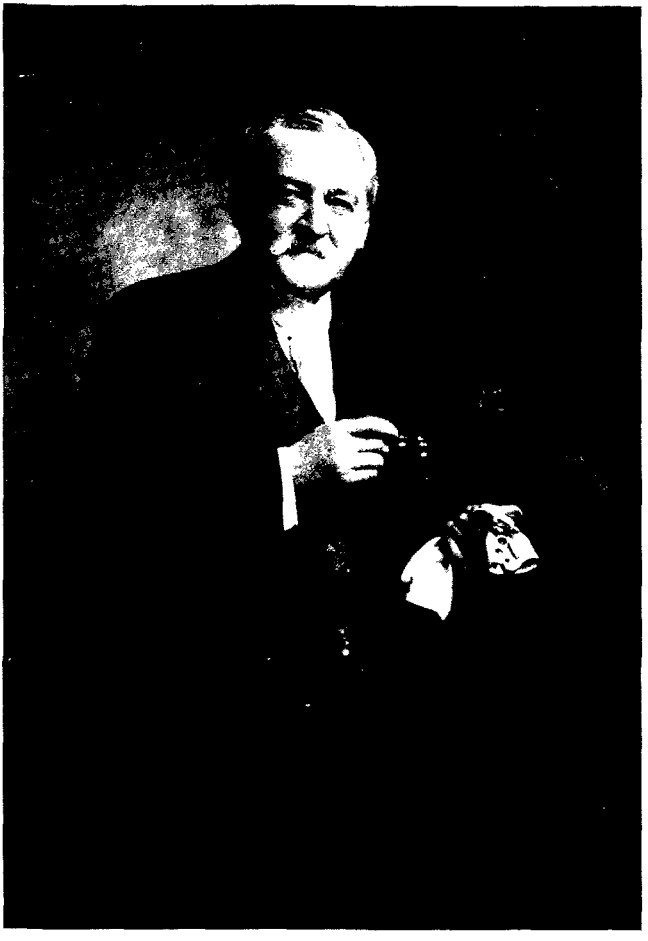
A VIRGINIA HERITAGE



Colonel J. Willcox Brown
in Baltimore Days

A Virginia Heritage

by

Eleanor Brown Merrill

PRIVATELY PRINTED

1968

Library of Congress Card Catalog Number 68-54707

Press of Whittet & Shepperson, Richmond, Virginia

DEDICATION

To the memory

of

my brother

DONALDSON BROWN

A True Virginian

FOREWORD

HIS CHRONICLE of our forebears is addressed to my nieces and nephews, who have shown interest in learning something about their antecedents.

Many facts have been unearthed by George H. S. King, Fellow of the American Society of Genealogists, and I have read a vast amount of reference material relating not only to the persons but, also, to the times involved.

As Maud Wilder Goodwin writes in her preface to *White Aprons:* "The obscurity which veils the entire history of the great struggle between tyranny and popular rights in Virginia a hundred years before the Revolution makes accuracy impossible even for the most painstaking historian." And later depredations and loss of records have further shrouded the image of past years. It must be admitted that some embroidery has been used in an effort to make interesting reading. But the data as given are essentially correct, and the genealogical tables given present accurate data.

This work ceases with the generation preceding my own; it is hoped that you younger ones will be stimulated to carry the record further through a period that has shown many upheavals and an increasing horde of relatives.

E. B. M.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

IRST THE WRITER wants to record deep appreciation of the Donaldson Brown family's constant encouragement and support of this study, without which it could not have been carried through.

References listed after each chapter are gratefully acknowledged, as is the generous help of those mentioned throughout the text. We want to thank George H. S. King, Fellow of the American Society of Genealogists, for his research and findings which are all on file, though the present volume necessarily omits some material which must be left for future writers; and we acknowledge the kind assistance of John Frederick Dorman, F.A.S.G., in the final preparation and indexing of this work.

In addition to the above mentioned, thanks are due to Emily Dunn, Winifred Barksdale, Elinor Hopkins, Miriam Jones, Louis E. Dean, the Virginia Historical Society staff and to others who have been generous with their help. Especially is the writer grateful to her two part-time secretaries—Elinor M. Whelan and Katharine Parks—who have shown infinite skill and patience in deciphering and transcribing an abominable scrawl.

CONTENTS

ILLUSTRATIONS

A VIRGINIA HERITAGE

Chapter One: BROWN, 1729-1798

IT WILL SURPRISE you to find that instead of coming to Virginia with the first settlers from England, as written of by your great-grandfather in his letter of 1833,[1] the earliest record established by this study is of Browns living in Mannington, Salem County, New Jersey, on June 5, 1729, where they were part of a Scotch-Irish immigration. (Someone has written of the Scotch-Irish as being "neither fish, flesh nor fowl"—but more pleasing is the characterization given by Samuel Brown in 1875: "A people firm and resolute in their purposes, and tenacious of their rights."[2]) In Professor Leyburn's *The Scotch-Irish*[3] we read that those in Scotland who accepted grants of land in northern Ireland around 1600 from the then Scottish King James became the ancestors of all Scotch-Irish in America—humble folk with ambition and qualities of character that made them good pioneers. They came two hundred thousand strong in the Eighteenth Century —those Lowland Scots who had moved to Ulster. Professor Leyburn's introduction takes us down a peg when we read: "The search for aristocrats among the early Scotch-Irish will prove futile."

In A. M. Prichard's *Mead Relations,*[4] from which we get some of our authoritative data, we read: "The writer of the foregoing manuscript (the J. T. B. letter) . . . has presented to posterity a splendid account of the traditional history of the

family as he, doubtless, received it from his forebears; but when he wrote he did not have that incomparable compilation of Lyman Chalkley's abstracts from the records of Augusta County, Virginia . . . so that now it is possible to sit comfortably at home and gather within a few hours what previously required weeks to compile." (See Lyman Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia,* 3 v.; Rosslyn, Va., 1912.) There is no evidence of relationship between New Jersey Browns and the first Virginia settlers, who in those days of difficult travel would not, conceivably, have moved to New Jersey and back, so let us be satisfied with this beginning in the early seventeen hundreds.

An interesting sidelight on the period is that in 1676 a group of Quakers succeeded in buying patents for settlement in West Jersey, this area having been disposed of by the Duke of York to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, then neglected until the Quakers by above mentioned arrangements were allowed to found Burlington in 1677, many coming from New England to New Jersey and forming homesteads in defiance of Catholic James II.

It was from East New Jersey, though, that your great-great-great-great-grandfather Brown came to Virginia with an ever increasing migration from there and from Pennsylvania. According to Joseph A. Waddell's *Annals of Augusta County, Virginia,* Beverley and Borden were indefatigable in introducing settlers from Europe, both directly and through their very efficient agent, James Patton. We read in *Colonial Virginia*[5] that the first large grant of land in the Valley, south of Shenandoah-James River divide, was made in 1735 to Benjamin Borden, who thus secured about a hundred thousand acres. His factor, James Patton,(a) a native of Northern Ireland, had come to America many times with Irish immigrants and

(a) Colonel James Patton (1692-1755) "was killed by the Indians at Draper's Meadow, now Blacksburg, in 1755." (Robert Douthat Stoner, *A Seed-Bed of the Republic* [Roanoke, Va., 1962] pp. 307, 312.)

was interested in settling the more desirable in what was then Augusta County, extending from the Blue Ridge to Virginia's western border—later broken up to include Orange County, North Carolina, as well as Botetourt, Lunenburg (now Bedford), Bath, Highland, and other counties in Virginia.

The first Henry Brown of whom we have knowledge is mentioned in the *New Jersey Archives* as having received a bequest on July 21, 1682, from Moses Taylor. And from that same source we learn that in 1692/3 there were bequests from Sarah Lawrence to her cousin Esther Brown and a sister ..... Brown. We do not know the name of Henry's first wife, but could it be that she was the sister mentioned in Sarah Lawrence's will? We do know that his second wife was Esther—apparently the cousin referred to.

By his first wife Henry Brown had four children: Henry (1712-1798), Samuel (1717-1750), Daniel (1720-1797), and David (1723-.....), undoubtedly all born in New Jersey. By the second wife there were: Thomas,(b) who later owned eighty-seven acres between Peter's Creek and Mason's Creek of the Roanoke; Robert, who also later lived on Mason's Creek; and Esther,(c) who at the time of her marriage owned property on Lick Run of Mason's Creek.

It is probable that the first Henry moved south before 1740, for he was designated as a "runaway" in July 1734, when Ann Grant of New Jersey brought suit against him, claiming debt against her husband's estate. Court records of Augusta County, Virginia, refer to the suit in November 1753 as against Henry Brown, Yeoman,(d) of Mannington, New Jersey. The plaintiff

(b) Married Mary Terry.

(c) Married William Carlton in the spring of 1762 when he had a tract adjoining Esther's.

(d) Philip L. Barbour in *The Three Worlds of John Smith* calls Smith "Yeoman," "which word now signifieth among us a man well at ease and having honestlie to live, and yet not a gentleman." Columbia University Press says that in early days the yeoman was below but next to the leisure class and was a "freeholder who farmed his own small holding."

being called but "non-suited," the defendant was awarded five shillings and recovery of all costs, so we have nothing to worry about in this connection! Nor need we be dismayed by the term "runaway." In those days anyone who moved from one colony to another was looked upon askance, or at least as wandering afar. Let us be thankful for the adventurous spirit that led to a Virginia heritage.

Kegley[6] tells us that Henry and his son, Samuel, were among a few that founded in 1742 the vanguard of western migration, recorded as south of the James River and on its tributaries, where in 1746 they were designated as road overseers. They were engaged in work on a road between New River and a branch of the Roanoke, or as it was variously called Roan Oak or Round Oak, as well as on several other roads along this river. The first record of ownership, however, is by entry in 1749 of land on the Roanoke and along the west side of Mason's Creek, as belonging to Samuel Brown. His will, probated in May 1759, left to his wife, Mary, the bulk of his property, adding by codicil a mare and her "fold" bought from Robert Gay; and to his brothers, Henry, Daniel, and David respectively, were left a colt and two milk cows. In those days cows were considered essential only where families were being raised, so it is presumed that these three were married at the time.

The area in which Samuel was located was first settled in 1743, when Adam Dickinson, later Samuel's Executor, was a leading pioneer. According to Prichard's account of the Brown family, Samuel farmed the land for Dickinson and laid no claim to ownership, but his house was left by will to his son Adam, who was captured by Shawnees soon after his father's death and spent the rest of his life with them in Brownstown, near what is now Detroit. This was a sad trial for the family, but it may be assumed that, as frequently happened, Adam became reconciled to his fate and was happy in cap-

tivity. Two other sons mentioned in Samuel's will were Henry and Samuel—the latter born after his father's death but fulfilling the expectation that he would be a boy! It is he that in Lewis Preston Summers' *Annals of Southwest Virginia* is identified as Colonel Samuel Brown, serving as juryman in Botetourt County; appointed in 1775 with others to view the way from Sweet Springs to Camp Union, interesting in view of the Beirne connection with this area (see Chapter Nine); and recommended to the Governor for appointment as a Justice for Greenbrier County—where later Macfarlands were identified. (See Chapter Seven.)

Samuel, Sr. (Henry's son) died at thirty-three "very weak and sick, though of perfect mind and memory," as his will states. It was a rugged life and this early death is not surprising; rather that his father was active at the age of sixty-seven (see page 3) is to be wondered at.

About Henry's son, Daniel (born New Jersey 1720), we find that he went to North Carolina in the seventeen forties, returning to Virginia around 1750, when one hundred and three acres in Augusta County were surveyed for him—land lying on "ye Little River" and a part of Patton's grant by order of Council as of March 16, 1750. Prichard tells of a host from Virginia's upper counties leaving the colony during the reign of terror 1753-1763—a period to be followed by ten years of peace and tranquility, after which the Indians again took up arms as protest against Governor Dunmore's patents for lands west of the mountains—lands considered their happy hunting grounds. Daniel may have been a part of this exodus, and probably was, since we note a debt against him in the settlement of Colonel Patton's estate (1754) that was not acknowledged or settled until August 1767. However, he was on Major John Connely's roll in Virginia as sergeant, serving two hundred and four days (allowance 25 pounds, 10 shillings) beginning September 22, 1774—a period that included the Battle of Point Pleasant

fought on October tenth of that year. He had joined Connely under Captain George Aston in raising troops for Dunmore from Botetourt County, Virginia, and it is interesting to read a resolution signed on behalf of the whole "corp" of Dunmore's army on November 5, 1774—a resolution which has been called the First Declaration of Independence:

> Resolved, that we bear the most faithful allegiance to his Majesty King George the Third, whilst his Majesty delights to reign over a brave and free people, that we will, at the expense of life, and everything dear and valuable, exert ourselves in support and honour of his Crown and the dignity of the British Empire. But as the love of Liberty and attachment to the real interests and just rights of America outweigh every other consideration, we resolve that we will exert every power within us for the support of her just rights and privileges; not in any precipitate, riotous, or tumultous manner but when regularly called by the unanimous voice of our countrymen.
>
> Resolved, that we entertain the greatest respect for his Excellency, the Right Honorable Lord Dunmore, who commanded the expedition against the Shawnees, and who, we are confident, underwent the great fatigue of this singular campaign for no other motive than the true interest of this country.

Daniel's will, dated January 6, 1797, and probated in Bedford County on February 27, left to "my beloved friend Anney Hastens" for her life the land and plantation on which he lived, after which they would revert to his son, William Brown, and his heirs. Lent also to his "beloved friend" for life were the use and profit of one Negro fellow named George and a Negro woman named Winney, with her child Polly—all to become William's after Anney's death. Was this "beloved friend" his wife? That is something we will never know. Anyway, he left to her outright "the use and profit of one third of my hogs, one third of my cattle, one choice hors, one choise feather-bed and furniture, seventeen barrels of corn, fifteen bushels of wheat and the meat of four choise hogs," together

with all kitchen furniture and plantation utensils. He left a Negro boy, Kit, to Daniel, Jr., together with provision that at Anney's death he should receive her Negroes and their increase, as well as household furniture and plantation utensils; his grandson, John Ashwell Brown, son of his daughter Ann (or daughter-in-law?) was left twenty shillings in money; and Daniel, Jr.'s son, Shadrach, was left a Negro woman named Sarah with her children Nancy, Will, Sal and John. I wish we knew more about Shadrach and his retinue!

It has seemed to me worthwhile to turn from our direct ancestry and give these items about the relatives of long ago, and there will be other and possibly longer digressions as happenings of interest, especially in the earlier years, occurred. But let us return now to that first Henry Brown—your great-great-great-great-grandfather—who in 1746 was in the vanguard of western migration. The first recorded parcel of land conveyed to him by Colonel James Patton was fifty-four acres on Lick Run in 1750. In December 1754 he "entered four hundred acres of land near ye Round Hill between ye Long Meadows and Lenvels Creek"—the whole property, it seems, being dubbed Browns Bottoms, situated east of the Roanoke.[7] Comprised within the territory was an original patent of eighty-seven acres lying on Goose Creek—another name for the river.[8] According to the Frontier Map, Henry in 1757 had moved up Mason's Creek; here he was living in a more exposed part of the settlement with his wife, Esther, and their children, Robert and Esther. The son, Henry, by his first wife, though owning a home, was staying with his father but his young children had been left in a safer spot for times were cruel and life uncertain. Virginia's frontier[9]—then comprising all of Augusta County, later broken up as mentioned into many smaller units, was lined with forts: Frederick, Kause, Lewis, William, Dunlap, Dinwiddie, Miller, Seybart, Peterson, Pleasant, Pearsall, Ashby, Cumberland, Maidstone, Buttermilk and still others farther

west, and embracing a part of the present North Carolina. Bath Alum Farm, where the writer has spent some time absorbing the atmosphere of an earlier day, is located near the site of Fort Dinwiddie, and Fort Lewis is passed on the way from there to Staunton. Going west along Carvin's Road lay Carvin's Meadow, where William Carleton, father of Henry's son-in-law, owned property. This road with its adjoining ninety acres was probably laid out originally by your great-great-great-great-grandfather who thus opened up a wilderness that made way for other settlements. Somewhere in this area along Mason's Creek Henry had established his home.

It is easy to imagine the hardy pioneers of that day and picture your ancestor building a primitive log house and clearing passage-ways through the dense woodlands. He would have been assisted by his son and by all able men within reach, for it was the custom in those sparsely settled regions for families to join in such labor and in providing meals for the hungry workers—gatherings which later came to be called "bees" and which meant fun for the settlers, in addition to back-breaking toil. We owe much to those with courage and an urge to establish families in the growing America.

Strong and rugged from his outdoor labor—probably what we in this day and age would call a "rough diamond"—Henry was no doubt considered a substantial member of the community; and judging by an old newspaper clipping that reported contributions to a Negro school in South Carolina, his interests reached beyond the home surroundings, with a concern for those in need. His holding was near the Cowpasture Grant and river of that name, which winds through the meadows where the Bullpasture and Calfpasture also meander in a region designated as the "Pastures" forming a part of the widespread Roanoke community. How strange to be writing of those times as one looks out upon the rolling meadows and range of peaceful mountains where once savage Indians lurked

—stranger still to think of those ancestors who must be amazed by the easy living of their descendants!

The remoteness of families from each other, where recreation, except for the "bees," was rare and companionship limited, accentuated the constant anxiety through which these forebears must have lived, when Indians were on the rampage and every unexplained sound was something to fear. Firearms were kept loaded and ready—a precaution deemed especially important following Braddock's defeat in 1755 at Fort Duquesne near Pittsburgh. Results of this conflict in which many Virginians had participated and many were killed, had given the Indians added confidence. History has it that men from the Colony had saved the British Army from complete annihilation, but in Matthew Page Andrews's words: "It is impossible adequately to depict the terror and despair that descended upon the hundreds of scattered family groups of the Virginia frontier. . . . Each householder, humble or well-to-do, felt that he must remain with the women and children for their protection; for if small numbers of savages had been successful in making murderous forays before the Braddock disaster, . . . hundreds or even thousands might now be encouraged to descend upon the settlements, not as an organized army but as irregular bands prepared for stealthy attack and immediate slaughter."[10] In spite of the many forts manned by the militia, this was a fearsome time for all.

There are accounts of the Roanoke Community being wiped out in the fall of 1757, and the home of your great-great-great-great-grandfather was not spared. Mocassin tracks had been seen near his house one morning, and guns were being readied when five Indians (presumably Shawnees) fired through the door and windows, killing Henry Brown, Sr. By a quick shot young Henry killed the Indian chief, then "laying his blows about him manfully" drove off another who was pressing forward and sent him running after the retreating band. Torn,

bloody and disheveled, but still alert, Henry next sought assistance from the nearest fort, then returned for the sad task of burying his father. Until his death in 1798 a face scar carried reminder of this frightful day. With his trophies he went to Williamsburg, there to receive the large reward of thirty pounds granted by law for the scalp of any Indian chief killed by a private citizen. He declined an army commission offered by Governor Dinwiddie, feeling quite naturally that the family needed his protection.

You of the present day may remember the J. T. B. account of this tragedy happening in 1755 and of Henry's wife, Esther, also being massacred. The reason for error is explained on Page 1 and there is proof that the wife Esther was not massacred, since we know she declined to administer Henry's estate, having her daughter Esther qualified on November 16, 1757, for such duty. With all that has happened since, these mistakes seem of little moment; but for historians it is good to have the record straight.

After obtaining the reward (or possibly before, though the pounds would certainly have helped) your great-great-great-grandfather, Henry, built a stone house in Bedford County, which property he called "Ivy Hill."(e) His son's will directed that the family graveyard be walled and we are told that an aged Miles(f) can remember attending funerals here when caskets were set upon sawhorses in front of the old stone cemetery steps from which the services were read. All is now, alas, much overgrown and the once handsome tombstones well-nigh indistinguishable. Outside the wall is evidence of a large slave cemetery, but the only stone left is one marked: "To my old friend Sarah, who died January 28, 1853, S. T. B."

The second Henry had married Ann Richardson in New

(e) In Daisy Imogene Read, *New London Today and Yesterday,* it is called "Otter Hill."

(f) Reid Miles now owns "Ivy Cliff"—no connection with our family.

Jersey on January 22, 1735, and by her had four daughters: Hannah, Ann,(g) Mary, and Sarah. An intriguing item culled from our much used study by Prichard tells of complaint by Henry, Jr. that Joseph Collett, bound over by Erwin Patterson, Gent. (later constable on the Roanoke and Justice of the County Court) had in 1754 robbed him of his wife and sundry goods. If that were the case, Ann must have died and the bereaved husband recovered from his loss, for on February 20, 1757, he was married to Alce (Alice, Alcy) Beard (Baird, Bard) in Bedford County. She belonged to a family of Irish extraction, known in Belfast, of which we have various data in Appendix 1.

Henry and his wife Alice had three sons and three daughters. Lettice was the oldest, born soon after the Indian massacre. She later owned fifty acres of land on the Otter River in Bedford—as we know from a deed of sale in 1785. She was evidently unmarried, and there being no mention of her in the father's will, she probably died before he did. Henry was the second child, born August 10, 1760. He naturally comes first in our minds as a direct ancestor (your great-great-grandfather) and much discussion of him will follow. The third child was Elizabeth, born July 20, 1762, who married John Walker, probably the son of Thomas Walker, owner of two hundred acres on Goose Creek, a property purchased from Henry and Alice Brown. Then there were Alice(h) (born September 9, 1764), Samuel, and Daniel (1770-1817). This last married Mary (Polly) Hancock on July 17, 1803. She was the daughter of Samuel Hancock and an account of their family can be found in *Mead Relations,* pages 122-123.

From references already listed and from a letter of H. W. Prentis, Jr., based on material in the Washington and Lee his-

(g) Married Adams.

(h) Married Jesse Witt, who enlisted in the Revolutionary Army from Bedford County on March 1, 1777, and served under Captains Lambert, Holt, Lewis, Davis and Parks. He fought in the Battles of Brandywine and Germantown.

torical papers, we learn that the Samuel just mentioned (born 1766), after an expedition with friends to Kentucky, spent a year teaching in Paris—or more probably being taught. Back in America he spent some time under the guidance of the Old Hanover Presbytery, Pennsylvania, by which he was licensed in 1793 to preach the gospel. Throughout his life thereafter he carried on an active missionary program—first in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and finally as pastor of New Providence Church near his Brownsburg home, twenty miles west of Staunton, Virginia. He was called to this charge in June 1796, at an annual salary of four hundred dollars, so that he might be "free from worldly cares and provocations." Among the signers of this call were Sam P. Houston, Moderator, and Joseph Moore. He was the second pastor of this church where, oddly enough, the first had been John Brown, though not related. For several years, in addition to his pastoral duties, Samuel taught a classical school of high order which drew students from beyond the mountains.

Here, in the summer of 1965, the writer attended service in a handsome brick structure, the fifth to follow a little log building erected in 1746 on lands granted by Beverley and Borden of materials got in exchange for butter, carried to Williamsburg in pack saddles by a faithful congregation. Here, too, we see in the adjoining churchyard an impressive twelve-foot granite stone marking the graves of Samuel and his wife, Mary, which bears the inscription: "Though He slay me, yet will I trust in Him."

Mary was the granddaughter of James Moore, who had left Ireland in 1726, settling in Chester County, Pennsylvania. Moving to Rockbridge County, Virginia, he married Jane Walker, a descendant of the Rutherford family in Scotland. Their son, James, married Martha Poage, and, after several moves, established his home in Abb's Valley in Rockbridge County, so called because of the first white man to visit that

section in 1766—Absalom Looney. Accounts of the events to be described, as given in Prentis's papers and in the published book,[11] vary somewhat and I am following the latter. This book is in the writer's library and is well worth reading.

Near Moore's cabin were indications of an Indian village, with skeletons that marked a favorite burial place; but in the year 1786 the spot offered many advantages—especially being then out of the Indians' usual track. It was shocking, therefore, when the Shawnees staged a wholesale massacre of the valley's inhabitants. Mary was captured as a young child, witnessing the slaughter of parents, other relatives and friends—Cherokees finishing up what the other tribe had started. Placed in the home of an Indian chief, whom she seems to have amused by reading from her New Testament, Mary was safe and lived with the Indians until bought by an active Tory, named Stogwell, who paid for her in rum. Here she was used as a slave and cruelly treated until rescued by Simon Girty (a good mark in his favor after his infamous reputation in the Revolution!) and her brother, James, who had escaped from the Indians after some time in captivity. Taken to Brownsburg, she met Samuel Brown whom she married in 1798.

Mary is written of as "a model of all that a minister's wife ought to be" and Samuel's care after her tragic childhood certainly brought healing and happiness for the couple raised eleven children, of whom five became ministers, one an active elder in the church, one a physician, one the wife of a minister and another the wife of a physician. Two died young but through marriage of those left came connection with Morrison, McNulty, McKelway and others, including Prentis.

In a letter to his wife, Samuel tells of an offer in the Missouri Territory by which he might have extended his ministry and purchased for $1,500 a large portion of land where St. Louis now stands, but "he would not for any earthly consideration expose them [his children] to the deplorable contamination

there besetting society." Samuel died suddenly on October 14, 1818, leaving a grieving congregation and a widow who lived for six more years.

His son, Samuel, born 1806, after graduation from Princeton Seminary, was installed as Pastor of Windy Cove Church, Millboro, Virginia, not far from Millboro Springs in Bath County. Here, too, the writer has attended service and for summer months she has become an ardent Presbyterian! In featuring the Two Hundredth Anniversary of this church, founded in 1749, *The Roanoke Times* said: "Too little recognition is given to the part played by pioneer preachers in molding the life and character of this nation"—and we can agree as we think of this itinerant preacher carrying his message to all parts of the present Highland and Bath Counties, then part of Augusta. His final sermon, preached at age seventy in finishing thirty years at Windy Cove, speaks of the country as so filled up with mountains that it will not admit of a dense population. But up and down Samuel traveled to Warm Springs, Williamsville, Doe Hill, Franklin, Crab Bottom, and along Jackson's Creek. He resigned because of an "incurable bodily infirmity"; but lived to be eighty-three and his work is memorialized by a stained glass window in the church and a congregation that continues to grow in spite of the crowding mountains! Samuel, Jr.'s wife was Elizabeth Bratton and the original Bratton farm—"Wildwood"—served for some years as a temporary manse for the church. At Samuel's death on May 3, 1889 he was buried in the Bratton family graveyard, just two miles east of Windy Cove.

But now back to the second Henry, father and grandfather respectively of these two Samuels and your great-great-great-grandfather, born in 1712. We note that he was living in Bedford County (formerly Lunenburg) and that he owned various pieces of property but had his residence at "Ivy Hill," across a ravine from his son Henry's later home—"Ivy Cliff." We

[Unknown first wife of HENRY[1] BROWN] —*married*— HENRY[1] BROWN (16....-1757) —*married secondly*— ESTHER ....[?].... (17....- circa 1762)

HENRY[1] BROWN was residing in Mannington, Salem County, New Jersey, 5 June 1729; the evidence is he probably removed in the mid 1730s to the vast area in the Valley of Virginia which was to become Augusta County and later subdivided into many counties. HENRY[1] BROWN was killed by the Indians upon his plantation near the present town of Salem, Roanoke County, Virginia, in 1757, and administration on his estate granted to his daughter, ESTHER[2] BROWN, by the county court of Augusta. The indications are that HENRY[1] BROWN had four sons by his first wife (whose name is unknown) and two sons and a daughter by his second wife, ESTHER (?) BROWN (17....-c. 1762).

Of N. J. and Va. [See, Prichard, *Mead Relations*, p. 91 et seq.]

She refused to qualify as administratrix of the estate of HENRY[1] BROWN of Augusta County in 1757 and administration papers were issued by the Augusta County court to her maiden daughter, ESTHER[2] BROWN. It appears MRS. ESTHER BROWN, widow, died circa 1762 in Augusta County, Va.

HENRY[1] and ESTHER BROWN had three children, viz: (1) THOMAS[2] BROWN [See, *Mead Relations*, p. 113]; (2) ROBERT[2] BROWN and (3) ESTHER[2] BROWN who married 1762 WILLIAM CARLTON [See, *Mead Relations*, p. 114].

SAMUEL[2] BROWN (1717-1750) [See, *Mead Relations*, p. 102] *m.* MARY ... [?] ....

DANIEL[2] BROWN (1720-1797) [See, *Mead Relations*, p. 106]

DAVID[2] BROWN (1723-17....) [Mentioned in his brother Samuel's will of 1750].

ANN RICHARDSON *m.* 22 January 1735 In New Jersey [See, *Mead Relations*, p. 100]

—*m.*— HENRY[2] BROWN [* #] Born ..... 1712 in New Jersey Died 14 November 1798 at "Ivy Hill," Bedford County, Virginia

—*married secondly, 20 February 1757*— in Bedford County, Virginia

*ALICE BEARD [BAIRD] [The unusual recording of the marriage of HENRY[2] BROWN and ALICE BEARD and the births of their six children remains of record in Bedford Co., Va. DB#4, pp. 455-456] Dates on her tombstone at "Ivy Hill" are obliterated. 33 *v* 416 *et-seq.* indicates Alice was probably daughter of John and Elizabeth Beard.

COLONEL SAMUEL BROWN of Greenbrier Co., Va.

[HENRY[2] and ANN (RICHARDSON) BROWN had four daughters mentioned in his will of 1798]

HANNAH[3] BROWN

ANN[3] BROWN *married* MR. ADAMS

MARY[3] BROWN

SARAH[3] BROWN

HENRY[2] and ALICE (BEARD) BROWN of "Ivy Hill," Bedford County, Va. had six children, all mentioned below, viz:

*LETTICE[3] BROWN b. 3 Dec. 1757 living 1785 [Tombstone obliterated]

*# CAPTAIN HENRY[3] BROWN Born 10 August 1760 Died 13 August 1841 at "Ivy Cliff," Bedford County, Va. Revolution War Pension #S-8098

—*m.*— *FRANCES THOMPSON b. 1 June 1775 d. 14 August 1822 *m.* 7 January 1792 dau. of John Thompson of Campbell Co., Va.

ELIZABETH[3] BROWN b. 20 July 1762 d. ..... 18.... *m.* 29 Dec. 1794 JOHN WALKER

ALICE[3] BROWN b. 9 Sept. 1764 d. ..... *m.* 6 May 1786 JESSE WITT (1762-1842) [Rev. War Pension #W-6524]

REV. SAMUEL[3] BROWN b. 10 Nov. 1766 d. 15 Oct. 1818 New Providence, Rockbridge Co., Va.

—*m.*— MARY MOORE Born ..... 1777 Died 24 April 1824 *Married* 9 Oct. 1798 [For issue and progeny see, White, *Genealogy of the Descendants of John Walker*, pp. 27, 153]

*# DANIEL[3] BROWN Born 18 December 1770 Died 23 April 1817 Wealthy merchant of Lynchburg, Va. where his will remains of record in WB "A", p. 11

—*m.*— MARY ["POLLY"] HANCOCK (1784-1848), daughter of Samuel Hancock; they were married 17 July 1803. [For further account of family of Daniel and Mary (Hancock) Brown, see *Mead Relations*, pp. 122-123]

CAPTAIN HENRY[3] BROWN and his wife nee FRANCES THOMPSON of "Ivy Cliff" had eight children, all mentioned below, viz:

*# HENRY[4] BROWN, JUNIOR Born 25 August 1797 Died 19 May 1836 in N.Y. City; tomb, "Ivy Hill." Will recorded, Lynchburg, Va. Obituary in Richmond *Whig*, 3 June 1836 HENRY[4] BROWN, JR. (1797-1836) left two children, mentioned next below, viz:

—*m.*— ELEANOR CUSTIS LEWIS CARTER (24 Sept. 1800-19 April 1845) Great-niece of General George Washington (1732-1799); tombstone, Lynchburg, Va. *m.*(1) 20 February 1823 *m.*(2) 29 September 1838

—*m.*(2)— DR. JOHN H. PATTESON (1798-20 April 1864) of Lynchburg, Va.

HON. JOHN THOMPSON[4] BROWN Born 7 March 1802, "Ivy Cliff," Bedford County, Va. Died 20 November 1846, "Ivy Cliff," and buried there but removed to Blandford Cemetery, Petersburg, Va., where there is a handsome tombstone. A.B., Princeton University, 1820. Member Va. House of Delegates from Harrison Co., Va., lawyer. Obituary in Richmond *Whig*, 25 November 1836. Will of record in Petersburg, Va. WB#3, p. 130

—*m.*— MARY EDLOE WILLCOX Born 5 July 1810, Prince George County, Va. Died 3 July 1868, Petersburg, Va. Dau. of John Vaughan and Susanna Peachey (Poythress) Willcox. Tomb, Blandford Cemetery, Petersburg, Virginia. JOHN THOMPSON BROWN and MARY EDLOE WILLCOX were married on 6 May 1830 in Petersburg, Va. by the Rev. Mr. Andrew Syme and the said marriage was announced in the Richmond newspaper, *Enquirer* of 14 May 1830. Her obituary in the *Richmond Daily Whig*, 9 July 1868.

*SAMUEL THOMPSON[4] BROWN Born 13 August 1810 Died 29 December 1856 Inherited "Ivy Cliff"; they had four daughters.

—*m.*— *ELIZABETH HUGER Born 19 May 1829 Died 23 Oct. 1906

*ANN ["NANCY"][4] BROWN Born .... 1795 Died 5 April 1817 *Married* 15 Feb. 1815 DR. WILLIM STEPTOE of "Cedar Grove," Campbell County, Va.

*MARY[4] BROWN Born 27 January 1799 Died 2 November 1818 *Married* 12 July 1817 SAMUEL CLAYTOR

LOCKY[4] BROWN Born ..... Died ..... *Married* 19 March 1827 ALEXANDER IRVINE

FRANCES[4] BROWN Born ..... Died ..... *Married* 5 October 1836 EDWIN ROBINSON (1807-18....) [For his distinguished ancestry and their progeny see, Hayden, *Virginia Genealogies*, p. 581]

ALICE[4] BROWN Born ..... Died ..... *m.*(1) 27 June 1839 WILLIAM M. WORTHINGTON *m.*(2) 15 November 1848 WILLIAM HENRY HAXALL [Both marriages are of record in Richmond City, Va.]

*HENRY GUILFORD[5] BROWN (1825-1845)

MARIA CARTER[5] BROWN (1824-18) *Married*, 1840 JOHN J. PURVIS

*HENRY PERONNEAU[5] BROWN (13 Sept. 1831-2 Feb. 1894) *m.* *ANNE FRANCES BLAND ["FANNY"] COALTER (11 August 1835-26 September 1894), daughter of St. George Tucker Coalter and his wife nee Judith Harrison Tomlin [They left issue]

JOHN WILLCOX[5] BROWN Born July 17, 1833 in Petersburg, Va. Died Feb. 21, 1914 in Afton, Virginia

—*married, 21 May 1867*— Richmond, Virginia

ELLEN TURNER MACFARLAND Born Mar. 22, 1846 in Richmond, Va. Died Sept. 1, 1930 in Buffalo, N. Y.

COLONEL JOHN THOMPSON[5] BROWN (6 February 1835-6 May 1864) Distinguished Confederate officer; killed at the Battle of the Wilderness, Spotsylvania County, Virginia; tomb at Charlottesville, Virginia, in Southall lot. He married MARY SOUTHALL (19 November 1834-2 February 1920); she married secondly PROFESSOR VENABLE of the University of Virginia.

[*] Indicates tombstone at "Ivy Hill," in Bedford County, Virginia; this cemetery is surrounded by a stone wall.

[#] Indicates that the last will and Testament of this party remains of record.

Ivy Cliff—The Brown Home

have no picture of the house, nor of the crumbling graveyard; but it must have been a commodious one for in addition to his own children Henry was for some years guardian to the orphans of John Vance, and we can imagine much activity around the old place, even though these orphans may not have lived in his home.

The first deed to Henry for land in Bedford County was from William Irvine, Yeoman, and his wife Elizabeth, for one hundred and eighty acres on the north side of Otter River for sixty-two pounds;[12] then in March 1767, from James French of Prince Edward County were deeded one hundred acres in Bedford for thirty pounds;[13] while in June 1779 Henry Brown and his wife, Alice, deeded to Francis Thorpe of Bedford, for two hundred pounds,[14] one hundred twenty-six acres on Buffalo Creek—a property originally granted to John Wainright by patent dated VII August MDCCCLIX. It is fitting that his descendant, Keene C. Brown, with his family, has a home on Buffalo Creek (now River) and continues the life of a Virginia farmer. These properties were adjacent to Campbell County.

There is record in the Bedford County deed books of rented land in 1768 for five years at ten pounds, for one year in 1770 at two pounds, and one year in 1771 at two pounds. In 1760 Henry and Alice sold to Thomas Walker of Louisa County two hundred acres on Goose Creek, and that same year from Thomas Brown they bought eighty-seven acres on the river, while Esther Brown, Henry's sister, bought fifty-four acres on Lick Run for five pounds. There is practically no end to land transactions of the Browns, as referred to in Reference 6 when this Virginia frontier was being opened up, and they can be studied in detail in the deed and will books of Augusta County. But let it be said here only, and with emphasis, that these ancestors were lovers of the soil.

The second Henry Brown died in 1798 at "Ivy Hill" when he left ten shillings each to the four daughters of his first wife.

In his will (see Appendix 2) his second wife, Alice, who apparently outlived him (though the dates on her tombstone are obliterated) was "lent" all his movable estate and the house and plantation where they lived. The three hundred and seventy-five acre property adjoining his house was left for division between his sons Henry and Daniel, they to make satisfaction to their brother Samuel who, as you have read, was engaged elsewhere. The daughters, Elizabeth and Alcy, each inherited one feather-bed and furniture.

Daniel turned over to Henry his half of the inherited land—probably because of a roaming nature and, also, unwillingness to assume responsibility for more possession than was his already, for he had become rich from his business in Lynchburg. And soon after the father's death, this third Henry Brown—your great-great-grandfather—proceeded to build a house on his newly acquired land, which had been granted by the Colonial Government. The original house of two rooms was enlarged, thus making space for a growing family and the host of friends that gathered around. The three hundred and seventy-five acres were added to, eventually embracing a tract of thirty-five hundred or thirty-six hundred acres.

REFERENCES

1. John Thompson Brown, *Letter from a Father to His Sons* (Petersburg, Va., 1833).

2. A. J. Ponton, *A History of Windy Cove Presbyterian Church, Millboro Springs, Virginia, 1749-1929, Including an Historic Sermon Preached by Dr. Samuel Brown, February 28, 1875.* (Staunton, Va., McClure Company, 1929). S. B. mentions, in addition to other historical data, that the name Scotch-Irish derives from the fact that many of the pioneers' ancestors had moved from Scotland to Ireland and thence to America to escape religious persecution under James II.

3. James G. Leyburn, *The Scotch-Irish, A Social History* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1962).

4. A. M. Prichard, *Mead Relations* (Staunton, Va., McClure Company, 1933). Much of this chapter is based on Prichard's study, pp. 91-150, so the reference is given but once. A photostat of Prichard's Brown chapter is in the writer's files. See also Augusta County, Virginia, records.

5. Richard L. Morton, *Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill, published for the Virginia Historical Society by the University of North Carolina Press, 1960), v. 2, Westward Expansion.

6. F. B. Kegley, *Kegley's Virginia Frontier, the Beginning of the Southwest, the Roanoke of Colonial Days, 1740-1783* (Roanoke, Va., 1938).

7. Prichard, *op. cit.,* p. 93.

8. Virginia Land Patents, Book 33, p. 393; Kegley, *op. cit.,* frontier maps, 1740-60.

9. *William Byrd's Histories of the Dividing Line Betwixt Virginia and North Carolina* (Raleigh, The North Carolina Historical Commission, 1929).

10. Matthew Page Andrews, *Virginia, The Old Dominion* (Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1937), p. 224.

11. James Moore Brown, *The Captives of Abb's Valley* (Staunton, Va., McClure Company, 1942).

12. Bedford Co., Va. Deed Book 1, p. 320.

13. *Ibid.,* Deed Book 3, p. 100.

14. *Ibid.,* Deed Book 6, p. 134.

NOTE: After 1623 William Waller Hening's *The Statutes at Large . . . of Virginia* do not list Council members or the Burgesses, acts of the Assembly being signed by the Governor and Speaker. In 1676 a John Brown's name appears as having been in "armes" against the King's Majestie and his Governor "participating in Nathaniel Bacon's rebellion, with other notorious actors." He was ordered to suffer punishments, pains, etc. not extending to life; but "on bended knee with rope around his neck to acknowledge treason and beg for pardon." There is nothing to indicate that this John Brown is our ancestor, but the item is a colorful instance of punishment used at that time.

Chapter Two: BROWN, 1760-1836

OUR GREAT-GREAT-GRANDFATHER, Henry Brown, had been born in 1760 and grown up in Bedford County, little dreaming that he was to be the owner of the place "Ivy Cliff," later so well known and loved. As a youth he probably went to a neighborhood school conducted by the Reverend James Mitchell, but not being of a studious nature turned early to adventure rather than to books. When very young he left home to join a hunting party to shoot buffalo in Kentucky—land still a part of Virginia; wild and dangerously infested by Cherokee Indians. Returning safely from that experience, we next hear of him as a volunteer in the Virginia militia raised in Bedford County by his friend and neighbor, Captain Moon, to help meet Cornwallis's attack along the Virginia line. He was a captain in General Greene's army and in 1781 was wounded at Guilford Court House—a battle closely tied, though resulting in such depletion of Cornwallis's troops that the Carolinas had to be abandoned, thus bringing nearer the British defeat. With a musket ball in his thigh Henry was carried off the field and then transported through the lines to a hospital on Dan River, eight miles from the front. Soon he was home again with adventuring days over but by no means out of circulation for on January 7, 1792, he married Fanny (or Frances) Thompson, daughter of John Thompson from Campbell County, Virginia, who, following the Revolutionary

War, devoted his life to agriculture. He was the son of John and Margaret Thompson. Much material about the Thompson family is on file but this present writer is leaving it for study by future authors, mentioning only a few facts that are of special interest. We note here that in Colonial times there was interchange of the surnames Thompson, Thomason, Thomasson and others as can be found in an exhaustive study of these family records.

John Thompson, Sr. (17....-1791) acquired a considerable amount of property in Campbell County; also in Prince Edward and Buckingham counties at the head of the Appomattox River. He purchased in 1757 four hundred and two acres on Falling River and, later, three hundred eighty-one acres on both sides of Buffalo Creek.[1] He was one of the earliest and one of the most considerable landholders in the above mentioned counties. In John Thompson's will (on file), signed only by a mark, we see that the property descended to his wife and seven children, of whom John was the principal beneficiary, the older brother, Matthew, having predeceased his father. He was too old to fight in the Revolution but supported the cause by supplying provisions for the Continental Army. In the marriages of his children we find the names Gill, Mitchell and Phair (or Farr), but notably Jones, for the second son, John, married Ursula Jones, our ancestress.

John and Ursula Thompson had five children, the second of whom, Fanny or Frances (1755-1822) married Captain Henry Brown of "Ivy Cliff." It is probable that John Thompson, Jr. fought in the Revolution, though here we can rely only on the J. T. B. letter (Chapter One, Reference 1) which says: "She [Frances Thompson] was the daughter of John Thompson who had served in the Virginia line with credit throughout the Revolutionary War." Some of his property lay in Kentucky—a tract possibly granted for Revolutionary service. It seems that we can claim membership in the Daughters of the

American Revolution from both Brown and Thompson ancestors.

Besides Frances, John and Ursula's children were: Mary,(a) Sally,(b) Locky,(c) and David J. (probably Jones) who did not marry.

From the Altavista, Virginia, *Journal* of March 4, 1965, we learn of the old Thompson home at Lynch Station being ravaged by fire, when books of the occupant (eighty-year old Claude Thompson) were destroyed—many of them first editions. A photo shows "relics of three generations" being carried out.

Returning to Brown, Captain Henry, your great-great-grandfather, and his wife, Fanny, had eight children. They are listed on the chart at the beginning of this study and there we see that the eldest—another Henry—married Eleanor Custis Lewis Carter, a great-niece of General George Washington. This couple had two children: Henry Guilford, who no doubt had been named after the battle in which his grandfather was wounded, and Maria Carter who married John J. Purvis. Their father, Henry, Jr., died in New York in 1836, when his obituary (see Appendix 3) speaks of his health as having been overthrown many years ago and of his having sought its restoration through the influence of climate and long continued travel. "Conscious of approaching dissolution," the obituary goes on to say, "and with a mind unclouded to the end, he spent his last moments in soothing his afflicted wife . . . In this serene and cheerful mood his spirit took its flight and left upon his countenance a smile strikingly indicative of the peace and confidence that reigned within." (*The Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser,* June 3, 1836.) The children, Henry Guilford and Maria, were left under guardianship of the Reverend Samuel

(a) Married (1) Crumpacker; (2) Cunningham.

(b) Married Edward Farley.

(c) Married William M. Austin.

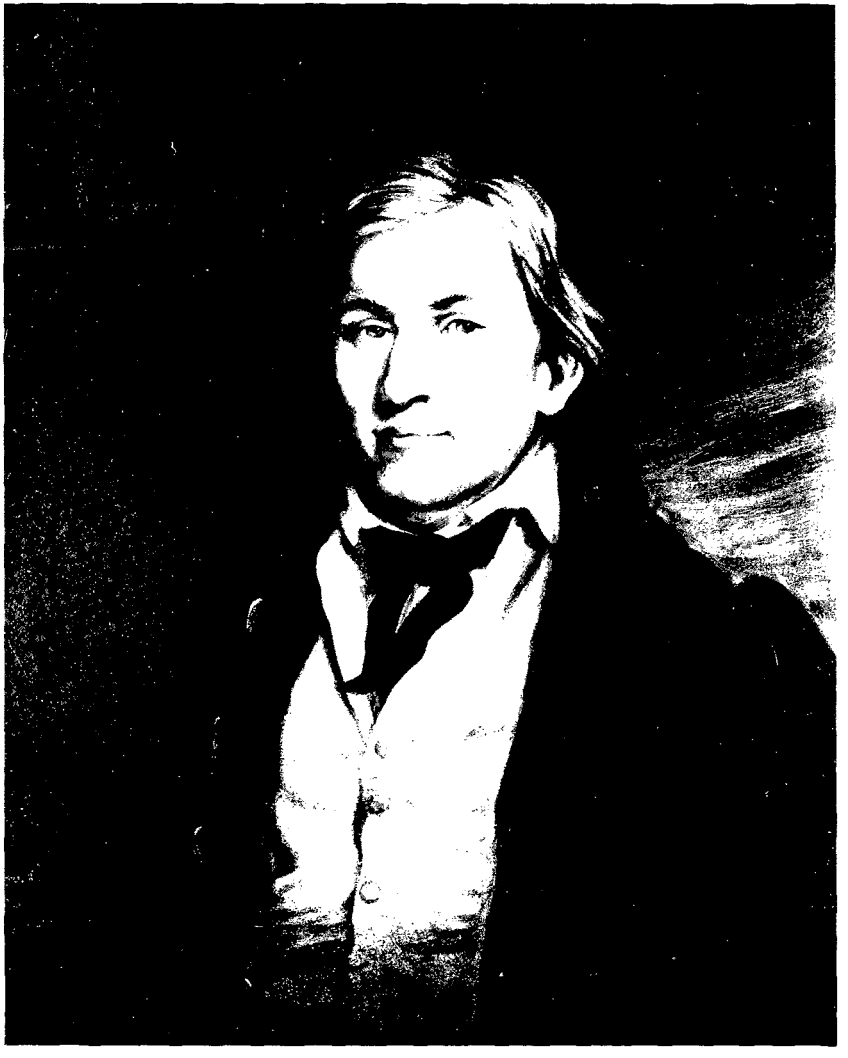
Brown, with Captain Henry Brown as security.[2] Henry Guilford's widow, Eleanor, married John H. Patteson of Lynchburg; and ones coming into the family through this line were: Elizabeth Huger, Dr. William Steptoe, Samuel Claytor, Alexander Irvine, Edwin Robinson, William Henry Haxall, and William M. Worthington. It is from Alice Worthington, wife of the last named, that the gold card case came which Greta Layton owns.

Fanny, your great-great-grandmother, was a beautiful woman—devoted to her family and the church. Her death in 1822 left a great gap, but a husband who for another nineteen years was an affectionate, indulgent father and friend to all. I love to think of Captain Henry Brown with his quaint, old-fashioned ways and language, but with a shrewd business sense as evidenced by his accumulation of wealth and a love of learning for others if not for himself. He has been written of as quiet and unambitious; peace-loving, kind, and with excellent judgment. Though pious, he did not join the church until at seventy-one he was publicly taken into the Baptist faith. With little "formal" education, his mind was nevertheless of the highest order and, perhaps because of a lack in uniform teaching, he kept always to a quaint, old-fashioned use and pronunciation of words. In spite of his limited schooling, he took great interest in the New London Academy, erected on land deeded by Robert Alexander of Bedford County, and was President of its Board of Trustees from 1826 to 1837. It is interesting to note that in 1796 the trustees (of whom Henry was then one) had been granted authority to raise 10,000 pounds by lottery for the expense of erecting buildings and establishing a permanent fund for support of the school. There have been other buildings since to replace the original, but none more prized in the community than that first frame school house when boys would ride back and forth over the country roads or board with relatives and friends. We see how Thomas

Jefferson wrote to his overseer at Poplar Forest that he must make a "truckle-bed" so that Jefferson's grandson, Francis Eppes, might sleep by himself and not catch "the itch,"[3] but even this hazard did not discourage learning. Sad to say, the Academy is no more!

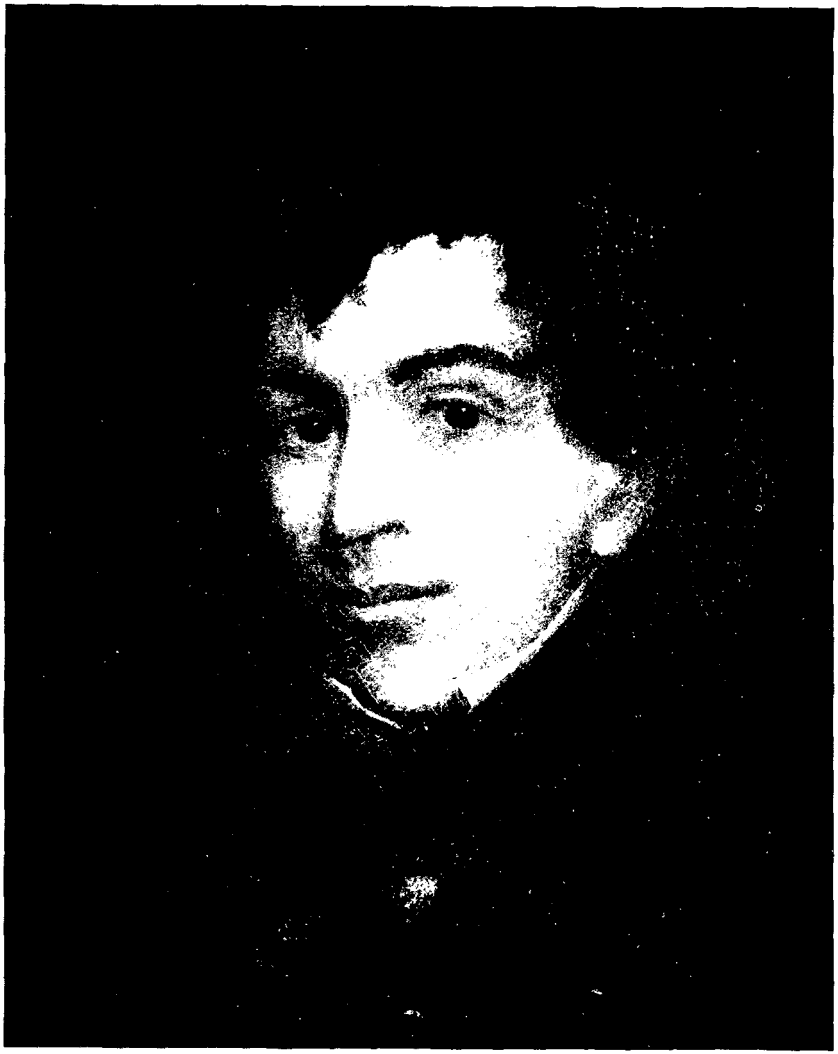
We have as Appendix 4 a copy of the War Pension File of Captain Henry Brown who on October 22, 1832, when he was seventy-two years of age, applied for a pension under Act of Congress passed on June seventh of that year. The application was approved and thirty dollars a year granted, together with forty-five dollars in arrears. There was also a dormant partnership with Daniel in the thriving mercantile business in Lynchburg; so there could have been no want for money in a household where hospitality reigned supreme. In fact, he was an amazingly rich man in view of his small beginnings. His will, dated January 6, 1837, and proved on September 25, 1841, is given as Appendix 5. He left to his daughter, Alice, the house and lot in Lynchburg, together with "all appurtenances," and Samuel T. Brown inherited "Ivy Cliff," the two older sons having died before their father. On Samuel's death in 1856 "Ivy Cliff" came to his oldest nephew, Henry Peronneau, who had inherited land on the Otter River from his grandfather outright, as had John Thompson Brown's second son, John Willcox. These two were willed also a Negro boy, George, to be divided share and share alike (how to divide George?) and there were legacies to Captain Henry's daughters.

Your great-great-grandfather's death in 1841 was mourned by all. The Lynchburg *Virginian* carried an obituary, dated August eighteenth of that year, which reads: "Died suddenly on Friday last, the 13th inst., Captain Henry Brown, one of the most worthy and respectable citizens of Bedford County, and upward of eighty years. Captain Brown was a soldier of the Revolution, and had been quite infirm sometime prior to his death. The deceased was the father of the late John Thomp-



Captain Henry Brown
1760-1841

Painted by James Westhall Brown



John Thompson Brown
1802-1836

Painted by Ford

son Brown of Petersburg who, though he died at an early age, left behind him a brilliant and enduring reputation."

Many of these forebears are buried in the old family cemetery at "Ivy Hill." Large and handsome tombstones once marking the graves are now badly broken and well-nigh indecipherable. The only one which can be read is at the grave of Captain Henry Brown: "This stone and those beside it are consentrated [*sic*] to the memory of honoured and beloved kindred—parents, sisters, brother and nephew—in compliance with the last wishes of Samuel T. Brown who now sleeps in their midst."

The graveyard—weedstricken and smothered by fallen trees —is owned by Brown descendants, though close to the Miles property of "Ivy Cliff." Your great-grandfather, John Thompson Brown, was first buried here but the remains were later moved to Old Blandford Cemetery, Petersburg, where a tombstone was placed over the grave of her affectionate and beloved husband by his widow, Mary E. Brown, inscribed: "We will meet again."

About John Thompson Brown we could write a great deal, for even in his short life of thirty-four years he made a lasting impress which can be seen in many papers on file in the Library of William and Mary College at Williamsburg. He was the second son of Captain Henry Brown and Fanny, born on March 2, 1802, at "Ivy Cliff." No doubt he went to the New London Academy, in which his father was so interested, and which had been rebuilt before 1800, with a curriculum to embrace Latin and other subjects of higher learning. From here he went to Princeton, graduating with high honors in 1820 —one of the select leaders in a large class, among whom were James Bayard of Pennsylvania and William Peronneau Finley of Charleston, South Carolina—the latter an intimate life-long friend, hence the name Peronneau in our family.

The Reverend Samuel Brown of Brownsburg wrote to his

brother Henry in October, 1818, that his son, James, was to enter Princeton that fall, with three others from Staunton who had been prepared under his tutelage. "If no accident happens," the letter reads, "they can reach Princeton (by stage) from this place in about six days, and it will cost them about thirty-five dollars." However, the University has no record of James at Princeton, so he was kept away—for what reason we do not know; perhaps because of his father's death on October fifteenth of that year.

"When John Thompson Brown was a student," wrote Princeton University in 1964, "there were no student publications or annuals and, if the truth were known, few student activities except studying, a little drinking on the side, and an occasional riot." We have record, though, that he belonged to the Cliosophic Society, one of the University's two literary groups.

It is doubtful that J. T. B. over-indulged in the extra-curricula activities, but he was popular and quite human as can be seen by a letter home in May, 1818, expressing concern with his financial situation, which was shaky, to say the least. Then he owed: "for riding out slaying in gigs and horseback, etc. . . . about fifty dollars; to a confectioner . . . about forty; to a bookseller . . . about seventy; to a tavern keeper for board, supper and dinners . . . about fifty; to a boot and shoe maker . . . about twenty; to a taylor for clothes, etc. . . . sixty; to a merchant . . . sixty-five; to a carpenter for fixing up a room . . . twenty; for having a gig repaired which was broken by accident . . . fifteen; and other debts to the amount of twenty dollars." Quite an array! And in submitting this list the young man feared he was not living up to his father's expectations. The letter ends with a "profile" to his mother and sister Mary—a unique note of affection.

There was forgiveness for these extravagances, we may be sure, and on graduation your great-grandfather left home for a period of travel which would unite, as he expressed it, "the

practical with the profound" and lead to "an easy transition from the labors of the closet to the stage of action." Surprisingly enough, this peace-loving man later wrote: "I have seen much of the world . . . and in traveling through [it] I would rather carry a pistol in my pocket than a blunderbuss at the bottom of my trunk."

Returning from his travels J. T. B. studied law under Chancellor Creed Taylor of Virginia and started his professional career in Harrison County which he soon represented in the General Assembly. He was married in Petersburg on May 6, 1830, by the Reverend Andrew Symes to Mary Edloe Willcox (see Chapter III) and to this couple were born three children: Henry Peronneau (1831-1894),(d) John Willcox Brown, your grandfather (1833-1914), and John Thompson Brown (1835-1864).(e)

The family lived in Petersburg, on Sycamore Street, and some of each year was spent at "Ivy Cliff," where tragically J. T. B. died on November 25, 1836—but not before he had written a letter to his sons that has carried inspiration and guidance to succeeding generations, and not before he had established a wonderful record in his short life span as a lawyer and legislator.

In the Virginia State Library are several pamphlets carrying speeches which are of interest to J. T. B.'s descendants: one delivered in the House of Delegates of Virginia January 18, 1832, on the abolition of slavery; another before the Virginia House of Delegates on the state of the relations between the United States and South Carolina, delivered January 5, 1833; another upon election of Senator Benjamin Watkins Leigh to Congress, delivered before the Virginia House of Delegates on

(d) Married Anne Frances Bland Coalter, daughter of St. George Tucker Coalter and Judy Harrison Tomlin (1835-1894). An old Uncle Tomlin can be remembered with a long beard which at mealtimes he would tuck up with hairpins, to the children's delight.

(e) Married (1) Mary Southall, who when a widow married Venable.

January 29, 1835.[4] He was a member of the House for these several years and prominent in political affairs. In view of his interests and wide recognition the contents of a letter from John Thompson Brown to his wife written from Richmond, it is believed in 1833, is somewhat surprising. Quoting some excerpts: "You are mistaken in thinking me fond of politics, especially if it is to separate me from you. It seems to have been marked out by accident for my vocation and as yet I labor in it but if you knew with what a weary, sickened spirit I often go to the task you would alter your opinion. Something I must do—we are not so independent as to pass our time in absolute ease. Besides, your father to whom we owe so much and whose happiness I am sure we both desire so much to promote dislikes a lazy man and, I doubt not, wishes me to prosecute whatever pursuits may promise an increase of reputation . . . I often find myself sighing involuntarily for a farm, a fireside, and my wife and child. Perhaps I am more in the humor this evening, as I was rather mortified at making a very poor speech in the House today . . . my extremely variable state of mind growing it may be out of my physical weakness, sometimes makes me altogether dull. A decided failure or two and such is my sensitiveness that I should retire altogether. The truth is I have never had any reverses in my life—I am completely spoiled."

Your great-grandfather's will, made in 1833, before the birth of his youngest son (photostat on file) bequeathed to his wife all property with the following exceptions:

1. To his brother Henry and heirs property in Clarksburg.
2. To brother Samuel Thompson all his law books.
3. To older son, Henry, at the death of his mother, the portraits by Ford of his grandfathers Brown and Willcox and of his parents; also his papers and diplomas.
4. To second son, John, (your grandfather) a scrapbook of his speeches and writings.

5. To father-in-law, John V. Willcox, as a "testimony of my regard," his fowling piece.
6. To his father an easy riding horse to be procured and accepted "for his own use and for my sake."
7. A small portion of "my hair to be placed in a neat finger ring as a memento of my regard," to be sent William P. Finley of Charleston, S. C.
8. A walking stick with plain gold head to be procured and sent to "my friend John Webster of Harrison County as a memento of my esteem for him."

In appointing his wife guardian of their sons, J. T. B. earnestly enjoined her, if possible, to have the elder educated at the Military Academy at West Point, and the other taught in the Navy where he wished them to remain until obtaining the rank of lieutenant and always afterward to hold themselves in readiness to return into the services when needed by their country. "If they were worth millions, I would not change my views on this subject," he wrote with emphasis, and we wonder what prevented this wish from being fulfilled.

The untimely death in 1836 of this fine man came as a great shock to family and constituents alike. *The Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser* seemed to express the feeling of many when it wrote (see Appendix 6):

> That bright spirit which had blazed so brilliantly and so beautifully is now extinguished forever . . . with the quickness and brilliance of the rocket, he sprang from the ranks of the people to do battle in their cause. . . . With a mind unclouded to the end, he spent his last moments in soothing his afflicted wife, thanking his friends for their kind attentions . . . and expressing the assurance he felt, through Christian faith, of perfect happiness beyond the grave.

Moved by his widow, as mentioned on page 39, to Old Blandford Cemetery, the matching stones of John Thompson and Mary Edloe Brown are now in a well-cared for lot in the

graveyard's old part, enclosed by an iron fence, near the church about which an unknown author wrote in 1941:

> The worshippers are scattered now,
> Who knelt before thy shrine
> And silence reigns where anthems rose
> In days of Auld Lang Syne.

REFERENCES

1. Bedford Co., Va., Deed Book 1, pp. 120-22; Deed Book 2, pp. 631-33.
2. Lynchburg, Va., Chancery and Law Order Book, 1835-1838, p. 456.
3. Daisy I. Read, *New London Today and Yesterday* (Lynchburg, Va., 1950), p. 3.
4. John Thompson Brown, *The Speech of John Thompson Brown, in the House of Delegates of Virginia, on the Abolition of Slavery* (Richmond, T. W. White, 1832); John Thompson Brown, *Speech of John Thompson Brown (of Petersburg), in the House of Delegates of Virginia, in Committee of the Whole, on the State of the Relations Between the United States and South Carolina* (Richmond, T. W. White, 1833); John Thompson Brown, *Speech of John Thompson Brown, of Petersburg, Upon the Election of a Senator in Congress* (Richmond, T. W. White, 1835).

Chapter Three: WILLCOX, 1690-1863

LET US NOW TURN to the family into which John Thompson Brown married—the Willcox line of our ancestry. With destruction of homes and family archives during the Civil War, as well as of deed books in the county seats of Prince George and Charles City, much was lost on which we might have relied. Even the contents of churches in which these forebears presumably worshipped—Westover, Mapsco, Old Brandon and Merchants Hope among others—have disappeared. In the J. T. B. letter (see Chapter One) and in Hening's *Statutes*[1] a John Willcox is mentioned as lawyer and legislator in 1623, being one of those to establish "The First Laws" made by the Assembly in Virginia. Then in Volume 9, Series 1, of the *William and Mary Quarterly* we find that a Captain John Willcox came to Virginia in 1620 and represented Accomac in the Legislature of 1623. According to the same journal his will, dated in Elizabeth City, September 10, 1622, spoke of his intending to "go against the Indians" and named his wife, Temperance, daughter (or step-daughter) and two sisters, Katharine and Susan, as beneficiaries.

A note appears in *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* when in a court at James City of April 1627 an act was passed forbidding any person "to buy commodities aboard any ship upon penalty of 500 pounds of Tobo" when Michael Willcox was ordered to forfeit 100 "waight of Tobo and 12

pounds of Tobo" for buying 12 pounds of sugar aboard the Charitie, and 30 pounds of Tobo for going on board.

From the Charles City County Loose Papers,[2] we gather that there were definite ties in Colonial times between the Willcox (spelled variously Wilcocks, Willcox, Wilcockson, etc.) and the Littleberry, Vaughan, Edloe and Hamlin families who were all early residents of the county, but we can find no direct tie with the Willcoxes, as mentioned above and in your great-grandfather's letter, and we question the authenticity of the facts given in the latter because of its being most unusual for anyone living in the Seventeenth Century to be given a middle name. Possibly all these families stem from the same English background.

We are giving the above for consideration in any later study of the family, but as seen on the chart accompanying this chapter, the first Willcox with whom we are concerned was born, it is believed, in Rotherhill, England, around 1655. He was a mariner and sailed vessels in trade to and from America, where he is mentioned in the diaries of William Byrd. Dunn[3] tells of a power of attorney being granted this Willcox in 1714 by Benjamin Brain, a London merchant, when the captain was "bound on a voyage to Virginia." With him then was his son, John—an only child, born around 1690 in America where Captain Willcox had married a Littleberry—apparently of the family referred to above. John, Jr. followed in his father's footsteps—being mentioned in *The Virginia Gazette* from 1737 to 1755 as a ship captain, and named by William Beverley as master of a ship, with recommendation from Edward Athawes of London to John and Charles Carter of Virginia (see Reference 1). He sailed by Madeira, taking on a goodly supply of wine, and with him came articles of worth intended as heirlooms to grace the new Virginia homes—unfortunately many of them destroyed by fire and other depredations as the years passed. Willcox was not above acting as a transcontinental

Old Blandford Cemetery, Petersburg
Left: John Vaughan Willcox; center: His daughter, Mrs. John Thompson Brown; right: John Thompson Brown

The Macfarland Section in Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond
Tomb of James Monroe in background

WIL[L]COX OF ENGLAND *and* CHARLES CITY COUNTY, VIRGINIA

CAPTAIN JOHN[1] WILLCOX [SR.] —*m*— # ..... LITTLEBERRY

He was a mariner. Traditionally from Rotherhill, England. He was born circa 1655; died post 1716 in Chas. City Co., Va. 1682-1716 sailed vessels in trade; he is mentioned in the diaries of Colonel William Byrd of Westover.

CAPTAIN JOHN[2] WILLCOX —*m*— # ..... MAJOR

Born c. 1690—died 17..... Mentioned 1714 as accompanying his father on a voyage to England. Mentioned in *Va. Gazette.* 1737-1755 as a ship captain. He acquired property in Charles City Co., Va. in area which came to be known as Willcox Landing.

- JOHN[3] WILLCOX
- THOMAS[3] WILLCOX d. i. 1773
- MAJOR[3] WILLCOX (c. 1740-1798) —*m*— *HANNAH HAMLIN (17....-1800); her will is of record and this coupled with the will of her son Edward[4] Willcox establishes the issue of Major[3] & Hannah Willcox.
  - Acquired land 1769 from Samuel Major; 1779 was captain in Rev. Army; 1780 Commissioner of Provision Law in Chas. City Co. Inventory of his estate, 1798.
- WILLIAM[3] WILLCOX d. i. 1799
- EDWARD[3] WILLCOX 1753 at Wm. & Mary College

- *EDWARD[4] WILLCOX (17....-1798) dsp, Petersburg
- HAMLIN[4] WILLCOX (1765-1837) *m.* SUSANNA ALLEN
- *JOHN VAUGHAN[4] WILLCOX, ESQ. —*m*— SUSANNAH PEACHY POYTHRESS (1785-1815), dau. of Joshua and Elizabeth (Robertson) Poythress
  - Born 11 Aug. 1779, Chas. City Co.
  - Died 23 Nov. 1863, Petersburg
  - Married 1804, Appomattox Manor at home of bride's aunt.
- LITTLEBERRY[4] WILLCOX To N.C. circa 1800
- THOMAS[4] WILLCOX d.c. 1822 CC Co.
- MAJOR[4] WILLCOX [War of 1812]

JOHN POYTHRESS[5] WILLCOX (1805-1857)
m. 18 ....., MARY JANE MCGOWAN (1817-1892)
Petersburg, Virginia

(1) WM. MCGOWAN WILLCOX b. 1847
(2) JOHN VAUGHAN WILLCOX
(3) ELIZA PHELAN WILLCOX (1840-1917)
m. JOHN GEORGE DUNN
(4) SUSAN WILLCOX
(5) ROBERT BOLLING WILLCOX (1847-1914)
m. DORA DODSON of Petersburg, Va.

MARY EDLOE[5] WILLCOX (1810-1868)
m. 1830, Petersburg, Va., HON. JOHN THOMPSON BROWN (1802-1836) of Ivy Cliff, Bedford Co., Va. Their tombs are in Blandford Cemetery near that of her father, JOHN VAUGHAN WILLCOX.

(1) HENRY PERONNEAU BROWN (1831-1894)
m. ANNE FRANCES BLAND COALTER (1835-1894)
(2) JOHN WILLCOX BROWN (1833-1913)
m. ELLEN TURNER MACFARLAND
(3) COLONEL JOHN THOMPSON BROWN (1835-1864)

Tradition; conjecture
* Died testate; will of record
d.i. Died intestate

messenger, as we see by a letter from Henry Fitzhugh marked for delivery in London. According to *The Virginia Gazette,* ships under his command were *The Restoration, The Rappahannock,* and *The Sydenham,* trading between upper reaches of the James and England. In 1745 *The Restoration* was captured and taken to France laden with tobacco; but we learn from the *Gazette* that this mishap did not halt Captain Willcox's career, for he is recorded later as sailing up the James in charge of *The Sydenham,* and his active sea life continued until 1755. It is through such heritage, probably, that some of the descendants have acquired a special knack for sailing.

Captain John Willcox, Sr. died around 1716 in Charles City County, Virginia. The son, John, acquired property in Charles City County in an area which later became known as Willcox Landing. He married a Miss Major (first name unknown) and their children were: John, Thomas, Major, William, and Edward. It is from the third son, Major, that we descend. He was born around 1740 and in 1769 acquired land from Samuel Major, for whom he had been named. This land adjoined that owned by himself, John Major and Sherman Willcox. He was in the militia of Charles City County, serving first with his brother, John, under the captaincy of Benjamin Harrison. Both signed the Charles City petition against the paper money on November 8, 1780. Before this date Major Willcox had received a captaincy, for we see that he was granted a warrant in 1779 for pay of his company in the amount of 184 pounds, 6 shillings.[4] He is listed as Commissioner of the Provision Law on the Charles City County certificate of William Austin,[5] and is recognized as having furnished supplies for the Revolutionary Army.

Major Willcox married Hannah Hamlin sometime between the years 1760 and 1763. His wife's family had started on this side of the Atlantic with Stephen and land patented at Middle River Plantation in 1637. This property was re-patented by a

son, Stephen, in 1666, and records of Prince George County tell of Captain John Hamlin receiving a deed dated 1696 for two hundred and fifty acres on the James River for a plantation known as "Maycocks." An earlier William Hamlin had been Clerk of the County Court held at Merchants Hope, and in 1737 one of that name served as vestryman of Bristol Parish. Through them came connection with Goodrich, Irby, Harrison and Eppes.

Major and Hannah had a comfortable estate in Charles City County and a home that included six black walnut chairs, one table, one lot of Queen's china, six silver teaspoons, thirteen slaves—totaling eight hundred and eighty-five pounds, four shillings and four pence, as shown in the county records.[6] Tax lists beginning in 1783 give a changing number of from nine to six slaves during the years; at the time of Major's death intestate in 1798 the estate was taxed with only five; but discrepancies between the inventory and tax lists can be accounted for by variation in the laws which usually did not put a tax on Negroes who were unproductive because of youth or old age.

There were six children, according to Hannah's will proved on December 18, 1800 (see Appendix 7): Edward, Hamlin (born 1765), John (born 1779), Littleberry, Thomas, and Major. Hannah named Hamlin and Major as executors, and Edward in his will (on file) named his brothers Hamlin and Littleberry to administer the estate which he left to his mother for her lifetime, at her death to be divided between the five brothers, share and share alike. Apparently unmarried, Edward had settled in Dinwiddie County. He died in 1798 so that his mother had only two years to enjoy his property before her death in 1800 and it was probably disposed of then as we have no record of holdings in Dinwiddie after that date.(a)

(a) In the Eighteenth Century, as we learn from Edward A. Wyatt, many parishes and counties were created in the areas of Petersburg, Charles City and Henrico, the original shares of 1634; Prince George County in 1702; Raleigh and Dale carved out of Bristol in 1734; Amelia 1734; Chesterfield 1749; Bath Parish

The second son, Hamlin, born in 1765, married Susanna Allen, widowed daughter of James Shields and his wife, Susannah Page. Their descendants, represented on the vestries of Westover and Mapsco churches, claimed connection with the Christian, Claiborne, Roane, Ambler, Upshaw, Vest, Mosher and Knox families of Charles City and Amherst counties. One of these married Rosalie Tilghman Shreeve of Baltimore and became a lawyer in Norfolk, Virginia. Hamlin was recommended in 1794 by John Tyler of Greenway for the collection of taxes, and appeared on the tax list of Charles City County in 1812. He died in 1837.

After Hamlin came John Willcox, born August 11, 1779, who was given the middle name of Vaughan, no doubt because of friendship in early days with the Vaughan family in Charles City. We note a Robert W. Vaughan among free inhabitants of Petersburg in July 1850 as a farmer of three thousand acres, and in the same listing are Benjamin B. Vaughan (ten thousand seven hundred fifty acres) and Mary and Anne Vaughan, minors listed under the name of Eppes—so it was a prominent family after whom a road in Dinwiddie County came to be named. There were also the sons: Littleberry, who moved to Halifax County, North Carolina, around 1800; Thomas, who in that same year was made Supervisor of Quarantine to prevent the spread of yellow fever and died in Charles City County around 1822; and Major whose name appears on the tax list of Charles City County as a private in Captain John Merry's company of the 52nd Regiment, Virginia Militia, in the War of 1812. It was probably this second Major Willcox who was referred to in the Bolling family papers[7] as coming to "Cobbs," the Bolling home, on May 13, 1804, when "a dish of green pease was enjoyed." According to Dr. James Bailey of Peters-

1742 (no connection with Bath County, then a part of Augusta); and Dinwiddie County 1752.

burg, there was also a daughter, Mary, who married William Harwood.

But our concern is with the third son, John Vaughan Willcox, who became your great-great-grandfather. I wish we knew more about the youth of this ancestor. With his brothers there was undoubtedly much activity around the home, but study was a "must." We read in *Petersburg's Story*[8] that "the story of the private schools in Petersburg before the War between the States—and, of course, most of them were private—is not likely ever to be told in any satisfactory detail." With these authors we feel sure that the early Virginians did not intend for their children to grow up as barbarians, and that they acted accordingly. Churches had an important role in carrying education to their parishioners, and we note as early as 1752 that teachers of Greek and Latin and mathematics were being sought by Theophilus Feild in Prince George County. There were itinerant or local schoolmasters available for tutoring. From later accomplishments we believe that John Vaughan was an apt scholar, and that his home study was supplemented by finishing courses at the Petersburg Academy, incorporated in 1794 and since superseded by the city's public school system.

After his mother's death in 1800, John Vaughan Willcox lived in Petersburg. An amusing incident, as told by Emily Dunn, was his arrest and imprisonment for breaking the law by swimming to a ship just in from England to get some sugar for his favorite rum toddy—paid for, we feel sure, but still against cargo rules. Probably this happened after his school years—even, it may be, when head of a household.

For in 1804 he took on the dignity of married life, choosing Susannah Peachy Poythress (see Chapter Four) as his bride. *The Petersburg Intelligencer* for September 25, 1804, carried an announcement: "Married on Thursday evening last Mr. John V. Willcox, merchant of this town, to Miss Susan Poyth-

ress of Prince George County." Their wedding was held at Appomattox Manor, home of the bride's aunt.

Thus "Flower de Hundred" passed into the Willcox family. John Vaughan added to the old part, later completed by his son, John Poythress Willcox, to whom he left the plantation, when after his wife's death in 1815 he again made his home in Petersburg. "Flower de Hundred" remained very close to his heart and there was always much going and coming. His son, John Poythress Willcox, had married Mary Jane McGowan of Petersburg, daughter of William McGowan and his wife, Margaret Phelan; and they had five children: William, John Vaughan, Eliza,(b) Susan, and Robert Bolling.(c) The grandson, William, by this couple, was a special favorite as well as "personal" secretary. When war broke out in 1861, the fourteen-year old boy insisted on joining the army, and though opposed to such move his grandfather Willcox said: "When you go you will go like a gentleman"; and William was sent off with two fine horses and the Negro, Manuel, as body servant. For a while William was General Fitzhugh Lee's courier, and once in bad weather the General had both him and Manuel sleep in his tent—after which Manuel became a Petersburg celebrity!

Let us pause here to tell something about the old town of Petersburg, as gathered from references 8, 9, 10 and 11. Originally a trading post, established by Peter Jones in Bristol Parish on the Appomattox River (named by John Smith "the pleasant river" of Appomatuck), in 1733 it was laid off as a permanent community by William Byrd; then incorporated as Petersburg the next year. It soon throve as a tobacco town, with peanuts a close second in produce; the manufacture of trunks, valises and wooden articles also formed an active trade. Early in 1800, St. Paul's Church was built on Sycamore Street,

(b) Married John George Dunn.
(c) Married Dora Dodson.

described around that time as little more than a road leading into the country, with houses well apart and a quiet far removed from the present hum of shoppers and gas stations. As is shown in John Vaughan Willcox's will, he had considerable property along this street, and the family home was at one time located there, though the destruction of city records has prevented our locating the spot. Bollingbrook Street, where his later home stood, had houses of great elegance, built flush with the sidewalk (first paved in 1813), ornamented with ironwork and opening into gardens in the rear. Niblo's Tavern, the headquarters for Lafayette in 1824, was at Bollingbrook and Second, a high-class rendezvous uniting the business and residential sections of this street. Though damaged by fire in 1815 and 1826, and even more so by shelling in the siege of 1864-65, Bollingbrook continued for years to be an important residential section. That your great-great-grandfather lived here is proven by papers of the Mutual Assurance Society in a picture of the property, with its main house and outbuilding. (See Appendix 8). The house, alas, was destroyed by fire in 1940, and the neighborhood when last seen had deteriorated into saloons and shanties.

Going back to John Vaughan's marriage, he and Susanna had a second child, Mary Edloe, born in 1810, to whom he was especially devoted. They lived together on Bollingbrook Street and it was here that the son, Willcox, brought his bride, as discussed in Chapter Five. Susanna's early death was indeed sad and the daughter helped her father over many a rough hurdle. He could not but be satisfied, however, with her marriage in May 1830 to John Thompson Brown, referred to in the letter furnished by the courtesy of James S. Patton of Washington from his collection of the Skipwith papers. Here Ann Robertson, writing to her Aunt Lelia on March 31 of that year, says: "My dear, affectionate friend, Mary Willcox, is to be married on the sixth of May. She has called on me to officiate, together

with the rest of her attendants; this you know is all entre nous. She will marry Mr. Brown of Harrison County, a member of the House who is quite distinguished for his talents. I presume as you were last winter quite a political operator his fame has reached you. He contemplates being here about the middle of April. To crown his future happiness he will be united to one who possesses every requisite to place him on a pinnacle of bliss which mortal scarcely ever experiences. I believe they will reside in or very near Petersburg. Her loss I could not sustain. It is their intention to take a northern trip in May at which time you may meet." Whether or not those friends did meet in the North is unrecorded; probably the "pinnacle of bliss" was uninterrupted.

On return to Virginia John Thompson Brown continued his political life in the "West"—as Harrison County was then looked upon; and there are in our files many letters from him to his wife in Petersburg where he spent as much time as could be spared from his political career. There was much in common between him and his father-in-law, both of whom possessed unusual talents and business acumen.

From 1805 until his death the name of John Vaughan Willcox appears all over the Petersburg court records and he was probably the wealthiest man in town. His success as merchant and businessman can be measured by a listing of property in the will made shortly before his death in 1863. Here we note bonds of the James River and Kanawha Company, of the Cities of Richmond and Petersburg (all guaranteed), and numerous Confederate bonds. There was stock in the Petersburg Railroad Company, the Richmond and Petersburg Railroad Company, the Illinois Central and the Southside Railroad companies; stock in the Farmers Bank of Kentucky, many shares of North Carolina and Tennessee State stock; loan and stock certificates of Virginia. There were numerous shares in the Matoaca Manufacturing Company, the Battersea Manu-

facturing Company, the Mechanics Manufacturing Company, and the Etticks Manufacturing Company. (It would be interesting to know something about these companies, but the writer is not delving into their history.) Willcox further owned a vast amount of real estate in and around Petersburg. His country place was "Walnut Hill," located in what is now a part of the city, where on the present Westover Avenue we can imagine the home where he and his family spent happy times. We can think of Wilcox Lake not far away carrying lovely reminder of those days and point, too, to the former town of Blandford—now within city limits—laid off in 1748 from Poythress lands and realize how close our ties are with Petersburg and the Virginia of yesteryear. A receipted bill from Dr. and Mrs. Edm'd Birchett in June 1832 for the service of a Negro man for eight days at seventy-five cents per day ($6.00) gives little idea of the labor that must have been used in keeping up the property of this ancestor, but it is an interesting record of the time.

For John Vaughan Willcox there was widespread respect, and affection, too, as instanced by the letter of a cousin, Mary Eppes, after having had him in her home at Appomattox near City Point. He was vestryman of St. Paul's Church, Petersburg, in 1824, and later of Blandford Church, in both of which he took an active part. As seen, he was an eminently successful business man; but more than that he had a broadly humane quality that made him beloved by rich and poor alike.

The considerable fortune, built up by industry and good judgment, dwindled with the outbreak of war, and there were serious reverses in 1863. His will written that year, shortly before his death, left the place "Seldons" to his grandson, William Poythress, together with specific bequests to that family, to other relatives and friends and to institutions, among which we note the Female Orphan Asylum of Petersburg. However, the bulk of his property, after cancellation of certain sums owed

him, was left to his daughter, Mary Edloe Brown, to be divided equally after her death between the three sons. With this legacy Mary received the house and lot on Bollingbrook Street, property in Prince George County, and all "furniture, carriages, harness, horses, carts, wagons, gear, plantation utensils, crops, etc." at "Walnut Hill" and elsewhere.

From the spring of 1862, when the Northern Army defeated the Confederates at Williamsburg, to and after establishment of bases on the James River that summer, destruction of life and property was widespread. We wish the last days of this ancestor might have been more peaceful; but at least he was spared the occupation of Petersburg in 1865 and the final outcome of a conflict that to him was wholly tragic.

In a lot under perpetual care in Blandford Cemetery lies the body of John Vaughan Willcox next to those of his daughter and her husband, John Thompson Brown; each under a marble slab covering the grave, with appropriate inscriptions. We read of Blandford Cemetery: "The grass and foliage of spring are starting afresh, green from the graves of its inmates," and we feel that this family plot carries a message of continuity and growth.

REFERENCES

1. William Waller Hening, *The Statutes at Large . . . of Virginia,* v. 1 (New York, 1823), pp. 129, 414, 421, 431.
2. To be found in Virginia State Library, Richmond.
3. Richard McI. Dunn, *The Poythress Family of Flower de Hundred* (n.p., n.d.), Willcox section. (In family files.)
4. Auditor's Account Book, 1779, p. 162, Archives Division, Virginia State Library, May 29, 1779.
5. Revolutionary War Public Service Claims, Charles City Co., Va., Court Booklet, p. 7; Certificates (Major Willcox); Commissioner's Book 1, p. 317, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.
6. Charles City Co., Va., Will Book 1, pp. 466-68, recorded February 20, 1800.

7. Part of Skipwith Papers provided through courtesy of James S. Patton.
8. James G. Scott and Edward A. Wyatt, *Petersburg's Story* (Petersburg, Va., 1960), p. 115.
9. Edward A. Wyatt, *Along Petersburg Streets: Historic Sites and Buildings of Petersburg, Virginia* (Richmond, The Dietz Printing Company, 1943).
10. LeRoy Hodges, *Petersburg, Virginia, Economic and Municipal* (Petersburg, Va., The Chamber of Commerce, 1917).
11. Catherine Copeland, *Bravest Surrender, A Petersburg Patchwork* (Richmond, Whittet & Shepperson, 1961).

Chapter Four: POYTHRESS, 1633-1815

THIS BRANCH OF OUR FAMILY TREE came to America when, as Captain of a sailing ship, Francis Poythress,(a) styled "The Emigrant," landed in Virginia around the year 1633. By court order, dated February 27, 1636, land patents were granted and seven hundred and fifty acres were acquired in Charles City County, which in 1702 was to become the newly formed County of Prince George.

Our ancestor (your great-great-great-great-great-great-great-grandfather) was agent or factor for Lawrence Evans, a London merchant, who later claimed Francis had committed great abuses and discharged him, bringing suit in the General Court. The matter was referred in 1638-1639 by the Governor and Council of Virginia to the ablest merchants, who decided that the man then acting as Evans's factor should pay Poythress ten pounds in every hundred for goods sold and tobacco received. So the case was discharged. We can imagine the Captain entering into this new and exciting land, somewhat subdued by the charges brought against him in England until these were lifted; yet immediately starting to build stockades to protect himself and his household from Indian attacks and to proceed with tobacco planting.

Though in 1639 the subcommittee for the foreign plantations to the Lords of Privy Council in England ordered a further

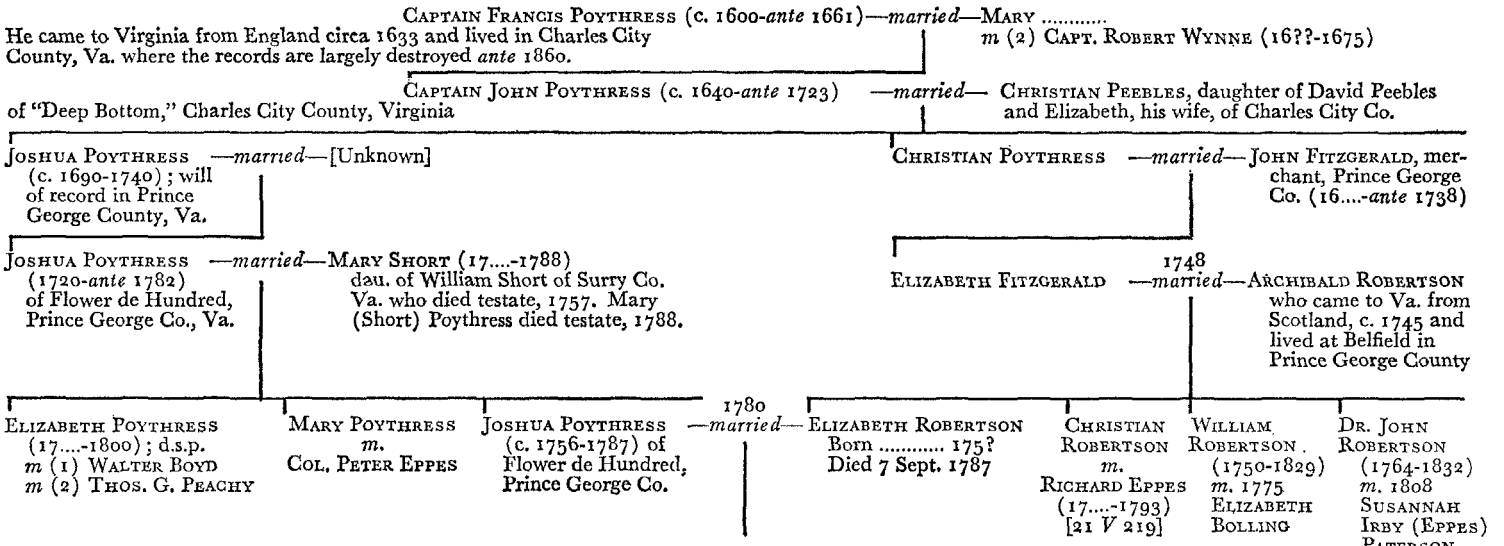
(a) Appearing in early records also as Poythers and Portriss, but with Poythress the most consistent spelling.

inquiry when Evans himself was to go to Virginia, the matter was apparently dropped, for Poythress was elected burgess from Charles City in 1644, 1645 and 1647. In 1644 he was a lieutenant of militia in the Indian War, and, under direction of Captain Henry Fleet, was named the next year to command an expedition against Opechancanough, King of the Pamunkeys and brother of Powhatan. Instructions were that he build a fort on the Rappahannock River unless he should succeed in subduing or negotiating with the Indians. Vestiges of the fort remain to this day so his success in handling the Indians is questionable.

Let us pause here to give some historical background gathered from Richard L. Morton's *Colonial Virginia*[1] and *Land Where Our Fathers Died*,[2] which helps us to see the world into which our ancestors ventured.

King James's Charter had divided Virginia into two districts—southern and nothern—each to operate under direction of a Council of thirteen within the London Company, members of whom were appointed by the Crown; each district to be governed locally by a Council, also of thirteen members, who should act in accordance with laws, ordinances and instructions determined by the King. Names of the original Councilors were kept under seal until after landing, when by authority Edward Maria Wingfield was chosen first President—soon to be succeeded by Ratcliffe and others, including Captain John Smith. Captain Smith was a strict upholder of the Christian faith. Among other restrictions he forbade swearing and in the case of any colonist letting go with loud imprecations "devised how to have a cann of water poured down his sleeve, with which every offender was so washed (himselfe and all) that a man should scarce heare an oath in a weeke." Land was cleared, a fort erected behind wooden palisades and within its shelter huts were put up for the original settlers. According to Morton, Smith reported the adventurers as living in such a

POYTHRESS



SUSANNA PEACHY POYTHRESS (1785-1815)

She was the only child of her parents to survive infancy and was raised by her uncle and aunt Mr. and Mr. Richard Eppes of Appomattox Manor, Prince George Co., Va. Her aunt Christian (Robertson) Eppes died there in January 1804 and the said Susanna was married there 20 September 1804 to John Vaughan Willcox (born 11 August 1779, Charles City Co., Va. and died 23 November 1863, Petersburg, Va.—his dates from his tombstone, Blandford Cemetery, Petersburg). Susanna Peachy (Poythress) Willcox inherited Flower de Hundred from her father; she is said to be buried there. Her children were: John Poythress Willcox (1805-1857) and Mary Edloe Willcox (1810-1868) who married 6 May 1830, John Thompson Brown (1802-1836), attorney-at-law, of Petersburg. He was an influential member of the Virginia House of Delegates and the son of Captain Henry Brown (1760-1841) of Ivy Cliff in Bedford Co., Va. (a Revolutionary soldier) and his wife nee Frances Thompson (1775-1822), daughter of John Thompson (1744-1830) of Campbell Co., Va., also a Revolutionary soldier.

References: Boddie, *Historical Southern Families,* Vol. IV [1960], p. 30-37; 21 *Virginia Magazine* 219 for will of Richard Eppes, 1793, of Prince George Co. mentioning Archibald Robertson and brother-in-law William Robertson; Family Register in manuscript in the Wyndham Robertson Papers, The University of Chicago Library.

way as to make the Company in England think all this new country was "oatmeale with salvages their kind friends." However, from Morton, too, we learn that but thirty-eight of the first settlers were alive to welcome arrival of the *John and Francis* at Jamestown on January 2, 1608, the "bloody flux," dysentery, famine and wounds from Indian skirmishes having taken their toll. A still less cheerful report tells of one man having powdered his wife and eaten her, so great was the famine and demoralization.

Ships to England carried timber, sassafras roots and tobacco, which last was bringing a good rate; but King James's vision of plentiful gold resources soon faded. Among early comers were five men fitted to assess Virginia's precious stones and metals, as well as several refiners. They searched for ore and before long shipped home what was dubbed "gilded dirt"—later found to be iron pyrites—a fool's gold that was the source of many a London joke.

A sad happening shortly after the 1608 landing was destruction by fire of the fort with its ammunition and provisions; all but three houses were burned and had it not been for the friendliness of Indian tribes during this difficult time our nation's story might be quite different. They supplied food, helped to plant tobacco and corn, and taught special fishing methods as developed by Powhatan.

Sir Thomas Dale, arriving in 1611 with about 300 people, wrote home that summer that only some sixty of these were fit for any labour or service, in spite of a "Broadside" issued in London the year before limiting acceptance of persons for passage to "such sufficient, honest and good artificers as smiths, ship wrights, sturgeon-dressers, joyners, carpenters, gardeners, turners, coopers, salt-makers, iron men for furnace and hammer, brickmakers, bricklayers, mineral men, bakers, gunfounders, fishermen, plough-wrights, brewers, sawyers, fowlers, vine-dressers, surgeons and physicians for the body, and learned

divines to instruct the colonie and to teach the infidels to worship the true God."

We read that under the leadership of Gates and Dale notable changes occurred in Virginia from 1610 to 1616, when an early policy of conciliating the Indians changed to one of ruthless attack. By April 1614, however, peace was restored, at least temporarily.

Undiscouraged by vicissitudes and failures, the London Company proceeded with its plans for opening up the new world. A letter of July 1616 from John Rolfe to "The King's Most Sacred Ma'tie" reads in part: "Neither evill reports, nor slanders, nor murmerings, nor backbiting of others, nor any disaster, did once dismay or hinder them [the adventurers] from upholding thereof with their good reports, encouragements and means yearlie sent to the planters to nourish life and being in this zealous work. I beseech God to raise up many more such."

By now the settlers were venturing further along the James and Appomattox Rivers; clearing ground and using the lumber for export, home building and for stockades, harvesting corn and tobacco. Listed about this time were eighty-three cows, heifers and new calves; sixty-one steers and bulls. The colony was "in great prosperyte and pease," and tobacco was a staple crop.

In 1617 Thomas Yeardley succeeded De la Warr as Governor with assignment to him of a land grant on the James River's south side which was given the name of "Flowerdew Hundred" (b) after Lady Temperance Yeardley's family. With him came a change in government through establishment of a General Assembly to consist of Councellors chosen by the Company and Burgesses elected by Freemen of the Colony. The ballot in Virginia began with the General Assembly at Jamestown in 1619.

(b) Variously spelled "Flowerdew," "Flower-dieu," "Flower de Hundred."

In 1622, according to *Life and Labor in the Old South* by Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, Opechancanough, Powhatan's successor, combined other tribes with his own and apparently went on a rampage for of 1200 colonists nearly one-third were massacred in their homes and many escaping to the six stockades died of pestilence and famine. King James, who was not enthusiastic about the Virginia Company, cancelled its charter and converted Virginia into a possession of the King, to be ruled at his discretion. On James's death, Charles showed little interest beyond the value of the tobacco trade. A new House of Burgesses was elected and the government was allowed to revert to its former nature, with hopes of greater success in exports to England. Sir John Harvey was expelled from governorship for petty tyrannies, and Governor Berkeley's tenure began, during the first part of which Virginia enjoyed a happy period, until a second onslaught from Opechancanough in 1644. So we can see that Captain Francis Poythress with his assignment to conquer the Indian chief had quite a job.

On July 13, 1637, he had been granted four hundred acres of land in Charles City County bordering north on his own land,[3] on the east by that of Captain Woodliffe, and on the west by Baylye's Creek. He is named as a headright in a grant of May 22, 1642, for two hundred acres to Robert Eyres in Lower Norfolk County; so with the earlier patent mentioned he is thought to have returned to England, then back to America with immigrants to secure him this additional property. There were many land patents and transactions in those early years, carrying the names of Osborne, Butler, Hill, West, Worsham, Poythress, and others; it seems that in 1648 the last named owned around twelve hundred acres.

We rely largely on a manuscript carefully prepared by R. M. Dunn of Richmond (see family files), supplemented and in some instances corrected by King's research. It is interesting to read that by Act XVIII of the Assembly in 1645-46 "three-

score men [were] forthwith raised on the north side of James River, well provided with fixed guns, shott bags and swords. That is to say from Henrico 2 men, Charles Citty County 4, James Citty Countye 13, Yorke County 16, Warwick County eight, Eliz. Citty 8, and Northampton county 9. All which said men shall march under and be obedient to the command of Lieft. Fra. Poythers [Poythress] in the manageing of any occasionall warr." In 1648 he was elevated to a captaincy and put in charge of militia north of the York River, as well as of collecting taxes from the newly formed Northumberland County. He was a member of the House of Burgesses from Northumberland in 1649, which county he represented in the Grand Assembly held on October tenth of that year. Previously, when representing Charles City he had been present "att a Grand Assembly Holden at James Cittie the first of October 1644" and also on the seventeenth of February 1645—in the latter case appearing as a "Lieft."

Northumberland was a tract of land between the Rappahannock and Potomac Rivers. It was termed a disorderly county and the collection of assessments due in proportion with the rest of the colony was a difficult task shared with Jo. Trussell. After the beheading of Charles I and during the English Commonwealth, first under Oliver Cromwell and then his son Richard, the Governor and Council of Virginia were selected by the House of Burgesses, with some conflict since the Burgesses recognized no right of the Governor and Council to dissolve them. Therefore, it is believed that Poythress, with others of the 1649 House, remained in power at least until the spring of 1660 when Charles II was crowned.

In the *William and Mary Quarterly,* Volume 7, we read: "Virginia society in the Eighteenth Century was a democracy based upon negro slavery. The differences in wealth and the monopoly of the offices in the hands of a few leading families in each county passed as little before the mighty influence of

the House of Burgesses . . . till the Governor and Council were scarcely more than figure heads . . . and it is a remarkable fact that down to 1736 this House rested practically on universal suffrage." Captain Francis Poythress must have been quite a man!

He had been born in England around 1600. His antecedents are unknown, as is the surname of his wife, Mary, whom he married in England. After Francis's death before 1661, Mary took as a second husband, Captain Robert Wynne, and it is probably due to this fact that there have been mistaken records of descent from Francis Poythress and Mary Wynne. Captain Wynne's will, dated July 1, 1675, and recorded in England two years later, mentioned Captain Francis Poythress (second of that name) as overseer of the document, calling him son-in-law, which in this instance no doubt meant stepson, in accordance with Seventeenth Century usage.

Francis and Mary had four children: Francis, John, Jane and Thomas. The eldest, born in England around 1630, married Rebecca Coggin after coming to America and owned property on the Blackwater in Charles City, also in Jordan's Parish. He became first captain, then major in the militia and so served until his death about 1688.[4] Through his descendants came connection with Blair, Cocke, Goode, Harrison, Lee, Morrison, Eppes and Rubscammon families. There is record of considerable land holdings by him and his family in Prince George County.[5]

After this second Francis's death, Rebecca married her sister's widower, Charles Bartholomew—a marriage that brought court action, since such was contrary to ecclesiastical law of Virginia at that time.[6] An amusing story about Rebecca's father, John Coggin, appears in our Reference 4. An early settler and physician in Charles City, Coggin seems to have been of an unusually pugnacious disposition, receiving injury to cheekbone and eye from Robert Simonds; then

shortly afterwards collaring and scuffling with William Wilkins, when he received a black eye and scarred lip. Wilkins was seized and bitten by the house dog and Coggin had sufficiently recovered to dress the wounds, so he may not have been so bad after all!

Francis's third child, Jane, we have always thought of as marrying Thomas Rolfe, son of John Rolfe and Pocahontas. We read of this in Wyndham Robertson's *Pocahontas . . . and Her Descendants,*[7] where the couple is said to have settled on Rolfe's estate "Varina" near Henrico, Virginia. Copeland, in her book *Bravest Surrender,*[8] says that John Rolfe reached this country as a widower, losing his wife and daughter on the *Sea Venture;* that he married Pocahontas in 1616, having by her a son, Thomas, who was born at "Varina," then taken to London and educated there by his uncle, Henry Rolfe. According to these sources, he married Jane Poythress on return to America; their one child married Robert Bolling and was an ancestor of John Randolph of Roanoke. Our Reference 4 throws doubt on this connection—even ignores it —but I still believe the story to be true! And there is every reason to think that this Pocahontas connection is authentic when we turn to the Robb papers, copied from the Library of William and Mary and furnished through courtesy of James S. Patton. Pocahontas was a name carried through the Bolling and Robertson families, as was Powhatan. Would this have happened if there were no connection? There is further authentication in the genealogical chart of Dr. A. S. Chalfant of Baltimore which shows his ancestor, Thomas Rolfe, as having married Jane Poythress.

There was a fourth child of Francis and Mary named Thomas, who, in the will of Captain Thomas Pawlett[9] was mentioned as godson. Arthur Grant, in October 1659, agreed to take Thomas to England and return him if he were not provided with diet and lodging by George Laud. Nothing

further is recorded about the boy; perhaps he stayed in the old country and founded a Poythress family—who knows? But at least we have a record that around 1700, and for some ensuing years, property was granted to Thomas Poythress—so there was one of that name on American soil; and we note transaction with Rebecca Poythress and her daughter, Rebecca, who seem to be rightly accounted for.

Our first concern, though, is with John, second son of the first Captain Francis. In a published study of this family in the *William and Mary Quarterly,* 2nd Series, Volume 15, we read:

> To clearly differentiate the early John Poythresses is a difficult problem . . . and any hypothesis is allowable for it is simply an attempt to explain known facts which exist . . . and if you so wish to term it the Poythress Puzzle [remains].

So we can understand why varied reports are gathered from the various sources. Before us now, though, is Boddie's work (see Reference 4) as well as Dunn's material, together with the findings of King in his careful research, which have been confirmed by R. Bolling Batte, attorney of Midlothian, Virginia.

John was born around 1640 and is identified as of Deep Bottom, Charles City County. Later he was granted three hundred and fifty acres on the north side of Nottaway River in Surry. As Captain, he was called on for various duties in the colonial government; notably jury service (then no sinecure); and development of transportation methods along the Indian Swamp (since called Dismal Swamp and in the news now for possible drainage and clearing) on which his Nottaway property abutted. He married Christian, daughter of David and Elizabeth Peebles of Charles City County—the latter of whom was then a widow, owning property at the head of Powell's Creek. We read in Reference 4: "The action of John Poythress as marrying Christian, the daughter of Elizabeth Peebles,

is by consent let fall in court, ye plaintiff avers that the land now claimed by him is within a plot sworn by him as the Boniwood plot." The following quotation from the original Charles City County, Virginia, Order Book 1687-95, page 225, on which Mr. Boddie draws gives perhaps a more colorful picture of the proceedings:

> The Action brought by Jno. Poythres as Marrying the daughter of Eliza: Peebles agst. Tho: Busby is by consent lett fall in Courte that the plt. averrs that the land now claimed by him is within a Platt drawne by Mr. James Minge, called Bonniword Platt.

The couple had eight children: John, David, Christian, Elizabeth, Robert, Peter, William and Joshua. It was the son, John, inheriting part of his grandfather Peebles's Bonniwood Plot, who was Burgess from Prince George 1723-26 and member of a commission to examine the dividing line between North Carolina and Virginia; and it is this John, mistakenly identified as our ancestor, who married Mary Batte.

There is much we could write about John's children—their marriages, their property, their law suits (of which there were many); but, since this history is devoted primarily to our direct ancestry, I shall cite but a few instances.

Robert, who married an Elizabeth of Henrico—probably the daughter of Elizabeth Pleasants Cocke, through whom came connection with the Randolph, Gilliam, Baird and Bland families—is first noted in 1713 as accused of furnishing ammunition to the Indians.[10] I dislike this charge but perhaps at the time there was justification.

William, born in 1695, acquired large grants of land before his death in 1763, when his body was laid under a stone in Blandford Cemetery which carries the simple inscription: "Here lies the corpse of William Poythress." He married Sarah Eppes and had several children whose births are recorded in Bristol Parish Register; but their descendants are untraced.

William has been mistakenly named as our ancestor and perhaps we would like to claim him for he was of some prominence, rising from Captain to Colonel in the Colonial Army, and holding several high offices as, for instance, Sheriff of Prince George County and Trustee for the Town of Blandford. But the relationship is only a collateral one.

Of Peter we record some facts principally because of the light they throw upon the time in which he lived. In 1711 he was sent to negotiate with the Tuscarora Indians,[11] who had refused to join with other tribes in a widespread massacre, and who were urged to sign a peace treaty with the English in Virginia. His name appears in William Byrd's Secret Diary through a number of years, and it is surprising to see how much thought Byrd gave to food, in spite of what must have been a rather uninteresting diet! We read in his diary:

October 8, 1711 . . . I said a short prayer and ate boiled milk for breakfast . . . It was agreed to send Peter Poythress [Indian trader and interpreter] to the Tuscaroras to treat them and to demand the Baron Graffenriedt who was prisoner among the Indians . . . January 21, 1712 . . . Peter Poythress came to our house and brought me a letter from my brother Custis . . . He stayed and dined and I ate roast mutton for dinner . . . March 4, about twelve o'clock Mr. Poythress and Mrs. Ann B-k-r were married and about two we went to dinner and I ate some boiled tongue. We continued very grave till the evening and then we danced and were very merry . . . March 11, in the evening Peter Poythress came with 14 of the Tuscorora Indians, whom he was going to conduct to the Governor . . . March 16, Peter Poythress came over and told me the Governor received the Tuscaroras very coldly and ordered them to go and help the people of Carolina cut off Hancock town, which they said they would . . . May 16, 1720, Then came Mr. Poythress and dined [on boiled beef] . . . After dinner I settled some accounts with Mr. Poythress till 4 o'clock . . . Sept. 19, 1720, about twelve o'clock came Mrs. Duke and her lawyer, Mr. Poythress, and dined with my brother and sister. Duke and I ate some

pork collops. After dinner we sat and talked . . . In the evening we sat to drink several healths till 9 o'clock.

After some years the diary on July 26, 1741, notes that with others Mrs. Poythress came after dinner and stayed till the evening. Also in this month there was a suit brought by Robert and Thomas Poythress, executors of their brother Joshua's estate, against Benjamin Harrison.

From the above we gather that Peter Poythress married Mrs. Ann Baker; they owned a water mill on Powell's Creek sold to them by John Hardyman, and had one daughter, Anne, who married Richard Bland of "Jordans"; he was the grandson of John Bland who in 1657 had acquired this tract of land from the first Benjamin Harrison's widow.

A daughter, Christian Poythress, married John Fitzgerald and their daughter, Elizabeth, married Archibald Robertson; whence came the dual relationship of Susannah Peachy Poythress, whose aunt, Mrs. Richard Eppes of Appomattox Manor, is referred to later. Fitzgerald was a merchant of Prince George County, and the Archibald Robertson whom Elizabeth married came from Scotland around 1745 and lived at Belfield in Prince George County.

The Robertson family so far as we know started with William of Struan in Scotland, whose son married a daughter of Hugh Rose of Kilranock. From them descended Colin Robertson who married a daughter of Sir Robert Munroe of Foulis, thus leading to a relationship with Virginia families of Robertson, Poythress and Monroe, of which last we point with pride to President Monroe, as we do to his ancestor, Donald Munro, founder of the Ancient House of Foulis around 1000 A.D. George King, our assistant in this family history, can also claim relationship to the Monroe clan—holding again to the idea that all Virginians are related!

But it is John's youngest son, Joshua, with whom we are particularly concerned—your great-great-great-great-great-grandfather, born around 1690. In 1717 he bought from James Parham two hundred acres on Bailey's Creek, known as "High Peak." Then eight years later he purchased from John Hardyman and his wife, Mrs. Elizabeth Duke, three hundred acres in Prince George County—a property known as "Flower de Hundred." The term "Hundred" appearing on early maps of the Virginia Colony was carried over from England to signify the number of families settled on the land in question. It was introduced into Virginia, however, simply as a territorial unit and with no exact significance.

Robert A. Lancaster, in *Historic Virginia Homes and Churches,* described the house as a "long, white cottage-like homestead," with a charm rare even in the enchanted region of the James River, with nearby the first windmill in America (from which was derived the name Windmill Point). It had been built by Sir George Yeardley, Governor (on receiving this property as a present from Powhatan ?) and was patented to him with the name "Flower-dieu" after his wife Temperance Flowerdew and her family. In spite of the friendliness displayed by this gift, Lancaster tells of a raid by Indians in 1622 resulting in the massacre of six persons. Perhaps this was why Yeardley sold the property in 1624 to Abraham Peirsey by a deed said to be the oldest in America. Later it was inherited by Peirsey's daughter, Elizabeth Stephens—Lady Harvey-to-be. Other owners were William Barker, mariner; John Taylor and his heirs, including Hardyman.

The deed of conveyance from Elizabeth Duke refers to Joshua Poythress as a "merchant of Prince George County" and he was no doubt an active one, exporting tobacco in particular from his wharf at this junction of the James and Nottoway Rivers; while he carried on a lively mercantile business in the town, four lots of which were included in the plantation.

Called in 1738 "a social, business and shopping center of the community," Flower de Hundred Town, which had houses "poled and palizadoed in, with ten or twelve pieces of ordnance well mounted and planted for ye defense of ye place," has long since disappeared. That all mark of its existence is erased can be accounted for by the fact that it was in almost the direct line of march to Petersburg when in 1781 the Red Coats, under General William Phillips, besieged the city; the "well mounted ordnance" could not prevail and Lord Cornwallis crossed the James in pursuit of Lafayette. Did Lafayette take refuge in the plantation home? We do not know but like to speculate.

In colonial Virginia we note that "Flower de Hundred" was among the seven particular plantations in 1619, together with Smith's Southampton Hundred, Argall's Gift, Captain Lawne's plantation, and Martin's Hundred. Therefore we can see that it was one of the first and largest on the James. Though it did not come into the Poythress family until 1725, we read of it in *The Great Plantations*[12] as "a grandly y-clept sizeable plantation on the order of Berkeley-Hundred" and can imagine that Joshua was responsible for much of the "y-clepping" and development—possibly even for planting the wonderful magnolia tree once so striking a part of the home grounds and now, alas, standing gnarled and neglected in front of a Negro shanty. To the original property Joshua added in 1732 two hundred acres belonging to his neighbors, Robert Wilkins and Elizabeth Duke, at the cost of four hundred pounds—embracing "all messuage, tenements, etc." which, with subsequent purchases, covered an extent of two thousand and sixty acres.

Not only had Joshua an active part in the management of this property but with zeal he pursued his trade through the town resources. At about this time the Virginia Assembly put a limit on tobacco crops in following through the King's orders

that the colony's products be more diversified (see Reference 1), so peanuts became a popular commodity.

Unfortunately, we do not know the name of Joshua's wife. His will, on file in the Virginia State Library, lists sons Joshua and William,(c) who were directed to maintain another son, Littleberry (d) at their joint expense; though Littleberry was left twenty shillings outright. There were also three daughters: Anne, Elizabeth and Mary—one of whom had probably married a Harwood, as we note in our Reference 4 a granddaughter by that name. Joshua left his estate equally divided between the sons (with exception as noted) and his wife, who through her lifetime was to have use of all stock—sheep, cattle and hogs. "To prevent all disputes and difference," a committee of friends and relatives was named to make distribution without appraisal or inventory.

Joshua died in 1740, when his eldest son, Joshua, then twenty years of age, was designated as of "Flower de Hundred," Prince George County. In the same year he married Mary, daughter of William Short of Surry County. This William Short was friend and counselor for Thomas Jefferson. (Dr. George Green Shackelford of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute in his doctoral thesis at the University of Virginia presents a brief family chart of the Short family which may be consulted at the University.)

As recorded in *The Virginia Gazette* over a number of years, Joshua was one of the colony's most important landholders, and with the death of his father-in-law in 1757 further property, together with slaves owned by Short, brought additional wealth to the couple. A few years later Joshua and Mary conveyed to William Wilkerson *et al* for four hundred pounds current money "all that tract of land and plantation with appurtenances thereunto belonging, situate, lying and being on

(c) Died without issue.
(d) Died without issue.

Mooseneck Creek in Sussex County, five hundred and ninety-five acres commonly called and known by the name of Whortle Berry Farm." Is it any wonder, in view of the many transactions undertaken by our early forebears, that some of the descendants have an "itch" to acquire and dispose of real estate?

This second Joshua continued the activities of his father, carrying on the same tradition of hospitality. Records starting with the first listing of taxes in 1782 show that he had twenty-four slaves, thirteen horses, eleven head of cattle, and a four-wheel carriage, this last used, we hope, for giving him and Mary some pleasant relaxation from the many responsibilities that were theirs. In addition to settlement of his father's estate, Joshua administered the estates of others who trusted in his fairmindedness, including that of the late Walter Boyd. As trustee for the late Joseph Wilkins he arranged for rental of one hundred and thirty-eight acres and a ferry at "Flower de Hundred." These data are noted in *The Virginia Gazette* of September 24, 1767, p. 2, col. 3, where are advertisements for the sale of twelve Virginia born slaves, "mostly fellows" from the estate of Edward Mumford; the sale of a "good plantation blacksmith"; and the search for a runaway slave. In the *Gazette,* too, we see notice of sale by Joshua Poythress of a dapple-gray horse, four feet six inches high, branded IL; and of a small bay mare branded IC—the latter available for cost of advertisement. Joshua served with Alexander Bolling and Benjamin Cocke on a new Commission of Peace. He managed a large estate, keeping general supervision over the growth and shipment of tobacco and other produce, with overseers to look after details. He handled with kindness a corps of slaves and left a reputation of justice and fair dealing. Finally, he was a genial host and companion, well matched by a hospitable wife.

Of their children, the oldest daughter, Elizabeth, married first Walter Boyd, and second Thomas G. Peachy. It is thus that the name Peachy came into use in our family—not as a pet term (often so considered) but carrying on a surname common in Colonial days.

According to the *William and Mary Quarterly,* first series, Volume III, the Peachy family came from Sussex County, England, where in 1614 they were granted arms bearing a lion rampant, double queued erm, durally crowned or; a canton of the last charged with a mullet pierced Q (crest to be seen in the Beverley Tucker Library). The tangle of these relationships is very evident, and all the more so because many of the Peachy family, as well as of Poythress, are recorded as having been buried at "Flower de Hundred."

King's chart accompanying this chapter shows that there were no children born to Elizabeth by either Boyd or Thomas Peachy (see will probated in the Petersburg Hustings Court in 1800); nor is there record of children by the second daughter, Mary, who married Colonel Peter Eppes. The third child, Joshua, though, is the one important in our lives because he married Elizabeth Robertson and by her had our well-known ancestress, Susannah Peachy Poythress, born in 1785, and descended from Elizabeth Poythress Fitzgerald of two generations before.

Susannah's parents, Joshua and Elizabeth, both died in 1787, when she was left at two years of age to be brought up by her Aunt Christian (so related as grandchild of the first Elizabeth Poythress.) This aunt, daughter of Archibald Robertson, who came to Prince George County, Virginia, from Scotland in 1745, had married Richard Eppes; having no children of her own, she was no doubt delighted to welcome the orphan in her home at Appomattox Manor.

Let us call attention again to the family of Archibald Robertson whose papers covering the period 1740-1825 are available

in the Manuscript Department, University of Chicago. These include much of interest concerning the first Archibald's descendants. One was Governor Wyndham Robertson of Virginia, and the Senator Willis Robertson—often seen by your aunt fishing for bass in the lake on Bath Alum Farm—comes through that line. The Robertson's Scottish ancestry appears for several generations in the private files of Mr. and Mrs. James S. Patton of Washington, D. C. and suggests other sources of interesting research into which this present study does not delve.

But returning to our Joshua and Elizabeth Poythress, at the time of the former's death, his estate was taxed on twenty-eight slaves, eleven horses, twenty-nine head of cattle and, still, that four-wheel carriage! In 1782 he had been taxed on six hundred and four acres of land, which not until 1795 was specified as his estate "Flower de Hundred." Then, following records year by year, we find that in 1805 "Flower de Hundred" appeared on the books in the name of John V. Willcox (see Chapter III). There is no explanation by the tax commissioners, but the estate had been transferred from the Poythress name, and we find reason for this in the announcement quoted from the *Petersburg Intelligencer* in Chapter Three telling of the Willcox wedding.

Meanwhile Susannah Peachy Poythress had been growing up in Appomattox Manor, and loved to spend time at "Flower de Hundred," where at an early age she began to assume direction of work on the plantation. As the only child she was owner and felt a very real responsibility—driving around, possibly, in that same four-wheel chaise, and loved by black and white alike. Here she was titled Lady of the James. How heartbreaking it must have been when in 1800 a fire broke out in the old house, bringing complete destruction, with only pieces of glazed brick and charred timbers to show where the family dwelling had once stood. It was probably this Lady of the James referred

to in Thomas Bolling's diary of May 10, 1804, as Miss Sukey Poythress who called with his grandson, T. Bolling Robertson, and again on May 16. (Reference in possession of Volta Bureau for the Deaf, Washington, D. C. and copied by courtesy of James S. Patton.)

With the marriage of John Vaughan Willcox and Susannah in her aunt's home, two families of considerable wealth were united. The young couple soon built a small three-room house on the plantation—a white wooden structure on a rolling bit of ground back from the old site. Here they would often stay when the harvest was at its height, seeing to the shipment of produce from the James River wharf opposite Buckland's Landing; their principal home, however, was in Petersburg, where J. V. W. was kept busy with his mercantile business and other pursuits as mentioned in Chapter Three.

The lower part of "Flower de Hundred" plantation was acquired in 1809 from the estate of William Samuel Peachy (which explains early burials of Peachy in the "Flower de Hundred" cemetery), and later the Belleview and Seldon farms were added. With acquisitions, too, of other farms in Prince George County, John Vaughan Willcox became one of Virginia's largest landowners. According to J. Pinckney Williamson, he was the only millionaire in the state at that time. His plantation slaves were many—never less than forty-six and sometimes numbering well over one hundred; but with all the available labor he kept "Flower de Hundred" under his personal supervision.

More has been said about John Vaughan in the section relating to our Willcox ancestry. Let us mention here, however, that he was an ardent believer in the Southern Confederacy, possessing at the time of his death in November 1863 more Confederate bonds than any other individual in Virginia! His married life was short, for Susannah Peachy Poythress died in 1815 at "Flower de Hundred," where she was placed in the

old family burial ground; no mark of her grave remains, alas, since in 1864 Federal troops camped on this spot, using the tombstones for cooking purposes. (Hence burial of the old gentleman in Blandford Cemetery with his daughter and son-in law.) But for eleven years the two were happy, with a son, John Poythress, born in 1805, and a daughter, Mary Edloe, born in 1810. The latter married John Thompson Brown of Petersburg and Bedford County, and from that union grew another branch elsewhere discussed.

Turning to some of our collateral relatives, we note that in 1836 "Flower de Hundred" was given to John Poythress Willcox who lived there until his death in 1857, adding wings to the house. He married Mary Jane McGowan, and their children were: John Vaughan,(e) Elizabeth Phelan, William McGowan,(f) who fought in the Civil War, and Susan Peachy (g) who inherited "Flower de Hundred" and left it by will to her nephew, Dr. William Willcox Dunn. A fifth child was Robert Bolling, who at the age of fourteen fought in the siege of Petersburg and later became a member of the State Legislature. He married Dora Dodson by whom he had six children, the youngest unmarried, being another John Vaughan Willcox.

To his Aunt Elizabeth Phelan Willcox we owe much of the information that has come down through scattered records and bits of "hearsay." She married John George Dunn of Petersburg, and through their son, Joseph Bragg—educated as a Doctor of Divinity—follow connections with the Southall, Ball, Morgan, Taylor, Hubard, Lyon, Wallace, Davenport, Byrd and other outstanding Virginia families. Through her, too, came possession of "Flower de Hundred" by the Dunn family, in whose hands it remained until sale to Roland Rooke

(e) Killed while duck hunting.
(f) Married Susan Ruffin—no children.
(g) Unmarried.

of Richmond. It is now owned by Harrison, the brother-in-law of the writer's nephew.

From 1725 until the Civil War "Flower de Hundred" was a thriving property, starting with limited acreage but added to as the years went by and remaining within the family. There was ample slave labor and pleasant relationship between master and servant. With the war came depredations that were particularly ruinous. In 1862 the wharf used for cargoes of top-grade Virginia tobacco was burned by order of the Confederate Government to delay the landing of Federal troops on the river's south bank. As its embers died, the first Federal gunboats hove into sight.

Then in 1864 General Grant made his famous crossing of the James by pontoon bridge from Willcox landing to Windmill Point on the plantation. One hundred and thirty thousand soldiers furnished an inspiring sight to the Federal generals watching from a sunny vantage point, but (drawing on Dr. Dunn's words) to the mistress, Mary Jane McGowan Willcox, and her faithful attendants, the picture was one of sorrow and despair. Relatives and friends were fighting in defense of Petersburg; and with the pressing army came a trampling down of crops and a general destruction that was heartbreaking.

We can read of "Flower de Hundred" with delight in the romance of its past history. In recent years we have seen it as a flourishing cattle farm embracing three thousand acres of grain and wooded hills that slope down to the gently flowing James—about to undergo another change, alas, as its present owner plans to sell, and the sands of time may bring about a modern development on these tempting lands.

Let us look further back, though, to Captain Francis Poythress, your many times great-grandfather who, emigrating to America in 1633, started a Virginia heritage that built soundly for the future.

And now, hoping that this chapter does not further confuse the "Poythress Puzzle," let us turn to those three Brown boys growing up in Petersburg, grandsons of Susannah Peachy Poythress.

REFERENCES

1. Richard L. Morton, *Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill, Published for the Virginia Historical Society by the University of North Carolina Press, 1960).
2. Marion L. Starkey, *Land Where Our Fathers Died, the Settling of the Eastern Shores: 1607-1735* (Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday & Company, 1962).
3. Virginia Patent Book 1, p. 439.
4. John Bennett Boddie, *Historical Southern Families,* v. 4 (Redwood City, Calif., Pacific Coast Publishers, 1960), pp. 30-37.
5. Quit Rent Rolls, 1704, Public Record Office, London.
6. *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia,* v. 1 (Richmond, Virginia State Library, 1925), p. 313; dated June 14, 1694.
7. Wyndham Robertson, *Pocahontas, Alias Matoaca, and Her Descendants* (Richmond, 1887).
8. Catherine Copeland, *Bravest Surrender, A Petersburg Patchwork* (Richmond, Whittet & Shepperson, 1961).
9. *William and Mary Quarterly,* 1st series, v. 4, p. 152.
10. *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia,* v. 3 (Richmond, Virginia State Library, 1928), p. 366.
11. *Ibid.,* pp. 284, 300.
12. Clifford Dowdey, *The Great Plantation, A Profile of Berkeley Hundred and Plantation Virginia From Jamestown to Appomattox* (New York, Toronto, Rinehart & Company, 1957).

Chapter Five: BROWN, 1836-1865

IN A PETERSBURG ROOM of the American Wing at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, is a portrait of the three Brown boys, dressed in their very best: Peronneau at the right—tall, thoughtful and dreamy; Willcox (your grandfather) in the middle—serious, handsome, intellectual; John Thompson at the left—a gamin, showing little of the qualities that later brought him fame as a military man.

Left fatherless when Willcox was but three and Thompson an infant, these boys grew up in a home saddened by the sudden loss from which Mary Edloe never recovered. Had it not been for the faithful Mammy, who provided a ready safety valve as youthful problems and enthusiasms arose, there might have been serious rebellion; but she was a devoted, calming influence who with innate tact always had the right word to soothe ruffled feathers and bring a sparkle back to the boys' eyes. As they grew older, too, Grandfather Willcox's farm, "Walnut Hill," furnished a fine outlet for youthful spirits, with its hills, streams and Indian caves; while occasional visits to Grandfather Brown at "Ivy Cliff" were always a source of delight. It was a childhood of fun in spite of the serious background.

As noted in Chapter II, John Thompson Brown, the father, died at thirty-four when he would have meant more and more to his growing sons in a life that was full of promise. The offici-

ating cleryman at his funeral, who wished to remain anonymous, in a long eulogy spoke of J. T. B. as "no ordinary man . . . as a debator in public Councils marked among the foremost in our state . . . in the highest excitement of party contention ever calm and mild, with dignity, persuasiveness and an accumulating force that would like a clear flame shine brighter and stronger the longer it burned," and we see the high ideals of this man in the letter to his sons, written in 1833, and the hopes expressed for those carrying on his name. The letter is addressed to Henry and John (Willcox) for John Thompson had not then been born.

We do not know the reason for your great-grandfather's death. Possibly "galloping consumption" brought on by a too heavy schedule, or was it a virulent fever? He spent a while at the Virginia Springs, but without effect, and then the tragedy! There is a large deposit of John Thompson Brown manuscripts in the William and Mary Library (unindexed or arranged.) If it were possible to go over these, I am sure we would learn much more about this great-grandfather of yours and perhaps find out the reason for his early death.

We can well understand Mary Edloe's reaction when her husband was cut off in the prime of life, leaving her with the boys to handle! Now it was fortunate that a stipulation made by her father in granting permission for her marriage was that she make her home with him. I imagine this was not too easy for John Thompson to accept after having planned to follow a career in the Roanoke area near his father; but there was great devotion and the young couple were able to live quite independent lives in the large Bollingbrook Street house. John Thompson, as well as his father-in-law, also owned property on Sycamore Street—becoming rapidly a business section.

"Walnut Hill," the Willcox farm of seven hundred acres (now a part of Petersburg) provided horses on which the boys galloped over the place with their black or white companions.

When at "Flower de Hundred," playmates came from Shirley, Berkeley, the Brandons, Carter's Grove and other places along the James River.

Your grandfather, Willcox Brown, went to school in Petersburg as, no doubt, his brothers did also; then followed a gay summer at the White Sulphur in 1849, when Mrs. Brown and her three sons formed part of a large Virginia circle "congregated for the benefit of these unrivalled waters and the invigorating air"—enjoying beefsteak for breakfast and further refreshed by broiled venison and porter! Buggy drives, balls, tenpins and "working parties in the parlours" were popular pastimes for the young ones at least, and it must have been quite a wrench for Willcox to leave the fun and merriment to enter Episcopal High School near Alexandria, Virginia, which he did that fall.

In 1851, he went to the University of Virginia, receiving his degree of Master of Arts in 1853. There he studied law but did not practice as for several years his eyes were so seriously affected that they could be used but little; and he was sent on "the grand tour," spending two years in England, Scotland, France, and Italy, the last of which fascinated him. The writer has a small portrait of her father painted in Florence—young, charming, dignified in his formal attire. His eyes had apparently responded to treatment for he always read avidly in both English and Italian, having an ability to do so rapidly and to retain a lasting memory of what he read. As your Aunt Mary wrote some years ago, "he carried back to America a deepened appreciation of classical and renaissance art . . . which dominated his cultural life."[1] The paintings of Raphael, the sculptures of Michelangelo, the operas of Verdi, the writings of Dumas and histories relating to the French Revolution, especially in its earlier years, made their lasting impress.

In Italy, Willcox was thrown rather intimately with some of the Garibaldians from whom he heard much of their revolu-

tionary activities and hopes. Particularly from two gondoliers in Venice did he learn of the upheaval in 1848 when Italians rebelled against Austrian domination. Later Willcox wrote that salvation of the country came not from any exertion of the army but from the leadership of Cavour—a statesman whose life inspired the young American and was studied minutely. During this time he contracted cholera and, alone for two months, came near to death.

On return to Virginia, Willcox could have established a comfortable home for himself but felt that he should live with his mother and grandfather Willcox. Interspersed with an occasional winter in New York and summers at the Virginia Springs, he took an active part in community enterprises. Of particular interest is an account of the Poor Association of Petersburg, formed in 1857 by twelve gentlemen, of whom your grandfather was the leading spirit, to undertake a system of organized relief without indiscriminate giving. Petersburg at this time was a city of some 25,000, more than half of whom were slaves. These last were looked after by their owners, as prescribed by law, but in a large scale closing down of cotton mills and some other industries a considerable number of white workers were unemployed and had resorted to street begging. There was much suffering, but as the need for help was presented there was no difficulty in securing necessary funds from wealthy citizens of the community. Agents were employed for house to house visits so that everyone requiring assistance might receive it; while full and public records were kept of all cases. At the same time each of the twelve managers was allowed twenty-five dollars a month to use at his discretion for persons unwilling to be recipients of public charity, and their names were withheld. A family, for example, nearly related to one of the past presidents from Virginia, was accidentally found to be destitute. Help was given and that name kept sacred.

Major J. Willcox Brown

This was one of the first instances of organized philanthropy in America, and the Association was operated successfully until outbreak of the war.

From the Robb papers[2] we gather that Willcox was considered a highly eligible bachelor at the Virginia Springs and elsewhere during those prewar years when he was foot loose and fancy free. An amusing note from Maria Merson to Helen S. Bernard (later Robb), dated May 21, 1857, at Richmond says: "Bagby looked so handsome in military attire and Bruce so intelligent that unless Willcox Brown takes pity on me, now that Thompson has gone to Europe and left Miss Southall in the lerch, I'll be out. I must have Willcox bring a certificate from his mother of her approval lest she again interfere at the interesting period. Beware of your cousins the Browns." The recipient of this note mentions in her diary being escorted at the Sweet Springs by Mr. Peronneau Brown, then in 1859 at the White Sulphur by Willcox Brown.

We all know of the John Brown raid in October of this year, when that fanatical abolitionist (no relation!) seized the U. S. arsenal at Harpers Ferry and, as it were, dropped a match into the powder keg of smouldering antagonisms. Willcox recognized the need for Virginia to defend itself in the likely event of war between the states, and with others formed a company of Petersburg riflemen. In a memorandum of after years, your grandfather wrote: "We uniformed ourselves, purchased with the aid of the citizens generally, the best arms of the day, and had presented us a beautiful silken flag of Virginia with its 'sic semper tyrannis,' and, in addition, the mottoes 'pro avis et focis' (for our altars and our hearths) and 'Cave Canem' (beware of the dog); for we intended to assist in guarding the threshold of our beloved state from invasion."

In this memo Willcox went on to emphasize the fact that in all preparations there was not a single thought of provision against a Negro insurrection—contrary to many statements

published later. Indeed, since the bloody uprising in 1830, led by an African in Southampton County (Nat Turner) no such threat had stirred the calm of black and white relationships. Records tell that an ancestor, calling his slaves together, informed them of the uprising and asked them to protect his family against any possible attacks, after which he went peacefully to bed with doors unlocked. Further discussion of the friendly relationship between the family and its colored retainers appears in Chapter Six.

On April 19, 1861, Willcox left Petersburg as Orderly Sergeant of the Petersburg Riflemen—afterwards Company E of the 12th Virginia Regiment, in turn becoming second and then first lieutenant. An early action of the Riflemen had been to seize the Norfolk Navy Yard. From here a letter to his sister-in-law, Fanny, written a mile from headquarters, when officer on picket service, urges the family to keep up good courage and not be alarmed. "We are in the path of duty," he writes, "and need or ought not to fear anything"—a precept that stood by him always.

At the close of 1861 Willcox was candidate for a captaincy "on the basis of strict discipline." Not being elected to that office, he gave up his lieutenancy and re-entered the company as a private. In a letter of 1867, Willcox recalls how in the summer of 1862 he started with his faithful Berry from a little hut near the Rapidan River where he had been lying sick for ten days. Gathering up their scant remains of food, he began a lonely march to rejoin his command whose "dangers and glories he was so eager to share." Weak, footsore and hungry, finding no relief in the ravaged country, the two reached a little village, to have their hopes dashed by its emptiness. Even in his hunger Berry would not share Willcox's small supply of food. Then after a night spent in a lonely grove, sleepless and despairing, help soon came in the form of a kind and generous family living on a freshly tilled farm.

It was against the surgeon's advice, however, that he rejoined his company, and a resulting physical breakdown ended all hope of service at the front. While in bed Willcox studied for the Ordnance Department, passing its examination. In the spring of 1863 he was appointed Lieutenant of Artillery, then Captain and Inspector of Ordnance for the Confederate States; later being promoted to Major and in turn to Lieutenant Colonel.

Some discussion of ordnance activities as taken from notes left by your grandfather seems in order and of interest as compared with present day armaments. The largest piece of ordnance so far designed by the department was a twelve inch smooth bore cast at the Tredegar works in Richmond. It was never fully completed, however, and the system adopted was named for its inventor, Rodman, who became a general in the Federal Army. Willcox followed methods laid down by Rodman which consisted primarily of cooling the body of metal from inside with a stream of water that passed through its core. Without practical experience all depended on good judgment and efficiency in carrying out the process; both Tredegar management and young ordnance officer stood nervously by when President Davis and other officials came to witness a first casting of the Confederate Army's largest gun. Richmond fire engines were at hand in case of trouble, but all went well and the issue of ordnance proceeded apace.

While unpracticed in the handling of metal, Willcox's first detail in the Department had been preparation of wooden mortars to place along the Confederate lines. This was soon after Richmond had been made the capital in May 1861, when Federal forces were pressing hard and holding the city as their principal objective. There was good timber available and Willcox laughingly tells of his attempts to use this for mortars, with only iron hoops; then sitting with his foreman on the first one tried. There was, of course, an explosion, but fortunately

not too serious; just enough to show that metal must be substituted. So as quickly as possible mortars of cast iron were placed along the line, having an important part in the Battle of the Crater at Petersburg when Union troops were thoroughly demoralized. Struck by the effectiveness of these, the army asked its ordnance officer for something to use when the lines were near together and an occasional shell closely delivered could be more devastating. Willcox instituted a number of wall-pieces, to be fired from fixed supports, made of bronze and each weighing forty-nine pounds to carry six-pound shells reaching up to four hundred yards.

The scarcity of bronze as well as of lead and copper for ammunition was a constant worry; and it was in church one Sunday that the idea came to Willcox of making cores for the six and twelve pounder shells with weaknesses that on firing would burst into a greater number of pieces. On approval of General Gorgas, various foundries undertook the casting of such shells. This invention, claimed by Colonel Mallet in a photographic history of the Civil War, was apparently inspired by some inflammatory reading of the scriptures on that Sunday in Richmond. But characteristically our Virginian cared not for recognition so long as the cause was being served.

The twelve pounder field guns were called Napoleons. Again Willcox's inventive genius was called into play to see how the shortage of bronze could be overcome. A model of cast iron was produced weighing 1175 pounds, with a fifty-pound wrought-iron reinforce put where it could do most good without materially changing the overall shape. Results were highly satisfactory and these were substituted for the previously issued bronze Napoleons.

And so it went through the gruelling years of conflict. Your grandfather's contribution was great, but, as he wrote in 1913: "It [was] a constant source of regret to me that I could not do

more for our cause and especially that I was prevented from serving it where I wanted to be, in the ranks of the fighting men . . . I think this has been the keenest disappointment of my life." He was, it seems, overly modest, as evidenced throughout his life, for T. Cooper de Leon[3] writes of his commanding the artillery defense of Richmond at the close of the war.

Turning to Willcox's brothers, Peronneau was living at "Ivy Cliff" which he had inherited from his Uncle Samuel. He married Cassie Dallas Tucker and they had one son, J. Thompson Brown.

Peronneau's brother, Thompson, married Mary Southall,(a) and entered the army at the war's beginning. We note mention of him over forty times in *The Long Arm of Lee*[4]—first as a Battery Captain under a company of Richmond Howitzers, organized by Captain George W. Randolph and commanded by Major Alexander Randolph. It is told that at Gloucester Point his battery fired the first shot of field artillery in an engagement with the Federal gunboat *Yankee*. He was soon raised to the rank of major, commanding General Johnston's largest battalion in the Seven Days battle at Malvern Hill, where artillery played a main part, costing the Confederates 20,000 men. He came through unscathed, becoming Chief of Artillery of the Second Corps and promoted before long to the position of colonel. Wise mentioned that he was "overslaughed in the interest of Long, not by reason of lack of ability, for he was an exceptionally fine officer," but apparently slighted because of the fact that he was not a West Pointer. He left a splendid record of courage and leadership when he was killed in one of the war's decisive battles on May 6, 1864—the Battle of the Wilderness. In a memorial tribute appearing in our files (author unknown) John Thompson Brown, Jr. was praised

(a) She was the daughter of Valentine Wood Southall, legal advisor to Thomas Jefferson and his wife, Martha Cocke. After Thompson's death she married Charles Scott Venable.

for his vigorous intellect, a mind expanded by foreign travel, the promise of distinction in his chosen legal profession, unfaltering and cheerful persistence in the pursuit of his military career.

We are indebted to References 5, 6, 7, and 8 for a vivid picture of these frightening times of which but a few instances are given here. A raid within five miles of Richmond in March 1863 brought shells into the yard of James Lyons, but with little damage; reports of a contemplated plot by Dr. Luke Pryor Blackburn, who had been called by Canada to aid in its fight against yellow fever, to collect infected clothing of victims for distribution in New York and other northern cities (a horrible scheme that happily was not carried into effect); the disastrous invasion of Pennsylvania by General Lee, participated in by Colonel Freemantle of the Coldstream Guards, who afterwards held a place of highest honor as Governor of Malta; a bread riot in Richmond when stores were sacked by men and women, the disturbance being calmed only by Government issue of rice rations; the practice of one hundred different ways to cook an egg, while trying all sorts of substitutes for the scarcity of usual foods; the turning and returning of well-worn clothing supplemented by bits of trimming and leather brought from Maryland, Washington, New Orleans and more distant places by soldiers running the blockade; conduct of amateur theatricals, tableaux and charades under direction of Frank Vizetelly, correspondent for *The Illustrated London News.*(b)

There was a coterie of refugees from Washington, Baltimore, and farther north, Southern sympathizers staying with relatives, friends, or in temporary homes; and there were the born and bred Virginians all joining together in brave efforts to meet the emergency and support the morale of citizens and soldiery alike.

(b) Vizetelly died later with honor in the Sudan.

News each day of casualties was met with fortitude and silent mourning for loved ones—then came the announcement of Stonewall Jackson's death following the Battle of Chancellorsville; the loss of "Old Jack," Lee's right-hand, and held in reverence by all, was severe. With major battles for Petersburg beginning in the middle of June 1864, came the Battle of the Crater, described as "an extraordinary engineering achievement followed by a total [Northern] military failure"[9] —perhaps brought on by the inadequacy of Union leadership. Petersburg's defenders included patients and penitents released from hospitals and jails.

Hopes were high in Richmond but not for long. Grant's position east of Petersburg was soon fortified and as Wyatt tells us that city (of greatest industrial importance to the South) underwent a long siege following the Battle of Fort Stedman in March and fell to the Northern troops in early April of 1865. Fighting for weeks was grim, but some lightness was inserted by the Confederates who (again we turn to Wyatt) sang "Annie Laurie" and "Dixie" as they strengthened their outworks, while Generals Fitzhugh Lee and Pickett enjoyed a shad bake in the wagon park north of Hatcher's Run.

The evacuation of Petersburg began on April 2nd, when Grant made his temporary headquarters at the residence of Thomas Wallace, Market and Brown Streets, and on that same day came the evacuation of Richmond. Jackson, J. E. B. Stuart and other important military leaders were gone, and President Davis, having sent his family some months before from what he considered a doomed city, was following the advice of General Lee, telegraphed from Petersburg.

Rembert W. Patrick[10] gives a graphic account of Richmond's fall on this Sunday when its citizens strolled to church, unaware of the end of Southern resistance, and he cites many instances of distress among both black and white. Of reactions among the former was the reply given by a young Negro woman returning

to the city: "I'm gwine to hunt my young mistress. I'd risk my life to get her from dem terrible Yankees."

It was from St. Paul's Church, on Sunday, April 2, 1865, that President Davis was called, and Willcox Brown followed to receive his instructions from the War Department. With his party, your grandfather rode to Appomattox, then to Lynchburg and on as a soldier of the Confederate Government so long as one existed. It was hard for him to surrender, nor did he do so until late in May, when no longer could a Confederate flag be found aloft.

REFERENCES

1. Mary Willcox Glenn, *A Daughter's Tribute.* (In family files.)
2. Data furnished through courtesy of James S. Patton.
3. Thomas Cooper De Leon, *Belles, Beaux and Brains of the 60's* (New York, G. W. Dillingham Company, 1909).
4. Jennings Cropper Wise, *The Long Arm of Lee; The History of the Artillery of the Army of Northern Virginia* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1959).
5. Georgiana Freeman Gholson Walker, *Private Journal, 1862-1865* (Confederate Centennial Studies, No. 25; Tuscaloosa, Ala., Confederate Publishing Company, 1963).
6. Constance Cary Harrison, *Recollections Grave and Gay* (New York, C. Scribner's Sons, 1911).
7. Mary Boykin Chesnut, *A Diary from Dixie,* ed. by Ben Ames Williams (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1949).
8. De Leon, *op. cit.*
9. James G. Scott and Edward A. Wyatt, *Petersburg's Story; A History* (Petersburg, Va., Titmus Optical Co., 1960), p. 194.
10. Rembert W. Patrick, *The Fall of Richmond* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1960).

Chapter Six: BROWN, 1865-1867

IN HIS HISTORICAL WORK, *Virginia, the Old Dominion,*[1] Matthew Page Andrews calls attention to the fact, gathered from a review of state afflictions, that suffering after the war was caused not by want of food or any other sole factor. There was anguish from the heavy loss of life and widespread distress from destruction of buildings, farm stock and crops on which the majority of Virginians—largely a rural population—depended. But, as Andrews says, in further discussion of the review, tyrants in the shape of Freedmen's Bureau men were the principal persecutors. As is generally known, the influence of Robert E. Lee did much to maintain morale, but suffering—both spiritual and material—was great.

Wealthy Virginians, of whom your great-grandfather Willcox at eighty years of age was one, had spent freely in helping to uphold the state's economy. Though originally a Union man, John Vaughan Willcox refused from the moment of Virginia's invasion to touch any investments save those put forth by Confederate states for support of the war; as mentioned in an earlier chapter, he was Virginia's largest holder of Confederate bonds, and, needless to say, at the war's end, when following his death the property was in the hands of his heirs, these bits of paper were worthless. Further, as stockholder in three of the state's banks, John Vaughan had favored, with the majority, dedication of bank funds to the Confederate cause.

Before and during the war a large proportion of landowners had been borrowers and on monthly court days most of the business transacted would be extension of loans, since these were rarely paid off. Now with existing conditions, the outlook was indeed serious. Virginia's leaders, though, still had sources of income and a borrowing plan was evolved which supplied the farmers with funds—a scheme of which your grandfather, Willcox Brown, writes: "I am persuaded that it would have been better in the main for the farmers to have been without money than to have borrowed as they did . . . many cases resulting in which absolute ruin followed enterprises based upon loans for short periods, at high rates of interest."

In turn, state debts were incurred with the support of England, whose sympathies led to an undue confidence in the ability of Virginia to meet its obligations. It is a matter of record that men of the state who were behind this borrowing from abroad strove manfully to cover the debt, yielding only when assured by the Adjustors that they must choose between repudiation or abandonment of the system of home government. West Virginia, separated from the mother state in 1863 and now called by an ex-Governor "the bastard offspring of a political rape," was left to settle with the United States a disproportionate amount of the balance due.

An important factor in Virginia's approach to bankruptcy was the existence of a large number of Negro voters and their white Republican allies, who together paid but a twentieth of the taxes appropriated for debt reduction. The financial chaos involved is a matter of history, but a plan of your grandfather's for obtaining an English loan with land for security has not been generally known. This plan called for long term mortgages at six and a half per cent interest, to be administered by representatives in every county, responsible to a main office in Richmond, and chosen from a list of high-grade lawyers. Machinery for such financial reconstruction was made ready

and a trial program undertaken in the amount of fifty thousand dollars to serve as model for a five million dollar loan to be distributed among all counties of the state. Only a clause in the usury laws forbidding an interest rate of over six per cent was a recognized obstacle. The Virginia Legislature, meeting by permission of the U. S. Government, acted against repeal of this law and England balked at the lower rate of interest, so, according to your grandfather, an opportunity for early state rejuvenation was lost—"financial relief that might have been."[2]

Willcox Brown was a strong believer in states' rights, as had been his father and grandfather before him. He was convinced that self-determination within the state should stimulate initiative and legislative action; only thus, in his mind, could the Union be maintained with greatest development of the whole. There was no question of slavery or anti-slavery in this family. Some years before the outbreak of war John Vaughan had started the process of freeing all his slaves and their devotion was great. Illustrative of the affectionate relationship between the two races was your grandfather Brown's happy sense of homecoming when on a Potomac River steamboat, after his prolonged European tour, he was again surrounded by beaming black faces. His body servant, Berry, could only be stopped from following him into the service by an express charge that he stay home and see that no harm should touch Mary Edloe, the mother left behind. Before long other arrangements were made and he was allowed to join his master. Another faithful friend was Mammy, personal maid to the mistress. Dignified, kindly and devoted, she had an innate understanding often characteristic of the race. Later she was to prove a safety-valve for the young bride brought by Willcox to the Petersburg home, as she had been for the boys; but that is for another chapter.

There were always close and mutually affectionate relations between your grandfather and the Negroes of his family—both

in town and on the plantations. In telling of their intimate acquaintance, Willcox deplored certain writings based on misinformation obtained from Negroes wanting to say what was expected of them, and from those whom they themselves designated as "poor whites."

He left a personal account of "Negro Slaves as I Have Known Them,"[2] which is stored among our family papers, but I shall refer here to only a few instances.

There was Aunt Betsy, a cook for many years as the boys grew up—cross, fretful and complaining—often "mighty po'ly." When confined to her room she was pronounced by the doctor dangerously ill. Nevertheless she confided to a fellow servant as some holiday arrived: "I'se mighty sick and I know I'se gwine to die, but I got to stay up and cook one more dinner for them boys." Mammy, left to guard a trunk that she was told held all the family property, except land—consisting of bonds and certificates withdrawn from the bank—was told that Willcox's mother, who was a helpless invalid in their temporary Richmond home at the time of its evacuation, should be undisturbed by knowledge of the trunk's whereabouts. On return to Richmond two months later, when by good fortune the house was in an unburned section, Mammy took occasion to say that the trunk had been constantly on her mind, but no cause for action or fear about it had arisen. Noting the master's depression, she pointed to a picture on her wall of David and Goliath, begging him to bear in mind that while the Confederacy, or Virginia, was small and feeble like David, the Good Lord could, and she believed would, be on its side against the Goliath of the North, about whom she knew little and cared less.

Since your great-grandfather's untimely death in 1836, Mammy had been an ever faithful friend as well as personal maid—nearest of all beings to the bereft widow and sharing with her care of the boys to whom, if she would have been allowed such title, she was a second mother. Fun-loving and amusing she

would in private draw on all manner of nicknames, but would not dream in public of using any term for the children but "Massa"—a custom that in no way altered after the war. Never accepting freedom—for had it not always been hers?—she would have scorned wages, which in fact were never offered, and when three years after the war's end Mary Edloe was buried with her husband under the tomb inscribed "We shall meet again" Mammy was told that her life work was over. She remained in the home until Willcox with his wife and baby left Petersburg. Then, provided with a comfortable place of her own and a young relative to look after her, she calmly awaited her end on earth, supported by a firm faith and made happy by occasional visits from and to her Willcox Brown family.

Albert and Daniel, on Willcox's return from the war, asked for permission to go to Petersburg to ascertain "pintedly" about their families, of whom they had heard nothing. Money had been left for such trip if advisable, but "Yes, Massa, that's so, but don't you 'member that when you rode away that morning the last thing you told us was to stay with Missis till you got back?"

Willcox, in the sketch previously referred to, deplored certain misinformation extracted from intimidated persons of both races; for in his own and his family's experience there had been a loyalty and devotion beyond measure.

* * *

As a confederate veteran, Willcox Brown later belonged to A. P. Hill Camp No. 6. Again referring to *The Long Arm of Lee,* we read of mistaken leadership by Hill of the six brigades and battery battalions under his command; also of his thirst for battle resulting in uncontrolled action at Gettysburg without respect for his commander-in-chief. It is not surprising, however, that a veteran's group was named in his honor in view of the important part Virginia's artillery played throughout the

war—a branch of the service in which this grandfather of yours had so vital though unheralded a share. It is interesting at this writing to pass the A. P. Hill Camp between Fredericksburg and Baltimore and think of its instruction in the use of modern weapons as compared with the munitions of 1865.

After the surrender at Appomattox in April, all thoughts were turned to the problem of repaying Virginia's debts, which had been incurred not only for military costs but for improving and restoring property. Your grandfather advocated immediate repayment of the existing English loan without any use of these funds for property restoration. This latter he felt could be handled through a new loan issue and a more comprehensive state tax program, as already discussed. He, furthermore, believed that stock of the Virginia canal and railroads would tempt investors from many directions to subscribe at low rates of interest, thus helping to relieve the state's difficulties. His tax proposition was not approved by Virginia's Legislature, and Willcox wished that someone with greater experience and persuasive power had promoted what he as a theorist believed could have saved Virginia's economy. (See Reference 2.)

At this time Willcox was president and administrator (without salary) of a cotton factory in Petersburg, with opportunity to purchase stock at a low cost. Quixotically, because of his official connection, he would not take advantage of this, though in after years he expressed himself as being in no way critical of a different modern philosophy. Quite another matter, and one subject to his severe criticism, however, was the action related to a narrow-gauge road over the route later to be followed by the Maryland and Pennsylvania Railroad. Having the line surveyed and being assured that a road could be constructed within the limits of a moderate bond issue, success was in view when the company's officers with whom he had been dealing—all reputable citizens—were found to have secretly availed themselves of the entire stock, in violation of an implied

understanding that this would be put on the open market. Willcox's part in the venture was dropped.

I have said that all thoughts were turned in this summer of 1865 to the problems of Virginia's economy, but more and more the young man—now thirty-two years of age—had in mind the lovely Turner Macfarland of whom we will hear more in Chapter Seven as living in her father's Richmond home. Though thirteen years younger than Willcox, she would have seen the Colonel often during the war in his visits to the Confederate capital. In fact, we have a letter of his, dated April 5, 1864, that starts: "I am writing with a pen which I have kept as a sacred relic ever since I used it in asking you for an interview some weeks ago." Evidently the young man could only from a distance let his feelings pour forth on paper, but his letters must have brought many thrills to the young girl as they aroused a love that remained constant throughout a lifetime. The lively correspondence to and from this couple (Turner's part seems not to have begun until 1866) is bound in two volumes ending at the time of their wedding. Hers starts most formally with "Dear Mr. Brown," while he has ignored salutation, evidently not knowing just what he would be allowed to use. "I have laughed at you a good deal," she wrote in that first letter, "for not knowing what to call me—why not Miss Turner, of course, Dear Miss Turner, if you choose," and so it was until towards the end of 1866 more endearing terms were substituted.

It was love at first sight on Willcox's part, and what anguish he went through until towards the end of 1865 Turner promised to be his wife! At the risk of sounding sentimental, I am giving here some excerpts and notes from these letters, both because of their love interest and because of their reference to events of the day. Willcox, living in Petersburg with his mother, had duties which took him frequently to New York, to Bedford and to Richmond, but even after leaving Turner there he would

a few hours later from his home write fervently as if their meeting were far off. In reading the correspondence this writer recognizes the influence Turner had in changing a rather indrawn, repressed personality into a widely loved, genial and generally happy nature.

Beginning with the letter of April 5, 1864: "God grant that you may never know the pang of horrible anguish with which day after day I saw that I was becoming only an object of dislike . . . I was glad when you went back to school . . . I have lived thirty years and to you first have I spoken one word of love, for I know now how much I mistook the feeling once before."

May 6, '64: "Tonight I learned that my brother had been killed in the late battle . . . Not one blot upon his name . . . Must tell his mother, who has long been an invalid and has for twenty-seven years lived only for her children . . . I shall stay [in Petersburg] now that the demands of my country call every man to his post, no longer than shall be absolutely necessary . . . When I return may I not ask that you will see me? Not often can I be with you—when I am, you chill me with your coldness."

May 31, '64: "When yesterday you bade me lay aside the hopes I had for three short weeks held, I was too completely paralyzed to say to you all I felt. On April 5 I had been tempted to resign my ordnance position and join the ranks hoping for a bullet to end all." Later he was given some hope, but now "You will perhaps hear of me sometimes abandoning myself to despair. Mine is a most passionate nature."

June 4, '64: "For God's sake write me a few lines and let me know whether your decree of banishment is irreversible." He sends Tennyson's latest works.

March 22, '65: Sends flowers for T. M.'s birthday.

April 3, 65: Has just come from standing by Macfarland house and looking at T. M.'s window for perhaps the last time.

April 5, '65: Finds T. M. not wholly indifferent.

Sept. 13, '66: Has visited T. M. at "Glencoe" and finds she likes him very much. "Hairbreadth escapes of wheel and axle by rock and rut through hill and dale—for the road from Glencoe is not a good one."

Sept. 17, '66: "Family Bible must be wrong," he feels so young now that T. M. has assented.

New York, Hotel New York, Sept. 20, '66: Has tickets to hear Ristori in Media and Jefferson in Rip Van Winkle; the former a "perfectly wonderful" Italian actress; the latter unquestionably the finest piece of comic acting. Saw friends but "didn't have time to go to the Park nor the races . . . Broadway was what Broadway always is, perhaps a little more—for Oh! the fashions, the brand new fashions!"

Petersburg, Oct. 25, '66: "Mother is a confirmed invalid. . . . I have engaged a lady to take charge of her . . . and we are fortunate in excellent servants and a wonderful agent who attends to all business matters under my direction . . . I have plenty to do in fixing up our new home."

Petersburg, Nov. 16, '66: "Petersburg is not a gay city—no public amusements flourish there now, except the circus." Willcox is alone with mother and pleasant housekeeper, two acres of ground to improve, some volunteer community work for associations, societies, factories, etc.—teaching Italian to a friend, and educating T. M.'s horses. "I suffer and enjoy, hope and fear only through you."

Nov. 22, '66, Petersburg: "City to have a Calico Ball for benefit of Memorial Association."

Richmond, Dec. 7, '66: "Too happy to sleep tonight . . . you have saved me."

Petersburg, Dec. 10, '66: "I am writing now almost while you are still driving with that dreadful George B."

New York, Westminster Hotel, Irving Place & 16th Street, Dec. 13, '66: Will get some music for T. M. is "passionately

fond of music" and he urges T. M. not to give it up. "No longer the moody, hopeless, restless man, desolate and aimless, of three years ago."

Petersburg, Xmas. '66: "I have told you of Miss M. M., of others, too, whom I have known, and that I found it impossible to love"—but T. M. has now a rival in her photo.

Petersburg, Dec. 26, '66: "Everybody in Petersburg whistling the Mable Waltz; no one knows the Elite of Philadelphia Gallop."

"Every day I feel my old sadness passing away under the influence of your affection and my so long borne weight of troubles is each day lightened by your gladness."

Petersburg, Jan. 28, '67: "I never had anyone to confide in and share my sorrows. Life has been a sad one."

Petersburg, Feb. 11, '67: Has been reading over his father's letters to his mother after marriage . . . "a love almost like my own . . . poor old mother, won't you help me to make her happy? She has had so many trials and they have weighed her down." She has brought Willcox a diamond ring for T. M. "which some way or other was not sold with the rest of the jewelry."

Petersburg, Feb. 23, '67: Writes of his firm belief in God—"Troubles may come, nay some sorrow *must* come to us, but I know how slightly they can disturb my peace while you love me."

Petersburg, Feb. 27, '67: Miltoniah Tableaux have come to Petersburg from London, New York, and other great cities. Willcox saw them with Peronneau, who left for home as his wife was "expectant."

"People here as everywhere in Virginia talk gloomily but I can't feel sad. I don't even allow myself to be troubled by fears of anything the Yankees can do."

Richmond, Feb. 28: In T. M.'s absence for business at Tredegar Works; also for meeting of railroad directors.

New York, April 6, '67: "Sitting in an office on fourth floor of fine new Turner Building . . . Ladies of New York complete scarecrows. I have seen poles in corn fields with old rags of various colors fluttering around them as gracefully as some of these New York belles." Is staying with Willie Worthington who has rooms in a house on Gramercy Park.

Petersburg, April 15, '67: "My mother was looking so much better than usual, so cheerful and so rejoiced to see me. . . . As for Mammy, she capered around in a very lively way . . . and says, 'Poor thing, you're so restless I think you better sleep all you can.' "

Petersburg, April 17: Has shaved off his beard.

Petersburg, April 18: "I feel very strongly my duty to my mother. You can't form an idea of how lonely she is . . . You must let me judge for myself a good deal about these questions of duty . . . I neglected everything except duty to my mother."

"Your Cousin James [Macfarland] consents to wait on me." Willie Willcox is to be on hand for the wedding; also John Bolling and Jimmy Dunn; Miss Niblett is to be a bridesmaid. Mr. and Mrs. T. S. Gholson, Miss Gholson, and Mr. and Mrs. Walker of Liverpool to be among those invited; also the Reverend John G. Gholson and wife.

Petersburg, April 24: "I feel convinced that your welfare will be better secured as my wife than as anyone else's or even as you are now." But Willcox cannot promise that T. M. will be spared every blow. "Love like ours can under God triumph over the obstacles which time may throw in the way of our peace . . . Storms may come . . . to us both . . . my love will be ever present . . . but above all let us humble ourselves before our God and confessing His goodness, implore His kindness."

A memorandum written at this time says: "I am not wealthy, 'tis true, but the proceeds of my professional labours and a moderate patrimony place me far above the necessity of sacrificing any inclinations to prudential considerations and making

marriage with all its tender transports and delicate associations a mere matter of cold and unceasing speculation. I would as soon mingle poison with the richest blood of my veins as to pollute the pure principle of love with the sordid passion of avarice." What led to this passionate outburst we do not know but it is in character with Willcox's whole philosophy.

Friends and relations began gathering in Petersburg to go to the wedding, but on April 24—"Poor mother has not been well for several days," and it is doubtful that she attended. A Petersburg jeweler, using the same manufacturer as Tiffany had been given the proper measurement and the ring was at hand.

A final note in the letters from Petersburg was: "I wish I knew how to console you (for being frightened) but we men even when tender have rough hands and don't understand how to handle the delicate flowers in love."

REFERENCES

1. Matthew Page Andrews, *Virginia, The Old Dominion* (Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1937).
2. J. Willcox Brown Papers in National Archives, Washington.

Chapter Seven: MACFARLAND, 1762-1872

THE CHARMING TURNER of whom Willcox was so enamored was the daughter of William H. Macfarland, a prominent Richmond banker, and oft-repeated was the Page McCarty verse:

"A saint his lips would smack
On taking in the rosy charm of
tender Turner Mac!"

Her father had been born at Macfarlan, Lunenburg County, Virginia, on February 9, 1799, son of James Macfarland and Elizabeth Lockhead, nee Smith—daughter of Abraham Smith of Dinwiddie County. He had two brothers and a sister: Ann, James Edward, and Malcolm. The family was prominent and of comfortable means.

In his family sketch, privately printed in 1929-30, John Donaldson gives the Macfarland heraldry as follows:

Arms: Quarterly 1 and 4; argent, a saltire engrailed between four roses gules; 2 and 3: gules, a chevron argent between in chief two quatrefoils and in base a dagger in pale, argent.

Crest: A demi-savage wreathed about the temple and waist with leaves, holding in his dexter hand three arrows, and pointing with his sinister to a royal crown, or.

Motto and Supporters: On either side a Highlander holding in his exterior hand a bow unstrung and an arrow, all proper; upon an

escroll above the motto: "Lochsloy" and on a compartment below the arms: "This I'll Defend."

Descent was claimed from Duncan MacGilchrist, brother of Malduin, Third Earl of Lennox; and the clan's territory was on the western shore of Loch Lomond from Tarbet upwards. Donaldson and records of St. Paul's Church, Richmond, as well as of the American Historical Society, tell of grants by Robert I to Dougal Macfarlane of the lands of Kindowie, Argushouche; and of a charter dated 1395 to the lands of Arroquhar to Malcolm the Sixth Laird by Duncan, Earl of Lennox.

Through marriage in 1493 with a daughter of the Earl of Lennox, Andrew MacFarlane succeeded to the estates, his son, John, however, being allowed only the title "Captain of the Clan."

Donaldson has given us these facts but presents a less rosy picture of the next generations. In 1594 MacFarlanes were denounced by the British as robbers and oppressors; in 1608 they were declared rebels by law. So during the Seventeenth Century the Clan was broken and scattered. Said by some authorities to be the last descendant of these ancient chiefs, the James MacFarlane of whom we have spoken emigrated to America in the Eighteenth Century.

The foregoing data are substantiated in material held by Greta Layton relating to the Barksdale family, but some additional facts are there given. The name was derived from Parlan (or Bartholomew) who lived during the reign of King David Bruce, and the descent from Gilchrist, brother of Malduin, can be proved by charter. Highland chiefs of the Clan were active in border wars between England and Scotland, and Malcolm, Fifth Earl of Lennox, was supported by his Clan in fighting for Robert Bruce. Sir John MacFarlane was knighted the evening before the Battle of Flodden, where

he was killed. Andrew, with five hundred of his Clan, opposed Queen Mary's forces at Longside and won, for which the crest of the clan was conferred upon him. He married a daughter of John Stewart, Earl of Lennox, thus obtaining possession of clan territory of Arrochar (or Arroquhar). His son, Sir John MacFarlane, was designated in 1493 Captain of the Clan MacFarlane. Toward the end of the Sixteenth Century this became one of the "broken" clans—turbulent and deprived of lands—one of the old Highland clans known as "landless." However, according to tradition, certain English silver bearing the family arms was sent to James in this country piece by piece in lieu of rent for the Scottish lands. In the Barksdale family book, owned by Greta Layton, we note the following entry from Renfrew Minute Book of 23 August, 1760:

Seasine Coline McFarlan, sailor in Greenock, and Magdalene, spouse, on a disposition dated July 28, 1760, granted by the Rt. Hon. Chas. Schaw of Sanchall, Lord Cathcart of all and haill, a piece of ground upon the south side of the new street of Greenock measuring 26 feet in front, along the second side and extending to 3 falls and 2/9s of a fall in the tisends and so forth, lying within the burgh of Greenock, new parish and of shire of Renfrew. The seasin is dated the 20 August 1760 and is registered on the 69 leaf of the register.

James Towart, *aforesaid presenter*
John Campbell, *notary*
James Towart Thomas Graham

The last MacFarlane of MacFarlane emigrated to America during the Eighteenth Century (see Appendix 9).

This was James Macfarland who changed his name to the present spelling. He was born in Greenock, Scotland, in 1762, the son of Coline McFarlane and Magdalene Love who were married in Greenock Parish, County Renfrew, Scotland, in February 1753. Coline was a sailor and Magdalene's father, James Love, was a farmer in Greenock County. After coming

to Virginia James lived at MacFarlan, Lunenburg County, until his death in 1837 at seventy-five years of age.

He was a prominent man in the county and was elected among eight gentlemen to be a vestryman of Cumberland Parish when after the Revolution efforts were begun to revive the Church.[1] As mentioned, he married the widow Elizabeth Lockhead (or Lahead, according to Reference 2) daughter of Abraham Smith of Dinwiddie County[2]—"a bad county to be from," says King, "as the records are for the most part destroyed." Elizabeth died before her husband, but giving him first four children: William H. (1799-1872); James Edward, Malcolm, who represented Lunenburg in the Legislature from 1828-1830;(a) and Ann (b) (1802-1887).

In spite of incomplete records, we have been able to ascertain that James's wife, Elizabeth Lockhead, had previously married a Henry of that name and by him had a daughter, Eliza. Eliza in turn married Robert Graham, a merchant in Manchester, Virginia, by whom she had a daughter, Virginia (1807-1890) whose tombstone in the Brown lot in Greenmount Cemetery, Baltimore, has until now been an unsolved puzzle!

Notes taken from the Lynchburg Court Records show that in August 1752 Samuel Jones of that county sold to Abraham Smith of Dinwiddie County four hundred and forty-eight acres of land which in June 1764 were resold to Robert Chappel for three hundred pounds; that in 1767 John Hightower made a deed of trust on thirteen slaves to Abraham Smith; that in November 1795 Joseph Eddings of Lunenburg sold three hundred and seventy acres in that county to James Macfarland—a transaction that was apparently the first of many for from then on your great-great-grandfather's name is all over the

(a) A clergyman, married April 18, 1843, to Mary E. Tompkins (see Anne Waller Reddy and Andrew Lewis Riffe, *Virginia Marriage Bonds, Richmond City* [Staunton, Va., 1939], p. 80).

(b) Married Dr. Sterling Neblett, Jr.

Ellen Turner Macfarland
From "Beaus, Belles, and Brains of the Sixties"

William H. Macfarland in War Years

Lunenburg County books. In 1808 he sold certain land and his wife, Elizabeth, relinquished her dower rights therein; however, she is believed to have been living in 1819, though to have died before her husband as she is not mentioned in his will, proved May 8, 1837. (See Appendix 10).

From this document we find that James possessed a goodly supply of land, farm implements and stock, slaves, various kinds of crops, bank stocks and cash, and there is no doubt that your great-great-grandfather Macfarland was one of the wealthiest Virginians of his day. Worth noting here is that in disposition of the slaves among his family "Rhody with her child Tommy has my consent to go to which of my children she chooses."

He also owned property in Greenock, Scotland, which was deeded by will to his son, William, as recorded in Glasgow, or Greenock.

His obituary, quoted in part from the *Richmond Whig* of April 25, 1837, says that "he was remarkable for great exactness, diligence and enterprise—and to signal prudence and foresight, united a kind, indulgent and benevolent spirit. Amid the occupations of an active life, he did not forget his Maker and Redeemer . . . but lived and died in the hope of a joyful resurrection."

A marble bust of James Edward, the second son, is in the Virginia room of the Confederate Museum (Richmond)—a very handsome representative of the family. He served on the Mason-Slidell mission to England during the War between the States, was later presented at the Court of Napoleon and Eugenie, and was a member of the United States Commission to the Belgian Exposition. He died in 1897.

We have as Appendix 11 a copy of the Macfarland property in Lunenburg County showing dwelling house, lumber house, and an addition to the former used as a counting house

and store—all built of wood with stone underpinnings and but one story high, though of large dimensions.

William Hamilton Macfarland was born here in 1799 and here he spent his childhood, with the companionship of plantation workers—black and white alike—and of the few scattered families within reach. He was educated at William and Mary College, graduating in 1820, then deciding upon law as a profession he entered a celebrated school in Litchfield, Connecticut. This was the first law school in the country, founded 1784 by Judge Tapping Reeve. Among distinguished students were Calhoun, Woodbury, Mason, Clayton and Aaron Burr. On graduation William H. Macfarland began practice in his native county, which he represented in the state legislature. There followed residence in Petersburg and Norfolk, in which latter place on September 25, 1823, he married Ann T. Roberts[3] who died in December 1832, without issue, at the age of twenty-eight, from "a pulmonary disease, under the effects of which she suffered and wasted for several months." So says the Norfolk *American Beacon,* which praised her "unusual sprightliness of intellect and charming urbanity . . ." "She seemed designed by Providence for distinguished usefulness in the Church," continued the *Beacon,* "and her loss was felt by many." (Full obituary in family files.)

As oldest son, William H. was appointed executor of his father's estate when the latter died in 1837, and trustee for Mary Macfarland of Philadelphia who was named to receive ten thousand dollars in trust and may have been one of the several grandchildren left as beneficiaries, though the connection is not proved.

At that time he had moved to Richmond where as a widower he met Nancy, the lovely daughter of Colonel Andrew Beirne of Monroe County (see Chapter Nine) and the two were married on April 16, 1835, by the Reverend Mr. Bartlett of Petersburg at the bride's home, "Walnut Grove."

Your great-grandmother Macfarland was always reluctant to admit that she was the second wife; in fact, she was seldom, if ever, known by the family to mention the matter. However, in an 1881 sketch of her life she says: "In Richmond [where there were few of Nancy's intimates] I was received by relatives of his first wife with every demonstration of affection, making me feel that they had taken me into her place."[4] There was apparently a large contingent of the Roberts family and their kin, who in Nancy's early married life as a newcomer to Richmond were most attentive.

The home in Richmond soon became a widely popular one, William H. being termed "the pet and favorite of all the Judges of the Court of Appeals." He was elected a member of the Council of State and served on its Advisory Council, his colleagues being Wyndham Robertson and Peter V. Daniel. In 1836 he was elected Lieutenant Governor, then Acting Governor when Daniel resigned to become a Federal Judge.

The State-Planters Bank and Trust Company in Richmond brought out a saga some years ago called *They Faced the Future,*[5] which carries a history of the present bank and its antecedents. Here we read how a group of Virginians had the temerity in 1812 to "launch a new business . . . that had to do with man's trust in man—a bank," believing that through such organization commerce could be expanded, citizens served and the country's economic fabric strengthened in a time called "parlous." The Farmer's Bank of Virginia was thus created as an independent institution—its only rival being one other state-wide bank that had been hitherto thought sufficient for the needs. Spoken of by the bank as its founding father, Macfarland was called "a man of vision," carrying still further his predecessor's conviction that railroads were to be a mainstay of the country. In the bank's brochure released at the time of its one hundredth anniversary (1865-1965) we read: "Notable among these forward thinkers of the post-Civil War era was

William H. Macfarland. This man of vision was destined to be the "founding father" of today's State-Planters. He served as president not only of this institution's great forerunner, the Farmers Bank of Virginia—which, like all banks in the South met with failure following the collapse of the Confederate Government—but also of both of State-Planters' earliest antecedents, the Planters National Bank and the State Bank of Virginia. Macfarland assumed the presidency of the Farmers Bank of Virginia in the mid-1830's." He was the bank's second president, succeeding Samuel C. Robinson.

Macfarland was a pioneer in railroad financing, one early instance of such being the Richmond and Petersburg Railroad (of which he was once president); another the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac Railroad, which "in one hour, thirty-one minutes and a half whizzed legislators and other notables twenty miles!" Simultaneously stage coach lines flourished and the James River and Kanawha Canal was extended, both with Macfarland's backing.

As a leading Richmond citizen your great-grandfather took part in many important events. He was a fluent speaker and delivered an oration "worthy of the subject" on the death of James Madison in 1836. In 1847 he presided at a dinner for Daniel and Mrs. Webster, when this fiery Whig and orator for one hour called down wrath upon those favoring annexation of Texas and the war with Mexico. He was a pallbearer for James Monroe's funeral in 1831, and just twenty years later was chairman of the committee to receive President Filmore.[6]

At a dinner for Henry Clay—where the importance of national unity was being advocated—he supported the movement; on Clay's death in 1852 he was instrumental in having a monument erected to him and the principle for which he stood.

He was vice president and life member of the Virginia Historical Society.

As confidant of Robert E. Lee, he was able more than once to advise the General about investments and safe-keeping of the latter's restricted funds.

When Edward VII, Prince of Wales, visited Richmond, as Baron Renfrew, Macfarland was on the reception committee, offering the hospitality of his pew at St. Paul's, with consequent fluttering among the ladies of his family and their friends. A prominent Episcopalian, he had some years before this presented Bishop Meade with the "instrument of donation and endowment" widely subscribed, and served on the building committee of Grace Church, whose cornerstone was laid in 1843. However, he was a faithful parishioner of St. Paul's and it is here that a commemorative chancel window carries the inscription: "Why seek ye the living among the dead; He is not here but is risen."

The two-volume history of this church[7] contains throughout many references to this great-grandfather of yours, who is first mentioned among those connected with the Monumental Church as favoring erection of a new building farther up town and more convenient to the congregation. A suitable lot was secured at Grace and Ninth Streets, and Macfarland with several others gave security for a down payment for the church which has had an important part in the life of Richmond from that day to this. We read that on July 26, 1843, thirty-eight members of the old Monumental Church, headed by Macfarland, stipulated "that they would pay pro rata, as called for, the money necessary to build and complete the church, agreeing to take their chances for reimbursement from the proceeds of the sale of pews after the completion of the new church." Macfarland was purchaser of pew fifty-two, for which he also paid an annual rent. At this time it was agreed that the west gallery of St. Paul's be apportioned to "persons of color," to be used by them free of charge, except that if colored persons should desire to pay rent the "Vestry be authorized to contract

with them on terms which may appear to them as fit." Each year from 1846 colored persons were listed as among those confirmed by Bishop Johns, as was the marriage of one or more colored couples by the Rector.

He was elected, with John Stewart, alternate, as lay delegate to the General Convention of the Episcopal Church in 1859 and acted in such capacity at all Council meetings during the war. In 1865 a special question before the Council was as to relationship with the northern Episcopal Churches, when Macfarland had a part in action that the Bishops should reunite. St. Paul's, with other churches, had been closed following an order from the Federal command that prayers should be offered for the President of the United States but in July of that year St. Paul's was reopened by order of the vestry (W. H. M. presiding) with acceptance of the Federal command, and unanimous action was taken that no discrimination be made in treatment of Federal and ex-Confederate officers.

But a few of Macfarland's interests are cited, for through the years he was active in practically every phase of community life. Let us add that as a member of the State Educational Convention he helped to organize the Richmond Educational Association in 1846 and to lead it along progressive lines. Also, that as a prominent lawyer he was counsel for General Lee in proceedings by the Federal Government and was a signer of the bond for Jefferson Davis.[8]

He had a quality of leadership and an adventurous spirit that led him to break new trails and leave a vision for those coming after. He was described in an excerpt from Garrett & Massie as of fine presence, with dignified and polished manners, widely informed, possessing clear and accurate judgment. His home was often a forum for grave discussion of current affairs, and some of the more frivolous described him as of the old school—prim and with fixed ideas. T. C. de Leon in *Belles, Beaux and Brains of the 60's*[9] wrote that "regularly as clock

work he passed to and from his mansion and the bank, of which he had long been the head, clad in immaculate broadcloth, gloves and silk hat, which no rigor of blockade seem potent to avert. This produced something akin to awe in the verdant soldier and not always escaped the flippant jokers of that day."

With the gathering of war clouds and outbreak of hostilities between North and South, the Macfarland home might have become a deadly serious place had it not been for the younger generation who helped to ease the strain and bring gaiety to the Confederate capital. As de Leon further wrote, this household was "one of the most typical and much sought in Richmond at all times (despite the flippant and perhaps the envious unbidden to it). During the early war days it was gladdened by as fair and charming a bevy of maidens as ever graced a Southern home."

The William H. Macfarlands, after their marriage, had moved to a house on Grace Street in Richmond, where their five children were born: Elizabeth Beirne (Betty) 1836-1880, who married Randolph Barksdale and brought up a family very important in our lives; Susan, 1838-1905, unmarried; William Hamilton (Willy) 1844-1921, who married Arillah Cary and went to live in Union City, Tennessee; Ellen Turner, about whom more will be said later; and Nannie Beirne, 1857-1934, who married Dr. Frank Donaldson of Baltimore.

In 1862 the family moved from the Grace Street house to a larger one across the way which had belonged to the Stanards —a house that later became the Westmoreland Club and was razed to accommodate now the Southwestern Life Insurance Company. Here we can well visualize one of the evening receptions: President and Mrs. Davis—serene and dignified—he somewhat bored; red-bearded Ambrose P. Hill; the colorful Beauregard passing through with his staff; soldiers from Virginia, Maryland and South Carolina; politicians urging their cause; young blades of the day—all enjoying the Virginia hos-

pitality and enchanted to greater or lesser degree by Richmond's beautiful belles.

The Macfarland girls—Betty, Susan, Turner and Nannie—were poular members of the younger set, the last too young for much partying but with Macfarland charm.

Then there were the Beirne cousins, daughters of your great-grandmother's brother, Oliver, who were practically members of the family: Bettie, Susie, Beirne Turner, and Nancy—who with others of their clique helped to create a sunny atmosphere. (See Chapter Nine.)

In the autumn of 1862 came the marriage of Bettie to William Porcher Miles, held in fashionable St. Paul's, but small because of mourning in the family; graced only by the presence of President and Mrs. Davis, among a few intimate friends. Bettie was a lovely bride; the miniature of her with Turner (c) shows an engaging pair, of whom Turner always modestly claimed to be the plainer—a statement that her children have vigorously denied.

Those of us who knew "Aunt Nancy" cannot but be amused by the account of this youngest Beirne sister, clad in deepest weeds for loss at the front of her husband, Breck Parkman, throwing herself sobbing into a chancel pew as the wedding service commenced. The distraught widow, after the war, married Baron Emil von Ahlefeldt in Europe; then again widowed returned to the family home, "Walnut Grove," now hers at Union, Monroe County, Virginia.

This county became a part of West Virginia when on division of Virginia in 1863 it became our fortieth state; its mountain regions occupying more than one-third of the whole, which reaches from Maryland on the east to Ohio and Kentucky on the west, beyond the vast Alleghany plateau. Way back in the Eighteen Thirties, however, Macfarland had bought a large tract in mountainous Greenbrier County, to be

(c) Original with E.B.M.

Uncle Henry and Aunt Martha

Glencoe

used as a summer vacation spot and for raising sheep and cattle. A house was built of rather unique architecture, and apparently of rubber for it would stretch unaccountably to accommodate the growing family and its many guests. The property was called "Glencoe"—a name that became dearly loved. Presiding over the kitchen for many years, and into the present century, was Aunt Martha, assisted as time went on by numerous children and their progeny. Her husband, Uncle Henry, was a firm support later when your great-grandfather's failing health left more of a burden on his wife's shoulders; and their offspring provided an indispensable service in all phases of the home life—not to mention a valued companionship; for the county was sparsely settled and there were few outside diversions. A group of houses for servants was built across the creek and here Uncle Henry, when age got the better of him, was a venerable and impressive figure as he reminisced in the sun. The overseer's house was some distance off around "granery hill."

Generally, when summer came the Macfarland household would leave for "Glencoe" via Alderson, there to be met by Mark and the family horses for a twenty mile drive over the mountains. Perhaps they would stop halfway at Blue Sulphur Springs for refreshment and a taste of the medicinal waters. Though the war years somewhat interrupted this schedule, the mountain retreat provided, when pressure allowed, a wonderful release from the times' heavy cares and responsibilities. Such have been touched on but lightly in this chapter, but hardly an institution or a family in Virginia was unaffected. Apart from the military, people everywhere turned out to help in all possible ways—with hands, feet, brains and worldly goods. No one could have been more indefatigable in his work for the cause than William H. Macfarland, of whom it was written: "Wisdom and foresight prevented him from entering with the rash enthusiasm of most into the conflict,

but after it was inevitable he yielded and was heart and soul with his state and the Confederacy." He had favored the Union, but after commencement of hostilities his stand was unquestioned and no effort to help the Southern cause was too great.

We turn again to the history of St. Paul's Church for instances of the part its women were taking in active support of the Confederate cause: collecting blankets and carpets for the soldiers in the field; making mattresses, bedsacks, sheets, pillow cases and bandages; sewing uniforms, underclothing, haversacks, etc. for the soldiery. (In this connection we note that St. Paul's had secured several sewing machines—a novelty in Richmond—but most of the stitching was done by hand.) After Seven Pines and the Seven Days' Battle around Richmond, pillows were made for the emergency hospitals and cushions from the backs and seats of the pews were given by St. Paul's congregation, as from other churches. We read, too, how the ladies were busily engaged in making sandbags for the fortifications at Yorktown, using huge rolls of cotton supplied by the Secretary of War. No doubt your great-grandmother Macfarland entered actively into these good works as she was prominent among church women.

But morale must be preserved and anxieties of the day were cast aside on January 28, 1864, as Richmond's prominent citizens joined in celebrating the debut of Turner Macfarland, then eighteen. This is mentioned in *A Diary from Dixie*[10] where Mrs. Chesnut tells of its following a reception by President Davis. In spite of all surface gaiety, men like Pike, Ould,(d) Benjamin and Hunter were plainly prophesying, wrote Mrs. Chesnut: "We are rattling down hill and nobody to put on the brakes."

(d) Robert Ould was throughout the conflict Confederate Agent for the exchange of War Prisoners.

We refer here to an excerpt from the Sunday Magazine section of a Richmond paper regarding the Macfarland silver which for thirty years so mysteriously disappeared. At the time of Richmond's evacuation your great-grandfather sent this in a trunk to be delivered by his Negro driver to his bank for storage and no more thought was given it until after the war, when again normal life was being resumed. There was no silver to be found in the bank, and not until thirty years later did it turn up. The driver had mistakenly left this trunk at the back door of Lancaster and Company next to the bank, and when later the Lancasters transferred contents of the storage vaults to their home, this trunk was among other items consigned to the attic. A four-piece service from this lot of silver belongs to the writer, whose mind often goes back to its early history.

From 1864 on Willcox Brown took more and more occasion in his busy life to see and "pay court" to Turner Macfarland; and indeed she was a lovely creature, as the picture from de Leon's book, *Belles, Beaux and Brains of the 60's*[11] attests; apparently there were many contendants for her hand. Richmond swarmed with uniformed men leaving for or returning from the front. In December 1866, she writes of "Roony" Lee calling and eating most of the candy sent by Willcox; he was one of her devoted admirers as was Page McCarty, but Turner wrote around Christmas of that year, "I love you with all my heart" and Willcox said he did not mind a little flirting—fortunately, for his love wrote on December 27 of having danced away the night before to her heart's content and of keeping every one of her six engagements with Mr. McCarty.

In January she wrote: "General Fitz Lee has just left, and his visit was a long and charming one; really this flirtation is becoming serious and you had better hurry back or there is no telling what will happen." She refers to an earlier engagement to Raleigh Thomas, but says Willcox need not worry

as the family is much happier in the present affair. "W. is a favorite with all my relatives . . . a very fastidious set."

Later she writes of General Fitz Lee asking for an interview, but her mother was so shocked at her flirting that she thought it best to immediately end the affair, saying she was very much in love with Mr. Brown and letting him know that people do change their minds and she was not weak enough to be persuaded into marrying "a man I do not love simply because the match is considered desirable."

In spite of her discouragement, General Fitz Lee (or Roony) continued his attentions, as did McCarty, and it was fortunate that Willcox was not of a jealous nature. She wrote him on January 21, 1867: "I know that we are going to be the very happiest pair in all the world, for beside our great love there will always be such perfect confidence between us."

There was to be a Club party in Richmond this month, but it could not come off as all confectionery had to be brought from New York and direct communication was not yet opened. Instead Richmond turned with enthusiasm to an ice show at the Exchange, and to a performance by the Russian magician and ventriloquist, Carlo Graffo, who was spoken of by many as a humbug. Later Mr. Caskie, "almost as amusing as Jefferson," appeared in *Woodcocks Little Game,* and Mr. Booth, after performing in Petersburg, came to dinner with the Macfarlands.

In March 1867, Turner went South with her father, who had a dangerous habit of walking in his sleep and narrowly escaped falling off the cars. In Mobile and New Orleans she saw old friends of Confederate times, including Captain Calhoun (very handsome), and from the St. Charles Hotel in New Orleans was "on the go all the time with old and new friends calling from morning till night." Johnnie Freeland "had no idea of letting the Brown affair drive him off"; but drive him off it did, and Willcox was reassured by word that

she had never felt so perfectly happy as now. Turner was glad about the difference in age so that what might be promised by a boy of two and twenty would not all be forgotten in a year.

Back again in Richmond preparations for the wedding proceeded apace. The breakfast hour changed from eleven to nine-thirty so that all could be got into those busy days. The trousseau was expected daily from Paris (it arrived just in time!), presents were coming in quantities, invitations were being assembled for personal delivery in Richmond and Petersburg and by post elsewhere (one went to Colonel Gorgas), and bridesmaids were almost as excited as the bride. Among these were Alice Robinson and Ellen Anderson, accompanying the sisters and Beirne cousins, and the Macfarland home was "going all out" in the preparation of tempting refreshments to follow the ceremony.

Finally, according to a quaint custom, Susan with Mr. Miles in one carriage and Colonel Saunders with Beirne in another drove out to deliver invitations to the marriage of Turner and Willcox Brown on May 21, 1867. In the envelope also was notice of the reception to follow the ceremony joined by bride and groom cards tied by a white bowknot:

Mr. and Mrs. Macfarland

A
HO ME
T

Tuesday evening from 9 to 11 o'clock

A column in Richmond's newspapers the next day graphically tells of this occasion:

MARRIAGE OF A YOUNG CITIZEN OF PETERSBURG

The chief topic of discussion among the beau monde of Richmond for some eight or ten days past has been the approaching nuptials of

one of Petersburg's most worthy and gallant young citizens to a young lady of this city, whose amiability of heart is only equaled by her rare beauty and richly cultivated mind. Last evening the brilliant event was consummated. Despite the rain, St. Paul's Church was filled to repletion with the elite of Richmond and Petersburg to witness the interesting ceremony. At half-past eight o'clock precisely, with most commendable promptness, the bridal party entered the building. The Church was most brilliantly illuminated, and the scene was one of surpassing beauty and brightness. Major J. Willcox Brown, of Petersburg, and Miss Turner, youngest daughter of William H. Macfarland, Esq., of this city, were the happy pair, accompanied by ten ladies who waited on the bride, and the same number of gentlemen who did the usual honors to the accomplished groom. The Reverend Dr. Minnigerode, of St. Paul's Church, officiated at the altar, assisted by the Reverend William H. Platt, of Calvary Church, Louisville, Kentucky. Much credit is due to Mr. W. W. Irving, the courteous sexton, for the admirable manner in which the illumination and general arrangements at the church were executed.

This was one of the last happy occasions in your great-grandfather's Richmond home. As his widow wrote later in her sketch already mentioned: "It [the war] was disastrous in its consequences to all the South, and to us in particular a severe and heartbreaking trial to my husband."

However, in the fall of 1866, William H. and Nancy Macfarland had visited England, when the former was given a power-of-attorney from the William and Mary faculty with hopes that he might be able to straighten out matters regarding Mattey's School in Bruton Parish. According to the *William and Mary Quarterly,* legacies had been put in trust by a Mrs. Whaley and others for neediest children of the parish to learn "the Art of reading, writing and arithmetic, to eternalize Mattey's school forever."[12] Mrs. Whaley died in 1742 and her executor failed to pay the fifty pounds bequeathed on account for the residue. Colonial Court had instituted a suit against

him and his heir-at-law. A second suit brought in the Chancery of England resulted finally in payment of five hundred pounds sterling invested in English securities. However, the remaining amount, two thousand five hundred and one pounds (in accumulation of dividends), had not been received. There is no record of Macfarland's success or failure in this proceeding.

In the fall of 1870 the Richmond home was broken up and the family moved to "Glencoe" for a year 'round residence. The Macfarland son-in-law, Randolph Barksdale, with Betty and their three children were already living there and the families joined forces. The winter of 1870-71, though, was spent by the parents with Turner and Willcox in Baltimore.

Then on January 10, 1872, William H. Macfarland died in his mountain home, with the family gathered about him, and the body was taken back for his funeral service in the beloved church he had so long served. We can imagine the mourning procession that accompanied the family across that rocky mountain road to Alderson—Uncle Henry, Aunt Martha, Mark, Cy, Anderson, Callie and numerous others—all grieving over the loss of their "Massa" who had been their mainstay and guide.

Action adopted by the St. Paul's Rector and Vestry on January 13 is given here in full, bearing as it does such a fine tribute to your great-grandfather's memory:

> In the death of William H. Macfarland the church, the state, the community and our own congregation have sustained a loss which words cannot fitly describe. His long residence in our midst, the urbanity of his manners, the prominent posts which the confidence of the people assigned him as statesman, jurist and man of pure and lofty character, placed him on an eminence which few have reached and made him for years the representative man of our city; whilst his unostentatious benevolence and unbounded liberality made him the "poor man's friend" whose memory is blessed by the widow and orphan.

The gifts with which God had so richly endowed him were sanctified in His service "through faith in Jesus Christ." The tried and trusted friend of Bishops Meade and Johns, he consecrated his time, talents and means to the cause of religion and displayed the same wisdom and generosity in the church which marked his course elsewhere. A Christian of consistent, dignified walk and conversation, his influence reached far and wide and was felt most in that congregation with which he was connected during the whole of his residence in this city. The gates he loved so much and the house in which he spent so many blessed Sabbath days will open for him once more to receive his mortal remains as if to take a last farewell of him whose spirit has passed the pearly gates and entered upon the Sabbath of eternity, the rest which remaineth for the people of God.

He was the leading member of this body, from its formation. Such was the estimate in which they held his character and service that they would not allow his removal from town to create a vacancy in their board and still retained him as their Senior Warden. Death has not severed this bond of friendship and common service in the Church on earth . . .

It was unanimously resolved "that the Vestry meet the body at the depot and accompany it to the church where it will be temporarily deposited, and

"That they attend the funeral of their deceased friend and brother, William H. Macfarland, in a body and wear the usual badge of mourning for thirty days.

"That a copy of these proceedings be communicated to the family of the deceased and be inserted in the Southern Churchman and the city papers."

Following a special meeting, the Richmond City Council, of which Macfarland had been a long-time president, moved also to attend the funeral in a body.

Obituaries in the *Richmond Whig,* the *Enquirer,* and the *Daily Whig* of Richmond (all on file) speak of your great-grandfather's sympathy with the masses, of his ceaseless efforts

Mrs. William H. Macfarland (Nancy)
and her daughter Turner

Painted by Thomas Sully

Mrs. William H. Macfarland, the Widow

to befriend the needy, and of his outstanding service to the community.

Burial was in Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, on a lovely hillside overlooking the James River, near the tombs of Monroe and Tyler, bearing the inscription:

"We which have believed do enter into rest."

REFERENCES

1. William Meade, *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia* (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1857), v. 1, p. 487.
2. Landon C. Bell, *The Old Free State* (Richmond, The William Byrd Press, 1927), v. 2, pp. 310-11.
3. George Holbert Tucker, *Abstracts from Norfolk City Marriage Bonds (1797-1850)* (n.p., 1934), p. 95.
4. Nancy Macfarland Sketch in family files.
5. Frances Leigh Williams, *They Faced the Future* (Richmond, Whittet & Shepperson, 1951).
6. *The Virginia Historical Register,* v. 4, p. 173.
7. Elizabeth Wright Weddell, *St. Paul's Church, Richmond, Virginia; Its Historic Years and Memorials* (Richmond, The William Byrd Press, 1931).
8. National State and City Bank, *Fifty Years of Service, 1870-1920* (Richmond, Va., Garrett & Massie, Inc., 1920).
9. Thomas Cooper De Leon, *Belles, Beaux and Brains of the 60's* (New York, N. Y., G. W. Dillingham Company, 1909).
10. Mary Boykin Chesnut, *A Diary From Dixie,* Edited by Ben Ames Williams (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1949).
11. De Leon, *op. cit.*
12. *William and Mary Quarterly,* 2nd series, v. 8, p. 297.

Chapter Eight: MACFARLAND, 1872-1899

ANCY MACFARLAND, the widow, always lived according to five resolutions formulated in early life, which now stood her in good stead:

1. Realize God's presence each moment and be guided by Him.
2. Work for His glory and the good of others.
3. Cultivate a missionary spirit.
4. Earnestly strive on behalf of children, grandchildren and godchildren.
5. Pray for courage and freedom from temptation.

She can be remembered in her black garments and widow's cap (worn to the end) leading the family in prayer and in her favorite old hymns.

Now upon her descended the responsibility for "Glencoe," but she was ably helped by her son-in-law, Randolph Barksdale, who with your great Aunt Bett and their children, Hamilton,(a) Mary(b) and Susan(c) stayed at "Glencoe" until January 1873, when Randolph decided to resume his medical practice in Richmond.

It was then that your great-grandmother wrote in her sketch: "In the good Providence of God another change is

(a) Married Ethel duPont.
(b) Married Benjamin Huger Heyward.
(c) Married Willis Shackelford.

about to pass upon me; . . . Lord grant that my prayer may ever be: 'Thy will be done, and may my aim be to do it with cheerfulness'."

It was thought that "Glencoe" might have to be given up. Except, however, for two short periods when it was rented to Northerners (it is hoped for goodly sums), the place was kept going, managed by first one and then another overseer. Most of the young people would gather there in summer, while the families in Richmond and Baltimore would offer a haven for the severe winter months. The Willcox Browns had moved to the latter city (see Chapter Ten) and Nannie Macfarland was married on April 29, 1880, at St. Paul's Church to the Baltimorean, Dr. Frank Donaldson, when many gathered happily in the Willcox Brown home. But very soon another deep sorrow struck. The adored eldest child, Betty Barksdale —that "blessing and centre of happiness to so many"—died in Richmond on May nineteenth after a brief illness. The mother and daughter had last been together at Nannie's wedding, when Betty had expected to join the former in a few days at "Glencoe"; instead she joined her father in the Hollywood lot where a monument with crown and cross is inscribed: "In communion with the Holy Catholic Church." Still closer to their grandmother and aunts were the children left behind— Hamilton, Mary and Susan—who began spending even more of their time at "Glencoe." Randolph married again, this time the bride being Mittie Patterson, who was affectionately spoken of as Aunt Mittie by many of the family. She had no children.

At "Glencoe" the families from Richmond and Baltimore would gather, with cousins galore, and the mountains and valleys of Greenbrier County would happily welcome what might again be called a clan. The house with its mysteriously expanding guest quarters; the spring house with its crocks of milk resting in troughs of water waiting for rich cream to be

skimmed off; the storeroom with its barrels of flour, sugar and other staples to be exchanged in part for chickens and eggs from country neighbors; the stables where Mark watched over the few horses and taught riding skills to the growing youngsters; the rock house which had been built for Turner as a young child, its two rooms and porch waiting to be refurbished each year as it rested between huge boulders on the edge of Druids' Temple; all of these and more were a delight and joy to be looked forward to during winter months. Among friends joining the family in this mountain home we note Herbert Brune of Baltimore (dubbed Brunie by Hamilton), Snowden Marshall and others—the stretchability of that hospitable place is more than ever noticeable.

In its isolation, "Glencoe" had no church within reach. Even Lewisburg, the county seat, boasted no church building in the seventies and eighties. Episcopal services were held there in some public place, but a distance of twenty miles was too great for a Sunday morning—especially since your great-grandmother felt this should be a day of rest for the horses. Visiting clergy would come at intervals to catechize the children, but when West Virginia acquired a Bishop of her own, the Right Reverend George Peterkin began paying his annual visit—an event eagerly looked forward to and welcomed with open hearts.

A Sunday School and services first held in the house led to thought of a chapel that might be available for country neighbors as well as for the family. Near one of the entrance gates to the lawn was an unused servants' house built of logs, which had been one of a number standing there before the main house was built. Nicely weatherboarded and painted, with two rooms and an attic, this had been left when the others were moved to a different location or torn down. Now with partitions, attic floor and chimney removed, with pews and organ installed, none could have asked for a lovelier chapel.

Here services were read by members of the family and Holy Communion was held when a visiting clergyman came by. Often Turner or Nannie would play the organ, as the former did softly at the baptism of her eighth child, Turner Macfarland Brown—this so-called "Glencoe child" who lived for less than seventeen months but during her short life was a bright and happy sunbeam.

Nannie Macfarland's first boy, Francis, was born August 1881 at Dr. Donaldson's country place, "Hursley," outside of Baltimore. For some years your great-grandmother had divided the winter months between her brother, George, and the two Baltimore daughters. After George's death in 1880 she and Susan paid longer visits to the Brown and Donaldson homes, enjoying their growing families. Nannie's second and third sons, William Hamilton Macfarland and John Willcox were born in 1887 and 1892 respectively, and the Willcox Browns seemed to have a never-ending supply of children.

In the nineties Willcox Brown began more and more to take over the responsibility of "Glencoe," with Turner relieving her mother of major housekeeping tasks. The storeroom was a delight to the younger ones, who would importantly share the prestige of carrying a large key to this depository.

When later "Glencoe" had to be sold your great-grandmother and Susan acquired a small house of their own on John Street in Baltimore. Susan, called "Aunt Doo" since having that name pinned on her by a little niece, has left a rather unhappy impression of the self-effacing daughter—old beyond her years, shy and in the shadow of her mother—with a devoted parrot who would perch on her shoulder and be fed morsels from Aunt Doo's mouth or fingers, though cross and sometimes violent when approached by other members of the family. Polly was given finally to the Baltimore zoo, where she may still be living as parrots are supposed to reach a ripe old age.

These three would spend weeks with the Hamilton Barksdales in Wilmington, Delaware. Hamilton, as noted, had married Ethel du Pont and their children, Greta and Ethel, probably had no more love for the bird than their Baltimore cousins!

Nancy Macfarland died in her home at the age of eighty-three. Her funeral was at St. Paul's Church, Richmond, the officiating clergyman being the Reverend William Meade Clarke of St. James, assisted by Bishop Peterkin of West Virginia. Ladies of Hollywood Memorial Association, of which she had been the first president, attended in full force. In the Association's name just after the war she had sent an appeal to women of the South, asking for joint effort in permanently hallowing the graves of those fallen in a common cause. Written of as "a woman of beautiful life and character," she was buried in Hollywood Cemetery beside the grave of her husband for whom she had never ceased to grieve.

Before long Aunt Doo left Maryland to live in the home of Dr. and Mrs. William McCue at Greenwood, Virginia, near her niece, Nannie, where she could be in touch, too, with Turner and others of the family. When her death came she joined her parents in Hollywood Cemetery, for the first time, perhaps, being a center of attention and love.

To close this chapter on a more inspiring note, we quote from minutes of the Hollywood Memorial Association, which attended your great-grandmother's funeral in a body:

TRIBUTE OF RESPECT

At a meeting of the Hollywood Memorial Association held yesterday, the following resolutions were adopted:

We are called upon today to record upon our minutes the death of our first president, Mrs. William H. Macfarland. Although it is now many years since she dwelt among us, and the burden of her age made it long since impossible for her to take any active part in our work, yet we recall with grateful appreciation the valuable services rendered to

our association in its organization. Her ringing call to the women of the South, published in May 1866, brought forth a most abundant harvest, and if in these thirty-four years we have been enabled to preserve our organization through many times of storm and stress, we are not unmindful of the fact that this in large measure is due to the wise foundation laid in the inauguration of our association, and for this our gratitude to Mrs. Macfarland must ever be both deep and lasting.

Chapter Nine: BEIRNE, 1771-1835

ANCY MACFARLAND had come of a long line. O'Hart's *Irish Pedigrees* mentions O'Beirne as carrying through a hundred generations to Milesius of Spain whose sons were conquerors of Ireland and rulers B.C. 1699.[1]

Considering this lengthy past, the family motto is given quite appropriately as "Fuimus" (We Have Been); its arms are: argent, an oak tree—base, lizard vert; and the crest a dexter arm in armor embossed, hand grasping a sword.

Francis Beirne of Baltimore tells us that Andrew O'Beirne of Dangen, County Roscommon, Ireland, married Susan Plunkett, a lineal descendant of General Scarsfield, Earl of Lucan, confirming what your great-grandmother wrote in the sketch of her life. There were six children by this marriage, the first being Patrick, who lived and died on the Irish estate "Dangen" —sometimes called "Dyan."

In the Old Country O'Beirnes and Plunketts were prominent Roman Catholics, the latter family especially so—a brother of Susan having been a Bishop of that Church, and a Plunkett having served as Bishop and Lord Primate of Ireland. According to Gore, there was a Lord Plunkett, one-time Lord Chancellor, Earl of Fingal, and also the Right Reverend George Plunkett, Catholic Bishop of the Diocese of Elphin. Possibly it is this latter who, as Susan's brother, became Lord Primate.

Andrew Beirne
1771-1845

The O'Beirnes lost much in national political disturbances over the years, but always Andrew, Sr. maintained his position among Irish gentry, fortified no doubt by the devotion and standing of his wife's family. We are told by Francis Beirne that the family stayed on Irish land for about seventeen centuries and "succeeded in subsisting—a great accomplishment." "Rowdeen," the name given to estate settlements of different family members, was surrounded by stone walls, and the O'Beirne name is still found in this section, though a Carroll is now living at what is called "Dangen" or "Dulgen" in Shannon County—formerly Roscommon.

Of Andrew and Susan's other five children, Andrew, the second son, or sixth according to Gore, was born in Ireland in 1771. After graduating from Trinity University, Dublin, he was destined for the priesthood, but instead of following his parents' wishes he left for America in 1793—mentioned by some sources as running away—but not in your great-grandmother's sketch,[2] which tells of his being provided by his father with gold and other possessions. Christopher, the third son, became a physician, came to America, but died in the old country. Susan, the one daughter, married Nicholas Flanagan of Charleston, Virginia (1773-1823). After some time in this country she died in Ireland in February 1817.

On arrival in the United States Andrew, with whom we are most concerned, went first to Philadelphia where he joined a "pretended" friend, through whom he lost everything but fifty gold pieces. Being a highly educated young man, however, as well as a classical scholar, he had no difficulty in forming connections with the mercantile house of Brown and Hall, through which he undertook an active trade with what was then called "the back country."

Thus Andrew Beirne (he had now dropped the "O") found himself in western Virginia, where in 1799 he opened a store in Union, Monroe County. For Brown and Hall he operated

a profitable business, handling largely the roots of ginseng, for which there was great demand from China, where it was considered "an elixir of life"; and it is amusing to pass from ancestors holding high office in the Roman Catholic hierarchy to one who, frankly, was peddling ginseng from the Virginia mountains!

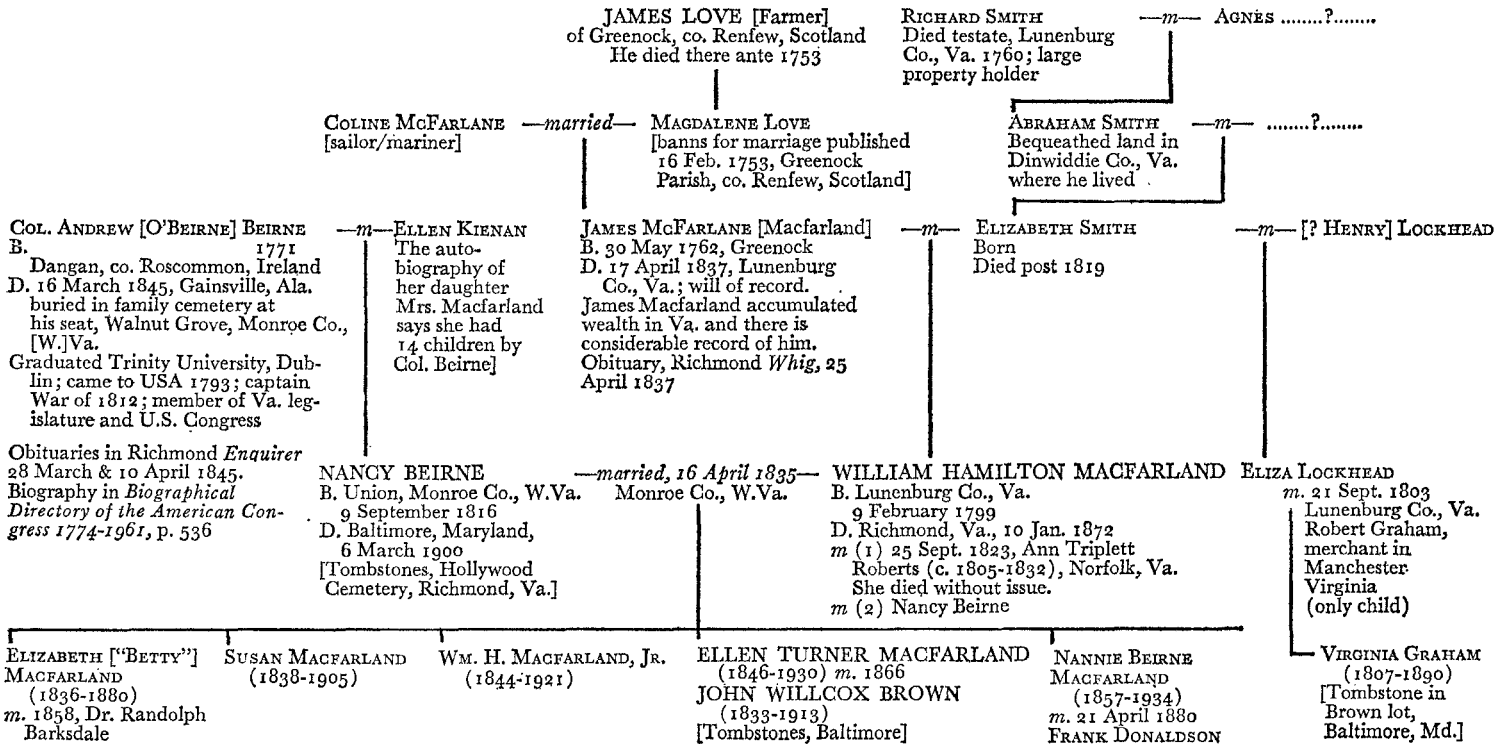
But he made a fortune and soon acquired property outside of the town for his residence, owning an estate of two thousand two hundred acres "unsurpassed even in the famed blue grass belt of Kentucky . . . running water in every field and the land worth from one hundred twenty-five to one hundred and fifty dollars an acre."[3]

By a mill he built a house known as the "Red House," long since disappeared, and then nearer to Union a large brick dwelling painted white and so called the "White House," but familiar to us as "Walnut Grove."

In Union Andrew Beirne met Ellen, or Eleanor Kienan (sometimes spelled Keenan) daughter of a respected Irish landholder, active in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Through succeeding years this church body underwent various divisions, and Eleanor was recorded as of the Presbyterian faith. By the time of her daughter Nancy's birth in 1816 the family was staunchly Episcopalian. Eleanor's father was Edward Kienan of Greenbrier County, and there are conflicting data regarding this family as gathered from the various sources consulted. The Poythress Puzzle mentioned in Chapter Four seems to have nothing over the Beirne family, about which accounts vary considerably. Our own direct line from Andrew and Eleanor Kienan Beirne is, however, perfectly authentic.

Soon after their meeting these two were married (around 1799) and Andrew became an influential Virginian. Deeply interested in public affairs, he was elected to the State Legislature in 1807-08, when he ardently supported Jefferson. As Captain of the Monroe Rifle Company during the War of 1812,

O'BEIRNE - BEIRNE - MACFARLAND - SMITH - LOCKHEAD FAMILIES



he mustered his men for action, only to be disbanded with restoration of peace. He then became Colonel of the Monroe militia. Again entering politics, Andrew was chosen delegate to the state convention in 1829, and in 1830 he was elected to the Virginia Senate from Monroe District, in which capacity he served usefully for six years. In December 1836 he was named Presidential Elector from his county, supporting William Henry Harrison, who was outvoted that year, however, by backers of Martin Van Buren and did not come into office until 1841. Then Andrew retired from political life, having been a member of Congress for over five years. (See Reference 3.) He is listed in the *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1961,* page 536.

Let me refer briefly here to the history of Monroe County as taken from Morton's book. It was only sixty-four years after the founding of Jamestown when the Transalleghany country was visited by European explorers, and six more years passed before any white person established a home in this remote wilderness. New River had been discovered by those first explorers—surprisingly, with a flow contrary to that of the Tidewater rivers; so in 1671 a party was appointed to find the reason for this puzzling phenomenon! Starting from Fort Henry the party after six days sighted the Blue Ridge, forming a great divide which sent the water in both directions. Disproved was the theory that under Indian occupation the Atlantic states were an unbroken forest; for a map drawn not many years later showed a large savannah, or prairie, just east of the Blue Ridge, described by Colonel William Byrd as with "scarce a shrub in view to intercept your prospect, but grass as high as a man on horseback."

In 1754 a party, including James Patton, "the most energetic of the founders of Augusta County" (see Chapter One *re* Brown), carried exploration further, opening up territory along the New, Greenbrier and East Rivers.

No one knows who was the first white settler in Monroe, but just outside of its boundary was seen in 1748 a grave bearing the inscription: "Mary Porter was killed by the Indians May 28, 1742." The nearby home of the venturesome landseeker was one hundred and fifteen air miles from Staunton, located in Augusta which had not then been divided into the counties later created. Botetourt was the first of these political divisions (January 1770); then Fincastle—soon to be divided into Montgomery, Washington, and Kentucky—and Monroe, closely linked in early days with the others mentioned.

A country road was first opened up in 1774, leading from Warm Springs (now in Bath County) to Sweet Springs, and at this time there was a population of around ten thousand in this widely spread vicinity. Tavern keepers were forbidden to exceed the following rates: "Warm diet—16 2/3 cents; cold diet—10 1/2; grain per gallon—8 1/2; pasture or hay for 24 horses—10 1/2; lodging with good bed and clean sheets—8 1/3; the same, two or more in bed—5 1/2; whiskey or continental rum per gallon—$1.00; West India rum—$1.67; good cider—bottled—66 2/3; the same unbottled—41 cents."

The whole history of Monroe makes fascinating reading, but must be left now as we return to Andrew and Eleanor Beirne, your great-great-grandparents. Morton tells us that Andrew's store was first located on Edward Kienan's farm, and that may be how the couple met; but when the town of Union was established, Andrew moved his store into the village, where his brother George (born 1780) joined him in 1800, helping to establish the firm of A and G Beirne, which was continued for many years—its success spoken of as "without a parallel, taking into view the nature of the country." George, your great-great-uncle, according to Morton married Polly Johnson in 1805, and the couple had six children (see Reference 3) whose names became known in the valley of Virginia; he died in 1832.

Oliver joined his brothers in 1806; he did not marry.

Eleanor, Andrew's wife, was reportedly beautiful, saintly in character and appearance. Their children are listed in a separate pamphlet, which will be of interest to those of us who have sometimes wondered how certain cousinships came about.

Your grandmother, Turner Macfarland Brown, was very intimate with the Beirne cousins of her generation, as is noted in other chapters, and her children in turn have kept in touch with many of the descendants.

Returning to the first family of Beirnes recorded in this country, the *History of Monroe County* says of Colonel Beirne: "He was not only a great financier but was of pleasing manners and high education. He took great interest in the affairs of his state and county . . . was of kindly impulses and much usefulness . . . worth about one million dollars." And the history goes on to say: "Yet it must be added that this fortune, amassed while America was still a poor country, was not built up without recourse to grinding business methods. Such practices as his tended to deepen the inequality of wealth and to reduce the mass of the people to a condition little better than vassalage." Perhaps the loss of his wife in 1824 hardened an originally friendly nature. It was fortunate that there were ample means to support the large family which, as Nancy later wrote, "had all the advantages of education available at that time." A story about Nancy's brother, Andrew, Jr. is worth repeating, though, frankly, I was quite skeptical about its truth until seeing it told also in Harnett T. Kane's *Plantation Parade*.[4] Andrew was living in Upland, Virginia, and while traveling in Louisiana he came across a ragged, unkempt, redheaded Irishman lost in the swampy lands. Sensing the appeal of a boy from his ancestral country, who gave his name as Burnside, Andrew took him to New Orleans and helped to establish him in business with his own son Oliver—Virginia

born and of very different temperament. There are several versions of this tale—all, however, pointing to the fact that Burnside made a large fortune buying, with other plantations, "Houmas House," situated on the Mississippi River north of New Orleans.

To quote from Kane's book, Burnside, a bachelor, "collected plantations the way some men collected necklaces for their wives." He lived in the greatest luxury on his thousands of acres, each guest waked in the morning by a bathful of Mississippi water with lumps of ice in it and mint juleps—one, two and three—with the Negro boy's final admonition: "Massa says, sir, you better take this 'cause it'll be the last he makes 'fore breakfast."

How could the master and his visitors survive the morning meals of "fowl, shrimp, ham and eggs, fish, preserved meats from France, hominy, mush, African vegetable preparations, claret, coffee and tea"—all coming on top of those juleps? Neither this luxury nor the Louisiana country appealed to the young Oliver who returned to his Upland home in Virginia. However, when Burnside died at the White Sulphur Springs, according to Kane in 1861 (1881 in Reference 3), he left "Houmas House" with a considerable fortune to him in gratitude for his father's past favors. The Louisiana property hung heavily on Oliver's hands until he thought of turning the management over to his South Carolina son-in-law, William Porcher Miles, whose marriage to Betty Beirne has been mentioned in Chapter Seven. Colonel Miles, President of South Carolina College and no longer a young man, was not enthusiastic about running a plantation but agreed when learning that he and his children would become full owners—and so this branch of the family moved to Louisiana, living in New Orleans and at the Houmas plantation, which remained in their hands through good times and bad until 1940.

The Monroe County history gives a different version of the Beirne-Burnside relationship, and probably a more accurate one, but the above presents a colorful picture that I feel we should at least take into account. In Reference 3 Morton tells of young Oliver Beirne on returning from school meeting Burnside at Fincastle—a meeting which led to employment of the latter by Colonel Beirne. This was soon followed by a partnership between the son Oliver and Burnside in an extensive sugar and dry goods business between New Orleans and New York under the firm name of Beirne and Burnside. A great deal of money was made by the two and Oliver, having inherited "Walnut Grove" following his father's death, enlarged the "White House," living there until the War when he moved to Sweet Springs and was owner of the hotel. He was reported to be the wealthiest man in Virginia with his holdings there, in Texas and in New Orleans, all estimated at around six million dollars.

Like Kane, Morton speaks of the many plantations collected by Burnside, but leaves a picture far different from the genial host portrayed in *Plantation Parade*. Morton calls him a man without human sympathy or public spirit, morose and reserved, unwilling to reveal his age or place of birth. But when he died at White Sulphur in 1881 he left his estate (and here Morton and Kane are in agreement) to Oliver Beirne, your great-uncle.

A newspaper notice regarding him is worth quoting:

> The above named gentleman was seventy-four years old on Thursday of last week, having been born on March 26, 1811.
>
> After an absence of thirty-four years, in 1881 the subject of this notice became identified with Louisiana for the second time in his life. During the summer of that year he was called to our state by the death of his old friend, the late John Burnside, who had by his will made him executor and residuary legatee of his large fortune, including ten sugar plantations, thereby making Mr. Beirne the "Sugar

Planters Prince." His noble traits of character are many. A man of fine education, uncommon good judgment, stiff in opinion, upright and just, he enjoys the esteem of all, especially from his numerous employees whom he treats with uniform fairness and kindness.

He is of medium height, with snow-white hair and beard, of a robust physical nature, is still full of energy and is remarkably well preserved. We trust that he may live to reach four score years and ten.

This was after the father's death in 1845 when obituary notices in the *Daily Richmond Enquirer* of March 28, and in the *Republican Pilot* of Gainesville, Alabama, tell of Colonel Andrew Beirne having "breathed his last" in the home of Robert G. McMahon in this latter place. He was buried in the family graveyard at Union, Monroe County, Virginia (now West Virginia). As the Richmond *Enquirer* put it: "Peace to his ashes!"

Turning again to Reference 3, we find interesting data about Andrew, Jr., known as the most superb horseback rider in the county. Over six feet tall, dressed like a planter, with brown slouch hat, highly polished boots, and large flaps to the pockets of his riding coat, this great-uncle of yours would lope on "Honest John" between his house and Union—the envy of all for his success in growing livestock. Until the War, which was disastrous to him, he was an extensive employer of hired labor as well as a large slave holder.

Sweet Springs is no longer in the family, having been taken over by the state some years ago as an old people's home, looking almost the same as in your great-great-uncle's time, with its white trimmed brick buildings set in the midst of their sloping green acres.

But let me finish this chapter with your great-grandmother, Nancy—Oliver, Jr.'s sister. As a child she roamed over the "Walnut Grove" property, taking her education as it came and assuming, after her mother's death in 1824 (though only

eight) chief responsibility for the father's home, opened widely to leading Virginians and visiting congressmen. As we know, she was married in 1835 at the age of nineteen when everyone —black and white alike—gathered with delight at the wedding of young "Miss Nancy" in the family home. This now belongs to your great Uncle Oliver's descendants who spend summers at "Walnut Grove," where the house, built to stand the stress of years, must look much as it did in the time when Colonel Andrew Beirne gave his daughter in marriage to William H. Macfarland, the prominent Virginia lawyer, thus starting a very direct line to Browns of the next generation.

REFERENCES

1. John Donaldson, *Donaldson* (Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y., 1930). (In family files); John O'Hart, *Irish Pedigrees* (2 v.; New York, Excelsior Catholic Goods House, 1915).
2. Nancy Macfarland's Sketch (in family files).
3. Oren F. Morton, *History of Monroe County, West Virginia* (Staunton, Va., The McClure Company, 1916).
4. Harnett T. Kane, *Plantation Parade; The Grand Manner in Louisiana* (New York, W. Morrow and Company, 1945).

Chapter Ten: BROWN, 1867-1914

 E COME DIRECTLY through Nancy Beirne to her daughter, Turner Macfarland, who was married in that beautiful ceremony at St. Paul's Church, Richmond, on May 21, 1867, to J. Willcox Brown.

The bridal pair went north for their honeymoon—where to or for how long we do not know; that is a hidden secret. But when back in Petersburg they joined the household at 31 Bollingbrook Street, unable to occupy, as had been hoped, the Gholson house which Willcox had been so interested in fixing up. Turner had written in the latter part of her engagement: "You should have told me sooner that you would have to live with your mother"; and naturally she was disappointed. But Mary Edloe was failing fast and needed the son on whom she had always relied. Young Turner shared with the housekeeper many details of management that the mistress had had to relinquish, and brought into the home a light-hearted gaiety that had long been missing.

Petersburg society came to pay its respects and soon the staid house became a center for teas, receptions and dinners such as had been enjoyed in Richmond. Mary Edloe in her seclusion did not grudge the young people's gaiety, but rather encouraged it, and the house was large enough for the separate lives. Willcox was very different from the indrawn young man he had been previously, and friends were many; but

Mammy was still turned to as a safety-valve in Turner's adjustment to her new environment.

How I would like to look in on the Petersburg of that day! "She was just a little thing in 1645," wrote Catherine Copeland in *Bravest Surrender, A Petersburg Patchwork,* "but she grew fast and soon (with Indians slipping in and out of the stockade for an extra thrill) she began flirting with Peter Jones."[1] Peter gave her his name in 1733, and by 1864 there were many houses surrounded by their iron fences—sadly damaged or demolished in the three hundred day siege of that year, when Petersburg was considered the back door to the Confederate Capital, Richmond. The population then was around twenty thousand.

With money at a premium after the war, much was accomplished by volunteer labor, and leading citizens like Willcox Brown worked indefatigably toward reconstruction and development of the city's economy. There was a lifesaving sense of humor as well as determination in the citizenry, as instanced by a newspaper of April 3, 1865, quoted by Catherine Copeland: "Fashionable arrivals—General Grant and staff and the Army of the Potomac generally."

An incident mentioned by the same author throws further light on the character of those on both sides and emphasizes Winston Churchill's later remark that the War between the States was a "war between gentlemen." A Petersburg boy was ordered to cut down a large tree interfering with fire from a Confederate gun, during which mission the Union lines were silent. Would that we could point to such gallantry in present day conflicts!

It is interesting to note that a visit to Blandford Cemetery in 1866 by the wife of General John Logan led to the establishment of our permanent Memorial Day—when Mrs. Logan saw the decoration of Petersburg soldiers' graves and persuaded her husband, then a member of Congress, to promote

this observance on a national scale. There are other claims to the establishment of Memorial Day, but there is no doubt of Mrs. Logan's part in the matter.

Hamilton Macfarland Brown,(a) your grandparents' first child, was born in Petersburg on May 29, 1868, and given the dual family name when he was baptized by Dr. Minnigerode in July. Contrary to the custom of that day, when expectant mothers remained mostly in seclusion, Turner had kept socially active throughout the winter, and she often later referred with pride to the fact that her pregnancies were so little noticeable. How much was due to the tight corseting of her time we do not know; at any rate this style certainly never affected her health.

The home was saddened by Mary Edloe's death on July 3, 1868, though it was a blessed release for her mind had been failing for some months. Both the *Daily Richmond Whig* and the Petersburg *Index* carried brief obituaries, the former misspelling both Edloe and Willcox. The body was placed with that of her husband, John Thompson Brown, in Blandford Cemetery with the inscription: "They have met to part no more."

The following winter brought many pleasant excursions to Richmond, where friends' houses, as well as the Macfarland home, were open to the young couple. Much of Willcox's time, though, was spent in encouraging the restoration of industry so interrupted by the war, and in these activities he drew freely on what money had been left to him. In a letter to General Lee at this time he tells of having gone into business himself at the risk of his entire fortune in rebuilding roads, developing state municipalities and endeavoring to rehabilitate the various interests within Virginia's borders, which were suffering from the effects of the war. "In doing so," wrote Willcox later, "I thought I could best serve her and am now satisfied that very much was accomplished by me and my firm

(a) He never married.

which would not otherwise have been brought about in the way of improving the condition of the railroads, cities and industries generally. The outcome was total loss of all that I had. I did not know it, but I lacked the experience and wisdom needed to secure success for myself. The only compensation I have is in feeling that I fell in the forefront of my dear old state's hard financial battle."

Expressing his approval of Willcox's course, General Lee responded to the joint proposal of several to become Managing Director of a Richmond branch of the Universal Life Insurance Company—a connection that many thought would assure wholehearted support of plans to raise and keep money in the South, headed as it would be by someone in whom every man, woman and child had absolute confidence. The General's reply, written from his post as President of Washington College in Lexington (later renamed Washington and Lee University) and dated 23 December, 1868, explaining why he declined this offer, is copied here in full, while the original is held in family hands (those of the writer's nephew J. Willcox Brown).

My dear Mr. Brown:

I am very much obliged to you for your letter of the 12th and the kind interest you have shown in my welfare. I approve highly of your views and especially of your course, and feel satisfied that you will accomplish great good. I have considered Mr. Furber's proposition and though I believe that the establishment in Richmond by the Universal Life Insurance Company of a branch office on the plan proposed will be attended with much benefit, I do not think that I am the proper person for the position as Managing Director. The secure investment of the funds accruing from the Southern business in the present condition of our affairs, it seems to me would be attended with great trouble and should be managed with great care. In my present position I fear I should not have time, even if I possessed the ability, to conduct it. Life insurance trusts I consider sacred. To hazard the property of the dead and to lose the scanty earnings of fathers and

husbands, who have toiled and saved that they may leave something to their families deprived of their care and support of their labour, is to my mind the worst of crimes. I could not undertake such a charge unless I could see and feel that I could faithfully execute it. I have therefore felt constrained after deliberation to decline the proposition of Mr. Furber. I trust the company may select some better man for the position, for I think in proper hands it would accomplish good.

For your interest in my behalf, and for Mr. Lancaster's kind consideration, I am very grateful. And with my thanks to both of you and to Mr. Macfarland for his kindness, to whom I must ask you to explain the reasons of my course,

I am very truly yours,
[Signed] R. E. Lee

In the winter of 1868 Willcox, who had "embarked" on the field of banking, took option on ore lands near New River and controlled twelve miles of iron veins near the railroad which ran along the river in this far western Giles County. He started a furnace, probably of the open-hearth type introduced into England in 1865, for we are told by history that at that time over 90 per cent of steel manufactured in the United States was handled through open-hearth furnaces. The shortage of steel when it was most wanted by the Ordnance Department had given him a special interest in its production.

At the same time options were taken on coal lands in Kanawha County, West Virginia, of which Charleston, the Capital, is also the County Seat, and on similar property in Pennsylvania. From this last acquisition started a lengthy and involved transaction which will be referred to later.

It was fortunate that the light-hearted Turner created an atmosphere that might have been overweighted with responsibility. She brought gaiety into the staid Petersburg home and buoyed by visits to Richmond friends and relatives gave zest to society in the smaller town. She kept in close contact with the cousins, as did her children with succeeding generations.

Mrs. J. Willcox Brown after 1900

In the summer of 1869 Turner and Willcox took Hamilton for a long visit to the White Sulphur Springs in Greenbrier County. A large fancy dress ball was reported in the Richmond *Dispatch* by "Planchette" (one of the Washington family) who wrote in describing those present: "Equal perhaps to (a New York lady) was Mrs. W.....x B.....n of Petersburg as a marquise. She had a long white train, with pink overskirt covered with elegant point lace; hair powdered and dressed with pink roses. Where will you find a more stately and dignified lady? The dress and character go well together." Much agitation grew out of the comments in Richmond and Baltimore newspapers where standards of Virginia and Maryland ladies were contrasted. "They (the Virginia girls and noble queenly matrons) wear no costly jewels, for they are themselves the jewels of the proud old Commonwealth . . . Their embraces are for parents or their husbands. . . . They look on but have not yet learned to copy the Baltimore imitation of Yankee ways and freedom," wrote "Planchette"; no wonder the Baltimore press was indignant! In fact, a duel almost took place between the two respective editors and excitement lasted for weeks to come.

However, your grandfather's attention was pretty fully occupied just now with a matter described by him later as "Another Might Have Been." At the Springs he had become intimate with Commander M. F. Maury, who had a world-wide reputation in ocean navigation. Then Professor of Meteorology at the Virginia Military Institute, Maury was interested in a plan for establishing between Baltimore and Holland a steamship line which would bring to this country emigrants from many of the Dutch cities and cargo for distribution and trade. The Dutch East India Company, as chief promoter of the scheme, proposed to establish an agency in Baltimore which it had chosen as the place of debarkation, for some reason finding this preferable to New York. The U. S. Govern-

ment had started a deepening of approaches for vessels larger than any heretofore used. Ample financial support was promised from Holland, dependent, however, upon assurance that incoming freight would be well handled and the Dutch passengers properly transported to welcoming communities.

Details were in the hands of Commodore Jansen, an ex-officer of the Dutch Navy, who had already started contacts throughout the country where clearing houses and freight depots might be established. Willcox's help was enlisted to stir up enthusiasm in Baltimore, the strategic center for unloading cargoes. But to his disappointment there was little interest on the part of leading citizens or of city authorities. Even officials of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, then scarcely known beyond the Ohio River, were cold to the idea though informed that Holland would provide all funds needed. The Pennsylvania Railroad was willing to cooperate, but only if Philadelphia were used as the focal point. Efforts to have Baltimore Harbor the center for a large shipping enterprise from Holland and possibly other European ports as the project got under way were therefore abandoned; an alternate arrangement was made by Holland with New York whereby small Dutch lines would use that port for passengers and freight. Possibly the fact that Jansen was appointed to be one of His Majesty's Council and his withdrawal from the project had something to do with lack of enthusiasm in the scheme. We wonder what effect this "Might Have Been" would have had upon the city and upon the railroads that have made such uneven progress throughout the years.

It was probably your grandfather's association with Baltimore business men in connection with the foregoing which led to the family's move to Baltimore. A contract drawn up in Richmond, as of January 2, 1871 (in family files) created the firm to carry on a general banking and stock exchange brokerage, with three branches: in Richmond under the name of

Lancaster (b) & Co.; in Baltimore as Brown, Lancaster & Co.; in New York as Lancaster, Brown & Co. The firm was financial agent for nearly all of the important railroads in Virginia and obtained from northern sources money required to put them again into running order—a condition so largely affected by the war. A more ambitious undertaking was contemplated when a representative of the McCalmonts in England (well known as one of the world's largest contracting firms) approached Willcox in confidence with regard to purchasing for five million dollars the James River and Kanawha Canal with a view to spending fifty million in the canal's restoration and extension. Brown and Lancaster had been closely associated with the canal and its president, Charles S. Carrington of Richmond, who now agreed to approach the Virginia Legislature with request that it appoint a committee of twelve leading members with power to sell at the best possible terms. Such appointment was approved by one of the Houses and it was a sad blow when the other House added a proviso that action of the committee should be referred back to the Legislature for confirmation. Since the present session was about to close, this meant referral to new members and the McCalmonts withdrew their offer, unwilling to continue negotiations with a fluctuating legislative body. This project was written of by your grandfather in one of his articles of 1911 as "One of Virginia's Lost Opportunities," (c) and considering that the canal, costing Virginia ten million dollars, was ultimately given away, it seems indeed that the state missed an unusual chance of recuperation.

However, business had been prospering and a handsome residence was rented at 83 Monument Street, Baltimore. This gray stone house, with "Louisiana grill" trimmings is now numbered 117, west of Cathedral Street, and can be seen in

(b) R. A. Lancaster of Richmond.

(c) In family files and also with other articles mentioned elsewhere in the National Archives, Washington.

what was probably its original state, though dingy with years and converted to a rooming house. Here on December 14, 1869, was born the second child, a daughter named Mary Willcox.(d) Then on January 23, 1871, came Nannie Beirne.(e) In spite of these interruptions the Willcox Browns were active in the social life of their day, entertaining lavishly and forming lasting friendships. It is interesting to see a note addressed by Turner around this time to William Wilkins Glenn, father of a future son-in-law, thanking him for flowers that awaited her on return from an afternoon drive. In the Robb Papers,(f) filed at the William and Mary Library, is a note from Pocahontas Bernard Scott of December 1871 from Baltimore which says in part: "The fashions are extravagant and Molly's bill for clothes must be equal to Turner Brown's."

John Willcox, Jr. was born on March 14, 1872, though destined for a short life. Turner took him that summer to the White Sulphur Springs with hope that the mountain air would bring him needed strength, but he died there at the age of four months.

Business took Willcox frequently to New York, where he became well-known at the old Waldorf Astoria on West Thirty-fourth Street, to be remembered years later by Oscar, the Maitre d'. A general financial crisis in 1872, affecting much of the eastern coast in particular, led to ultimate failure of the three associated firms which had by now undertaken new railroad construction in the more southern states. Already money had been obtained from the North to largely assist in rehabilitating Virginia, but this further extension was self-destructive. Your grandfather later wrote: "When I announced the fact that we were no longer able to meet our obligation . . . I was met by all our creditors in a most com-

(d) Married John M. Glenn.
(e) Married H. Guy Corbett.
(f) Excerpt made available by James S. Patton.

plimentary and liberal manner and given full and free control of our affairs. I succeeded before long in discharging all of our immediate obligations." Now, though, the Willcox Browns felt that they must find less expensive living quarters. Ground rent had been paid July 1, 1872, on the north side of North Avenue near Oak; but Willcox wrote to Turner on December 10, 1873: "No progress to report yet about our winter quarters. . . . Lancaster will be here tomorrow and we have some questions of importance to discuss. . . . Really it is impossible for me as yet to form an idea about plans . . . but hope for the best and trust to make agreeable arrangements. . . . As for being happy I don't think we can help being that in spite of any little inconveniences which may attend our present circumstances." This letter was written from the Rennert Hotel on Saratoga Street (now a thing of the past) where Willcox professed to be "very snugly fixed, with many invitations."

The couple's fifth child, Elsie Barksdale,(g) had been born on August 24 and mother and children were with her family at "Glencoe," where the Macfarlands were now living. Soon after the above letter was written, Turner was at home in Baltimore at 110 West North Avenue—a four-story gray stone with basement, that was commodious enough for the growing family. Early in the days at 110, Charles and Nellie Reese were employed—the former as general factotum and the latter as nurse to the children. Following years of faithful and devoted service, a room at Provident Hospital was dedicated to her memory. Another warm in the hearts of the family was Julia Wood, who was employed at eighteen, married and had children whom she still did not let interfere with her continued service. Julia went with the Glenns to New York, staying until retirement when she was given a pension. She would look forward, as did Mammy in Petersburg days, to her annual holiday visits—in this case to the writer and her

(g) Unmarried.

husband in Connecticut. A pew in St. Mary's Chapel of Mount Calvary, Baltimore, bears her name in loving remembrance.

At this time North Avenue was called the Boundary, dividing as it did the city from Baltimore County. It was a beautiful, wide avenue, with a parkway in the center, and was drawing a fine class of people among whom the Browns made many firm and lasting friends—the Brunes in a spacious house surrounded by well-kept grounds, General Tyson and his family, the Marshalls, the Andrews, the S. S. Lees among others. It is hard to realize how attractive this neighborhood was then, now that it has been taken over by a market, filling station, movies and other unsightly buildings. The house which provided such happy moments (as well as tragic ones) for your grandfather was pulled down with others and is now the North Avenue Motel and we wonder what became of the fine lilac bush in the back yard; the parkway has been paved and turned over entirely to transportation.

Not long after the dissolution of Brown, Lancaster & Co., the banking and brokerage firm of Brown & Lowndes was organized, C. D. Lowndes having been a silent partner of the previous one. It functioned for some years with varying degrees of prosperity and the Willcox Brown family increased in size. Frances Peronneau (later changed to Fanny Willcox) was born in Baltimore on October 10, 1876(h); Alice Blackford in Baltimore January 25, 1878, dying in Charlottesville on August 6 of that same year; Turner Macfarland on August 23, 1879, at "Glencoe," dying in Baltimore at the age of eighteen months soon after the birth of Susannah Peachy Poythress on February 14, 1881.(i) Then in Baltimore on June 8, 1882, John Thompson(j); and on February 1, 1885, the twins Frank

(h) She never married.

(i) Married Henry Adsit, M.D.

(j) Married Ysabel Yolande de Vignier.

Donaldson (k) and Katharine von Ahlefeldt, the latter of whom died in May of that same year. At the end of this long stream came Eleanor Plunkett, born February 3, 1887. (l)

Returning to business, the firm of Brown & Lowndes, with Francis Tazewell Redwood (called Frank) as a third partner, (m) secured offices in the Bankers Exchange Building at 6-10 German Street (now Redwood) and a bit worth noting is that an office boy was employed for three dollars a week. The pamphlet, *A Daughter's Tribute*[2] by Mary Glenn, written in after years gives a picture of Willcox Brown which explains to some extent why he did not reach greater success—worldly success, that is, for he had and achieved rare qualities of which we can be justly proud.

When coming to Baltimore he had drawn on his capital to meet debts incurred, not by his own family but by another for whom he felt responsible, thereby making his income inadequate for the needs of his immediate dependents, and this drain continued for years, until the sponge was squeezed dry. We have papers on file in this connection, but the present study does not go into details. Demands came not from this one source alone, but from several, as indicated by the following letter from Willcox to a relative after his final retirement:

December 10, 1903

Dear .....

I have your letter and write especially to say that the fact that I had often sent money at my own inconvenience was stated merely to show that in not sending now I was acting under necessity. The truth is that I am now, when more than seventy years old, reduced to dependence upon others, I and your cousin, Turner, living with one son-in-law and

(k) Married Greta du Pont Barksdale.

(l) Married Frank H. Merrill.

(m) Redwood's nephew, John, now active in Baltimore community life, tells us that his Uncle Francis was killed in 1906, with two other prominent bankers, in a train wreck when traveling in the railroad president's car. The firm was then operating as Lowndes & Redwood.

the three unmarried daughters living with another. Two boys and two girls are hard at work and earning something.

I never had charge of your "father's inheritance." Mr. Davis was his sole representative so far as I know, and all that I did was to aid him. This I did to the best of my ability and from the time I saw you all in Spartanburg I have done what I could to assist your mother and you two girls. This I did so long as I could through Mr. Davis and I have always thought it more delicate not to let you all know any further than was necessary that I was making advances. I did know a good many years ago that the fund was exhausted but I preferred not to call your attention to that fact, but to let you suppose that the remittance did not come from me.

And now I would say that nothing has given me more pleasure than to feel that I was doing something to add to the comfort of my uncle's family, and what I have done I have done most heartily. It may be that better times are in store for me and for all of us.

And here speaks the perennial optimist. Though weighed down with care and frequently a sense of failure, the spirit of adventure which inclined your grandfather to daring speculation was ever there with its accompanying belief that what was intellectually grasped and planned must lead to success. Humorously, his Baltimore whist cronies—Maupin, Morton, Read, and Powhatan Clark—affectionately dubbed him "Old Singleton."

As mentioned earlier, he had before leaving Virginia started plans for a Universal Life Insurance Company; not securing General Lee for president, these plans were relinquished. As unpaid president of the cotton factory in Petersburg, he effected improvements greatly increasing production without increased cost, and in moving to Baltimore he withdrew from the factory post. At one time he became engaged in developing a narrow-gauge road over the route later used by the Maryland & Pennsylvania Railroad, studying the situation and offering bonds with good prospect of financial gains; finding that other

officers of the company were arranging secretly to get all of the stock for themselves, Willcox let the matter drop, though giving by this action the impression of not carrying out what he had undertaken to accomplish. He later wrote: "It really seems to me that about the best test to apply to any action . . . is to ask yourself whether or not you would be willing that persons whom you admire and respect should know of your having taken it . . . to lay down the rule not to do anything which would bring a blush to your cheeks or to those of your dear ones."

Thus is summed up in part the philosophy of your grandfather, whose high ideals blinded him to any weakness on the part of his associates and led to many disappointments. There was the Cape Cod Canal venture which he tried to promote with London connections. In 1869 he discussed some large undertaking with John W. Garrett, President of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, on the Board of which he served from November 19, 1888, to November 18, 1895; the special project contemplated fell through. Plans for development of the Vera Cruz Railroad consumed many years of effort and required much outlay, with disappointing results. Trips to Mexico in this connection sometimes included Turner, who regaled her children and friends with accounts of that capital city. This project was undertaken, however, after your grandfather had been asked to assume presidency of the Maryland Trust Company, for the financial panic of 1893, with the consequent drain on financial resources, had forced Willcox to withdraw from the firm of Brown & Lowndes. A few years after the Maryland Trust Company was started, a so-called friend offered the opportunity of sharing in a concession to build a railroad in Mexico which would connect Vera Cruz on the Gulf with the Pacific Ocean. The Mexican Government was to subsidize the road with bonds thought sufficient to cover the immediate outlay and the Maryland Trust Company, as Trus-

tee, should have benefited considerably. Colonel Alfred L. Rives was the engineer secured for examination as to cost, and counsel for the trust company reported favorably on the project which was to issue first mortgage bonds to meet the cost over and above what would be forthcoming from Mexico. Rives and George Randolph—later Vice President of the Baltimore and Ohio—estimated finally that with an expenditure of one million dollars the road, then well under construction, could be put into really first-class condition, and effort was made by the trust company to sell mortgage bonds—unsuccessfully, however, when an attack was made by Speyer & Co. who had antagonistic interests. With the persistent efforts of your grandfather, Mexico made available its total issue of concession bonds, yielding over two million five hundred thousand dollars, thus making possible the payment of all obligations, and the road was ultimately sold for a large sum which put the trust company's affairs on a fairly satisfactory basis.

Throughout this whole transaction Willcox steadfastly refused, as President of the Maryland Trust, to avail himself of any advantage that might accrue to him personally. His so-called friend was in the family's black books, but Colonel Rives, though having greatly underestimated the cost involved, could not be blamed and remained a staunch friend.

Another venture referred to previously was that related to the..... Coal Company, and from it grew a series of suits, countersuits and litigations covering a number of years before and after retirement. Snowden Marshall, a family friend and partner in the New York firm Battle and Marshall, was your grandfather's principal counsel and there is in family files considerable correspondence between him, Willcox, John M. Glenn, Hamilton Barksdale, and others, for this was a *personal* venture, carried under the name of New Amsterdam Coal Company, of which J. W. B. was president. It brought high

hopes at times, with always a following disappointment and eventual failure.

In brief, the enemies' contention was that the land in Somerset and other counties of western Pennsylvania which had been bought by your grandfather for mining and development and possible railroad entry had been abandoned over a period of twenty-five years, thus nullifying any agreements reached with the Pennsylvania interests and leaving the way clear for possession by them. It was not your grandfather's intention to work the lands himself, but rather to lease or sell to others, including the New York Central Railroad, the Erie and the Baltimore and Ohio. Marshall presented good evidence of sales and sales promotion, at the same time showing that many deeds claimed by the Pennsylvania Company lacked proper titles. In 1906 he wrote: "I am very hopeful about the outcome . . . coal lands in that vicinity are now selling at very large figures . . . cannot now see, to save my life, why we have not an almost invulnerable case."

Papers relating to this matter are on file (though far from complete). Suffice it to say here that Marshall's optimism was equal to your grandfather's and what for years presented a picture of "wealth to come" brought no returns.

Marshall and his fellow lawyers had done their best but unscrupulous factors were at work.

In a letter to his son, Hamilton, in 1881, Willcox wrote "The Furnace property in Giles County [W. Va.] and the lands and mineral rights which I have acquired there and which I expect soon to acquire must prove immensely valuable . . . the lands in Clay County [W. Va.], the Ruffnes land and the land at the junction of Gauley and Kanawha Rivers . . . ought to prove valuable . . . the interest in Paint Creek will prove valuable." These are some of the assets on which he was counting and we can only suppose that an implicit trust in the uprightness of others, coupled with the hazards of absentee ownership, are

responsible for the failure of personal investments to bring returns. The letter to Hamilton ends: "I beg that you will be cool, cautious and careful in realizing all you can from my estate and in making investments of same so as to give my family as large and secure an income as you can obtain."

Family life at 110 went on through the years with its ups and downs, as can be understood, but in general on a happy note.

As seen previously, several of the children born to your Brown grandparents died at a very early age, and I turn with feeling to a letter Willcox wrote Turner from New York in March 1881. Quoting briefly from it: "I have felt for you so much that I have hardly been able to grieve for myself . . . Rather let us think of the happiness of our sweet little ones gone before. Oh! may it really be before us. And let us reflect, also, on the blessings we have and have had. I trust I feel profoundly grateful for them and am sensible of my not deserving the least of them. Of everything that God has given me, however, there is nothing which even bears a comparison with the gift of my precious wife, who grows dearer to me every day and whom through all the chances and changes of life I learn more and more to hold in higher respect and admiration."

Summers were spent mostly at "Glencoe" and the following letter, addressed to Brunie in August 1886, gives an idea of the ever-hospitable household:

I was so jolly glad to hear by Grandma's letter that you were coming up here after all, and I am writing now to ask you if you cannot leave Baltimore Friday afternoon and get here Saturday morning. I will go over to Alderson, our station, that day and am writing George Andrews and Snowden Marshall to come on the same train, so that all three of you may come up together. If you cannot come that day, will you telegraph me at Alderson on Friday?

Grandma asks me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter and to say how glad she is to hear you are coming up.

Hoping to see you Labor Day, I am

Your very true friend,
Hamilton M. Brown

The fall of 1891 brought great excitement, for the lovely daughter, Elsie, was to make her debut in Baltimore at the "Monday German," held then in Lehman's Hall. Paying little attention to a cold she had contracted, the debutante danced to her heart's content. Next day she became seriously ill and within a few weeks died of pneumonia, for which so little could be done in those days. Expressions of sympathy came from all sides, for Elsie had been a favorite of many. The following verse from a memorial of L. D. D. expresses the thoughts of her family as they tried to accept her loss:

The circle of the year is almost filled,
The harvests all are garnered, and the heart
Is warm with Christmas cheer and Christmas mirth,
And home is dear and bright. But yet, O Earth,
This is not all! For in the merry hum
And round of cheerful hours, one voice is dumb.
One heart, but lately warm with life, is chilled—
And into one, at least, the Christ is come.

Then just six months later came another tragedy. The oldest son, Hamilton, on whom his father had relied and who was his mother's joy, was killed in a driving accident. Hamilton had gone into the firm of Brown & Lowndes to "learn the ropes," and, according to Mrs. Oliphant, "was one of those whom God compensates for an early death by making him the object of love wherever he moved in his short life."

Turning to a Baltimore newspaper clipping, we learn that on May 7, 1892, two runaway horses were caught at Union

Station at about seven-thirty P.M., later being identified as belonging to A. R. Williams, who, accompanied by several friends, had been out the Charles Street Avenue road. Speeding home they collided with a wagon, when Hamilton was thrown out and seriously injured. He had been driving and held onto the reins to try and quiet the horses; but the shock of the collision threw him out and he could not disengage his hands quickly enough to break his fall, when his head struck the cobblestones with great force. No one else was hurt. Attended first by Dr. J. C. Atkinson, he was taken unconscious to his home on a mattress, when Dr. F. T. Miles and Dr. L. McClane Tiffany were called in consultation. For the numerous head injuries there was little that could be done and within a month of his twenty-fourth birthday Hamilton died without regaining consciousness.

He had attended Maupin's School in Baltimore and received his Bachelor of Arts degree at Johns Hopkins University. He belonged to the Baltimore Club, the Merchants Club, Elkridge Club, l'Hirondelle Club, and "one of those Greek letter college fraternities;" also to the Baltimore Cricket Club whose *American Cricketer* wrote on May 18:

> Baltimoreans were sadly shocked on opening the papers Monday morning to read of the death of Mr. Hamilton Macfarland Brown, who was almost instantly killed while driving on Saturday, May 7, by being thrown from his drag. A young man of magnificent physique and exuberant health, his sudden and untimely taking-off touched deeply all who read of it, even those who had never known the charm of his personality. A man by nature, a gentleman by instinct, he was one of those that every man who knew him was the better in some way for having known. To those who have met him on the cricket field, it is unnecessary to speak of his qualities as a cricketer, his keenness for the game, his modesty and unselfishness, his contempt for any meanness or littleness in the play, his hardworking activity and genial good humor. He played the grand old game for itself and as it should be played. As

a fielder he was exceedingly quick, sure, and accurate, while as a rapid and dangerous bowler he stood well up, as his record against the best bats in this country, as well as the visiting English teams, will show. To the Baltimore Eleven his loss is irreparable, both as a player and a man, and it will be many a long day before we will be able to walk into the field without some feeling of sadness, some pang of regret for "Poor old Brownie!"

A list of pallbearers and other men present at the funeral in Old St. Paul's Church—conducted by the Reverend J. S. B. Hodges, Rector—as given in the Baltimore *Sun,* reads like a social directory of that day, with the many Brown friends paying their respects. It is given here as indicative of the city-wide associations: Robert L. Preston, Alexander Preston, Harry Pennington, C. G. Archer, J. McK. Merryman, Ralph Robinson, H. O. Thompson, A. M. S. Post, Harry Warfield, T. Noel Poullain, George S. Andrews, Edward Shoemaker, Randall McKim, S. Tagart Steele, Charles Spence, Beirne Lay, Tunstall Smith, Governor Frank Brown, D. B. Merryman, T. M. Gaither, Jr., Skipwith Wilmer, Professor B. L. Gildersleeve, Julian S. Jones, Arthur L. Jones, Dr. Robert W. Johnson, Winfield Peters, James L. McLane, W. S. Symington, Tunis F. Dean, Thomas M. Hulings, Julian LeRoy White, Dr. I. S. Trimble, Allan McSherry, Carter G. Osborn, H. Rozier Dulany, Dr. William Lee Howard, Charles M. Carter, Robert Fiddell Brown, James P. Gorter, Laurason Riggs, Richard M. Venable, James W. Wilson, Edward Kay, Charles C. Dennison, Henry B. Keyser, Dr. John M. Mackenzie, Walter B. Brooks, Ernest Gittings, Clarence McDowell, D. M. Crawford, Robert Lehr, Jr., W. S. G. Williams.

The Browns were active members of St. Paul's Church and Willcox served for some years on the Board of its School for Girls. Even with their faith to support them, Hamilton's death was a shattering blow, and it is believed that around now started the terrific headaches with which Turner was plagued

periodically for the rest of her life. They could be helped only through morphine injections which one doctor encouraged but which Turner refused, after one or two tries, to her everlasting credit.

Troubles piled up, for in the fall of 1893 Brown & Lowndes failed, and the strain on Willcox and Turner was tremendous. There was a world financial crisis set off by failure of the London banking house of Baring in 1891, but repercussion was not felt in this country until 1893 because of our great railroad prosperity. A letter (see Robb papers) that early winter to a Virginia friend said: "What in the world has become of Willcox Brown?" But he was comfortably ensconced at "Glencoe" with Turner and her family; while Nannie had the five youngest children in charge at "Walnut Grove," lent to them by "Aunt Nancy"—to be largely sustained by a barrel of pickled oysters! Mary was in Baltimore teaching at the Jane Randolph Harrison School on Park Avenue.

In 1894 the Maryland Trust Company was organized, Basil Gordon taking a leading part and serving for several years on the Executive Committee.(n) Other founders listed, besides several non-residents, were William A. Marbury, F. M. Colston, Colonel Charles Marshall, Alexander Brown, Joshua Levering, Leopold Strouse, Bernard N. Baker.

The Maryland Trust Company started with a capital of five hundred thousand dollars—soon to be doubled—and Willcox Brown was asked to take the presidency. In a *History of the City of Baltimore,* we read: "One of the most remarkable features of the unprecedented impetus which Baltimore's financial interests received in the latter part of 1898 was the sudden development of the trust company idea." The Maryland Trust was the fourth such company and there was apparently "slow-

(n) His first wife, the former Lelia Montague, was a dear friend of your grandmother Brown; the second wife, Ann Eliza Pleasants, brought connection with Mrs. J. Triplett Haxall and others, and the present family of Dr. Robert Johnson, Jr., is descended from this line.

going" for some time. It was first located in a basement on South Street where J. Bernard Scott of Virginia (see Robb papers) was brought in as secretary and treasurer. He remained a valued employee and officer in the company as well as family friend. Henry J. Bowdoin and Lloyd L. Jackson were vice presidents. Louis Seymore Zimmerman was employed that first year as "general factotum," continuing at the same time his formal education through night study and graduating from the Maryland Law School in 1900. He, with Bernard Scott, was designated as one of Willcox's boys.

Soon the company's offices were moved to the northwest corner of Calvert and German Streets—the latter renamed Redwood after the First World War.

Let me digress here to cite a few facts reported in *History of the City of Baltimore; Its Men and Institutions* published in 1902 by *The Baltimore American:*

1772—Introduction of umbrellas, recommended by physicians to keep off vertigoes, epilepsy, sore-eyes, fevers, etc.

1790—Organization of Bank of Maryland.

1825—Mrs. Ellen Moale, first white child born in Baltimore, died.

1843—Adams Express Company launched by Samuel M. Shoemaker and Adams of Boston.

B & O—first in almost everything in the past—is today amongst the best of modern railroads and sets the pace for all competitors.

1884—John W. Garrett, banker and long head of the B & O, died, to be succeeded in the railroad presidency by sons Robert and T. Harrison, the latter dying in 1898. L. F. Loree was president in 1902.

1894—Baltimore had an area of 32.19 square miles and a population of 434,439.

Of course, the Browns all returned from West Virginia to 110 and life went on as busily as ever—drives in Druid Hill Park with the Boykin Lees behind a "spanking pair of bays," excursions on "Pat" Calhoun's yacht, parties in the William H.

Blackford's home on Eutaw Place, delightful evenings in the Harrison Garrett home on Charles Street Avenue, dances, teas, etc., besides the grinding business of the Maryland Trust.

This last brought many worries and, following difficulties growing out of the Vera Cruz and Pacific business, the trust company fell into the hands of a Receiver, Allan McLane, appointed October 19, 1903. He continued the employment of all clerks and others—numbering sixteen—but Willcox Brown stepped out of the picture. The value of securities ($6,225,000), named by the directors, was considered grossly excessive, representing largely investment in the Vera Cruz and Pacific Railroad in Mexico, the results from the sale of which were so uncertain. This railroad, organized under the laws of West Virginia, owned a total of 266 miles and the right-of-way for 120 additional miles over a Mexican road. Captain R. B. Pegram, President, estimated its completion at a cost of two million two hundred seventeen thousand dollars—an amount considered purely fictitious. The Receiver's list of investments showed a total of three million two hundred eighty four thousand one hundred thirteen dollars, with liabilities placed at five million seven hundred twenty six thousand eight hundred ninety four dollars.

A letter from Alexander Brown & Sons to McLane, dated December 15, 1903, says in part: "We think it only fair to advise you that we waive all claim to the bonds of Maryland Trust Building Company (held as security) and will take our chances with other creditors of the trust company." This was the attitude generally held by creditors and, as mentioned earlier, final sale of the road put the company's affairs on a satisfactory basis; but one can imagine the blow to your grandfather in finding the results of practically his life's work wiped out.(o)

(o) The Maryland Trust Company merged with the Guardian Trust & Deposit Company in 1901, and with the Drovers & Mechanics National Bank in 1930—all members of the Reserve System. It is now, after other mergers, the Maryland National Bank.

The house at 110 West North Avenue was given up and Willcox and Turner retired to the home of their daughter, Nannie Corbett, at Afton, Virginia, where they lived in a stone cottage on the place, having meals with the family.

"Elsham" became a rendezvous for the various children who were living and working in Baltimore or elsewhere. Here we can remember the Colonel, as your grandfather was generally addressed, rising triumphant from the trials and failures through which he had passed. In Mary Glenn's words: "The true Virginia gentleman . . . conqueror when apparently conquered . . . a humorous twinkle in his eyes behind the glasses, leaving a heritage for his children far beyond what could have inhered in material possessions—an example of victory through surrender to the accidents of life, while maintaining the integrity of his noble soul."

The articles referred to in our text were prepared in these years of retirement on request of the Richmond *Times-Dispatch,* later to be filed in the National Archives. Your grandfather was an avid reader as well as listener to the red seal records on an inadequate phonograph. He was a ferocious destroyer of dandelions on the "Elsham" grounds and vitally interested in the fruit-growing business of his son-in-law, Guy Corbett. He enjoyed mint juleps with his crony "Chilly" Langhorne,(p) and, driving in the buggy to see the blacksmith Creizer, discussed with him the shortage of iron. He revelled in a game of whist and in chess when his sons Thompson or Donaldson stopped by. Enjoying any treat that might come to his wife or to the children, he taught them courage by the example of his fearless spirit. We have the photograph of a gathering at A. P. Hill Camp, which Willcox attended with others, wearing his Confederate uniform—still a good fit.

A letter written in the summer of 1913 to Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, John N. Williams, asks for consideration

(p) Chiswell D., father of Lady Astor and Mrs. Charles Dana Gibson, among others.

by him and William G. McAdoo, and speaks of the pride Willcox had taken in their connection with the Government. Possibly some vacancy might arise, he feels, where his honesty and military standing would be acceptable qualifications—doorkeeper of a treasury vault or of a powder magazine, he suggests. In a cordial reply Williams reported that nearly every office in the Government was under Civil Service and appointments were few and far between; and he held out little hope.

Perhaps fortunately, for on February 21 of the following winter, when Turner was visiting the Glenns in New York, your grandfather was found at breakfast time dead in his bed, a peaceful smile on his face. The tired heart, for which he had been under a doctor's care, had at last given out. On his writing table was the following note of "A Day at Elsham," left there the night before:

Just as I woke up this morning Vin (his grandson) came in to kiss me before going to school. He looked very bright and jolly, and had insisted on going in spite of the weather. I went over to the house and had a fine breakfast of veal and buckwheat cakes, served in the kitchen. Nannie said Vin had insisted on going to school in spite of the snow and that if he was not back in time Guy would have to go for him. Well, it has kept snowing all day. Yesterday at dinner I felt the want of a toddy and found that Guy had a little whiskey and I had a very good one. And so I ordered a couple of bottles of Grandfather's from Harmon. Guy went up this morning and brought back only one of them as the other had been broken at the station. However, he brought back some oysters which Nannie had ordered and which went fine for dinner just now. I wish I could eat more but I can't. I certainly enjoyed the oysters. After dinner I came over to the cottage and then took some of the whiskey which had come to me. I was waiting rather anxiously to know when Vin would turn up when Elsie came over to tell me that at four-thirty her mother had sent Guy to look for the lost boy, and so Elsie and I looked out just to see Guy going down the road and then to see Vin

And so this is the last of our romance.

Had he a premonition? I rather think so, and that his whole life was the romance.

REFERENCES

1. Catherine Copeland, *Bravest Surrender, A Petersburg Patchwork* (Richmond, Whittet & Shepperson, 1961).
2. Mary Willcox Glenn, *A Daughter's Tribute* (in family files).

Chapter Eleven: BROWN, 1914-1930

OLONEL J. W. BROWN IS DEAD," reads a long obituary of February 22, 1914, in the Baltimore *Sun,* which goes on to speak of your grandfather's war record, his marriage to one of the most noted belles of the South, and of his banking experiences. The funeral service was held on February twenty-third in Old St. Paul's Church, Baltimore, conducted by the Reverend Arthur B. Kinsolving, D.D., with choir and soloists under the direction of A. R. Willard, and with many floral offerings. Co-workers and "boys from the Maryland Trust Company" formed a sorrowful group among other friends gathered. His body was placed in the family lot at Greenmount Cemetery, surrounded by the graves of children gone before, and later a granite cross was placed by his widow to memorialize both husband and wife, which bears the inscription: "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God."

I like to think of Russell Bowie's words in his history of Emmanuel Church, Greenwood, Virginia, where he included among parishioners during his tenure "fine old Colonel J. Willcox Brown and the never-to-be-old Mrs. Brown." Grief-stricken by the death of her husband, Turner met the loss bravely and turned to her children for comfort and companionship. The son, Thompson, was his father's executor and the task now falling upon his shoulders was far from an easy one. Given every support by John M. Glenn and Hamilton Barksdale, the complication of notes payable, though all had been

assumed with firm belief in the value of properties on which they were written, gave many an anxious moment until these could be cleared, with generous reaction from friends who had joined Willcox in certain (or uncertain) ventures. Specifically, insurance premiums on the life of an old Virginia friend must continue to be paid and a debt owing to the widow of another be liquidated. With your grandfather's insurance and investment of cash received made by both of her sons, Turner was assured an income sufficient for her needs, dividing as she did her time among the married children. Those who knew her have a clear picture of the wonderful vivacity and unconquerable spirit that were hers. The children's friends accepted her as a contemporary and many was the game of bridge, theatre party, automobile expedition and picnic in which she participated—not until several years after Willcox's death, though, for she truly grieved and kept also to the old-fashioned period of mourning.

Retaining much of her beauty, she was always well-dressed and groomed. No one ever saw Turner except as the great lady she was, even when breakfasting in bed, with a cap on her head and a dainty dressing gown.

Your grandmother's eightieth birthday was celebrated at the Glenn's home, One Lexington Avenue, New York City, and in further celebration she sailed for Europe in January 1927, accompanied by her great-niece, Mary Barksdale Heyward. They went on the *Duilio* of the Italian Line where she found many mutual friends and was called the Grande Dame. In Madeira a cogwheel railway was taken to Terreiro de Lucta, descending in a native basket-sled over the famous pebble slide; and after this adventure a boat was boarded for Gibraltar, Algiers, and Naples. A few extracts from the many letters sent home are given here to show the stamina and the joie de vivre of this old lady:

January 25, Naples, Excelsior Hotel:

"I am keeping very well, but find, alas, that I am equal to little sight-seeing or exploring. We have various friends from the boat in this hotel and, strange to say, they make a great fuss over me. I have had enough homage to turn my head (this just to my immediate family, please), and I simply do not understand it. I think they know my age and think it wonderful that an octogenarian should have any enthusiasm left."

January 26, Naples:

"Oh, how I wish the dear Dad and I could have come here together and I understand now his love of Italy."

February 3, Naples:

"Yesterday I saw Pompeii and everything with such ease and comfort—in a litter (chair between two poles between two bearers.) Such smiling Italians! And when we stopped for interiors, etc. they brought me bunches of maiden-hair fern and little wild flowers. At the Grand Hotel, where we lunched, the proprietor turned out to be a former waiter at the Palm Room, Waldorf Astoria—twenty-four years in America. He insisted on my having a genuine Arrowhead cocktail and it was perfectly delicious, but I am indulging in anything of that kind very rarely, so don't get scared. I am keeping in fine shape and can do a great deal more than I expected . . . keeping up my reputation as a good sport."

February 7, Mena House, Cairo:

"Met at the dock in Alexandria by two General Motors agents; also by Fanny who will be with us for three weeks . . . We are just at the foot of the Sphinx and completely fascinated."

February 17, Mena House:

"There was a very gay dance here this evening and we have just come up from watching it. And the 'Charleston' is as good as a circus."

February 21, Mena House:

"We are to have luncheon on the desert today. Fan will ride a camel and Polly will drive me in a sand cart . . . Little time to write

for we are on the go all the time and I must take my rest. . . . The girls ride camels daily, and I am going to try one, too, (which she did) . . . From Mena House to Shepheards nearly every day, dining and watching the dancing."

February 24, Mena House:

"More and more fascinated by Egypt and I am equal to doing what I should have thought impossible before I started on this trip. Last evening there was the regular small dance at this hotel and we watched the dancing for an hour after playing bridge and chatting with some American people we have met here . . . We are never at a loss for something to do and see."

"On Saturday our chauffeur took us through the desert to the Suez Canal and we made the trip of one hundred and twenty-two miles in three hours! Luncheon at the Bon Air Hotel . . . Back at the Mena House before eight.

"Yesterday we motored to Cairo where we took a Fleugge for a trip down the Nile . . . lolled back on the comfortable seats and floated down the ancient river, and I felt like Cleopatra . . . Back for luncheon at the Semiramis and introduced to crepes suzettes . . . to the museum and absorbed by the King Tut collection . . . motored home (Mena House) and a rest before five-thirty when the Thés Dansants began downstairs . . . had tea and watched the Charleston and the Tango for a couple of hours to a splendid band."

"I seem equal to everything. Our automobile is adding all the time enormously to our enjoyment, for you must know that I am the proud possessor of a seven-passenger Buick for the remainder of my stay—thanks to Don and General Motors."

Your grandmother and her companion sailed on the *President Harrison* from Egypt to Nice "gliding along on this beautiful Mediterranean, which is as smooth as glass." They were invited to sit at the Captain's table and "jumped right into a social set, playing bridge twice a day with very pleasant people." From the Winter Palace, Menton, on March 15, she wrote: "We are seeing all the charming places and amusing ourselves by taking meals at different hotels. This afternoon we spent

in the gambling rooms at Monte Carlo—a revelation, although we did not try our luck."

The daughter, Fanny, was living nearby at Roquebrune and Turner was given a beautiful birthday party by her and Polly on March 23 at Les Ambassadeurs in Cannes:

". . . the smartest place for entertaining and the pride of l'haut monde at this gay season. Our table was well placed and I cannot describe the brilliance of the scene and the wonderful time we had . . . cocktails, a quart of Moet et Chandon during a wonderful dinner. Oh my! Then to the gambling rooms but we did not try our luck for the stakes were too high. . . . The jewels and the women's clothes were altogether something to remember. We got home at two."

March 25, Menton:

"We are the only Americans in this Hotel Winter Palace and the English are an unsociable lot . . . but we are quite independent and on the go so continually that there is small chance to see the other guests."

April 1, Menton:

"Peachy and Sue [daughter and granddaughter Adsit] have arrived from Paris and I am giving Sue the fun of doing the Tango in the afternoons at Thés Dansants in the Hotel Ruhl, (a) having picked out one of the maitres de danse there for that purpose before she came, and bespoken his dancing with her. . . . We dined at a table right up front, and got home at two. Then next day were off on a round—to Nice for shopping and sunning on the terrace . . . Yesterday we tried our luck at the gambling tables. I chose the lucky number many times but in the end had my winnings swept away. I don't think I shall amuse myself in that way again, except for one try at Monte Carlo . . . I love you all so much and am always wishing for you to share in the joy these beautiful places are giving me."

From the Riviera your grandmother with her companions drove in the Buick to Paris, stopping en route at many places

(a) A recent issue of the Baltimore *Sun* reports the Hotel Ruhl, elegant to the end, having recently succumbed to senility.

and thoroughly enjoying the chateau country. Then on April 11, from the Hotel Royal Monçeau, she wrote:

> Polly persuaded me to rest, although I was not tired. We are traveling like royalty! We have great fun watching the dancing downstairs—even stopped for it after the opera the other evening . . . A fine orchestra and many of the couples do many fancy steps and excel in the Charleston.

Turner rested through Holy Week but Easter brought glorious weather, bouts of sightseeing and delight in the hotel orchestra: "Sue is just about dancing herself to death. Wish you could see her pick-ups; we have lots of good laughs over them."

Too soon came the time for sailing home on the *SS Paris* on May 4, but her family was a welcome sight to Turner, and she was a good raconteur in telling of her many delightful experiences; also a good listener to what had been happening at home. There were new grandchildren to welcome and acquaintances to renew.

In spite of much adulation, your grandmother had real humility and was a devout Christian. She was inordinately proud of her children; Mary she considered a saint and felt herself to be far below, though devoted to this eldest. Her pride would have been beyond bounds if she had known later that four of her children and a son-in-law were for some years listed in *Who's Who in America*—an unusual achievement for parents.

In the summer of 1930 Turner was visiting the Donaldson Browns at Fisher's Island when an opportunity came her way for which she had longed—a flight in an aeroplane. A friend had his two-seater on the island and invited her to take a spin. Now the forms of transportation used by her were felt to be complete—buggy, horseback, stage-coach, boat, train, steamship, camel, and finally this "new" airplane. She was well content.

In August she went to Buffalo and the Hotel Lenox to be near her daughter Peachy Adsit. There she took cold, which developed into pneumonia, and in two weeks she died. Her funeral was in Baltimore on September 3, 1930, at the Chapel in Greenmount Cemetery, conducted by the Reverend Dr. Kinsolving, and she was placed next to Willcox in front of the granite cross.

Thoughts of many were expressed in this letter from Snowden Marshall:

> I have been thinking of her singing the old hymns in the little chapel at "Glencoe"—sitting among the children and guests at the big table where she enjoyed our simple jokes as much as the youngest of us. I have been thinking of her great courage in the days of bereavement that racked her soul . . . Wherever she went and whoever she met, she made without effort a conquest . . . I never heard an unkind thing said about her; nor did I ever hear from her anything unfair or uncharitable.

Snowden quoted these appropriate verses written by Edward Pinckney of South Carolina:

> Affections are as thoughts to her,
> The measures of the hours;
> Her feelings have the fragrancy,
> The freshness of young flowers.
> Her health! And would on earth there stood
> Some more of such a frame,
> That life might be all poetry
> And weariness a name.

* * *

Thus ends my saga—but with these added words from Professor Leyburn of Washington and Lee University, after reading some of the foregoing: "I hope your kinsfolk will appreciate all the courage, fortitude and distinction of their forebears! Long may the Browns and their descendants flourish!"

APPENDIX

Appendix 1

FAMILY OF HENRY BROWN (1712-1798)

Bedford County, Va., Deed Book 4 (1771-1773), pp. 455-456

February 20th 1757 Alce Beard and Henry Brown Maried by Parson of Bedford of Bedford County

Lettice Brown the Eldest Daughter of Henry Brown was Born Desember the 3, 1757. The next Child

Henry Brown was Born August the 10, 1760

Elizabeth Brown was Born July the 20, 1762

Alce Brown was Born September 9th, 1764

Samuel Brown was Born November the 10, 1766

Daniel Brown was Born Desember 18th, 1770

AT A COURT HELD FOR BEDFORD COUNTY, January 25, 1773

This instrument of writing was proven by the oath of Adam Beard and ordered to be recorded.

Test:

Ro: Alexander

Deputy Clerk

Appendix 2

WILL OF HENRY[2] BROWN OF BEDFORD COUNTY, VA.

Bedford County, Virginia, Will Book 2 [1788-1803], pp. 261-262

In the Name of [God] Amen, I Henry Brown of Bedford County through the Mercys of God in Tolerable health and sound understanding do Constitute & appoint This to be my Last Will & Testament, viz Item I lend to my wife during her life all my movable estate at my decease & also the house & Plantation where I now live to be freely enjoyed by her & after her decease to be distributed as followeth, Viz: the s[d]. Plantation containing 375 acres to be equally divided between my two sons Henry & Daniel (they making my son Samuel satisfaction for one third of the said Land) my three sons, Viz: Henry, Daniel & Samuel is to pay me ten pounds each if I require it. I give to my daughter[s] Elizabeth & Alcy one feather Bed & furniture each the rest of my daughters, Viz: Hannah Ann Mary & Sarah I give ten shillings each & the Ballace of my Estate after my Just debts is paid I leave to my three sons Viz Henry Sam. &

Daniel whom I appoint Executors to my last Will & Testament. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand & seal this 9th day of January 1796.

Henry Brown [*Seal*]

In Presents off
Abner Early, John Crumpacker
John [X] Robberts

At a Court held for Bedford County the 24th day June 1799—This last Will & Testament of Henry Brown, deceased, was proved by the oath[s] of Abner Early, John Crumpacker & John Roberts Witnesses whose names are thereunto subscribed & ordered to be Recorded.

Teste

Ja: Steptoe CBC

Appendix 3

OBITUARY OF HENRY BROWN, JR. (1797-1836)

"Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser," June 3, 1836

At New York, on the 19th instant, after an illness of short duration, *Henry Brown, Jr.,* a resident of Lynchburg, and eldest son of Henry Brown of Otter Hills, Bedford. He was a man of amiable and gentle qualities, of the most expanded philanthropy, and richly endowed with all the social and manly virtues, without the slightest alloy of selfishness or vanity. Never was there a heart cast in a finer mould, with quicker sensibility to "feel another's woe." His benevolence was active and unostentatious—his charities ample and well bestowed—and numerous, as well as fervent, will be the blessings breathed upon his memory by the children of poverty and affliction. His mind was highly cultivated, and stored with various and extensive information, especially in the departments of natural history and philosophy, for which he had a particular fondness. His health was suddenly overthrown many years ago and after vainly seeking its restoration through the influence of climate and long continued travelling, he had made up his mind patiently and quietly to await the result, not without hope, but with little expectation of a protracted life. It was upon the eve of his fate that he was most cheered with the promise of a recovery, and during the few weeks which preceded his final attack, the indications of returning health seemed almost decisive.

The flattering illusion and sudden reverse, however, did not throw him off his guard, and he met his death with a degree of calmness and composure that made a deep impression on all who witnessed it. Conscious of approaching dissolution, and with a mind unclouded to the end, he spent his last moments in soothing his afflicted wife, thanking his friends for their kind attentions to him, and giving a lively expression to the assurances he felt, through christian faith, of perfect happiness beyond the grave. In this serene and cheerful mood, his spirit took its flight, and left upon his countenance a smile strikingly indicative of the peace and confidence that reigned within. He died at middle age, away from his home, and has left a wife, (who was fortunately with him,) two children, and a numerous circle of relatives and friends, who were ardently attached to him, to mourn their irreparable loss.

Appendix 4

REVOLUTIONARY WAR PENSION FILE OF HENRY BROWN, SR. (1760-1841)

(File in the National Archives, Washington, D. C., No. S-8098)

STATE OF VIRGINIA, COUNTY OF BEDFORD SCB.

On this 22nd day of October 1832 personally appeared in open Court before the Justices of Bedford now Sitting Henry Brown Sr. a resident of the County of Bedford & State of Virginia aged 72 years the 10th day of August last who being sworn according to law doth on his oath make the following declaration in order to obtain the benefit of the Act of Congress passed the 7th day of June 1832.

That in the year [blank] he was drafted as a Militia man to go against the British who had landed at Portsmouth in the State of Virginia he belonged at that time to a company of Militia commanded by Captain Robert Alexander of Bedford he thinks his number on the muster Roll was 7 he fixed up his knapsack and marched to near the place where the men were to Rendezvous when orders came for them to return home all those that proved that they had marched got credit for a tour of duty and that he got credit for a tour of duty by a Court Marshall which sat in New London and of which Col. James Callaway was one, who was then the Col. Commandant of the County of Bedford that in the year [blank] he was called out again to stand guard over a number of Tories

who were taken up and confined in Jayl and in other houses in the Town of New London the Captain of the guard was one John Cotterall. How long he served he does not now remember but recollects he was there for a very considerable Time and has no doubt got Credit for a Tour of Duty, That afterwards he helped guard the British prisoners who were taken at the Compound as far as Lynchburg on their way to the Barracks in Albemarle, but thinks this was only an occasional service and not a regular Tour of Duty—That in the year [blank] he (with a number of his neighbors who are now mostly dead) was drafted as a Militia man to go against the British who were then in North Carolina and had driven General Greene across Dan River into Virginia before he joyned Greene's army he with a number of his neighbours Listed as Volunteers in a company of which Jacob Moon was Capt. Benjamin Rice Lieutenant and Thomas Lumpkin Ensign. He was then attached to Col. Lynche's Regiment of Rifle men and was with Col. Washington's Corps of Light horse through different parts of N. Carolina mostly between Green's army and the enemy until the Battle of Guilford at which battle he was wounded being Shot through the thick part of the thigh he was carried from the Battle ground to a house about 3 miles off and Captain Moon under whom he served was brought to the same House and died there of his wounds. He was afterwards carried to the Iron works where Genl. Greene's army lay and then to the hospital on Dan River where he remained until his Father and Brother brought him home in a horse litter. He is confident he was confined to the house by his wound for more than 12 months and suffered from it considerably for several years afterwards. This was the end of his Revolutionary services, Cornwallis having been captured the ensuing Fall and peace soon after Restored to the Country. He cannot remember with any degree of certainty the length of any of the Tours of duty above mentioned, but it is the Current opinion in this Quarter that were mostly for three months according to this statement which he believes to be correct, he is entitled to nine months actual service and if in addition to this the period of his disability from his wounds be added it will make the aggregate duration of his services and disabilities in the service Twenty one months. He has no documentary evidence of his services & if he ever had any written discharges they are lost or mislaid, he cannot prove any thing about the first Tour he got credit for, unless there is some evidence of it on the old muster rolls or in the records of the Court Marshall (if their be any now in existence) he believes every person who knew any thing about it is dead, or long since removed from this part of the Country. He can prove his services at New

London by John Teass & Henry Adams whose affidavits are hereunto annexed. He can prove his services and his wounds by many but more particular by Henry Adams & Genl. Joel Leftwich whose affidavits are hereunto annexed. He was born in the County of Bedford & State of Virginia on the 10th day of August 1760, and has resided there ever since, there is a register of his age in an old Church Book now in possession of Major Samuel Mitchell of Bedford. He never asked or received any compensation for his services and of course his name is not on any pension Roll in the United States.

Henry Brown

We Thomas R. Claytor of the County of Bedford & Thomas Andrews residing in the same de hereby certify that we are well acquainted with Henry Brown who has subscribed & Sworn to the aforegoing declaration and believe him to be as he states 72 years of age that he is reputed and believed in the neighbourhood where he resides to have been a soldier in the Revolutionary War & that he was wounded in the Battle at Guilford & that we being near neighbours to him concur in that opinion.

Thos. R. Claytor
Thos. Andrews

Sworn to & Subscribed the day & year aforesaid
Virginia, Campbell County to wit:

I John Teass, residing in the Town of New London in the County and State aforesaid, do hereby certify that I remember to have seen Henry Brown, a resident of Bedford County, in service as a militia man, guarding some Tories at New London who had been brought in as prisoners during the Revolutionary War. Capt. John Cotterall was in command at the time. How long the said Henry Brown remained in service, I do not now recollect.

John Teass.

I Alexander Austin, a justice of the peace for the County of Campbell, in the State of Virginia, do hereby certify that the above certificate was subscribed and sworn to by John Teass, who is a respectable citizen of the Town of New London before me on this 18th day of September 1832.

Alex. Austin

Virginia, Bedford County, to wit:

I Henry Adams of the County and State aforesaid do hereby certify that Henry Brown a citizen of the same County and State served a tour of duty as a militia man during the Revolutionary War in guarding some

Tories who were confined as prisoners in New London under the command of one Captain Cotterall. I also certify that the said Henry Brown served in Genl. Greene's army in N. Carolina & was wounded in the Battle of Guilford & disabled thereby for a long time afterwards. I have lived all my life in the same neighbourhood with the said Henry Brown & served with him in both of the above mentioned Tours.

HIS
Henry X Adams
MARK

I Robert Campbell a justice of the peace for the County of Bedford in the State of Virginia do hereby certify that the above certificate was subscribed & sworn to before me by Henry Adams who is a respectable citizen of said County on this 24th day of September 1832.

Robert Campbell

Virginia, Campbell County, to wit:

I Joel Leftwich of the County of Campbell in the State of Virginia late of the County of Bedford in the said State do hereby certify that that I have been well acquainted with Henry Brown a citizen of the County of Bedford in the said State during the greater part of my life and he is generally respected and known to have been a revolutionary Soldier and to have been wounded and disabled at the Battle of Guilford in N. Carolina during the Revolutionary War and that such was the fact I have no doubt.

Joel Leftwich

I Thomas Rudd a justice of the peace for the County of Campbell in the State of Virginia do hereby certify that General Joel Leftwich of the County and State aforesaid subscribed and made oath to the above certificate on this 12th day of October 1832.

Thos. Rudd, J.P.

And the said Court do hereby declare their opinion after the investigation of the matter, and after posting the interrogatories prescribed by the War Department, that the above named applicant was a revolutionary soldier and served as he states. And the Court do further certify that Thomas R. Claytor and Thomas Andrews who have signed the annexed certificate are residents of said County of Bedford are credible persons and that their statement is entitled to credit.

And I Robert N. Dickerson deputy for Robert C. Mitchell Clerk of the County Court of Bedford in the State of Virginia do hereby certify that

the foregoing contains a true copy of the original proceedings of the said Court in the matter of the application of Henry Brown for a pension.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of the said Court at office the 2nd day of November 1832 in the 57th year of American Independence

Ro. N. Dickerson, D.C. B.C.

Appendix 5

WILL OF HENRY BROWN OF IVY CLIFF, BEDFORD COUNTY, VIRGINIA (1760-1841)

Bedford County, Virginia, Will Book 10 [1838-1842], pp. 392-393

I Henry Brown of the County of Bedford and State of Virginia being through the abundant mercy and goodness of God, in my right mind and disposing memory and being desirous to leave to my children such worldly estate as it hath pleased God to give me, I hereby constitute and appoint this to be my last will and testament. Having given to my son Henry now decd. a full proportion of the estate I was then worth I only give to his children such part as is hereafter named. I give to my son John's children, he being now decd., a part of the tract of land I now live on to be laid off at the upper end of the tract beginning at the Island ford on Otter River and running with the main road that runs to N. London crossing Lick run creek to Mark Andrews' corner on the North side of the creek, and thence along his line to Crumpecker's line and along Crumpecker's line to Cobbs' line thence along Cobb's line to Otter River & down the river as it meanders to the beginning, supposed to contain between two and three hundred acres. I also give to my [son] John's children one hundred and twenty acres of land near the Turnpike road, joining the lands of Ferqueron, Johnson and others. I also give to my son John's children my negro boy George, the property left to them to be equally divided amongst them, share and share alike. I give to my son Samuel the ballance of the tract of land I live on supposed to contain between seven and eight hundred acres with all the appurtenances thereunto belonging and the following slaves—Dick, Bill and John.

Having given to my daughter Locky part of her portion, I give to her the tract of land laying on both sides of Buffaloe Creek, joining the lands of David J. Thompson, Col°. Austin & others containing six hundred and fifty-four acres.

Having given to my daughter Frances fifty V^a^. Bank Shares worth about six thousand dollars, I also give to her fifteen F. Bank Shares and the following slaves—Eliza, Charles, Nancy, Mary Ann and Christian's daughter Anna. I give to my daughter Alice my house and lot in Lynchburg with all the appurtenances thereunto belonging and fifteen F. Bank Shares & the following slaves, Harry, Martha, Wilson, Manda and Dick. The balance of my property in whatever it may consist my will is, That it be equally divided in six shares—one to my son Samuel, one to my daughter Locky, one to my daughter Frances, one to my daughter Alice, one between son Henry's children Henry Guilford Brown, Maria Brown and my grandson Edward Steptoe share and share alike, one share amongst my son John's children, share and share alike.

And last of all I appoint my son Samuel and my son-in-law Alexander Irvine executors of this my last will and testament, revoking all other will by me made, declaring this to be my last will and testament. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this sixth day of January 1837.

Henry Brown [*Seal*]

Whereas I Henry Brown of the County of Bedford have by my last will and testament bearing date the 6th day of January 1837 given to my son John's children one hundred and twenty acres of land lying in the County of Campbell near the Turnpike road and joining the land of Ferqueron and Johnson and others, I do hereby revoke the above named legacy and desire and direct that this writing be annexed as a codicil to my said will, this being the only alteration I desire to make in the said will. I also release my executors and desire that they may not give security. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 13th day of March 1838.

Henry Brown [*Seal*]

I Henry Brown having by my last will and testament in writing duly executed dated the sixth day of January 1837 given & bequeathed to my son John now deceased a tract of land lying on the west side of the island ford road leading to Lynchburg and bounded by the lands of Tilghman, Cobb, Mark Anderson &^c^. and being desirous of altering my said will in respect to this land, I do therefore make this codicil to my said will and

direct it to be annexed to my will as part of it, and I do hereby revoke the laid legacy and direct my executors to sell the said land and apply the proceeds of the sale to the payment of my debts or to be divided as my will directs. Having sold my boy George which I intended for my son John, I also revoke that legacy. I further direct my executors to pay my daughter Alice $1600. I having used Bank stock which I intended for her. I further set apart the sum of $100. which direct my executors to apply to the building a wall around the graveyard. I do confirm my said will in every thing except wherein, I have hereby revoked and altered it. In witness whereof I hereunto set my hand and seal this 14th day of February 1839.

Henry Brown [*Seal*]

At a Court held for Bedford County the 25th day of September 1841.

This last will and testament of Henry Brown deceased together with the two codicils thereto annexed were produced in Court, and it appearing to the satisfaction of the Court that the said will & codicils were wholly in the handwriting of the said decedent, the same were ordered to be recorded. And on the motion of Samuel T. Brown one of the executors in said will named, who made oath and gave bond in the penalty of $20,000. conditioned according to law (without security as directed by one of the codicils), certificate was granted him for obtaining a probat on said will in due form and liberty was reserved to the other executor in said will named to join in the probat whenever he shall think fit.

Teste

R. C. Mitchell CBC (a)

Appendix 6

JOHN THOMPSON BROWN OF PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA (7 MARCH 1802-20 NOV. 1836)

From the "Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser," November 25, 1836

"DIED

"On Sunday, 20th instant, at the residence of his Father, in Bedford County, after a protracted illness of four months, which he bore with the fortitude of a Philosopher and the resignation of a Christian, JOHN

(a) Clerk [of] Bedford County.

THOMPSON BROWN, of Petersburg, Va. in the 36th year of his age. We pause to control the feelings which crowd upon us, as we reflect upon this sad, this bitter dispensation of an Almighty Providence. But a few weeks ago, and we had reason to hope that this bitter cup would have been passed away from our lips; the disease which had reduced him so low, had apparently yielded to the efforts of nature and medicine, and a portion of those friends who had watched so constantly at his side, had been induced at his own urgent solicitations to leave him. A relapse as unexpected as fatal, came upon him, and alas! he sunk to rise no more. That bright spirit which had blazed so brilliantly and so beautifully, is now extinguished forever. By the side of the mother that bore him, he now sleeps the sleep which knows no waking. Perhaps we hazard nothing in saying that the death of no man could have touched more truly the heart strings of Virginians. But a few years ago, and the reputation of Mr. Brown extended not to the limits of his native county; with the quickness and brilliancy of the rocket, he sprang from the ranks of the people, armed at all points, and prepared to do battle in their cause; how faithfully, how ably he has performed his duty, be it allotted to an abler, and a less hasty pen than ours to portray; suffice for us to say, that he has burnished with additional lustre, a name which Virginia will henceforth be proud to claim as peculiarly her own inheritance. But distinguished as was Mr. Brown, brilliant as was his course through the political storms which he buffeted so ably, there was another sphere in which he shone with even greater brilliancy—in the social relations of life, we hesitate not to say, that no one was ever more exemplary. As a son the most dutiful, a husband the most affectionate, a father the kindest, a brother all that a brother should be; indeed so beautiful seemed his character, while in the discharge of these relations, that it excited surprise in all that knew him, that he should attact interest to himself in any other sphere. But he is gone from us, and may the blessings of Him who protects the widow and the orphan, be, and remain with those he has left behind. Mr. Brown left a widow and three infant sons."

Appendix 7

WILL OF HANNAH WILLCOX

Charles City County Will Book, 1789-1808, p. 509

In the name of God Amen, I, Hannah Willcox of Charles City County, being in perfect mind and memory do constitute this my last Will and Testament as follows:

Imprimis: I give and bequeath unto Sons Hamlin, Littleberry, Major, John and Thomas Willcox all the estate of whatsoever kind which was devised to me by my Son Edward Willcox decd. to be equally divided between and their heirs forever.

Item: All the estate of every kind, which I shall die possessed of or entitled to (except what I shall hereafter dispose of) I give and bequeath unto Sons Littleberry, Major, John and Thomas Willcox and Edward Willcox son of my Son Hamlin Willcox to be equally divided between them and their heirs forever.

Item: I give and bequeath unto my grand daughter Nancy Harwood one Bed and furniture to her and her heirs forever. And lastly I appoint my sons Hamlin and Major Willcox the Executors to this my last Will and Testament. In witness my hand and seal this twenty fifth day of July 1799.

Hannah Willcox

Signed and acknowledged

In presence of
Ro: Munford Margaret W. Munford

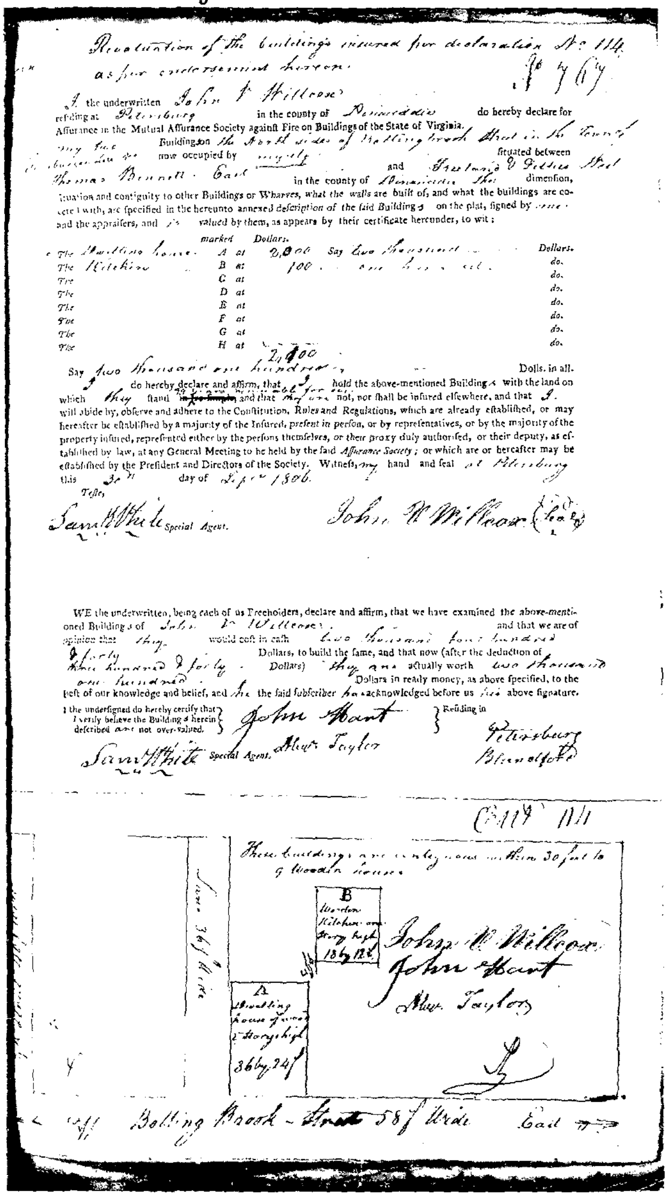
At a Monthly Court held for Charles City County at the Courthouse on Thursday the eighteenth day of December 1800.

The aforewritten Last Will and Testament of Hannah Willcox deceased was put into Court by Hamlin Willcox one of the Executors therein named and being proved by the oath of Margaret W. Munford one of the witnesses thereto is ordered to be recorded and on the motion of the said Executor who made oath as the law directs, and entered into bond with William Southall and John Christian his securities in the penalty of fifteen thousand dollars conditioned according to Law. Certificate is granted him for obtaining a probate thereof in due form. Liberty reserved the other Executor named in the said Will to join in the probat when he may think fit.

Teste

Wyatt Walker C.C.

MUTUAL ASSURANCE SOCIETY DECLARATIONS
JOHN V. WILLCOX



Revaluation of the buildings insured per declaration No. 114 as per endorsement hereon. No. 767

I the underwritten John V. Willcox residing at Petersburg in the county of Dinwiddie do hereby declare for Assurance in the Mutual Assurance Society against Fire on Buildings of the State of Virginia, my two Buildings on the North side of Bollingbrook Street in the Town of Petersburg now occupied by myself situated between Thomas Bennett East and Freeland & Gillies West in the county of Dinwiddie. The dimension, situation and contiguity to other Buildings or Wharves, what the walls are built of, and what the buildings are covered with, are specified in the hereunto annexed description of the said Buildings on the plat, signed by me and the appraisers, and is valued by them, as appears by their certificate hereunder, to wit:

	marked	Dollars.		Dollars.
The Dwelling house	A at	2,000	Say two thousand	do.
The Kitchen	B at	100	one hundred	do.
The	C at			do.
The	D at			do.
The	E at			do.
The	F at			do.
The	G at			do.
The	H at			do.
		2,100		

Say two thousand one hundred Dolls. in all.

I do hereby declare and affirm, that I hold the above-mentioned Buildings with the land on which they stand in fee simple and that they are not, nor shall be insured elsewhere, and that I will abide by, observe and adhere to the Constitution, Rules and Regulations, which are already established, or may hereafter be established by a majority of the Insured, present in person, or by representatives, or by the majority of the property insured, represented either by the persons themselves, or their proxy duly authorised, or their deputy, as established by law, at any General Meeting to be held by the said Assurance Society; or which are or hereafter may be established by the President and Directors of the Society. Witness my hand and seal at Petersburg this 3rd day of Sept. 1806.

Teste,

Saml White Special Agent. John V. Willcox (Seal)

WE the underwritten, being each of us Freeholders, declare and affirm, that we have examined the above-mentioned Buildings of John V. Willcox and that we are of opinion that they would cost in cash two thousand four hundred & forty Dollars, to build the same, and that now (after the deduction of three hundred & forty Dollars) they are actually worth two thousand one hundred Dollars in ready money, as above specified, to the best of our knowledge and belief, and he the said subscriber has acknowledged before us his above signature.

I the undersigned do hereby certify that I verily believe the Buildings herein described are not over-valued.

John Hart } Residing in Petersburg

Alex. Taylor Blandford

Saml White Special Agent.

New No. 880

the underwritten John V. Willcox

residing at Petersburg in the county of [illegible]

do hereby declare for assurance in the Mutual Assurance Society against fire on buildings of the State of Virginia. my one building on Back Street on the south side of the said Street in the Town of Petersburg now occupied by myself situated between the Brick house of William [illegible] on the S.E. and that of Wm. B. [illegible] on the N.W. The said Back Street on the S.W. and my other property insured by Policy No. 692 on the N.E. in the town of Petersburg and in the County of [illegible] Dimensions, Situation, and contiguity to other Buildings or Wharves, what the walls are built of, and what the Buildings are covered with, are specified in the hereunto annexed Description of the said Buildings on the Plat signed by me and the Appraisers, and valued by them, as appears by their Certificate hereunder, to wit:

The	Marked	Dollars.		
The Store & Dwelling house	A at			Dollars.
The Kitchen	B at			do.
The [illegible]	C at			do.
The Stable & Carriage house	D at			do.
The Lumber house	E at	5500	Five thousand five hundred	do.
The	F at			do.
The	G at			do.
The	H at			do.

Say Five thousand five hundred [5500.] Dollars in all.

I do hereby declare, and affirm, that I hold the above mentioned building with the land on which it stands in fee simple

and that it is not, nor shall be insured elsewhere, and that I my heirs and assigns will abide by, observe and adhere to the constitution, rules, and regulations, which are already established, or may hereafter be established by a majority of the insured, present in person, or by representatives, or by the majority of the property insured, represented either by the persons themselves, or their proxy duly authorized, or their deputy, as established by law, at any general meeting to be held by the said *Assurance Society*; or which are or hereafter may be established by the standing committee of the Society.—Witness my hand and seal this 16 day of September 1817.

John V. Willcox (Seal)

Teste

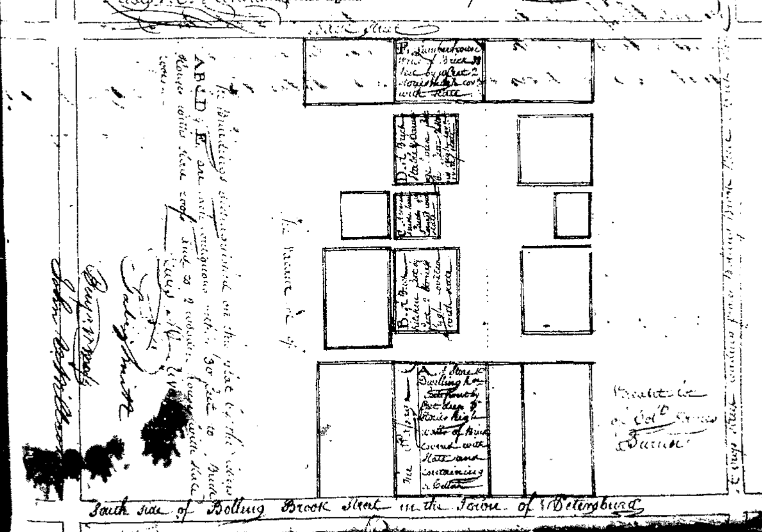
[illegible] *Special Agent.*

WE the underwritten being each of us freeholders, declare and affirm, that we have examined the above-mentioned building of John V. Willcox and we are of opinion that they would cost in cash six thousand five hundred dollars to build the same, and that now (after the deduction of [illegible] they are actually worth five thousand five hundred dollars in ready money, as above specified to the best of our knowledge and belief. As witness our hands this seventeenth day of [illegible] 1817

I the undersigned do hereby certify that I verily believe the building herein described is not overvalued.

[illegible] *Special Agent.*

Jabez Smith
Benj. [illegible]



South side of Bolling Brook Street in the Town of Petersburg

MUTUAL ASSURANCE SOCIETY DECLARATIONS
JAMES MACFARLAND

No 2201

Declaration for Assurance.

I THE underwritten James Macfarland residing at Macfarlands in the county of Lunenburg do hereby declare for Assurance in the Mutual Assurance Society against Fire on Buildings of the State of Virginia, established the 26th December, 1795, agreeable to the several acts of the General Assembly of this state, to wit:

My 2 buildings on [illegible] now occupied by by myself situated between Thomas Jordan and that of William Boswell in the county of Lunenburg their dimensions, situation, and contiguity to other buildings or wharves, what the walls are built of, and what the buildings are covered with, are specified in the hereunto annexed description of the said buildings on the plat, signed by me and the appraisers, and each valued by them as appears by their certificate hereunder, to wit:

The Dwelling house marked	A	at	1200 Dollars, say	Twelve Hundred	Dollars.
The Lumber house	B	at	300 do	Three hundred	do
The	C	at	do		do
The	D	at	do		do
The	E	at	do		do
The	F	at	do		do
The	G	at	do		do
The	H	at	do		do

say fifteen Hundred Dollars in all.

I do hereby declare and affirm that I hold the above mentioned buildings with the land on which they stand in fee-simple, and that they are not, nor shall be insured elsewhere, without giving notice thereof, agreeable to the policy that may issue in my name, upon the filing of this declaration, and provided the whole sum does not exceed four fifths of the verified value, and that I will abide by, observe, and adhere to the Constitution, Rules and Regulations as are already established, or may hereafter be established by a majority of the insured, present in person, or by representatives, or by the majority of the property insured represented, either by the persons themselves or their proxy duly authorised, or their deputy as established by law, at any general meeting, to be held by the said Assurance Society. Witness my hand and seal at Macfarlands this 13th day of December 1803

Witness R. [illegible] James Macfarland (Seal)

WE the underwritten, being each of us house-owners, declare and affirm that we have examined the above mentioned property of James Macfarland and that we are of opinion that it would cost in cash fifteen Hundred Dollars to build the same, and is now (after the deduction of 00 Dollars for decay or bad repair) actually worth fifteen Hundred Dollars in ready money, as above specified to the best of our knowledge and belief, and he the said subscriber has acknowledged before us his above signature.

Thos Jordan
Pat [illegible] Junr.
Residing in Lunenburg

A

Wooden Dwelling house one story high 26 by 18 feet underpinned but with stone	a Wooden addition occupied as a Store & Counting room 36 by 22 feet one story high

B

a Wooden lumber house one story high 30 by 22 feet under pinned 2 feet with stone

These buildings are not within 25 feet of any other R. [illegible]

Recorded Page 97

[illegible] Revaluation as per former Declaration No 2287

I the underwritten James Macfarland
[illegible] Macfarlands in the county of Lunenburg do hereby declare for
Affurance in the Mutual Affurance Society againft Fire on Buildings of the State of Virginia.
two Buildings on my plantation [illegible]
now occupied by ~~himself~~ myself situated between
William C Boswell and Thomas Jordan
in the county of Lunenburg dimenfion,
[illegible] and contiguity to other Buildings or Wharves, what the walls are built of, and what the Buildings are covered with, [illegible] fpecified in the hereunto annexed defcription of the faid Building on the plat, figned by and the appraifers, and valued by them, as appears by their certificate hereunder, to wit:

		marked	Dollars.			
The	Dwelling House	A at	1500	Say	fifteen Hundred	Dolls.
The	Lumber house	B at	300		Three Hundred	do.
The		C at				do.
The		D at				do.
The		E at				do.
The		F at				do.
The		G at				do.
The		H at				do.

1800

Say Eighteen Hundred Dolls. in
I do hereby declare, and affirm, that I hold the above-mentioned Buildings with the land on which they ftand in fee-fimple, and that they are not, nor fhall be infured elfewhere, and that I [illegible] by, obferve and adhere to the Conftitution, Rules, and Regulations, which are already eftablifhed, or may hereafter [illegible] by a majority of the Infured, prefent in perfon, or by reprefentatives, or by the majority of the property infur[ed] [illegible] either by the perfons themfelves, or their proxy duly authorifed, or their Deputy, as eftablifhed by law, at any General Meeting to be held by the faid *Affurance Society*; or which are or hereafter may be eftablifhed by the Prefident and Directors of the Society. Witnefs, my hand and feal this 8th day of August 1805

James Macfarland (L.S.)

[illegible] R Apperson *Special Agent.*

WE the underwritten, being each of us Freeholders, declare and affirm, that we have examined the above-mentioned Buildings of James Macfarland and that we are of opinion that they would coft in cafh Eighteen Hundred Dollars, to build the fame, and that now (after the deduction of Dollars) they are actually worth Eighteen Hundred Dollars in ready money, as above fpecified to the beft of our knowledge and belief, and he the faid fubfcriber has acknowledged before us his above fignature

I the underfigned do hereby certify that I verily believe the Building herein defcribed are not over-valued. R Apperson

Refiding in Lunenburg

Wm B Boswell
Thos. Jordan

A

Dwelling House [illegible] 52 by 22 feet addition 16 by 16 feet with a small porch — all built of wood one story high

addition 16 by 16 feet

30 feet Distance

B

~~Lumber~~ a Wooden Lumber House one story high 32 by 20 feet

Appendix 10

MACFARLAND

Landon C. Bell, "The Old Free State," Vol. 2, pp. 310-311

The available data respecting this family, while meagre, are too valuable to be wholly neglected, and are here given in the hope that they will be of aid to any future student of this genealogy.

The immigrant ancestor of this family was a Scotsman, who settled in Lunenburg. He was:

James[1] Macfarland, who married Elizabeth Smith (widow Lahead), daughter of Abraham Smith, of Dinwiddie County, Virginia. They had:

1. William H.[2] Macfarland (b. Feb., 1799, in Lunenburg County, d. Jan., 1872, at his country home "Glencoe" in Greenbrier County, West Virginia). He was educated at William and Mary College; lawyer, represented Lunenburg in the legislature in 1830-31; member of the Secession Convention of 1861, from Richmond; President of the Farmers Bank of Richmond, until it was burned in 1865; of counsel for Jefferson Davis, in the charge of treason against him. He was twice married: First to a Miss Roberts, of Norfolk, Va., no issue; second, on April 16, 1835, to Nancy Beirne, daughter of Andrew Beirne, of "Walnut Grove," Monroe County, Virginia (now West Virginia). They had:
   (1) Elizabeth[3] Macfarland, married Randolph Barksdale, M.D.
   (2) Susan[3] Macfarland (never married).
   (3) William H.[3] Macfarland, married and had two daughters.
   (4) Ellen Turner[3] Macfarland, who married J. Willcox Brown (d. Feb., 1914), of Petersburg, Va., and had a large family, of whom five daughters and two sons were living in 1915.
2. James[2] Macfarland.
3. Malcolm[2] Macfarland, represented Lunenburg in the legislature in 1828-29, and 1829-30.
4. Anne[2] Macfarland, who married Dr. Sterling Neblett. [Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 320, shows Ann S. Macfarland (19 July 1802-23 Aug. 1887) married 16 August 1821 in Lunenburg Co., Va., Dr. Sterling Neblett, Jr. (22 Sept. 1792-16 November 1871). Some of her descendants are mentioned.]

Appendix 11

LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT OF JAMES MACFARLAND, LUNENBURG COUNTY, VA.

Lunenburg County, Virginia, Will Book 11, pp. 198-199

I James Macfarland of the County of Lunenburg in the state of Virginia being of sound mind and disposition, do make this my last will and Testament revoking all former wills by me made in the state of Virginia. 1st. I give unto my beloved [son] Wm. H. Macfarland the following slaves, vizt. George, Enos, Nelson, Heary, and Harry Hundley and Martha. One hundred shares of stock standing in my name in the bank of the United States and fifty five shares in the bank of Virginia, the place whereon I now live called Macfarlands with all the stock thereon at the time of my decease, as horses, cattle, hogs &c with the crops of all and every kind thereon made making with all the ploughs, carts, waggon &c. just as I leave the place, and also all my household and kitchen furniture that is not hereafter disposed of to him and his heirs forever.

2dly. I give unto my beloved son James Macfarland Junior, the following slaves I say, Sally, Elick, Richard Edmund, Alan, Cyrus and Gabe; one hundred and seven shares stock in the bank of Virginia and forty eight shares in the Farmers bank of Virginia, to him and his heirs forever.

3dly. I give unto my beloved daughter Ann Neblett the following slaves, vizt. Venie, Davie, Anderson, Aggie, Jamie and Peggy; one hundred and fifty-five shares stock in the Farmers Bank of Virginia, my copper wash kettle, Scott family Bible, the best bed and furniture and bedstead, mahogany tables, china press, wash stand, cloth basket and dining room carpet to her and her heirs forever.

4thly. I give unto my beloved son Malcolm Macfarland one hundred and fifty shares stock in the Farmers Bank of Virginia, one bed and furniture, my plantation on flat rock had of Brown and Davies with the following slaves: Tom, his wife Phillis (Ned all the right I have to him), Premirs, three children of Phoebys named Jane, Selude and Lizze, Peggy & Simon, with all the stock on the plantation of every kind as corn, wheat, Tobacco &c: as it stands at my decease including growing crops of all and every kind, with horese, cattle, hogs, and all stock as I leave it.

5thly. All that I have heretofore given unto my children or to either of them, I do confirm to each and to which there is to be no retrospect.

6thly. Unto my beloved grandson William J. Neblett, I give five thousand dollars to be paid to him on coming of age, but the interest thereon

to go to clothing and schooling of him till he is of age or married, and in the meantime to be put into the hands of his father to manage for him until one of those periods occur.

7thly. Unto my beloved granddaughter Jane Macfarland, I give five thousand dollars to be paid to her on her coming to age, but in the meantime the interest thereon to go for schooling and clothing, to be paid to her on her marriage or arriving at age.

8thly. Unto my grandson James E. Macfarland I give five thousand dollars to be paid to him on his marriage, but in the meantime the interest thereon to go for clothing and schooling to him yearly, to be paid to him on his marriage or arrives at age, and in the meantime these two sums for Jane & James E. to be put into the hands of their father for him to manage for them untill the above periods or either of them arrive.

9thly. Unto my beloved grandson Colen Neblett, I give five thousand dollars to be paid to him on his marriage or coming of age, but in the meantime the interest thereon to be paid for clothing and schooling him yearly. In the meantime to be put into the hands of his father to manage for him untill one of those periods arrive.

10thly. Into the hands my son son William H. Macfarland I place Ten thousand dollars for Mary Macfarland who is now in Philadelphia, and in his hands as trustee thereon till she becomes of age, to pay for her clothing and schooling out of the interest on the said sum yearly, and indeed to pay the interest on the sum semi-annually or annually, retaining the principal untill he sees good cause to pay the same, which is my wish and desire.

11thly. Rhody with her child Tommy has my consent to go to which of my children she chooses, and her choice shall be binding.

Lastly I do hereby appoint my beloved son William H. Macfarland, my executor to this my last will and Testament and my desire is, and I do hereby say that he shall give no security in or out of court of his performance or transaction thereon of any of them, nor shall the fathers of the children for the sums put into their hands give any, as I have the fullest confidence in their integrity & honour.

In Testimony whereof I have written this my last will and Testament with my own hand and do hereunto set my hand and seal this 17th day of May 1834.

James Macfarland [*Seal*]

1836 November 4th—I make this my codicil to this my last will and Testament: Whereas I have in Scotland in the Town of Grenock on the north side of Carthert Street near the highland Losshead [?]—[Closshead ?], and nearly to the assembly rooms, that is on the south side of the said street opposite, I give unto my son William H. Macfarland and his heirs the house and rooms given to me by my father's will with a house on the back ground of my land used as a stable the lower part. The whole tenement was left by my father to myself and sister. It was divided some years ago, mine is on the west side and hers on the east side as it lies on this street.

And indeed when I was in Grenock last, I made a will to my said son William which is recorded in Glasgow or in Greenock. This codicil is written with my own hand and do hereby set hand hand and seal this 4th day of November 1836.

James Macfarland [*Seal*]

In Lunenburg County Court 8th May 1837: The foregoing last will and Testament of James Macfarland, deceased, and the codicil thereto, was produced in court by William H. Macfarland the executor therein named, and the handwriting of the said testator was proved by the oaths of William H. Taylor and William G. Overton who were sworn for that purpose, and ordered to be recorded. And on the motion of the said executor who having made oath according to law, certificate is granted him for obtaining probat of the said will in due form, whereupon he entered into bond in the penalty of five hundred thousand dollars conditioned as the law requires.

Teste

Wm. H. Taylor, Cl:

INDEX