AUGUSTA AND ROCKBRIDGE COUNTIES FROM 1735-1810

The Scotch-Irish pioneers and the Shenandoah Valley frontier: the changes that occurred as the valley was settled.

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"The traditional picture of the culture of the eighteenth-century Scotch-Irish American living west of the Blue Ridge demands reinterpretation" (McDaniel 1979:37) for recent data shows that the characterization of the Scotch-Irish as "rough, crude, frontiersmen" is not an all together correct one. (McDaniel 1979:27)

This research will follow the path set by James Leyburn--it is a socio-cultural endeavor. This paper will describe the history out of which the Scotch-Irish developed, depict the character that makes these people distinctive, and trace the path that transformed the frontier into not only a community, but a commercial district also.
The Scotch-Irish Pioneers and the Shenandoah Valley Frontier: the changes that occurred as the Scotch-Irish settled the valley.

I The character of the Scotch-Irish that immigrated to America
Who were they?
What were their values, their interests?
(These were the people that had made Ulster prosper through hard work and self-reliance)

II The Shenandoah Valley, an unexplored frontier
What was the area like?
(wilderness, used as a hunting ground for migratory Indians)
1750, no longer frontier

III The Scotch-Irish in the Shenandoah Valley
(How they developed the fertile frontier valley into a commercially active community)
Why did some of the first emigrants to the area leave?
Was there a barrier between the county and the frontier?
(the Appalachian mountains)
How was the valley affected by the Indian uprisings in the west? If not, why not?
What about all the action in the Tygart Valley in West Virginia (Valley of the Green Briar, present day Pocahontas and Randolph counties) at the time of the establishment of Rockbridge County in 1777?
In the 18th century, an estimated 350,000 predominately Presbyterian people of Scottish heritage immigrated to North America from Ireland. Their mixed heritage was a result of the 17th century migration of about 200,000 Presbyterian Lowlanders (inhabitants of the lowlands of eastern and southern Scotland) to northeastern Ireland in an English colonial effort. The plan was to "put into Ireland a Protestant population that might ultimately outnumber the Catholics and become the controlling element in the country" (Fiske 1897:391). James Leyburn's description of the Scottish Lowlands, in *The Scotch-Irish A Social History* (1962:27), provides an explanation for the large number of emigrants:

Poor and barren soil ill-suited to agriculture; primitive methods; lack of education and of contact with people from other countries whose agricultural procedures were superior; superstitution; constant raw weather which at any time might result in crop failure and famine; recurrence of plagues; and a steady round of wars, internal dissensions, theft of cattle, violence and lawlessness—these were the components of life in the humble annals of the poor farmer.

The Scots of lower economic status were tenant farmers that owed either specific portions of their crops or manual labor to the laird. Those that immigrated to Ireland were of the "optimistic poor"—they went in search of greater opportunity. The unknown territory in the north of Ireland seemed better than the oppressive squalor of feudal Scotland. The poor Scot immigrated to Ulster (part of the greater province of Northern Ireland) because there, at least, he had a chance to improve his
lot. The Scottish Presbyterians constituted a majority of the population in Ulster and "kept sternly aloof" (Jones 1980:896) from the Irish. Not only did Scotch Presbyterians people Ulster, but French Hugenouts fleeing religious persecution and English colonists escaping overcrowded London, immigrated also. These groups were among the Scotch-Irish who subsequently boarded ships that sailed to the United States.

During the 1960s the Scots came unto their own in Ulster. The farms and the linen and wool industry they created transformed a "backward province" (Jones 1980:896) into the most prosperous part of Ireland. The English government did not foresee the competition caused by products coming from Ulster. They merely intended Scottish occupation of Northern Ireland to quell Irish hopes of upheaval against English domination. Subsequently, the government passed laws discriminating against Scotch markets in Ireland. These laws coupled with crop failure due to insufficient rain fall, high rent due to opportunistic Irish, and religious imposition by the English, caused the first fifty years of Scotch-Irish emigration from Ulster. These hardships made the promise of inexpensive land on the American frontier attractive to "another generation of what were to be very mobile Scotch-Irish" (Reid 1988:403).

The descendants of the Scottish people that immigrated to Ulster and then later to America have been labelled Scotch-
Irish. The term "Scotch-Irish" does not necessarily denote mixed parentage. It is used to call attention to the differences in the Scottish person in Northern Ireland compared to his relatives that remained in Scotland. The compound name reflects the cultural distinctiveness of the Scotch-Irish from both the Irish and the Scots. The Ulster Scots became "more assertive, more energetic, and less provincial than the indigenous lowland Scots" (Jones 1980:896). Their character was shaped by the daily life, history, and environment as experienced in Ulster. It is as James Leyburn (1962:xii-xiii) stresses, "If the Scotch-Irish were a distinctive people, it was because of their heritage and experiences." The Scotch-Irish brought their distinctive ways to America.

Early in the eighteenth century, the Scotch-Irish immigrated to America and settled in all colonies. But they soon became wary of colonies that were "hard on dissenters or dominated by large estates or plantations" (Reid 1988:403). Pennsylvania was a preferred settlement area because the Scotch-Irish felt welcome and enjoyed the religious freedom that was not available in New York and eastern Virginia. In the 1730s, the Scotch-Irish, as well as people of other ancestries, were hampered by the overcrowding in the north-east and began to migrate in search of land on which to settle. They were attracted to offers of

Recently, there has been a movement to change the title to "Scot-Irish" or "Scots-Irish", but this paper will use the older term "Scotch-Irish" throughout for the material cited uses this terminology.
inexpensive land in the developing frontier west of Philadelphia. This area became a "staging area for further migration" (Reid 1988:403). The migrants moved southward from Pennsylvania and westward toward the Appalachian mountains. The mountains were a great barrier and caused the migrants to take a linear movement. The Scotch-Irish followed the main Indian trail, which became known as the "Great Wagon Road", from Pennsylvania to and through the Shenandoah Valley.

The Shenandoah Valley was a meeting place for migration westward from the colonies and southward from Pennsylvania. It was an unsettled area known to fur trappers and Indian traders since the mid-seventeenth century. The absence of sedentary Indians, or any other group, made it an ideal place for settlement. Some Scotch-Irish settled in the valley while others moved southward into the Carolina piedmont and beyond. An important feature in the choice of a place for settlement was the amount of land available to each pioneer family. Settlers looked for space which allowed for expansion. By the 1750s, "a chain of Scotch-Irish frontier settlements dotted the 700-mile length of the Great Wagon Road that ran parallel to the Appalachians from Pennsylvania to Georgia" (Jones 1980:899).

To stimulate settlement on the frontier, the Virginia Legislature offered settlers religious toleration and land at low prices. It was during the early 1730s that people migrated from the colonies and the Virginia government granted large land tracts. Mitchell (1977:35) states that the "establishment of
grants, with the responsibility for settling them resting with
the grantees, was specifically designed to encourage a more rapid
process of migration to the area." Even though the first
settlers in the Shenandoah Valley were beyond the reach of the
law of the colonies, the establishment of land claims was quite
orderly. The settlers developed a system of laws which were
called "rights". Leyburn (1962:205) described these rights. The
"corn right" entitled the settler to a hundred acres of land for
each acre planted. The "tomahawk right" was established by
deading a few trees and marking initials on tree trunks which
were boundaries of the tract. The "cabin right" was established
when a settler built a log cabin on a tract.

The Virginia Legislature hoped that a settlement in the
Virginia frontier would create a buffer zone between the colonies
and the Indians. The Indians moved west of the Appalachians as
the settlers came into the area. Thus the settlers did not have
much contact with the Indians until the French and Indian War
(1754 to 1763) caused periodic raids in the less settled areas of
the Valley of Virginia. But most of the fighting that took place
during this decade took place west and north of the valley in
sparsely settled areas.

A number of raids took place in the early days of the
settlement of the Kerr's (Carr's) Creek region. The reported
date of these raids vary between 1757 and 1766. Jane Stevenson
(undated:1) provided an insight on life during that time:

The men carried their guns to meeting as regular as
the congregation met. I was forted from the time I
was 7 years old, (in) 1757... Carr's Creek was in about 7 miles of us. The settlement on Carr's Creek was taken twice. The first time it was taken Aunt escaped into the woods. The second time it was taken I had an uncle and cousin killed. This aunt and her three children were taken prisoners and carried to the towns. Two of the children died there, the remaining (sic, remaining) child was brought in at the treaty of Brocade's campaign. In less than three hours, in two hours, they killed and took 63.

John Wayland in *Twenty-Five Chapters on the Shenandoah Valley* (1957:77), provided this synopsis of the events in the region:

In July 1763 a band of 27 Indians descended upon the valley of Kerr's Creek, northwest of Lexington, and killed a number of settlers. They carried off plunder but apparently took no prisoners, being in haste to get away. A year or two later there was another raid upon Kerr's Creek, many persons being killed and others carried off.

There is incontinuity in the reports of the Indian raids because there is a great lack of primary data on these incidents. Tompkins (1930:2) asserts that it was the Cunningham, Hamilton, Gilmore, and Daughtery families that were hardest hit. Many historians have settled on July 17, 1763 as the date of the largest massacre. That date is based on the inscription in the family Bible of J.T. McKee's grandfather who suffered the loss of his wife on that day by the hands of the Indians. E.P. Tompkins, in an article for the Lexington Gazette (Withrow 4:148), wrote that the Kerr's Creek massacres took place about 1759 and 1763. But the highway marker commiserating the place of the massacre reads: "The massacre of Kerr's Creek took place...Oct 10 1764."

Also the victim totals vary from the conservative number of fifty to sixty persons, which is written on the highway marker, to the commonly reported total of sixty to eighty persons.
The neighbors of the slain and grieving families buried some of the bodies in the cemetery at Big Spring, but did not forget the "indiscriminate slaughter" carried out by the Indians. The battle of Point Pleasant occurred not long after the Kerr's Creek incident. When the Indian leader Cornstalk and others came to discuss the battle with the settlers, the Indians were captured and later killed. From this incident came the birth of a legend concerning the creation of the county of Rockbridge. It was said that Rockbridge county was created so that the settlers who killed the Indians would have a trial and be acquitted by their neighbors ("The Indian Massacres..." 1872:205). But dates show the fallaciousness of this claim—the Legislature called for the creation of Rockbridge County in October of 1777, one month before Cornstalk was killed.

There were three distinct groups in the valley—Scotch-Irish, German, and English (from eastern Virginia). Because of "religion or ethnicity" the Scotch-Irish seem to have kept a "social distance" from both their German neighbors on the frontier and from the English (Reid 1988:403). These groups were separated by settlement patterns. Lord Fairfax granted land in the lower valley to English settlers from the colonies—"most of whom were members of the Fairfax family or close friends" (Mitchell 1977:30). The Hite (formerly Van Meters) grant, which includes "most of the three modern counties of Jefferson (West Virginia), Frederick, and Clarke" (Leyburn 1962:203) was a predominately German settlement. William Beverley and Benjamin
Borden were the two men responsible for the settlement of most of modern-day Augusta and Rockbridge Counties. They sold land at low but profitable prices with each settler receiving between 300 and 400 acres (Bridenbaugh 1952:139). James Patton, an Ulster captain, might have imported people of Scotch-Irish descent to settle on Beverley's tract. In a 1737 correspondence, Beverley wrote Patton stating that "he would be happy if Patton could import families either from Pennsylvania...or from Ireland" (Mitchell 1977:33). It is as Mitchell (1977:33) states, "large speculators could affect the cultural composition of the valley's population" for even though Germans also moved into the Beverley and Borden grants, the area was "within ten years after 1736 so predominately Scotch-Irish that it was known as the 'Irish Tract'" (Leyburn 1962:205).

It took about thirty years of continuous settlement to transform the sparsely settled frontier into a community. The valley evolved in stages. "The immediate family need came first, then came the group--the school and the church, local government and statehood--and the crafts of industrial supply followed the more primitive ones of agriculture" (Paxson 1924:44). The first task of the farmer new on the frontier centered around the clearing of his land and the building of his home. Popular myth holds that the Scotch-Irish and Germans were not just separated by language and religion but by residence also. Some authors support this claim. Eid (1986:102) states, "One certain fact of 'Scotch-Irish' communities in America is that in the long run
they did not challenge immigrant Germans for the intensive regions." It has been suggested that the Scotch-Irish settled on or near hillsides because they were ardent pastoralists in Ulster, and such was the topography with which they were familiar. Tompkins (1952:60) purports the hillside theory also, but for another reason: "Most of Scotland is mountainous, which may account for the Scotch-Irish seeking mountainous country when they migrated to America." Another hypothesis is that the Scotch-Irish settled in the hilly areas because they could not afford the flat regions. It should be considered that if the settlers were each granted at least one hundred square acres of land in the upper Shenandoah Valley, there would be few tracts that were completely flat. Thus, one would have to survey the area where the settler built his home and the section of land he most readily utilized, not merely which tract of land he purchased. Also, since land changed hands frequently in the first decades of settlement it would be difficult to assert which ethnic group ultimately settled where. The key to this debate is availability not ethnicity; pioneers, whatever their ethnic group, settled on available plots of land. Therefore, Mitchell's conclusion (1977:41) should override popular myths:

There is "little correlation between the distribution of national groups and that of soil types. All three major groups--English, Scotch-Irish, and Germans--occupied the limestone soils of the valley. There is no evidence that early settlers moved to more marginal hilly areas either because of cultural preferences or because of the unavailability of good land on the valley
As the settlers progressed economically, the once roofless, floorless log cabins were improved—wooden shingles replaced the roof once made of bark, large porches were added, and plank floors came to cover the bare earth. Stone chimneys (although not mentioned in the quote above) were always present in the homes on the frontier. They too were upgraded—the chimney evolved from "a pile of stones; within which a fire is made on the ground, and a hole is left in the roof for the smoke to pass out," (Leyburn 1962:259) to a separate stone addition fixed to the outside wall of the cabin. The material of which the house was constructed changed also. Stone houses were built where log cabins once stood. These homes were often two story structures with stone basements and many rooms in contrast to the one room, one story cabin or small two story structure. By the 1790s, most of the homes in the upper valley were built of stone. Brick was rarely used until the early nineteenth century.

The Scotch-Irish were certainly pioneers on the frontier—there was no settlement before them. A frontier area (Mitchell 1977:110) is characterized by pioneers that farmed similar size tracts of land. In such an area, "socio-economic distinctions were minimal, and property was relatively equally distributed." Leyburn (1962:258) echoes this definition in his depiction of the

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Mitchell based his conclusion on data collected from geological surveys, County Order Books, Deed Books, Will Books, and Land Tax Records. Ethnicity was determined by the last name of the title holder.
pioneer's early days, "In these first few days and months every family in the community lived under conditions roughly similar to those of their neighbors." Most people were farmers, for "so long as everyone had to take part in the quest for food, no one could devote full time to other pursuits--(thus) there were no full time priests, political leaders, or other specialists" (Stark 1989:263) on the newly settled frontier. The people in the area were living by mere subsistence farming--farming that produces only the minimum amount of food necessary to sustain the farmer and his family, with little or no surplus or profit--until about 1750 (Bridenbaugh 1952:143). During the first thirty years of settlement, the "basic components of valley agriculture" were "wheat, rye, corn, and flax, in that order...supplemented by "barley, oats, hemp, and tobacco" (Mitchell 1977:137). Products from cows and sheep were also mentioned in early records.

Permanent settlement on Beverley and Borden's tracts facilitated the transformation of the area from a sparse settlement of disjointed families into a community. The rise of churches and schools are examples of such change. James Leyburn (1962:260) described the evolution of today's Shenandoah Valley:

first, the building of a church and securing a minister...second, the appearance of a store and possibly a tavern, as links with settled communities...and third, bringing the neighborhood under the jurisdiction of a court...

The Scotch-Irish were committed to two things: religion and education. At the time of the migration to Ulster, Scotland was "at fever heat with religious zeal" (Leyburn 1962:47). The
Scottish Lowlanders in Ulster became religious puritans and a crackdown on such religious infractions as drunkenness, swearing, and breaking the Sabbath ensued. The zeal of the Scotch-Irish did not wane when they came to America. They petitioned Donegal Presbytery in eastern Pennsylvania to provide Presbyterian ministers soon after their arrival into the valley (Leyburn 1962:208). In 1740, Rev. John Craig arrived in the valley. He organized the Augusta Stone Church and the Tinkling Spring Church. It seems that the Reverend had a number of occupations. He united the duties of a teacher with those of a preacher and pastor and was eminently useful in both capacities (Peyton 1953:80-81). Ministers were expected to farm for a living since the area was not yet in a position to finance such an expensive necessity. John Craig was fortunate because John Lewis gave him "a plantation of three hundred and thirty-five acres" (Wilson 1971:23). Since there were many places in the upper valley that needed preachers, John Craig had a grueling schedule of itinerant preaching. (Figure 1)

The first places of worship were private homes. Then they were held in arbors which soon gave way to log buildings and later stone churches (Wilson 1971:28). The beginning of Augusta Stone and Tinkling Spring churches date back to 1738. Soon after John Craig was dispatched to the area, other Presbyterians churches were established in Augusta County. The congregations of Bethel (North Mountain Meeting House), Hebron, New Providence, and Lebanon, started to meet in 1740. New Monmouth, Timber
Ridge, Lexington, and Fairfield followed suit in 1741, and Rocky Spring in 1743. The second wave of congregations began in the 1760s: Loch Willow in 1761, Oxford and Collierstown around 1763, Staunton First in 1765, and Mossy Creek in 1767 (Wilson 1871:23). These dates reflect the early days of churches when they were congregations of friends and neighbors who regularly gathered in worship groups. These groups were the seeds of congregations and later separate churches. Since these numerous groups did not yet have buildings or pastors of their own, they either joined with others that did or were periodic recipients of itinerant preachers. Thus the organization dates for these congregations are different from the commencement date of the congregational meetings.

The Presbyterians were a highly disciplined flock, "detailed knowledge of the Bible, strict observance of the Sabbath, and regular attendance at worship" (Klein 1979:12) were required of them. If there was a church in the area, settlers would ride or walk great distances to attend the service. The congregation came prepared to spend the day—sometimes service from ten in the morning to sundown—in a log structure on pews made of rounded logs with no backs. Suffice it to say, the Scotch-Irish were dedicated to their religion. By the time of the Revolutionary War, there were twenty-three Presbyterian congregations in the Valley of Virginia (Leyburn 1962:208).

The "great trinity of concern" for the Scotch-Irish was "the church, their homes, and their schools" (RRTA 1980:1). The
religious zeal of the Scotch-Irish was carried over into their zeal for education which was limited to fundamental reading and writing. Maury Klein (1979:15) provided this explanation: "The stringency of their religion made them a conservative, practical people...Even their passion for education was curiously narrow, being confined to training for the ministry."

Since the ability to "read and interpret the Bible was fundamental to their faith," the Scotch-Irish possessed an "exceptionally high literacy rate" (Jones 1980:901). It seems that in the early days, "the pastors bore the responsibility of teaching the boys while the girls were trained at home until the founding of the 'old field' schools, the family schools, and later, the academies" (Withrow 4:123). The beginning of a congregation marked the beginning of a school. Ministers and churches doubled as teachers and schools. Rev. Brown carried out "the injunction that every minister should become a schoolmaster and establish a school in connection with his church, if one did not already exist" (RTTA 1980:2). If there was not yet a church building, church leaders would open their homes for instruction as Rev. Brown himself did in 1755 with the start of Mount Pleasant Academy. Clinton Anderson (1950:1) writes, "When Oxford Presbyterian Church was organized about 1753, a school was set up in connection with it and was taught by the pastor." The religious influence in the schools was great. In many Scotch-Irish communities, the one required textbook was the Holy Bible which was basic for reading, spelling, history, geography, and
English composition" (RTTA 1980:5). Schools are difficult to document. Maybe it is as this unknown author writes: (Withrow 4:123) "The mention of schools in the early annals is meagre for the simple reason that they were considered matters of course."

As the number of settlers increased, the demand for schools grew. Although there were some families that believed children should be taught in the home, field schools were established. Families shared in the financing of education for their children, selected a site upon which to erect schoolhouses, and chose a teacher to be paid from a common purse to which all contributed" (RTTA 1980:5). In 1749, Robert Alexander opened the first "classical" school west of the Blue Ridge mountains. This school was different from the church schools for it instructed students in subjects that did not use the Bible as a base--Latin, Greek, and math. This school was the seed of present-day Washington and Lee University.

In 1750, the settlers entered an economic transition stage that lasted about fifteen years. This stage was characterized by farmers in "the process of entering into the commercial economy", artisans, and few professional men (Mitchell 1977:110). Although families still had the responsibility of fabricating their own "wooden furniture, utensils, homespun cloth, soap, and candles," (Bridenbaugh 1952:143) farmers began to produce corn, hemp, wheat, hogs, and cattle in surplus. Farm surplus encouraged the support of those people who made their shoes, forged their tools, and conducted their religious ceremonies (Stark 1989:263).
The production of surplus not only stimulated the rise of crafts, but also a search for markets. By 1739, the county court authorized the clearing of a road that linked Staunton to Richmond through Rockfish Gap. William Bowyer was a merchant in Staunton that had a trade agreement with Patrick Coutts in Richmond. During the time period from 1766 to 1775, "hemp, butter, beeswax, ginseng, cheese and deer skins" (Waddell 1901:218) were sent by Bowyer to Coutts via this route. There were also annual commerce treks northeast to Lancaster, Bethlehem, and Philadelphia by the Great Wagon Road. During the 1750s and early 1760s, William Crow organized regular cattle drives north via the Great Road. If there was not sufficient need in Winchester, they drove the cattle on to Philadelphia.

Despite the requests for more roads through Augusta county, the Orange County Court encouraged roads through the future site of Winchester. By 1755 Winchester was the most important commerce center in the upper valley for it not only linked the counties lower than it with the eastern colonies, but also linked western Virginia with eastern Virginia. Courthouses were the focus of major roads. (Figure 2) Of secondary focus were mills, courthouses, and churches. The Great Wagon Road was frequented by peddlers with pack horses providing the settlers with goods. Salt, rum, sugar, powder, shot, knives, buttons, nails, paper, pins, and bar iron were some of the goods that were imported (Mitchell 1977:153).

The presence of a settlement in the Shenandoah Valley
facilitated smooth migrations south. Ordinaries—places that provided food and lodging—were established along the Great Wagon Road and profited from travellers and migratory settlers. "Licenses for at least 100 separate ordinaries were granted by the Augusta County court between 1746 and 1776" (Mitchell 1977:46). The County Court fixed prices in them to curtail overselling.

In the upper valley's quest for self-reliance, gristmills appeared where there was sufficient waterpower. There were at least four grist mills in the upper valley by 1740, two of which were owned by John Hays and William Beverley. There was a great boom in industry between 1750 and 1775. In 1750, there were about thirty-four mills. By 1760, there were sixty mills, and by 1775 at least one hundred. (Figure 3) All but six of these mills were gristmills (the function of which was to grind wheat into flour)—one was a sawmill, and two were fulling mills which were indicative of the growing linen trade. Linen remained a small-scale industry that produced for local consumption until the 1760s. After the Revolutionary War, the linen trade flourished. Flax was also a common crop—most every home had a spinning wheel and some even had a loom.

The paucity of necessary items facilitated a greater division of labor. There were artisans among the Scotch-Irish and Germans settlers who, now that settlement was stable and there was need, began to create items in exchange for food or labor to supplement their farms. Some of the slaves and free
blacks were skilled artisans. In 1760, Henry Miller had opened a furnace and forge (Mitchell 1972:480). "War demands for metals and munitions had encouraged growth in the valley's iron industry" (Mitchell 1972:address). The forges supplied nails, guns and iron utensils for local use and export. The presence of iron ore and firewood attracted ironmasters from the east. After 1780, iron manufacturers from Pennsylvania developed twenty ironworks in the area. The blacksmiths of the early days "did more than shoes horses"—they made ploughs...and others iron articles necessary for farming (Mitchell 1972:9). "The only blacksmith near Staunton in 1753 was a free Negro who had come with a Scottish wife from Lancaster" (Bridenbaugh 1952:169). By 1787, there were three men conducting these services in Rockbridge County (Schreiner-Yantis and Love 1987). Benjamin Darst, Sr operated a pottery in Rockbridge County as early as 1784. He owned a pottery wheel and kilns and manufactured churns, crocks, pitchers, plates, and toys (Darst 1979:63).

Merchantilism was a common way to make a living in Augusta and Rockbridge Counties. By the early 19th century, there were at least twenty-five merchants in business in Augusta county—"John McDowell, Jacob Swoope, Andrew Barry, John Wayt, Joseph Cowan, Alexander St. Clair, Peter Hanger" (Waddell 1902:373) are some recurring names. The country store performed three main functions: it was one source of goods from outside the Valley; it was a market for local farm surplus—the profits were used to pay for accounts within the store which demonstrates the scarcity of
money; and it functioned as a source of credit (Mitchell 1972:155). Two of the merchants, Joseph Cowan and Isaac Caruthers, also acted as bankers for many people of the county. The best place for a store was in the vicinity of the courthouse for roads concentrated on these places. Also the meetings at the county courts brought wealthy and powerful people into town for days.

Mitchell's (1977:121) analysis of the number of material items (horses, wagons, books, furniture, slaves) held by families in Shenandoah Valley between 1780 and 1800 (Figure 4) led him to conclude that the upper valley was definitely a commercial area by that time. Commercial areas "displayed increasingly socio-economic class distinctions in terms of wealth, land and personal property, and the use of slaves" (Mitchell 1977:110). There was "noticeable change" in the people, their dress, their manners, and their homes (Knapp 1982:219). In 1775 the Reverend Philip Vickers Fithian described the homes he visited. He told of the relatively fashionable appointments, the libraries, and the fastidiousness of some peoples' actions. He stated that it was "an altogether different populace from the rough, buckskin settlers of twenty-five years earlier" (Knapp 1982:219).

Farmers now specialized in crops, such as hemp and wheat for commercial distribution while others fattened cattle for export markets. The leading citizens of this time period were large landowners. John Jordan was such a man. He had a merchant mill, a chopping mill, a saw-mill, smith shop, and wagon-making shop on
his land. Jordan was an architect-builder—he travelled to other parts of Virginia, viewed the current architectural styles, and introduced them in Lexington through his construction work. He also owned and ran a large furnace in Allegheny County (Withrow 1:144). After 1780, townspeople began to dress in Tidewater fashion, and the houses were of current architectural styles. The furnishings within the home were sure to reflect the times also. There were numerous chairs and tables and sometimes even a desk in the wealthiest homes. Cups, saucers, tea spoons, and tea pots were now common table items.

Slaveholding in Rockbridge County was concentrated—"one half of one percent of the white population owned almost half of the slaves" (Brundage 1983:abstract). Even though the majority of slaveholders were prosperous farmers, slaves in the upper valley counties were also slaves to industry. With the opening of furnaces and forges, the need for skilled slaves increased. "Approximately ten percent, twice the national average" of slaves were skilled; they worked "in iron furnaces and forges, and others worked as tanners, carpenters, blacksmiths, brick masons, and even fire fighters" (Brundage 1983:abstract). Twelve ironmasters and manufacturers were slaveholders (Brundage 1983:12). This statistic is evidence of a larger trend of slaveowners in skilled labor to own numerous slaves. John Jordan, the architect-builder of the early nineteenth century, used his slaves as the work force in the construction of Washington and Lee University’s Washington Hall.
The growing economy of Rockbridge county fostered the demand for slaves. The census reflects the growth of industry in this area through the growth of the slave population. The slave total in Rockbridge County went from 15% of the population in 1782 to 20% in 1810 (Brundage 1983:3). Even though the Scotch-Irish "proclaimed the spiritual equality of all men—slavery was an anathema to their traditions and their deep-seated religious convictions" (Brundage 1983:7). Whatever doubts the Scotch-Irish held concerning the morality of slavery were overcome by the financial profits that slaveholding promised. Rockbridge County had the highest proportion of Scotch-Irish inhabitants and no county possessed a more vigorous or expansive slave economy (Brundage 1983:7). The use of slaves was widespread, many nonslaveholders hired slaves on seasonal or yearly bases.

Migration into the area in 1780 and 1800 caused the counties to become places of dense settlement. The Stevenson family came through Lexington in 1779. They stated that "There were every sort of people there and that was what took us away, we had no notion of raising our children among that sort of people" (Stevenson undated:3). The Stevenson family witnessed cultural pluralism as they travelled through Lexington. At the end of the eighteenth century, Presbyterianism began to be rivalled by Methodist and Baptist. Slaves were a common site in the county seat of Lexington. This pluralism is probably indicative of other dense settlement areas of the Augusta-Rockbridge area.

The subsequent Scotch-Irish migrations in search of land and
opportunity placed them in many areas of the South. They tended to migrate from the valley in single families as early as the mid-1740s. After the Revolutionary War, there was a great exodus from the Shenandoah Valley since the Indians were pushed further west and left much fertile land. The families often received grants to land on the new frontier as payment for service during the war. Mitchell (1972:472) asserts this about the outer-migration of the Scotch-Irish:

By 1800 the percentage of Scotch-Irish in all counties seems to have declined, while both Germans and English percentages had increased; Scotch-Irish settlers composed about half of the white population of the upper valley. These changes seem to reflect regular sustained emigration of Scotch-Irish settlers after the Revolutionary War" (Mitchell 1972:472 footnote).

Thus during different times, the Shenandoah Valley functioned "as a settlement focus, migration corridor, and migration source" (Mitchell 1977:58). As 1810 approached, Staunton and Lexington, if not much of the counties of Augusta and Rockbridge, were places where people worked in a variety of occupations and followed various religions. The seemingly homogeneous frontier evolved into open communities of old and new settlers.

The great (Scotch-)Irish population percentages in 1980 in the western portions of Virginia and North and South Carolina reflect early transportation routes and settlement patterns (Allen and Turner 1988:48). By 1775, about 250,000 Ulster Scots had reached the American colonies (Jones 1980:896). By 1790, the Scotch-Irish immigrants constituted 10% of the white population in the United States (Allen and Turner 1988:48). The
concentration of Scotch-Irish in the upper Shenandoah Valley of Virginia (Rockbridge County) is unusual. This group comprised 73% of the population of the county in 1775 (Allen and Turner 1988:48). (Figure 5) And despite the common blurring and weakening of ethnic identities and the subsequent migrations that certainly have occurred over the last 200 years, the proportion of (Scotch-)Irish ancestry in Rockbridge County in 1980 is 7 percent, slightly higher than most other counties in the state (Allen and Turner 1988:48). Augusta, Botetourt, and Rockingham are counties within the Shenandoah Valley that are physically close to Rockbridge County. In these counties though, the (Scotch-)Irish constitute somewhere between 2.5 and 5% of the population (Allen and Turner 1988:48). The numerical superiority of the Scotch-Irish in the upper Shenandoah Valley may be a consequence of the recruiting efforts of large land holders and Scotch-Irish endogamous marriages. Ellen Graham Anderson (undated:9) writes:

> The Scotch-Irish of good stock held their heads very high, and were most particular whom their sons and daughters married. Many old letters refer to this, and to the wisdom of choosing their 'own kind' and good blood. This caused considerable intermarriage between cousins, or close family friends...

Also the choice of some children to settle near their parents "caused society to be more compact and extensive" (Houston 1837:6). These factors might have contributed to the relatively high proportion of Scotch-Irish in present-day Rockbridge County.

As with Mitchell, it is most likely that early data on ethnicity was decided by the sound of the last name.
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