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The Formation of West Virginia —Debates and Proceedings[1]

By C. H. AMBLER

Since the adjudication of the Virginia-West Virginia Debt[2] there has been a growing desire in the daughter state to make available in book form the proceedings and debates of her First Constitutional Convention.[3] These debates were acquired by West Virginia in 1907[4] and might have been printed at that time or soon thereafter, had they been more favorable to her side of the debt controversy. Meanwhile and for sometime prior thereto, the purposes of her makers in this matter were variously and not always truthfully represented, even by historians.

As an aid to historians and others, particularly lawyers interested in constitutional questions, these proceedings and debates are now being published. There will be one thousand sets of three volumes each. The editorial work is under direction of the West Virginia State Supreme Court of Appeals. The printing and binding are being done under contract and in such form as to make the product available during the next several hundred years.[5] The present article purposes to tell how these proceedings and debates were recorded, preserved, and made available for final publication.

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[1] This article is from the author's "Introduction" to the *Debates and Proceedings of the First Constitutional Convention of West Virginia,* now in process of printing. They will be sold by the West Virginia State Board of Control at a price to be determined later.

[2] The Debt was finally adjudicated in 1919 and the last payment was made in 1939.

[3] The regular session convened November 26, 1861, and adjourned February 18, 1862. The recalled session met February 12, 1863, to consider the Willey Amendment and adjourned eight days later. The printed *Journal* of the proceedings covered only the regular session.

[4] The state paid Granville D. Hall $2,500 for transcribing his stenographic notes of the convention proceedings and debates into longhand and typed copy.

[5] The 1939-41 biennial budget carried an item of $10,000 to cover the cost of printing and binding, of which approximately $4,000 was expended for paper.

In the outset and before any appropriation had been made for its expenses the Convention authorized its standing committee on printing and expenditures to "enquire" into the "propriety" of having its debates reported and printed. In compliance with this authorization, this committee reported on December 2 in favor of publication "in book form, provided the same can be done without unreasonable cost."[6] At the same time it submitted estimates of costs: one of $1,800 for five hundred copies of one volume of five hundred pages; another of $850 for five hundred copies of one volume of two hundred fifty pages, with a charge of $60 for each additional one hundred pages. The latter estimate did not include the cost of reporting the debates. On the basis of this information the committee was authorized to have the debates reported officially and printed in book form.

For reasons not stated in the official *Journal* or elsewhere, but explainable because of the fact that the committee in charge knew that the debates were being reported by a competent stenographer, and because no appropriations had been made for the convention expenses, nothing more was said about reporting and printing the debates until December 16, when Chapman J. Stuart moved that the committee be discharged from further consideration of the matter. At this time the legislature was insisting upon economy, and it had become apparent to all that the Convention would extend beyond the estimated time for its duration.[7] Stuart's motion was therefore approved but by a recorded vote of 23 yeas, to 16 nays, with Peter G. Van Winkle, Gordon Battelle, Abraham D. Soper, William E. Stevenson and other leaders voting "no."[8]

As this action has been variously explained, reasons for it, as stated in the debates, are informing. In brief, they reveal no concerted plan to conceal anything, as has been

[6] Convention, *Journal*, pp. 20-22; Convention, *Debates*, Vol. I, pp. 66-68.
[7] As indicated in the Dismemberment Ordinance, the Constitutional Convention was to have completed its work in a few days. At that time it was planned to adapt the existing constitution to the changed conditions and postpone the making of a constitution for the new state to a later date.
[8] Convention, *Journal*, p. 47.

claimed. Generally delegates opposed to printing expressed the belief that their constituents were not interested in what took place in the Convention. A few delegates expressed the belief that their constituents would not understand and might even misunderstand the printed debates. To all such the cost of printing was therefore a useless and a foolish expenditure of public funds.

Opposition to printing was summarized by Thomas W. Harrison of Harrison County, brother-in-law of Governor Francis H. Pierpont, whose arguments centered about costs. On this point he called attention to the undetermined expenditures incident to launching the proposed new state; to the fact that counties within its bounds were then so devastated by war as to reduce their inhabitants to want; to the heavy direct taxes then being collected or proposed for both state and federal purposes; to the necessity of the new state assuming an undetermined part of the existing bonded state debt; and to the fact that their constituents expected a short and inexpensive session.[9] In support of these points Stuart affirmed that the failure to print the debates of the Virginia Convention of 1850-51 had inconvenienced no one and been generally approved.[10]

Those favorable to printing argued that the debates would be informing to their constituents, especially those not included in the Dismemberment Ordinance; that they would be an indispensable guide to those who, in the admitted near future, would be commissioned to make a new constitution; that such publications were customary and due unborn generations; and that the failure to print the debates of the Convention of 1850-51 was unintentional and due to the financial failure of the printer engaged for that commendable purpose.[11]

The matter did not come up again until after West Virginia had been conditionally admitted to statehood and near the end of the recalled session of the Convention. Van

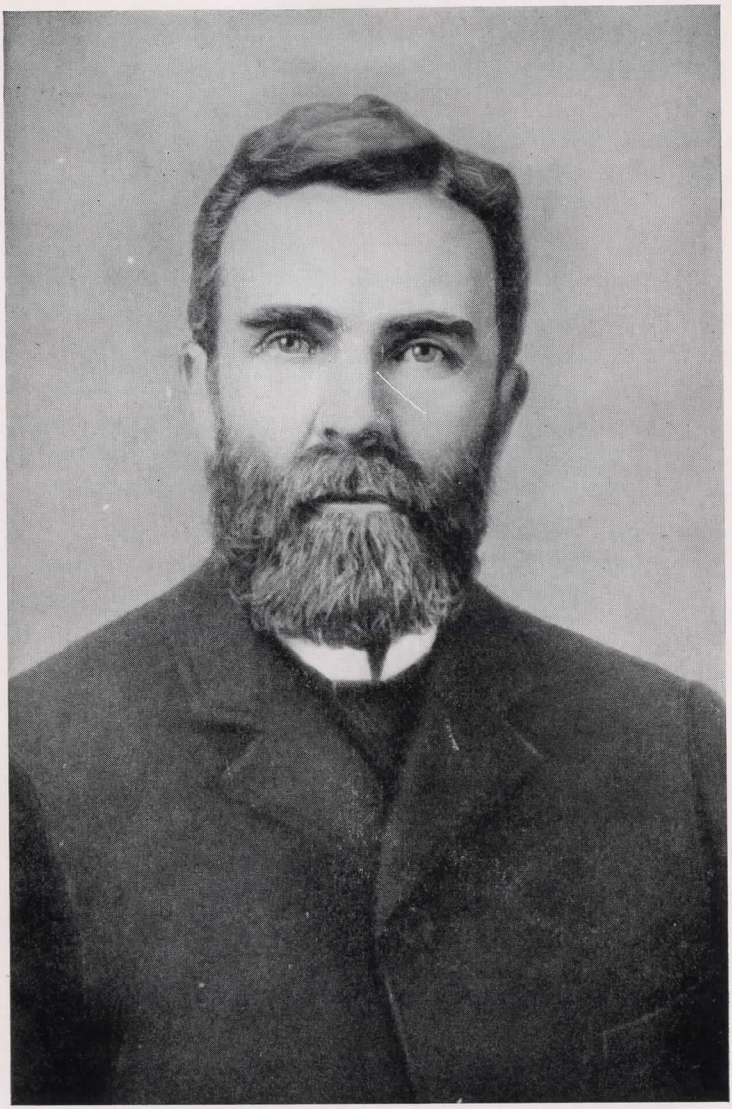
[9] Convention, *Debates*, Vol. I, p. 680.
[10] *Ibid.* Vol. I, pp. 78-80, 674-681.
[11] *Ibid.*

Winkle then indicated that full stenographic notes of the debates of each session had been kept and suggested that they be transcribed and printed in book form.[12] A determining factor in the general approval accorded this suggestion was the admitted inadequacy of the official *Journal,* even for possible uses in the near future. A number of delegates then expressed the belief that they had done something worth-while and of abiding interest to West Virginia and to the country at large.[13] A motion to authorize the commissioners in charge to have the debates transcribed for preservation therefore was approved without a dissenting vote.[14] As the convention's funds were already pre-empted, a motion to authorize printing in book form was laid on the table, but delegates expressed the belief that they would be printed by the legislature of the new state.

Failure of the commissioners to provide for transcribing and printing these debates has, however, been adversely criticized and variously explained. For example, one historian quoting another explains it in these words: "The discussion had revealed so plainly the opposition of the people of West Virginia both to the North and the new state that the publication of the debates might interfere with the admission of the state."[15] Authentic records indicate, however, that the failure was due to a shortage of funds rather than to a concerted desire to conceal anything that had been said. If reference was to the President and the Congress in the quotation of this paragraph, attention is called to the fact that each had approved the West Virginia Statehood Bill before the proposal to print the convention proceedings and debates in book form was given serious and final consideration.

The unofficial stenographer of the Convention explained the failure to print in these words: "In the hurry-scurry of the members to get away . . . no provision was made for financing the work entrusted to the Commissioners by the

[12] Convention, *Debates* (Recalled Session), February 18, 1863.
[13] *Ibid.*
[14] *Ibid.*
[15] J. G. Randall, *Civil War and Reconstruction,* p. 335, quoting J. C. McGregor, *Disruption of Virginia,* p. ix.



Granville Davisson Hall

Van Winkle resolution."[16] Even more to the point was an explanation by Van Winkle who attributed the failure of the regular session to print, "to the uncertainty we were then placed in as to what funds would be accorded us, and the several mentions of economy we were daily receiving from the General Assembly."[17] Only $7,000 were available for the uses of the recalled session to meet its expenses and the cost of the referendum which its work made necessary.

Fortunately, the convention's authorization for transcribing its debates, together with other possibilities of the situation, especially the expectation that they would in time be printed, was sufficiently assuring to Granville Davisson Hall (September 17, 1837-June 24, 1934), the unofficial stenographer, to cause him to preserve his notes. Together with six copies of each and every document printed for the uses of the Convention, gifts from John Frew, foreman of the "Wheeling Intelligencer Printing Shop," these notes were carefully secreted in a trunk which was stored for safekeeping.

Except when they were being used by Hall in writing accounts of various phases of the dismemberment of Virginia and the formation and admission of West Virginia to separate statehood, his notes reposed undisturbed where he left them for forty-four years.[18] Meanwhile, he had been the first clerk of the West Virginia House of Delegates and from March 4, 1865, to March 3, 1867, was secretary of state. From 1867 to 1873 he was associated with William P. Hubbard as joint owner and editor of the Wheeling *Daily Intelligencer*. In 1874 he moved to Pittsburgh and in 1881 to Chicago, in a suburb (Glencoe) of which he resided until his death as he was approaching his ninety-eighth birthday.[19]

Although Hall's love for his native state was abundantly attested in his writings, they are not nearly so expressive of that sentiment as is a story related to the present writer

[16] Granville D. Hall, *Papers*, in West Virginia University Library.
[17] Convention, *Debates* (Recalled Session), February 18, 1863.
[18] Hall, *Papers*.
[19] He died in Glencoe, Illinois. See *New York Times*, June 26, 1934.

by his widow. This story is to the effect that in his declining years Mr. Hall would steal away from home and go to the near-by railroad passenger station, where he, with tears in his eyes, begged the agent to sell him a ticket to Wheeling, West Virginia. When, on the secret advice of his family, this request was refused, he would continue to beg, saying: "I want to go home. My home is in Wheeling, West Virginia."

It was because of loyalty of this kind, rather than of a desire for material gain, that Hall thought of his notes and the accompanying documents, when in 1906, he learned that Virginia had sued West Virginia to force her to pay an arbitrary allotment of the state debt of the former, as of January 1, 1861. Accordingly, he wrote the Governor of West Virginia, telling him that he had preserved full and complete stenographic notes of the proceedings and debates of the First Constitutional Convention. At the same time he offered to transcribe his notes into longhand, provided he could be compensated for the necessary labor for such an undertaking.[20]

This disclosure was a find to Governor William M. O. Dawson and the State Historian and Archivist, Virgil A. Lewis, then actively engaged in assembling data to be used in presenting West Virginia's side in her famous debt controversy. Accordingly the Governor authorized Hall to proceed with the work of transcribing, which was completed in the winter of 1907-1907, when his manuscript was sent to Charleston.

Because of his public service in this matter, additional facts regarding Hall's ability to render it are pertinent. When he was about seventeen years old, he became interested in Isaac Pitman's "Phonography," or "Sound-hand," which used sounds instead of letters to reproduce words.[21] For some years there had been in the Hall home a copy of Elias Longley's *Phonetic Advocate,*[22] the contents of which

[20] Hall, *Papers.*

[21] For biographical sketch of Isaac Pitman see *Dictionary of National Biography,* Vol. III (New York, 1911) pp. 266-268.

[22] Elias Longley (August 29, 1823-January 12, 1899) was born in Ohio, and after spending his early life on his father's farm, became interested in printing. In 1845 he began the study of phonography and the next year was a student under J. S. Dixson,

had stimulated his natural bent for such things and interested him in Pitman's Phonetic theory which filled him with admiration and wonder. As a consequence he mastered the new system which he believed would "ultimately rid us of our barbaric English orthography." The young enthusiast found satisfaction also in the fact that he and the Pitman system were born in the same year and that the father of the latter, as a recognition of "his great services to stenography, and the immense utility of that art," had been knighted by Queen Victoria who began her reign in "that same fateful year, 1837."[23]

Buoyant with expectation Hall set out from his home in February, 1857, to find employment in Washington, D. C., as a shorthand reporter. Though self-taught, he had confidence which was strengthened by the fact that he had money in his pocket, the savings of a term as a country school teacher in Harrison County, (West) Virginia. Thus fortified, he reached Washington three days before James Buchanan was inaugurated president of the United States and witnessed that ceremony.

After spending a few days familiarizing himself with the Capitol and other public buildings, Hall visited the House of Representatives, where he sent letters of introduction to John S. Carlile, representative of his district in Congress. Carlile received him graciously and introduced him to Richard Sutton[24] who employed him as a member of his corps of reporters serving Congress. In the course of his services with Sutton, Hall became personally acquaint-

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at Cincinnati, where he made his home until April, 1885, when he moved to Los Angeles, California. He was author of a spelling reform publication and organized the first phonographic association in America. In 1848 he began a correspondence with Isaac Pitman who encouraged him in his work in phonography and spelling reform. He was a reporter for Cincinnati newspapers in the War of Secession and for years was an active court reporter in that city. He was the author of numerous shorthand books in which the Pitman system was presented with a number of modifications. *The Phonographic Magazine*, Vol. XIII (Cincinnati, 1899), p. 27, and *Browne's Phonographic Monthly*, Vol. XI (New York, 1886), pp. 314-315.

[23] Hall, *Papers*.

[24] Richard Sutton (1807?-July 14, 1878) was born in England and about 1837 emigrated to Canada. Soon thereafter he went to Albany, New York, where he was employed by Thurlow Weed on the *Evening Journal*. In 1840 he began to report for the *Globe* (Washington, D. C.), but at the end of Martin Van Buren's administration, he joined the staff of the *New York Tribune*. Eight years later he took official charge of the Congressional reports for the *National Intelligencer* (Washington, D. C.). After it relinquished its contract for reporting the debates and proceedings of the United States Senate, Sutton joined the reportorial staff of the *Globe*, a position which he

ed with many persons prominent in public life, but of all these William H. Seward impressed him most.[25]

Because of the opportunity it gave to make helpful acquaintances and keep in touch with "the great wide world which then centered at the National Capital," Hall liked his work in Washington, but the pay was small and the long vacations were discouraging. He would however have returned for the Congressional session of 1859-60, but for an attack of typhoid fever, which incapacitated him for months.

In his enforced idleness Hall drifted into politics and was named a presidential elector on the Lincoln-Hamlin ticket. This attachment, together with his ability to take accurate stenographic notes, commended him to Archibald W. Campbell, founder of the Republican party in West Virginia and associate editor of the Wheeling *Intelligencer,* who in midwinter of 1860-61 employed Hall as a reporter. He did a fine job of reporting the proceedings and debates of the Wheeling conventions of 1861 and, as the employee of the *Intelligencer,* was available and able to record the proceedings and debates of the First Constitutional Convention of West Virginia.

Hall retained interest in the Pitman System to his last days. One of the happiest days of his life was that on which he in 1868, at Grafton, West Virginia, met Benjamin ("Benn") Pitman,[26] Isaac Pitman's brother, who after helping his other brothers, Joseph, Henry, and Frederick, establish the Pitman System in England, came to America in 1852 for the purpose of publicizing it here. Meanwhile another brother, Jacob Pitman, had introduced the system in Australia, and before the last century ended, it had been adapted to the important languages of Europe and Asia. It was then in general use in the United States, and is the basis of more modern systems now used here and elsewhere.

held until March 3, 1869, when he resigned. *Washington Post,* July 16, 1878; *Evening Star* (Washington, D. C.), July 15, 1878; and Charles Currier Beale, "Congressional Reports and Reporting," in *National Shorthand Reporter's Association Proceedings,* Vol. X (1908), pp. 72-75.

[25] Hall, *Papers.*

[26] *Dictionary of American Biography,* Vol. XIV (New York, 1934), pp. 641-642.

The Literary Fund of Virginia

Its Relation to Sectionalism in Education

By Ralph Vickers Merry and Frieda Kiefer Merry

Probably few citizens of West Virginia today realize the importance of the role played by public education in the events which led up to the founding of their State. Nevertheless, the controversy over education which raged for more than half a century between the eastern and western counties of the antebellum Virginia was a major factor which led to their eventual separation. This controversy over education, however, must not be considered as distinct from other sources of conflict. On the contrary, it is perhaps the best single illustration of the basic social, political, and economic differences between the two sections.[1]

The story of the Literary Fund of Virginia is, as we shall see, the story of two diametrically opposed views concerning the responsibility of the State for the education of its citizens. In order to understand this story, and to appreciate its relationship to subsequent events, let us first consider briefly the situation which existed in Virginia from the close of the Revolutionary War to the establishment of the Literary Fund in 1810.

As would naturally be expected the success of the American Revolution brought with it a wave of anti-aristocratic feeling. "The day of royal governors and councils, shirted in Mechlin lace and frills, with powder on their hair, was past"[2] in "a new nation dedicated to the proposition that

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[1] C. H. Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia from 1776 to 1861* (Chicago, 1910), Ch. 9.
[2] J. S. Patton, *Jefferson, Cabell and the University of Virginia* (New York and Washington, 1906), p. 9.

all men are created free and equal." Education, also, came in for its share of criticism. Colonial schools had been patterned largely after those of England, where the principle of one type of education for the classes and another type for the masses was accepted without question. Furthermore, such advanced education as was available during colonial times was of a strictly classical nature, emphasizing the study of Latin and Greek. Most post-Revolution leaders, of whom Benjamin Franklin is perhaps the most outstanding example, believed that not only should secondary and higher education be made available to all, but that this education should be essentially realistic and practical as well.

If we look at New England, we see that this movement toward a greater degree of democracy in education seems to have encountered no major obstacle, except possibly a traditional devotion to the classics. It must be remembered that New England had been settled largely by Calvinists, one of whose primary religious tenets was that everyone must be able to read the Bible for himself. Thus, at least the rudiments of an education were a religious necessity. Furthermore, New England's people lived mostly upon small farms, which contributed greatly to a sense of independence and personal worth. The rapid industrialization of this area during the nineteenth century also tended to increase the demand for a democratic and practical type of education.

In Virginia, however, we encounter a quite different picture. In the first place, the colony had been settled originally not as a haven of freedom for those seeking refuge from religious persecution, but as a commercial enterprise. Even though the Virginia Company was dissolved in 1624 and the territory became a Crown colony,[3] it seems to have been continued primarily as a business venture. Disappointed in their search for gold, which was originally

[3] Consult V. A. Lewis, *West Virginia: Its History, Natural Resources, Industrial Enterprises and Institutions* (Charleston, West Virginia, 1904), pp. 79-99; *idem*, "Early Education in West Virginia," in T. C. Miller, *The History of Education in West Virginia, Revised Edition* (Charleston, West Virginia, 1907.)

believed to exist in great quantities, the early explorers of Virginia recognized, nevertheless, its tremendous potentialities for agricultural development. By securing grants of large tracts of land from the Crown, or by purchasing them at a low figure and clearing and cultivating these with imported tenant colonists and (later) African slaves, the exploitation of Virginia's agricultural wealth was made immensely profitable.

Thus the plantation system came into being, representing a sharp contrast to the social and political order which had grown up in New England. In Virginia a relatively small group of landowners controlled practically all the land. They were wealthy and took their superior social status for granted. The few small farmers and tenants who were to be found were considered "poor whites": the rapidly increasing slave population was relied upon to do most of the actual labor of large-scale farming. The western section of the colony was largely undeveloped at the close of the eighteenth century because of years of "savage warfare" with the Indians, and it was the settlement of this area by a different type of people which led to the bitter sectional differences which characterized the history of Virginia from the beginning of the nineteenth century until after the Civil War.

In view of the foregoing, it is not surprising that the post-revolutionary demand for greater social democracy as well as for popular education met with a different reception in Virginia from that which it encountered in New England. In fact, the first constitution of Virginia in 1776 made no reference whatever to education.[4] Wealthy planters who belonged to a privileged class naturally could see no reason for changing the *status quo*. Nor could they see any reason for free popular education. Those who had Maderia in the cellar, obviously, could afford tutors for their children, and could send their sons to Princeton or to the universities of the mother country.[5] It should be noted,

[4] *Ibid.*
[5] J. S. Patton, *Op. cit.*

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[4] *Ibid.*
[5] J. S. Patton, *Op. cit.*

too, that the religious motive previously referred to as so powerful an incentive to early popular education in New England, was of a different nature in Virginia. Most of the Virginia planters were members of, or were influenced by, the established Church of England, which at that time regarded the education of the poor not as a necessity, but rather as a "favorite charity." The general attitude seems to have been, therefore, that the "poor whites" should be content with such educational opportunities as the landed aristocracy chose to give them; and, of course, the slaves received no consideration whatever.

Thomas Jefferson, however, believed strongly in a democratic, publicly supported system of education. This system, he thought, should comprise three major divisions, corresponding roughly to the elementary, secondary, and university levels. Ability, rather than wealth or social position, was to be the chief factor in determining how much and what kind of education the individual was to receive.[6] Had Jefferson remained at the head of State affairs instead of entering national politics, the course of events in Virginia might have been substantially altered. As it was, others were to guide the educational destiny of Virginia into channels quite different from those which he intended to follow.

Although few leaders seem to have agreed with Jefferson's idea of a complete three-level system of public education, many did believe that a university was essential. With the preponderance of Virginians in the national government during its early years, it was natural that the belief should exist that the State had a special responsibility in this respect. Furthermore, as differences in the economic and social beliefs of the North and South became more marked as time went on, it was felt that the northern colleges and universities did not understand and were not sympathetic toward the southern point of view. This is well illustrated in the following quotation:

Virginia led in the movement for an educational independence. Her lead-

[6] *Ibid*, p. 12.

ers sought to make the University the intellectual center of the South, whence should emanate the orthodox teachings on the nature of the federal government. The public press was full of editorials and articles to show that the South had for more than a century been contributing largely of its means to support northern educational institutions; that her textbooks were written by northerners who were unfriendly to her social and political institutions, and that her teachers were "Yankees."[7]

Despite the general indifference toward popular education on the part of the wealthy, the demand for some action along this line became so insistent among the masses that something had to be done. The first move in this direction was the Aldermanic Law of 1796, the first Virginia School Law that in any way affected what is now West Virginia. It provided that the counties should elect "three of their honest and able men" to be called aldermen.[8] It was their duty to divide the county into sections for school purposes. Schoolhouses were to be erected and teachers were to be employed at public expense. The aldermen were permitted to select the teacher and were expected to visit the schools and examine the pupils. Tuition was to be free for three years, after which children were allowed to attend as long as they desired, providing their parents paid the fee. (This three-year limit was repealed later.)

The Aldermanic Law, however, actually seems to have accomplished very little in advancing the cause of popular education. It was permissive in nature, and if no real desire for public education existed, its operation was ineffective.

The beginning of the nineteenth century brought a marked increase in the influx of settlers to the trans-Alleghany section of Virginia. The establishment of more stable conditions of life and a greater measure of security encouraged many New England and Pennsylvania families, as well as immigrants from foreign countries, to make their homes in the western counties.

Such families were of a quite different caliber from the planters of the eastern section. They were individual-

[7] *Ibid*, p. 279.

[8] V. A. Lewis, "Early Education in West Virginia," in T. C. Miller, *The History of Education in West Virginia*, Revised Edition (Charleston, West Virginia, 1907), pp. 19-51; *Report of the Commissioner of Education*, (1899-1900), Volume I, pp. 431-441.

istic, independent, and, for the most part, lived on small farms which they worked themselves. They felt that the State had a definite responsibility toward them in matters of social welfare, not the least of which was education. To them democracy meant free education for all, *not* as a charity but as the right of every citizen, regardless of wealth or social standing.

As we have seen, the Aldermanic Law of 1796 did little or nothing to advance the cause of free public schools in Virginia. Increasing pressure, especially from the western section, finally induced the Assembly to go somewhat further in this direction. In 1809 an act was passed setting up the Literary Fund of Virginia, the first State fund designed exclusively for educational purposes.[9] It provided "that all escheats, confiscations, forfeitures, and all personal property accruing to the commonwealth, as derelict and having no rightful owner, which shall have accrued on the second day of February, 1810, and which shall thereafter accrue to the commonwealth, be, and the same are hereby appropriated for the encouragement of learning."[10] The idea of the Fund really went back to pre-Revolutionary days when such forfeitures were claimed by the Crown.

Although passed in 1809, the act creating the Literary Fund did not become operative until February, 1810. Its avowed purpose was to provide education for poor white children. In fact, the Assembly went so far as to pass a resolution condemning any change in this purpose which a future Assembly might make. On the face of it, this looked like a victory for the people of the western counties who, naturally, supported a measure which appeared to guarantee free elementary education for those who needed it. The actual working out of the plan, however, resulted in a situation totally different from that which they had anticipated.

[9] V. A. Lewis, *West Virginia: Its History, Natural Resources, Industrial Enterprises and Institutions* (Charleston, West Virginia, 1904), p. 86.
[10] *Ibid.*
[11] R. C. Woods, "Educational Development in West Virginia," (*Proceedings of the West Virginia Academy of Science,* Morgantown, April, 1940), p. 146.

The administration of the Literary Fund was entrusted to 1200 commissioners distributed throughout the various counties of the State. It was the duty of these commissioners to decide whether or not a family was indigent and, therefore, entitled to assistance from the Fund. In approved instances the commissioners paid the tuition of these indigent children.

Difficulties in the functioning of this plan arose almost immediately. In the first place, no standard of indigency had been specified in the law, so commissioners in various sections followed different standards. In some instances families "not visibly worth one hundred dollars" were held to be entitled to payments from the Literary Fund; in others, families "too poor to pay for their (children's) education," or "unable to educate them (children)" were considered indigent.[12] A total of $45,000.00 a year had been provided, and this, translated into per capita terms, permitted only about 4 cents a day for each pupil and a year's actual schooling of but 64 days.[13] The teachers were characterized as "lazy, drunken vagrants, who deserve to be whipped themselves." Some were considered "good, some bad, and some very bad." The schools were shifting and were "often as barren as the sands of the desert."[14]

The most serious difficulty, perhaps, was the attitude toward the Literary Fund developed among those whom it was intended to benefit. To the individualistic, independent people of the western counties, the whole affair seemed little better than organized charity. They resented the stigma of pauperism implied by those who accepted assistance from the Literary Fund to educate their children. Many preferred that their offspring have no schooling at all rather than to have them considered as recipients of charity.

The law establishing the Literary Fund also shared one of the major weaknesses of the Aldermanic Law, that is, it was permissive rather than mandatory. No one was

[12] *Va. Journal, House of Delegates Documents* (1839-40), 4; (1842-43), 4 and 6.
[13] *Ibid*, (1841-42), 7, p. 27.
[14] *Ibid*, p. 12.

obliged to send his children to school if he did not wish to do so. Consequently, the growing unpopularity of the "charitable" Literary Fund in the western counties was reflected in an increasing number of children with no formal education.

Meanwhile, another phase of the situation was developing which was to increase still further the bitterness of the sectional differences over education. By 1816 the Literary Fund had increased greatly because of the repayment of loans to the Federal government to help finance the War of 1812. Naturally, those who believed that free elementary education was the first duty of the State wished the additional funds to be devoted to this purpose, as had been distinctly specified in the law. We have already noted, however, that some leaders in the eastern section felt that a State university should be established for the training of State and national leaders. This project had by no means been abandoned and now with more money in the Literary Fund, the time seemed auspicious to carry it through.

In 1819 the act creating the University of Virginia[15] was passed, and $15,000.00 per year was allocated to it from the Literary Fund. This does not seem to be very much money for the establishment and operation of a university, but it must be remembered that money went farther at that time. Furthermore, when it is borne in mind that only $45,000.00 was spent on elementary education in the entire State, $15,000.00 for higher education alone seems a large proportion. At any rate, it appeared so to the people of the western counties who were violently opposed to the university from the time of its inception.

Nor was this the whole story. Acting upon the advice of the trustees of the College of William and Mary, the proponents of the University of Virginia decided to erect buildings and establish a physical plant *first,* instead of following the customary procedure of employing teachers and beginning work in makeshift quarters until permanent

[15] J. S. Patton, *Op. cit.*

structures could be developed.[16] To follow this policy required money, and loans totalling in all $180,000.00 were granted from the Literary Fund. These loans were never repaid and later became outright gifts to the university.[17]

Such tactics were, to say the least, highly distasteful to those who wished to see improvement in public elementary education. They saw money which, in their opinion, rightfully belonged to all the children of all the people being expended upon an institution of higher learning which would cater only to a small, socially privileged class. To them, this was a direct violation of the purpose for which the Literary Fund had been established, and it seems only natural that they should feel resentment.

By 1840 sectional bitterness over education had become so acute that some attempt at reconciliation seemed necessary. A series of conferences were held, of which that in Clarksburg in 1841 is typical. At this meeting leaders from the western counties voiced their opinions as to the educational situation. A letter from Judge Duncan[18] to the convention is typical of these opinions:

> . . . With the exception therefore of the participation of the west in the primary school fund, and which has been practically of very little benefit, nothing has been done there for the cause of education by state means. The Literary Fund has utterly failed to accomplish the object of its creation.
>
> A splendid university, it is true, has been endowed, accessible only to the sons of the wealthy planters in the eastern part of the state and of the southern states. I have only heard of two students entering it from the northwest. The resources of the Literary Fund intended for all, has by a singular policy, somewhat peculiar to the legislation of the state, been frittered away in the endowment of an institution whose tendencies are essentially aristocratic, and beneficial alone to the *very rich* — and for the support of the primary schools, exclusively intended for the *very poor*. But the fund designed for the latter purpose is applied without any system, and without any practical benefit. It is scattered somewhat in the manner that an ostentatious nabob would scatter small change among a promiscuous crowd of paupers, and cry out, "catch who can." . . The men of small fortunes are left to their own means for the education of their children."

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[16] *Ibid.*
[17] *Report of the Commissioner of Education* (1899-1900), *Op. cit.*
[18] *Va. Journal, House of Delegates Document* (1841-42), 7, pp. 8-9.

Judge Duncan goes on to show that the northwest contributed more than its proportion to the Fund through forfeitures of delinquent land, thereby having claims "not upon the bounty but upon the justice of the legislature."

A memorial setting forth the views of those meeting at Clarksburg was prepared and submitted to the Legislature. Other conferences were held, such as those at Richmond in 1841 and 1845, but apparently failed to accomplish their major purpose, viz., the reconciliation of the eastern and western viewpoints on the subject of education.

Some rather half-hearted attempts at educational reform were made, however. Typical of these was the law of 1846, which provided for the setting up of school districts in each county, the formation of district boards, and the assessment of local taxes for school support.[19] This law was based largely upon a plan for public education which had been suggested by Dr. Henry Ruffner. Here again the law was permissive, not mandatory, and only about ten counties adopted it. As Dr. Ruffner said: "The new law was poorly devised, its enemies were active, and the results were not satisfactory anywhere."[20]

Feeling continued to run high concerning education between the eastern and western sections of Virginia. The western counties opposed everything connected with the University, while the eastern section ignored the increasing illiteracy in the western counties. Economic and political differences, also, were becoming apparent, and were soon to divide the whole nation into two armed camps.

When, in 1863, the western counties of Virginia were admitted to the Union as the State of West Virginia, one of the first legislative acts of the new Commonwealth was to set up a system of *free* schools. (Note the incorporation of the word "free" in the legal description of the public schools.) The law of December 10, 1863, provided that there should be free elementary schools under the direction

[19] *Report of the Commissioner of Education* (1899-1900), Volume I, p. 439.
[20] *Ibid*, p. 440.

of a State Superintendent of Free Schools.[21] It provided, further, for the setting up of a Permanent School Fund into which certain designated monies should be paid, and the income from which should be devoted exclusively to education. It was also specified in the West Virginia Constitution that "this State's just share of the Literary Fund of Virginia, whether paid over or otherwise liquidated, and any sums of money, stocks or property which this State shall have the right to claim from the State of Virginia for educational purposes" should be included in the Permanent School Fund.[22]

It will be noted that the founders of West Virginia still felt that they were entitled to a "just share" of the Literary Fund. Their claim, however, became involved in the long drawn-out controversy over the settlement of the public debt of Virginia.[23]

One of the conditions upon which West Virginia was admitted into the Union was that she should assume "a just proportion of the public debt of the Commonwealth of Virginia prior to the first day of January, 1861."[24] Her constitution made provision for ascertaining the amount to be paid, and for its liquidation within thirty-four years.[25] However, nothing definite was done until 1882 when the Assembly of Virginia passed an Act fixing the public debt of their Commowealth (as of January 1, 1861) at $45,000,000.00, and assigning West Virginia one third of this amount, since she comprised approximately one third of the area and population of the mother state.[26] This arrangement was accepted by Virginia's creditors. Bonds were issued to cover her share, and certificates of indebtedness for the $15,000,000.00 allegedly due from West Virginia. The latter, however, refused to accept this ar-

[21] B. S. Morgan and J. F. Cork, *History of Education in West Virginia* (Charleston, West Virginia, 1893), p. 18.
[22] *West Va. Acts of the Legislature* (1861-66), "Constitution of West Virginia," Article X, p. 17.
[23] C. H. Ambler, *West Virginia the Mountain State* (New York, 1940), pp. 449-452.
[24] *West Va. Acts of the Legislature* (1861-66). "Constitution of West Virginia," p. 15.
[25] *Ibid.*
[26] *Va., Acts of Assembly* (1870-71), Chapter 282, p. 378; also C. H. Ambler, *West Virginia the Mountain State,* pp. 449-452.

rangement, and thus the matter continued for years.[27] At last, West Virginia assumed responsibility for $13,500,000.00, and on July 1, 1939 made her final payment.[28] The history of the debt controversy shows that West Virginia's claim upon the Literary Fund was included in this settlement.[29]

In many respects West Virginia followed the general pattern of Virginia with regard to its educational legislation. An important difference, however, lay in the fact that West Virginia's basic laws were mandatory and that they dealt primarily with elementary education. During its early years as a State, West Virginia was indifferent to secondary and higher education. Although established in 1862 (as the "Agricultural College of West Virginia"), the State University developed very slowly during its early years due in part to political factionalism and lack of support, and in part to lack of adequate preparatory facilities. It was not until 1909 that the State undertook seriously to develop a system of free public high schools.

The law setting up the West Virginia schools provided for the district system within each county, as the Virginia law of 1846 had done. No major change was made in this system until the adoption of the county unit plan in 1933, establishing the county as the sole financial and administrative unit for education. True to its tradition that the State should provide education for all its children, West Virginia has assumed steadily increasing financial responsibility in this connection. Income from the School Fund now forms only a small proportion of the total annual State expenditure for education. Passage of a law in 1939, setting up a State Board of School Finance and providing for the establishment of a Foundation Program of education for all schools in the State, is a further indication of West Virginia's assumption of increased responsibility for education.[30]

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[27] *Ibid.*

[28] R. E. Talbott, *Biennial Report of the Treasurer of West Virginia for the Period Ending June 30, 1938* (Charleston, West Va., 1938), p. 7.

[29] *Va., Acts of the Assembly* (1872-73), Chapter 294, pp. 267-268.

[30] F. R. Power, *The School Law of West Virginia* (Charleston, West Virginia, June 1939), pp. 70-79.

In conclusion it may be reiterated that the differences over education between the people of eastern and western Virginia were due primarily to basic differences in character, outlook, and social experience. The establishment of the Literary Fund and the subsequent wrangling over how it should be spent serve to bring these differences into sharp relief. Absolute impartiality in such a matter is perhaps difficult, for one's theory of education in a democracy is bound to influence one's viewpoint to some extent. It would seem, nevertheless, that the people of the western counties had cause for genuine grievance. They had believed that the sole purpose of the Literary Fund was to be the promotion of free elementary education. Consequently, the "charitable" manner in which the fund was administered, and the diversion of considerable sums for the endowment and support of the State University were, to them, violations of promises which had been accepted in good faith. On the other hand, it must be admitted that once the bitterness of sectional strife was full-blown, the western counties seem to have opposed every move of the Legislature whether it would have been for their interests or not. An illustration of this is their opposition to the founding of an agricultural school at the University of Virginia, which, presumably, would have been of considerable benefit to them.

Fundamentally, however, these sectional differences seem to have been irreconcilable, and the formation of a separate State probably was the only solution available at that time. As was mentioned at the outset of our discussion, education was one of the major storm centers in the long history of Virginia sectionalism. For years after their separation the educational policies of the two States continued to reflect this sectionalism. Even today a careful comparison will reveal some traces of it, although the more obvious features are rapidly disappearing with the adoption in both areas of more progressive educational theory and practice.

The Burr Legend in Romance

By ROGER A. YOUNG, JR.

The usual epithet applied to Aaron Burr is, 'The American Catiline.' This extravagant fancy was thought up by Alexander Hamilton,[1] thereby implying himself the American Cicero, and has been made a commonplace by the subsequent hordes of would-be American Sallusts. Now, whatever it was that lay behind the enigma of Burr's Southwestern bubble, it is doubtful that it was, as Catiline's bloody plot, ". . . a sinister drollery of stirring up great crowds to die and kill, of one who could not be swayed by anything himself; the anticipation of the spectacle of fear by one who was terrified at nothing. The vice of a man who had become inhuman by losing his human greed."[2] The similarity of the Chesterfieldian opportunism of Colonel Burr to the megalomaniac sadism of the Roman is so slight as to be incomprehensible, were we not all too familiar with the readiness of any political aspirant to identify his mild and church-going opponent with the most conveniently egregrious tyrant.[3]

If there must be a historical twin for Aaron Burr, it is, logically, no Catiline or Caesar or Napoleon or any other man of achievement. Rather, it would be a figure whose personal fascination has put an entirely disproportionate

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[1] "Every step in his career proves that he has formed himself on the model of a Catiline . . . " Hamilton to Walcott, cited in Warren Wood, *The Tragedy of the Deserted Isle,* (Boston, 1909), p. 66. "May our country never fall prey," he cried, "to the vices of a Cataline!" Claude G. Bowers, *Jefferson and Hamilton,* (Boston, 1925), p. 501. "He is as unprincipled and dangerous a man as any country can boast—as true a Catiline as ever met in midnight conclave." Hamilton to James Bayard, Jan. 16, 1801.

[2] William Bolitho, *Twelve Against The Gods,* (New York, 1929) "Lucius Sergius Catiline," p. 266.

[3] It is true that Napoleon I. was the outstanding dictator of that time; and that Hamilton did once say that, ". . . if Burr is elected he will certainly re-form the government a la Bonaparte," (Hamilton to Charles Carroll, August 7, 1800). Most of the time, however, Hamilton seemed to prefer the classical to the contemporary allusion. It might have been the choice of erudition. Or it might have been that Hamilton, a native of a tiny foreign island, who had ridden the tide of revolution to a controlling place in a government which he would have despotic, was wary of crying, "Bonaparte!" too loudly.

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Cover of one of the earliest Burr Novels.

lustre upon her ambiguous tragedy: Mary Stuart. Both Mary, Queen of Scots, and Aaron Burr were endowed with high birth, conversational brilliance and superlative physical attractiveness. Both were politically selfish and personally generous past reason. Both figured in a succession of slightly off-colorful love affairs. And both were destroyed because their dazzling ambitions — and possible rights — seemed, to more prosaic persons, to threaten a nation.

In both cases, the more prosaic persons were also the greater persons. Queen Elizabeth was, of course, Mary's Nemesis; while Burr met his in the unparalleled relay-team of Washington, Hamilton and Jefferson. And, unfortunately for the judgment of moralists, Queen Mary and Colonel Burr, neither of whom was motivated by anything more admirable than self-gain, conducted their campaigns with far more dignity and integrity than did their virtuous adversaries. For there was hardly a device of slander, connivance and coercion to which Elizabeth and, in turn, the sainted Americans[4] did not stoop in the cause (we must believe) of patriotism.

Finally, both trials hinged upon the same point of law: that an *overt* act of treason must be established. This was allowed by the American Court,[5] but not by the British;[6] and posterity has not been willing to accept either decision as decisive.

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[4] For Washington's unjustifiable conduct toward Burr, see James Parton, *The Life and Times of Aaron Burr,* (1858 edition), p. 235, quoting a letter of John Adams, who was certainly not prejudiced in Burr's favor. Also, *ibid,* p. 185. Hamilton's scurrilous and usually pseudonymous attacks on Burr are notorious, and his attempt to steal the 1800 election is admitted an outrage by even his most maudlin idolators, such as Gertrude Atherton in *The Conquerer,* (New York, 1902), pp. 481 et seq. Jefferson's frantic man-handling of truth, law and justice is detailed in Walter F. McCaleb's *The Aaron Burr Conspiracy,* (New York, 1903).

[5] "Thus, August 20th, when Hay at length admitted that he had produced all the witnesses at his command to establish the fact of war, and attempted to introduce collateral testimony, Burr's counsel moved the arrestation of the evidence on the ground that no overt act, constituting treason under the Constitution, had been proven. This manoeuvre had been threatened for several days; and the state denounced it as a deliberate attempt to throttle the investigation. But the motion was entertained.

"Through a period of ten days, the most remarkable legal encounter known in our history was waged, both sides contesting every inch of the ground; for the decision was vital — the prevailing of the motion meant the end of the trial for treason."— McCaleb, *op. cit.* p. 446.

[6] "Was she really guilty? I answer that none who reads the protests against her secretaries' confessions and acts being received as evidence can resist the conclusion that her whole defense was based upon the fallacy that what she implied but did not personally do was no proof against her."—The Earl of Birkinhead, *Famous Trials of History,* (American Edition, New York, 1926), p. 29.

More than any others in British or in American history have these two destinies served to inspire romancers. In the grace and arrogance, the exalted rank, and, above all, the Phaetonic aspiration and downfall of Mary Stuart and of Aaron Burr, writers perennially respond to the appeal of the beautiful and damned. Only, the last queen of Scotland has had a Scott, a Schiller, a Swinburne to sing her tragedy; while the last duellist of America has not had even a Maxwell Anderson — who once performed the incredible feat of writing Mary Stuart as Mary Pickford.

However short of literary distinction the Burr romances may fall, they are more than adequate in quantity and frequency of publication. One Burrite[7] asserts that there have been more written about his hero than about any other single American figure. Mr. Pidgin was, no doubt, over-enthusiastic, but there have been an enormous plenty of them.

From 1830, which is the date of the first Burr novel,[8] very few years have passed without some writer sensing, if not realizing, the potentialities of one or another of the successive climaxes which divided Burr's life as into the acts of a particularly unrestrained melodrama. In the past five years there have been: Samuel H. Wandell's monumental bibliography, *Aaron Burr in Literature* (London, 1936); Holmes Alexander's interpretive biography for the Book-of-the-Month Club trade, *Aaron Burr, the Proud Pretender;* (New York, 1937); Walter Damrosch's opera, *The Man Without A Country,* which was produced by the Metropolitan Opera House in 1937; Vitorrio Giannini's one-act opera, *Blennerhassett,* which was commissioned by the Columbia Broadcasting System and broadcast in 1939 as the first radio-opera ever written, and which was given a stage production by the Juilliard Foundation in February, 1941; and, to be published in March, 1941, Anya Seton's *My Theodosia.*

[7] Charles Felton Pidgin, *Blennerhassett,* (Boston, 1901), p. xii.
[8] A. E. Dupuy, *The Conspirator,* (New York, 1830). This book is in the Library of Congress, but was unavailable for the present study.

Of the sum of the Burr novels, plays, and operas, taken as a whole, the first thing to say about them is that those which are not for Burr are against him. This is not a mere statement of platitude: it is a very serious criticism to make of them. For, of the thirteen writers who have attempted Burr, it is deplorable that, with but one exception, none has been a mature enough artist to treat of him as a person; they must all depict him with either halo or cloven hoof. They were unable, or unwilling, to accept the inconsistencies of his make-up. No one person, they maintain, could have merited both his shining Revolutionary record and his later reputation for shady dealings; or could have been truly devoted to his wife and daughter, yet have made such facile conquest in other quarters.

Such contradictions are the stuff of life. It is because they were present to such an extent in Aaron Burr that he retains his vital hold upon the imagination. They are the delight and the test of the great novelist, but no one who has written imaginatively of Burr has met the challenge. Determined to shape him altogether of spun-sugar, or else of brimstone, they have rejected all material inconsistent with their pre-conceptions of Burr as schoolboy hero or as shop-girl villain.

With this dual extremism in mind, it is not at all surprising to find that the Burr stories stem almost exclusively from two periods of his life: the Revolutionary period (when he could be shown all good), or the Blennerhassett period (when he could be shown all bad). These are unquestionably the eras richest in external action and colorful settings — and they are spiritually the least interesting. The intervening years,—that saw his rise and fall in American politics, his passing from light into darkness,—or the terrible last thirty years, should prove the most telling. Instead, they are thrown in briefly to conclude or to bridge between accounts of the two more public epochs.

The Burr romances thus fall naturally into the following arrangement:

NOVELS

For Burr
(Revolutionary Period)
The Rivals, (1860)
Little Burr, (1905)
Margaret Moncrieff, or *The First Love of Aaron Burr,* (1860)
(Later Periods)
Blennerhassett, (1901)
The Climax, (1901)

Against Burr
(Blennerhassett Period)
The Traitor! (1860)
Fata Morgana, (1917)
The Man in the Camlet Cloak, (1903)
A Dream of Empire, (1901)

PLAYS

Burr e Hamilton (1914)
Aaron Burr, (1878)
Colonel Satan, (1931)

OPERAS

Blennerhassett, (1939)
The Man Without A Country, (1937)

Besides these, there are listed in Wandell, eighteen other novels (and, with the current rage for historical novels, the list is continuously growing) in which Burr is introduced as a subordinate character;[9] seven juveniles; one volume of erotica, called *The Amorous Intrigues of Aaron Burr;* and three novels and one drama, all published in the 1830's, which are not in either the Warren Wood[10] or the Library of Congress collections.

BURR AS HERO

In many ways, Clemens' *The Rivals*[11] is the most important of all the Burr novels. Both in itself and its influence on subsequent ones, it is by far the most enduring.

[9] The best known being; *The Conqueror,* by Gertrude Atherton; *Johnny Appleseed,* by Eleanor Atkinson; *The Magnificent Adventure,* by Emerson Hough; *Lewis Rand,* by Mary Johnson; *The Minister's Wooing,* by Harriet Beecher Stowe; and the *Arundel* romances, by Kenneth Roberts.

[10] The Warren Wood Collection of Burr Material in the West Virginia Department of Archives and History. Mr. Wood was the author of *The Tragedy of the Deserted Isle,* which is listed in Wandell's bibliography as the best popular book on the Conspiracy.

[11] The Honorable Jare Clemens, *The Rivals, A Tale of the Times of Aaron Burr and Alexander Hamilton;* (Philadelphia, 1860).

First published in 1859[12] (one year after Parton's great biography) it sold well for many decades. In 1900, it was slightly revised and re-issued as *An American Colonel;* and Charles Felton Pidgin incorporated it almost *in toto* in his popular *Little Burr* and *Blennerhassett.* Almost all other authors who have fictionized the life of Burr have been guided by Clemens' choice and interpretation of suitable incidents from Parton's *Life.*

The first part of *The Rivals* relates the details of the Quebec expedition. The terrific hardships suffered are graphically described, and, also, Burr's mission to Montgomery, disguised as a French priest. No novelist would forego the picaresque possibilities of that adventure, as, contrarily, no historian would tolerate it.[13] Similarly, the glory of Burr's bearing away his fallen General's body from the cannonade before Quebec.[14] On the return journey, instead of the Indian mistress which tradition allows him,[15] the Honorable Jare gives Burr, for company, a decorous young lady named Adelaide Clifton, so high minded that

> That miserable compound of animal appetite, mental weakness, and childish vanity so often mis-named love, came not near the clear mind and strong heart of the gifted girl. She loved Aaron Burr, not because

[12] In a recently discovered letter from Pidgin to Warren Wood, Pidgin speaks of an 1832 edition of *The Rivals.* The Library of Congress gives 1859 as the copyright date of this work; and, since Clemens himself, in the introduction, cites Parton's *Life and Times of Aaron Burr,* published in 1858, as a principal source, Pidgin's statement must be counted but another example of his carelessness in research.

[13] "On November 30, Colonel Arnold wrote to Montgomery, introducing Aaron Burr . . . This letter, revealing the fact that late in November General Montgomery was still ignorant of Mr. Burr's identity, would seem to dispose of the persistent legend to the effect that Aaron, disguised as a French priest, had taken a message from Arnold, announcing their arrival in Canada, through the enemy lines to Montgomery, and that, in recognition of his exploit, the General had offered him a position on his staff."—Samuel H. Wandell and Meade Minnegerode, *Aaron Burr, A Biography,* (New York and London, 1925) Volume I., 53. cf. Parton, *op. cit.,* p. 71; and Charles Burr Todd, *The True Aaron Burr,* (New York, 1902), p. 5.

[14] "What had really happened, Samuel Spring told Senator Plumer long afterwards was 'that as soon as the General fell, the American army fled in great consternation —that Burr returned back alone and attempted, amidst a shower of musquetry, to bring off on his shoulders the body of Montgomery — but the General being a large man and Burr small, the deep snow prevented him.' "—Wandell and Minnegerode, *loc. cit., cf.* Parton, *op. cit.,* pp. 75, 76, and Todd, *loc. cit.* Parton admits that Burr got only a short distance with his burden before he was forced to relinquish it. Whether he went two feet or twenty, it was a courageous effort, and Wandell and Minnegerode are, in this case, guilty of quibbling in an effort to deprecate the exploit.

[15] "In Mr. John Codman's recent account of the Benedict Arnold Expedition against Quebec, no mention is made of Burr's gallant conduct on the march in volunteering to carry dispatches to Montgomery when every other man in the command had refused, nor his still more splendid achievement in bearing off the body of Montgomery from the field before Quebec — both as well substantiated as the Battle of Bunker Hill — but he goes out of his way to narrate the false and slanderous story of his intrigue with an Indian girl."—Todd. *op. cit.,* iv. Mr. Todd was writing with a kinsman's bias, but he seems here to have a reasonable complaint.

he told her she was beautiful, not because he pleased her vanity and excited a kind of sickly gratitude by extravagant eulogies of her many perfections, but because he was eminently endowed with those high qualities which make their way to the heart through the brain, and win esteem before they ask a more tender regard.[16]

Alexander Hamilton is introduced as a candidate for Miss Clifton's tender regard,[17] if not precisely her esteem. Thwarted, he instigates his favorite attack — the whispering campaign. As a result of the salacious gossip, the clear-minded Miss Clifton is driven mad, Aaron Burr loses his precarious place in General Washington's regard, and Hamilton himself acquires an evil genius, one James Billings, who is to be his Caliban throughout the rest of the book.

The Margaret Moncrieff episode[18] is given with no hint of espionage on the part of the child or of impropriety on the part of the amorous young Colonel Burr, except as through the calumnies spread by Hamilton and Billings.

The threatened mutiny at the Gulf, which Burr is supposed to have quelled by the Alexandrine gesture of slicing off the leader's arm,[19] is made a coil of Hamilton's intrigue. This grisly little incident is dear to the hearts of the novelists; it is encountered time after time, always with the most momentous and far-reaching results. Another incident, which, however, has no basis in any of the biographies, but which recurs in the novels like a *leit-motif,* has Burr spending a night in an outlaw's cabin. He is always in great, nay, dire peril of his life, but invariably, with his gracious manners and compelling eye, wins the assassin to worship. In *The Rivals,* the particular host later shows up as the suspect at whose trial Burr, defending,

. . . watched the jury with the keen scrutiny of a man accustomed to study every varying shade of the human countenance; and when he saw that their interest was excited to the highest point, he suddenly seized a candle in each hand, held them aloft over his head, and, advancing to Roberts (the chief witness for the prosecution), his eyes burning like

[16] Clemens, *op. cit.* p. 58.
[17] "Rivalry for the favor of fair women, in which Burr was always victorious, first inspired in Hamilton's breast that settled hatred which was later intensified by rivalry at the bar and in politics."—Todd, *op cit.* p. 7.
[18] *Vide* Parton, *op cit.* p. 106, *et seq.*
[19] *Ibid,* p. 148.

living coals, and his voice ringing as if ordering a charge in the battle-field, he shouted — 'Behold the murderer.'[20]

Burr's marriage and beginnings in New York are given small attention. The political activities are barely sketched. The immediate cause for the duel with Hamilton is given as the death-bed repentance of the wicked Billings, who confesses the evil he and Hamilton had done Burr. And so, it is to avenge the mind of Miss Clifton and the reputation of Miss Moncrieff that Burr, at the close of *The Rivals,* goes to Weehawken to meet Mr. Hamilton.

Pidgin's trilogy[21] is, because of its bulk alone, the standard fictional treatment of Aaron Burr. Nevertheless, it is of slight literary and no historical value. Pidgin did much patient research, and amassed an authoritative collection on Burr, but he seems to have made little use of it. Even a historical novel does not require literal adherance to actuality; but Pidgin's refusal to admit of any fault in Burr, and his profusion of inaccuracies and small anachronisms rob his books of most of the verisimilitude necessary in every sort of novel this side of whimsy.

Little Burr and the first half of *Blennerhassett* derive largely from *The Rivals.* In the introduction to *Little Burr,* Mr. Pidgin concedes that ". . . There are parts of *Little Burr* which are necessarily founded upon incidents contained in *The Rivals,* and selections from the latter, which seemed applicable, have been incorporated, with appropriate changes in this volume."[22]

This does not quite indicate that *Little Burr* is little more than a prolix elaboration of *The Rivals.* The main point of difference is the inclusion of a stock New England rustic named Abe Budlong, who serves Burr as Billings does Hamilton. Thus, the feud is sent below stairs, as it were, to be carried on by the help: *e.g.* it is Abe who removes the charges from the muskets of the mutineers (whom Billings had roused to violence) at the amputation scene. Also, it is Abe who discovers that Margaret Mon-

[20] Clemens, *op. cit.* p. 263. cf. Parton, *op. cit.,* p. 148.
[21] *Little Burr,* 1905; *Blennerhassett,* or *The Decrees of Fate,* 1901; *The Climax* or *What Might Have Been,* 1901.
[22] Pidgin, *Little Burr,* p. ix.

crieff is communicating with the British through the 'language of the flowers.' Miss Clifton meets a happier fate in Pidgin's book: she recovers from her insanity, marries a farmer and makes a triumphal reappearance at the end of the book to nurse the wicked Billings in his last moments. Billings' dying confession is even more sensational than in *The Rivals* — he announces that he was the wronged husband of Hamilton's mother.[23]

Blennerhassett, the second in order, but first written, of Pidgin's stories is even less valid than *Little Burr* — because it is less Clemens and more Pidgin. The descriptions of Blennerhassett and its proprietors are lifted almost verbatim from Safford,[24] but Pidgin's idea of the responsibility for the Southwestern Conspiracy is all his own. According to *Blennerhassett,* the whole plot originated in the canny Scotch brain of Thomas Jefferson, who perpetrated it as an elaborate farce, ostensibly to test Burr's patriotism, actually to seduce him to his ruin. History is not kind to Mr. Jefferson on this point. He seems to have been, from its inception, completely undeceived[25] about the scheme, even in tacit approval[26] of it up to a certain point. Beyond that point, he is as suspect of disingenuousness as Burr. But though Mr. Jefferson may have played fast and loose with law[27] and honor[28] in his game of giving his most formidable rival enough rope to hang himself, it strains credulity to credit him with growing the hemp and plaiting it into strands for the noose.

Blennerhassett, however, spends only a few paragraphs on the great Richmond trial: Pidgin must rush Burr over

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[23] One of Pidgin's more indefensible aberrations. To have had Billings Hamilton's father would have been no worse than improbable. The *soi-disant* Mrs. Hamilton's legal husand was named Lavine, and he had a perfectly respectable history of his own. *Vide* Henry Cabot Lodge, *Alexander Hamilton,* (New York, 1904), Appendix A.

[24] William H. Safford, *The Blennerhassett Papers,* (Cincinnati, 1861).

[25] Wandell and Minnegerode, *op. cit.* Vol. II., 60 *et seq.*

[26] ". . . the suggestion of connivance between the President and Colonel Burr is not without interest, and opens up a vista of Executive duplicity and treachery upon which one's gaze hesitates to dwell." Wandell and Minnegerode, *op. cit.* Vol. II., 158.

[27] Such as his endeavors to have the right of *habeas corpus* suspended for three months. Or his Executive consent to Wilkinson's absolute dictatorship of New Orleans. Or his refusal to answer the subpoena for Wilkinson's letters.

[28] Of which his treatment of Dr. Bollman was the most flagrant. *Vide* McCaleb, *op cit.,* p. 339. Also, Wandell and Minnegerode, *op. cit.,* Vol. II, 190, *et. seq.;* and Matthew L. Davis, *Memoirs of Aaron Burr,* (New York, 1937) Vol. II., 387, *et. seq.*

to Europe to captivate Napoleon.[29] A chapter or two covers the tragic last years of Burr. The news of the deaths of Theodosia and the child, Gamp, plus a painful interview with the miserable Blennerhassetts are telescoped into a scene that is one consummate coincidence. Next, three chapters are devoted to a more than ordinarily preposterous speculation of the marine fate of Theodosia. The book closes with the death of Burr, and Pidgin can't even quote correctly Burr's incomparably true and lovely last line, "Madame!" He must bowdlerize that to, "Theodosia!"

The Climax is a guess as to what might improbably have happened had Burr not challenged Hamilton to the duel. Elected in 1804, President Burr accomplishes in his twelve years of office more than has happened in the ensuing hundred and thirty seven. Mexico, Canada and the West Indies are annexed. The Panama Canal is dug by the Southern slaves, bought for that purpose by the Government, which then establishes them free in Central America and the West Indies: the African United States of America. The Civil Service and the entire roster of the present Executive Departments are incorporated into the Government. The Civil War and the Third Term Issue are forestalled by Constitutional Amendments.

The Burr adulation, untrammelled by the slightest exigencies of occurrence, blossoms in *The Climax* like a whole grove of bay-trees. His exquisite manners are expanded into a broad humanitarianism, his pragmatic cleverness into a social vision as ideal as Plato's, as swiftly efficient as a Nazi's. In short, from the simple, or Parson Weems glorification of Clemens, Parton and the earlier Pidgin, in *The Climax,* Burr is apotheosized into a paragon of wisdom, purity and strength that would make St. George, in comparison, indistinguishable from the dragon.

In astringent contrast is *Margaret Moncrieff, the First Love of Aaron Burr.*[30] This is the one exception to the extremist, or, black-is-black-and-white-is-white novels. Aaron

[29] The snubbing he received from Bonaparte would have made better drama, as well as better history.

[30] Charles Burdett, *Margaret Moncrieff, the First Love of Aaron Burr.* (New York, 1860).

Burr is presented as a plausibly human being. It is noteworthy, then, that this is the one novel whose author was personally acquainted with Aaron Burr. Charles Burdett was a protege of Burr's — possibly even an adopted son[31] — who worked in his law office, and was sent to school by him.

Burdett pictures his benefactor as the young officer on Putnam's staff motivated variously by patriotism, ambition and the obsessing worship of women called *domnei*. It is when these three not always sympathetic influences come into conflict that the novel rises to a natural climax. Young Major Burr becomes infatuated with the beautiful little English spy so desperately that almost she is able to win him to the British cause. At the crucial moment, however, his patriotism asserts itself. . . . Or is it patriotism?

> The career before him . . . gave promise of abundant active service, with the certain promotion if he should deserve it, and he felt that he could; and more than all, he was in the very presence of the enemy . . . Here was a chance for distinction, for new laurels, for added honors, and his defection now, would it not be attributed to cowardice? He shrank with a blush from this thought.
>
> Then again, the fact that Margaret had fled the city at the same time with himself, would, no doubt, make his name a very by-word of ridicule and contempt as one who for the sake of a pair of brilliant eyes, a voluptuous form and fascinating manners, had forsaken his country in her sorest hour of trial — had forfeited his honor and sullied a name which now bade fair to shine in the firmament of the country's history, among the brightest of the bright stars which studded it.[32]

Burr seems here to be fundamentally less concerned for what would happen to the American cause than for what would happen to his reputation, if he should default. Although to want an undishonored name is not an ignoble ambition, Burdett leaves the possibility open that on another occasion, if Burr should, by reasoning differently, decide that more renown could come from renouncing his country, he might well do so. This is not to say that he did or he didn't. The point is that Burdett created an Aaron Burr who was capable of doing whatever Burr did, a Burr who fits the estimate conceded of the living man by one

[31] Wandell and Minnegerode, *op. cit.*, Vol. II., 310, *et. seq.*
[32] Burdett, *op. cit.* p. 371.

of his bitterest enemies, ". . . pride of ambition had so predominated over his other passions that when placed on an eminence and put on his honor, a respect to himself would secure his fidelity."[33]

BURR AS VILLAIN

Yet, the Catiline image prevails. Aaron Burr as the secret, black and midnight conspirator, the betrayer of maidens, the murderer of Hamilton, the serpent in the Blennerhassett's Eden, is the far more popular picture. This is due partly to the school-books' inevitable preference for his enemies, partly to the circumstance that the more lurid, the trashier, and hence the more widely read, novels have portrayed him thus. It is particularly the Blennerhassett business that inspired these novelists; it has been good for a tear ever since Wirt's famous oration brought down the house at the Richmond trial:

Who is Blennerhassett? A native of Ireland, a man of letters who fled from the storms of his own country to find quiet in ours . . . he carried with him taste and science and wealth; and, lo! the desert smiled. Possessing himself of a beautiful island in the Ohio, he rears upon it a palace, and decorates it with every romantic embellishment of fancy. A shrubbery that Shenstone might have envied blooms around him. Music that might have charmed Calypso and her nymphs is his. An extensive library spreads its treasures before him. A philosophical apparatus offers to him all the secrets and mysteries of nature. Peace, tranquility and innocence shed their mingled delight around him. . . . The evidence would convince you that this is but a faint picture of the real life. In the midst of all this peace, this feast of mind, this pure banquet of the heart, the destroyer comes, he comes to change this paradise into a hell. . . . In a short time the whole man is changed, and every object of his former delight is relinquished. No more his eye enjoys the tranquil scene. It has become flat and insipid to his taste. His books are abandoned. His retort and crucible are thrown aside. His shrubbery blooms and breathes its fragrance upon the air in vain; he likes it not. His ear no longer drinks the rich melody of music; it longs for the trumpet's clangor and the cannon's roar. Even the prattle of his babes, once so sweet, no longer affects him, and the angel smile of his wife, which once touched his bosom with ecstasy so unspeakable, is now unseen and unfelt. Greater objects have taken possession of his soul. . . . His enchanted island is destined to relapse into a wilderness, and in a few months we find the beautiful and tender partner of his bosom whom

[33] General Eaton, as quoted in Wandell and Minnegerode, *op. cit.* Vol. II, 158.

he lately 'permitted not the winds of summer to visit too roughly,' shivering at midnight on the winter banks of the Ohio, and mingling her tears with the torrents that froze as they fell.[34]

This is the gelatinous essence of all of the Burr-Blennerhassett romances: *The Traitor!*, *The Man In The Camlet Cloak*, *A Dream of Empire*, and the play, *Aaron Burr*. Historians are not so lyrical about the Blennerhassetts and their White House. Todd paraphrases Wirt's eulogy:

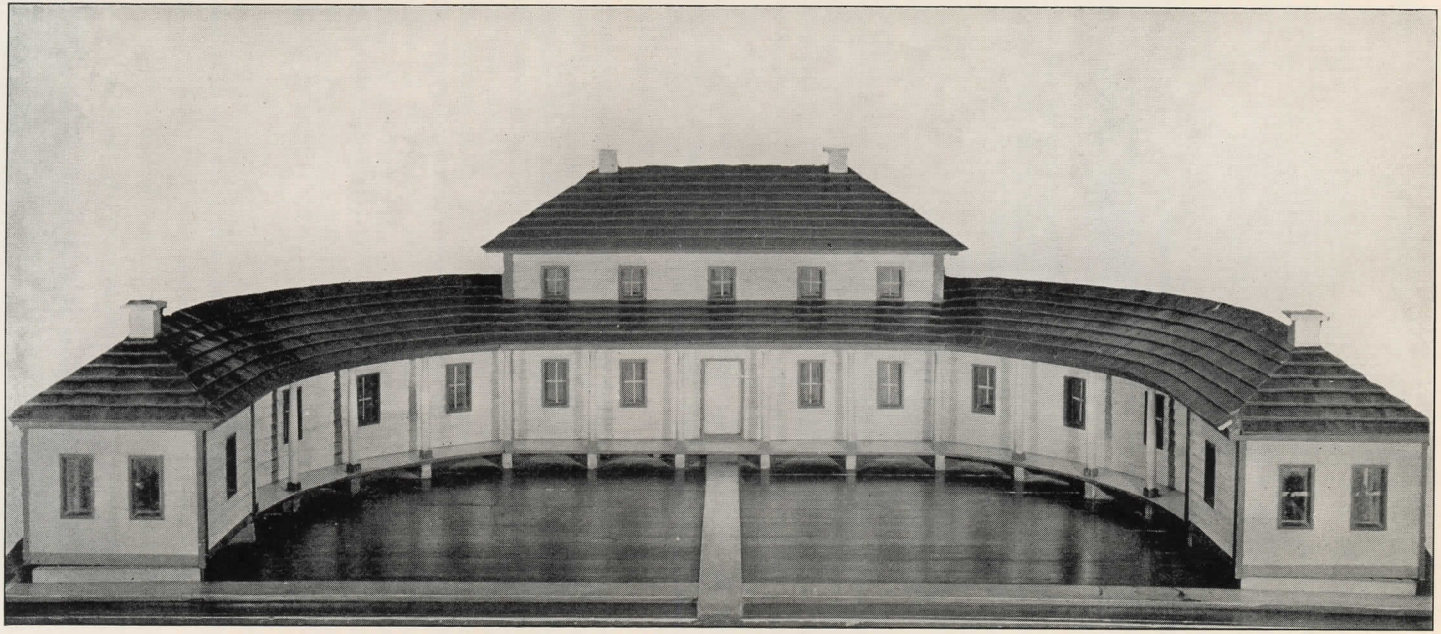
Who was Blennerhassett? A renegade Englishman driven from his own country for the crime of incest, who had fled into the western wilderness to escape the reproaches of his friends and perhaps the stings of conscience. He had reared on his island a plain, wooden, two story structure, half barracks, half blockhouse, and had cleared a few acres of land, part of it lawn, part garden, part cultivated field. Probably ten thousand dollars would have met the actual cost of his improvements. Be this as it may, he was now nearly bankrupt and needed no urging to engage in any enterprises that promised both excitement to drown memory and money to repair his fortunes. His 'island,' the paradise of the historical romancers, was a narrow strip in the Ohio River, fourteen miles below Marietta, three or four miles in length and comprising about two hundred and seventy acres of land. It was neither picturesque nor romantic; certainly not an Eden.[35]

And Parton:

A few miles below Marietta is the far-famed Blennerhassett Island. . . . Here it was that Harman Blennerhassett, an eccentric, idle, 'shiftless' Irishman had contrived to expend forty thousand dollars (nearly all his fortune) in building a house of original ugliness, and in laying out grounds remotely resembling those of country houses in the old country. The picture of his celebrated mansion suggests, to one who has not read Mr. Wirt's celebrated oration upon it, the idea of a semi-circular barracks. A fair-sized, very plain, two story wooden house with curved wings of one story, the front connected with the whole by a piazza — is the brief description of this celebrated abode. . . . Mrs. Blennerhassett was an energetic, accomplished, amiable woman, but not remarkable for beauty or style.[36]

Finally, Burr himself said of Mr. Blennerhassett, "He was not a bad man, though a weak one; a man of some knowledge and no sense . . . who required no persuading to enter into the Southwestern scheme, but was madly eager to embark in it the moment it was mentioned."[37]

[34] Reports of the Trials of Aaron Burr, (Philadelphia, 1808), Vol. II., 96, 97.
[35] Todd, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
[36] Parton, *op. cit.*, pp. 388-89.
[37] *Ibid*, p. 615.



Model of the Blennerhassett Mansion

In the Museum, West Virginia Department of Archives and History

Unfortunately there are no actual pictures of the mansion in existence; and but fragmentary specifications left us:

It consisted of a main building forty-two feet in length, thirty in width, and two stories high. Porticoes forty feet in length, in the form of wings, projected in front, connected with offices, presenting each a face of twenty-six feet, and twenty feet in depth, uniting them with the main building; forming the half of an ellipsis, and making, in the whole, a front of one hundred and four feet. The left-hand office was occupied for the servants' hall; and the right for the library, philosophical apparatus, etc. . . . The mansion and offices were frame buildings painted with the purest white, contrasting tastefully with the green foliage of the ornamental shade-trees which surrounded it.[38]

Blennerhassett was proud that his house contained "with the wings connected to it by circular corridors, thirty-six windows, glazed with lights 12 by 18 inches."[39] We only know, then, that the Blennerhassett Mansion was a large, two-storyed white house with curving wings; it could be reconstructed with equal authority as either palace or barracks.

The papers and contemporary accounts of the Blennerhassetts themselves are easily accessible, however. They reveal Harman Blennerhassett as an appallingly dull and inept individual,[40] whose mismanagement would soon have lost him his estate,[41] even if he had never heard of Aaron Burr. Mrs. Blennerhassett retains her name as a far sprightlier and more decisive person — if her poetry be not held against her.[42]

But romancers would be, by nature, far more receptive to the gilded fancies of Wirt than to the sober facts of the record. Besides, there is, in taking Burr as the betrayer, the possibility of a deliciously triangular situation[43] to be ever so delicately implied — (Scene: an exotic island.

[38] S. P. Hildreth, *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of the Early Pioneer Settlers of Ohio,* (Cincinnati, 1852), p. 497.

[39] Safford, *op. cit.* p. 114.

[40] *Vide* Safford, Davis, and Hildreth, *op. cit.*

[41] ". . . some embarrassments my circumstances have lately undergone; the effect of which more and more disposes me to change my situation by selling or letting this place to effect a removal to another, where I could embark in mercantile pursuits, or the resumption of my old profession."—Blennerhassett to General Devereux, Dec. 15, 1805. Reprinted in Safford, *op. cit.,* p. 112. *et seq.*

[42] *The Widow of the Rock. and Other Poems,* by A Lady (Montreal, Canada, 1824).

[43] A possibility only. There is no authority for belief that a situation ever arose; the character of Mrs. Blennerhassett, at any rate, is unassailable.

Characters: an elderly philosopher and his vivacious young wife. Enter a virile and handsome stranger . . .) Again Todd seems not unreasonable when he complained that ". . . no tragedy . . . was thought complete which did not present this unfortunate man (Blennerhassett) as the Amiable Victim and Burr as the Heavy Villain of its *dramatis personae.*[44]

The Traitor! or The Fate of Ambition,[45] by the great Emerson Bennett, is a fine, blood-and-thunder paperback of the sixties. In it, Blennerhassett is almost as fabulously endowed as the Burr of *The Climax*:

> He was a man of more than ordinary talents, and passionately fond of literature, science and music. In the last named art, probably no amateur has ever excelled him. With the violin or violoncello — both of which, when playing, he held between his knees[46] — he would sit for hours, pouring out his very soul in some of the most exquisite extemporaneous strains ever heard . . . A mind well stored with knowledge . . . Endowed with a judgment above such whimsical follies, he ever saw the noble distinction between vanity and pride . . . a quick and keen perception of the ludicrous . . . fond of cheerfulness, wit, humor and gaiety . . . Benevolent and hospitable . . . energetic, frugal, abstemious. . . . . Of an ardent temperament — impulsive, passionate, courageous, ambitious . . . [47] etc. etc.

through the whole thesaurus of commendatory adjectives, excepting only the more properly feminine ones, which are poured without measure upon Mrs. Blennerhassett.

The house that Bennett's Blennerhassetts live in could not possibly be called a barracks, either. It is truly a palace, even to the addition of a double-storyed colonnade[48] on the gleaming facade. Aaron Burr is allowed his due in personal beauty and charm, but is so swathed in malignancy, so automatically quailed by the innocence of pure maidens and little children, like the devil by holy water, that it is difficult to see how he could ever for one instant have fooled anyone:

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[44] Todd, *op. cit.* p. 36.
[45] Emerson Bennett, *The Traitor!* or *The Fate of Ambition,* (Cincinnati, 1860).
[46] Hildreth, *op. cit.,* p. 397, says that Blennerhassett played the bass viol and the violoncello, though most other sources agree with Bennett. Whichever was the second instrument, violin or double bass, it would have taken more a contortionist than musician to play in that position.
[47] Bennett, *op. cit.* pp. 14, 15.
[48] This might have been the source for the Metropolitan Opera setting.

"Foul, foul," cried Fanny, bounding away in pretended indignation. "Fellow citizens, I charge you to avenge me on the traitor!"

Burr started and involuntarily turned deadly pale. These simple words, uttered in play by an innocent lass of sixteen, seemed to him to carry the weight of a fearful omen, and went like a dagger to his guilty heart! The change in his countenance was like the shadow of some object passing rapidly between you and the light. . . .[49]

The familiar Burr *motifs* are used in *The Traitor!* — the tale of the rescue of Montgomery's body, the comic New Englander, the night in the outlaw's cabin (this outlaw, with admirable writing economy, proves to be the son of the mutineer whom Burr relieved of his arm at the Gulf). And in this novel begins the interminable procession of vengeful ladies,[50] all given to wearing veils, whom Burr had loved and tossed aside. Nor are the classic accoutrements of the Victorian thriller neglected. *The Traitor!* is rich in secret passages, deserted castles, misunderstood bandit-chiefs, mistaken identities, masquerades and secret fraternities, even to the Spanish Inquisition. A noble son is disinherited, a beautiful bride is abducted, women shriek and swoon so incessantly that one wonders that they had a sound bone or vocal chord left to their bodies; and all the time, the arm of coincidence works like a trip-hammer to complicate and then unsnarl the plot.

Since few of these situations are directly applicable to the Burrs and the Blennerhassetts, Bennett resorts to his customary device of a double plot — one wildly imaginative, the other mildly historical, bound together by the most tenuous of threads. The history is negligible, as one would expect, yet what there is of it is better correlated with the fiction than in the majority of these novels. Bennett at least puts much of his didacticism in the mouths of his characters; while the other authors tend to insert their facts baldly and uncompromisingly, beginning each chapter, as it were, with a "Reading from Parton."

To descend from the Gothic intricacies of *The Traitor!*

[49] Bennett, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

[50] This is the basest calumny of all. One thing which so infuriated Burr's critics was the perfect amiability which always existed between him and his ex-inamoratas. Madam Jumel-Burr, the one woman whom he may be said to have victimized, through his senile profligacy, wept at his funeral.

to the relatively straightforward narrations of *A Dream of Empire*[51] and *The Man With The Camlet Cloak*[52] is a decided anticlimax. *A Dream of Empire* is the novel most directly concerned with the Blennerhassetts. The mansion is the snowy palace of Wirt's dreams. Burr, though not altogether reptilian, is unequivocally guilty of fomenting treason, and of being the sole cause of the Island's desolation. The Blennerhassetts are presented in their approximate relationship of a capable, spirited woman in harness with an unimaginative visionary. The same creaking old machinery is used for the plot. There is the usual cast of Natchez bandits, sawdust ingenues, and the apparitional veiled woman, who this time gets her revenge by delivering Burr's incriminating letters to Jefferson.

Two chapters are written with simplicity and a nice regard for history. As a result, these passages, which tell of Blennerhassett's flight from his Island leaving his wife to witness its pillaging by the drunken militia, approach the justification of historical romance as the emotional interpretation of fact. The real value of *A Dream of Empire* is that it, alone of all the sources encountered in this study, contains the text of "The Drum," the song which Hamilton sang, while Burr politley listened, at what must have been the unbearably tense dinner of the Cincinnati, on July 4, 1804 — the last meeting of the two before the rendezvous at Weehawken Heights.

The Man In The Camlet Cloak deals with the military preparations on Blennerhassett Island, as seen through the eyes of the Marietta towns-folk. Wilkinson's Spanish gold, and mysterious documents linking the British crown with Burr's venture, are the treasures about which such convolutions of plot and counter-plot and counter-counter-plot, mistaken identities, impersonations, and minor duplicities revolve until the reader feels one with the completely befuddled narrator, who is supposed to be stupid.

Burr and Blennerhassett make only momentary appear-

[51] William Henry Venable, *A Dream of Empire, or The House of Blennerhassett,* (New York, 1901).
[52] Carlin Bateson, *The Man In The Camlet Cloak,* (Akron, Ohio, 1903).

ances in this book, which is more concerned with the larger shadows they cast over the town of Marietta. Nor are the Ohioans given anything but passing mention. The writer imports that literary handy-man, the salty Down-Easter to tell the story, be the butt of the humor, foil the British and Wilkinsonian agents (of whom the ubiquitous Philip Nolan[53] is one), and, at the end, bring Aaron Burr to justice.

The recurrence of this homely New England type in the Burr saga is puzzling. Since Burr practically never went north of Albany after he finished law school, the novelists have had to go to considerable trouble to move these Cape Cod families (complete with sharp-tongued spinsters) to the remote scenes of action. They may have been simply observing the literary vogue, for the Abes and Ezras, the Misses Patience and Hepzibah and Ancy Ann were in demand as long as Boston was Parnassus. On the other hand, there might have been a deep symbolism intended in having the classic Yankee Doodle, the bewhiskered Uncle Sam, to pronounce the author's judgment on Burr, whether commending, as Abe Budlong in *The Rivals* and *Little Burr*, or denouncing, as in *The Man With The Camlet Cloak.*

Fata Morgana, A Vision of Empire,[54] is chronologically the most recent of the Burr novels (until the publication of the forth-coming *My Theodosia*), but in substance and in style it is even more archaic than *The Traitor!* A few of the chapter headings will give the idea:

I. Weehawken Heights, a Duel a l'Outrance
II. The Isle of Emerald, Engirt by the River Beautiful, the Ohio.
XX. "I Care For No Other Throne Than This Bank Of Violets With You, My Lover at My Feet."
XVIII. The Demon Of The Natchez Trace—The Insignia Of The Three Daggers—The Fate of A Wanton.
XXXIV. Via Doloroso, The Temptress
XXXVII. Burr Advises by Letter, Madeline to go Into a Convent—"O, My White Dove, He Is Fit for No Pure Woman's Love!"

Fata Morgana takes Burr at the crest of his Southwestern wave, his seven days' triumph in the Mississippi Ter-

[53] Not "The Man Without a Country," but certainly not the actual Mr. Nolan, either.
[54] Elizabeth Brandon Stanton, *Fata Morgana, A Vision of Empire,* (Crowley, Louisiana, 1917).

ritory, just before the debacle. It purports to be the story of one of the authentic, and perhaps the last very dashing, love affairs of Colonel Burr. A most characteristic Burr legend is that of his pausing in the flight from Wilkinson's clutches to spend a night at Half Way Hill, entreating the young Madeline Price to share his obviously Stygian future.[55] But surely Burr, the Barrymore of American statesman, would not have indulged in such a pallid amour as *Fata Morgana* relates. Its Madeline is an anaemic, goldenhaired prig whose conversational store seems limited to "Save me from worse than death." Frequently she swoons, and her mother has to shriek the request for her. One wonders that anyone bothered, either way. Except of the sulphurous kind, there is no new light shed on the character of Aaron Burr, and the history is again administered in periodic, indigestible little capsules. *Fata Morgana* either proves the necessity for a sound novel on Burr, or else should discourage any more from ever being written at all.

BURR IN DRAMA

Burr has been the star of at least five plays, and has carried a spear in many others. He has even done a song-and-dance in musical comedy. An addicted play-goer and critic himself, he deserved better treatment of the drama than of the novel — a literary form which, after all, he never whole-heartedly commended except when employed by Mary Woolstonecraft.[56]

The earliest play extant on the subject is *Aaron Burr, A Drama In Four Acts,*[57] written in 1878 by William Minturn, under the pseudonym of Defenthy Wright. In these short acts are compressed all of the paraphernalia of the successful Burr story. The man with his arm off climbs in and out of windows, hides behind curtains and shrubbery, takes pot-shots at Colonel Burr, and, in hissing asides,

[55] Wandell and Minnegerode, *op. cit.* Vol. II., 167-68.
[56] Whose feminist ideas are said to have inspired the education of Theodosia. *vide* Wandell and Minnegerode, *op. cit.* Vol. I., 118.
[57] *Aaron Burr, a Drama in Four Acts,* by (Defenthy Wright) William Minturn, (New York, 1878).

whispers to the audience of revenge. There is not *a* victim of Burr's blandishments — there are two, one of whom early goes mad and wanders about in a less than Shakespearean adaptation of Ophelia's big scene. The transplanted Yankee and his old-maid aunt faithfully perform their chores of comic relief, abetted by a minstrel darky named Sambo and a garrulous Irishman, Pat. The Blennerhassetts and their neighbors come straight from *The Traitor!,* even to a prophetic dream of Harman's in which he and his family, sailing in a silver shallop on a fairy sea, give over the helm to a fascinating stranger who, promising to guide them to a diamond palace on a golden cliff, instead wrecks the boat in a tempest, fiendishly laughing all the while.[58] And Alexander Hamilton is iconographically present in a life-sized portrait hung, of all places, in the library of Burr's Richmond Hill estate.

Aaron Burr leaps from climax to climax, culminating in a super-charged final scene at a glittering ball at Natchez, during which occur a murder, a suicide, two swoonings, the stunning entrance of a mysterious, veiled woman with the letter proving Burr's guilt, and a proud curtain speech by that gentleman as he is dragged off to prison by General Wilkinson.

Hamilton e Burr[59] is the only international presentation of Aaron Burr. It is undistinguished literature, and more curious than scrupulous history; but it has one distinct advantage over any other Burr romance: detachment. An Italian playwright with his own background of the Medici and the Borgias, and Machiavelli, and ultimately of the true Caesars and the real Catiline, would not be very deeply shocked by the mild heterodoxies of Colonel Burr.

Again, there would be no demand in the Italian public mind that our Hamiltons and Jeffersons and Burrs be encumbered with monumental proportions, superhuman dignities. So the carnal frailties are not, as in our native writings, relegated to minor dummies leaving the protagonists to act historical. On the contrary, our giants are

[58] A cut of this subtle allegory is shown on the cover of *The Traitor!*
[59] Luigi Mucelli, *Hamilton e Burr, dramma in* 5 *atti* (Milano, 1914).

made so thoroughly at home in the Milanese theatre that they all fly about the stage sizzling with that continuous but unconsuming passion that we like to call 'Latin temperament.'

Yet, of all the books considered here, *Hamilton e Burr* pays the strictest attention to the political activities. Burr's party methods, his involvement in the Manhattan Company, the war of the pamphleteers, the triangular feud between Hamilton and Jefferson and Burr are made the core, not the impediments of the action. These conflicts could have only an academic interest for Italians, whereas they should be vital to us. It does us little credit, then, that the Italian dramatist found these issues absorbing, and wrote them so; while the American writers, almost to a man, have considered this real story too dull to develop, and have depended upon their bandit chiefs and faceless women to furnish the spice of intrigue.

If the history is bizarre, it is at least considered exciting *per se*. If the chronology is juggled to suit the classic unities, it does not abuse artistic license very often. Only once is anachronism completely indefensible: even if intended for theatrical effect, there was little to be gained by having Burr, on one occasion, reproach Madame Croix for not having *telegraphed* to Hamilton's family.

In 1931, Mr. Booth Tarkington tried his hand at a Burr play, *Colonel Satan*. That is, it was produced in 1931, by George Tyler, at the Hudson Theatre, on the night of January 10, though it may have been written much earlier. It was played for only seventeen performances, and has not been published. This might have been unfortunate, for it is the only imaginative study that has been done of Burr's European exile. There is little reason to believe, however, that Mr. Tarkington caught any of the pathos and irony of Burr's raffish Parisian interlude between his public annihilation at Richmond and the deeper tragedy of his loss of Theodosia and his grandson. For Mark Van Doren said of this play that it was "infantile,"[60] and Gilbert Gabriel wrote:

[60] *The Nation*, February 4, 1931.

WORLD WIDE STUDIO, NEW YORK CITY

Blennerhassett Island on the Stage

Metropolitan Opera setting, *The Man Without a Country*, Act I, Scene 1

Early in his school days every proper American boy is taught about a famous duel in the grey Weehawken dawn — and immediately he becomes either a Hamiltonian or a Burrite. One either idolizes or abominates the name of Aaron Burr. Myself, I was brought up to think him a great hero of Quebec and Valley Forge, a martyr at Blennerhassett, one of the brightest gentlemen whom party politics and the sanctimonious jealousy of bad-blooded Mr. Hamilton could not endure.

Which is why I went to see a new play called *Colonel Satan*, on Saturday night in a state of excitement no decent dramatic critic should admit to . . . Mr. Tarkington evokes us Col. Burr in Paris, 1811, an already elderly, exiled, mildewed, sin-streaked and dilapidated Col. Burr, shooed from his own America and from England, snubbed by Napoleon, longing only for a glimpse again of his lovely daughter, Theodosia . . . just such a veteran of gallantry and evil as Schnitzer evoked, in turn, for *Casanova's Homecoming*. There is the odor of despairing poverty about this old Aaron Burr. But in his wake, too, still lingers the whiff of brimstone and a thousand boudoirs . . . *Colonel Satan* seems like Alexander Hamilton's last revenge.[61]

BURR IN OPERA

Of all the possible uses to which the written word is dedicated, none can be so futile as the conventional, submerged opera-libretto. It is an artificial and arbitrary form, full of sound, certainly, and fury, usually, and hardly intended to signify more than nothing.

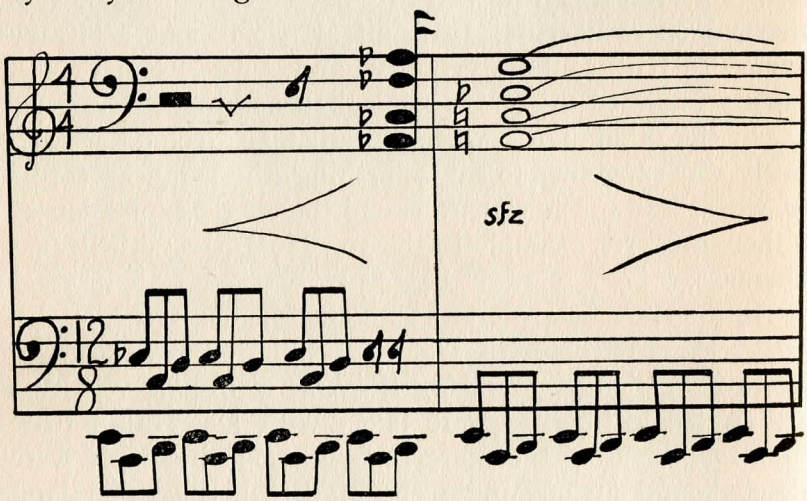
On the other hand, when librettist and composer seriously work together to say something, the balanced forces of words and music can transcend the single expression of either — as, for example in the von Hoffmanstahl-Strauss operas.

Aaron Burr has received both treatments. On May 12, 1937, the Metropolitan Opera Association produced an operatic version of *The Man Without A Country*.[62] Great and welcome liberties were taken with Dr. Hale's little homily. Some of the more self-righteous incidents were deleted, and an opening scene on Blennerhassett Island (conceived by the stage-designer as a sort of Bayou plantation) added. The premiere was generously heralded, because of the public benevolence toward Dr. Damrosch; but the opera itself was judged trite, and was

[61] *New York American*, January 12, 1931, as quoted in Wandell, *op. cit.* pp. 231, 32.
[62] *The Man Without A Country*, an opera in two acts, by Arthur Guiterman and Walter Damrosch, (New York, 1937).

not included in the permanent repertoire of the Metropolitan. It was ". . . an affair of set numbers, conventional lines and expert, but very ordinary music . . . Emotionally, the music never goes deep. It is melodious but along too well trodden lines. It readily becomes sentimental but rises no higher, and constantly resorts to cliches, or, in the words of Hazlitt, launches platitudes with the force of thunderbolts."[63] Blennerhassett sings a few introductory recitatives, and Burr is assigned one semi-martial baritone aria such as might be given to a captain-of-the-guard in an early Verdi piece.

In direct contrast, the character of Aaron Burr emerges from the one-act radio opera,[64] *Blennerhassett,* more clearly and more persuasively than from any other conception of him. Yet, he makes no actual appearance upon the stage at all. Blennerhassett Island is represented, musically, by two descending chords, and the Southwestern conspiracy by a rhythmic figure in thirds for horns and wood-winds:



Burr himself is pictured vicariously in the symbolical character of Stephen, one of his followers. By this simple trick, the Messrs. Corwin and Roll at once freed themselves from the dilemma of either obeying or flouting the

[63] *Olin Downes,* in *The New York Times,* May 14, 1937.

[64] *Blennerhassett,* a radio opera, especially commissioned for the Columbia Workshop. Music by Vittorio Giannini, Libretto by Philip Roll and Norman Corwin. First broadcast, November 2, 1939. Given stage production by the Juilliard Institute, New York, February 14, 15, 1941.

text-books. Avoiding the pitfalls of fact they have thus preserved the spirit and not the paleontological shell of Aaron Burr. Stephen's ambition is born partly of contempt for the little people:

I am no longer in the schemes of men, but big enough to take a hand in history. The meek inherit nothing on this earth but their own meekness. Power is for the bold. I've hitched my wagon to the star of Aaron Burr . . . My dear, you have been frightened by the babbling of the rabble. To sluggards such as they, ambition's flutter is highest treason.[65]

(One of Burr's favorite apothegms was, of course, *"Les grandes ames se soucient peu des petits moraux."*)

But the greatest part of the Empire ambition was to have a worthy prize to lay at the feet of the beloved. In the case of the actual Burr the beloved was Theodosia. Tht operatic symbol is the girl Madeline, to whom Stephen sings, *cantabile,*

. . . not for myself alone, but for you I set out on a bright new destiny tonight to make you soon the happiest of brides . . . be patient, you must not coax away ambition. Cast away your fears — Spur me on to fame for my love shall share the triumph and the glory of this adventure. In a land we shall make our own, you will be proud of your lover![66]

Adjusting the relation, this is the whole refrain of Burr's letters to Theodosia, promising her an empire in Mexico, bidding her be proud even when all he could invite her to was the penitentiary in Richmond.

So it is of small importance that the opera climaxes in a Wagnerian pitched battle on Blennerhassett Island, when the forces of Mr. (*sic*) Wilkinson engage those of Burr. What matters is that Stephen, dying too soon, sings what Burr, living too long, would have told Theodosia to reassure her about those last thirty years he faced alone:

. . . My lust for conquest suddenly is spent . . . But in my hand I grasp a little of your love, and that will keep me warm through all the bitter night that never ends.[67]

Albert Jay Nock says of James Parton, "There are qualities that outweight occasional and trivial inaccuracies, and Parton has them while the other biographers . . . as far

[65] Corwin and Roll, *op. cit.*, pp. 7, 10.
[66] *Ibid*, pp. 17, 20.
[67] *Ibid*, pp. 42, 43.

as I can see, do not; and the worth of his book should be assessed accordingly."[68]

The same allowance might be made of this *Blennerhassett*. Granted the operatic excuse from historical exegesis, the discrepancies can be over-looked, if the truth be revealed.

[68] Albert Jay Nock, *Jefferson*, (New York, 1927), p. 333.

Excerpts from Swann's "Prison Life at Fort Delaware"

Edited by ELIZABETH COMETTI

CHAPTER FIVE*

THE DEBATE

(Continued)

The papers we read here daily say nothing about us, and so far as we know the Government at Richmond do not know of our existence. We do not want to murmur as long as we can suffer and endure. But there is a limit to all things. A comrade is taken to the hospital. The next we hear from him he is dead. Others are lingering here, afraid, as it were, to go to the hospital; and there are none to help them. It is impossible to suppose the authorities at Richmond ignorant of these things. We have no fear of death, for that brings rest at least. We die daily. We know many at Richmond and elsewhere, while we are perishing are thinking more about abstract nonsense, promotion, honors etc. than of us who have no further aspirations than to secure for our States liberty and self-government. The love of country is a passion with man. It is a sentiment beautiful and sacred. But it may be a sentiment at last. Nothing more. We have fought the battles of the Confederacy and struggled here with cold and hunger, death walking among and gazing at us with horrid front; wherever we move or look we confront the grim monster with steady eye and warn him to keep at a distance, that we may live to be again on the battle field. We have seen him on the battle field, but there his form is fascinating, here ,too horrible to describe. We feel our suffering bodies and broken spirits can resist him no further here. We wish to live that we may again meet him on the battle field where we may meet him blow for blow, and die amidst the thrills of Confederate yells of triumph, with the consolation of falling in manly combat. But to die here is humiliating, is appalling! Let us demand our Government to take immediate steps for our restoration to the battle field, and warn the Congress and Government at Richmond to stop their idle wrangling about abstractions, their idle discussions about nice questions of State Rights and what they call honor, and take immediate steps in some way to liberate us. If that nest of imbeciles at Richmond were dispersed and our great soldier made Dictator, then there would be hope. But no cause

*This constitutes the second part of the reminiscences of Captain John S. Swann. Introduction and part one appeared in the January, 1941, number of *West Virginia History*.

can triumph under the lead of such men. We want a soldier at the head of our Government, and God has pointed him out to us. Let us make known our will to those at Richmond. Mere Wranglers—that we may be unchained, and put into the field. Let us . . . Gentlemen I know not what to advise. What can we do? What shall we do?" (Sensation)
Next Speaker:

"I agree with my noble comrade in all he has said. We are in the midst of the greatest of wars, and charged with being rebels. Rebels against what? Against the Constitution? No! Against the spirit and genius of Constitutional liberty and law? No! Against the decisions of the United States Supreme Court? The constituted arbiter and adjudicator of the rights of the people of the States? No! That Court has decided the great question for us. Against the rights of man? No! Man has no rights in these United States save those rights recognized by the law of the land. What rights have the States? and the people? None but those set forth in their Constitutions. Are we opposing them? What rights have the American people under the Federal Government? None but those plainly conceded in the Federal Constitution. Look into that Constitution, show me a single word or sentence that grants to the Federal Government the right to interfere with negro servitude in the District of Columbia, to interfere with or impair the right of the citizen of any State to go into the common Territory with his property, and to hold it under the protection of the Government! Is not property in negroes recognized by the Constitution of the United States? And the whole power of the Government pledged to its defense? Has not the fugitive slave law been practically nullified throughout the whole North? Where has the Federal Government been authorized to invade a State with armies to overthrow its Government by force? Do we not know that when that right was sought to be granted to it in the Convention of the fathers, by a clause to that end that but one vote was given in its favor! The true and only rebels are they who now claim that right and are visiting upon our States fire and sword, for resisting them, and maintaining our plain rights. We alone who resist them are loyal. Loyal to what? To the insane passion that has been called up by a Seward and demons of violence among them, a Woman's Rights fiend, with nothing of the woman but the outward form, and that by no means attractive. No, we are not rebels. We are the defenders of the Constitution and the law. Our Government itself does not understand us. How then can we expect the Northern people to comprehend us. To conquer us is but to postpone the issue to another, and it may not be a distant, generation when some of those who now make war on us may come to honor us. We are not fighting for slavery. No! No! We are fighting for Constitutional law, knowing that when our enemies have thrown down that wall, all horrors in multitudinous forms will enter in. Gentlemen, the Northern Soldiers in Southern Prisons, are in as bad a plight as we, perhaps from the nature of things worse, — if there is such a thing as worse. We pity them. We commiserate their lot. Would to God we could get together from all the prisons, and some magic power would open our eyes and arm us. Then we

might together visit Richmond and Washington as well, and cast the wranglers and traitors to our rights and to humanity into the sea. For they care not for their prisoners. But this is impossible. The frenzy of insanity is everywhere. But let us be just in our great provocation and excuse as far as we can.

Our Government, knowing that if we were released and returned to our army our enemies would go down before us, has made some exertion for our exchange. They at Washington, knowing the same, have determined not to exchange prisoners. They know full well the suffering, the mortality, the horrors in all prisons, North and South. 'But,' they say, 'let them suffer and die rather than have these Confederate prisoners in the field again. We can replace the dead with the living. They cannot.' The war on the part of those who rule the North is a war of speculation — for a market for their products, with some fanaticism thrown in to give it sentiment enough to control a people whose masses are governed now by a sentiment and nothing more. I commiserate them. If the soldiers could get together, and keep away the devils that gather at Richmond as well as Washington, we could come to honorable terms and again live, if not under a common government, at least under some sort of a Federation that would secure the rights and liberties of all. But this is impossible. It is useless to reason with these people, to protest, to murmur, or to complain. It would do no good anywhere, North or South. We are in the hands of wranglers, not patriots. Death stalks around in all the prisons. I care not to send up any complaint from this one. It will do no good. The prisoners in the South are perishing as we are. No murmurs or complaints from them is heeded at Washington. We, as they, must suffer and die. It is all we can do. The Great God at some time, and in his own way, let Him give the victory to whom He may, will fitly bring punishment upon whomsoever is responsible for the sufferings of prisoners, and for the war. To Him I look. Upon Him we must rely; for He, and He alone will hear us — will hear the moans from the prisons everywhere. He will not forget the power in His terrible arm, nor when nor how to use it. Any action we may take on this subject can do no good, and may do harm, for it may be represented that we are in revolt against our own Govrenment. We can die. We cannot surrender."

The matter was dropped.

RUMORS OF THE RECOGNITION OF THE CONFEDERACY, BY FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS

As I have stated, a plank partition, over which was a walk-way for the sentry, perhaps twenty feet high, separated the quarters of the privates and officers. We got to throwing over bits of paper tied to pebbles, with messages written on them. This was stopped by orders, but occasionally one would be furtively thrown over. One morning, standing at the door of my "Division," I was attracted by a slight commotion among the prisoners. It grew rapidly. A prisoner came up — "Have you heard the news?" No! "The Confederacy is recognized." "I don't believe it." "Well, wait till I get back." He went into a little crowd, and then

came running back — "Boys, the Confederacy is recognized by France, and England. We are one of the great powers of the earth — no mistake — The Federal Government has sent Commissioners to Richmond to make peace." Immediately we were all gathering in the prison yard. Hundreds of little missiles with bits of paper tied to them were flying over the partition in every direction, boldly, openly. The sentinels were looking on in amazement, at the great commotion. Then a Confederate yell came. It seemed to come from earth, air and sea. It was everywhere, filled everything. It was repeated with tenfold power. It was in the privates' quarters. Where else could it be? We took it up — in a thousand different notes, each distinct yet forming one mighty whole. It came from everywhere, from earth, air, water; again it went forth. Then in one mighty whole from both quarters, wild, weird, unearthly, transporting, inspiring; the very walls of the prison quarters vibrated. It was not harmonious, or inharmonious. It was not a whoop. It was not measured. There were in it terror and power, victory coming out of defeat, in one wild rush of hope. It was not awe inspiring as the rattle or roll of many thunders; neither did it strike terror as thunder and lightning commingled. It was from us. It was ours, and of us — we, the omnipotent. It was triumph, we come — we come — It seemed to lift us from the earth, and cast us will or nill upon our foe; a passing whirl-wind, and we ourselves the storm. It was impossible for any to hold his voice. Again, earth, air and heaven sent up the voice of that yell, and we moved as if about to rush on, over-run, storm, cast down every thing, and yet we did not move at all. We forgot our being. We had no bodies. The earth was ours; the air, heaven not too high to scale. The prison walls seemed to give way before us. Had the word been given we could have torn them down, cast the fragments behind us and rushed on. It was over and all was still. We stood looking as it were for something to confront us. In walked the officials. "What on earth is the matter? The guns will be turned on you." Again came the yell; it was taken up in the privates' quarters. The officials trembled and turned pale. The sentries around stood petrified. Some one said, "The Confederacy is recognized; they are making peace, we won't hurt you."

"Gentlemen there is not a word of truth in it. It is a hoax. For God's sake be quiet. The guns will be turned on you. It is reported outside that you are going to storm the fort. You will be massacred. For God's sake keep quiet." All was over. We returned gloomily to our quarters. All hope was dead. We afterwards heard that our yell had so appalled the guard and garrison that had we made a rush we could have stormed and taken the fort.

GENL LEE'S SURRENDER.

Rumors of these events were all over the prison. As was customary the sergeant or some one came in with newspapers. We began reading them in groups; the prisoners gathering around. We saw it was all over with the Confederacy, as we listened to the reading of the papers, in silence profound. We then, one by one, or in small groups, in silence

went to our "Divisions." The prison ground became deserted. Had it been announced that every third man was to be shot in retaliation and we must prepare to draw lots, the gloom would not have been more profound. After a while some one began to express doubt. He was not listened to. I looked into the prison grounds. Here and there a prisoner was going along like he was lost. The prison was a graveyard. A Major came into our Division. We were nearly all Virginians from Trans-Alleghany. He said, "Gentlemen what do you think of the news?" No one spoke. He went away. After a while he returned, "Gentlemen, I don't believe the half of it. I want to give you my reasons." No one would hear him. He went away. The prison was desolation. Every man looked like the last man. That night a Marylander came in and said, "If Lee has surrendered that army, he is a traitor." "Don't use that word" came in a warning voice from several. "I did not know what I was saying." "Then be silent." Lee has surrendered and all is over. Next the papers came in with the terms granted Lee, and his army. We began to brighten up a little. Grant was called a generous man. Some of us thought he must have Southern blood. Some said we would soon be released. Grant would not allow us to be uselessly here, etc.

MR. LINCOLN'S SPEECH AND POLICY.

Mr. Lincoln's Speech came in. It was read aloud, all over the prison. A good man, a kind hearted man, was repeated again and again with many other expressions to the same effect. He will protect us. He will open the gates if the abolitionists don't kill him. And there is that damned Stanton, and his bloody gang. Lincoln and Grant are together, and the soldiers are with them. We will be protected. "God has filled their hearts with love," said a preacher. "Old Abe was born in the South. He loved the Union but he hated nobody. 'With malice toward none; with charity for all. . . .' Who but a grand, good man could have said that? We honor old Abe for his noble speech. Let him send us arms if that Stanton crew attack him, and we will clean them out. We always thought well of old Abe." "He never was an Abolitionist," said an ex-politician. "I would like to see them try and impeach him." "I expect that that Stevens gang will assassinate him, and Andrew Johnson is not too good to help them," said a Tennessean. "But we'll take care of him. He is Commander in Chief, with Grant to back him. He can arm us, and put this post in our hands, and here is Little Delaware to help. We will take Philadelphia, for rations and clothes. Grant! what more could he have done? He did not conquer our Army. . hunger and cold did that; but he was generous to Genl Lee and his soldiers. Grant is a great warrior. If he were not, he could not have forced Lee to surrender. If Lee had captured Grant and his army, he would have been just and generous, he would not have asked Davis about it either."

These and like expressions could be heard every where. Some few wanted to say bitter things but they had to keep silent. We felt great relief after reading Mr. Lincoln's speech. Some did not believe we were conquered. They believed, or rather persuaded themselves to believe, that

the bulk of the army had gone off in squads and was not captured, and would re-form somewhere. That Johnston would soon be in the field with an army. That our soldiers would come to it in thousands, and began to take courage. But most of us gave up the Cause as lost. I did not at any time talk to any one that came into the prison grounds. But some did. Each Division had a chief who occasionally went outside, as we termed it, for one or another purpose. They noted a very different bearing towards them. A different everything all around them: recognition of citizenship, as it were. This they reported to us. The sentinels were now familiar. Seemed as if they thought the war was over; talked to us a little, and kindly. Their very looks were kindly. We saw manifestations of kindness everywhere. Feelings of forgiveness were rapidly growing. The sutler was ready to take orders for anything we wanted and send for them, clothing, shoes etc. It was rumored that all willing to take the oath of allegiance would be released, provided with necessary things, and sent home, by the Government. That such was the purpose of Mr. Lincoln, and General Grant we did not doubt. We thought this was dictated by a generous kindness and designed to save us from humiliation and mortification, by making us citizens at once if we wished to become so; and that the Federal Government thought the war was over. We did not think such an offer would be made unless Grant and Lincoln thought the war over. It would have been an insult, and we knew these men were wholly incapable of insulting us in prison. These things had a powerful effect on us. We felt that the generosity of Grant and Lincoln had silenced Stanton, Johnson, Stevenson and such, and this was true, beyond doubt. There are some things better learned from general appearances than from words. Words may deceive, but there is something eloquent, and unmistakable in the language of the countenance. Perhaps the language of the angels; and this was all around us.

The change in all the bearing of all the Yankees, from the highest down to the cooks was towards peace. "For like master, like servant" is true everywhere.

CHAPTER SIX

OATH OF ALLEGIANCE TENDERED THE PRISONERS

In a day or so after the rumor that the oath of allegiance would be tendered us, an official came on the prison grounds wtih a book or paper in his hands, and a table was placed in the midst of the yard, — we were requested, not ordered, to form a line, and answer our names as they were called. We were told that all who were willing to take the oath of allegiance to the Government could answer, "I," and would be returned home. That those who answered "No" would be held prisoners of war. The tone and manner of the official was kindly. He looked as if he thought all would answer, "I." We formed a line. The call of the roll began. The first answer was a very distinct "No." The officer was evidently abashed. The next, "I," and so the call proceeded, until some 3,000 or more were given. A small majority "I's."

"Gentlemen," he said, "you will be sent home as soon as we can get transportation. We will do the best we can for you," or something to that effect. After this was over we dispersed, and there was a good deal of comment. Some kindly and charitable, some harsh; and some ridicule was gotten up by the wags — caricatures representing a prisoner swallowing a "yellow pup." The oath was printed on yellow paper, and called The Yellow Pup. But this feeling wore away, and they who made the severe remarks became more charitable, and our harmony was restored. In the midst of this kindly feeling between us and our enemies, and of general pacification, we grew more cheerful.

EFFECT ON US OF THE TERMS GRANTED GENL LEE

As I have stated the terms of surrender granted Genl Lee and his army the speech of Mr. Lincoln, making manifest his generous policy had an all-powerful effect on us. The lion of war in our hearts was daily changing into the lamb of peace. To have given a Confederate yell would have been impossible, because that yell was the voice of the lion of war in our hearts that had been soothed into slumber. Nothing but the war passion could call it forth and that passion was gone. Not from the surrender of Lee's army but from the generous terms of that surrender. An act of peace and voluntary magnanimity coming from a great soldier, and the humanity of Mr. Lincoln. We felt the demoniac faction at Washington was cow'd and silenced, that they dare not oppose the great chieftain and kind President. We affiliated with the officials that came on the prison grounds and somewhat with the sentinels.

OUR TREATMENT AFTER MR. LINCOLN'S ASSASSINATION.

Our treatment after the assassination of Mr. Lincoln, and more particularly the slanderous vituperations and bloody tone of the Northern Press aroused the lion of war in our hearts again. Had Johnston gained a great victory over Sherman, we might in a paroxysm of that terrible yell have attempted to storm the fort, and perhaps succeeded. Had we been armed, though feeble from hunger and suffering long continued, and put before a Federal Army three times our number, we would have gone through it like a whirlwind. We knew of the movements of Genl Johnston's army from newspapers; some took courage but it was hope coming in the darkness of despair, and the indomitable will to resist our oppressors. It was hope and no hope.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SURRENDER OF GENERAL JOHNSTON

The announcement of the surrender of Genl Johnston had but little effect. It was expected. The terms were gratifying, and as we thought but reflected the policy of the dead President, and of Genl Grant. Had not the President been assassinated, in our opinion they would have been confirmed. Their rejection by the Administration caused much speculation and apprehension. All sorts of rumors, growing out of this, no doubt, got afloat; some horrible and trying.

RUMORS

We were to be decimated and shot. Banished — to be declared prisoners of State indefinitely — all over a certain rank were to be shot, or banished — the lands of the Rebels were to be confiscated. On the other hand Genl Grant and Sherman at the head of the army would overthrow the Administration. Genl Grant and Mr. Stanton were declared open enemies. The Federal army were determined to protect us. General Lee and others were to be arrested and imprisoned. Grant's terms of surrender were to be set aside. Genl Lee was riding along the streets of Richmond, and the Federal Soldiers saluted him. "They shall not hurt you Genl Lee" etc. etc.

COMMENTS AMONG THE PRISONERS FROM VIRGINIA

"We have no government now. Each State must act for itself. We are no longer confederated. We are adrift" — The prisoners from Trans-Alleghany Virginia made these comments. The question with them being whether they should act with the Virginians, or for the State of West Va. A few of them like Philip of Macedon "despised the traitor, but loved the treason." Others said, "We will not recognize W. Va. The State was illegally formed. They who made the State, are by the Constitution of Virginia clearly guilty of treason. They were not true to the honor of the State. The U. S. Government, in organizing W. Va. as a State, has recognized the right of the people of one portion of a State to set up a State for themselves, in the teeth of the plain provisions of the Constitution of the U. States. And yet they have made war on us for asserting a similar and must less questionable right. We will not recognize an unlawful State. We were not consulted about it. It was made by a political faction. Very few voted for it. The majority were put under terror. The State was made by bayonet rule. In an honorable constitutional way, it may be best to have two Virginias. We don't believe that the United States Government will eventually hold the State to be lawfully made. It would be setting a dangerous example. It would be to sanction secession. We don't believe the State can ever stand the test of the Supreme Court. We will act together. We have fought for the Commonwealth of Virginia. We have fought and suffered together. We will now act together, and together abide whatever fate."

Finally the Virginia prisoners agreed to call a meeting to determine whether we would take the oath of allegiance if it should be again offered us, now that Genl Johnston had surrendered; and whether we would compromise the honor of the commonwealth by signifying our readiness to take the oath; whether this would in any wise look like asking pardon.

I will remark that on the surrender of Genl Lee, many Virginians and others had accepted the offer to take the oath, for then the amicable generous policy of Genl Grant, and Mr. Lincoln had calmed our war spirit. Now all was changed. Had not that policy been so benign they would not have consented to take the oath while Genl Johnston was in the field or we had an army. We who had then declined the offer were

now to consider what we would do. Terrible rumors were all around us, and terrible apprehensions had grown out of them. The policy of the new Administration was dark and threatening. It had rekindled the war spirit in us. Would we make any concessions to mollify that policy? We would not ask forgiveness, for we had done no wrong. We would do nothing that could be construed into fear or weakness. We had a heart for any fate. We had defended the Commonwealth on the battle field. We had suffered all sorts of horrors in prison. We would die sooner than do any thing to compromise the honor of Virginia.

Such were the feelings and opinions that called the Virginians together to interchange views and opinions and to come to some conclusion, that should be binding on all.

The meeting was called. All the prisoners were waiting for the action of the Grand Old Commonwealth. The interest all over the prison was profound. We assembled in a large "Division," No 34. It was crowded to suffocation. All who could get in were present: many on the outside, who could not get in where they could hear. The spirit and genius of the Commonwealth of Washington was there in all its glory and majesty. The spirit of Henry and Madison and Jefferson and Lee was there. A President and Secretary were elected, and the meeting called to order. The stillness and solemnity became oppressive. No one offered to speak, no one moved. We felt our position. We were powerless to resist the hand that was upon us, the chains that had buried themselves into our souls,

> "It was as of the dead could feel
> The icy worm around them steal
> Without the power to scare away
> The cold consumers of their clay."

At last the argument began. I give its substance as well as I can, — not its spirit, its life, its power, its grandeur or its glow, for that cannot now be given. The inspiration, now after 22 years cannot be called into life. I but give the picture, not the living, animating soul.

THE ARGUMENT

The first speaker was called.

His argument was that we must not under any conditions surrender, but must remain passive as long as there was a shadow of hope etc. He paid a high tribute of praise to Mr. Davis, and argued that we must await his fate, as it were. I do not give his speech because I did not think his views or rather his manner of expressing them, reflected the sentiment of the meeting. And although we determined to remain passive, we did not mean thereby that we had any further hope. I think our action was the result of unusual pride, etc.

Next speaker:

We are here to consult together, as to the course to be determined on, now that we have no army in the field. I am here not to advise, but to consult, and to hear an interchange of views and opinions of those among us who declined to take the oath tendered upon us, soon after the sur-

render of Genl Lee. I cannot see, if you will allow me to give an opinion, any rational hope of aiding a Cause now manifestly lost, by refusing the oath of allegiance if again offered us. The surrender of our armies by the advisement, made necessary by our Chieftains Lee and Johnston, Virginians as we are, animated as we by the true genius of the Commonwealth, is enough to advise us that hope is gone, and that there is nothing left but to accept such terms as the conqueror may choose to grant. The terms granted our two Christian warriors, so far from being humiliating were generous and kind and honorable and humane in the Generals who offered them. If it was no discredit to the soldiers who surrendered with arms in their hands, can it be a discredit to the Commonwealth for us to make known to the Government of the United States that we are now ready and willing to accept terms the same in substance as granted them? What can we do here? Nothing but suffer and die. If honor or the fame of the Commonwealth requires it, then we are ready to perish, even here. But does it require so great sacrifice? Had we a Government we might hesitate. But we have none. Go in search of the Confederacy, or of any insignia of Government. Can you find it? Is it the Congress? That is dispersed, never to meet again. It is the Cabinet? They are flying — one here and another there, each in search of a place of safety — no place of safety can be found. Is it the President? He is flying from place to place, not from city to city, or from town to town, but from swamp to swamp; and he dare not rest a day, and may be captured at any moment. No, I see no hope. Nothing before us but despair, dark and drear, so far as the Confederacy is concerned. But there are in our homes, desolate though they may be, yet not dishonored, those who now have claims on us. Shall we not return to them and do what we can to better their sad estate? I cannot advise, but I can take the oath of allegiance, if offered me, with a clear conscience, feeling no shadow on my fame as a soldier of the fallen Confederacy, or as a soldier of the old Dominion. My only hope now is to raise her up, to cheer those who love me; to comfort them who look to me in the bonds of blood. I feel it to be my duty to go to them, knowing I will find among them my peers in everything, who have accepted the decrees of the fates, and returned from the bloody battle fields of their surrender to do battle again on those blood stained fields, glorified by their triumphs in war, now awaiting the plow and the hoe of heroic sons to provide food and clothing for those who look to them and await their coming.

At the conclusion of this speech the stillness was succeeded by a little stir but the silence was unbroken. It was manifest we wanted to hear more.

ARGUMENT RESUMED

Next Speaker:

The words that have fallen from our comrade and fellow sufferer, I am sure meet the sympathy if not the approval of us all. For myself, I know not what to say, in this our hour of sadness, but not despair. Virginia has fallen. But above her defeat her fame and glory rise in

light eternal. Let it shine, as it will shine, to guide her sons in the struggles to come for the ages as they come. Virginia is in mourning but not in despair. On her battle scarred front stands the same fine motto "Sic Semper Tyrannis." From the abyss of her humiliation comes the same prayer "God save the Commonwealth." Our comrades from the other Southern States honor us with their presence. They know the meaning of this meeting of Virginians. We are but reflecting here our principles of Government. For the Confederacy being now no more, each Southern State, being an Independent Sovereignty, must act for itself, and this brings us together as Virginians. We must now act for the Commonwealth. We are here because we refused the oath of allegiance tendered us by the Federal Government, on the surrender of Genl Lee. We may then have erred, and they who then agreed to take it may have been influenced by wiser counsels. Their honor is as clear as ours; their fidelity to principle as true. Their heroism and devotion to our cause, and to the Commonwealth stand above criticism. We are here to consider whether we are now ready to do what they then did. Let us be just. Then generosity of Mr. Lincoln, and the magnanimity of Genl Grant had allayed the war passion in our heart. Now all is changed, and our treatment and abuse by those coming into power under the new administration, silenced by the grandeur of the humane Lincoln, has aroused again the spirit of resistance if not of defiance. Let us rise above it. I am from our Alleghanies; my fathers sleep in our plains; and so with most of us from the West. But we know no West Virginia here, no East Virginia. We are sons of the Commonwealth of Washington. We have made her fame and her glory. We are the same in all that animates us, whether from her Blue Mountains, or from her Alleghanies, from her plains that smile down on her seas and bays, or from her rugged hills that frown down on the Ohio. Our bones lie mingled in a common honored dust on many a field of glory at Point Pleasant, at Yorktown, at Manassas, at Richmond, at Norfolk, on the Potomac, the James, in the East and West, North and South, wherever her rivers flow, her woods cast their shadows, or her plains their smiles, on a hundred battle fields marked forever as a Marathon or Thermopylae, for history, song, and story, whose light will glow more resplendent with time. We will do nothing to cast shadow on her fame. Rather will we abide in silence whatever fate. There is no terror for us. Today we hear we are to be decimated and shot; we are to be banished. Again we are to be declared prisoners of State. Our lands are to be confiscated. Whether these alarms be true or false, we are ready for whatever may be our doom. But the Commonwealth shall suffer no detriment from us, even though we may escape these jaws of death. If we are shot, we will be at rest. If declared prisoners of State, we can endure. If banished we will take with us our wives and little ones, outraged parents to bless and pray, and our chaste maidens will follow the young soldiers of their love ready to nestle in their strong arms. With these we can make a New Virginia. Like wandering Troy we can found a Rome and may be, in no time, a Rome conquering and to conquer. If our lands are confiscated, we will know in

time how to regain them. We turn from these rumors. True or untrue we heed them not. We know not how long, they now in power, shall hold in their hands the reins about to be so gently held by their murdered President. They profess to honor his memory, while they dishonor all that made him worthy of that love and honor from the people which they gave him, for he was one of them. They are in more fear than we. Their revengeful, cowardly hearts tremble lest they awaken in their own people that ever abiding sympathy which, once aroused for us, may cast them from their place and the gratifications of their ignoble lusts, and hurl them into the dust. That hour will come sooner or later. Let them beware! Had Mr. Lincoln lived, this prison would have been emptied ere now of half its miserable occupants. Had that kind old man lived, the surrender of Genl Johnston would have been at once followed by a general amnesty, and a dagger not a bullet may have cut short a generous life. This untimely death gave to demons their opportunity. They have used it as demons ever use unexpected power. The Northern people sooner or later will turn upon them and protect us. Therefore I conclude that whether we express a willingness to take the oath of allegiance or not, our stay here will not be long. But in that time many a noble heart will be under the clods of this northern land, with the bleak winds for his requiem where gentle hands can strew no flowers, our soft Southern winds cannot reach, nor sunny skies warm his cold dust; where the mother cannot even mark the grave of her son; the wife cannot distinguish the spot of the loved dust, nor maiden tell her love to the grave of her soldier boy. There is not a day ah! not an hour that the gravediggers, in our sight but for those high walls, are not throwing up the clods. To leave here a month hence, is to leave hundreds for these graves, that might live for the Commonwealth and for those they love if we could sooner get away. It may be that for us to make manifest a willingness to take the oath these gates might be sooner opened. I can see no dishonor in it. The people who have overcome us in arms are a great people. They have fought for a centralization of power — a nation —. We for State Sovereignty and true liberty as we understand it. So far as we can now see, they have, by the power of arms, established the Government of their choice, and we must submit — That is all.

ADJOURNMENT.

Here, from some cause not now remembered, we adjourned until 4 P. M. It was Sunday. We met again at 4 P. M. The interest in our proceedings had become intense. The meeting on motion was opened with prayer. . . . Several resolutions were then offered and defeated. Other motions were made, but before acted upon the last above speaker was called for, and spoke as follows, on the resolution of Capt. Bumgarner.

ARGUMENT RESUMED

Mr. Chairman,

When our armies surrendered, when we surrender, we but yield to an irresistible power, and to the will of that God who rules on earth

as in Heaven. To resist longer would be to resist his decree, unless we are left without a God to govern the earth. Virginia may become great and happy under a Central Government from whose laws there is no appeal. Many of our fathers were used to say no other government could last, or stand, the test of a large and dense population. Perhaps it is so. But we wish to say here and everywhere, though bayonets gleam around us, that we have done no wrong. And to charge us with treason is but to show the ignorance of our conquerors, and the knavery of men in high places. A State cannot commit treason. They who create cannot commit treason to the creature. The States created the Federal Government, and they limited its powers by a Constitution, that no honest, intelligent men can possibly misconstrue. We have made war on no clause of the Constitution, but on a Government pledged to overthrow it in some of its provisions, and they, vital provisions. We have not declared that Constitution "a covenant with hell, or a league with death." But we have declared it a covenant before high Heaven, and a league with Sovereign States. We have defended our right, guaranteed to us by that Constitution, and adjudged by the Supreme Court to be our rights. In their defense we have fallen, and the time may come when they that struck the blow may call upon us to forgive and to save. We, or our children after us, will be ready to answer the call and to defend all, or any state that may call to us for help. Take from the States the right to nullify oppressive laws; the right, as a last resort, to reclaim delegated powers when abused, and their inalienable Sovereignty, and what is this Government, but absolute Monarchy without a name? Ours is the only Government where the people, as such, may change their national rulers, one and all by the peaceful mode of voting. When sectional combinations become oppressive to a State or a section, and too strong to be resisted by voting, and their right to leave the oppressor and become Sovereign again in all things, reclaiming all delegated powers, is admitted, a Union might be perpetual; for this itself would check sectional oppression. But give us over to the sword for the exercise of these rights, and the States or smaller weaker sections become mere provinces to be plundered and preyed upon by the stronger and more populous, combined together. What is this but despotism inserted in the Constitution? And therefore the Constitution itself becomes the source, not of safety and protection to the States, but of despotism. Imperial Rome was a democracy in substance. Her emperors held their power by the popular will. Her armies were her people. Yet Rome was a despotism, where the strong oppressed the weak at pleasure. We have but defended the true principles of liberty, and they who call us rebels are themselves rebels and their aim and object is to make merchandize of our fathers' principles — of the rights of the weaker sections and States, and of the Constitution itself. To day sectional combinations oppress us of the South. We resist, and the sword of these sectional combinations, too strong for us, cuts us down. Tomorrow sectional combinations may make the East the victim. If they resist they are to be cut down. Again the West, or the Trans-Mississippi, becomes the victim. Cut them down, is the cry of centraliza-

tion. What is this but despotism? Again we are told that some, yea many of us will be tried for treason. It will never be done. The wise demons at Washington, who in mock mourning profess to honor the remains of the dead President, have dishonored his policy and hence his memory, and are now, though in the midst of the drapery of their mourning people, seeking to silence Grant and Sherman. They will never try us for treason. For such a trial, they know full well, will not only result in our acquittal, but convict them. We do not know that anything we can do will open these prison doors any sooner. If any there be who think that any expression made here of our readiness to take the oath of allegiance will cast the slightest shade on the honor of Virginia, then let them remain silent, and prepare for whatever fate. But if we return to our homes we carry there strong hearts and our mother Commonwealth yet has a crust for her children until our arms become strong enough to go forth in her sunshine, and her showers to dig out of the kindly earth fruits for those who look to us. Are not our little families, our aged parents and all we love, imploring the God they worship to bring back their warrior sons to their desolate homes? If we conclude to take the oath we will keep it in good faith. If we return to our homes our flag now trailing will rise up again. But neither here or elsewhere will it suffer dishonor. I am for myself willing to take the oath whenever it is offered. Let me say to my comrades east of the Alleghanies: If Virginia and West Virginia are to be two separate States they will be the Castor and Pollux to move together — to fight together, conquer together. And when the end shall come, for all things perish, to die together, and leave their fame and glory to the ages. We have made for the Commonwealth immortality. In this at least we are one forever.

Several other speeches were made, and finally we voted down every resolution offered, and adjourned without any expressed conclusion.

West Virginians in the American Revolution

Assembled and Edited by ROSS B. JOHNSTON

The sources of this material are from the files of the Pension Office at Washington, from various county records, from notes of patriotic societies, principally the Daughters of the American Revolution, Sons of the American Revolution, Sons of the Revolution, and from a large miscellaneous group of published and private sources. Corrections and additions to this list will receive the careful attention of the editor.

COURTNER (CURTNER OR CORTNER), ANTHONY (Sergeant)

Born, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, 1740 and died, April 30, 1833, Greenbrier County, Virginia. Enlisted in Rockingham County, Virginia, 1776, and served twenty-one months as private and sergeant under Captains Slump, Skidmore, Lieutenants Bright, Keaton, and Generals Morgan, Wayne and Muhlenberg. Stationed at Westfall's Fort in the Tygarts Valley and on the Ohio River, collecting cattle for the army, and performing other duties.

December 6, 1777, in Augusta County, later in Pendleton County, Virginia, married Catherine Coonstump, born in 1759 and died January 22, 1844. Their children were Lewis, aged 56, David, aged 54, and Phoebe, aged 46, in 1846. Pension applied for and received. Supporting claims by Perryman Jones, James Dougherty, Mary Swadly, Jacob Stover, Phoebe Daugherty, George Hull, Mary Carlisle, John Rexroad, and J. Pross.

Before the Greenbrier County court, 1883, Catherine Courtner proved she was the widow of Anthony Courtner, who had been a Revolutionary War pensioner. In 1847, Phoebe Daugherty and Lewis and David Courtner were established as the only remaining children of Anthony and Catherine Courtner.

COX, ABRAHAM (Lieutenant)

Born January 1, 1752, died March 24, 1834. Wife Elizabeth, born, 1752, died, March 15, 1823. Buried in Old Cox Graveyard, east of Arnettsville, Grant District, Monongalia County, West Virginia. Old stones. Revolutionary War record—Lieutenant in Western Battallion, organized at Hagerstown, Maryland.

Children of Abraham and Elizabeth Cox: Moses Cox, born August 7, 1781, died September 27, 1861. Married Mrs. Charlotte McDermott Foster, as second wife, first being Jane Musgrave; Abraham Cox, Jr., married Hester Ann Burrows, daughter of Boaz, April 4, 1814; Susannah Cox, married October 22, 1806, Peter Hess, Jr.; Letitia Cox, married October 10, 1818, Lewis Smith; Isaac Cox, married July 24, 1821, Frances, daughter of John Fisher.

COX, ELIZABETH

The grave of Elizabeth Cox, who received a Revolutionary War pension, is on the Burdette farm at Ona on the Prichard School Road in Cabell County.

COX, GEORGE (Ensign)

Service—Virginia Va. No. 16217 No. S. 9203

Born, Hampshire County, Virginia, about 1749. Enlisted in the spring of 1776 as an ensign in the company of Captain Isaac Cox, and Lieutenant Steel, Virginia Line, and served six months. Settled on the Ohio River in 1772 or 1773, and served in Dunmore's War. Married, February, 1775. Applied for pension in Brooke County, Virginia, April 29, 1833, which was granted, July 18, 1833, but apparently was suspended in 1835 and not resumed. Supporting claims by Captain Isaac Cox, a brother, Abraham Rogers, William Braxton, Jacob Walker, Reverend Jeremiah Browning, and James Miller.

COX, ISAAC (Sergeant)

Service—New Jersey Va. No. 3126 and No. 4463 No. S. 9215

Born, Somerset County, New Jersey, June 25, 1743, and resided there when the Revolution began. He served three years as private and one year as sergeant under Captains Linsley and Smalley, and Major Stout and Colonel Frelinghuysen. While living on the line between Harrison and Lewis County, he was granted a pension in 1832, but in 1835 was dropped from the rolls and not resumed. He was the father of Philip Cox, aged 69 in 1832. Supporting claims made by James Brown and John Neasley.

COX, ISAAC (Colonel)

Cox's Fort or Station was on the Ohio above Wellsburg. The Cox family of Swedish descent first settled in Maryland, then Captain Reuben Cox removed to the South Branch of the Potomac where his sons, Gabriel, George, Isaac and Joseph were born. Between 1772 and 1773, the family removed to the Ohio Valley and settled near the Pennsylvania Line.

Colonel Isaac Cox was made captain of militia and in 1776 commanded the fort at Holliday's Cove. In 1777, he became lieutenant-colonel of Youghioughany County militia, with his brother, Gabriel, as major. On October 25, 1779, Isaac asked the county court for a passport to enable him to remove his family to Kentucky. There he settled at Cox's Station in what was later Nelson County. In 1781, he was a delegate from Jefferson County to the Virginia assembly and was a member of three of the Kentucky conventions which urged statehood for Kentucky. During the latter part of the Indian wars he was killed by the savages.

COX, JAMES

James Cox was born in Buckingham County, Virginia, 1755. He served in the Illinois expedition of 1778-1779 under Colonel Joseph Crockett. He came to Cabell County about 1803 and settled on Mud River near the Great Falls between Ohio and Blue Sulphur. He died in 1840, being the ancestor of various Cox, Hernford or Hereford, and DeFore families. He is buried on the Burdette farm, Cabell County, near Ona.

COX, JAMES

Service—Virginia Va. No. 16881 No. R. 2412

Born, February 24, 1763, Fort Clusel, Montgomery County, Virginia. As an Indian spy and scout, enlisted when 15 or 16 years old under his father, Captain John Cox, and served four years in the commands under Major William Love and Colonel Cleaveland. Applied for pension, Grayson County, Virginia, 1832, but it was rejected. Soldier died April 17, 1841. On February 19, 1819, married Sally Fiedler, who was born in 1782. Supporting claims by Benjamin Phipp, Charles Cole and Henry Harding.

COX, PHILIP

Service—New Jersey No. S. 18360

Born, Somerset County, New Jersey, 1763, and resided there during the Revolution. Enlisted, March, 1780, under Captains Dunn, Clark, and Hunt under Colonel Frelinguysen. Supporting claims made by John Neeley, and John and James Brown. Pension granted, 1832, while living on line between Harrison and Lewis Counties for two years service in New Jersey militia but name was dropped from the rolls in 1835.

CRAIK, JAMES (Surgeon)

James Craik, Mason County, Virginia, August 3, 1831, was granted a land bounty as the heir of James Craik who had served as a surgeon in the Continental line during the Revolution. Warrants were issued, No. 7127 and No. 7128-30.

CRAMER, THOMAS (Major)

Major Thomas Cramer, who served in the Revolutionary Army, is buried in the Cramer Cemetery, Winfield, Marion County.

CRAWFORD, JOHN (Sergeant)

Enlisted in Captain Stephenson's company in 1775. Reenlisted as a sergeant in Captain Shepherd's company in 1776. Taken prisoner and exchanged. In 1782, accompanied his father, Colonel William Crawford, against the western Indians. He escaped and returned home in June of that year after the failure of the expedition.

CRAWFORD, THOMAS

Bounty Land Warrant No. 8183 was issued July 28, 1835, in favor of Thomas Crawford, a resident of Berkeley County, Virginia, who had served as a private in the Continental Line during the Revolution.

CRAWFORD, VALENTINE

Served at Fort Crawford and under his brother, Colonel William Crawford, in the western Indian campaigns. Lived on the Bullskin in Berkeley County, Virginia.

CRAWFORD, WILLIAM (Colonel)

Born in Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, in 1722. His father died in 1725, and his widow married Richard Stephenson, by whom she had five sons, John, Hugh, Richard, James, and Marquis. William married Hannah Vance in 1744. The Crawfords lived in Berkeley County on the

Bullskin on land taken up in 1747. He had four children; Sarah (Major William Harrison); Effie (William Connell); Ann, (Zachariah McCormick); John.

Crawford served under Washington in the Indian wars. He was lieutenant-colonel of the Fifth Virginia, February 13, 1776; colonel of the Seventh Virginia, August 14, 1776. Fought at Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine, and Germantown. Resigned March 22, 1777. Later served on the western frontiers of Virginia, led an expedition against the Indians, was captured, tortured, and burned at the stake in Wyandotte County, Ohio, June 11, 1782.

CRAWFORD, WILLIAM (Captain)

Served as second lieutenant, Fifth Pennsylvania battalion, January 8, 1776; first lieutenant, October 12, 1776; captured at Fort Washington, November 16, 1776; captain, May, 1777; exchanged December 18, 1780; did not reenter service. Died, 1828.

CRESAP, THOMAS (Colonel)

Colonel Thomas Cresap was born about 1705 and lived to the age of almost a hundred. He had three sons, Daniel, Thomas, Michael, and two daughters, Sarah and Elizabeth. Thomas was killed by the Indians. Daniel had one son, Michael, who commanded a company in Dunmore's War. On June 10, 1774, the Earl of Dunmore sent Michael a captain's commission in the militia of Hampshire County, although having residence in Maryland. He led a company to Boston, 1775, from Maryland. He was in bad health and died in New York, October 5, 1777. Daniel, son of Daniel, was a lieutenant in the company of riflemen which marched to Boston under his uncle, Michael, from Allegheny County, Maryland, in 1775. By a second wife, Colonel Thomas Cresap had seven sons: Thomas, Daniel, Joseph, Van, Robert, James, and Thomas (the first Thomas having died young).

CRIM, HARMON

Service—Virginia Va. No. 16641 No. S. 8254

Applied for pension, Harrison County, Virginia, Nov. 20, 1832. Certificate was issued, September 11, 1833. He was born in Culpeper County and enlisted in the Revolutionary Army in Fauquier County under Captains Chinn and Holmes and Colonel Armchurch. He was at the siege and capture of Yorktown.

CRIM, PETER

Served in the Revolution and died at Smithfield, Jefferson County, Virginia, in 1846, at the age of 94.

CRISSWELL, RICHARD

Service—Virginia Va. No. 23682 and 121708 No. S. 6779

Born, Baltimore, Maryland, and enlisted there as a private under Captain Christian Owens in the Maryland militia under Colonel Sacks. Fought at Brandywine and other points. Received pension in 1833 while living in Brooke County, Virginia. Mention made of Susannah Gossage.

CRITZER, LEONARD
Service—New Jersey Va. No. 2128 No. S. 9251
Enlisted, March, 1776, and served nineteen months as a private in the Third Jersey Regiment under Captain Goonenkike and Cornelius Cartheart under Colonel Mehelum in various campaigns in New Jersey. Many other officers named. Received pension, Harrison County, Virginia, in 1832.

CROM (CRUM), ADAM
Born, October 15, 1756. Pension application, Lawrence County Kentucky, 1834, aged 77. Drafted in Burke County, North Carolina, 1776, under Captain Brown and Colonel Cooke and marched against the Cherokees. Also served under Colonel Love, Captain Ward, Captain McGavock and Major Montgomery. Was at King's Mountain. Pension allowed.

CROOKSHANKS, JOHN
Service—Virginia Va. No. 4719 No. S. 39384
Enlisted as a private, 1776, Augusta County, Virginia, and was discharged at Camden, South Carolina, 1782. Served more than three years as a private under Captain John Sims, Captain Linn, Colonel Stephens, Tenth Virginia Regiment under Colonel Henry Lee, and General Green. Fought at Brandywine, Germantown, Georgetown and Guilford Courthouse, where he was wounded in the right leg below the knee. He was 66 years old and his wife 53 when pension application was made in 1818. Their children were: Elizabeth, 27, Catherine, 17, Hester, 12, Nancy, 6, Abraham, 17, William, 15, and George, 1. Certificate was issued in Greenbrier County, in 1819.

CROSTON (CROSSTON), GUSTAVUS
Service—Virginia Va. No. 3886 No. S. 39379
Enlisted at Alexandria, Virginia, and served from 1778 to 1783 as a private in the company of Lieutenant Harper, Captain Thomas Hamilton, and Colonels Green and Bladford. Born, 1757, and died, August, 1841. Applied for pension, 1818, Hampshire County, Virginia. Supporting claims by Bryan Kerken, Thomas Lewis, and Hezekiah Emery. Pension certificate issued, October 24, 1818.

CROUSE, CHRISTIAN
Service—Pennsylvania Va. No. 12338 No. S. 9243
Enlisted, York, Pennsylvania, and served as a private six months under Captain George Long in the Pennsylvania line under Colonel Swope. Pension application granted in Morgan County, Virginia, April 26, 1833. Supporting claims by Isaac Bosher, Peter Stotler, Tolbert Rochhold, Joshua Gains, and Jesse Crouse.

CRUTCHERS, JAMES
Service—Pennsylvania Va. No. 2893 No. S. 39377
Enlisted, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and served three years and three months as private in the company of Captain Francis Proctor, Pennsylvania Line, under Colonel Thomas Proctor. Fought at Brandywine, Ger-

mantown, and in the Indian campaign under General Sullivan. Granted pensic . in Jefferson County, Virginia, 1818. The soldier was aged 57 in 1820.

CRUTCHLEY (CUTCHLEY), BENJAMIN
Service—Maryland Va. No. 10577 No. 39378

Enlisted January 10, 1777, Baltimore, Maryland, as a private in the company commanded by Captain Woodman or Goodman of the Fourth Maryland Regiment under Colonel Hall, attached to the division commanded by General Sullivan. He continued to serve until 1780 when he was discharged in the state of New Jersey by Colonel Hall. He was in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown. He applied for a pension in Wood County, which was granted in 1819. He was 76 years old in 1820.

CUMMINGS, JOHN
Service—Continental Md. Va. No. 17704 No. S. 39400

Born, Maryland, 1760, and there enlisted under Captain Rudolph in the Continental Establishment, Maryland Line, and served fifteen months in Lieutenant-Colonel Lee's Legion. He was engaged on many scouting parties and skirmishes. Pension granted in Ohio County, Virginia, in 1820 but later suspended. Wife named Araminta, aged 59, and son, named Robert, aged 21, in 1820.

CUMMINGS, JOHN

Served as a private in Captain Shepherd's company. Died in prison, June 27, 1777.

CUNDIFF, JOHN (Sergeant)
Service—Virginia Va. No. 23100 No. S. 8272

Born, 1759, Lancaster County, Virginia. Enlisted, Northumberland County, Virginia, 1775, and reenlisted in different periods until 1778. He was a private and sergeant eight and a half months under Captain William Docuning, Captain William Nutt, Captain Christopher, in the Virginia regiment under Colonel Thomas Gaskins, Colonel Edward Conaway, and Colonel Windowkiner. Other officers were Lieutenant Raleigh Colston, James McAndrews, and Ensign Gray Eskridge. Supporting affidavits by Major Isaac Welsh, John T. Hickman, John and Jacob Vandiver, and Nathaniel Kuykendall. Pension granted, 1833, in Hampshire County.

CUNNINGHAM, THOMAS
Service—Virginia Va. No. 3291 No. W. 4166

Cunningham served fourteen months as a private in the Virginia militia detachment, commanded by Captain James Booth. His wife, Phoebe, was captured by the Indians in 1785 and their four children murdered. They were married, April, 1776. The soldier died, June, 1826. Widow received pension, April 22, 1840, and had previously been aided by special act of the Virginia legislature. The family had removed from Harrison to Ritchie County in 1807, settling on the south fork of Hughes River.

CUNNINGHAM, WALTER

Service—Virginia Va. No. 5056 No. S. 9263

Enlisted, Shenandoah County, Virginia, 1776, and served six months under Captain Scott and Captain Rador in the Virginia line. Supporting affidavits filed by Gass Winters and Anthony Kuhn. Pension granted, Harrison County Virginia, February 2, 1833.

CUNNINGHAM, WILLIAM

Service—Virginia No. Va. 6529 No. S. 8462 and B. L. Wt. 26387

Born Shenandoah County, Virginia, July 23, 1864. Resided in Harrison County in 1794, when he removed to Wood County. Enlisted, Shenandoah County, May, 1780, and served seven months as a private in the company under Captain Richardson, Higgins, and Martin Aul under Colonel Hetherson. Fought at Maches, Chester Gap, and Yorktown. For a time substituted for his father, John Cunningham, and later was a substitute for his uncle, Thomas Cunningham. He was granted pension in 1832. Supporting claims were filed by Walter Cunningham, Ezekiel Wilkinson, the Reverend Hamilton Gass, John Culp, and William McGee. Bounty land warrant of 160 acres was also received.

CUPP LEONARD

Service—Pennsylvania Va. No. 13132 No. W. 4167

Born, Northampton County Pennsylvania, January 17, 1755, and died, August 17, 1834. Enlisted, Northampton County, in the fall of 1775, and served seven months under Captains Leekfret and Greenwood in the Pennsylvania Minute Men, commanded by Colonel Kiger. Saw service in Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, and in the Indian campaigns.

Married, June 21, 1772, in Northampton County. Wife's name Susannah. She died, April 3, 1841. Pension granted soldier in Preston County in 1833 but widow did not survive long enough to get pension. The ages of their children in 1854 were: Leonard, Jr., 77; John, 68; Christopher, 73; Susannah Cupp Johnston, 70; William, 60. Leonard, Jr., was a captain in the War of 1812. Supporting affidavits filed by Reverend David Trowbridge, Benjamin Shaw, Jacob Guseman, Samuel Trowbridge, John Feather, Mary Freighter Strahnin, and Joe Brown.

CUPPY, JOHN

Born, May 11, 1761, in New Jersey, and died in Montgomery County, Ohio, 1861, having rounded out a full century. He was of German parentage. While an infant, his father moved to the South Branch of the Potomac in Hampshire County. There John was drafted for McIntosh's expedition, his first military service. The next year he married. Soon afterward he took a tour of military duty during the Loyalist insurrection of 1781. About 1788, he removed to a farm near Wellsburg, now Brooke County, where he engaged in the spy service under Captain Sam Brady and became an expert rifleman and scout. He moved to Ohio in 1818.

CURTIS, JESSE

Applied for pension, 1834, aged 74, in Lewis County. Supporting affi-

davits filed by John Mitchell, William Powers and others. Claim not allowed.

CURTIS, JOHN

Service—Pennsylvania Va. No. 23967 No. S. 12645

Born, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, May 5, 1753, and there enlisted May 5, 1776, in the Revolutionary Army. Served nineteen months as a private under Captain Garner, Lieutenant James Jack and William Moore, Seventh Pennsylvania Regiment, commanded by Colonel John Gibson, Major Bartholomew Bull or Beal and Generals Washington and Irving. Fought at Chestnut Hill. Supporting affidavits of Alex Hill, Joseph Wood, Jesse Wheat, John Good, and John Wilson accompanied his pension application filed April 22, 1834, West Liberty, Ohio County. Pension certificate issued 1834, but suspended in 1835, then reissued in 1838 and later reduced in amount.

CUTRIGHT, BENJAMIN

The grave of Benjamin Cutright, who had service during the Revolutionary War, is in the Philadelphia Cemetery, Hampton, Upshur County.

CUTRIGHT, JOHN

Service—Virginia Va. No. 12646 No. W. 6626 and B. L. Wt. 30692

Born, Hampshire County, Virginia, 1754, died March 8, 1850, and is buried in Philadelphia Cemetery, Hampton, Upshur County. Enlisted in Monongalia County, in 1778 and served thirteen months as a private under Captain James Booth and Captain Jackson. Cutright was married to Rebecca Truby by Reverend Isaac Edward, in Harrison County, Virginia, January 2, 1788 or 1790. Rebecca Cutright was 80 years old in 1857.

Pensions were granted to both soldier and widow in Lewis, now Upshur County, and also bounty land warrant for 160 acres. Supporting claims were filed in their behalf by Jacob Cozad, Alex West, David Sleeth, and Susannah Stalnaker.

DAILEY (DAILY), JOHN

Service—Virginia Va. No. 17057 No. S. 39414 and B. L. Wt. 2419

Enlisted, Berkeley County, Virginia, March 5, 1781, and received an honorable discharge in South Carolina in 1783 after two years and six months service under Captain Shelton with the Virginia troops. Received pension in Hampshire County July 31, 1820; also bounty land warrant for 100 acres. Soldier aged 55 in 1818, died, May 7, 1830. In 1820, wife, Catherine, was aged 54, and their children as follows: Sarah, 22; Mary, 19; Eleanor, 9; John; Jacob. Sarah married a Chapman and Eleanor married a Sears. John, married and died young, leaving a widow with six young children.

DAMRON, OENEFERUS

Before the Cabell County court, September 23, 1822, Oeneferus Damron made oath that he had served in the Revolutionary War and knew Asher Crockett (James Anderson), and filed a schedule of his property. This was certified to the War Department and considered as an application for a pension.

DANDRIDGE, ALEXANDER SPOTSWOOD (Captain)

Born, August 1, 1753, Hanover County, Virginia; died in April, 1785, and is buried at Martinsburg, Berkeley County, West Virginia. He was the son of Captain Nathaniel West Dandridge and his wife, Dorothea Spotswood, the daughter of Governor Alexander Spotswood, whose expedition across the Blue Ridge was the first to recognize the rich region beyond the mountains.

He was made lieutenant of the Fourth Virginia Dragoons, June 13, 1776; captain of the Virginia Artillery Battallion, November 30, 1777; for a time he was one of Washington's aides. He resigned from the army on April 14, 1780. He had also been active on the western frontiers when he went to Kentucky with Henderson in 1775 when the Transylvania Company made the Boonesborough settlement.

He married, Ann, daughter of General Adam Stephen, and settled on a plantation in what is now Jefferson County, West Virginia, about eight miles from Martinsburg. At his death in 1785, there was one child, Adam Stephen, aged two years. His widow, died in 1834, aged 76 years.

DARBY (DARLY), SAMUEL

Made application in Preston County, Virginia, for pension as a Revolutionary soldier, but the claim was rejected, No. R. 13662.

DARKE, WILLIAM (General)

Son of Joseph Darke; born in Buck or Lancaster County, Pensylvania, in 1736 and at age of five, accompanied his parents to Jefferson County, Virginia, where they settled at Duffield's Station. Entered the Revolutionary Army as captain of the Eighth Virginia Regiment, February 9, 1776; major, January 4, 1777; wounded and taken prisoner at Germantown, October 14, 1777; exchanged, November 1, 1780; lieutenant-colonel Fourth Virginia, February 12, 1781, to rank from November 29, 1777. Retired, January 1, 1783.

With Brigadier General Adam Stephen, he represented Berkeley County, Virginia, in the Virginia Federal convention of 1788, and there voted for the ratification of the National Constitution. He commanded the right wing of St. Clair's army at "St. Clair's defeat" and helped save the remnants of the defeated American forces. He died, November 20, 1801, and is buried in Jefferson County, West Virginia. Darke County, Ohio, is named for him.

The Revolutionary War section of the Pension Office shows that bounty Land Warrant No. 598 was issued for 500 acres of land, August 5, 1789, for services during the Revolutionary War. He married Sarah Delega (or Deleyea) Defauze. Four children are mentioned: Joseph, John, and Samuel; and Mary, who first married Thomas Rutherford, Jr., and later a Mr. Manning.

When Darke was captured by the British at Germantown, he was placed on a prison ship. His wife travelled from Gerkeley County to Philadelphia by stage, dressed as a cabin boy, says tradition, and was smuggled on board the ship. Through her intercessions, he was afterward released and served in the army the balance of the war. He became a

brigadier general during the Indian wars which followed the War for Independence.

DAUGHERTY, GEORGE

Service—Pennsylvania Va. No. 19208 No. S. 39456

Enlisted, 1775, in Pennsylvania, in a company commanded by Captain Henry Miller, Fifth Regiment, Continental Establishment, under Colonel Magory. Was taken prisoner at Fort Washington, and carried to New York. Then exchanged and discharged. Reenlisted, 1777, in Pennsylvania, in company commanded by Captain Jacob Mays, Second Pennsylvania Regiment, under Colonel Walter Stewart, known as the "Irish Beauty." He fought at Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth.

This detachment was discharged near Elizabethtown, New York. Daugherty's discharge, signed by Colonel Stewart, was given to Major William Preston. Pension was granted to the soldier in Greenbrier County, Virginia, March 5, 1824. Applicant stated that he lived apart from his wife, aged 58. Eleven children were mentioned but the soldier only named his daughter, Mary, wife of Sam Wilson, with whom he was living.

DAVENPORT, ABRAHAM, JR. (Lieutenant)

Abraham Davenport, son of Abraham Davenport, Sr., and Mary Simms, was born, February 9, 1752, Maryland. He was a resident of Berkeley County, now Jefferson County, Virginia, at the time of the Revolution. He died, April 17, 1825.

He was married to Frances Williams, January 21, 1779, in Maryland. She was born in 1751. Their children were as follows: Eleanor, December 27, 1779; Mazie, December 3, 1782; Amelia, May 13, 1784; Thomas, November 14, 1786; William, August 22, 1789; Braxton, Jr., December 19, 1781; Rebecca, April 8, 1783; Ariel, August 22, 1795; Juliet, October 4, 1797.

Served as a sergeant and lieutenant. Entered the service in the spring of 1776 in Colonel Moses Rawlings' Regiment of Maryland Riflemen. The inscription on his monument in the Edge Hill Cemetery at Charles Town Jefferson County, states that it is "In Memory of Major Abram Davenport, a soldier of the Revolution and an upright magistrate."

DAVENPORT, ADRIAN

Served in the Revolution as a private in Captain Thomas Beall's company in Colonel Moses Rawlings' Virginia and Maryland Rifle Regiment. One of the four sons of Abraham Davenport, Sr., who fought in the War for Independence.

DAVENPORT, ANTHONY S.

Son of Abraham Davenport, Sr., who came from St. Marys or Charles County, Maryland, to Berkeley County, Virginia, in 1775 with his family, which included four sons who were to serve in the Revolution. He served in the Revolutionary Army as a private in a company of a Virginia regiment.

DAVENPORT, JOHN

He was a private in Captain Samuel J. Cabell's company of the Sixth Battalion of Continentals Sixth Virginia Regiment commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel James Hendricks, 1776, and corporal in Captain Mathew Jobett's company, Seventh Virginia Regiment, commanded by Colonel Alexander McClenachan.

He was born, December 14, 1753, Maryland, the son of Abram Davenport and Mary Simms and died January 19, 1815. He resided in Berkeley County, now Jefferson County, during the Revolution. He married Ellen Harris, October 1780, in Calvert County, Maryland. Their children are as follows: Mary, October, 1781; Benjamin, December, 1783; John, January, 1788; Rebecca, March, 1790; George, January, 1792; Adrian, March, 1794; Katherine, November, 1798; Nancy Simms, January, 1801; and Eleanor, October, 1803.

DAVIDSON, JOSIAH

Service—Virginia Va. No. 2126 No. S. 8301

Served fifteen months as a private in the Virginia line under Colonel John Pierce and Johnson in 1781 and 1782. Applied for pension, 1834, which was first issued, but was later suspended. Soldier was 71 years old in 1834.

Book Reviews

ROBERT DINWIDDIE, HIS CAREER IN AMERICAN COLONIAL GOVERNMENT AND WESTWARD EXPANSION. By Louis Koontz. Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1941. Pp. 429. Illustrations. $6.00

The character and policy of colonial administrators necessarily had a conspicuous bearing on nearly all aspects of life in pre-Revolutionary America. Consequently, we shall have a better understanding of our early history when more biographical studies of the colonial governors become available. In the case of Virginia, only Alexander Spotswood and William Gooch have heretofore received such special attention, and Professor Koontz's volume on Robert Dinwiddie is a welcome addition to this brief list. A Scot by birth, a merchant by inheritance, and a former surveyor-general of customs for the Southern District of America, Dinwiddie was lieutenant-governor of Virginia from 1751 to 1758. During these years the French and Indian War broke out and George Washington made his bow as an historical figure. Professor Koontz, author of a previous volume dealing with the Virginia frontier during these eventful years, is notably well qualified to handle his subject.

A large part of Dinwiddie's correspondence was published many years ago, but the author has searched the British and French archives as well as the collections of widely scattered repositories in this country, bringing to light much new material. Because of his controversy with the House of Burgesses over the "pistole fee" and his participation in the affairs of the Ohio Company, this Scottish governor has not hitherto fared well at the hands of historians; but Professor Koontz demonstrates that he was, without question, a loyal official, an able administrator, and a person of many agreeable traits.

During his administration the Burgesses undertook to stand up for colonial privileges against the Royal Prerogative, and the Governor wrote. "I am sorry to find them very much in a republican way of thinking, and indeed they do not act in a proper constitutional way, but making encroachments on the prerogative of the crown, which some former governor [Gooch] submitted too much to them." The Revolution was already beginning in Virginia, and most of our historians sympathize with the Burgesses, but the author sticks loyally to the Governor through thick and thin. "Paint me as I am," said Cromwell to an obsequious artist who thought to flatter him by ignoring a wart on his nose. Knowing the integrity of his scholarship, there is no doubt that Professor Koontz omitted the warts because he honestly did not see them; but the book appears to be somewhat on the laudatory side and one would like to see more attention given to the popular cause in connection with the "pistole fee" dispute.

An interesting sidelight on frontier development crops out in this connection. On April 26, 1754, Dinwiddie wrote to his London agent, James Abercrombie (p. 220): "I am sorry the affair ["pistole fee"] makes so much noise in coffee houses . . . the fee, if established, never would prevent the 50 acres to servants, which will always be granted without the fee, but I know [of] no application on that head since my arrival; for if they did apply, it would be to lands far back, that are not worth taking up in such small quantities." This explains as clearly as anything could why it was that land speculators did such a thriving business on the frontier.

This illustrates the rich and gratifying insight thrown on a variety of problems by Professor Koontz's fruitful study.

The University of Virginia THOMAS PERKINS ABERNETHY

EDWIN A. ALDERMAN; A BIOGRAPHY, by Dumas Malone (New York, Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1940. Pp. 392. $3.50)

Today anyone who stressed the necessity for trained leadership and insisted that it was the duty of the state to overthrow the thralldom of public ignorance would be accused of harping on the obvious. This was not true of the South during the half century following 1880 when Edwin A. Alderman, as one of a small group of educational statesmen, eloquently labored for these causes.

The struggle of these educational leaders seems prosaic and unchallenging to us unless we remember that Southern educational advance had to be won in the face of such tremendous obstacles as grinding poverty, paralyzing sectionalism, rampant individualism, disturbed racial relations, impassable roads and a stultifying glorification of the antebellum civilization. Some conception of the difficulty of their task is indicated by the numerous discouragements met by exponents of more adequate service in West Virginia and other Southern states.

Alderman was especially successful in lowering the barriers of sectionalism separating the South from the nation at large. In fact, he was an unofficial diplomat who not only interpreted the problems, hopes and aspirations of his section, but also steered Northerners desirous of aiding the Southern states away from errors which would largely have negated their well-intentioned efforts.

Alderman would undoubtedly be capable of public service of a high order if he were living today. It is probably fortunate, however, that this unusually gifted speaker lived when he did, since it was a period in which oratorical eloquence exercised a more profound influence than it does today. Furthermore, the times called for a champion to stir a lethargic people into a recognition of the need for education. Alderman was at his best in performing this service because, as Dr. Malone points out, he possessed greater talent as an educational spokesman than as a technician charged with implementing a program.

This educational career man campaigned for education in such capacities as institute conductor for the North Carolina State Board of

Education, as member and regional director of the Southern Education Board and the General Education Board, and successively as president of the University of North Carolina, Tulane University and the University of Virginia.

It is as president of the latter institution that Alderman is best known, quite naturally, since twenty-seven of a fifty-one-year educational career were spent in this important position. During the period of his leadership of the University of Virginia the student body was quadrupled, the faculty multiplied by five, the value of the buildings and equipment expanded six-fold, and the endowment increased from $350,000 to more than $10,000,000. Happily, these improvements were achieved without the sacrifice of such cherished traditions as the Honor System and gentility of culture.

Alderman's accomplishments at Charlottesville were particularly noteworthy because he was the first president of a faculty possessed of an unusual degree of independence and because he overcame the twin handicaps of being neither a native of the state nor a graduate of the university.

That Dr. Malone writes a readable and authoritative biography of Alderman is not surprising, since he is a trained historian, an experienced biographer and a Southerner, as well as having been a professor in the University of Virginia during a portion of Alderman's presidency.

Persons desiring an eulogy of Alderman will be disappointed with this study, as it is avowedly an objective but sympathetic evaluation of his public services. If a psychological biography revealing Alderman's personality is desired, it needs to be written by someone whose association with the president was long and intimate.

Malone demonstrated in his *Public Life of Thomas Cooper* that he could write justly concerning a college president and a man in public life whose career was stormy and tempestuous. Thus he displayed his versatility and fairness when he wrote this appraisal of an educator and man of affairs whose career was unusually successful and comparatively smooth-running.

This biography will appeal to many of the sons and friends of the University of Virginia, Tulane University, and the University of North Carolina; to persons interested in a record of educational progress; to readers desirous of an insight into the post-war South; and to individuals who are inspired by an acquaintance with an able, democratic and gracious American. Readers who enjoyed Mrs. Hope S. Chamberlain's *Old Days in Chapel Hill* will probably welcome the picture of the North Carolina campus at a later period as found in the pages devoted to Alderman's student days.

Morris Harvey College CARROL H. QUENZEL.

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF AMBROSE SERLE SECRETARY TO LORD HOWE 1776-1778. Edited with an Introduction by Edward H. Tatum, Jr. (San Marino: The Huntington Library. 1940. Pp. xxx, 369. $4.50.)

The American Journal of Ambrose Serle is a distinct contribution to the material on the loyalist cause. Serle, acting as private secretary, accompanied Lord Howe to America in the summer of 1776. Here he remained exactly two years and was thus able to witness at first hand the effect of Britain's vacillating policy on the loyalist element in the colonies. The account of his lengthy conversations with such men as the Reverend Charles Inglis of New York and Joseph Gallaway of Pennsylvania constitute the most valuable part of the book.

Serle saw the American scene from the viewpoint of a dyed-in-the-wool Tory. To him the Declaration of Independence was an "impudent, false and atrocious Proclamation" and Washington "a little paltry Colonel of Militia at the Head of a Banditti or Rebels." The colonies, in his opinion had waxed strong at the expense of the mother country by draining her population and her gold. In proof of the latter he observed that the poorest merchants in all England were those who traded with the North American colonies, and that contrary to the rebel contention, Britain and not the colonies suffered from an unfavorable balance of trade. During the first year in America, when Serle was confident of a speedy and decisive victory, he dwelt much on the kind of peace which should follow. There must be no compromise with the levelling principles of republicanism or with the unreasonable demands of a rapacious merchant class. The colonies should be granted a constitution "analogous to and co-ordinate with that of Britain," a step which alone would preclude a recurrence of the present rebellion. The supremacy of Parliament in all matters including trade was to prevail throughout the empire to the end that the component parts might be "actuated by one Spirit, and envigorated by one Constitution." Even a system of hereditary honors should be introduced in the colonies as a deterrent against too much democracy. The loyalists with whom Serle conversed acquiesced with him on many of these points. In fact, so frequent is the unanimity of opinion that one suspects Serle of imposing his ideas on the less resolute participants of the conversations. He and Inglis, for example, were in complete accord on the necessity of establishing an American episcopate, while Gallaway was "more lax" on this question. But, Serle tells us, "after canvassing the Subject a good deal, and explaining my Plan . . . he Gallaway seemed perfectly to acquiesce in my Sentiments." (p. 204.)

Serle's confidence in the outcome of the struggle was as great as his assurance on the justness of the King's cause. After Burgoyne's surrender, however, and the French alliance, the pacification of the colonies appeared more remote. On hearing of the order for the evacuation of Philadelphia and General Howe's realistic advice to the loyalists to save their skins and property by making peace with the rebels, Serle wrote: "The Information chilled me with Horror, and with some Indignation when I reflected upon the miserable Circumstances of the Rebels, &c." (p. 295). This sign of weakness was fatal to the loyalist cause for it was only natural that its adherents should desert what appeared to be a sinking vessel which could no longer insure their safety.

The editor of *The American Journal* has maintained consistently high standards throughout the book. Of especial value to the student is the biographical list found in the appendix and the several excellent maps.

Mississippi State College for Women ELIZABETH COMETTI

COUNCIL FIRES ON THE UPPER OHIO. A narrative of Indian affairs in the Upper Ohio Valley until 1795. By Randolph C. Downes with headpiece illustrations by Alex Ross. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1940. Pp. x, 367. Map showing important purchases from the Indians in the Upper Ohio Valley, illustrations, index. $3.00).

This book is one of the Western Pennsylvania Series being published by the University of Pittsburgh Press. It was written under direction of the late Western Pennsylvania Survey, sponsored jointly by the Buhl Foundation, the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, and the University of Pittsburgh. Like other volumes of this series the approach in this one is too local, but, unlike others of them, it adheres to scholarly standards in that it has both formal footnotes and a bibliography. The latter could, however, have been more complete, certainly with respect to worth-while "Secondary Material."

More than any other author known to the present reviewer Dr. Downes relates the much-told story of the white conquest of the Upper Ohio Valley from the Indian point of view. Thus told, the narrative is more than an account of intermittent barbarities. It deals also with the high points in a conflict between two civilizations, each motivated by a profound conviction of its own superiority. In this role Indians sometimes acted the part of barbarians, but in crises they sometimes rose to the plane of diplomats, military strategists, and statesmen. One recalls Pontiac, Cornstalk, Cornplanter and Brant as outstanding examples.

The economic aspect of this contest, as presented by Dr. Downes, is his chief contribution. Pursuing the Indians into the Upper Ohio Valley for purposes of trade, the whites enslaved them by changing their standards of living. They then despoiled the native's game reserves, lowered the prices of their products and demoralized them with rum. For a time they vacillated in their allegiance between the English and the French, but, largely because of favorable price attractions and dependable supplies of goods, they tended to be faithful to the English. When, in response to land hunger, the English neglected trade, the natives resorted to pillaging and murder. At opportune times they preached a return to "the old ways" and dreamed of the day when the whites would be swept into the sea. It did not often occur to them to put away guns and powder. Only the older and wiser heads among them would have given up rum.

The operation of these economic factors is ably reflected for the Revolutionary period in chapters entitled (9) "Fort McIntosh-Fort Laurens Indian Frontier," (10) "George Rogers Clark," and (11) "Indian War, 1779-1782." Forts McIntosh and Laurens were erected to defend the

frontier by aggressive warfare, but this policy failed because of failures of the resident commander, General Lachlan McIntosh, and the disfavor in which frontiersmen held Continental soldiers. But for George Rogers Clark's temporary successes in the Illinois country, this policy might have resulted in disaster. The temporary advantages gained by Clark were lost, however, with the collapse of his credit relations with Oliver Pollach and resident Frenchmen. The effectiveness of this blow was lessened by General Daniel Broadhead's success against the Senecas on the Upper Allegheny. Meanwhile the faithful Delawares were starving to death; frontiersmen continued to oppose the Indian trade; and Continental and militia forces failed to co-operate.

As a consequence Clark was unable to execute his proposed attack of 1780 against Detroit and by the end of that year "Pittsburgh might have gone over to the British had they been more successful in the East." The next year the Delawares cast their lot with the British, and Dr. Downes rightly concludes that the Patriot victories, even those of Clark, "were not of lasting effect." Had there not been a favorable turn on the checkerboard of diplomacy, the Americans might not then have won the Upper Ohio Valley.

The final stages of this struggle began immediately after the Revolution, when the Americans again resumed the aggressive. By dividing resident tribes for purposes of treaty making and by assuming a bold front, not always justified by the situation, they forced the Indians to relinquish their lands. When the Indians realized what they had done and that their former allies, the British, had deserted and betrayed them, they again sought rehabilitation in confederation, which was again used by the British to serve temporary trade purposes. Until the last the British held out to the Indians the possibility of aid which, together with the aggressiveness of the Americans, again incited the natives to open defiance with results that are well known. Briefly stated, Little Turtle, in the Treaty of Greenville (1795), relinquished the Ohio River boundary which had been "the major bone of contention" in Indian relations since the 1768 Treaty of Fort Stanwix. Soon thereafter the whites resumed that "irresistible advance" which in time carried them across the continent.

Like other contests featured from time to time by appeals to force, this one was won largely by the ability of the aggressor to divide and conquer the enemy. It was only in times of great crises that he was able to detect and resist the effectiveness of these tactics and to seek strength in unity. On each side wars were marked by surprise and treachery. Except for a few minor errors, such as calling the District of West Augusta a county (p. 192) and misspelling the surname of Captain William Forman (p. 205) the story is accurately told. It is always interesting and informing. Throughout the work the author leans heavily upon primary sources, but he gives abundant evidence of familiarity with secondary accounts. The index could well have been more complete.

West Virginia University C. H. AMBLER

THE LOG CABIN MYTH, BY HAROLD R. SHURTLEFF. Edited with an Introduction by Samuel Eliot Morison. (Cambridge, Mass.; Harvard University Press, 1939. Pp. xxi, 243. Illustrated. $2.50)

This book was written to explode a popular belief in what the author calls the log cabin myth, which has grown up since the famous presidential campaign of 1840. According to him the log cabin myth has led many to believe that the early colonists from England and France prior to 1675 landed with ax in hand and immediately cut down trees from which they constructed log cabins.

To disprove this almost universal misconception Mr. Shurtleff has turned to the journals, letters and accounts of the first colonists, and as a secondary source, the writings of historians prior to 1840. Particularly in the writings of the colonists themselves has he found a wealth of material to support his theory, that they built houses in the building traditions of their native countries. In short, these people from England and France built temporary huts of wattle and daub, or of bark and even erected tents until more permanent houses could be constructed. Probably none of them had even seen a log cabin.

When it did become possible for them to build houses, frame houses were built as nearly as possible like those lived in at home. Of course they were very crude and not so comfortable to live in as the log cabins tradition has given them.

Just as the frame house arrived from the old world so did the log cabin. The Swedes settled on Delaware Bay in 1638, bringing with them a tradition of constructing dwellings from logs, and the Germans also about 1710 brought this method of building a good substantial house to the new world.

So persistent is tradition, however, that the English continued to build their very flimsy and uncomfortable frame houses long after they knew something of the log houses of the Swedes and Germans, which from contemporary accounts were better in every way.

Mr. Shurtleff has carefully organized his evidence. Starting with the chapter on definitions and dialectics in which not only the limits of the book are defined but, also definitions of architectural terms used, many of which are no longer in popular use or have taken on new meaning, the chapters that follow are each devoted to a particular section of the country from Newfoundland and Massachusetts Bay to Virginia and her neighbors. In these chapters the author discusses what he believes to be the types of dwellings constructed, with the evidence supporting his conclusions. Separate chapters are devoted to the origin and spread of the log house and the origins of the log cabin myth. The book is illustrated with photographs of huts still being built in England and France (which the author believes are much like those built by the early colonists), cuts from old books of the period and sketches showing methods of construction. There is also an index and the book is thoroughly annotated.

While Mr. Shurtleff's idea has been presented before, this is the first time so much substantiating evidence has been assembled in a single volume. The lasting importance of the book, however, does not lie in the

explosion of a popular tradition, but in the more complete picture given of housing and living conditions among the early colonists. All of this, with its clarity, simplicity of style and careful research will interest not only students, but more casual readers as well.

Unfortunately, Mr. Shurtleff died before he had finished the book. He left, however, a detailed outline, carefully classified extracts from his sources and secondary authorities, and the rough draft of several chapters. Mr. Samuel Eliot Morison, a personal friend of the author, realized the value of the work and prepared it for publication. His very valuable introduction is an essential part of the book and should not escape the attention of the reader.

Charleston, West Virginia — EDWARD COLSTON TAYLOR, JR.

UNCLE AMOS, POLITICIAN, by PHIL CONLEY. (West Virginia Publishing Company, Charleston, West Virginia. Pp. 202. $2.00)

I remember attending a lecture in New York City in the winter of 1915 where the speaker's theme was "The Place of the Politician in American Life." I remember too that the speaker left his audience convinced that the politician was an essential individual in any community; one who could and should be followed by grateful people.

But as I looked over the array of politicians I had known I remembered that the name, in some cases, was odious. The name was odious because the individual lacked honesty or integrity; or maybe he was overzealous for power or wealth.

Phil Conley knows a host of leaders of men. Although he says "All characters in this book are fictitious and no actual person is referred to or identified," I believe he has visioned a composite character with ideal political leadership qualities integrated in one individual. He has made flesh and blood act what my New York lecturer merely talked about. In "Uncle Amos, Politician," one finds that a politician can be a man of honesty, simplicity, integrity and high ideals.

Uncle Amos is always the same honest, simple, unassuming man from the hills. He may come down to the capital city but it's "Howdy, Jack. Pull up a cheer." Also it's the simplest of food at the hotel or it's "Cum out ter Williamsville an' see me. Marthy'll give ye buttermilk, fresh aigs, fried chicken, an' ef ye stay long enough, she'll spile ye."

The high regard in which Uncle Amos was held is well illustrated in the chapter, "A Candidate for Attorney General." Bert Collins is the candidate. He, Jack Summers and Uncle Amos are in conversation. Collins said, "This old timer is the best practical politician in the state. He is sincere, wants nothing for himself, is interested in seeing good men placed in office, and is always ready to battle to have the right sort of laws passed. He plays the game above the table, meets all comers, and engages in no shady deals."

Then, too, Uncle Amos was interested in a square deal for the poor and the unemployed. This is well illustrated in the chapter, "Taxing Poor People." He would not stand for any measure that would allow the homes of the unemployed to be sold for taxes. He could become explosive if

the legislature went too far in what he considered the wrong direction. He learns of a hardworking, honest, trustworthy man whose home was recently sold for taxes. Note his words to the State Senator.

> "Hell!" exploded Uncle Amos. "Thar ain't no justice in sich likes. Lissen. Draw up a bill terday ter exempt frum taxation enny person who hez bin outen work fer six month an' who will sign a statemint thet they cain't afford ter pay their assessmint. It ain't right ter take people's homes in enny sech manner."

The book has twenty chapters. Some of the chapters show Uncle Amos actively participating in the selection and election of the right type of person whether it be for county or state office; other chapter headings are, "College Appropriations," "Bribery," "Selling Road Materials," "A Tax Bill," "Clean Election Laws," etc. In every case Uncle Amos is the crusader for honesty, sincerity and fair dealing.

Here is a book that should find its way into every community. Young and old will read it and be impressed. I believe it is not too much to say they will be challenged. In this brief review I have stressed the many rare qualities that this rugged politician showed. I believe, however, Phil Conley wanted his readers to catch yet another quality which Uncle Amos possessed. Many communities may have characters comparable to Uncle Amos, but are they willing to take time out of a busy and comfortable life to exercise civic and political leadership?

New River State College D. B. KRAYBILL

I RODE WITH STONEWALL. The War Experiences of the Youngest Member of Jackson's Staff. By Henry Kyd Douglas, Edited with notes and a biography by Fletcher M. Green. (Pp. 401. Chapel Hill; The University of North Carolina Press. $3.00)

In the Jackson collection of this reviewer is a copy of a little diary. Day by day a citizen of Shepherdstown, West Virginia, had set down personal observations of the great American Civil War. On Sunday, May 25, 1862, the diarist noted that "in a great stampede from Winchester the Yankee troops left everything behind them and made for the Potomac here and elsewhere. Stonewall Jackson was after them." And generally, in that war, that was enough to have after one. By the fall day of October 16, "about twenty thousand Yankees crossed the river and went up the Smithfield Pike and with a heavy loss had to make a retreat from Jackson's forces." And the next May found the right arm of Lee—the West Virginia boy who in 39 years had achieved great renown—laid away in the war torn town of Lexington. But the war carried on. On May 4, 1865, we read that "Major Henry Kyd Douglas former member of Jackson's staff, was arrested today (in Shepherdstown) for wearing gray pants and was taken a prisoner to Martinsburg and after some time released." A strange fate of war at the hands of Federals, some of whom a few months before had shielded him so that he could visit his mother at Ferry Hill, the old Douglas home, just over the Potomac. And likewise the Federal commander at Martinsburg was none other than Colonel Roger E. Cook, sometime teacher of the Douglas children. He did all he

could for the young man of the gray trousers, and had just recently presided over the first military group to adopt resolutions of condolence concerning the death of one whom Douglas called "the gentle Lincoln." It is around the lives of these characters that the story in this book revolves. Men from West Virginia and Virginia, from the 25th and 31st Infantry of "the foot cavalry" to the famous Laurel Brigade, boasted for many years thereafter that "I Rode with Stonewall." No real man who wore the Blue ever denied them the right. Jackson himself had written "do your duty and leave the rest to God."

Henry Kyd Douglas, the author, was born at Shepherdstown in 1840. The law claimed his attention and while some may say he should have been a newspaper man, nevertheless at the very early age of 20 he stepped into the ranks of the Confederate Army. A brilliant young man, of great personal charm, he made friends with everyone from the cook to the general. This inclination followed throughout the war and more than once came to his rescue in trying times. Likewise he had a propensity for writing long letters home; sometimes these were carried through the lines by gallant members of the enemy. A diary and various memorandums, by the close of the war, led him to take steps to write what he elected to call "lectures on Stonewall Jackson." In the flood of articles from 1866 (and especially after 1874) to 1893, he contributed many that were notable especially for personal relations with the participants in the war. Out of these in time emerged the basis of the text of the present book. It is quite apparent from notes therein that the manuscript, in general, was prepared between the time of the administration of President Cleveland and the close of the Spanish American War.

The career of Thomas J. Jackson has attracted the pens of many men. Dozens of books and other items are in existence, some well done and others hastily thrown together. This volume has a personal charm that is not possessed by many others. Yet it is not to be accepted as history, in the sense of authenticated data, for it has curious and unintentional errors. The author, for example, sets down the date of May 11, 1865 (p. 335), as the date he left Appomattox and yet the evidence is clear he was in Martinsburg on May 8. One cannot accept the statement in the *New York Times* (Dec. 22, 1940) that from the death of the author in 1903 the manuscript was unknown until recently rediscovered by Joseph McCord. The manuscript, in part, had been published locally, and sections read before interested groups. On October 29, 1927, the late John Kyd Beckenbaugh, nephew and heir of the author, recorded that his uncle "left at the time of his death an unpublished and not fully revised manuscript for a book of 26 chapters and these I have been reading monthly at our S. C. V. meeting." In this reviewer's collection, the copy for Chapter XX, on Jackson is more or less in accord with the published text. A section carrying the notation, "first paper, War makes a Beginning" does not make mention of R. E. Lee, Stuart and others, and is not the same in all respects as the published chapter. Copies of portions of the manuscript relating to the John Brown episode have long been a part of the splendid Brown collection in the hands of Boyd B. Stutler, of Charleston,

West Virginia, and New York City. All the statements in this section are not accurate. It appears that Major Douglas used a contemporary newspaper as a basis for writing his recollections relating to John Brown and his attack on Harpers Ferry in 1859. The report, though written at the time, was wrong. Brown never hauled supplies from Shepherdstown. All his goods came in from Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, hauled overland, and it is not likely at all that he would have detoured around by Shepherdstown to reach the Kennedy farm which is five miles north of the Potomac river.

The statement (p. 199) that Jackson, in Winchester, dined at the McGuire home "and after dinner went to Lupton's gallery to have his photograph taken" is a mistake as to time and photographer. This widely known portrait, made in 1862, was made by N. Routzahn, who informed the public that he was a "ambrotypist and daguerreanist" on Loudoun St., in Winchester. It appears that only four copies of the original were made, and only one can now be partially accounted for. Another interesting statement appears (p. 335) that on December 5, 1864, Dr. Robert L. Dabney, sometime member of Jackson's staff called on Major Douglas in quest of material for his well known *Life and Campaigns of Lieut-Gen. Thomas Jackson*, which the editor says was published in 1866. In general this date of publication is correct. It does not seem to be widely known however that in 1864 — perhaps early in the year — Volume One, of the *Life of Lieut-Gen. Thomas J. Jackson* by Dabney, was published in London. It contains the first eight chapters, published by James Nisbet & Co., 21 Berners Street, 333 pages, and carries a semigelatin print of the 1863 portrait of Jackson, with an introduction by the Rev. W. Chalmers. Volume two, chapters nine to twenty, appeared sometime after April 1, 1866, with an introduction by Dr. Dabney, which varies one paragraph from the edition of 1866, in the United States. In the writer's collection are two printings of this work, published in England at this time. The story back of this perhaps never will be known.

It is of further West Virginia interest to note that General E. B. Tyler who more than once befriended Douglas was commander of the Seventh Ohio V. Infantry, first Federal troops to march along the Weston and Gauley Pike, into the heart of Western Virginia. It is from the numerous evidences of courteous treatment accorded Major Douglas by the enemy that one gets an insight into the high character of the man. Many statements may not agree with Freeman in regard to Lee. Some will not agree, upon competent testimony, that Jackson's frame was "angular, muscular and fleshless" when Jackson himself affirmed several times he weighed over 170 pounds. Others affirm that he was not an "awkward rider," and it appears that he was always an erect individual who attracted more than passing attention. These observations, however, in no way were set down to do harm to Jackson or any of his colleagues.

The author has written simply and in a narrative form that carries one's interest to the end. His life after the war, the fine looking man delivering an address before the graduating class of Shepherd College, at Shepherdstown, or in the court room, were but further indications of the

sincerity and dignity of the man. One old soldier pointed out that he "never stooped before bullets." We have here a picture of a youth to whom age was attracted. One who paused to pick a violet from a roadside, or vowed that one girl was to another as a pink rose to a red. One who could lie awake reading the story of the sunken road at Waterloo, in *Les Miserables;* and then "after a glass of something" or "a bit of breakfast" write out a military report for a superior, then hurry to horse and a wedding. He saw "deers" and "dears" here and there; and wondered how to get someone to make a raid so harp strings could be secured for another wedding. He could marvel at Lee and wonder at Stuart; ride through a storm and pause on a mountain top to observe the beauty of nature; yet in it all set down in mind, and on paper, material out of which has come a book of equal charm to men from New England or from Texas.

The excellent editing and the chapter, "The Author and His Book," as well as the copious notes on the text by Fletcher M. Green contribute much to the finished volume. The work indeed merits the dedication by the author who records in part, "to the memory of any good soldier who died in battle and is forgotten. . . . " The American soldiers of 1861-1865 were indeed good soldiers.

Charleston, West Virginia — ROY BIRD COOK

GUIDE TO THE MATERIAL IN THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES (United States Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1940. Pp. 276, 40c)

This is not only a comprehensive index ordered almost miraculously from the heterogeneous mass of documents dumped into this repository by every department of the Government; it is also, because of its analyses and its histories of these departments, readable and informative. In reading the descriptions of these papers, which range from the pettiest of details to the weightiest of state manuscripts, one is impressed with the scope of the Federal Government — whether skeptically reading into it the appalling trivialities of bureaucracy, or more exegetically tracing the outlines of a highly organized republic.

HISTORICAL PLACES AT THE GATEWAYS OF THE SHENANDOAH VALLEY IN JEFFERSON COUNTY, WEST VIRGINIA, by Minna Thruston. (Jefferson Publishing Company, Charles Town, West Virginia, 1940. Pp. 32, 25c)

Miss Thruston's little book contains descriptions of some of the great and small houses around Charles Town, and the stories of persons who lived in the houses. The illustrations are good, and the paragraphs on Dolly Madison and on Greenway Court especially interesting.

State History as Featured by the Press

MAGAZINES:

THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW (December, 1940), *A Travelogue of 1849.* (Mentions the Virginia shore of the Ohio, the Great Kanawha and Wheeling.)

WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE QUARTERLY (October, 1940), *Beverly Park and the Knights of the Golden Horseshoe,* by Alfred Bagby, Jr.; *Documents relating to the Early History of the College of William and Mary and the History of the Church in Virginia* (cont.), contributed by Herbert L. Ganter; *Genealogical Notes from "Virginia Colonial Decisions,"* extracted by W. Ronald Cocke, III.

THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE (December, 1940), *A Trip to Washington in 1811,* contributed by Thomas W. Kemp.

THE MARSHALL REVIEW (November, 1940), *Barbed-Wire Horizons,* by Douglas Southall Freeman.

THE INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY (December, 1940), *Clark's Conquest of the Northwest,* by Major Joseph I. Lambert, U. S. Cavalry.

NATIONAL HISTORICAL MAGAZINE (January, 1941), *Abstracts of Wills from Prince Edward County, Virginia,* by Allie M. Millard, War, West Virginia, and Mrs. Josiah Foster, Fort Smith, Arkansas. (February, 1941), *Awards of the Purple Heart,* by Harry Van Demark; *Washington's Own Birthdays,* by Eloise Lounsbery; *When I Knew Lincoln,* by Mary Delahay.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NORTHWESTERN OHIO (January, 1941), *Logan and the Logan Elm,* by Howard Jones..

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY (November, 1940), *The John Brown Legend in Pictures,* by James C. Malin; *Ransome's John Brown Painting,* by Robert S. Fletcher.

MAGAZINE OF THE JEFFERSON COUNTY (WEST VIRGINIA) HISTORICAL SOCIETY (December, 1940), *Jefferson County in the War of 1812,* by Millard K. Bushong; *Weis Pottery,* by Mrs. M. S. R. Moler; *Jefferson County Portraits and Portrait Painters,* a partial survey, made by Miss Patty Willis, with an Introduction by Edward Phillips.

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW (January, 1941), *A Southern Advocate of Methodist Unification in 1865,* by Nora C. Chaffin; *Hermon*

Husband's Continuation of the Impartial Relation, edited by Archibald Henderson.

WEST VIRGINIA REVIEW (December, 1940), *Call the Doctor!* (Pioneer Women were the first to minister to Kanawha's sick), by Mary Eloise Turner; *In the Days of McGuffey*, second and concluding installment; *Electricity*, (Charleston people considered their lighting system a miraculous thing), by James R. Cavitt; *Hiking Trails in the Kanawha Valley*, by M. H. F. Kinsey; *When a Governor Takes Office* (first ten inaugurations), by George Summers; *Executive Pomp and Circumstance*, (second ten inaugurations), by Roger A. Young, Jr.; *16 State Capitols—Believe It or Not!* by Dr. Roy Bird Cook; *West Virginia University Stages a Lighting School*, by William M. Corwin.

WEST VIRGINIA SCHOOL JOURNAL (February, 1941), *Louise Preyz Wins National Recognition as Writer.*

NEWSPAPERS:

CHARLESTON DAILY MAIL, *Democrats' Victory Rooster Won Fame after '84 Election*, November 10; *Kanawha County Jail Once Famed for Revolving Cells*, November 17; *Experiences of Hunter, Lost 21 Days in Nicholas County Recalled*, November 24; *Eli Cart, Charleston Resident, Aided Rescue of Civil War Prisoners*, December 1; *Cornbread Breakfast Given by Governor '93 Novelty*, December 8; *Charleston Among First U. S. Cities to Obtain Telegraphy*, December 15; *Roman Candle Battles Topped Holiday Merriment in 1870's*, December 22; *Older Residents Recall Early Education in Two Mile School*, December 29; *Putnam Youth First Person to Cook with Natural Gas*, January 5; *Neely Will Reverse Procedure of First Governor—Boreman Quit to be Senator—Inaugurations Reviewed*, January 12; *Former Indian Fighter, 93, Recalls Tilts with Geronimo*, January 19; *State Marks Birthdays of Its Two Most Noted Confederates*, by Forrest Hull, January 20; *Perils of Valley Forge Braved by City Residents' Ancestors*, January 26; *Teays Valley Once River Bed, Later South's Richest Land*, February 2. (Note: The above articles, with the exception of the one by Forrest Hull, were written by George W. Summers.)

CLARKSBURG SUNDAY EXPONENT-TELEGRAM, *Clothing Was Big Problem of Central West Virginia Pioneers*, by Cordelia Moellendick, November 10.

CLARKSBURG EXPONENT, *First Gaol Built for $65.83 in 1785—Jail Built 120 Years Later Cost More Than $75,000*, by Victor McIntyre, November 15; *Old Petitions for New Central Counties Colorful Documents*, by Victor McIntyre, November 17; *Isaac Van Meter's Diary Tells of Trip to Local Region in 1801*, by Cordelia Moellendick, November 17; *Peter Waggoner for 20 Years, Red Man's Captive—Lived with Shawnees from 1792 until Close of War of 1812*, by Victor McIntyre, November 24; *Early Clarksburg Papers Carried Colorful Names—First Papers Beginning with "Bystander," 1811, etc.*, by Cordelia Moellendick, December 1; *Greenbrier Valley is Boyhood Home of Many State Governors*, December 22; *Buck-*

hannon is 125 Years Old Today, January 16; *Massacre at Indian Camp in 1772 Caused Death of 13 Members of Same Party*, January 26.

FAIRMONT WEST VIRGINIAN, *How Well Do You Know Fairmont?—Oldest Teachers College in State* (picture), November 13.

FAIRMONT TIMES, *Early Literary Societies*, November 12; *First Post Office in Fairmont, Established, 1820*, by J. Martin Scranage, November 14; *Historical Sketch, Baptist Temple*, November 16: *Fairmont P. O. Established as "Polsley's Mills" in Monongalia County, Virginia, 1820*, November 18; *History of Fairmont Post Office*, prepared by J. Martin Scranage and enclosed in corner stone of New Federal Building, November 20; *Hermitage Inn, More than 100 Years Old, Petersburg*, November 22;*Presbyterians Have 125th Anniversary—Began in 1785 in Middletown*, November 24; *First Newspapers of Fairmont, Survey, and Public School, Brick Church, R. R. Train and Steamboat*, November 25; *Pleasant Valley*, by I. A. Barnes, December 29; *West Virginians in the Revolution*, January 13; *Bartlett House, Built 1802, Hepzibah*, January 14; *Story of Nathaniel Cochran, 1778*, January 15, 18, 24; *Old Newspaper Contains Much History of Holland, Shrewsbury and Barnes Families*, January 22; *Family Notes on the Dragoo Family*, February 1; *County Historical Society Meets—Plan for the Marion County Centennial*, February 2; *Block from "Big Elm" Presented to Newly Established Marion County Museum*, February 3; *City-County History to be Written under W. P. A. Project*, February 6. (Note: Most of the above articles are found in E. E. Meredith's column.)

WHEELING NEWS-REGISTER, *Oglebay Mansion Plans Historical Room; Triadelphia M. E. Church One of Oldest in Section—First Record 1830*, November 3; *Portrait of Distinguished Citizen and Soldier, the Late General Jones Presented to Army-Navy Club*, November 29.

RALEIGH REGISTER, *Flood Washes Out Indian Burying Ground near Hinton*, November 10.

WEST VIRGINIA NEWS (Ronceverte), *Death of "Stonewall" Jackson*, by Roland E. Ballard, November 14; *Military Mansion of Greenbrier—John Anderson Home at North Caldwell*, November 12; *Old Churches and Ancient Burial Grounds*, by Gladys Vaughan, January 9; *Plan to Restore Battlefield at Carnifex Ferry*, January 16.

WESTON INDEPENDENT, *The Magic Tree, Poem Dedicated to Thomas Jonathan Jackson, 1835*, November 13; *100th Anniversary of Murphy's Creek (Baptist) Church*, November 27; *Short Creek Church Organized in 1785—Historical Sketch*, by J. A. Earle, January 1.

PIEDMONT HERALD, *Piedmont's Early History*, by J. C. Sanders, November 14.

PENNSBORO NEWS, *Famous Old Tavern*, November 14.

PARKERSBURG NEWS, *Story of the Finding of Lewis Wetzel's Pipe*, by Cordelia Moellendick, November 17; *Community Cooperation Secures Cabin Museum, Williamstown*, by Larry Smith, November 24; *Record Kept by Regiment in Revolution—Colonel Grosvenor*, January 4; *City's River History and Heritage*, by Roy Folden, January 12; *History of Baptist Church at Elizabeth; Jackson is Proud Name in History of Parkersburg; Indian God Believed Left by Mound Builders is Returned; Old Timers Paint Vivid Picture of Parkersburg at is Was 53 Years Ago*, by Rex Woodford, January 19; *The Point and Famous Swann House*, by Thomas H. Brown; *Steamer Kanawha Disaster—More Stories about River*, by Roy Folden, January 26; *Strange Things Which Have Occurred in West Virginia*, by Cordelia Moellendick, February 2.

DOMINION NEWS (Morgantown), *Old Railway Not Used, but Story Still Told—Dates Back to 1842*, November 18.

MONROE WATCHMAN (Union), *Story about Anne Royall*, by Georgia Heaster, November 28; *Monroe County Scene of First West Virginia Birth—Michael Swope, 1753*, December 12; *Foster Family of the Northern Neck of Virginia*, by Mrs. Olive Foster Hoover, December 19 and 26; *Traditions of Spessard Family*, January 23.

SHEPHERDSTOWN REGISTER, *Review of "I Rode with Stonewall,"* November 28; *Personal Recollections of Major Henry Kyd Douglas*, by J. O. Knott, December 12.

PRINCETON OBSERVER, *"Misadventure in Princeton, 1852,"* book published by Observer, November 28.

NICHOLAS CHRONICLE, *The Yellow Tavern*, story by Gladys Vaughn, December 6; *Sketch of First Member of Grose Family*, January 30, and February 6.

MINERAL DAILY NEWS, *J. C. Sanders Writes of Myerstown—Lost Town of the Alleghenies, near Keyser*, December 6; *Colonel George Carskadon Tells of Capture and Release of Uncle by Confederates*, December 10.

CHURCH MESSENGER, *West Virginia Baptist Historical Society is Organized*, December issue.

LOGAN BANNER, *Old Newspaper Found, Contains Account of Inauguration of Theodore Roosevelt, 1901*, December 11.

WHEELING INTELLIGENCER, *Rosby's Rock, Marshall County Historic Old Community*, by C. B. Allman, December 6; *Mike Benedum, World Famous Wildcatter*, December 28; *St. Joseph's Community*, historical sketch, January 2; *Wheeling Woman Has Article in Southern Churchman*, January 20.

THE CHARLESTON GAZETTE, *Phil Conley Writes History of State*, December 8.

FOLLANSBEE REVIEW, *A Glimpse at Follansbee (Pictorial Edition) 1902-1940; Follansbee Steel Corporation Dates Back 128 Years*, December 19.

GLENVILLE PATHFINDER, *Memories of a Pioneer-Colonel Conrad*, December 19.

TIMES RECORD (Spencer), *Story of Mike Benedum—One of Greatest Powers in Nation's Oil, Gas Industry*, December 26.

POCAHONTAS TIMES (Marlinton), *The "Porte Crayon" Memorial Society*, January 2.

BRAXTON DEMOCRAT, *Historical Society to be Organized*, January 10; *Braxton County's Writers' Project Has Completed Three Booklets*, January 23.

HERALD-DISPATCH, *House of Delegates Honors Woman Doctor—Harriett B. Jones, With Biography in House Journal*, January 24; *M. Henry Bittinger of Gerardstown, Appointed Head of History Department, Hampden-Sydney College*, February 7.

WEST UNION RECORD, *Story About J. H. Diss Debar*, by Nola Stone, January 23.

STATE GAZETTE (Point Pleasant), *George Washington in West Virginia* (cont'd), by Mrs. J. G. F. Johnson, January 23.

THE INDEPENDENT HERALD (Hinton), *New Paper in State, "The West Virginia City,"* January 29.

WAYNE COUNTY NEWS, *History of County Needed As Centennial (1942) Approaches*, February 7.

SERIALS (CONTINUED)

THE MOUNTAINEER (Ripley), *Early History of Pioneer Days in Jackson County*, began February 16, 1939.

GRAFTON SENTINEL, *A History of Taylor County*, began April 18, 1939.

LOGAN BANNER, *History of Logan County*, by Henry Clay Ragland, began January 16, 1941.

Recent Publications of Interest to West Virginians

John Champe, The Soldier and the Man, by Ida M. Judy, Shenandoah Publishing House, Strasburg, Virginia, 1940.

Pioneer Life in Western Pennsylvania, by J. E. Wright and Doris S. Corbett, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1940.

The Era of the American Revolution: Studies Inscribed to Evarts Boutell Greene, Edited by Richard B. Morris, Columbia University Press, New York, 1939.

Stonewall Jackson's Way, by John W. Wayland, McClure Publishing Company, Staunton, Virginia, 1940.

Virginia Genealogies and County Records, Volume 1, compiled by Annie Walker Burns, 1941. (Mimeographed)

Washington and the Revolution, by Bernhard Knollenberg, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1940.

West Virginia: A Brief History of the Mountain State, by Phil Conley, The Charleston Printing Company, Charleston, West Virginia, 1940.

Torchbearer of the Revolution, by Thomas Wertenbaker, Princeton University Press, 1940.

My Theodosia, by Anya Seton, Houghton Mifflin, New York, 1941. (Concerns Aaron Burr's daughter.)

How America Lives, by J. C. Furnas and others, Henry Holt and Company, New York (1941). (Has chapter on a West Virginia coal miner.)

George Washington as the French Knew Him, by Gilbert Chinard, Princeton University Press, 1940.

The Shenandoah and Its Byways, by William Oliver Stevens, Dodd, Mead and Company, New York, 1941.

Hawk's Nest, by Hubert Skidmore, Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1941.

Yellow Wolf: His Own Story, by Lucullus Virgil McWhorter, with photographs and map, The Caxton Printers, Caldwell, Idaho, 1941.

Early Baptist History, by C. W. Bell, Privately Published, Zela, West Virginia, 1941.

Today and Forever, by Pearl S. Buck, John Day Company, Inc., New York, N. Y., 1941.

Recent Accessions to the State Department of Archives and History

LIBRARY:

Dr. Roy Bird Cook donated the following books, manuscripts and newspapers to this library:

Collection of letters to K. V. Whaley, Member of Congress from Point Pleasant. Includes letters from Civil War generals, politicians and others.

Collection of letters and papers of Captain George A. Jackson, pertaining to claims for services in the Federal Army, 1864. (Jackson was claim agent.)

Land Grant to Wm. H. Edwards, 1856
Land Grant to Johnson M. Camden, 1847
Land Grant to Robert H. Haury, 1867

Odd copies of the following newspapers:

Banner and Covenant, Philadelphia, April 25, 1863
Saturday Morning Advertiser, Weston, W. Va., May 4, 1929
Berryville Conservator, March 12, 1862. (Contains Official Report of the Battle of Manassas.)
Coopers Clarksburg Register, January 24, 1847
Piqua Register (Ohio), July 13, 1850
Herald-Dispatch (Huntington) Extra!, November 11, 1918 (War Over)
Wheeling Intelligencer, 50th Anniversary Edition, 1852-1902
Huntington Advertiser (photostat) 2 pages, 1874.
The Washingtonian (Leesburg, Va.) May 31, 1834
Richmond Enquirer, March 3, 1840
The Huntington West Virginia Argus, January 12, 1888
Wheeling Sunday Register, May 13, 1888
The St. Albans Pioneer, August 4, 1877
Wheeling Register, August 18, 1866
St. Albans Nonpareil, October 31, 1884
The State Journal (Parkersburg), February 20, 1879
Putnam Democrat, February 11, 1887
The Irrepressible (Winfield), April 26, 1888
The Weekly Register (Point Pleasant), May 16, 1906
Youth's Companion (bound volume LXVII)
The Weekly Register (Point Pleasant) (bound volume), January 3, 1883-December 30, 1885

MISCELLANEOUS:

Rent Roll of Virginia, 1704-1705 (typed copy)
Census of the Town of Weston, West Virginia, 1860
Marriage Records of Pendleton County, 1800-1851
Prospectus of Coal River Lands and Railroad, by Board of Directors (1893)
Navigation of the Ohio River, 1938 (1 volume)

MUSEUM:

Indian Relics from historic Iroquois site near Romney, West Virginia, donated by Carl Mason and Howard MacCord
Water Color of "Pringle Sycamore," in Upshur County, donated by the artist, Mrs. Nettie Bartlett Cooper of Fairmont, West Virginia

Contributors

THOMAS PERKINS ABERNETHY did his undergraduate work at the College of Charleston in South Carolina, and received the M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from Harvard University. He taught at Vanderbilt and the University of Alabama before going to the University of Virginia in 1930, where he is now Richmond Alumni Professor of History. Dr. Abernethy is the author of *The Formative Period in Alabama; From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee; Western Lands and the American Revolution;* and recently from the press, *Three Virginia Frontiers.* He is now engaged in writing Volume IV (1789-1819) of the projected ten-volume "History of the South" to be published jointly by the Presses of the University of Texas and Louisiana State University.

Dr. Abernethy has served on the editorial boards of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* and the *Journal of Southern History,* and as president of the Southern Historical Association.

CHARLES H. AMBLER, for biographical sketch, see Volume II, page 93.

D. B. KRAYBILL, for biographical sketch, see Volume I, page 250.

CARROL H. QUENZEL is a native of Martinsburg, West Virginia. He received his education at West Virginia University (B.S., M.A.), University of Illinois (B.S.L.S.), and University of Wisconsin (Ph.D.). He has written historical articles and compiled bibliographies for various periodicals. Dr. Quenzel taught in the elementary and high schools of West Virginia and in the University of Wisconsin. At present he is an Associate Professor of History and Political Science in Morris Harvey College.

ELIZABETH COMETTI, for biographical sketch, see Volume I, page 102.

RALPH VICKERS MERRY is a native of Canada. He was educated in Canada and the United States (B.A. and M.A.) McGill University, Montreal, Canada and (Ed.M. and Ed.D.) Graduate School of Education, Harvard University. He has served as Professor of Education and Psychology, Morris Harvey College since 1934. Author of, *Problems in the Education of Visually Handicapped Children;* and co-author of *From Infancy to Adolescence,* also contributor of numerous articles to educational and scientific journals.

FREDA KIEFER MERRY (Mrs. Ralph V. Merry), received her education (B.A. and Ph.D.) at Ohio State University and (A.M.) University of Michigan. Dr. Merry has served as Professor of Education and Psychology at Morris Harvey College since 1934. She is co-author of *From Infancy to Adolescence,* and contributor of numerous research articles on special education and psychology to educational and professional journals.

ROGER A. YOUNG, JR., for biographical sketch, see Volume II, page 168.

EDWARD COLSTON TAYLOR, JR., is a West Virginian. He was educated in the public schools of this state and the University of Virginia (B.S. in Architecture). Mr. Taylor is an architect and in his leisure time paints water colors. At this time he is the president of the Allied Artists of West Virginia.

ROY BIRD COOK, for biographical sketch, see Volume I, page 163.

Editor's Page

The articles in this issue are of unusual interest. They deal with the origin of the State, the basis of the educational system, and other phases of our history that emerge from the period following the close of the American Revolution to the days when West Virginia became the thirty-fifth State in the Union.

In *The Formation of West Virginia—Debates and Proceedings,* Dr. C. H. Ambler considers not only the nature of the factors which led to the formation of West Virginia, but appraises the material upon which any history of the origin of our State must be based. In the formative years, the field of education was not ignored by the citizens who lived west of the mountains in the vast region that extended to the Ohio. Dr. Ralph V. Merry and Dr. Frieda K. Merry, in *The Literary Fund of Virginia; Its Relation to Sectionalism in Education,* bring out many points which give a clearer view of this aid to education and, perchance, its influence on political activities which led to the new state movement.

The founders of Charleston, Parkersburg, and Marietta, had hardly laid down the broad-axe before Harman Blennerhassett took up his abode on the little island that lies hard by the point where the Little Kanawha joins the Ohio. Yet, in a few years after 1796, when the Blennerhassetts erected their mansion, the whole United States was interested in the ruins of the home in "the wilderness" as a result of the celebrated Burr-Blennerhassett episode. Writers without number have alternately assailed and praised the actors in this drama. An amazing series of myths emerged to envelop the little incident in our history. More than one writer utilized fiction to express his views. Roger A. Young, Jr., has a new approach to an appraisal of the works of those who sought to surround a small basis of facts with a

shell of fiction, in *The Burr Legend in Romance.* Out of it all emerges the childlike faith of Blennerhassett, and the somewhat persecuted and sometimes prosecuted Burr. Neither of these men deserved some of the criticism heaped upon them.

The second part of *Excerpts from Swann's "Prison Life at Fort Delaware,"* edited by Elizabeth Cometti, is found in this number. Here we catch a glimpse of Lee, Lincoln, and Grant, and the closing days of the Civil War are noted. This interesting diary has more than passing interest to West Virginians. In the "Immortal 600," mentioned heretofore, appear the names of several men from this State. Among these men who had such noted careers in the Confederate Army were: Captain E. D. Camden, of Sutton; J. H. Matthews, of Alvon; James Dunlap, of Union; A. K. Edgar, of near Marlinton; Isaac Kurkendall (Kuykendall), of Romney; J. M. Lovett, of near Romney; Henry Fry, of Wheeling; O. H. P. Lewis, of Beverly; M. W. Boggs, of Wheeling and Sutton; J. W. A. Ford, of Lewisburg; J. W. McDowell, of Lewisburg; F. Fansa, of Weston; W. W. George, of Princeton; C. P. Johnson, of near Romney; J. W. Davis, of Clarksburg; A. R. Humphries, of Lewisburg; and Captain T. J. Berry, of near Sutton.

West Virginians in the American Revolution, compiled by Ross B. Johnston, is certain to be a more ambitious undertaking than originally planned. The Sons of the Revolution expect to expand the material bearing upon its own membership.

THE WEST VIRGINIA DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

INNIS C. DAVIS
State Historian and Archivist

The Department of Archives and History, West Virginia, solicits diaries, manuscripts and the narratives of West Virginia pioneers, as well as original articles on the history and settlement of the counties and biographies of prominent West Virginians, past and present. Books and pamphlets written by West Virginians and about West Virginia, early newspapers, and maps and atlases of the state will be welcomed.

This department will be glad to consider pictures, relics, coins, artifacts and other objects suitable for the museum, relating to the history of West Virginia. Contributions will be credited to the donors, and will be carefully preserved as property of the state.

Address all communications to the Department of Archives and History, State Capitol, Charleston, West Virginia.