Annals of Augusta County, Virginia,

From 1726 to 1871

By Jos. A. Waddell

Second Edition (1902)

Prefaces, Table of Contents, Introduction, and Index

Note from the publisher

We at Between the Lakes Group are happy to make this Item of Virginia (and Kentucky, and West Virginia) history available.

This county, which once comprised the entire western end of the state of Virginia, as well as the areas that became West Virginia and Kentucky, is of singular importance in the study of the migration of the Scotch-Irish and their ascendancy in the history of the nation. While many from the Tidewater, especially second and subsequent sons, found their way to this area, as did all the rest of the nationalities that made their way down the Great Wagon Road, it was perhaps the defining locale for the sensibilities of the Scotch-Irish, who eventually spread their culture, their religion, their style, and their mentality throughout the Appalachians, the South, and much of the West. It was here that they regrouped and established themselves as an ethnic group that was to be reckoned with.

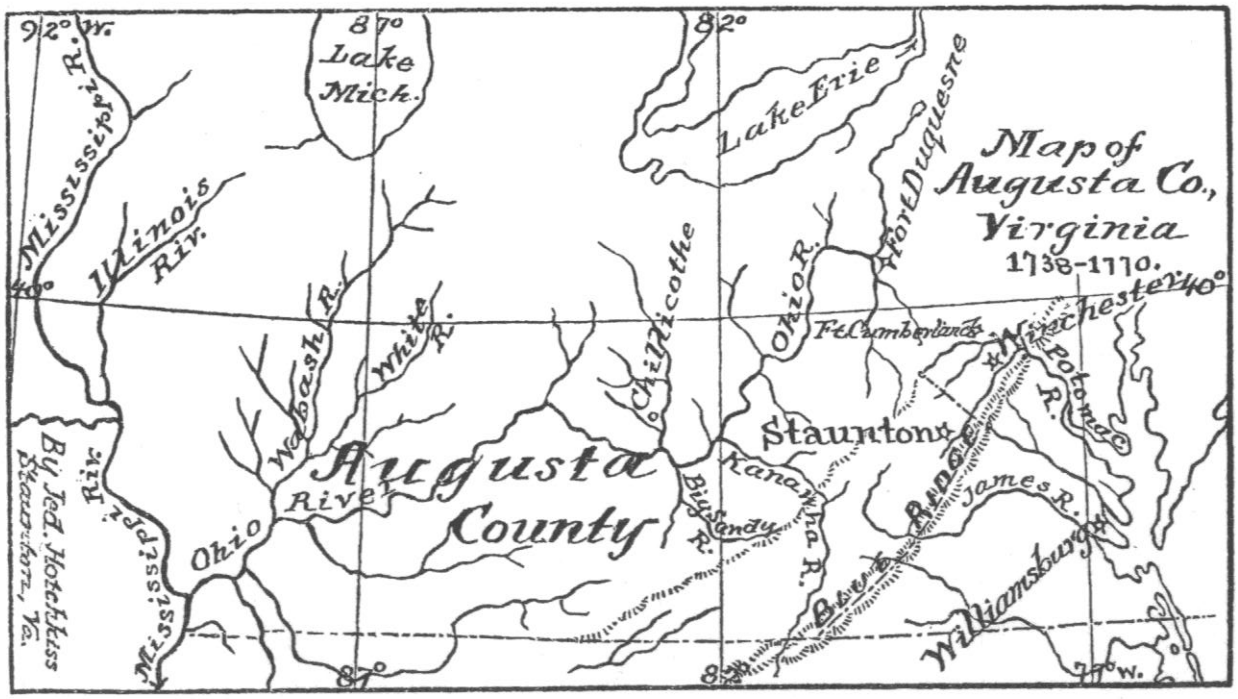
Considerable more recent scholarship has dealt with these people, but it never hurts to review the history of "their" county for insights that today have been forgotten or submerged. To facilitate this process, we will be offering subsequent chunks of this book as downloads. The Table of Contents in this free download, as well as the index, likewise included, may be helpful in determining where in the volume one needs to look.

At any rate, we are delighted to add Virginia to the list of states for which we offer historical material, and if this is your first experience with Between the Lakes Group, we welcome you aboard.

We are in the process of publishing more historical information about Virginia (and other locales) from a variety of sources, all old, out of copyright, out of print, and much of it very scarce and difficult to locate. We invite you to examine both our material available for download (like this material) and our CD-ROMs – your purchases of which make it possible to continue to collect and republish this material for you. A full catalog of our offerings can be found at our main website, http://www.betweenthelakes.com. We invite you to visit us there.

Meanwhile, enjoy this bit of Virginia – and American -- history!

-o0o-


92° W.
87°
82°
Lake Mich.
Lake Erie
Fort Duquesne
Map of Augusta Co., Virginia 1738-1770.
Mississippi R.
Illinois Riv.
Ohio R.
Fr. Cumberland
Winchester
40°
Wabash R.
White R.
Chillicothe
Potomac R.
Staunton
Augusta County
Kanawha R.
Big Sandy R.
Ohio River
Mississippi Riv.
James R.
Blue Ridge
Williamsburg
By Jed. Hotchkiss Staunton, Va.
37° W.

ANNALS

—OF—

Augusta County, Virginia,

From 1726 to 1871,

—BY—

JOS. A. WADDELL,

Member of the Virginia Historical Society.

Second Edition.

1902.

[COUNTY SEAL.]

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION.

Since the publication of the first edition of these Annals, in 1886, I have obtained a large amount of additional and interesting information relating to the history of Augusta County. I may refer to the extracts from the records of Orange County Court, the journal of Thomas Lewis, and the records of baptisms by the Rev. John Craig, the last of which also contains other items of interest. The applications for pensions by Revolutionary soldiers, in 1832, accidentally found, unindexed and unlabeled, in the Clerk's office of the County Court, has afforded much additional information in regard to the history of the county during that war. Having learned that the Historical Society of Wisconsin contained two ancient manuscripts relating to the county, part of the collections of Dr. Lyman Draper, I applied for and obtained copies. These were muster rolls of the officers and men comprising nine companies of militia in the fall of 1742, and a list of persons killed or captured by Indians, in the county, from October, 1754, to May, 1758. The latter was styled by Dr. Draper, "The Preston Register," under the impression, it is presumed, that Col. William Preston was the author; but his name does not appear in connection with the paper. In the former edition it is stated that John Trimble was the last white man killed by Indians within the present county. Local tradition was silent in regard to details, and I could get no other information, till afterwards a full narrative of the occurrence, together with an account of the capture and rescue of Mrs. Estill and others, was sent me by Mr. Trimble's descendants who live in Ohio.

It is unaccountable to me that no resident of the county, contemporary with the events, wrote a line about the thrilling events of the Indian wars. Readers of Parkman's historical works must have observed the fulness and accuracy of the narratives of events in New England during the same period. Various actors in the scenes described, left written accounts of the raids by French and Indians, giving dates and many other particulars. But as far as I have discovered, no resident

of Augusta County thought it worth while to do anything of the kind. Col. William Preston is said to have accompanied his uncle, Col. Patton, to Draper's Meadow, where the latter was killed, and although not present at the tragedy, must have known all the circumstances; but if he ever wrote a letter in reference to the occurrence, it has not come down to us. The Rev. John Brown lived within a few miles of Kerr's Creek at the times of the massacres there, and the victims were his parishioners, but he put on record no account of these fearful occurrences. Col. John Stuart, of Greenbrier, wrote a narrative of events in his section of country, and, as far as known to me, was the only contemporary who put pen to paper in regard to the events referred to. A paper purporting to be the diary of Mrs. Margaret Lewis, wife of Col. John Lewis, has been printed and much read; but it is a sheer fiction. The incidents related are wholly inconsistent with the authentic history of the times in which Mrs. Lewis lived. She is described as teaching her daughters to play on the spinet; but the only instrumental music she ever heard after coming into the wilderness, was the hum of the spinning wheel.

In the absence of contemporary documents we have no information touching the matters alluded to, except what is afforded by oral tradition, which is generally vague and uncertain and often contradictory. Alexander Withers, an intelligent writer, collected and published in his book called *Chronicles of Border Warfare*, many traditions, but appears to have taken no pains to verify the statements, many of which are erroneous in various particulars. As a specimen of his inaccuracies, he says in one sentence that the name of Col. Patton was John, that he lived on James River, that his wife was a daughter of Benjamin Borden, and that William Preston was his son-in-law; whereas his name was James, he lived on South River, Augusta County, his wife was a Miss Osborne, and William Preston was his nephew and not otherwise related to him. He says also that Col. John Stuart was the son of a John Stuart who came to Virginia with Governor Dinwiddie; but he was the son of David Stuart, who resided in Augusta before Dinwiddie came to the colony, and was no favorite of that irate Governor.

It is remarkable that no one now living can tell the date of one of the two massacres by Indians on Kerr's Creek. One of them is known, from the record in an old Family Bible, to have occurred on the 17th of July, 1763; but whether the other occurred before or after is quite uncertain. Alexander Crawford and wife and John Trimble were killed by Indians within a few miles of Staunton, probably on the same day, but the date can only be approximated.

I have been somewhat criticised on the score that I have devoted more space to persons comparatively obscure than to prominent men. I have done this purposely, my object being to give an account of *the people*. Distinguished or prominent men have other historians or biographers.

A host of errors in the first edition are corrected in this volume.

For much of the new matter herein, I am indebted to my friend, Mr. Howe P. Cochran, now deceased, who was an enthusiastic antiquarian and most thorough in his researches.

J. A. W.

Staunton, July 1, 1901.

PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION.

The basis of these Annals was prepared as a contribution to the "Historical and Geographical Atlas of Augusta County," issued by Messrs. Waterman, Watkins & Co., of Chicago. That sketch was executed very hurriedly, and the space allotted to it in the Atlas was limited. Therefore some errors appear in the work, and much matter then on hand was necessarily omitted. Moreover, the work was hardly in press before I found new matter, not known or not accessible to me previously. My interest in the subject having been quickened, information in regard to the history of the county came to me almost unsought, and often from unexpected sources. This augmented result is intended as well to correct former errors, as to relate the history more fully from the first settlement of the county, in 1732, to the year 1871.

The county of Augusta originally extended from the Blue Ridge to the Mississippi river, east and west, and from the great lakes on the north to the northern boundary of the present State of Tennessee on the south. The history of this vast region properly belongs to our Annals until the year 1769, when Botetourt county was formed. As the limits of Augusta were reduced by the formation of other counties out of her territory, from time to time, the scope of the history is simultaneously and correspondingly contracted.

I have taken the utmost pains to secure perfect accuracy. The errors in details of most writers who have alluded to our county affairs and people, are remarkable. The writers referred to have not only copied from one another without investigation, and thereby repeated erroneous statements, but some of them have contradicted themselves in the same volume. Even the statements of the public records, especially in respect to dates, often require to be verified.

But while I have aspired to perfect accuracy, I do not flatter myself that the following pages are entirely free from error. I have stated nothing as a fact, of the truth of which I am doubtful. Many statements which I do not regard as certainly correct, are given on the au-

thority of other writers, prefaced by the words, "It is said," or "It is related."

It has been my intention to give full credit to every writer whom I have quoted, and I think this has been done in the body of the work. I am indebted to the files of the *Staunton Spectator*, edited by Richard Mauzy, Esq., for most of the facts embraced in the last chapter, on "Reconstruction." To forestall any charge of plagiarism, I state that having at different times published in the columns of Staunton newspapers communications relating to the history of the county, I have copied from these without credit whenever it suited my purpose to do so. Through the kindness of Judge William McLaughlin I have had the opportunity of making extracts from the "History of Washington College," by the Rev. Dr. Ruffner; and "Sketches of the Early Trustees of Washington College," by Hugh Blair Grigsby, Esq. Both these interesting works are still in manuscript, and neither was completed by its author. To the following gentlemen I am indebted for assistance: Wm. A. Anderson, Esq., of Lexington; R. A. Brock, Esq., of Richmond; G. F. Compton, Esq., of Harrisonburg; Dr. Cary B. Gamble, of Baltimore; Armistead C. Gordon, Esq., of Staunton; Dr. Andrew Simonds, of Charleston, S. C., and John W. Stephenson, Esq., of the Warm Springs. I am also under obligations to Mrs. S. C. P. Miller, of Princeton, N. J.

I have not attempted to write a stately history, but merely to relate all interesting facts concerning the county, in a lucid style and in chronological order. Hence the title "Annals," has been adopted deliberately. Many trivial incidents have been mentioned, because they seem to illustrate the history of the times and the manners and customs of the people.

The present work was undertaken with no expectation of pecuniary reward. It has been to me a labor of love. From my early childhood I have cherished a warm affection for my native county—her people, and her very soil. I have sought to rescue from oblivion and hand down to posterity, at least the names of many citizens, who, although not great in the ordinary sense, lived well in their day and are worthy of commemoration.

A representation of the seal of the County Court of Augusta, commonly called the County Seal, is given on the title page. When and by whom the seal was designed is not known. Possibly it was by a member of the faculty of William and Mary College, at the request of one of our colonial governors, who were required by law to provide seals for courts.

The motto is an accommodation of a passage in Horace, Book IV, Ode 2. This Ode expresses delight in the peace and prosperity which came after the long civil wars of Rome. Referring to Augustus, the poet says the heavenly powers ne'er gave the earth a nobler son—

"Nor e'er will give, though backward time should run
To its first golden hours."

The Latin words are: *Nec debunt quamvis redeant in aurum Tempora priscum.*

The motto may be translated thus: "Let the ages return to the first golden period." The allusion is, of course, to the fabulous "Golden Age" of primal simplicity and enjoyment; and the Roman poets held out the hope that this happy state of things would one day return.

It would seem that the seal was devised during the fearful Indian wars, when every one was longing for the safety and rest of former times. Full of such aspirations, the designer, in addition to the motto, delineated in the centre of the seal a tranquil pastoral scene, as emblematic of the wished-for times. Such a scene would not ordinarily have been depicted in a time of peace, but during, or immediately after, the havoc of war. In peace, the minds of men gloat over the achievements of war, and in war they dwell upon "the piping times of peace."

The name of the county, however, was suggestive of the motto and emblem, as the poet Virgil celebrated the Emperor Augustus as

"Restorer of the age of gold."

J. A. W.

Staunton, November 1, 1886.

CONTENTS.

ANNALS

—OF—

Augusta County, Virginia.

INTRODUCTION.

THE SCOTCH-IRISH.

The early settlers of Augusta County were people of the Scotch-Irish race; and, up to the time of the Revolutionary war, very few persons of any other race came to live in the county. Their descendants must wish to know who the Scotch-Irish were, and what induced them to leave their native land and come to America. Therefore a sketch of the origin and history of the people so-called, is not out of place here.

Our chief authorities are a work styled "Plantation Papers," being an account of the settlements in Ulster in 1610, by the Rev. George Hill; and Reid's History of the "Presbyterian Church in Ireland."

The history of the Scotch-Irish is necessarily a history of the troubles they suffered on account of their religion. It must be borne in mind, however, in this connection, that the great principle of religious liberty was not recognized in the 17th and the early part of the 18th centuries. The opinion prevailed that it was the duty of the civil government to maintain the church; and, the church being divided into various sects, nearly every sect was striving to obtain government recognition and support, to the exclusion of every other. In nearly all European countries some one church was established by law, and nonconformity to it was regarded as disloyal and punishable; and no doubt some good men believed they were doing God service by trying to crush out all those who followed not with them. And it was too often the case that the persecuted became persecutors when they obtained the power. Of course, no church of the present day is responsible for the errors and wrongs of a former age.

Ulster, the most northern province of Ireland, is composed of the following nine counties: Antrim, Armagh, Cavan, Donigal, Down, Fermanagh, Londonderry, Monaghan, and Tyrone.

In consequence of rebellions in Ireland during the latter years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, large portions of the land held by the titled proprietors were confiscated, and many new settlers were introduced from England. At the time James came to the throne, the country enjoyed peace, which was due to the desolations the land had suffered. The province of Ulster was almost depopulated. The remnant of its inhabitants suffered the combined horrors of pestilence and famine. With the exception of a few fortified cities, the towns and villages were destroyed; and scarcely any buildings remained except the castles of the English conquerors, or the wretched cabins of the natives. There was scarcely any cultivation, and many of the people betook themselves to woods where they lived almost in a state of nature. The state of civilization among the natives may be inferred from the fact that they attached horses to the plows by their tails.*

Early in the reign of James I, several of the leading landed proprietors in Ulster engaged in a conspiracy to dethrone the King. The plot was discovered, and Lords Tyrone, Tyrconnell and others, flying from the country, their lands were confiscated and taken possession of by the crown. Thus about 500,000 acres were at the disposal of the King. The lands were parceled out to favorites of the King, English and Scotch, as rewards for services rendered or expected. The natives of the soil were treated with little consideration, being relegated to the more rugged and barren parts of the country. A few natives received small allotments here and there. Only forty of them in the large county of Donigal obtained small grants in a dreary region, and forty-five in Fermanagh.

In the Autumn of 1609, Commissioners started from Dublin, accompanied by a military force, to survey the confiscated lands, and assign the allotments to the new owners. They went from county to county. Previous to this, however, there had been a rush of people from the highlands of Scotland. An old chronicler, the Rev. Andrew Stewart, tells of the multitudes that came across the Irish Sea and the North Channel. He described them as a wild and lawless set, "who for debt, and breaking and fleeing from justice, or seeking shelter from charges of manslaughter in their clan fights, came hither, hoping to be without fear of man's justice, in a land where there was nothing, or but little as yet, of the fear of God." Some years afterwards came another flight of wild Highlanders. The Rev. Mr. Blair, a Scottish minister, of Irvine in Ayreshire, relates "that above ten thousand per-

* Plantation Papers.

sons have, within two years last past, left their country wherein they lived, which was betwixt Aberdeen and Inverness, and are gone for Ireland ; they have come by one hundred in a company through this town, and three hundred have gone hence together, shipping for Ireland at one tide."

This volunteer immigration became annoying to the authorities of Ireland, and a warrant was issued "to stay the landing of these Scotch that came without a certification." It is not likely that all of the "Highland host" took root and remained in Ulster ; there was much coming and going for many years ; but the Highlanders who came in and remained, account for the many *Macs* who constituted so large a part of the Scotch-Irish race.

From 1609 and on, however, a poor but more staid class of people were introduced from the lowlands of Scotland by the new proprietors. The lands of Ulster soon yielded the new-comers abundant harvests, and others of their countrymen sold out in Scotland and crossed over to Ireland. Many houses were built, and farms stocked with cattle ; but they were for some time not allowed to live in peace and safety, the woods and fastnesses being frequented by bands of natives, who plundered on every opportunity.

Some of the Scotch proprietors were rather slow in settling and improving their estates, and were rated angrily by the King. There were plenty of English anxious to go and "plenish the whole land," he said, but out of his tender love for his ancient subjects, he had been pleased to make choice of them. Thus stimulated, and encouraged by the reports of fine crops in Ulster, the Scotch awoke to a fervid loyalty to the King and desire to civilize the Irish, "or such of them as had escaped the wrath of God, or rather the raiding of cruel and licentious Englishmen." *

King James interested the Corporation of London in the plantation of Ulster, the object being to reduce "the savage and rebellious people to civility, peace, religion and obedience." Accordingly the whole county of Coleraine was assigned to the Londoners, who changed the name to Londonderry, and founded the town of Derry.

The names of many of the Scotch settlers, incidentally mentioned in the book we have quoted, are identical with those of the people of the Valley of Virginia.

Froude, speaking of the Scotch settlers in Ulster, says : "They went over to earn a living by labor, in a land which had produced hitherto little but banditti. They built towns and villages ; they established trades and manufactures ; they enclosed fields, raised farm houses and homesteads where till then there had been but robbers,

* Plantation Papers.

castles, wattled huts, or holes in the earth like rabbit burrows. While, without artificial distinctions, they were saved from degenerating into the native type by their religion, then growing in its first enthusiasm into a living power, which pervaded their entire being."

The Scotch did not degenerate in Ulster, nor did they mingle by intermarriage with the natives; but, while their intelligence, industry and thrift soon transformed the face of the country, most of them were at first far from being a religious people. We have seen what character the Rev. Mr. Stewart attributed to most of them. Elsewhere we learn that a great many of them were openly profane and immoral, caring for no church. In their native land, "going to Ireland" was regarded as a token of a disreputable person. But, in the course of time, a number of pious and zealous ministers came over from Scotland, and several from England, of like spirit; and, through the efforts of these good men, a great religious reformation occurred. Among the Scotch ministers were Josiah Welsh, a grand-son of John Knox, and the celebrated John Livingston, who was famous as a preacher and scholar. This reformation occurred about the year 1625, and from that time the religious character of the people dates. Mr. Welsh says: "God had taken by the heart hundreds that never knew him before." Mr. Stewart wrote that God followed the people when they fled from him. This religious revival attracted attention both in Scotland and England, and has often been referred to as one of the most remarkable events of the kind since the days of the Apostles. Reid, the historian, referring to the marked change in the character of the people, says: "The gospel shot forth its branches in Ulster with wonderful rapidity, till, like the grain of mustard, it became a great and noble tree, which, after the lapse of two centuries and the beating of many bitter storms, stands at the present day, more firm and vigorous than ever."

Ireland, being a dependency of England, the church of the latter country was extended over the former; but, during the reign of James I, the distinction between Conformists and Nonconformists was unknown in the former. The rulers of the church received all the ministers who offered themselves, and were sound in the faith, and of sufficient learning; but though included in the pale of the established Episcopal Church, the Scottish ministers in Ulster maintained the peculiarities which distinguished the Presbyterian Church.

Charles I, came to the throne in 1625, and for some years Ireland enjoyed peace. Archbishop Laud, however, became the dominant power in England, and in 1632 issued orders for the trial by the Bishop of Down and Connor of certain alleged "fanatical disturbers of the

peace of his diocese." The bishop chose rather to cite four Scotch ministers, including John Livingston, and on their refusal to conform to the church of England, ("there being no law or canon of that kingdom requiring it,") all four were deposed from the ministry and prohibited from preaching. The aggrieved parties appealed to Archbishop Usher, the Primate of Ireland, a liberal and benevolent prelate, but he disclaimed having authority to interfere.

Despairing of relief for themselves, and discovering the storm which was gathering around others, the deposed ministers began to look out for some place of refuge where religious liberty might be enjoyed. They resolved to send a minister and layman to New England to report as to the advisability of removal to that country, and the commissioners proceeded to London in 1634, on their way, but were prevented from going further.

The constitution of the Irish Episcopal Church was settled in 1634, and pursuant thereto it was ordered that every minister subscribe the canons and read them publicly in his church once a year. Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, was now at the head of affairs in Ireland, and ready to make all recusants feel the weight of his power.

In consequence of the oppressions suffered by the Ulster Scotch, they again determined to seek religious liberty in the wilds of America. They built a ship, which they called Eaglewing, and on September, 9th, 1636, one hundred and forty of them, including several ministers, embarked for New England. They encountered heavy storms, and when near the banks of New Foundland concluded that it was not the Lord's will they should proceed. Therefore they turned back, and on the 3rd of March, came to anchor in Loch Fergus.

The deposed ministers continued to preach as they had opportunity, but steps were taken to arrest them. They, therefore, escaped to Scotland, to which country many of the people fled to avoid the fines and other punishments which began to be inflicted on the nonconforming laity. The number of refugees was so large as to seriously effect the prosperity of the province. Many who did not fly were committed to prison. During that time it was customary for many people to go over from Ireland at the stated communion services in Scotland; and on one occasion, says Reid, "five hundred persons, principally from county Down, visited Scotland, to receive that ordinance from the hands of Mr. Livingston." It was ascertained in 1638, that the number of men in Ulster, able to bear arms, was above forty thousand.

In May, 1639, all the residents in Ulster above the age of sixteen, male and female, except Catholics, were required by proclamation to

take what was known as the "Black Oath," binding them to yield an unconditional obedience to all royal commands, civil or religious, just or unjust. Many of the people refused to take the oath in the unqalified form in which it was proposed. On these the heaviest penalties of the law, short of death, were inflicted. Crowds of defenceless females fled to the woods, and concealed themselves in caves. Respectable persons were bound together with chains and confined in dungeons. Several were dragged to Dublin and heavily fined. Multitudes fled to Scotland, leaving their homes to go to ruin; while so many of the laboring people abandoned the country, that it was scarcely possible to carry on the work of harvest.

After Laud and Strafford were hurled from power, and the King was deposed, Ireland, for a time, enjoyed peace and unprecedented prosperity. To the Catholics, as well as the Protestants of all sects, ample toleration was allowed. In 1641, however, the native Irish rose in rebellion. "The insurrection," says Reid, "was speedily converted into a religious war, carried on with a vindictive fury and a savage ferocity which have been seldom exceeded." Many women and children were ruthlessly slaughtered. Ulster was converted into "a field of blood." About thirty ministers were massacred. The brunt of the conflict fell upon the people of English origin. In addition, a pestilence broke out which swept off many thousands of people. The rebellion extended to other parts of Ireland, but more moderation was displayed by the confederate Roman Catholics, and many of them denounced in strong terms the massacres which had almost depopulated Ulster.

As a body, the Presbyterians suffered less by the rebellion than any other class. Many of them had retired to Scotland to escape the tyranny of Strafford and the severities of the Bishops, and were thus preserved. Those who remained in the country were, at first, unmolested by the Irish, and by the time the storm fell on them, they were prepared for the attack, and frequently repulsed the assailants. Troops arrived from Scotland, and during the year 1642, the rebellion was suppressed. Few of the English clergy, and not one prelate, remained in Ulster. The people of Scottish birth or descent, who had left the Province, gradually returned, and this class became a majority of the population.

During the existence of the Commonwealth, the Presbyterians in Ulster were for a time not molested by the government, and Reid states that they were joined by many of the Episcopal clergy. From this period, he further says, may be dated the commencement of the "Second Reformation" with which the Province was favored.

The motion of "bringing home the King," Charles II, is said to have been made first by ministers of the Church of Scotland, and in this they displayed little worldly wisdom, as they demanded no guarantees for civil and religious liberty. But they were no doubt deluded by the promises made by Charles while in exile. He was proclaimed King in London May 8th, and in Dublin May 14, 1660, and it was not long till he repudiated all his promises and even solemn oaths. He declared in favor of Prelacy, refused toleration to Nonconformists, and named Bishops for all the dioceses in Ireland.

It was during the seven preceding years that the Presbyterian church in Ulster acquired strength to withstand the storms which afterwards arose. In 1653, scarcely more than a half dozen ministers ventured to remain in the country ; in 1660, however, there were not less than seventy ministers regularly settled, having under them eighty congregations, embracing a population of about one hundred thousand.

As usual at such times, many persons who had been zealous supporters of Cromwell, proved their new-born loyalty to the King by denouncing and persecuting those whom they had shortly before pursued for their attachment to monarchy.

The Irish Parliament met on the 8th of May, the House of Lords being composed largely of the Bishops. The new speaker of the Commons had been a violent opponent of prelacy, but was now an ardent conformist. A declaration was put forth establishing the former eccleastical laws, and forbidding all to preach who would not conform. The dissenting ministers remained among their people, however, and officiating in private, were not immediately molested.

The Duke of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, convinced of the loyalty of the Presbyterians, refrained from harassing them ; and the oppressions of the ecclesiastical courts and the exorbitant demands of the established clergy for tithes, constituted their principal grievances. At this time the people of Scotland were suffering the most intolerable persecution, and the Ulster Scotch lived in comparative peace and comfort. Their ministers preached in barns, and administered the sacraments in the night. By degrees they attained to such freedom, that in 1668, they began to build meeting-houses, and to officiate in public. They were, however, precluded from ordaining new ministers, and from holding meetings for the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Even at the burial of their dead, they were hardly permitted to conduct the services according to their own usages.

In the year 1672, a strange thing happened in the history of the Ulster Dissenters—King Charles II, of his own motion, ordered twelve

hundred pounds to be distributed annually to the ministers, in consideration of their former sufferings on account of their loyalty; and the grant was continued for many years under successive sovereigns. Thus a body of men not recognized by law, and legally outlaws, were the recipients of royal bounty. (We should feel more respect for them if they had declined the gift.) But throughout, the trouble to which Dissenters were subjected, was not caused so much by the civil as by the ecclesiastical authorities. Dean Swift, High Churchman as he was, gives a woful account of the Bishops of the Irish established church. He describes them as highwaymen, who waylayed and murdered the persons appointed in England, and stealing their credentials, came to Dublin and were consecrated in their stead. *

For many years, the Dissenters were harrassed on account of marriages solemnized by their ministers, although publicly, after proclamation, and after payment of fees to the established clergy. Such marriages, although irregular, were recognized, and the offspring treated as legitimate, by the civil courts. But the Bishops considered them serious ecclesiastical offences. In their courts the marriages were declared to be void, the parties guilty of the sin of fornication, and their children pronounced bastards.

The battle of Bothwell Bridge, in Scotland, occurred on June 22, 1679. Some of the prisoners taken there and who escaped, made their way to Ulster, and from them many of the people of Augusta County have descended. ‡

For observing a fast-day in 1681, four ministers were sentenced to pay a fine of twenty pounds each, or be imprisoned, and were confined

* Froude.

‡ An appendix to the old Scotch book called "A Cloud of Witnesses," says: "Anno 1679, of the prisoners taken at Bothwell, were banished to America, 250 who were taken away by —— Paterson, a merchant of Leith, who transacted for them with Provost Milns, Laird of Barnton, the man that first burnt the covenant, whereof 200 were drowned by shipwreck at a place called the Mulehead of Darness, near Orkney, being shut up by the said Paterson's order beneath the hatches—50 escaped." The Bothwell prisoners were herded like cattle for many months in Grayfriars' churchyard, Edinburgh, without shelter, half clad and half starved. Those who refused to take the oath of allegiance to the persecuting government were sentenced to banishment. The list of these men reads like a muster roll of Augusta county people, including the familiar names of Anderson, Bell, Brown, Brownlee, Cochran, Craig, Campbell, Finley, Hutchison. Hamilton, Henderson, Morrison, Reid, Scott, Steele, Waddell, Walker, White, Wilson, &c. The following are the names of some of the prisoners who survived the shipwreck and escaped to Ireland: John Thomson, William Waddell, John Gardner, Thomas Miller, Thomas Thomson, Andrew Thomson, Hugh Montgomery, John Martin, Andrew Clark and James Young.

for more than eight months. Thereupon the meeting houses in Ulster were closed, and public worship prohibited. This state of affairs continuing for several years, many of the ministers declared their intention to emigrate to America, but were induced to remain, hoping for better times.

James II came to the throne in February, 1685, and then the clergy and members of the established church began to feel the brunt of persecution. Every favor was shown by the King to Roman Catholics, and to gain the support of Dissenters, he issued his "Declaration for liberty of conscience." This afforded relief to the Presbyterians, and the fears of the established clergy for their own safety induced them to relax in their severities towards Nonconformists. In this hour of peril, the Presbyterians forgot their recent sufferings, and made common cause with the Episcopalians in opposition to the despotic and bigoted monarch. They were the first to hail the arrival of William, Prince of Orange. The native Irish rose in behalf of King James, and a general massacre of Protestants was threatened. In 1688, the Earl of Antrim, a partisan of James, was approaching Londonderry to occupy it with his regiment. A majority of the established clergy inculcated the necessity of non-resistance; but a number of resolute youths, called "The Prentice Boys of Derry," encouraged by the bulk of the inhabitants, seized the keys and closed the gates against the Earl. The small town of Derry thus became the only refuge of the Protestants of Ulster. Upon the march northward of the army of James, says Macauley, "all Lisburn fled to Antrim, and, as the foes drew near, all Lisburn and Antrim together came pouring into Londonderry. Thirty thousand Protestants, of both sexes and of every age were crowded behind the bulwarks of the City of Refuge. The ordinary population of the town and suburbs furnished only about six hundred fighting men; but when the siege began there were 7,300 men armed for defence." Dissenters having been excluded from offices in the army, none of that class were fitted by previous military experience for command. Therefore a majority of the higher officers were of the Church of England. A majority of the inferior officers, captains and others, were Presbyterians, and of the soldiers and people generally, the Dissenters outnumbered the others by fifteen to one. The commanding officer, Lundy, proposed to surrender; but the great body of the soldiers and people, headed by Capt. Adam Murray, defeated the scheme, and Lundy was compelled to fly from the town in disguise. Even the Rev. Mr. Walker, the assistant governor, who afterwards claimed most of the credit of the defence for himself, wavered and was disposed to capitulate. *

* Reid.

"Now," says Froude, in his History of Ireland, "was again witnessed what Calvinism—though its fires were waning—could do in making common men into heroes. Deserted by the English regiments, betrayed by their own commander, without stores and half armed, the shopkeepers and apprentices of a commercial town prepared to defend an unfortified city against a disciplined army of 25,000 men, led by trained officers, and amply provided with artillery. They were cut off from the sea by a boom across the river. Fever, cholera and famine came to the aid of the besiegers. Rats came to be danties, and hides and shoe leather were ordinary fare. They saw their children pine away and die—they were wasted themselves till they could scarce handle their firelocks on their ramparts." Still they held on through more than three miserable months. Finally, a frigate and two provision ships came in, and Derry was saved. The garrison had been reduced to about three thousand men. Enniskillen was successfully defended in like manner.

Seldom has an unfortified and ill-supplied place been defended with such obstinate valor. On the 31st of July, the siege was raised, having lasted 105 days. Before retiring the army of James lost an hundred officers and between 8,000 and 9,000 men.

The Duke of Schomberg and his army arrived in August, and secured comparative peace and safety to the inhabitants. Soon thereafter, King William wrote to Schomberg, recommending the Ulster Scotch to his protection.

The law prohibiting Presbyterian ministers from officiating in public was still in force, and Presbyterians were still legally incapable of holding any public office. These laws, however, were not enforced for a time. But as soon as the recent danger was over, there was a renewal of unfriendly feeling on the part of the established clergy towards the Presbyterians, and occasionally one of the former sought to revive the penalties of the law against a dissenting brother.

The first step which King William caused to be taken for the relief of the Irish Presbyterians, was the abolition of the oath of supremacy. Accordingly, the English Parliament passed an act, in 1691, abolishing the oath, and substituting another which the dissenters did not scruple to take, and thereby all public employments were opened up to them. Still the public exercise of their religious worship, though connived at, was legally prohibited under heavy penalties.

It was well known that King William was anxious to obtain from the British Parliament the abolition of tests, and to secure for his Dissenting subjects in England ample toleration; but his plans were defeated by the High Church party. The same influence arrested his

measures for the protection of the Irish Presbyterians. The Irish Bishops, who constituted a majority of their House of Lords, insisted upon "Sacramental Tests," by which all public officers should be required to receive the communion as administered by the clergy of the Church of England. Public opinion and the favor of the executive relieved Dissenters from some of their annoyances; and the parochial clergy generally and Presbyterian ministers co-operated in repairing the disasters of the war.

The matter of marriages by Presbyterian clergymen was again brought forward. The ministers were "libeled" in the Bishop's courts for celebrating the marriages of their own people, and heavy penalties were imposed upon them; and the parties married were condemned, either publicly to confess themselves guilty of sinful cohabitation, or to pay heavy fines to the officers of the Courts; while the marriages of those who refused to submit, were declared void, and their children pronounced illegitimate. No attempt was made, however, by the established clergy, to have the validity of such marriages tested in the civil courts, for the reason that they had been held to be valid contracts, though irregularly entered into.

During the time of Cromwell, a number of French Protestant refugees settled in Ireland, and afterwards, upon the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, many more came over. Being of the same religious faith as the Ulster Presbyterians, they affiliated with them, and thus it is that some French names appear among the Scotch-Irish.

King William died in March, 1702, all his efforts to obtain Parliamentary relief and protection for the Dissenters in Ireland, having failed. Queen Anne immediately placed herself under the guidance of the High Church Tories, and from the beginning of her reign the series of anti-popery laws began, which have been the cause of so much misery to Ireland. The Sacramental Test Act was now enacted, by which all Nonconformists, Protestants and Catholics, were excluded from public offices. The Roman Catholics employed counsel to oppose the measure, and in his appeal he reminded the Parliament of the services of Protestant Dissenters in the defence of Londonderry and Enniskillen. They were then thought fit to command, he said. Whatever Papist might be thought to deserve, the Dissenters stood clear before the government, and to pass the bill would be an unkind return and poor encouragement for them or others to do likewise in a similar emergency. But all in vain. The bill was passed in 1704, and received the royal assent. Thenceforth no Presbyterian could hold any office, civil or military. A majority of the city officers of Londonderry were turned out, and that too in a city which most of

these men had contributed to preserve by their services and sufferings during the siege. * Throughout Ulster most of the magistrates were ejected, and others appointed "who had nothing to recommend them but their going to church." (De Foe.)

In addition to the oppressions on account of their religion, the industry and commerce of the people of Ulster were systematically repressed by the English government. Twenty thousand people left Ulster on the destruction of their woolen trade in 1698. Many more were driven away by the passage of the Test Act. The wonder is that the whole people did not leave the country, and seek rest elsewhere from their intolerable harassments. But, notwithstanding their oppressions, they enjoyed a good degree of business prosperity, so that at one time they were able to send pecuniary relief to their suffering co-religionists in Holland. Their industry and thrift enabled them to survive, and to some extent flourish, in the midst of the oppressive measures of government. Moreover, they were constantly buoyed up by the hope of relief.

In 1711, the Tory party of England came into power again, and this political revolution was the signal of a fresh outburst of High Church zeal against Dissenters. Appeal after appeal was addressed by the Dissenters of Ireland to the authorities in England, and one Commissioner after another was sent to represent them before the Queen. Among the grievances complained of was the refusal of Episcopal land owners to renew leases to Presbyterian tenants. They also complained of the Test Act and the oath of abjuration which some of their people scrupled to take.

A new Lord Lieutenant having come into office, some of the ministers of Ulster laid before him a statement of their grievances, and said they contemplated going to America that they might in a wilderness enjoy the quiet which was denied them in their native country.

In 1714, under the inspiration of the Tory party, the "schism bill" was passed, by which every Presbyterian in Ireland who ventured to teach school, except of the humblest description, was liable to be imprisoned for three months. In various parts of Ulster Presbyterian catechisms and other religious books were seized when exposed for sale, and in several towns the Presbyterian churches were shut and nailed up.

The accession of George I to the throne, in 1714, arrested the career of the High Church party, and gave some relief to the Irish Presbyterians. Several leading members of the late English ministry were arraigned for high treason. The Ulster people lost no time in

* Among the Burgesses removed from office was a Robert Gamble.

appealing to the King, who uniformly showed a liberal spirit toward them.

In 1715, an invasion by the Pretender was threatened, and the Protestant militia of Ireland were called out. This proceeding placed members of the Presbyterian Church in an embarrassing position. If they enrolled, either as officers or privates, and received pay, they exposed themselves to the penalties of the Test Act; and if they refused, they were liable to the charge of deserting their sovereign and country in the time of danger. A meeting of gentlemen was held at Belfast, and resolved to assist in the defence of the country and brave the penalties of the law. This action being communicated to the government authorities, parliamentary relief was promised, and accordingly a bill was introduced to exempt Dissenters in the militia from penalties. But it was opposed by the Bishops and abandoned. The House of Commons, however, adopted a resolution, declaring that any person who should commence a prosecution against any Dissenter who accepted a commission in the army or militia was "an enemy to King George and the Protestant interest, and a friend to the Pretender."

The Presbyterian people, though favored by the crown and protected by the House of Commons, were still exposed to annoyances in regard to their marriages. The Rev. Gilbert Kennedy, alluding to the excommunications by the Bishops, says, in a letter, dated October 5th, 1716, "Our prelates are violent where I live. Four of my flock have been lately delivered to Satan for being married by me."

The Act of Toleration was passed in 1724, and by it liberty of worship was granted to Presbyterians, but other grievances were left unredressed. Presbyterians were still subject to frequent prosecutions and expensive litigation in the ecclesiastical courts for the marriages celebrated by their clergy.

George I died, and was succeeded by his son George II in June, 1727. The highest authorities in the Irish church and State were then generally favorable to the Presbyterians. Dr. Boulton, the Episcopal primate, was a friend to toleration and disposed to relieve Dissenters of their grievances, except those arising out of tithes and church dues. As leases of lands expired, the proprietors began to raise their rents, and as the rents increased, the tithes, payable to the established clergy, increased in proportion. In addition, the three successive harvests after 1724, were unfavorable. These discouragements, with the Test Act and other civil disabilities, caused the Presbyterians, in 1728, to look to America as a country for investment of capital and labor, and where religious liberty might be enjoyed. In 1718, six ministers and many of their people came to America. The passage of

the Toleration Act and the hope of further relief, checked the spirit of emigration for a season. It revived in 1724, and in 1728 attracted the attention of the government. Archbishop Boulton sent to the Secretary of State in England, a "melancholy account," as he calls it, of the state of the North. He says the people who go complain of the oppressions they suffer, as well as the dearness of provisions. The whole North, he says, is in a ferment, and the humour has spread like a contagion. "The worst is," says the Archbishop, "that it affects only Protestants, and reigns chiefly in the North, which is the seat of our linen manufacture." Writing in March, 1729, he says: "There are now seven ships at Belfast, that are carrying off about 1000 passengers thither"—to America. From another source we learn that, in 1729, near 6000 Irish, nearly all Presbyterians, came to America, landing at Philadelphia. Before the middle of the century nearly 12,000 arrived annually for several years. Almost all who came to America were Presbyterians. Protestant Episcopalians did not have the same motive for emigration, and the tide of Catholic emigration from Ireland did not set in till after the American Revolution.

Another attempt was made to obtain the repeal of the Test Act, and again it failed. The only relief extended to the Presbyterians during the reign of George II, was an act, passed in 1738, exempting them from prosecution for marriages celebrated by ministers who had qualified under the Toleration Act.

The winter of 1739-40 is known in Ulster as "the time of the blackfrost," from the unusually dark appearance of the ice, and because the sun seldom shone during its continuance. In the fall of 1739, many of the more industrious and enterprising inhabitants fled from scarcity and oppression in Ireland and came to America, landing on the Delaware river in Pennsylvania. Many of these soon found their way into the wilderness of Augusta County. Then came the Prestons, Breckinridges, Poages, Bells, Trimbles, Logans, Browns, Pattersons, Wilsons, Andersons, Scotts, Smiths, and others.* They came first to Pennsylvania, because they had heard of it as a province where civil and religious liberty was enjoyed. But jealousies arose in the minds of the original settlers of Pennsylvania, and restrictive measures were adopted by the proprietary government against the Scotch-Irish and German immigrants. ‡ Hence many of the former were disposed, in 1732, and afterwards, to seek homes within the lim-

* The author's great-grand-father came at that time, but settled in Pennsylvania. His son James came to Virginia in 1758.

‡ The Pennsylvania Quakers are said to have especially disliked Presbyterians.

its of Virginia, and run the risk of the church establishment here. They were generally farmers and mechanics, with a few merchants. There was not a so-called cavalier among them, nor a sprig of nobility.

The historian of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland remarks that the circumstances of ministers in Ulster must have been exceedingly unfavorable, if they could calculate upon bettering their temporal condition by coming to America. In 1760, an appeal was made to the Ulster Presbyterians to contribute to the relief of their brethren in the New World, who were suffering the hardships of poverty aggravated by the miseries of the Indian war; and the former, "out of their deep poverty," raised upwards of £400 for the purpose.

The grievances of the Ulster people continued, and from 1772 to 1774, thousands of them sought homes on this side of the Atlantic, and a few years afterwards appeared in arms against the mother country in behalf of the independence of the American Republic. A recent historian has stated that Gen. Anthony Wayne's famous brigade of the "Pennsylvania line," might better be called the "Irish line," as it was composed almost exclusively of refugees from Ulster.

Yielding to her fears in a time of national peril, in 1780, England repealed the Test Act; and in 1782, an act was passed declaring the validity of all marriages celebrated among Protestant Dissenters by their own ministers. It was then too late; the damage had been accomplished; the American Colonies had been wrested from the control of England in a large measure by the prowess of the people she had driven away.

"We shall find," says Bancroft, "the first voice publicly raised in America to dissolve all connection with Great Britain came, not from the Puritans of New England, or the Dutch of New York, or the planters of Virginia, but from Scotch-Irish Presbyterians." Vol. V, p. 77.


Map of Augusta County Virginia.
1886.
Scale of miles
Magisterial Districts.
1. North River
2. Middle River
3. The Pastures
4. Beverly Manor
5. South River
6. Riverheads
Autographed by Jed. Hotchkiss, Top. Eng. Staunton, Va. Oct. 1886
Staunton
Rockingham Co.
Pendleton Co.
Highland Co.
Bath Co.
Rockbridge Co.
Albemarle Co.
Nelson Co.
Bridgewater
Fort Republic
Mt. Sidney
Weyers Cave
Augusta Ch.
Piedmont
New Hope
West View
Buffalo Gap
Churchville
West Augusta
Deerfield
Mount Rogers
Elliots Knob
Craigsville
Newport
Greenville
Waynesborough
Fishersville
Tinkling Spring
Rockfish Gap
Stuarts Draft
Lyndhurst
Sherando
Parnassus
Stribling Sps.
Jennings Gap
Moscow
Hebron
Bethany
Bethlehem
Middlebrook
Summerdean
Shemariah
Ches. & O. Ry.
Mt. Meridian
Mossy Creek
Sangersville
Fort Edward Johnson
Vesuvius
Midway
Spring Hill (The Old Patton Farm.)

INDEX.