Lott; (third), May 14, 1900, in Memphis, Tenn., Ida V. May, daughter of James and Eliza (Hutchins) May.

Judge William Harris Hardy was educated at Cumberland University, Tenn., in 1857 he removed to Mississippi, was admitted to the Bar in 1858; served in the C. S. A. as Captain of Company H, 16th Regiment (Miss.), and as Asst. Adjutant on the staff of General J. A. Smith; Judge of the Second District Circuit Court, retired in 1913, declining another term.

Issue by first marriage:

1. Mattie^s Hardy, who married William S. Lott, of Meridian, Miss., and had:
 - (1) William Hardy⁹ Lott, who married Edna French, and had issue.
 - (2) Sallie⁹ Lott, who married Frank Allen, of Shreveport, La.
 - (3) Bessie⁹ Lott.
 - (4) Hattie⁹ Lott.
 - (5) Margaret⁹ Lott.
 - (6) Madeline⁹ Lott.
2. Mary Willie^s Hardy, who married (first), A. S. Barnes, of Mobile, Ala., and after his death (second) Duke Thompson, of Liverpool, England; and had, by the second marriage:
 - (1) Augustus⁹ Thompson,
 - (2) Hetty Tudor⁹ Thompson.
3. Ellen Temperance^s Hardy (d. Aug. 8, 1908), who married Henry H. Hurst, of Marion, Ala., and had:
 - (1) William Hardy⁹ Hurst,
 - (2) Henry H.⁹ Hurst, Jr.
4. Thomas Robert^s Hardy, of New Orleans, La., who married Mattie Lewis, of Boston, Mass.
5. Elizabeth H.^s Hardy, who married Edward K. Huey, of New Orleans, La., and had:
 - (1) Cecil⁹ Huey.
 - (2) Neva⁹ Huey.

6. Jefferson Davis⁸ Hardy, of Tulsa, Okla., who married Blanche Cefalu, of New Orleans, La., and had:

- (1) Mildred⁹ Hardy.
- (2) Jefferson Davis⁹ Hardy, Jr.
- (3) Blanch⁹ Hardy.

Issue by second marriage:

1. Lamar⁸ Hardy, of New York (a distinguished lawyer).
2. Lena Mai⁸ Hardy.

Issue by third marriage:

1. William Harris⁸ Hardy, Jr.
2. Hamilton Lee⁸ Hardy.
3. James Hutchins⁸ Hardy.

Thomas Judson⁷ Hardy, of Ellisville, Miss., a lawyer, son of Robert William⁶ Hardy and Temperance L. Toney, married Nannie Heidelberg.

They had:

1. Charles Toney⁸ Hardy.
2. William Harris⁸ Hardy.
3. Katie⁸ Hardy.
4. Birdie⁸ Hardy.

Emeline Covington⁸ Hardy (b. July 23, 1834, d. Nov. 28, 1916), daughter of John Covington⁷ Hardy and his first wife Dorothy Bruce, married, Nov. 30, 1854, William P. Spain, of Dinwiddie County, son of Abraham and Mary (Stowe) Spain.

They had:

1. Rosalie Frances⁹ Spain (b. Sept. 14, 1855), who married Fitz Orman Robertson, son of Sally Green Hardy and William E. Robertson, and they had:
 - (1) Charles Everett¹⁰ Robertson (b. Nov. 2, 1884, d. July 9, 1885).
2. Eleanor Elizabeth⁹ Spain, who married June 9, 1886, James Willard Cole, son of Peter Cole, of Chesterfield County, Va.

They had:

- (1) Gracie Emeline¹⁰ Cole (b. July 5, 1888).
- (2) Willard Everett¹⁰ Cole (b. March 27, 1892).

(3) Fitz Emmett¹⁰ Cole (b. Aug. 21, 1895).

(4) Rosalie Marie¹⁰ Cole (b. Aug. 22, 1899).

3. Elwyn Covington⁹ Spain (b. Aug. 14, 1875), married (first) Jan. 4, 1888, Ada Gresham, daughter of William E. and Ella (Watkins) Gresham, of Dinwiddie County, Va., (second) Dec. 13, 1905, Avis Louisa Talley (b. June 12, 1881), daughter of William H. and Mary (Watson) Talley, of Dinwiddie County, Va.

Issue by first marriage:

(1) Herbert Lee¹⁰ Spain (b. Jan. 19, 1900).

(2) Frances Lucie¹⁰ Spain (b. June 11, 1902).

(3) William Elwyn¹⁰ Spain (b. Aug. 6, 1904).

Issue by second marriage:

(1) Wilbur Arthur¹⁰ Spain (b. Jan. 12, 1908).

(2) Mary Emeline¹⁰ Spain (b. Feb. 2, 1910).

(3) Lucian¹⁰ Spain (b. May 28, 1911).

4. Sidney Peterson⁹ Spain, who married March 1, 1888, Jane Hansbro Loving, daughter of William Samuel and Hiberna Jane Hansbro, of Nelson County, Va.

They had:

(1) Willie Ida¹⁰ Spain (b. Jan. 17, 1890).

(2) Sidney Peace¹⁰ Spain (b. Nov. 21, 1893).

(3) Thomas Jefferson¹⁰ Spain (b. Aug. 19, 1897).

(4) Clarence Hardy¹⁰ Spain (b. July 21, 1899).

5. Myrtis⁹ Spain (b. June 9, 1873, in Dinwiddie Co., Va.), married Herbert Chowning Hall (b. June 11, 1871), of Lancaster County, Va., son of Herbert Pollard and Mary Hannah (Chowning) Hall.

They had:

(1) Elizabeth Hardy¹⁰ Hall (b. Sept. 1, 1898).

(2) William Pollard¹⁰ Hall (b. May 25, 1901).

(3) Mary Rosalie¹⁰ Hall (b. Nov. 11, 1903).

(4) Eleanor Emeline¹⁰ Hall (b. Nov. 30, 1907).

(5) Hannah Clarissa¹⁰ Hall (b. Dec. 8, 1909).

(6) Sidney Chowning¹⁰ Hall (b. March 3, 1912).

Amelia Caroline⁸ Hardy (b. March 27, 1838, d. April 5, 1902), daughter of John Covington⁷ Hardy and his first wife Dorothy Bruce, married, May 29, 1860, Romulus Lewellyn Hurt (b. March 15, 1824, d. Feb. 5, 1903).

They had:

1. Thomas Lewellyn⁹ Hurt (b. Jan. 22, 1863), who married Edith Erskine (b. May 28, 1857).

They had:

- (1) Thomas Eldridge¹⁰ Hurt (b. Oct. 15, 1885, d. 1926), married July 25, 1906, Martha Edith Kennedy (b. April 19, 1886), daughter of William F. Kennedy, of Lunenburg Co., Va.
 - (2) Sadie Strother¹⁰ Hurt (b. March 17, 1887), married Nov. 17, 1909, Branch Christopher Powell.
 - (3) Carrie Hardy¹⁰ Hurt (b. Oct. 16, 1888).
2. Waverly⁹ Hurt (b. June 5, 1865), married (first), June 28, 1893, Mary Blackwell Powell (b. July 4, 1870, d. Oct. 12, 1903), daughter of James Luthur Powell (b. June 5, 1843, d. June 11, 1914), and his wife Cornelia Elizabeth Powell (b. Feb. 6, 1840, d. Nov. 12, 1905);* (second), Nov. 23, 1904, Jennie E. Hamlin (b. Dec. 25, 1860), daughter of William C. Hamlin (b. March 21, 1821, d. Jan. 24, 1902), of Lunenburg County, Virginia, and his wife Vespena Emily Jones (b. Oct. 8, 1828, d. Sept. 28, 1888).†

Issue by first marriage:

- (1) Cornelia Hardy¹⁰ Hurt (b. April 15, 1895).
 - (2) Margaret Thornton¹⁰ Hurt (b. Aug. 27, 1897).
 - (3) Waverly Powell¹⁰ Hurt (b. June 14, 1900).
3. Lorena Eldridge⁹ Hurt (b. June 14, 1868), married Richard Douglas Thornton (b. June 29, 1861, d. Aug. 13, 1891). Richard Douglas Thornton's ancestry of the Thornton line was as follows: His great-great-grandfather was William Thornton (b. Dec. 20, 1717), who married Jane Clack

*James Luthur Powell and his wife Cornelia Elizabeth Peace were married Dec. 10, 1863.

†William C. Hamlin and Vespena Emily Jones were married June 11, 1845.

(b. Jan. 9, 1721); their son William Thornton (b. June 14, 1751), married Sarah Sterling (d. July 7, 1815); their son William Thornton (b. April 19, 1778), married Mary Parham (b. Oct. 28, 1819); their son Richard Edward Thornton (b. Oct. 28, 1819), married Vaidenia A. Parsons, daughter of Col. William Parsons (b. Jan. 31, 1780), and Sally Moss (b. Aug. 6, 1790), and Richard Douglas Thornton (b. June 29, 1861, d. Aug. 13, 1891), was the son of Richard Edward Thornton and Vaidenia A. Parsons.

They had:

- (1) Richard Hurt¹⁰ Thornton (b. Sept. 2, 1888), married Aug. 18, 1926, Nina Cooper, of Oxford, North Carolina, daughter of Henry George and Julia (Horner) Cooper.
- (2) Lorena Douglas¹⁰ Thornton (b. Oct. 12, 1891), who married, November 10, 1915, Rev. William Dowd Poe (b. April 20, 1880), son of Montreville and Henrietta Shuck (Elmore) Poe, and had:
 - (a) Lillian Douglas¹¹ Poe (b. Oct. 5, 1917).
 - (b) Rachel Thornton¹¹ Poe (b. June 28, 1920).
 - (c) William Edward¹¹ Poe (b. Dec. 18, 1923).
4. Emeline Hardy⁹ Hurt (b. Aug. 24, 1872, d. March 9, 1913), who married Dec. 23, 1897, Albert Carson Elmore (b. July 24, 1877), of Brunswick County, Va.

They had:

- (1) Edith Malcolm¹⁰ Elmore (b. Feb. 3, 1901).
- (2) Thomas Llewellyn¹⁰ Elmore (b. Feb. 9, 1903).
- (3) Albert Carson¹⁰ Elmore, Jr. (b. Feb. 16, 1905).
- (4) Thornton Hurt¹⁰ Elmore (b. Aug. 15, 1907).
- (5) Earle Wiley¹⁰ Elmore (b. Sept. 25, 1910).

Rodolph Covington⁸ Hardy (b. July 6, 1845), son of John Covington⁷ Hardy and his second wife Sarah Anne Boswell, married Feb. 10, 1869, Prudence Adelaide Robertson (b. May 28, 1864).

They had:

1. Leon⁹ Hardy (b. April 27, 1870, d. Jan. 16, 1899).

2. Sally Ann⁹ Hardy (b. Dec. 27, 1871), married Feb. 21, 1899, Jesse Albion Carter (d. June 23, 1912).

They had:

- (1) Philip Albion¹⁰ Carter (b. July 4, 1902, d. April 2, 1910).

3. John Preston⁹ Hardy (b. Aug. 22, 1873), married July 11, 1906, Mary Ann Masenburg.

They had:

- (1) Mary¹⁰ Hardy (b. circa 1907).
(2) John Preston¹⁰ Hardy, Jr. (b. circa 1909).

4. Eddie Miller⁹ Hardy (b. Aug. 9, 1875), married Nov. 28, 1900, Lena May Patrick.

They had:

- (1) Leon Thomas¹⁰ Hardy (b. Oct. 16, 1901).
(2) Bruce Raymond¹⁰ Hardy (b. circa 1906).
(3) Rodolph McDonald¹⁰ Hardy (b. circa 1908).

5. Daniel Thomas⁹ Hardy (b. Dec. 17, 1876), married Oct. 2, 1905, Harriet Pace.

They had:

- (1) Thomas Harold¹⁰ Hardy (b. July 2, 1906).

6. Carrie⁹ Hardy (b. Sept. 27, 1878, d. July 8, 1897).

7. Rodolph Covington⁹ Hardy (b. March 23, 1880), married Sept. 30, 1903, Bessie Ann Fowlkes, of Dinwiddie County, Va.

They had:

- (1) Walter Ray¹⁰ Hardy (b. Apr. 10, 1905).
(2) Lyle Covington¹⁰ Hardy (b. Sept. 17, 1907).
(3) Lynwood¹⁰ Hardy (b. March 10, 1910).

8. Robert Washington⁹ Hardy (b. July 17, 1884).

9. William Wingo⁹ Hardy (b. March 20, 1886).

John Calhoun⁸ Hardy (b. Aug. 27, 1849, d. Aug. 9, 1900), son of John Covington⁷ Hardy and his second wife Sarah Anne Boswell, married Dec. 15, 1871, Mary Frances Williamson (b. Feb. 23, 1850), daughter of Edward Williamson (d. Oct. 20, 1892), and his wife Margaret (d. June 27, 1885).

They had:

1. Berta Bell⁹ Hardy (b. Oct. 2, 1871), married Nov. 15, 1890, Samuel Everett Ridout.

They had:

- (1) Mary Lavina¹⁰ Ridout.
- (2) Herbert Cheatham¹⁰ Ridout.
- (3) Wallace Jennings¹⁰ Ridout.
- (4) Samuel Everett¹⁰ Ridout, Jr.
- (5) Sue Virginia¹⁰ Ridout.
- (6) Kate Launel¹⁰ Ridout.
- (7) Charles Frances¹⁰ Ridout.

2. Fannie Branch⁹ Hardy (b. July 19, 1874), married, Oct. 2, 1901, George White Butt.

They had:

- (1) Clyde Hardy¹⁰ Butt.

3. Ashby Williamson⁹ Hardy (b. April 8, 1876), married Oct. 2, 1901, Dora Carl Chambers.

They had:

- (1) Carl Chambers¹⁰ Hardy.
- (2) Gwendolyn Christian¹⁰ Hardy.
- (3) Helen Louisa¹⁰ Hardy.
- (4) Ashby Williamson¹⁰ Hardy, Jr.

4. Ralph Covington⁹ Hardy (b. Oct. 13, 1884, d. July 12, 1901).

5. Evelyn Adell⁹ Hardy (b. June 19, 1886), married Aug. 25, 1911, Luther L. Pettus.

6. Helen⁹ Hardy (b. Dec. 27, 1888), married June 17, 1912, Leslie Walter Dunn, son of Walter S. Dunn and his wife A. I. Twomey.

Sarah Anna B.⁸ Hardy (b. Feb. 15, 1854, d. Dec. 15, 1882), daughter of John Covington⁷ Hardy and his second wife Sarah Anne Boswell, married Dec. 19, 1872, Fitz Orman Robertson (b. March 3, 1845, d. May 6, 1925), son of Sally Green Hardy and William E. Robertson.

They had:

1. John Orman⁹ Robertson (b. Oct. 18, 1873, d. June 14, 1896), never married.

2. Loula Roland⁹ Robertson (b. April 8, 1876), married June 28, 1899, Thomas Percy Clarke, of Dinwiddie County, son of Thomas Clifford Clarke (b. July 27, 1848), and his wife Sallie Jane Walker (b. March 4, 1852), grandson of William Peterson Clarke (b. July 31, 1819), who married June 28, 1899, Mary Holman Tucker.

They had:

- (1) Lurline Bruce¹⁰ Clarke (b. April 11, 1900).
 - (2) Thomas Clifford¹⁰ Clarke (b. Aug. 13, 1902).
 - (3) Fitz Orman¹⁰ Clarke (b. July 8, 1905).
 - (4) Percy Roland¹⁰ Clarke (b. Oct. 22, 1908).
3. William Abell⁹ Robertson (b. June 30, 1879).

William Joseph Newton⁸ Hardy (b. Jan. 24, 1856), son of John Covington⁷ Hardy and his second wife Sarah Anne Boswell, married, October 31, 1883, Arie Lee Gunn (b. June 3, 1856), daughter of Daniel Edmonson Gunn (d. Apr. 8, 1895), and Tabitha Jane Lee (d. Apr. 30, 1892). The marriage bond for their marriage, in Lunenburg County, is dated November 14, 1842.

They had:

1. Ollie Lee⁹ Hardy (b. Aug. 2, 1884), married Sept. 28, 1904, Craghead Chilton Hatchett, of Victoria, Va., for many years Treasurer of Lunenburg County.

They had:

- (1) Chilton Hardy¹⁰ Hatchett (b. June 30, 1906).
 - (2) William Edward¹⁰ Hatchett (b. July 4, 1907).
 - (3) Annie Lee¹⁰ Hatchett (b. July 4, 1909).
 - (4) Marjorie¹⁰ Hatchett.
2. William Daniel⁹ Hardy (b. March 15, 1887).
 3. Berta Lou⁹ Hardy (b. Sept. 24, 1889).
 4. John Newton⁹ Hardy (b. Dec. 16, 1891).
 5. Etta Jane⁹ Hardy (b. Sept. 10, 1894).
 6. Arie Gunn⁹ Hardy (b. July 16, 1897).

Etta Wilburn⁸ Hardy (b. Nov. 24, 1859, in Dinwiddie County, Virginia, d. March 19, 1916, in Columbus, Ohio, buried at Wilburn, Virginia), daughter (youngest child) of John Coving-

ton⁷ Hardy and his second wife Sarah Anne Boswell, married, Nov. 28, 1877, Isaac Bonaparte Bell (b. Aug. 7, 1847, d. July 23, 1919), son of John Davis Bell and his wife Susan Frances Williamson Davis (see Davis Genealogy), grandson of David Bell and Elizabeth C. Davis, great-grandson of George Bell and Rebecca Calhoun.

For the children and descendants of Etta Wilburn⁸ Hardy and Isaac Bonaparte Bell, see the Bell Genealogy herein.

Robert Bruce⁸ Barrow (b. May 8, 1839, d. Nov. 9, 1912), son of Elizabeth Catherine⁷ Hardy and her husband John Barrow, married three times:

First, Dec. 20, 1865, Sallie B. Marshall, of Lunenburg Co., Va.

Second, Aug. 29, 1877, Sallie Euphemia Barrow (a cousin, who died June 14, 1880), of Brunswick County, Virginia.

Third, Jan. 15, 1901, Mrs. Rachel Bellingham (nee Hemingway), of Norfolk, Va.

There were children by the first marriage only:

1. Fannie Lou⁹ Barrow (b. Aug. 16, 1869, d. April 16, 1896), married Dec. 20, 1893, Robert Tisdale, and had:
 - (1) Robert Bernard¹⁰ Tisdale (b. Oct. 9, 1894).
 - (2) Fannie Lou¹⁰ Tisdale (b. Feb. 29, 1896).
2. Mary Miller⁹ Barrow (b. April 12, 1871), married June 1, 1893, Alex. T. McKissick, and had: Eight children; three died young, unmarried,—the others are:
 - (1) Annie Branch¹⁰ McKissick (b. June 25, 1894).
 - (2) Harry¹⁰ McKissick.
 - (3) Mable¹⁰ McKissick.
 - (4) Seabert¹⁰ McKissick.
 - (5) Gordon¹⁰ McKissick.
3. Irene Spencer⁹ Barrow (b. March 15, 1867, d. Nov. 13, 1895), married Dec. 20, 1892, William A. Talley. No children.

John⁸ Barrow (b. 1842, d. Oct. 6, 1906), of Amelia County, Va., son of Elizabeth Catherine⁷ Hardy and her husband John Barrow, married May 5, 1878, Emma Flournoy, daughter of

John J. and Ann Pamela Flourney. John Barrow served in the Confederate Army through the entire war.

They had:

1. Emmet W.⁹ Barrow (b. Sept. 8, 1879).
2. Lillie⁹ Barrow (b. Dec. 7, 1881), married in August, 1907, William P. Bellingham, son of Mrs. Mary Rachel Bellingham, third wife of Robert Bruce Barrow.
3. John⁹ Barrow (b. Aug. 29, 1883, d. May 13, 1884).
4. Carrie⁹ Barrow (b. June 26, 1886).
5. Elizabeth⁹ Barrow (b. May 5, 1890), married Bertie A. Jones (of Richmond, Va.)

Ann Susan⁸ Petty (b. July 30, 1830), daughter of Dorothy Jones⁷ Hardy and her husband Daniel Petty, married Sept. 4, 1850, Joel Gibbon Wall (b. Jan. 5, 1824, d. Aug. 22, 1871).

They had:

1. Mary Daniel⁹ Wall (b. June 23, 1851), married Nov. 24, 1869, William Richard Thomas* (b. April 4, 1843).

They had:

- (1) Lee Richard¹⁰ Thomas (b. Aug. 25, 1870), married Dec. 22, 1894, Mary Emily Gill, daughter of Samuel Francis Gill of Mecklenburg County, and his wife Emily W. Arnold, granddaughter of Philip Gill who married Nancy Ogburn, and of Joseph Arnold who married Martha Harper.
- (2) Stith Samuel¹⁰ Thomas (b. Jan. 10, 1875), who married Nov. 6, 1901, Bernice Crowder, daughter of John and Nessa (Harris) Crowder, of Mecklenburg County, Va., granddaughter of Thompson Crowder of Mecklenburg County, Va., and had:
 - (a) Marie Pauline¹¹ Thomas (b. Sept. 6, 1902).
 - (b) John¹¹ Thomas (b. Feb. 10, 1906).
 - (c) Dorothy¹¹ Thomas (b. May 12, 1908).

*William Richard Thomas was the son of Samuel Spencer Thomas, of Lunenburg County, who married Martha J. White. Samuel Spencer Thomas' father was also named Samuel Spencer Thomas. Martha J. White was a daughter of Jacob Lee White.

- (3) John Robert¹⁰ Thomas (b. July 22, 1877), who married Sept. 6, 1905, Leta Fay Wall, daughter of John Hiram and Loula Watkins (Simmons) Wall and had:
- (a) Marjorie Watkins¹¹ Thomas (b. July 20, 1907).
 - (b) Elizabeth¹¹ Thomas (b. Oct. 12, 1909).
 - (c) Lucy Wall¹¹ Thomas (b. Feb. 22, 1912).
- (4) Warren Hamlin¹⁰ Thomas (b. Oct. 16, 1880), married April 20, 1911, Julia May Elam, daughter of Thomas D. and Lina W. (Ogburn) Elam, and granddaughter of Charles Wesley and Florence (Gill) Elam, and had:
- (a) Ruby May¹¹ Thomas (b. July 30, 1912).
- (5) Annie White¹⁰ Thomas (b. June 30, 1882), married Dec. 19, 1905, Edwin Arnold Gill (brother of Mary Emily Gill, who married Lee Richard¹⁰ Thomas), and had:
- (a) Thomas Arnold¹¹ Gill (b. Sept. 29, 1907).
- (6) Marie Laura¹⁰ Thomas (b. June 30, 1888), married Dec. 22, 1910, William E. Warren, of Mecklenburg County, Va.
- (7) Daniel Petty¹⁰ Thomas (b. Dec. 4, 1890).
- (8) Hiram Wall¹⁰ Thomas (b. Jan. 18, 1895).
2. Laura Green⁹ Wall (b. June 30, 1853), married Junius Harris, of Lunenburg County, Virginia.
- They had:
- (1) Walter Haskins¹⁰ Harris (b. Aug. 21, 1870), married Nov. 22, 1894, Anne Bridgforth (b. Nov. 17, 1871). (See Bridgforth Genealogy.) They had:
 - (a) Frances Washington¹¹ Harris (b. May 1, 1896).
 - (b) Dorothy Hardy¹¹ Harris (b. Aug. 20, 1899).
 - (2) Charles¹⁰ Harris, who married Pattie Mae Wood, of Mecklenburg County, Va.
 - (3) Carrie¹⁰ Harris, who married Malloray Turnbull, of Lawrenceville, Va.
3. John Hiram⁹ Wall (b. Sept. 3, 1855, dead), married Lula Watkins Simmons, of Mecklenburg County, Va., daughter of Watkins Simmons (b. 1812), and his wife Jane Harris (b. 1818), whom he married in 1834. Watkins Simmons

was a son of William Simmons; Jane Harris was a daughter of Wilson Harris.

They had:

- (1) Leta Fay¹⁰ Wall (b. 1878), married in 1905, John Robert Thomas. They had:
 - (a) Marjorie W.¹¹ Thomas (b. 1907).
 - (b) M. Elizabeth¹¹ Thomas (b. 1910).
 - (c) Lucy Wall¹¹ Thomas (b. 1912).
 - (2) Joel Watkins¹⁰ Wall (b. 1882), married in 1908 Cabell Watkins, daughter of Charles and Ella (Womack) Watkins, of Clarksville, Va.
 - (3) John Herman¹⁰ Wall (b. 1885), married in 1911, Elise Gregory, daughter of John and Cora (Hite) Gregory, of Henderson, N. C.
 - (4) Hiram Petty¹⁰ Wall (b. 1887), married in 1912, Mazie Steinbeck (b. 1887), daughter of Ashley and Mary (Burnette) Steinbeck, of Weldon, N. C.
 - (5) Jane Anne¹⁰ Wall (b. 1889).
4. Ruth Whitfield⁹ Wall (b. May 24, 1866), married Horace Allen (d. Sept. 8, 1916), son of Col. Robert H. Allen, of Oral Oaks, Lunenburg County, Virginia. (See Allen Genealogy).

They had:

- (1) Charles Morrison¹⁰ Allen (b. Aug. 8, 1885), married June 15, 1915, Estelle Ogburn, daughter of J. J. Ogburn, of Mecklenburg Co., Va.

They had:

- (a) Virginia Estelle¹¹ Allen (b. Dec. 13, 1917).
- (2) Robert Foote¹⁰ Allen (b. Jan. 22, 1888).
- (3) John Wall¹⁰ Allen (b. March 22, 1890), married June 24, 1921, Laura Parrish, daughter of William Parrish, of Henderson, N. C.

They had:

- (a) John Wall¹¹ Allen, Jr. (b. Apr. 9, 1922).
- (b) Jean Roling¹¹ Allen (b. Dec. 18, 1924).

- (4) William Gibbon¹⁰ Allen (b. Aug. 18, 1892, d. Dec. 18, 1907).
- (5) Stuart Ashby¹⁰ Allen (b. Sept. 25, 1894).
- (6) Cornelius Tacitus¹⁰ Allen (b. Jan. 24, 1896).
- (7) Horace Henderson¹⁰ Allen (b. July 19, 1898).
- (8) Frank Bagley¹⁰ Allen (b. Oct. 13, 1900).
- (9) Anna Ruth¹⁰ Allen (b. April 13, 1903).
- (10) Edward Anderson¹⁰ Allen (b. Sept. 1, 1907).

John Daniel⁸ Petty (b. Jan. 10, 1839, d. Sept. 4, 1905), son of Dorothy Jones⁷ Hardy and her husband Daniel Petty, married June 21, 1859, Virginia Victoria Stone.

They had:

1. Edmonds Lanier⁹ Petty (b. Nov. 12, 1862), married Feb. 14, 1882, Lola W. Crute, daughter of James V. and Sarah A. Crute, of Mecklenburg County, Virginia, and had:
 - (1) Eula May¹⁰ Petty, who married John W. Young, of Mecklenburg County, Va., and had:
 - (a) John W.¹¹ Young, Jr.
 - (b) Mary Alice¹¹ Young.
 - (2) Annie Lanier¹⁰ Petty.
 - (3) John Lewis¹⁰ Petty, who married Rose Simmons, daughter of Walter H. and Mollie (Watson) Simmons, of Mecklenburg County.
 - (4) Sallie Edmonson¹⁰ Petty, who married Clinton Robbins.
 - (5) Mary Emma¹⁰ Petty.
 - (6) Willie Edward¹⁰ Petty.
 - (7) Lola¹⁰ Petty.
 - (8) Irene Watkins¹⁰ Petty.
 - (9) Matilda Crute¹⁰ Petty.
 - (10) Rachael Graham¹⁰ Petty.
2. Herbert Lee⁹ Petty (April 13, 1865), married April 5, 1888, Hattie Sue Webb, daughter of John A. Webb and his wife Lavina S. Manson, of Lunenburg County, Va. The parents of John A. Webb were Garner Webb of Lunenburg County and his wife Harriet Hardy. The

parents of Lavina S. Manson were John Manson and his wife Susan Hawthorne.

They had:

- (1) Lizzie Webb¹⁰ Petty (b. June 7, 1889).
 - (2) Susie Lee¹⁰ Petty (b. Dec. 24, 1891).
 - (3) John Herbert¹⁰ Petty (b. July 25, 1894).
 - (4) Sallie Manson¹⁰ Petty (b. Aug. 5, 1899).
3. Harriet Jones⁹ Petty (b. March 30, 1867), married in September, 1883, Ashby Lee Ogburn, of Mecklenburg County, Virginia, son of Charles Wesley Ogburn.

They had:

- (1) Ruth Lee¹⁰ Ogburn (b. 1884), who married Melville W. Ogburn, son of Benjamin W. and Queen (Walker) Ogburn, of Mecklenburg County, Virginia, and had:
 - (a) Hattie Ragsdale¹¹ Ogburn.
 - (b) Ashby Watkins¹¹ Ogburn.
 - (c) Arthur Melville¹¹ Ogburn.
- (2) Addie Reeves¹⁰ Ogburn (b. in Jan. 1886), who married Samuel B. Johnson, Jr., son of Samuel B. and Mollie E. (Smithson) Johnson, of Mecklenburg County, and had:
 - (a) Harriet Elizabeth¹¹ Johnson.
 - (b) Henry Watkins¹¹ Johnson.
 - (c) Nellie Smithson¹¹ Johnson.
- (3) Myrtle May¹⁰ Ogburn (b. 1888), married William Pitt Andrews, son of John E. and Lucy (Smith) Andrews, of Mecklenburg County, Va., and had:
 - (a) Gladys Myrtle¹¹ Andrews.
- (4) Virginia Flournoy¹⁰ Ogburn (b. 1890), married Dr. Robert C. Miller, of New York, and had:
 - (a) Virginia Flournoy¹¹ Miller.
- (5) Lucy McRae¹⁰ Ogburn (b. 1892), who married Leonidas Rosser Wells, son of William A. and Ann (Hawkins) Wells.
- (6) Ashby Harriet¹⁰ Ogburn (b. 1894), who married Walter Raleigh Daniel Moncure.
- (7) Lizzie Petty¹⁰ Ogburn (b. 1896), who married William Linden Allen.
- (8) Janie Rose¹⁰ Ogburn (b. 1897).

4. John Lewis⁹ Petty (b. July 25, 1870), married in November, 1896, Rosa F. Moore, of Henry County, Virginia.

They had:

- (1) Ethel Eugene¹⁰ Petty (b. 1900).
 - (2) David Traynham¹⁰ Petty (b. 1901).
 - (3) Hattie¹⁰ Petty (b. 1903).
 - (4) Gladys Mildred¹⁰ Petty (b. 1906).
 - (5) Alice Daphne¹⁰ Petty (b. 1912).
5. Lucy May⁹ Petty (b. May 27, 1874), married (in August, 1910), Jennings Robert Boswell, son of Joseph Boswell, of Mecklenburg Co., Va., and had:
- (1) Charles Robert¹⁰ Boswell (b. Oct. 1894).
 - (2) Joseph Daniel¹⁰ Boswell (b. 1896).
 - (3) John Thomas¹⁰ Boswell (b. 1899).
6. Jennie McRae⁹ Petty (b. Sept. 17, 1877), married (after the death of her sister Lucy May), Jennings Robert Boswell, and had:
- (1) Ann Virginia¹⁰ Boswell.
7. Charles⁹ Petty (d. in infancy).
8. William⁹ Petty (d. in infancy).

Sarah Elizabeth⁸ Hardy (b. Feb. 25, 1834), daughter of Henry Green⁷ Hardy and his first wife Permelia Gee, married Henry C. Hawthorne, of Lunenburg Co., Va.

They had:

1. Permelia Henry⁹ Hawthorne (b. Oct. 25, 1857), who married April 25, 1877, James Earnest Gaulding (b. Sept. 11, 1852, d. Oct. 26, 1912).

They had:

- (1) Edward Henry¹⁰ Gaulding (b. Aug. 9, 1878).
- (2) Ellie Myrtle¹⁰ Gaulding (b. April 10, 1880), married April 30, 1913, William J. Bragg. They had: Permelia Constance Bragg (b. Oct. 16, 1914).
- (3) James Anderson¹⁰ Gaulding (b. Apr. 27, 1882), married Jan. 27, 1917, V. Lucile Dunnivant. They had: Inez Congrieve Gaulding (b. Dec. 19, 1917).

- (4) Annie Hawthorne¹⁰ Gaulding (b. July 31, 1886, d. Sept. 8, 1922), married Oct. 22, 1907, Daniel E. Buchanan. They had:

Ernest Daniel¹¹ Buchanan (b. May 25, 1909).
Edward Anderson¹¹ Buchanan (b. Jan. 23, 1911).
Eleanor Rebecca¹¹ Buchanan (b. June 11, 1913).
Charlotte Stogdale¹¹ Buchanan (b. June 19, 1915).
Hawthorne Cheatham¹¹ Buchanan (b. Jan. 15, 1921).

- (5) Eleanor Eugenia¹⁰ Gaulding (b. July 30, 1888), married Dec. 21, 1916, William T. Royal.

- (6) Hardy Mumford¹⁰ Gaulding (b. Dec. 3, 1891).

- (7) Virginia Elizabeth¹⁰ Gaulding (b. Aug. 16, 1900), married Sept. 21, 1921, G. Gordon Passmore. They had:
Virginia Hardy¹¹ Passmore (b. Dec. 7, 1924).

2. William Hardy⁹ Hawthorne (b. March 5, 1862), married Feb. 24, 1886, Mary Sigma Hardy (b. April 24, 1868), dau. Charles M. Hardy (b. June 15, 1836, d. May 9, 1921) and Sue Smith (d. Nov. 30, 1922), dau. of Benjamin Smith.

They had:

- (1) Charles Claiborne¹⁰ Hawthorne (b. July 30, 1889, d. Mar. 1890).

- (2) Ethel Lock¹⁰ Hawthorne (b. Feb. 10, 1887), married Dec. 20, 1909, Waverly Lee Gill.

They had:

Emily Lee¹¹ Gill (b. March 9, 1911).

- (3) Mary Louise¹⁰ Hawthorne (b. Apr. 14, 1891), married Oct. 18, 1914, Thomas James Arvin.

They had:

(a) Thomas Hawthorne¹¹ Arvin (b. Oct. 20, 1916).

(b) William Records¹¹ Arvin (b. Aug. 9, 1920).

- (4) Willie Emma¹⁰ Hawthorne (b. Jan. 13, 1896), married Aug. 29, 1919, James Walker McCleary.

They had:

James Walker¹¹ McCleary, Jr. (b. July 7, 1924).

- (5) Sigma Lee¹⁰ Hawthorne (b. July 7, 1897), married Dec. 1917, Jesse McIlwaine Paulette.

They had:

- (a) Charlotte Fielder¹¹ Paulette (b. May 15, 1919).
 - (b) Jesse McIlwaine¹¹ Paulette, Jr. (b. Nov. 20, 1924).
 - (6) Sterling Givens¹⁰ Hawthorne (b. Aug. 24, 1900).
 - (7) Esther Audrey¹⁰ Hawthorne (b. Sept. 10, 1902).
3. Lina M.⁹ Hawthorne (b. Jan. 16, 1860), married ~~Sept. 22,~~^{Sept. 22, 1880} 1856, John G. Bagley (b. Sept. 22, 1856).

They had:

- (1) Daisy A.¹⁰ Bagley (b. Feb. 3, 1881), married Albert Wingold.

They had:

- Grace Hawthorne¹¹ Wingold (b. Dec. 24, 1905).
- Mabel Lee¹¹ Wingold (b. Nov. 30, 1907).
- Louise¹¹ Wingold (b. June 1, 1909).
- John Albert¹¹ Wingold (b. Aug. 25, 1910).
- William F.¹¹ Wingold (b. Oct. 25, 1917).
- (2) John Howard¹⁰ Bagley (b. March 19, 1882), d. unmarried.
- (3) Clarence L. Bagley (b. March 5, 1884), married Ida Wingold.

They had:

- John A.¹¹ Bagley (b. June 10, 1910).
- Claiborne C.¹¹ Bagley (b. Sept. 14, 1908).
- Waverly E.¹¹ Bagley (b. Jan. 12, 1912).
- Harris L.¹¹ Bagley (b. Jan. 9, 1914).
- Wilson W.¹¹ Bagley (b. Sept. 9, 1916).
- Odis C.¹¹ Bagley (b. Oct. 21, 1918).
- Marion G.¹¹ Bagley (b. Nov. 4, 1922).
- (4) Vivian Lee¹⁰ Bagley (b. March 13, 1886), married Wilkens Estes. They had:
 - Sarah Elizabeth¹¹ Estes (b. Feb. 9, 1909).
 - Ruby Lina¹¹ Estes (b. March 22, 1910).
 - Edward Wilkins¹¹ Estes (b. Sept. 29, 1916).
- (5) Henry¹⁰ Bagley (b. June 10, 1887, d. unmarried).
- (6) Clifton Hite¹⁰ Bagley (b. Nov. 24, 1889), married Effie Hardy.

- (7) Anne E.¹⁰ Bagley (b. May 22, 1890), married D. H. C. Wolfe.
- (8) James Spencer¹⁰ Bagley (b. April 17, 1892), married Hardy Johnson.
- They had:
- Carlton Johnson¹¹ Bagley (b. March 9, 1916).
Marjory Estelle¹¹ Bagley (b. May 14, 1918).
James Spencer¹¹ Bagley, Jr. (b. May 28, 1919).
Hazel Adeline¹¹ Bagley (b. May 28, 1921).
- (9) Charles W.¹⁰ Bagley (b. June 24, 1894).
- (10) Horace M.¹⁰ Bagley (b. May 12, 1896), married Calphernia Brubaker.
- (11) Leonora Myrtle¹⁰ Bagley (b. Mar. 28, 1898), married James A. McAdams.
- (12) Lina G.¹⁰ Bagley (b. April 16, 1901), married Charlie Crowder.
4. Robert⁷ Hawthorne (b. Oct. 25, 1864), married 1897, Sallie Lizzie Bragg (b. Oct. 12, 1879).
- They had:
- (1) Chappell¹⁰ Hawthorne (b. May 11, 1899).
(2) Bessie¹⁰ Hawthorne (b. July, 1903).
(3) Edwin¹⁰ Hawthorne (b. Dec. 21, 1905).
(4) Hardy¹⁰ Hawthorne (b. Feb. 9, 1907).
(5) Herbert¹⁰ Hawthorne (b. June 15, 1910).
(6) Louise¹⁰ Hawthorne (b. June 12, 1912).
(7) Alice¹⁰ Hawthorne (b. Jan. 9, 1914).
5. C. Wilkins⁹ Hawthorne (b. May 15, 1867), married October 9, 1872, Nannie S. Walker (b. Oct. 9, 1872).
- They had:
- (1) Lizzie¹⁰ Hawthorne (b. June 15, 1891), married July 30, 1913, Harvie A. Crowder.
(2) Susie¹⁰ Hawthorne (b. January 5, 1893), married Jan. 2, ———, Charles F. Walker.
(3) Charles¹⁰ Hawthorne (b. May 20, 1895), married Oct. 30, 1918, Eva Arvin.
(4) Henry¹⁰ Hawthorne (b. Feb. 3, 1898).
(5) Nannie Lee¹⁰ Hawthorne (b. July 5, 1903).

- (6) Edward¹⁰ Hawthorne (b. Aug. 3, 1904, d. July 6, 1911).
 - (7) William Webb¹⁰ Hawthorne (b. Aug. 28, 1906).
 - (8) Kathleen¹⁰ Hawthorne (b. Aug. 6, 1910).
6. Esther Hite⁹ Hawthorne (b. April 17, 1871), married Dec. 29, 1891, John O. Bragg (b. Aug. 21, 1861).

They had:

- (1) Elizabeth Rives¹⁰ Bragg (b. April 27, 1895), married Jan. 14, 1914, D. M. Sholes.

They had:

- (a) Dillard M.¹¹ Sholes, Jr.
- (b) Virginia Ella¹¹ Sholes.
- (c) Mary Elizabeth¹¹ Sholes.
- (d) Katherine¹¹ Sholes.
- (e) Peggy¹¹ Sholes.
- (f) Frances¹¹ Sholes.

- (2) Henry Orgain¹⁰ Bragg (b. Sept. 22, 1897).
 - (3) Wilson Hite¹⁰ Bragg (b. March 22, 1899).
 - (4) Mary Eskay¹⁰ Bragg (b. Aug. 5, 1901), married May 20, 1920, Otey Henry Reynolds.
 - (5) Fannie Leonora¹⁰ Bragg (b. July 26, 1904).
 - (6) Esther Hawthorne¹⁰ Bragg (b. Oct. 21, 1906), married March 19, 1923, Joseph Macon Miller.
 - (7) John Frank¹⁰ Bragg (b. April 20, 1910).
 - (8) Woodrow¹⁰ Bragg (b. Nov. 8, 1912).
7. Wiley Anderson⁹ Hawthorne (b. Dec. 25, 1875), married Oct. 27, 1897, Pearl Irene Gee (b. Jan. 2, 1880).

They had:

- (1) William Anderson¹⁰ Hawthorne, Jr. (b. July 30, 1898), married Nov. 29, 1922, Hattie Ardelle Ferguson. They had:
William Melvin¹¹ Hawthorne (b. Jan. 16, 1925).
- (2) Lewis Linwood¹⁰ Hawthorne (b. Aug. 25, 1902), married July 16, 1925, Glenn Joyner.
- (3) Cornelius Hite¹⁰ Hawthorne (b. Feb. 15, 1900).
- (4) Love¹⁰ Hawthorne (b. June 19, 1905, d. Jan. 4, 1913).
- (5) Everette¹⁰ Hawthorne (b. July 24, 1910).

- (6) Mary Blackwell¹⁰ Hawthorne (b. Feb. 17, 1913).
- (7) Hugh Hillsman¹⁰ Hawthorne (b. April 24, 1915).
- (8) Aubrey¹⁰ Hawthorne (b. April 5, 1917).
- (9) Kenneth¹⁰ Hawthorne (b. July 13, 1920).
- (10) Edward¹⁰ Hawthorne (b. Jan. 4, 1922).

8. Leonora⁹ Hawthorne, married Nov. 9, 1904, William Chappell Webb.

They had:

- (1) William Chappell¹⁰ Webb (b. Sept. 24, 1905).
- (2) Rebekah Elizabeth¹⁰ Webb (b. June 13, 1908).

Charles Madison⁸ Hardy (b. June 16, 1836, d. May 9, 1921), son of Henry Green⁷ Hardy and his first wife Permelia Gee, married Dec. 17, 1862, Sue Lee Smith (b. April 6, 1836, d. Nov. 30, 1922), daughter of Benjamin Smith and his wife Mary A. B. Hardy, daughter of John C.⁶ Hardy and his wife Sallie Betts.

They had:

1. Theodore Benjamin⁹ Hardy, Sr. (b. Oct. 22, 1863), married October 7, 1885, Effie Allen Tisdale (b. July 6, 1866), daughter of Renison Williams Tisdale (son of John Daniel and Betsy Tisdale), and Martha Collier Elder (daughter of J. Harrison and Nancy Elder).

They had:

- (1) Lila Love¹⁰ Hardy (b. Dec. 7, 1886), married Harry J. Rindfleish.

They had:

Harry J.¹¹ Rindfleish, Jr. (b. Apr. 19, 1923).

- (2) Sue Leigh¹⁰ Hardy (b. Jan. 25, 1889), married July, 1912, Shelborne Errick McCormick.

They had:

- (a) William Hardy¹¹ McCormick (b. Aug. 7, 1914).
- (b) Robert¹¹ McCormick.

- (3) Maurice Tisdale¹⁰ Hardy (b. Feb. 14, 1890), married Sept. 20, 1917, Lillian Vernon Harmon.

They had:

- (a) Maurice T.¹¹ Hardy, Jr. (b. July 18, 1919).
- (b) Harmon¹¹ Hardy (b. May 9, 1921).

- (c) Maxwell¹¹ Hardy (b. Dec. 2, 1922).
- (d) Ruth Carolyn¹¹ Hardy (b. Jan. 2, 1926).
- (4) Renison Berry¹⁰ Hardy (b. May 13, 1891).
- (5) Effie Allen¹⁰ Hardy (b. June 10, 1893), married Dec. 23, 1914, Clifton Hite Bagley (son of John J. and Lina (Hawthorne) Bagley).
They had:
Effie Allen¹¹ Bagley (b. July 22, 1923).
- (6) Ruby¹⁰ Hardy (b. Dec. 31, 1894), married July 20, 1917, Robert Monroe Ketner.
They had:
(a) Hardy¹¹ Ketner (b. May 17, 1918).
(b) Dorothy¹¹ Ketner.
(c) Robert Monroe¹¹ Ketner.
(d) Mary Rebecca¹¹ Ketner (b. Nov. 20, 1925).
- (7) Theodore Benjamin¹⁰ Hardy, Jr. (b. Sept. 1, 1897).
- (8) Pattie Christine¹⁰ Hardy (b. Apr. 6, 1899), married April 20, 1925, Earl Purdette Pinchbeck.
They had:
Helen Elizabeth¹¹ Pinchbeck (b. Dec. 20, 1925).
- (9) Nellie Vernon¹⁰ Hardy (b. Jan. 9, 1902), married Dec. 31, 1924, Thomas Walton Fowlkes (son of John Wade and Maude (Meredith) Fowlkes).
- (10) Charles Madison¹⁰ Hardy, Jr. (b. Jan. 10, 1904), married Sept. 20, 1924, Dorothy Mae Miller (dau. of Charles J. and Margaret Miller).
They had:
Dorothy Christian¹¹ Hardy (b. Dec. 20, 1925).
- (11) Norwood¹⁰ Hardy (b. May 22, 1906).
2. Wade Hampton⁹ Hardy (b. Jan. 29, 1866, d. Aug. 24, 1905, unmarried).
3. Emma C.⁹ Hardy (b. May 10, 1871), married Dec. 3, 1901, Allen Chappel Love (b. Dec. 30, 1873).
They had:
(1) Mary Rebekah¹⁰ Love (b. Oct. 2, 1906).
(2) Carlos Allen¹⁰ Love (b. Dec. 11, 1909, d. July 16, 1910).
(3) Benjamin Wilson¹⁰ Love (b. June 23, 1911).

Lewis Emmet⁸ Hardy (b. Nov. 10, 1842), son of Henry Green⁷ Hardy and his first wife Permelia Gee, married a Miss Beckwith, of Brunswick County.

They had:

1. Emmet⁹ Hardy, who married Sallie Rudd.
2. Joseph⁹ Hardy.
3. Fanny⁹ Hardy.
4. Omega⁹ Hardy.

John T.⁸ Hardy (b. Oct. 8, 1844), son of Henry Green⁷ Hardy, and his first wife Permelia Gee, married twice: (first) Fanny Clark of Dinwiddie County, Va., (second) Mattie Scott, of Nottoway County, Va.

Issue by first marriage:

1. Thomas⁹ Hardy.
2. Henry⁹ Hardy.
3. A daughter⁹ who died unmarried.

Issue by second marriage:

1. Walter⁹ Hardy.

Henry Thomas Steinback⁸ Hardy (b. Oct. 25, 1861), son of Henry Green⁷ Hardy and his second wife Dorothy Thomas, married Mary C. Wilson, daughter of Joseph and Jennie Wilson, of Reedy, Lunenburg County, Va.

They had:

1. Lillian⁹ Hardy,
2. Virginia⁹ Hardy,
3. Richard⁹ Hardy,
4. Percy⁹ Hardy,
5. Irvin⁹ Hardy,
6. Elvy⁹ Hardy,
7. Clifford⁹ Hardy,
8. Joseph⁹ Hardy,
9. Mary⁹ Hardy,
10. Dorothy⁹ Hardy,
11. Emerson⁹ Hardy,
12. Lewis⁹ Hardy.

Luther Chappel⁸ Hardy (b. June 18, 1843, d. Sept. 13, 1900), son of Jordan Robert⁷ Hardy and his wife Ann Eliza Love, married (about 1875), Miss M. E. Hurt, daughter of Momphard and Denica Hurt.

They had:

1. Robert Momphard⁹ Hardy (d. 1911).
2. Denica Ann⁹ Hardy, who married Herbert Northington, of Richmond, Va.
3. Julia⁹ Hardy,
4. Raymond⁹ Hardy.

Olando Love⁸ Hardy (b. Sept. 13, 1848), son of Jordan Robert⁷ Hardy (b. Nov. 11, 1811), and his wife Ann Eliza Love, married March 23, 1871, Mary E. Love (b. June 15, 1850, d. July 8, 1908), daughter of Captain James C. Love, of Lunenburg County, and his wife Mary E. Davis. (See Davis Genealogy.)

For the children and descendants of Olando Love⁸ Hardy and his wife Mary E. Love, see the *Davis Genealogy* herein.

Henry Hix⁸ Hardy, son of Jordan Robert⁷ Hardy (b. Nov. 11, 1811), and his wife Ann Eliza Love, married (about 1882), Laura Russell, of Lunenburg County, Virginia.

They had:

1. Charles⁹ Hardy,
2. Wilfred⁹ Hardy,
3. Irene⁹ Hardy,
4. Gertrude Gracie⁹ Hardy.

Adele⁸ Lee (b. 1844), daughter of Caroline⁷ Hardy (b. Nov. 13, 1816, d. July 8, 1854), and her husband George H. Lee, married in Oct., 1864, Dr. John R. Dillard, of Martinsville, Va.

They had:

1. George Lee⁹ Dillard (b. Jan. 3, 1866), an attorney, Bluefield, West Virginia.
2. Caroline Lightfoot⁹ Dillard (b. Jan., 1868), married in Feb., 1907, Walter L. Penn, of Henry County, Va., and had two sons.

3. Peter Overton⁹ Dillard (b. Dec. 28, 1869, d. Apr. 9, 1901), married June 15, 1898, Maggie Penn, of Henry County, Va., and had:
 - (1) Joseph Penn¹⁰ Dillard (b. 1900).
4. Annie⁹ Dillard (b. March 19, 1872), married (in 1905) J. M. Hooker, of Stuart, Va., and had:
 - (1) Margaret Adele¹⁰ Hooker (b. March 13, 1906).
 - (2) John Dillard¹⁰ Hooker (b. May 24, 1910).
5. John Redd⁹ Dillard (b. 1874), married (in 1901), Nellie Prince, and had:
 - (1) Isabel Lee¹⁰ Dillard (b. 1903).
 - (2) Helen Caroline¹⁰ Dillard (b. 1905).
 - (3) Dorothy¹⁰ Dillard (b. 1907).
6. Helen Marr⁹ Dillard (b. March 9, 1876, d. May 8, 1904), married Oct. 4, 1900, Patrick Thomas Morris, of Henry County, Va., and had:
 - (1) John Dillard¹⁰ Morris (b. Sept. 19, 1901).
 - (2) An infant (b. Nov. 6, 1903, d. May 12, 1904).
7. David William⁹ Dillard (b. July 9, 1878), married (in 1910), Nellie Meyers (of Lake Carrier, Miss.), and had:
 - (1) John Eugene¹⁰ Dillard (b. Nov., 1910).
8. Charles Hardy⁹ Dillard (b. July 11, 1880).
9. Adele⁹ Dillard (b. 1884).
10. Robert Jordan⁹ Dillard (b. July 19, 1886, d. Apr. 2, 1911).

Helen⁸ Lee (b. 1849, d. 1904), daughter of Caroline⁷ Hardy (b. Nov. 13, 1816, d. July 8, 1854), and her husband George H. Lee, married John Roberts, of Lunenburg County, Virginia (who died in Kentucky in Nov., 1911, to which state with his family he removed in 1900).

They had:

1. Mary Lee⁹ Roberts,
2. John⁹ Roberts,
3. Charles⁹ Roberts,
4. Robert⁹ Roberts,
5. George⁹ Roberts,
6. Jerome⁹ Roberts.

Sally Edmondson⁸ Robertson (b. Dec. 17, 1854, living 1926), daughter of Sally Green⁷ Hardy (b. March 12, 1818, d. Dec. 1868), and her husband William E. Robertson, married Dec. 6, 1876, Adolphus Anderson Clarke (d. July 22, 1908, in the 56th year of his age).

They had:

1. Clinton B.⁹ Clarke (b. May 10, 1878), who married Nov. 19, 1908, Kate Dunkle, and had:
 - (1) Clinton Bassett¹⁰ Clarke (b. Dec. 9, 1910).
 - (2) William Frederick¹⁰ Clarke (b. Feb. 17, 1914).
2. William Adolphus⁹ Clarke (b. Aug. 22, 1880), who married May 19, 1901, Christabelle Pendleton, and had:
 - (1) William Pendleton¹⁰ Clarke (b. Feb.
 - (2) John Lauchlan¹⁰ Clarke (b. July 23, 1907).
3. Mary Ann⁹ Clarke (b. April 15, 1883).
4. Lillian Robertson⁹ Clarke (b. March 1, 1887), who married Sept. 2, 1916, Lemuel M. Allen (d. July 19, 1919), and had:
 - (1) Stuart Robertson¹⁰ Allen (b. April 1, 1918).

Marietta Prudence⁸ Williams (b. June 3, 1853, d. June 16, 1926), daughter of Marietta Eliza Prudence⁷ Hardy (b. Feb. 4, 1823, d. Oct., 1856), and her husband Robert Miles Williams, married June 27, 1877, William Marshall Bagley, of Columbian Grove, Lunenburg County, Virginia.

They had:

1. Robert Marshall⁹ Bagley (b. May 22, 1878), married Sept. 18, 1906, Madeline Davis Stump, only child of Charles Edward and Mary Amanda (Sessinger) Stump of West Philadelphia, Pa.
2. Earnest Ingram⁹ Bagley (b. Jan., 1882, d. March 26, 1904).
3. Prudence Annetta⁹ Bagley (b. Oct. 7, 1886), married May 4, 1909, Jethro Hurt Irby, of Nottoway County, oldest son of Fletcher Irby and his wife Mollie Hurt, of Lunenburg County, Va.
4. Adora Eliza⁹ Bagley (b. July 11, 1889), married Dec. 27, 1910, Grover Cleveland McGhee, of Lynchburg, Va., son

of Anderson and Frances (Smith) McGhee, of Louisa County, Virginia.

5. Thomas Jefferson⁹ Bagley (b. Oct. 22, 1891).
6. William Sydnor⁹ Bagley (b. Jan. 28, 1895).

Sarah Katherine⁸ Hardy (b. May 5, 1841), daughter of Cephas⁷ Hardy (b. Nov. 16, 1808, d. Oct. 3, 1865), and his wife Elizabeth Jane Brame, married in May, 1861, Lieut. William Russell, C. S. A., of Mecklenburg County, Virginia.

They had:

1. Helen⁹ Russell (b. Sept., 1863), married in May, 1888, Harry Guy, of Roanoke, Virginia, and had:
 - (1) Mattie¹⁰ Guy,
 - (2) Harry¹⁰ Guy, Jr.
2. Katie⁹ Russell (b. in Sept., 1866), married (in Dec., 1893), W. D. Moore, of Mecklenburg County, Virginia, and had:
 - (1) Russell¹⁰ Moore,
 - (2) Helen¹⁰ Moore,
 - (3) Edward¹⁰ Moore,
 - (4) Mary¹⁰ Moore,
 - (5) Cephas¹⁰ Moore,
 - (6) Walton¹⁰ Moore,
 - (7) Katherine¹⁰ Moore.
3. Willie⁹ Russell (b. May, 1868), married (in Dec., 1898), Norman H. Williams, of Chase City, Va. (Banker), and had:
 - (1) Jean¹⁰ Williams,
 - (2) Harold¹⁰ Williams,
 - (3) Frank¹⁰ Williams.
4. Richard S.⁹ Russell (b. Jan., 1871), who married (in June, 1907), Gladys Noel, of St. Louis, Mo.
5. Clarence Livingston⁹ Russell (b. Oct., 1876), married (in June, 1903), Bertha Crafton, of Charlotte County, Va., and had:
 - (1) Crafton¹⁰ Russell,
 - (2) Garnett¹⁰ Russell.
6. Grace Boyd⁹ Russell (b. Aug., 1882).

Samuel Graham⁸ Hardy (b. April 17, 1847, d. Nov. 24, 1885), C. S. A., member Hillsboro Academy Cadets, son of Cephas⁷ Hardy (b. Nov. 16, 1808, d. Oct. 3, 1865), and his wife Elizabeth Jane Brame, married (in 1875), Sarah Kate Moore, daughter of Col. William and Mary Ann (Earnest) Moore.

They had:

1. Mary⁹ Hardy (b. 1875, d. in infancy).
2. Carl Earnest⁹ Hardy (b. Dec. 31, 1876), of Napa, California.
3. Edith May⁹ Hardy (b. 1879), married (in June, 1909), John W. Harvey, of Rome, Georgia, son of Donaldson Harvey, and had:
 - (1) Sarah Katherine¹⁰ Harvey (b. Sept. 11, 1903).
 - (2) John W.¹⁰ Harvey, Jr. (b. May 8, 1905).
 - (3) Elizabeth Earnest¹⁰ Harvey (b. Oct. 25, 1906).
4. Wilson Moore⁹ Hardy (b. Dec. 26, 1881), of Rome, Georgia, married Oct. 8, 1908, Ida Hess Tomlinson, of Goldsboro, N. C., and had:
 - (1) Wilson Waugh¹⁰ Hardy (b. Aug. 28, 1909).

Goodrich Wilson⁸ Hardy (b. June 26, 1849), son of Cephas⁷ Hardy (b. Nov. 11, 1808, d. Oct. 3, 1865), and his wife Elizabeth Jane Brame, married Dec. 12, 1872, his cousin, Louise Haskins Hardy, daughter of James Wilson and Harriet Ann (Haskins) Hardy.

They had:

1. Ella Gertrude⁹ Hardy (b. March 4, 1874).
2. Annie Haskins⁹ Hardy (b. July 2, 1876), married Dec. 20, 1900, Nathaniel Baxter Crutup (b. Aug. 25, 1876), son of Capt. Dempsey Graves Crutup, C. S. A., and his wife Novella Bernard, and had:
 - (1) Dempsey Hardy¹⁰ Crutup (b. Feb. 28, 1902).
 - (2) Nathaniel Baxter¹⁰ Crutup, Jr. (b. June 20, 1903, d. July 21, 1903).
 - (3) Nathaniel Baxter¹⁰ Crutup, Jr. (b. Jan. 11, 1905).
3. Janie Wilson⁹ Hardy (b. April 26, 1878).
4. Thomas Addison⁹ Hardy (b. Apr. 6, 1880, d. May 20, 1888)

5. Goodrich Wilson⁹ Hardy, Jr. (b. Nov. 12, 1882).
6. Samuel Graham⁹ Hardy (b. July 31, 1884).
7. James Dabney⁹ Hardy (b. Aug. 25, 1893).

Cephas⁸ Hardy, Jr., of Rome, Ga. (b. Dec. 23, 1851), son of Cephas⁷ Hardy (b. Nov. 16, 1808), and his wife Elizabeth Jane Brame (b. Dec. 2, 1815), married (in 1885), Fannie Fouche, daughter of Simpson Fouche, of Rome, Georgia, and his wife Sarah Elizabeth Ball.

They had:

1. Sarah Brame⁹ Hardy (b. Dec., 1887).
2. Samuel Graham⁹ Hardy (b. Feb., 1889).
3. Robert Fouche⁹ Hardy (b. April, 1892).
4. Dabney Thomas⁹ Hardy (b. Oct., 1895).
5. Camilla Fouche⁹ Hardy (b. April, 1897).
6. Land⁹ Hardy (d. young).

Mollie Ella⁸ Hardy (b. May 4, 1856), daughter of Cephas⁷ Hardy (b. Nov. 16, 1808), of Mecklenburg County, Va., and his wife Sarah Jane Brame, married, in 1891, John Fair.

They had:

1. Elizabeth⁹ Fair (b. July 24, 1893).
2. Alice Lee⁹ Fair (b. Jan. 19, 1895).

Edward Miles⁸ Hardy (b. Dec. 26, 1848), son of James Wilson⁷ Hardy, of Mecklenburg County, and his wife Harriet Ann Haskins (b. May 4, 1827), married Dec. 18, 1871, Martha Ann Reekes, daughter of Capt. Thomas Reekes (of the war of 1812), and his wife Sarah Walker.

They had:

1. Mary Williams⁹ Hardy (b. 1873).
2. James Thomas⁹ Hardy (b. 1875).
3. Annie Haskins⁹ Hardy (b. 1877), married F. B. Reamy, of Chase City, Va.
4. Mattie⁹ Hardy (b. 1880), married Harry Wallace Clarke, of New Hampshire.
5. Sarah Elizabeth⁹ Hardy (b. 1882), married Charles Johnson, of Mecklenburg County, Va.
6. Ella Ranie⁹ Hardy (b. 1885).

7. Emma Reeks⁹ Hardy (b. 1887), married W. E. Epes, of Chase City, Va.
8. Ruth Hill⁹ Hardy (b. 1889).
9. Margaret Louise⁹ Hardy (b. 1891).

Martha Virginia⁸ Hardy, daughter of James Wilson⁷ Hardy, of Mecklenburg County, Va., and Harriet Ann Haskins (b. May 4, 1827), married March 5, 1879, Philip St. John Duke.

They had:

1. Arla Haskins⁹ Duke (b. 1880).
2. Alfred Wilson⁹ Duke (b. 1881).
3. Florence Burnley⁹ Duke (b. 1883).
4. Philip St. John⁹ Duke, Jr. (b. 1885).

Cora Gertrude⁸ Hardy, daughter of James Wilson⁷ Hardy, and Harriet Ann Haskins, married Sept. 7, 1881, William R. Wilson.

They had:

1. Lawrence⁹ Wilson, who married Cora Lisdale.
2. Sallie⁹ Wilson, who married Jesse Borden.
3. Hattie⁹ Wilson, who married Benjamin Walker.
4. Arlene⁹ Wilson.
5. Wharey⁹ Wilson.

Marian Lee⁸ Hardy (b. July 19, 1863), daughter of James Wilson⁷ Hardy (b. 1816) and Harriet Ann Haskins, married, Feb. 20, 1884, Walter Scott Moseley (b. Nov. 23, 1853), son of Robert and Eliza (Finch) Moseley.

They had:

1. Clinton Alpheus⁹ Moseley (b. 1885).
2. Belle Videra⁹ Moseley (b. 1887).
3. Walter Lee⁹ Moseley (b. 1888, d. 1908).
4. Eliza Finch⁹ Moseley (b. 1890).
5. Edith Gertrude⁹ Moseley (b. 1893).
6. Marion Corinne⁹ Moseley (b. 1896).
7. Mattie Lou⁹ Moseley (b. 1897).
8. Harriet Empsie⁹ Moseley (b. 1899).
9. James Robert⁹ Moseley (b. 1901, d. 1903).
10. Charles Hillery⁹ Moseley (b. 1902).
11. William Oliver⁹ Moseley (b. 1904).
12. Kenneth Edward⁹ Moseley (b. 1907).

James Wilson⁸ Hardy, Jr. (b. Sept. 3, 1865), son of James Wilson⁷ Hardy, of Mecklenburg County, Va., and Harriet Ann Haskins (b. May 4, 1827), married January 11, 1893, Edith Luella Sloan (b. April 10, 1866), daughter of John Milton and Mary Jannette (Prentiss) Sloan.

They had:

1. Earl Mansfield⁹ Hardy (d. young).
2. Jannette Haskins⁹ Hardy.
3. Beatrice Armstrong⁹ Hardy.

Harriet Ann⁸ Hardy (b. June 15, 1872), daughter of James Wilson⁷ Hardy and Harriet Ann Haskins, married Oct. 26, 1897, Robert Clinton Carden (b. Oct. 18, 1871), of West Point, Va., son of Peter Smith and Maria Louisa (Jones) Carden.

They had:

1. Robert Clinton⁹ Carden, Jr. (b. Aug. 24, 1904).

Jane Mildred⁸ Hardy (b. Apr. 11, 1849), daughter of James Andrew⁷ Hardy (b. Jan. 12, 1819), and Lucy Douglas Horton (b. July 18, 1827), married March 10, 1869, John Bond Elliott, C. S. A., of Roanoke, Virginia, son of James A. and Fannie (Bond) Elliott.

They had:

1. Hubert Cary⁹ Elliott, of Roanoke, Va., who married Mattie McKennie, and had:
 - (1) Louise¹⁰ Elliott.
2. James Madison⁹ Elliott, of Albuquerque, N. M., who married Rosa Pierce, and had:
 - (1) Clarence¹⁰ Elliott.
3. William Eugene⁹ Elliott, of Bedford County, Virginia, who married Carrie Taylor, and had:
 - (1) Harry¹⁰ Elliott,
 - (2) Ashby¹⁰ Elliott,
 - (3) William¹⁰ Elliott.
4. Ida Pickett⁹ Elliott, who married John F. Brizzle, of New York, N. Y., son of Frank and Anna (McLean) Brizzle, and had:
 - (1) Amelia¹⁰ Brizzle,

- (2) Margaret¹⁰ Brizzle,
- (3) Dorothy¹⁰ Brizzle.
- 5. Sallie Hardy⁹ Elliott, who married Charels Littleton Cooke, of Richmond, Va., son of Charles Littleton and Mary Lewis (Trout) Cooke, and had:
 - (1) Maud Stribling¹⁰ Cooke,
 - (2) Mildred Lewis¹⁰ Cooke.
- 6. John Henry⁹ Elliott (d. Jan. 2, 1905, age 23).
- 7. Robert Cleveland⁹ Elliott, of Petersburg, Va., who married Julia Wade, and had:
 - (1) Dorothy¹⁰ Elliott.
- 8. Frederick H.⁹ Elliott, of Roanoke, Va.

William Henry⁸ Hardy (b. Dec. 18, 1853, in Bedford County, Va., d. Oct. 16, 1877, in Batesville, Ark.), son of James Andrew⁷ Hardy (b. Jan. 12, 1819), and his wife Lucy Douglas Horton, married Feb. 29, 1876, Elizabeth Bouldin Pickett (b. Apr. 4, 1857, in Madison Co., Ala.), daughter of William Henry and Amy Raines (Collier) Pickett, of Batesville, Ark.

They had:

- 1. Stella Pickett⁹ Hardy, the genealogist, member Order of the Crown; Daughter of Barons of Runnemedede, First Families of Virginia, Scions Colonial Cavaliers, Colonial Dames, D. A. R., U. D. C., etc.

Sarah Frances⁸ Hardy (b. Sept. 23, 1857), daughter of James Andrew⁷ Hardy and Lucy Douglas Horton, married (in 1875), John Walter McDowell, of Batesville, Ark., son of John W. and Judith Tyler (Stephenson) McDowell.

They had:

- 1. Cora Estell⁹ McDowell, who married (in 1895), Edwin C. Bartlett, of Shreveport, La.
- 2. Lollie Maud⁹ McDowell, who married Allen McCormick, and had:
 - (1) Corean¹⁰ McCormick.
- 3. William Hardy⁹ McDowell.
- 4. Seddie⁹ McDowell, who married in 1908, Elmer Hinkle, of Batesville, Ark., and had:
 - (1) Henry Hill¹⁰ Hinkle.

5. John Walter⁹ McDowell.
6. James Andrew⁹ McDowell.

James Andrew⁸ Hardy, of Batesville, Ark. (b. Aug. 20, 1859), son of James Andrew⁷ Hardy and Lucy Douglas Horton, married Sept. 30, 1880, Margaret Ann McGuffin, daughter of Capt. Samuel Jordan McGuffin, C. S. A., and Olivazara Lucinda (Hutchison) Bandy.

They had:

1. Mere Katherine⁹ Hardy, who married Feb. 28, 1904, Arthur Franklin Nash, of Springfield, Mo., and had:

(1) James Hardy¹⁰ Nash.

2. William Horton⁹ Hardy, of Asherton, Texas, married Jan. 15, 1905, Gertrude Talley, and had:

(1) Zelma¹⁰ Hardy.

3. McGuffin⁹ Hardy, of Batesville, Ark.

4. Daisy⁹ Hardy (d. in girlhood).

5. Lula Margaret⁹ Hardy.

Lucy Horton⁸ Hardy (b. Dec. 11, 1862), daughter of James Andrew⁷ Hardy and Lucy Douglas Horton, married Dec. 30, 1886, Levy Jasper Cypert, of Searcy, Ark., son of Thomas P. and Tempy (Brown) Cypert, of Izard County, Ark.

They had:

1. Park Hardy⁹ Cypert.

2. Lucile Inez⁹ Cypert, who married Oct. 26, 1909, Henry C. Reickle, of Searcy, Ark., son of John A. and Anna (Wrape) Reickle, of North Vernon, Ind.

3. Hazel Ewing⁹ Cypert (d. in infancy).

William Preston⁸ Hardy, of Bedford County, Va., son of Joseph Stoggedele⁷ Hardy (b. Feb. 17, 1823), and his wife Paulina Pondexter, married Dec. 11, 1888, Frances Elizabeth Blount, daughter of Dr. David Wilson and Mary Jane (Powell) Blount, of Franklin County, Virginia.

They had:

1. Mary Jane⁹ Hardy (d. young).

2. Joseph Blount⁹ Hardy (d. young).

3. Joseph S.⁹ Hardy.

4. David Blount⁹ Hardy (d. young).

Dabney Pondexter⁸ Hardy, of Bedford County, Va., son of Joseph Stoggedele⁷ Hardy (b. Feb. 17, 1823), and his wife Paulina Pondexter, married Annie Bell Crisman.

They had:

1. Paulina⁹ Hardy,
2. Louis Love⁹ Hardy,
3. Annie Bell⁹ Hardy,
4. Bessie⁹ Hardy,
5. Crisman⁹ Hardy,
6. William Preston⁹ Hardy,
7. Sarah⁹ Hardy,
8. A child—name not known.

Emma⁸ Hardy, daughter of Joseph Stoggedele⁷ Hardy (b. Feb. 17, 1823), and his wife Paulina Pondexter, married Samuel J. White, of Bedford County, Va., son of Jacob S. White.

They had:

1. Harry⁹ White,
2. Mary Willie⁹ White,
3. Jacob⁹ White,
4. Frederick⁹ White.

CHAPTER VII

Lunenburg Cousins — Continued

GENEALOGIES

*Hatchett, Jefferson, Lee, Lester, Macfarland, May-Harrison,
Neblett*

HATCHETT



LIKE the progenitors of many other families, the details of the arrival in America of John Hatchett generally recognized as the founder of the Virginia family of that name, are not known. The early history of the family is involved in some obscurity.

In the Revolution there was an Archibald Hatchett who was a Captain in the Navy; and Edward Hatchett served in the Revolutionary Army.

The Lampkin family, with which the Hatchett family was allied by marriage, was prominent in the early annals of Lunenburg. Peter Lampkin was one of the Gentlemen Justices of the County Court from 1789 to 1806, and Peter Lampkin, Jr., was a member of the Court from 1790 to 1795.

John¹ Hatchett (b. circa 1680, will in Chesterfield County, Va., dated May 31, 1747, W. B. 1, p. 204), known as the immigrant, married Elizabeth Bass, daughter of Josiah Bass.

They had:

1. William² Hatchett,
2. Thomas² Hatchett, who lived in Charlotte County, married and had:
 - (1) William³ Hatchett,
 - (2) Thomas³ Hatchett (killed in South Carolina, in the Revolutionary War).

3. John² Hatchett, who lived in Chesterfield County, Virginia, married and had:
 - (1) John³ Hatchett,
 - (2) Josiah³ Hatchett,
 - (3) Several daughters.
4. Edward² Hatchett, who lived in Lunenburg County, Virginia, married and had:
 - (1) Archibald³ Hatchett (died in Georgia, in the Revolutionary War).
 - (2) Thomas³ Hatchett,
 - (3) William³ Hatchett,
 - (4) Edward³ Hatchett,
 - (5) Robert³ Hatchett,
 - (6) Two daughters.
5. Mary² Hatchett.
6. Elizabeth² Hatchett.
7. Hester² Hatchett.

These daughters married men named Belcher, Perdue and Mann, but which married which is not known.

William² Hatchett (of Amelia and Nottoway Counties—will dated Aug. 28, 1784—recorded in Amelia County W. B. 3, p. 309), son of John¹ and Elizabeth (Bass) Hatchett, married Margaret Remay (of Huguenot Ancestry), who had been previously twice married, (1st) to one Lewiston; (2nd) to John Neal.

They had:

1. John³ Hatchett (b. 1733), married Mary Neal.
2. William³ Hatchett,
3. Archibald³ Hatchett (who never married),
4. Abraham³ Hatchett,
5. Martha³ Hatchett, who married one Roberts.
6. Ann³ Hatchett, who married Roger Neal.
7. Jane³ Hatchett, who married John Truby.

John³ Hatchett (b. 1733, d. May 8, 1812, "in the seventy-ninth year of his age"), of Amelia and Charlotte Counties, son of William² and Margaret (Remay) Hatchett, married Mary Neal

(d. May 11, 1773, age 41), daughter of Roger Neal and his wife Catherine McCane.

They had:

1. Margaret⁴ Hatchett,
2. Ann⁴ Hatchett,
3. Mildred⁴ Hatchett, married (M. B. in Charlotte County, dated April 2, 1787), George Burks.
4. Elizabeth⁴ Hatchett, married (M. B. in Charlotte County, dated Oct. 28, 1789), William Dabbs.
5. Abner⁴ Hatchett.
6. Bartley⁴ (Bartlett) Hatchett, married (M. B. Charlotte County, dated March 2, 1795), Peggy Russell, daughter of Edward Russell.
7. John⁴ Hatchett, married Nancy Russell (M. B. in Charlotte County, dated Dec. 2, 1793).
8. William⁴ Hatchett, married Sally Turner (M. B. in Charlotte County, dated July 20, 1793).
9. Mary⁴ Hatchett.

William³ Hatchett (will dated Aug. 16, 1821, probated in Lunenburg County, Dec. 10, 1821), of Lunenburg County, Virginia, son of William² and Margaret (Remay) Hatchett, married twice: (1st) to Elizabeth Farmer (M. B. dated Dec. 10, 1803); (2nd) to Isbella Ann (last name not known), and had: (but by which wife not known),

1. John⁴ Hatchett,
2. Haynie⁴ Hatchett,
3. Archibald⁴ Hatchett,
4. George⁴ Hatchett,
5. Ann (or "Nancy")⁴ Hatchett, who married Kenner Cralle.
6. Elizabeth Haynie⁴ Hatchett, who married Chapman (?) Blackwell.

Abraham³ Hatchett (b. 1752, d. in 1841 "in the eighty-ninth year of his age" in Henderson, Kentucky, to which place he moved in 1837), son of William² and Margaret (Remay) Hatchett, married (name of wife not known), and had:

1. Joseph⁴ Hatchett,

2. William⁴ Hatchett,
3. Abraham⁴ Hatchett,
4. John Archibald⁴ Hatchett,
5. "and five or six daughters."

Haynie⁴ Hatchett (b. Aug. 31, 1779, d. Nov. 1, 1856), of Woodhill, Lunenburg County, Va., son of William³ Hatchett (and one or other of his wives), married April 23, 1816, Frances Tanner Jones* (b. Jan. 8, 1796, d. Jan. 8, 1856).

They had:

1. William Haynie⁵ Hatchett,
2. Jane Maria⁵ Hatchett, who married 1st, Benjamin Hite, and 2nd, Charles Harrison Ogburn of Mecklenburg County.
3. Branch Archer⁵ Hatchett,
4. Mary Frances⁵ Hatchett,
5. John Richard⁵ Hatchett,
6. Ann Eliza⁵ Hatchett,
7. Sarah Jones⁵ Hatchett,
8. Lewellyn⁵ Hatchett,
9. Indiana Susan⁵ Hatchett,
10. Peter Montfort⁵ Hatchett,
11. Isabella Overton⁵ Hatchett,
12. Emma Petronella⁵ Hatchett.

Archibald⁴ Hatchett (M. D.), (b. 1785, d. 1820,—will not dated, probated in Lunenburg County, Virginia, Nov. 13, 1820), married in 1817, Mary Epes Jones Lampkin† (b. March 18, 1793, d. March 2, 1853), daughter of Sharpe Lampkin (b. Nov. 18, 1766), of Lunenburg County, and his wife (whom he married Dec. 22, 1791), Mary Epes Jones, daughter of Richard Jones. Sharpe Lampkin was the son of Peter Lampkin (will dated Aug. 20, 1796, proved Feb. 2, 1797, in Nottoway County), and his wife Winifred (last name not known).

*For her ancestry and family connections see *Peter Jones and Richard Jones Genealogics* (Fothergill), p. 291 and ante.

†Mary Epes Jones Lampkin was the adopted daughter of Major George Craghead, a distinguished lawyer and citizen of Lunenburg, who married her Aunt Petronella Lampkin, but had no children. Major George Craghead was born in 1759 and died in 1851.

They had:

1. George Craghead⁵ Hatchett (b. Sept. 27, 1811), who married Sept. 10, 1850, Mary Indiana Taylor, of Henderson, Kentucky, and had:
 - (1) John⁶ Hatchett,
 - (2) Bessie⁶ Hatchett,
 - (3) Waller⁶ Hatchett,
 - (4) Lizzie⁶ Hatchett.
2. Richard Jones H.⁵ Hatchett (M. D.), (b. March 22, 1814, in Lunenburg County, Virginia, d. June 25, 1895, in Durham, N. C.), married Sept. 1, 1840, Sarah Jane Wilson (b. March 11, 1823, d. in Athens, Georgia, July 6, 1902), daughter of Josiah Wilson of Lunenburg County, and his wife, Jane Morrison.

They had:

- (1) Haynie⁶ Hatchett (b. March 18, 1842, d. Jan. 8, 1862, from wounds received in the war).
- (2) Archibald⁶ Hatchett (b. Jan. 10, 1845, d. Sept. 7, 1903—unmarried).
- (3) George Wilson⁶ Hatchett (b. October 24, 1847), married Miss Ophelia Johnson, of Mississippi.
- (4) Richard Jones Chilton⁶ Hatchett (b. Feb. 23, 1851, d. 1885), married May 6, 1872, Helen Bagley, daughter of William M. Bagley, of Columbian Grove, Lunenburg County, and had (five children):
 - (a) Annie⁷ Hatchett, who married Frank McGintis, of Lynchburg, Virginia.
 - (b) Inez⁷ Hatchett, who married George Cabiness, of Bedford City, Va.
 - (c) Craghead C.⁷ Hatchett, who married Ollie Lee Hardy of Dinwiddie County, Va. (See Hardy Genealogy herein).
 - (d) Montell⁷ Hatchett.
 - (e) Helen⁷ Hatchett.
- (5) William Sharpe⁶ Hatchett (b. July 2, 1853, d. in infancy).

- (6) Jane Elizabeth⁶ Hatchett (b. May 20, 1856, d. June 20, 1872, unmarried).
- (7) William Morrison⁶ Hatchett (b. Jan. 17, 1859), named after the brother who died in infancy, married twice: (First) *circa* 1883, Miss Bettie Crute; (second), September 27, 1889, Miss Lula Blackwell, of North Carolina.
- (8) Mary Lampkin⁶ Hatchett (b. Sept. 1, 1861), married (in Henderson, N. C.), Nov. 5, 1889, Al Fairbrother (b. Dec. 13, 1860, at Chariton, Iowa), son of Francis Fairbrother and his wife Charlotte Cameron.
3. Petronella Lampkin⁵ Hatchett (b. July 30, 1816, d. July 1876), daughter of Dr. Archibald⁴ Hatchett and his wife Mary Epes Jones Lampkin, married Sept. 19, 1844, George Nicholas Seay (d. June 1, 1887).

They had:

1. Petronella Craghead⁶ Seay (b. June 16, 1845, d. March 19, 1895).
2. Frances⁶ Seay (b. March 1, 1850, d. Dec. 5, 19—).
3. Archibald Nicholas⁶ Seay (b. Dec. 30, 1851).
4. John Marshall⁶ Seay (b. Oct. 16, 1853, dead).
5. Susan Epes⁶ Seay (b. May 8, 1855), married Oct. 22, 1874, Isham Trotter Bagley.

They had:

- (1) Petronella⁷ Bagley (b. Jan. 9, 1881), who married Aug. 28, 1907, William Parker Bagwell, and had:
 - (a) Susan Seay⁸ Bagwell (b. June 16, 1911).
 - (b) William Parker⁸ Bagwell (b. May 19, 1914).
- (2) Edward Garland⁷ Bagley (b. June 20, 1884), who married Dec. 16, 1908, Ethel Clare Hethorn, daughter of Capt. William Hethorn, and had:
 - (a) Sallie Mildred⁸ Bagley (b. Jan., 1910).
 - (b) Susan⁸ Bagley (b. July, 1912).
 - (c) Isham Trotter⁸ Bagley (b. Jan., 1814).

- (d) Ethel Clare⁸ Bagley (b. July, 1816).
- (e) Edward Garland⁸ Bagley (b. Dec., 1920).
- (3) George Seay⁷ Bagley (b. Aug. 4, 1886, d. Aug. 8, 1886).
- (4) Julia Pegram⁷ Bagley (b. Feb. 9, 1890), married Nov., 1914, Louis Spencer Epes, and had:
 - (a) Julia Bagley⁸ Epes (b. Jan. 7, 1916).
- (5) Haynie Seay⁷ Bagley (b. Apr. 26, 1893, d. Aug. 20, 1910).
- (6) William Archer⁷ Bagley (b. Oct. 26, 1895).
- (7) Richard Baldwin⁷ Bagley (b. Feb. 20, 1897).
- 6. Anna Hatchett⁶ Seay (b. Feb. 27, 1858, d. Jan. 11, 1860).
- 7. Haynie Hatchett⁶ Seay (b. July 28, 1860), married May 18, 1887, Mattie Perry Davis, of North Carolina, and had:
 - (1) Anne Davis⁷ Seay (b. July 12, 1888), married Oct. 16, 1909, Dr. Fletcher Johnston Wright, and had:
 - (a) Fletcher Johnston⁸ Wright, Jr. (b. Oct. 19, 1910).
 - (2) Haynie Hatchett⁷ Seay, Jr. (b. Jan. 12, 1894).
 - (3) Frances Evelyn⁷ Seay (b. May 4, 1897), married Jan. 28, 1921, William Augustus Trotter, and had:
 - (a) Anne Fletcher⁸ Trotter (b. Aug. 2, 1922).
 - (b) William Augustus⁸ Trotter (b. Nov. 20, 1923).
 - (4) George Nicholas⁷ Seay (b. Aug. 20, 1903).
 - (5) Richmond⁷ Seay (b. April 4, 1907).
 - (6) Mattie Davis⁷ Seay (b. Jan. 12, 1914).
- 4. Mary Elizabeth Achibald⁵ Hatchett (b. Nov. 24, 1818, d. Nov. 17, 1846), daughter of Dr. Archibald⁴ Hatchett and his wife Mary Epes Jones Lampkins, married June 27, 1839, Richard Henry Gregory (b. Jan. 5, 1814), of Dinwiddie County, Virginia, and later of *Wigwam*, Granville County, N. C., educated at William and Mary College. The ancestry of Richard Henry Gregory was as follows: son of Herbert Gregory of Dinwiddie County and his wife Lucy Osborne Thweatt; grandson of Roger Gregory of King William County, Va., who moved to Lunenburg County about 1774

and there married Fanny (Garland) Lowry. She was his second wife. Roger Gregory before 1784 resided in Mecklenburg County.

They had:

- (1) Archibald Hatchett⁶ Gregory (b. May 31, 1840, in Lunenburg County, Virginia, d. Feb. 23, 1897), of *Oak Grove*, Granville County, N. C., was twice married: (First) Feb. 13, 1866, to Lucie Jane Brodie; (second) in 1897 to Nannie Wilson. (No issue by second marriage.)

Issue by first marriage:

- (a) Mary Elizabeth⁷ Gregory (b. June 7, 1867), married Charles E. Jackson.
- (b) Lucie Thorp⁷ Gregory (b. Dec. 11, 1868), married Charles L. Lewis.
- (c) Louis Brodie⁷ Gregory (b. Dec. 24, 1870), married Corinne Butler.
- (d) Alice⁷ Gregory (b. July 25, 1872), married Benjamin G. Green.
- (e) Osborne Thweatt⁷ Gregory (b. Dec. 13, 1874, d. Aug. 31, 1875).
- (f) Richard Henry⁷ Gregory (b. April 19, 1876), married (first), Virginia Thorp; (second), Hattie Arrington.
- (g) George Craghead⁷ Gregory (b. July 17, 1878), married Constance A. Heath.
- (h) Jennie Brodie⁷ Gregory (b. March 15, 1880, d. July 5, 1881).
- (i) Fannie Hogan⁷ Gregory (b. May 6, 1882), married Edward P. Bradley.
- (j) Edmund Brodie⁷ Gregory (b. July 25, 1884), married Anne Hodgson.

Note:

In Amelia County there are marriage bonds for the marriage of:

Archer Hatchett to Eliza King, dated Sept. 25, 1767.

George Craghead to Petronella Lamkin, daughter of Peter Lamkin, dated Sept. 15, 1786.

And in Lunenburg County:

William Hatchett to Elizabeth Farmer, dated Dec. 10, 1803.

John Smith Hatchett to Phebe Bailey, dated Aug. 8, 1811.

John A. Hatchett to Narcissa W. Jeffreys, dated Oct. 14, 1822.

Susan Hatchett to Henderson Lee, dated March 3, 1825.

Elizabeth E. Hatchett to Whitfield Lester, dated Oct. 9, 1826.

And ministers' returns in Lunenburg for the following marriages:

Haney Hatchett to Frances Jones, Apr. 23, 1816.

Edward Hatchett to Mary Newsteys Blagrove, Dec. 18, 1781.

William Hatchett to Elizabeth Farmer, Dec. 13, 1804.

Polly Hatchett to Chapman Blackwell, April 2, 1806.

John Smith Hatchett to Phebe Bailey, Aug. 17, 1811.

John A. Hatchett to Narcissa Jeffreys, Oct. 29, 1822.

Daniel F. Hatchett to Jane Brown, Feb. 19, 1828.

William Y. Hatchett to Virginia A. Epes, Oct. 14, 1841.

JEFFERSON

There was a John Jefferson in Virginia in 1619. This is known because he represented Flowerdew Hundred in the first General Assembly, at Jamestown, July 30, 1619. He was a London merchant, who came to Virginia about 1618 in the *Bona Nova*. There were several other Jeffersons who came to Virginia between that time and the period when we are able to locate the first certain ancestor (of the Jefferson name) of President Thomas Jefferson.

This first certain ancestor was:

Thomas¹ Jefferson (living in Henrico County 1677, d. 1687—will probated Dec. 7, 1687),* He married Mary Branch, granddaughter of Christopher Branch and daughter of William Branch and Jane, who married 2ndly Abel Groves. Mary Branch Jefferson, relict of Thomas Jefferson (first) married April 1, 1701-2, Joseph Mattox of Charles City County. He is mentioned in the

*For possibly the most painstakingly prepared genealogy of the Jefferson family, see VI Tyler's Quarterly Historial and Genealogical Magazine, 199, et seq.—and succeeding installments. This is by the distinguished genealogist and scholar, Dr. Lyon G. Tyler.

will of Christopher Branch of *Kingsland*, on James River, dated June 20, 1678, and proved Feb. 20, 1681-82.

They had issue:

1. Thomas² Jefferson,
2. Martha² Jefferson.

Thomas² Jefferson (will dated March 15, 1723, proved in Henrico County, April, 1731), married, Nov. 20, 1697, Mary Field, daughter of Major Peter Field, of New Kent County.

They had issue:

1. Peter³ Jefferson (b. Feb. 29, 1708), married Jane Randolph, daughter of Isham Randolph.
2. Field³ Jefferson.
3. Mary³ Jefferson.
4. Judith³ Jefferson.

Peter³ Jefferson (b. Feb. 29, 1708), moved from that part of Henrico, now Chesterfield County, to Goochland. He married in Goochland (M. B. dated October 3, 1739), Jane Randolph, daughter of Isham Randolph of "Dungenness" in that county. He was a surveyor and with Col. Fry ran in 1749, the boundary line between Virginia and North Carolina from Peter Creek to Steep Rock Creek, about ninety miles. He and Col. Fry also made, in 1751, a well known map of Virginia.

They had issue:

1. Jane⁴ Jefferson (b. June 27, 1740, d. unmarried, Oct. 1, 1765).
2. Mary⁴ Jefferson (b. Oct. 1, 1741), married, June 24, 1760, Thomas Bolling.
3. Thomas⁴ Jefferson (The President), (b. April 2, 1743, at "Shadwell," Albemarle County, Virginia).
4. Elizabeth⁴ Jefferson (b. Nov. 4, 1744, d. Jan. 1, 1773).
5. Martha⁴ Jefferson (b. May 29, —), married Dabney Carr.
6. Peter Field⁴ Jefferson (b. Oct. 16, 1748, d. Nov. 29, 1748).
7. A son, born and died March 9, 1750.
8. Lucy⁴ Jefferson (b. October 10, 1752), married Charles Lilburn Lewis.

9. Anna Scott⁴ Jefferson (b. Oct. 1, 1755), married Hastings Marks.

10. Randolph⁴ Jefferson, twin to Anna Scott (b. Oct. 1, 1755).

Thomas⁴ Jefferson (b. April 2, 1743,—Old Style—at *Shadwell*, Albemarle County, d. July 4, 1826, at *Monticello*, the home he built, and to which he removed after the burning of *Shadwell*). He married January 1, 1772, Martha Wayles, widow of Bathurst Skelton, and daughter of John Wayles, of the *Forest* in Charles City County. She was born Oct. 19, 1748, and died Sept. 6, 1782.

They had issue:

1. Martha⁵ Jefferson (b. 1772), married Feb. 23, 1790, Thomas Mann Randolph.
2. Mary⁵ Jefferson, also called "Maria" and "Polly" (b. 1778), married October 13, 1797, her half cousin John Wayles Eppes, of *Eppington*, Chesterfield County, member House of Representatives 1817-1819.
3. Jane Randolph⁵ Jefferson (b. 1773, d. 1775).
4. Lucy Elizabeth⁵ Jefferson (died young).

Two other children who died infants.

Randolph⁴ Jefferson (b. Oct. 1, 1755), brother of the President, married in 1781, Anne Lewis, dau. of Charles Lewis, Jr., of Buck Island. He had a residence in Fluvanna County.

They had issue:

1. Thomas⁵ Jefferson,
2. Isham⁵ Jefferson.

Thomas⁵ Jefferson (son of Randolph⁴ Jefferson, b. Oct. 1, 1755), married twice: 1st his cousin, Mary R. Lewis, daughter of Charles Lilburn Lewis; and 2ndly, in 1858, Mrs. Elizabeth Barker, daughter of Henry Siegfried.

They had issue:

1. Peterfield⁶ Jefferson (d. 1861), who lived in Scottsville, Va. He married and had issue:
 1. Peterfield⁷ Jefferson, Jr. (d. 1867).
 2. Robert L.⁷ Jefferson (d. 1858), lived near Porter's Pre-

cinct, Albemarle County, Va. He married Elizabeth Moorman, daughter of Robert Moorman.

They had issue:

Eldridge Jefferson and Mary Jefferson, who married Albert W. Gantt.

Mary³ Jefferson, daughter of Thomas² Jefferson, and aunt of Thomas⁴ Jefferson, the President, married Thomas Turpin.

Judith³ Jefferson, daughter of Thomas² Jefferson, and aunt of Thomas⁴ Jefferson, the President, married William Farrar, the last owner of the name of *Farrar's Island*, which he sold in 1727 to Thomas Randolph.

Field³ Jefferson, son of Thomas² Jefferson and uncle of Thomas⁴ Jefferson, the President, moved from Chesterfield County to Lunenburg County, and resided in that part of it now forming Mecklenburg County, near Clarksville, about where the rivers Dan and Staunton form the Roanoke. He called his farm Occaneechee. He married Mary ——— (her family name has not been discovered). His will is recorded in the clerk's office of Mecklenburg County. It is dated June 8, 1762, and was proved June 10, 1765. In this will he describes himself as of "Lunenburg County." In other words, he made his will before Mecklenburg was cut off from Lunenburg, but it was cut off (by the Act of Nov. 27, 1764), before his will was proved.

There are a number of deeds in Lunenburg County, in 1762, from Field Jefferson to his sons George, John and Peterfield, and to his grandson Field Jefferson, son of Peterfield.

He had issue:

1. Thomas⁴ Jefferson.
2. Peterfield⁴ Jefferson (b. March 14, 1735), married May 30, 1762, Elizabeth Allen (b. Dec. 7, 1739), daughter of Samuel Allen, of Cumberland County.
3. George⁴ Jefferson.
4. John⁴ Jefferson, otherwise John Robertson⁴ Jefferson.
5. Mary⁴ Jefferson, who married one Nicholls, and had: Susanna⁵ Nicholls, and William⁵ Nicholls.
6. Judith⁴ Jefferson.
7. Phoebe⁴ Jefferson.

Peterfield⁴ Jefferson (b. March 14, 1735), son of Field³ Jefferson and first cousin of Thomas⁴ Jefferson, the President, lived in Lunenburg, and in Mecklenburg after that county was created. He married (Marriage Bond dated May 29, 1762, in Cumberland County), Elizabeth Allen (b. Dec. 7, 1739), daughter of Samuel Allen. He seems to have removed to Pittsylvania County, for in 1774 and 1776 he purchased lands in that county from his brother George Jefferson who had patented them, and in 1779 he gives his residence as Pittsylvania County, when he sold certain lands to Elisha Walker.

No will of Peterfield⁴ Jefferson has been discovered, but his children are shown by the will of his wife, made in 1828, and recorded in Pittsylvania County.

They had issue:

1. Field⁵ Jefferson.
2. John⁵ Jefferson.
3. Samuel Allen⁵ Jefferson (b. March 24, 1776, d. March 23, 1855).
4. Alexander⁵ Jefferson, who married Elizabeth Smith (Marriage Bond dated Feb. 20, 1808).
Alexander⁵ Jefferson was the grandfather of David Alexander Jefferson of Chatham, Virginia.
5. Archer⁵ Jefferson (deceased at date of will, 1828).
6. Thomas⁵ Jefferson (d. Jan. 14, 1814), who married Elizabeth Ball (Marriage Bond dated Feb. 27, 1806). She died Dec. 27, 1857. She was a daughter of John and Mary Ball.
7. Patsy⁵ Jefferson, who married Brewer.
8. Judith⁵ Jefferson.

John⁴ Jefferson, otherwise John Robertson⁴ Jefferson, son of Field³ Jefferson, resided in Cumberland County and married March 28, 1763, Elizabeth Broome, daughter of Dr. Thomas Broome.

They had issue:

1. Elizabeth⁵ Jefferson, who married Samuel Allen Jefferson.
2. Thomas Broome⁵ Jefferson, who married Jane Graves and emigrated to Kentucky.

3. John Pinckard⁵ Jefferson, who married Sarah Frances Steptoe Brown (daughter of James Calloway Brown of New Glasgow, Campbell County, Virginia, and Katherine Green Leftwich, his wife, of Bedford County, Va.). Their only daughter Fanny⁶ Jefferson married Perry Rowan Casey of North Carolina.

Samuel Allen⁵ Jefferson (b. March 24, 1776, d. March 23, 1855), son of Peterfield⁴ Jefferson, married his first cousin, Elizabeth Jefferson, daughter of John Jefferson, in Cumberland County, Va., June 20, 1803. He died in Pittsylvania County.

They had issue:

1. Edward⁶ Jefferson.
2. Elizabeth⁶ Jefferson, who married Thomas Mahon and emigrated to Cole County, Mo.
3. Frances Robertson⁶ Jefferson, who also went to Cole County, Mo.
4. George R.⁶ Jefferson, who died unmarried.
5. John Garland⁶ Jefferson, who married America Townes, of Pittsylvania County, Va., and removed to Georgia. They had: Margaret⁷ Jefferson who married Puckett of Dalton, Ga., and their daughter⁸ married C. Marshall Mitchell. They also had two sons who died unmarried.
6. Judith Archer⁶ Jefferson (d. unmarried).
7. Thomas Broome⁶ Jefferson (d. unmarried, Jan. 7, 1893).
8. Martha Jane⁶ Jefferson (d. unmarried).
9. James Hopkins⁶ Jefferson (b. Oct. 30, 1820), married his first cousin Katherine Jefferson, daughter of John Pinkard Jefferson, and his wife Sarah Frances Steptoe Brown. They had an only daughter, Sarah Frances Steptoe⁷ Jefferson ("Fanny").

George⁴ Jefferson, son of Field³ Jefferson, and first cousin of Thomas⁴ Jefferson, the President, lived in Lunenburg County. He married Elizabeth Garland about July 2, 1764. (Letter in Lunenburg Co. Clerk's office from David Garland, dated July 2, 1764, consents to the marriage and to the marriage bond.) She was a sister of John R. Garland (see Boswell Genealogy). The

will of Col. David Garland, dated March 18, 1780, proved May 9, 1782, mentions this daughter Elizabeth Jefferson.

They had issue:

1. George⁵ Jefferson.
2. John Garland⁵ Jefferson, and very probably
3. Peter⁵ Jefferson, whose marriage bond dated May 5, 1804, for marriage with Martha Russell is in Lunenburg Co. Clerk's Office. John Moody was surety on this marriage bond.

George Jefferson was surety on the marriage bond of Cluverius R. Coleman and Susan Lanier, in Lunenburg County.

Peter⁵ Jefferson and his wife Martha Russell had: Thomas⁶ Jefferson (b. in 1808), "and lived in Lunenburg County, but later moved to Atlanta, Georgia." He married: (first) "Susan L. Hardy, and of this marriage a son Samuel Leslie (Jefferson) and a daughter, name not remembered, were born."* The second marriage was with Mrs. Susan Caroline Armistead Flippin, widow of Monroe Randolph Flippin. Of this marriage there were:

1. Susan Alice⁷ Jefferson,
2. Thomas Armistead⁷ Jefferson,
3. George Garland⁷ Jefferson,
4. Mary Elizabeth⁷ Jefferson,
5. Peter⁷ Jefferson.

John Garland⁵ Jefferson (son of George⁴ Jefferson, of Lunenburg County), resided in Amelia County. He married Anne Booker, daughter of John Booker, and his wife Elizabeth Giles, who was a sister of William B. Giles. His will is dated August, 1813, and was proved in Amelia County, April 25, 1815, where it is of record.

They had issue:

1. George⁶ Jefferson,
2. John Garland⁶ Jefferson,
3. William Daniel⁶ Jefferson,

**Tyler's Quarterly*, VIII, 39.

4. Anne⁶ Jefferson,
5. Martha⁶ Jefferson,
6. Mary⁶ Jefferson,
7. Cornelia⁶ Jefferson.

John Garland⁶ Jefferson, son of John Garland⁵ Jefferson, also lived in Amelia County. He married Otelia Howlett, of Chesterfield County.

They had issue:

1. John Garland⁷ Jefferson,
2. Thomas⁷ Jefferson,
3. Elizabeth⁷ Jefferson, who married Rev. George H. Denny, and had issue: Otelia⁸ Denny and Robert⁸ Denny.
4. Susie Gilliam⁷ Jefferson,
5. Nancy Booker⁷ Jefferson,
6. Sarah McIlwaine⁷ Jefferson,
7. Lucy⁷ Jefferson, who married Joseph W. Eggleston, and had: Maude⁸ Eggleston, who married Conway Barksdale, Joseph⁸ Eggleston, Edward⁸ Eggleston, George Craig⁸ Eggleston, Marion⁸ Eggleston, Eugene⁸ Eggleston, Otelia⁸ Eggleston, who married William Haff, Grace⁸ Eggleston, who married John S. Eggleston, Lizzie⁸ Eggleston, who married Hunter McGuire, Helen⁸ Eggleston, and Lucy⁸ Eggleston, who married H. P. F. Berkeley.

John Garland⁷ Jefferson (son of John Garland⁶ Jefferson), also of Amelia County, attorney-at-law, married Harriet Peyton Mason, a daughter of John Y. Mason, son of John Y. Mason, Secretary of the Navy under John Tyler, Attorney General under James K. Polk, and Minister to France at the time of his death in Paris, Oct. 3, 1859.

They had issue:

1. William Barksdale⁸ Jefferson, who married Mary Armstrong.
2. Peyton Giles⁸ Jefferson,
3. Mary Augusta⁸ Jefferson.

Thomas⁷ Jefferson, son of John Garland⁶ Jefferson, married Carrie Lane.

They had issue:

1. Thomas⁸ Jefferson, Jr.
2. James Nalle⁸ Jefferson,
3. Charles⁸ Jefferson,
4. George⁸ Jefferson.

Dr. William Daniel⁶ Jefferson (son of John Garland⁵ Jefferson), married Anne Colgin, daughter of Col. John Colgin, of Charles City County, Va. He moved to Texas and died there, leaving the following children:

1. Anne Maria⁷ Jefferson, who married W. O. Harvie.
2. Lelia⁷ Jefferson,
3. Rossalyn⁷ Jefferson,
4. Eugene⁷ Jefferson,
5. George C.⁷ Jefferson, of Richmond, Virginia, of the firm of Jefferson and Harvie, insurance agents.

LEE

The Lee family of Lunenburg County are said to be descended from Hancock Lee, of *Ditchley*. We regret not being able to show the line of descent from Hancock Lee to Ambrose Lee, with whom this genealogy must begin.

Ambrose¹ Lee, of Charlotte County (had several brothers), married Elizabeth White (M. B. Lunenburg County, dated Sept. 14, 1792), and had:

Rev. Henderson² Lee (b. March 1, 1793, d. Oct. 21, 1862), who married March 3, 1825, Susan Lewis (Lamkin) Hatchett, widow, maiden name Susan Lewis Lamkin, daughter of Major Sharpe Lampkin, of Amelia County.

They had:

1. Henderson Lewis³ Lee (b. Oct. 23, 1826, d. March 5, 1894), a distinguished lawyer, of Lunenburg County, Virginia. He was born and resided at the family home known as Lee Hall, in Lunenburg County. He was educated at Hampden-Sidney College, and at William and Mary College, where he studied law. He married Dec. 20, 1865, Lucy Scott, daughter of Edward Chambers Scott, and his

wife Miranda Frances Moore of Mecklenburg County, Virginia.

They had:

- (1) Henderson⁴ Lee (d. Aug., 1899, in Salem, Virginia), Commonwealth's Attorney of Roanoke County.
 - (2) Lewis Maury⁴ Lee, of Asheville, N. C.
 - (3) Henry Edward⁴ Lee, at one time Commonwealth's attorney for Nottoway County, an attorney of Crewe, Virginia, who married Helen Fitzgerald.
 - (4) Lucy⁴ Lee, who married Thomas Bagley, son of William M. Bagley, of Columbian Grove.
 - (5) William Sharpe⁴ Lee, who married and is now dead. He left a widow, Mary Antoinette Lee, of Quincy, Florida, and four children:
 - (a) Virginia⁵ Lee,
 - (b) William⁵ Lee,
 - (c) Mary⁵ Lee,
 - (d) Sarah Scott⁵ Lee.
 - (6) Mary Frances⁴ Lee, of Maryland,
 - (7) Francis Robert⁴ Lee,
 - (8) Sarah A.⁴ Lee, of Tallahassee, Florida, who married Frank P. Woodward, and had:
 - (a) Frank P.⁵ Woodward, Jr.
2. Ambrose Sharpe³ Lee (b. Aug. 3, 1829, d. Sept. 9, 1901), an attorney of Mecklenburg County, Virginia, who married Sally Carrington. No children.
 3. John Wimbish³ Lee (b. Dec. 9, 1830, d. Feb. 21, 1874), never married.
 4. Mary Elizabeth³ Lee (b. Jan. 17, 1834, d. Dec. 25, 1897), married first, John Rufus Graham, and had two children, who died in childhood.

Second, Col. Robert W. Ashlin.

Third, Dr. Thomas J. Booker.
 5. Petronella Lamkin³ Lee (b. Aug. 12, 1838, d. Sept. 24, 1824), married twice: (first) Edward Henry Turpin (of Mecklenburg County, Va.); (second), William Cary Johnson.

Issue by first marriage:

- (1) Henderson Lee⁴ Turpin, who married Sally Johnson, and had a number of children.
- (2) Edward Henry⁴ Turpin (d. in infancy).
- (3) Mary Wilson⁴ Turpin (d. in infancy).
- (4) Edna L.⁴ Turpin, author and editor, of Chase City, Va. (and Philadelphia, Pa.). For a sketch of her see *Who's Who in America*.

Issue by second marriage:

- (1) William Cary⁴ Johnson (d. in infancy).
- (2) Susan Lewis⁴ Johnson (d. unmarried).
- (3) Anne Cary⁴ Johnson.
- (4) Petronella Lee⁴ Johnson.

LESTER

This spelling of the name is a corruption of Leicester. But the original form of the spelling is not found very often in America, and so far as our observations have gone, was never used by the family in Lunenburg, nor, indeed, in Virginia. The name is sometimes spelled Lister, or Leister.

Hotten's Lists show that in June and July, 1635, John Lester was the master of the ship *Blessing*. Thomas Lister, age 22, came to Virginia in July, 1635, in the *Paule*. In February, 1623, Thomas Leister, age 33, was a resident of James City, Virginia.

Bryant Lester, whose parents are not known but who was presumably descended from one or the other of the above named, had a brother Andrew Lester, of whose history little is known. Nothing is known of his posterity,—if he left any descendants.

Bryant¹ Lester (b. circa 1730-35), appears in the records of Lunenburg County, about the time of the French and Indian wars,* and rendered service therein. In 1787 he was elected a vestryman of Cumberland Parish. He married, about 1750, Sarah Winbush. His will is dated May 25, 1795, and was probated June 9, 1796, in Lunenburg County, Va.† From it the place of his residence appears to have been on Juniper Creek,

*See Vol. I, Chapter V, and Hening, VIII, 132.

†W. B. 1791-1799, 131-132.

and he owned thereon a mill and a saw scaffold. Bryant Lester and his wife are buried there, about four miles southeast from Double Bridges, and about four miles from Lunenburg Court House.* They had: (Order of children's birth not known).

1. Henry² Lester, who married (M. B. Charlotte Co. dated Nov. 3, 1771), Elizabeth McConnico.
2. John² Lester, who removed to Kentucky.
3. Bryant² Lester, who married Alice Hooper.
4. Alexander² Lester, who emigrated to the west.
5. Archibald² Lester, who married Elizabeth Crymes.
6. Ermin² Lester, who married William Richards, and moved to South Carolina. William Richards was a Revolutionary soldier.
7. Sally² Lester, married William Smithson, and had:
 - (1) Sally³ Smithson,
 - (2) Nancy³ Smithson,
 - (3) Frank³ Smithson, who married (M. B. in Lunenburg, dated Nov. 10, 1803), his first cousin, Mary Lester, daughter of Bryant Lester. (Frank Smithson was drowned soon after his marriage.)
8. Frederick² Lester, married (M. B. dated Sept. 5, 1797), Dolly Pollard, whose maiden name was Robertson, of Lunenburg County, Virginia, and removed first to Georgia and then to near Russellville, Ala., where he died. They had no sons but several daughters, whose descendants are said to reside in Northern Alabama. He was the largest beneficiary under his father's will.
9. Martha² Lester, who married one Atkins.
10. Rebecca² Lester, who married one Estes.
11. Samuel² Lester, who died unmarried.

Henry² Lester (b. in Lunenburg County, Va., circa 1752, d. 1826, near Franklin, Tenn.), son of Bryant¹ Lester, married in Lunenburg County, Nov. 4, 1771, Elizabeth McConnico (b. circa 1752-57), daughter of Jarret and Kezziah (Hervey) McConnico, of that county. Henry Lester was an early convert to the

*Vol. I, 128-9, Southern Hist. Asso.

Baptist Church, became a Minister, and helped to found Ash Camp Church, in Charlotte County. He removed to Tennessee, where he died.

They had:

1. Bryant Winbush³ Lester (b. circa 1772), married twice: (first) a Miss Lewis, of Dinwiddie County, Virginia; (second) Elizabeth Friend, of Charlotte County, Virginia, (M. B. dated March 30, 1808). In the 1830's he removed to Illinois, where he died.

Issue by the first marriage:

- (1) Elizabeth⁴ Lester, who married Archer Davidson, of Virginia, and had:
 - (a) Sarah Frances⁵ Davidson, who married Rev. Samuel G. Mason, who had:
 - (aa) Lewis Fountain⁶ Mason, of Richmond, Virginia.
 - (b) William Bryant⁵ Davidson, who married (first) a daughter of John Johns, of Lunenburg County, Virginia; (second) ————— East, of Charlotte C. H., Va., and had: By the first marriage:
 - (aa) Robert Carson⁶ Davidson, at one time Mayor of Baltimore, Md.
 - (c) Andrew F.⁵ Davidson, a Baptist Minister, of Buffalo Lithia Springs, Va., who married (first), ————— Jordan. (No issue.) (Second), Jennie Johnson, and had issue: one daughter.
 - (d) Bettie⁵ Davidson, who married Rev. Thomas Walters, a Baptist Preacher, at one time professor in Wake Forest College.
 - (e) Jennie⁵ Davidson, who married Benjamin Marable, a Baptist Preacher, of Lunenburg County.
 - (f) Louisa⁵ Davidson, who married Rev. Luther R. Gwaltney, long the President of Shorter College, Rome, Georgia.
 - (g) Luther⁵ Davidson (d. unmarried).
- (2) Francis H.⁴ Lester, who married a Roach, and removed to Illinois. Seven children; and by a second wife, several children.

2. Sarah³ Lester, who married ———— Pettus, of Charlotte County, Virginia.
3. Mary³ Lester.
4. Robert³ Lester, who married ———— Moseley, and with his wife's father removed to Georgia.
5. Fountain (Fontaine)³ Lester, married, and resided in Giles County, Tennessee.
6. German³ Lester, married: (first) ———— Read; (second), Catherine Cleaveland; (third), Elizabeth Massie; (fourth), Elizabeth Lewis.

Mary⁴ Lester, daughter of the last marriage, married O. P. Asher, of Memphis, Tenn.

7. Nancy Hervey³ Lester (d. July, 1825, in Rutherford County, Tenn.), married William Barksdale. (See *Genealogy of the Barksdale Family*, by Sarah D. Burt.) They had:

- (1) Harrison⁴ Barksdale, who married and had children, one of whom,
 - (a) Lester⁵ Barksdale, married Lucy Hogan and resided at Yazoo City, Miss.
- (2) Fountain⁴ Barksdale, married (name of wife not known), and had: several children, two of whom are:
 - (a) Lizzie⁵ Barksdale, who married T. B. Craig.
 - (b) Fountain⁵ Barksdale, who married Annie Williamson.
- (3) William⁴ Barksdale (b. Aug. 21, 1821), Quartermaster 2nd Miss. Regt., Col. Reuben Davis, in the Mexican War 1847; Member Mississippi Convention of 1851; member of Congress from Miss. in 33rd, 34th and 35th congresses. When Mississippi seceded, became a Colonel in Confederate Army, promoted for gallantry on the field to the rank of Brigadier-General; "He fell in the last deadly charge made at Gettysburg, July, 1863."* Lawyer, resided at Columbus, Miss., married Narcissa Saunders, of Louisiana, and had:

*Vol. I, 131, Southern Hist. Association.

- (a) Ethelbert⁵ Barksdale, who married Frances Whiless,
 - (b) William⁵ Barksdale (d. young, unmarried).
- (4) Ethelbert⁴ Barksdale, Journalist, removed early to Mississippi. Member first and second Confederate Congresses, from Mississippi, Presidential elector 1876, member 48th and 49th Congresses. "Barksdale was the ablest paragraph writer the state has ever afforded. In person he was small, and his manner was grave and dignified."* Resided in Jackson, Miss., and with J. L. Power published *The Mississippian*, the leading paper of its time, in that state.

He married Alice Harris, and had:

- (a) Harris⁵ Barksdale, who married Mary Craig.
 - (b) Edwin⁵ Barksdale, who married twice, his second wife being Jennie Charlton.
 - (c) Ethel⁵ Barksdale, who married Dr. G. K. Harrington, of Jackson, Miss.
8. Sterling Henry³ Lester (b. June 4, 1798, in Charlotte County, Virginia, d. in Jackson, Miss., in 1876), married (first) in Davidson Co., Tenn., June 15, 1824, Martha Ann Wharton (b. March 8, 1808), daughter of William and Judith Wharton. Sterling Henry³ Lester was Clerk of Court of Giles County, Tenn., and later Clerk of Lowndes County, Miss. Married (second), Mary Todd, of Maury County, Tennessee.

Issue by the first marriage:

- (1) Mary Eliza⁴ Lester (d. in childhood).
- (2) William Wharton⁴ Lester, married Feb. 9, 1858, Elizabeth J. Walker, at one time editor *Sun and Sentinel*, Vicksburg, Miss. Later resided at Branchville, Md.

They had:

- (a) Mattie Wharton⁵ Lester (dead).
- (b) Annie⁵ Lester, married Frank Olmstead.
- (c) Ethel B.⁵ Lester, married James Mallison, of Birmingham, England.

*Vol. I, 131, Southern Hist. Association.

- (d) Wharton E.⁵ Lester, married Mrs. Kate Baker, *nee* Walker, of Baltimore, Md.
- (e) Walker Beard⁵ Lester.
- (f) Grace D.⁵ Lester.
- (g) Delia E.⁵ Lester.
- (3) Sterling Henry⁴ Lester, Jr. (killed in the Civil War).
Issue by second marriage:
 - (1) German⁴ Lester, killed at Cold Harbor.
 - (2) Sarah⁴ Lester, married Judge Robert Bowman, of Yazoo City, Miss., and had:
 - (a) Robert⁵ Bowman.
 - (b) Lee⁵ Bowman.
 - (3) Lucy⁴ Lester,
 - (4) James⁴ Lester,
 - (5) Andrew⁴ Lester,
 - (6) Mary⁴ Lester,
 - (7) Christopher⁴ Lester,
 - (8) Henry⁴ Lester,
 - (9) Bryant⁴ Lester,
 - (10) Ida Wallace⁴ Lester,
 - (11) Bernard⁴ Lester,
 - (12) John⁴ Lester.

Bryant² Lester, son of Bryant¹ Lester (b. in Lunenburg County, lived and died there at an advanced age). He married Alice Hooper. They had:

1. Frances³ Lester (b. Nov. 19, 1774), married one Welch.
2. Richard³ Lester (b. March 25, 1776, d. 1858), at one time resided in Atlanta, Ga.
3. Bryant³ Lester (b. May 28, 1778, d. 1854), lived and died in Lunenburg County, Va.
4. Nancy³ Lester (b. Aug. 29, 1790, d. 1860), married William Smithson.
5. Henry³ Lester (b. Nov. 23, 1782), removed to Kentucky.
6. Mary³ Lester (b. April 29, 1786), married (first) her first cousin Frank Smithson, and (second) one Crenshaw, and moved to Kentucky.

7. Charlotte³ Lester (b. Sept. 16, 1788), married Philip Cheaney (d. in Kentucky).
8. Frederick³ Lester (b. Feb. 16, 1794, d. Oct. 5, 1871), lived and died in Lunenburg County, Va., married (M. B. dated Nov. 27, 1826), Martha Ann Craghead, daughter of William Craghead, of Lunenburg County, and had:
 - (1) Sterling Henry⁴ Lester (b. Sept. 17, 1827, in Va., d. in May, 1877, in Kentucky). Never married.
 - (2) Missouri Frances⁴ Lester (b. Feb. 6, 1829, d. Aug. 17, 1851, in Virginia), married A. A. Erambert, and had:
 - (a) Mary⁵ Erambert, who died in Kentucky.
 - (3) William Bryant⁴ Lester (b. Feb. 28, 1831), married Ellen Echols.
 - (4) Sarah Elizabeth⁴ Lester (b. Sept. 4, 1832), married J. B. Lester, of Henderson, Ky.
 - (5) Areila Williamson⁴ Lester (b. Oct. 21, 1834), married G. P. Pruitt, of Henderson, Ky.
 - (6) George Craghead⁴ Lester (b. Oct. 29, 1837), married _____ Watts, in Virginia, moved to Kentucky.
 - (7) Louisa Adelaide⁴ Lester (b. June 28, 1840, d. June 7, 1876), married James Norment, of Kentucky.
 - (8) Emma Madeline⁴ Lester (b. Sept. 26, 1842), married Thomas B. Cheatham, of Henderson, Ky.
9. Benjamin Franklin³ Lester (b. Dec. 9, 1798, d. 1867), emigrated to Kentucky.
10. Whitfield³ Lester (b. March 19, 1801), married Elizabeth E. Hatchett.* (M. B. in Lunenburg Co., dated Oct. 9, 1826.)

Archibald² Lester, son of Bryant¹ Lester (b. June 4, 1761, in Lunenburg County, Va., d. Oct. 31, 1826), married by James Shelburne, 1785 (M. B. dated May 12, 1785), Elizabeth Crymes (d. Jan. 24, 1826), of Lunenburg County, Va. Removed about 1805 to Greenville District, South Carolina, settled about twelve miles southeast of present town of Greenville, and there spent the remainder of his life.

They had: (Children all born in Lunenburg County, Va.).

*This name is incorrectly given as Hatcher, in Dr. Owen's Genealogy in Vol. I, of the Southern Hist. Asso.

1. Rebecca³ Lester, who married her first cousin Louis Cantalou, and had six children, two of whom reached maturity:
 - (1) Peter⁴ Cantalou, who married Anne Cogburn, of Edgefield District, S. C., who removed first to Louisiana, then to Texas. They had children.
 - (2) Eliza⁴ Cantalou, who married William Frazier, of Edgefield District, S. C., removed to Montgomery, Ala., where he died.

They had: one son, six daughters. One of the daughters Mary⁵ Frazier, married Dr. Junius Dillard, and had Albert J.⁶ Dillard, a Journalist of Montgomery, Ala.
2. Mary³ Lester, married Paschal Rutledge, of Lunenburg County, Virginia, and emigrated to Marion, Ala. They left several children.
3. Ermin³ Lester, married Thomas Greene. Both buried at Greenville, S. C. They left a family. A daughter:
 - (1) Caroline⁴ Greene married Matthew Gray, and had:
 - (a) General J. Walter⁵ Gray.
4. Alice³ Lester (b. circa 1793, d. circa 1852), married Daniel Beacham (b. circa 1783, d. circa 1838), son of Wm. Beacham of Ireland. They are buried at the Archibald Lester burial ground on Gilder's Creek, near Greenville, S. C.

They had:

- (1) Mary Winbush⁴ Beacham (b. 1814), married James Cannon, and removed to Calhoun County, Ala.
- (2) William Archibald⁴ Beacham, who married Mary Montgomery, of Greenville Dist., S. C.
- (3) Hartwell Lowery⁴ Beacham (d. March, 1892—buried at Greer's Depot, S. C.), married Louisa Shepherd of Greenville, S. C., and had (among others):
 - (a) William C.⁵ Beacham, cashier Peoples Bank, Greenville, S. C.
- (4) Philip Franklin⁴ Beacham, who married Nancy Wright, of N. C.—(both died 1862, buried at Jacksonville, Ala.).

- (5) Amanda Adeline⁴ Beacham, who married William Laird, of Ala.
- (6) Louisa Melissa⁴ Beacham (b. Feb. 17, 1824, d. Apr. 27, 1866), married Nov. 6, 1845, George Shuford (b. May 5, 1817, d. April 9, 1891—near Brevard, N. C.), son of David and Sarah (Orr) Shuford, and had:
- (a) Talula Waverline⁵ Shuford (b. Jan. 28, 1846), married Oct. 6, 1869, Alfred Erwin Gash.
 - (b) John Elkanah⁵ Shuford (b. Nov. 26, 1847), married Jessie Patton, of LaFayette, Ga.
 - (c) Daniel Capers⁵ Shuford (b. Feb. 2, 1850, d. March 13, 1901,—near married).
 - (d) David Cary⁵ Shuford (b. Dec. 23, 1852, d. Feb. 19, 1884,—never married—killed in cyclone at Chappells, S. C.).
 - (e) George Archibald⁵ Shuford (b. Aug. 1, 1855—dead), lawyer, Judge, married Dec. 27, 1892, Julia Dean, and had:
 - (aa) George Adams⁶ Shuford (b. Sept. 5, 1895), lawyer; married June 8, 1922, Dorothy Agell (d. Aug. 13, 1926), of Brooklyn, N. Y., and had:
 - I George Adams⁷ Shuford, Jr. (b. June 5, 1923, d. Aug. 13, 1926).
 - II Dorothy Louise⁷ Shuford (b. Aug. 11, 1925, d. Aug. 13, 1926.*
 - (bb) Mary Frances⁶ Shuford (b. May 23, 1897).
- (7) Christianna Elizabeth⁴ Beacham, married (first) Columbus Orr, of N. C., (second) Perry Moore, Greer's Depot, S. C., and had a son:
- (a) Waverly C.⁵ Moore, lived in Birmingham, Ala.
- (8) Margaret⁴ Beacham, married Marcus Carpenter, of Harden, N. C.
- (9) Alice Elvira⁴ Beacham (b. 1830), married Tandy Goodlett, of Traveller's Rest, N. C.

*Mrs. Shuford and her two children were killed in a wreck on the Long Island Railroad.

5. Philip Crymes³ Lester (b. April 14, 1794, d. May 1, 1862), married Oct. 16, 1817, his first cousin Nancy Crymes (b. Oct. 23, 1794, d. March 5, 1859), daughter of George and Nancy (Dudley) Crymes.

They had:

- (1) Thomas Crymes⁴ Lester (b. June 10, 1821, d. Nov. 1854), physician, Asheville, N. C., married Anne Hap-poldt, and had:
 - (a) Eva⁵ Lester, who married C. A. David, Green-ville, S. C.
 - (2) William Francis⁴ Lester (b. Feb. 14, 1823), married (first) Mary E. Walker, (second) Sallie Crook, daugh-ter of Dr. A. B. Crook; one child by second marriage:
 - (a) Nannie⁵ Lester, married Dr. Black, of Green-ville, S. C.
 - (3) Elizabeth⁴ Lester (b. Dec. 26, 1824), married Thomas Lowery Fowler, and had four children, one of whom married Daniel Bolton, of Columbia, S. C.
 - (4) Archibald H.⁴ Lester (b. June 12, 1828), married, (first), Maggie Miller; (second), Susan J. McCol-lough, of Williamsburg, S. C.; (third), Mrs. Harriet Rowland Fleming, *nee* Walker. There were three children by the second marriage, one of whom was:
 - (a) Dr. William McCullough⁵ Lester, of Columbia, S. C.
 - (5) Nancy Dudley⁴ Lester (b. Nov. 19, 1830, d. Sept. 5, 1888, in Pine Bluff, Ark.), married L. B. Austin, of N. C.
 - (6) George Washington⁴ Lester (b. July 30, 1833), mar-ried Carrie Drummond, of Spartanburg Dist., S. C.
6. Hartwell³ Lester (d. at Cassville, Ga.), who married (first) Elizabeth Ann Beacham, sister of Daniel Beacham, who married Alice Lester; (second), Mahala _____.
- (1) Harriet⁴ Lester, daughter of the second marriage, married Colonel Moseley, of Greenville, S. C.
7. Permelia ("Mildred")³ Lester (b. May 10, 1801, d. in 1852), married; (first), Oct. 14, 1819, George Stairley, (b. Sept. 7, 1783); son of George Stairley (killed in the

Revolutionary War), and his wife Mary Ursula Eichelberger (b. May 1, 1760, d. Oct. 25, 1858), of Newberry, S. C. Married (second) March 17, 1839, Dr. William Rabe, of Germany.

Issue by first marriage: (George Stairley):

- (1) Benjamin Franklin⁴ Stairley (b. Nov. 25, 1820), married Elizabeth K. Stone; seven children.
- (2) Mary Elizabeth⁴ Stairley (b. Nov. 9, 1822), married (first), Nov. 15, 1853, James Henry Brockman (b. July 19, 1822, d. Sept. 15, 1844), son of Col. Thomas Patterson Brockman, and his wife Mary Kilgore; (second), Lauchlen McAuley.

Issue by first marriage:

- (a) Tallulah James⁵ Brockman, who married Nov. 13, 1866, John Hollis Bankhead (son of James Bankhead, and his wife Susan Fleming Hallis, of Marion Co., Ala.), representative in the 50th and the nine succeeding Congresses, 6th Ala. District; appointed, and subsequently elected to fill the vacancy in the U. S. Senate caused by the death of John T. Morgan; took his seat June 18, 1907.

They had:

- (aa) Louise B.⁶ Bankhead, who married Col. William H. Perry, Greenville, S. C., who had:

- (I) Tallulah Louise⁷ Perry,
- (II) William H.⁷ Perry, Jr.

- (bb) Marie Susan⁶ Bankhead, who married Thomas McAdory Owen,* of Jefferson County, Ala., Director of the Department of Archives and History of the State of Ala.

They had:

- (I) Thomas M.⁷ Owen, Jr.
- (II) John H. B.⁷ Owen.

*Dr. Owen is the author of the account of the Bryant Lester descendants in Vol. I, 127-137, of the publications of the Southern History Association, from which this account is largely taken. Credit is cordially given him for the principal value of this account of the Lester family.

- (cc) John Hollis⁶ Bankhead, Jr., who married Musa Harkins, and had:
 - (I) Marion⁷ Bankhead.
- (dd) William Brockman⁶ Bankhead.
- (ee) Henry McAuley⁶ Bankhead.

Issue by the second marriage:

- (a) A son⁵ (d. young).
- (b) Virginia Tocoa ("Pearl")⁵ McAuley (d. March 11, 1883), married Dr. Thomas Moore, and had:
 - (aa) Ethel Elise⁶ Moore,
 - (bb) Maude Ellen⁶ Moore.

Issue by second marriage: (William Rabe).

- (1) Francisco Louisa⁴ Rabe (b. April 16, 1840), married Dec. 22, 1859, Henry Barroilhet. (No children.)
- (2) Virginia Rosalie⁴ Rabe (b. Aug. 7, 1842), married: (first), James Fuller. (No children.) (Second), George Shipley, and had:
 - (a) Paul⁵ Shipley, San Mateo, California.

MACFARLAND

The available data respecting this family, while meagre, are too valuable to be wholly neglected, and are here given in the hope that they will be of aid to any future student of this genealogy.

The immigrant ancestor of this family was a Scotsman, who settled in Lunenburg. He was:

James¹ Macfarland, who married Elizabeth Smith (widow Lahead), daughter of Abraham Smith, of Dinwiddie County, Virginia. They had:

1. William H.² Macfarland (b. Feb., 1799, in Lunenburg County, d. Jan., 1872, at his country home "Glencoe" in Greenbrier County, West Virginia). He was educated at William and Mary College; lawyer, represented Lunenburg in the legislature in 1830-31; member of the Secession Convention of 1861, from Richmond; President of the Farmers Bank of Richmond, until it was burned in 1865; of counsel for Jefferson Davis, in the charge of treason

against him. He was twice married: First to a Miss Roberts, of Norfolk, Va., no issue; second, on April 16, 1835, to Nancy Beirne, daughter of Andrew Beirne, of "Walnut Grove," Monroe County, Virginia (now West Virginia). They had:

- (1) Elizabeth³ Macfarland, married Randolph Barksdale, M. D.
 - (2) Susan² Macfarland (never married).
 - (3) William H.³ Macfarland, married and had two daughters.
 - (4) Ellen Turner³ Macfarland, who married J. Willcox Brown (d. Feb., 1914), of Petersburg, Va., and had a large family, of whom five daughters and two sons were living in 1915.
2. James² Macfarland.
 3. Malcolm² Macfarland, represented Lunenburg in the legislature in 1828-29, and 1829-30.
 4. Ann² Macfarland, who married Dr. Sterling Neblett. (See Neblett Genealogy herein).

MAY—HARRISON

HARRISON

No attempt at a genealogy of the Harrison family will be made, but a sufficient outline of the descent of the wife of George² May (Anna Fitzhugh), from Benjamin¹ Harrison will be prefaced to show the distinguished line to which their descendants are entitled.

Benjamin¹ Harrison, the first of the family of whom there is authentic record in Virginia, secured a patent for a tract of land on Warrosquiveke Creek, July 7, 1635; he served as Clerk of the Virginia Council about 1629; was a Burgess in 1642, and died in 1648, leaving his widow Mary surviving him.

His son Benjamin² Harrison (b. Sept. 20, 1645, d. Jan. 30, 1712), of Surry County, Va., was sent to England as Commissioner of the Colony against Commissary Blair; was an influential member of the King's Council. He married Hannah Churchill (b. Feb. 13, 1651, d. Feb. 16, 1698).

His son Nathaniel³ Harrison (b. Aug. 8, 1677, d. Nov. 30, 1727), of *Wakefield*, Surry County, Virginia, member of the Council 1712, married Mary Cary, daughter of Honorable John and Alice (Hobson) Cary, of Bristol, England.

His son Nathaniel⁴ Harrison (birth and death dates not known), of *Brandon*, Surry County, Virginia, married, Aug. 23, 1739, Mary Digges (b. 1717, d. Nov. 12, 1743), daughter of Colonel Cole and Elizabeth (Power) Digges. Col. Cole Digges was County Lieutenant, a Burgess, member of the Council, and President thereof.

His daughter Elizabeth⁵ Harrison, married January 31, 1760, Major John Fitzhugh, of Stafford County, Virginia, son of Major John and Ann Barbara (McCarty) Fitzhugh.

And their daughter, Anna⁶ Fitzhugh married George² May, as shown below.

There is scarcely anything in the line of honorary or patriotic societies to which the descendants of George May and Anna Fitzhugh may not justly claim eligibility. Not all came through the Harrisons, but many through the notable families with which they were allied, as shown above. The Harrison family, one of the most notable of Virginia, which gave the country two Presidents, was scarcely more distinguished than were those of the wives of many members of the family in different generations.

MAY

John¹ May, Clerk of the Vestry of Bristol Parish in 1740, married about 1735, Agnes Smith.

They had issue:

1. John² May (b. 1737),
2. Betsy² May (b. Nov., 1739),
3. Richard² May (b. Dec. 20, 1743),
4. Stephen² May (b. Nov. 15, 1745),
5. David² May (b. May 15, 1747),
6. Agnes² May (b. Sept. 6, 1749),
7. William² May (b. Oct., 1752),
8. George² May (b. Feb. 6, 1756, d. May 26, 1822).

George² May (b. Feb. 6, 1756, d. May 26, 1822), married, 1783, Anna, daughter of John and Elizabeth (Harrison) Fitzhugh (b. May 27, 1765, d. Sept. 22, 1805).*

They had issue:

1. John Fitzhugh³ May (b. July 22, 1784, d. July 21, 1858); Judge, member Legislature.
2. George³ May (b. Oct. 28, 1786, d. in infancy).
3. Benjamin Harrison³ May (M. D.) (b. Nov. 9, 1788, d. Jan. 31, 1857), unmarried.
4. George William³ May (b. Sept. 12, 1790).
5. Richard³ May (M. D.) (b. Sept. 3, 1792, d. 1842).
6. Elizabeth Fitzhugh³ May (b. Dec. 13, 1794, d. Jan. 20, 1859), married Dr. George Cabell.
7. David³ May (b. Sept. 9, 1796, d. Dec. 24, 1870), vestryman, lawyer, married Feb. 11, 1829, at "Bonnsville," Marion Ward, daughter of Gen. John Pegram.
8. James³ May (M. D.) (b. April 11, 1798), married Charlotte, daughter of Trent Eggleston.
9. Joseph Evelyn³ May (M. D.) (b. Nov. 26, 1800, d. July 16, 1866, in Alabama).
10. Lucy Anna³ May (b. Nov. 23, 1802), married Aug. 29, 1820, John Olmstead Lay.
11. Henry³ May (M. D.) (b. March 30, 1804), married Julia, daughter of Peter Jones.
12. Mary Anna³ May (b. Sept. 18, 1805).

Judge John Fitzhugh³ May, married, October 14, 1807, Margaret Bothwick, daughter of Theophilus and Martha Rosalie (Lanier) Field.

They had issue:

1. Anna Fitzhugh⁴ May (d. Feb., 1834).
2. Martha Rosalie⁴ May.
3. Evelyn Harrison⁴ May, married, 1st, Judge Thomas H. Bayley, M. C.; 2nd, John Perkins, Judge and M. C. from Louisiana.

*For date of birth, see duBellet, *Virginia Families*, 2, p. 566; for date of death, see Slaughter's *Bristol Parish*, p. 188.

4. Margaret Field⁴ May, married William T. Joynes, Judge Court of Appeals of Virginia.

5. Mary Louisa⁴ May.

Evelyn Harrison⁴ May, married Thomas H. Bayley.

They had issue:

1. Anna May⁵ Bayley,

2. Evelyn May⁵ Bayley, married Jan., 1859, Dr. McLane Tiffany, Prof. Medical College, Baltimore, Md.

David³ May (b. Sept. 9, 1796, d. Dec. 24, 1870), married Marion Ward, daughter of Gen. John Pegram.

They had:

1. John Pegram⁴ May (Major) (b. Nov. 18, 1829), married Mary Dandridge, daughter of Dr. Nathaniel Harrison of "Puddledock," killed at second battle of Manassas.

2. Virginia Evelyn⁴ May (d. in infancy).

3. Anna Maria⁴ May (b. Nov., 1832), married R. H. Baker, son of Judge R. H. Baker, of Norfolk, Va.

4. David Fitzhugh⁴ May (M. D.), married, 1st, Sarah, daughter of Edward Watkins, of "Presque Isle"; 2nd, Sarah, daughter of William Smith, of Prince George County, Va.

5. James⁴ May (b. Nov. 11, 1837, d. June, 1876).

6. Benjamin Harrison⁴ May (d. May 16, 1864, of wounds received at Spotsylvania C. H.).

7. George Henry⁴ May (d. May 19, 1863, of wounds received at battle of second Manassas).

8. Lucy Ward⁴ May, married, Feb. 16, 1865, Captain John D. Young.

Major John Pegram⁴ May (b. Nov. 18, 1829), married Mary Dandridge Harrison, daughter of Dr. Nathaniel Harrison.

They had:

1. Nathaniel Harrison⁵ May, married Margaret King.

2. David⁵ May.

3. Mariah⁵ May, married Powhatan Breeden, of Richmond.

4. William Joynes⁵ May.

5. John Fitzhugh⁵ May.

6. Charles Edward⁵ May.

Anna Maria⁴ May, married Judge Richard H. Baker.

They had:

1. Maria May⁵ Baker, married John Burroughs.
2. Lelia Barraud⁵ Baker.
3. Richard H.⁵ Baker.
4. Kate⁵ Baker.
5. Lucy Lee⁵ Baker.
6. Benjamin May⁵ Baker.
7. Emily⁵ Baker.

Dr. David Fitzhugh⁴ May married, 2nd, Sarah Smith.

They had:

1. Nannie Elva⁵ May.
2. James⁵ May (b. Nov. 11, 1837, d. June, 1876).

Lucy Ward⁴ May, married Captain John D. Young.

They had:

1. David May⁵ Young,
2. John Pegram⁵ Young,
3. Richard Alexander⁵ Young,
4. James May⁵ Young,
5. Margaret Joynes⁵ Young,
6. Lucy Fitzhugh⁵ Young,
7. George Evelyn⁵ Young,
8. Hugh Walker⁵ Young.

Dr. James³ May (b. Apr. 11, 1798), married Charlotte Eggleston, daughter of Trent Eggleston.

They had:

1. Evelyn Harrison⁴ May, who married John W. Wolz.
2. Mary Eggleston⁴ May, who married William N. Bell.

Lucy Anna³ May (b. Nov. 23, 1802), married, August 29, 1820, John Olmstead Lay.

They had:

1. George William⁴ Lay (b. Nov. 26, 1820), married Henrietta Campbell, daughter of Judge John Campbell.

2. Henry Champlain⁴ Lay, Bishop of Diocese of Eastern Maryland, married Elizabeth W. Atkinson, daughter of Roger Atkinson, of Lunenburg County.
3. John Fitzhugh⁴ Lay (b. Nov. 22, 1826), Judge; married Caroline McCaw.
4. Anna Fitzhugh⁴ Lay (b. May 13, 1829), married Edward Watkins, son of Edward Watkins of "Presque Isle."
5. Conway Macon⁴ Lay (d. in infancy).

Bishop Henry Champlain⁴ Lay, married Elizabeth W. Atkinson. They had:

1. Henry Champlain⁵ Lay,
2. George⁵ Lay,
3. Beirne⁵ Lay,
4. Louisa⁵ Lay.

Judge John Fitzhugh⁴ Lay (b. Nov. 22, 1826), married Caroline McCaw.

They had:

1. David McCaw⁵ Lay,
2. Lucy⁵ Lay,
3. Caroline⁵ Lay,
4. Thomas⁵ Lay,
5. Elizabeth Fitzhugh⁵ Lay,
6. Georgiana⁵ Lay,
7. Anna Fitzhugh⁵ Lay.

Anna Fitzhugh⁴ Lay (b. May 13, 1829), married Edward Watkins, son of Edward Watkins, of "Presque Isle."

They had:

1. Edward⁵ Watkins,
2. Henry Champlain Lay⁵ Watkins,
3. Evelyn⁵ Watkins.

Dr. Henry³ May (b. March 30, 1804), married Julia Jones, daughter of Peter Jones.

They had:

1. John Randolph⁴ May, married Lucy Orgain, daughter of John Orgain.

2. Anna Fitzhugh⁴ May, married Major Thomas C. Elder.
3. Lucy Emma⁴ May, married Dr. Benjamin M. Atkinson, son of Roger Atkinson.
4. Margaret Field⁴ May, married George C. Jackson.
5. Richard Henry⁴ May.
6. David⁴ May, married Eloise Stuart Bissell, of St. Louis, Mo.
7. George William⁴ May.
8. Sarah O.⁴ May.
9. Benjamin Harrison⁴ May.

Richard Henry⁴ May was for many years County Superintendent of Public Schools for Lunenburg. He died at Lunenburg C. H., while an incumbent of that office.

Benjamin Harrison⁴ May known throughout Lunenburg County as "Ben" May, was for many years a resident of Lunenburg C. H., where he was proprietor of a hotel. He subsequently resided at Burkeville for many years.

Anna Fitzhugh⁴ May (b. May 26, 1834, at Lunenburg C. H.), dau. of Dr. Henry May and Julia Jones, married, March 17, 1857, Major Thomas Claybrook Elder (b. Apr. 16, 1834), of Lunenburg County, Va., who subsequently removed to Staunton, Virginia, where they resided until his death.

They had:

1. Julia May⁵ Elder, of Staunton, Va.
2. Annie Elizabeth⁵ Elder, of Staunton, Va.
3. Grace⁵ Elder, of Staunton, Va.
4. Florence Claybrook⁵ Elder, of Staunton, Va.
5. Lucy⁵ Elder, who died in early girlhood.
6. Eloise⁵ Elder, who died in early girlhood.
7. Fitzhugh⁵ Elder, who married Sophie E. Luttgen, of Pennsylvania. He is a lawyer, and is trust officer for the Augusta National Bank, Staunton, Va.

They have two children:

- (1) Nancy Morris⁶ Elder,
- (2) Fitzhugh⁶ Elder, Jr.
8. Thomas Claybrook⁵ Elder, Jr., who married Pauline R. May (not related), of Port Republic, Va. He is Assistant In-

spector General U. S. A., Washington, D. C. They have one child:

(1) Clarence M.⁶ Elder.

In addition to these eight children there were two others who died in infancy.

Lucy Emma⁴ May, dau. of Dr. Henry May and Julia Jones, married Dr. Benjamin M. Atkinson.

They had:

1. Julia May⁵ Atkinson,
2. Lucy Timberlake⁵ Atkinson,
3. Roger⁵ Atkinson,
4. Sarah Glenn⁵ Atkinson,
5. Margaret Field⁵ Atkinson,
6. Emma May⁵ Atkinson,
7. Thomas⁵ Atkinson,
8. Elizabeth⁵ Atkinson.

Margaret Field⁴ May, dau. of Dr. Henry May and Julia Jones, married, 1st, George C. Jackson; 2nd, Judge William T. Joynes.

By her marriage to George C. Jackson she had:

1. Henry May⁵ Jackson.

By the marriage with Judge Wm. T. Joynes she had:

1. Thomas Robinson⁵ Joynes, who married Kate Hardy Wynne, dau. of Hon. Thomas Hicks Wynne and his wife Minerva S. Walker.

They had:

1. Minerva Wynne⁶ Joynes.
2. William T.⁶ Joynes.

Note:

Major Thomas Claybrook Elder, who married Anna Fitzhugh May, was, as stated, of the Lunenburg family of Elders. Soon after his marriage he removed to Staunton, Virginia, where during the remainder of his life he held high rank at the bar. He was a son of Brooker Elder and Elizabeth Hawthorne.

Besides Major Thomas Claybrook Elder, Brooker Elder and

Elizabeth (Hawthorne) Elder had other children as follows: Dr. William Elder and Dr. John Elder.

Dr. William Elder married Pattie E. Hardy, of Lunenburg County. They had two children, Patty Elder and Willie Elder. Pattie married a Mr. White, of Accomack, and they have one son and two daughters. Willie married Edwin B. Diehl, of Sutherland, Virginia. They have two daughters.

After the death of Dr. William Elder, his brother Dr. John Elder married his widow. They had one son and a number of daughters.

NEBLETT

The Neblett family of Lunenburg is descended from Frances Neblett (d. 1777-8), whose wife was named Elizabeth. This excellent family deserves a more complete genealogy than can be here presented. Probably the material for it is in existence, and we have hopefully awaited its appearance. In very properly declining to give this writer the results of his researches (pursuant to an application made to him at the suggestion of a member of the family), Mr. William Clayton Torrence, in 1913, stated that he had the material for a fairly complete history of the Neblett family which he had gathered and which he intended using in his own work. His work apparently has never appeared. It is to be hoped, however, that he has not given up the idea of publishing it, for he is a skilled genealogist, and such a work from his hand would be a contribution of first importance to the genealogical history of Lunenburg and the Southside.

Frances¹ Neblett (d. 1777-8), wife named Elizabeth, had:

1. William² Neblett.
2. Sterling² Neblett (M. B. dated Sept. 23, 1797), married (1st), Mary Chappell, (2nd) Betsy Coleman.
3. John² Neblett (the Methodist Minister), emigrated to Tennessee.
4. Elizabeth² Neblett, who married one Orgain.
5. Sally² Neblett, who married one Allen.
6. Lucy² Neblett.

Sterling² Neblett (b. 1753—Will dated 1829, probated 1832), son of Frances¹ Neblett, was (it seems), married twice. His

first wife was Mary Chappell. In Lunenburg County is a marriage bond dated Sept. 23, 1797, for the marriage of Sterling Neblett to Betsy Coleman. This seems the second wife of Sterling² Neblett, at least no other Sterling Neblett is found who seems to "qualify" as to age, etc., for this marriage. His children (presumably all by his first marriage), were:

1. Rebecca M.³ Neblett, who married Nov. 19, 1800, Joseph Hutcheson.
2. Mary S.³ Neblett, who married June 12, 1812, Henry Hardy.
3. Dolly³ Neblett, who married William Dobie.
4. Elizabeth³ Neblett, who married Oct. 5, 1809, Thomas Eldridge.
5. Nathaniel³ Neblett.
6. James³ Neblett.
7. Dr. Sterling³ Neblett, Sr. (b. Sept. 22, 1792, d. Nov. 16, 1871, at Brickland), married Aug. 16, 1821, Ann S. Macfarland (b. July 19, 1802, d. Aug. 23, 1887, at Brickland).

They had:

- (1) Dr. Sterling⁴ Neblett, Jr., who married (first) Dec. 10, 1851 (M. B. in Charlotte Co., dated Nov. 13, 1851), Clarissa R. Green, daughter of William B. Green, of Charlotte County, Va., (second), May 9, 1866, Sallie Blackwell.
- (2) William J.⁴ Neblett, who married (first), May 25, —, Ann Green, daughter of William B. Green, of Charlotte County, and (second), Josephine (Carter) Stokes, widow of David R. Stokes. (No issue by second marriage.)
- (3) Robert⁴ Neblett, who married Dec. 22, 1852, Mary Gilliam of Dinwiddie County, Virginia.
- (4) Henry Martin⁴ Neblett, who married Feb. 8, 1871, Annie Wilkins. (Resided in Louisiana.)
- (5) Norman M.⁴ Neblett (b. June 8, 1839), who married Aug. 15, 1872, Fannie T. Matthews, daughter of Nathaniel Matthews, and sister of Representative Nathaniel Matthews.

- (6) Nannie⁴ Neblett (Ann S.⁴ Neblett) (never married, d. Feb. 11, 1912, at Brickland).
- (7) Colin⁴ Neblett (b. Aug. 3, 1832, d. March 5, 1906), married Oct. 24, 1855, Victoria Garland.

The descent of Mary Chappell, the first wife of Sterling² Neblett, was as follows:

Henry¹ Briggs, of Southwark Parish, Surry County (b. 1635, d. 1685) (wife named Mary), had:

Henry² Briggs (b. 1662, d. 1739), of Southwark Parish, Surry County, who married, and had:

Elizabeth³ Briggs, who married James Chappell, of Albemarle Parish, and Sussex County (b. circa 1694, d. Feb. 12, 1769), vestryman, sheriff, son of Thomas Chappell and his wife Elizabeth Jones, of Prince Edward County, daughter of James Jones. They had:

James⁴ Chappell (b. circa 1720, d. 1778), magistrate; of Albemarle Parish, Surry County. He married Elizabeth Briggs, and they had:

Mary Chappell⁵ who married Sterling² Neblett.

Elizabeth Briggs, who married James⁴ Chappell, was a descendant of Henry¹ Briggs, as follows:

Henry¹ Briggs had:

Samuel² Briggs (b. circa 1676, d. 1737), of Surry County, who married Mary Bagby, daughter of Edward Bagby, of Surry County, nephew of Honorable George Jordan, Attorney General of Virginia (1670). They had:

William³ Briggs (d. 1748), of Albemarle Parish, Surry County, who married Mary Cook, daughter of William Cook and his wife Rebecca Jones, sister of Elizabeth Jones, wife of Thomas Chappell. They had:

Elizabeth⁴ Briggs, who, as stated, married James⁴ Chappell.

Rebecca M.³ Neblett (some give her name as Rebecca C. Neblett), daughter of Sterling² Neblett and Mary Chappell, married Nov. 19, 1800, Joseph Hutcheson, son of Charles Hutcheson and his wife Frances Collier, of Mecklenburg County, Virginia, and had:

1. James Nathaniel⁴ Hutcheson, who died, unmarried, in 1834, in Mississippi.
2. Mary C.⁴ Hutcheson, who married April 6, 1825, Charles C. Phillips, and moved to Gibson County, Tennessee.
3. Charles Sterling⁴ Hutcheson (d. 1881, in Mecklenburg Co.), who married November 12, 1823, Mary M. Hutcheson, daughter of Capt. John Hutcheson. He was member of the House of Delegates 1843-44, and Presiding Justice of the County Court.
4. Frances C.⁴ Hutcheson, who married Nov. 13, 1823, William Stone, and moved to Gibson County, Tenn.
5. Elizabeth Caroline⁴ Hutcheson, who married William Pride and moved to Dallas County, Arkansas.
6. Rebecca A.⁴ Hutcheson, who married Oct. 13, 1833, William Brown, and moved to Gibson County, Tennessee.
7. Eveline S.⁴ Hutcheson, who married in 1838, John A. Butler, and moved to Dallas County, Arkansas.
8. Joseph Collier⁴ Hutcheson (d. 1890, in Mecklenburg Co., Va.), married Dec. 5, 1855, Ann Goode Farrar.

Dr. Sterling⁴ Neblett, Jr., married (first), Dec. 10, 1851, Clarissa R. Green; (second), May 9, 1866, Sallie Blackwell.

Issue by first marriage:

1. Sterling⁵ Neblett (b. Dec. 10, 1853, at Brickland), married Edmonia Bagley, daughter of Dr. Robert S. Bagley, and his wife Susan R. Stokes, daughter of Colin Stokes, and had:
 - (1) Natalie⁶ Neblett,
 - (2) Clifton⁶ Neblett.
2. Clement Read⁵ Neblett (b. Oct. 20, 1852, at Brickland), married Sallie Baskerville, and had:
 - (1) Clara⁶ Neblett, who married Colin Bagley, and had:
 - (a) Elise Neblett⁷ Bagley.
3. William Edwin⁵ Neblett (d. Aug. 29, 1856).

Issue by second marriage:

1. Malcolm M.⁵ Neblett (d. unmarried).
2. Mary Elizabeth⁵ Neblett (b. June 3, 1867, d. March 18, 1894), who married J. Thomas Saunders, and had:

- (1) Sterling Franklin⁶ Saunders (b. March 13, 1894, d. March 2, 1895).
3. Lucy⁵ Neblett, who married James Thomas Turner, and had:
 - (1) Benjamin Sterling⁶ Turner (b. Sept. 18, 1909, at Woodend).
 - (2) Blackwell Johnson⁶ Turner (b. Oct. 4, 1911, at Woodend).
 - (3) Thomas Humphreys⁶ Turner (b. May 1, 1914, at Woodend).
4. Sallie Blackwell⁵ Neblett (b. Oct. —, 1873), who married Nov. 15, 1893, at Woodend, Waverly S. Manson, son of Fletcher S. Manson, of Lunenburg County, and had:
 - (1) Eleanor Orgain⁶ Mason (b. Oct. 1, 1894, at Woodend).
 - (2) Fletcher Summerfield⁶ Manson (b. April 15, 1896, at Woodend).
 - (3) Mary Elizabeth⁶ Manson (b. July 9, 1898, at Woodend).
 - (4) Waverly Sidney⁶ Manson (b. Nov. 11, 1900, at Woodend).
 - (5) Sallie Blackwell⁶ Manson (b. 1902, d. July 27, 1903, at Woodend).
 - (6) Sallie Sterling⁶ Manson (b. Sept. 30, 1904, at Woodend).
 - (7) Malcolm Neblett⁶ Manson (b. Nov. 30, 1906, at Woodend).
 - (8) Milton Harris⁶ Manson (b. April 16, 1911, at Woodend).
5. Macfarland⁵ Neblett (b. Aug. 6, 1867).

William J.⁴ Neblett, married (first), May 25, —, Ann Green; (second), Josephine (Carter) Stokes, widow of David R. Stokes.

Issue by first marriage:

1. Cora B.⁵ Neblett (b. May 31, 1852, d. Sept. 30, 1861).
2. Anna⁵ Neblett (b. Feb. 14, 1854), who married (first), Dr. Littlepage Ingram, (second), T. W. Wood.
3. Kate⁵ Neblett (b. Aug. —, 1855), who married Nathaniel

Matthews, who at one time represented Lunenburg in the Legislature.

4. Douglas McFarland⁵ Neblett (b. Jan. 3, 1848, d. Nov. 9, 1875, unmarried—accidentally shot himself while hunting).
5. Sidney S.⁵ Neblett (b. Aug. 13, 1849), married Nov. 7, 1876, Nannie O. Matthews, daughter of Nathaniel Matthews, and sister of Representative Nathaniel Matthews.
6. William Edwin⁵ Neblett (b. Jan. 17, 1858, d. Dec. 9, 1911), attorney; for many years Commonwealth's Attorney of Lunenburg County; married, June 27, 1895, Rosa Cabell Hite, daughter of Dr. Benjamin Haynie Hite (b. 1837, d. 1912), and his wife (whom he married Aug. 1, 1860), Sarah Margaret Angelina Ogburn (b. 1841, d. 1916).

They had:

- (1) William Edwin⁶ Neblett, Jr. (b. June 1, 1896, at *Groveland*), Commonwealth attorney (1926), Lunenburg County.
 - (2) Benjamin Haynie⁶ Neblett (b. June 13, 1898, at *Groveland*), lawyer, associated with McAdoo, Neblett and O'Connor, Los Angeles, California.
 - (3) Norman Henry⁶ Neblett (b. Oct. 11, 1899, at Lunenburg, Virginia), residing in Florida.
 - (4) Sidney Smith⁶ Neblett (b. July 14, 1905, at Lunenburg, Virginia), residing in Los Angeles, Cal.
 - (5) Kathleen Wood⁶ Neblett (b. March 24, 1908, at Lunenburg, Va., d. Dec. 9, 1911).
7. James Macfarland⁵ Neblett (b. Jan. 6, 1860).
 8. Norman Henry⁵ Neblett (M. D.) (b. March 12, 1863), of "Inglewood," Lunenburg County, who married Lillian Henry Hite, daughter of Dr. Benjamin Haynie Hite and sister of Rosa Cabell Hite who married William Edwin Neblett.

They had:

- (1) Herbert Clarence⁶ Neblett.
- (2) William Haynie⁶ Neblett.
- (3) Elizabeth Green⁶ Neblett (b. Aug. 12, 1892), who married Aug. 1, 1912, William Clayton Torrence (b. June 7, 1884), and had:

(a) William Clayton⁷ Torrence (b. Aug. 17, 1913).

(4) Norman Henry⁶ Neblett (d. in infancy).

9. Charles McDonald⁵ Neblett (b. Jan. 21, 1868, at Kinderwood), who married Susan Haynie Hite, daughter of Dr. Benjamin Haynie Hite and sister of Rosa Cabell Hite, and Lillian Henry Hite, mentioned above.
10. Walter Clarence⁵ Neblett (b. Sept. 27, 1872, at Kinderwood), married Inez Broadwater, of Accomac County, Virginia.

Robert N.⁴ Neblett (b. Feb. 3, 1824), married Dec. 22, 1852, Mary Gilliam, of Dinwiddie County, Virginia, and had:

1. Eliza Goodwyn⁵ Neblett (b. Feb. 11, 1855), married Dr. Carter Haskins.
2. Robert Nathaniel⁵ Neblett (b. May 27, 1857).
3. John Gilliam⁵ Neblett (b. Sept. 18, 1859).
4. Mary Anna⁵ Neblett (b. June 17, 1864).

Colin⁴ Neblett (b. Aug. 3, 1832, d. March 5, 1906), married Oct. 24, 1855, Victoria Garland, and had:

1. Isabella⁵ Neblett (b. Dec. 23, 1856, at Longwood).
2. Annie Macfarland⁵ Neblett (b. Aug. 18, 1861).
3. James Hamilton⁵ Neblett (b. Sept. 8, 1863, d. April 22, 1893).
4. J. Tabb⁵ Neblett (b. Nov. 19, 1866, at Green Rock).

Norman Macfarland⁴ Neblett (b. June 8, 1839, d. Oct. 13, 1911, at Blackstone, Virginia), married Aug. 15, 1872, Fannie T. Matthews, daughter of Nathaniel Matthews, and sister of Representative Nathaniel Matthews. The wife of the older Nathaniel Matthews was Sarah Hatchett—presumably Sarah Jones⁵ Hatchett, daughter of Haynie Hatchett, of Woodhill (see Hatchett Genealogy). They had:

1. Nathaniel Francis⁵ Neblett (b. Aug. 22, 1873), who married Dec. 31, 1898, Annie Blackwell Manson, daughter of Fletcher and Ella Manson, of Lunenburg County, Va., and had:

Norman Fletcher⁶ Neblett (b. Nov. 4, 1899).

Sterling⁶ Neblett (b. April 9, 1903).

Anne Manson⁶ Neblett (b. Sept. 27, 1908).

Nathaniel Randolph⁶ Neblett (b. Oct. 3, 1910).

2. Colin⁵ Neblett (b. July 6, 1875), lawyer, removed to Santa Fe, N. M., appointed Judge of the Federal Court by President Wilson, married (at the age of 48—name of wife not ascertained); and had:

Coleen Virginia⁶ Neblett.

3. Norman Macfarland⁵ Neblett (b. March 15, 1877, d. Sept. 1919), married Jan. 3, 1907, Mrs. Virginia Orgain Gregory, daughter of Judge George C. Orgain, and had:

Virginia Macfarland⁶ Neblett (b. June, 1910).

Frances Rebecca⁶ Neblett (b. April, 1915).

4. Nannie Sterling⁵ Neblett (b. Feb. 15, 1879), married April 26, 1906, Thomas Everett Chambers, son of John Calhoun and Anna Cox Chambers, of Dinwiddie County, Va., and had:

Norma Macfarland⁶ Chambers (b. July 10, 1907).

Catherine Cox⁶ Chambers (b. Aug. 1, 1910).

Everett Sterling⁶ Chambers (b. June 23, 1912).

John Francis ("Frank")⁶ Chambers (b. Apr. 1, 1915).

Ruth Emma⁶ Chambers (b. Sept. 23, 1916).

Ann Neblett⁶ Chambers (b. Jan. 8, 1920).

5. John Luke⁵ Neblett (b. June 21, 1881), married Nov. 6, 1907, Emily Johnson, daughter of H. T. and M. C. Johnson of Chatham, Va., and had:

Coleman Francis⁶ Neblett.

John Luke⁶ Neblett.

Colin⁶ Neblett.

6. Sidney⁵ Neblett (b. Jan. 23, 1883), married Jan. 24, 1911, Anna Shell Jones, daughter of J. B. and Girdie Jones.

(No children.)

7. William Whittle⁵ Neblett (b. Feb. 6, 1886), married August 12, 1916, Mrs. Laura Rickard, daughter of Gus W. and Kate Allen of Keokuk, Iowa.

(No children.)

-
8. Fannie Bullock⁵ Neblett (b. May 4, 1889), married Sept., 1920, James Hope Bullock, son of James Hope and Lucy Meredith Bullock, of North Carolina, and had:
 - Norman Neblett⁶ Bullock (b. Sept. 1, 1919).
 - Lucy Perry⁶ Bullock (b. July 23, 1921).
 9. Norma Tucker⁵ Neblett (b. Nov. 29, 1892), married Dr. C. C. Tucker, son of George L. and Sanford Tucker. (No children—1927.)
 10. Haynie Matthews⁵ Neblett (b. May 29, 1894), married (name of wife not ascertained), and had:
 - Two children (1927), names not ascertained.

CHAPTER VIII

Lunenburg Cousins — Continued

GENEALOGIES

*Stokes-Street, Taylor, Watkins, Williamson,
Yates-Randolph-Cooksey.*

STOKES



HOTTEN'S *Lists* show that John Stoaks and his wife came to Virginia in the *Warwick* (p. 227), and he is shown in the muster of James City, taken January 24, 1624.

David Stokes owned one share of land at the east end of St. George's Island in 1662-63,* and Jonathan Stokes was a Lieutenant at Pagett's Fort on the small island near St. George's, 1662-63.†

William Stokes and Henry Stokes were among the Lunenburg soldiers in the French and Indian Wars (see Chapter V, Vol. I), William being a lieutenant.

The family was numerous in the Revolution: John Stokes, David C. Stokes, Jr., Young Stokes and several others of the immediate Lunenburg branch being among them.

Eight of the family served on the Old County Court during a period beginning in 1746, when the county was formed, and ending with the abolition of the Court in 1851.

Christopher¹ Stokes (in Virginia 1624), died before 1646. The minutes of the General Court 1624-1629‡ show that Christopher Stokes was a member of a coroner's jury December "ye XXXjth" 1624.

The evidence taken in the case shows that he had a son, William² Stokes (about five years old in 1624,—he was there—

*Hotten, p. 304.

†Hotten, p. 305.

‡Printed in the Va. Hist. Mag., Sec. Vol. 21, p. 145, et seq.

fire) born ca. 1619, and other evidence is that Christopher¹ Stokes,—besides the said William² Stokes, had three other sons. The four, probably in the order of their ages, were:

1. Christopher² Stokes,
2. William² Stokes,
3. Francis² Stokes,
4. Thomas² Stokes.

Christopher¹ Stokes is believed to have been of the family of Stokes of Stanshawes, Gloucestershire, England.*

On July 21, 1635, he obtained a patent for 300 acres of land on the New Poquoson, "in Charles River," afterwards York; and on Aug. 16, 1637, 300 acres more adjoining, and on the 20th of May, 1638, 400 acres on Warwick River.

He was a member of the House of Burgesses for "Warwick River" in October, 1629 (1 Hening, 139), and for Denby, in Warwick County, March, 1629-30 (Ib. I, 148). He died before 1646, leaving the above mentioned sons, and a will, the record of which has been lost or destroyed.

There is a record of the County Court of York County, on May 25, 1648, which contains this entry:

"Whereas Christopher Stokes did, by his will, give to his sons Christopher, William, Francis and Thomas, his estate; whereas the said Thomas has since died, the court doth order that Edward Miles, guardian, do take charge," etc.

Christopher² Stokes, son of Christopher¹ Stokes, above, died, leaving a widow, but no children. He divided his estates, by will, equally between his wife, Abeatrice, and his two brothers, William and Francis. (York Records.)†

Francis² Stokes, son of Christopher¹ Stokes, died unmarried about 1658.

William² Stokes was thus left the only survivor of Christopher¹ Stokes. He is said to have become owner of all the land patented to his father. His history is rather obscure; but he is said to have had at least two children:

*6 Va. Hist. Mag., 95.

†Id.

1. John³ Stokes, who obtained a patent for 476 acres of land in Charles City County, on April 25, 1701, and
2. Sylvanus³ Stokes, who patented 244 acres of land in Charles City County, December 19, 1711, and 200 acres on the south side of the Nottoway River in 1717, and 380 acres adjoining this last grant in 1723.

John³ Stokes was the father of

David⁴ Stokes, the elder (b. Oct. 23, 1707, d. Sept. 12, 1794), who was one of the Justices of the County Court of Lunenburg, in 1746, when the county was organized.* He married Sarah Montfort (b. Feb. 3, 1717, d. April 9, 1800). She was a granddaughter of Colonel Thomas Montfort, of Old Point Comfort, Va.

They had:

1. William⁵ Stokes (b. Oct. 11, 1735).
2. Ann⁵ Stokes (b. Oct. 11, 1737), married Wade.
3. Elizabeth⁵ Stokes (b. Aug. 30, 1740), married Herring.
4. Mary⁵ Stokes (b. Aug. 30, 1743), married Anthony Street; they both lived and died in Lunenburg County, Va.
5. David⁵ Stokes (b. March 18, 1745, d. 1797), married and lived and died on Finnywood Creek, in Mecklenburg County, Va. He was a lawyer of great ability and an officer in the Revolutionary Army.† In 1781 he was Colonel of the Militia of Lunenburg, and was with them in camp at Williamsburg on October 1st. This was late in the war and practically all persons capable of bearing arms had theretofore been called to arms. The militia force, gathered to join in the final assault on Cornwallis, capable of being armed, was small. The authorities in consolidating the forces left Col. Stokes without a command. The men under him were consolidated into the command of Col. Burwell of Mecklenburg County. Col. Stokes' protest regarding the matter, which he made to Governor

*6 Va. Hist. Mag., 96.

†6 Va. Hist. Mag., p. 97.

Nelson, is preserved in the Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. I, p. 515. And see Vol. I, Chapter VI hereof.

6. Sarah⁵ Stokes (b. Dec. 19, 1748), married Sandy McCulloch (or McCulloch), and moved to Tennessee.
7. Jane⁵ Stokes (b. March 24, 1751), married Peter Jones. This Peter Jones was a descendant of the Peter Jones who was associated with Col. Wm. Byrd in running the boundary line between Virginia and North Carolina. They lived and died at Locust Grove on Reedy Creek, in Lunenburg County, Va., and are buried there.
8. Susan⁵ Stokes (b. Sept. 23, 1753).
9. John⁵ Stokes (b. March 20, 1756, d. 1801), moved to North Carolina. He lived in Rowan County, now Davie, near Richmond Hill, the residence of Richmond Pearson. He married Elizabeth Pearson, the daughter of Richmond Pearson, and half-sister of the late Chief Justice Pearson, of North Carolina. He was a Colonel in the Revolutionary Army, and was one of the soldiers who suffered in the horrible butchery by Tarleton inflicted by the British upon Buford's Defeat at the Waxhaws. Colonel Stokes' right hand was cut off. Over the stub of his arm he wore a silver shield or "fist" which sometimes in after years at the bar, he brought down with ringing emphasis in his arguments. In later life he served as United States District Judge, for his district.* Stokes County, N. C., formed from Surry County in 1789, was named in his honor.†

There is some discrepancy in the authorities as to the date of his death. Wheeler says he died at Fayetteville in October, 1790 (Vol. 2, p. 404), and Dr. J. Lemacks Stokes, in his *The Book of Stokes*, p. 8, apparently follows Wheeler as to this date. The Rev. Jethro Rumple, however, in his *History of Rowan County* (p. 305), gives the date of his death as the year 1801. This we prefer to follow for two reasons: first, Wheeler is notoriously inaccurate, and his work abounds in errors; secondly, Rev. Mr. Rumple made painstaking investigations into the records at Salisbury,

**History of Rowan County* (Rev. Jethro Rumple), p. 305.

†Wheeler's *History of N. C.*, Vol. 2, p. 403.

where much of John Stokes' life was spent, and he is rather to be preferred as an authority in case of conflict.

A manuscript history of the Stokes family by the late Henry Stokes, of Farmville, Va. (a copy of which is in the writer's possession), does not give the date of his death.

McCrary's history of South Carolina (Vol. III, pp. 522-3), gives the fullest account of which we have any knowledge of John Stokes' experience in the Waxhaws massacre of May 29, 1780. He says:

"Early in the sanguinary conflict he was attacked by a dragoon, who aimed deadly blows at his head, all of which, by the dexterous use of the small sword, he easily parried; when another on the right by one stroke cut off his right hand. He was then attacked by them both, and instinctively attempting to defend his head with his left arm, that was hacked in eight or ten places from the wrist to the shoulder and a finger cut off. His head was laid open almost the whole length of the crown to the eyebrows, and after he fell he received several cuts on the face and shoulders. A soldier passing on the work of death, asked if he expected quarter. Stokes answered: 'I have not, nor do I mean to ask it; finish me as soon as possible;' whereupon the soldier transfixed him twice with his bayonet."

But he lived, nevertheless, and after the war President Washington appointed him United States Judge, for the District of Western North Carolina.

At one time Andrew Jackson studied law in his office.

Of him it was truly said: "His bravery in battle, his benevolence of character, and elevated mind, endeared him to the affections of his country."

He had a son Richmond Pearson Stokes, also a lawyer, and John Stokes Pearson, son of Richmond Pearson, Jr., of North Carolina, was named after him.

10. Peter⁵ Stokes (b. October 25, 1758), married Sally Smith of Lunenburg County, Va. They lived and died in Lunenburg County. They had two children:

John⁶ Stokes, and

Sarah S.⁶ Stokes, who married David Street.

11. Montfort⁵ Stokes (b. March 12, 1762, d. 1842). He was born in Lunenburg County, Va., but followed his elder brother John to North Carolina, and studied law in his office. He served in the Revolutionary War, undoubtedly, but the details, as stated by Wheeler in his history of North Carolina, may be questioned.

He was successively Clerk of the Superior Court of Rowan County, N. C., Clerk of the State Senate, and was elected to the United States Senate, but declined the office; in 1816 he was again elected Senator and accepted, and served until 1823; in 1826 he was elected State Senator, and in 1829 a member of the House; in 1830 he was elected Governor of North Carolina; in 1831 he was appointed by President Andrew Jackson, Indian Agent in Arkansas. He removed to that locality and resided there until his death in 1842.

On the 17th of December, 1842, Hon. D. M. Barringer (later Envoy to Spain), introduced in the legislature of North Carolina, the following resolution:

“Whereas, the House of Commons have heard with regret of the death of Ex-Governor Montford Stokes, whose life has been connected with, for more than half a century, the history of North Carolina, and has occupied many distinguished stations in her gift, therefore resolved unanimously—

“That as a mark of respect to the memory of Montford Stokes, this House do now adjourn until Monday morning, ten o'clock.”

Gov. Montfort⁵ Stokes married twice, first to Mary Irwin, the daughter of Colonel Henry Irwin, of Edgecombe County, who fell at Germantown in 1777; second, to Rachel Montgomery, the daughter of Hugh Montgomery, of Salisbury, N. C. He had a number of children. The careful manuscript of Henry Stokes, of Farmville, says nine. Some of the names he did not remember. But he does name four:

David⁶ Stokes,
Sidney⁶ Stokes,

Mary⁶ Stokes, and
Camilla⁶ Stokes, who married Major Emmett of the
United States Army.

Wheeler names another,

Major Montfort S.⁶ Stokes "now (he was writing about
1851), of Wilkes County" (North Carolina).

Wheeler does not mention Governor Stokes' second marriage. He says Governor Stokes married Mary, the daughter of Col. Henry Irwin, "by which marriage he had several children. Of these, is Major Montfort S. Stokes, now of Wilkes County" (p. 462).

Dr. J. Lemacks Stokes, in his valuable contribution to the Stokes genealogy, says: "Colonel Montfort Sydney Stokes was a son of Governor Stokes by his second marriage to Rachel, daughter of Hugh Montgomery of England and Catherine Sloan of Georgia, and served as Major in the Mexican War, and was presented with a handsome sword by his regiment."*

Colonel Montfort Sydney Stokes was mortally wounded at Elyson Mill, Va., in the Civil War. He had been a Councillor of State in North Carolina, and was Colonel of the First North Carolina Regiment, C. S. A. One who knew him well said of him: "A more gallant man never went into battle."

Rev. Jethro Rumble, in his history of Rowan County, N. C. (p. 306), gives us the most definite information available regarding Governor Montfort Stokes' children. He says:

"Gov. Stokes removed from Salisbury about 1812, and settled in Wilkesboro. He was married first to Mary, the daughter of Col. Henry Irwin, who fell at the battle of Germantown. By her he had one daughter named Ade-

*The Book of Stokes, p. 9. This brief brochure of 28 pages is entitled "*The Book of Stokes*" on the title page and outside cover. It is however entitled "*The House of Stokes*," at the top of every page, which has led to some confusion of reference. The volume does not bear a copyright notation, nor a publisher's imprint except on the final page (28) is this: *Enquirer Print, Yorkville, S. C.*

laide, who became the wife of Henry Chambers of Rowan. Also a son named Montford S. Stokes, who was Major of the North Carolina Regiment in the war with Mexico. At the opening of the late war between the states, Montford S. Stokes was a Colonel of the First North Carolina State Troops. Col. Stokes was killed at Ellyson's Mill near Richmond, June 26, 1862.

“His second wife was Rachel Montgomery, the daughter of Hugh Montgomery of Salisbury. By her he had several children: Hugh M. Stokes, David Stokes, Thomas Jefferson Stokes, and several daughters.”

One of Wheeler's innumerable errors is his statement that Governor Montfort Stokes of North Carolina was a native of Halifax County, N. C., and a son of Allen Stokes. See this error corrected in Virginia Historical Magazine, Vol II, p. 422, where it is said: “The family Bible shows that he was born March 12, 1762, in Lunenburg County, Va., and that he was a son of David and Sarah (Montford) Stokes.”

The Biographical Congressional Directory 1774 to 1911, p. 1029, correctly states that he was born in Virginia; an earlier edition contained the erroneous statement as to his North Carolina nativity.

Mary⁵ Stokes (b. Aug. 30, 1743), daughter of David Stokes and Sarah Montfort, married Anthony Street, the elder (b. Oct. 16, 1741).

They had issue:

1. Waddy⁶ Street (b. Feb. 12, 1768), married Elizabeth Smith (called “Betsey Brass”).
2. David⁶ Street (b. Apr. 21, 1770), married twice.
3. John⁶ Street (b. Apr. 7, 1773).
4. Sally M.⁶ Street (Sarah Montfort⁶ Street) (b. Apr. 24, 1775), married, 1st, John Smith, and had two sons: Dr. Anthony Waddy⁷ Smith, and Joseph Montfort⁶ Smith, died while a child. Married, 2nd, Adam Bell (see Bell Genealogy), of Prince Edward County, Va., and had two sons:

John Nash⁷ Bell (died when a youth), and Caspar Wister⁷ Bell (member of the Confederate States Congress).

5. Anthony⁶ Street (b. May 16, 1777, d. 1840), married 1st, Mary Smith, daughter of Major Robert Smith. They had a daughter, Mary Elizabeth⁷ Street, who married John W. Cooke, and moved to Christian County, Kentucky; married, 2nd, Miss Kemp, and had a son, William Anthony⁷ Street (nicknamed "Whickitie"), who represented Franklin County, Va., in the Legislature; married Miss Holland.
6. William B.⁶ Street (b. Oct. 14, 1778, d. unmarried). Lost at sea on a voyage to Lisbon—vessel lost at sea.
7. Ann Parke⁶ Street (b. Dec. 25, 1780), married James Smith, and had five children: Sally Ann⁷ Smith who married John Epes; Mary Jane⁷ Smith, who married Edward Carter, of Prince Edward County, Va.; John Anthony⁷ Smith, who married Martha Jones of North Carolina; Dr. Albert⁷ Smith, who married ——— Witcher (daughter of Hon. Vincent Witcher, of Pittsylvania County, Va.). They moved to Franklin Co., Va., and lived and died there; Lucy Park⁷ Smith, who married Dr. Berry F. Tarry, of Prince Edward County, Va., whence they removed to Charlotte, N. C. They both died there between 1885 and 1888.

There is considerable conflict in the account of Anne Parke⁶ Street's children. The foregoing follows the manuscript account of Henry Stokes, of Farmville, Va. (a careful, accurate man).

However, *The Street Genealogy* by Mary A. Street, of Exeter, N. H. (an unusually industrious investigator), says (p. 278), that Mary Jane Smith married Charles Smith, and that Lucy Parke Smith married Dr. Carter of Prince Edward County, Va.

8. Joseph Montfort⁶ Street (b. Dec. 18, 1872, in Lunenburg County, Va., d. May 5, 1840, at Agency, Iowa), married October 9, 1809, at Western View, Henderson County, Ky., Eliza Maria Posey, daughter of Gen. Thomas and Mary (Alexander) Posey.

Waddy⁶ Street (b. Feb. 12, 1762), married Elizabeth Smith. They had issue:

Mary⁷ Street, who married 1st, ————— Jones, of Lunenburg C. H., a lawyer; after his death she married, 2nd, Gilly M. Bacon, who commanded a regiment in the war of 1812. He died while making a canvass as a candidate for congress, after the close of the war of 1812.

David⁶ Street (b. Apr. 21, 1770, d. May 3, 1849), married, 1st, October 16, 1798, Sarah S. Stokes; she died May 10, 1811, and he married, 2nd, Sept. 7, 1813, Mary Scott, daughter of William Scott.

Issue by first marriage:

1. John Thompson⁷ Street (b. Sept. 2, 1799, d. Oct. 23, 1846).
2. Peter William⁷ Street (b. Nov. 13, 1801, d. Aug. 2, 1849).
3. Mary Stokes⁷ Street (b. Mar. 15, 1803, d. Aug. 26, 1804).
4. Sarah Stokes⁷ Street (b. Jan. 23, 1805).
5. David Anthony⁷ Street (b. Jan. 27, 1807), married Mary D. Woodson.
6. Lucy Ann⁷ Street (b. May 30, 1809, d. Nov. 1, 1831), married William H. Stokes.
7. Joseph Montfort⁷ Street (b. Apr. 30, 1811, d. Mar. 5, 1812).

Issue by second marriage:

8. James Park⁷ Street (b. June 10, 1814, d. Jan., 1890), married Sally Williams; had eight children.
9. Elizabeth A.⁷ Street (b. Dec. 19, 1815, d. March 23, 1821).
10. Mary Susan⁷ Street (b. Oct. 28, 1817, d. June 12, 1819).
11. Waddy⁷ Street (b. March 7, 1821), married Martha S. Forrest.
12. Susan F.⁷ Street (b. July 2, 1828), married Dr. John T. Merriman, of Lunenburg County, Va., lived in Burkeville, Va.; had a daughter, Lizzie M.⁸ Merriman, who married William A. Neal, and had five daughters.

John⁶ Street (b. April 7, 1773), married Miss Harris, of North Carolina. He was a merchant at Greensboro, N. C., later moved to Greensboro, Ala.

They had issue:

1. William⁷ Street, a lawyer and Judge in Alabama.
2. Dr. John Montfort⁷ Street, a physician. He married; had issue; he and his wife died, leaving descendants in the neighborhood of Greensboro, Ala.

General Joseph Montford⁶ Street (b. Dec. 18, 1782, in Lunenburg County, Va., d. May 5, 1840, at Agency, Iowa), married October 9, 1809, at Western View, Henderson County, Kentucky, Eliza Maria Posey, daughter of General Thomas and Mary (Alexander) Posey (widow of Col. Thornton, who died in the Revolutionary War). Eliza Maria Posey was born in Virginia, Aug. 26, 1792, and died at Agency, Iowa, Feb. 2, 1846.

They had issue:

1. Thomas Posey⁷ Street, lawyer (b. Dec. 14, 1810, at Western View, Henderson Co., Ky., d. Apr. 15, 1841, at Prairie du Chien, Wis.), married Mary Jane Mayfield, of Tenn.
2. Joseph Hamilton Davies⁷ Street (b. Dec. 2, 1812, at Walnut Springs, Henderson Co., Ky., d. Sept., 1875, in Montana), lawyer; Judge; married twice: 1st, Emily Burnette; 2nd, Alice Wright.

Issue by first marriage:

Thomas Posey⁸ Street, who married and had four children.

Resided in Hillsdale, Gallatin County, Montana.

Thornton L.⁸ Street, unmarried, Gallatin Co., Mont.

Adelly⁸ Street, married George W. Wakefield. They had four children.

Mary⁸ Street, married W. O. P. Hayes. They had seven children.

Theodore L.⁸ Street, married, had children, resided in Gallatin County, Mont.

Emma Ida⁸ Street, married George W. Dickson. They had four children; resided at Creamery, Mont.

Issue by second marriage:

Hattie⁸ Street (b. 1876).

3. Thornton Montfort⁷ Street (b. Sept. 4, 1814, at Shawneetown, Ill., d. at College, Jan. 1, 1833).

4. Mary⁷ Street (b. May 18, 1816, at Westwood Place, Galatin County, Ill., d. Sept. 2, 1877), married March 26, 1835, Lieut. George Wilson, U. S. A., Steubenville, O. (b. Jan. 20, 1809, d. Mar. 3, 1881). At the time of this marriage Lt. Wilson was of Capt. Smith's Company 1st Infantry (Zachary Taylor was Col.). The attendants were Ethan Allen Hitchcock, Major of the regiment (afterwards Commissary Gen. 1861-5), and Sarah Knox Taylor, daughter of Col. Zachary Taylor, afterwards herself the wife of Lieut. Jefferson Davis, of the same regiment.

They had issue:

Fanny⁸ Wilson (b. Feb. 26, 1836), married Aug. 13, 1862, Isaac Gilbert Baker, of St. Louis, Mo. They had:
Francis Wilson⁹ Baker, who married June 10, 1890, Joseph Scott Furqua, of Charleston, S. C.

Lucy Montfort⁸ Wilson (b. Jan. 13, 1838), married Sept. 24, 1868, Gustavus Richard Alexander; resided at Piocheo, Neb., and they had three children.

Joseph Alexander⁸ Wilson (b. Jan. 30, 1840), married Jan. 8, 1867, Marilla Long. They resided at Lexington, Mo.

George⁸ Wilson (b. Oct. 6, 1842), resided at Lexington, Mo.

Posey Street⁸ Wilson (b. Dec. 16, 1845), married Feb. 14, 1889, Augusta Elizabeth Fallon, of Washington, D. C. They resided in Denver, Col.

Robert Ance⁸ Wilson (b. May 9, 1847), married May 27, 1885, Anna Hanna, daughter of Thomas K. Hanna, of Kansas City, Mo.

John Wallace⁸ Wilson (b. Jan. 27, 1851), of Heildsburg, California.

Kate Stokeley⁸ Wilson (b. Sept. 30, 1853).

5. Lucy Frances⁷ Street (b. Nov. 26, 1817, at Westwood Place, Ill.), married Lieut. John Beach, U. S. A., of Gloucester, Mass.

They had issue:

Thomas Penhallow⁸ Beach, of San Francisco, Cal.

William⁸ Beach, of San Francisco, Cal.

Alexander Thornton⁸ Beach.

Lucy⁸ Beach, died in infancy.

6. William B.⁷ Street (b. July 12, 1819, at Westwood Place, Ill.), married Paoline Miami Cobb, of Bennington, Vt., a grand-niece of Ethan Allen).

They had:

Ida Maria⁸ Street, graduate of Vassar, 1880, Univ. of Mich. 1888, upon a scholarship won for the best thesis among competitors from nine colleges.

7. Alexander⁷ Street (b. Apr. 5, 1821, at Westwood Place, Ill., d. Sept. 14, 1877), married Amelia F. Beach, daughter of Col. William and Lucy Tucker Beach, of Gloucester, Mass. They had nine children.
8. Sarah Ann⁷ Street (b. Jan. 22, 1823, d. Aug. 12, 1824).
9. Washington Posey⁷ Street (b. Jan. 2, 1825, at Westwood Place, Ill.), West Point—graduated July 1, 1847, war with Mexico, 1847-8, d. Sept. 13, 1852, unmarried, at Camp McKaveth, Sabine River, Texas.
10. Eliza Ann⁷ Street (b. Jan. 28, 1848, d. 1843).
11. John Lloyd⁷ Street (b. Nov. 23, 1829, at Prairie du Chien, Wis.), lawyer, married Sept. 18, 1858, Anna Eliza Inskeep (b. Feb. 9, 1839, at Hillsboro, Ohio), daughter of David and Maria (Ambrose) Inskeep, both Virginians.

They had:

Charles Edwin⁸ Street (b. June 25, 1859), at Ottumwa, Ia., mining engineer, Park City, Utah.

Anthony Waddy⁸ Street (b. Oct. 9, 1864, at Nebraska City, Neb.), scenic artist, Chicago Auditorium, Chicago, Ill.

William Carey⁸ Street (b. Nov. 14, 1866), married, had one child, resided in Helena, Montana.

Annie M.⁸ Street (b. June 24, 1872), Gallatin, Mont.

David Montfort⁸ Street (b. June 22, 1879, died an infant).

Nellie E.⁸ Street (b. June 2, 1882, at Park City, Utah).

12. Anthony Waddy⁷ Street (b. Nov. 24, 1831, at Prairie du Chien, Wis.). Grad. Union College, 1853; married Nov. 24, 1856, Mary Eliza Smith, of Urbana, Ohio. Resided Ormond, Florida.

They had:

Lucy Compton⁸ Street (b. June 12, 1859, at Nebraska City, Neb.), married Welles W. Cheney of South Manchester, Conn. They had:

George Welles⁹ Cheney.

13. Sarah Eleanor⁷ Street (b. March 11, 1836, at Prairie du Chien, Wis.), married July 29, 1858, George A. Baker, of New Haven, Conn.

They had:

William Street⁸ Baker (b. Apr. 28, 1859), married July 27, 1883, Mary E. Whight, of Fort Benton, Mont. They had:

Arnold G.⁹ Baker (b. May 24, 1884).

Mary E.⁸ Baker (b. Apr. 11, 1862).

Grace H.⁸ Baker (b. Sept. 1, 1864, at Nebraska City, Neb.), married Charles A. Cunningham, of St. Louis, Mo., one child, Charles Baker⁹ Cunningham (b. July 25, 1886).

George A.⁸ Baker, Jr. (b. Aug. 21, 1866, at Helena, Mont.), resided St. Louis, Mo.

Shirly Ashby⁸ Baker (b. Dec. 30, 1873, at Fort Benton, Mont.), resided St. Louis, Mo.

Gilbert Montfort⁸ Baker (b. June 24, 1875).

14. David⁷ Street (b. May 24, 1837), married Feb. 20, 1868, Emma Alice Turner, of Weston, Mo., daughter of William Henry Harrison and Sarah Ann (Menefee) Turner. She is a descendant of Sir Francis Drake (on her mother's side) and of the Pendleton family of Virginia (on her father's side).

They had:

Sallie⁸ Street (b. Nov. 1, 1868).

Isabel⁸ Street (b. June 25, 1870).

Ada⁸ Street (b. Jan. 17, 1872, d. Sept. 8, 1873).

David Turner⁸ Street (b. June 8, 1873).

Emma⁸ Street (b. Nov. 7, 1875). (All these children were born in Kansas City, Mo.)

Bertha Seymour⁸ Street (b. March 8, 1880, and d. March 16, 1880, in Council Bluffs, Ia.)

Robert Menefee⁸ Street (b. Jan. 7, 1882, in St. Joseph, Mo.).

Jane⁵ Stokes (b. March 24, 1751), daughter of David Stokes, the elder, and Sarah Montfort, married Peter Jones (b. 1751, d. Jan. 24, 1815). He was born in Amelia County, Va., on Deep Creek, and died in Lunenburg County, Va. Both he and his wife are buried at the home *Locust Grove*, Lunenburg County, Va., about two miles from the court house.

They had issue (eleven children to reach maturity):

1. Frances⁶ Jones, who married Mr. ————— Long, of N. C., and died without issue.
2. Lewellyn⁶ Jones, who married Prudence Ward of Nottoway County, Va., where they made their home.

They had issue:

Rowland Edward Ward⁷ Jones (b. Dec. 13, 1797, d. a bachelor, Dec. 3, 1839).

Peter Montfort Stokes⁷ Jones (b. 1800, removed to Mississippi in 1828, where he practiced law in Madison and Atalla Counties. Died July 21, 1877, unmarried—buried at Canton, Miss.).

3. Sarah Montfort⁶ Jones, who married Richard K. Cralle, of Nottoway County, Va., died at Afton Grove, on Flat Rock Creek, in Lunenburg County, Va.

They had issue:

William⁷ Cralle (d. young).

Jane Maria⁷ Cralle, who married Joel Blackwell, Jr.

Frances⁷ Cralle, who died young.

Richard K.⁷ Cralle, Jr.* (d. cir. 1866), who married 1st, Mary Scott Cabell, daughter of Dr. Cabell, of Lynchburg. They had a daughter Mary Cabell Cralle, who married N. Henry Campbell, of Lynchburg, Va.

Married 2nd, Bettie Morris. By this marriage there were seven children: Alice Cralle, Florida C. Cralle, Betty Cralle, Louisa Cralle, Richard Cralle, Edward Cralle, and Charles M. Cralle.

*The distinguished lawyer, friend and biographer of John C. Calhoun.

NOTE: (v.2,p.342)

3. In "The Cabells and their kin, b
1895", p.544, the mother of Rickard K.
given as "Lucy (Jones) Cralle of Meckle
county, Va." His wife is named as "Jud
Cabell."

Sallie Montfort⁷ Cralle, who married Colin Stokes, of Lunenburg County, Va.

Alexander B.⁷ Cralle, who married Elizabeth Chappell, of Lunenburg County, and died in 1842.

Edward A.⁷ Cralle (b. cir. 1839, d. unmarried, May, 1877).

Ann Opie⁷ Cralle, who married Lew C. Jones (about 1835).

Seaborn Jones⁷ Cralle, who married Lucy Bagley.

John S.⁷ Cralle (b. 1815), married 1st, Jane McFarland, and 2nd, Bettie Jones, daughter of Lew Jones.

Mary Frances⁷ Cralle (b. cir. 1816), married Dr. Littleton L. Taylor, of Tallahassee, Fla.

4. Mary (Polly)⁶ Jones (d. and buried at Locust Grove, Lunenburg County, Va.), daughter of Jane⁵ (Stokes) and Peter Jones, married Major Francis Robertson (d. and buried in Ala.).

They had issue:

Peter Frank⁷ Robertson,

Martha⁷ Robertson,

William B.⁷ Robertson,

Edward⁷ Robertson,

John⁷ Robertson,

David Stokes⁷ Robertson.

Note:

The foregoing follows the *Peter Jones and Richard Jones Genealogies* (Augusta B. Fothergill), page 288. The copy of the Henry Stokes manuscript in the writer's possession gives the children of Polly Jones and Major Francis Robertson as follows: "Peter; Frank; William; Martha; Edward M.; and David Stokes Robertson." The Henry Stokes MS. is more likely correct.

5. Branch⁶ Jones (son of Jane⁵ (Stokes) and Peter Jones), married Dec. 18, 1802, Dorothy Anderson, of Amelia County, Va. Lived and died and are buried at Locust Grove, Lunenburg County, Va.

They had issue (ten children):

(1) Walter Raleigh⁷ Jones (d. unmarried).

(2) Lew C.⁷ Jones (b. 1806, d. 1887), who married Ann Opie Cralle; two children:

Paul^s Jones,
Sally Montfort^s Jones.

- (3) Algernon Sidney⁷ Jones (b. 1807, d. cir. 1857), married in 1836, Mary Jane Overton, daughter of William G. Overton, and had issue:
- Mary Branch^s Jones,
Sidney O.^s Jones,
Joseph Bragg^s Jones.
- (4) Peter Branch⁷ Jones (b. 1815 or 1816), married, 1st, Virginia Pilkington, and had issue:* Henry May Jones; Sidney Jones; Ella Jones; Fanny Jones. He married 2nd, a Miss Hazelwood, but had no children by the second marriage.
- (5) Paul⁷ Jones (d. unmarried).
- (6) Jane⁷ Jones, married Drury A. Smith, of Prince Edward County, Va.
- (7) Susan⁷ Jones, married Joshua Smith.
- (8) Sarah Montfort⁷ Jones (b. 1820), married Nov., 1839, George Hayse, of Mecklenburg County, and had one son: George Hayse.
- (9) Betsey Ann⁷ Jones (never married).
- (10) Mary Stokes⁷ Jones (never married).
6. Betsy⁶ Jones (daughter of Jane⁵ (Stokes) and Peter Jones), married Major John Taylor and moved to Leon County, Florida. They lived, died and are buried there. They had issue† (ten children):
- (1) John S.⁷ Taylor, married Eliza Haynie Blackwell, lived in Florida, Louisiana and Kentucky. They both died in Kentucky.
- (2) William R.⁷ Taylor.
- (3) Lewis⁷ Taylor (never married).

*We follow here the Henry Stokes memorandum. The *Peter Jones and Richard Jones Genealogies*, p. 288, gives the children as follows: "Henry, May, Sidney, Ella, Fanny." This book, while containing a great deal of important data, is not always accurate, and suffers greatly from a lack of system in arranging the data presented.

†The data concerning these are taken from the Henry Stokes memorandum. Their children are not given in the *Peter Jones and Richard Jones Genealogies*.

- (4) Littleton⁷ Taylor, who was twice married, 1st, to Mary Frances Cralle; 2nd, to Sally Epes of Nottoway County, Va. No children by either marriage.
- (5) Junius⁷ Taylor (never married).
- (6) Waller⁷ Taylor (never married).
- (7) Thomas B.⁷ Taylor.
- (8) Page⁷ Taylor.
- (9) Eliza⁷ Taylor, who married _____ Bradford, of Florida, and had three children.
- (10) Virginia⁷ Taylor, who married Richard Whitaker of Florida, and had four children:
 John⁸ Whittaker,
 Betty⁸ Whittaker,
 Martha⁸ Whittaker,
 Virginia⁸ Whittaker.
7. Peter⁶ Jones, of Lunenburg County, Va. (son of Jane⁵ (Stokes) and Peter Jones), married June 2, 1807, Sally G. Bacon, daughter of Col. Edmund Parke Bacon, of Lunenburg County, Va.
- They had issue (three children):
- (1) Lew A.⁷ Jones, who married Mary Eliza Epes of Nottoway County, Va. They lived and died in Lunenburg County, Va. They had six children.
- (2) Mary Prosser⁷ Jones (buried at Locust Grove), who married John Beith, of Scotland. They lived and died in Lunenburg County. They had one child: Virginia⁸ Beith.
- (3) Julia⁷ Jones, who married Dr. Henry May, of Lunenburg County, where they lived until the death of Mrs. May. Dr. May then removed to Richmond, Va., where he died, more than eighty years of age. They had nine children:
- (a) John Randolph⁸ May,
 (b) Richard Henry⁸ May (one of the writer's early teachers).
 (c) David⁸ May,
 (d) Benjamin H.⁸ May,
 (e) George⁸ May,

- (f) Anna Fitzhugh⁸ May,
- (g) Emma Margaret⁸ May,
- (h) Sally Glenn⁸ May,
- (i) Peter Jones⁸ May.

(See May Genealogy.)

8. Susan Royall⁶ Jones (b. Dec. 26, 1786, d. 1877) (dau. of Jane⁵ (Stokes) and Peter Jones), married, May, 1814, John Stokes (d. 1832), of Lunenburg County, Va. They are buried on their farm at Locust Grove.

They had issue (six children):

- (1) Peter J.⁷ Stokes, who married Miss Isabella Nelson, daughter of Nathaniel Nelson, and moved to Texas in 1858, where he died in 1859. They had three children:
- (a) David⁸ Stokes,
 - (b) Susan⁸ Stokes,
 - (c) Edward⁸ Stokes.

- (2) John Hancock⁷ Stokes (b. in Lunenburg County, 1817), married Oct. 29, 1839, Maria S. Bacon (daughter of Gillie M. Bacon).

They had six children:

- (a) Martha S.⁸ Stokes,
- (b) Ida H.⁸ Stokes, who married Joshua B. Smith, and had one child, Maria S.⁹ Smith.
- (c) Susan J.⁸ Stokes (d. 1877), who married Rev. Mr. Miller, of N. C., one child, Susan S.⁹ Miller.
- (d) Peter⁸ Stokes (b. 1848), married Nannie Marshall (daughter of A. W. and Sally M. Marshall).

They had six children:

- (aa) John W.⁹ Stokes,
- (bb) Edward R.⁹ Stokes,
- (cc) Peter⁹ Stokes,
- (dd) David⁹ Stokes,
- (ee) Robert G.⁹ Stokes,
- (ff) Louise⁹ Stokes.

(e) John⁸ Stokes.

(f) Elizabeth Marian⁸ Stokes.

- (3) Sarah Jane⁷ Stokes (b. 1819, d. 1854, in Lunenburg

County, Va.), married Elisha B. Jackson, of Lunenburg County. They had one child:

John⁸ Jackson.

- (4) David Rittenhouse⁷ Stokes (Captain C. S. A.), of Mount Holly, Lunenburg County, Va. (b. 1824 in Lunenburg County, Va., d. 1884, buried at Mount Holly), married twice: 1st, in 1846, Sarah Haynie Stokes, daughter of William Stokes; 2nd, in 1856, Josephine Carter, daughter of Sharpe Carter, of Nottoway Co., Va.

Issue by first marriage (two children):

- (a) Sarah J.⁸ Stokes, who married Edwin Cook Ogburn, of Mecklenburg County. Three children.
(b) Lucy Ann⁸ Stokes.

Issue by second marriage (five children):

- (c) Terry⁸ Stokes, who married, in 1885, Miss Bond, of Petersburg, Va. They had a daughter who died unmarried.
(d) Richard Carter⁸ Stokes,
(e) David R.⁸ Stokes, Jr.
(f) Irby⁸ Stokes,
(g) Martha⁸ (called "Mattie") Stokes, who married McCabe, of Henry County, Va.
- (5) William Overton⁷ Stokes, M. D. (b. 1826, d. 1864 in Caldwell County, Kentucky, where he is buried), moved from Lunenburg County, Va., to Kentucky. Married, in Kentucky, Sarah Montford Cook, daughter of Captain John Cook. They had two sons and a daughter.
- (6) Edward Montfort⁷ Stokes, who never married.
9. Edward Montfort⁶ Jones (b. in Lunenburg Co., Va., in 1794, d. 1822 at Locust Grove, Lunenburg Co., Va.) (son of Jane⁵ (Stokes) and Peter Jones), married, in 1816, Mary Ann Street (d. July 15, 1873, in Henderson, Kentucky). They eloped to N. C., accompanied by several friends, one of whom was Gillie M. Bacon, who became her second husband.

Edward Montfort⁶ Jones and Mary Ann Street had issue:

- (1) John James⁷ Jones (a Captain in the Confederate Army, who married in 1838, Elizabeth McCandlish, daughter of Col. Robt. McCandlish, of Williamsburg.

They had:

- (a) Robert McCandlish⁸ Jones, who was a Confederate officer.
 (b) Nannie⁸ Jones,
 (c) Edward Montfort⁸ Jones.
- (2) Ann Parke⁷ Jones (b. Oct. 27, 1821, d. Feb. 19, 1897), married Edward Chambers Craig, in Lunenburg County, Va., January 4, 1837. They had issue:

- (a) John Anthony⁸ Craig (b. 1843, d. unmarried 1901). He joined the Confederate Army at eighteen, and served as Secretary to General John B. Gordon.

- (b) George Edward⁸ Craig (b. 1845), entered the Confederate Army at 16; wounded at Gettysburg; remained a prisoner of war for three months after the surrender. After the war studied medicine in Louisville, Kentucky; married Addie Bacon, of Lunenburg County, Va., removed to Evening Shade, Arkansas. Issue:

- I Edward Orgain⁹ Craig,
 II Virginia⁹ Craig,
 III Ella Archer⁹ Craig,
 IV Samuel Bacon⁹ Craig,
 V Minnie⁹ Craig,
 VI Sue⁹ Craig,
 VII Thomas⁹ Craig,
 VIII Hal Chambers⁹ Craig,
 IX Catherine⁹ Craig.

- (c) Mary Ann⁸ Craig (b. Dec. 25, 1849), married Sept. 25, 1875, James Hatchett Farmer. They had issue:

- I Judge Henry Hughs⁹ Farmer,

II Edward Chambers⁹ Farmer, who married Julia Frances Lambert; one son, Edward Lambert¹⁰ Farmer.

(d) Waddy Street⁸ Craig (b. Feb. 9, 1851), married December 26, 1883, Martha Ermin Baskett. They had one son:

I James White⁹ Craig, who married Odessa Baskett May. They have one son: James W.¹⁰ Craig, Jr., who is married and has the following children:

Anna Mary¹¹ Craig,

Katherine Daisy¹¹ Craig,

John Tyre¹¹ Craig (who died an infant),

Jesse Basket¹¹ Craig (b. 1897) and served in World War,

William Stone¹¹ Craig, who also served in World War.

(e) Elizabeth Montfort⁸ Craig (b. Apr. 7, 1853), married Lee Norman.

(f) Jayne Stokes⁸ Craig (b. June 4, 1855, in Hanover County, Va.), married in Shawneetown, Ill., Oct. 24, 1872, Richard Mathew Walker (b. Oct. 27, 1847, d. Sept. 11, 1920), son of William Alonzo Walker and Sally Ann (Ligon) Walker.

They had issue:

I William Herbert⁹ Walker, M. D., Capt. World War; married Minnie Kershaw,—live in Kansas City, Mo.

II Edward Craig⁹ Walker (b. Apr. 19, 1877), married Mary Clifton Penick, dau. Bishop Clifton and Mary (Hoge) Penick. One child, Mary Hoge Walker.

III Lillian⁹ Walker, married Harry Ellynn Thixton, Henderson, Ky.

IV Frank Hart Kitchell⁹ Walker (b. March 14, 1881), married Mary Louise Norwood, daughter of Prof. Charles Norwood, of Lexington, Ky.

Children:

Sarah Norwood¹⁰ Walker,
Jane Craig¹⁰ Walker,
Louise Norwood¹⁰ Walker.

V Sarah Clarence⁹ Walker, married Claude Ambrose Morton, of Madisonville, Ky.

Children:

Jayne Stokes¹⁰ Morton,
Harry E. Thixton¹⁰ Morton.

VI Florence Georgia⁹ Walker, married Ralph Mitchell Overstreet, C. E.; World War; children:

Ralph Mitchell¹⁰ Overstreet, Jr.
Ann Parke¹⁰ Overstreet.

(g) St. George Tucker⁸ Craig (b. Sept. 17, 1857, at Ashland, Hanover Co., Va.), D. D. S. Univ. Maryland, Henderson, Ky., unmarried.

(h) Florence Overton⁸ Craig (b. Dec. 31, 1861, in Chesterfield Co., Va.), married, July 24, 1890, in Henderson, Ky., Abraham Glenn Scott, of Nottoway Co., Va. They had issue:

I Robert Craig⁹ Scott, who married Mary Cornett, of Harlan, Ky.

II Annie Douglas⁹ Scott,

III Edward Glenn⁹ Scott,

IV Frances Epes⁹ Scott.

(i) Robert Lee⁸ Craig, Minister (b. in Lunenburg Co., Va., while the family were refugees there during the war 1861-65). Died in Houston, Texas. Married Beatrice McWillie, of Jackson, Miss. One child:

Elizabeth⁹ Craig.

(j) Henrietta Chambers⁸ Craig.

(k) Thomas⁸ Craig.

10. Ann Stokes⁶ Jones (b. 1790, in Lunenburg Co., Va., d. Aug., 1838, buried at Locust Grove) (daughter of Jane⁵ (Stokes) and Peter Jones), married in 1817 William G.

Overton of Amelia County, Va. They settled in Lunenburg County, Va., and had issue (four children):

- (1) Mary Jane⁷ Overton (b. 1818, d. in Petersburg, Va., 1888), married A. S. Jones, of Petersburg, Va. They had three children:
 - (a) Mary Branch⁸ Jones,
 - (b) Sidney⁸ Jones,
 - (c) Joseph Bragg⁸ Jones.
 - (2) William Montfort⁷ Overton (b. in Lunenburg Co., March, 1821, d. in Richmond, Va., in 1857), married Nov. 23, 1841, Rebecca McCandlish, daughter of Col. Robert McCandlish, of Williamsburg, Va. They had two children:
 - (a) William Garland⁸ Overton (d. unmarried).
 - (b) Isabella⁸ Overton (d. unmarried).
 - (3) Ann Eliza⁷ Overton (b. in Lunenburg Co., Va.), married W. M. Bernard (d. cir. 1880), of Petersburg, Va. They moved to Orange Co., Va. They had several children, of whom William⁸ Bernard was the oldest.
 - (4) Fanny Tanner⁷ Overton (b. in 1833, in Lunenburg Co., Va., d. cir. 1890), married in 1851 or 1852, Edwin James, of Petersburg, Va. Moved to Texas. They had several children.
11. Frances Tanner⁶ Jones (b. Jan. 8, 1796, d. Jan., 1856) (daughter of Jane⁵ (Stokes) and Peter Jones), married April 23, 1816, Haynie Hatchett (b. Aug. 31, 1779, d. Nov. 1, 1856. The Henry Stokes Memo. says he died Nov. 1, 1843), of Woodhill, Lunenburg County, Va. They had issue:
- (1) William Haynie⁷ Hatchett,
 - (2) Jane Maria⁷ Hatchett, who married, 1st, Benjamin Hite; and 2nd, Charles Harrison Ogburn, of Mecklenburg Co., Va.
 - (3) Branch Archer⁷ Hatchett,
 - (4) Mary Frances⁷ Hatchett,
 - (5) John Richard⁷ Hatchett,
 - (6) Ann Eliza⁷ Hatchett,
 - (7) Sarah Jones⁷ Hatchett,

- (8) Lewellyn⁷ Hatchett,
- (9) Indiana Susan⁷ Hatchett (b. July, 1827, in Lunenburg Co., Va.), married Feb., 1857, George Hayse, of Mecklenburg Co., and died leaving no children.
- (10) Peter Montfort⁷ Hatchett,
- (11) Isabella Overton⁷ Hatchett,
- (12) Emma Petronella⁷ Hatchett.

Sallie Montfort⁷ Cralle (b. Apr. 24, 1799, d. Jan. 27, 1891), daughter of Sarah Montfort Jones and Richard K. Cralle, married Colin Stokes (b. Aug. 30, 1797, d. Feb. 24, 1865), of Lunenburg County, Va. They moved to Prince Edward County and lived there ten or twelve years and then returned to Lunenburg County where they lived and died. Both are buried in Lunenburg County. They had issue (six children):

1. Mary Jane⁸ Stokes (b. April 15, 1818, d. Dec. 30, 1839), married Jan. 22, 1839, William H. Hatchett. Died leaving an infant son, George Hatchett, who lived seven months and died in 1840.
2. Henry⁸ Stokes (b. July 25, 1820), married Nov. 23, 1841, Ann Eliza Hatchett.

They had nine children:

- (1) Colin⁹ Stokes,
 - (2) Haynie A.⁹ Stokes,
 - (3) E. Cralle⁹ Stokes,
 - (4) Mary Jane⁹ Stokes,
 - (5) William D'Montfort⁹ Stokes,
 - (6) Henry⁹ Stokes, Jr.,
 - (7) Lew Hatchett⁹ Stokes,
 - (8) Allen Y.⁹ Stokes,
 - (9) Sally Fanny⁹ Stokes.
3. Sally Montfort⁸ Stokes (b. Feb. 17, 1823, d. Apr. 10, 1827).
 4. Ann Eliza⁸ Stokes (b. July 9, 1825, d. April, 1835).
 5. Richard⁸ Stokes (b. Feb. 22, 1828, d. Dec. 22, 1886), married Sarah J. Cralle, daughter of D. A. B. Cralle, of Lunenburg County, Va. Resided in Lunenburg until 1855, then moved to Prince Edward County, Va., where he died and is

buried in the cemetery at the church at Hampden-Sidney College.

They had seven children:

- (1) Colin⁹ Stokes,
- (2) Lizzy⁹ Stokes,
- (3) Lelia⁹ Stokes,
- (4) Mary Kenner⁹ Stokes,
- (5) Lucy⁹ Stokes,
- (6) Robert E.⁹ Stokes,
- (7) Maggy M.⁹ Stokes.

6. Susan Reeves⁸ Stokes (b. Jan. 3, 1832), married April, 1851, Dr. Robert S. Bagley.

They had six children:

- (1) Colin S.⁹ Bagley,
- (2) Mary⁹ Bagley,
- (3) Henry Kenner⁹ Bagley,
- (4) Sally Montfort⁹ Bagley,
- (5) Edmonia⁹ Bagley,
- (6) Richard E.⁹ Bagley.

Alexander B.⁷ Cralle, M. D. (son of Sarah Montfort⁶ Jones and Richard K. Cralle), died Nov., 1850; married Elizabeth Chappell (d. 1842), of Lunenburg County, Va. They had issue (five children):

1. Richard⁸ Cralle,
2. Robert⁸ Cralle,
3. Sarah Jane⁸ Cralle, who married Richard Stokes.
4. Alexander B.⁸ Cralle,
5. Lelia A.⁸ Cralle.

Ann Opie⁷ Cralle (daughter of Sarah Montfort⁶ Jones and Richard K. Cralle), married (about 1834), Lew C. Jones. They lived and died in Lunenburg Co., Va., and are buried at Afton Grove. They had issue (two children):

1. Paul⁸ Jones, who married Fanny Wilson, of Chesterfield County, Va.
2. Sarah M.⁸ Jones, who married A. W. Marshall, of Lunenburg County, Va.

Seaborn Jones⁷ Cralle (son of Sarah Montfort⁶ Jones and Richard K. Cralle), married Lucy Bagley, of Lunenburg Co., Va. They lived and died in Lunenburg Co., Va.

They had issue (four children) :

1. Willie⁸ Cralle,
2. Richard⁸ Cralle,
3. Edwin A.⁸ Cralle,
4. Ella⁸ Cralle.

John S.⁷ Cralle (b. cir. 1815, d. 1884 or 1885, and is buried at Afton Grove), son of Sarah Montfort⁶ Jones and Richard K. Cralle, was twice married: 1st, to Jane Ella McFarland, daughter of J. I. McFarland, of Petersburg, Va., and 2nd, to Betty Jones of Lunenburg County. There were no children by either marriage.

Mary Frances⁷ Cralle (b. cir. 1816, d. cir. 1837), daughter of Sarah Montfort⁶ Jones and Richard K. Cralle, married Dr. Littleton L. Taylor, of Tallahassee, Fla., and died, without issue, about 1837.

William Haynie⁷ Hatchett (d. about 1869) (son of Frances Tanner⁶ Jones and Haynie Hatchett), was born in Lunenburg County, Va., and was married three times: 1st, on Jan. 22, 1839, Mary J. Stokes (d. Dec. 31, 1839), daughter of Colin Stokes. They had issue (one child) :

1. George⁸ Hatchett (died in infancy—7 mos. old).
He married, 2nd, in Oct., 1841, Virginia M. A. Epes (d. about Jan., 1843). They had issue (one child) :
2. Virginia⁸ Hatchett, married Rufus G. Maddox, of Lunenburg Co., Va. They had six or seven children.
He married, 3rd, in 1844 or 1845, Miss Martha Beverly. They had issue (five children) :
3. A daughter who married Dr. Joseph W. Southall, of Amelia Co., Va.
4. Susan⁸ Hatchett,
5. Powhatan⁸ Hatchett,
6. Frances Tanner⁸ Hatchett,
7. Colin Stokes⁸ Hatchett.

for Jane Maria
1837.

m.w.f.

Jane Maria⁷ Hatchett (b. 1836, in Lunenburg Co., Va.) (daughter of Frances Tanner⁶ Jones and Haynie Hatchett), married, 1st, Benjamin Hite.

They had issue:

1. Lewellyn Jones⁸ Hite, who married Sarah Haskins. They had eight or nine children.
2. Dr. Benjamin Haynie⁸ Hite (b. July 10, 1837, d. Dec. 29, 1912), educated at Randolph-Macon College; Univ. Va.; Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia (1859), Lieut. of Cavalry C. S. A., married Aug. 1, 1860, Sarah Margaret Angelina Ogburn (b. March 5, 1851, d. Dec. 13, 1916), daughter of Charles Harrison Ogburn and his second wife Sarah Hill (Dance) Ogburn, of Mecklenburg Co., Va. Dr. Hite's home was Groveland, Lunenburg Co., Va. He was the family physician of the writer's father. He was a kind, gentle, lovable man.

Their children were:

- (1) Herbert Dance⁹ Hite,
- (2) Lillian Henry⁹ Hite, who married Dr. Norman Neblett, of Inglewood. (See Neblett Genealogy.)
- (3) Jane Maria⁹ Hite, who married Richard David Maben.
- (4) Rosa Cabell⁹ Hite, who married William Edwin Neblett.
- (5) John Richard⁹ Hite, who married Martha Walthall.
- (6) Susan Haynie⁹ Hite, who married Charles McDonald Neblett.
- (7) Benjamin Haynie⁹ Hite.

Jane Maria⁷ Hatchett (after the death of her first husband Benjamin Hite), married 2nd, Charles Harrison Ogburn, of Mecklenburg County, Va.

They had issue:

3. Fannie A.⁸ Ogburn (b. 1847), who married in 1868, Joseph W. Palmer, of Brunswick County, Va.

They had:

- (1) Sallie Haynie⁹ Palmer, who married W. Withers Miller, of Richmond, Va.

- (2) Frances Susan⁹ Palmer, who married Robert Pegram Buford.
 - (3) Charles⁹ Palmer,
 - (4) Edwin Cabell⁹ Palmer,
 - (5) Marion Ogburn⁹ Palmer,
 - (6) Joseph William⁹ Palmer,
 - (7) Fitzhugh Lee⁹ Palmer,
 - (8) David Hunter⁹ Palmer.
4. Edwin Cook⁸ Ogburn (b. Jan. 25, 1857), married in 1876, Sarah Jane Stokes, daughter of David R. Stokes and Susan Haynie Stokes.
- They had issue (two children):
- (1) Fanny Lucy⁹ Ogburn,
 - (2) Edwin Cook⁹ Ogburn.
5. Alpheus Cabell⁸ Ogburn (b. 1852 in Mecklenburg Co., Va.), married Lucy Alliene⁸ (Ann?) Stokes, daughter of David R. and Susan (Haynie) Stokes, of Mount Holly, Lunenburg Co., Va.
- They had issue (four children):
6. Richard⁸ Ogburn (b. Jan., 1854, in Mecklenburg Co., Va.), married in 1878, Mary Bagley, daughter of Dr. Robert and Susan R. Bagley.
- They had issue (six children):
- (1) Bertha⁹ Ogburn,
 - (2) Virabel⁹ Ogburn,
 - (3) Charles⁹ Ogburn,
 - (4) Robert⁹ Ogburn,
- and two others.

Branch Archer⁷ Hatchett (b. July 14, 1820, in Lunenburg Co., Va.), son of Frances Tanner⁶ Jones and Haynie Hatchett, married Nov., 1853, Catharine Connally, of Nottoway County, Va. They had issue five children:

- 1. Archer⁸ Hatchett, who married Miss Ferguson, of Dinwiddie County, Va.
- 2. Llewellyn⁸ Hatchett, married a lady from Mississippi.
- 3. Mary⁸ Hatchett,

4. Willie⁸ Hatchett, married a lady from Roanoke, Va.
5. Morton⁸ Hatchett.

Mary Frances⁷ Hatchett (b. 1821, in Lunenburg County, Va.), daughter of Frances Tanner⁶ Jones and Haynie Hatchett, married Feb., 1856, Charles H. Carter, of Nottoway County, Va.

They had issue three children:

1. Haynie H.⁸ Carter,
2. Lew C.⁸ Carter,
3. Fanny T.⁸ Carter (died in infancy).

John Richard⁷ Hatchett (b. 1822, in Lunenburg County, Va.. d. April, 1865, buried in Lunenburg Co.), son of Frances Tanner⁶ Jones and Haynie Hatchett, married in 1855, Ann Cralle, daughter of George A. Cralle, of Nottoway County, Va.

They had issue four children:

1. Minna⁸ Hatchett, married in 1878, Captain William Hethorn, of England. They had five children.
2. George Cralle⁸ Hatchett, married Sally Ogburn, of Brunswick County, Va. They had three children.
3. Maion (Marion?)⁸ Hatchett, married Garland Blackwell, of Lunenburg County, Va. They had five children.
4. John Richard⁸ Hatchett, Jr.

Ann Eliza⁷ Hatchett (b. June 5, 1824, in Lunenburg Co.), daughter of Frances Tanner⁶ Jones and Haynie Hatchett, married Nov. 23, 1841, Henry Stokes.

They had issue seven children:

1. Colin⁸ Stokes (b. July 10, 1843, in Lunenburg Co.), married Oct. 9, 1873, Florence S. Turpin.

They had:

- (1) Herbert Turpin⁹ Stokes,
- (2) Henry Stranhaw⁹ Stokes,
- (3) Bessie Kesse⁹ Stokes.
2. Haynie Archer⁸ Stokes (b. Feb. 12, 1846, in Lunenburg Co., Va.)
3. Mary Jane⁸ Stokes (b. Oct. 5, 1847, in Lunenburg Co., Va.), married Oct. 17, 1876, Rev. Colin Monroe, of N. C.

They had five children:

- (1) Anniebelle⁹ Monroe,
 - (2) Henry Stokes⁹ Monroe,
 - (3) Maggie D'Montfort⁹ Monroe,
 - (4) Mary Evender⁹ Monroe,
 - (5) Sally Colin⁹ Monroe.
4. Edward Cralle⁸ Stokes (b. Jan. 5, 1849, in Lunenburg Co., Va.), married Feb. 23, 1875, Agnes M. Bagley.

They had four children:

- (1) Henry Bagley⁹ Stokes,
 - (2) Annie Cralle⁹ Stokes,
 - (3) Edward Garland⁹ Stokes,
 - (4) Agnes Mary⁹ Stokes.
5. William D'Montfort⁸ Stokes (b. March 16, 1856, in Lunenburg County, Va.).
6. Allen Y.⁸ Stokes (b. Jan. 31, 1858, in Prince Edward County, Va.).
7. Sarah Frances⁸ Stokes (b. Sept. 6, 1860, in Prince Edward County, Va.).

Sarah Jane⁷ Hatchett (b. July, 1826, in Lunenburg Co., Va.), daughter of Frances Tanner⁶ Jones and Haynie Hatchett, married Feb. 10, 1849, Nathaniel Matthews, of Richmond, Va.

They had issue nine children:

1. Nathaniel⁸ Matthews,
2. Fanny⁸ Matthews,
3. Nanny O.⁸ Matthews,
4. John⁸ Matthews,
5. Luke⁸ Matthews,
6. Sally⁸ Matthews,
7. Mary Eliza⁸ Matthews,
8. Haynie H.⁸ Matthews,
9. Judith Dance⁸ Matthews.

Dr. Llewellyn⁷ Hatchett (b. 1828, in Lunenburg Co., Va.), son of Frances Tanner⁶ Jones and Haynie Hatchett, married in 1856, Elizabeth Penn.

They had issue; six children:

1. Virginia Dare^s Hatchett,
2. Sally Tanner^s Hatchett,
3. Mary^s Hatchett,
4. John R.^s Hatchett,
5. Henry Stokes^s Hatchett,
6. Ambrose Sharpe^s Hatchett.

Peter Montfort^r Hatchett (b. 1832, in Lunenburg Co., Va.), son of Frances Tanner⁶ Jones and Haynie Hatchett, married, Nov., 1855, Nannie Scott, daughter of Dr. George Scott, of Amelia County, Va.

They had issue five children:

1. Sallie Montfort^s Hatchett,
2. George Haynie^s Hatchett,
3. Mary Tanner^s Hatchett,
4. Peter M.^s Hatchett,
5. Fanny M.^s Hatchett.

Isabella Overton^r Hatchett* (b. 1833, in Lunenburg County, Va.), married, 1st, in 1859, Robert Jackson, of Mecklenburg Co., Va. Killed in Civil War in seven days' fight around Richmond. They had issue three children:

1. Robert^s Jackson,
2. Haynie^s Jackson,
3. Charles^s Jackson.

Married, 2nd, in 1869, Benjamin R. Palmer, of Warrenton, N. C., and had issue six children:

4. Bell^s Palmer,
5. Horace^s Palmer,
6. Rosa^s Palmer,
7. Benjamin Russell^s Palmer,
8. Mary Frances^s Palmer,
9. Susan Russell^s Palmer.

*The eleventh child of Frances Tanner⁶ Jones and Haynie Hatchett is given in the *Peter and Richard Jones Genealogies* (Fothergill) as Isabella Overton Hatchett. In the Henry Stokes manuscript this child is described as "Rosa O. Hatchett."

Emma Petronella⁷ Hatchett (b. cir. 1834, in Lunenburg Co., Va.), married Feb., 1855, George Hayse, of Mecklenburg Co., Va. They had issue one child:

1. Emma⁸ Hayse (d. 1891), who married William Edmondson, of Mecklenburg Co., Va. They had four children.

Sylvanus³ Stokes (William,² Christopher¹), who patented 244 acres of land in Charles City County, Dec. 19, 1711, and 200 acres on the south side of the Nottoway River in 1717, and 380 acres adjoining this last grant in 1723, had two sons:*

1. Young⁴ Stokes,
2. Henry⁴ Stokes.

Young⁴ Stokes (Sylvanus,³ William,² Christopher¹). His will is dated Aug. 3, 1769, and proved in Lunenburg, Dec. 5, 1770. His wife was named Elizabeth.

They had issue:

1. Henry⁵ Stokes,
2. Cecilia⁵ Stokes, who married Ambrose Ellis. In Lunenburg County, dated Oct. 12, 1869, is the marriage bond of Cécilia (it is spelled "Sicely" in the marriage bond) Stokes, daughter of Young Stokes, for her marriage to Ambrose Ellis. Henry Stokes was surety on this bond.
3. Sylvanus⁵ Stokes,
4. Allen⁵ Stokes,
5. William⁵ Stokes,
6. Susannah⁵ Stokes,
7. Charlotte⁵ Stokes,
8. Mary Ann⁵ Stokes, who had (before the date of the will) married Neal.
9. Lucy⁵ Stokes, who had (before the date of the will), married Anderson.
10. Elizabeth⁵ Stokes, who (at the date of the will) was the wife of Henry Blagrave. Henry Blagrave was one of the "Gentlemen Justices" of the County Court of Lunenburg County in 1776, and on Feb. 8, 1776, he was recommended by the court to the "Honorable the Committee of Safety"

*6 Va. Hist. Mag. 97.

as a fit person to execute the office of sheriff of the County of Lunenburg. He was appointed and qualified March 15, 1776.

Allen⁵ Stokes (Young,⁴ Sylvanus,³ William,² Christopher¹), of Lunenburg County, Va. His will was dated Jan. 10, 1781, and proved in Lunenburg County, Feb. 8, 1787. His wife was living when will was made, but her name is not disclosed by it. His mother was also living at the time. He mentions his brother Henry Stokes.

His children as disclosed by the will were:

1. Allen⁶ Stokes,
2. German Young⁶ Stokes,
3. Mary⁶ Stokes.

German Young⁶ Stokes (Allen,⁵ Young,⁴ Sylvanus,³ William,² Christopher¹). The Lunenburg records (Guardians Record, p. 5) show that Wm. Stokes was guardian of German Young Stokes, orphan of Allen Stokes. He had at least one child:

Mary A. E.⁷ Stokes (German Young,⁶ Allen,⁵ Young,⁴ Sylvanus,³ William², Christopher¹). The Lunenburg County, Va., record of marriage shows the marriage Aug. 6, 1829, of Mary A. E. Stokes and Robert Bolling. The marriage bond is dated Aug. 4, 1829, and consent is given for Mary A. E. Stokes, by her father German Y. Stokes, and for Robert Bolling by Armistead Bruce, his guardian.

They had issue, at least one child:

Lucy J.⁸ Bolling (b. cir. 1841), who married Joseph J. Price, of Cumberland Co., Va. The Lunenburg records show that on July 23, 1862, Joseph J. Price (26) of Cumberland Co., son of Warner W. and Susan E. Price, married Lucy J. Bolling (21) of Nottoway County, daughter of Robert and Mary Bolling. (See 22 Va. Hist. Mag. 200.)

They had:

Thaddenia⁹ Price (b. March 19, 1863), who married, Jan. 9, 1882, Samuel A. Harding (b. Aug. 5, 1861), of Lunenburg County, Virginia.

They had:

1. Bennett¹⁰ Harding (b. Sept. 9, 1886), married (Jan. 15, 1910), Minnie Lyons.
2. Ossie M.¹⁰ Harding (b. Dec. 11, 1882), who married Isaac Washington Bell (of Wilburn, Lunenburg Co., Va.), son of Isaac Bonaparte and Etta Wilburn (Hardy) Bell. (See Bell Genealogy.)

They have:

- (1) Isaac Bonaparte¹¹ Bell (b. Sept. 7, 1907).
- (2) Samuel Dennis¹¹ Bell (b. Dec. 18, 1908).
- (3) Bennett Carlyle¹¹ Bell (b. May 17, 1910).
3. Edna¹⁰ Harding (b. Nov. 2, 1884), who married, March 22, 1912, Luthur Turner, of Richmond, Virginia. Two children:
 - (1) Inez¹¹ Turner,
 - (2) Luthur¹¹ Turner, Jr.

TAYLOR

The earliest ascertained ancestor of that name, of the Lunenburg Taylors, was

Rev. Daniel¹ Taylor, an Episcopal Clergyman who came to Virginia from Bristol, England, in 1703. He became rector of Blissland Parish in New Kent County. The name of his wife is not known. He had at least one child, a son,

Rev. Daniel² Taylor, also an Episcopal Clergyman. He was educated at Cambridge, in England, was a B. A. of Trinity College, and, upon his return to Virginia, became minister of St. John's Parish, in King William County. He married Alice Littlepage, daughter of Richard Littlepage of New Kent County. They had four children, one of whom was:

William³ Taylor (b. 1732 in New Kent County, d. 1820 in Lunenburg County), who married in 1767, Martha Waller, daughter of Judge Benjamin Waller of Williamsburg, Va. The Waller family was a very notable one. It is said the family were descended from the Norman Knight Alured de Valler (Waler), who came to England with William the Conqueror, and finally settled in Kent County, England. The first of the family to come

to Virginia was John Waller, who came in 1635. He was a son of Sir William Waller. He settled on the Pamunkey River. He had a son Edmund Waller, who was the father of Judge Benjamin Waller, who, as stated, was the father of Martha Waller, wife of William Taylor. John Waller, the first clerk of Spottsylvania County, was a son of Dr. Edmund Waller, who was a son of Edmund Waller, the poet.

A sister of Martha Waller, Dorothy Elizabeth Waller, married Henry Tazewell, of Brunswick County, one of Virginia's most able sons, and they were the parents of Governor Littleton Waller Tazewell.

William Taylor deserves more than passing mention. It is not known exactly when he came to Lunenburg, but he became Clerk of the County in 1763, and continued in that office fifty-one years. He represented the County, along with Henry Blagrove (who was the senior representative), in the House of Burgesses at the sessions held in 1765, 1766, 1767 and 1768; he was therefore a member of that body when Patrick Henry offered his famous resolutions of 1765, and in which, when some raised the cry of "Treason! Treason!" he challenged them "If that be treason, make the most of it." William Taylor, therefore, may well be ranked among the elder class of the Founders of the Republic.

In a notice of his death which appeared in the *Richmond Enquirer*, September 22, 1820, it was said:

"Departed this life on the 11th instant, at his residence, in Lunenburg County, in the eighty-second year of his age, William Taylor, Esq. Few instances have occurred in which a long life has been spent in a more unexceptional and exemplary manner than has that of this gentleman. As a just, honest and honorable man there was none to excel him; as an officer (he was upwards of fifty years Clerk of the Court of the County in which he lived), he was assiduous and correct in the discharge of his duties, and, as a husband, father, master, and neighbor, he was affectionate, tender, humane and kind.

"In the year 1765, when a young man, he was elected to the Assembly of Virginia, then called the House of Burgesses, and was one of those who supported the resolutions brought forward by Patrick Henry against the assumed power of the British Par-

liament to tax the colonies without their consent, and it is believed that he is the last of those patriotic men who constituted the majority upon that occasion. He continued during the Revolution the same warm, steady patriot, and not only suffered with cheerfulness the privations and hardships peculiar to the struggle, but actively exerted himself to insure success to the cause of independence.

“He has left an aged widow and a numerous offspring to lament their loss, by whom his memory will be tenderly cherished as long as they esteem virtue, pure morality and unaffected piety to be the perfection of the human race. His countrymen, most of whom from his age, revered him as a father, and his numerous friends and acquaintances will long remember his worth, and it is to be hoped that the bright example which he has left them will cause many to imitate his virtues.”

William³ Taylor and his wife Martha Waller had (eleven children—ten sons and one daughter):

1. Benjamin⁴ Taylor,
2. Daniel⁴ Taylor,
3. Richard⁴ Taylor,
4. Edmund Francis⁴ Taylor,
5. John⁴ Taylor,
6. Thomas⁴ Taylor,
7. Louis Littlepage⁴ Taylor.
8. Waller⁴ Taylor,
9. Robert⁴ Taylor,
10. Martha⁴ Taylor,
11. William Henry⁴ Taylor.

It is much to be regretted that so far as is known to this writer, no complete genealogy of the descendants of William³ Taylor has ever been compiled, or even attempted.

Of the above mentioned children,

Daniel⁴ Taylor (a minister), married, May 24, 1792, Eliza Hinton, and they had several children, among whom were:

1. John James⁵ Taylor, who married in 1831, Sarah Ann Walker, daughter of David Walker and his wife Elizabeth H. Hardaway, and had:

- (1) Eliza S.⁶ Taylor, who married in 1852, Robert E. Meade, of "Octagon Hall," who had:
- (a) Lizzie T. Meade, who married (second wife), March 24, 1884, Captain Cornelius Tacitus Allen. (See Allen Genealogy herein), and they had:
 - I Lucy Meade⁸ Allen,
 - II Flory Hays⁸ Allen.
 - (b) Waller Lee⁷ Meade.
2. William⁵ Taylor (b. 1793-94, d. July 13, 1835), was educated at the United States Naval Academy, at Annapolis, Md. March 24, 1812, ordered to service on the Frigate *Constitution*, assumed duties April 6, 1812, and served on that ship during the war of 1812-14. March 5, 1817, promoted to Lieutenant and served on different ships until his death at the Naval Hospital in Norfolk, Va., July 13, 1835.

In 1813 the General Assembly of Virginia, by resolution requested the Governor to present the thanks of the state to him,—to "William Taylor and Alexander Belches, together with an appropriate reward to each, expressing by suitable engravings the sense the Assembly entertains of the signal intrepidity" shown by them in the part they had "distinguished by their valor" in the "glorious victories achieved by Captain Hull and Commodore Bainbridge, their officers and crews in the capture and destruction of the British Frigates *Guierre* and *Java*."

Pursuant to this resolution, midshipman William Taylor was presented in 1814 with a beautiful sword, "gold scabbarded and jewel-hilted, with a Damascus blade, on which was an inscription highly commendatory of his gallant behavior on the occasion referred to."*

Lieutenant Taylor never married; and this sword passed to the possession of his sister, Mrs. Alice L. Ingram, of Lunenburg, who at the outbreak of the Civil War lent it to Captain David R. Stokes and the officers of his company,

*From the MS. of Capt. Cornelius Tacitus Allen, who often saw the sword.

one of which was Captain Allen (Co. C, 20th Va. Regt.). In the second battle of the war, that of Rich Mountain, July 11, 1861, the Confederates were defeated, and the sword was among the booty taken. The Confederate Camp, where the sword was taken, was captured by the 13th Indiana Regiment. It was later presented to General Jeremiah C. Sullivan at a mass meeting in Indianapolis, Ind., General Sullivan having been the Colonel of the 13th Indiana Regiment at the time of the battle of Rich Mountain.

Captain Allen several years ago located the sword in the possession of the widow of General Sullivan in Oakland, California, but was never able to secure the return of this interesting souvenir.

3. Alice⁵ Taylor married Captain Sylvanus Ingram, whose home was near old Spring Hill Church, in the lower end of the county. They had (at least three children):
 - (1) Amelia⁶ Ingram, who married W. S. Rudd.
 - (2) Sarah⁶ Ingram, who married A. Sidney Smith.
(They had no children.)
 - (3) Dr. S. L.⁶ Ingram, who married (1st), Eliza Smart, of Leesburg, Virginia, and had several children, one of whom was:
 - (a) Judge John Henry⁷ Ingram (deceased); of Richmond, Virginia.

Edmund Francis⁴ Taylor represented Lunenburg in the Legislature in 1816 and 1817. No data are available as to his descendants, if any.

William Henry⁴ Taylor succeeded his father as Clerk of Lunenburg County, in 1814, and served until 1846, a period of thirty-two years. He was a man of large means, owned three plantations in Lunenburg County and a large landed estate near Little Rock, Arkansas. He married Narcissa Bacon, daughter of Edmund P. Bacon, of Lunenburg County. They had several children, one of whom, Lewis Littlepage Taylor, was Chief Clerk in the office of the Secretary of State of the United States, during the administration of President Taylor, who was his kinsman.

Thomas⁴ Taylor (the name of whose wife is not now known), had (at least one child):

1. Emily F.⁵ Taylor, who married (second wife), Captain Robert W. Bragg, of Lunenburg County. They had (a number of children. Those mentioned may not be all):
 - (1) Martha L.⁶ Bragg, who married Dr. William J. Allen. (See Allen Genealogy herein.)
 - (2) Mary⁶ Bragg, who married Peter J. Forrest.
 - (3) Fannie⁶ Bragg, who married H. C. Marchant, of Charlottesville, Va.
 - (4) Robert W.⁶ Bragg, who married Pattie Bagley, daughter of George L. Bagley. (See Bagley Genealogy herein.)

Waller⁴ Taylor (b. before 1786, d. in Lunenburg County, Aug. 26, 1826), represented Lunenburg in the Legislature of Virginia in the sessions of 1800-1801, and 1801-1802. He removed to Indiana in 1805, and located in Vincennes, where he became Judge in 1806. He served under General William Henry Harrison in the war of 1812, was Adjutant General of Indiana in 1814, and was United States Senator from Indiana from 1816 to 1825. He returned to Lunenburg County to visit relatives in 1826, and there died on August 26, 1826. He is buried in the burying ground on the old Taylor place in Lunenburg County, in an unmarked grave.

Lewis Littlepage⁴ Taylor (b. Aug. 29, 1788, d. Sept. 21, 1814), was a member of the militia establishment of Lunenburg County at the time of the war of 1812, but he left it to join the regular army establishment of the United States, and became a Lieutenant Colonel of the 20th Infantry, and distinguished himself at the battle of Lundy's Lane.

He died while in the military service of his country, at Norfolk, Virginia, where he is buried, in old St. Paul's Churchyard. The stone marking his grave is inscribed:

"To the memory of Lewis L. Taylor, who was born in the County of Lunenburg, Virginia, May the 29th, 1788. He was appointed Major the 20th Regt. U. S. Infantry and died in the service of his country in this Borough, September 21st, 1814.

“As an officer he was brave, to his Parents he was dutiful, to his Brothers affectionate and to his Friends sincere.

“Sic transit Mundi Gloria.”

It was in his honor that the town of Lewiston was named. William³ Taylor's grave, and that of his distinguished son, Waller Taylor, are on that part of the “Old Taylor Farm,” now or lately owned by a colored man named Henry Jones. The location is about two miles southeast of St. John's Church.

While William Taylor was Clerk of the County for so long a time, he lived on his plantation, at the above location, thirteen or fourteen miles from the Court House. He often kept the order books at his home, taking them to the Court House on court days or on other occasions as might be necessary. The road he traveled in going to and from the Court House is known as the “Office Road.”

This place—the Old Taylor Place—is the place mentioned in Chapter XIII of Volume I hereof, as the place of encampment of Captain David R. Stokes' Company preparatory to going into the Civil War. It was here, also that the Company later commanded by Captain Cornelius Tacitus Allen encamped before joining the armies in the field.

WATKINS—COLLIER

The Watkins family, or rather persons of the name, are numerous in the early annals of the state. Whether they were related is not known.

Henry Watkins was alive on the Eastern shore in 1623, after the Indian massacre of March 22, 1621.

Daniel Watkins came to America in the ship *Charles*, in 1621.

David Watkins was cashier for the Virginia Company in 1624.

Others of the name in the early years of the colony were: Rice Watkins, Perigrin Watkins, Richard Watkins and Thomas Watkins, and Bishop Meade says “The Watkins' are in the earliest old Warwick County records of its first settlers.”*

William¹ Watkins is the earliest known progenitor of the Watkins family of early Lunenburg. He was born between 1690 and 1700, and resided in Henrico County, where he was sheriff.

*Bishop Meade: *Old Churches, Families, etc.*, I, 240.

When Chesterfield was cut off from that county in 1745 he was a resident of that county, and removed from Chesterfield to Lunenburg in 1752. In Lunenburg he became a vestryman of Cumberland Parish. He owned lands in that part of Lunenburg which afterwards became Charlotte, and also in Prince Edward County. Late in life he and his family joined the Briery Creek Church,* which was located near the Charlotte-Prince Edward line. This was a Presbyterian Church. Some of his descendants became Methodists and other Baptists. His descendants are numerously represented in Georgia, Tennessee and Alabama.

His wife's name was Martha (last name not known).

William¹ Watkins and his wife Martha, had seven children:

1. James² Watkins (b. Feb. 5, 1728, d. Dec. 21, 1800).
2. Richard² Watkins, who married Eliz. Parish, and died in Tennessee. They had six children.
3. John² Watkins, of Briery Creek, will proved in 1770.
4. Mary² Watkins, who married in 1759, Benjamin Breedlove, of Lunenburg County, Virginia.
5. Elizabeth² Watkins, who married John Breedlove, of Lunenburg County, Virginia, and moved to Sparta, Georgia.
6. William² Watkins, "the younger," of Dinwiddie County, Va.
7. Sally² Watkins (b. 1732), married in 1762, James Bouldin of Lunenburg County, Virginia, and moved to South Carolina. Their daughter:

(1) Eliz.³ Bouldin (b. 1763), married in 1788, James Collier, son of Cornelius Collier, of Lunenburg County, Virginia, and his wife Elizabeth Wyatt. They had:

(a) Henry Watkins⁴ Collier,† Judge of the Supreme Court, and Governor of Alabama.

*MS. of Mrs. William Carter Stubbs, a descendant, in the writer's possession. Mrs. Stubbs, an accomplished genealogist, is the widow of the distinguished genealogist, Dr. William Carter Stubbs, who died in New Orleans, where his widow now (1926) resides.

†Governor Collier's paternal ancestry was also from a Lunenburg family. His grandfather, Cornelius Collier, of Lunenburg County, married Elizabeth Wyatt, of Lunenburg County, and their son, James Collier; who married Elizabeth Bouldin (also of Lunenburg ancestry), was the father of Governor Collier.

James² Watkins (b. Feb. 5, 1728), of Amelia, Charlotte and Prince Edward Counties, Va. (d. Dec. 21, 1800, in Wilkes County, Georgia), son of William¹ Watkins and his wife Martha, married Nov. 20, 1755, Martha Thompson (b. in Chesterfield County, Va., Dec. 10, 1737, d. in Wilkes County, Georgia, Oct. 26, 1803), daughter of Robert Thompson of Chesterfield County, Va. They removed to Georgia in 1796.

They had:

1. William³ Watkins (b. Oct. 20, 1756, in Virginia, d. May 28, 1832, in Lawrence Co., Ala.), married in 1785, Susan Clark Coleman (b. 1769, in Virginia, d. in 1843, in Lawrence Co., Ala.). They moved to Georgia in 1790, and to Maury County, Tenn., in 1808. In that year William Watkins accompanied Col. Leroy Pope and Thomas Bibb (Governor of Alabama in 1820), on a horseback trip to New Orleans, through Alabama and Mississippi, returning via Natchez, where the party was joined by John W. Walker, first United States Senator from Alabama, brother of Reverend Jeremiah Walker. In 1819 William Watkins moved to Madison County, Ala., and finally, in 1827, to Lawrence County, Ala.

They had:

- (1) Coleman⁴ Watkins (b. 1786, d. 1819).
- (2) William⁴ Watkins (b. 1798 in Georgia, d. 1859 at Huntsville, Ala.).
- (3) James⁴ Watkins (b. 1800, d. 1833), of Sequin, Texas.
- (4) Martha⁴ Watkins (b. in 1810, in Tenn., d. Oct. 24, 1885, in Courtland, Ala.).

And four children who died young.

2. James³ Watkins, Jr. (b. Oct. 20, 1758, in Prince Edward Co., Va., d. Oct. 10, 1824, in Elbert Co., Ga., on the Savannah River, ten miles above Petersburg), married in Virginia, Feb. 27, 1779, Jane Thompson (b. 1762, d. Aug. 2, 1815), daughter of Isham and Mary Ann (Oliver) Thompson. (Isham was son of Robert Thompson, goldsmith and banker.)

They had:

- (1) Garland Thompson⁴ Watkins (b. Jan. 30, 1780, in Prince Edward Co., d. 1816), never married.
- (2) Robert H.⁴ Watkins (b. Oct. 1, 1782, in Prince Edward Co., Va., d. Sept. 10, 1855, at Pulaski, Tenn.).
- (3) Mary Thompson⁴ Watkins (b. March 7, 1784), married Jan. 15, 1801, in Elbert Co., Ga., Dr. Asa Thompson (d. 1832 in Huntsville, Ala.).
- (4) Sarah Herndon⁴ Watkins (b. Feb. 12, 1786, in Prince Edward Co., Va., d. 1871), married Jan. 19, 1808, Judge Stephen Willis (b. 1785, d. 1827).
- (5) Martha Thompson⁴ Watkins (b. Aug. 23, 1787, d. March 17, 1865, married Oct. 15, 1807, Major Benjamin Taliaferro (b. 1782, d. 1852)).
- (6) Jane⁴ Watkins (b. Nov. 13, 1789, d. 1837), married, July 10, 1810, Judge James Minor Tait.
- (7) Susan⁴ Watkins (b. March 17, 1791), married (1st), Feb. 17, 1811, Major John Oliver, of Petersburg, Ga., (2nd), Dr. William N. Richardson, of Elbert Co., Ga.
- (8) Eliza⁴ Watkins (b. Feb. 5, 1793, d. 1836), married May 21, 1817, William McGehee (d. 1832), son of Micajah McGehee, of Oglethorpe Co., Ga.
- (9) James⁴ Watkins, Jr. (b. Sept. 20, 1795, d. March 15, 1826), married Jane Urquhart, of Augusta, Ga.
- (10) Sophia Herndon⁴ Watkins (b. May 12, 1797, d. 1836), married June 18, 1817, Judge Eli Sims Shorter, of Georgia (b. 1792, d. 1836).
- (11) Theophilus⁴ Watkins (b. 1799, d. 1814, age 15 years).

Robert H.⁴ Watkins (b. Oct. 1, 1782, in Prince Edward County, Va., d. Sept. 10, 1855, at Pulaski, Tenn.), member Georgia Legislature, married April 25, 1805, in Petersburg, Ga., Prudence Thompson Oliver (b. Oct. 22, 1788, in Petersburg, Ga., d. Oct., 1868, at Huntsville, Ala.), daughter of John and Frances (Thompson) Oliver, of Petersburg, Georgia.

They had:

1. Mary Frances⁵ Watkins (b. Nov. 13, 1809, in Petersburg,

Ga., d. Feb. 6, 1889, at *Rocky Hill*, Lawrence County, Ala.), who married, July 14, 1824, James Edmond Saunders (b. May 7, 1806, in Brunswick Co., Va., d. at *Rocky Hill*, August 23, 1896), son of Rev. Turner and Frances (Dunn) Saunders. James Edmond Saunders (with his granddaughter, Mrs. William Carter Stubbs), was the author of *Early Settlers of Alabama*, a notable genealogical work.

They had:

- (1) Frances Amanda⁶ Saunders,
 - (2) Robert Turner⁶ Saunders,
 - (3) Elizabeth Dunn⁶ Saunders,
 - (4) Mary Louisa⁶ Saunders (d. 1859), who married Henry D. Blair, of Mobile, Ala., and had one child:
 - (a) Elizabeth Saunders, who married Dr. Wm. C. Stubbs (Ph. D. and Genealogist).
 - (5) Dudley Dunn⁶ Saunders,
 - (6) Sarah Jane⁶ Saunders,
 - (7) James⁶ Saunders,
 - (8) Fanny Dunn⁶ Saunders,
 - (9) Prudence Oliver⁶ Saunders,
 - (10) Lawrence Watkins⁶ Saunders,
 - (11) Ellen Virginia⁶ Saunders.
2. Sarah Independence⁵ Watkins (b. July 4, 1811, in Petersburg, Va., d. Jan. 30, 1887, at Florence, Ala.), married Oct. 1, 1829, George Washington Foster, of Florence, Ala. (b. 1806, at Nashville, Tenn., d. at Florence, Ala.), son of Robert and Rose (Coleman) Foster, of Nashville, Tenn., formerly of Virginia.

They had:

- (1) Mary Ann⁶ Foster (d. 1853), married James Simpson, of Florence, Ala.
- (2) Dr. Watkins⁶ Foster,
- (3) Virginia⁶ Foster, who married James Irvine.
- (4) Louisa⁶ Foster, who married Charles Fant, of Mississippi.

- (5) George W.⁶ Foster, C. S. A. (under General Roddy), married Emma McKiernon.
 - (6) Andrew J.⁶ Foster, C. S. A. (under General Roddy), married Mrs. Helen Potter, of Mississippi.
 - (7) Sallie⁶ Foster (b. 1850, d. 1898), married in 1871, Sterling McDonald, of Florence, Ala.
3. James Lawrence⁵ Watkins (b. May 10, 1814, d. 1891, in Huntsville, Ala.), married, April 26, 1838, Eliza Patton (b. Oct. 1820), daughter of William Patton, and sister of Governor Robert Patton, of Alabama. Served on Gen. Forrest's staff in 1862.

They had:

- (1) Virginia Patton⁶ Watkins (b. 1841), who married Charles Robinson, from Tennessee, near Memphis, removed to Louisville, Ky.
 - (2) Dr. William⁶ Watkins (b. 1853, d. July 22, 1882), died unmarried.
4. Virginia⁵ Watkins (b. Oct. 22, 1816, d. May 12, 1837), married Oct. 30, 1833, Hon. Thomas J. Foster (b. at Nashville, Tenn., 1813, d. Feb. 12, 1887, at Lawrence, Ala.), member of the Confederate States Congress, in 1861; Col. of a regiment; elected to the United States Congress in 1865.

They had:

- (1) James⁶ Foster, who married Tillie Toney.
 - (2) Coleman⁶ Foster,
 - (3) Annie⁶ Foster, who married Lieutenant Longshaw, U. S. A.
5. Louisa Matilda⁵ Watkins (b. Dec. 29, 1819, at Petersburg, Ga., d. 1892, at Huntsville, Ala.), married Dec. 1, 1841, Stephen Willis Harris, of Huntsville, Ala., son of Judge Stephen Willis and Sarah (Watkins) Harris, of Athens, Ga. (see *Bench and Bar of Georgia*), a celebrated wit.

They had:

- (1) A daughter (d. young),

- (2) Watkins⁶ Harris (b. 1843, d. Jan. 17, 1865), C. S. A., died of exposure in the military service.
- (3) Stephen Willis⁶ Harris (b. 1849, d. 1895), married Mary S. Darwin, daughter of James L. Darwin, of Huntsville, Ala.

The descendants of this Watkins family, frequently of other names, through descent from female members, are numerous throughout the south, in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Texas, especially.

The Collier line of Governor Henry Watkins Collier, of Alabama, is as follows:

William¹ Collier, an immigrant, became a resident of York County, Virginia, in 1670; in 1675 he was a Lt. Col. of New Kent County.

He is believed (but not definitely proved), to have been the father of

Charles² Collier, of King and Queen County, Virginia (b. 1660 in England, d. 1735, in Virginia, who married Mary (last name not known).

They had:

John³ Collier, of "Porto Bello," King and Queen County, Virginia (b. 1685, in Virginia, d. 1765, in Virginia). His two eldest sons served as officers in the Virginia Regiment, under Admiral Vernon in the ill-fated Carthagenean expedition in 1740-42. He was a Burgess, High Sheriff of York County; member of the King's Council, and speaker of the House of Burgesses. He married three times. His third wife was Nancy (or Ann) Eppes, daughter of Col. Francis Eppes, a distinguished Burgess, and by this marriage had:

Colonel Cornelius⁴ Collier (b. 1720 at "Porto Bello," King and Queen County, d. 1810, in Abbeville District, S. C.). In 1750 he located in Lunenburg County, Virginia (in that part now Charlotte County). In 1802 he removed to Abbeville District, S. C. He married in 1754 Elizabeth Wyatt, daughter of Captain John and Elizabeth Wyatt, of Gloucester County, Va.

They had:

Colonel James⁵ Collier (b. Oct. 13, 175—, in Lunenburg County, Va., d. 1832, in Madison County, Ala.), who served with distinction in the Revolutionary War, as Sergeant of Cavalry in Capt. Philip Taliaferro's Company, 2nd Va. Regt. He was wounded in the cheek by a sabre gash in the Revolution. As stated above, he married, July 3, 1788, Elizabeth Bouldin, and they were the parents of Governor Collier.

A comprehensive genealogy of the Colliery family may be found in *Colonial Families of the Southern States* (Stella Pickett Hardy).

WILLIAMSON

The Williamsons of Virginia, descendants of John Williamson who married Rebecca Chamberlayne, are said to be descended from Sir Joseph Williamson, Knight, who was the son of an English Clergyman. Sir Joseph Williamson was born in 1630; he purchased the large estate of the Duke of Richmond, in Kent, England, with its magnificent seat, Cobham Hall. He married Catherine O'Brien Stewart. He was once confined in the Tower of London for alleged complicity in a plot for permitting Catholics to come into England, while he was Secretary of State.

John Williamson who came to Virginia and settled opposite Jamestown, and called his place Cobham, is said to have been a descendant of Sir Joseph Williamson, but this writer does not have the definite details of the descent.

The Williamson line presents no great difficulty to the genealogist from John Williamson (who married Rebecca Chamberlayne) on down. The family is very numerous in the United States, and many of the descendants are associated in a very worthy work of preserving the genealogy and history of the family. No effort can be made here to present a comprehensive genealogy of the family; but sufficient will be embodied to show the descent of the Lunenburg, Charlotte and some other families who have the Williamson blood.

John¹ Williamson (b. 1687, d. 1757, elected vestryman of Curles Church, June 17, 1735), married Rebecca Chamberlayne of New Kent County, Va.

They had:

1. Thomas² Williamson (b. 1708), who married in 1730, Judith Fleming,* daughter of Tarleton Fleming,† of New Kent County, Virginia.

They had:

- (1) John³ Williamson (b. 1733, d. 1806, vestryman Henrico Parish 1754), who married in 1754, Sarah Price, and had:

- (a) Thomas⁴ Williamson (b. May 22, 1777, d. 1846, Cashier Virginia Bank of Norfolk, who married, (first), May 24, 1800, Elizabeth Galt (b. May 7, 1779, d. Apr. 5, 1807); and (second), Anne McClellan McCauley Walke, who had (by the first marriage):

I Frederic⁵ Williamson (b. 1801, d. 1803).

II Dr. John Galt⁵ Williamson (b. Feb. 15, 1806, d. 1861), who married Mary Dixon. (No issue.)

*Va. Hist. Mag. 5, p. 332; 6 p. 76.

†The Fleming ancestry is a notable one. Tarleton Fleming was the son of Sir Thomas Fleming of New Kent County, Va., who was the son of John, Fifth Lord Fleming; who was the son of John, second Lord Fleming, and Lord Chamberlain; who was the son of Sir Malcolm Fleming, of Monacabo, who was the son of Sir Robert, Lord Fleming, who married Lady Janet Douglas, who was the daughter of James Douglas, Earl of Evandale, who was the son of Alexander, Fourth Earl of Douglas, who was the son of Archibald, the Grim, Third Earl of Douglas (who died in 1401), who was the son of Good Sir James or "the Black Douglas" who died in 1330.

The Princess Margaret was the daughter of Robert III, King of Scotland (b. 1340, d. 1406), and his wife Annabel; Robert III, King of Scotland, was the son of Robert II, King of Scotland (b. March 2, 1316, d. 1390), founder of the Stuart Dynasty, and his wife Elizabeth Mure, of Rowallan; he was the son of Lord Walter Stuart and his wife Marjory. Marjory was the daughter of Robert de Bruce (b. 1210, d. 1295), Fifth Lord of Annandale, who was the son of Robert, the Fourth Lord of Annandale (d. 1243), and his wife Isabel, who was the daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon, a younger brother of King William the Lion-hearted.

Robert, the Fourth Lord of Annandale, was the grandson of Robert, the Second Lord of Annandale, who was the son of Robert, First Lord of Annandale (who died in 1141), who was the son of Adam of Yorkshire, who was the son of Robert de Bruis (or de Brusi), Norman Knight who came to England with William the Conqueror in 1066.

Robert de Bruis was a descendant of Sigurd or Siegfried, the famous Norse hero.

III Gabriel Galt⁵ Williamson (b. Oct. 28, 1803, d. Oct. 16, 1859), Commander U. S. S. Fulton, who married (first), Elizabeth Gatewood (d. 1837); (second), May 31, 1843, Gabriella Woolfolk (b. Aug. 15, 1820, d. July, 1880).

(2) Robert³ Williamson (b. Feb. 15, 1735), who married Susannah Williamson (b. Aug. 28, 1733), and had:

(a) Nancy⁴ Williamson (b. June 18, 1757), who married in 1773, John Skelton.

(b) John⁴ Williamson (b. Nov. 20, 1759), who married Feb. 21, 1807, Fanny Dudley, daughter of William Ferne Dudley, and had:

I Fanny George⁵ Williamson.

(c) Charles⁴ Williamson.

(d) Mary⁴ Williamson (b. Oct. 4, 1761), who married Henry Quarles.

(e) Robert⁴ Williamson (b. March 4, 1764), who married and had:

I Robert Carter⁵ Williamson, who had:

(aa) Amanda⁶ Williamson, who married John Stewart, who had:

(bb) Belle⁷ Stewart, who married Joseph Bryant, at one time owner and editor of the *Richmond Times*. They had:

(cc) John Stewart⁸ Bryan,

(dd) Jonathan⁸ Bryan,

(ee) St. George⁸ Bryan,

(ff) Robert C.⁸ Bryan,

(gg) Thomas P.⁸ Bryan.

2. Cuthbert² Williamson, who married Elizabeth Allen.

They had:

(1) Cuthbert³ Williamson (moved to Charlotte County, and lived and died there. His second marriage took place in that county, and his will dated Aug. 9, 1811, is of record in that county in Will Book 3, page 184). He married (first), ——— Price; (second),

(M. B. in Charlotte County, dated Sept. 7, 1772),
Susanna White and had, by the second marriage:

(a) William Barrett⁴ Williamson (b. 1794, d. 1872),
who married Permelia F. Jackson, and had:

I Elbert Madison⁵ Williamson (b. Aug. 28, 1835),
married (first), Dec. 21, 1859, Virginia Spencer;
(second), Lizzie Marable, and had by the first
marriage:

(aa) Berta W.⁶ Williamson, who married
Willis J. Dance.

(bb) Thomas Spencer⁶ Williamson, who mar-
ried Annie Hickey.

(cc) William Whitfield⁶ Williamson, who mar-
ried Mattie Clark.

(dd) James P.⁶ Williamson, Jr., who married
Fannie Harvil.

II Elizabeth Cordelie⁵ Williamson, who married
Thomas C. Spencer, and had:

(aa) Sallie Pinckney⁶ Spencer, who married
Robert Cabaness, at one time Mayor of
Petersburg, Va.

III James Pinckney⁵ Williamson (b. Oct. 26, 1826,
d. Sept. 13, 1917), married Sarah J. West (b.
May 9, 1836, d. March 6, 1912). No issue.

(b) Samuel⁴ Williamson, who married Judith Ann
Woodfin, and had:

I George Cuthbert⁵ Williamson, who married
Mildred A. Brown and had:

(aa) John Thomas⁶ Williamson, who married
A. Goode Bugg.

(c) Cuthbert⁴ Williamson,

(d) Frances White⁴ Williamson,

(e) Daniel White⁴ Williamson,

(f) Mathew⁴ Williamson (d. young),

(g) Charles⁴ Williamson (moved west before 1826),

(h) Susannah⁴ Williamson, married (M. B. in Char-
lotte Co., dated March 27, 1804), Achilles Jeffries.

- (i) Nancy⁴ Williamson, married Nathan Harraway.
- (j) Elizabeth⁴ Williamson, married (M. B. in Charlotte Co., dated June 12, 1781), Samuel Bland.
- (k) Rebecca⁴ Williamson, married (M. B. in Charlotte Co. dated July 2, 1787), Ezekiel Rogers.
- (l) Martha ("Patsey")⁴ Williamson, married (M. B. in Charlotte Co. dated Dec. 5, 1796), John Roach, and they had:

I Ann⁵ Roach, who married 1815, Stephen Davis (b. 1795, d. 1866), son of Nicholas Davis, 1st Lt. Prince Edward County Militia, in the Revolutionary War. For their descendants see *Davis Genealogy* herein.

Gabriel Galt⁵ Williamson (b. Oct. 28, 1803, d. Oct. 16, 1859), who married (second) Gabriella Woolfolk (b. Aug. 15, 1820, d. July, 1880), had by this second marriage:

1. John Alexander Galt⁶ Williamson (b. Oct. 26, 1844, d. Apr. 25, 1891), C. S. N., captured; prisoner of war at Fort Warren, Boston, married Feb. 25, 1886, Mary Henry Walden (b. Aug. 25, 1858, liv. 1926), daughter of John Cole Walden (b. Feb. 25, 1822, d. May 16, 1892), and his wife (married Sept. 14, 1843), Louisa B. Winston (b. March 10, 1824, d. April 22, 1863).

They had:

- (1) Elizabeth Cromwell⁷ Williamson (b. Dec. 9, 1886, d. Sept. 12, 1888),
- (2) Louisa Gabriella⁷ Williamson (b. Feb. 16, 1888, married June 7, 1919, Dr. Julius William Pratt, of the University of Buffalo.

They had:

- (a) William Winston⁸ Pratt (b. Aug. 8, 1921).
- (3) Mary Walden⁷ Williamson (b. July 29, 1890), married Oct. 19, 1912, Landon Covington Bell.

They had:

- (a) Mary Walden⁸ Bell (b. Jan. 25, 1914),
- (b) Landon Covington⁸ Bell, Jr. (b. May 8, 1915),

- (c) Hardy Winston⁸ Bell (b. Oct. 16, 1916, d. July 23, 1922),
 - (d) John Williamson⁸ Bell (b. July 5, 1918),
 - (e) William Ritter⁸ Bell (b. Nov. 26, 1919),
 - (f) Robert Johnson⁸ Bell (b. Nov. 30, 1921),
 - (g) James Hardy⁸ Bell (b. March 24, 1925).
2. Charles Pichegru⁶ Williamson (b. Aug. 5, 1847, d. 1903), married Elizabeth Johnson, and had:
- (1) Clarence Linden⁷ Williamson (b. Sept. 28, 1874), who married June 12, 1907, Eugenia Potts Dunlap (b. July 26, 1881), daughter of Woodford Gaines and Ella (Landrum) Dunlap.
They had:
 - (a) Clarence Linden⁸ Williamson (b. Oct. 30, 1908),
 - (b) Woodford Dunlap⁸ Williamson (b. Dec. 26, 1910),
 - (c) Gabriel Galt⁸ Williamson (b. 1913).
 - (2) Charles Coleman⁷ Williamson (b. March 25, 1876, d. July 4, 1876).
 - (3) Sadie Gabriella⁷ Williamson (b. July 29, 1879), married June 29, 1904, Robert Meredith Kent, Jr. (b. July 26, 1867—dead), son of Robert M. and Sarah Garland (Hunter) Kent.
They had:
 - (a) Charles Williamson⁸ Kent (b. Aug. 5, 1905),
 - (b) Robert Meredith⁸ Kent (b. Nov. 9, 1906),
 - (c) Clarence Linden⁸ Kent (b. Jan. 31, 1908).
 - (4) Elizabeth Cary⁷ Williamson (b. Jan. 11, 1885).
3. Mary Gabriella⁶ Williamson (b. 1851, d. 1886), married Charles Braxton, and had:
- (1) Henry Galt⁷ Braxton (b. Feb. 22, 1882), married Oct. 14, 1909, Theo. Pennington.
They had:
 - (a) Carrie Virginia⁸ Braxton,
 - (b) Edward Carter⁸ Braxton.
 - (2) Gabriella Williamson⁷ Braxton (b. March 16, 1884, at "Old Church," Va.)

YATES—RANDOLPH—COOKSEY

In this genealogy no comprehensive treatment of the Randolph family will be attempted. Only the line of that family sufficient to show the Randolph strain which united with the Yates blood, will be set forth.

William Randolph, of Yorkshire, England* (b. 1651, d. Apr. 11, 1711), emigrated to Virginia about 1674, and settled at Turkey Island, in the James River. He is known as William Randolph, of Turkey Island. He married Mary Isham, daughter of Henry and Catherine Isham, of Bermuda Hundred.†

Edward Randolph, son of William Randolph of Turkey Island, married "a Miss Groves, an heiress in England,"‡ and they had a daughter Elizabeth Randolph,§ who married Reverend William Yates, of Gloucester County, Va.

William¹ Yates (d. 1691), of Shockeyley, Chester Co., England, and his wife, Katherine, had:

Rev. Bartholomew² Yates (b. 1676, d. July 26, 1734), who married Sept. 14, 1704, Sarah Mickleburrough.

They had:

1. Catherine³ Yates (b. June 24, 1706).
2. Sarah³ Yates (b. March 3, 1707).
3. Bartholomew³ Yates (b. Feb. 9, 1712).
4. Reverend Robert³ Yates (b. Jan. 8, 1715), who married Mary Randolph, daughter of Edward Randolph, and sister of Elizabeth Randolph, who married Rev. William Yates.
5. Frances³ Yates (b. Nov. 15, 1718).
6. Rev. William³ Yates (b. Dec. 10, 1720), of Gloucester Co., Va., who married Elizabeth Randolph, whose ancestry is shown above.

Rev. William³ Yates (b. Dec. 10, 1720), President of William and Mary College 1761-1764, as stated, married Elizabeth Randolph. She survived him and after his death she married (2ndly)

**Bristol Parish*, 213.

†The Isham lineage is well established back to 1424—Beveridge—*John Marshall*, I, 10. The Randolph lineage is well established back to 1550.—Id.

‡*Bristol Parish*, 138.

§Va. Hist. Mag. 7, 436.

Colonel Theodorick Bland, of the American Revolution, brother of Frances Bland, mother of John Randolph, of Roanoke.

They had:

1. Col. William⁴ Yates, of the American Revolution.
2. Edward Randolph⁴ Yates (under age in 1783), of Amelia County, Virginia, who married (M. B. in Mecklenburg Co., Va., dated Sept. 20, 1783), Elizabeth Murray, daughter of John Murray of Mecklenburg County, Va. Edward Randolph Yates, though of Amelia County, Va., when he married, seems to have owned land in Mecklenburg County, where his will is found of record.

They had:

John Murray⁵ Yates, who once lived in Dinwiddie Co., Va., and who acquired under his father's will the tract of land in Mecklenburg County, Va., known as *Mill Grove*. He married Ann Bailey,—who at the time was a widow,—Mrs. Wood.

They had:

1. John Murray⁶ Yates, Jr., who married a widow Boswell and had:
 - (1) Littleton⁷ Yates,
 - (2) John Murray⁷ Yates.
2. Edward Randolph⁶ Yates, who emigrated to California in 1849, married in that state (name of wife not known), and had nine children.
3. William Moring⁶ Yates, married Miss Cralle of Halifax County, Virginia, resided in that county, and had two daughters.
4. Joseph A.⁶ Yates (d. unmarried), of Lunenburg County, Va.
5. Benjamin Lewis⁶ Yates (b. 1827, dead), of Lunenburg Co., Va., married Sophia M. Ralls, of Albemarle County, Va., and had:
 - (1) John L.⁷ Yates, Clerk of Lunenburg Co.
 - (2) C. N.⁷ Yates,
 - (3) B. L.⁷ Yates, Jr.
 - (4) Anna⁷ Yates, who married one Moore.

- (5) George M.⁷ Yates,
 - (6) Joseph M.⁷ Yates,
 - (7) Addie M.⁷ Yates,
 - (8) William A.⁷ Yates,
 - (9) L. E.⁷ Yates.
6. Louise Murray⁶ Yates (d. unmarried).
7. Ann Bailey⁶ Yates, who married Henry Tucker, and had:
- (1) John Murray⁷ Tucker (killed in the Confederate service, in the Civil War).
 - (2) Maria L.⁷ Tucker, who married Dr. John A. Watson, of Mecklenburg County, Va.
 - (3) Anne Bailey⁷ Tucker (d. unmarried).
8. Mary E.⁶ Yates, who married (first), John H. Tisdale, of Mecklenburg Co., Va., and had:
- (1) Richard E.⁷ Tisdale,
 - (2) Addie M.⁷ Tisdale.
9. Martha J.⁶ Yates, who married (first) Dr. Leroy Murrell, and (second), William Campbell, of Petersburg, Va.
- Issue by first marriage:
- (1) Louisa Yates⁷ Murrell,
 - (2) Ellen⁷ Murrell.
- Issue by second marriage:
- (1) William Lee⁷ Campbell (d. circa 1923).
10. Susan Dean⁶ Yates, who married Daniel W. Tisdale, of Lunenburg County, Virginia, who died (in Nottoway County), and had:
- (1) J. A.⁷ Tisdale,
 - (2) Fannie M.⁷ Tisdale,
 - (3) Henrietta⁷ Tisdale,
 - (4) Ann Bailey⁷ Tisdale,
 - (5) Robert Lee⁷ Tisdale.

John L.⁷ Yates, Clerk of Lunenburg County, Virginia, continuously from 1878 to the present (1926), and still the incumbent of that office, married Mary Frances Cooksey, and had:

1. Elliott⁸ Yates (died young).

2. Mamie Murray⁸ Yates, who married Dr. Edwin L. Kendig (State Senator), and had:
 - (1) Edwin⁹ Kendig, Jr.
3. Helen⁸ Yates, who married Dr. Dennis Kendig, and had:
 - (1) Frances Yates⁹ Kendig,
 - (2) John Dennis⁹ Kendig.

The Cooksey ancestry of Mrs. John L. Yates (Mary Frances Cooksey), is shown below:

Charles¹ Cooksey married Sarah Ann King, of Brunswick County, Virginia, and had:

1. Miles Hamlyn² Cooksey, who moved to Kentucky, and married, (first) Martha Cheatham (of Virginia), and had issue. After her death he married (second), Ermine Hatchett, and had one child, a daughter.
2. Tyree Wesley² Cooksey,
3. Hartwell Parker² Cooksey,
4. Charles² Cooksey,
5. Leanna² Cooksey, who married (first) Crafton, (second), Farley.
6. Prudence² Cooksey (who never married).
7. Mary² Cooksey (who never married).

Charles² Cooksey married Evelyn Adelaide Royal, daughter of Littleberry and Elizabeth (Winn) Royal (married in 1818), of Prince Edward County, Va.

They had (ten children):

1. Ann Theresa³ Cooksey, who married Reps (?) Toone,
2. Evalyn Adelaide³ Cooksey, who married Stokes (?) Toone,
3. Fletcher³ Cooksey (d. during the Civil War).
4. George Hamlyn³ Cooksey, of Kentucky, who married Ruth Smith, of Kentucky.
5. Ella Eudoro³ Cooksey,
6. Pernetta Louis³ Cooksey,
7. Sallie Booker³ Cooksey,
8. Ida Parker³ Cooksey, who married Phillip Hill, of Lunenburg Co., who moved to Missouri.
9. Walter M.³ Cooksey,
10. Mary Frances³ Cooksey, who married John L. Yates.

CHAPTER IX

Genealogical Data

ABSTRACTS OF MARRIAGE BONDS: MINISTERS' RETURNS.



THE records of Marriages and of Wills preserve data of the highest historical and genealogical importance to any community. They are the chief public sources of genealogical information, in the early days of this country. They are, in some aspects, of even greater importance than the records preserved in private family Bibles. Because of either the failure to keep such private records, or their loss, or existence in remote and unknown places, resulting sometimes from the moving and scattering of families, the sole reliance of many for genealogical data is upon the public sources of information.

In Lunenburg the will records and deed records are practically intact from the beginning in 1746.

In Colonial Days the prospective bridegroom made application to the Clerk of the County Court for a license to marry. At the time of doing this he entered into what is known as a "Marriage Bond," which was a conditional bond payable to the King. This bond the groom signed along with some person as his surety. It set out the names of the contracting parties, and frequently the name of the female party's father or guardian. All such bonds were acknowledged before the Clerk, and filed in the Clerk's office as official papers.

Furthermore, during the days of the Established Church the right to perform marriage ceremonies was the exclusive prerogative of the parish ministers. In fact, it was contended, and generally admitted, that technically no valid marriage ceremony could be performed except by clergymen of the Established Church.

The Parish Ministers kept Registers of the Marriages they celebrated, as well as of the persons born and those who died within their respective parishes. Sometimes, it seems these books, known as Parish Registers, were regarded as public or semi-public records, belonging to the office rather than to the incumbent of the office, and were passed on to each successor in the office, in order. In other instances, however, it seems that each minister kept his own Register, treated it as his own property, and presumably took it with him upon removing from the parish. Which course was pursued in the case of Cumberland Parish is not known, but no register for this parish has been found. If any is in existence, its discovery would be an historical and genealogical find of the first importance to this section.

Inasmuch as, until the law, hereafter mentioned, providing for the return and recording of certificates showing marriages celebrated, was enacted, the marriage bonds and Parish Registers were the only evidence of a public character of such marriages, and inasmuch as no Parish Register for Cumberland Parish is known to be in existence, the only remaining public source of information respecting marriages in Lunenburg from 1746 to 1781 is the marriage bonds. Unfortunately many of these have been mislaid, lost or destroyed. These early marriage bonds were filed in bundles or packages designated by letters, and the bonds were classified for these bundles according to the first letter of the family name of the groom. Whole bundles for certain periods are missing, and in other cases, it seems certain, many are gone. Abstracts of all such as remain, containing all essential information, have been made, and are embodied herein.

Not only are there no records of the marriages celebrated by the Rectors of Cumberland Parish during the Colonial period, but there are no records of the marriages performed by dissenting ministers; that there were numbers of such marriages before the enabling act of 1780 seems certain. Indeed that act itself recognized the fact, confirmed such marriages and authorized dissenting ministers to be licensed to celebrate marriages.

Beginning in September, 1781, the marriage records are in better shape, but even in this improved condition they are far from satisfying. The improvement in the marriage records was due

to the act passed in October, 1780,* entitled "An act declaring what shall be a lawful marriage." By the first section of this law it was enacted:

"For encouraging marriages and for removing doubts concerning the validity of marriages celebrated by ministers, other than [those of] the Church of England, Be it enacted by the General Assembly, that it shall and may be lawful for any minister of any society or congregation of Christians, and for the society of Christians called Quakers and Menonists, to celebrate the rights [sic] of matrimony, and to join together as man and wife, those who may apply to them agreeable to the rules and usage of the respective societies to which the parties to be married respectively belong, and such marriage as well as those heretofore celebrated by dissenting ministers, shall be, and are hereby declared good and valid in law."

By Section II, a lawful license or thrice publication of banns in the respective parishes, or congregations was required, except in the case of Quakers and Menonists.

The act authorized a fee of 25 pounds of tobacco, and no more to be paid in current money at the rate which shall be settled by the grand jury.

Sec. IV of the act required a register of all marriages to be preserved, and required the minister celebrating the same to transmit a certificate of every marriage, to the Clerk of the County wherein the marriage was solemnized, within three months thereafter, "to be entered upon record by such Clerk, in a book to be by him kept for that purpose, which shall be evidence of such marriage."

Sec. V authorized the courts of the different counties to grant "license to dissenting ministers of the gospel, not exceeding the number of four of each sect, in any one county," to perform marriage ceremonies, "within their counties only."

By an act of October, 1784,† the restriction as to the number of ministers that might be licensed to celebrate marriages was removed, but marriages by itinerant ministers were prohibited.

*X Hening, 361-2.

†XI Hening, 503.

Section four of the act of 1780 clearly indicated that the legislature intended a separate marriage register to be kept by the Clerk, in which he was to enter the certificates of marriages returned by the ministers, who were required to make return of every marriage celebrated within three months after the ceremony. But neither was a separate book provided, nor did the ministers regularly make their returns as the law provided. They seem to have made the returns when the spirit moved them; at least such was the case with some who made returns of marriages one and even two years after the event, while others were quite prompt and regular in so doing. Furthermore, they seem to have paid no great attention to the provision of the law which restricted the right to perform marriage ceremonies to the counties within which they resided. Many of the ministers, quite clearly it appears, made up their returns from memory, often omitting dates, and sometimes reporting the same marriage twice, but with discrepancies as to date and initials or other details.

The ministers' certificates when returned were recorded promiscuously in various books, principally will books, and few of the lists are referred to in the Indices, and no effort is made to index the names of the contracting parties. To compile a list of the marriages therefore, it has been necessary to search through these volumes page by page and copy the certificates of the various ministers, and bring these together and compile the list of each from the various certificates recorded from time to time.

Valuable as these lists are, they in no instance give more than the names of the contracting parties and the date. The law did not require and the ministers did not report the names of the parents of the contracting parties.

Both the marriage bonds and the ministers' returns of marriages celebrated are sources of genealogical information of the first importance, and they supplement each other in such way, that while there is some duplication, in producing both lists, it is regarded as the safer course to pursue.

The abstracts of the marriage bonds are as prepared and certified by the Clerk; while the ministers' lists of marriages performed are carefully compiled from certified copies of all the

separate returns made by the ministers. The Clerk of the County, Mr. Yates, has prepared for the writer certified copies of every return made by ministers of marriages celebrated from the formation of the county down to 1851. It is from these certified copies, now in the writer's possession, that the lists have been compiled in the form in which they appear herein.

"The following are abstracts of marriage bonds covering the foundation of Lunenburg County until 1850. The bonds do not give the names of parents, dates of marriage, or ages of parties.

<i>Name of Husband</i>	<i>Name of Wife</i>	<i>Name of Surety</i>	<i>Date</i>
James Farmer.....	Elizabeth Harding...	George Farmer.....	4/15/1794
James Clayton.....	Milley Murrell.....	Bailey George.....	3/30/1792
Benjamin Evans.....	Elizabeth Weatherford.....	Joseph Weatherford..	8/ 9/1791
Joseph Eddings.....	Elizabeth Kirk.....	Jas. Kirk.....	11/16/1790
Asa Cabaniss.....	Sally Brown.....	Francis Brown.....	7/ 7/1788
Lewis Cantalow.....	Alice Crymes.....	John Glenn.....	4/ 9/1784
Edward Eppes.....	Elizabeth Cobb.....	John Robertson.....	10/ 8/1787
Thomas Eggleston...	Ann Watson.....	Richard Wilton.....	9/10/1763
Matthew Crenshaw...	Polly Fears.....	James Griffin.....	1792
Littlebury Ellis.....	Mary Barnes.....	Jonathan Zachary...	1/26/1785
Edward O. Chambers.	Amy Hurt.....	William White.....	1/ 8/1796
Edward Elam.....	Jenny Pamplin.....	John Pamplin.....	5/12/1791
Bartlett Estes.....	Susana Estes.....	Thomas Estes.....	1/13/1791
Richard Claiborn....	Mary Cook.....	Henry Cook.....	7/ 4/1786
Shem Cook.....	Nancy Moss.....	John Hawkins.....	11/17/ 88
John Cook.....	Elizabeth Cousins...	Jeremiah Glenn.....	3/13/1778
William Gober.....	Lucy Campbell.....	George Campbell....	4/18/1785
Tyree Glenn.....	Rachel Moon.....	William Glenn.....	5/12/1785
Lewis Evans.....	Ann Callihan.....	Nicholas Callihan...	5/11/1788
James Garrott.....	Polly Johnson.....	Caleb Jackson.....	9/ 8/1796
William Garrott.....	Nancy Talley.....	Wm. Farguson.....	1/ 3/1797
John Gosee.....	Elizabeth Tucker...	Robt. Davis.....	2/16/1796
David Jerrott.....	Judy Mizes.....	Drury Allen.....	12/10/1786
Cannon Jones Green..	Elizabeth Goodwyn Blackwell.....	Joel Blackwell.....	8/15/1796
Ewen Cameron.....	Francis Buford.....	Duncan Cameron....	12/16/1797
Thomas Cheatham...	Polly Rolette.....	Field Clark.....	11/21/1797
Ashley Davis.....	Mary Cross.....	James Trotter.....	12/17/1785
John Glenn.....	Sarah Bacon.....	Wm. Taylor.....	7/12/1770
James Dismang.....	Dolly Wright.....	Parsons Wright.....	1/ 2/1790
Nathaniel Garrett...	Pleaner Hight.....	David Garland.....	3/20/1770
William Crenshaw....	Sarah Hight.....	Julius Hight.....	2/ 9/1790

<i>Name of Husband</i>	<i>Name of Wife</i>	<i>Name of Surety</i>	<i>Date</i>
Henry Collier.....	May Cooke.....	Michael McKee.....	8/11/1796
Travers Elder.....	Sally Skinner.....	Charles Gee.....	12/22/1790
Thomas Estes.....	Ann Buford.....	William Ragsdale....	5/25/1791
James Crafton.....	Francis Staples.....	John Crafton.....	12/10/1778
Daniel Crenshaw.....	Nancy Jennings.....	James Jennings.....	6/11/1789
James Eastham.....	Anne Farmer.....	Richard Claiborn....	4/24/1768
Elam Farmer.....	Polly Harding.....	Robert Harding.....	9/10/1795
Lodowick Farmer....	Betsy Knight.....	William Taylor.....	10/11/1787
James Farguson.....	Mary Parrish.....	William Parrish.....	12/17/1792
John Folkes.....	Nancy Newby.....	John Newby.....	9/13/178-
Anthony Griffin.....	Susannah Crenshaw..	Jeremiah Terry.....	1/14/1795
Mark Evans.....	Winifred Andrews..	Peter Andrews.....	12/12/1795
Benjamin Gee.....	Bridgett Gee.....	Nathan Gee.....	2/20/1793
Ambrose Ellis.....	Sicily Stokes.....	Henry Stokes.....	10/12/1769
Daniel Gunn.....	Jemima Winn.....	B. Snead.....	11/ 9/1786
George Cole.....	Mary S. Crafton.....	John Crafton.....	11/ 9/1797
Wm. Dozer.....	Elizabeth Stokes....	Wm. Hunley.....	1775
Wm. Carter.....	Mary Scott.....	Robert Scott.....	6/10/1779
David Callahan.....	Katy Hightower.....	Richard Hightower..	11/ 9/1786
Robert Dixon.....	Anne Bacon.....	Bartlett Anderson...	10/30/1764
Jeremiah Glenn.-...	Anne Blagrove.....	Edward Jordan, Jr...	1/28/1765
Charles Gee.....	Sally Wilson.....	Jesse Gee.....	3/12/1787
Peter Eppes.....	Peggy Baker Cowan..	Phillip W. Jackson...	5/ /1793
William Farley.....	Martha Bailey.....	Wm. Rucks.....	11/ 9/1780
John Granger.....	Agness Roberts.....	Henry Gill.....	2/21/1781
Jonathan Epperson...	Sarah Parrish.....	Wm. Parrish.....	12/28/1789
James Eubank.....	Sally Thompson.....	Johnson Wood.....	12/14/1797
Thomas Estes.....	Ann Wilson.....	Benjamin Estes.....	12/13/1792
Martin Elam.....	Mary Philips.....	Edward Waller.....	6/ 9/1775
Ben Reives Calis....	Mary Pinnell.....	Wm. Gee.....	7/21/1763
John Christian.....	Elizabeth Moore....	Wm. Christian.....	2/18/1772
James Cordegill....	Mary Ann Johnson..	Christopher Billups..	6/ 9/1785
William Farguson...	Dolly Garrett.....	Wm. Garrett.....	12/17/1795
Godfrey Clark.....	Mary Pollard.....	James Harris.....	3/12/1789
Horatio Farguson...	Rebecca Dicks.....	Wm. Dicks.....	12/20/1785
Shadrick Clarke.....	Rebecca Crymes....	Thos. Crymes.....	12/11/1788
John Cunningham...	Mary Hill Pettipool..	Edward Jordan...	12/ 2/1771
John Calliham.....	Nanny Jarrett.....	Peter Jarrett.....	4/ 2/1792
Theodowick Carter.-	Sally Ealbank.....	Jacob Royster.....	11/10/1763
John Carelon.....	Sarah Moore.....	Jeffrey Murrell.....	12/19/1778
William Degraffen- reidt.....	Elizabeth Robertson..	Joseph Jeter.....	12/ 2/1772
Sherwood Callaham...	Mary Ussery.....	John Ussery.....	10/ 3/1786
Henry Davis.....	Nancy Fullerlove...	Sam Ward.....	12/11/1786
John Christopher.....	Nancy Ussery.....	Samuel Ussery.....	12/19/1787

<i>Name of Husband</i>	<i>Name of Wife</i>	<i>Name of Surety</i>	<i>Date</i>
Abraham Cocke.....	Agnes May.....	Thos. Chambers.....	4/11/1767
David Garland.....	Lucy Sturdivant.....	John Moody.....	3/24/1792
George Farmer.....	Nancy Farmer.....	James Farmer.....	5/ 8/1794
Thrower Freeman....	Jincey Cabaniss....	Hamlin Freeman....	11/ 7/1797
William Ellis.....	Sarah Briggs Chap- pell.....	Obed Clay.....	2/ 1/1780
Herbert George.....	Sarah Hill.....	Thomas Taylor.....	12/21/1785
John Farmer.....	Nancey Crymes.....	Leonard Crymes.....	9/14/1797
Jeremiah Farmer....	Polly Knight.....	John Knight.....	8/16/1788
Seth Farley.....	Sarah Crafton.....	William Crafton.....	2/ 3/1778
Thomas Fears.....	Elizabeth Toombs...	Philip Rowlett.....	3/11/1784
Peter Edwards.....	Patsey K. Fisher...	Thomas Edwards....	7/18/1797
Gideon Flournoy....	Gracey Tarry.....	Samuel Tarry.....	12/ 2/1786
Clement Freeman...	Elizabeth Malone...	Robert Hamlin.....	12/29/1786
Wright Gregory.....	Margaret Bragg....	John Bragg.....	11/13/1794
Thomas George.....	Betty Wrenn.....	David Abernathy....	2/27/1783
Charles Gee.....	Lizzie Skinner.....	Sam Skinner.....	9/15/1789
Matthew Green.....	Ann Downing.....	William Downing...	7/ 3/1775
Lod. Farmer, Jr.....	Elizabeth Herring...	Benjamin Farmer...	10/27/1779
Benjamin Estes, Jr..	Jeane Hawkins.....	John Wrenn.....	1/22/1796
John Estes.....	Mary Estes.....	John White.....	1/23/1778
Coleman Edmundson.	Francis Bowers....	Sanford Bowers....	9/ 8/1790
Matthew Estes.....	Martha Hawkins...	William Wrenn.....	10/19/1795
Hamlin Freeman....	Lucy Hazlewood....	Samuel Ussery.....	3/27/1797
James Griffin.....	Christian Crenshaw..	Daniel Crenshaw....	1/ 4/1785
Thomas Ferguson...	Hanah Binkle.....	Daniel Taylor.....	3/12/1787
Joseph Gregory, Jr..	Peggy Evans.....	Joseph Gregory....	5/ 8/1780
Anthony Fullerlove..	Nancy Thaxton....	Wm. Thaxton.....	1/12/1787
William T. Garland..	Martha Broadnax...	Edwin Broadnax...	12/29/1786
James Foster Batchellor.....	Susanna Wells Spinster.....	Thomas Reed.....	
Roderick Gordan....	Susanna Stokes Ellis.	Jonathan Zackary...	12/21/1787
Thomas Crafton.....	Mary Sammons.....	James Sammons....	2/10/1785
Matthew Callahan...	Molly Callahan....	John Ussery.....	12/22/1797
Thomas Crenshaw...	Sarah Potters.....	Jno. Patterson....	8/10/1786
John Davis.....	Sophiah Barnes....	Richard Clayton...	12/12/1786
Jeremiah George....	Sarah Callahan....	John Ritchie.....	9/22/1787
James Glenn.....	Mourning Winn....	Samuel Winn.....	12/ 4/1789
Asa Grisham.....	Elizabeth Hudson...	William Hudson....	11/ /1785
John Crafton.....	Sally Staples.....	Thomas Staples....	2/ 9/1787
Francis P. Cornell...	Elizabeth Russell...	Richard Russell....	1/11/1786
Lewis Caudle.....	Crisy Taylor.....	Benjamin Moore...	12/30/1787
Henry Embry.....	Ann Peterson.....	John Ragsdale....	3/31/1780
Edmund Gregory....	Fanny Boswell....	W. Boswell.....	10/13/1785

<i>Name of Husband</i>	<i>Name of Wife</i>	<i>Name of Surety</i>	<i>Date</i>
Roger Gregory.....	Frances Long.....	Drury Daniel.....	3/30/1776
Coalman Green.....	Nancy Crymes.....	D. Green.....	6/14/1792
Dyer Phillips.....	Lotty Hurt.....	Moses Hurt, Jr.....	7/18/1781
Robert Phillips.....	Lucy Meanly.....	John Kirk.....	8/ 8/1793
Anthony Phillips.....	Lillian Buford.....	Thomas Walker.....	3/26/1779
Joseph Peace.....	Elizabeth Bishop Garrett.....	Mason Garrett.....	2/ 7/1791
William Peasley.....	Lucy Sanders.....	Richard Swepson....	11/ 8/1764
Drury Ragsdale.....	Elizabeth Sturdivant..	Joseph Dunnivant...	1/30/1790
Joshua Ragsdale.....	Leniza Maddox.....	John Ragsdale.....	12/ 2/1789
Thomas Rudd.....	Elizabeth Ingram....	Sylvanus Walker....	3/ 6/1783
Hardy Bose.....	Peggy Brooks.....	Minor Winn.....	12/25/1792
Charles Rudder.....	Lucretia Matthes....	John Matthes.....	8/15/1785
Matthews Potter....	Hannah Willson....	Vallentine Brown....	2/12/1795
Matthew J. Rowlett..	Elizabeth Potter....	Stephen Johnson....	1/ 6/1794
Elisha Rhodes.....	Sally Perritt.....	Joel Perritt.....	12/28/1785
John Richardson....	Elizabeth Gunn.....	Daniel Winn.....	12/21/1795
William Pettypool...	Katherine Moore....	Ussery Moore.....	8/ 2/1794
Seth Pettypool.....	Elizabeth Ladd.....	Thomas Ladd.....	1/28/1792
James Robertson....	Charity Tatom.....	Frederick Nance....	1/ 8/1794
John Robertson....	Molly Weatherford..	Benjamin Weatherford.....	7/27/1781
Isham Pettypool....	Rhody Bowers.....	John Bowers.....	4/ 8/1795
John Pettypool.....	Lucy Clarke.....	Benjamin Clarke....	2/11/1790
Richard Ragsdale...	Rebecca Pollard....	William Burchett....	11/ 5/1785
Henry Pettypool....	Jenny Green.....	John Richie.....	10/11/1788
John Ragsdale.....	Martha Gee.....	Nathan Gee.....	12/18/1792
Benjamin Ruckes....	Carranham Crafton..	Seth Farley.....	4/14/1785
John Pittman.....	Sally Farmer.....	Jeffry Murrell.....	3/ 9/1787
Thomas Pike.....	Elizabeth Haymore..	John Taylor.....	3/20/1786
John Ragsdale.....	Sally Scarberry....	Wm. Ragsdale.....	12/25/1783
David Ragsdale.....	Frances Brammer....	Richard Hite.....	12/26/1781
James Radford.....	Anne Shelburne....	William Bush.....	7/ 5/1789
Archibald Philberd..	Susanna Nance.....	Hezekiah Philberd...	9/ 9/1796
Sterling Neblett....	Betsy Coleman.....	Edward Ragsdale....	9/23/1797
John Parrish.....	Lucy Bundle.....	James Parrish.....	12/22/1790
William Pegram.....	Agnes Rhodes.....	William Rhodes.....	1/29/1779
Lewis Page.....	Sally Justice.....	Daniel Justice.....	2/13/1778
John Ragsdale.....	Mary Jones.....	Thomas Garland....	12/ 3/1792
William Richards....	Carmin Lester.....	Bryant Lester.....	10/ 9/1788
James Nance.....	Martha Sammons...	Wm. Degraffenreidt..	3/11/1791
John G. Newbill....	Susanna Parham....	Thomas Newbill....	10/14/1795
Ino. Northington....	Mary C. Booker....	Jonathan Booker....	11/30/1795
Frederick Nance....	Susanna Christopher.	Thomas Starke.....	9/27/1775
John Nash, Jr.....	Anna Tabb.....	James Tabb.....	11/ 1/1780

<i>Name of Husband</i>	<i>Name of Wife</i>	<i>Name of Surety</i>	<i>Date</i>
William Neblett.....	Sally Love.....	Sterling Neblett.....	4/18/1792
John Roberts.....	Rebecca Sammons...	James Sammons.....	11/12/1789
John Ragsdale.....	Sacience Williams...	William Taylor.....	5/ 4/1780
Philip Roberts.....	Elizabeth Davis.....	Nevil Gee.....	1/ 2/1796
John Roberts.....	Susanna Pettus.....	Wm. Hatchett.....	1/21/1788
William Pulley.....	Lucy Thompson.....	David Thompson....	10/ 4/1790
William Pennington..	Delphia Smithson....	Wm. Walker.....	11/25/1780
Samuel Overthroe....	Elizabeth Gill.....	John Moody.....	2/ 8/1796
John Ritchie.....	Patty Green.....	Henry Pettypool....	11/22/1788
Joseph Ragsdale....	Sarah Shelburne....	Richard Ragsdale...	11/17/1791
Freeman Harper Reese.....	Fanny Brown.....	Wm. Brown.....	1/23/1797
George Phillips.....	Ann Brown.....	Robert Blackwell....	2/ 9/1768
John Russell.....	Pheby Hudson.....	Stephen Smith.....	6/30/1787
Christopher Robertson.....	Constant Edmundson.....	Wm. Taylor.....	3/22/1787
Buckner Overby.....	Sally Hudgins.....	John Riggins.....	12/29/1787
Taylor Oldham.....	Polly Cabaniss.....	John Bishop.....	11/26/1788
Benjamin Organ.....	Susannah Edmundson.....	William Neblett.....	2/21/1792
James Old.....	Louisa Tucker.....	Nelson Tucker.....	2/ 2/1796
Samuel Peace.....	Betsy S. Jones.....	Lemuel Jones.....	10/11/1797
Edward Rudder.....	Cincy Chambers.....	Chambers..	12/17/1787
Peter Reaves.....	Ann Tucker.....	Daniel Clay.....	2/22/1793
Soloman Newby.....	Willey Fowlkes.....	John Fowlkes.....	10/ 8/1789
Thomas Newbill.....	Gracey Powell.....	John Powell.....	11/12/1795
Freeman Overby.....	Amey Hambey.....	John Taylor.....	7/ 2/1785
James Parrish.....	Pattey Dixon.....	James Laffoon.....	3/27/1791
James Parrish.....	Mary Taylor.....	John Parrish.....	3/25/1788
Joel Parrish.....	Susannah Maury....	Metcalfe De- Graffenreidt.....	5/16/1788
Davis Paylor.....	Sally Tombs.....	Wm. Tombs.....	11/ 9/1786
John Parker.....	Jenny Wright.....	Julius Hite.....	4/ 8/1797
Charles Parrish.....	Jenney Williams....	Thomas Ussery.....	2/ 9/1789
Charles Patterson....	Regina De- Graffenreidt.....	Tscharner De- Graffenreidt.....	4/30/1785
John Parrish.....	Nancy Landrum.....	Richard Landrum...	2/30/1785
John Beevers.....	Frances Willson....	Abraham Estes.....	11/ 1/1790
Thos. Neathery.....	Mary Wells.....	Jesse Wells.....	2/11/1796
John Norvell.....	Polly Booth.....	Nathaniel Booth....	9/25/1795
William Neal.....	Eleanor Neal.....	William Scott.....	12/20/1785
James Pugh.....	Nancy George.....	William Wrenn.....	2/19/1784
Peter Potts.....	Gracy Broadway....	Robert Manden.....	11/13/1793

<i>Name of Husband</i>	<i>Name of Wife</i>	<i>Name of Surety</i>	<i>Date</i>
Jesse Penn.....	Amey Rudder.....	Benjamin Rudder....	10/25/1796
William Powers.....	Doshie Farley.....	Edward Farley.....	12/ 8/1796
Daniel Roberston.....	Elizabeth Edmundson.....	Christopher Robertson.....	10/12/1797
William Pettypool....	Frances Brooks.....	David Burton.....	2/15/1775
Stephen Potts.....	Molly Potts Richland.....	Benjamin Richland..	2/11/1796
Thomas Roberts.....	Susannah Dozier....	Leonard Dozier.....	12/12/1766
William Ragsdale....	Milley Gee.....	John Tisdale.....	1/29/1794
John Poindexter.....	Nancy Neal.....	William Hepburn....	10/11/1792
Miles Priest.....	Fanny Gossee.....	David Priest.....	12/22/1790
William Pollard.....	Amey Clarke.....	George Clarke.....	1/ 2/1787
John Pettus.....	Sarah Pettus.....	John Pettus.....	7/14/1785
Isaac Oliver.....	Judah Betts.....	Elisha Betts.....	8/10/1775
John Rudder and Martha Garrott.....		John Garrott.....	12/15/1779
John Cammell.....	Rebecca Hammons..	Charles Faller.....	11/ 9/1796
Thomas Chandler....	Sarah Fallen.....	John Skinner.....	12/21/1796
Daniel Dupree.....	Sally Ellington.....	David Street.....	11/30/1789
Copeland Davis.....	Polly Garland.....	Wm. T. Garland....	11/21/1791
William Crenshaw....	Molley Haney.....	Elisha Betts.....	5/24/1767
Abel Coleman.....	Nancy Priest.....	Cornelius Priest....	4/24/1787
William Combs.....	Sally Nance.....	William Johnson....	11/10/1791
William Coleman.....	Martha Allen.....	W. G. Pettypool....	2/20/1797
David Dunn.....	Obedience Weatherford.....	John Robertson.....	1/ 1/1793
William Dizmang....	Sally Hulm.....	Parsons Wright.....	9/25/1794
Joseph Dunman, Jr..	Jamina Sturdivant..	Drury Ragsdale....	11/ 7/1789
Walker Dalton.....	Mary Winn.....	John Connor.....	9/ 2/1793
Richard Dabbs.....	Elizabeth Mitchell..	Abel Jackson.....	2/14/1793
Richard M. Dozier..	Mary Gayle.....	Wm. Dozier.....	9/ 9/1787
Hezekiah Davis.....	Milley Johnson.....	James Wallace.....	10/29/1784
Augustine Denton....	Sally Turner.....	John Thompson....	12/19/1791
William Dudley.....	Rachel Knight.....	Woodson Knight....	8/12/1789
Daniel Driskill.....	Agnes Hawkins.....	Claiborn Johnson....	9/ 9/1788
John Covington.....	Polly Williams.....	A. Clark.....	1/26/1779
Benjamin Dayley....	Sally Mize.....	John Mize.....	1/22/1787
Harrison Carter.....	Sally Hatchett.....	Alexander Lester....	1/13/1791
Metcalf De- Graffenreidt.....	Mary Ann Maury....	Matthew Maury....	6/ 2/1783
John Dizmang.....	Tidney Moore.....	Parsons Wright.....	10/29/1790
Wm. Winn Cocherham.....	Nancy Estes.....	Matthew Estes.....	6/20/1793
Thomas Dozier.....	Catoy Pryor.....	John Barry.....	10/17/1775
Nash Curlton.....	Elizabeth Eastham..	James Farmer.....	5/ 4/1795

<i>Name of Husband</i>	<i>Name of Wife</i>	<i>Name of Surety</i>	<i>Date</i>
James Cavender.....	Betsey Sammons.....	James Sammons.....	3/14/1793
William Cooper.....	Rainey Andrews.....	Sterling Cooper.....	8/26/1785
Jacob Davis.....	Mary Ann Neal.....	Jno. Booker.....	12/20/1769
Daniel Dobbins.....	Rebecca Dunn.....	Benjamin Dunn.....	12/24/1795
Berry Cockerham.....	Polly Wilkes.....	Phillip Snead.....	6/11/1789
Samuel Cotter.....	Fanny Bush.....	William Bush.....	6/19/1793
Richard Cross.....	Sally Chambers.....	Edward Chambers...	2/18/1791
Nathaniel Davis.....	Elizabeth Thackston.	Anthony Fullerlove..	2/13/1796
William Craghead, Jr.	Fanny Glenn.....	Wm. Craghead, Sr...	10/ 3/1791
John Conner.....	Charlotte Cabaniss..	Asa Cabaniss.....	11/ 4/1788
John Clarke.....	Sally Evans.....	Wm. Evans.....	3/19/1781
William Cowan.....	Mary Billups.....	Christopher Billups..	12/ 9/1773
Matthew Davis.....	Mary Davis.....	John Elmore.....	12/19/1790
Tscharner De- Graffenreidt.....	Lucretia Robertson..	William Taylor.....	12/14/1780
John Chappell.....	Martha Cross.....	Peter Lamkin, Jr....	8/ 4/1788
John Dinkins.....	Cealah Hoomes.....	John Evans.....	12/12/1797
Benjamin Edmundson.....	Martha Tomlinson...	Benjamin Orgain....	5/12/1791
John Curlton.....	Hannah Davis.....	Wm. Taylor.....	3/14/1783
Charles Cross.....	Phebe Tomlinson...	Michael McKee.....	11/ 8/1770
Joseph Crafton.....	Patsey Steinbridge..	Wm. Steinbridge....	11/10/1785
James Cole.....	Mary Clarke.....	Benjamin Edmundson.....	6/ 8/1781
Tscharner De- Graffenreidt.....	Elizabeth Embry....	David Garland.....	2/10/1760
William Crymes.....	Kiziah Dozier.....	Leonard Dozier.....	12/21/1769
William Dicks.....	Jerusha Ferguson...	Carrington Garrett..	1/22/1787
Richard K. Cralle....	Sarah Jones.....	B. Jones.....	11/ 1/1795
Nathaniel Davis.....		David Stokes.....	3/12/1781
Robert Mocre, Jr....	Martha Thomas....	Robert Moore.....	11/ 5/1789
Carter Jackson.....	Dolly W. Westbrook.	Stewart Jackson....	9/10/1805
Richard Winn.....	Polly Stone.....	Richard Stone.....	3/ 9/1804
Stephen Wood.....	Constance Robertson.....	Edward Lee.....	7/20/1805
Lyddall Winn.....	Susanna McLaughlin.	James Winn.....	11/24/1804
James Winn.....	Betsy Powell.....	Richard Elliott.....	1/10/1804
Jesse Marshall.....	Nancy Ingram.....	John Moon.....	7/ 9/1789
Jered McConnies, Jr..	Sally Carter Betts...	Spencer Betts.....	10/ 7/1788
Frederick Gray.....	Martha Williams....	William Weaver.....	12/19/1803
William Turner.....	Polly Denton.....	Theophilus Denton..	12/19/1803
William LeGrand....	Erman Elliott Vaughan.....	Craddock Vaughan..	10/22/1786
John Taylor.....	Elizabeth Jones....	Peter Jones, Jr.....	5 /14/1803
Archibald Lester....	Elizabeth Crymes....	George Crymes.....	5/12/1785

<i>Name of Husband</i>	<i>Name of Wife</i>	<i>Name of Surety</i>	<i>Date</i>
Samuel Logan.....	Lucy Smith.....	Wm. Taylor.....	2/10/1791
Elam Lewis.....	Sally Tatum.....	Gravitt Tatom.....	2/21/1791
Whitehead Lester....	Sally Buford.....	Henry Buford.....	1/ 8/1791
Isam Lester.....	Elizabeth Jones Vallentine.....	Zachariah Vallentine.	12/11/1789
Jesse Laffoon.....	Catharine Winn.....	Thomas Scarborough.....	2/18/1792
Frederick Lester.....	Dolly Pollard.....	Dan Robertson.....	9/ 5/1797
Minor Wilkes.....	Elizabeth Smith.....	Joseph Bohannon....	8/ 9/1804
Joshua Clarke.....	Lucretia Ellis.....	John Ellis.....	11/ 3/1803
Abner Lynch.....	Susanna S. Jordan...	Ambrose Ellis.....	6/ 9/1791
Daniel Lefoe.....	Molly Tatum.....	Gravitt Tatum.....	2/10/1791
James Brittle.....	Failey Laffoon.....	Matthew Laffoon....	12/ /1804
Green Hull.....	Patsey Dailey.....	Allen Steagall.....	9/11/1804
John Dunman.....	Sukey Moore.....	Wm. Moore.....	2/ 1/1804
Thomas Brown.....	Lucy Wilson.....	Joshua Smith.....	11/16/1804
David Mosely.....	Mary Hammock.....	Joseph Mosely.....	5/ /1789
Thomas Almand.....	Elizabeth Wood.....	Benjamin Tatum....	2/28/1802
John Williams.....	Polley Page.....	Robert Sammons....	10/31/1803
Josiah Alderson.....	Alley Estes.....	Elisha Estes.....	7/11/1803
James Allen.....	Rebecca Allen.....	Jones Allen.....	11/26/1804
John Wyatt.....	Elizabeth Williams..	Ed Williams.....	12/19/1803
George Vaughan....	Polly Haverwick....	Alfred Cralle.....	10/13/1803
Hinchey Winn.....	Martha Gooch.....	Wm. Robertson.....	12/10/1803
Thomas Wilkes.....	Jincy Winn.....	Minor Winn.....	12/29/1803
Samuel Ussery.....	Matilda Ussery.....	John Brower.....	11/27/1804
William White.....	Elizabeth Cockerham.....	Richard Stone.....	7/12/1804
John Winn.....	Elizabeth Powell....	Eddie Moore.....	2/ 3/1804
John Moore.....	Janey Barnes.....	George Barnes.....	4/ 2/1796
Robert Scott.....	Elva Chambers.....	Edward Chambers...	11/19/1803
William Hatchett....	Elizabeth Farmer....	James Farmer.....	12/10/1804
Robert Evans.....	Lucy Andrews.....	Drury Andrews.....	3/16/1803
James Epes.....	Nellie Stewart.....	Buckner Vallentine..	3/28/1804
Robert Ward.....	Polly McLaughlin...	Samuel Carsons.....	8/24/1804
Ambrose Lee.....	Elizabeth White.....	John White.....	9/14/1792
John Epes.....	Elizabeth Cuttalo...e	Freeman Epes.....	3/25/1803
Matthew T. Maury...e	Euphany Tabb.....	Wm. Downing.....	12/ 1/1780
John Estes.....	Elizabeth Pamplin...	Robert Pamplin.....	3/ 9/1804
George Clarke.....	Elizabeth Tisdale....	John Tisdale.....	12/13/1804
Francis Neblett.....	Nancy Elam.....	Sterling Neblett....	7/ 4/1803
William Mayes.....	Mary Nance.....	Richard Mayes.....	10/20/1790
James Monroe.....	Sally Crewes.....	William Crewes.....	9/11/1794
Peter Jefferson.....	Martha Russell.....	Jno. Moody.....	5/ 5/1804
Jeremiah Burnett....	Diana Davis.....	Wm. Davis.....	12/19/1804

<i>Name of Husband</i>	<i>Name of Wife</i>	<i>Name of Surety</i>	<i>Date</i>
John Callis.....	Nancy Moore.....	James Sturdivant....	1/ 2/1804
John Bouloin [Bouldin].....	Patsey Brown Lamkin.....	Peter Lampkin.....	5/ 1/1805
Woodson Sullivant....	Susanna Stone.....	Robert Stone.....	12/18/1804
Thomas Shelburne....	Polly Crenshaw.....	John Ingram.....	11/ 8/1804
John Smithson.....	Lettiney Bayne.....	Nathaniel Smithson..	9/15/1804
John Ford.....	Sukey Slaughter.....	Wm. Townsend.....	3/11/1803
Robert Graham.....	Eliza Lockhead.....	James Macfarland...	9/21/1803
Jesse Morgan.....	Mary Landrum.....	Richard Landrum...	12/20/1789
David Ritchie.....	Hannah Engrath...	Matthew Calliham...	10/ 1/1803
William Davis.....	Anna Burnett.....	Robert Burnett.....	10/10/1804
John Falcan.....	Elizabeth Moore.....	Jesse Moore.....	2/21/1804
Zachariah Hampton..	Daisy Hawks.....	Norman Hawks.....	12/26/1803
Jeremiah Matthews..	Elizabeth Ferguson..	William Ferguson....	12/26/1804
William Mason.....	Catharine Ragsdale..	Wm. Ingram.....	7/ 8/1804
Archibald Marshall..	Sally Winn.....	Richard Stone.....	7/14/1803
Bryan Lester.....	Susanna C. Stone....	John Smithson.....	6/29/1805
Lewis Lenoy.....	Mary Ussery.....	Thomas Ussery.....	10/15/1804
John Flinn.....	Lucy Parrish.....	Matthew Hubbard...	4/21/1803
Asa Grisham.....	Elizabeth Lacy.....	Wm. Garrett.....	2/ 2/1804
Joshua Stanley.....	Elizabeth Johnson..	John Ryland.....	3/19/1804
Thomas Sadler.....	Nancy Roberts.....	James Roberts.....	3/ 8/1803
James Reese.....	Barbara Caudil.....	J. Lambert.....	3/ 8/1804
Charles Canabiss....	Nancy Hayes.....	William Taylor.....	10/ 8/1803
John Robertson.....	Polly Thompson.....	William Taylor.....	12/14/1803
James Hammock.....	Elizabeth Amos.....	James Amos.....	6/17/1805
James Smith.....	Nancy Parke Street..	Jno. Taylor.....	5/13/1803
Francis Smithson....	Mary Lester.....	Robert Rutledge....	11/10/1803
Lewis Smithson.....	Elizabeth Smithson..	Christopher Robertson.....	3/10/1803
Benjamin Taylor....	Mary Brittle.....	Wm. Edmunds.....	12/ 3/1803
Ambrose Hutcheson..	Hannah Wilson....	Robert Jones.....	12/13/1804
Pascal Jones.....	Lucretia Jeffreys....	Thomas Jeffreys....	11/ 9/1804
Stewart Jackson.....	Sally White.....	Henry Buford.....	11/22/1803
William Ship.....	Nancy Niblett.....	Francis Neblett.....	9/14/1803
Edwin Pettus.....	Martha Ragsdale....	Matthew Ragsdale...	2/26/1805
Frederick Steagal....	Lucy Cole.....	Nun Cole.....	5/18/1804
Moses Hawkins.....	Katy Ann Ford.....	William Richards....	2/25/1804
George Crowder.....	Sally Thompson.....	Harris Tomlinson....	12/19/1803
William Niblett.....	Amey Williams.....	William Taylor.....	10/ 5/1803
Reubin Johnson.....	Patsy Vaughan Van Dyke.....	Asa Johnson.....	2/ 7/1803
Baxter Jordan.....	Polly Lipscomb Pettus.....	Miles Jordan.....	12/29/1803

<i>Name of Husband</i>	<i>Name of Wife</i>	<i>Name of Surety</i>	<i>Date</i>
William Justice.....	Lucretia Apperson...	Frederick Watkins...	2/ 3/1803
Stephen Jones.....	Susanna Burnett....	Joseph Rash.....	11/21/1804
Charles Biasse.....	Mary Estes.....	Elisha Estes.....	8/10/1803
George Barnes.....	Eliza Ellis.....	Richard Ellis.....	2/14/1803
William Anderson....	Milly McLaughlin...	A. Winn.....	11/12/1803
David Bohannon.....	Elizabeth McLaughlin.....	Richard Stone.....	11/10/1803
Martin Chandler.....	Nancy Sweeny.....	Reubin Skinner.....	3/ 2/1804
Gaberal Gunn & Martha Lambert.....		Lewis Lambert.....	12/13/1803
James Garrett.....	Nancy Rudder.....	Stephen Brown.....	11/ 8/1803
Miles Hardy.....	Hannah Pettus.....	John C. Hardy.....	11/22/1803
Robert Hammons....	Sally Singleton.....	William Hammons...	12/ 4/1804
John Hazlewood.....	Nancy Cole.....	Josiah Alderson.....	9/13/1803
Freeman Winn.....	Caty Moore.....	William Ferguson...	12/13/1803
William Ambrose....	Elizabeth Smith.....	Samuel Skinner.....	6/ 4/1804
William Farley.....	Judith Crafton.....	Thomas Crafton.....	12/ 8/1803
Thomas Gregory.....	Patsy Parsons.....	Thos. Parsons.....	10/11/1804
Zachariah Reeves & Phebe Perkinson.....		Wm. Perkinson.....	3/15/1803
John Moon.....	Mary Dudley.....	Jno. Carston.....	11/21/1795
John Riggins.....	Betsy Smith.....	Thos. Cole.....	4/23/1811
William Rutledge....	Elcey Been.....	Thos. Rutledge.....	9/ 3/1811
Peter P. Roberts....	May Wyatt.....	Overstreet Wyatt...	1/13/1812
Thomas Callis.....	Elizabeth W. Hite...	Wm. L. Hite.....	12/31/1810
William Ross.....	Sally C. Pritchett...	Jno. Pritchett.....	11/28/1812
Robert D. Parrish...	Keturrah R. Tisdale..	Wm. Morgan.....	12/22/1810
Coleman Perkinson...	Nancy Chandler.....	Jas. R. Brooks.....	12/13/1810
Littlebury Rutledge..	Nancy Farmer.....	Matthew Filbert....	12/26/1812
Richard Knott.....	Nancy Crenshaw....	Thos. Bragg.....	3/12/1811
Sterling Parrish.....	Kitturah Winn.....	Joel Parrish.....	12/23/1811
John Pewitt.....	Nancy Crenshaw....	Wm. Davis.....	9/ 9/1812
Samuel B. Morgan..	Nancy Betts.....	Charles Betts.....	3/14/1811
John P. Neal.....	Elizabeth Dunn.....	John Jeter.....	5/23/1811
Henry Newbill.....	Jane Moore.....	Edwin Moore.....	4/ 8/1811
Amos S. Johnson....	Rittah Cockerham...	Allen G. Cockerham..	4/ 9/1812
William Insko.....	Nancy Andrews.....	Samuel G. Insko....	4/21/1812
Hartwell Marable....	Sarah B. Smithson...	R. Tisdale.....	8/ 8/1811
Samuel Johnson.....	Sally Smithson.....	John Wood.....	4/ 1/1812
Edward Jones.....	Susanna Walker.....	Robt. D. Parrish....	1/21/1812
Stephen Moore.....	Polly L. Johnson....	Reubin Johnson....	2/12/1811
Jordan Mason.....	Patsey Allen Tisdale..	William Williams...	11/25/1811
William Mason.....	Sally Tisdale.....	James A. Smithson..	12/17/1812
Richard Moore.....	Desmonia Womack..	Jacob Womack.....	1/ 9/1812
Phillip Jeter.....	Barbara Wrenn.....	James Wrenn.....	9/12/1811
Amos S. Johnson....	Susanna Hazlewood..	David White.....	4/17/1812

<i>Name of Husband</i>	<i>Name of Wife</i>	<i>Name of Surety</i>	<i>Date</i>
Henry Hardy.....	Mary S. Niblett.....	Charles Hardy.....	6/11/1812
John Hobson.....	Ermin B. De- Graffenreidt.....	Wm. B. De- Graffenreidt.....	2/22/1812
Manson Chandler....	Nancy Cheatham....	Jno. Cheatham.....	5/ 8/1812
Nelson W. Gee.....	Catharine Byars....	Thos. Morgan.....	12/14/1811
Wm. T. Gordan.....	Patsy Winn.....	Jesse Laffoon.....	8/29/1811
John Smith Hatchett.	Phebe Bailey.....	Richard Alderson....	8/ 8/1811
Tazewell T. Burge....	Rebecca Tisdale....	Jno. Tisdale.....	7/ 9/1812
James Dixon.....	Martha Laffoon....	Sterling Parrish....	11/11/1812
Paschal Davis.....	Nancy Toone.....	William Johnson....	11/ 4/1812
Samuel D. Davis....	Mary R. Street.....	Jno. H. Street.....	12/ 1/1810
Theophilus Callis....	Sally Hudson.....	Robert Callis.....	12/ 8/1812
Lyddal Bacon.....	Lucy Herring.....	Peter Stokes.....	12/13/1810
Thomas Bolling.....	Eliza Williams....	Haynie Hatchett....	2/14/1811
Joshua C. Brown....	Sally C. Mallory....	Alberry B. Ward....	4/ 9/1812
James Bennett.....	Frances Brackett....	Henry Harp.....	1/22/1811
Alexander Laffoon....	Catherine Johnson..	Thomas Parrish....	11/10/1823
Jeremiah Bishop....	Rebecca Bishop....	Edmund Bishop....	12/24/1811
Richard Dunn.....	Polly Lambert.....	John Russell.....	12/30/1812
John C. Chappell....	Milly Thompson Sandys.....	David Parrish.....	7/29/1812
Christopher Anderson.	Polly Harding.....	John D. Bayne.....	8/13/1812
Thomas C. Clark....	Susanna Jordan....	Field Clark, Jr....	7/ 9/1812
Daniel Daley.....	Folly Fisher.....	David Garland.....	2/11/1811
Gray Dunn.....	Eliza Davis.....	Clement Mitchell....	1/ 1/1812
Richard Williams....	Clarrisa Harlow Pettus.....	Thomas Wyatt.....	2/21/1811
Daniel G. White....	Martha Wood.....	Stephen Wood.....	8/ 8/1811
Robert Mills.....	Polly Potts.....	Jesse Laffoon.....	7/10/1812
Thomas Williams....	Ann Burge.....	Tazewell T. Burge...	3/12/1812
Thomas Wood.....	Mary Johnson.....	Edward Jones.....	1/27/1812
Robert Wallace....	Phebe Wilkes.....	Richard Wilkes....	11/25/1811
John L. Williams....	Sally Morgan.....	William Williams....	11/ 9/1811
John Toone.....	Dicy Jeter Winn....	Orsamy Winn.....	12/22/1811
David White.....	Nancy Stone.....	Amos S. Johnson....	2/13/1812
Edward C. Sturdivant.....	Rebecca Dicks.....	John Daley.....	3/14/1811
William Thompson...	Martha Callis.....	James Callis.....	3/15/1811
Charles S. Tucker...	Elizabeth B. Jordan..	G. W. Holloway....	2/23/1811
Spencer Thomas....	Nancy Stainback....	Benjamin Jenkins....	2/29/1812
Pleasant Ussery....	Susanna D. Irby....	Thomas Hamlin....	1/ 1/1810
Anderson Stone....	Betsey Stone.....	John Stone.....	6/14/1811
Simeon Shelburne...	Nancy B. Smithson..	C. T. Smithson.....	5/14/1812
James Sturdivant....	Nancy Brintle.....	Allan Steagall.....	6/ 8/1811

<i>Name of Husband</i>	<i>Name of Wife</i>	<i>Name of Surety</i>	<i>Date</i>
John Scott.....	Dacey Farmer.....	Loderick Farmer....	2/14/1811
John Smith.....	Martha Wyatt.....	John Wyatt.....	11/28/1811
John Smith.....	Cicily W. Andrews..	Wm. Hightower.....	12/28/1811
Richard Snead.....	Jane Winn.....	Alexander Winn.....	12/ 9/1812
William Roach.....	Martha Jackson.....	Wm. Bohannon.....	1/25/1811
Thomas Riggan.....	Jean Whitworth.....	Richard Jeffreys....	4/10/1811
James Allen.....	Polly Denton.....	William Allen.....	12/31/1811
John A. Bailey.....	Fanny Overby.....	Edward Overby.....	7/29/1812
David Almand.....	Polly J. Williams....	John Knight.....	12/ 8/1814
James Adams.....	Nancy Clark.....	George Clark.....	2/22/1814
Stephen Rowlett....	Elizabeth Fowlkes..	Sterling Fowlkes....	3/21/1814
Benjamin Tomlinson..	Nancy Gee.....	James Allen.....	12/21/1814
Charles Taylor.....	Mary J. Williams....	Jno. Knight.....	1/10/1815
Bass F. Winn.....	Mary E. Jordan.....	Fanny Winn.....	10/ 8/1813
James White.....	Chrischany Ussery..	Richard Wilkes.....	4/ 8/1813
Thomas Wyatt.....	Priscilla Hardy.....	Nicholas Davis.....	11/21/1814
Benjamin Thompson..	Lucy Gill.....	James Wilson.....	12/10/1813
John Williams.....	Polly Slaughter.....	Mooney L. Slaughter..	11/12/1813
Archer Thompson....	Martha George.....	Thomas George.....	11/10/1814
William A. Stokes....	Martha Tarry Lowry.....	Langston Bacon, Jr..	1/ 3/1814
Edmund Winn, Jr....	Mary Vincy Singleton.....	Freeman Winn.....	2/ 9/1814
Sterling Smithson....	Elizabeth A. Staples.	Allen Love.....	8/21/1813
Benjamin Warren....	Prudence W. Thornton.....	Lew Jones.....	12/31/1812
Benjamin Wallace....	Lettie Wilkes.....	Richard Wilkes.....	2/11/1813
Benjamin Walker....	Ann Wilson.....	Josiah Wilson.....	1/25/1813
Michael Walker.....	Mary Edmundson... Edmundson.....	Benjamin Edmundson.....	12/29/1814
Sam'l. Wooten.....	Polly S. Ellis.....	Will Ellis.....	1/12/1812
Thomas Staples.....	Sarah Smithson....	Joseph Yarbrough...	5/21/1814
John Wilkes.....	Jerushia Stone.....	Richard Stone.....	11/11/1813
Thomas Whitworth...	Susanna M. Winn...	Edward Winn.....	11/ 7/1813
Harry Willis.....	Mary Taylor.....	James Burton.....	1/21/1815
John Stokes.....	Susanna R. Jones....	Wm. G. Pettus.....	5/19/1814
Robert Callis.....	Martha Steagall....	Allan Steagall.....	2/ 3/1813
Boling Crowder.....	Polly Munday.....	Thomas Stokes.....	3/31/1813
Frederick N. Robertson.....	Martha F. Ellis....	Johnson F. Nance...	1/23/1815
Silas Shelburne.....	Mary Stone.....	Asher Stone.....	11/10/1814
Asa Cabaniss.....	Eliza Bruce.....	William S. Clarke...	11/ 5/1814
George J. Campbell...	Rainey Ames.....	Raleigh Hammons...	12/ 6/1814
Lyddall B. Estes.....	Nancy A. Winn.....	Elisha Estes.....	3/10/1814

<i>Name of Husband</i>	<i>Name of Wife</i>	<i>Name of Surety</i>	<i>Date</i>
William H. Eagles....	Elizabeth L. Crawley.....	Warner Pollard.....	3/13/1815
Walker Dodd.....	Mary Webb.....	Matthew Dance.....	9/ 8/1814
Peter Davis.....	Henrietta Maria Washington Winn.....	Thomas Gregory.....	10/ 1/1814
Forester Burnett.....	Martha Andrews.....	Nevel Gee.....	5/12/1814
Thomas Christopher..	Dolly White.....	Benjamin Wallace...	8/30/1814
William Fowler.....	Hannah A. Watson..	Joseph Yarbrough...	2/11/1813
Griffin Smith.....	Sally G. Jeffreys.....	Richard Jeffreys.....	7/18/1814
Daniel Williams.....	Sally A. F. Dunman..	Henry Sturdivant...	4/11/1814
Absolam Tatum.....	Sally Green.....	Richard Bragg.....	7/12/1813
James Neal.....	Mary Stokes.....	Wm. G. Pettus.....	9/ 9/1813
Newett Ramsey.....	Elizabeth Waller...	George Gee.....	3/12/1814
James Rucks.....	Barthena Young.....	Jno. C. Brannagin...	1/13/1814
John W. Rodgers.....	Polly Moon.....	Jas. Farmer.....	11/ 8/1814
Wm. G. Pettus.....	Janes C. Lamkin...	Wm. H. Taylor.....	12/ 1/1814
Joel Parrish.....	Henrietta Laffoon...	Matthew Laffoon....	4/23/1813
John Pearce.....	Elizabeth Matthews..	Stephen Morgan.....	3/11/1813
Charles Betts.....	Martha C. Chambers.....	R. C. Chambers.....	12/30/1814
William Bragg.....	Unity Crenshaw....	Richard Knott.....	12/19/1814
Pleasant Barnes.....	Polly Shelton.....	Frederick N. Robertson.....	4/ 4/1814
John C. Brannigan, Jr.....	Lucy F. Branch.....	Cyrus Pond.....	12/14/1813
Matthew Bishop.....	Sarah Singleton....	Freeman Winn.....	3/ 2/1814
George Potts.....	Elizabeth Buckner..	Claiborn Mills.....	5/23/1874
John Moore.....	Sally Willson.....	Edward Willson.....	3/10/1814
Jesse Moon.....	Permelia Farmer....	Littleberry Rutledge.	11/25/1814
John Hammock.....	Elizabeth Amos.....	James Hammock....	3/ 9/1815
Stephen B. Hamlett..	Mary Johns.....	John Leigh.....	8/10/1813
James Jennings.....	Prudence Herring...	Stephen Herring....	1/13/1814
Thomas Hutcheson..	Nancy Hurt.....	John Brown.....	3/13/1815
Isaac Holmes.....	Henrietta Willson...	Joseph W. Rudd....	4/ 9/1814
William Laffoon.....	Martha Winn.....	Freeman Winn.....	2/ 9/1814
Matthew Laffoon....	Elizabeth Murrell Lamford.....	Jas. Lamford.....	4/ 1/1814
Henry H. Love.....	Mary C. Jeffreys...	Thomas Jeffreys....	12/ 6/1814
Jeremiah Morgan, Jr..	Sally B. Winn.....	Geo. Ragsdale.....	4/28/1814
James S. Gordon.....	Nancy M. Johnson..	Joseph Keeton.....	4/24/1813
Edmund Estes.....	Martha Gee Ragsdale.....	Drury Gee.....	/1814
Benjamin Farmer, Jr..	Peranna Farmer....	Berry Harding.....	1/ 9/1813
John A. Fowlkes.....	Mary Vaughan.....	Wm. J. Bailey.....	1/ 5/1813
Thomas Fears.....	Sally Powell.....	James Smith.....	9/22/1815

<i>Name of Husband</i>	<i>Name of Wife</i>	<i>Name of Surety</i>	<i>Date</i>
Samuel Garner.....	Susannah Hazlewood.	W. Williamson.....	3/23/1815
Wm. R. Geers.....	Sarah Moon.....	Cornelius Crenshaw..	11/15/1813
Stephen Dance.....	Martha Willson.....	Joseph W. Rudd.....	4/19/1814
John Daniel.....	Rhody Dickson.....	Nathan Potts.....	5/ 6/1813
Thomas Gregory.....	Katurah Rowlett Winn.....	Wm. Taylor.....	2/24/1809
Reuben Morgan.....	Celia Bishop.....	Jno. Bishop.....	11/17/1806
Benjamin W. Hite....	Sarah Moore.....	Edmund Taylor.....	10/ 9/1800
Thomas Mason.....	Frances Foster.....	Robert Foster.....	3/12/1807
John Smith.....	Sally Fisher.....	Jas. Fisher.....	2/13/1809
Benjamin Ogburn....	Sarah Sills.....	Edward Ogburn.....	3/30/1807
George Price.....	Elizabeth Gordon....	Jno. Gordan.....	12/15/1806
Robert Philips.....	Helen Wesley.....	Reuben Cooper.....	9/17/1806
George Taylor.....	Narcissa Williams...	David Williams.....	1/19/1807
Henry Tisdale.....	Frances Smithson....	Wm. Taylor.....	7/ 9/1807
James Wrenn.....	Patsey Tubbyfill...	Wm. Tubbyfill.....	11/13/1806
William Powers.....	Elizabeth Parmer....	Woodson Knight....	11/10/1808
Jesse Johnson.....	Elizabeth Cockerham.....	Anderson Cockerham.	5/28/1807
George Lester.....	Sarah W. Robertson..	Stephen Shelton....	11/15/1806
Chapman Blackwell..	Polly Hatchett.....	Joel Blackwell.....	3/13/1806
Benjamin Clark.....	Elizabeth Grear.....	Philip Dedman.....	1/26/1807
Elisha Estes.....	Lucy Blankenship...	Wm. Gee.....	11/28/1806
Mackerness Farley..	Sally Crafton.....	Thos. Crafton.....	11/13/1806
Urby Hudson.....	Nancy B. McConnico.....	Charles Betts.....	10/30/1808
Bannister Jordan....	Sally Johnson.....	Clement Jordan....	7/ 9/1807
Richard Alderson....	Elizabeth Crafton...	Richard Crafton, Sr..	1/ 8/1807
Rudd Averitt.....	Sally W. Pamplin....	Lew Smithson.....	12/31/1806
Abbis Atkins.....	Lucy Freeman.....	John Freeman.....	9/14/1807
George Amos.....	Anny Bentley.....	James Hammack....	10/ 8/1807
John Johnson.....	Irene Lester.....	Edmund Lester....	10/ 9/1806
Thomas Lee.....	Betsey Thompson...	Wm. Thompson.....	2/12/1807
Jones Allen.....	Dorothy Gee.....	James L. Gee.....	11/21/1808
Gabriel Buford.....	Susan Jackson.....	Drury A. Bowen.....	5/14/1807
John Bailey.....	Jincy Hardwick....	Joseph Rudd.....	8/13/1807
William Crafton....	Polly Nance.....	Thomas Staples....	5/11/1807
Vaichel Dillingham..	Elizabeth Evans....	John Evans.....	1/24/1807
John Estes.....	Patsey Lock.....	Geo. Lock.....	10/ 9/1806
Thomas Hamlin.....	Mary Legon Stainback.....	Thos. Blackwell....	4/28/1807
William Grimes.....	Sarah Dizmang.....	Joel Moore.....	2/21/1805
Jesse Gee.....	Jincy Moore.....	Jno. Ussery.....	12/15/1806
John Goodwin.....	Martha Jackson....	Stith Hardy.....	11/14/1805
James P. Harrison....	Sally Landrum.....	Arthur Landrum....	8/14/1807

<i>Name of Husband</i>	<i>Name of Wife</i>	<i>Name of Surety</i>	<i>Date</i>
Tarlton Knight.....	Elizabeth W. Farmer.	James Farmer.....	12/17/1806
Cornelius Johnson....	Ritter Townsend....	Dan'l. Townsend....	10/27/1806
Stephen Justice.....	Elizabeth Garrott....	Daniel Taylor.....	12/23/1806
William Smith.....	Betsey Steagall.....	Aaron Steagall.....	3/27/1807
Anthony Smith.....	Polly Harrish Valentine.....	Jno. Going.....	1/28/1807
Nicholas Smith.....	Martha Cheatham...	Nathaniel Smithson..	3/14/1807
John Smithson.....	Polly Wood.....	Stephen Wood.....	1/28/1807
Geo. P. Sheneberry...	Mary Thompson....	James Newberry.....	12/29/1806
Samuel G. Williams...	Bowie Cowan.....	Peter Randolph.....	7/11/1807
John Somerville.....	Bettie Ann De- Graffenreid.....	Chas. Brydie.....	4/ 9/1807
William Winn.....	Nancy Wilkes.....	Lyddell Winn.....	10/ 9/1806
Thomas Wise.....	Sally Tucker.....	Wm. Averett.....	11/17/1806
Robert Hudson.....	Zilla Jackson.....	Jno. Christian.....	12/23/1808
Thomas Gee.....	Mourning Crymes...	Drury Gee.....	12/26/1806
Edmund F. Taylor...	Petronilla Lamkin...	Wm. H. Taylor.....	2/13/1809
Andrews Lynne.....	Jean Cameron.....	John Ragsdale.....	9/25/1806
Peter Jones, Jr.....	Sally G. Bacon.....	Jno. Taylor.....	5/30/1807
Richard C. Bacon....	Mary E. Jordan.....	Wm. H. Taylor.....	1/21/1817
George Byng.....	Alizabeth Ann Robertson.....	Samuel Pettus.....	11/10/1817
Washington Maddux..	Frances Ragsdale...	Sterling Lambert....	11/11/1817
Richard H. Stokes....	Larinda Farmer....	D. Street.....	1/ 9/1817
Wm. DeGraffenreidt..	Sophia Winn.....	Wm. G. Pettus.....	10/30/1817
John Crafton.....	Elizabeth Hardwick..	Pleasant Barnes....	11/13/1817.
John Bucknall.....	Henrietta W. Brown.	George Brown.....	12/23/1817
John Brimmer.....	Susanna Johns.....	Thos. B. Ellis.....	12/22/1817
Sterling Cabaniss....	Polly W. Ingram....	Silvanus Ingram....	12/14/1817
Wm. Cabaniss.....	Rebecca Russell....	Richard H. Gill....	12/22/1817
Abraham Andrews...	Nancy Waller.....	Lowry Andrews.....	12/ 1/1817
John D. Crafton.....	Celia Young.....	Wm. Young.....	9/18/1817
George Crafton.....	Frances Harding....	Samuel Crawley....	6/12/1817
Samuel Crawley.....	Lucy Harding.....	George Cloughton...	7/16/1817
Upton Edmundson...	Frances Bagley....	Anderson Bagley....	8/14/1817
Harrison Elder.....	Nancy A. Collier....	Wm. Parrott.....	10/11/1817
Thomas Franklin....	Polly Coleman.....	Laban Coleman.....	2/10/1817
Rodowick Gregory....	Cinthy Couch.....	Thomas Couch.....	4/29/1817
Turner Hamlett.....	Susanna Furgeson...	Benjamin Wilkerson.	9/29/1817
Freeman Hudson.....	Elizabeth Callis....	John Singleton.....	8/ 5/1817
John H. Jeter.....	Lucy B. Jeter.....	Jesse D. Abernathy..	9/ 8/1817
John Minor, Jr.....	Elizabeth Snead....	Randolph Thomp- son, Jr.....	11/27/1817
John A. Hawkes.....	Martha Butler.....	Anderson Vaughan...	12/11/1817
Robert Chappell.....	Julia A. Jefferson...	Wm. G. Pettus.....	4/23/1817

<i>Name of Husband</i>	<i>Name of Wife</i>	<i>Name of Surety</i>	<i>Date</i>
Clement Jackson	Rebecca Gee	Nelson W. Gee	7/23/1817
John Potts	Susanna Laffoon	James Brittle	12/11/1817
Jonas Robertson	Francis Bailey	Edward S. Bailey	10/23/1817
William Queensberry	Nancy Robertson	Frederick Robertson	5/ 8/1817
Thomas Piercy	Jane G. Rainey	William Raney	12/ 2/1817
Peter Stone	Delphia Inge	Robt. H. Bentley	8/14/1817
William Rowlett	Martha Wilson	Wm. G. Pettus	10/ 9/1817
William Rivers	Susanna Womack	Jacob Womack	4/10/1817
John Ryland	Susanna Hawkins	James Smith, Jr.	12/22/1817
John T. Street	Annie Stokes	Wm. Stokes	1/ 9/1817
John T. Skelton	Martha E. Abernathy	Jas. Fisher	8/ 4/1817
Joshua Smith	Mary E. Lanier	Sam Jefferson	6/12/1817
Cary Taylor	Patsey Callis	Jabez Lambert	1/17/1817
William Thomas	Dolly W. Stainback	Benjamin Jenkins	2/13/1817
Coleman A. Vaughan	Polly Y. Beasley	John C. Beasley	4/10/1817
Drury Y. Stokes	Seluda Jeffreys	Richard Jeffreys	8/11/1823
John Slaughter	Mina L. Steinbridge	H. P. Crenshaw	10/14/1822
Haley Stewart	Holy Stewart	Franky Epps	9/21/1822
Silas Shelburne	Margaret M. Knott	W. O. Gee	11/27/1822
John Roberts	Elizabeth Gregory	David G. Gregory	12/ 5/1822
Peter Robertson	Mary Ann Gregory	Patrick A. Erskine	10/30/1822
Vincent Skinner	Eudocia A. Garland	John Skinner	2/25/1824
Stephen Smithson	Sally Wood	Patrick A. Erskine	5/ 7/1824
Thomas Staples	Elizabeth Jeffreys	Thos. A. Filbert	12/18/1823
William Sammons	Mary R. Fowlkes	Christopher Anderson	9/24/1823
James H. Scott	Mitchell Branch	Robert Scott	11/24/1823
John C. Jeffreys	Sally B. Knight	Jordan W. Jeffreys	5/14/1824
Wm. H. Jameson	Sally T. Street	David Street	5/ 5/1823
Peter Jackson	Rebecca Edmund	John Taylor	11/29/1822
Charles Kelly	Martha Hitchings	Jesse Hitchings	11/20/1822
William Laffoon	Sarah A. S. H. Rand	Robert B. Jones	11/ 1/1824
Thomas Mohorn	Litsey Hardy	Richard Mohorn	1/26/1824
Thomas Marshall	Lucy E. Orgain	Thomas Adams	7/14/1823
Edward Morgan	Elizabeth Goodwin	John H. Booth	11/25/1822
John Nevils	Eliza Tatum	Daniel W. Parsons	11/23/1822
Stephen P. Pool	Lucindia Moon	Josiah B. Wilson	5/18/1824
John Phillips	Mary C. Wilson	James Wilson	12/ 1/1823
Robert Pewett	Nancy T. Johnson	Patrick A. Erskine	6/18/1823
Robert Phillips	Nancy Stone	Randolph Thompson	5/21/1823
Thomas Parrish	Zilpha Johnson	James G. Parrish	12/18/1824
Nathaniel Pennington	Lucy Overton	William Shelton	8/24/1824
John Rash	Catharine Leonard	William Brown	12/27/1824
John Richardson	Sally N. Coleman	Anthony W. Smith	4/19/1824

<i>Name of Husband</i>	<i>Name of Wife</i>	<i>Name of Surety</i>	<i>Date</i>
William H. Richards..	Nancy Jeffreys.....	Jno. J. Richards.....	12/23/1823
Edward Ragsdale....	Sally B. Ragsdale....	Thomas Booth.....	12/11/1823
John W. Rogers.....	Susan Dugnall.....	Richard Dugnall.....	9/ 8/1823
Joseph A. Reese.....	Salley Moore.....	Joseph Moore.....	12/23/1822
Robert Rash.....	Elizabeth Robertson..	Wm. Williams.....	10/ 2/1822
William Griffin.....	Dianna L. Morgan...	Hugh Wallace.....	10/30/1824
Edward Bruce.....	Harriett Poultney...	Thos. L. Poultney...	1/30/1823
Clements R. Coleman..	Susan G. Lenier.....	Geo. Jefferson.....	1/11/1825
Jacob Womack.....	Nancy Bates.....	Joel Wood.....	4/12/1824
Wm. DeGraffenreidt..	Nancy Tomlinson....	James Smith, Jr....	12/21/1824
Nicholas M. Edwards..	Lucy W. Boswell....	William C. Boswell..	11/ 1/1824
Joel Dodson.....	Nancy G. Clark....	Thomas C. Clark....	10/ 7/1822
Wm. C. Adams.....	Mary Ann Poultney..	Thos. L. Poultney...	11/23/1824
John J. Arnold.....	Elizabeth Tomlinson..	Thos. B. Tomlinson..	10/ 1/1823
Henry W. Averett....	Sarah W. Hardy....	Joshua Hardy.....	11/11/1822
Patrick Booth.....	Mary S. Saunders...	Wm. Farmer.....	11/ 6/1824
Joseph L. Bishop....	Frances Bowers.....	Samuel Ragsdale....	12/23/1824
John B. Beech.....	Judith P. W.		
	Cooksey.....	Richard Owen.....	12/20/1824
Paschall Brown.....	Nancy Smith.....	Mont. S. Bacon.....	9/13/1824
Joseph B. Barnes....	Gatharine P. Kelly...	Benj. Barnes.....	10/23/1824
Pleasant Bates.....	Rhoda Hood.....	Robert Hood.....	2/ 3/1824
Edward H. Pritchett..	Pameliah C. Jordan..	Richard C. Ellis....	12/18/1822
Robert Brown.....	Ann Overby.....	George Overby.....	2/18/1823
Ellison Clarke.....	Elizabeth W. M.		
	Crymes.....	C. C. M. Marable...	11/10/1823
Wm. R. Createh.....	Elizabeth L. Gee....	Wm. S. Gee.....	12/ 8/1823
John Calliham.....	Frances George.....	Thos. B. Greene....	1/ 8/1823
William Davis.....	Temperna Gill.....	Matthew C. Gill....	2/14/1825
James N. Cheatham..	Mary Cheatham....	Thomas Cheatham...	12/ 7/1823
Robert Cheatham....	Jane Cheatham.....	Thos. Cheatham....	12/17/1823
Henry Callaham.....	Elizabeth Waller....	Jno. Callaham.....	2/11/1824
Thos. P. Elliott.....	Elizabeth W.		
	Cheatham.....	Thos. Cheatham....	2/23/1824
Labon Edmonds.....	Nancy Laffoon.....	Wm. Thomason.....	12/30/1823
John T. Ellis.....	Nancy T. Hendricks..	Paschall Hendricks..	3/27/1823
Freeman M. Floyd...	Jincy Taylor.....	Wm. Matthews.....	9/20/1824
Wm. A. Fowlkes.....	Eliza B. Ellis.....	Joseph F. Ellis.....	7/12/1824
Henry Farmer.....	Martha A. Walton...	C. C. C. Marable....	7/ 5/1824
Burrell W. Foster....	Wealthy T.		
	Robertson.....	Nathaniel B.	
		Robertson.....	5/24/1823
Wm. J. Gee.....	Mary R. Tisdale....	James A. Smithson..	1/ 3/1825
Hartwell Gee.....	Hannah P. Gee.....	E. B. Gee.....	12/ 8/1823
William Garquet.....	Martha J. Vaughan..	Philip Poindexter...	9/22/1823

<i>Name of Husband</i>	<i>Name of Wife</i>	<i>Name of Surety</i>	<i>Date</i>
Joseph Daniel.....	Lettie Laffoon.....	Samuel Moore.....	5/24/1824
Silas Dabbs.....	Martha Smith.....	Jno. Key.....	9/ 8/1823
Thomas B. Tomlinson.....	Elizabeth T. Pamplin.....	Wm. Crowder.....	5/28/1824
Randolph Thompson..	Lamenta White.....	Carter White.....	11/ 5/1822
William Waller.....	Elizabeth S. Kelly...	Joseph B. Barnes....	12/20/1824
Anderson Wallace....	Mildred H. Smithson..	Wm. Griffin.....	5/19/1824
Jno. Weatherford....	Lucretia Brown.....	Gideon Brown.....	2/17/1824
Jehue Wood.....	Francis Goode.....	Thos. Wood.....	9/ 8/1823
Richard Young.....	Lucintha Burnett....	Jno. Rash.....	9/26/1823
Archer Townsend....	Elizabeth Townsend..	Daniel Townsend....	12/21/1824
Hinchey M. Tisdale..	Jane Tucker.....	Lew A. Tucker.....	1/15/1825
Matthew C. Gill.....	Nancy Johnson.....	Geo. L. Bayne.....	11/11/1822
Larkin Hazlewood....	Lucy Kelly.....	Anderson Stewart....	10/ 5/1824
A. Haley.....	N. P. Smithson.....	Francis Radford....	12/ 8/1823
Richard Hammons...	Dolly Calliham.....	Henry Calliham.....	9/17/1823
Wm. Hilton.....	Betsy Taylor.....	Joseph Winn.....	10/ 4/1822
John A. Hatchett....	Narcissa W. Jeffreys..	A. J. Norment.....	10/14/1822
Thomas B. Jeffreys...	Polly Hany Carter...	Richard Jeffreys....	8/11/1824
William Matthews...	Rebecca Laffoon....	Wm. H. Brown.....	3/14/1825
John E. Epes.....	Sarah A. Smith.....	Gillie M. Bacon.....	10/10/1825
Wm. G. Coleman....	Cicily J. Ragsdale...	Washington Maddux..	11/25/1826
Merewither Turnstill..	Elizabeth Turnstill..	Littlebury Turnstill..	12/12/1825
David Vallentine....	Fillis Ragsdale.....	James Chavis.....	8/15/1826
Littleberry Turnstill..	Nancy Foster.....	Merewitha Turnstill..	12/12/1825
Josiah L. Buster....	Keziah F. Johnson...	Robt. Pewett.....	2/24/1825
Thomas Booth.....	Elizabeth Ragsdale..	Mark Mize.....	12/13/1825
John Booth.....	Clarissa H. Lamb....	Samuel Pettus.....	6/19/1826
Thomas Stone.....	Martha Waller.....	Robert Phillips....	9/13/1825
John Thompson.....	Susan Williams.....	Jno. Smith.....	11/14/1826
John Shaw.....	Caroline A. Bagley...	Chas. Smith.....	5/13/1825
Joshua Staples.....	Elmira Jeffreys....	Jno. M. Rowlett....	11/ 5/1826
Jno. T. Wootten....	Frances Ann Brydie..	Nathan Fowlkes....	6/ 9/1825
Green W. Webb.....	Elizabeth F. Gee....	Walker Dodd.....	12/20/1825
Paschal Banks.....	Nancy Daniel.....	Samuel Moore.....	4/ 9/1825
Gillie M. Bacon.....	Mary A. Jones.....	John L. Smith.....	7/13/1825
Dennis Barrow.....	Nancy Moore.....	Edward W. Parker...	12/26/1825
James S. Brown.....	Nancy Brown.....	Daniel H. Robertson..	12/ 6/1825
Wm. J. Bishop.....	Frances Leonard....	Philip H. Bowers....	12/10/1825
Wm. A. Ward.....	Mary A. Williard...	Wm. Hightower....	1/13/1825
Thos. J. Bishop.....	Sally Ferguson.....	Henry Ferguson....	10/12/1826
John Willis.....	Sarah Powell.....	Jesse Phillips.....	1/10/1825
Elisha Andrews.....	Susan Waller.....	Daniel Hazlewood...	3/13/1826
Munfort Hurt.....	Dentitia Johns.....	Henry N. Watkins...	12/12/1825

<i>Name of Husband</i>	<i>Name of Wife</i>	<i>Name of Surety</i>	<i>Date</i>
Jno. M. McCargo	Mary Ann Ellis	John Williams	2/ 9/1826
Langston B. Parks	Elizabeth Burks	Thos. Wilkinson	12/27/1825
David Mayton	Elizabeth Grant	Benjamin Zachary	7/14/1825
Samuel U. Moore	Nellie J. Hicks	John Gee	4/26/1825
Jesse Morgan	Rebecca Laffoon	Philip Russell	3/14/1825
John T. Nance	Rebecca Pamplin	Jas. L. Cheatham	2/23/1825
Clement H. Nevil	Ann Davidson	Booker Nevil	10/ 9/1826
Robt. H. Pamlin	Polly A. Bragg	Wm. T. Abernathy	12/15/1826
James T. Peace	Mary Manly	Wm. Kirk	10/ 9/1826
Robt. C. Pattillo	Elizabeth A. Hawkins	Tarlton W. Knight	5/ 8/1826
Dabney P. Phillips	Jane E. Fisher	Turner Abernathy	3/ 4/1826
Joel M. Parrish	Narcissa A. Snead	Thos. R. Tisdale	11/10/1825
Mark D. Procise	Sarah Hazlewood	Amos S. Johnson	12/ 5/1825
Peter Raney, Jr.	Julia A. Crowder	Peter W. Crowder	2/16/1826
Wm. E. Robertson	Mark E. Stainback	Sterling Lambert	7/10/1826
John J. Robertson	Mary M. Green	Branch B. Beach	2/ 2/1825
William B. Robertson	Mary A. P. Betts	Mont. S. Bacon	2/ 6/1826
Hartwell Steagall	Jane Steagall	Randolph Steagall	7/ 1/1826
Peter W. Stone	Elizabeth Snead	Joseph E. Winn	7/10/1826
Benjamin Smith	Mary A. B. Hardy	Larkin Hardy	12/12/1825
Miles Jordan, Jr.	Rebecca M. Ellis	A. Ellis	3/24/1825
Wm. W. Jeter	Mary T. Russell	Wm. T. Abernathy	11/15/1825
Thomas Harris	Sarah A. R. Ellis	Ellison Ellis	2/14/1825
Peter W. Hawthorne	Phebe Reese	Daniel Reese	5/30/1825
Henry Hardy	Pamelia Betts	Larkin Hardy	12/13/1824
Hugh Hammock	Lucy M. Peace	John Peace	11/14/1825
Wm. S. Gunn	Harriet S. Wyatt	Wm. P. Penn	10/17/1825
Philip Gill, Jr.	Eliza A. Gresham	Daniel Daly	12/12/1825
Liberty B. Fowlkes	Harriet Bruce	L. A. Bruce	7/11/1825
Wm. J. Fowlkes	Mary G. Jordan	Miles Jordan, Jr.	11/29/1825
John Fowlkes	Lucy B. Burks	Samuel B. Bruce	9/18/1826
Thrower Freeman	Amey Gill	Webster Gills	9/18/1826
Richard Ellis	Sarah G. Aiken	Ebenezer Crafton	4/ 6/1826
Patrick A. Erskine	Sarah A. Williams	Joseph F. Ellis	12/16/1826
Theophilus F. Denton	Elizabeth G. Blackwell	James Blackwell	3/14/1825
Walker Dodd	Amy Ann Goodwin	Green N. Webb	7/ 3/1825
Thomas Cheatham	Polly Jordan	Walker Pettus	1/31/1825
Thomas Crafton	Sally Powers	George Tucker	3/13/1826
Thomas Couch	Elizabeth Dunn	Lew Smithson	8/14/1826
Joshua Coleman	Sally P. Estes	Lew A. Tucker	10/17/1826
Samuel B. Bruce	Mary E. Carter	Jno. Fowlkes	9/18/1826
Phineas Cheatham	Martha W. Smithson	Nicholas Smithson	10/27/1826
William Moore	Elizabeth Russell	Wm. J. Hightowers	9/11/1826

<i>Name of Husband</i>	<i>Name of Wife</i>	<i>Name of Surety</i>	<i>Date</i>
Lodowick F. Moon...	Kizia Johnson.....	Thos. N. Gregory....	12/ 7/1825
Nicholas E. Davis...	Eliza L. P. Lamkin..	Jno. Birth.....	5/29/1826
Robert Garland.....	Nancy Skinner.....	Edward R. Chambers.....	2/17/1826
James McCallister...	Phebe Couch.....	Samuel G. Osborne..	11/30/1826
Alex. E. McCuthin...	Jane Jeffreys.....	Thos. H. Jeffreys....	12/ 4/1826
Henderson Lee.....	Susan Hatchett....	Richard J. Gaines...	3/ 3/1825
Robert Laffoon.....	Delpha Stone.....	Daniel Laffoon.....	5/10/1825
Thomas Lambert.....	Polly Mize.....	Jno. Mize.....	10/31/1825
Whitfield Lester.....	Elizabeth E. Hatchett.....	Wm. Hatchett.....	10/ 9/1826
Robert Laffoon.....	Eliza Inge.....	Wm. D. Parrish.....	9/27/1826
Frederick Lester.....	Martha Ann Craghead.....	Patrick H. Hurt.....	11/27/1826
Edward B. Lipscomb.	Nancy Thompson....	Samuel B. Wood.....	9/ 4/1826
Sterling Lambert....	Tabitha Edmondson.	W. E. Robertson....	7/31/1826
Jonathan Apperson...	Elizabeth Moore....	Mason Moore.....	2/12/1830
John Collins.....	Tabitha Weatherford.	Hillery Weatherford.	5/31/1830
Christopher Anderson.	Elvira Couch.....	Thos. H. Staples....	1/11/1830
Francis Bowers.....	Angelina Bishop....	Joseph Bishop.....	12/24/1829
Robert Bolling.....	Mary A. E. Stokes...	James Baker.....	8/ 4/1829
Henry May.....	Juliann Jones.....	M. Clay.....	5/20/1830
Geo. W. Shackleton...	Matilda A. Aikin...	Joseph Aikin.....	7/13/1825
Edmund C. Winn....	Martha A. Boswell...	Sam'l. Almand.....	9/27/1830
William McLaughlin..	Martha Winn.....	Thos. Winn.....	3/17/1829
Archibald Manley....	Ann Elizabeth Hampton.....	James S. Peace.....	4/28/1829
Wm. B. Moore.....	Ann Inge.....	Joseph Moore.....	6/15/1829
Joseph Keeton.....	Martha Gregory....	William Keeton....	2/ 9/1829
Francis T. Jackson...	Dorothy Stainback..	Jacob White.....	1/21/1831
James Hansborough..	Eliza Robins.....	Josiah Roberts.....	8/23/1830
Miles Hardy.....	Tabitha Lambert....	D. H. Robertson....	10/21/1830
Henry B. Haley.....	Casandra Smithson..	Henry A. Fowlkes...	11/30/1830
Wm. A. Hines.....	Mary D. Hite.....	Julius J. Hite.....	11/16/1829
Nathaniel P. Glenn...	Elizabeth A. Stephenson.....	H. A. Stephenson....	9/20/1830
John C. Freeman.....	Eliza A. Hurt.....	Hartswell Freman...	10/19/1830
Thomas H. Fowlkes..	Emily S. Hurt.....	Richard C. Mills....	11/18/1829
Arthur Freeman.....	Elizabeth Winn.....	John C. Freeman....	3/31/1830
Thomas D. Fisher....	Martha E. Blackwell.	Turner Abernathy...	3/ 9/1829
Jennings Fowlkes....	Eliza Jane Jeffreys..	Thos. H. Jeffreys....	8/29/1829
David W. Fowlkes....	Tabitha Ann Jeffreys.	Thos. H. Jeffreys....	1/18/1830
Theodowick Farmer..	Elizabeth Moon....	Thos. Farmer.....	11/ 9/1829
Joseph F. Ellis.....	Charlotte Jane Ellis..	Adamson T. Cox....	11/20/1830
Wm. Evans.....	Lucy Thompson....	Francis Gill.....	11/27/1830

<i>Name of Husband</i>	<i>Name of Wife</i>	<i>Name of Surety</i>	<i>Date</i>
Thos. Evans.....	Delphia Kelly.....	Henry Ragsdale.....	12/25/1830
Richard Edmunds....	Minerva Laffoon....	Daniel Laffoon.....	12/29/1830
Brooken Elder.....	Elizabeth G. Hawthorn.....	Thos. D. Fisher.....	12/14/1829
Joseph C. Dunnavant.	Jane Moore.....	Wm. Moore.....	10/ 7/1830
Upton S. Crow.....	Janey Townsend.....	Daniel Townsend....	12/20/1830
Bennett Crafton.....	Elizabeth Russell....	Thos. M. Smith.....	2/ 9/1825
Alexander B. Cralls...	Mary E. Campbell...	Chas. Smith.....	2/ 9/1829
Jesse C. Clark.....	Jane S. Gee.....	Wm. J. Gee.....	3/ 9/1829
Jno. W. Cheatham...	Elizabeth Overton...	Nathaniel Pennington.....	6/ 1/1829
Thomas L. Cheatham.	Nancy Cheatham....	Thos. Cheatham.....	12/16/1830
Pleasant Cayce.....	Prudence Ellis.....	Montfort J. Hurt....	10/ 9/1829
Robert Blackwell....	Mernerva E. Hardy..	Elisha Hardy.....	12/13/1830
James G. Blackwell...	Mary R. Williams...	Lewis Blackwell....	11/29/1830
Jno. D. Bailey.....	Elizabeth Ann Moore.....	Henry Moore.....	10/11/1830
Branch B. Beach.....	Mary A. C. S. Ellis..	Jno. E. Overton.....	2/ 8/1830
John Arvin.....	Catharine D. Johns..	Jno. A. Johns.....	1/ 3/1829
Joe Blackwell, Jr....	Sally Gunn Blackwell.....	Wm. Williams.....	5/24/1830
Stephen J. Blackwell..	Maria W. Winn.....	Hezekiah Freeman...	7/13/1829
William Bruce.....	Elizabeth Ann Hayes.....	Robt. Hayes.....	1/11/1830
Charles Smith.....	Eliza D. Neblett....	Wm. G. Overton....	5/12/1830
Thornton Russell....	Rebecca Pulliam....	Geo. W. Pulliam....	9/31/1830
Joel M. Ragsdale....	Susan C. Baker.....	J. B. Wilson.....	5/23/1829
Henry Ragsdale.....	Rebecca Chavous....	David Ballentine....	1/13/1830
Jacob B. Rash.....	Agnes S. Hines.....	Wm. Rash.....	1/25/1830
Jonathan Richardson.	Louisa Brown.....	David Valentine....	10/ 3/1829
Wm. S. Pulley.....	Mary B. Brown.....	Joseph A. Brown....	1/22/1829
Armstead Pritchett...	Mary M. Neblett....	Thos. B. Green.....	12/ 9/1830
Daniel Petty.....	Dorothea J. Hardy..	Henry G. Hardy.....	10/22/1829
Melkijah Palmer....	Mary Bohannon.....	Wm. A. Bohannon...	12/ 5/1829
Hugh F. Norment....	Mary H. Blackwell..	J. A. Hatchett.....	10/12/1829
John Miller.....	Rebecca Bailey.....	Richard Ellis.....	7/12/1830
Paraham B. Moon....	Petronella Wood....	Wm. Wood.....	11/13/1830
William Mahan.....	Elizabeth A. Fowlkes.....	Coleman Jeffreys, Jr.	12/18/1830
Jesse Moore.....	Rebecca Matthews...	Boswell Skinner....	2/28/1829
Thomas H. Staples...	Jane C. McCuthin...	J. A. Hatchett.....	2/ 8/1830
Samuel Thomas.....	Martha S. Collier...	Henry G. Hardy.....	12/19/1829
Miles Taylor.....	Sally Taylor.....	James Taylor.....	1/23/1829
Edwin C. Tarry.....	Nancy N. Smithson..	Charles Smithson....	8/16/1830
Littleberry Williams..	Susan M. Callis.....	Robert Morris.....	9/ 1/1830

<i>Name of Husband</i>	<i>Name of Wife</i>	<i>Name of Surety</i>	<i>Date</i>
Nicholas Winn.....	Lucy Taylor.....	Jno. H. McKinney...	5/ 2/1829
James White.....	Elizabeth Slaughter..	Wm. C. White.....	9/16/1830
Burnal Weatherford..	Susan P. Ward.....	Richard Brown.....	12/21/1829
C. D. Wood.....	Martha J. Staples...	Jno. W. Rowlett....	1/11/1830
Benjamin J. White...	Martha Morgan.....	J. White.....	6/ 5/1830
Harris T. Wyatt.....	Elizabeth Webb.....	Mont. S. Bacon.....	5/20/1831
William Jones.....	Nancy G. Denton...	Samuel A. Peace....	2/23/1834
Chas. W. Philips.....	Sarah A. E. Crowder..	John R. Crenshaw...	12/22/1834
Thadeus C. Jones.....	Rebecca E. Epes.....	Willis W. Gay.....	2/ 2/1834
Balaam Hicks.....	Elizabeth J. Gee.....	E. W. Gee.....	12/17/1833
Joseph B. Cox.....	Mary N. Thackston..	James Anderson.....	6/11/1834
Irby S. Bowen.....	Susan Turner.....	David Harper.....	12/24/1833
Peter Bass.....	Narcissa Fowlkes...	Robert Fowlkes.....	5/ 7/1834
Thomas Arvin.....	Mary Jane Bing.....	Samuel Pettus.....	12/ 8/1834
Charol P. Warner....	Marcha A. T. Gee...	Geo. W. Gee.....	12/18/1834
Jno. S. Weatherford..	Sarah B. Bailey.....	Richard Brown.....	1/17/1834
Robert H. Williams...	Priscilla J. Ellis....	John Thompson.....	4/ 3/1835
John Winn.....	Martha F. Christopher.....	Henry Winn.....	3/20/1835
Ira Warner.....	Jane J. Wood.....	Green A. Wood.....	12/ 8/1834
James Ward.....	Eliza Ann Wilkerson..	Thomas Wilkerson...	12/ 1/1834
William Tucker.....	Sarah Cheatham.....	Thos. Cheatham.....	4/22/1834
Harry Tarpen.....	Mary Wilson.....	R. B. Wilson.....	12/21/1833
Benjamin F. Terry...	Lucy P. Smith.....	Jno. A. Smith.....	12/20/1834
Harris M. Tomlinson..	Maria Ward.....	Wm. G. Ward.....	12/31/1834
Wm. Turner.....	Myrame Turner.....	Jno. H. Rudder.....	12/ 9/1833
Robert H. Tucker...	Harriett Harrison...	Joseph J. Perriman..	3/16/1835
Jno. W. Simmons.....	Jane Lucas Willson..	Wilson Harris.....	8/11/1834
John H. Saunders....	Pamilia W. Pettus...	Albert G. Smith.....	10/14/1833
Ashley Skinner.....	Mary Garland.....	Jno. Inge.....	12/22/1834
Samuel Skinner.....	Thelson Skinner.....	Eliza Skinner.....	2/ 2/1834
James Skinner.....	Martha Moon.....	James Inge.....	12/ 8/1834
Josephus Slaughter..	Lucenda Watkins....	Ezecheal Slaughter...	4/13/1835
Geo. W. Roberts.....	Maria S. Pettus.....	Allen S. Pettus.....	10/28/1833
William B. Rowlett..	Eliza Clay.....	Charles B. Clay.....	11/ 2/1835
William C. Penn.....	Tabitha Hardy.....	Harris Edmundson...	3/23/1835
John Orgain, Jr.....	Ann Craig.....	Edward Craig.....	12/30/1834
Edmund Overby.....	Mildred Ragsdale...	Ed Bishop.....	12/ 2/1835
Wm. P. Nash.....	Mary Johnson.....	Alfred Thompson...	11/26/1833
Delaware T. Malony..	Catareine Cheatham..	E. Cheatham.....	9/26/1833
Wm. Mourning.....	J. B. Byasee.....	Joshua B. Byasee...	11/12/1833
Samuel T. Morgan....	Mary E. Brydie.....	Ethelbert J. Hudson..	5/ 4/1835
Osborn J. Moore.....	Rebecca N. Gee.....	Peter Gee.....	2/15/1834
John A. Lambert.....	Nancy H. Hanks....	Freeman J. Gunn....	10/ 1/1835
Benjamin J. Lambert..	Lucy A. Williams...	Thomas Adams.....	9/ 9/1834

<i>Name of Husband</i>	<i>Name of Wife</i>	<i>Name of Surety</i>	<i>Date</i>
Edward Lee.....	Nany J. Wilson.....	Jno. R. Buford.....	12/ 9/1833
Edward Keeton.....	Susan Overton.....	Nathaniel Pennington.....	9/28/1835
Everett King.....	Elizabeth A. Crowder.....	John J. Hazlewood...	2/ 7/1835
Richard J. Jeffryes...	Martha C. Hurt.....	A. J. Hurt.....	1/13/1834
John J. Jarratt.....	Emily J. Simmons...	Edward W. Jones....	2/17/1836
Robert Harding.....	Sarah Crafton.....	Felix Crafton.....	8/17/1835
Wyatt Hammons.....	Rebecca Stewart....	Wilkins Edmonds....	11/13/1833
John Hamlett.....	Elizabeth Simmons..	Fred Lester.....	5/11/1835
William M. Gill.....	Nancy F. Hardy.....	Joel Blackwell, Jr....	9/20/1834
Richard H. Gill.....	Martha Maddux....	Wm. H. Taylor.....	11/30/1833
James P. Haines....	Martha Stone.....	Thos. C. Byassee....	11/24/1834
William Flinn.....	Drucella Dupriest..	David Farley.....	2/ 3/1834
Philip G. Eubank....	Elizabeth F. Gregory.....	Ruse W. Knight.....	5/11/1835
John Elmore.....	Jane E. Wilkes.....	Jno. Winn.....	12/ 1/1834
Asa C. Davis.....	Mary C. Ship.....	Jno. T. Dowdy.....	12/10/1834
Thomas W. Epes.....	Emily G. Williams...	Wm. Fitzgerald.....	9/28/1835
Richard Dalton.....	Elizabeth White....	David W. Fowlkes...	12/ 6/1835
Stephen Crowder....	Melissa B. Eastes...	Jas. A. W. Green....	7/22/1834
Major Camby.....	Nancy Morgan.....	Thomas Hutchins....	10/13/1835
Jno. L. Cheaney....	Phebe Elam.....	Willie Ward.....	8/ 3/1833
John Crymes.....	Lucretia J. Johns...	Thos. A. Johns.....	12/13/1833
Theo. L. Christopher.	Frances Ann E. Walker.....	Garner Webb.....	12/11/1833
John W. Chambers...	Nancy C. Poultney..	Jno. C. Stokes.....	12/27/1834
William Chestham...	Elizabeth Epes.....	Henry Ragsdale.....	12/22/1834
Osborn L. Burnett...	Sarah A. E. Ussery..	Thos. H. Vaughan...	7/20/1834
Wm. W. Bethell....	Catharine Hardy....	Charles Cox.....	10/ 5/1835
Richard H. S. Bailey..	Lucy Gee.....	Wm. Gee.....	12/19/1834
Joel Burnett.....	Sarah Flinn.....	George L. Rogers....	3/ 1/1834
Edmund Blake.....	Sarah M. Elmore....	Matthew Russell....	5/22/1834
German Bailey.....	Martha J. Harding..	Thomas J. Harding..	2/11/1833
Daniel V. Bentley....	Silvilanda Saterfield..	John C. Epes.....	12/16/1834
Josiah M. Young.....	Mary A. E. Anderson.....	Jas. A. Foster.....	11/17/1835
Freeman J. Winn.....	Mary E. Laffoon....	James George.....	12/12/1836
Christopher Wallace..	Ann P. Rash.....	Wm. Wallace.....	11/19/1836
Thomas Winn.....	Martha Ann Waller..	Jas. Dirk.....	7/30/1836
Edwin W. Walker....	Mary P. Simmons...	Geo. L. Bayne.....	1/11/1836
Patrick Henry Winn..	Amanda A. Wilkes...	Benj. W. Wilkes....	12/21/1835
Thos. Vaden.....	Patsey Calliham....	Henry Calliham....	9/ 1/1835
Chas. A. Tucker.....	Luch T. Dirks.....	James Dirks.....	10/10/1836
Joseph Townsend....	Rebecca Elmore....	William Townsend...	1/11/1836

<i>Name of Husband</i>	<i>Name of Wife</i>	<i>Name of Surety</i>	<i>Date</i>
Wm. G. Smithson.....	Mary A. E. Crenshaw.....	Wm. A. Bradshaw...	12/12/1836
Benjamin Strange.....	Sarah J. E. V. Callis.	Peter Thompson.....	11/ 4/1836
Clement Smithson.....	Mary A. Smithson...	Elieger Cheatham...	8/19/1836
Wm. B. Skinner.....	Martha J. Stone.....	Jno. Skinner.....	11/15/1836
Cephas Shelburne.....	Mary Ann M. Fowlkes.....	H. W. Tisdale.....	4/ 1/1836
Morris Stokes.....	Martha Jane Meadows.....	Frances Meadows....	11/18/1835
Thos. G. Scarborough.	Sarah Jane Hudson..	Littleberry Williams.	12/14/1835
John Rash.....	Nancy Brown.....	J. W. Brown.....	12/10/1836
Henry B. Richards...	Angeline Barnes.....	E. H. Barnes.....	11/ 9/1836
Jno. A. H. Ruther- ford.....	Catharine Jane Hurt.	P. H. Hurt.....	11/18/1835
Edward A. Pool.....	Julia F. Jeffreys....	Thos. H. Staples....	8/29/1836
Daniel W. Parsons....	Mary T. Dupree....	Wm. A. Bradshaw...	7/27/1836
Martin Philips.....	Emily M. Pilkinton..	Jas. A. Pilkinton....	5/ 1/1836
Wyatt H. Pettus.....	Harriett F. Eubank..	P. G. Eubank.....	1/11/1836
John Poeteat.....	Bethiah Bailey.....	Branch B. Beech....	12/31/1835
Peter W. Hawthorn...	Pamala J. Peace.....	Willis H. Peace.....	11/ 2/1835
John W. Marshall...	Louisa Maddux.....	Joseph Marshall....	12/21/1836
Matthew P. Moore...	Jane Parrish.....	Washington Parrish..	6/24/1836
Thos. C. Nelson.....	Maria Louise Taylor.	Wm. H. Taylor.....	12/15/1835
Samuel Moore.....	Ann Daniel.....	Jas. George.....	9/28/1835
Jno. T. Keeling.....	Elizabeth E. Harding.....	D. W. Parsons.....	12/ 1/1836
Wm. P. Jordan.....	Sophia A. Pettus....	M. L. Pettus.....	9/18/1836
John Inge.....	Martha Moore.....	George Inge.....	11/24/1836
Willis Inge.....	Elizabeth C. Inge...	Jno. B. Inge.....	1/11/1836
James Inge.....	Elizabeth S. Chandler.....	Jno. Inge.....	12/15/1835
William T. M. Holmes.....	Martha Augustine Gee.....	Wilson Harris.....	12/12/1836
Thomas J. Holt.....	Rebecca Rowlett....	Wm. W. Morris.....	9/26/1836
James W. Hudson....	Martha Rogers.....	Reuben Rogers.....	2/15/1836
James W. Hunnicutt..	Martha F. Smith....	Samuel Jefferson....	6/13/1835
Benjamin W. Hite....	Jane Marie Hatchett.	H. Hatchett.....	6/13/1836
Ethelbert J. Hudson..	Susan W. Yarbrough.	Elijah D. Hardy....	5/26/1836
John Hamlin.....	Ann Elizabeth White.	Richard C. Gregory..	1/26/1836
Thos. A. Harris.....	Ann C. Gee.....	Wm. J. Gee.....	8/26/1835
Nathan Holmes.....	Susan Hitchens....	Edward Holmes.....	11/26/1835
Wells Hammonds....	Susan Edmunds....	Wilkins Edwards....	10/12/1834
Edward Green.....	Sophia A. Winn.....	Thos. E. Winn.....	12/26/1836

<i>Name of Husband</i>	<i>Name of Wife</i>	<i>Name of Surety</i>	<i>Date</i>
Francis Gill	Nancy Allen		
	Andrews	Elisha Andrews	10/17/1836
James S. Gee	Martha J. Crowder	Robt. A. Raney	1/18/1836
Samuel Fuqua	Susan White	Martin Phillips	3/31/1836
Wm. S. Fowlkes	Narcissa Willson	Windham Robertson	12/12/1836
Joseph D. Evans	Abigail E. Barnes	Wm. M. Gee	7/12/1835
Jno. F. Day	Mary Farmer	Simeon Shelburne	12/28/1836
Jno. T. Dowdy	Martha W. Roach	Richard Epes	5/23/1836
Jno. S. Davis	Mary Overton	Nathaniel	
		Pennington	12/14/1835
Edward Dirks	Elizabeth Turner	James Turner	11/ 9/1836
Claiborn Clements	Caroline E. Smith	Geo. S. Smith	12/ 7/1836
Eleazer Cheatham	Permilia J. Smithson	Clement Smith	8/19/1836
Robert Crymes	Martha N. Gee	Jesse H. Gee	1/11/1836
Richard Crafton, Sr.	Leanner Cooksey	Jno. T. Keeling	8/15/1836
James Cavers	Sally Valentine	Henry Ragsdale	1/26/1836
Isham Browder	Martha W. Burnett	Osburn Burnett	12/ 5/1836
James J. Blackwell	Mary B. Jeffreys	Richard J. Jeffreys	3/29/1836
Joel Blackwell, Jr.	Jane M. Cralle	Wm. H. Blackwell	8/ 8/1836
Adam Bell	Eliza T. Stokes	Jno. T. Street	3/22/1836
Tazewell Bryant	Narcissa J. Minor	Joel M. Parrish	2/15/1836
Richard Bennett	Nancy Dagnal	Jno. B. Davis	1/29/1836
Henry Bartlett	Patsey Kelly	Nathan Holmes	11/26/1835
Robert H. Allen	Ann E. Bagley	Geo. L. Bagley	10/24/1836
Rudd Averett	Harriet Peebles	Hatcher Clark	7/21/1836
John B. Atwell	Martha F. Smithson	Benjamin Thackston	11/14/1835
Rogal Hood	Biddy Pully	Wm. Harding	8/21/1836
Richard C. Gregory	Martha A. Hamlin	William Williams	11/ 9/1835
Anderson Hammonds	Eliza Dicks	James Dicks	9/27/1836
Joseph Carter	Martha Ann Stokes	Jno. T. Street	12/10/1838
Richard J. Jeffreys	Emily F. Jeffreys	Wm. J. Brown	11/26/1838
Algerson S. Jones	Mary Jane Overton	Tsch. Woodson	2/ 7/1837
Nathan Ward	Rebecca B. Hudson	Chas. A. Carter	6/27/1838
Gill W. Watt	Sarah W. Lester	Fred Lester	3/12/1838
Robert Armes	Sarah Crafton	Richard Crafton	7/12/1837
Paul Willson	Philadelphia C. F.		
	Wrigglesworth	F. Lester	10/29/1838
William B. Winn	Louisa M. Pulliam	George W. Pulliam	4/25/1838
William Wood	Mary T. Watts	Gill W. Watts	11/16/1838
Jno. W. Williams	Eliza T. Williams	Sherwood W. Knight	6/ 1/1838
Chas. A. Tucker	Martha A.		
	Hawthorn	Edward P. Buford	11/25/1837
Parks Tucker	Celia A. Raney	Peter Raney, Jr.	4/24/1838
Gray Thompson	Minerva A. Callis	Benjamin Strange	12/18/1838
Thomas Weaver	Susan Chumney	Robert B. Chumney	9/20/1837

<i>Name of Husband</i>	<i>Name of Wife</i>	<i>Name of Surety</i>	<i>Date</i>
Isaac W. Wade.....	Alice W. Smithson...	Benjamin Thackston...	12/15/1837
Cephas A. White.....	Mary Winn.....	Isham W. Vaden....	2/24/1837
Wm. B. White.....	Susan W. Thompson...	Benjamin Wilkes....	4/26/1837
Benjamin W. Wilkes..	Catharine White....	Peter W. Stone.....	10/23/1837
Littleton L. Taylor...	Mary F. Cralle.....	Edmund F. Taylor...	2/13/1837
Samuel Thomas.....	Martha Jane White..	F. T. Jackson.....	2/13/1837
Daniel Smith.....	Elizabeth A. Townsend.....	Wm. Townsend.....	12/10/1838
Peter W. Stone.....	Sally Winn.....	Peter W. Stone.....	11/13/1837
James J. Snead.....	Eliza A. Snead.....	Leonard Goodwyn...	11/ 7/1837
Matthew L. Spencer..	Louisa S. Neal.....	Alex. R. Spencer....	3/26/1838
Geo. W. Shead.....	Eliza W. Smithson...	John Matthews.....	1/18/1837
Robert Roberts.....	Eliza Smithson.....	Charles Smithson....	9/10/1838
John J. Russell.....	Elizabeth Pewett....	Jno. Williams.....	10/18/1836
Robert Richards.....	Sarah Gregory.....	William Keeton.....	10/ 8/1838
Henry J. Russell....	Harriet T. Johnston..	Jno. Williams.....	10/18/1837
Wahington Maddux..	Rebecca Moore.....	Wm. E. Wilson.....	1/22/1837
Wm. B. Miller.....	Mary C. Williams...	Jno. L. Daley.....	5/ 1/1837
Joseph R. Marable...	Mary M. Marable...	Benj. F. Lester.....	2/27/1837
Jeremiah Lester.....	Nancy Spain.....	Jno. Spain.....	3/ 5/1838
James Lambert.....	Martha G. Perkins...	Charles C. Tisdale...	9/25/1838
Charles S. Jordan...	Mary E. Williams...	Thomas Hamlin.....	8/ 4/1838
Daniel Y. Jenkins...	Jane E. Rash.....	Elijah J. Estes.....	11/ 1/1838
George Inge.....	Susannah E. Hawthorne.....	James Inge.....	7/28/1837
Ward Hudson.....	Martha Ann Estes...	Elijah J. Estes.....	8/29/1838
William Grant.....	Elizabeth Reese.....	Irvan Hammock....	10/27/1838
John William Goodwyn.....	Henrietta Barnes....	John L. Morgan.....	10/18/1838
Robert Fowlkes.....	Emily F. Knight....	Wm. Doswell.....	12/11/1839
William Foster.....	Milly Bohannon....	Wm. Bohannon.....	2/13/1837
Elijah J. Estes.....	Mary A. Hudson...	James E. Hazlewood..	10/24/1838
Samuel Ellett.....	Elizabeth Ward....	Wm. A. Ward.....	3/ 6/1837
William Estes.....	Mary Jane Pilkinton.....	Martin Phillips.....	1/24/1837
William T. Dalton...	Sally Ann Winn....	Thos. Winn.....	12/17/1838
James R. Dupree....	Lucinda H. Edmundson.....	Daniel W. Parsons...	6/11/1838
Jno. J. Dishazor.....	Permilia A. Snead...	James Snead.....	1/24/1837
Peter W. Coleman...	Martha L. C. Almand.....	John L. Coleman....	9/10/1838
Theodowick Cole....	Martha Cole.....	J. Cole.....	4/ 8/1838
Ebenezer Crafton....	Catharine E. Ellis...	Robert Ammes.....	2/12/1838
Geo. Cox.....	Julia A. Hardy.....	Chas. Cox.....	11/ 1/1837
Charles Cox.....	Mary Ann Tucker...	Geo. Cox.....	11/21/1837

<i>Name of Husband</i>	<i>Name of Wife</i>	<i>Name of Surety</i>	<i>Date</i>
John T. Coleman.....	Mary Ann Zillia Almand.....	Thos. F. Hawthorne.....	12/11/1837
Alfred Cain.....	Abbey Edmunds.....	Wilkins Edmunds.....	1/11/1837
Edward C. Craig.....	Ann P. Jones.....	Jno. A. Smith.....	1/ 3/1837
Nicholas B. Burnett..	Mary Byasee.....	Leonard Goodwyn...	12/ 1/1837
Thos. C. Byassee.....	Martha Jane Fowlkes.....	Jas. M. Fowlkes.....	3/12/1838
William Bentley.....	Jane Satterfield.....	James Satterfield....	2/19/1838
Wm. R. Buford.....	Emma Jane Hardy...	E. Hardy.....	10/ 4/1837
William Barnes.....	Rebecca E. Clarke...	Tyre Cooksey.....	12/11/1837
Edmund Bishop.....	Mary A. Davis.....	Alfred Bishop.....	12/ 5/1837
William J. Barrow....	Virginia C. Hardy...	E. Hardy.....	9/ 2/1837
John A. Baugh.....	Lucinda Coleman...	James J. Jordan.....	6/ 7/1836
William D. Bayne....	Jolly Coleman.....	James J. Jordan.....	9/ 7/1837
Langston Arvin.....	Ellen N. Bayne.....	Geo. Bayne.....	2/12/1838
G. W. Almand.....	Delia Barnes.....	Pleasant Barnes.....	12/11/1843
James P. Street.....	Sarah E. Williams...	L. H. Averett.....	5/23/1843
Robert D. Sullivant..	Lucy Colley.....	Samuel G. Jefferson..	12/11/1843
Cephus Shelburne...	Lucy J. Wiglesworth.	Paul Wilson.....	3/13/1843
Richard H. Sharp....	Lucy D. Hardy.....	G. O. Hardy.....	2/17/1843
James W. Taylor.....	Minerva Singleton...	Thornton Russell....	2/ 8/1841
John R. Pettus.....	Mary E. Smith.....	Wm. A. Stone.....	6/ 3/1841
Allen G. Pettus.....	Tabitha W. Marable.	John J. Wood.....	4/ 1/1841
Peter R. Percy.....	Olive W. Smith.....	Parks Tucker.....	11/19/1842
Geo. W. Pettus.....	Elizabeth Eubank...	Wyatt H. Pettus....	1/ 8/1841
Sam A. Pratt.....	Ann E. Hawthorn...	Peter W. Hawthorn..	1/ 9/1843
John Rux.....	Elizabeth Vasser....	William Arvin.....	11/22/1841
Jessee Rowlett.....	Mary W. Smith.....	Thos. W. White.....	1/13/1841
Blackwell Skinner...	Mary Laffoon.....	Freeman Winn.....	12/18/1841
Christopher C. Haskins.....	Martha H. Blackwell.	Wm. L. Bridgforth...	5/10/1841
Wm. Hoomes.....	Mary Jane Hitchens.	Edward Hoomes.....	9/ 1/1842
Peter W. Hawthorn...	Lucy A. M. Featherston.....	Samuel A. Peace.....	10/31/1842
William Harding.....	Susan Moore.....	Jno. T. Dowdy.....	3/23/1843
Alfred H. Hurt.....	Louisa E. Rowlett...	Thos. Arvin.....	1/ 9/1843
James Hayes.....	Camilla M. Smith...	J. Henry Smith.....	12/25/1843
Richard Jeffreys.....	Eliza T. Staples.....	Thos. A. Johns.....	11/22/1841
James G. Jeffreys....	Jane M. Crymes.....	Leonard Crymes.....	12/12/1842
Joseph M. Jeffreys...	Sarah B. Harding...	Philip H. Bohannon..	12/12/1842
James J. Jordan.....	Ann E. Johns.....	Jno. Crymes.....	1/24/1843
Jno. W. Irby.....	Martha Taylor.....	Wm. H. Taylor.....	11/24/1843
Berrille W. Jackson...	Sopha A. Parrish...	Lazarus L. Burnett..	9/21/1843
Sherwood W. Knight..	Martha A. Williams..	Tarlton W. Knight...	8/14/1843
Drury H. Lett.....	Elenor A. Tisdale...	Richard K. Tisdale...	10/27/1841

<i>Name of Husband</i>	<i>Name of Wife</i>	<i>Name of Surety</i>	<i>Date</i>
Thos. E. Locke.....	Lucy A. Nelson.....	Wm. H. Taylor.....	12/15/1841
Wm. H. Moore.....	Sarah H. Laffoon....	Collin Calliham.....	2/17/1842
Jordan R. Hardy.....	Ann Eliza Love.....	Henry G. Hardy.....	3/15/1841
Robert Martin.....	Sarah E. Hudson....	J. Hudson.....	8/21/1841
Thos. McIntire.....	Prudence Chumley..	Robt. B. Chumney..	1/23/1842
John N. Neal.....	Mary A. Jordan.....	Jas. J. Jordan.....	9/17/1841
William Y. Neal.....	Martha J. Brydie....	Thos. Arvin.....	11/ 7/1842
Peter Owen.....	Harriett Leonard....	John Virser.....	12/13/1841
Samuel W. Oslin.....	Pamelin F. Callis....	Gray Thompson.....	4/17/1843
John Pulley.....	Sally Slaughter.....	John Nash.....	5/10/1842
James Dixon.....	Mary A. Laffoon....	Thos. G. Moore.....	12/22/1843
Richard T. Daniel....	Susan A. R. Matthews.....	James Dixon.....	12/21/1841
Henry Freeman.....	Sally A. Harris.....	Jas. E. Hazlewood... 11/25/1842	
Thos. P. Fowlkes.....	Clarkey Cheatham...	Madison Cheatham..	9/12/1842
Peterson E. Goodwyn..	Evelina V. Davis....	Jno. A. Bishop.....	12/13/1841
Hail T. Gallion.....	Armentia D. White..	Robt. Phillips.....	12/27/1843
Daniel E. Gunn.....	Tabitha Jane Lee....	E. Lee.....	11/14/1842
Wm. H. Hatchett....	Virginia M. A. Epes.	Jas. P. Street.....	10/ 6/1841
Chappell E. Averett..	Mary C. Neal.....	Alfred H. Hurt.....	4/10/1843
Joshua Frances Barnes.....	Elizabeth Parish....	Jas. A. Inge.....	1/18/1841
James G. Yancey.....	Martha P. Crenshaw..	H. P. Crenshaw.....	11/14/1842
Thos. Blackwell.....	Martha A. Hardy....	Robt. Blackwell, Jr..	8/ 9/1841
Lodowick D. Burnett.	Mary R. Floyd.....	Wm. D. Floyd.....	4/21/1841
Wm. A. Bailey.....	Narcissa Williams... 12/12/1842	Joel T. Collins.....	
Allen E. Baker.....	Serva C. Stone.....	Eurebius Stone.....	12/12/1842
Chester Bullard.....	Sophia A. Stone.....	Wm. A. Stone.....	11/ 1/1842
Joel Burnett.....	Margaret J. Elder... 12/18/1843	John Elder.....	
Wm. L. Bridgforth...	Frances W. Maddux..	Enos H. Barnes.....	8/29/1842
David Epperson.....	Eve Laffoon.....	E. F. Taylor.....	9/12/1842
Edward W. Jones....	Martha B. Cole.....	Green W. Crowder... 9/21/1843	
Joseph L. Barrow....	Louisa Ann Peace... 4/25/1843	Willis H. Peace.....	
John S. Whittle.....	Jane A. Patterson... 12/ 9/1843	Conway D. Whittle..	
Joseph A. Wattson...	Jane C. Bruce.....	Mitchell Clay.....	4/ 1/1817
Henry Stokes.....	Ann E. Hatchett.... 11/19/1841	Wm. H. Hatchett...	
Wm. Lipscomb.....	Pamelia J. Tatums... 4/10/1843	W. B. Vaughan.....	
Thomas A. Freeman..	Priscilla Frances Toombs.....	Allen Driffer.....	10/ 1/1843
Robert H. Bentley...	Clarassa Barnes.... 1/ 9/1842	Henry Laffoon.....	
John F. Williams....	Charlotte W. Betts.. 10/27/1817	Wm. Gooch.....	
Collin Wallace.....	Elizabeth H. Brown.. 10/ 9/1817	Washington Brown..	
James M. Williams...	Sally O. Wyatt..... 9/19/1817	John Smith.....	
James Waller.....	Elizabeth Smith.... 10/ 4/1817	Samuel Moore.....	
Hugh Wallace.....	Nancy Brown.....	Jno. Brown.....	8/25/1817

<i>Name of Husband</i>	<i>Name of Wife</i>	<i>Name of Surety</i>	<i>Date</i>
Green Hazlewood.....	Polly Ann Cooper...	Joseph Dyson.....	12/25/1841
Thos. W. White.....	Phebe Crafton.....	James H. Vaughan...	9/ 4/1841
Geo. H. Williams.....	Virginia A. Stone....	Charles R. Stearnes..	7/22/1841
John H. Wood.....	Rebecca A. F. Smithson.....	Bartley C. Smithson.	8/30/1842
Green A. Wood.....	Mary Jane Tisdale...	Wm. M. Wood.....	6/12/1843
Richard L. B. Williams.....	Louisa J. Crenshaw..	H. P. Crenshaw.....	11/13/1843
Freeman Winn.....	Lucy Reese.....	Robt. Reese.....	12/25/1843
Jno. S. Weatherford..	Amanda W. Hardy..	Jno. Hardy.....	6/12/1843
Edward Inge.....	Mary N. L. Burnett.	Sam J. Burnett.....	10/30/1843
James E. Inge.....	Martha A. Inge.....	James Inge.....	5/ 1/1841
Elisha M. Watson....	Mary A. Cole.....	William H. Cole.....	3/ 8/1841
Robert L. Shackleton.	Mary A. R. Fuqua...	Josiah B. Cox.....	5/22/1841
John C. Smithson....	Sarah A. Smith.....	B. C. Smithson.....	11/ 3/1842
William C. Snead....	Cornelia E. Winn....	E. H. Barnes.....	8/14/1843
Larkin W. Buford....	Mary T. Bacon.....	W. C. Snead.....	9/25/1843
W. H. Blunt.....	Panthra A. Garland..	Thos. Adams.....	5/ 8/1843
Wm. W. Brown.....	Jane Christopher....	Washington Christopher.....	12/11/1843
Tyree J. Clark.....	Martha W. Brown...	Jesse Brown.....	1/11/1841
Robert Cully.....	Martha Ann Redmon.....	Allen Duffin.....	11/ 6/1843
Lucius T. Wooten....	Agnes Bayne.....	Clement T. Thompson.....	12/13/1841
Henry W. Tisdale....	Martha C. Tarry....	Drury W. Lett.....	9/27/1842
John Hazlewood.....	Ducy M. Bohannon..	Philip H. Bohannon..	8/14/1843
John J. Brame.....	Martha J. W. Crenshaw.....	Jno. A. H. Rutherford.....	6/12/1843
Thomas Johnson.....	Sarah E. Featherstun.....	John B. Hawthorn...	10/23/1848
Edmund Irby.....	Cordelia A. Williams.	Fayette C. Williams..	9/25/1847
George T. Knight....	Mary E. Lipscomb...	John Thompson.....	11/13/1848
Beverly Frost.....	Ann E. Rash.....	James Winn.....	12/30/1847.
Nicholas Edmunds...	Lucretia J. Parish...	S. L. Burnett.....	10/ 8/1847
Alfred Edmunds.....	Martha S. Taylor....	Jas. W. Taylor.....	10/ 2/1848
Wm. H. Estes.....	Martha T. Floyd....	Wm. D. Floyd.....	4/12/1847
Thos. N. Gee.....	Mary E. Gee.....	Nathan Gee.....	2/23/1847
Samuel H. Ingram....	Ann H. Davis.....	C. C. Bishop.....	2/15/1847
Jas. L. Hatchell.....	Susan Edmonds.....	James Edmonds.....	11/29/1847
Elisha B. Jackson....	Sarah Jane Stokes...	Drury H. Lett.....	12/14/1847
Joshua J. McKinny...	Frances Jane Jeter..	Jno. Q. A. McKinny.	12/18/1847
William E. Hill.....	Ellen C. Bacon.....	Gillie M. Bacon.....	6/13/1848
Jas. H. Marable.....	Mary E. Ingram.....	Edward T. Marable..	12/ 2/1848

<i>Name of Husband</i>	<i>Name of Wife</i>	<i>Name of Surety</i>	<i>Date</i>
Samuel B. Morgan	Dianah D. Young	John L. Morgan	2/ 2/1847
John R. Moore	Martha Inge	John Inge	4/12/1847
Elijah J. Lester	Martha A. Matthews	Washington Brown	12/27/1847
Henry C. Lay	Elizabeth W. Atkinson	David May	4/14/1847
Edmund H. Snead	Jane S. Robertson	James E. Jeter	12/19/1848
Thos. Shackleton	Nancy C. Street	J. C. Mitchell	10/23/1847
Thos. H. Smith	Elizabeth G. Smithson	Henry G. Hardy	5/ 8/1848
James L. Scoggins	Ann E. Shell	Wm. T. Blackwell	6/ 5/1847
William Robinson	Milly Hammons	Garrott Waller	12/26/1848
Benjamin A. Roberts	Maria Wilson	R. B. Wilson	3/ 8/1847
John T. Ryland	Mary B. Carter	Thos. C. Averett	6/23/1848
James T. Price	Lucretia J. Fowlkes	Wm. Doswell	12/18/1848
David Petteford	Elizabeth C. Cooper	Benjamin W. Cooper	6/27/1848
Edward S. Polard	Francis W. Thompson	Geo. W. Thompson	4/27/1848
Anderson B. Overbey	Nancy S. Hines	John H. Bottom	8/22/1848
Leroy Murrill	Martha Jean Yates	A. H. Royall	12/12/1848
Alexander R. Neal	Ann E. Hurt	P. H. Hurt	6/ 2/1847
Jno. Q. A. McKinney	Elizabeth Williams	Cread T. Seniggs	1/10/1848
Wm. M. Andrews	Sarah E. Street	B. W. Street	6/ 7/1848
Adolphus T. Burk	Jane Crafton	John E. Clark	9/27/1848
John Aikins	Elizabeth A. White	John T. Dowdy	4/10/1848
Algenon S. Williams	Louisa E. Minor	John D. Tisdale	11/27/1848
James W. Taylor	Susan A. Bowen	Robert Bowen	11/20/1848
William Taylor	Jane Hilton	Daniel L. Higgin	9/ 1/1848
Norris Stewart	Susan E. Gee	Joseph B. Moore	3/14/1848
Samuel S. Davis	Frances W. Hines	Benjamin Hines	12/30/1847
Alpheus W. Eckles	Ann Fitzwhylson	Job Savill	10/ 7/1848
Augustus A. Erambert	Missouri F. Lester	Frederick Lester	4/29/1848
Daniel A. Crafton	Mary Virginia Winn	James E. Jeter	12/25/1848
William S. Bugg	Amanda B. Piller	John W. Piller	2/ 8/1847
Wm. N. Bohannon	Ann J. Rash	Wm. H. Brown	12/28/1847
Paul A. Black	Martha S. Jones	William Arvin, Jr.	6/10/1848
Wm. M. Bagley	Ann M. Gauldin	John B. Gauldin	9/14/1847
Armstead W. Bailey	Ann K. Clarke	Leonard T. Clark	3/ 8/1847
Abner H. Burke	Mary E. White	Wm. M. White	5/26/1848
Aaron J. J. Brown	Caroline A. E. Edmondson	Reps Connally	10/28/1848
Washington Brown	Caroline Lester	Elijah J. Lester	12/27/1847
Wm. L. Grigg	Eliza Rose	Elizabeth Rose	9/15/1847
Wm. R. Davidson	Ann E. Johns	Jno. F. Lee	7/12/1847
Wm. J. Dixon	Sarah Frances Hurt	W. E. Hurt	5/23/1848

<i>Name of Husband</i>	<i>Name of Wife</i>	<i>Name of Surety</i>	<i>Date</i>
Arphuxad L. Davis...	Almidia J. Bowers...	Chatten C. Bishop...	3/ 9/1847
James H. Pettus.....	Martha A. Smithson..	Wyatt H. Pettus.....	11/21/1849
William W. Pettus....	Martha A. Davis.....	Joseph E. Davis.....	12/10/1849
William S. Rudd.....	Amelia M. Ingram...	Jas. H. Marable.....	11/12/1849
Robert Roberts.....	Mary E. Harvy.....	Jno. C. Harvey.....	6/30/1849
James W. Satterfield..	Ann Eliza Coleman..	Robt. Crymes.....	6/18/1850
John Thomas.....	Petronilla Kelly.....	Wm. Holmes.....	2/27/1850
Daniel Townsend.....	Nancy L. Williams...	William Townsend...	5/13/1850
Wm. Tucker.....	Martha P. Hazlewood.....	Jas. E. Hazlewood...	6/10/1850
Daniel W. Tisdale....	Susan Dean Yates...	Wm. Thompson.....	10/30/1849
Benjamin J. Wilkinson.....	Polley Ann S. Wilkerson.....	Jno. R. Wilkerson....	3/19/1849
John T. Williams.....	Lucy J. Townsend...	William Townsend...	12/ 4/1849
William R. Waller....	Mary Jane Russell...	David W. Parkes....	11/12/1849
Cornelius W. Davis...	Nancy E. Bowers....	Robt. L. Bishop.....	3/12/1849
Richard Stokes.....	Sarah J. Cralle.....	Henry Stokes.....	12/10/1849
Norburn D. Phillips..	Elizabeth E. Daniel..	James W. Stone.....	2/11/1850
William A. Nash.....	Amanda W. Jackson..	William A. Jackson..	10/23/1849
Wm. N. Ashworth....	Peremilia Ann Bailey.....	Bryant P. Franklin..	1/26/1849
George E. Browder...	Judith R. Hawthorne.....	Edward Barnes.....	9/17/1849
David J. Bigger.....	Mary E. Robertson..	John S. Bayne.....	1/18/1850
Oran A. Cravner.....	Melvina F. Johnson..	Joel Parrish.....	1/25/1849
Thos. H. Crafton....	Sarah Ann Turnstill..	Josiah W. Foster....	1/ 8/1849
John F. Dunn.....	Perlina B. Davis.....	Edmund Bishop.....	11/12/1849
Washington Edmunds..	Ann Taylor.....	Peterson G. Taylor..	1/22/1849
Bryant P. Franklin...	Elizabeth D. Wood..	Ira Warner.....	3/23/1849
Griffin O. Hardy....	Lucy R. Bridgforth..	Geo. H. Hardy.....	1/ 8/1849
Washington Hammonds.....	Rebecca Waller.....	Mortimor Laffoon...	1/18/1849
James E. Hazlewood..	Martha H. Jones....	R. H. Allen.....	5/ 6/1850
Alfred H. Hurt.....	Sarah E. Farmer....	Joseph W. Farmer...	5/13/1850
Wm. T. Innes.....	Julia A. Minor.....	Algernon S. Williams.....	10/30/1849
William J. Marshall...	Susan B. Keeton....	Thos. G. Crawley....	8/13/1849
Putnam W. Thasker..	Aramintee D. Rowlett.....	Chas. R. Stearns....	9/29/1849
John H. Morning....	Martha W. Taylor...	C. C. Bishop.....	11/13/1849
Champion Marable...	Cornealia A. Keeton..	Wm. B. Keeton.....	10/ 3/1849
William Moore.....	Harriet Satterfield..	Robt. Crymes.....	1/22/1850
Nathaniel Matthews..	S. J. Hatchett.....	Colin Stokes.....	2/14/1849
John A. Matthews....	Susan Harris.....	Drury Matthews....	2/20/1850

<i>Name of Husband</i>	<i>Name of Wife</i>	<i>Name of Surety</i>	<i>Date</i>
James H. Clark.....	Martha J. Crafton...	Wm. Keeton.....	3/11/1850
John F. Moses.....	Clarissa Williams....	Wm. H. Williams....	11/26/1849
John W. Overby.....	Minerva P. Bishop...	W. J. Robertson....	3/12/1849
Peter Epes.....	Mary T. Sale.....	W. R. Fontaine.....	7/21/1821
Daniel J. Justice.....	Beede Ragsdale.....	William Garrett.....	3/17/1821
Claiborne Johnson...	Nancy Thomas.....	Leonard Gill.....	9/12/1821
Silvanus Ingram....	Francis H. Taylor...	Thomas Taylor.....	3/11/1822
Curtis R. Holmes....	Sarah P. Yarbrough..	Joshua Hardy.....	1/ 8/1821
Robt. Hood.....	Rebecca Bates.....	Pleasant Bates.....	1/ 4/1823
Jno. Hudgins.....	Bidney M. Steagall..	Geo. Steagall.....	8/31/1822
Matthew J. Knight...	Cecilia A. Ellis.....	N. Gregory.....	1/31/1822
Samuel Manley.....	Patience Amos.....	William Kirk.....	11/20/1821
Daniel Laffoon.....	Nancy Gee.....	John Gee.....	1/14/1832
Jeremiah Lester.....	Sarah Finch.....	James Moore.....	10/17/1821
Thomas Lowry.....	Susan C. Bruce.....	Abner H. Burks.....	9/ 9/1822
Thomas Pully.....	Gerusha Brown.....	John Brown.....	9/24/1821
Worsham Tucker....	Sarah Potts.....	Littleton Potts.....	12/31/1821
Walker Pettus.....	Nancy Jordan.....	Laban Jordan.....	6/10/1822
William S. Pamplin...	Nancy Fowlkes.....	Sterling Fowlkes....	10/27/1821
Joel Neal.....	Henrietta Davis.....	John Davis.....	12/ 7/1821
Charles T. Walker...	Nancey P. Tisdale...	James Smithson....	12/15/1821
Pleasant Vaughan...	Mourning E. Dance..	Stephen Dance.....	8/27/1822
Sterling Neblett, Jr..	Ann Macfarland....	Thos. Adams.....	8/13/1821
Thos. Vaughan.....	Martha Gafford.....	William Turnstill...	10/ 2/1821
John Robertson.....	Elizabeth C. Bishop..	Phillip H. Barnes....	2/21/1821
James G. Richardson.	Eliza Smith.....	Joshua Smith.....	10/24/1823
Thomas Robinson....	Polly Hammons.....	Richard Hammons...	9/10/1821
William Turnstill....	Mary Gafford.....	Thos. Vaughan.....	9/ 3/1821
Ludwell Tanner.....	Rebecca H. Ragsdale.	Washington Maddux.	1/20/1823
Samuel Steagall.....	Nancy Gee.....	Nelson W. Gee.....	1/ 8/1821
Daniel Stone.....	Mary Dobbys.....	Boler Dobbys.....	2/13/1821
William Stevenson...	Sally C. Piggen.....	Thos. Lowry.....	9/ 9/1822
John Simmons.....	Nancy Ryland.....	Thos. Ryland.....	9/ 3/1822
Buckner M. L. Raney.	Jane Tomlinson....	Howel P. Crowder...	12/10/1821
Francis Robertson...	Elizabeth Street....	Joshua Smith.....	4/16/1821
Edwin C. Terry.....	Mary E. Wood.....	Wm. Wood.....	1/ 6/1821
William A. Tisdale, Jr.....	Mary B. Ford.....	Geo. H. Ford.....	5/ 1/1822
Thos. Williams.....	Elizabeth Slaughter..	Wilban M. Ford.....	8/ 8/1821
Ussery Wallace.....	Elizabeth Wrenn....	Joseph Morgan.....	11/12/1821
Isham W. Vaden.....	Eliza W. Steagall...	Alexander Laffoon...	4/14/1823
Robert C. Garland...	Mary Jefferson.....	John Gee.....	9/20/1821
Daniel Wells.....	Polly R. Williams....	Jas. M. Williams....	7/11/1821
Elisha M. Watson....	Nancy Parsons.....	Joseph Adkins.....	1/ 8/1821
Thomas Williams....	Jane Johnson.....	Wm. Hightower.....	2/13/1822

<i>Name of Husband</i>	<i>Name of Wife</i>	<i>Name of Surety</i>	<i>Date</i>
Lewis R. Andrews....	Elizabeth G. Stone....	David White.....	1/23/1821
John Burnett.....	Mary H. Hurt.....	Allen Hurt.....	11/22/1821
Edmund Bishop.....	Sally Bowers.....	Philip H. Bowers....	2/ 2/1823
Booker Winn.....	Lucey Reese.....	Edmund P. Winn....	1/14/1822
Hugh Wallace.....	Martha Morgan....	Collin Wallace.....	2/27/1822
Peter Burton.....	Petronella F. Craghead.....	Wm. Craghead.....	4/ 1/1821
Matthew Buckner....	Delphia Laffoon....	Wm. Laffoon.....	8/ 8/1823
John Bridgforth.....	Elizabeth Christopher.....	Thos. Bridgforth....	6/18/1821
Joel Blackwell.....	Martha F. Dance....	Matthew M. Dance..	1/29/1821
Wm. A. Stone.....	Clarissa A. Pettus..	Asher Stone.....	8/12/1822
Wm. Burnett.....	Martha W. Hurt....	Allen Hurt.....	6/28/1822
Francis Buckhannon..	Betsey Ann Pyle....	George Pyle.....	10/ 2/1821
Anderson M. Crowder.....	Harriet Fisher.....	W. F. Abernathy....	3/25/1822
John Christopher....	Elizabeth Winn.....	Wm. Snead.....	12/19/1821
Elisha Crafton.....	Elizabeth Bates....	Pleasant Bates.....	11/26/1821
Edmund Estes.....	Sally Waller.....	Wm. Barrett.....	6/30/1822
Charles Knott.....	Mary D. Hayes.....	Jno. J. Hayes.....	12/17/1821
Peter Kelley.....	Nancy Hitchens, Jr..	Nancy Hitchens, Sr..	3/ 2/1822
Wm. O. Gee.....	Nancy Knott.....	Chas. Smithson....	12/10/1821
Creed W. Ellington..	Martha Yarbrough..	Jno. J. Wells.....	10/18/1821
Harrel Evans.....	Elizabeth Johnson..	Hamil Evans.....	1/15/1821
Burwell W. Franklin..	Martha Turnstill...	John Foster.....	11/12/1821
Parham Guatney....	Martha Crow.....	Philip Russell.....	3/ 6/1822
Joshua Featherstun..	Ann Wilkinson.....	Stephen Brown.....	10/16/1821
Daniel H. Robertson..	Martha Edmondson..	Edward Lee.....	11/12/1821
Wm. Ragsdale.....	Olive J. Ashley.....	Wm. Davis.....	3/25/1822
Philip Russell.....	Elizabeth Morgan...	Claiton Russell.....	5/23/1822
Stokes Turnstill....	Eliza Balden.....	Wm. Turnstill.....	4/ 2/1822
Jno. Mohorn, Jr.....	Eliza B. Averett....	Peter Averett.....	11/12/1821
Wm. F. Crenshaw....	Jane Hurt.....	Jno. C. North.....	3/ 2/1822
Jno. S. Machen.....	Mary Dalton.....	Jno. T. Foster.....	10/17/1821
Jno. Parker.....	Martha Wrenn.....	Manoah Vincent....	10/29/1821
Robert Phillips.....	Salley Andrews....	Henry Gee.....	2/27/1821
Harrison Boaen.....	Mary Turner.....	Branch Turner.....	12/26/1821
Philip H. Bowers....	Permilia Bishop....	Joseph T. Bishop....	11/ 5/1821
Jesse Wattson.....	Sarah Ann Thompson.....	David Thompson....	2/14/1821
John R. Jones.....	Ann E. Manson.....	Wm. T. Blackwell...	6/22/1846
Henry E. Jones.....	Martha E. Wilson...	Robt. Wilson.....	10/14/1844
Wm. R. S. Jones.....	Martha Stephen Crymes.....	Ellison Clark.....	8/12/1844
Peter B. Jones.....	Virginia C. Pilkerton.	Elisha B. Jackson...	10/27/1845

<i>Name of Husband</i>	<i>Name of Wife</i>	<i>Name of Surety</i>	<i>Date</i>
Frederick Crafton	Mourning Crafton	Josephus Crafton	12/25/1846
Geo. Crymes	Louisa Johns	Jno. Crymes	12/14/1846
Robert H. Davis	Rebecca Ann Crow	Sterling L. Crow	7/17/1844
Joseph Boswell	Mary Jane Love	J. R. Hardy	11/11/1844
John J. Allen	Emily C. Fowlkes	Jno. K. Carter	11/30/1844
Samuel J. Burnett	Mary J. Garland	P. E. Goodwyne	9/ 9/1844
George Wandrews	[W. Andrews] Mary W. Morgan	Elisha Andrews	10/24/1844
Benjamin B. Bowen	Mary Seamore	Samuel Snead	10/28/1845
Asa G. Barnes	Missouri C. Bridgforth	W. H. Maddux	9/27/1845
Denney E. Gauldin	Virginia A. Hurt	Hartwell P. Cooksey	1/ 8/1844
Henry R. Gary	Louisa Rose	D. B. Bragg	1/15/1844
Jno. R. Bayne	Ann B. Keeton	Upton A. Edmondson	8/28/1844
Wm. Banks	Nancy Ann Lewis	Jno. Thos. Holmes	3/23/1846
Henry Cousins	Susan Ragsdale	Geo. W. Ragsdale	6/19/1844
Sterling Cordle	Mary A. Robinson	Jno. Cordle	12/16/1844
James W. Creath	Rebecca J. Cox	Jas. Creath	1/ 9/1845
Thos. G. Crawley	Sarah Overton	Edwin Overton	7/ 8/1844
Richard Crafton	Sally A. Rutledge	Joseph M. Rowlett	10/14/1844
Hartwell P. Cooksey	Evelinn Royall	Albert Royall	7/ 8/1844
Thomas G. Moore	Mary C. Laffoon	James Dixon	12/23/1844
James Laffoon	Martha A. Morgan	Geo. W. Potts	12/14/1846
Wm. G. Laffoon	Rebecca J. Winn	Freeman J. Winn	12/24/1844
Thomas Laffoon	Sarah F. Matthews	Jno. Matthews	2/ 1/1844
Wm. H. Love	Harriett F. Rowlett	Jordan R. Hardy	5/ 8/1846
James A. Jeter	Mary L. Jeter	Thos. Taylor	3/ 7/1846
William J. Jeter	Sarah Harding	Jno. Hazlewood	6/ 8/1845
Abner Nunnally	Frances Walthall	Edward B. Walthall	2/27/1844
James C. Mitchell	Nancy C. Stokes	Matthew A. Venable	9/ 1/1846
Joseph E. Eggleston	Lucy Jane Smith	Wm. Townsend	2/17/1845
William S. Dupree	Sarah H. E. Williams	Wm. H. H. Williams	7/18/1846
John Dixon	Mary Brintle	Jas. Dixon	3/ 9/1846
J. W. Dabbs	Sarah A. Vaden	B. R. White	9/19/1844
Wm. H. Hardy	Petronilla S. Hardy	W. F. Blackwell	12/16/1845
Vincent Staples	Martha A. Gravatt	Robert C. Garlin	12/15/1845
Spencer Inge	Permilia Ann Hammock	Jno. Inge	8/11/1845
Andrew Jackson	Frances E. Winn	P. H. Raney	12/22/1845
Alford H. Hurt	James Jeffreys	J. P. Bragg	3/ 9/1846
James H. Harding	Emily S. Harding	John Harding	11/ 9/1846
Wm, A. Hines	Martha S. Pennington	J. L. Hite	11/ 4/1846

<i>Name of Husband</i>	<i>Name of Wife</i>	<i>Name of Surety</i>	<i>Date</i>
Isham Jas.			
Hawthorne.....	Wand Harris.....	Geo. R. Ward.....	2/17/1845
Wm. T. Hines.....	Sarah Ann Watson...	Elisha M. Watson...	11/11/1844
James M. Hudson...	Martha B. Marable..	Joseph F. Ellis.....	10/28/1844
Joseph Holmes.....	Polly H. Holmes.....	Jno. Holmes.....	11/10/1845
Charles H. Ogburn...	Jane M. Hite.....	W. H. Hardy.....	2/26/1844
Branch O. Nullely...	Drusilla Christopher.	Morris Montgomery.	9/21/1846
Gravatt A. Eggleston.	Elizabeth Frances Smith.....	Wm. Townsend.....	2/17/1845
Wm. B. Ellington....	Rebecca W. Yarbrough.....	Jno. W. Yarbrough..	3/ 7/1846
Joseph H. Farley....	Sarah A. Walthall...	Chatten C. Bishop...	9/19/1845
William Farrell.....	Elizabeth J. Redmond.....	Allin Duffer.....	1/22/1844
Isaiah Fuqua.....	Emily Saterfield....	Albert Royall.....	11/16/1846
Geo. E. Gregory.....	Cordelia Anderson...	Garner Webb.....	11/11/1844
Edward W. Gee.....	Martha B. Marable..	J. F. Marable.....	12/20/1844
Wm. H. Moore.....	Mary Ann White....	Elijah J. Estes.....	3/14/1845
James G. Jeffreys....	Mary B. Carter.....	Philip H. Bohannon..	2/26/1844
Joseph Jennings....	Dicey E. Fowlkes...	Jno. L. Bruce.....	5/22/1844
James Inge.....	Elizabeth Laffoon...	Wm. B. Moore.....	7/12/1845
Joseph M. Oliver....	Marthe J. Young... .	Ralph Young.....	11/ 5/1844
James Rutledge.....	Frances W. Stone...	W. H. Moore.....	6/17/1845
Henry Richardson...	Margarett Kelly....	Drury Cooper.....	12/25/1844
James Powers.....	Lucretia Turner....	Richard W. Turner..	12/21/1846
Mack D. Procise.....	Elizabeth F. Lester...	Jas. J. Jordan.....	10/27/1844
Benjamin Farmer...	Nancy Stokes.....	Washington Crafton.	2/10/1845
Henry Sterling			
Parish.....	Susan Pulliam.....	James M. Laffoon...	12/18/1845
Wm. E. Robertson...	Sally G. Hardy.....	Geo. H. Lee.....	3/13/1844
Thomas L. Russell...	Martha R. B. Skinner.....	Philip H. Bohannon..	11/10/1845
Wm. T. Roberts.....	Martha A. Saunders.	David C. Hutcheson.	9/12/1845
James G. Richardson..	Mary Maddux.....	E. B. Gee.....	11/23/1844
Washington Reese....	Elizabeth Calliham..	Wm. C. Robertson...	1/14/1846
Geo. Ragsdale.....	Julia A. Roe.....	Henry Ragsdale.....	12/25/1846
J. Covington Hardy..	Sarah A. Boswell....	Henry G. Hardy.....	9/ 9/1844
Edward Robertson...	Martha Ann Tomlinson.....	Samuel W. Snead....	10/14/1844
Branch Hurt.....	Sarah Jane Edmonds.	Henry Drakes.....	3/15/1845
John H. Snead.....	Minerva C. Waltahl.	Clem C. Bishop.....	10/23/1845
James Thos. Smith...	Celia Townsend....	James P. Smith.....	5/11/1826
David R. Stokes.....	Sarah H. Stokes.....	P. W. Street.....	2/ 9/1846
James Stone.....	Harriet Moore.....	Washington Reese...	1/26/1846
Silas W. Shelburn...	Rebecca S. J. Wood..	Paul K. Wood.....	11/ 5/1846

<i>Name of Husband</i>	<i>Name of Wife</i>	<i>Name of Surety</i>	<i>Date</i>
Charles Smith.....	Rebecca E. Jones....	Thos. Taylor.....	9/11/1846
Robt. Dingleton.....	Jane E. Matthews...	Freeman J. Winn....	1/14/1845
Thos. H. Shorter.....	Lucy A. Thompson..	Clement J. Thompson.....	10/29/1844
James Shelburn.....	Mary J. R. Clark....	Mastin Barnes.....	6/10/1844
Gholson Skinner.....	Jane Moore.....	James Skinner.....	2/29/1844
Wm. H. Smith.....	Catharine Estes....	Robertson Freeman..	8/12/1844
Geo. Shorter.....	Parthena Thompson..	Edwin P. Thompson..	1/20/1844
Wm. B. Smithson....	Jane Chappell.....	Thos. Tomlinson....	8/13/1845
Wm. F. Shelton.....	Mary S. Ashworth...	Robt. H. Ashworth..	12/20/1845
Geo. N. Seay.....	Petronilla L. Hatchett.....	Rich. J. H. Hatchett.	9/ 9/1844
Wm. H. Tucker.....	Mary Jane Rux.....	John Rux.....	10/30/1845
Samuel W. Snead....	Mary C. Bishop....	John E. Robertson..	11/28/1846
Fred. S. N. Smithson..	Louisa P. C. Wood..	Paul K. Wood.....	11/21/1846
Thomas Winn.....	Catharine Pulliam..	James Laffoon.....	12/18/1845
Wm. J. Wallace.....	Nancy V. Wallace...	Richard M. Wallace..	5/26/1845
David Williams.....	Mary A. Townsend..	Wm. Townsend.....	12/28/1844
John C. Wilkes.....	Elizabeth Thompson..	Thos. M. Smith.....	12/17/1844
Robt. M. Williams...	Marcerta E. P. Hardy.....	Sam'l. M. Brown....	12/11/1845
John H. Williams....	Ann E. Brown.....	Jesse Brown.....	10/21/1844
Wm. E. Winn.....	Sarah A. Snead.....	Wm. Snead.....	12/21/1846
Benjamin J. Walker..	Mildred A. C. McLaughlin.....	Henry H. Love.....	11/28/1846
William E. Wilkerson.	Mary W. Hines.....	Wm. L. Hite.....	12/14/1846
Joseph E. Watson....	Mary A. J. Williams.	Jno. Rawlings.....	8/ 8/1846
Miles A. Wilson.....	Susan Elizabeth Stone.....	Jno. T. Wilson.....	10/19/1846
Wm. Wood.....	Mildred T. Chappell.	Elish B. Jackson....	1/17/1844
William H. Whittier..	Ann M. Carter.....	Leonard Crymes....	1/26/1846
Jno. M. Yates.....	Ann E. Boswell.....	Robt. C. Hardy.....	2/12/1844

A Copy, Teste:

JNO. L. YATES, Clerk of the Circuit
Court of Lunenburg County, Virginia."

MINISTERS' RETURNS.

List of marriages celebrated in the County of Lunenburg, Virginia, by various Ministers of the Gospel, from 1781 to 1851, according to the certificates of the Ministers returned to the clerk's office and entered of record.

By James Shelburne.*

*Sometimes spelled Shelborn. "Minister of the Baptist Congregation on Meherrin River."

- 1781—Sept. 6, Joseph Williamson and Ann Brown.
 1781—Sept. 14, John Hightower and Elizabeth Locke.
 1781—Sept. 27, William Stone and Hannah Love
 1781—Dec. 1, Johnson Monroe and Amelia Hooper.
 1782—Feb. 27, Robert Scott and Jane Ragsdale.
 1782—Feb. 21, Francis Smithson and Martha Wood.
 1782—Mar. 29, Joshua Hawkins and Suckey Johnson.
 1782—Apr. 6, Augustine Shelborn and Jane Bush.
 1782—Apr. 8, Stephen Tucker and Frances Wells Glascock.
 1782—Apr. 11, Nathan Crenshaw to Suckey Jones.
 1782—Oct. 24, Nicholas Williams and Alse Aumon Love.
 1782—Nov. 14, John Ward and Sallie Burton.
 1782—Dec. 27, Marion Coy Smithson and Phebe Carter
 White.
 1782—Dec. 30, Vincent Walker and Delilah Thrift.
 1783—June 8, James Lawrence and Elizabeth Bragg.
 1783—Oct. 28, Thomas Aldridge Sikes and Sally Willis.
 1783—Dec. 2, Thomas Walker and Susanna Johnson.
 1783—Dec. 4, Richard Townsend and Fanny Jordan.
 1783—Dec. 10, Richard Locke and Mary Thornton.
 1785—..... Thomas Crafton and Mary Sammons.*
 Nathaniel Dacus and Mary Arvin.*
 Archibald Lester and Elizabeth Crymes.*
 1785-1786—Marriages performed between Oct., 1785, and May,
 1786, specific dates not given:
 William Thornton and Patsey Owen.
 James Batte and Tabitha Hamlin.
 Minor Wilks and Susanna Hazlewood.
 Richard Ragsdale and Rebecca Pollard.
 James Walker and Rebecca Johnson.
 Wm. Stokes and Nancy Lock.
 Allen Smithson and Sina Neville.
 Claiborne Johnson and Mary Hawkins.
 Henry Atkins and Mary Dacus.
 Joseph Crafton and Patsey Stemberidge.
 Jno. Wreen and Martha Estes.
 James Hudson and Nancey Harris.

*The dates of these marriages are not given, but they were celebrated between February Court, 1785, and June 11, 1785.

- 1789—Nov. 6, Barber [Barbee] Betts and Judith Woodson Knight.
- 1789—Nov. 16, John Roberts and Rebeckah Sammons.
- 1789—Nov. 24, Peter Hudson and Mary Harrell.
- 1789—Nov. 26, Samuel Shelborne and Sally Pampton.
- 1789—Nov. 26, William Branch and Mary George.
- 1789—Nov. 27, Garner M. Conico and Mary Walker.
- 1789—Dec. 1, John Tisdale and Charlotte Johnson.
- 1789—Dec. 22, Joseph Smith and Elizabeth Garrott.
- 1789—Dec. 26, Jacob Davis and Mary Ann Neal.
- 1789—Dec. 30, John Hawkins and Jenny Johnson.
- 1789—Dec. 30, Edmund Westmoreland and Sally Hawkins.—
- 1790—Jan. 20, John Slaughter and Mary Williams.
- 1790—Feb. 4, Wm. Wommack and Margaret Ellis.
- 1790-1791—List returned of marriages between November Court, 1790, and May Court, 1791—dates of the marriages not shown:
- Samuel Gandy and Sarah Petena Barry.
- Carter White and Betsey Winn Cockerham.
- John Hawkins and Elizabeth Hix.
- Elam Lewis and Sally Tatum.
- Thiah Hann and Polley Shelburn.
- Andrew Shule and Mary *Anders* [Andrews?]
- 1791—Sept. 28, William Moore and Martha R. Glenn.
- 1792—Feb. 6, Seth Pettipool and Elizabeth Ladd.
- 1792—Apr. 18, William Niblett and Sally Love.
- 1792—June 26, William Yarborough and Leanus Andrews.
- 1792—Dec. 18, Clement Smithson and Nancy Pettus.
- 1793—Jan. 15, *Anthy* [Anthony] Griffin and Susanna Crenshaw.
- 1793—Mar. 14, James Cavender and Betsey Sammons.
- 1793—May 30, Seth Ward and Mary Hudson.
- 1793—June 23, Samuel Cotter and Fanny Bush.
- 1793—Nov. 14, Peter Burton and Anne Mason.
- 1793—Nov. 14, Edward Harding and Phebe Hudson.
- 1793—Dec. 13, Richard Walker and Mary Johnson.
- 1793—Dec. 18, John Monday and Wealthy Tatum.
- 1794—Jan. . . . , Robert Ship and Eliza Pettypoole.
- 1794— , Crafton Tatum and Susanna Fullilove.

- 1794—Mar. 26, John Smith and Claracy Steele.
1794—May 15, Robert Wells and Sally W. Fullilove.
1794—May 15, George Farmer and Nancy Harding.
1794—May 15, John King and Polly Love.
1794—Nov. 25, John Alling [Allen] and Rebeckah Scott.
1794—Dec. 25, Joshua Webster and Fanny Lester.
1794—Dec. 25, Jacob Williamson and Sally Ragsdale.
1794—Dec. 28, Elijah Young and Anna Farler.
1795—Jan. 21, James Robertson and Charity Stokes.
John Smith and Sally Street.
Nathaniel Curenton and Betsey Exom.
William Hood and Nancy Landrom.
Joseph Smith and Levena Moore.
1799—July 18, John Farmer and Elizabeth Shelburn.
1799—Aug. 8, Josiah Cole and Elizabeth Harrison.
1799—Aug. 18, Henry Slaughter and Lillie Haley.
1799—Oct. 27, William Wood and Martha Evans.
1799—Nov. 14, James Harrison and Ella Shelton.
1799—Nov. 15, Robert Parrish and Elizabeth Jeter.
1799—Dec. 26, Armstead Jones and Jean Smithson.
1799—Dec. 26, Henson Estis and Martha Blankenship.
1800—Jan. 4, Robert Rutledge and Nancy Smithson.
1800—Jan. 4, Edward Farley and Polley Lester.
1800—Jan. 4, Alex. Josiah Filbert and Judith Staples.
1800—Jan. 4, Staples Crafton and Elizabeth D. Alderson.
1800—Jan. 4, Horatio Winn and Pattey B. Pettipeol.
1800—Oct. 26, Richard Knott and Nancy Crenshaw.
1800—Oct. 20, Philip Dedman and Polley Hawkins.
1800—Nov. 15, John Robertson and Nancy Jeffreys.
1800—Nov. 20, Alfred Cralle and Patsey Ingram.
1800—Nov. 25, Alex. Leonard Williams and Nancy Smith.
1800—Nov. 29, Edward Pettypool and Sarah Wrenn.
1800—Dec. 6, Thomas Brown and Anna Jordan.
1800—Dec. 15, Robert Jones and Patsey P. Wilson.
1800—Dec. 15, Richard Crowder and Polly Eastham.
1802—Sept. 25, David Pettus, Jr., and Elenor Willson.
1802—Oct. 15, John Farley and Nancy Crafton.
1802—Dec. 24, David Pettus, Jr., and Elizabeth Boswell.
1804—Mar. 10, Thomas Sadler and Nancy Robertson.

- 1804—Nov. 5, Thomas Gregory and Martha Parsons.
 1804—Nov. 19, Thomas Shelburne and Polly Crenshaw.
 1804—Nov. 22, Thomas Brower and Lucy Willson.
 1804—Dec. 16, Woodson Sullivant and Susanna Stone.
 1804—Dec. 16, Ambrose Hudson and Hannah Willson.
 1804—Dec. 16, George Clark and Elizabeth Tisdale.
 1805—July 25, Stephen Wood and Constance Robertson.
 1805—Sept. 8, John Brown and Annie Wilson.
 1805—Sept. 21, Nath'l Bohannon and Elizabeth Russell.
 1805—Oct. 1, Henry Lester and Susanna Hightower.
 1805—Oct. 15, Dan'l Winn and Nancy Wilkes.
 1805—Oct. 16, Hamlin Gill and Elizabeth Russell.
 1805—Oct. 18, Joseph Rudd and Susanna Hardwick.
 1806—Nov. 27, Thomas Wise and Polly Tucker.
 1806—Nov. 24, Tarlton W. Knight and Elizabeth Farmer.
 1807—Jan. 1, Rudd Averett and Sally W. Pamplin.
 1807—Apr. 4, Nicholas Smithson and Nancy Cheatham.
 1807—July 15, Henry Tisdale and Fanny Smithson.
 1807—July 23, Bainster Jordan and Salley Johnson.
 1807—Aug. 8, John Bailey and Jane Hardwick.
 1807—Dec. 25, Alexander Lester and Inda Lock.
 1807—Apr. 30, Joseph Hardwick and Elizabeth Toone.
 1808—Aug. 4, Roston [Royston] Betts and Elizabeth W. Neal.
 1808—Oct. 6, Matthew Marable and Permelia Ragsdale.
 1809—May 18, Samuel Knight and Sarah Knott.
 1809—Sept. 24, Thomas Brubb and Patty Slaughter.
 1809—Oct. 15, Asher Stone and Sally Craghead.
 1809—Dec. 6, Thomas Stone and Frances G. Tisdale.
 1809—Dec. 20, Lewis Featherstone and Sally Hurt.
 1810—Mar. 10, Moses Comer and Letty Cole.
 1810—Mar. 20, William Williams and Sukey Tisdale.
 1810—Apr. 12, Shadrock Clarke and Polly Johnson.
 1810—July 29, Mosely Slaughter and Sally Ford.
 1810—Sept. 27, David H. Williams and Betsey W. Knight.
 1810—Oct. 5, William B. Hamlin and Mary D. Yates.
 1810—Dec. 18, Benjamin Jackson and Lucy C. Smith.
 1810—Dec. 9, William R. Hurt and Rhody Clark.

- 1810—Mar. 14, Richard Knott and Nanny Crenshaw.
 1810—Dec. 20, Daniel Taylor and Susanna Williams.
 1812—Apr. 29, Anna S. Johnson and Susanna Hazlewood.
 1812—May 19, Simon Shelburne and Nancey B. Smithson.
 1812—July 22, Thomas Clark and Susanna Jordan.
 1812—Aug. 19, Charles Anderson and Polly Harding.
 1812—Nov. 5, Paschal Davis and Nancy Tune.
 1812—Dec. 22, John Fowlkes and Mary Vaughan.
 1813—Jan. 14, Benjamin and Perminia Farmer.
 1813—June 24, Benj. Walker and Ann Willson.
 1813—Nov. 13, John Williams and Polly Slaughter.
 1813—Nov. 11, William R. Geerses and Sarah Moore.
 1814—Feb. 23, James Adams and Nancy Clark.
 1814—Apr. 7, Pleasant Barnes and Polly Shelton.
 1814—Apr. 12, Stephen D. Rowlett and Eliza Fowlkes.
 1816—Feb. 16, Benjamin Dragget and Mary Clarke.
 1816—Feb. 22, William Lambert and Constant Edmundson.
 1816—Mar. 21, Field Clark and Nancy Keeton.
 1816—Apr. 23, Haney Hatchett and Frances Jones.
 1816—May 7, Wm. Hughes and Marah Winn.
 1816—Oct. 23, Wm. D. Floyd and Eliza Thompson.
 1816—Oct. 31, Wm. I. Bailey and Nancy Wood.
 1816—Nov. 19, Wm. Scott and Martha Burton.
 1816—Dec. 17, James A. Smithson and Elizabeth W. Tisdale.
 1816—Dec. 24, Thomas Pettus and Susanna Gregory.
 1817—Feb. 27, Thomas Franklin and Polly Coleman.
 1817—Apr. 3, Joseph A. Watson and Jane C. Bruce.
 1817—May 1, Roderick Gregory and Sinthy Couch.

By Thomas Crymes.*

- 1781—Dec. 17, Hukey Brooks and Jerusha Carreer.
 1781—Dec. 18, Edward Hatchett and Mary Newsteys Blagrove.
 1781—Dec. 19, William Owen and Tabatha Crews.
 1781—Dec. 27, Aaron Hutcheson and Nancy Blagrove.
 1782—Feb. ..., George Clark and Aney Smith.
 , John Hudson and Mary Beasley.

*"A minister of the Baptist Church."

- 1784—Mar. 11, William Tatum and Mary Crenshaw.*
 John Hailey and Susanna Tatum.*
 John Owen and Obedience Ligon.*
- 1784—Mar. 13, Thomas Fears and Elizabeth Toombs.
- 1784—Mar. 13, Jacob Farguson and Sarah Mason.
- 1784—Aug. 19, William Dudley and Rachael Knight.
- 1784—Sept. 17, Joseph Minor and Elizabeth Baines.
- 1784—Oct. 21, Claibourne Foster and Patsey Griffin.
- 1784—Dec. 13, Young Shelton and Henrietta *Shatan*.
- 1785—Jan. 6, James Griffin and Christian Crenshaw.
- 1785—Jan. 6, John Kearsey and Francis Hazlewood.
- 1785—Feb. 4, Littlebury Ellis† and Mary Barnes.
- 1785—Apr. 13, John Andrews and Rebecca Melone.
- 1785—Dec. 19, Alexander Lester and Mary Ragsdale.
- 1785—Dec. 19, Benjamin Rucks and Keran^hhappuchi Crafton .
- 1785—May 31, Tyre Glenn and Rachael Moore.
- 1785—June 11, James Callagill and Mary Ann Johnson.
- 1785—Nov. 9, Freeman Overby and Anny Stanley.
- 1786—Jan. 12, John Whitlock and Christian Besely.
- 1786—Jan. 26, Rectman Smith and Hannah Hamlet.
- 1786—Mar. 2, William Moor and Dianah Stone.
- 1786—July 6, Giles *Talor* [Taylor] and Sine Stokes.
- 1786—July 20, Samuel Sands and Margaret Craghead.
- 1786—*Aug. 9* (?), Richard Claiborn and Mary Cook.
- 1786—Oct. 5, Abner Hiltoon and Juluary Farmer.
- 1786—Nov. 5, John Williamson and Martha Davis.
- 1786—Nov. 16, Daniel Gunney and Jerusha Winn.
- 1786—Nov. 30, Davis Baylor and Sally Toombes.
- 1786—Dec. 14, Robert Monroe and Jannie Puckett.
- 1786—Dec. 20, *Bobb* Crafton and *Sary* Shelborn.
- 1787—Jan. 4, Clemens Trantum and *Alizabeath* Melone
- 1787—Jan. 16, William Pollard and Amey Clark.
- 1787—Jan. 22, James Weller and *Sary Mathes*.
- 1787—Feb. 15, John Crafton and Salley Staples.

*These three marriages, without other date, are in "a list of marriages March 11, 1784," returned on that date to Lunenburg County Court. Apparently the dates when the ceremony was performed, in each case, are omitted.

†Of Amelia County.

- 1787—Mar. 1, Ward Hudson and Anna Threatt [Thweatt].
 1787—Mar. 21, John Bertmun and Sally Farmer.
 1787—Apr. 26, Abell Coleman and Nancy Priest.
 1787—Sept. 18, John *Fulks* [Fowlkes] and Nancy Newby.
 1787—Nov. 27, Robert Tucker and Sarah Smith.
 1787—Dec. 11, Jonathan Zackary and Jane Allen Gordan.
 1787—Dec. 14, John *Winnard* and Myrtille Minor.
 1787—Dec. 23, Rodrick Gordan and Susana Stokes Ellis.
 1787—Dec. 25, Robert Johns and Mary Tucker.
 1788—Jan. 24, Lice Tucker and Assula Pettipool.
 1788—Aug. 23, Jeremiah Farmer and Polly Knight.
 1788—Oct. 6, Jered M. Connico and Sally Carter Betts.
 1788—Dec. 5, Jackey Oldham and Polley Cabiness.
 1788—Dec. 16, Henry Davis and Nancy Fullilove.
 1789—Jan. 15, Leroy Buzentine and Lucy Barnes.
 1789—Jan. 29, William Tisdale and Jenny Buzentine.
 1789—Apr. 10, Robert Sammons and Elizabeth Crafton.
 1789—May 7, George Bush and Deliah Filboid.

By David Ellington.*

- 1782—Nov. 28, John Page and Elizabeth Wilkerson.
 1782—Dec. 24, Ambrose Hailey and Mary Woodard.
 1782—Dec. 25, Calthrop Freeman and Letty Washband.
 1783—Apr. 17, George Simmons and Prudence Roads.
 1784—Sept. 30, Johnson Wood and Fanney Thompson.
 1784—....., William Roads and Dosha Blankenship.
 1785—Jan. 22, William Stembridge and Kindness Breedlove.
 1785—Feb. 10, David Sheeres and Nancy Thompson.
 1785—May .., William Smith and Mary White.
 1789—July 2, Daniel Crenshaw and Nany Jennings.
 1791—Apr. 15, John Johnson and *Rhoday* Beasley.

By Rev. Arch'd. McRoberts.

- 1786—....., Edmund Gregory and Fanny Boswell. †

By Henry Ogburn. ‡

- 1790—Dec. 2, Julius Johnson and Polley Walker.
 1790—Dec. 24, John Parish and Lucy Bundle.

*"A Minister of the Baptist Church."

†The date of this marriage is not given. The certificate was returned to May Court, 1786.

‡"A Minister of the Methodist Church."

1791—Apr. 1, James Parrish and Patty Dixon.

By John Chappell.*

1790—....., William Mayes and Mary Nance. †

1791—....., John Belsher and Fanny Willmut. ‡

James Nance and *Matthew* Sammons. ‡

David G. Talbot and Patsey Jennings. ‡

Archibald Meadows and Rhoda Williamson. ‡

1791—....., William Combs and Sally Nance. ¶

By John Easter.@

1790—Dec. 3, Joseph Lambert and Rebecca Edwards Moore.

1797—Nov. 1, William Spencer and Mary Newbill.

By John Rogers.@

1791—Mar. 31, Thomas Hanks and Nancy Hammock.

1791—Aug. 6, John Hammock and Slaty Hanks.

1791—Dec. 22, Charles Wright and Nancey Wright.

1792—Apr. 5, Rice Waller and Elizabeth Lambert.

1794—Aug. 14, George Hicks and Polley Satterfield.

1796—Feb. 13, Stephen Potts and Moley Potts Kirkland.

1797—....., William Kirkland and Luch (Lucy) Moore. °

1803—Oct. 20, William Lett and Amey Williams.

1803—Dec. 21, Frederick Gray and Martha Williams.

1803—Dec. 27, Zachariah Hampton and Dicey Hanks.

By William Ellis.||

1791—....., Abner Lynch and Susannah S. Gordon. £

Daniel Harper and Rhody Morris. £

Minor Wilkes and Phebe White. £

Joshua Zachary and Elizabeth Stokes. £

*"A Minister of the Methodist Church."

†The date of this marriage is not shown. It was returned to court June 9, 1790.

‡The dates of these marriages are not given. The list was returned to court June 9, 1791.

¶This certificate is entitled: "List of marriages returned to February Court 1792." But the clerk's entry shows it was received in court December 8, 1791.

@ "A Minister of the Methodist Church."

°This certificate, not dated, was returned April 13, 1797.

|| "A Baptist Minister."

£The dates of these marriages are not shown. They were returned to court October 13, 1791.

- 1793—Apr. 8, John Hastin and Cloe Boze.
1793—Sept. 3, Walker Dalton and Polly Winn.
1793—Sept. 30, Stephen McLaughlin and Alice Armon Williams.
1793—Dec. 12, James Keats and Martha Tucker.
1794—Apr. 19, James Farmer and Elizabeth *Hardind* [Harding?]
1794—Aug. 21, James Minor and Susanna Maclaughlin.
1794—Sept. 15, James Monroe and Salley Crews.
1795—Feb. 5, Henry Stokes and Susanna Reaves Pettypool.
1795—Sept. 7, Peter Avary and Polly Crymes.
1795—Sept. 18, Archer Jordan and Elizabeth Walker.
1795—Nov. 26, John Moore and Mary Addley.
1796—Feb. 4, James Old and Louisa Tucker.
1796—Mar. 22, William Herring and Betsey Flipping Hamlett.
1796—Apr. 5, John More and Judy Barnes.
1796—Nov. 12, Henry Bailey and Phoebe Lester.
1797—Feb. 25, Cornelius Matthews and Lydia Andrews.
1796—June 22, Abraham Bailey and Rebecca Cockerham.
1797—June 19, Christopher Todd Smith and Elizabeth Shelburne.
1797—Nov. 30, Nathaniel Bohannon and Sarah Hazlewood.
1797—Mar. 12, James Folkes and Polly Jeffreys.
1797—Sept. 20, Reubin Hazlewood and Elizabeth Bohannon.
1797—Sept. 22, Isaac Jackson and Caty Bird.
1799—Jan. 24, Daniel Haymore and Polley Chockley.
1799—May 16, Carter White and Mary Cockerham.
1799—Sept. 23, John Hazlewood and Nancy Bohannon.
1799—Oct. 17, Davis McLaughlin and Susanna Seward.
1799—Oct. 17, Joseph Bohannon and Patty Sneed.
1799—Dec. 23, John Turleyfield and Rebecca Josie Parham.
1800—Mar. 18, Ambrose Ellis, Junr., and Elizabeth Herring.
1800—Mar. 27, Joseph Townsend and Leroy Stone.
1800—Mar. 29, James Inge and Polley Chandler.
1800—Apr. 26, Nathaniel King and Cealy B. Ellis.
1800—Dec. . . , Hamlin T. Stokes and Kitturah Hardy.
1800—Dec. 25, Joshua Gee and Patsey Crymes.
1800—Dec. 25, Benjamin Simmons and Martha Hood.

1801—Jan. 15,	John S. Alderson and Sarah Estes.
1801—Jan. 21,	Fielding Ellis and Elizabeth A. Betts.
1801—Jan. 29,	William Bagley and Elizabeth B. Hood.
1801—Feb. 5,	John Hardy and Sally Betts.
1801—Feb. 19,	Craxson Green and Sarah Crymes.
1801—Feb. 26,	Richard Robertson and Frances C. Estes.
1801—Mar. 4,	Edward G. Winn and Sarah Winn.
1801—Feb. 25,	Rumer Cralle and Nancy Hatchett.
1801—Feb. 14,	Thomas Cralle and Polly Farley.
1801—Feb. . . ,	Richard Elliott and Kitturah Winn.
1801—May 23,	Daniel Winn and Martha McLaughlin.
1801—May 28,	John Parmer (Palmer) and Elizabeth Crafton.
1803—July 21,	George Barnes and Eliza Ellis.
1803—July 23,	Archibald Marshall and Salley Winn.
1803—Nov. 2,	John Williams and Polley Page.
1803—Nov. 3,	Joshua Clarke and Lucretia Ellis.
1803—Nov. 17,	Davis Bohannon and Elizabeth McLaughlin.
1803—Dec. 15,	Hinchey Winn and Martha Gooch.
1803—Dec. 29,	Robert Pamplin and Elizabeth Estes.
1804—Jan. 5,	Thomas Tisdale and Francis G. Winn.
1804—Dec. 13,	William Hatchett and Elizabeth Farmer.
1805—Jan. 31,	John Gray and Elizabeth DeGraffenreid.*
1805—July 25,	Washington Belcher and Salley Hardy.
1805—Aug. 22,	Richard Wilkes and <i>Jeny</i> Stone.
1805—Sept. 18,	Asa Fowlkes and Sarah C. Farmer.
1805—Sept. 19,	Carter Jackson and Polly W. Westbrook.*
1805—Oct. 17,	Blanks Rutledge and Polly Clay.
1805—Oct. 17,	Jno. Jeter and Susanna M. DeGraffenreid.
1805—Dec. 3,	William Hundley and Mary Stone.
1805—Dec. 5,	Jos. Adkins* and Susan Crafton.
1806—Jan. 14,	Rowland Hudson and Doshe Harding.
1806—Apr. 2,	Chapman Blackwell and Polley Hatchett.
1806—Dec. 5,	Mackerness Farley and Salley Crafton.
1807—Jan. 27,	Richard Alderson and Elizabeth Crafton.

*Several of the marriages performed by this minister were also included in a list returned to court October 9, 1806. In that list this name appears Eliza Needham DeGraffenreidt, and the name of Carter Jackson's wife is given as Sally M. Westbrook; Susan Crafton's husband is given as Joseph Aikin.

- 1807—Mar. 23, Thomas Mason and Francis Foster.
 1807—June 5, Jesse Johnson and Elizabeth Cockerham.
 1807—July 8, William Crafton and Polly Nance.
 1807—July 18, Gabriel Buford and Susan Jackson.
 1807—Sept. 10, James Harrison and Salley Landrum.
 1807—Oct. 10, Garland Anderson and Nancey Hamlett.
 1807—Dec. 26, William Irvin and Peggy Harding.
 1808—Jan. 15, John Lale and Mary Ann Betts.
 1808—Jan. 28, Lewis Parham and Dicy Moore.
 1808—Jan. 30, John Lester and Salley Rucks.
 1808—Nov. 12, William Powers and Elizabeth Parmer.
 1808—Nov. 3, Irby Hudson and Nancy B. McConnico.
 1808—Dec. 21, John Filbird and Polley A. Ritledge.
 1808—Dec. 22, Robert Ward and Sally Stokes.
 1809—Jan. 25, Chapman Blackwell and Prudence R. Rutledge.
 1809—Apr. 20, Anderson Bagley and Sarah C. Fowlkes.
 1809—May 31, Thomas Smith and Nancy B. Seward.

By W. M. Ellis.

- 1802—May 26, John Morgan and Pattey Bettie.
 1802—June 5, Vincent Hardy and Mary A. Betts.
 1802—June 30, William Hughes and Polly Winn.
 1802—Sept. 30, Isaiah Hawkins and Polly Farmer.
 1802—Nov. 30, Bannister Winn and Salley M. Winn.

By Aaron Brown.*

- 1791—Nov. 8, Jordan Jackson and Nancey Riggegh.

By William Creath. †

- 1791—Nov. 22, William Stone ‡ and Tabitha Neal.
 1793—....., Isaac Stone and Rebecca Whiteworth. ¶
 1794—....., Matthew J. Rowlett and Elizabeth Pettus. @

*"A Minister of the Methodist Church."

†"A Minister of the Baptist Church."

‡Of Mecklenburg County.

¶"Married in the year of our Lord 1793."—Certificate returned February 13, 1794.

@ "Married in the year of our Lord 1794."—Certificate returned February 13, 1794.

By John Jones.*

- 1791—Dec. 8, John Haines and Martha Walker. †
 1792—Jan. 19, Benjamin Jordan ‡ and Jane Jones.
 1793—Aug. 27, Robert Philips and Lucy Meanly.
 1795—Jan. 27, William Sydnor and Elizabeth Cross.
 1795—Sept. 5, Thomas Blackwell and Mary Bridgeforth.
 1796—Feb. 9, Samuel Meanley and Elizabeth Hammock
 1797(?) July 24, Zachariah Justice and Nancey Matthews. ¶
 1797—Aug. 10, William Brown and Sarah Foster Minor.
 1797—Nov. 23, Olliver Walker and Sarah Allen Parrish.
 1797—Dec. 21, William Ussery and Sally Williams.
 1799—Feb. 19, Jno. Kirk and Polley Philips.
 1800—Jan. 28, Reuben Rodgers and Martha Chappell.
 1802—Feb. 3, Charles J. Evans and Lucretia Parrish.
 1802—Dec. 15, William H. Powell and Martha C. McKee.
 1805—June 20, James Hammock and Elizabeth Amos.
 1806—June 11, William Thornton and Nancy Osborne.
 1807—May 5, Thomas Hamlin and Mary L. Stainback.
 1812—Mar. 3, Spencer Thomas and Nancy Stainback.
 1817—Feb. 18, William Thomas and Dolly W. Stainback.

By John Neblett. @

- 1792—Mar. 22, Bemis Johnson and Judy Ambrose.
 1792—Apr. 10, John Williams and Martha Ambrose.
 1792—July 12, Woodson Jordan and Jemime Ragsdale.
 1792—July 12, Thomas Scarbrough and Sally Calliham.
 1792—Dec. 14, William Inge and Polly Faltin.
 1792—Dec. 6, George Brown and Elizabeth Winn.
 1793—Mar. 16, Samuel Skinner and Betsey Cammell [Campbell?]
 1793—Mar. 14, Herman Bishop and Betsey Niblett.
 1793—Aug. 23, James Mize and Nancy Carroll.
 1794—Jan. 18, William Townsend and Amey Booth.

*"A Minister of the Methodist Church."

†Certificate shows that John Haines was of Nottoway County, and Martha Walker of Lunenburg County; that the marriage took place in Lunenburg County, and it indicates that John Jones, the minister, was of Nottoway County.

‡Of Nottoway County.

¶The return of this marriage does not show the year, nor does it appear, except inferentially, when it was returned.

@ "A Minister of the Methodist Church." Often spelled "Niblett."

- 1794—Jan. 18, Mack Ship and Salley Matthews.
 1795—Apr. 2, William Haley and Ollive Winn.
 1795—Apr. 18, Peter Andrews and Amy Cooper.
 1795—July 23, Daniel Taylor and Rebecca Johnson.
 1795—Aug. 7, William Pettipool and Katherine Moor.*
 1795—Mar. 26, John Harrison and Polley Callis.
 1795—Apr. 4, Nathaniel Booth and Winneford Morgain.
 1795—Sept. 26, John Norvell and Polly Booth.
 1795—Oct. 31, William Williams and Polly Moody.
 1795—Nov. 7, Jessee Andrews and Milly Andrews.
 1795—Nov. 19, Stephen Smith and Agness Hix.
 1795—Dec. 24, William Farguson and Dolly Garrett.
 1796—Jan. 4, Philips Roberts and Elizabeth Davis.
 1796—Feb. 11, Robert Winn and Susanna Jordan.
 1796—Feb. 18, John Gosse and Elizabeth Tucker.
 1796—Mar. 12, Moses Hendrick and Nelly Overby.
 1796—Mar. 27, William Buckner and Nancy Davis.
 1796—July 6, John Blackwell and Polly Edmundson.
 1796—Aug. 4, Absalom Williams and Jean Taylor.
 1796—Aug. 17, Henry Collier and Mary Cocke.
 1796—Aug. 17, Cannon Jones Green and Elizabeth G. Blackwell.
 1796—Oct. 27, Jessee Penn and Amey Rudder.
 1796—Nov. 10, John Cammell and Rebecca Hammons.
 1796—Dec. 22, John Barnes and Henrietta Floyd.
 1796—Dec. 22, John Tally and Sally Dizmang.
 1796—Dec. 22, Thomas Chandler and Sarah Falling.
 1797—Jan. 12, James Sturdivant and Fanny Callis.
 1797—Jan. 5, William Garrott and Nancey Talley.
 1797—Feb. 9, James Moore and Jane Dobbin.
 1797—Feb. 9, Daniel Brown and Charlotte Connor.
 1797—Feb. 23, Alex. Taylor and Sally Hix.
 1797—Feb. 24, William Coleman and Matha [Martha] Allen.
 1797—Apr. 10, John Parker and Jenny Wright.
 1797—June 1, Aaron Hudgin and Martha Dobbins.
 1797—July 18, Peter Edwards and Patsey K. Fisher.
 1797—Oct. 12, Samuel Peace and Betsey Sandox Jones.

*The date of this certificate is Aug. 7, 1794, which may be the correct date.

1797—Nov. 30,	Giles Brown and Ruth Vaughan.
1797—Nov. 14,	Thrower Freeman and Jency Cabaniss.
1797—Dec. 14,	Joshua Evans and Sarah Homes.
1797—Dec. 21,	John Morgan and Sarah Niblett.
1797—Dec. 23,	John Ussery and Nancy Green.
1797—Dec. 23,	Matthew Calliham and Molly Callaham.
1797—Apr. 23,	Samuel Thomas and Patsey Inge.*
1798—Oct. 18,	Henry Collier and Jane Parrish.
1798—Dec. 9,	William Johnson and Ann Sturdivant.
1798—Dec. 25,	Abraham Williams and Polly Hudson.
1798—Dec. 28,	Jno. Sturdivant and Lettitia Callis.
1799—Feb. 13,	Baxter Ragsdale and Sally Morgain.
1799—Aug. 18,	Sylvanus Ingram and Salley Gill.
1799—Oct. 12,	William Thompson and Nancy Vaughan.
1799—Dec. 18,	Clement Young and Amy Landrum.
1799—Dec. 24,	John Skinner and Polly Inge.
1800—Jan. 20,	James Gosee and Rebecca Bowers.
1800—Mar. 24,	Joel Blackwell and Sally B. Gunn.
1800—Mar. 25,	Wm. Hammons and Elizabeth Rudder.
1800—Apr. 5,	Hugh Wallace, Jr., and Sally Pully.
1800—Apr. 9,	Robert Murrell and Catharine Burnett.
1800—May 8,	Richard Callis and Barbera Morris.
1800—May 15,	Sandy Dickerson and Sally Sturdivant.
1800—June 14,	Marcus Hurt and Nancy Gunn.
1800—Nov. 19,	Joseph Hatcheson and Rebecca Neblett.
1800—Nov. 20,	Robert Hayes and Sarah B. Winn.
1800—May 30,	Robert Burnett and Cloe Maddox.
1801—Dec. 20,	William Gee and Elizabeth Gee.
1801—Dec. 25,	“Benjamin and Fránces Freeman.”
1801—Jan. 9,	Flemming Thompson and Rachael Landrum.
1801—Feb. 11,	Samuel Ussery and Nancy Hurt.
1801—Apr. 29,	Edward Freeman and Martha Cabaniss.
1802—Jan. 14,	William Ingram and Priscilla Ragsdale.

*The list embracing this marriage was returned to court Dec. 13, 1798. It also embraces marriages returned to court April 13, 1797, and there are discrepancies in some of the dates. Thus the list returned Dec. 13, 1798, shows William Coleman and Martha Allen married Feb. 15, instead of Feb. 24; and James Moore and Jane Dobbins married Apr. 10, 1797, instead of Feb. 9. The dates of the rest of the marriages thus reported in duplicate are the same in both lists.

- 1802—Oct. 19, James Arnold and Martha Reese.
 1802—Nov. 11, Robert J. Floyd and Milly Wright.
 1802—Nov. 23, John Inge and Nancy Skinner.
 1802—Oct. 26, Richard Wyatt and Martha Wilkerson.
 1802—Dec. 9 (?), Robert Bentley and Catharine Haynes.
 1804—Feb. 3, John Dunniman and Sukey Moore.
 1804—Mar. 13, James Reese and Bersheba Candle. [Caudle.]
 1804—Mar. 13, William Ambrose and Elizabeth Parrish.
 1804—Mar. 13, William Mason and Catherine Ragsdale.
 1804—Sept. 12, Green Hull and Patsey Dalton.
 1804—Oct. 16, Lewis Lemay and Mary Ussery.
 1804—Dec. 5, Robert Hammond and Salley Singleton.
 1804—Dec. 28, Jeremiah Matthews and Elizabeth Ferguson.
 1805—Mar. 13, John Potts and Molley Dixon.
 1805—Mar. 5, Robert Wright and Sally Wright.
 1805—Aug. 2, Millington Hines and Nancy L. Hite.
 1805—Aug. 29, Mabray Daniel and Rebecca Laffoon.
 1805—Dec. 8, Wyatt Denton and Elizabeth Dunmore.
 1806—Jan. 2, William Matthews and Sally Allen.
 1806—Jan. 9, William Farguson and Jency Hudson.

By John Williams.*

- 1794—Jan. 30, Carter White, Jr., and Betty Wood.
 1794—Nov. 27, Wright Gregory and Margaret Brag.

By Matthew Dance.

- 1795—Oct. 3, Thomas Anderson and Sarah C. Davis.
 1797—May 11, Joel Bragg and Polley Ingram.
 1797—June 10, Thomas Blankenship and Elizabeth Stone.
 1797—July 13, Josiah Barry and Nancey Wills.
 1797—Oct. 28, John Boswell and *Banary* [Barbary] Walker.
 1798—Feb. 7, Benjamin Perkins and Polly Vaughan.
 1798—....., Elijah Wills and Elizabeth Ragsdale.
 1798—Dec. 13, James Knott and Sarah Wade Smithson.
 1798—Dec. 14, Edward Mosley and Sally Sparks.
 1799—Feb. 16, Robert Nance and Sarah Walker.
 1799—Nov. 28, Robert Stone and Jency Blankenship.
 1799—Dec. 13, Daniel Townsend and Jencey Townsend.
 1800—Mar. 20, Lindsey Clayton and Elizabeth Anderson.

*"A Minister of the Baptist Church."

1800—Aug. 18,	Benj. Stone and Frances Gordan.
1800—May 1,	John Robertson and Betsey Rudd.
1802—Jan. 6,	William Mason and Polly Crittenden.
1802—Apr. 28,	William Crafton and Mary Newbill.
1802—Dec. 15,	Benj. Harris and Rebecca Dance.*
1803—Nov. 24,	Miles Hardy and Hannah Pettus.
1804—Jan. 12,	James Winn and Betsey Powell.
1804—Feb. 27,	Moses Hankin and Katy Ann Ford.
1804—Oct. 11,	William Davis and Anna Burnett.
1805—Oct. 24,	Joseph Wallace and Jencey Hardway Alexander.
1805—Sept. 12,	William Gee and Salley Moody.
1805—Sept. 25,	Christopher Hardee and Polley Palmore.
1806—Oct. 21,	Benjamin W. Hite and Sarah Moore.
1806—Nov. 27,	Jamy Wrenn and <i>Patric</i> Tubbyfill.
1806—Dec. 3,	Elisha Estes and Lucy Blankenship.
1806—Dec. 18,	George Price and Elizabeth Gordon.
1806—Dec. 18,	Jessee Gee, Jr., and Jenny Moore.
1806—Dec. 26,	George Peter Shennburg and Mary Thompson.
1807—Jan. 28,	Benjamin Clark and Eliza Green.
1807—Dec. 27,	Vachal Dillingham and Eliza T. Evans.
1807—Nov. 25,	Boller Dobbys and Nancy Newbill.
1809—Aug. 17,	Thomas Winn and Ann Snead.
1809—Dec. 14,	Sterling Chandler and Lucy Moore.
1809—Dec. 14,	John Willson and Mary B. Morgan.
1810—Apr. 12,	Alexander Marshall and June C. Webb.
1810—Oct. 11,	Harrison Snead and Polly Scira.
1810—Nov. 8,	Leonard Hardwick and Ermine Ragsdale.
1812—Jan. 21,	Edward Jones and Susannah Walker.
1812—Apr. 10,	Joshua C. Brown and Sally C. Malony.
1812—July 29,	Taswell T. Burge and Rebecca Tisdale.
1813—Sept. 1,	Sterling T. Smithson and Elizabeth A. Staples.
1813—Apr. 13,	James White and Christanna Ussery.
1814—Mar. 10,	Lyddall B. Estes and Nancy A. Winn.
1814—Sept. 23,	Walker Dodd and Mary Webb.
1815—Nov. 10,	Benjamin Gwatney and Sally Sire.

*On the record this certificate bears the name of "Matthew Easter," which seems a clerical error.

- 1818—Sept. 1, John A. Smith and Sally A. Richardson.
 1818—Nov. 24, John I. Boswell and Nancy Coleman.
 1822—Aug. 27, Pleasant Vaughan and Morning Dance.
 1822—Oct. 3, Alex. Roberts and Susanna Wells.

By M. M. Dance.

- 1821—Dec. 24, Charles P. Walker and Nancy P. Tisdale.
 1824—Aug. 18, Thomas B. Jeffreys and Polley Haney Carter.
 1824—Nov. 25, William C. Adams and Mary Ann Poultney.
 1826—Nov. 15, Joshua Staples and Elmira Jeffreys.
 1827—Aug. 8, Alexander B. Moon and Nancy C. Carter.
 1827—Oct. 16, William A. Stokes and Lucy Ann Street.
 1830—June 2, Joel Blackwell, Jr., and Salley G. Blackwell.
 1831—Apr. 27, Sam'l. Watson and Martha C. Jeffreys.
 1831—Sept. 7, E. Hudson and Amanda Jane Poultney.
 1831—Sept. 14, Wm. M. Woodson and Lucy M. Woodson.
 1832—Feb. 29, Edward Watkins and Amanda W. Farmer.
 1832—Dec. 13, Darcy Smith and Jane Jones.
 1834—Jan. 28, Richard J. Jeffreys and Martha C. Hurt.
 1834—June 18, Josiah B. Cox and Mary N. Thackson.
 1835—Jan. 29, John W. Chambers and Nancy C. Pultney.
 1835—Aug. 26, Robert Harding and Sarah Crafton.
 1835—Nov. 5, Wm. B. Rowlett and Eliza Clay.
 1836—Dec. 14, John Rash and Nancy Brown.
 1836—Dec. 21, Claiborne Clements and Caroline E. Smith.
 1836—Dec. 22, M. W. G. Smithson and Mary A. E. Crenshaw.
 1837—Jan. 4, John T. Day and Mary Tanner.
 1838—Mar. 22, Thomas C. Byassee and Martha Jane Fowlkes.

By Wm. McKendree.*

- 1795—Nov. 24, Thomas Newbill and Gracy Powell.

By Charles Ogborn. †

- 1795—Dec. 13, Samuel Overthrow and Elizabeth Gill.
 1797—Mar. 23, Hamlin Freeman and Lucy Hazlewood.
 1797—Oct. 6, Thomas Ingram and Fanney Petty Pool.
 1797—Nov. 2, Phillip Sands and Martha Hardy.
 1821—Apr. 19, Francis Robertson and Elizabeth Street.

*"Minister of the Methodist Church."

†"Minister of the Gospel."

By Renard Anderson.

- 1796—....., John G. Newbill and Susanna P. Winn.
 John Richardson and Elizabeth Gunn.
 Edward Asborn Chambers and Anne Hurt.*

By Garner McConnico.

- 1799—Sept. 26, Richard Crafton and Nancy Martin.

By John Paup.

- 1799—Oct. 17, Peter Potts and Polly Reese.
 1804—Dec. 14, Freeman Winn and Katy Moore.

By Arch'd. McTarbert.

- 1800—June 20, Pleasant Moore and Susanna Brown.
 1800—June 20, Curtin Oliver and Salley Brown.

By Edw'd. Almond.

- 1800—Nov. 18, Robert Williams and Polly Eubank.
 1800—Dec. 18, Obediah Henrick and Polly Haley.
 1802—Apr. 4, Simeon Ellington and Elizabeth W. Pettus.
 1802—Dec. 2, Dudley Hurt and Mary Ann Evans.
 1803—Mar. 2, Thomas Almand and Elizabeth Wood.
 1805—Feb. 21, Edward Lee and Betsey Robertson.
 1805—Feb. 4, Austin Almonds and Nancy Sammons.
 1806—Oct. 30, Cornelius Johnson and Rettar Townsend.
 1807—Jan. 20, George Taylor and Narcissa Williams.
 1807—Jan. 29, John Smithson and Polley Wood.
 1808—Dec. 29, David Smithson and Nancy Wood.
 1809—July 27, Philip Cheaney and Charlotte Lester.
 1809—Sept. 20, Drewry Townsend and Lucy Slaughter.
 1809—Dec. 27, George Wood and Betsey White.

By Joel Johns.

- 1801—Dec. 17, John Smithson and Betsy Knott.
 1801—Dec. 24, Stephen Herring and Dorothy Johns.
 1802—Apr. 22, Vincents Skinner and Katy Chandler.
 1802—Nov. 15, Henry Fowlkes and Mary Crenshaw.
 1804—Mar. 3, Martin Chandler and Nancy Levering.
 1804—June 19, Frederick Steagall and Sukey Cole.
 1804—Oct. 7, John Smithson and Fanney Bayne.
 1805—Jan. 14, Jesse Crenshaw and Jane C. Blanton.

*Dates of marriages not given. List returned to court Feb. 11, 1796.

- 1805—Apr. 22, Pleasant Crenshaw and Eliza Mayes.
1806—Oct. 16, John Estes and Patsy Locke.
1806—Nov. 4, John Johnson and Ermin Lester.
1806—Nov. 14, James Davis and Agnes Pickett.
1807—Nov. 2, Charles Green and Phebe B. Beech.
1808—July 7, James Landrum and Nancy Hood.
1808—July 28, Jno. Russell and Martha Hightower.
1808—Sept. 15, Griffin Bennett and Kitturah Stone.
1809—Jan. 12, Francis Dedman and Tempy Crafton.
1809—Mar. 30, Adam Bell and Sally M. Stokes.
1809—Sept. 5, William Wilkes and Phebe Winn.
1809—Dec. 19, Richard Manson and Nancy Bennett.
1810—Apr. 26, John Pamplin and Elizabeth Crenshaw.
1810—May 2, Samuel Drake and Terely Barnes.
1810—Nov. 7, Thomas White and Francis Cockerham.
1810—Dec. 15, Coleman Perckinson and Nancy Chandler.
1810—Dec. 17, Lyddall Bacon and Lucy M. Herring.
1811—Jan. 22, Jas. Bennett and Frances Brackett.
1811—Jan. 30, William Roach and Martha Jackson.
1811—Apr. 21, Thomas Riggins and Jane Whitworth.
1811—June 6, Anderson Stone and Betsey Stone.
1811—July 11, Jno. Bradshaw and Mary Ann Elizabeth Barton.
1811—Aug. 17, Jno. Smith Hatchett and Phebe Bailey.
1812—Feb. 24, John Hobson and Ermine DeGraffenreidt.
1812—Dec. 10, Richard Snead and Jane Winn.
1813—Jan. 1, Benj. Warren and Prudence W. Thornton.
1815—May 25, Joseph Smith and Sarah Turnstall.
1815—Dec. 5, Achillis Norment and Polley Jeffreys.
1815—Dec. 29, John Toone and Frances Parker Winn.
1816—Apr. 16, Henry Farley and Elizabeth Penick.
1816—July 5, Alexander Winn and Jane Stone.
1816—Aug. 12, Thomas Stone and Mary J. Hughes.
1816—Aug. 13, Benjamin Oliver and Pamela Winn.
1816—Dec. 5, William A. Hastings and Eliza Johnson.
1816—Nov. 27, Martin S. Dowdy and Jane McLaughlin.
1816—Dec. 17, Edmund P. Bacon, Jr., and Francis E. Winn.
1817—Jan. 13, Richard H. Stokes and Lucinda Farmer.
1817—Sept. 23, John D. Crafton and Celia Young.

- 1818—Jan. 9, Francis Carter and Martha Farmer.
 1818—Apr. 23, Chas. F. Wall and Judith T. Johns.
 1818—May 1, Edmund Winn and Sarah A. Snead.
 1818—Oct. 22, Dabney Jackson and Rebecca M. Winn.
 1818—Dec. 2, Armstead Bruce and Susan P. Jeffreys.
 1818—Dec. 22, Rich'd. C. Mills and Lucy Satterfield.
 1819—Aug. 5, William Snead and Susana W. Winn.
 1820—Nov. 16, William Crenshaw and Rebecca Jackson.
 1820—Dec. 27, Macy A. Yarbrough and Joshua Hardy.
 1821—Sept. 5, William Turnstill and Mary Gafford.
 1821—Oct. 4, Thomas Vaughan and Martha Gafford.
 1821—Oct. 18, John S. Machan and Mary Dalton.
 1821—Oct. 19, Creed W. Ellington and Martha Yarbrough.
 1822—Jan. 31, Matthew J. Knight and Cecily A. Ellis.
 1822—Sept. 10, Thomas Lowry and Susan C. Bruce.
 1823—May 6, William Jameson and Sally Street.
 1823—Nov. 25, James H. Scott and Michael B. Scott.
 1829—Sept. 1, Jennings Fowlkes and Eliza Jane Jeffreys.
- By Will Spencer.*
 1802—June 15, John G. Newbill and Juicey^(Hawkins) Estes.
 By William Davis.
 1804—Dec. 19, Jeremiah Burnett and Dianna Davis.
 1805—June 22, John Lester and Elmer Ponton.
 1807—Oct. 21, George Baker and Amey Williams.
- By Richard Dabbs.
 1805—May 2, John Boulding and Betsey Brown Lamkin.
 1805—Nov. 7, George Locke and Betsey Crenshaw.
 1806—Mar. 13, Abner Crenshaw and Philadelphia Fowlkes.
 1808—Oct. 25, Joshua Hardy and Elizabeth Gee.
 1809—Aug. 12, Williamson Simmons and Elizabeth Claughton.
 1813—Feb. 16, William Fowler and Hannah Watson.
 1813—Sept. 13, James Neal and Mary E. Stokes.
- By Thomas Adams. †
 1807—Jan. . . , *Anothy* [Anthony] Smith and Polly Harris Valentine.

*The certificate is signed by "Will Spencer, M. G. U. E. Church."

†Minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

- 1807—Oct. ... George Amos and Anna Bently.
1807—Nov. ... Henry W. Sturdivant and Lucy Farguson.
1807—Nov. ... Cain Edmunds and Tabitha Steward.
1807—Dec. ... James Hicks Buchner and Polley Kirk.
1807—Dec. ... Henry Ragsdale and Millie R. Hite.
1807—Dec. ... Edward Ogburn and Elizabeth Williams.
1807—Dec. ... Mansah Vincent and Nancy G. Dunmore.
1808—May ... James Gunn and Tabitha Edmondson.
1808—July ... Robert Chappell and Salley Garland.
1808—Nov. ... Jones Allen and Dorothy Gee.
1808—Nov. ... Robert Hudson and Zellah Jackson.
1808—Nov. ... Rolley Hammons and Lucy Ambrose.
1808—Nov. ... William Davis and Sarah Cornell.
1808—Nov. ... *Elizah* Moore and Elizabeth Winn.
1808—Nov. ... Reuben Skinner and Salley Inge.
1812—Nov. 30, W. H. Taylor and Narcissa Bacon.
1812—Nov. 29, William Ross and Sally L. Pritchett.
1812—Dec. 9, *Thoplus* Callis and Sally Hudson.
1813—Feb. 3, Robert Callis and Martha Stegall.
1813—Feb. 11, Benjamin Wallace and Letty Wilkes.
1813—Mar. 11, John Pierce and Elizabeth Matthews.
1813—Mar. 28, William Dicks and Fanny Scarborough.
1813—Mar. 31, James Epperson and Polly Moore.
1813—Apr. 24, Joel Parrish and Henrietta Laffoon.
1813—June 23, Willis Piltunton and Elizabeth A. Bagley.
1814—Mar. 2, Matthew Bishop and Sally Dunniman.
1814—Aug. 30, Thomas Christopher and Dolly White.
1814—Nov. 23, Thomas Wyatt and Priscilla Hardy.
1814—Dec. 7, George J. Campbell and Ronney Amos.
1814—Dec. 21, Benjamin Tomlinson and Nancy Gee.
1815—Jan. 26, Lewis W. Johnson and Rebecca Hudson.
1815—Jan. 28, Thomas Wilkinson and Martha Satterfield.
1815—Feb. 7, Henry Johnson and Martha Singleton.
1815—Feb. 4, John Gee and Elizabeth Ragsdale.
1815—June 5, Wilkins Edmunds and Polly Steward.
1815—July 1, Matthew Wrenn and Nancy George.
1815—Dec. 20, Robert B. Jones and Elizabeth G. Blackwell.
1815—Dec. 25, Griffin Stegall and Elizabeth Ann Wrenn.
1816—Jan. 18, Thomas Christian and Lucy N. Williams.

- 1816—Jan. 27, John Bowers and Frances Dodd.
 1816—Jan. 26, David Epperson and Patsey Moore.
 1816—Mar. 19, Zebulon Singleton and Jincey Taylor.
 1816—May 29, William Duke and Sally Ussery.
 1816—June 2, John Stewart and Elizabeth Gill.
 1816—June 3, Samuel Harris and Mary Davis.
 1816—June 12, Thomas H. Jeffreys and Christiana Blackwell.
 1816—Oct. . . , Thomas G. Denton and Nancy Ussery.
 1816—Dec. . . , Zachariah Justis and Mary Garrett.
 1816—Dec. . . , Isham Trotter and Agness T. Manson.
 1817—Apr. . . , Robert Chappell, Sr., and Julia A. Jefferson.
 1817—June . . , Joshua Smith and Mary E. Lanier.
 1817—Aug. . . , John T. Shelton and Martha E. Abernathy.
 1817—Aug. . . , Freeman Hudson and Elizabeth Callis.
 1817—Aug. . . , Upton Edmundson and Frances Bagley.
 1817—Sept. . . , James W. Williams and Sally O. Wyatt.
 1817—Sept. . . , Turner Hamlett and Susanna Ferguson.
 1817—Oct. . . , James Walter and Elizabeth Smith.
 1817—Oct. . . , Algernon Percy and Polly Gill.
 1817—Dec. . . , Thomas Percy and Jane G. Raney.
 1817—Dec. . . , Washington Maddux and Frances Ragsdale.
 1817—Dec. . . , Sterling Cabaniss and Polly W. Ingram.
 1820—Sept. . . , William Wilkinson and Mary A. Blackwell.
 1820—Sept. . . , Spencer Arnold and Sally A. Freeman.
 1820—Oct. . . , William Taylor and Mary Pride.
 1820—Dec. . . , Sterling Smith and Ann J. Blackwell.
 1820—Dec. . . , Thomas B. Green and Ann E. Neblett.
 1921—Jan. . . , Samuel Stegall and Nancey Gee.
 1821—Feb. . . , John Robertson and Elizabeth C. Bishop.
 1821—Mar. . . , Daniel J. Justice and Beede Ragsdale.
 1821—July . . , Daniel Wells and Polly R. Williams.
 1821—July . . , Peter Epes and Mary T. Sale.
 1821—Aug. . . , Sterling Neblett and Ann S. Macfarland.
 1821—Sept. . . , Thomas Robertson and Polly Hammons.
 1821—Sept. . . , Claiborne B. Johnson and Nancey Thomas.
 1821—Oct. . . , Joshua Featherston and Ann Wilkerson.
 1821—Oct. . . , John Parker and Martha Wrenn.
 1821—Nov. . . , Phillip Bowers and Pamela Bishop.
 1821—Nov. . . , Daniel H. Robertson and Martha Edmundson.

- 1822—Mar. . . , William Ragsdale and Olive J. Ashley.
 1822—Mar. . . , Sylvanus Ingram and Francis H. Taylor.
 1822—Mar. . . , Anderson M. Crowder and Harriett Fisher.
 1822—Nov. . . , Edward Morgan and Elizabeth Goodwin.
 1823—Feb. . . , Edward Bishop, Jr., and Sally Bowers.
- By T. Adams.* [Thomas Adams].
- 1847—Dec. 14, Elisha B. Jackson and Sarah Jane Stokes.
 1847—Dec. 30, Beverley Frost and Ann E. Rash.
 1847—Dec. 30, Wm. A. Bohannon and Ann J. Rash.
 1848—June 7, Wm. M. Andrews and Sarah E. Street.
 1848—Dec. 12, James H. Marable and Mary E. Ingram.
 1848—Dec. 26, Daniel A. Crafton and Mary Virginia Winn.
 1849—Jan. 10, Griffin O. Hardy and Lucy R. Bridgforth.
- By Hezekiah W. Lelland.
- 1810—Jan. 6, James R. Brooks and Elizabeth Chandler.
- By Jesse Brown.
- 1811—Aug. 24, John Riggins and Betsey Smith.
 1811—Nov. 24, Rober Wallace and Phibbe Wilkes.
 1811—Dec. 24, Jeremiah Bishop and Rebecca Bishop.
- By James Robertson.
- 1812—Dec. 30, Little Berry Rutledge and Nancy Farmer.
 1813—Apr. 1, Boling Crowder and Polly Monday.
 1813—July 28, Absalom Tatum and Sally Green.
 1813—Dec. 15, John P. Brannigan and Lucy F. Branch.
 1813—Jan. 19, James Rucks and Parthena Young.
 1816—Oct. 5, Charles Williams and Martha Jones.
 1816—Oct. 16, Barnett Lester and Jane Vaughan.
 1817—Oct. 29, Jonas Robertson and Francis Bailey.
 1817—Nov. 13, John Crafton and Elizabeth Hardwick.
 1818—Apr. 8, John W. Shelton and Jane Jordan.
 1818—June 25, Benjamin Tatum and Elizabeth Beasley.
 1818—June 26, Jeremiah Bates and Frances Crafton.
 1819—June 18, William Crafton and Wealthy Haley.
 1819—Dec. 23, Abner Bates and Polley Crafton.
 1820—Mar. 9, Peter Averett and Elizabeth Bennett.
 1820—Mar. 29, Paschal Smith and Nancy Young.
 1821—Sept. 27, Thomas Pulley and Gineshe Brown.

*Of the Methodist Episcopal Church South.

1821—Oct.	23,	Jeremiah Lester and Sarah Finch.
1821—Nov.	22,	John Mohorn and Elizabeth B. Ault.
1821—Nov.	29,	Elisha Crafton and Elizabeth Bates.
1823—Jan.	4,	Robert Hood and Rebecca Bates.
1823—Mar.	18,	John Ellis and Nancy Hendrick.
1823—May	20,	Burwell W. Foster and Wealthy T. Robertson.
1824—Jan.	27,	Thomas Morhorn and Letsey Hardy.
1824—Dec.	21,	John B. Beach and Judith P. W. Cooksey.
1825—Jan.	14,	William A. Ward and Mary C. Williard.
1825—Feb.	24,	Johnson T. Nance and Rebecca Pamplin.
1825—Feb.	3,	John J. Robertson and Mary M. Green.
1826—Apr.	5,	Richard Ellis and Sarah G. Aiken.
1826—Sept.	14,	William Moore and Elizabeth Russell.
1826—Oct.	12,	Clement Nevils and Lucy Ann Davidson.

By Baxter Ragsdale.*

1812—Dec.	31,	Richard Dunn and Polly Lambert.
1813—Apr.	24,	James S. Gordan and Nancy M. Johnson.
1815—July	30,	David Davis and Mary Overby.
1816—Dec.	26,	Stephen Bryant and Susan Webb.
1821—Jan.	23,	Lewis R. Andrews and Elizabeth G. Stone.
1822—Dec.	13,	Buckner M. D. Raney and Jane Tomlinson.
1822—May	22,	Phillip Russell and Elizabeth Morgan.
1823—Feb.	18,	Robert Brown and Ann Overby.
1823—Feb.	25,	Vincent Skinner and Eudoicia A. Garland.
1824—Sept.	24,	Paschal Brown and Nancy Smith.
1824—Oct.	6,	Larkin Hazlewood and Lucy Kelley.
1824—Dec.	23,	Joseph S. Bishop and Frances Bowers.
1825—Mar.	30,	Jesse Hitchens and Martha Richardson.
1825—Dec.	15,	William J. Bishop and Frances Leonard.
1825—Dec.	20,	Thomas Booth and Elizabeth Ragsdale.
1826—Feb.	18,	Robert Garland and Nancy Skinner.
1827—Feb.	5,	Mark Mize and Permely Stone.
1827—Dec.	19,	Anderson Stewart and Blanche Epps.
1829—Dec.	10,	Johnathan Richardson and Louisa Brown.
1829—Dec.	24,	Francis Bowers and Angelina Bishop.
1830—Jan.	14,	Henry Ragsdale and Rebecca Chavous.

*"Minister of the Gospel in the M. E. Church."

By Milton Robertson.

1813—Dec. 16, Benjamin Thompson and Lucy Gill.

By William Richards.

1814—Nov. 28, Silas Shelburne and Mary Stone.*

1816—Nov. 7, Thomas N. Gregory and Betsey Ann Williams.

1816—Nov. 27, Francis Redford and Elizabeth Wood.

1822—Aug. 14, Wm. A. Stone and Clarassa A. Pettus.

1824—Nov. 12, Patrick Booth and Mary S. Saunders.

1826—Sept. 7, Edmond D. Lipscomb and Nancy Thompson.

By Stephen Jones. †

1817—Jan. 2, Jacob White and Mary Rogers.

1817—Jan. 21, Richard C. Bacon and Mary E. Jordan.

1817—Aug. 29, Peter Stone and Delphia Inge.

1817—July 24, Clement Jackson and Rebecca Gee.

1817—Oct. 30, Colleen Wallace and Elizabeth H. Brown.

1817—Dec. 23, John Potts and Susanna Laffoon.

1817—Dec. 23, John Bucknall and Henrietta Brown.

1819—Sept. 19, William Hammons and Clavy Smith.

1819—May 23, Matthew Parrish and Winney Laffoon.

1820—Feb. 4, Wm. Brown and Ann Elizabeth Maddux.

1820—Feb. 7, Vincent Skinner and Sally Riggin.

By George Petty.

1817—....., Hugh Wallace and Nancy Brown.

1827—Dec. 14, Anson Johnson and Delila Weatherford.

By Caleb N. Bell.

1818—....., John A. Hawks and Martha Butler. ‡

1819—....., Edmund P. Winn and Judith Reese. ¶

By.....@

1818—Mar. 17, Richard Hazlewood and Eliza G. Brown.

1818—Sept. 2, Elisha Bentley and Martha Smith.

1818—Nov. 27, David Parrish and Jane Laffoon.

*"This is to certify that the above is the only couple married by me in the County of Lunenburg since last return. Given under my hand Eight day of January, 1816, William Richards."

†List signed "Stephen Jones Lbg. Cty."

‡Certificate returned to court March 12, 1818.

¶Certificate dated Dec. 27, 1819, and returned to court January 13, 1820.

@This list of marriages was returned to court April 8, 1819, but the record does not show by what minister the marriage ceremonies were performed.

- 1818—Dec. 25, Parham Reese and Polly Skinner.
 1819—Jan. 19, Jeremiah Laffoon and Lucretia Parrish.
 1819—Feb. 10, Robert M. Tucker and Martha Gunn.
 1819—Mar. 23, Matthew Parrish and Winney Laffoon.

By Silas Shelburne.

- 1818—Dec. 18, James Chumley and Lucretia Pulley.
 1818—Dec. 23, John Wood and Lucy C. Smithson.
 1819—Mar. 2, Nicholas E. Walker and Eliza Richardson.
 1819—Nov. 11, Thomas Carter and Judith K. Betts.
 1820—Mar. 16, John B. Dobbys and Narcissa Moor.
 1820—Mar. 30, Larkin Terry and Julia Dodson.
 1820—July 13, William E. Fowlkes and Ann B. Fowlkes.
 1821—Jan. 10, Elisha M. Watson and Nancy Parsons.
 1821—Jan. 11, Edwin C. Terry and Mary E. Wood.
 1821—Feb. 15, Daniel Stone and Mary Dobbys.
 1821—Mar. 1, Jesse Watson and Sarah Ann Thompson.
 1821—Apr. 7, Peter Burton and Petronella F. Craghead.*
 1821—Aug. 8, Thomas Fowlkes and Elizabeth Slaughter.
 1821—Oct. 20, Wm. S. Pamplin and Nancy Fowlkes.
 1821—Nov. 27, John Nurnett and Mary H. Hurt.
 1822—Mar. 7, Parham Gwortney and Martha Crow.
 1822—Mar. 7, William F. Crenshaw and Jane Hurt.
 1822—Dec. 19, Joel Neal and Henryetta Davis.
 1822—May 2, Wm. A. Tisdale and Mary B. Ford.
 1822—June 27, Walker Pettus and Nancey Jordan.
 1822—July 2, Wm. Burnett and Martha W. Hurt.
 1822—Oct. 31, Peter Robertson and Mary Ann I. Gregory.
 1822—Nov. 11, Matthew C. Gill and Nancy Johnson.
 1822—Nov. 19, Henry W. Averett and Sarah Hardy.
 1822—Nov. 20, Joel Dodson and Nancy G. Clark.
 1822—Dec. 2, Silas Shelburne and Margaret M. Knott.
 1822—Dec. 1, Jno. Nevile and Eliza Tatum.
 1822—Dec. 12, Jno. Roberts and Eliza Gregory.
 1822—Dec. 19, Edw's H. Bertchett and Pemilia C. Jordan.
 1823—June 12, Josiah W. Marshall and Nancey T. Neal.
 1823—June 26, Robt. Perrit and Nancy T. Johnson.

*This marriage is also reported on a later list where the date given is April 17th, 1821.

- 1823—Sept. 11, John Wood and Francis S. Goode.
1823—Oct. 3, Wm. Lon Simmons and Mary R. Fowlkes.
1823—Oct. 29, James G. Richardson and Eliza A. Smith.
1823—Dec. 11, Ambrose Haley and Nancy P. Smithson.
1823—Dec. 18, Robt. D. Cheatham and Jane Cheatham.
1823—Dec. 18, James N. Cheatham and Mary Cheatham.
1823—Dec. 18, John Phillips and Mary C. Wilson.
1823—Dec. 23, Wm. A. Richards and Nancey Jeffreys.
1823—Dec. 23, Thomas Staples and Elizabeth Jeffreys.
1824—Feb. 19, John Weatherford and Lucretia C. Brown.
1824—Feb. 26, Thomas P. Elliotte and Eliza Cheatham.
1824—Apr. 20, John Richardson and Sally N. Coleman.
1824—May 7, Stephen Smithson and Sally Wood.
1824—May 18, Stephen P. Pool and Susannah Moon.
1824—May 20, Anderson Wallace and Mildred A. Smithson.
1824—Aug. 12, Nathaniel Pennington and Lucy Overton.
1824—Dec. 23, Arther Townsend and Elizabeth Townsend.
1825—Jan. 13, Thomas R. Tisdale and Jane E. Collier.
1825—Jan. 18, Cleveance [Cluverius] R. Coleman and Susan
G. Lanier.
1825—Jan. 20, Hinchey M. Tisdale and Jane Tucker.
1825—Feb. 2, Thomas Cheatham and Mary Jordan.
1825—July 21, Liberty B. Fowlkes and Harriet Bruce.
1825—July 21, William W. Jeter and Mary T. Russell.
1825—Dec. 8, Joel M. Parrish and Narcissa A. Snead.
1826—Feb. 15, John M. McCargo and Mary Ann Ellis.
1826—Mar. 14, Thomas Crafton and Salley Powers.
1826—May 9, Robert C. Patillo and Elizabeth A. Hawkins.
1826—June 27, John Booth and Clarasa Lamb.
1826—Aug. 24, Thomas Couch and Frances Dunn.
1826—Sept. 19, Samuel B. Bruce and Mary E. Carter.
1826—Sept. 19, John Fowlkes and Luch [Lucy] B. Burks.
1826—Oct. 17, Whitfield Lester and Elizabeth E. Hatchett.
1826—Nov. 2, Phenehas Cheatham and Martha W. Smith-
son.
1826—Nov. 28, Frederick Lester and Martha Ann Craghead.
1826—Dec. 5, Wm. G. Coalman [Coleman] and Cicily J.
Ragsdale.
1826—Dec. 7, James McCallister and Phebe Couch.

1826—Dec. 21,	Patrick A. Erskine and Sarah A. Williams.
1827—Apr. 24,	John C. Green and Ann Eliza Jordan.
1827—June 19,	William Weatherford and Catharine C. Cla- bourn.
1827—Aug. 8,	John W. Kelton [Keeton?] and Martha E. Fowlkes.
1827—Nov. 21,	Beriah Bennett and Martha Wilson.
1827—Dec. 5,	John Oliver and Jane P. Pulliam.
1827—Dec. 20,	Philip T. Jeter and Eliza M. Bragg.
1828—Feb. 28,	Patrick H. Hurt and Maria Louisa Rutherford.
1828—Mar. 4,	Charles S. Pennington and Ducellia Smithson.
1828—Mar. 10,	Jesse Peebles and Harriet Powell.
1828—Apr. 10,	James Cheatham and Barshbia Wood.
1828—June 23,	John Crafton and Louisa Ellis.
1828—July 3,	Nunn Cole and Martha Wood.
1828—Aug. 7,	Benjamin Thackleton and Sarah C. Smithson.
1828—Sept. 22,	William C. Smithson and Mary B. Morgan.
1828—Oct. 7,	Abraham Keen Green and Martha F. Jordan.
1828—Dec. 3,	David Smithson and Beatrice E. Middleton.
1828—Dec. 10,	Joseph W. Farmer and Eliza L. Williams.
1828—Dec. 11,	Joseph Gregory and Alice Davis.
1828—Dec. 15,	Robert A. Farley and Mary M. Wood.
1828—Dec. 24,	Warner R. Harwood and Elizabeth H. Pettus.
1829—Jan. 1,	Thomas N. Gregory and Martha R. Eubank.
1829—.....,	Hugh F. Norment and Mary H. Blackwell.
1829—Nov. 3,	Daniel Petty and Dowetia J. Haney.
1829—Dec. 22,	Burrard Weatherford and Susan O. Ward.
1830—Jan. 14,	Christopher Wood and Martha J. Staples.
1830—Jan. 27,	Christopher Anderson and Eleanor Couch.
1830—June 17,	John Collins and Tibatha Weatherford.
1830—Aug. 18,	Edwin E. Terry and Nancy N. Smithson.
1830—Sept. 21,	Nathaniel B. Glenn and Elizabeth A. Stith.
1830—Oct. ..,	Thornton Russell and Rebecca J. Puliam.
1830—Sept. 13,	Joseph Dunmore and Jane Moore.
1830—Sept. 13,	J. D. Bailey and Elizabeth Ann Moon.
1830—Dec. 1,	Henry B. Haley and C. Smithson.
1830—Dec. 15,	Thomas L. Cheatham and Mary Cheatham.
1830—Dec. 22,	P. B. Moon and Petronella Wood.
1830—Dec. 23,	Upton T. Crow and Jenny Townsend.

By Francis Smith.

1819—Feb. 12, Leroy Burnet and Ann H. Keats.

By Thomas H. Jeffreys.

- 1819—Nov. 4, Robert Thompson and Mary Hitchens.
 1819—Dec. 30, John Rowlett and Polly Hudson.
 1821—Oct. 4, Francis Buchannan and Betsey Ann Pile.
 1821—Nov. 15, Nurwell Franklin and Martha Turnstill.
 1822—Oct. 29, John A. Hatchett and Narcissa Jeffreys.
 1822—Nov. 21, Charles Kelly and Martha Hitchins.
 1822—Apr. 4, Stokes Turnstill and Eliza Baldwin.
 1822—Mar. 21, Peter Kelly and Nancy Hitchens.
 1824—June 23, John C. Jeffreys and Salley B. Knight.
 1825—Jan. 10, John Willis and Sarah Powel.
 1825—June 2, John J. Wooten and Frances Ann Brydie.
 1825—Dec. 8, William I. Fowlkes and Mary G. Jordan.
 1825—Dec. 21, Littleburg [Littlebury] Turnstill and Nancy Foster.
 1825—Dec. 22, Merewither Turnstill and Elizabeth Turnstill.
 1825—Dec. 22, Monfort Hurt and Dinitia Johns.
 1826—Feb. 7, Wm. B. Robertson and Mary A. P. Betts.
 1826—Dec. 21, Robert H. Pamplin and Polly A. Bragg.
 1826—Oct. 18, Joshua Coleman and Sally P. Estes.
 1826—Dec. 19, Alexander E. McCutcheon and Jane Jeffreys.
 1827—Apr. 27, Bass F. Winn and Lucy Winn.
 1827—Aug. 2, Laban A. Hawkins and Eady Jane Foster.
 1827—Aug. 16, Wm. G. Bailey and Mary E. Franklin.
 1827—June 28, John D. Drake and Mary P. Foster.
 1827—Sept. 27, John H. Byasse and Elvira Catharina Win-free.
 1827—Dec. 26, Peter Rutledge and Mary Brown.
 1828—Mar. 27, Everard W. Gee and Rebecca C. Gee.
 1828—July 3, Jonas Chaney and Sarah Harding.
 1829—Aug. 6, Robert Bolling and Mary A. E. Stokes.
 1829—Oct. 29, Pleasant Cayce and Prudence Ellis.
 1830—Feb. 23, Thomas H. Staples and Jane C. *Mueteheon*.

By John Doyle.*

1821—June 26, John Bridgeforth and Elizabeth Christopher.

*"M. M. E. C."

- 1821—Sept. 22, Robert E. Garland and Mary Jefferson.
 1821—Nov. 21, Samuel Meanly and Patience Amos.
 1821—Nov. 22, Ussery Wallace and Elizabeth Weaver.
 1823—Aug. 7, Mat. Buchanan and Dephai Laffoon.
 1823—Oct. 9, Ralph Young and Lucretia Burnett.
 1824—May 24, Joseph Daniel and Letty Laffoon.
 1824—Nov. 4, William Laffoon and Sarah A. L. H. Rand.
 1825—Mar. 17, William Matthews and Rebecca Laffoon.
 1825—Mar. 31, Jesse Morgan and Hannah B. Peace.
 1825—Apr. 27, Sam'l W. Moore and Nelly A. Hicks.
 1825—July 28, David Mayton and Elizabeth Grant.
 1825—Dec. 27, Dennis Barrow and Nancy Moore.

By Wm. Hatchett.

- 1822—Feb. 14, Thomas Williams and June Johnson.
 1822—Sept. 10, Wm. Stevenson and Salley C. Bigger.
 1823—Sept. 20, Silas Dabbs and Martha Smith.
 1823—Sept. 11, John W. Rogers and Susan Daniel.
 1823—Nov. 18, Ellison Clarke and Elizabeth W. M. Crymes.
 1824—July 6, Henry A. Farmer and Martha H. Walton.
 1824—July 21, William A. Fowlkes and Eliza B. Ellis.
 1825—Mar. 29, Miles Jordan, Jr., and Rebecca M. Ellis.
 1825—July 14, Gillie M. Bacon and Mary A. Jones.
 1825—Dec. 6, Mark D. Procise and Sarah Hazlewood.
 1825—Dec. 8, Lodowick F. Moon and Kezia Johnson.
 1825—Dec. 27, Langston B. Parks Minor and Elizabeth Burks.

By Littleberry Organ.*

- 1823—July 24, Thomas Marshall and Lucy E. Organ.†

By James McAden.‡

- 1823—Dec. 8, Wm. Createh and Elizabeth L. Gee.
 1826—, Dabney J. Phillips and Jane E. Fisher.§
 1827—Sept. 26, Robert H. Warren and Harriett S. Crowder.

By Pleasant Barnes.

- 1824—Jan. 5, Pleasant Bates and Rhoda Hood.
 1824—Apr. 13, Jacob Wormock [Womack] and Nancy Bates.

*Certificate signed by "Littleberry Organ, M. M. C. C."

†Certificate shows they were married "according to the rites and ceremonies of the Methodist Episcopal Church."

‡"M. M. E. Church."

§Certificate dated March 4, 1826.

By Joshua Featherston.

- 1824—Feb. 11, Henry Callaham and Elizabeth Waller.
1824—Oct. 26, Joseph B. Barnes and Catherine P. Adley.
1824—Dec. 23, William Waller and Elizabeth S. Kelley.
1825—May 12, Robert Laffoon and Delphia Stone.
1825—Sept. 15, Thomas Stone and Martha Waller.
1825—Nov. 12, Thomas Lambert and Polley Mize.
1826—Sept. 28, Robert Laffoon and Eliza Inge.
1827—Jan. 11, John A. Nalley and Jane Callis.
1827—Mar. 7, Archer B. Inge and Sarah Perkinson.
1828—May 22, Peter Manson and Jincey M. Edmunds.
1829—Feb. 25, Miles Taylor and Sally Taylor.
1829—Mar. 9, Jesse Moore and Rebecca Matthews.
1829—Apr. 9, Archibald Manly and Elizabeth Hampton.
1829—May 7, Nicholas Winn and Lucy Taylor.
1829—June 18, William B. Moore and Ann Inge.
1829—Nov. 27, Wm. A. Hines and Mary D. Hite.
1830—Jan. 28, Jacob B. Rash and Agness S. Hines.
1830—Feb. 16, Jonathan Apperson and Elizabeth Moore.
1830—Aug. 25, James Hansbrough and Eliza Robins.
1830—Sept. 2, Littlebury Williams and Susan M. Callis.
1831—Jan. 6, Richard Edmunds and Mourning Laffoon.
1831—Feb. 17, Charles B. Inge and Sarah Inge.
1831—May 4, Pleasant Tucker and Rebecca Daniel.
1831—Sept. 2, James Johnson and Sarah Edmunds.
1831—Nov. 9, James Callaham and Susan Mayton.
1831—Nov. 30, Edward Buford and Margaret A. Tucker.
1832—Aug. 29, Thomas C. Inge and Elizabeth Skinner.
1832—Dec. 30, Anderson Stewart and A. Potts.
1833—Mar. 14, John Rash and Ely Gore.
1833—Nov. 14, Wyatt Hammons and Rebecca Stewart.
1833—Dec. 4, William P. Nash and Mary Johnson.
1833—Dec. 12, John H. Rudder and Miriam Turner.
1835—Oct. 1, Samuel Moore and Ann Daniel.
1835—Oct. 5, John A. Lambert and Ann Hanks.
1835—Oct. 12, Wells Hammonds and Susan Edmunds.
1835—Oct. 15, Wm. W. Bethel and Catharine Hardy.
1835—Nov. 18, Edward Dicks and Elizabeth Turner.
1835—Dec. 23, Thos. G. Scarborough and Jane Hudson.

- 1836—Jan. 11, Willis C. Inge and Elizabeth C. Inge.
 1836—Sept. 27, Anderson Hammons and Eliza Dicks.
 1836—Oct. 18, Charles Tucker and Lucy T. Dicks.
 1836—Nov. 2, William B. Skinner and Martha J. Stone.
 1836—Nov. 20, Benjamin Strange and Sarah J. E. V. Callis.
 1836—Nov. 20, John Inge and Martha Moore.
 1836—Dec. 8, Isham Browder and Martha W. Burnett.
 1838—Oct. 30, William Grant and Elizabeth M. Reese.
 1838—Dec. 20, Gray Thompson and Minerva A. Callis.
 1839—Jan. 17, Lewis Matthews and Martha Potts.
 1839—Oct. 21, John L. Morgan and Mary Ragsdale.
 1839—Dec. 10, Wren Browder and Susan Matthews.
 1840—Nov. 26, Lazarus L. Burnett and Elizabeth Edmunds.
 1841—Jan. 2, Henry Dixon and Mary A. Parish.
 1841—May 11, Grange [George] L. Bagley and Cornelia Ann
 Elizabeth Edwards.
 1841—Nov. 24, Richard Winn and Elizabeth James Floyd.*
 1841—Dec. 26, Anderson Moore and Lucy Laffoon.
 1841—Feb. 8, James W. Taylor and Manerva Singleton.
 1841—Aug. 9, Thomas Blackwell and Martha A. Hardy.
 1843—Feb. 8, Samuel A. Peace and Ann E. Hawthorne.
 1843—Sept. 21, Burwell W. Jackson and Sophia Parrish.
 1844—Dec. 18, Sterling Cordle and Mary E. Robertson.
 1845—Jan. 28, Robert Singleton and June Matthews.
 1845—Dec. 18, Vincent Inge and Martha Garrott.
 1846—Jan. 20, James Stone and Harriet Moore.

By J. R. Foster. †

- 1825—Nov. 22, Hugh Hammock and Lucy M. Peace.

By Sterling W. Fowler. ‡

- 1825—Dec. 22, Philip Gill and Eliza A. Grisham.
 1826—Mar. 14, Elisha Andrews and Susan Waller.

By John Thompson.

- 1827—Apr. 26, Joseph C. Brown and Martha N. Stephenson.
 1829—July 14, George W. Thackleton and Matilda Akin.

*In a certificate dated Dec. 10, 1841, this minister reports this marriage under the date of December 15, 1840.

†“A Minister of Methodist E. P. Church.”

‡Marriage certified to have been performed “according to the usage of the Christian Church.”

- 1835—Nov. 16, John B. Atwell and Martha Smithson.
 1835—Dec. 31, John Patrick and Bethiath Bailey.
 1836—June 1, E. J. Hudson and Lucian W. Yarbrough.
 1844—Nov. 28, William T. Hines and Sarah A. Watson.
 1846—Mar. 10, William W. Ellington and Rebecca Yarbrough.

By Benjamin Watkins.

- 1827—Dec. 4, Asa Moore and Dorothy Laffoon.

By Abner Watkins.

- 1828—Feb. 19, Daniel F. Hatchett and Jane Brown.

By Jas. Smith.*

- 1829—Mar. 26, Jesse C. Clark and Jane S. Gee.

By John Wesley Childs.

- 1830—Dec. 1, Joseph F. Ellis and Charlotte Jane Ellis.

By J. W. Folwer.

- 1830—Dec. 1, Daniel Williams Evans and Lucy Thompson.

By Thos. D. Garrott.

- 1830—Dec. 28, Thomas Evans and Delphina Kelly.

By..... †

- 1831—Jan. 27, Joseph Gregory and Mary B. Lee.
 1831—Feb. 16, Samuel A. Burce [Bruce] and Jamenia J. Bager.
 1831—Mar. 25, M. M. Keeth and Susan E. Gregory.
 1831—June 15, James A. Foster and Martha Anderson.
 1831—Aug. 2, Thomas Jordan and Rosary Wilson.
 1831—Aug. 31, John P. Wooten and Mary E. Williams.
 1831—Sept. 1, Giles Harris and Caroline Estes.
 1831—Oct. 25, Clement J. Thompson and Mary A. Fowlkes.
 1831—Nov. 3, David Williams and Mary Townsend.
 1831—Nov. 30, Miles H. Cooksey and Martha Cheatham.
 1831—Dec. 1, Will Dunnivant and P. P. Pulliam.
 1832—Feb. 1, Abner Marley and Polly Ann Knight.
 1832—Apr. 19, Charles Bride and Pamela F. Staples.
 1832—May 29, E. C. Dason and May L. Jordan.
 1832—June 20, James H. Green and Emily C. Saunders.

*The list is signed Jas. Smith,—the Clerk's certificate says it was returned by Daniel Petty.

†This list was returned to May court 1833, but the name of the minister is not shown on the record.

- 1832—Aug. 17, John M. Rowlett and L. G. Jeffreys.
 1832—Aug. 21, James J. Farris and Mary Jane Hamplett.
 1832—Sept. 5, James Chetton and Mary E. Johns.
 1832—Sept. 20, William Aires and Nancy J. Blackwell.
 1832—Sept. 27, John J. Fowlkes and L. J. Fowlkes.
 1832—Nov. 1, John Crow and Nancy J. Blackwell.
 1832—Nov. 1, John Crow and P. Townsend.
 1832—Dec. 18, V. Harper and Mary A. Fuqua.
- By Daniel Petty.
- 1831—Mar. 12, William Bruce and Eliza Hoyle.
 1833—....., Henry G. Hardy and L. Gee.
 John M. Pollock and Clemor A. Brown.
 John R. B. Tisdale and Narcissa Dobbyns.*
- 1835—....., Henry R. Gary and Elizabeth Keeton.
 Balaam Hicks and Elizabeth J. Gee.
 John J. Jarrott and Emily J. Simmons.
 Choral P. Warner and Martha A. F. Gee.
 Edward King and Elizabeth V. Crowder. †
- 1836—....., Major Cumby and Nancy Morgan.
 Tazewell Bryant and Narcissa Minor.
 Edward Kelton and Susan Overton.
 James J. Gee and Martha J. Crowder. ‡
- 1846-7 (?) ¶ Wilson P. Gee and Ann W. Rainey.
 Francis Rainey and Cicilly M. Gee.
 Zachariah Burnett and Mary R. Floyd.
 William Holmes and Martha Jones Hitchings.
 Peter R. Piercey and Olive W. Smith.

*The dates of these marriages are not shown. The certificate dated Dec. 7, 1833, certifies that they are a true list of marriages in the county performed by Daniel Petty since his last return.

†The dates of these marriages are not given. The list is dated July 13, 1835.

‡The dates of these marriages are not given. The list is dated Oct. 10, 1836. Daniel Petty seems to have been somewhat careless about making records of the marriages celebrated by him. He not only does not report the dates, but it seems evident he kept no register, but made up the lists from time to time from memory. To the above list is appended this certificate: "The above is a true list of marriages celebrated by me (to the best of my recollection) since my last return."

¶Dates of marriages not given. Return not dated, but returned to court Feb. 8, 1847.

Edward W. Jones and Martha B. Cole.
 Thomas A. Freeman and Priscilla F. Tombs.
 Covington Hardy and Sarah A. Boswell.
 James Hawthorne and Rebecca A. Freeman.
 George W. Andrews and Mary W. Morgan.
 Henry Richardson and Mary Anne Kelley.
 Henry R. Gary and Louisa Rose.
 William Banks and Nancy Anne Lewis.
 Benj. J. Walker and Mildred A. C. McLaughlin.
 James Laffoon and Martha Anne Morgan.*

By Henry A. Reeves. †

1832—Dec. 11, John J. Peace and Elizabeth Peace. ‡

By Robt. J. Carson.

1834—Dec. 2, James Ward and Eliza Ann Wilkerson.

By Thodowick Pryor.

1835—....., Thadeus C. Jones and Rebecca E. Epes. ¶

By James M. Jeter.

1835—Sept. 3, Thomas Vaden and Patsey Calliham.

1835—Dec. 15, James Inge and Elizabeth Chandler.

1836—June 29, Matthew P. Moon and Jane Parish.

1836—July 5, Thomas Winn and Martha A. Waller.

1836—Sept. 21, Wm. P. Jordan and Sophia A. Pettus.

1838—Feb. 28, Langston Ervin and Ellen R. Bayne.

By W. S. Wilson.

1837—Dec. 20, Wm. Barnes and Rebecca E. Clark.

1838—Oct. 31, Paul Wilson and Philadelphia C. F. Wiglesworth.

1845—Dec. 4, William F. Shelton and Mary S. Ashworth.

1845—Dec. 18, Henry Sterling Parrish and Susan Pulliam.

*To this return is added this postscript: "In examining my licenses, I find that some copies in the above list bear a date which would have justified their being returned sooner, but not having my return mark on them, I could not depend on my memory. I therefore concluded to send them on in the list it being the most certain way to remove the doubt."

†Minister of the "Methodist E. Church."

‡The record shows Dec. 11, 1833, which is obviously in error, as the "list" is dated June 10, 1833.

¶The date of this marriage is not given. The certificate was returned to court Feb. 11, 1835.

- 1845—Dec. 18, Thomas Winn and Catharine Pulliam.
 1846—Apr. 8, James A. Jeter and Mary L. Jeter.
 1846—May 12, James Thomas Townsend [Smith?] and.....

- 1847—Jan. 12, Benjamin A. Roberts and Mariah Wilson.
 1847—Dec. 22, Joshua J. McKinney and Frances Jane Jeter.
 1847—Dec. 28, Wahington Brown and Caroline Lester.
 1847—Dec. 28, Elijah I. Lester and Martha A. Matthews.
 1848—Jan. 12, John Q. A. McKinney and Elizabeth Williams.
 1848—Apr. 12, John Adkins and Elizabeth A. White.
 1848—May 10, Edward S. Pollard and Frances W. Thompson.
 1848—May 25, Abner H. Burks and Mary E. White.

By B. R. Duval.

- 1839—Jan. 12, Peter W. Coleman and Martha L. C. Almond.

By Samuel G. Mason.

- 1839—Sept. 11, Adrian W. Foster and Tabitha J. Gowan.
 1840—Mar. 26, Samuel T. Hines and Emily Francis Anderson.
 1842—Nov. 23, Daniel E. Gunn and Tabitha Jane Lee.
 1842—Dec. 20, James G. Yancey and Martha P. Crenshaw.
 1843—Apr. 12, William Y. Lipscomb and Pamilia J. Tatum.
 1843—June 13, John S. Weatherford and Amanda W. Harding.
 1843—Dec. 12, Richard L. B. Williams and Louisa Crenshaw.
 1844—Jan. 10, Hartwell P. Cooksey and Eveline Royall.
 1846—Sept. 9, Jos. E. Watson and Mary E. P. Williams.
 1846—Nov. 9, Silas W. Shelburne and Rebecca S. G. Wood.
 1846—Nov. 25, James H. Harding and Emily S. Harding.
 1846—Dec. 16, George Crymes and Louisa Johns.
 1847—Mar. 18, Armistead W. Bailey and Ann K. Clarke.
 1849—Mar. 29, Bryant P. Franklin and Elizabeth D. Wood.
 1849—Nov. 28, James H. Pettus and Martha A. Smithson.
 1849—Dec. 18, John F. Moses and P. A. Williams.
 1849—Dec. 19, William W. Pettus and Martha A. Davis.

By Freeman Fitzgerald.

- 1840—Oct. 23, John L. Irby and Marria Williams.

By James W. Hunnicut.*

- 1840—Dec. 23, Silas Wood and Elizabeth June Hawkins.
 1840—Dec. 31, Samuel G. Jefferson and Mary E. Smith.
 1845—June 18, James Rutledge and Frances Stone.

*Minister M. E. Church.

By Albert Anderson.

- 1841—Sept. 29, John H. Neal and Mary A. Jordan.
 1841—Dec. 13, Peterson E. Goodwyn and E. V. Davis.

By Thomas E. Locke.*

- 1841—Oct. 14, William Y. Hatchett and Virginia A. Epes.
 1842—Nov. 29, Henry Freeman and Sally A. Harris.
 1843—Dec. 12, John S. Whittle and Jane A. Patterson.
 1844—Feb. 27, Abner Nunnally and Frances Warthall.
 1844—Aug. 28, John R. Bayne and Ann B. Kelton.

By Thomas Y. Castleman.

- 1841—Dec. 21, Rev. Thomas E. Locke and Lucy A. Nelson.

By George A. Bain.

- 1842—May 12, John Pulley and Sally Slaughter.

By John G. C. Claiborne.†

- 1842—Sept. 1, Wm. L. Bridgforth and Frances W. Maddux.
 1843—May 10, William H. Blunt and Paushea A. Garland.

By James P. Arven.‡

- 1842—Sept. 21, Thomas P. Fowlkes and Clarky Cheatham.

By Wm. G. Wilson.

- 1842—Dec. 22, Joseph M. Jeffreys and Sarah B. Harding.
 1844—Jan. 23, George Shorter and Parthena Thompson.

By Willis H. Peace.

- 1843—Jan. 1, Robert H. Bently and Clarassa Barnes.

By Chester Bullard.

- 1843—Feb. 2, Alfred A. Hurt and Louisa E. Rowlett.
 1843—Feb. 1, James J. Jordan and Ann E. Johns.
 1843—June 25, John J. Brame and Martha J. M. Crenshaw.
 1844—Nov. 23, Joseph Boswell and Mary Jane Love.
 1844—June 12, James Shelborne and Mary Jane Clark.

By Jno. C. Blackwell.

- 1843—Feb. 22, Richard H. Sharp and Lucy O. Hardy.
 1843—Apr. 21, Samuel W. Oslin and Pamela T. Callis.
 1844—Dec. 23, Edward W. Gee and Martha B. Marable.
 1845—Oct. 1, Asa E. Barnes and Missouriia C. Bridgforth.

*"Rector of Cumberland Parish, Lunenburg."

†Minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

‡Certificate sent March 9, 1843, from Elizabeth City, N. C.

- 1846—June 23, John R. Jones and Anne E. Manson.
 1846—Nov. 5, Wm. A. Hines and Martha S. Pennington.
 1846—Dec. 24, James Powers and Lucretia Turner.
 1847—Jan. 5, William E. Walker and Mary M. Hines.
 1847—June 7, James L. Scoggin and Ann E. Shell.

By J. W. D. Creath.*

- 1843—Feb. 26, Thomas McEntire and Prudence Chumney.

By Robert Michaels.

- 1843—....., Hale T. Gallion and Aremenia D. White.
 1844—Feb. .., John M. Yates and Ann E. Boswell.
 1844—Feb. .., Charles H. Ozbourne and Ann M. Hite.
 1844—Mar. .., Wm. E. Robertson and Sally G. Hardy.
 1844—July .., Robert A. Davis and Rebecca Ann Crow.

By Wm. Wilson.

- 1844—....., Thomas G. Crowley and Sarah Overton.
 1844—Dec. 18, John J. Allen and Emily C. Fowlkes.

By Wm. J. Norfleet. †

- 1845—June .., James W. Creeth and Martha J. Cox.
 1845—Oct. 28, Peter B. Jones and Virginia C. Pekinton.
 1845—Oct. 29, Benjamin B. Bowers and Mary Seamore.

By Richard E. G. Adams.

- 1845—Sept. .., Joseph H. Farley and Sarah A. Walthall.
 1845—Dec. 23, Wm. H. Hardy and Petronella S. Hardy.
 1848—Jan. 11, Samuel S. Davis and Francis W. Hines.
 1848—Mar. 14, Norris Stewart and Susan E. Gee.
 1848—Aug. 24, Anderson B. Overby and Nancy S. Hines.
 1848—Sept. 4, William Taylor and Jane Hilton.
 1848—Oct. 4, Alfred Edmunds and Martha S. Taylor.

By Louis Dupree.

- 1845—Sept. 17, William Roberts‡ and Martha A. Saunders.

By Edmund Withers. ¶

- 1847—May 13, Rev. Henry Champlin Lay and Elizabeth
 Withers Atkinson.

*Of the Baptist Church. The certificate was sent from Mount Lebanon, N. C.

†Minister of the Methodist E. Church South.

‡Of Charlotte County.

¶Minister of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

By Wm. Doswell.

- 1848—Sept. 28, Adolphus T. Burke and Jane Crafton.
1849—Jan. 10, Thomas H. Crafton and Sarah Anne Tunstall.
1849—Jan. 4, James T. Price and Lucretia Fowlkes.
1849—Dec. 6, John T. Williams and Lucy I. Townsend.
1850—Mar. 20, James H. Clarke and Martha I. Crafton.

APPENDIX

I.

JOHN MARSHALL: ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE AS A BIOGRAPHER

John Marshall has been fortunate, at least such seems the general opinion, in having Albert J. Beveridge as his biographer. It cannot be denied, and there is no disposition to deny, that Beveridge is a talented and engaging writer, as respects literary style. But that he is not a dependable historian and is a biased biographer is easily demonstrable from his life of the great Chief Justice. The inaccuracies of his writings of John Marshall, which in large measure invalidate them, seem to grow out of an inordinate political partisanship, which so possessed Beveridge as to render it impossible for him to bring to the office of historian or biographer the judicial calm and impartial point of view necessary where authoritative statement is desired. Not only is he lacking in these qualities, but the room they might have occupied seems completely filled by qualities of the exactly opposite character.

Beveridge is not averse to drawing a somewhat long bow in straining for an effect.

The impossibility of relying with confidence upon Beveridge as a biographer arises, in large degree, from his distorted sense of the relative values of different qualities and grades of evidence. He seems to have different yard sticks for measuring evidence, different formulas for arriving at conclusions, dependent upon the end he has in view.

Every circumstance, however flimsy, and upon whatever attenuated testimony tending to elevate Marshall, and expand his claims to greatness is accepted as gospel truth, while circumstances of the gravest kind of a contrary import are dismissed with a cavalierly nonchalance; while in respect to Thomas Jefferson everything of a discreditable nature, even things which rest in the merest gossip, and lacking any real support to justify their acceptance, is seized upon and used to belittle and defame this immortal character. And when it comes to the realm of opinion,

nothing is too good for him to believe of Marshall and nothing too bad for him to believe of Jefferson.

These generalizations indicate the character of the criticisms that may be justly made upon practically the whole of Beveridge's four volumes of his *Life of John Marshall*. But to follow this work through chapter by chapter and specify and justify the matters which can fairly and justly be mentioned impeaching Beveridge's work, would require a volume,—not merely an article of this character. Still such a charge against Beveridge, should in fairness be illustrated, sufficiently to demonstrate, to the fairminded, its substantial character. This may be done by reference to his account of the *Loan Office* bill introduced in the House of Burgesses in 1765; his discussion of the services of Jefferson and Marshall to the cause of Independence, and his account of John Marshall's connection with the Fairfax Estate speculation.

The Defeat of the Loan Office Bill

In his discussion of this subject Beveridge draws a picture of the difference between the members of the House of Burgesses from above and those below the fall line of the rivers, and undertakes to show that control in the House of Burgesses passed to those above this fall line, one of whom was Thomas Marshall, and that they saved the Colony from the fraudulent scheme of the loan office bill. Thus he says:

“In the House of Burgesses, one could tell by his apparel and deportment, no less than by his sentiments, a member from the mountains, and indeed from anywhere above the fall line of the rivers; and by the same token, one from the great plantations below. The latter came fashionably attired, according to the latest English mode, with the silk knee breeches and stockings, colored coat, ornamented waistcoat, linen and lace, buckled shoes, garters, and all details of polite adornment that the London fashion of the time dictated. The upland men were plainly clad; and those from the border appeared in their native homespun, with buckskin shirts, coonskin caps, and the queue of their unpowdered hair tied in a bag or sack of some thin material. To this upland class of Burgesses, Thomas Marshall belonged.

“He had been a member of the House for four years when the difference between the two Virginia sections and classes suddenly crystallized. The upper counties found a leader and fought and overcame the hitherto invincible power of the tidewater aristocracy, which, until then, had held the Government of Virginia in its lordly hand.

“This explosion came in 1765, when John Marshall was ten years old. For nearly a quarter of a century the combination of the great planter interests of eastern Virginia had kept John Robinson Speaker of the House and Treasurer of the Colony. He was an ideal representative of his class—rich, generous, kindly, and ever ready to oblige his fellow-members of the ruling faction. To these he had lent large sums of money from the public treasury, and, at last, finding himself lost unless he could find a way out of the financial quagmire in which he was sinking, Robinson, with his fellow-aristocrats, devised a scheme for establishing a loan office, equipping it with a million and a quarter dollars borrowed on the faith of the colony, to be lent to individuals on personal security. A bill to this effect was presented and the tidewater machine was oiled and set in motion to put it through.

“As yet, Robinson’s predicament was known only to himself and those upon whom he had bestowed the proceeds of the people’s taxes; and no opposition was expected to the proposed resolution which would extricate the embarrassed treasurer. But Patrick Henry, a young member from Hanover County, who had just been elected to the House of Burgesses, and who had displayed in the famous Parsons case a courage and eloquence which had given him a reputation throughout the colony, opposed, on principle, the proposed loan office law. In a speech of startling power he attacked the bill and carried with him every member from the up counties. The bill was lost.”*

Not only is the statement of what the bill proposed respecting the lending of the money inaccurate, but the whole purport of Beveridge’s account is to lead the reader to believe that the members of the House of Burgesses “from the up counties” defeated

*Beveridge: *John Marshall*, I, 60-61.

the bill. It makes a nice story; the only trouble with it is, it is not true.

The members of the Council at this time were:

Rev. William Robinson, of King and Queen Co.

Philip Ludwell, III, of "Green Spring," James City Co.

William Byrd, III, of "Westover," Charles City Co.

John Tayloe, II, of "Mt. Airy," Richmond Co.

Philip Ludwell Lee, of "Stratford," Westmoreland Co.

Presley Thornton, of "Northumberland House," Northumberland Co.

Robert Carter, II, of "Nominy Hall," Westmoreland Co.

Rev. James Horrocks, and

Robert Carter Burwell, of Isle of Wight Co.

not one of whom were "from the up counties," yet they were the body that defeated the loan office bill. The bill carried in the House of Burgesses (Journal 1761-65, 350) but was defeated in the Council (Journal, 1761-65, 356). Furthermore, there is no recorded vote of the House of Burgesses on the measure, and it is therefore somewhat questionable to claim on the character of authority mentioned in note 3, page 61, that "every member from the up counties" voted against the measure, much less to assert that a majority of the House of Burgesses were against the bill.*

One might be disposed to credit this inaccuracy to a lack of knowledge of the facts, but Beveridge was not ignorant of the actual course the bill took, for notwithstanding the statement of the text of his work, he discloses in a small type, inconspicuous note (note 2, page 61 of Volume I), inserted after telling in the text this cock and bull story about dethroning the nabobs of the Tidewater Section, that he was aware that the bill passed the House of Burgesses, but was defeated in the Council.

The Military Services of Jefferson and Marshall

One of the least excusable of the instances that can be adduced to show Beveridge's bias,—one feels like saying, intellectual dishonesty,—is his treatment of Thomas Jefferson's and John Mar-

*Beveridge: *John Marshall*, I, 61.

shall's connection with the Revolutionary war and the cause of American Independence.

He quotes, possibly with unwarranted innuendo, Washington's enquiry, "Where is Jefferson?"

And he says: "John Marshall was only a few days beyond his twentieth year when, with his Culpeper Minute Men, he fought the British at Great Bridge. Thomas Jefferson at that time was thirty-two years old; but the prospect of battle on Virginia's soil did not attract him. At Valley Forge, John Marshall had just entered on his twenty-third year, and Thomas Jefferson, thirty-five years old, was neither in the army nor in Congress. Marshall had no fortune; Jefferson was rich."*

Again he says: "While the British revels were going on in Philadelphia and the horrors of Valley Forge appeared to be bringing an everlasting night upon American liberty Jefferson was in the State Legislature not merely enjoying office" but "was starting such vital reforms as the abolition of entails, the revision of the criminal code, the establishment of a free school system, the laying of the legal foundations of religious freedom."

"In short," Beveridge complains, and this was Jefferson's great offence in Beveridge's partisan eyes, "Jefferson was sowing the seeds of liberalism in Virginia."†

It is plain that Beveridge holds the states in such poor esteem that he not only regarded Jefferson's services in the State Legislature of no value; they were worse; they were a positive detriment; they were something for which he deserves the contempt of posterity!

And he adds:

"It was but natural that the benumbed men at Valley Forge should think the season early for the planting of state reforms, however needful, when the very ground of American independence was cold and still freezing with patriot misfortune and British success.

"Virginia's Legislature might pass all the so-called laws it liked; the triumph of the British arms would wipe every one of

*Beveridge: *John Marshall*, I, 127.

†*John Marshall*, I, 128.

them from the statute books. How futile, until America was free, must all this bill-drafting and reforming have appeared to the hard driven men on the Schuylkill's Arctic hills!"*

Then, as if ashamed of the injustice done Jefferson by such a partial piecemeal picture, such half-truths, such essentially false suggestion, Beveridge writes:

"The world knows now that Jefferson was not to be blamed. He was not a man of arms He was a philosopher, not a warrior.†

Of John Marshall's relatively insignificant part in the Revolution Beveridge makes so much, and criticizes Jefferson so severely and unjustly that it becomes important to know whether Marshall was in fact so ardent a patriot, and so devoted to the military success of the Colonies that he could not dispense with the smell of powder, and could not keep away from the scenes of carnage and of conflict as long as the issue of Independence was in doubt.

What was the military record of John Marshall? He was a soldier of the Revolution; he spent at least a part of the winter at Valley Forge, and along with all the rest of the soldiers who endured any part of the horrors of that winter is entitled to the everlasting gratitude of all Americans.

But was he the great soldier Beveridge paints him; the trusted and indispensable associate of Washington? Do the facts justify the invidious comparisons Beveridge makes?

What was Marshall's military record during the last two years of the Revolutionary war; the two years preceding Cornwallis' surrender at Yorktown in October, 1781; the two years during which the Colonies were in the most desperate straits, and when the cause of Liberty and Independence hung in the balance?

In the winter of 1779-80 John Marshall left the active theatre of war and came to Virginia.‡ Beveridge makes the vague statement that he came "to take charge of troops yet to be raised,"¶ but where they were to be raised does not appear; nor

**John Marshall*, I, 129.

†*Id.*

‡Beveridge: *John Marshall*, I, 148.

¶*Id.*

is it apparent why he came before they were raised, since it appears he made no effort to help raise them. And the question arises, why, when he found no troops raised, did he not either return to the army or attempt to raise the troops?

What he actually did was to go to Williamsburg and Yorktown, where at least a part of the time his father had some sort of military office, in that then inactive area. And Beveridge admits that after he had been on a visit to his father for a considerable time, "It was no longer alone the veneration for a father that kept the son in Yorktown. Day followed day, and still the gallant captain tarried."*

He tarried and tarried, and pursued social avocations so assiduously and with such success that "every door in Yorktown was thrown open to Captain John Marshall."†

So he lingered, so far as his learned biographer discloses, doing absolutely nothing except being in love, from the winter until spring or as his biographer puts it until "April had come and the time of blossoming."‡ He had fallen in love with Mary Ambler. He seemed to have forgotten all about the war, and Mary Ambler's sister testifies that "From the moment he loved my sister he became truly a brother to me. . . . There was no circumstance, however trivial, in which we were concerned, that was not his care."

He would, she declared, "read to us from the best authors, particularly the poets, with so much taste and feeling, and pathos, too, as to give me an idea of their sublimity, which I should never have had an idea of. Thus did he lose no opportunity of blending improvement with our amusements, and thereby gave us a taste for books which probably we might never otherwise have had."

As early as the first months of 1780 John Marshall had practically decided to abandon the military fate of his country, for Beveridge says: "The time had come when John Marshall must acquire a definite station in civil life. This was especially necessary if he was to take a wife; and married he would be, he had

*Beveridge: *John Marshall*, I, 152.

†Id. 153.

‡Id.

decided, whenever Mary Ambler should be old enough and would consent.”* So John Marshall began his “preparation for the bar,” by attending law lectures at William and Mary College, twelve miles away. “The college was all but deserted at that time, and closed entirely the year after John Marshall’s flying attendance.”†

It closed because Virginia in 1781 was overrun by the British; but Beveridge himself states that the previous year, 1780, when John Marshall was there, the college was “all but deserted.” Most of those connected with the college faculty and student had gone to the war. But here we find John Marshall leaving the army, abandoning the cause of his country when her fate hung in the balance, taking up his residence far removed from the scenes of active military strife, attending balls and dances, reading poetry to young ladies, deciding to “acquire a definite station in civil life,” abandoning the military service for which Beveridge claims he was eminently fitted, in order to pursue a course of relative indolence and ease. He entered the college about May 1, 1780.‡

A moot court was established, the small group, including John Marshall, were organized “into a Legislative Body,” and these “seedling lawmakers,” including John Marshall, were instructed in the Rules of Parliament. “These nascent solons of old William and Mary [including John Marshall] drew original bills, revised existing laws, debated, amended, and went through all the performances of a legislative body.”¶

John Marshall was elected to the Phi Beta Kappa society May 18, 1780.§

On June 3, 1780, John Marshall was participating in the harmless pastime of a William and Mary debating society.||

Beveridge states that in 1780, during the time John Marshall, twenty-five years old, having been in the military service of the Continental Congress, and attained a Captaincy, but having

**John Marshall*, I, 154.

†*Id.* 155.

‡Beveridge: *John Marshall*, I, 159.

¶*Id.* 158.

§*W. & M. C. Quarterly*, IV, 236; Beveridge: *John Marshall*, I, 158.

||Beveridge: *John Marshall*, I, 159.

abandoned that service, and without injury, disability or any suggestion of incapacity, absented himself from the active theatre of war, and while engaged in studying law, he over and over wrote his name and that of the young women with whom he was in love, in the book he used for taking notes of his law lectures.

In August, 1780, John Marshall was licensed to practice law, went to Fauquier County, and was admitted to the bar. At that time, Thomas Jefferson was Governor of Virginia, and in that capacity directed the destiny of the state during the troublous times of 1780-81—during which time John Marshall resigned his commission, and ceased to have even a nominal connection with the army, or with the military fate of the country.

Beveridge, with fine contempt for Jefferson, and referring to his services in the legislature, exclaims in high scorn: "How futile, until America was free, must all this bill-drafting and reforming have appeared to the hard-driven men on the Schuylkill's Arctic hills!"*

The success of the British arms "would wipe every one of" the laws that might be passed, "from the statute books."

Thus does Beveridge heap scorn and contumely upon Jefferson for doing anything except fight while the war was in progress. But if Jefferson was culpable for serving his state in civil capacities while the war was in progress, is Marshall to be praised for serving it not at all, either in a military or civil capacity?

Did it never occur to Beveridge to comment upon the futility of the course Marshall pursued in 1780-81, if success had crowned the British arms?

If the season was "early for the planting [by Jefferson] of state reforms, when the very ground of American Independence was cold and still freezing with patriot misfortune and British success," was it not also early for Marshall to attend balls and dances, read poetry to young ladies, attend moot courts and debating societies, to abandon the military fate of his country entirely, and devote himself to acquiring a "definite station in civil life"?

What was back of this conduct on Marshall's part?—what a beautiful field for the flight of the Beveridgean fancy, if he had

**John Marshall*, I, 128-129.

chosen to note Marshall's apparent shortcomings, and had been minded to dilate disparagingly upon them as he would have done had it been possible to affirm the same facts of Jefferson.

Was Marshall thus early, two years before the end of the war, of the opinion that the "very ground of American independence was" so "cold and still freezing," that British success was certain? And was his determination at that early date "to acquire a definite station in civil life"* with a view to enjoying it, after the success of the British arms had restored the British authority, and while the Colonial patriots who had persevered to the end were hunted as traitors?

Whatever the reasons, John Marshall while still holding a commission in the army, ceased to have any active part in military affairs. Whether this resulted from his realization of the insignificance of any part he could play, or from a callous lack of interest, or from a belief that the American cause would triumph anyway, and he would take time by the forelock, and acquire an advantage when peace came, over those who continued to fight the country's battles to the end, and while he equipped himself for a civil career we do not know. If in the spring and summer and fall of 1780 he was satisfied the cause of Independence was safe, he was far more sanguine than many men with superior opportunities for judging the issue.

Be all of this as it may, speaking of the period of the spring of 1780, Beveridge affirms that Marshall then decided to acquire a definite station in civil life, and furthermore he resigned his commission in the army before the war ended; and it has never been suggested that this was because of illness or physical incapacity; and the conclusion is almost irresistible that he did so because of a lack of interest in the military fate of his country, and because he was more interested in his "station in civil life" than he was in the cause for which Washington was fighting.

Beveridge comments upon the fact that Jefferson was rich and Marshall poor; was it that Marshall was so anxious to remove such a difference that he was willing to abandon the military fate of his country (through he was well qualified for the military

*Beveridge: *John Marshall*, I, 154.

life, as Jefferson was not), and seek a fortune through the station in civil life which he expected to acquire, while the fate of the Colonies remained in the balance? That he was not averse to acquiring riches, his speculations, including those with Robert Morris and his brother, in the Fairfax lands abundantly attest.

If the soldiers at Valley Forge could complain that Jefferson was only serving the cause of Liberty in the legislature of Virginia while they were serving it in the army, as Beveridge intimates, what might not the soldiers with Washington in the North, and those fighting the British and the Tories in Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and later in Virginia, be justified in thinking of John Marshall for dawdling in idleness and indulging in his lovesick moonings around the girls at Yorktown and Williamsburg. Was it less creditable to Jefferson, without a commission in the army, to serve the cause of Liberty in the legislature, and as the Governor of Virginia, than it was for Marshall with a commission to serve the cause of Liberty by attending balls and dances, reading poetry to young ladies, indulging in the arduous work of a college debating society, and studying law, among an insignificantly small group of students, of which he was probably the oldest?*

During this time, while Jefferson was Governor of Virginia, and when he and the State of Virginia, and the Continental Congress needed all the support, especially military support, possible, where was John Marshall? He was not in the legislature, he was not in congress, he was fighting no battle, he was enlisting no troops, he was not at the scenes of conflict, he was not even in the army except, for a part of the time he did have a nominal connection with it, by the holding of his commission (was it to draw the pay which he was not in fact earning?), and *that* he resigned in 1781 after the invasion of Virginia by Arnold, and when Virginia was rapidly becoming the principal seat of the war as a result of Phillips' and Cornwallis' invasions.

It was during this period that John Marshall was loafing (so far as military service was concerned) around Williamsburg and Yorktown, attending dances and balls, reading poetry to young ladies, "blending improvement with amusement . . . and" en-

*Beveridge: *John Marshall*, I, 158.

couraging "a taste for books," studying law, scribbling his sweetheart's name in his notebooks, practicing in a moot court at law school, studying the rules of parliamentary procedure, joining a Greek letter society, participating in the puerile and academic proceedings of a college debating society, abandoning, apparently, all thought of further participation in the war to achieve independence, and deciding to "acquire a definite station in civil life."* And in pursuance of that determination beginning the practice of the law in Fauquier.

Beveridge complains that Thomas Jefferson was in the Legislature of Virginia, instead of the army or in Congress while John Marshall was at Valley Forge. But is Beveridge ignorant of the importance of the part Virginia, as a state, had in the revolutionary conflict? Is he unmindful of the fact that the legislature more than any other instrumentality guided and directed Virginia's contribution to the Revolutionary conflict? Does he not know that Virginia's part in winning our independence was greater than that of any other colony? Is he not aware that but for the part Virginia as a state had in that conflict, our independence would not have been achieved?

Thomas Jefferson was governor of Virginia from June 1, 1779, to June 12, 1781. It is true he has been criticized (and Beveridge is among his critics) for what is claimed to have been ineffective measures for the defense of the state, during this time. But only the wilfully ignorant or the purposely untruthful, will, in the light of the facts, assert that Jefferson did not fairly do all that mortal man could reasonably do. Virginia had impoverished herself in men, arms and money for the general cause. Even the men, that were mustered in 1781, many of them, it was impossible to arm.

If Jefferson is to be scorned for "starting such vital reforms as the abolition of entails, the revision of the criminal code, the establishment of a free school system, the laying of the legal foundations of religious freedom,"† while the Revolutionary War was in progress, because of the futility of such things if the war

*Beveridge: *John Marshall*, I, 154.

†Id. 128.

had been lost, is Marshall to be praised for the slacker course which it has been shown he pursued, at least during most of the last two years of the war?

Does Albert J. Beveridge really think that John Marshall's absenting himself from the army, reading the poets to young ladies, "blending improvement with . . . amusement . . . and" encouraging "a taste" in the young ladies for good literature, joining a college debating society, a Greek letter fraternity, attending dances and balls, studying law, deciding finally to sever even his nominal connection with the army, and during the time when the shadows hung heaviest over the military prospects of the country, determining to abandon her military fortunes and seek "a definite station in civil life,"—Does Beveridge really think this course on the part of Marshall was of greater service to the cause of Liberty than was Jefferson's service in the legislature from 1776 to 1779, and as Governor from 1779 to 1881, with all his "bill-drafting and reforming?"

Apparently so. Apparently he thinks Marshall's course worthy of the highest praise, and Jefferson's deserving of the severest censure.

And throughout Beveridge's work are found other instances quite in keeping with such a point of view.

The Fairfax Estate

It may be true that John Marshall's personal interest in the Fairfax lands did not bias his views as to what should be the scope of the Federal power as against the rights and powers of the states. We do not assert the contrary, but we do assert that if Beveridge had applied the facts in this matter in the same way he uses every circumstance possible to reflect on Jefferson, he could well-nigh destroy Marshall's integrity—to his own satisfaction.

The Fairfax Estate, 5,282,000 acres in the Northern Neck was owned by alien enemies at the time of the Revolution. These lands were forfeited by the State of Virginia, the title invested in the state, and were regranted by the state as any other state lands. The Fairfaxes, of course, still continued to claim the

lands, notwithstanding the action of the State of Virginia in escheating them to the state. The thousands of citizens living within the limits of the Fairfax claims were vitally interested in the question of the titles to these lands.

John Marshall became interested as attorney in behalf of the foreign claimants to these lands in 1786. He also became associated with those, in other capacities representing the interest of foreigners and tories—who had sided against the Colonies in the struggle for Independence.

When the Constitution of the United States came up for ratification or rejection before the Virginia Convention, George Mason said that “he along with 30,000 other people interested in disputed lands” opposed the judiciary provisions, fearing that Lord Fairfax would be able to recover, before a Federal Court, the lands which had been seized by the State of Virginia.* John Marshall answering him declared that any case Fairfax might bring would be decided by a Virginia court by a Virginia law, “upon the temper of our neighbors.”†

Yet subsequently after John Marshall, his brother and Robert Morris purchased the Fairfax estate, and the matter was litigated through the Virginia courts, the question finally reached the United States Supreme Court where the case was decided, in an opinion written by Story, which was favorable to the Fairfax title. Beveridge says that Chief Justice Marshall did not render the opinion “due to the circumstance that his brother, James M. Marshall, was involved in the controversy; was, indeed, a real party in interest,”‡ and he might have added because, John Marshall himself had been a former owner. Even so, Beveridge admits that John Marshall “was, in effect, the spiritual author of this commanding judicial utterance.”¶ He does not add, but it is a fact nevertheless, that it was diametrically opposed to the view he had expressed upon the question, when the constitution was under consideration, and before he had joined

*Elliot: *Debates on the Federal Constitution*, III, 543.

†Id. 559.

‡Beveridge: *John Marshall*, IV, 145.

¶Id.

Robert Morris and the other members of the syndicate in this stupendous land speculation.

The subject is a long, tedious and involved one; it is not our purpose to insist that the facts necessarily show a lack of integrity in John Marshall. That he was human, and such considerations had some weight, it is reasonable to believe. Moreover, John Marshall, as a leader of the Whigs, Congressman, and leading politician was a man of strong partisanship. It is mere idiocy to deny this.

While the case of *Hunter v. Fairfax, Devisee*, was pending, John Marshall went to Philadelphia and tried to get the case advanced and decided. He was sadly disappointed. Robert Morris wrote his son-in-law, John Marshall's brother, "Your Brother has been here, as you will see by a letter from him forwarded by this conveyance. He could not get your case brought forward in the Supreme Court of the U. S. at which he was much dissatisfied & I am much concerned thereat, fearing that real disadvantage will result to your concern thereby."*

John Marshall became Chief Justice January 20, 1801, before the litigation about this property was ended. And the final decision was favorable to the claimants under the Fairfax title, and adverse to the contention of the State of Virginia.

After wading through Beveridge's account of John Marshall's and his brother's and Robert Morris' interest in the Fairfax estate, and after examining the way the title to that property was involved under the treaty with England, and the reliance of these parties claiming under the alien and disloyal owners, as against the claimants under the State of Virginia, and their desire to see the jurisdiction of the Federal Courts under the Constitution established to cover such cases, and their reliance upon the federal courts for a "right decision," to "protect" these claimants under the Fairfax title, and after noting Beveridge's failure, in these momentous facts to find the slightest basis for John Marshall's extreme Federalist views of the character and scope of power of the Federal machine, we may be prepared for

*March 4, 1796. Beveridge: *John Marshall*, II, 207.

anything at his hands, if necessary to support his plausible version in behalf of the great Chief Justice.

If the circumstances had been different, and it had been Thomas Jefferson who was so involved, in such a way, in so enormous a property, and who pursued such a course and made his political views support his pecuniary interest, what a glowing classic Beveridge might have written upon the personal selfishness and the political villainy of Jefferson, which such circumstances would have been accepted as conclusively proving!

II.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN: THE LINCOLN MYTH

That Lincoln had some good qualities is, of course, undoubtedly true, as is likewise the fact that he has to his credit many kindly, generous and magnanimous acts. But that he was a paragon of all the public virtues, and that his history is unblemished by acts severely to be reprobated, is, while widely claimed for him, of course, not true. In the light of his full history, the effort pervading the literature of the North to make of him a demi-god is as absurd as the claim is untrue. He was inconsistent and contradictory, and while kind at times, at others he was cruel, at least countenancing in others the most barbarous cruelties. He was a coarse, even vulgar man; he was ambitious, in a highly selfish sense of the term; he was weak and indecisive, vacillating and uncertain, and lacked the strength of character to enable him, under stress, to reject bad advice, and to follow a course of high-minded, consistent and exalted statesmanship.

If his cause had lost, as it deserved to lose, from every legal and constitutional viewpoint, the facts of his career and history afford an abundance of material, of inconsistency, vacillation, duplicity and moral cowardice, upon which the historians who now laud him as an impeccable paragon of courage, wisdom and infallibility, might well visit upon him the responsibility for and the reprobation and odium of failure.

Northern writers have with singular uniformity refrained from discussing Lincoln's emancipation proclamation, except in general terms, or perhaps it would be more precise to say that they have refrained from pointing out the horrors and inhumanity of that measure. It has been apologized for as a war measure, and it has been generally admitted, even by his apologists, that it is indefensible, except as a war measure. It has been aptly described as a "political necessity"* to Lincoln. But was it excusable, either as a war measure or as a political necessity? The unspeakable inhumanities of the German Kaiser in the late world war, in his treatment of Belgium, did not exceed what Lincoln intended for the South.

*Seitz: *Horace Greeley*, 243.

By the emancipation proclamation he declared that on January 1, 1863, all persons held as slaves in the states specified "shall be then, thenceforward and forever free, and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any effort they may make for their active freedom."

It is unnecessary to comment upon the contradiction involved in this, of the lifelong views Lincoln had held, that the Federal Government had no power or authority whatever to take measures to free the slaves.

The naked truth seems to be that Lincoln at a time of desperation, induced by the numerous defeats of the Northern army, although they had the advantage in numbers, in improved arms and in supplies and munitions of war of all kinds, was goaded to the point of taking the advice of those who urged him to seek "to excite servile insurrection and deluge southern soil in blood."*

He not only informed the slaves that neither the executive department of the government, nor the army, nor the navy, would do any act to "repress" them in anything they might do to obtain their freedom, but the proclamation also invited them into the "armed service of the United States." Thus it was that the very slaves that New England had forced upon the South, which New England had sold at the South, and for which she had been paid, were now incited to rise and murder the men to whom they had been sold, and their families.

One of the terrific charges of Virginia against the King of Great Britain justifying our Independence was that he had endeavored to incite the slaves to "rise in arms among us, those very negroes, whom by an inhuman use of his negative, he had refused us permission to exclude by law."†

The abolitionists of the North before the war had done the same thing; the people of New England brought in slaves and

**Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, XI, 239.

†Constitution of Virginia, Preamble.

sold them, and then they came and endeavored to arouse them against their masters.

The parallel of this to the course of the North is apparent; if the indictment of the British king was justified, likewise the same indictment, in all reason, lay against the abolitionists, and against the policy embodied in the emancipation proclamation.

The indignation which those parts of the proclamation above mentioned aroused at the South cannot be well imagined. It was not so much that Lincoln declared the slaves free that aroused the Southerners. They knew that the slaves could not be freed by any proclamation of his. The slaves were freed not by Lincoln's proclamation, but by Lee's surrender. The Southerners knew that so far as the actual status of slavery was concerned, Lincoln's proclamation was a harmless and ineffective gesture. They knew what Lincoln and his admirers did not believe, that the slaves generally would remain "loyal, true and contented."

It was the inhumanity of the purpose that aroused the Virginians. The purpose to incite to the most atrocious measures, and to involve the non-combatant population, and subject them to military punishment was regarded as wholly unjustified and without precedent. Milroy, commanding in the neighborhood of Winchester, had following Lincoln's proclamation warned the non-combatant population that in case they interfered with the negroes who acted under Lincoln's proclamation "They will be regarded as rebels, in arms against the lawful authority of the Federal government, and dealt with accordingly."*

It is no doubt fortunate for Lincoln's fame that he and the group under whose domination he was at the time misjudged the probable action of the blacks.

If the saturnalia of murder, arson, rapine, and robbery to which it was confidently believed the negroes were thus invited and urged, had materialized, it does not seem possible that even the tragic circumstances of Lincoln's death (which have done much to cast an unwarranted halo about his memory) could have prevented the judgment of history from being one of execration. And yet, is not the credit for the withholding of

*Calendar Virginia State Papers, XI, 239.

such judgment due to the loyal, devoted slaves of the South rather than to Lincoln himself?

Few public papers in the annals of Virginia breath a deeper resentment or reveal a greater contempt for the author of this act which was interpreted as an outrage upon the honor of the state and its citizens, than did Governor Letcher's message communicating this proclamation to the General Assembly.

"Abraham Lincoln," he declared, "in violation of all the principles of humanity and of the nobler and more generous impulses of our natures—in disregard of all the social, moral, and political obligations which should influence a wise and just ruler, in utter destitution of all of those virtues which should adorn a husband, a father, and a citizen, and in wanton heedlessness of the peace, the happiness, and even the lives of thousands of innocent and unoffending women and children—has issued a proclamation," from which the governor quotes, and then continues:

"No public man in our country has exhibited such depravity, no statesman has shown such an abandonment of moral principle, no American citizen save John Brown has displayed so atrocious a spirit as is manifested in this proposition. . . . He invokes them [the slaves] to lay aside all restraint, to give loose rein to all those wicked passions which servile insurrection never fail to arouse; he invites them to shed the blood of our mothers, wives and children. . . .

"Will not a just God blast the wretch who has brought ruin upon his country, and who now seeks the blood of innocent women and unoffending children?"*

He may be, he will be immortal, but his claim to immortality will result because of the great events of which because of the position he occupied, he was a part, and not because he, in any degree, approached being the perfect man of the Lincoln Myths. The immortality which will attach to his name will attach as a part of the history of the Civil War, and that history will imperishably attest his shortcomings, and indelibly record the fact that he was but a human being made of a very ordinary quality of human clay, with but small measure of the qualities

*Calendar, Virginia State Papers, XI, 238-241.

of justness, consistency, nobility and greatness of such men as Washington and Robert E. Lee.

But withal he was able to judge facts and reach conclusions, and undoubtedly in retrospect often had occasion to condemn much in his own previous course of conduct; and no doubt with the sense of humor which was his, if he is conscious of the claims made for him, by Northern writers since the Civil War, he is highly amused at the irony, the inconsistency, the untruthful extravagance and the absurd humor of it all.

The Lincoln Myth will be de-mythed in the general process of de-bunking Northern history, or history as it has been written at the North. Don C. Seitz has recently written a *Life of Horace Greeley* (Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1926) and of it a reviewer in the *New York Times* December 12, 1926, says:

“In matters biographical these days are given to de-bunking history’s heroes and occasionally to whitewashing its reprobates. . . Now comes Mr. Seitz with a life of Horace Greeley, the meatiest part of which, if accepted as the author would have it, is a serious attack on the Lincoln legend. The method is an elaboration of the usual theme that Lincoln was the shrewdest and most cautious of political manipulators; in addition there is new historical material purporting to show that when the circumstances warranted ‘Honest Abe’ was a downright liar.”

Thus possibly the de-bunking of the Lincoln Myths and Legends may be begun. It is high time it should be. The subject is confused and the truth obscured by tons of twaddle and rubbish.

But if Seitz is deserving of commendation for beginning the de-bunking process as respects Lincoln, it is unfortunate that he comes near putting himself in the category of those described by the above-mentioned reviewer, as whitewashers of reprobates. As a “downright liar” it is difficult to believe that Lincoln had much on Greeley, who, as we have shown in these volumes, did not hesitate after the war to deny and repudiate statements made before the war.

Seitz, however, ought to be forgiven much, because of the way he characterized a speech of LaFollette’s at a meeting at which he presided, many years ago.

As to whether the institution which emerged from the Civil War,—the government changed, revolutionized,—was better than that which the founders of the Republic gave us may be a debatable question, but that it was a different institution, a revolutionized government, does not admit of argument.

It cannot be denied that the North fought for empire, for the power to rule a people who did not want to share the same government with them, and it is essentially true that the South fought for independence, though in inaugurating the conflict there were those, like Virginia, who “cherished no primal desire for separation from the Union, but who resisted” the authority of the Federal Government, “because of their convictions that its policy of coercion was illegal and destructive of the principle upon which the Republic had been founded.”*

The issue of the right of self-government was squarely involved; and that cause, in the issue of the Civil War received the most serious set-back it had ever received in the entire history of free governments.

Twenty years after Lee surrendered the Army of Northern Virginia at Appomattox Lord Wolseley wrote: “The Right of Self-Government which Washington won, and for which Lee fought, was no longer to be a watchword to stir men’s blood in the United States.”†

*Munford: *Virginia’s Attitude Toward Slavery and Secession*, 6.

†Wolseley, *R. E. Lee*, 51.

III.

ISAAC BONAPARTE BELL

[South Hill Enterprise—October 9, 1919]

In the passing of Isaac Bonaparte Bell, one of the leading citizens of Lunenburg County, and the recognized Nestor of its Bar, there was removed from the scenes of his earthly activities a notable, unique figure of Southside Virginia. His death occurred at the home of his son, Walton E. Bell, at Wilburn, Virginia, July 23, 1919. He was approaching his seventy-second birthday, having been born August 7, 1847. He was a native son of Lunenburg and resided in the County all his life.

On his mother's side he was descended from John Williamson and Rebecca Chamberlayne, that couple from whom so many distinguished persons proudly trace descent. John Williamson was elected a Vestryman of Curles Church on James River, June 17, 1735. He died in 1757. His son, Cuthbert Williamson, married Susannah White, a daughter of William White, and their daughter Martha Williamson married John Roach. Anne Roach, a daughter of this couple, married Stephen Davis (b. 1795—d. 1866) and their daughter, Susan Frances Williamson Davis, was the mother of Isaac Bonaparte Bell. Stephen Davis, her father, was the son of Nicholas and Lucy Davis of Prince Edward County, Virginia. Nicholas Davis (b. cir. 1750—d. 1818) was a First Lieutenant of Prince Edward County Militia in the Revolutionary War.

On his father's side he was descended from the Calhoun family which gave to the South its great Statesman, Champion and States Rights Advocate, John C. Calhoun of South Carolina. His father was John Davis Bell (b. June 19, 1810—d. Dec. 21, 1891), son of David Bell (b. Feb. 3, 1779—d. Nov. 15, 1836) and Elizabeth C. Davis (b. July 18, 1776—d. August 16, 1852). Elizabeth C. Davis was a sister of Stephen Davis who married Anne Roach. John Davis Bell and Susan Frances Williamson Davis, his wife, were therefore first cousins. David Bell was one of the children of George Bell (b. Jan. 3, 1740—d. 1816) and Rebecca Calhoun (b. 1753—d. 1822) who were married in 1773. Rebecca Calhoun was the daughter of Adam Calhoun (d. 1796)

who was, as already noted, of the family that gave to the Country the Statesman and Patriot, John Caldwell Calhoun.

Both the Bells* and the Calhouns were Scotch-Irish emigrants to this Country, coming from Donegal, Ireland, and stopping first in Pennsylvania before making a more permanent settlement in Prince Edward County, Virginia, from which place various members emigrated to several states, particularly South Carolina, Georgia and Tennessee.

The subject of this sketch had few educational advantages. He was about fourteen years old when the Civil War broke out, and all the schooling he ever had he acquired prior to that event. This consisted of a few terms of such "old field" public schools as were afforded in Virginia at that date.

As his two older brothers, David Thomas and Frank Nathaniel Bell, were in the military service, and as he was scarcely old enough for such service, it fell to his lot to stay at home during the earlier part of the war. However, upon attaining the age of sixteen he joined the military forces and became a member of the Company commanded by Captain William Henry Stokes, in the First Regiment of Virginia Reserves. These Reserves, as is well known, consisted of soldiers between sixteen and seventeen, and between forty-five and fifty years of age. This First Regiment was commanded a part of the time by Colonel Farinholt and a part of the time by Colonel Henry. It saw service in Amherst, opposite Lynchburg, at Matoax and around Petersburg, shortly before and at the time of the evacuation of the City; Mr. Bell expressed the belief that he was the last person to quit Sycamore Street on that occasion.

After the war, he and his family in common with the great majority of the people in Lunenburg and Southside Virginia, knew the meaning of poverty and the pinch of want. But they did not despair. He began working on his father's farm and making wagon trips to Petersburg to haul supplies, and gradually this activity occupied most of his time to the exclusion of the farm work, and continued for quite a period. In later years he took great pleasure in recounting his experiences as a wagoner.

*The family of Bells from which he sprung did not come from Donegal. See Bell Genealogy in this work.

The period was one of hardship but of wonderful development, for by the uncertain light of his own camp fire he read with avidity and comprehension, continuing the practice begun on the farm of reading and studying at night and during spare hours, books of any kind which were available. His training as a speaker began in his youth in the debating societies conducted at various country places (principally school houses) in his own neighborhood and in the adjacent communities, for he made it a rule to attend all such meetings, held within his reach, if the exactions of his pursuits spared him the necessary time.

By the time he reached manhood's estate he was well known throughout the County, and the impression he had made caused his services to be in demand at the hands of the people. He occupied various public offices, including constable, collector, assessor and supervisor, under the old township system then prevailing in Virginia. When the township system was abolished the County was divided into two districts, and he was elected Commissioner of the Revenue for the lower district, which office he filled for twelve years, declining re-election on account of the exactions of other business interests.

On the 13th day of November, 1885, he was licensed to practice law. It will thus be seen that he did not begin the practice until he was in his thirty-ninth year. The circumstances connected with his admission to the Bar were unusual. He had been for several years one of the leading figures in business and court circles in Lunenburg, and his work was done in the atmosphere of the Clerk's office, and in association with lawyers, Clerks of Courts, Special Commissioners, Judges and legislators. This association and his natural aptitude for grasping legal principles, coupled with his assiduous study of the Code had endowed him with a knowledge of the law better than that possessed by the average practitioner and probably as good as that of the best members of the Bar at that time. And yet his knowledge was not acquired with the expectation of being admitted to the Bar. It was acquired to increase his store of knowledge and to equip himself as a better citizen and business man. Not until a very short time before receiving his license did he definitely decide to make a career of the law. His determination so to do was largely

formed upon the advice of Judge F. D. Irvin at that time Judge of the Third Circuit of Virginia.

On account of the precipitate removal from Lunenburg of one of its leading attorneys of that day, there was a real opportunity for a new and capable man. Judge Irvin sent for Mr. Bell, advised him to be admitted to the Bar and begin at once the practice of the law. In those days lawyers were granted licenses upon examination by two Circuit Judges. Judge Irvin examined him and finding him qualified, wrote out with his own hand upon a piece of parchment eight by twelve inches his license on the 13th day of November, 1885,—a few days later he appeared before Judge Beverly A. Hancock of the Second Circuit of Virginia, who also examined the applicant, and affixed his signature along with Judge Irvin's to the license. At the next term of the Court, and for thirty years thereafter he or the firm of which he was a member had a larger number of cases on the docket than any other attorney or firm. Soon after being admitted to the Bar he formed a partnership with Hon. Robert Turnbull of Lawrenceville, Virginia, under the firm name of Turnbull and Bell, which partnership continued until a few years ago, when Mr. Turnbull retired from the active practice of the law. For about two years, from 1902 to 1904, Mr. Bell's second son, Landon C. Bell, was a member of this firm under the style of Turnbull, Bell and Bell.

Upon being admitted to the Bar he rapidly rose to the top of his profession. He enjoyed the very highest confidence and esteem of the bench and Bar of Lunenburg and of the many other Counties in which he was active in the practice of the law.

After Mr. Bell was admitted to the Bar, he never sought or held public office,—but devoted his entire time to his profession, to his farm and to other private business interests. He was repeatedly urged to seek appointment or election as County Judge, Commonwealth's Attorney, Circuit Judge, membership in the legislature, in the Constitutional Convention, and in Congress. But he always declined, feeling that his greatest service could be performed in a private capacity as a general practitioner. He even declined such honors, when they came to him unsought, as when in 1912 he was appointed Commonwealth's Attorney by

Judge William R. Barksdale to succeed W. E. Neblett who died during the term of office, he declined to accept the appointment. On one occasion when there was a vacancy in the Circuit Judgeship, great pressure was brought to bear upon him by many members of the Bar of the Circuit, urging him to consent that his name be presented to fill the vacancy, but he declined; he was deeply touched by this mark of confidence and esteem of his fellow-members of the Bar, but he remained firm in his refusal. He was an exceedingly conscientious man in all things, and no doubt his lack of an adequate general education was the one thing that he found an insuperable obstacle to his accepting so important an office as Circuit Judge. He always felt keenly his lack of an education. He once said if he could be Governor of Virginia for the mere asking, he would not have the Governorship, because for lack of education he could not properly grace the position. And yet in spite of a serious lack of schooling he was remarkably self-educated. His learning was varied and extensive. His knowledge of the Bible was indeed profound. His legal ability was by common consent recognized to be of the highest order, and his knowledge of the interesting, curious and unique things of literature and science was broad and extensive.

While he could claim no college or university as Alma Mater, yet he could claim all learning as his field, his mind absorbed useful information from every source, and grew with the growing evolution of thought and progress about him. Some have wondered if it were not a fortunate circumstance that his mind was not burdened with the (sometimes) useless learning of the schools, arguing that he could not have approached his tasks with the intellectual freshness and mental alertness, which characterized his activities, if he had had his mental appetite fed to satiety in college or university courses. However that may be, he never had any doubt but that he was seriously handicapped by the lack of such training.

It is often said that there are no geniuses in the legal profession; that young men of genius go to the front in all other professions except the law. He would scarcely have been picked to illustrate the accuracy of this observation, for while he came to the Bar not very early in life, yet when he entered the profes-

sion he stepped at once into the front rank and ever remained there.

In one respect lawyers are unfortunate. The circumstances under which they do their greatest work, are usually such as to make possible no lasting memorial of their ability or attainments. The reputations of lawyers are therefore temporary and transient. With half the ability, skill, industry and vision, an artist or a literary character produces a work which may keep before the world his name for an indefinite time, but with lawyers,

“Their great work, as it were, is written on the sands, and their names pass away like shadows.”

Often and often it happens that in some small law-suit, a lawyer expends enough energy, conducts enough research, brings into play enough ability to produce, if they all were applied in other directions, the most enduring memorial one could wish. In this respect lawyers are even less fortunate than judges, for most judges live in their opinions while the great arguments of counsel, that guided the judges, and enabled them to mould their opinions into enduring monuments, are soon forgotten.

If these things are true of lawyers generally, they are peculiarly true of the subject of this sketch, for few possessed his intensity of application and the disposition to sacrifice every personal convenience and physical enjoyment to the interest of his client. In the mastery, preparation and presentation of his cases, nothing escaped his attention. He was not content to have the “essential facts,” he mastered the minutest details, knowing that these often have the controlling influence upon larger things,—for often some large apparently controlling fact becomes irrelevant and wholly negligible when seen in its proper relation to all the details. He was obsessed with the desire to present his client’s case properly; he by no means accepted all the business proffered him, he felt he could not do justice to any but a worthy cause and he selected the business he represented in the light of this idea. The result was a general feeling that his acceptance of a cause was assurance that he believed in it, and that he would win. This was well illustrated on one occasion, when on account of an accident to his vehicle he had not reached the court at the time a cause was due for hearing. The opposing attorney desired to take the matter

up in his absence, remarking that probably the other side would not contest it any way. The Judge, knowing his promptness in keeping appointments, felt that there was a good reason why he was not present, intimated that he thought it would be proper to defer the hearing a while, and when the attorney grew somewhat persistent in his insistence upon an immediate hearing, the Chancellor said that in the exercise of his discretion he would defer the cause until he had heard from Mr. Bell, adding that, in a long experience he had observed that "he always had a good case or a wonderfully plausible tale to tell." On this particular occasion he arrived in a short while, the hearing was had and he won the case.

His method of handling his cases was simplicity itself. It was first to get all the facts, every detail favorable or unfavorable, then carefully consider what was right,—where the right lay,—upon the facts ascertained, and then seek to find the law to justify and establish the right. Any principle of law or decided case which pointed to a different conclusion from that determined to be just upon the facts considered was likely to be inapplicable in fact, and capable of being differentiated and shown inapplicable, because of distinguishing facts or circumstances. In his theory and practice, therefore, there were seldom or never "hard cases" due to "bad law" or any difference between the *right* conclusion and the *legal* conclusion upon any given state of facts. It will therefore be seen that he relied greatly upon a correct application of the broad, elemental, underlying principles of legal and equity jurisprudence, his wonderful comprehension of which was the more remarkable when it is remembered how very meagre were his educational advantages.

He was not "a case lawyer" in the sense that he relied to the same extent as others upon winning his cases by discovering some decided case in point. He knew the cases well, however, particularly the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals decisions. He not only knew their doctrines, but their facts, and therein had many an adversary at his mercy, by reason of his ability upon the spur of the moment and without reference, to state the facts, and point out the difference *in point of fact*, between the decided case and the one under argument. He had a remarkable memory,

it was remarked of him, probably hundreds of times, that "he never forgot anything that he had ever heard or read,"—and it was almost literally true.

He practiced his profession with a burning enthusiasm, and presented his client's cause with intense, earnest and persistent effort,—but he never permitted his zeal to carry him beyond the bounds of the strictest propriety. He was incapable of taking an unfair advantage, and was the fairest, most chivalrous adversary. He would have scorned any victory that was not fairly won.

He marshalled his facts with remarkable ability, applied the governing legal principles with the greatest lucidity, and enforced and supported his contentions by the aptest illustrations and comparisons possible to be conceived. His wit was sparkling, his irony incisive, his humor delicious, his denunciation withering, and his repartee superb. No attorney ever challenged him a second time, in arguments to an indulgence in this form of mental gymnastics,—the first experience sufficed.

The outstanding feature of his career as a lawyer was his uniform success. He was not always successful,—no lawyer with so large a practice ever is,—but his percentages of successes ruled high, so high that the odds were regarded as always in favor of the side he represented.

He found great pleasure in the society of fellow-members of the Bar. To the young members he was as a father or an older brother. He was absolutely free from any taint of envy or jealousy, and it was always his pleasure to aid the new members of the Bar to get forward and become established,—and this trait of his character was by no means confined to the members of his profession, for he gave cheering, encouraging words or extended his aid to large numbers in every walk of life.

No one liked a good story better than he, and few had a greater stock at hand. During leisure hours he was usually the center of some group of interested listeners, at every County seat which he visited in the course of his practice. On one occasion a celebrated Richmond lawyer was in attendance upon a term of court in one of the Counties of Southside Virginia, and there for the first time met Mr. Bell. At the hotel table at dinner the

Richmond lawyer learned that he contemplated leaving for home that afternoon. He at once endeavored to persuade, and sought the aid of others in inventing pretexts to induce him to remain until the following day, confiding to them that he wanted that night to hear Mr. Bell "talk some more and tell some of his jokes."

If he was conspicuous as a lawyer, he was quite as successful as a farmer. He developed his farm with industry and ability, until it reached a state where it was considered one of the best farms in the County. He gave great attention to restoring and increasing the fertility of the soil, to careful surface and underdraining, the rotation of crops, the increasing of grass areas, and was well in advance of his time in the application of scientific methods to the general problems of agriculture. His truck gardens, in which he did a vast amount of manual labor, were his show places to his friends of the neighborhood. He spent most of his time upon his estate at Wilburn. Here he had his law office. Twelve miles from the County seat, farther than that from the next nearest village, remote from any city, in a sparsely settled community, in the middle of a large farm, was the office from which was conducted a volume of business greater than that transacted in representative offices, in many metropolitan centers. Here were his law books, his legal files, his entire equipment for the practice of the law. His office at the County seat, Lunenburg, was merely a place in which to transact business when at the County seat, or in attendance upon the court at that point. It had desks and chairs, writing material, but scarcely a dozen law books; and none of the files were kept here. It was often necessary for him to drive the twelve miles to the County seat several times a week, but he preferred this to deserting his farm.

Often in the midst of the preparation of important papers, or the working out of a difficult legal problem, he would leave his desk, take a walk of several miles about his farm, or devote hours with his hoe to his truck gardens, and then returning resume his desk again. It was safe to assume that he had satisfactorily solved the problem under consideration. This unique arrangement of having his law office on his farm, remote from even the County seat contributed probably to the making of

Wilburn the notable place it has ever been in the annals of the County. Here gathered often more transactors of legal business than in the same period found their way to the County seat,—which fact occasioned the remark of one of his acquaintances: “‘Bony’ you should either move up to the County seat or move it down here.” But the doing of either would have destroyed the delightful freedom and independence of the life he was wont to lead, and his belief that the farm afforded the most desirable environment in the world in which to raise a family, was the controlling reason for his ever remaining upon it. He had a large family and he and his wife fully agreed in the view that it was vastly more important to afford the children the advantages of the country environment than it was to secure for themselves the conveniences and advantages of urban surroundings.

In the midst of a busy business life he ever found time and opportunity for deeds of kindness to the poor and needy and to aid and encourage benevolent and charitable enterprises generally. He had known what it was to be handicapped by poverty and thereby was enabled to more fully understand the point of view of the poor and because thereof was the better able to intelligently extend the effective help it was ever his pleasure to give to those in need. Probably no other one in the County helped so many persons, white or colored, to become the owners of their farms. He encouraged them to buy, at least a small tract of land, and begin the establishment of themselves as land owning members of the community. To hundreds of such persons he sold their homes, usually on long-time payments, and his lenity in his dealings, and desire never to disposses a purchaser is well illustrated by the case of an old ex-slave who purchased a small place from him, took possession and then proceeded to neglect to pay for so long that the simple interest upon the purchase price amounted to more than the principal. Several years during the time the taxes even were unpaid, and these Mr. Bell settled in addition to carrying the unpaid principal and interest.

Education furnished another means by which he was enabled to show his interest in the well-being of his fellow-man. He had a large family to educate—eleven children—but in addition to affording them an education he found opportunity and means to

extend substantial aid to many others yearning for the opportunities to secure an education, which he had never had, and the lack of which he felt so keenly throughout his life.

But it would be difficult to recount at length the character of his benevolences, or to mention even in a general way the objects of his benefactions. Unostentatious in his methods, indefatigable in his industry, he seemed to sense, as if by instinct, the needs of others, and hastened to relieve the want before others were fairly aware of its existence. It was not alone, however by material gifts that he rendered such helpful service to others. His advice and wise counsel served those who had no need of the material things of life. His broad-minded, charitable, sympathetic viewpoint invited the confidence of those troubled by the multiform perplexities of life, and they always seemed to get healing and comfort from a discussion of their troubles with him. It was not surprising, therefore, to find upon his passing that the tribute of the throng, the rich and the poor, that stood at his bier to do homage to his memory, was often literally and in substance generally embodied in the simple statement: "He was the best friend I ever had."

Briefly, but truly, one of his editor friends wrote of him upon hearing of his death as the paper went to press:

"Large numbers of friends will learn with regret that Mr. I. B. Bell passed to his great reward the night of Tuesday, July 22 . . . Rugged, kindly, self-taught, self-made, Mr. Bell was a man to command the admiration and esteem of all. He leaves many friends. We shall miss him."

The main-spring of all his actions was his deep religious conviction; his belief in the Bible and his acceptance of its teachings with all that this implies. He was a member of the Christian Church and held his membership always in Union Chapel Church, of which he was for many years,—from the time of reaching mature manhood until his death,—an officer. For about thirty years he was the Secretary of the Southeastern District Convention of the Christian Church, and rarely ever missed an annual convention. In these meetings he was prominent and enthusiastic in shaping policies and devising business-like methods for the execution of the Master's work.

He was ever ready, in season and out, to support and extend the influence of the Church. This is well illustrated by this incident. When the present Union Chapel Church building was erected, in addition to contributing liberally for the purpose, he undertook to raise by miscellaneous subscriptions a substantial fund. At Mecklenburg Court, on one occasion, he circulated his subscription list among the members of the Bar and others, all of whom subscribed something, one lawyer remarking that he was glad to give to so worthy a cause, and did so the more cheerfully, as it was the first time he had ever seen a brother attorney taking around a subscription list to raise money to erect a church building. The power of his influence was the greater because there was no inconsistency between his activity as a lawyer and business man and his professions and actions as a member of the church. While devoted to his church and interested in its activities, his interest was not of the narrow sectarian variety. He was ever liberal and broad-minded, and those things which were right he freely supported in whatever quarter they had their origin.

Probably no one subject made so strong an appeal to his heart and his imagination as The Lost Cause. It was but natural that such should have been the case. He had engaged in the war and knew its cruelty and the suffering it imposed; he had lived under the impious regime inaugurated by the Federal Government in Virginia upon the fall of the Confederacy; he had seen his relatives, friends and fellow-countrymen the victims of poverty, want and injustice during the long night of reconstruction. He felt no regret that the Institution of Slavery was abolished, but he, in common with the rest of his fellow-citizens, resented the unconstitutional, illegal, oppressive measures resorted to by the Federal authorities, and the brutal ungenerous acts of the victors.

The United Daughters of the Confederacy, in its organization and traditions he felt served a great purpose, in perpetuating the history of the noble, the true and the admirable in that period of the South's history immediately before and during the Civil War, and in preserving the true facts for the benefit of posterity. The noble heroism of the women of the South during the war ever excited his chivalrous admiration, and it was always his

delight and pleasure to aid this organization in its splendid work in every way possible. So substantial and appreciated were his services that the Lunenburg Chapter presented him with a gold medal suitably inscribed in recognition of his good work, and as a mark of the esteem in which he was held,—the first gold medal awarded by this Chapter to anyone.

Only a few months before he died he wrote a poem entitled "The U. D. C.," which competent critics have regarded as possessing real poetical merit, and which beautifully expressed his estimate of the members of that splendid organization.

During the late World War,—in the last years of his life,—there was great demand for his assistance in promoting the success of various local war and patriotic activities, such as the Red Cross, and notwithstanding his declining health he always gladly responded with all the strength of his unfailing enthusiasm.

On November 28, 1877, he was united in marriage with Etta Wilburn Hardy (b. Nov. 24, 1859, d. March 19, 1916), daughter of John Covington Hardy (b. May 17, 1798—d. June 12, 1873), and his second wife Sarah Anne Boswell (b. Dec. 3, 1819—d. March 12, 1887). John Covington Hardy served in the Southern Campaign under General Andrew Jackson, though he was scarcely more than a boy. He was a son of Charles Hardy and Dorothy Bruce, and was descended from John and Olive Hardy, the founders of the Hardy family in America. John Hardy was living in Isle of Wight County, Virginia, in 1666. John Covington Hardy was a great grandson of William Hardy of Lunenburg County, who died in 1791 and who served as a private soldier in the Revolutionary War in the Fifteenth Virginia Regiment. On his father's side, through his grandmother, Catherine Beauford, he was descended from Richard Beauford, who emigrated to America in 1635, and also from Richard Perrot (Parrot), Sr., who was Vestryman of Christ's Church, and Commissioner of Lancaster County, 1656, High Sheriff in 1657 and later Senior Justice of Middlesex County, Virginia. Sarah Anne Boswell, a daughter of John Iverson Boswell, Jr., and his first wife, Nancy D. Coleman, was descended from John and Phebe (Iverson) Boswell, her grandfatehr being John Iverson Boswell, Sr. (b.

April 5, 1761), who served in the Revolutionary War in the First Virginia Regiment.

There were born to Mr. and Mrs. Bell thirteen children, eleven of whom survived them,—two dying in infancy. These children were: Walton Elliott, Landon Covington, Isaac Washington, Berta Lou, Annie Wilburn, Haney Hardy, Etta Mabel, Myrtle Clyde, John Thomas, Willie Wingo, Mamie Lee, Bernard Marshall and Anita Owen. Berta Lou and Mamie Lee died in infancy. Etta Mabel married Charles Luther Guthrie of Petersburg, and Myrtle Clyde married Edward H. Lane of Altavista, Virginia.

Soon after his marriage Mr. Bell purchased the ante-bellum homestead of John R. Garland, an estate which had been in the Garland family since Colonial days, and named it Wilburn in honor of his wife. Subsequently the postoffice established here was also named *Wilburn*, by which name the office is still known, though it is no longer maintained upon the estate which gave it its name.

Mrs. Bell was a woman possessed of many beautiful traits of Christian character, was a devoted wife and mother, an accomplished housekeeper and a charming hostess.

The cordiality and warmth of the reception given those entering this home, and the bountiful hospitality dispensed, assure that recollections of *Wilburn* will linger long in the memories of those who came under the magic influence of its hospitable charm.

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