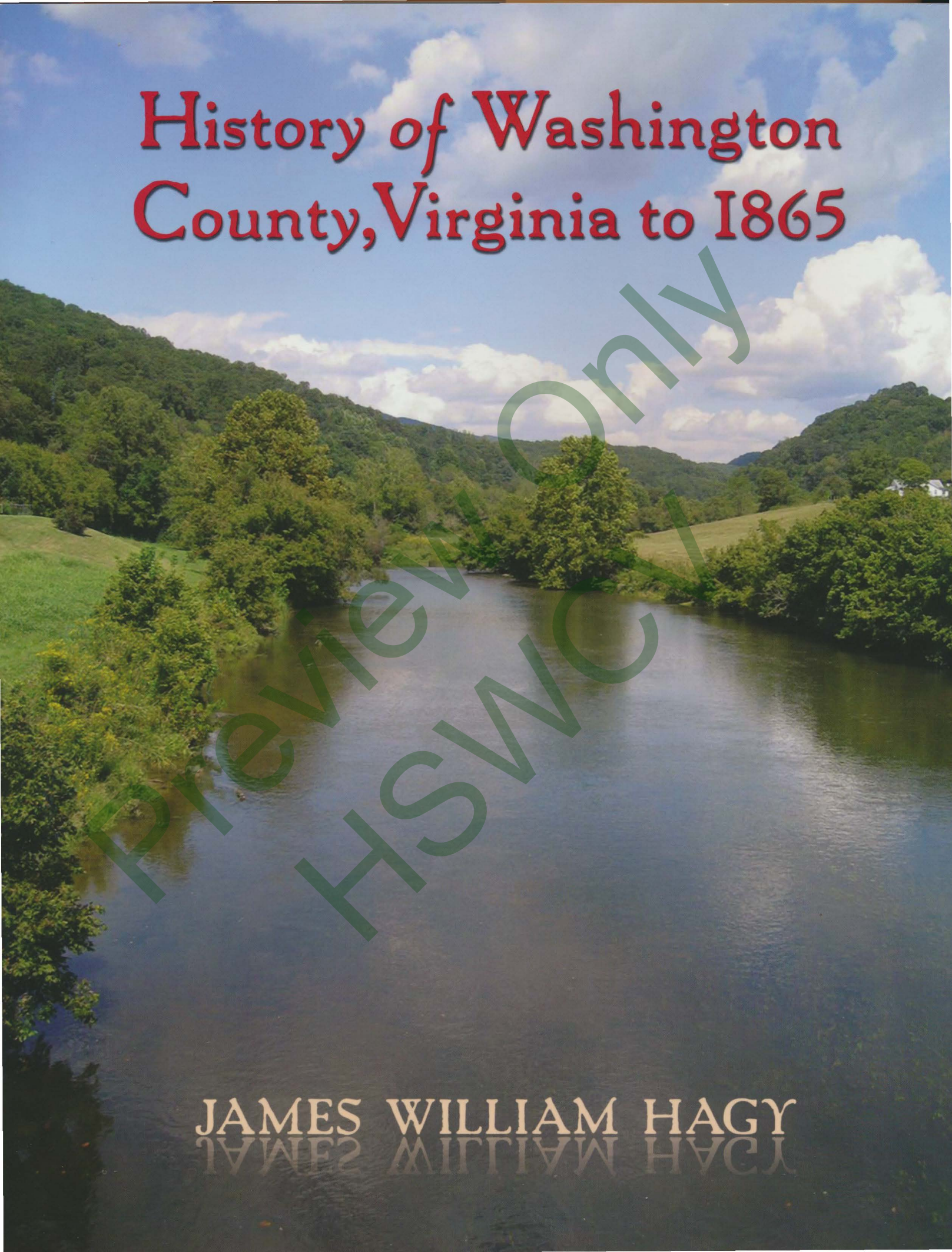
History of Washington County, Virginia to 1865



JAMES WILLIAM HAGY

James W. Hagy was born and raised in Washington County, the son of Charles Albert Hagy and Amanda Jane Price Hagy. He graduated from Greendale High School, has an AB degree in history from King College, an MA in history from East Tennessee State University, and a PhD in history from the University of Georgia. He retired as professor of history at the College of Charleston, Charleston, SC.

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By James William Hagy

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Foreword

My Swiss ancestors, who came from the town of Hegi in the canton of Zurich, arrived at the port of Philadelphia in 1723, lived in Pennsylvania a number of years, moved down into the Valley of Virginia, and settled in Washington County in 1793. Therefore, my roots are quite deep in this place, and I have always been interested in its history. I have very early memories of Lewis Preston Summers' *History of Southwest Virginia* and often took one of the three copies in the house to school with me. I heard the stories of the Fighting Parson who had lived not far from our home, the tale of Daniel Boone, the men riding off to Kings Mountain, and the events of the Civil War.

Although I had written a number of articles that dealt with a few events in the area, only in 2011 did I begin to look deeper into the general history of the place. In my research, I was surprised to find that a number of the accounts were questionable, especially after sorting out the chronology. I have dealt with these misconceptions at some length hoping to correct the record, knowing full well that some people will choose to continue to believe the traditional stories. I also found that many topics had not been dealt with or had barely been touched upon. For example, slaves, usually referred to as servants, received little attention. While most people assume that Washington County had few in servitude, they, in fact, constituted about 15 percent of the population and, as such, could not be ignored. I also found that very little was known about the schools, daily life, occupations, religion, local government, the state of Frankland/Franklin, which originated in Washington County, and other subjects.

Before beginning this history I knew little about the Civil War in the county. I was surprised to find how disastrous it had been, not only for those who served in combat, but also for those who remained at home. It was, by no means, a romantic adventure but brought death, dismemberment, disease, despair, and destruction for virtually all, except, perhaps, a few speculators. Most of the people at home suffered near starvation. I feel certain that afterwards many resolved, like Scarlet O'Hara in *Gone With the Wind*, never to be hungry again.

Another thing that somewhat surprised me was the prosopography or familial relationships of the dominant families in the county. The marriages among a few families were frequent, often with first cousins. The place had an aristocracy from the beginnings of its history, mainly by those who acquired large grants of land and/or profited from mineral resources, especially those in the Saltville area. One result is that it is often difficult to sort out who was who because of the interbreeding and use of the same names over and over in families such as the Campbells. Some of those relationships are noted in the text, although the purpose was not for genealogical reasons but to show that the elite were confusingly intertwined.

In total, I have sought to give an accurate account of the events in Washington County until the end of the Civil War and to make known much that has been overlooked in the past.

In this work, Southwest Virginia generally refers only to those lands on the Holston, Clinch, and Powell rivers. Others, however, consider it to be a much wider area extending as far eastward as the New River, the area once known as the land on the Western Waters. The term Far Southwest Virginia is more accurate for this area but it is not often used.

Histories of Washington County

A number of people have written about the history of the county. One was a short account written by John Campbell titled "Memoirs of Washington County." It can be found in Joseph Martin, *A New and Comprehensive Gazetter*[sic] *of Virginia, and the District of Columbia* (Charlottesville: 1845), 500–505. In addition, Gov. David Campbell wrote several letters to Lyman Copeland Draper of the Wisconsin Historical Society about the early history of the county. Some of these can be found in the Draper Manuscripts, the Campbell Family Papers at Duke University, and in William Henry Foote,

Sketches of Virginia, Historical and Biographical (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1855). Both of the Campbells were primarily interested in their family's place in history.

The next person to write about the county was Charles B. Coale in *The Life and Adventures of Wilburn Waters, the Famous Hunter and Trapper of White Top Mountain; Embracing Early History of Southwestern Virginia, Sufferings of the Pioneers, etc., etc.* (Richmond: G. W. Gary, 1878). Coale was one of the editors of the *Abingdon Virginian* and the first part of his work concerns Waters, but he had written articles on the history and geography of Southwest Virginia for his newspaper, which he published in chapters 16–46. More of a raconteur than historian, he said in his preface that he had written those chapters "partly for pastime, and partly to preserve for the use of the future historian a few facts connected with the early settlement of Southwestern Virginia." Further, they had been "hastily thrown together, without revision or systematic arrangement." Herein cited as Coale, *Wilburn Waters*.

Another source appeared the same year. It was an autobiography of Julia A. Tevis, titled *Sixty Years in a School-Room: An Autobiography of Mrs. Julia Tevis* (Cincinnati: Western Methodist Book Concern, 1878). It contains a great deal of information on society, education, and religion in the county. Tevis came to Abingdon to teach Mary, the daughter of Francis and Mary Smith, and thus was able to mingle with people of wealth. Much of her book deals with the Methodists. Cited as Tevis, *Sixty Years*.

The next source is Thomas L. Preston, *Historical Sketches and Reminiscences of an Octogenarian* (1900). While it concentrates on his family, it had a considerable amount of information on events in the county. Preston also wrote a filiopietistic account about his grandmother entitled *A Sketch of the Life of Mrs. Elizabeth Russell, Wife of General William Campbell, and Sister of Patrick Henry* (Nashville, Publishing House of the M. E. Church, 1888). Cited as Preston, *Reminiscences* and Preston, *Sketch of Elizabeth Russell*.

Then Lewis Preston Summers published his *History of Southwest Virginia, 1746–1786, Washington County, 1777–1870* (Richmond: 1903). His is a massive work of 884 pages in which he attempted to cover the history of the Southwest with a concentration on Washington County. Although written long ago, it remains a valuable resource, much of it taken directly from primary resources; however, he viewed history, as did others in his time, to be primarily about politics and military events. Many of his sources can no longer be located. In addition, he relates stories of events that had been passed down orally for more than a century, some of which had been embellished or differed from source to source, and some that were incorrect. Since he wrote his history, new sources have become available which enable one to examine more thoroughly matters about which he wrote. Furthermore, research has become easier with the passage of time. Original documents once had to be viewed in person or in printed form, but that changed with microfiche, then microfilm, and later by digital copies on the Internet or in libraries. Summers must have spent many years collecting and copying the documents that he used, some of which can now be located and read in a few minutes. The same is true for newspapers and books whose copyrights have expired. Summers also published his *Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769–1800* (1929) which consists of early records in the area. Cited as Summers, *Southwest Virginia* and Summers, *Annals*.

After Summers' works, the next history is J. Allen Neal's, *Bicentennial History of Washington County Virginia, 1776–1976* (Dallas, Texas: Taylor Pub Co., 1977). The Historical Society of Washington County Virginia produced this volume and it appears that a committee had much to do with its contents. This book consists of 120 pages of events up to the 1860s, then largely passes over the next one hundred years, and concentrates on institutions that existed in the mid-twentieth century. It is heavily illustrated and contains 503 pages. Cited as Neal, *Bicentennial History*.

The most recent book is Michael K. Shaffer's *Washington County Virginia in the Civil War* (Charleston: History Press, 2012). While this volume's title suggest it is about Washington County during the Civil War, it consists mostly of accounts of confederate officers, especially generals, who had some connection with Washington County or Emory and Henry College. It is a good source for that type of information.

In addition to the above works, the *Bulletin* of the Historical Society of Washington County contains articles on many subjects, most dealing with the county. Many are excellent while some only repeat what has appeared in secondary sources or are paeans to ances-

tors or members of the elite in the county. Not all are factually correct.

Articles in newspapers by such writers as Goodridge Wilson, Gordon Aronhime, Carl Eskridge, Robert Loving, and Charles H. Carson add much to the history of the county. These appeared in the *Roanoke Times*, the *Bristol Herald Courier*, the *Washington County News*, and the *Journal Virginian*. Some of these were based on original research while others merely repeated older accounts such as Summers' book. These have been collected by the Historical Society of Washington County and can be found there.

Organization

This book is divided into twelve chapters organized according to subject. This necessitated a certain amount of duplication in some chapters especially when one considers that a reader might be interested in only one subject much as one would in an historical journal.

An attempt was made to give the sources consulted, but that proved to be very difficult with matters such as the census reports, where the documentation might exceed the length of the book. The same was true with part of the Washington County Minute Books, especially when drawing together information such as that of the slaves who came into contact with the county administration. For that and other subjects, the years 1840–1860 were used to draw conclusions, but individual pages were not noted. Those were peacetime years when all the records were available. It would have been impossible to summarize the entire period from 1777 to 1865. Considerable attention was also paid to the 1850 and 1860 censuses because they have more information than previous years.

Sources

In order to reduce the size of the volume, no bibliography is attached. An attempt has been made to include the full bibliographical entries in the footnotes in each chapter except for sources that appear in more than one. Short titles and abbreviations were used for those, but one can find the full titles in the list below.

Unpublished Manuscripts

Lyman Copeland Draper Manuscripts, Wisconsin Historical Society. This collection contains 491 volumes divided into 50 series. For the most part they cover the period from the French and Indian War to the War of 1812 and deal with the area west of the Appalachians. They contain a number of military records as well as Draper's research notes, correspondence, newspaper clippings, and such. The series used for this volume are: C (Boone Papers), J (George Rogers Clark Papers), S (Draper's Notes), DD (King's Mountain Papers), QQ (Preston Papers), XX (Tennessee Papers), and ZZ (Virginia Papers). An example of a citation is Draper MS 3C30 which means volume three of the Boone Papers, page 30.

Campbell Family Papers. This is a collection of papers of that family from 1731–1969 that is located in the Rubenstein Library at Duke University. Originally termed the David Campbell Papers, they later were renamed the Campbell Family Papers and include correspondence of many other members of the family. They are arranged by date and there is no catalogue, which makes them very time consuming to search. There are other Campbell papers in the Tennessee Archives and the Historical Society of Washington County Virginia. Furthermore, the Campbell-Preston Papers can be found at the Library of Congress. This family seems to have saved a copy of every letter they wrote or received.

Arthur Campbell Papers, 1752–1811. These papers are held by the Special Collections of The Filson Historical Society, in Louisville, Kentucky. Campbell was a political and military leader in Washington County and the creator of the proposed state of Frankland. This is an important collection that contains correspondence to and from various leaders of the time. The collection would have been much larger, but he burned many of his papers shortly before his death.

Washington County Records. Most of the Washington County records since its formation in 1777 have survived; however, the minutes books for the years 1786–1819 and 1821–1832 are missing. The assumption has been made that these were destroyed when the court house was burned by federal troops

in 1864; however, they may have disappeared at other times. In this volume they are designated as WC Court Minutes, WC Will Book, WC Deed Book, etc. The original volumes can be found at the Washington County Court House or on microfilm. In addition, a great many of the early records have been transcribed by Thomas Jack Hockett and others and published by the New Papyrus Publishing Company. These include county court minutes, deeds, marriages, wills, and property tax records. Because of the formatting of the books, they are somewhat difficult to read unless one is looking for specific names, which appear in bold print. The indices are of little value as so few of the names in the text appear in them. Also, property inventories, which provide valuable information about individuals, are not included, but one can find names and dates in the publications and then search the actual records.

Historical Society of Washington County Virginia (HSWCV). The society has a large collection of documents and photographs, even some county documents that cannot be found at the court house. Many of them have been digitized and can be read at the society. It also has a large collection of genealogical publications, some microfilm, and printed primary sources. On the other hand, its book collection is weak. The Washington County Library is much better for such sources, and the library of Emory and Henry College has, by far, the best collection in Southwest Virginia including newspapers. Fortunately, it began operation in 1838 and has had many years to obtain primary and secondary sources, many of which are otherwise difficult to find. It also houses the Archives of the Holston United Methodist Church Conference.

Published Documents and Eyewitness Accounts

War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington: GPO, 1880-1901). These records of the Civil War, consisting of some 130 volumes, began to appear fifteen years after the conflict ended. They are divided into series, volumes, and parts and deal with different aspects of the war. There are more Union reports than Confederate ones as many of the latter were lost or burned by confederate leaders. Cited as *Official Records*.

William Pitt Palmer, *et al.*, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts, 1652–1869* (Richmond: 1875–1893). These are very important papers from the colonial and revolutionary periods and contain a good deal of information about Washington County. Cited as *CVSP*.

Edward O. Guerrant, edited by William C. Davis and Meredith Swentor, *Bluegrass Confederate: The Headquarters Diary of Edward O. Guerrant* (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 1999). Guerrant (1838-1916) kept a diary for much of his life. During the Civil War, he spent a great deal of his time at the military headquarters in Southwest Virginia, which was often in Abingdon. He had quite a number of comments about Washington County, some quite pithy. After the war he became a doctor and a minister in the Presbyterian Church. Cited as Guerrant, *Blue Grass Confederate*

Rachel Ann Scott, "Reminiscences of My Childhood Days," Historical Society of Washington County *Bulletin*, Ser. II, Nr. 17 (1980), 13–25. Rachel Ann Smyth (1849–1944) grew up near Emory and was old enough during the Civil War to remember the events of the time. After the war she attended a female college and became a teacher. In 1877 she married Peter Alexander Scott, who also taught school. She provided very interesting insights into the daily life of people during the time. Cited as Scott, *Reminiscences*.

Joseph Doddridge, *Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars of the Western Parts of Virginia & Pennsylvania: From the year 1763-the Year 1783 Inclusive; Together with a View, of the State of Society and Manners of the First Settlers of the Western Country* (Wellsburg, VA: Office of the Gazette, 1824). Although Doddridge lived in what is now West Virginia, he wrote about the lives of common people during the frontier era. The assumption is made that events in early Washington County were the same or similar to his experiences. He is the only source for information on the daily life of the frontier people. Cited as Doddridge, *Notes*.

William Walter Hening, *The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of all the Laws of Virginia, from the First Session of the Legislature, in the year 1619* (New York: R. & W. & B. Bartow, 1819–1923). Cited as Hening, *Statutes*.

G. W. Featherstonhaugh, *Excursion Through the Slave*

States (London: John Murray, 1844), I. Cited as Featherstonhaugh, *Excursion*.

W. W. Blackford, *War Years with Jeb Stuart* (New York: Scribner, 1945). Blackford was a principal architect of the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad, the designer of the original Martha Washington College, and engaged with his father-in-law in the plaster business. His account deals mostly with his military activities, but he also has some important information about conditions in Washington County before and after the war. Cited as Blackford, *War Years*.

Anne Royall, *Sketches of History, Life, and Manners in the United States* (New Haven: 1826). An author and newspaper publisher, she travelled extensively including in Washington County. Cited as Royall, *Sketches*.

Francis Asbury, *The Journal and Letters of Francis Asbury* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1958). Perhaps the best known Methodist leader after John Wesley, he made a number of visits to Washington County. Cited as Asbury, *Journal*.

Julian P. Boyd and others, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950–). This is a projected 60-volume work that includes 18,000 letters written by Jefferson and more than 25,000 written to him. At the time of this publication, the series had not been completed. Cited as *Papers of Thomas Jefferson*.

Secondary Sources

Nanci King, *Places in Time*, three volumes (1989–1997). In these volumes, the author gives the history of houses and other structures in Washington County. Cited as King, *Places in Time*.

Norma Taylor Mitchell, "The Political Career of Governor David Campbell," (PhD Dissertation, Duke University, 1967). This is the only book length study of David Campbell and deals mostly with his three terms as governor of Virginia. However, a considerable amount of information about other subjects can be found in the volume. Cited as Mitchell, *David Campbell*.

Appreciation

I am indebted to the following people for their assistance: Lisa Jett and Will Stein in the reference department of the Washington County Public Library, Jane Oakes and Leighann Lloyd of the Historical Society of Washington County, and various individuals at the library of Emory and Henry College.

Special appreciation is expressed for Suzanne Reid, who offered valuable assistance with editing.

Notes

Three Latin terms are used in the notes. One is *ibid.*, the abbreviation for *ibidem*, which means the same place. It refers to the same source in the preceding footnote. Old records used "ditto" for this purpose. The second one is *passim* which indicates that the information came from throughout a source and often consists of a summary of many pages. The third is *et al.* which is the abbreviation for *et alia* which means "and others."

Some passages are not footnoted because the information should be known by people familiar with American history or can be easily looked up.

In some cases, long passages are not footnoted until the end of the discussion of the topic at which time a number of sources appear together.

All photographs without credits were taken by the author from 2011 to 2013. Credits for others appear under the illustrations.

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"The Court Houses of Russell County," *Virginia Cavalcade*, 22 (Spring, 1973), 12–18.

"Arthur Campbell and the Separate State Movement in Virginia and North Carolina," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publication No. 42* (1970), 20–46. With Stanley Folmsbee.

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In Remembrance

My parents, Charles Albert Hagy and Amanda Jane Price; my siblings Clyde Windsor Hagy, Charles Thornley Hagy, Everette Hale Hagy, Hazel Elizabeth Hagy Hayter, Kermit Kendall Hagy, who was killed in action in Dulken, Germany on March 1, 1945 in World War II, and Barbara Ann Hagy Harris.

In Honor

My surviving brothers and sister: Gayle Roberts Hagy, Beryle Arlene Hagy Miller, Donald Edwin Hagy, and Harold Lynwood Hagy.

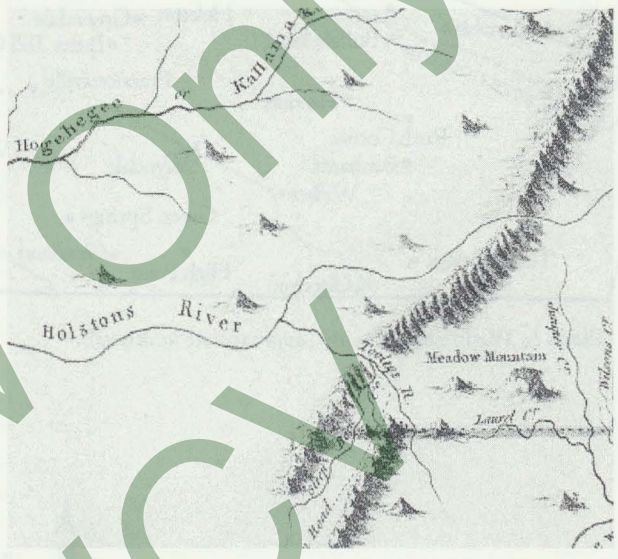
1

The Land and the People

Washington County, Virginia was occupied by Native Americans for thousands of years before white settlers entered the land and brought their African slaves with them. Although Indians did not live in the area when settlers arrived, they resented losing their lands, which resulted in considerable warfare that lasted through the Revolution and beyond. The white settlers, who usually had lived a generation or two in places such as Pennsylvania, were of Northern European stock. Most of the African-Americans had no choice but come with their masters or be sold westward. While the Scotch-Irish (Scots-Irish), Germans, and Africans made up the bulk of the early population in Washington County, people of other national origins settled there as well, including English, who usually came from the Tidewater and Piedmont areas in Virginia, a few Dutch, some French, Welsh, Irish, and a sprinkling of other nationalities.

Washington County lies in far southwest Virginia and borders the counties of Smyth, Russell, Scott, and Grayson in Virginia, and Johnson and Sullivan in Tennessee. The border between Washington County and Tennessee is not straight. It contains "The Notch," an irregularity that jogs northward for some distance, continues westward for a while, drops south again, and finally continues westward.

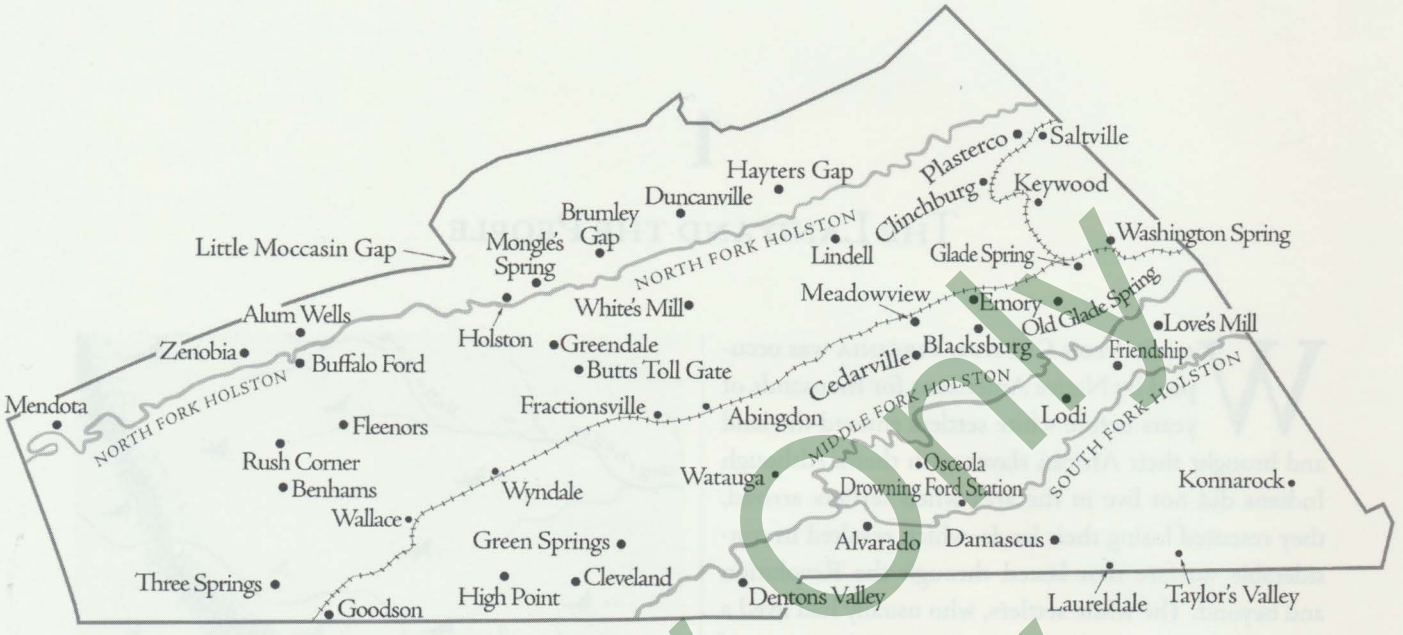
The history of this section of the border is a bit strange. Surveys of two parts of the southern Virginia border had been made in 1710 and in 1732. Peter Jefferson, father of the third president, and Joshua Fry measured the third section in 1749 from Peter's Creek, which flowed into the Dan River, to Steep Rock Creek, later Laurel Branch, in Washington County. Instead of continuing westward along 36° 30′ they headed north before they stopped. Why they did this is not known, but it has been suggested that their surveying instruments were not very good, that they were drunk, or



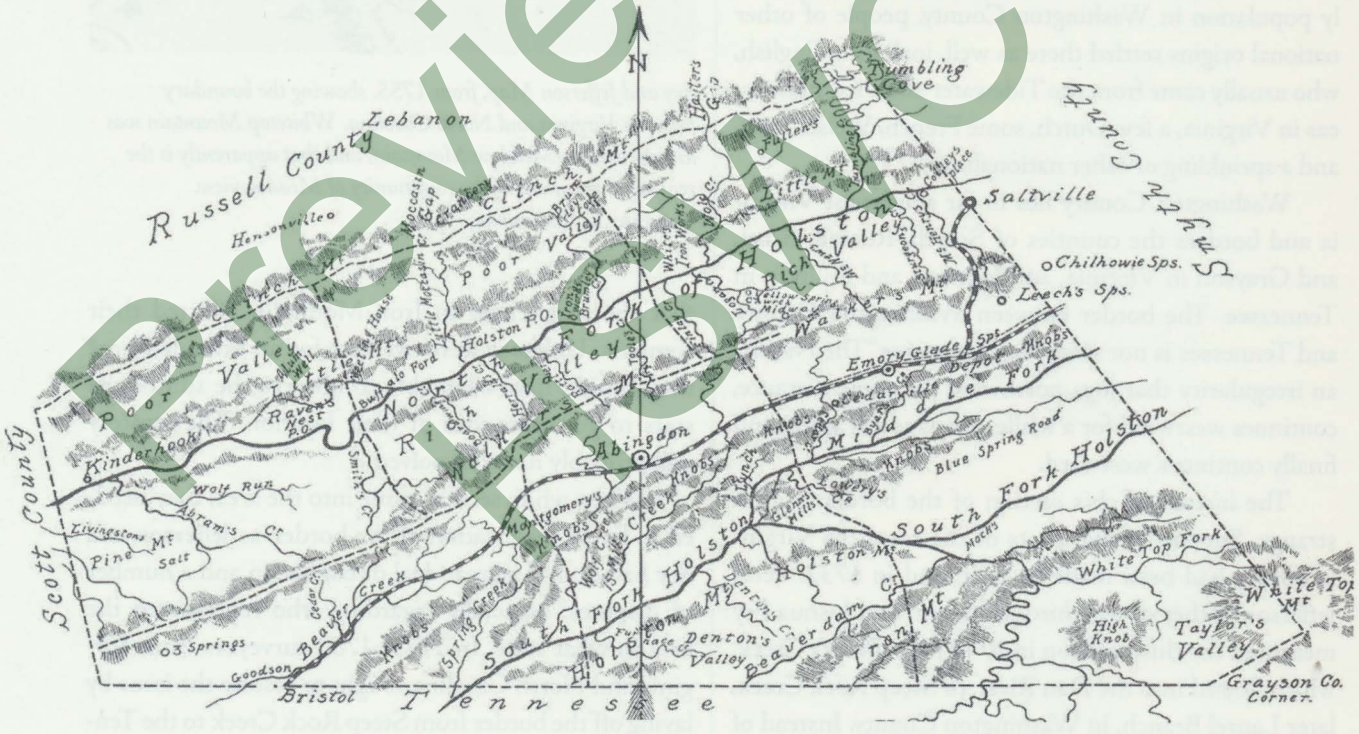
Fry and Jefferson Map, from 1755, showing the boundary between Virginia and North Carolina. Whitetop Mountain was known then as Meadow Mountain, and that apparently is the reason for the name of the community of Meadowview. (Library of Congress).

that the magnetism in Iron Mountain affected their compass. Unless it were overcast for an extended time they should have been able to observe the sun or the stars to get some idea of their location. The mystery will probably never be solved.

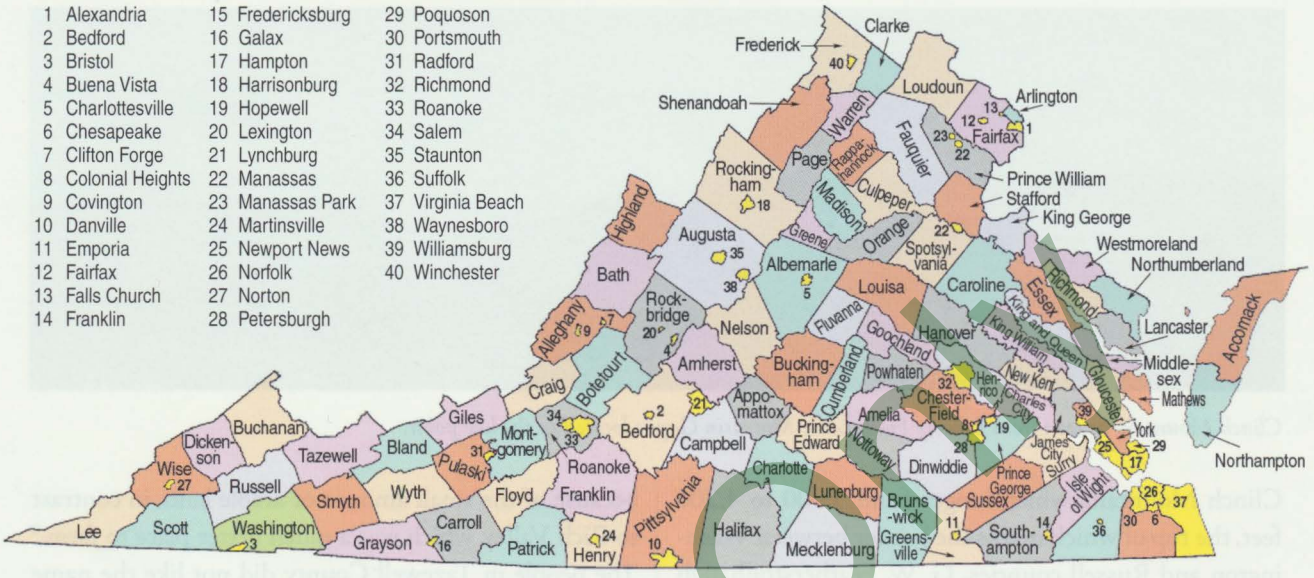
When white settlers came into the area, they needed to know the location of the border, as Jefferson and Fry had caused a great deal of confusion and a number of disputes, especially regarding who represented the area in what state. In 1779–1780 surveyors from Virginia and North Carolina sought to resolve the issue by laying off the border from Steep Rock Creek to the Tennessee River. The Virginians were led by Thomas Walker and Daniel Smith, and the Carolinians by Richard Henderson, William Bailey Smith and John Williams. Both Walker and Henderson led large land speculating



Places in Washington County (approximate locations).



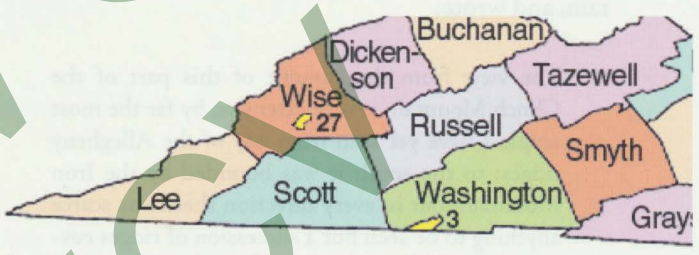
Washington County, 1870. (SUMMERS, *SOUTHWEST VIRGINIA*, BETWEEN 258 AND 259)



Counties and cities in Virginia. Washington County can be located by the notch along the Tennessee border and the bite taken by the independent city of Bristol. (US Census)

companies and had personal interests in where the border lay. Two separate lines resulted, running two miles apart—the Walker Line favoring Virginia and the Henderson Line giving more land to North Carolina. In 1803, the legislatures of Virginia and Tennessee approved a compromise line whereby each state received half of the territory between the two lines with the border extending westward to Cumberland Gap. Still, the two states disputed the location of the line with the result that the Supreme Court of the United States had to settle the matter in 1893 in the case of *Virginia v. Tennessee*. The only alteration after that came when the two states agreed to move the border in Bristol in 1901 to the middle of the appropriately named State Street.[1]

Washington County is part of the Appalachian Region, formed by the bumping and crashing of geological plates and the eroding and uplifting of the land for about 1.1 billion years. It took its present form in the Cenozoic Era, which began about 65.5 million years ago and continues in historic times. Geologists have divided the Appalachians—one of the oldest mountain ranges in the world—into four physiographic provinces: the Piedmont, the Blue Ridge, the Ridge and Valley, and the Appalachian Plateau. Washington County lies in the middle area of the Ridge and Valley province which extends from Alabama in the southwest to Pennsylvania in the northeast, with the mountains and valleys forming lines along this route. The Middle Appalachians did not experience the glaciers of the Ice Ages and these lands have the best soils of the region resulting from erosion in the late Paleozoic (542 to 421 million years ago) and early Mesozoic times. Geologists believe that "at least five miles of rock have been eroded away to expose the present-day valley-floor-to ridge-crest relief of only about one-half mile." Most of the land is acidic with little organic material."[2]

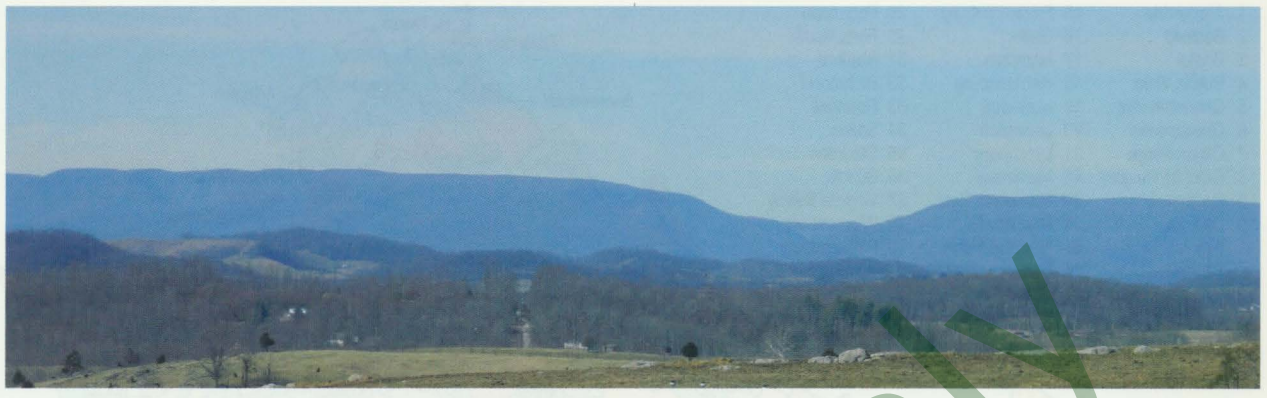


Washington and surrounding counties. (US Census)

Although the 1870 map on the opposite page does not accurately depict the borders of the county, it illustrates its natural features. On the northern border is

1. *Virginia v. Tennessee*, 148 US 503 (1893), decided April 3, 1893; John Haywood, *The Civil and Political History of the State of Tennessee from its Earliest Settlement up to the Year 1796* (Knoxville: Heiskell & Brown, 1823), 42; Summers, Southwest Virginia, 693–746; http://www.virginiaplaces.org/boundaries/tnboundary.html.

2. Arthur L. Bloom, "Geomorphology," Don W. Byerly, "Ridge and Valley Province," Maxwell, Springer, "Soils," Richard D. Hatcher, Jr., "Tectonics," in Rudy Abramson, Jean Haskell (eds.) *Encyclopedia of Appalachia* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2006), 14–17, 30–37.



Clinch Mountain as seen from Liberty Hall. Little Moccasin Gap is located in the low point.

Clinch Mountain, which ranges from 3,000 to 4,200 feet, the top of which marks the border between Washington and Russell counties. G. W. Featherstonhaugh visited the area in the 1840s, ascended Clinch Mountain, and wrote:

> The view from the summit of this part of the Clinch Mountain is very extensive, by far the most ample I have yet seen from any of the Allegheny ridges: to the south it was bounded by the Iron Mountain; but in every direction there was scarce anything to be seen but a succession of ridges covered with their eternal forests; few indications of man were to be observed, and, with the exception of some clearings, the scene presented very much the same appearance it would have done when the Indians had exclusive possession of the country.[3]

During the Civil War, a confederate officer crossing the Clinch remarked in his diary: "Most beautiful Indian Summer day. The tall range of old Clinch looks like the 'hills of immortality,' tho' the blue hazy sky of this Indian Summer day."[4]

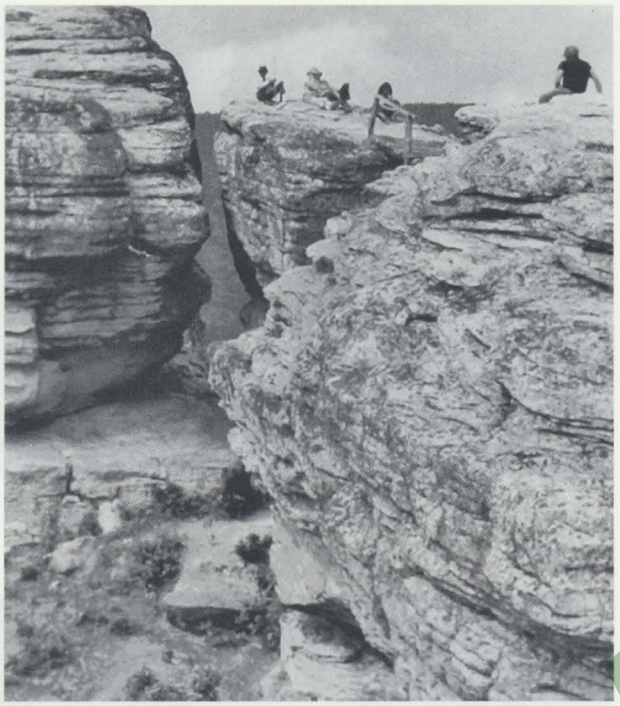
Although Hayter's Gap Road follows a difficult route from Meadowview to Russell County, and Pinnacle Road goes from Mendota over the mountain to Nichelsville, the major connection through Clinch Mountain has always been Little Moccasin Gap, via Highway 19/58. South of that is Poor Valley, which runs eastward along the North Fork of the Holston River to the community of Holston and then goes northward a short distance past Little Mountain and continues on to the east. Poor Valley received its name because of the small amount of arable land, in contrast to Rich Valley, which was a much better place to farm.[5] The people in Tazewell County did not like the name and changed it to Freestone Valley. After Holston, the Little Mountain, which on some maps is labeled Oak Mountain, follows the North Fork of the Holston River. South of the river lie River Hills and then Rich Valley. After that, one finds Walkers Mountain, which forms a watershed with streams on the north side running down into the North Fork, while those to the south flow into Middle Fork or South Fork. The next feature is the Valley, which contains Abingdon and some of the best lands in the county. It also includes the major road from Pennsylvania and the upper parts of the Valley to Tennessee and Kentucky as well as other points further west. South of the Valley Road lies the Middle Fork of the Holston and another range of hills known as the Knobs. After that are the South Fork of the Holston, Iron Mountain, Denton's Valley and Whitetop Mountain, the second highest in Virginia and more than a mile high at 5,520 feet.

Three rivers flow through Washington County—the North Fork, the Middle Fork, and the South Fork of the Holston River. The longest of these is the North

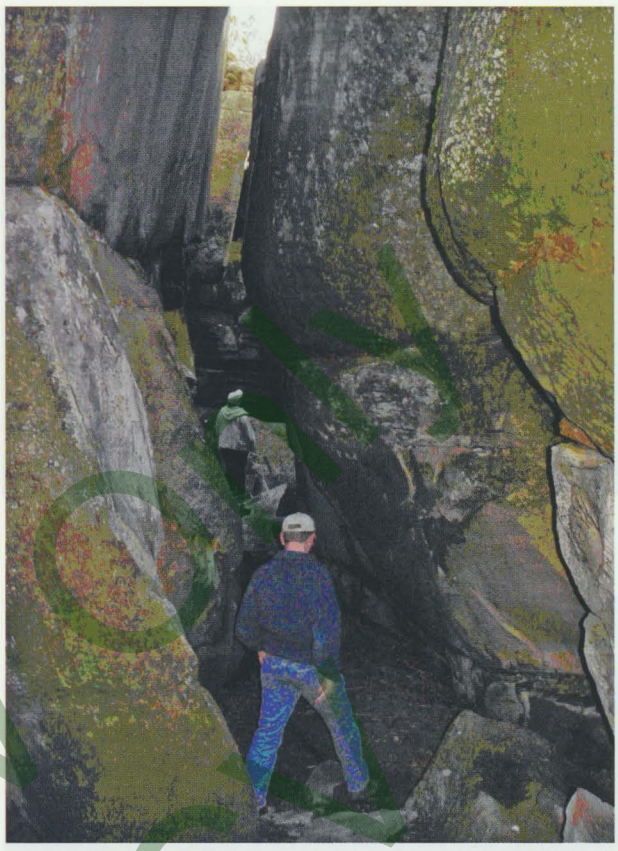
3. Featherstonhaugh, *Excursion*, I, 149.

4. Guerrant, *Bluegrass Confederate*, 375.

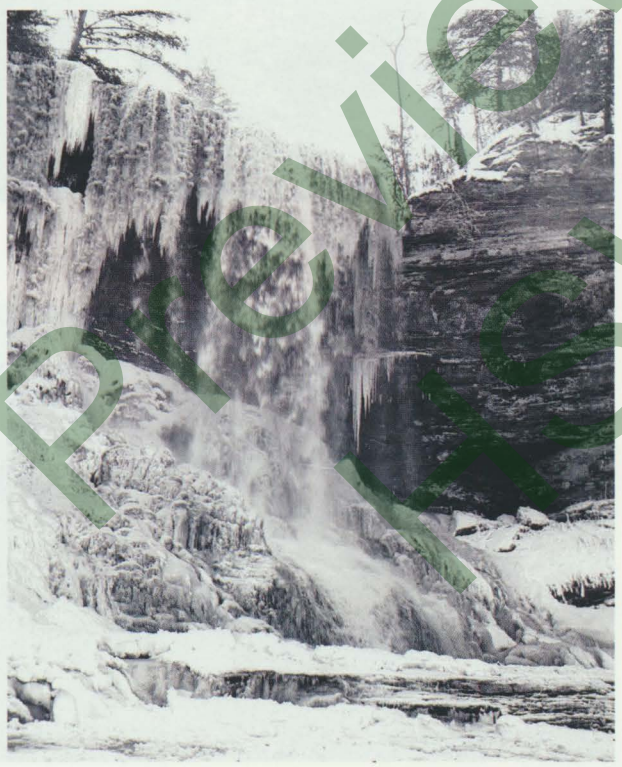
5. Guerrant, in moving through Hayter's Gap, said: "Mountain too high to cross tonight. Our road today led through a narrow defile between two lofty ranges of Clinch mountain, which eminently deserves the title of Poor, if a valley at all." *Ibid.*, 409. He also remarked on a trip from Russell County on May 4, 1862, "Stopped at Hansonville. Here we dined upon very sumptuous food. Forded Holston River—one of the most beautiful streams I ever saw. Could see a minnow in 4 ft. water. . . . wagons and cannon and caissons crowded the road for a mile or two. For two or three miles beyond the Holston, the road was awful." The troops reached Abingdon about 6 p.m. *Ibid.*, 77. Thus, the river was not bridged at that time.



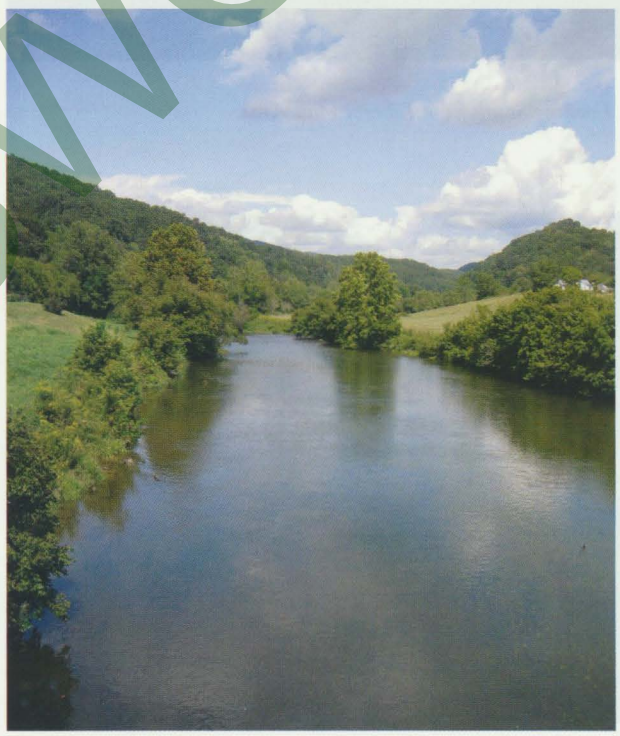
Pinnacle Rock on Clinch Mountain. The rock in the foreground seems to have a face on it. (HSWCV)



The Channels. Located on Clinch Mountain, they were shaped by erosion. (Courtesy of Daniel White/The Nature Conservancy)



Abrams Falls in winter. The fall is about one hundred feet tall. Some sense of the height can be achieved by comparing the falls with the fully grown pine trees at the top. (Photo by Doug Patterson. Courtesy of HSWCV)



North Fork of Holston River. (Martha Keys)

Rich Valley. Between Lowland and Greendale.

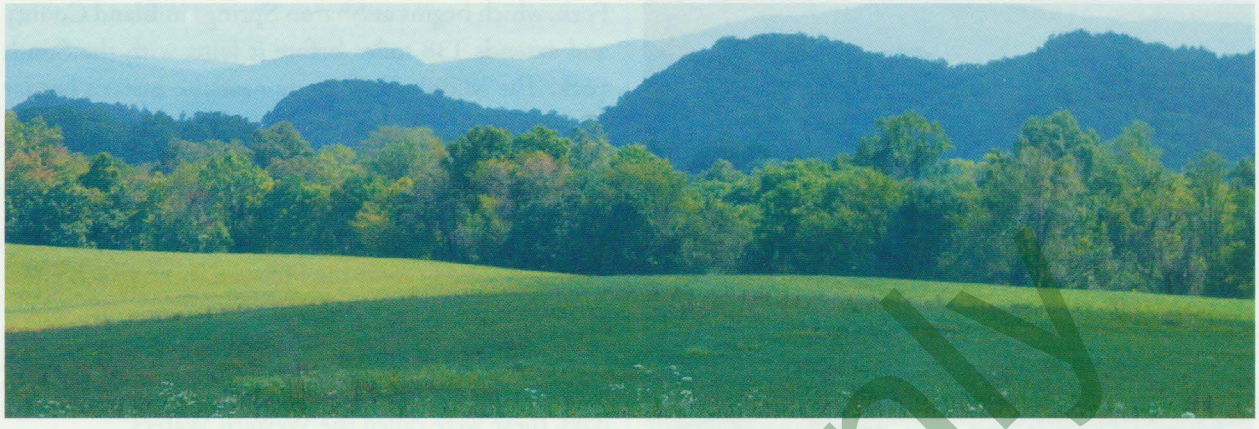
Poor Valley and Clinch Mountain. Between Holston and Mendota.

Looking South from Liberty Hall Area.

Beaver Dam Creek. Near Damascus.

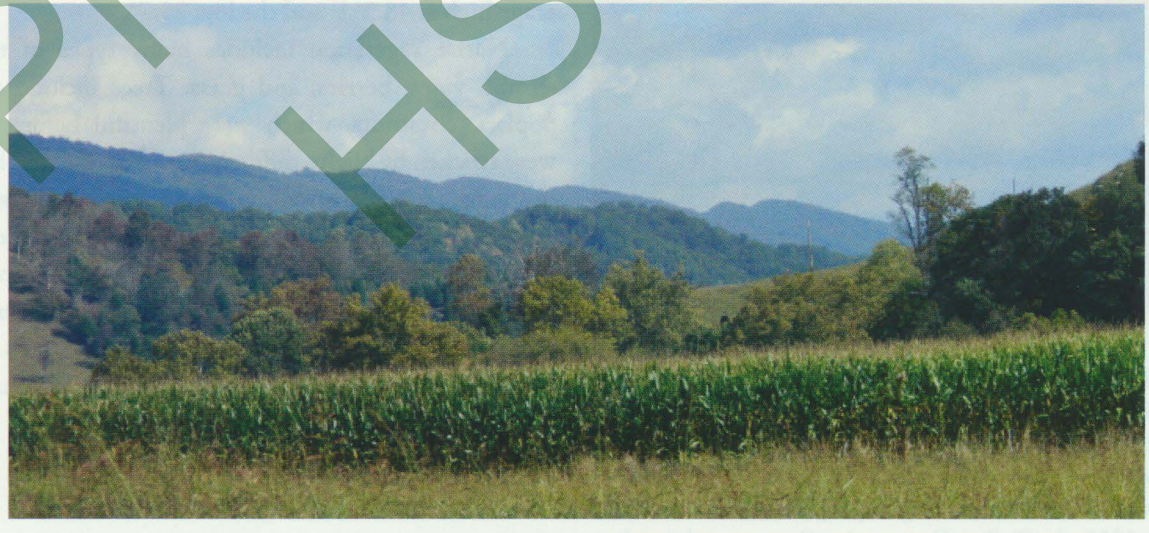
South Fork Holston River at Alvarado.

Countryside along State Secondary Road 722 south of Abingdon. This is typical of the rolling land in the area. Flat land hardly exists except in flood plains of creeks and rivers. Iron Mountain is in the background.



The Knobs

Middle Fork Holston River. Along Highway 58 or Damascus Road.



Northwestern section of Washington County. Clinch Mountain is in the background.

Tumbling Creek. It flows from Clinch Mountain into the North Fork of the Holston.

Whitetop Mountain as seen from near Meadowview. The snow is the reason for its present name.

Backbone Rock is a spine of stone about 75 feet high and 20 feet thick. In the early 20th century the timber industry moved into the Damascus area and built small-gauge railroads to move the lumber. A company blasted a tunnel through the rock. After the railroad was removed, a highway replaced the railroad, and in the 1930s the Civilian Conservation Corps created a park at the site.

Fork, which begins at Sharon Springs in Bland County and extends 138 miles before it joins with the South Fork. The Middle Fork starts near the eastern border of Smyth County and runs 56.5 miles until it joins the South Fork, which originates near Sugar Grove in Wythe County and flows for 112 miles. The North Fork and the South Fork come together at Kingsport, Tennessee and become the Holston River, which intersects with the French Broad River in Knoxville, where they form the Tennessee River, which flows into the Ohio River and eventually the Mississippi. In early days, these were called the Western Waters.

The rivers are fed by many small streams which, due to the height of the hills and mountains, have rushing waters and a number of cascades, the greatest being Abrams Falls. Some of the major streams are Beaver Creek, which goes through Bristol, and Fifteen Mile Creek, east of Abingdon, Town Creek (originally Eighteen Mile Creek), which runs through Abingdon, Abrams Creek in the northwest part of the county, Beaver Dam Creek near Damascus and Tumbling Creek, the last described by a confederate soldier as appropriately named as it was "the worst ford I had ever seen, really dangerous, so rocky."[6]

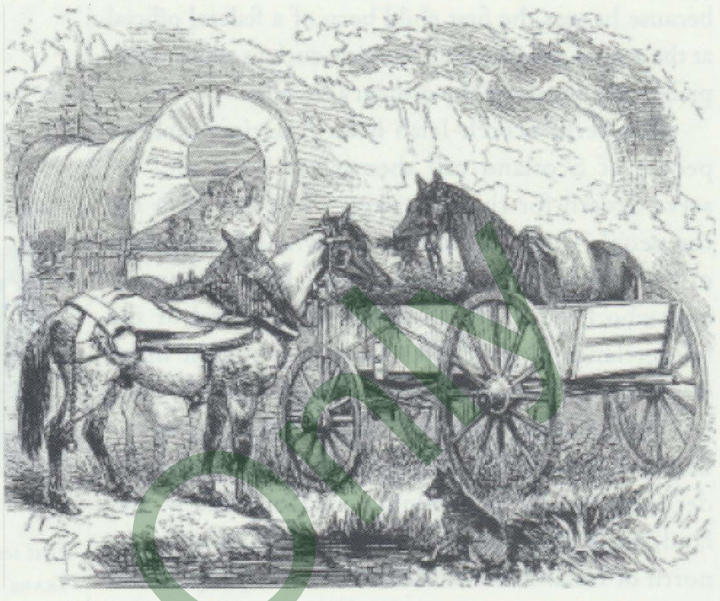
Most communities in the county are more than 2,000 above feet sea level with Abingdon at 2,057, Glade Spring, 2,074, and Emory, 2,094, while the lowest is Mendota, at 1,385 feet. The altitude and latitude result in a climate with relatively warm summers and cold winters. The average high temperature in August is 84.2° F and the low 59.9° while for February the average high is 48.5° F and the low 25.7°.

Native vegetation includes many types of trees, shrubs, vines, berries, and grass. Trees include oaks, poplars, chestnuts, which were plentiful before they were stricken by blight, different varieties of pines, hickory, gum, tulip, black walnut, beech, maple, willow, linden, and cedar. Shrubs include mountain laurel, chinquapin, holly, and rhododendron. Fruits include grapes, huckleberries, dewberries, raspberries, strawberries, plums, and black berries, the most common. Open land was covered by grasses and weeds such as thorn bushes, broom sage, common greenbrier, ironweed, nettle, thistle, ragweed, daisy, aster, plantain, and blue grass.

Mineral resources include salt, saltpeter, and

6. Guerrant, *Blue Grass Confederate*, 409.

plaster, all in abundance, and some coal and iron. Early residents used coal in areas where it was found, but it was not abundant enough for commercial exploitation. Iron mines such as those in Iron Mountain, were able to supply the local market for a long time. The most important of the mineral resources have been salt at Saltville and plaster or gypsum west of Saltville in the community of Plasterco. Large corporations with huge factories dominated that area into the second half of the twentieth century. The salt water there has attracted seabirds although the Atlantic Ocean is 300 miles away. The seeds that they have carried with them have resulted in the growth of plants that are usually only found along coasts.[7]



People moving west stopping for the night. (Porte Crayon [David Hunter Strother] *Virginia Illustrated: Containing A Visit to the Virginian Canaan and the Adventures of Porte Crayon and His Cousins* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1857, 200)

Scotch-Irish

While Germans constituted most of those who settled in the upper Valley of Virginia, the people usually known as Scotch-Irish concentrated in the area from Augusta County westward. Both of these groups mostly came to Southwest Virginia from Pennsylvania where the Quakers practiced greater religious toleration than Virginia and had allowed them to settle there. Later arrivals came directly from Ireland and were known simply as Irish. The Scotch-Irish generally felt superior to the later Irish immigrants who they viewed as poor, heavy drinkers, and gamblers. They showed pride in their ancestry as can be seen in a letter by written by Gov. David Campbell in 1850.

> Something over one hundred and thirty years ago, my ancestry emigrated from the north of Ireland, and shortly afterwards, settled in the wilds of Virginia—but yet the Irish blood courses in my veins—and when I hear that a worthy Irishman has come from his native land to this country to better his conditions, I feel the greatest pleasure when I hear that he is doing well.[8]

The Scotch-Irish who came early obtained large tracts of land, even before the British officially ended Indian claims, and added much more over the years through purchase, as a result of official positions, or as rewards for military service. Two families dominated, the Campbells and the Prestons, with the latter also being significant in Montgomery County especially in the early years. They created an elite class, reinforced by marriages among themselves and with a few other families. They controlled the political, social, economic, and military affairs of the region for at least a century.

One marriage, that of a Campbell and a Preston, namely Sarah Campbell, daughter of William Campbell and Elizabeth Henry, and Francis Preston, resulted in the birth of a son, William Campbell Preston, who was born in the nation's capital while his father, Francis Preston, served as a U.S. congressman. After his birth, George Washington visited the family to view the child

7. R. C. Jurney, *et al.*, *Soil Survey: Washington County Virginia* (Washington: U. S. Department of Agriculture: 1945), 2–9; Summers, *Southwest Virginia*, 24; Fred Webb, Jr., "The Geological History of Smyth County, Virginia," in Elizabeth Lemmon Sayers, *Smith County: Pathfinders and Patriots: Prehistory to 1832* (Marion: Smyth County Historical Society, 1983); Coale, *Wilburn Waters*, 120–128, 221–224; Jeffrey C. Weaver, *Images of America*: Saltville (Chicago: Arcadia Press, 2006), 9–14.

8. David Campbell to John Murray, January 8, 1850, Campbell Family Papers. The Murrays had shortly before arrived in the United States and moved to Cincinnati. They apparently had passed through Abingdon. Note that he said the individual was a "worthy" Irishman.

because he was the first child born of a federal official at the seat of government. The rich, such as these, occupied a stratum above the ordinary citizens.[9]

The term Scotch-Irish is an Americanism; the people of Scotland call themselves Scots and reserve Scotch for their whiskey, while the Irish say the people should be simply known as Irish. Many of the people referred to as Scotch-Irish had ancestors who lived in the lowlands of Scotland or the border lands of England, where they fought many wars. In 1603 James VI of Scotland became James I of England when he inherited the throne upon the death of Elizabeth I. In hopes of stopping the border wars as well as subduing the Catholics in Ireland, he established the Plantation of Ulster in the north of Ireland, which he settled with people from the warring region and welcomed other Calvinists from England, France, and Germany. Above all, these people followed the teachings of John Calvin and John Knox—the Presbyterian faith. Because of their various original homelands, family names do not always identify them as Scotch-Irish.

Settlements in Ulster began in 1609 by people who had often lived in poverty. They fared better in Ireland, but still suffered disabilities because of their religion. A hundred years later they started to move to America, perhaps making up a quarter of the population in Virginia by the outbreak of the Revolution in 1775.[10]

First settlers. (Charles Louis Flint, and others, *Eighty Years' Progress of the United States: Showing the Various Channels of Industry and Education through which the People of the United States Have Arisen from a British Colony to their Present National Importance* [New York: L. Stebbins, 1861], xv)

Germans

German speakers, who constituted the second largest group of settlers in Washington County, also cannot always be recognized by their family names because English speakers often changed them for easier pronunciation or they were translated into English; for example, Zimmerman often became Carpenter and Schneider was changed to Taylor. Furthermore, the English referred to them as Dutch. This resulted from the fact that they spoke and referred to themselves as "Deutsch" which English speakers pronounced "Dutch." As a result, German-speaking settlers in Pennsylvania have been known as Pennsylvania Dutch, an appellation used even if they came from other localities in Europe such as Switzerland.

Like the Scotch-Irish, most Germans in Virginia who came to America prior to the Revolution were Protestants. While the Scotch-Irish were Presbyterian, the Germans followed a number of Protestant religious practices and beliefs. Most came from Switzerland and the south German states of the Palatinate and Würtemberg. Those who had lived in the Palatinate had

9. *The Reminiscences of William C. Preston* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1933), 1–2.

10. Larry J. Hoefling, *Chasing the Frontier: Scots-Irish in Early America* (New York: iUniverse, 2005), 1–33; Billy Kennedy, *The Scots-Irish in the Shenandoah Valley* (Londonderry: 2006), 29–32; Kenneth W. Keller, "What is Distinctive About the Scotch-Irish," 69–86 in Robert D. Mitchell (ed.), *Appalachian Frontiers: Settlement, Society and Development in the Preindustrial Era* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1991); Maldwyn Jones, "Scotch-Irish," in Stephan Thernstrom, (ed.), *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (1980), 895–908; Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West, From the Alleghenies to the Mississippi, 1769–1776* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1889), I, 104–108; Lyman Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia, Extracted from the Original Court Records of Augusta County, 1745–1800*, I (Rosslyn, Va.: Commonwealth Printing Co., 1912); Summers, *Southwest Virginia*, 116–119; John C. Campbell, *The Southern Highlander and His Homeland* (Russell Sage Foundation, 1921), 355–359.

often suffered the horrors of war and religious persecution as French and German rulers contested the area. William Penn made several recruiting trips to the Palatinate to induce immigrants to settle in his colony. They came down the Rhine River and usually sailed from Rotterdam to Philadelphia and then went to the frontier area of Pennsylvania. The greatest wave arrived between 1730 and 1750.

Most of them came from farms or small villages. In time, the English residents of Pennsylvania became alarmed at their numbers and seemingly backwardness. Benjamin Franklin, for example, criticized the Germans for maintaining their language and not fully integrating into the society of province. He called them "palatine boors." Despite this, the German speakers took pride in their language and culture, and even in the middle of the 19th century, some in Washington County continued to speak the language.[11] Those Germans who arrived in the 19th century settled in other parts of the country, came from more diverse areas, and often were Catholics.

An example of their desire to retain their language and culture comes from John George Butler, a traveling Lutheran preacher, who visited the area in 1805. Among other places, he ministered to Germans in Washington County and Sullivan County, Tennessee. He remarked that the Germans lived far apart and because of a lack of German preachers and schools, many of them were lost to that faith.[12] On the other hand, Anne Royall saw Germans everywhere in Washington County when she traveled by stagecoach in 1823 from Huntsville, Alabama to Virginia. Upon arriving in Washington County, she noted that "as soon as you are in Washington county, Va., you have Dutch (as they are called) drivers, Dutch inns, and Dutch everything." She wrote that the counties of Washington, Wythe and Montgomery were marked by industry as well as some opulence and taste, but, unfortunately, many Germans had settled there. She claimed "the poor ignorant Dutch, who, though industrious, and in many instances wealthy, are grossly ignorant, and immoral, particularly their females." In addition, "the Dutch (so called) generally throughout America, evince an insuperable aversion to learning." Her comments are highly exaggerated and preconceived. Certainly she overstated the German presence in Washington County, which may have been based on only a few encounters.[13]

Usually the Germans arrived in families, but at other times an individual might arrive first before bringing over others. A good example of this was John Widener of Widener's Valley. According to the story he pawned or bartered his son Mike, who was a young boy, while he came to America to establish himself in Pennsylvania. He found work and raised money so he could buy his son's freedom. The boy is said to have served as an interpreter for Hessian troops who were fighting in the Revolution after which the family migrated to Washington County.[14]

Some of the earliest German speakers to settle in the Holston area, as identified by Klaus Wust, were Adam Lerberber, Balzer Rouse, and Jacob Hartenstine on the South Fork; Samuel Stalnaker, Hunchrist and Conrad Carlock, Peter Harman, George Spangler, and Henry Kounts on the Middle Fork; Frederick Gobble, Michael Hoffaker, Gasper Mansaker, Caspar Fleenor, Peter and Jacob Spangler, Adam Deck, John Schafer,

11. John W. Wayland, *The German Element of the Shenandoah Valley* (1907), 29–30; Oscar Kuhns, *The German and Swiss Settlement of Colonial Pennsylvania: A Study of the So-Called Pennsylvania Dutch* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1901), 115–149; William T. Parsons, *The Pennsylvania Dutch* (Boston: Twayne, 1976), 43–59; William Beidelmann, *The Story of the Pennsylvania Germans: Embracing an Account of their Origin, their History, and their Dialect* (Easton, PA: 1898), 22–64; Klaus Wust, *The Virginia Germans* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1969), *passim*.

12. William Edward Eisenberg, *The Lutheran Church in Virginia, 1717–1962* (Roanoke: Lutheran Church, 1967), 587–598.

13. Royall, *Sketches*, 26–29. Anne Royall led a colorful life. She came from a poor family but married a rich older man. When he died, his relatives claimed that the couple had not wed and his will was eventually annulled. Later, in a story that may not be true, she is said to have gone to Washington to try to get a pension for her husband's military service but had little luck until she went to the place where John Quincy Adams bathed in the Potomac River. She sat on his clothes until he promised to help her get the pension, something that women had not been able to do before that. She traveled extensively, wrote a number of books, and ran newspapers in Washington. At one time, she was convicted of being a scold for fussing about people in the neighborhood for which the punishment was to be ducked, but in the end, she received a fine instead. Cynthia Earman, "An Uncommon Scold," *Library of Congress Information Bulletin* (2002); Sarah Harvey Porter, *The Life and Times of Anne Royall* (Cedar Rapids: 1908), *passim*.

14. David Hackett Fischer and James C. Kelly, *Bound Away: Virginia and the Westward Movement* (Charlottesville: UVA, 2000), 111–113; Summers, *Southwest Virginia*, 104.

15. Wust, *Virginia Germans*, 102–103.

Peter Munch, Frederick Koppenhaver, Peter Fuchs, Johan Hagey, Peter Groseclose, Jacob Bluebaugh, Christian Lutspike, and Anthony Horn on the North Fork, Rich Valley, and Abingdon areas.[15] Many of these family names were modified over the years.

Africans

In addition to those who arrived from Europe, Virginia had a considerable number of people who came from Africa beginning in 1619. They originated mostly on the western coast of Sub-Sahara Africa, although a few came from Mozambique in the southeast. Traders brought them into Virginia, where they were sold to masters to become laborers. Because the Africans came from various tribes and found themselves mixed together, they lost most of their specific tribal identify, such as language and religion, but they retained some of their Africans ways. Since Washington County was organized in 1777 and Virginia stopped the importing of slaves in 1787, most of the Africans came into the area from the eastern part of the state by purchase or with their owners.

Origins of Slaves Brought into Virginia[16]
(using twenty-first century place names)

Nigeria	37.7%
Angola	15.7
Senegal and Gambia	14.9
Ivory Coast	6.3
Sierra Leone	5.3
Mozambique	4.1

Population Numbers

With settlers moving into Southwest Virginia, the legislature divided Augusta County in 1772 thereby creating Fincastle County, but that county lasted only until 1776 when the counties of Montgomery, Washington and Kentucky were carved from it. Fortunately, the Constitution of 1787 required the taking of a census every ten years beginning in 1790. From the census reports one can see population growth; however, over time, Washington County lost territory to Russell, Smyth, and Scott counties, something that is especially reflected in the census of 1840 after the formation of Smyth County in 1832. The census numbers cannot always be relied upon, especially those from 1790 and 1800 since they have not survived.

Population of Washington County, 1790–1860[17]

1790	5,625
1800	9,536
1810	12,136
1820	12,444
1830	15,614
1840	13,001
1850	14,612
1860	16,892

The federal census in 1850, for the first time, showed the migration of white people into Virginia from other states and foreign countries by giving their places of birth. Unfortunately, the censuses do not show movement within the state. The migration down the Valley of Virginia from Pennsylvania had long stopped by then, but quite a few people arrived from Tennessee, and North Carolina. Census records of households show that sometimes the father or mother had been born in one of those states while the rest of the family was born in Washington County. In other instances, one or two children were born in Tennessee or North Carolina while the parents and other siblings were born in Virginia, which indicates that a considerable number of people moved back and forth. As of 1860, a few people had moved from the Deep South to the county. Whether this resulted from political or economic events or was simply because they sought a more moderate climate is not known.

16. Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1969), 157.

17. The census data here are taken from Federal Census Browser at http://mapserver.lib.virginia.edu/. The 1790 census is only an estimate and most of the 1800 census was destroyed. The numbers do not always agree with the author's counts; for example, the Federal Census Browser says 2,547 slaves resided in Washington County in 1860 while my count is 2,511. Also, the 1860 online census says that only three people owned more than 1,000 acres in Washington County while the schedule for that in the census shows thirty. Other people have arrived at different numbers as well for various parts of the census. At best, the census figures should be considered approximate.

White Residents of Washington County Born in the US but Outside Virginia, Censuses of 1850 and 1860[18]

	1850	1860
North Carolina	183	478
Tennessee	135	558
Pennsylvania	31	31
Maryland	17	25
South Carolina	8	9
New York	7	24
Connecticut	6	16
Kentucky	4	17
Ohio	3	5
Illinois	2	5
Maine	2	4
Florida	1	2
Mississippi	1	14
Rhode Island		1
Georgia		14
Louisiana		12
Alabama		11
Massachusetts		8
Missouri		6
Arkansas		4
Indiana		3
Texas		2
Delaware		1
Washington, D.C.		1
New Hampshire		1
New Jersey		1

Not many immigrants arrived from outside the United States, but those who did mostly came from Ireland.

Foreign Born Residents of Washington County, Censuses of 1850 and 1860

	1850	1860
Ireland	20	34
Scotland	9	3
Germany	2	14
Saxony		1
England		2
France		1
Prussia		1
Wales		1

18. The figures given here for 1850 and 1860 exclude out of state students at Emory and Henry College.

Coffle of Slaves. These were headed south and would have passed through Washington County. (Featherstonhaugh, *Excursion*, I, 121)

Outward Movement of White Virginians

Americans have always been a mobile people. Many who lived in Virginia moved, usually westward. While numbers are not known for Washington County, the census report of 1860 shows the states to which Virginians migrated—Ohio attracted the most. This resulted from the fact that it had once been a part of the Old Dominion; military pensioners could claim land in what became known as the Virginia Military District. In addition, Ohio lay on the western boundary of Virginia and settlers found it easy to move there from what is now West Virginia and northern Virginia. These movements help to explain the southernness of some areas of the Midwest such as central Ohio, central Missouri, southern Illinois, Indiana, and East Texas. Not many went into the Deep South. Kentucky and Tennessee adjoined Southwest Virginia and people could easily move there.

A number of residents of Washington County are known to have moved to central Missouri, which became known as Little Dixie. From time to time they reported deaths and marriages to the Abingdon newspapers. Others went to places such as Texas and Iowa, where they named a settlement Abingdon. Apparently, there was considerable interest in Iowa since *The Democrat* of Abingdon carried an article on "Emigration to Iowa" in 1852, which listed thirteen questions and answers about the state such as the climate, seasons, timber, rivers, and education.[19]

States with Large Numbers of White Residents Born in Virginia in 1860[20]

Ohio	85,762
Kentucky	54,694
Tennessee	46,631
Indiana	41,819
Missouri	40,777
Illinois	24,697
North Carolina	10,838
Pennsylvania	10,410
Alabama	10,387
Mississippi	8,357

Not included in the numbers of those who had been born in Virginia were slaves whose owners took them along as they moved to places such as Tennessee and Kentucky. When the cotton economy developed early in the 19th century slave traders drove large numbers through Washington County to Deep South states such as Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas. They were "sold South" from Eastern Virginia and places along the way, including Washington County. The slavers organized them in coffles or gangs and moved them southward after the harvest was finished. An estimate holds that as many as eighty slaves passed through the county each week in the early years but increased to as many as 200 before the Panic of 1837.[21]

G. W. Featherstonhaugh was shocked when he saw a large coffle before it crossed New River.

> It was a camp of negro slave-drivers, just packing up to start; they had about three hundred slaves with them, who had bivouacked the preceding night in chains in the woods; these they were conducting to Natchez, upon the Mississippi River, to work upon the sugar plantations in Louisiana . . . The female slaves were, some of them, sitting on logs of wood, whilst others were standing, and a great many little black children were warming themselves at the fires of the bivouac. In front of them all, and prepared for the march, stood, in double files, about two hundred males slaves manacled and chained to each other. I had never seen so revolting a sight before! Black men in fetters . . . driven by white men, with liberty and equality in their mouths, to a distant and unhealthy country, to perish in the sugar-mills of Louisiana, where the duration of life for a sugar-mill slave does not exceed seven years![22]

Apparently coffles were such ordinary events that no one in Washington County mentioned them. Some, no doubt, profited by selling food for the slaves, the slavers, and the horses.

The stories of two families moving west from Washington County have been preserved. One account is from a diary kept by Ann (Nancy) Middleton Craig Mitchell Bovelle, who migrated with her second husband, Rev. Stephen Bovelle, from Abingdon to Randolph County, Missouri starting on September 26, 1836 and arriving after two months of travel. While she does not give detailed accounts of events, she usually tells what the weather had been and the distance travelled each day. On some days they did not travel, on others they covered only a few miles. But on good days they usually covered about twenty miles, with the greatest number being thirty-five. They crossed the Ohio and Mississippi rivers in steam boats. They did not have to sleep in their wagon but instead lodged with people every night. Some of those people with whom they stayed appear to have previously been residents of Washington County. Unfortunately, Ann died about seven months after their arrival.[23] Although the journey took a long time, they did not encounter any serious difficulties along the way.

19. *The Democrat*, May 1, 1852. While it has been written that Abingdon, Illinois received its name from Abingdon, Virginia, it was named for Abingdon, Maryland, according to Henry Gannett, *The Origin of Certain Place Names in the United States* (Washington: GPO, 1905), 15.

20. Fischer and Kelly, *Bound Away*, 135–201.

21. Philip D. Troutman, "A 'Sorrowful Cavalcade': Enslaved Migration through Appalachian Virginia," *The Smithfield Review*, V (2001), 23–46.

22. Featherstonhaugh, *Excursion*, I, 120–121.

23. http://www.ramblingroots.com/RYB-p/mitchell-migration-map.htm.

Slave Coffle Going from Staunton, Virginia to Tennessee. This coffle, too, would have passed through Washington County. (http://wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Stauntonslavetrade. Originally appeared in Lewis Miller, *Sketchbook of Landscapes in the State of Virginia, 1853–1867*)

Another diary that was kept by Mary Jane Beaty Davis relates a more difficult move. She married in September, 1831 to Garner Moffitt and the couple set out for Hancock County Indiana in October along with a couple of men. When they got to their land, which they apparently purchased earlier, they found it covered by timber; only the road had been cleared. They had taken with them only bedding and clothing and, thus, had to make furniture such as beds, a table, some benches, and chairs from logs. For food they had to buy corn meal, pork, and potatoes. They built a log cabin, but the winter was so cold they had to boil water to make the mortar to put between the cracks in the walls. After the cold winter passed, they were able to get a cow, which provided milk and butter; however, they also had a new baby. Even so, they raised some flax, which meant Mary had to work until bedtime spinning the threads, but she got a sore on her finger and the family had to pay a man to weave it for them which turned out to be as expensive as buying the cloth. The following year they moved on to Laporte County with two children and two cows and started the process again, but this also turned out to be temporary stay, and they moved again to Carroll County, Illinois.[24] This was typical of people who kept looking for better land.

Located between Clinch Mountain and the southern border of Virginia, Washington County provided excellent farmland for settlers. Some remained in the county while others stayed a few years and then travelled on to the West and South. Many others simply passed through the county on their trips westwards. Unfortunately, many were slaves, some of whom were bound for the Deep South and early deaths in the cotton and sugar fields.

24. http://www.ramblingroots.com/RYB-p/pl125.htm.

2

Earliest Times

Evidence of human habitation in Washington County can be dated to thousands of years ago. Native Americans still occupied some places when Spanish explorers came into the area. The Spanish warred with the Indians but left no settlements. Next came hunters and traders. Farmers followed and sought to make permanent settlements on the natives' lands which resulted in numerous conflicts between Indians and settlers.

Indian mortar and pestle found near North Fork Holston River. The limestone mortar appears to be an image of a turkey. It comes from the Mississippian culture which began about 600 and lasted until about 1500 AD. Some remnants of the decoration can still be seen. (Loan from Judy and Jim Moore. Courtesy of W. Blair Keller, Jr. Interpretive Center, Abingdon)

Early Americans

People were present in the area in very distant times; in fact, earlier than Clovis, New Mexico, which archaeologists once believed to be the first culture in North America. They postulated that the people arrived about 11,500–10,500 years ago from Asia. Later research, however, led to the finding of Pre-Clovis sites and the conclusion that people were present at least a few thousand years earlier. Some came from other places and by different routes, possibly including Europe.[1] Surprisingly, very early evidence comes from Chile.

In the Washington County area excavations at the SV-2 site between Plasterco and Saltville have shown that humans were in the region as early as 14,500 years ago. This date was based on evidence that hunters and gatherers had butchered, cooked, and eaten mastodons along the long-gone Saltville River, which flowed through the valley into the North Fork of the Holston. Evidence also turned up from about 500 years later.[2]

Additional information in Washington County comes from the discovery of sixteen spears made of local rock surrounded by organic material that could be dated to about 10,000 years ago when the area had a cold climate, much like that in Quebec in the 21st century.[3]

In the Archaic Period, from 8000–1000 BC, the climate changed, and native people began to rely more on plant foods than before, which meant they moved less often, apparently abandoning their nomadic life and settling into a pattern of winter and summer camps. The earliest known settlement found thus far in Southwest Virginia, the Daugherty Cave in Russell County, appeared early in this period. The Indians also began to make soapstone utensils and other products,

1. For example, Dennis J. Stanford and Bruce A. Bradley, *Across Atlantic Ice: The Origin of America's Clovis Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012).

2. Jerry N. McDonald, "An Outline of the Pre-Clovis Archeology of SV-2, Saltville, Virginia, with Special Attention to a Bone Tool Dated 14,510 Yr BP," *Jeffersoniana*, 9 (2000), 1–59.

3. Charles S. Bartlett, *Archeology in Washington County, Virginia: A Special Publication by the Wolf Hills Chapter of the Archeological Society of Virginia, Commemorating 25 Years, 1972–1997* (Abingdon: Archeological Society of Virginia, Wolf Hills Chapter: 1997).

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not included in
this Preview

75 cents. The commissioners received pay up to $1.50 per day for their work but could be fined from $5 to $30 for failure to perform any duty required of them.[40]

Taxation

From 1607 to 1619, Virginians paid no direct taxes, but this changed when the House of Burgesses came into existence. Although, the king paid the salary of the governor, the rest of the government needed support which resulted in the imposition of a poll (head or capitation) tax in 1619 in the amount of one pound of tobacco per person that was subject to taxation. This amount increased over time. The poll tax fell equally on all taxpayers regardless of their wealth and therefore resulted in strong opposition by the poorer classes, but it continued to be the chief source of income for the colony until the outbreak of the French and Indian War. By 1789, personal property taxes were imposed on horses and mules, coaches, stages, gigs, and slaves, but that was soon expanded to include many other items.[41]

Some Taxes in 1847

Land . . . . . 10 cents per $100 of value, per year
Houses and lots in town
. . . . . $2.40 per $100 value per year
Slaves over age twelve . . . . . 32¢ per year
Horses, mares, mules, asses, and colts
. . . . . 10 cents each per year
Carriages, stage coaches, gigs, pianos
. . . . . 1.5% of value per year
Theatres . . . . . .$3 per week
Bowling alleys . . . . . $10 per alley per year
Billiard tables . . . . . .$200 each per year
License for selling goods
. . . . . $10-$65 depending on amounts
Ordinaries, houses of entertainment
. . . . . $3 plus 5% of value if more than $200
Peddlers . . . . . .$10 in each county
Traveling shows . . . . . $10 for each show
Insurance offices . . . . . .$100 per year
Gold watches . . . . . $1 per year
Physicians, dentists, surgeons . . . . . $5 per year
Selling Refreshments in theatres. . . . $10 per year
Income . . . . . 1% on amounts over $400

The state, however, did not need a great deal of money to operate as it was relatively simple. For example, in 1794, the expenses for the legislature were $10,000 while salaries for the executive branch cost $39,239.17.[42]

Other taxes were levied on such things as interest, dividends, inheritances, printing presses, toll bridges, ferries, vendors of patent medicine, public rooms, lottery vendors, auctioneers, and retailers of spirits.[43] The Washington County Court settled its accounts at the May meeting each year. In 1862 the poll tax was set at $1.25 which was approximately the pay a craftsman could earn in a day.[44]

Creation of Washington County

The origins of Washington County have much to do with western lands and personal and political ambitions with Arthur Campbell playing the leading role. His first political and military appointments came in 1772 when Governor Dunmore named him a justice of the peace and captain in the militia in Fincastle County. As a militia leader, he dealt with many problems with Indians. Then in 1774 William Preston, the commander of forces in Fincastle, got him appointed as a major and charged him with the duty of raising troops for Dunmore's War. When Indians attacked the frontier forts while much of the militia was off fighting the war, Campbell vigorously defended the settlements, especially those in the Clinch River area which suffered several attacks causing many residents to remain in forts for long periods of time.[45]

Campbell's relations with Preston quickly deteriorated because of controversies about land policies. In 1775, Judge Richard Henderson and others formed what became known as the Transylvania Company which illegally bought lands in Kentucky, then part of Virginia, from some Cherokees. That caused Governor Dunmore to issue a proclamation that declared the

40. *Code of 1849*, Title 16, Chapter 52, 266–273.

41. Edgar Sydenstricker, *A Brief History of Taxation in Virginia* (Richmond, 1915), *passim*.

42. Virginia, *Journal of the House of Delegates, 1794*, 64.

43. Virginia, *Acts of Assembly 1846–1847*, 3–8; *Code of 1849*, Title 12, Chapter 35, 187. By 1853 the income tax was on amounts above $250. *Code of 1860*, Title 12, Chapter 12, 198. As of 1852 the poll tax went to the Literary Fund for the support of schools. *Code of 1860*, Title 23, Chapter 79, 416.

44. WC Court Minutes, May 25, 1862.

45. James W. Hagy, *Castle's Woods and Early Russell County* (Lebanon: Russell County Historical Society, 1979), 27–39.

sale void and forbade private companies or individuals to make treaties with any Indian nation. The company ignored the proclamation and proceeded to survey tracts of land. At the same time, the governor called for regular surveys and the sale of the lands, and William Preston sent out his deputy surveyor, John Floyd, who also began to measure lands for himself and Preston.[46]

Campbell, William Christian, and William Russell, all from Fincastle County, wrote to the settlers in Kentucky urging them not to submit to surveys by the Transylvania Company. Campbell also protested against the sale of land by the colony of Virginia because the government normally granted exemptions and advantages to the first settlers or for service in the military. On the other hand, he said that the people would rather pay "a stipulated Sum to the Crown than to any private Person whatsoever."[47] Campbell's wrath, in part, resulted from the fact that he had wanted to have the position of surveyor in Kentucky for himself. There is some evidence that he may have intrigued with Henderson to get that position, but any ambitions that he may have had were dashed when Floyd showed Henderson a packet of letters that Campbell had written him. Floyd said that he had the "pleasure of seeing" Campbell "sufficiently mortified without saying any single word."[48]

After that Campbell bitterly opposed the land companies; even so, the Transylvania Company on December 17, 1775 made a one thousand acre grant to him along with others to William Edmiston and David Campbell, Jr. This apparently was an attempt to appease Campbell and buy support from the others;[49] however, Campbell was not placated.

When elections took place in the spring of 1776 for delegates to the Virginia Convention, John Floyd urged Preston who was a candidate to "Pray, contrive it so that the gent [Campbell] might not sit in the Convention." [50] Despite Preston's efforts, the voters sent Campbell and William Russell to Williamsburg where they participated in writing the first constitution for the state. Campbell was probably responsible for Article XXI which clearly stated that the Commonwealth of Virginia owned the western lands and provided that no purchase of land from the natives would be valid. While this was going on, Floyd went to the capital to try, without success, to get the Henderson claims validated. According to one account, Floyd sought out Campbell in the streets in Williamsburg and beat him up.[51]

People who had already settled in Kentucky feared that the Henderson claim would result in their losing their lands. A group of settlers, thus, dispatched a petition to the Virginia Convention asking the state to look after their interests and sent George Rogers Clark and Gabriel John Jones to appeal to the convention. Clark asked that Kentucky be made into a separate county, something which created considerable opposition, especially from Campbell. Clark remarked that "Col. Arthur Campbell one of the Members of the General Assembly . . . was much opposed to our having a new County but wished us to remain annexed to the County on the Frontiers of which we lay and himself Represented." As a result, "this caused it to be late in the session before we got a compleat Establishment of a new county by the name of Kentucky." [52]

Although the creation of a county for Kentucky would take away part of the county that Campbell represented, there is more to the story. The first attempt to

46. Preston to Dunmore, August 25, 1774, Draper MS 4QQ7; Proclamation by Dunmore, March 21, 1775, Peter Force, *American Archives, Fourth Series* (Washington: 1837–1846), II, col. 174; Madison to Preston, July, 1775, Draper MS 4QQ30; Russell to Preston, June 12, 1775, Draper MS 4QQ19; John Floyd to Preston, September 1, 1775, Draper MS 33S28; Inhabitants of Fincastle, Arthur Campbell Papers. Filson Historical Society, Louisville, KY.

47. Patricia Givens Johnson, *William Preston and the Allegheny Patriots* (1976), 165–171; John Floyd to William Preston, September 1, 1775, Draper MS 33S282.

48. Floyd to Preston, December 1, 1775, Draper MS 33S292. Floyd seems to have had a temperament much like that of Campbell, and some of his statement may be exaggerated.

49. Henderson made a true copy of the entries and supplied it to Campbell. Copy is in the Campbell-Preston Papers, Library of Congress.

50. Floyd to Preston, May 1, 1776, Draper MS 4X43.

51. James McGavock to Preston, August 14, 1776, Draper MS 4QQ69; Floyd to Preston, December 16, 1776, Draper MS 33S308–312; Johnson, *William Preston*, 196.

52. *American Archives, Fourth Series*, VI, col. 1528–1529; William Stewart Lester, *The Transylvania Colony* (1935), 127–128, 134–135, 142–144; Robert McNutt McElroy, *Kentucky in the Nation's History* (New York: 1909), 57– 60, James McGavock to William Preston, August 14, 1776, Draper MS 4QQ69; John Floyd to William Preston, December 16, 1776, Draper MS 33S308– 312; Patricia Givens Johnson, *William Preston and the Allegheny Patriots* (1976), 196; Clark's Memoir, 1773–779, in James Alton James, ed. *George Rogers Clark Papers, 1771–781, Collections of the Illinois Historical Library*, VIII, Virginia Series, III (Springfield: 1912), 214; Temple Bodley, *George Rogers Clark: His Life and Public Service* (Boston: 1916), 32–33.

pass a bill called for it to be separated from Fincastle. After quite a bit of maneuvering the legislature killed this bill; however, it was introduced a second time and was sent to a committee headed by Thomas Jefferson of which Arthur Campbell was a member. The bill passed the House and went to the Senate which refused to accept it. John Floyd reported that the Senate turned it down because Campbell "had a clause added to the Kentucky Bill to disqualify all persons from holding any place of profit either civil or military who had ever had a commission under Henderson." Not until December 7, 1776, did the legislature accept a bill which divided Fincastle County, not into two counties but three: Montgomery, Washington, and Kentucky.[53]

Claims persist that the county was the first to be named for George Washington who, at the time, commanded the Continental Army, but Maryland had already named one for him. The legislature there passed a law to establish Washington County, Maryland, on September 6, 1776 which went into effect on October 1, 1776.[54] Since the law creating Washington County, Virginia, was passed on December 7, 1776 and went into effect on January 1, 1777, it was the second one named for the future president.

When the House finally passed the bill, Campbell carried the legislation to the Senate, thus indicating he supported it. In fact, he probably had written it as bills carried to other houses were not entrusted to opponents. Campbell profited from the creation of three new counties because when Washington County came into existence he became not only the head of the county court but also the county lieutenant with the rank of colonel, something he could not have done in Fincastle County where William Preston served as a justice, sheriff, county lieutenant, and surveyor. To separate Kentucky from Fincastle County would not have benefited him, but to divide Fincastle into three parts did. The division had the potential of greatly reducing, or perhaps even eliminating, the military position of Preston. Campbell, no doubt, agreed to support the bill with the promise of appointments from Gov. Patrick Henry. Meanwhile, Preston "experienced uneasy moments" wondering if he would lose his positions because Fincastle ceased to exist, but Gov. Henry made Preston the county lieutenant of Montgomery, and he continued in his militia as well as other appointments.[55]

Land Problems

Meanwhile, the question of who owned western lands had to be cleared up. People had settled in the counties of Montgomery, Washington and Kentucky before and after the Patton, Loyal, and Transylvania claims had been made. The Patton and Loyal Company grants had been received from the royal government, but when that no longer existed, settlers argued that the grants were not valid. Thus, the legislature passed three pieces of legislation to deal temporarily with settlement on western land. First, the Convention on June 24, 1776, ruled that those people in occupation of lands on the western waters to which no prior claim had been made "should have preemption or preference to a grant of such lands." Next in 1777, the Assembly declared that all persons settled on lands as of June 4, 1776, would have that land by "squatter's rights" of up to four hundred acres a family. Then in 1778, the legislature granted a tract of two hundred thousand acres of land to Henderson and his company for their "very great expense in making a purchase of the Cherokee Indians," and though the purchase had previously been voided, the state was "likely to receive great advantages therefrom;" therefore, it was "just and reasonable" that the company should be compensated." The lands granted to the company, however, were far removed from settled areas and could not be disposed of immediately. By these actions the state government satisfied the frontiersmen for the time being in their quest for titles to their lands and gave recognition to some of the claims of the Transylvania Company.

But then, disturbing news reached the settlers that the legislature might validate the claims of the Loyal Company on which many of them lived.[56] Arthur

53. Virginia, *Journal of the House of* Delegates (October 7– December 21, 1776), 4, 11, 13, 15, 16, 19, 22, 28, 33, 44, 52, 67, 70, 87, 90; Hening *Statutes*, XI, 257– 261; James W. Hagy, "Arthur Campbell and the Origins of Kentucky: A Reassessment," *The Filson Club History Quarterly*, 55 (October, 1981), 344–374.

54. Joseph Nathan Kane, *The American Counties: A Record of the Origin of the Names of the 3,067 Counties, Dates of Creation and Organization, Area, Population, Historical Data, etc.* (New York: Scarecrow Press, 1960), 314, 340.

55. Johnson, *William Preston*, 196.

56. The Loyal Company's grant expired in 1757. The company asked for an extension in 1763, but the Proclamation of 1763 reserved the lands for the Indians. Despite that, the company resumed measuring and selling land.

Campbell drafted a petition "of sundry Inhabitants of the Counties of Washington and Montgomery" which claimed that Thomas Walker of the Loyal Company "kept a publick office at William Ingles place on the New River" in 1769 and encouraged pioneers to settle on the lands, saying that "whoever will settle shall have it if I get my grant, and if I do not get it, tis the best way you can secure it by the King's right." The petitioners claimed that according to a decree of council of December 16, 1773, they were promised settlement rights, and many of them thus took up lands only to be informed that the Loyal Company claimed the land. They asked, therefore, that the "Grant so well known by the name of Walker's Grant may be buried in oblivion so that it may not hereafter rise up against us." One hundred and twelve names followed.[57]

The legislature, however, soon disappointed them when it enacted two permanent laws in May, 1779. The first validated all claims that had been surveyed before January 24, 1778, including those of land companies. Furthermore, all settlers on western lands who lived on their lands as of January 1, 1778, were to receive four hundred acres of land per family to be known as settlement rights. If the settler had made improvements on the land, he received preemption rights to the adjoining thousand acres. These lands cost the settler ten shillings per hundred acres. Anyone who settled on his lands after January 1, 1778, did not have settlement rights but had preemption rights to four hundred acres at the price of £40 per hundred acres. Settlers on company lands had to pay the companies the price at which the companies sold the lands plus interest.[58]

The second act, which established the land office, provided for the acquisition of land by military bounties for service in the French and Indian War and the American Revolution. Parcels ranged from fifty acres for privates to five thousand acres for field officers. In addition, there were treasury rights, which meant that a person could purchase a land warrant at the rate of £40 per hundred acres. Such warrants first had to be claimed in the land entry book of the county followed by a survey. Anyone could purchase as much land as he could afford.[59]

The people settled on the western lands resented the concessions made to the land companies and began sending petitions to the state capital. Joining in the protest, Arthur Campbell drafted two petitions to be presented to the General Assembly. He called one "The Memorial of the Inhabitants of Washington County," while he labeled the other "The Memorial and Remonstrance of Kentucky."[60] In the Washington County memorial, Campbell protested that the good people of the western waters had flattered themselves that the vacant lands would be disposed of in a manner so that those of "inconsiderable Fortune" might have been able to acquire them as compensation for their "Distresses and Losses" resulting from defending their country. The Kentucky Petition contained a similar line of reasoning. He protested the benefits to the land companies and talked of their "undue influence." He also called for the act of 1779 to be amended in order to remove the claims of the companies. The Campbell-Preston Papers in the Library of Congress contain a similar petition from Montgomery County.

Meanwhile, Thomas Walker took the case of the Loyal Company to the courts in December, 1779, in hope of having its claims fully validated. The courts considered the issue over a long period of time with the Virginia Court of Appeals deciding on May 2, 1783, that "all surveys made by a county surveyor, or his deputy, ought to be confirmed; and that the registrar be directed to issue patents upon all such survey as shall be returned.[61] Thus, the Loyal Company with its grant by an order in council from the royal government won in the struggle against the occupants of land in the republican era. The matter raged for decades. As late as 1831, more than 120 persons in Washington County protested the court decision saying that they were never heard by the Court of Appeals, that they held their lands by patents from the Commonwealth, and that the Loyal Company never surveyed their lands with their consent. The petitioners wanted the claims of the company to be abolished and the repeal of "An Act Concerning the Loyal Company" which passed in 1818 that gave unnamed individuals the right to sue for payment stating "What is there in the character of this company that such uncommon favor should be extended to them?"

57. This petition is found in the Arthur Campbell Papers, Filson Club, Louisville, Kentucky.

58. Hening, *Statutes*, X, 35– 50.

59. *Ibid.*, 50– 65.

60. The manuscripts are found in the Campbell-Preston Papers.

61. Quoted in Archibald Henderson, *Dr. Thomas Walker and the Loyal Land Company of Virginia* (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1932), 41.

Their petition was "laid on the table," or, in other words, dismissed without discussion.[62]

Organization of Washington County

The act of 1776 which created Washington County provided that Fincastle County would cease to exist at the end of the year with the new counties beginning on January 1, 1777. The legislation authorized the Washington County Court to meet on the last Tuesday of the month at Black's Fort which was January 28, 1777. The legislation also provided that the court should appoint and qualify a clerk of the court and to decide where future meetings should be held. The boundaries of the county included the lands of what is now Southwest Virginia from Montgomery County to Kentucky including a good deal of the lands along the Holston and Clinch rivers in what is now East Tennessee.[63] The establishment of the county seat at Black's Fort did not sit well with numerous residents who lived in the lower part of the Holston area who believed that the western boundary of the county lay at the Indian Line. They protested that the court house was located in the "upper end" of the county less than thirty miles from the line with Montgomery County at Seven Mile Ford while they were some seventy miles away. They wanted the center of government moved to what they considered a more central location.[64] While some of the protestors lived on Virginia land, the others, it was eventually determined, lived in North Carolina, present Tennessee.

Gov. Patrick Henry appointed sixteen justices of the peace to serve as the county court with Arthur Campbell as presiding judge along with two other members of the Campbell family. In addition, the governor appointed James Dysart as sheriff, Arthur Campbell as county lieutenant, Evan Shelby and William Campbell as lieutenant colonels, and Daniel Smith as a major in the county militia. Two of the justices, Arthur Campbell and William Campbell had served on the Fincastle County court. Henry also named Arthur Campbell as sheriff in 1779.[65]

The first meeting of the county court lasted two days. It consisted mostly of the taking of oaths and the election of the clerk, David Campbell. The second day the justices appointed three men to hire wagons to bring in salt for the county as it had been rationed by the state government. They also appointed officers to take a list of tithables for the purpose of taxation, and recommended four other men to the governor to be appointed as justices and an attorney for the commonwealth. Then they ordered the sheriff to set up a jail and set the prices of liquors in the taverns with rum being fixed at sixteen shillings per gallon, rye whiskey at eight shillings, and corn whiskey at four shillings. In 1780 the court set the rate in dollars with wine costing $50 a quart, rum $60, full proof whiskey $40, good beer $10, and cider $12.[66]

The second meeting on February 25 involved hearing a charge of murder against Edward Bond who was acquitted but who on the following day was sent to the General Court in Williamsburg on the charge of stealing a bay mare worth £15. The next day they sent recommendations to the governor for twenty men to be appointed as captains of the militia, twenty to be lieutenants, and twenty to be ensigns.[67] The positions brought a considerable amount of prestige and resulted in men using their titles of colonel, major, or captain for the rest of their lives, but not lieutenant.

Politics in Washington County featured heated conflicts especially between the Campbell and Preston clans. The first big one came about when Robert Preston appeared before the court in April, 1777, with a commission certified by William and Mary College that appointed him surveyor of Washington County. He had served as the deputy surveyor of Fincastle County under William Preston and the two of them had surveyed lands for James Patton and the Loyal Land Company thereby incurring the wrath of many settlers. The court, led by Arthur Campbell, refused to accept his commission stating it "should not be received, as it is issued by virtue of a prerogative from the Crown of England."[68] Preston then appealed to the General Court in Williamsburg but apparently had no success there. He tried to get his commission accepted a second

62. Petition to the Legislature, December 17, 1831, 198/12/17.

63. Hening, *Statutes*, IX, 257–261.

64. Petition to the General Assembly, November 6, 1777, 197/249/4.

65. WC Court Minutes, February 16, 1779. It is not known how long he kept that position.

66. *Ibid.*, November 23, 1780. They did not say what type of dollars they were using.

67. *Ibid.*, January 29, 1777.

68. *Ibid.*, April 29, 1779.

time but the county court turned him down again. Gov. Thomas Jefferson settled the dispute in 1780 when he issued a commission to Preston to be the surveyor on behalf of the state which meant the county could no longer deny him the appointment. Preston assumed the office and served for the next fifty-one years.[69] This was, by no means, the last such dispute in the county.

Actions of the County Court

In the ensuing years, the county court dealt with many issues. Its powers were broad which resulted in their having to cope with many types of matters in each session of the court which usually lasted two to five days. For example, in August 1841 the court met from the 23rd to the 27th. On Monday the 23rd, they heard indictments for Thomas Kendrick for unlawfully selling ardent spirits, Robert C. Hensley for assault, and John Keller for failing to keep a road in repair. They also appointed and swore in a grand jury of inquest, appointed a number of men as overseers of the roads, approved a list of conveyances, received bonds for the settlement of estates, and appointed a number of men to act as guardians for orphans under the age of fourteen. They also heard cases regarding debts, appointed men to view new roads, received reports of roads that had been viewed, took into custody Mary Ann Ward for being an insolvent debtor and dismissed her when she presented a schedule of her estate and took an oath as an insolvent debtor, committed James Grubb to jail for his inability to make security for his good behavior, and bound a free girl of color named Viney to Elizabeth Snodgrass to learn weaving.

On the 24th, the court held a trial for Michael Stump for not keeping a road in repair, but the justices who heard the case declared him not guilty. They also heard three cases of assault and convicted two of the men, one being fined $1 and the other $3. They also heard a number of other debt cases.

On the 25th, 26th, 27th, they heard about forty cases of debts, dealt with settling estates, heard a case of trespassing and a number of others cases, assigned guardians for orphans, approved licenses for houses of entertainment, bound illegitimate children to guardians, and dealt with roads again.

69. *Ibid.*, January 23, 1777, August 19, 1779, April 19, 1780.

Through the years the transfers of property, settlement of estates, roads, and debts took up much their meetings. Once a person lost a debt case, the sheriff could collect the money and get a commission. The court had many other duties such as dealing with the militia, setting tax rates, providing for schools, caring for the poor and insane, issuing licenses, ridding the land of wolves and foxes, exempting poor or incapacitated people from having to pay taxes, registering free persons of color and aliens, and controlling slaves.

Criminal cases heard by the court included trespass, assault, poisoning, murder, rape, burglary, stealing, receiving stolen goods, keeping disorderly houses, selling liquor without a license, bribery, indecent exposure, embezzlement, begging, counterfeiting, running away by apprentices and slaves, blasphemy, drunkenness, cursing, and disturbing the Sabbath.

Social Services for the Poor

The Overseers of the Poor had the task of looking after the poor and all orphans, whether poor or not. Their records have survived for the years 1826–1862,[70] and the minutes of the county court have other accounts of their actions. The records of the overseers show that they provided assistance to people for a variety of needs such as providing doctors, medicine, midwives, food, wood, shrouds, coffins, digging of graves, clothing, and food such as flour, bacon, sugar, corn, coffee, and even tobacco. They also paid people for boarding individuals in their homes. Usually the boarders were sick and could not take care of themselves or in their dying days or weeks. A few people received cash payments such as $20 or $25 per annum in order for them to remain in their homes.

At some point prior to 1826, the Overseers build a Poor House to take care of those who needed assistance on a long term basis. This was a relatively new endeavor because in the minutes of November 16, 1830, the overseers decided it was best to continue the experiment of a poor house rather than board out people as practiced in other counties. That was cheaper and made them "less liable to imposition or abuse." People who had been committed to the poor house were discharged

70. Minutes of the Board of Overseers of Poor, 1826– 1863, copy in HSWCV.

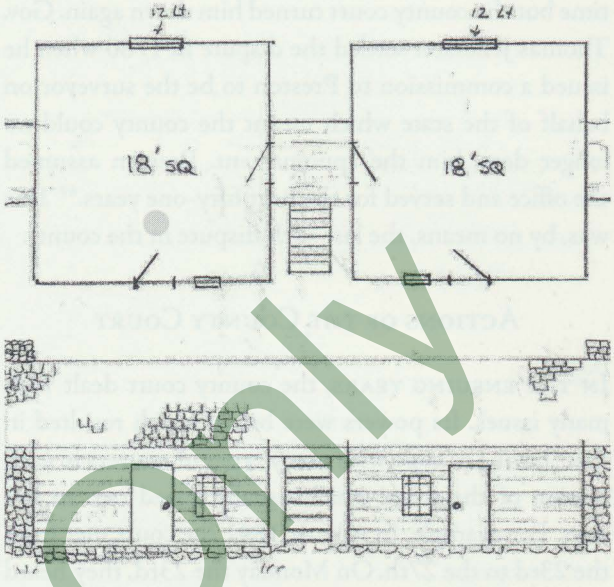
if they were able to take care of themselves. Both white and people of color resided there. A steward managed the place and received an annual salary which was $500 in 1826 and $634.58 in 1856. The cost of maintaining a person in the poor house usually was about $45-57 per year for adults and about half that amount for children. One of the early stewards, Joseph White, in 1827 failed to provide suitable clothing for the occupants in what was considered a filthy place, which resulted in his being fired. The poor rate which taxpayers had to pay for these welfare services usually was about 25 cents per year. The Poor House fell into disrepair by 1841, and the justices considered doing away with it and boarding the residents in private homes again, but that did not happen.[71] Extensive repairs had to be made to the building in 1849, and in 1857 the justices decided to build two new structures, actually two buildings joined together by a porch.

According to the census of 1850, the Poor House had twenty-seven people, six of them with the family name of Greer while in 1860 twenty people resided there. That census recorded three houses at the poor farm, apparently the third being the steward's residence.

Young children were a constant concern. All minor free children whose fathers had deceased were considered orphans which meant that the court looked after their well-being whether they were poor or had property coming to them. Orphans under the age of fourteen who were not poor had a guardian appointed for them either by a will or the court. The guardian had the duty to look after their affairs and to report to the court regarding the individual and the estate. If they were fourteen years of age or older they could chose who would be their guardian. Usually the guardianships went well and no problems arose, but occasionally the court assigned a new one.

Poor free, mulatto, and black children, whether orphans or not, could be apprenticed by the court to a master or mistress who controlled and had use of them until the apprenticeship ended which normally was the age of eighteen for females and twenty-one for males. The justices required the master to teach them a profession and supply them with a stated sum of money

71. WC Court Minutes, June 28, 1841; *The States Rightsman*, October 5, 1841. The advertisement in the newspaper stated that the property totaled 217½ acres and could be paid for over four years.



The Poor House, 1858. Drawing based on description in Minutes of the Overseers of the Poor. (HSWCV)

and some clothes at the end of the apprenticeship. If children were white, the justices required a certain amount of schooling for them, usually four months total.

An indenture for Robert Daniel Pierce, age 15, signed by his father, Daniel Pierce, and William Beaty in 1779 is typical. His term was for five years. The agreement said that Robert Daniel should obey his master's lawful commands gladly. Furthermore he:

> shall not waste his master's goods nor lend them unlawfully to others. He shall not commit fornication nor contract matrimony during the same time. He shall not play at cards, dice, or any other unlawful game whereby his Master may be damaged with his own goods or others. He shall not absent himself day or night from his said Master's Service unlawfully, nor haunt taverns or play houses but at all things behave as a faithful Apprentice ought to do. And the said Master shall procure for him meat, drink, apparel, lodging and Washing and all the Necessaries during the said term and shall give him such Schooling as the law allows Orphans in such cases, and shall learn him the Art and Mystery of the Wheelwright trade, and pay him such freedom dues as the Law allows.[72]

Apprentices had the right to complain about their treatment to the court; for example, in 1788, Mary

72. WC Will Book I, 86, April 23, 1779.

Apprentices Wanted.

THOMAS HATFIELD,

WISHES to take TWO APPRENTICES to the SHOE and BOOT making business. He has opened a shop in the building lately occupied by John G. Uttick. He will furnish work of superior quality and materials, cheaper for ready money, than generally sold in this place.

November 20th, 1813. 10—tf.

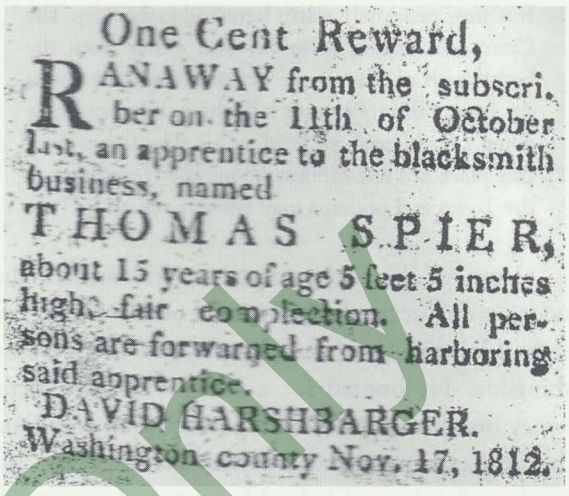
Advertisement for apprentices.
(Political Prospect, 1812)

Daily protested that her mistress Katherine Shelby had treated her badly. The court listened to her, decided the complaint was groundless, and added, as they could by law, one year of service to her apprenticeship "for having a Bastard Child."[73] Another instance occurred in 1857 when William Foran who had been bound to Jessee V. Hagy, complained that he had been ill-treated and not furnished with good and sufficient clothing. Hagy was ordered to appear before the court, but the minutes did not record the outcome.[74] Perhaps, the two settled their differences outside the court especially since Hagy was a member of the country court.

Apprenticed girls most often were taught to be housekeepers although some might be spinsters or weavers. Most males became farmers, but a number of them learned crafts such as blacksmithing.

In addition to children, some people apprenticed themselves for a term of five years in order to learn a trade. Other apprentices might already have a skill which they exchanged for the cost of their transportation from places such as Ireland, as well as food, housing and clothing. These only appear in the early years of the county. Male apprentices had a penchant for running away and newspaper advertisements appeared that offered rewards for their return. The rewards were always small, some only one cent, which might indicate that the masters did not want them very badly.

Insane people who could not be cared for by families were housed in the county jail under the control of the sheriff. After the opening of the Western State Lunatic Asylum in 1828 in Staunton, they could be taken to that place provided the institution had space and the county paid for their transportation.[75] The overseers also sent poor children who could not see, hear, or speak to the Virginia School for the Deaf, Dumb and Blind which was also in Staunton. One example was Charles W. Loggins who was blind and destitute.[76]



One Cent Reward,

RANAWAY from the subscriber on the 11th of October last, an apprentice to the blacksmith business, named

THOMAS SPIER,

about 15 years of age 5 feet 5 inches high, fair complection. All persons are forwarned from harboring said apprentice.

DAVID HARSHBARGER.

Washington county Nov. 17, 1812.

One Cent Reward for Runaway Apprentice.
(Political Prospect, 1812)

Court Day

The meetings of the county court brought many people to Abingdon to visit others, sell their goods, buy supplies, gossip, drink, trade horses, engage in politics, and take part in the court proceedings. The volume of the work carried on by the court meant that many people had to be present. When Anne Royall travelled through western Virginia and went to a small town to mail some letters, she found that the circuit court was in session, and the only tavern in the town "had every room engaged by the lawyers, and what-nots of the country." Several men were assembled in the bar room "talking, singing, laughing, drinking and swearing."[77]

Gov. David Campbell also described a hot June court day:

73. WC Court Minutes, May 21, 1778.
74. *Ibid.*, August 28, 1857.
75. It was renamed the Western State Hospital in 1894. In 2002 the hospital moved to a new location after which the structure was converted into condominiums.
76. WC Court Minutes, July 24, 1860.
77. Royall, *Sketches*, 33–34.

> It is now extremely warm here and rather dry. The Court was sitting yesterday and either from the bad breath of the people or some nuisance about the court house, I cannot tell which, I do not know when I have smelt so fetid an air. The Citizens of this place are too careless about the cleanliness of the Town and perhaps may one day repent it.[78]

Campbell also told a story about Edward Callahan and his wife Succy who had settled on the North Fork of the Holston River about twenty-five miles west of Abingdon. He hunted for a living while she earned money on court days by selling cakes, pies, and liquor. The husband came to town with his dog, rifle, shot pouch, and pelts and helped her set up her cart with an awning in the middle of the street. Afterwards, he would go off to sell his pelts. Although she was supposed to have a license to operate, especially since she sold her homemade spirits, she managed to escape payment. At one point the court almost fined her, but John Campbell, the clerk of the court, said some words in her favor and the court let her go free.[79] In later times horse traders occupied the Jockey Lot behind the court house, a practice that probably began at an early date. The traders' bad reputations reflected their less than admirable behavior.[80]

Court Houses

The initial meeting of the Washington County court took place in a building at Black's Fort in January 1777. One of the first actions of the justices was to direct that the cabin next to the court house be converted into a jail, possibly because of the immediate need for one. Then in April, they ordered a court house to be built north of the fort. In August, the court directed that logs and cut timber that had been collected for the building of a magazine at the fort should be moved to the site of the town and used to construct the court house. They also ordered a prison be built on the same lot. Things moved slowly, and the contractor, Samuel Evans, had not finished the building by March, 1779, at which point the justices ordered the sheriff to find a new contractor. He chose Abraham Goodpasture who had already built the jail. He completed the work quickly, and in April it could be occupied. The new one story, log court house sat atop Court House Hill and measured approximately twenty feet square. Several years later, the need for more space resulted in a second story being added with a bar, a clerk's seat, and a sheriff's box.

From early on the courts had to contend with unruly people. At the June 1779 meeting James Kerr and William Robins had an encounter and were fined £200 each for insulting Joseph Scott in open court. Scott was fined the same amount for "flashing a pistol at James Kerr in the courtyard." In addition, John Yancy, a tavern owner, received a fine of twenty shillings for keeping his sheep in the court house, an action which shows the coarseness of the structure as well as that of Yancy.[81]

The log building continued to house the court until about 1812 as an Abingdon newspaper, *The Political Prospect*, mentioned the "new court house" in that year.[82] Little is known about the events there over quite a few years because the county court records are missing between 1786–1819 and 1821–1832. They have been presumed to have been destroyed when Union troops burned the court house in December 1864; however, this is not certain. Tradition relates that John Kreger, clerk of the court, saved the records by loading them in a wagon and hiding out in the woods for several days, but it is a puzzle why some records survived and others did not. They could have been previously taken by someone or lost at another time.

Early in 1847, the county leaders decided to build a third court house and appointed three men to draw up a plan which was presented in May. A majority of the justices of the court approved the design which, assuming the builders followed it, was a two-story brick structure with a stone basement. The basement contained four rooms, one for the sheriff and the others for storing firewood and other material. The first floor had a courtroom and offices for the clerk and his records while the second floor contained another courtroom and four jury rooms. The representatives for the county in the House of Delegates got a law passed that allowed the court to borrow $10,000 to cover the

78. David Campbell to Arthur Campbell, June 26, 1808, Item 50206, HSWCV.

79. Summers, *Southwest Virginia*, 631– 632.

80. Frank W. DeFriece, "The Jockey Lot," *Historical Society of Washington Publication*, Ser. II, Nr. 18, (1981), 25– 30.

81. WC Court Minutes, May 19, 1779.

82. *Political Prospect*, September 12, 1812

costs of construction which resulted in the court adding $1,500 each year to the county levy until the loan was repaid. Officials sold the old court house which was then dismantled and the site cleared for the new building. While the construction took place, the court had its meetings in a nearby building which they rented from the heirs of James White.

Herbert M. Ledbetter and William Fields won the contract for the new building which called for a completion date of June 1849, but as of November of that year, it had not been finished. The justices, therefore, made the contractors pay the rent for their temporary meeting place until the job had been completed. The contractors appeared in court in March 1850 and promised the building would be completed in April which apparently occurred as the records do not mention any more problems. After the court house was finished, the justices ordered an iron railing for the front portico and furnished the interior with chairs, tables, and carpets, certainly a more fitting structure than the one in which John Yancy kept his sheep. Regrettably, no drawings or photographs are known to have survived from that time.[83]

Politics

Prior to the federal Constitution of 1787, contests for offices in Washington County revolved around personal connections and the desire for men of substance to assume leadership positions. When the new constitution was proposed, different persuasions developed with those opposing it preferring to keep the Articles of Confederation in which the states had most powers. They feared a strong president who, in their opinion, might make himself a king, a Congress with more power than the state legislatures, and the fact that there could be a standing army in peacetime. They did not want to return to a system like they had experienced under the British. Patrick Henry led the opposition to the constitution in Virginia, but hostility to the document softened when it was agreed that a bill of rights would be included, something that preceded the Virginia Constitution of 1776. A convention met in Richmond in June 1788, to consider the ratification of the constitution. Arthur Campbell headed the moment in the county for approval, but the voters sent Samuel Edmiston and James Montgomery, both of whom opposed the constitution, to the meeting. Despite the fact, the two men voted against ratification, the convention approved the document by a vote of 89 to 70.[84]

Tension between those who favored a strong national government and those who preferred a weak one continued after the constitution came into effect. In the 1790's the supporters of a strong government, banks, tariffs, sound fiscal policies, and friendship with England coalesced into the Federalist Party which Alexander Hamilton, the secretary of the treasurer, led. To oppose the Federalists another group led by Thomas Jefferson and James Madison became known as the Democratic–Republican Party, often referred to simply as the Republican Party. The only Federalist president was John Adams while the Republicans elected Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and James Monroe, all from Virginia. In the mid 1820's the supporters of Andrew Jackson split off and called themselves the Democratic Party, usually referred to as the Jacksonian Democrats. The established part of the Democratic Party then formed the National Republicans which then developed into the Whig Party. When the Whig Party fell apart, the members from the northern part of the US formed the Republican Party.

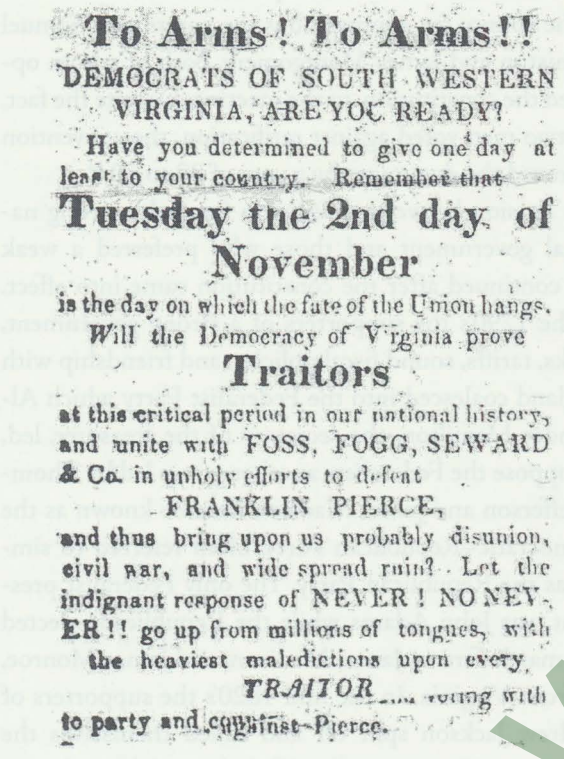
The federal constitution required states to be divided into congressional districts with reapportionment every ten years so that they more or less contained an equal number of people. After the first elections took place in 1789, the Anti-Federalists and Democratic-Republicans controlled the congressional district which contained Washington County for a number of years, but then the voters began to support the Jacksonian type of Democrats who favored the common people over the elites, a strong president, westward expansion, and, increasingly, slavery. The voters of Washington County became such strong supporters of Jackson that in the election of 1828 John Quincy Adams received only thirteen votes in the county.[85]

A list of the members of the House of Represen-

83. James W. Hagy, "The Courthouses of Washington County," *Virginia Cavalcade* (1975), 80–85; *The Jacksonian*, May 29, 1847.

84. Summers, *Southwest Virginia*, 424.

85. Kenneth C. Martis, *The Historical Atlas of the United States Congressional Districts, 1789–1983* (New York: Free Press, 1982), 51–103; Summers, *Southwest Virginia*, 469.



To Arms! To Arms!!

DEMOCRATS OF SOUTH WESTERN VIRGINIA, ARE YOU READY?

Have you determined to give one day at least to your country. Remember that

Tuesday the 2nd day of November

is the day on which the fate of the Union hangs. Will the Democracy of Virginia prove

Traitors

at this critical period in our national history, and unite with FOSS, FOGG, SEWARD & Co. in unholy efforts to defeat FRANKLIN PIERCE, and thus bring upon us probably disunion, civil war, and wide spread ruin? Let the indignant response of NEVER! NO NEVER!! go up from millions of tongues, with the heaviest maledictions upon every TRAITOR voting with to party and against Pierce.

Democratic advertisement for President in 1852. Extreme political attacks, such as this, have been common in American history. (The Democrat, October 30, 1852)

tatives who represented the district in which Washington County lay shows how politics changed over time in Southwest Virginia, although Washington County occasionally differed from other places in the area.

Some of the elections resulted in heated affairs such as the federal election of 1793 when Francis Preston from Washington County and Abram Trigg of Montgomery County contested for the seat. In the acrimonious fight, Preston won by only ten votes. Trigg appealed the results to the Elections Committee of the House of Representatives charging that the polls closed early in Lee County while those in Washington remained open an extra day. Furthermore, he claimed that some residents of Tennessee had been allowed to vote. A more serious charge was that William Preston, the county lieutenant of Montgomery County and a brother of Francis Preston, commanded sixty or seventy troops that he marched three times around the court house and then shut down the voting place. In addition, the Preston supporters would not allow the followers of Trigg to vote while the troops all voted for Preston. Despite this, the committee in the House of Representatives that decided such matters ruled that Preston had been duly elected. He served until 1797 when Trigg defeated him.[86]

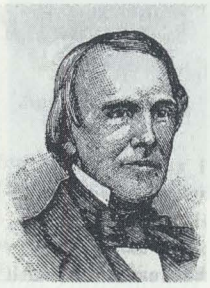
86. Summers, *Southwest Virginia*, 430.

Representative	Dates in Office	District	Party	Home County*
Andrew Moore (1752–1821)	1789–1793	3	Anti-Administration	Rockbridge
Francis Preston (1765–1836)	1793–1794	4	Anti-Administration	Washington
	1795–1797	4	Democratic-Republican	
Abram Trigg (1750–?)	1797–1809	4	Democratic-Republican	Montgomery
Daniel Sheffey (1770–1830)	1809–1817	6	Federalist	Wythe
Alexander Smyth (1765–1830)	1817–1823	6	Democratic-Republican	Wythe
	1823–1825	22	Crawford Republican	
Benjamin Estill (1780–1853)	1825–1827	22	Adams Republican	Washington
Alexander Smyth (1765–1830)	1827–1829	22	Jacksonian Republican	Smyth
	1829–30	22	Jacksonian Democrat	Died in Office
James Draper (1794–1834)	1830–1832	22	Jacksonian Democrat	Wythe
John H. Fulton (1792–1836)	1833–1835	18	Democratic	Washington
George W. Hopkins (1804–1861)	1835–1839	18	Democratic	Washington
	1839–1841	13	Conservative	
	1841–1843	13	Democratic	
	1843–1847	13	Democratic	
Andrew S. Fulton	1847–1849	13	Whig	Wythe
Fayette McMullen (1805–1880)	1849–1857	13	Democratic	Smyth
George W. Hopkins (1840–1861)	1857–1859	13	Democratic	Washington
Elbert S. Martin (1829–1876)	1859–1861	13	Independent Democrat	Lee

*List of United States Representatives from Virginia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/; Summers, *Southwest Virginia*, 426, 429, 452, 453, 467, 479–480, 816.

Washington County Governors

In the 19th century, Washington County was the home of three governors, two of whom were born in the county while all three died there. They were Wyndham Robertson (1803–1888), David Campbell (1779–1859), and John Buchanan Floyd (1806–1863).



Wyndham Robertson

Wyndham Robertson, Governor from 1836 to 1837, was born in Chesterfield County and claimed descent from Pocahontas and John Rolfe. He attended private schools in Richmond which he described as an "imperfect education" but the best his family could provide by "pinching even their own frugal housekeeping for the purpose." He attended the College of William and Mary in "two interrupted sessions" and married Mary Trigg Smith, daughter of Francis Smith of Washington County. In 1827 he made what he called "a short visit to London and Paris." Just how long that lasted is unknown but when the July Revolution of 1830 in France overthrew the reactionary king Charles X and brought Louis Philippe to the throne, Robertson was asked to speak in Richmond about the events. The revolution stirred great enthusiasm in the city with "processions, parades, flags, banners, bands of music and cannon." The same year the legislature elected Robertson to the eight member Virginia Council of State. After the constitution of 1830 went into effect, the legislature reelected him in 1833 to the council which had been reduced to three members.

On March 31, 1836, Robertson became the head of the council, in effect the lieutenant governor. In an obviously planned arrangement, Gov. Littleton Waller Tazewell from Norfolk, who had no party affiliation, resigned on the same day, an action which made Robertson, a Whig, the governor. He served the remainder of Tazewell's term, but the Democratic Party controlled the legislature at that time, and the Whigs did not put forward a candidate in 1837. He then represented Richmond in the legislature from 1837–1841 after which he "removed to the country," that is, Washington County where he remained until 1858.[87]

In Washington County he lived at "Mary's Meadows"[88] a short distance south of Abingdon which his wife had inherited from her father who had called it simply the "Meadows." Robertson had a considerable estate and the1860 census revealed that he owned seventy-two slaves and ten slave cabins, more than anyone else in the county. He became a justice of the peace in Washington County in 1842 and supported education by becoming a trustee of Abingdon Academy in 1843, and he gave money to Emory and Henry College. He also bought land in other states, and in 1850 he leased the Salt Works at Saltville for five years. In addition, Robertson played an important role in the movement to bring the Virginia & Tennessee Railroad into Southwest Virginia.[89]

When Robertson returned to Richmond, his former constituents pressed him to run for the legislature again and elected him to the House of Delegates from 1859-1865. He was a unionist and claimed responsibility for the Anti-Coercion Resolution which rejected secession unless the federal government used force first. Years later, he wrote that he had "no regrets, nor repent a single act of my State, or myself, in these unhappy affairs – welcoming the end of slavery, but still believing it could have been done without the horrors of war."

When a bill came before the legislature in 1863 to fix the prices of food, he helped defeat it, but some of his constituents demanded his resignation. He did resign, but supporters requested him to withdraw his resignation which he did only after a vote of confidence

87. Wyndham Robertson, *Pocahontas, alias Matoaka and Her Descendants through Her Marriage at Jamestown, Virginia, in April, 1614 with John Rolfe, Gentleman* (Richmond: J. W. Randolph & English, 1887) 81– 82. This is a sketch of himself. Summers, *Southwest Virginia*, 766, says he moved to Washington County in 1837.

88. Francis Smith and his wife bought the 3,000 acre plantation and named in for their daughter Mary who married Robertson. The place was noted for its two acre garden with various kinds of vegetables, fruits, and plants. L. C Angle, Jr. and Edwin T. Hardison, "The Meadows," *HSWCV Bulletin*, Ser. II, Nr. 23 (1986), 40.

89. Summers, *Southwest Virginia*, 586, 766, 828, 883; Mary Vowell Smith, *Virginia, 1492–1892: A History of the Executives* (Washington: W. H. Lowdermilk & Co, 1893), 344–345; Robyn Mundy, "Wyndham Robertson," *HSWCV Bulletin*, Ser. II, Nr. 33 (1996), 45–73; Alexander Farish Robertson, *Alexander Hugh Holmes Stuart, 1807–1881, A Biography* (Richmond: William Byrd Press, 1925), 265–288.

The Meadows. According to Nanci King, writing in Places in Time *(III, 15), the land on which the house stands was purchased in 1789 and a large two story frame house was built by James Bradley. It was sold in 1817 to L. L. Henderson and bought by Francis Smith in 1818 who added wings on each side. Mary Smith married Wyndham Robertson who briefly served as governor of Virginia. The house burned in 1929 and was reconstructed in brick.* (HSWCV)

was taken. The House of Delegates accepted the withdrawal of his resignation, and he regained his seat.

When the war ended, he returned to live in Abingdon, but he did not end his political involvement. He served on the secretive Committee of Nine, under the leadership of Alexander H. H. Stuart that worked to get Virginia back into the United States by accepting suffrage for blacks provided that those who had served the Confederate States could also vote.[90] He also wrote *Pocahontas, Alias Matoaka, and Her Descendants through Her Marriage at Jamestown, Virginia, in April, 1614 with John Rolfe, Gentleman* which appeared in 1887. His goal was to restore her position in Virginia history since a number of people had begun to question the veracity of her story. He showed that several well-known Virginia families descended from her, including his own. His friends urged him also to write a book about the reintegration of Virginia after the War. He completed part of a manuscript which he titled the "Vindication of the Course of Virginia throughout the Slave Controversy,"[91] but died in Washington County on February 11, 1888, the year after the book about Pocahontas was published. His burial took place in Chesterfield County.[92]

David Campbell of Washington County replaced Robertson as governor. He was born on August 7, 1779, the son of John Campbell, second clerk of court in Washington County, and Elizabeth McDonald at Royal Oak, then in Washington but now in Smyth County. At some point the family moved to a house on Main Street in Abingdon and in 1788 purchased a 1,150 acre farm in Hall's Bottom which lies between Abingdon and Bristol. While John Campbell made a good living from the fees that he earned as clerk and his farm, he had eight children, five of them boys, and according to David he could not afford to send him, the eldest son, to an academy or college. Later David helped his father send three of his brothers to school – Edward to Washington College in Lexington, James to Greenville College in Tennessee, and John, Jr. to Princeton College. David Campbell studied English, mathematics, Greek and Latin for seven years in the "common English and grammar schools" of Washington County. He became an avid reader but always, even as governor, felt his education was inadequate when compared with the rich and powerful men of Old Virginia. After leaving school at the age of fifteen, he also studied history and law while working on the family farm as well as working as a deputy clerk in his father's office. Later he studied law under an uncle, Archibald Roane, in East Tennessee.

David Campbell (SUMMERS, *SOUTHWEST VIRGINIA*, 767)

While he resided in Tennessee, he met and, in 1800, married a seventeen year old first cousin, Maria Hamil-

90. Mundy, "William Robertson."

91. Robertson, *Pocahontas*, 81– 83.

92. Summers, *Southwest Virginia*, 766. Robertson's papers are housed in the University of Chicago Library.

ton Campbell, who returned with him to Abingdon to live. Mary, as she was known, was a high strung, nervous person who was homesick, depressed, and always worrying about her health. Since the couple had no children, they raised a nephew, William Bowen Campbell, who later became a congressman and governor in Tennessee and a niece, Virginia Campbell, who lived with them for several years. Over time, the state of Mary's mind grew worse and she eventually became insane.

David learned his politics from his uncle Arthur and became a staunch supporter of the new constitution of the United State. He also backed Thomas Jefferson whom he saw as the model for an American citizen and liked the ideas of an agrarian form of life and states-rights. As with other Campbells, he became involved in politics as did his brother, John, who sat in the House of Delegates, became a member of the Council of Virginia, and served as Treasurer of the United States.

In 1806, Campbell purchased a house on Main Street in Abingdon and began to acquire other property. Working in the clerk's office became boring to him, and he claimed that it adversely affected his health. Since other members of the family had gained fame in military service, he decided to join the army. With the support of family and friends, he obtained a commission in the army during the War of 1812-1815 and served for two years along the Canadian border where he rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel. Complaining of health problems again, he sought a better position than commanding troops, but that did not materialize, and he resigned his commission and returned to Abingdon.

In 1816, local leaders urged him to run for the state senate. His main opponent turned out to be another Republican, Francis Preston, a very wealthy man. Preston soundly defeated and humiliated Campbell so much that he would not socialize with the Prestons for the next two decades. After the defeat, he decided to build up his own wealth and acquired thirty-five thousand acres of land mostly by paying delinquent taxes, but much of this land was on the side of Clinch Mountain between Holston and Mendota and had little value. He also opened a general store in Abingdon which meant he had to make trips from time to time in wagons to pick up supplies in Philadelphia where he visited museums and attended concerts and other cultural events.

Four years after his defeat, he ran for the state senate again. By this time the district was much smaller than before and was comprised of only the counties of Washington, Lee, Russell, Scott, and Tazewell whereas before it had included sixteen. Campbell had support in those counties whereas in his previous attempt, he received only eight votes in Botetourt County. Another factor in his election was the fact that John Preston, a brother of Francis and the state treasurer, had sullied the family's reputation by embezzling state funds. W. P. Thompson, an ally of Francis Preston, opposed him, but David Campbell won. His brother John described his victory as a triumph over "a wealthy arrogant and undeserving clan." Campbell, however, did not excel as a senator. He never learned to speak well and he accomplished little during his term. As a result, he chose not to run again in 1824.

Subsequently, he started to build a new house among pine trees in an area atop a hill just outside the town limits. He named it Montcalm in honor of the French general who had been defeated in the Battle of Quebec, the decisive event in North America during the French and Indian War with whom he became enamored when fighting the British in Canada. The builders completed their work in 1827, and the family moved from "Mary's Cottage" on Main Street to get away from the "dirty little village"[93] of Abingdon.

At that time, Andrew Jackson of Tennessee rose to prominence and Campbell became a Jacksonian Democrat. In the course of his presidency, Jackson visited the Campbells at Montcalm three times as he passed through Abingdon to or from Washington. As one of the leading Democrats in the state, Campbell supported Jackson and strongly reacted against the nullification ideas of John C. Calhoun. First elected in 1828, Jackson won reelection in 1832 with Washington County giving him overwhelming support. Campbell continued to work in the clerk's office and received the rank of major general in the militia in 1834 although he never served in the military after that, but he became concerned that he would go no further in politics. Then in 1836, things turned around when people began to talk about his being the next governor. The Democrats controlled the legislature at that time, and on January 23, 1837, news arrived in Abingdon that it had elected him by a vote of 154 to 89.

93. David Campbell to James Campbell, January 16, October 22, 1826, Campbell Family Papers.

Montcalm in 1905. At that time, the house was probably much the same as when it was built. Changes and additions have been made since the photo was taken. Campbell loved the pine trees. (HSWCV)

His election brought great elation to Washington County and Montcalm witnessed a number of high spirited celebrations especially when young men arrived on the night of the 27th after the family had gone to bed. A loud party resulted with music, cheers, toasts, and the firing of guns into the air. The Campbells provided the celebrants with "wine bounce" and cakes and the group lustily sang "The Campbells Are Coming" an old Scottish song, the refrain of which goes:

> The Campbells are coming, Oho! Oho!
> The Campbells are coming, Oho! Oho!
> The Campbells are coming to bonnie Loch Leven,
> The Campbells are coming, Oho! Oho!

The march dates back to 1715 and is usually performed with pipes and drums. Even Mrs. Francis Preston entertained them after his election.

In his three year term, Campbell pushed for education and internal improvements but also had to deal with a banking crisis resulting from the Panic of 1837. By 1840, he had become a Whig and supported William Henry Harrison who survived only thirty-two days in office and was replaced by John Tyler. Campbell then supported the Whig leader, Henry Clay of Kentucky, but the election of 1844 turned out to be a narrow victory for the Democrat, James K. Polk, which greatly disappointed him. As for slavery, Campbell believed it would eventually disappear and the people who did not own slaves in the south would not fight to protect the slave owners' property. Like Wyndham Robertson, though, he did not free his slaves except for one and only then in his will.

In his later years, he became isolated while his wife gained weight and became more insane. Her wails and screams were so loud they could be heard some distance from Montcalm. Furthermore, his slaves began to steal from him and cancer on his face ate into one of his eyes. He died on March 19, 1859, seven months before his wife, and was buried in Sinking Spring Cemetery.[94]

Like most leaders in Washington County, John Buchanan Floyd had a tangle of connections resulting from marriages, economic interests, friendships, and politics. The family came from Catholic Welsh stock, and his mother and siblings returned to that religion. His grandfather, John Floyd I, became the deputy surveyor to William Preston of Fincastle County and also worked with him in Kentucky after the Transylvania Company illegally purchased that land from some Cherokee Indians. The second John Floyd was born at Floyd's Station in Kentucky, then a part of Virginia. He served in the House of Delegates in 1814–1815, in the U.S. House of Representatives 1817–1829, and as governor of Virginia 1830–1834. He married Letitia Preston, daughter of William Preston and Susannah Smith who was a sister of Francis Preston of Abingdon. They had twelve children with the eldest being John Buchanan Floyd who was born near Blacksburg in Montgomery County on June 1, 1806.[95]

John Buchanan Floyd received his early school-

94. Mitchell, "David Campbell;" Hendrika Schuster, "David Campbell, The Governor and Man: One of Abingdon's Own," *HSWCV Bulletin*, Ser. II, Nr. 33 (1996), 35–44; Summers, *Southwest Virginia*, 766– 67; Lewis Preston Summers, "In the Heart of the Holston Country, Holly Bottom, Alias Halls Bottom" *HSWCV Bulletin*, 9 (1943), 127– 32.

95. Charles Henry Ambler, *The Life and Diary of John Floyd, Governor of Virginia, an Apostle of Secession and the Father of the Oregon Country* (Richmond: Richmond Press, 1918), *passim*.

ing from his mother, proof that some women were educated. His father than sent him to South Carolina College to study under Thomas Cooper, a radical when it came to nullification and state rights, because the elder Floyd agreed with Cooper's political philosophy. When young Floyd completed his studies, he married a cousin, Sally Buchanan Preston and they settled in Abingdon. His wife was the daughter of Francis Preston and the granddaughter of Gen. William Campbell.

John B. Floyd (Summers, *Southwest Virginia*, 768)

Floyd qualified as a lawyer in Washington County in 1834 but went to Arkansas in 1836 to try to build a fortune in land speculation; however, he failed there and in 1839 returned bankrupt to Washington County to practice law. In 1843 he won a seat on the Abingdon town council and later the voters of the county sent him to the House of Delegates where he served in the 1848–1849 session. The lack of action of the Assembly appalled him, and he stated that the court of Washington County could have taken care of all the business of the legislature in one week.

Floyd became a leader of the Democratic Party in Virginia which by that time had internal problems between the state rights' group and the Jacksonian Democrats. True to his training in South Carolina, Floyd stood with the more radical states' righters. At the time, the Whig Party began to crumble, and Floyd's supporters placed his name in contention for the office of governor. His faction ignored the established section of the Democratic Party and drew support from disillusioned Whigs with the result that the General Assembly elected him as chief executive.

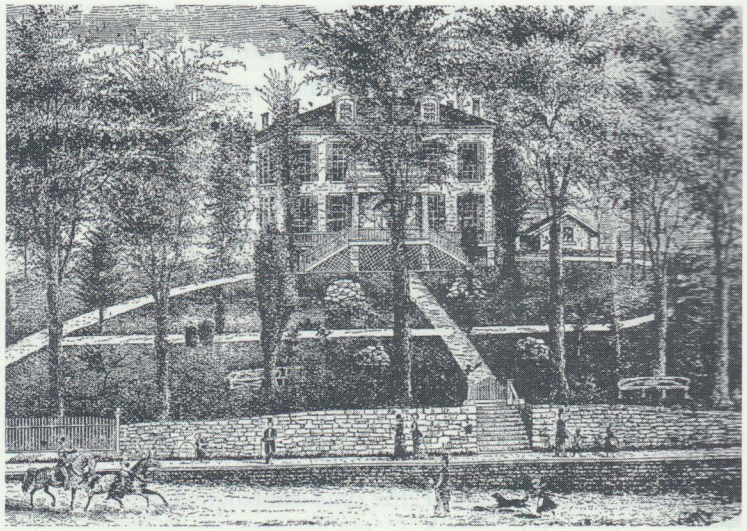
As governor from 1849–1852, he promoted public investment in internal improvements, especially railroads, which would open up Southwest Virginia and aid businesses interests. He also sought out-of-state investment which had been a problem because the state bonds could be redeemed only in Richmond upon their expiration, and if they changed hands, the owner had to have a power of attorney from the original investor to cash them. He pushed for the adoption of coupon bonds that paid interest twice a year which proved to be quite successful with northerners and foreigners. He also promoted a revision of the laws which resulted in the *Virginia Code of Laws of 1850*, but probably his most important contribution was calling for the convention which produced the Constitution of 1851.

Following his term as governor, Floyd returned to Washington County where he engaged in business and politics and controlled the mineral rights to some 85,000 acres in Southwest Virginia. He also owned the *Abingdon Democrat* from 1853–1857.

In 1855, the voters of Washington County again sent him as their representative to the House of Delegates. The following year he served as a presidential elector for James Buchanan, a position of considerable importance as the electors at that time campaigned for their party's candidate in their districts. Washington County had been expected to vote for the short-lived Know Nothing Party which was anti-Catholic, anti-immigration, and operated largely in secret. If people asked about their organization, they were supposed to say "I know nothing," hence the name. Floyd obtained the schedule for the Know Nothing elector and followed him wherever he went and won the crowds over to his fellow Democrat.

For his support of Buchanan, Floyd received the appointment of Secretary of War and served from 1857 to 1860, but his tenure there was not a happy one. His opponents accused him of underhanded deals, not supporting the president when it came to the beginnings of the Civil War in South Carolina, but worst of all, sending arms to South Carolina forts. He became one of the most hated men in Washington, and President Buchanan demanded his resignation. His national reputation never recovered.

He then received a commission in the confederate army although he had no military training or experience in leading troops. He served in West Virginia and Tennessee. In 1862 his forces came under siege by Ulysses Grant at Fort Donelson in Tennessee. Because of his status as a political general and his time as Secretary of War, Floyd feared that he would be tried for treason if he were captured. Therefore, he and some of his troops escaped during the night leaving it to others to surrender. He next took part in the withdrawal of Confederate troops from Nashville which had fallen into the hands of the federal troops, the first Southern capital to be lost by the Confederacy. Jefferson Davis then removed him from his command, and he returned to Washington



Preston-Floyd House, on West Main Street in Abingdon. According to Nani King, in Places in Time (I, 85) it was built by John S. Preston and owned by the Floyds from 1857 until his death in 1863. Gov. Floyd did not occupy the house for long since he was in Washington or commanding troops much of this time. The building was used by Stonewall Jackson College from 1868 until it burned in 1914. Emory and Henry College purchased the land in 1919 and sold it to the Barter Foundation in 1975. (HSWCV)

County where the state appointed him a major general. He engaged with partisans in some fighting along the Big Sandy River, but worn out by poor health and the hardships of war, he died on August 26, 1863, in Abingdon and was buried in Sinking Spring Cemetery. He had the misfortune of being "resigned" by the presidents of the United States and the Confederate States.[96]

96. John M. Belohlavek, "John B. Floyd as Governor of Virginia, 1849–1852," *West Virginia History*, 25 (1971–1972), 14–26; Charles Pinnegar, *Brand of Infamy: A Biography of John Buchanan Floyd* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2002), *passim*; Summers, *Southwest Virginia*, 767–768; "John B. Floyd (1806–1863)," *Encyclopedia Virginia*; Smith, *Virginia: A History of the Executives*, 363–364; Philip Morrison Rice, "The Know-Nothing Party in Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 55 (1947), 61–75; Edward A. Pollard, *Lee and His Lieutenants; Comprising the Early Life, Public Services, and Campaign of General Robert E. Lee and his Companions in Arms* (New York: E. B. Treat & Co., 1867), 783–807; reprinted as "Maj. Gen. John B. Floyd: A 19th Century Memoir," *HSWCV Bulletin*, Ser. II, Nr. 32 (1995), 1–18; Wirt H. Wills and Jane Stubbs, "John Floyd, Kentucky Hero, and Three Generations of Floyds and Prestons of Virginia," *The Smithfield Review*, II (1998), 39–52; Letitia Preston Floyd, "Recollections of 18th Century Virginia Frontier Life," *The Smithfield Review*, I (1997), 3–16. His defense for the loss of Ft. Donelson and Nashville can be found in Floyd to Special Committee, Abingdon, March 25, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. 7, 405–406.

Abingdon

Abingdon occupied a strategic location since the east-west Indian trail which became the Great Road ran through it as well as another path that passed through Little Moccasin Gap in the north to Abingdon and Damascus and into Tennessee. The area contained three creeks: Fifteen Mile Creek to the east of the town, Eighteen Mile Creek (later renamed Town Creek) near Court House Hill, and Wolf Hill Creek to the west of the settlement, sometimes denoted as Nineteen Mile Creek. The names of the Fifteen Mile and Eighteen Mile creeks resulted from their distance from the Town House at Chilhowie.

The first land grants in the area were made to James Douglass, Andrew Colville, Joseph Black, James Piper, Samuel Briggs, and George Blackburn. Some of these were only speculators who later sold their grants while others such as Joseph Black settled there a while before moving on to Tennessee.

In 1778, the town received the name of Abingdon; however, the reason this name was chosen is not known. One explanation has been that the name came from Abingdon, Pennsylvania where it was mistakenly believed that Daniel Boone was born; however, there is no Abingdon, Pennsylvania, although there is an Abington township which is located in Lackawanna County. However, Daniel Boone had no connection with Abington and the Boone Homestead Museum is in Berks County. Another explanation has been that the name was adopted because Abingdon Church in Gloucester County, Virginia was the ancestral parish of Martha Dandridge Curtis Washington, the wife of the first president, her second marriage. This explanation cannot be sustained because her father, John Dandridge, apparently was born in London where he lived before coming to Virginia, and she was born and lived in New Kent County.[97] The history of Abingdon parish does not mention any connection with the Dandridge family or Martha Washington. Neither does Henry Irving in *Colonial Churches in Virginia*.[98] Indeed, her

97. http://www.abingdon.gov.uk; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John-Dandridge.

98. http://www.abingdonchurch.org/Our%20History.html; Henry Irving Brock, *Colonial Churches in Virginia* (Richmond: Dale Press, 1930).

parish was St. Peter's Church in New Kent County.[99] If one means her ancestral home was in Abingdon, England, that does not seem likely either. Her father does not appear to have any connection with Abingdon in Oxfordshire.[100] Furthermore, who in Abingdon, Virginia would have known about her ancestral parish in 1778? George Washington did not become president until 1789, eleven years after the town received its name. Another explanation is that the town received its name in honor of Willoughy Bertie, 4th Earl of Abingdon (1740–1799) who opposed the policies of the British government that brought on the war with America.[101] That is possible, but there is nothing to substantiate that claim.[102] It probably was simply named for Abingdon, England as was Abingdon, an unincorporated community in Maryland, which was founded and named by William Paca, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, in 1779.[103] Arthur Campbell and Anthony Bledsoe were in the legislature at the time, and one of them may have been responsible for the name, but none of Campbell's numerous letters refers to the name of the town or Lord Abingdon.

Knowing that a town would increase the value of surrounding lands that they owned, Thomas Walker, Samuel Briggs, and Joseph Black gave one hundred and twenty acres for the town site with other acres being contributed later. On April 29, 1777, the county court appointed seven men as trustees to arrange for the disposition of the donated lands.[104] They first laid off Main Street with lots along it, and later created Water Street (Park) to the south of Main Street and Troopers Alley between them. Afterwards Valley street, known as the back street, was laid off north of Main Street with Chinquapin or Plum Alley between them.[105] Early cross streets were Tanner, Cross (later Court), Brewers, and Slaughter (later Pecan). Stores, taverns, the court house, the jail, a town market place, houses, and other structures appeared over time.[106]

Eleven men petitioned the General Assembly to create a town in November, 1777, and the act for the establishment of Abingdon passed the General Assembly in 1778. Named "An Act for establishing a Town at the court house in the county of Washington," it recognized that Walker, Black and Briggs had given land for the establishment of a town, that the necessary funds had been raised to build a court house and prison, that lots had been laid off, and that buildings had been constructed. Thus, the area could be incorporated into a town by the name of Abingdon with six trustees who had authority to give titles to the land that had already been sold and also to lay off new lots which were to be auctioned at the court house and the adjacent county of Montgomery.

Purchasers of lots held them in fee simple (clear title) with the requirement that they build a dwelling house within four years that was at least twenty feet long and sixteen feet wide with a brick or stone chimney. Should a person fail to build in that time, he had to sell the property and give the proceeds to the town or give part or all the land to the town for public use.[107] This assured that the town would actually be built rather than the land being used for speculation, but because of the economic disruptions of the Revolution, many people could not meet the deadline for building on their lots. Therefore, in 1792, the legislature allowed them five additional years. The funds derived from selling the town lots went to the county which used them to help pay for public buildings and streets.[108]

This was not a town government because the trustees were only charged with the transfers of property, and the minutes show that they rarely met, or if they met, they did not keep records. An initial meeting took place at Atkin's Tavern on June 6, 1779 with the next recorded one in 1789, followed by another in 1791.

A new act in 1803, however, created a town

99. http://stpetersnewkent.org; http://newkent.net/history-martha.html.

100. http://www.firstladies.org/biographies/firstladies.aspx-?biography=1

101. "Willoughby Bertie," *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1885–1900, Vol. 4. http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Bertie,_Willoughby_(DNB00)

102. Old Timer, "First 100 Years History of Abingdon is Chock Full of Interest to All," *Bristol Herald Courier*, November 27, 1938, claims that William Campbell attended the University of Edinburgh with Lord Abingdon. Campbell apparently never travelled further than South Carolina.

103. Herbert Gannett, *The Origin of Certain Place Names in the United States* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905), 15; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abingdon,_Maryland.

104. WC Court Minutes, April 29, 1777; www.bhshoa.com/history.htm; http://colonialhall.com/paca/paca.php..

105. In the 20th century, someone corrupted Plum to Plumb. It is shown as Plum Alley until a map from the 1940's labeled it Plumb. There were wild plum trees to the west of Court House Hill.

106. Summers, *Southwest Virginia*, 631.

107. Hening, *Statutes*, IX, 555–557.

108. *Ibid.*, XIII, 588.

government. It provided for the sheriff to hold an election to choose thirteen trustees. On the day of the election, the sheriff listed the people to be voted on. Since all elections were public, the sheriff listed the name of voters under the candidates they wanted to represent them. If there were an equal number of votes for two candidates, the sheriff decided the winner by adding his name to the bottom of the list for the man he preferred. He then reported the names to the county court, and that body had the authority to hear any disputes. The term of office was two years.

A majority of the trustees could hold meetings and pass by-laws to protect property against fires, keep the water supply safe, establish and regulate markets, keep the streets and alleys in good repair, remove obstacles from the roads, and keep good order. To carry out their duties, they appointed a clerk who was responsible for collecting taxes and keeping records which anyone could examine at any time. For this, he received a salary not exceeding $100 per year. The law says nothing about how the trustees would organize themselves or who would preside at meetings.[109]

Despite having a regular form of town government, nothing much happened until 1808 when David Campbell appears to have been presiding because his name headed the list of those present.[110] Eight trustees issued a number of rules and regulations that brought order to the town government which before had evidently been quite haphazard and disorderly. The first by-law provided that a president would be chosen each year who would preside over meetings. Additionally, strict procedures had to be followed such as: "While the President is repealing or putting any question, no one shall entertain private discourse, read, stand up, walk into, out of, or across the hall." Two-thirds of the board of trustees could also fine or expel any of its members "for indecent language or intemperate and disorderly conduct in the hall while in session." Since it had "been extremely difficult to procure regular meetings" a trustee would be fined $1 for not attending without sufficient excuse. Other by-laws followed quickly in 1808 and continued to 1812. A number of them had to do with maintaining streets, putting in brick sidewalks and stone curbs and macadamizing the streets, a feat which was not completed until 1834 or 1835.[111]

The main concern of the trustees was the danger of fires. In addition to houses, people used their lots for such things as slave quarters, toilets, smoke houses, kitchens, shops, and small manufacturing establishments. Most of the buildings were constructed of wood which meant that fires could spread easily and quickly. Embers from wood burned in the fireplaces could go up the chimney and land on roofs which were made of wooden shingles. Thus, people could not kiln wood of any type in the inner lots of the town nor could they keep outdoor fires except in cases where they had already been permitted. Chimneys could not be built of wood. All households were required to keep a ladder that could reach above the eaves of their houses unless they had trap doors through the roofs, as well as a leather water bucket for every adult male living on the property including slaves.

Furthermore, all males were required to form into fire companies which were divided into groups. The first group included men ages sixteen to forty. From this company the captain would choose ten of the best physically fit men for ladder men with the responsibility of using the ladders, hooks and other equipment to ascend the sides of buildings to fight the flames. Another group of ten were called "furniture men." Their duty was to enter houses and remove the contents which they put into the care of a sentinel. No one else was allowed to enter the houses. The rest of the men were called "lane men" who formed a line from the source of water to the fire and passed buckets along to those fighting the blaze. All slaves, free persons of color and mulattos above the age of sixteen and under the age of forty-five formed part of the lane, but took their positions closest to the source of the water. The second group of lane men consisted of males from the age of forty to sixty who served as sentinels. They took care of all property removed from buildings and kept a watch

109. Richard H. Shepherd, *The Statutes at Large of Virginia: from October Session 1792, to December Session, 1807, Being a Continuation of Hening* (Richmond: 1835), III, 27–28.

110. The Minutes of the Town of Abingdon, typescript copy at HSWCV. Quite a few of the minutes do not have a date on them. George Stevenson, "Minutes of the Abingdon Town Council, 1778–1860," *HSWCV Bulletin*, Ser. II, Nr. 20, (1983), 3–20. After 1834, the council apparently kept very few minutes.

111. David Campbell said the town planned to complete macadamizing the streets in 1834, but he doubted if they would finish that year. David Campbell to Virginia Campbell, July 13, 1834, Campbell Family Papers.

on others buildings to which the fires might spread.

The fire companies were required to meet twice each year to be instructed in their duties. They had to bring their buckets with them to be inspected. In addition, the officers of the companies who were called the Committee of Safety had to inspect all the chimneys of the town along with the ladders, buckets, and other equipment twice per year. All of these requirements had stiff penalties for those who failed to do their duty. Those with outside fires faced a fine of $10, while wooden chimneys meant a person could be fined $1 per day if they continued to use them. If a house did not have the necessary ladders and other equipment, the fine was $10, and if a person failed to do his firefighting duties, he also could be fined up to $10.

Sanitation also concerned the trustees. Every dwelling house had to have a privy and if it were within thirty feet of another dwelling, it had to have a sink that was at least five feet deep and walled with brick, stone or wood. Dead animals had to be taken outside the town limits in less than twelve hours. Manure could not be thrown into the street or alleys. Water and filth could not be disposed of by throwing it into the streets or alleys. Butchers had to keep their slaughter houses clean during the warm months and dispose of heads and offal so the smell would not be offensive to the neighborhood. Houses had to be underpinned or the ground floor had to be raised to prevent stagnant water from accumulating.

Public safety regulations included a ban on shooting across or along any of the streets or alleys without permission of three trustees. Also forbidden was a game called Long Bullets where, if it was the same as in Ireland, men threw a "bullet" originally of stone but later metal which weighed about 28 ounces. The participants threw the bullet along a road to a fixed distance, usually three or four miles. The person who reached the goal with the least number of throws was the winner. Long Bullets was dangerous because people, houses or vehicles could be hit.[112] A free man could be punished fifty cents for playing Long Bullets while a slave could receive five lashes well laid on. Fighting and rioting were forbidden as well as riding a horse, wheeled vehicle or sleigh at full speed in any of the streets. A slave punished for this would receive between ten and thirty lashes while a free person had to pay a fine and stand in the stocks for two hours. Dogs could not run free if they were disposed to biting or if they annoyed people by showing a disposition to bite. Conviction of an owner resulted in the dog having to be killed and the owner paying all court costs and a fee of $1 to the town sergeant for killing the dog and fifty cents for removing its body from the town. When an outbreak of smallpox occurred in 1832, wagoners who passed through the town who had the disease were arrested and quarantined outside the town limits at least half a mile from any road where they had to remain until they had recovered.

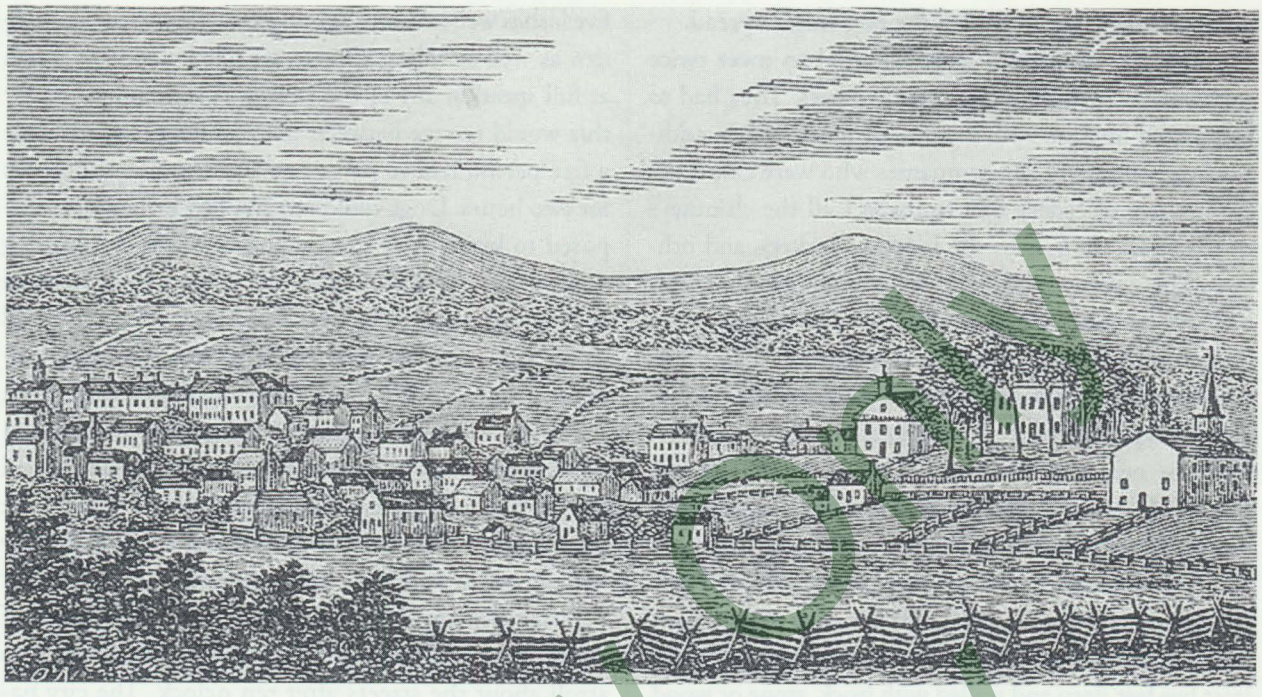
Because the white people feared gatherings of slaves, they and persons of color were not allowed to stroll about the streets after ten o'clock. The city patrols, or any other citizens seeing them, were required to detain them. If convicted, a person could receive up to fifteen lashes of the whip. Also, no person could entertain them by providing them with excessive alcohol, and anyone could disperse them if they gathered on the streets on Sundays.

The town also attempted to ban houses of "evil fame." If a person started one, he or she could be fined $10 for every twelve hours they kept the place open. Houses of evil fame were described as places:

> where women of loose morals and bad fame are kept or entertained—where spirituous liquors are retailed without license, where people are permitted to gamble contrary to law—where persons of loose morals, night walkers, eavesdroppers such as keep suspicious company, or are reported to be pilferers, common drunkards, whoremasters; the putative fathers of the mothers of bastards; cheats, idle vagabonds are harboured or entertained—where slaves are entertained or trade carried on with them without permission from their masters, or other causes.

Women of evil fame and others who quarreled in public anywhere in the town were to be arrested and punished by ducking. This was accomplished by tying women in chairs and holding them under water. No records have been found of this happening in Abingdon, but

112. T. G. F. Paterson, "The Game of Long Bullets in County Armagh," *Journal of the County Louth Archaeological and Historical Society*, XI (1946), 90–95. Thomas L. Preston, *Historical Sketches and Reminiscences of an Octogenarian* (Richmond: 1900), 105, said that Long Bullets was a game played by boys returning from Abingdon Academy and in the town who jerked iron balls along the beaten track to see how far they would roll.



Abingdon 1835. Buildings on the right can be identified as Sinking Spring Church (later Temperance Hall and Barter Theatre), across the street, the Preston-Floyd Home, and the Methodist Protestant Church. Court House Hill is to the left, and the building with the tower or cupola is the court house. (Howe, Historical Collections)

that does not mean it did not take place at some time.[113]

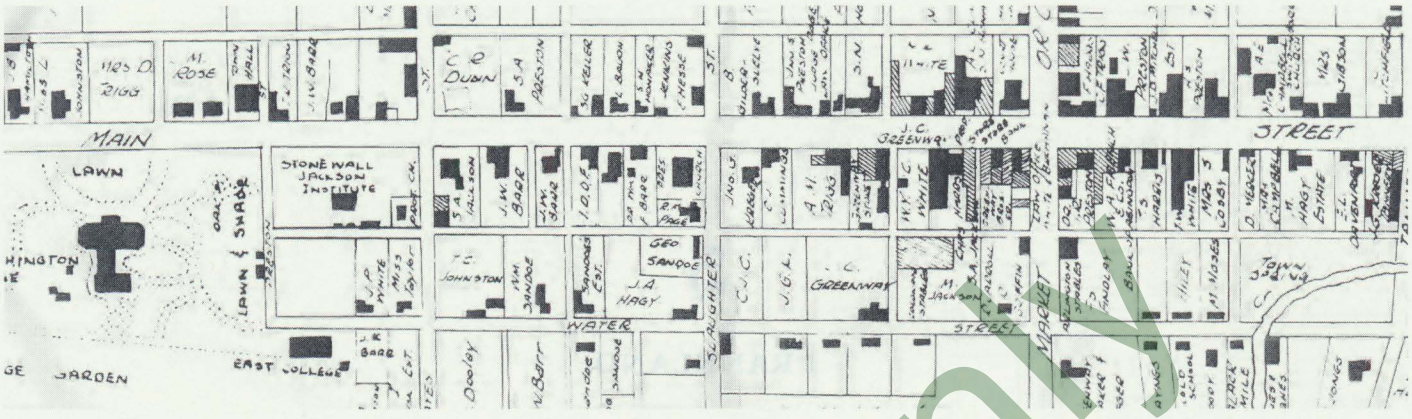
Other nuisances included stud horses and jack asses, feeding horses in front of houses, drying hats and hanging buffalo skins in front of shops because they frightened horses, drunk and disorderly people, taverns open on Sunday, and cock fighting. Bitches and sluts of the animal kind seemed to be a constant problem with by-laws against them being passed a number of times.

By 1833, the residents of Abingdon became discouraged with their local government. Although they were busily "graduating and mcadamizing the Main Street" which they claimed would be "a very beautiful & permanent improvement," the trustee form of government was inadequate, and the "magistrates of the county often refuse[d] to enforce the by-laws." They needed "suitable officers" to be authorized who could see to the "faithful & impartial execution" of their rules.[114] As a result, on March 11, 1834, the General Assembly passed "An Act to incorporate the town of Abingdon, in the county of Washington."[115] This legislation increased the limits of the town and established a mayor and council form of government elected by freeholders. Ten men served on the council along with the mayor who presided over the meetings. The councilmen appointed a clerk and treasurer while the mayor appointed the town sergeant, surveyor, and superintendent of the streets. The council had to meet at least twice a year and the mayor could call additional meetings if he felt it were necessary. The mayor and council had the power to make by-laws and ordinances regarding the same matters as before such as public safety, sanitation, fires, hogs and dogs. The town also could levy and collect taxes on real and personal property, but these could not exceed $500. The mayor served as a justice of the peace and could deal with minor cases. At the first election, the freeholders chose John M. Preston as mayor and the ten councilmen.

113. Ducking of "brabling women" who "slander and scandalize their neighbours for which their poor husbands are often brought into chargeable and vexatious suites, and caste in greate damages" was established by law in Virginia in 1662. Hening, *Statutes*, II, 166–167. England had laws against gossiping women before that.

114. Petition to General Assembly, December 6, 1833, 198/250/6.

115. *Acts of Legislature, 1833–1834*, 290–293.



Part of Abingdon in 1880. (HSWCV)

Abingdon Taxes in 1835

Houses	8¢ per $100 value
Slaves above age 12	25¢
Horses, mares, asses	6¢
Riding and pleasure carriages, stages, wagons	1% of value
Merchants and Grocers	$8.00
Ordinary Keepers	$2.00
Houses of Private Entertainment	$2.00

Goodson

The second municipality in the county was Goodson. Samuel Goodson, a large land and slave holder, was responsible for its formation on March 5, 1856, the same year the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad arrived in the community. Already in 1852, Joseph R. Anderson had purchased a plot of land from his father in law, Rev. James King which lay on both sides of the Virginia-Tennessee border and extended to Beaver Creek in Virginia. The area in Tennessee was incorporated as Bristol on February 22, 1857. The land between Bristol, Tennessee and Goodson developed rather quickly and was incorporated into Goodson. Yet, many people knew it as Bristol, Virginia, including the railroad. Indeed, the post office for Bristol, Virginia was located in Goodson for some time. In 1890, the Virginia legislature settled the matter by changing the name of Goodson to Bristol, Virginia which became an independent city and, thus, no longer a part of Washington County.[116]

§

By the outbreak of the Civil War, the county and town governments had been established. Furthermore, white men could vote in elections that often brought considerable controversy, but they could control most of their local affairs. At the state level, however, unequal representation meant that Old Virginia still dominated the more populous West with one consequence being the separation of West Virginia during the Civil War. Despite the supremacy by those on the other side of the Blue Ridge, Washington County supplied three governors for the Old Dominion although Wyndham Robertson's base of power lay more in Richmond.

116. Robert S. *Loving, Double Destiny: The Story of Bristol, Tennessee-Virginia* (Bristol: 1955), 23, 31; V. N. Phillips, *A Good Place to Live: Bristol, Tennessee/Virginia* (Johnson City, TN: Overmountain Press, 2006), 25–44.

5

Frankland

"Land of the Free"

One of the most controversial events to happen in Washington County was the attempt by Arthur Campbell, Charles Cummings, and others to create a new state called Frankland, "Land of the Free," which would have included much of the Southern Appalachian Region. The movement had considerable support in the county, as well as strong opposition, and limited support in Kentucky. More vigorous developments took place in Western North Carolina, now East Tennessee. In the end, the idea failed but a temporary state called Franklin, named for Benjamin Franklin, in western North Carolina came into being which, after a great deal of difficulty with the state government, eventually developed into the Southwest Territory and later the state of Tennessee.

Campbell

Arthur Campbell (1743–1811) was the father of the scheme, and his ideas set the movement in motion, not John Sevier as some in Tennessee have believed.[1] The nearly six foot, red headed, second generation, Scotch Irishman possessed great ambition and a fiery temperament that resulted in caustic relationships with anyone who crossed him or blocked his ambitious drive. His nephew, David Campbell, who served as governor of Virginia from 1837–1840, wrote that he was overbearing, hasty, excitable, and had more enemies than anyone that he had known." On the other hand, he was an intelligent man who was well read in the ideas of government and religion, a justice of the peace, a member of the General Assembly of Virginia, and a commander of militia forces. Furthermore, he advocated local self-government, democracy, and land for actual settlers rather than absentee eastern land speculators.

In 1757, when only fourteen years old in Augusta County, he went on patrol with a militia group. He had climbed a plum tree to get some fruit when Indians suddenly attacked and shot him in one of his knees. Unable to escape, he was taken prisoner by the natives who despite his injury, loaded him down with packs and marched him toward the Great Lakes region. Fortunately an older chief took him under his care and eased his lot. Several days later, the group arrived at Sunyendeand, a Wyandotte town, where he remained for several months before he was taken to Detroit. While in captivity he learned Indian ways and the northwest lands.

Over time, he gained the confidence of the tribesmen who allowed him considerable freedom. In 1759, when the Indians learned from traders that English forces were marching toward them, the sixteen year old decided to escape. About two weeks later he met the troops and guided them to the Indian camps where they routed the tribesmen. Campbell then went to Pittsburgh where he wrote his family who were understandably surprised to hear that he was alive. After he returned home, the government of Virginia granted him £21 and the right to claim 2,000 acres of land. When neighbors asked him about his adventures, they found he had "acquired the taciturnity of the Indian" and would talk little about what happened to him.

1. James W. Hagy, "Arthur Campbell and the West, 1743–1811," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 90 (1982) 456–471; Hartwell Quinn, *Arthur Campbell: Pioneer and Patriot of the Old Southwest* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1990); Kevin T. Barksdale, *The Lost State of Franklin: America's First Secession* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2009).

Campbell appears in only a few records until 1769 when he moved to an area that is now in Smyth County. He lived in a home that he called Royal Oak until sympathy for the Revolution inspired him to rename it Good Wood. Four years later, he married Margaret Campbell, a cousin who pushed him to "acquire distinction and reputation as a public man." His wife believed him "to be the greatest man in the country." As a result, he developed "a disposition to *rule*—to be overbearing . . . and to persevere in carrying out whatever he undertook with the greatest of obstinacy." Unfortunately, he also had a penchant to slander others and to neglect his debts, traits which made enemies and impeded his political progress.[2]

Political and Religious Ideas

One Tennessee historian has claimed that "Arthur Campbell was no reformer."[3] To the contrary, Campbell was a radical according to the politics of his day and supported the cause of the ordinary people. He had long thought about the nature of government as is evident in a letter written in 1785 in which he defined monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy or republican government. He quickly rejected monarchy and said aristocracy had "for its object the aggrandizement of the few, no matter whether vicious or not" with the result being "an abject, depraved state." In contrast, democracy or republican government was a "government of the People: their happiness is its object and its spirit is equality and virtue." America had chosen this form of government and a person's "own reflections will point out how much it is preferable to any of the others."[4] In an almost identical letter written in 1799, he indicates that this was a long held belief.[5] His thinking on the matter possibly dated back prior to when he and William Russell had served in the Virginia Convention that issued the Bill of Rights and the Constitution of 1776.

Campbell avidly read the reform political and religious literature of his age and fortunately wrote about some of it in his letters. He read works by Richard Price and Thomas Paine. In the letter regarding the types of government, he advised his reader to get Price's *Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty* which anticipated the ideas of Paine, a friend and fellow radical. Price defined civil liberty as "the power of *Civil Society, or State* to govern itself by its own discretion, or by laws of its own making, without being subject to the imposition of any *Power*." For years, Campbell also admired Paine and had high respect for his *Common Good* and *Public Good;* however, after Paine wrote his *Age of Reason*, Campbell dismissed him as an atheist. Other works on politics that Campbell mentioned in his writings were *Federalist Paper Number 5* and *Number 15*. Campbell also read books by Joseph Priestly.

Although Campbell came from a Presbyterian background and had close ties with Presbyterian ministers, he was a Deist and later became a follower of Emanuel Swedenborg and the New Jerusalem Church. He read Swedenborg's *The Four Leading Doctrines of the New Church*. A few others in Washington County also believed in his teachings and eventually a Swedenborgian church existed for a number of years in Abingdon.

Paine, Price, and Priestly were all non-Trinitarians. In later years, Campbell read Bishop Richard Watson's *An Apology for the Bible* in which the author sought to refute Paine's ideas in the *Age of Reason*.[6] Paine's book caused Campbell to try to have published Ebenezer Brooks' *A Reply to the Age of Reason*, but he did not succeed in that. Brooks who lived at Campbell's home

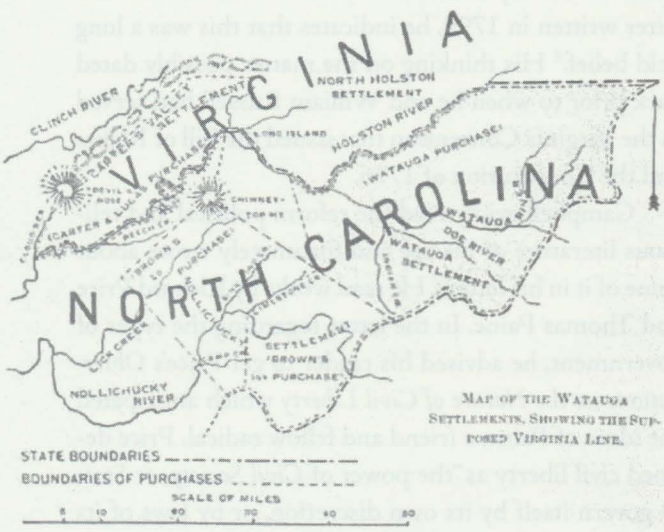
2. David Campbell to L. C. Draper, June 1843, Draper MS 10DD42; James Smith, *An Account of the Remarkable Occurrences in the Life and Travels of Colonel James Smith* (Lexington: 1799), 50; Campbell to Randolph, December 31, 1787, *CVSP*, IV, 375; Hening, *Statutes*, VIII, 129; David Campbell to Draper, December 12, 1840, Draper MS 10DD6; Lyman Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch–Irish Settlement in Virginia, Extracted from the Original Court Records of Augusta County, 1745–1800* (Rosslyn: 1900), I, 357, 461, III, 414, 431–432, 452, 482, 489; David Campbell to Draper, January 12, 1843, Draper MS 3QQ30; March 30, 1842, Draper MS 10DD14; December 12, 1840, Draper MS 10DD6; Lewis Preston Summers, *Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769–1800* (1929), I, 74, 589; *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia*, VI, 505.

3. Thomas Perkins Abernethy, *From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee: A Study in Frontier Democracy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1932), 78.

4. Campbell to John Edmiston, August 26, 1785, *CVSP*, IV, 100–101. He wrote this letter in the midst of his efforts to establish his state of Frankland. Other Edmistons were his opponents. Therefore, it is not clear why he wrote this letter.

5. Arthur Campbell to David Campbell, January 29, 1799, Campbell Family Papers.

6. Richard Price, *Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty* (London: 1776), 3; Arthur Campbell to John Campbell, May 6, 1804, Campbell Family Papers, Arthur Campbell to Mr. Davis, May 13, 1788, Draper MS 9DD48.



Supposed Virginia-North Carolina border. Before the border was surveyed from near Whitetop Mountain in Washington County, many people believed it ran along the South Fork of the Holston River. (Tennessee Blue Book, 2010-2011, 38).

for two years had been a Presbyterian minister, but the Hanover Presbytery defrocked him because he "vented some heretical doctrines, which affect the very essentials of Christianity," charges that he did not deny.[7]

Political and Military Career to 1781

By 1781, he had been active in political and military affairs for years. He had served as a militia commander, helped defend the frontiers during Dunmore's Wars, and led expeditions against the Cherokees in 1776 and 1780. In government, he had served as a justice of the peace, presided over the court of Washington County, served in the legislature, and took part in the Convention which wrote the Virginia Constitution of 1776. He knew many of the Virginians of his time such as Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, and James Madison. Familiar with the great questions of his day and the lands from Williamsburg to Detroit and westward into Kentucky and Tennessee, Campbell probably had a greater depth of knowledge of western affairs than anyone else.

He also made enemies. From the beginning, as county lieutenant of the 70th Regiment of the militia, Campbell provoked others. Anthony Bledsoe and James Thompson became especially upset when Campbell failed to recommend them to the governor for commissions in the militia. The resulting turmoil caused William Christian of Montgomery County to warn Campbell that he had better curry better relations with his neighbors before the 1777 election if he expected to return to the legislature. He failed to do so with the result that Bledsoe and another of Campbell's enemies, William Cocke, received the support of the voters. Campbell protested the election of Cocke by claiming that he lived in North Carolina, did not hold the required amount of land, and had been involved in "some instances of bribery," but he lost the appeal.[8] Bledsoe, Cocke, and Thompson remained enemies of Campbell.

The Beginning of the Statehood Movement

Campbell seems to have first considered the possibility of a new western state when the Continental Congress passed resolutions in September and October, 1780, which said that the states of Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia should give up their western lands and allow them to be formed into separate states with a republican form of government. The idea seemed nearer to reality when the Virginia Assembly began to discuss the possibility of giving up its claims north of the Ohio River. This probably caused Campbell to beginning thinking of taking some action, if he had not already.[9]

Another factor was probably Thomas Paine's *Public Good, being an Examination into the Claims of Virginia to the Vacant Western Territory, and the Right of*

7. Minutes of Hanover Presbytery, October 29, 1777, April 25, 1780, October 25, 1780, May 22, 1782, October 24, 1782. May 22, 23, 1783. Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Va.; James Waddell to Ebenezer Brooks, January 29, 1783, Simon Gratz's Autograph Collection, Pennsylvania Historical Society, Philadelphia.

8. Petition to the General Assembly 197/249/1, May 20, 1777; *Journals of the Council of the State of Virginia* (Richmond: 1931), I, 417; William Christian to Campbell, September 8, 1777, Draper MS 9DD14; *Journal of the House of Delegates in May 1777*, 21–22, 67–68; *Register of the General Assembly*, 1776–1918 (Richmond: 1918), 16, 18, 25, 27.

9. Samuel Cole Williams, *History of the Lost State of Franklin* (New York: 1933), 5–6; Summers, *Southwest Virginia*, 391.

the United States to the Same, to which is Added Proposals for Laying off a New State, to be Applied as a Fund for Carrying on the War, or Redeeming the National Debt (1780). Paine pointed out that it would be difficult for Virginia to hold these lands and it would be an advantage to give them up. According to him, the boundaries of the new western state should extend from the Alleghenies (Appalachians) northward to the border of Pennsylvania, then to the Fall of the Ohio (Louisville), then southward to the North Carolina border, and finally east to the Allegheny Mountains.

In early 1782, Campbell sent letters to a number of people suggesting that a new state should be created. An extract of one sent to Alexander Barnett, a resident of Southwest Virginia, has been preserved in the *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*. In it, Campbell proposed that the people of the five counties of Southwest Virginia and the counties of Washington and Sullivan in North Carolina should send delegates to a meeting in April in Abingdon where they would consider the resolutions of Congress dealing with the western country. Each county should hold an election at its court house on the third Tuesday in March, and every farmer above the age of eighteen should be allowed to vote for delegates or deputies, one for every hundred farmers. The delegates would continue in office for a year and would meet periodically in different places.[10]

Among the recipients of Campbell's letters were residents of the western North Carolina counties considered for inclusion. One was John Sevier of Western North Carolina who got his letter on January 21, 1782, and replied on February 16 "concerning our New Western World." He replied to Campbell that he had not at first had the time to consider the proposal and was somewhat sad that he lived in such a remote place that he could not discuss it "with Gentlemen more wiser in politics" than he.

This letter clearly demonstrates that Campbell was the originator of the idea and the first person to put a plan in motion. A number of writers, however, have claimed that it was Sevier's idea and disregarded Campbell and the events in Washington County that preceded action in North Carolina.[11]

Sevier went on to suggest that if Congress had officially assumed the right of the western country that a meeting of select men should be held immediately and the people at large should be represented as fully as possible. The people of the west had suffered many difficulties and numerous lives had been lost because of their remoteness from government. Furthermore, Sevier said that he had been told by Isaac Shelby that such a move was already underfoot and that he would "always be glad to cooperate with you in Business of this nature any way I can be serviceable to the public good." Both Shelby and Sevier had been commanders on the Kings Mountain campaign.[12]

In early February, 1782, Campbell also corresponded with Col. William Christian of Montgomery County, Virginia who liked the general plan but thought that some alteration was necessary. He suggested that a circular be sent out quoting the resolution of Congress word for word so that the people in the western country could consider the matter and give their honest opinions. The best way, he believed, to obtain this consensus was to have the captains of the militia in the counties call together all freemen above the age of eighteen, and if they agreed with the concept, choose one representative if their militia company had less than fifty men and two if more than that number. These delegates could then meet in Abingdon. In addition, those who favored this scheme should keep the issue alive until all the meetings were held. Meanwhile, Christian planned to visit Richmond to obtain the resolutions which Congress had passed and any other useful intelligence as nothing could be done, according to Christian, until "the Resolutions can be had." Despite Campbell's assertions that Virginia had given up her western lands, she had only

10. "A scheme for obtaining the sence of the Inhabitants of the Western Country on the Subject of the Late Resolves of Congress Declaring the Sovereignty over the same to be in the United Sates," *CVSP*, III, 414–415.

11. For example, Peter J. Kastor, "Equitable Rights and Privileges: The Divided Loyalties in Washington County Virginia, During the Franklin Separatist Crisis," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 105 (1997), 193–226. He says such things as "At some point early in their planning, the North Carolina Franklinites found that they had allies across the border in Virginia." The idea, of course, came from Campbell in 1782. At another place, Kastor says that "slaves constituted more than a quarter of the people living in the county." At the first census in 1790, slaves were only 8.7% of the population.

12. John Sevier to Arthur Campbell, February 16, 1782, Colonel Arthur Campbell Papers, Filson Historical Society, Louisville, KY.

ceded her lands north of the Ohio River. Both Sevier and Christian were suspicious of Campbell's plan and wanted to see the actual wording of any documents that showed the lands had been released.

Campbell had proposed that the deputies be elected at the court houses instead of the militia musters, but Christian raised the point that few people attended the meetings. He believed that using the militia was preferable because it "may be best to have everyone deputed by the people from whence all power flows." He further advised "You had better be consulting some in Sullivan and Washington [North Carolina]. If we suffer, they stand next to Danger and may expect it."[13] Both Christian and Sevier emphasized that as many people as possible should be represented and that authority came from the people. This element of democracy was apparently not a strange doctrine to those on the frontier in contrast to Eastern Virginia.

The Frankland Movement in Washington County

Campbell became quite hopeful of success when Congress, on May 1, 1782, recommended to Virginia that she cede her western lands without conditions. On June 9, 1782, he wrote to Arthur Lee, a member of the Confederation Congress from Virginia, that he hoped Congress would adopt the Ohio River as the western boundary of the proposed new state. If not, a line should run southwest from the mouth of the Greenbrier River to the North Carolina line. The ridge of the mountains could then divide a new state from Virginia. This was virtually the same boundaries as proposed by Thomas Paine. The borders would include the two Virginia counties of Montgomery and Washington along with Washington and Sullivan counties in North Carolina, assuming that North Carolina would also cede its western lands. Campbell hoped that a separation would be as happy as good friends parting and that it would be beneficial to both sides similar to the friendly division of a county. Replying to a charge made by some that he was mainly interested in "private aggrandizement," Campbell added: "I have hitherto endeavoured by my political conduct to be guided by two principal landmarks: The Constitution and the *voice of the people*."[14]

Campbell soon faced opposition especially from Gen. William Russell who, having returned from service in the regular army, had emerged as a leading figure in the West. He complained about Campbell's activities in a letter written in 1783 to Governor Benjamin Harrison: "I fear Col: Campbell's present close attention to affect a new State in this part of the country, will engage his time to the neglect of any individual among us."[15]

While Russell's loyalty to Virginia cannot be questioned, his opposition to Campbell seems to have had a basis, at least in part, in personal affairs. Like Campbell, Russell had been a leading militia officer and was the most significant person in the Clinch settlements. He lived at Castle's Woods with his wife Tabitha Adams. She, however, died in 1776 when he was away on militia duties. Concerned for his children's safety from Indian attacks, he moved from Castle's Woods to a farm adjoining Aspenvale, the home of Col. William Campbell. Two of his slaves looked after the care of the family while he was away.

On December 19, 1776, Russell went into the regular army and served in a number of important battles while in the 13th and 5th Virginia regiments, but was taken prisoner in Charleston in May, 1780, after which he spent some time in a prison ship in the West Indies. During his imprisonment, family members in England tried to get him to return to his former loyalty to the crown, but he refused. He was released when an exchange of prisoners took place and returned to active duty until his discharge in November, 1783, at which point he received the rank of brevet general. He then returned to Aspenvale and married Elizabeth Henry, the widow of William Campbell and a sister of Patrick Henry. William Campbell had two children by his wife, Sarah and Charles Henry. His will named Arthur Campbell and William Christian as guardians for the two children. Russell, who was noted as being a proud, stern, and imperious man, reportedly treated the children badly. Campbell blocked Russell from adopting the daughter. Other disputes followed with the result that the Russells had very bad relations with

13. William Christian to Campbell, February 19, 1782, Draper MS 9DD32.

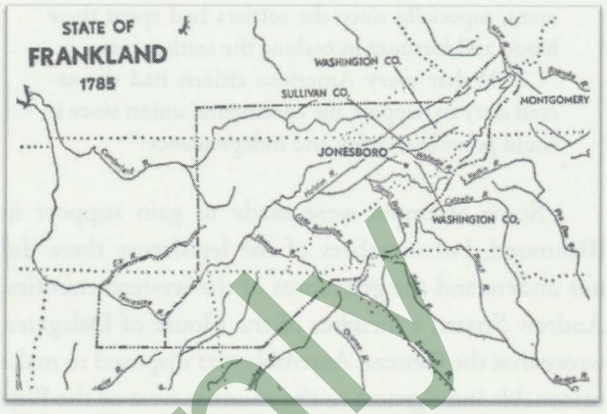
14. Quoted in Williams, *Lost State of Franklin*, 7–8.

15. William Russell to Governor Harrison, September 25, 1783, *CVSP*, III, 532.

Arthur which earned him the enmity of two people close to Gov. Patrick Henry.[16]

Not a great deal came of the statehood movement until late 1784 when a public meeting took place in Abingdon where participants, possibly representatives of militia units, drew up a memorial to Congress which that body received on January 15, 1785. Charles Cummings acted as chairman of the meeting and was the first to sign the petition; however, the name of Arthur Campbell, which was located in ninth place among the eighteen signatures, is undoubtedly the most important. Congress took no action on the petition except to forward it to Gov. Patrick Henry with the notation: "It came enclosed in a letter from Arthur Campbell to the President of Congress who I suppose was the parent of the scheme."[17]

The petitioners stated that after having considered the resolutions and other acts of Congress respecting Western Territory and for "laying off new Independent States," they were happy to find "so large a part of Territory already ceded to the United States. . . . and trust that every obstacle will speedily be removed from the completion of that business by the individual States affected thereby." They expressed the wish that "we may speedily enjoy the Advantages of such a government" which could exercise its jurisdiction over a "convenient territory, not too small for the support of authority nor too large for the security of Freedom." In order to be on an equal footing with those settlers northwest of the Ohio River, already ceded by Virginia, they proposed a state which would include East Tennessee, Southwest Virginia, and portions of Alabama, Georgia, and North Carolina. This, they believed, would be sufficient territory for a "society that wishes to encourage industry and temperance as cardinal virtues." The state would be subject to the federal bond, and the vacant lands would be under the control of the legislature as in other states with the revenue from the sale of land being used to help pay the national debts.[18]



Campbell's proposed ptate of Frankland, 1785. (JOHN H. BOUNDS).

The lands to the north to which they referred were those included in Thomas Jefferson's Land Ordinance of 1784 which called for the northern states to give up their western lands. Jefferson had called for the creation of ten states, some with strange names such as Chersonesus, Metropotamia, Equitasia, Assenisipia, and Polypotamia, but the Ordinance did not provide a means to create the states. The Ordinance of 1785 clarified that and other issues, but the states still had to cede their lands before new states could be formed, and Virginia had not done that. Furthermore, the proponents of Frankland never asked Virginia to cede the lands.

Included with the petition was an agreement of association that was signed by those taking part in the meeting. It resolved, among other things:

> (1) that people had the right to provide for their own interests;
>
> (2) that citizens had the right to emigrate from one state to another and the citizens in any state could change their situation as they wanted;
>
> (3) that individuals were not created for the pleasure of government but government was instituted for the happiness of the individuals and the lands strictly belonged to them and not the govern-

16. Mary Katerine Thorp, "William Russell: A Revolutionary Patriot of the Clinch Valley," (M.A. thesis, University of Virginia, 1936), 33–34; Preston, *A Sketch of Mrs. Elizabeth Russell*; F. B. Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army During the War of the Revolution, April, 1775 to December, 1783*, (Washington: Lowdermilk, 1893), 142, 178.

17. S. Hardy to Gov. Patrick Henry, January 17, 1785, *CVSP*, IV, 3.

18. Gaillard Hunt and Worthington C. Ford (eds.), *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774–1789* (Washington 1904–1937), XXVIII, 4. The petition is in the "Memorials of the Inhabitants of Illinois, Kaskasia, and Kentucky, 1780–1789," Papers of the Continental Congress, National Archives, Washington, D. C., Item 48, 287. It is printed in *CVSP*, IV, 4–5.

ment, especially since the settlers had spent their blood and fortunes in making the settlements;

(4) that every American citizen had the sacred duty to support the continental union since it could provide security and independence.[19]

Some attempts were made to gain support in Richmond, but members of the legislature there did not understand the grievances of the western counties. Andrew Stuart, a member of the House of Delegates, wrote that the General Assembly was disposed to make reasonable indulgences to the counties west of the Blue Ridge which would make the residents happier than would any innovation in government. In order to try to placate the western settlements, the state government would allow the people to delay their back taxes and pay them in hemp. The state would also establish courts of assize which would eliminate the necessity of individuals appearing before the General Court in Richmond for major cases.[20] In James Madison's opinion these actions would end the demands for a separate government in the west, all of which he considered to be "children of AC's ambition. The assize courts and the opening of our Rivers are the best answers to stop them."[21] This assessment was naïve. The westerners had not raised the issue of courts and Southwest Virginia had no navigable rivers.[22] Although the General Assembly did pass an act to set up such courts, it soon repealed the law.[23]

In his letter, Stuart advised Campbell "If you give up the idea of a separate state pray leave no stone unturned to come into the next assembly if you do not I wish you bad success. It is too ridiculous to continue M t y [Mutiny] longer."[24] Campbell, however, continued his rebellious activity and according to various depositions later made against him, he held five public meetings in February and March of 1785. They took place at William Colley's house on February 12, Major Dysart's place on February 14, Sinking Springs Meeting House near the same time in February, and Mrs. Smith's tavern in Abingdon, March 14. No one spoke of other meetings although private conversations took place. Some people said that he urged people not to pay their taxes while others denied such statements were made.

Meetings in the early months of 1785 culminated in another petition to Congress on April 7. As before, Charles Cummings signed it, but no other signatures are attached. In the petition, the proponents of statehood said that "Inhabitants, can no longer be safe or useful in Society without the protecting Arm of the federal government, and the privileges of an independent State." They advocated two new states, one for Kentucky and the other for their area.[25]

On June 10, 1785, Governor Patrick Henry received a pamphlet from Washington County titled "To the Freemen of Washington County" which he said James Montgomery "put . . . into my hands and can prove its authenticity, and that Arthur Campbell personally explained, enforced and inculcated its contents on the people, parti'ly the state of Taxes p'd by the County."[26] The document stated that it was necessary to examine whether the citizens of Washington County had been well served or abused by their government, and whether their rights and liberties were secure. Furthermore, "it must be granted that in free Communities the Laws are only obligatory when made consonant to the Constitution or original Compact." The flyer went to explain that the people had "Coarse clothing and cheap Dwellings" and no time or money for elegant houses, or suitable places of learning, and worship.

To anticipate charges that they were not paying their fair share of the burdens of the state, the proponents of separation listed the estimated amounts of taxes paid by Washington and Montgomery counties. It was felt that they should pay lower taxes for the losses of lives and property as a result of Indian attacks. The document concluded:

19. Papers of the Continental Congress, National Archives, Item 48, 287.

20. Andrew Stuart to Arthur Campbell, January 5, 1785, Draper MS 9DD42. In a similar way North Carolina had attempted to appease its disgruntled western inhabitants at the time of its repeal of the cession act of 1784 by creating a new Washington District for the Tennessee region with a separate superior court and a militia brigade. Williams, *Lost State of Franklin*, 37

21. James Madison to Thomas Jefferson, January 9, 1785, *Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, VII, 597. For the legislation see, Hening, *Statutes*, XI, 11, 421, 429, XII, 12, 45–46.

22. From time to time, politicians talked about deepening the North Fork of the Holston and removing obstacles from the river bed, but nothing came of these proposals.

23. Hening, *Statutes*, XI, 421–429.

24. Stuart to Campbell, January 5, 1785, Draper MS 9DD2.

25. Printed in J. T. McGill, "Franklin and Frankland," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, 8 (1925) 253–254.

26. *CVSP*, IV, 34–37. The comment by Gov. Henry is in a note at the end of the document.

> All is not lost yet . . . Your rulers, as well as those of other nations are only falable men. When they act well, honour and applaud them: when wickedly, impeach and punish them. Disregard their impotent threats and ridiculous falacies, and let them know that the Little selfish cry of an Individual is not to be heard when the loud sounds of the people's are publishing their wrongs.[27]

That was tantamount to a call for rebellion.

Conflict with Patrick Henry

That circular and Campbell's previous actions caused Patrick Henry to issue a proclamation putting into immediate effect in Washington County the militia law of 1784 which was scheduled to be effective only on April 1, 1785. In fact, Article XIII allowed the governor to put off the act beyond that time "in the counties on the western waters, as long as they may think proper."[28] Henry, thus, violated the legislation. The law disbanded the militia as then organized and provided for the governor to appoint the most able and fit persons willing to serve.[29] At the same time, Henry wrote William Russell appointing him county lieutenant in the place of Campbell. The governor advised Russell to publish the proclamation at the next court when he and the other officers named should take office. He also suggested that additional field officers whom he had named should recommend lesser officers who would be sent their commissions as soon as the governor knew who they were. Henry wrote: "Some hazard however is incurred by these measures. But on mature deliberation it is thought better to encounter it, than postpone the present arrangement."[30]

Campbell did not know of the actions of the governor as he made a routine report on July 5 about recent events on the frontier adding that "It is unfortunate for us that our militia are so deranged, and the evil has a greater effect by the countenance said to be given by the Executive to a *Cabal*" that was creating disorder "without answering any good purpose."[31] Had Henry not already taken action against Campbell, he probably would have been prompted to do so by that statement.

At the July meeting of the Washington County court a confrontation took place between the two forces. The information about this meeting comes only from depositions made later because the court minutes for that time are very scant with no mention of the event. It is possible that the clerk, John Campbell, only recorded what he wanted. Shortly after that, the minute books are suspiciously missing for a number of years. The deponents agreed that William Russell appeared at the court with the governor's proclamation and other official papers with the intention of enforcing the militia law. The sheriff read the proclamation at the door of the court house. Then the newly appointed officers entered the court where Colonel Campbell was sitting on the bench as presiding judge of the court. When Russell announced that he and the others intended to qualify as field officers, Campbell demanded the authority for such an action. At this point Russell handed him the proclamation and also told him about other official papers he had received.

After this, the deponents disagreed about what occurred, but apparently Campbell refused to allow the officers to qualify. Descending from the bench he addressed the court from the floor as a private individual rather than in an official capacity. He was reported to have said that "the militia law was tyrannical and oppressive, and recommended to all present to pay no regard to it" since the governor and his council had exceeded their powers. Having suspended the law until the following January, the state did not have the power to enforce it in July. Hoping to gain time, Campbell next suggested that the matter be delayed until the August sitting of the court. Russell disagreed with him, stating that the frontiers would be endangered by the lack of protection. Campbell's reply was that all the necessary measures for defense had been taken and that the officers would not neglect their duties until the meeting in August. He indicated that the matter should be left up to the people who could make their will known at the following court. If they favored the new militia law, he would hastily agree

27. *Ibid.*, 34–36

28. Hening, *Statutes*, XI, 494.

29. Ibid., 481; *Journals of the Council of the State of Virginia, 1776–1786*, III, 450.

30. Patrick Henry to William Russell, June 10, 1785, in William Wirt Henry, *Patrick Henry: Life, Correspondence and Speeches* (New York: 1891), III, 300.

31. Arthur Campbell to Governor Henry, July 5, 1785, *CVSP*, IV, 40.

and "could shoulder his musket as well as any of them." At that point Campbell left the building.[32]

Thirty-four men from Washington County petitioned Patrick Henry claiming that the militia law was unconstitutional, oppressive, and that the usurpation of the constitution one time would before long result in anarchy or despotism. They asked the governor and council to reconsider or at least wait until the legislature had a chance to meet on the subject or until they had "an opportunity to seek redress from a legal tribunal."[33]

Campbell also let Henry know his feelings in a letter dated July 26, 1785, complaining that the "voice of Calumny and faction" had reached the executive without an enquiry or a fair hearing. "We are told . . . that we have offended government on account of our sentiments being favorable to a new State if that were a crime "there is not a few in this County to whom guilt may be imputed." Furthermore, if they wished for separation, it was because they had grievances that became worse and worse while a new mode of government would make them more useful to the Confederation.[34]

Because of objections throughout the state to the militia law, the General Assembly in October responded by passing a new one that reinstated all military officers and gave them precedence of rank over anyone who had assumed their offices in the meantime.[35] As a result, Campbell resumed his office as county lieutenant and William Russell lost his position.

John Sevier, fearing that the problems in Virginia might harm the statehood movement in North Carolina addressed a letter to Patrick Henry which he sent first to William Russell who then forwarded it to the governor. He said that the Western Carolinians would not, on any account, encourage any part of the people of Virginia to join them and would not accept any of them without the consent of the Virginia government.[36] The situation for Franklin was complicated enough, and they needed the votes of all the states to be admitted into the union. Also, it is highly likely that Sevier was afraid of the domination of Virginians in his state and competition from Campbell for the governorship.

While William Russell strongly opposed Campbell, James Montgomery, then the sheriff of Washington County, had been bitter about Campbell since 1777 when Campbell did not recommend him for a militia commission. He wanted Campbell punished. On July 26, 1785, he, William Edmiston and Andrew Bowen wrote Gov. Henry saying that "secret plans have been laid to delude the people" regarding taxes. They also reported that at a meeting at Maj. James Dysart's house Campbell said that he aimed "to fix a boundary, to include a part of Virginia in the Franklin State" and Washington and Montgomery counties as well as the North Carolina counties would declare themselves independent of the two states and he would stand at the front of battle "between these people and Virginia when necessary."[37] Later both James and Andrew Kincannon testified that Campbell was asked if he would assist the Franklinites if North Carolina attacked them and he replied "by all means we ought all to do it."[38] On the other hand, supporters of Campbell denied hearing such a statement from Campbell.[39] Opponents obviously wanted to put the worst light on matters by claiming that Campbell wanted to take a part of Virginia and add it to another state. Neither side was always truthful, so each argument is suspect.

While Campbell served as a member of the House of Delegates in 1777, 1781, 1782, 1783, he advocated not sending members to the legislature in 1784 and 1785, and he did not run for that office. As a result, his enemies, William Russell and James Montgomery, represented Washington County in 1784 and William Russell and Andrew Kincannon in 1785.[40]

When the legislature met in October, 1785, it took two actions that had important consequences for Washington County. First, it passed "An Act Punishing Certain Offences, and Vesting the Governor with Certain Powers" which made it high treason to "erect or establish, or cause and procure to be erected, or established, any government separate from or independent of the government of Virginia." It also made it

32. Depositions of William Russell, March 10, 1786 and Robert Craig, May 31, 1786, *CVSP*, IV, 99, 140–141; *Journals of the Council of the State of Virginia*, III, 466.

33. Summers, *Southwest Virginia*, 404–405.

34. Campbell to Henry, July 26, 1785, *CVSP*, IV, 44.

35. Hening, *Statutes*, XII, 10.

36. John Sevier to Governor Henry, July 19, 1785, *CVSP*, IV, 4, 42–43.

37. *CVSP*, IV, 45–46.

38. *Ibid.*, 98, 105, 126.

39. *Ibid.*, 127–145.

40. Summers, *Southwest Virginia*, 817.

high treason for anyone to hold office in such a separate state or profess allegiance to it. Furthermore, anyone who simply supported such a movement would be "adjudged guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor" and if convicted should suffer pains or penalties up, but not including, the loss of life or limb. In addition, if a movement developed to an extent that it could be a threat to the state, the governor had the right to call out the militia to suppress it.[41] Up to this time, the state had no means of taking legal action against the separatists as no laws forbade such action. Common law at the time provided that a person convicted of treason should be taken to the gallows, hanged by the neck, cut down, his entrails taken out and burned while he was still alive, his head be cut off, and his body divided into four parts. This act and the possible results caused Campbell to cease immediately his efforts to promote a separation of Washington County from Virginia.[42]

The other legislation passed in the session in 1785, "An Act for Dividing the County of Washington," created a new county in the Clinch River Settlements. William Russell introduced the legislation and the county was named for him. About one hundred individuals had signed a petition in December, 1784, requesting a new county, giving as their chief justification that the Washington County court was quite distant and travel to there was difficult for those to the north who had to pass through Little Moccasin Gap which, indeed, was a difficult journey, and those to the west had to cross terrain nearly as bad. The act greatly reduced Campbell's power as a militia leader. Washington County lost most of its territory and quite a few of its people.[43] The Russell County of 1785 contained all or parts of the present counties of Tazewell, Buchanan, Dickenson, Wise, Scott, and Lee.

41. Hening, *Statutes*, XII, 42–43.

42. At some time, probably before this, Campbell played the leading role in writing a democratic constitution for Franklin which he continued to call Frankland. The proposed constitution of 1785, however, did not meet with approval. At any rate, it would not have been a treasonable act against Virginia though his participation in writing the document was veiled. James W. Hagy, "Democracy Defeated: The Frankland Constitution of 1785," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, 40 (1981), 239–256.

43. *Journal of the House of Delegates, 1828*, 130; Hening, *Statutes*, XII, 41–42, 110–111; Russell County Heritage Committee, *The Heritage of Russell County, Virginia, 1787–1986* (1985), I, 6–7; Theodosia Wells Barrett, *Famous Virginia and Kentucky Russells* (Johnson City: Overmountain Press, 1991), 32–33.

Opponents in Washington County

Campbell's opponents, especially, William Edmiston, James Kincannon, Samuel Edmiston, James Thompson, and Arthur Bowen, continued to want to punish Campbell and made charges against him which they sent to the governor.[44] When the governor failed to react, a number of them went to Richmond and made accusations in person before the governor and council. They claimed that Campbell advised people not to pay their taxes, not to elect members to the legislature, not to obey the militia law of 1784, and had attempted to separate Washington County from Virginia. The council decided to notify Campbell of the charges and ordered both sides to take depositions of witnesses. The council would then hear the case on the first Monday in April, 1786.[45]

The known depositions were taken by James Montgomery, William Edmiston, James Kincannon, Samuel Edmiston, James Thompson, and Arthur Bowen, all opponents of Campbell. Acting as if they were prosecutors, they sought out people who shared their views. As the taking of depositions progressed, these people made new charges against Campbell which they sent to the governor, accusing him of obstructing the taking of statements and making bad nominations for county offices.[46] Still, they were able to take depositions at the Town House at Seven Mile Ford, at Capt. Thomas Price's house on the Clinch, and the house of Henry Herklerode.[47] When they completed taking the statements, they sent them to the council in Richmond for the hearing.

Meanwhile, Campbell wrote a complaint about the people being nominated for the militia in the "new County on Clinch." Apparently he could not make himself call it Russell County. He claimed that one nominee could not read or write and two others were young,

44. William Edmiston, James Kincannon, Samuel Edmiston, James Thompson and Arthur Bowen to the Executive, November 14, 1785, *CVSP*, IV, 69

45. *Journals of the Council of the State of Virginia*, III, 497–498.

46. Testimony of Samuel McMurray, March 21, 1786, *CVSP*, IV, 108; James Montgomery, William Edmiston, James Kincannon, Samuel Edmiston, James Thompson to Governor Henry, March 23, 1786, *CVSP*, IV, 109–110.

47. February 23, March 6, March 21, 1786, *CVSP*, IV, 100, 109–110.

inexperienced, and lived in the same house. Furthermore, four proposed justices, he charged, belonged to the same family and none of whom was known for his knowledge. In another neighborhood, three kinsmen who had been nominated lived within a mile of each other.[48] Although Russell County no longer fell under his jurisdiction, he still wanted a voice in its affairs.

Hearings in Richmond

On the assigned date for the hearing in Richmond, Campbell wrote the council that he had been sick and rains had made it difficult to appear in the capital as required. The council adjourned until April 6 at which time he appeared with his attorneys, James Innes and Archibald Stuart. When the charges were read, his lawyers protested again that the board did not have the jurisdiction to act because the procedure was unconstitutional, but the board overruled that. The lawyers also claimed that testimony by depositions was not proper, the witnesses should have appeared in person and been cross examined, and the certificates of the justices did not give the time and place where they were to be taken. The court accepted this argument and ruled that new depositions had to be taken with the time and place indicated on the summons. The board would take up the issue again on the second Tuesday in June.[49]

The council also appointed new people to take the depositions for the second hearing. They were David Ward, Andrew Cowan, John Lathim, John Kinkead, John Lowery, James Fulkerson, and Joseph Black. Only two of them had any known involvement in the issue before that time. The council also set the dates and place for the taking of depositions. All were to be taken at the court house in Abingdon on May 3, 4, 5, 15, 16, 17, and 25, 26, 27. When the taking of the depositions began, Campbell, as before, made a number of efforts to block the process but did not succeed.[50]

When the second hearing began in June, Campbell's lawyers again tried to have the depositions declared invalid but the council rejected the motion. After the clerk read the documents aloud, the group adjourned for two weeks to consider the charges. In fact, they did not reconvene until August 31, 1786. At that meeting, they declared that Campbell had been guilty of misconduct and decided he should be removed from his office of justice of the peace in Washington County. Patrick Henry was happy to comply and quickly removed him.[51]

Rehabilitation

The rehabilitation of Campbell began when Patrick Henry's term in office expired in November 1786, and Edmund Randolph replaced him. On December 22, 1786, Campbell and Robert Craig sent a flattering letter to the new governor congratulating him on his victory.[52] Gov. Randolph replied blandly that he was happy they had a very favorable opinion of him.[53] After that the Washington County Court "earnestly recommended" to the governor and council that Campbell "be and remain a Justice of the peace, and the order of the Executive" of August 31, 1786 be rescinded.[54] On January 8, 1788, the General Assembly repealed the act under which Patrick Henry had removed Campbell from his office of justice of the peace, declaring that the act appeared to be contrary to the spirit of the constitution and "that the legislative, executive, and judiciary departments, shall be separated and distinct, so that neither exercise the powers properly belonging to the others," what Campbell had argued all the time. Campbell was then serving in the House of Delegates, and, no doubt, spent much of his time advocating for the repeal. The repeal, though, is buried in "An Act respecting the appointment of county court clerks, recommendations of surveyors, and for other purposes" which apparently most legislators did not read. The governor restored him to his position of justice of the peace on September 15, 1789.[55]

Continued Opposition in the County

Still Campbell's enemies pursued him. William Edmiston filed a civil suit claiming that his return to office was illegal because he had not been granted a

48. Campbell to Henry, April 3, 1786, *CVSP*, IV, 112–113.

49. *Journals of the Council of State of Virginia*, III, 540, 541.

50. *CVSP*, IV, 114, 117; Memorial of Arthur Campbell, May 31, 1786, *CVSP*, IV, 4, 140

51. *Journal of the Council of State*, III, 559, 563, 568, 577.

52. Campbell and Craig to Gov. Randolph, December 22, 1786, Arthur Campbell Papers.

53. Randolph to Campbell and others, December 23, 1786, Arthur Campbell Papers.

54. February 14, 1787, *CVSP*, IV, 237.

55. Hening, *Statutes*, XIII, 507.

new commission. The Virginia Supreme Court, however, sided with Campbell, stating that Gov. Henry had wrongfully exceeded his authority because of the constitutional separation of powers and only the courts could take such actions. That finally ended the matter.[56]

Another fervent enemy, James Montgomery, charged Campbell with malpractice as a justice of the peace. When Robert Craig gave his deposition, he said he had asked Montgomery what his motives were since the two had once been good friends but afterward had many disputes. According to Craig, Montgomery explained that he had been "ill used by Arthur Campbell, and particularly for that Judgment which was obtained against him for holding a false Election in 1785,[57] and for not getting Justice in recommendations." When Craig asked if the two could re-establish their friendship, Montgomery replied that "it was too late now, and if it had not been purely out of *ambition* and *revenge*, he never would have rais'd a charge against Colo. Campbell." The men who queried Craig asked him if Montgomery were "in his proper senses," when he made those statements or if Craig thought that he "was disguised with Liquor at the time." Craig replied that Montgomery had drunk a "share of a quart bowl of whiskey grog, and seem'd as if he had been drinking freely before," but he could not say "he was drunk, although he express'd himself very noisy, but as sensible as usual."[58]

The statement about ambition and revenge by Montgomery sums up a lot of the bad feeling that existed in the county. The two men seem to have had an abundance of both. Milder men might have handled the matter of statehood much more successfully, especially if they had appealed to Virginia for cession of western lands rather than petitioning only the national Congress.

Another factor contributing to Montgomery's resentment of Campbell was his position as sheriff which required him to collect taxes. Montgomery had not obtained his position easily, and, perhaps, did not want it. The Washington County court minutes show that in 1782 William Edmiston had received a commission from the governor to be sheriff but refused to give security for the collection of taxes. The sheriff had to provide a very high bond guaranteed by other citizens to assure he would perform his duties. Apparently Campbell's appeal to people to refuse to pay their taxes already had an effect or, perhaps, this sentiment had developed independently of Campbell's efforts because times were hard. At any rate, Edmiston could not or would not provide bond. In 1783, James Dysart received a commission as sheriff. He also refused, saying it was utterly beyond his power to collect the taxes for 1783, but that he was willing to do so for 1784. Instead, he lost his commission. On March 17, 1784, the county court provided two names to the governor for him to choose one for sheriff, John Kinkead and James Montgomery. On June 5, 1784, the governor appointed John Kinkead, but he also could or would not provide bond. The court then recommended James Montgomery and Thomas Mastin and the governor chose Montgomery. He made three separate bonds for 1785, 1786 and 1787.[59] All the guarantors stood to lose if Montgomery failed to collect the taxes.

Washington County was not unique when it came to people not paying their taxes. The 1780s brought difficult economic times, and in 1789 two sheriffs in Virginia were in arrears of collecting their taxes back to 1782, three to 1783, twenty to 1784, nine to 1785, and ten to 1786.[60] Little money was in circulation and people simply did not have the funds they were expected to pay. A number of sheriffs wrote the governor asking for some relief including the sheriff of Princess Anne County who reported that he 'had repeatedly seized the property of those who were in arrears and advertised it for sale, but such was the scarcity of money and the temper of the People that no one would bid on the seized property."[61] In 1793, the taxes for 1782, 1783, and 1784 in Washington County had still not been paid. Thus, the legislature passed a law which created a state appointment for Thomas Mitchell who had the duty to collect the taxes. A year later he petitioned the legislature saying he had not had enough time to finish his task and asked to have his time extended which

56. Edmiston v. Campbell in Thomas Johnson Michie, *Virginia Reports, Jefferson–33 Grattan, 1730–1880* (Charlottesville: Michie Company, 1902), 1:16.

57. Some unexplained irregularity must have taken place with the election, but it is not mentioned elsewhere.

58. *CVSP*, IV, 141.

59. WC Court Minutes, August 18, 1784.

60. Albert Ogden Porter, *County Government in Virginia, a Legislative History* (New York: Macmillan: 1922) , 202.

61. Petition of Sheriff of Princess Anne County, April 26, 1786, *CVSP*, I. 121.

the legislature viewed favorably and passed a law to that effect.[62] Apparently he succeeded as nothing further is heard of the matter.

Supporters and Opponents

The following lists contain the names of people in Washington County who likely can be identified as supporters or opponents of statehood or Campbell. Supporters include individuals that signed the petition for statehood in 1784, made a deposition the first or second time they were collected, or signed a letter to the governor opposing the militia act by which Campbell was removed from office. Some people who petitioned for the creation of Russell County appear in both lists.

Fewer people can be found who opposed Campbell in Washington County. There were no petitions, only letters to the governor, depositions taken for the two hearings, the opponents of Campbell who took the depositions in the first round, those who signed the petition for the formation of Russell County, and those who signed the bond for Montgomery to be sheriff. None of them signed the petition protesting the Militia Act of 1784.

62. Hening, *Statutes*, VI, 29–32; Virginia, *Journal of the House of Delegates, 1794*, 42–43, 69, 72, 74.

Supporters and Likely Supporters of Campbell

Name	*Documents*
?, James	Opposed Militia Act
Acklin, Joseph	Opposed Militia Act
Acklin, Samuel	Opposed Militia Act
Adair, John	Petition 1785
Allison, Fra.	Opposed Militia Act
Anderson, John	Petition 1785
Beatie, Francis	Deposition 1
Black, Joseph	Opposed Militia Act
Bradley, William	Opposed Militia Act
Breckenridge, Alexander	Opposed Militia Act
Brownlow, Richard	Petition 1785
Buchanan, Robert	Petition 1785
Campbell, John, Jr.	Petition, 1785, Opposed Militia Act, Petition for Russell Co.
Campbell, John, Sr.	Petition 1785
Campbell, Robert	Opposed Militia Act
Cauley, William	Deposition 1
Christian, Gilbert	Petition 1785
Christian, John	Opposed Militia Act
Crabtree, James	Opposed Militia Act, Petition for Russell County
Craig, James	Opposed Militia Act, Petition for Russell County
Craig, Robert	Deposition 2, Opposed Militia Act
Craig, William	Opposed Militia Act
Cummings, Charles	Petition 1785, Opposed Militia Act
Cummings, James	Opposed Militia Act
Cummings, John	Opposed Militia Act
Cummings, Thomas	Opposed Militia Act
Davis, John	Opposed Militia Act
Davis, Samuel	Opposed Militia Act
Davison, Andrew	Opposed Militia Act
Dungan, Elisa	Opposed Militia Act
Dunlop, James	Opposed Militia Act
Dysart, James	Opposed Militia Act
Finley, George	Petition 1785
Higgins, Michael	Opposed Militia Act
Houston, Samuel	Opposed Militia Act
Jameson, John	Petition 1785

John, Benjamin . . . . . Deposition 1
Kinkead, David . . . . . Opposed Militia Act
Kinkead, John (also spelled Kincaid) . . . . . Petition 1785, Deposition 2, Opposed Militia Act, Petition for Russell County
Lathim, John . . . . . Deposition 2, Opposed Militia Act
Logan, James . . . . . Opposed Militia Act
Looney, David . . . . . Petition 1785, Opposed Militia Act
Montgomery, Robert . . . . . Opposed Militia Act, Petition for Russell County
Moore, James . . . . . Opposed Militia Act
Osburn, Thomas . . . . . Opposed Militia Act, Petition for Russell County
Preston, John . . . . . Deposition 1, Deposition 2, Opposed Militia Act
Sharp, Benjamin . . . . . Opposed Militia Act
Snodgrass, Joseph . . . . . Deposition 1, Opposed Militia Act
Tate, William . . . . . Petition 1785
Trousdale, John . . . . . Opposed Militia Act
Watson, David . . . . . Opposed Militia Act

Opponents and Likely Opponents of Campbell

Name	*Document*
Barrett, Alexander	Deposition 1, Petition for Russell Co., Bond for Montgomery
Berry, Thomas	Deposition1, Deposition 2, Bond for Montgomery
Bowen, Arthur	Letter Jul. 27, Petition for Russell County
Clarke, George, Sr.	Deposition 1, Deposition 2, Petition for Russell County
Cole, Joseph	Deposition 1, Deposition 2
Cowan, Andrew	Deposition 1, Deposition 2, Petition for Russell County
Crabtree, William	Deposition 1, Deposition 2, Petition for Russell County
Edmiston, Samuel	Letter Jul. 27, Letter Nov. 24, Letter Dec. 3, Took Deps, Bond for Montgomery
Edmiston, William,	Letter Jun. 2, Took Depositions, Bond for Montgomery
Fulkerson, James	Bond for Montgomery
Hope, Adam	Bond for Montgomery
Kincannon, Andrew	Letter Jul. 27, Deposition 1, Deposition 2
Kincannon, James	Letter Nov. 24, Letter Dec. 31, Deposition 1, Deposition 2, Bond for Montgomery
Meek, Samuel	Deposition 1, Deposition 2
Montgomery, Alexander	Bond for Montgomery
Montgomery, James	Letter Jul. 27, Deposition 2, Petition for Russell County, Bond for Montgomery
Montgomery, Thomas	Bond for Montgomery
Russell, William	Deposition 1, Deposition 2, Bond for Montgomery
Smith, Henry	Letter July 27
Thompson, James	Letter Nov. 24, Letter Dec. 31, Deposition 2, Bond for Montgomery
Ward, David	Took Depositions
Willoughby, Andrew	Bond for Montgomery

State of Franklin

Campbell's ideas for a separate state yielded more lasting results in Western North Carolina after the state ceded its western land in April, 1784. In August, a group met in Jonesboro and agreed that the counties of Washington, Sullivan, and Greene should organize a government, frame a constitution, and petition Congress for admission as a new state.[63]

Arthur Campbell received news of these events in Jonesboro from two sources. One was a Franklinite who wrote him on December 20th saying that they had created a new state "for the reasons you gave, when last here" which indicated that Campbell had visited that area more than one time in the past. His second source of information came from a letter from his brother David Campbell, one of the leaders in Franklin, who told him; "We had a convention & whether wrong or right, they have brought matters to a crisis, they have declared this country a separate & Independent State,

63. Williams, *Lost State of Franklin*, 25–43.

by the name of Franklin." He further advised his brother that the group planned to seek the guardianship of Congress and that he had entered "in the present revolution with hand and heart, nor do I apprehend any trouble from any quarters; seeing we only consult or own happiness."[64] Although some Washington County residents said that it was "notoriously known that Arthur Campbell participated in the effort to establish the state of Franklin, no evidence has been found to support direct action in North Carolina.

The Cession Act of 1784 in North Carolina created bitter feelings in the state legislature which regretted the loss of taxes and fees and the advantages that the westerners took of the situation so they repealed the act.[65] Instead, the state adopted measures designed to conciliate its western inhabitants. They created a new Western District for the area and provided offices for a number of the leaders, most of whom dropped the idea of a separate state, at least for the time being. Even the leading proponent of statehood, John Sevier, proud of the fact that he had been named brigadier general of the area, wrote on January 2, 1785, that he believed the creation of the new district would satisfy the westerners, and "and we shall pursue no further measures as to a new state."[66] One reason for Sevier's reluctance to continue with the separate state movement was his suspicion that it would interfere with land speculation in the Muscle Shoals area in which he had become involved; however, he changed his mind apparently believing a new state would offer more opportunities for speculation in that area. Thus, he again took control of the movement to establish Franklin. A resident of the area recognized that fact and wrote that the statehood movement was controlled by "a few crafty land-jobbers, whom you know, who are aiming at purchasing the great bent of Tenasee from the Indians, and if not successful that way, to . . . drive the natives (Cortez like) out by force."[67] The supporters of Franklin ignored the repeal of the cession and met in their first General Assembly in Jonesboro in March, 1785, where they elected John Sevier as governor and David Campbell the chief judge of the highest court.

They also created new counties, enacted legislation, and drafted a memorial to congress asking for admission as a new state; however, the governor of North Carolina demanded that the Franklinites return to their allegiance declaring that North Carolina would "regain government over the revolted territory or render it not worth possessing."[68]

Congress considered the May 16, 1785, Franklin petition and referred it to a committee which accepted the viewpoint of the Franklinites and declared that the North Carolina cession of June 2, 1784, gave the right to Congress at any time within one year to accept or reject the cession. Thus, the committee recommended passage to Congress. Members of Congress introduced a number of resolutions to be voted on separately rather than taking up the entire bill. The first resolution concerned whether North Carolina had illegally rescinded the cessation. That vote failed and determined the fate of the all other motions. Franklin would not become a state.

Sevier and others, however, did not give up. As a result, they had to deal with strong opposition led by John Tipton which almost became a civil war. On July 29, 1788, the governor of North Carolina ordered the arrest of Sevier for a variety of reasons including his scheming with the Spanish. Supporters of Tipton arrested him and took him to the North Carolina capital to be tried for treason, but no trial took place and he was allowed to return home. That ended Franklin but not the ambition of John Sevier.[69]

In order for North Carolina to be admitted into the union under the constitution of 1787, it had to cede its western lands. When it did, the federal government created the Southwest Territory. That lasted until it became the state of Tennessee in 1796 with John Sevier as governor.[70]

64. *Ibid.*, 31; David Campbell to Arthur Campbell, December 27, 1784, Arthur Campbell Papers.

65. Barksdale, *Lost State of Franklin*, 59–61.

66. G. M. Ramsey, *Annals of Tennessee to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (Charleston: J. Russell, 1853), 290–291.

67. Arthur P. Whitaker, "The Muscle Shoals Speculation, 1783–1789," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XIII* (1926), 371; Carl Samuel Driver, *John Sevier, Pioneer of the Old Southwest* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1932), 72–87.

68. Ramsey, *Annals of Tennessee*, 293–299; Williams, *Lost State of Franklin*, 54–78.

69. Barksdale, *The Lost State of Franklin*, 91–161.

70. Stanley J. Folmsbee, Robert Ewing Corlew, Enoch L. Mitchell, *Tennessee: A Short History* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1969), 86–110.

Frankland Movement in Kentucky

Arthur Campbell had long been involved in affairs in Kentucky when he began to advocate a new western state. At the same time that he sent letters to men in Southwest Virginia and North Carolina, he sent one to John Donelson in Kentucky. Donelson acknowledge receiving "ye address recommending such measures as you think might be most productive of the happiness of men in Western Country." Some of the Kentuckians acted on the idea of a new western state, and a group of men held an assembly at Boonesborough in the spring of 1782. Donelson reported that the people appointed a number of men to consider the matter but Maj. Hugh McGary used militia troops to break up the meeting and they accomplished nothing. They, however, reconvened two days later and drew up two petitions, one to Congress and another to the General Assembly of Virginia. Donelson stated that they would be happy if what they did corresponded to what Campbell wanted.[71]

From the beginning, opposition to the idea arose in Kentucky which enraged Campbell. When McGary led a failed attack against enemy soldiers and Indians which resulted in the death of two men, Campbell attacked him and George Rogers Clark, also an opponent of statehood. He wrote that "Never was the lives of so many valuable men lost more shamefully than in the late action of the 19th of August, and that not a little thro the vain and seditious expressions of a Major McGery. How much more harm than good can one fool do." As for Clark, "Genl. Clarke is in that country, but he has lost the confidence of the people, and it is said become a Sot: perhaps something worse."[72] Campbell's accusation hurt Clark's reputation in Richmond, something that greatly angered the general.[73]

The next meeting in Kentucky took place in November, 1782, at Danville when the militia leaders believed an Indian attack was imminent. It turned into a political affair. Ebenezer Brooks who was in Kentucky by that time, proposed that the Kentuckians should "demand what the constitution has promised us,—separate government." The group then agreed to elect delegates from the militia companies to meet and discuss the proposal. When the first state convention took place in December, 1784, Brooks railed against Virginia and moved that the government had become intolerable and ought to be no longer borne, but no one seconded his motion for secession. By the time the fourth convention met in 1786, Brooks had changed his position and argued against statehood. He also wrote a series of articles as "The Virginian" and gave a number of arguments why Kentucky should not seek statehood at that time.[74]

Convention followed convention in Kentucky. People changed sides on the issue largely, it seems, according to what group would be in power in a new state. Arthur Campbell kept up with what happened there in his role as a member of the House of Delegates in 1782, 1783, 1786, and 1787 and dealt with the petitions from Kentucky. While in the General Assembly in 1786 he wrote James Madison and stated "We seem grasping in the dark about the Kentucky affairs and that takes up a good deal of time, the members from there differing among themselves what measure is best."[75]

Kentucky finally obtained statehood in 1792 becoming the 15th member of the union. Afterwards, Samuel McDowell reported to Campbell that Isaac Shelby had been elected as governor and listed the names of the eleven state senators, most of whom he assumed that Campbell knew. He also sent along a copy of the state's constitution and asked Campbell to note any parts that he might find objectionable. That communication does not mean that Campbell took part in the affairs of Kentucky, but that McDowell valued his opinion.[76]

71. Donelson to Campbell, April 20, 1782, Draper MS 9DD34.

72. Campbell to Davies, October 3, 1782, *CVSP*, III, 37.

73. Temple Bodley, *George Rogers Clark, His Life and Public Services* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1926), 212–213.

74. Brooks to Campbell, November 9, 1784, Draper MS 11J37–38; *Kentucke Gazette*, September 1, 13, 17, 22, 1787; James Speed to William Fleming, September 17, 1786, James Fleming Papers, Washington and Lee University; James W. Hagy, "Without a Proper Theatre: The Many Careers of Ebenezer Brooks," *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*, 80 (1982), 267–280.

75. Campbell to Madison, December 23, 1786, Draper MS 5ZZ83.

76. Benjamin Logan to Campbell, May 18, 1782, *CVSP*, VI, 287; Campbell and Robert Craig to Gov. Randolph, December 22, 1786, Arthur Campbell Papers.

After Frankland

When elections took place in the spring of 1786, the Washington County voters elected Campbell to represent them in the legislature once again. Obviously, a lot of people had supported his cause and leadership. On the other hand, a number of his opponents then lived in the newly formed Russell County and did not vote in the same district. Not long afterwards he again began to seek a new political appointment, this time as Superintendent for Indian Affairs for the United States, but he failed in that and the appointment went instead to Joseph Martin. In 1793, he also became embroiled in a long lasting dispute with Andrew Lewis over a charge than he had taken bribes from some militia men so that they might avoid service. In the heated exchanges that followed, he maintained his innocence, and in the end, nothing was proved one way or another. Campbell did succeed in obtaining a federal appointment to deliver the mail to the Southwest Territory but lost that after a short time because of complaints about erratic delivery. He retired as commander of the 70th Militia in 1799. Following that he fell on such hard times that he lost his home of Good Wood in 1803. He then wandered from place to place in Southwest Virginia and Kentucky and finally settled on Yellow Creek, just west of the Cumberland Gap. In the winter of 1810–1811, he was so poor that he had to borrow $10 from one of his sons in order to buy some pork. He died on August 8, 1811 at the age of seventy-seven, forlorn and almost forgotten.[77]

§

Much of the support for Campbell's state of Frankland resulted from the fact that people in the area resided far from the state capital and lived different lives from those in the eastern part of the state.[78] They often felt neglected especially when they endured the hardships of serving as a buffer against Indian raids. They needed roads, but the eastern part of the state built canals for their trade. Taxes were a burden especially because there was a shortage of currency. Furthermore the idea of a state with boundaries based on geography and a similar population made good sense.

Some writers have charged Campbell with being a land speculator and motivated simply by the acquisition of land,[79] but that is an unfair accusation. He was acquisitive but not a speculator. Although he obtained a small empire of property in Washington County, Lee County, Tennessee, and Kentucky amounting to at least 21,000 acres, he disposed of only about 4,000 acres during his life, about half to his children, some which lay too far to the east to manage, some that came from his wife, and some for money in his old age.[80] Thus, he did not profit from his property.

Although Campbell knew or corresponded with many of the great men of his time, he never made it to the upper ranks of government. He had too many enemies and they blocked his advancement. What drove Campbell more than land was his, and his wife's, desire for fame and status. Never a humble individual, he lusted for high positions. He envisioned a state in the West which he could govern. That effort failed but he echoed a feeling that has persisted that the state government is distant and

77. Arthur Campbell to Gov. Randolph, December 31, 1787, *CVSP*, IV, 375; Arthur Campbell to John Brown, December 19, 1787, Arthur Campbell Papers; Arthur Campbell to Gov. Randolph, July 20, 1789, *CVSP*, V, 4–5; Andrew Lewis to the Gov., August 17, 1793, September 12, 1793, *CVSP*, VI, 484–485, 527–528; Arthur Campbell, Remarks on Captain Lewis' Letter of September 12, 1793, *CVSP*, VI, 528; Arthur Campbell to the Governor, October 11, 1793, *CVSP*, VI, 627–629; Arthur Campbell to the Governor, May 8, 1784, *CVSP*, VI, 133–135; Postmaster General to Arthur Campbell, September 8, 1794, December 22, 1794, January 15, 1794, August 15, 1796, in Clarence Edwin Carter, (ed.), *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, IV: *The Territory South of the River Ohio, 1790–1796* (Washington, DC: 1936), 354, 376, 416–417; Arthur Campbell to Arthur Lee Campbell, February 7, 1811, Arthur Lee Campbell Papers, The Filson Club, Louisville, KY.

78. Abingdon is 308 miles from Richmond. Five other capital cities are closer: Charleston, West Virginia, 199; Raleigh, North Carolina, 249; Nashville, Tennessee, 306; Columbia, South Carolina 267; Frankfort, Kentucky, 249.

79. Abernethy, *From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee*, 72.

80. Arthur Campbell to Arthur Lee Campbell, February 7, 1811, Arthur Lee Campbell Papers. For an accounting of his purchases and sales of land, see Hagy, "Arthur Campbell and the Origins of Kentucky." 359–365.

has little concern for Southwest Virginia[81] while the people share more in common with their neighbors in East Tennessee. There, too, the lost state of Franklin has had lasting appeal.[82]

81. The comment that "Virginia stops at Roanoke" has often been heard. In 1822, sixty–five residents from Washington County petitioned the state to move the capital west of the Blue Ridge Mountain in order to be closer to the center of population. Petition to General Assembly, 198/250/35, December 5, 1822.

82. Eric Russell Lacy, "The Persistent State of Franklin," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, XXIII (1964), 321–332. In the 21st century, a number of businesses and a major highway had the name of "State of Franklin."

6

Communications

Washington County witnessed many improvements in means of communications over the years. Roads were built and improved, stagecoaches with regular routes appeared, newspapers were published, mail delivery began, and the telegraph carried news of far-away events. But the most important change was the arrival of the railroad in 1856. It not only tied the county closer to the outside world but quickened the exchange of goods and opened up new opportunities to the west and south.

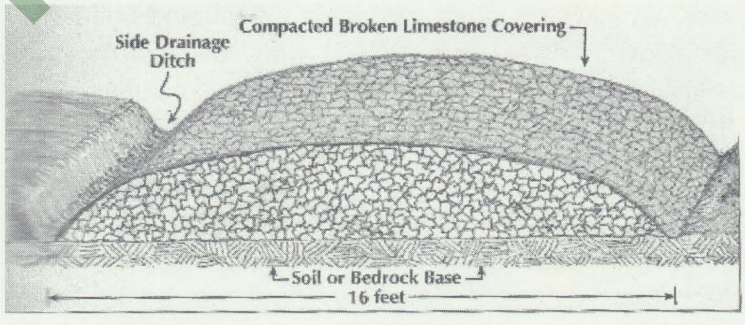
County Roads

The public roads in the country were the responsibility of the local court and occupied a good deal of the justices' attention. At its first meeting, the court appointed fourteen men to survey roads in various part of the county. Most of them were listed as from the house of one man to the house of another which makes them difficult to identify by location; however, the most important road for everyone was the Main Road or Great Road, through the county from the east into what is now Tennessee.

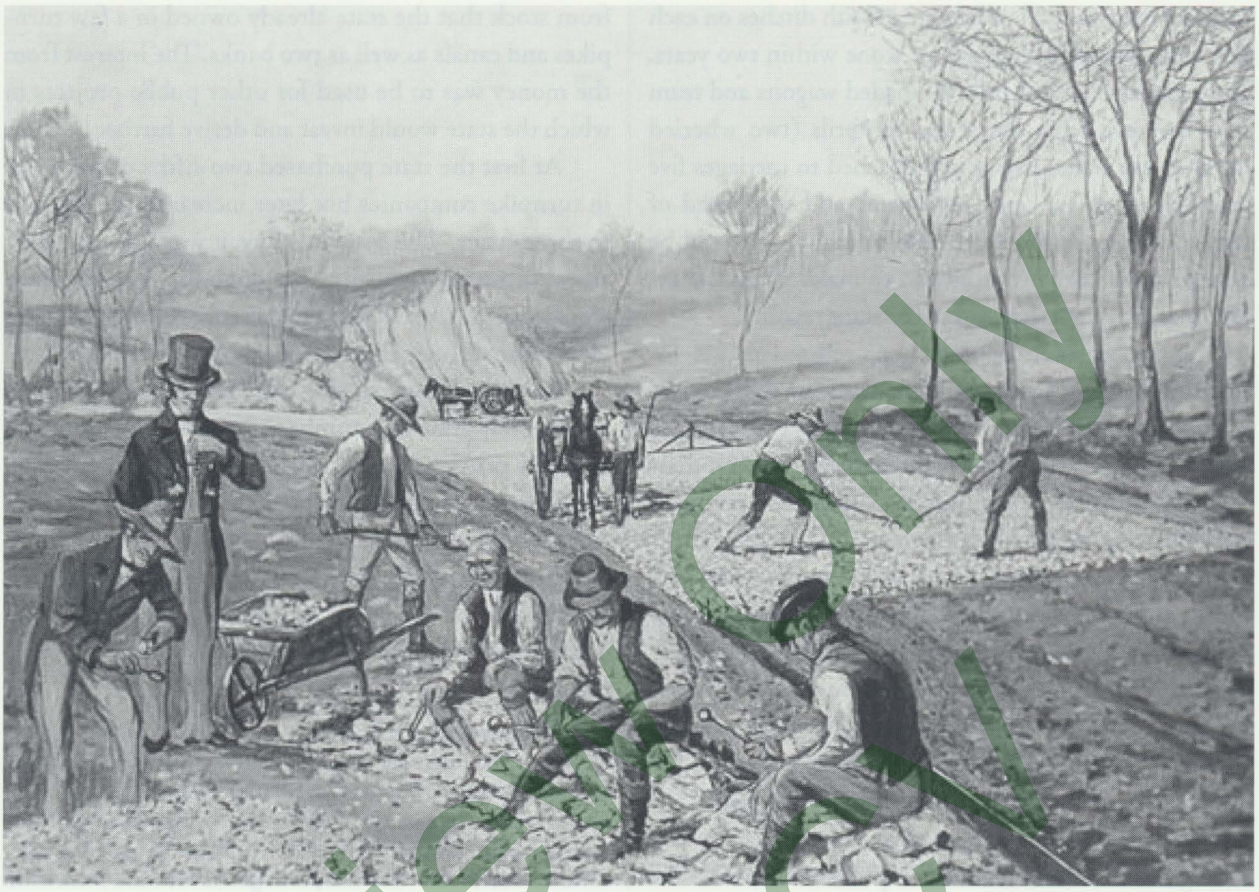
At first, roads were no more than dirt or rocks which resulted in a great deal of dust in dry times and impassible mud after heavy rains. Hard surfaced roads would end this predicament, thanks to two Scotsmen. One of these was Thomas Telford, who advocated the use of paving stones. While this worked in cities, it did not solve the problem in rural areas in Virginia. More important was John Loudon McAdam who advocated a cheaper method of construction than Telford and from his name came the word "macadam" which means a road with a hard surface of gravel or rock.

Although McAdam was born in Scotland, he made his fortune in New York and then settled in England where he began to experiment with better ways of making roads while he worked as the general surveyor in the Bristol District of Roads. The General Assembly of Virginia adopted his ideas in 1817 when they passed the General Turnpike Law. This required major roads to be at least sixty feet wide with at least eighteen feet covered with gravel or stone. Depending on the terrain, the roads could be narrower, and almost always were. The wide roadbed allowed for unpaved "summer roads" on each side which were softer for travel when the weather was dry. Drainage required gutters, ditches and culverts along the sides of the roads and the surface to be higher in the middle. For pavement, the engineers used stones that had been broken up that were neither too large nor too fine. McAdam recommended this be done by four or five women or boys who were seated while they did their work.

The court ordered roads to be surveyed and built,



Macadam Type of Road. The rise in the middle is exaggerated.
(M. W. Gillespie, *A Manual of the Principles and Practice of Road-Making, New York: 1848*)



Building the first Macadamized road in America in 1823, Boonsborough Turnpike Road, Maryland. Painting by Carl Rakeman. In the background, rocks are being broken up and the horse and wagon are ready to carry them to the site where they are broken into smaller pieces. Then they were taken to the roadway where they were spread. The supervisor is the man with the top hat. (US Department of Transportation, Federal Highway Administration)

paid for tools and explosives to break up rocks, took lists of tithables along the routes to work on the roads, and occasionally fined someone for not doing his part. Complaints were few as people realized the necessity of roads to and through their lands.

Most travel was by horseback. (Flint, et al., *Eighty Years of Progress of the United States*, 171)

Turnpikes

Since roads were expensive and imposed hard labor on the people who lived along them, the state and county turned to turnpikes which they believed would provide relief to the people as well as provide a means of financing roads. Turnpikes were semi-private undertakings usually funded by bonds which were held by the state, counties, and individuals. The turnpike company had the duty to survey the roads, purchase the land, build the roads, maintain them, and collect tolls for people who passed through.

In 1803, the legislature authorized the first turnpike in Washington County to run from Abingdon to Saltville. It was a private venture with prominent local residents financing it. The act required the investors to begin

building the twenty foot wide road with ditches on each side and covered with gravel or stone within two years. The legislation set the tolls for loaded wagons and team at twenty-five cents, carts and tumbrils (two wheeled carts) at five cents, horses not attached to carriages five cents, carriages six cents per wheel, and each head of cattle one cent. If people refused to pay, they would be denied access. The investors had to make a bond to insure that they kept the road in constant repair.[1]

Since the federal government refused to get involved in internal improvements, the state had to provide its own funding; however, many legislators did not believe the state should be involved in such matters. Despite that opposition, the legislature provided some funding and created the Board of Public Works in 1812; however, the outbreak of the second war with Britain that year diverted the attention of the state government and little resulted at the time. Two years later when the international situation improved, the House Committee for Roads and Internal Navigation began to take action. In 1815 it issued a lengthy report on the state's needs for transportation on water and land.

Then in 1816, the legislature passed a law establishing the Fund for Internal Improvement which the Board of Public Works administered. The money, which amounted to more than a million dollars, came from stock that the state already owned in a few turnpikes and canals as well as two banks. The interest from the money was to be used for other public projects in which the state would invest and derive further income.

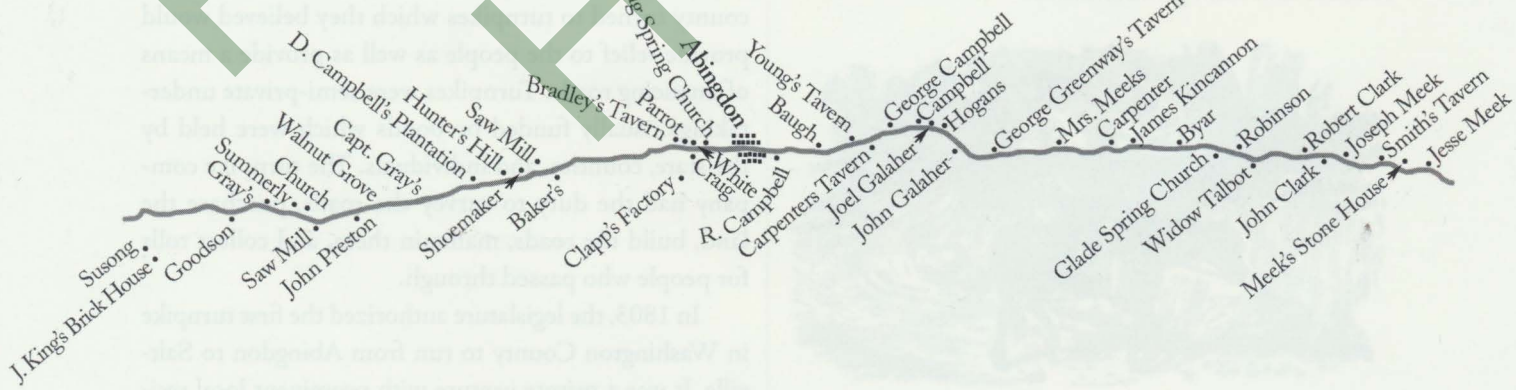
At first the state purchased two-fifths of the stock in turnpike companies but later increased the amount to three-fifths. This state funding, it was hoped, would allow turnpike companies to flourish. Though these were joint public and private enterprises, the state provided more money than other investors.[2]

In the legislative session of 1816–1817, the General Assembly granted a number of charters to companies to build turnpikes. One of these was the Southwestern Turnpike which would connect Lynchburg with the Tennessee border along the Great Road through Washington County. Regrettably the economic depression known as the Panic of 1819 intervened and the company, along with others, failed.[3]

1. Richard H. Shepherd, *The Statutes at Large of Virginia: from October Session 1792, to December Session, 1807, Being a Continuation of Hening* (Richmond: 1835), 32–34.

2. Nathaniel Mason Pawlett, *A Brief History of the Roads of Virginia* (Charlottesville: Virginia Highways and Transportation Research Council, 1977), 21–33; Robert F. Hunter, "The Turnpike Movement in Virginia, 1816–1860," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 69 (1961), 278–289. The board enjoyed its heyday when Claude Crozet was Principal Engineer. He was a Frenchman who had served under Napoleon and been a professor of engineering at West Point. A brilliant man, he had great success and his master plan for improvements in Virginia brought about considerable advances. He served from 1823–31 and again from 1836–43.

3. Pawlett, *A Brief History of Roads*, 24. The book by Parke Rouse, Jr., *The Great Wagon Road, From Philadelphia to the South* (Richmond: Dietz Press, 2008) does not discuss the actual road



The Great Road in Washington County, 1821.

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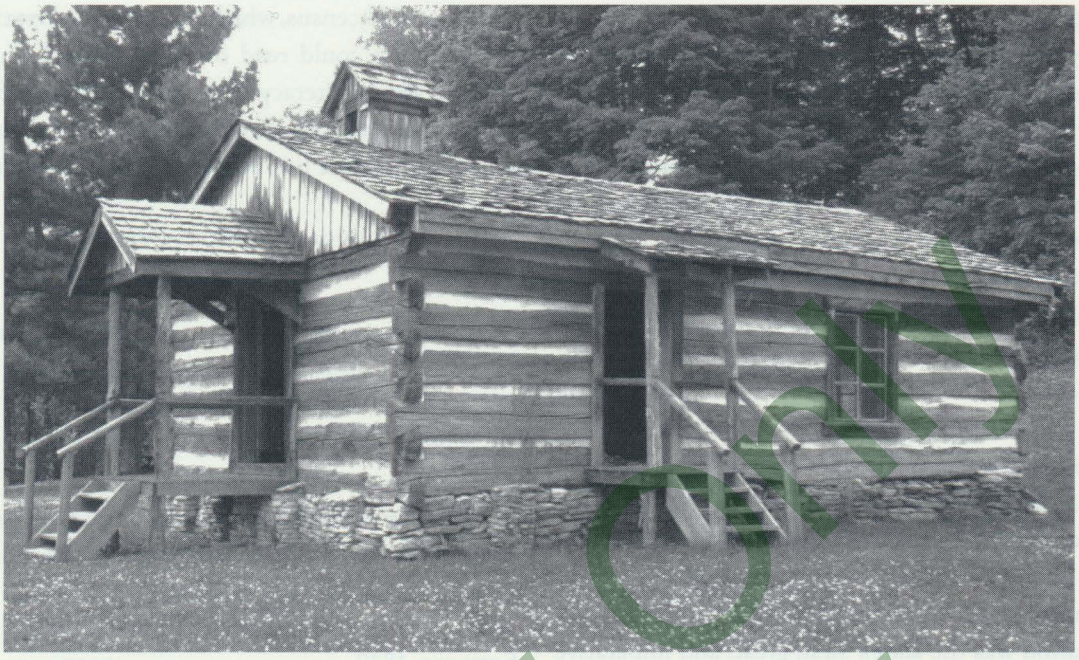


Restored one room school in Russell County.

leaders in Washington County wanted a better system.

The Education Acts of 1846

In 1846, the legislature passed two new educational acts that instructed the counties to reorganize the former district system and appoint commissioners from each who would register the children in their districts between five and seven, examine the teachers, and collectively serve as a school board. They would elect a superintendent for the schools. All white children could attend the schools for free with the state subsidizing poor children as before with free schools being paid for by taxes.

To establish such a system, one-fourth of the legal voters in a county had to agree to it and two-thirds had to agree to be taxed to support the schools.[76] This proposal met with furious opposition by people with large amounts of property who did not want to pay taxes for schools, and protests came from all over the state. A large petition arrived in Richmond which claimed:

> The new law arrays class against class . . . The power to vote direct tax upon property is given to the man who is utterly destitute . . . We want protection against this galley yoke . . . by which inducements are held out to the worthless and the idle to tax the man of substance for the benefit of the former... Virginia cannot compel us quietly to submit.[77]

Yet, by the time of the Civil War, all counties had some sort of school system.

Washington County leaders did not like the 1846 legislation. They preferred to continue as they had under the 1829 law with some adjustments.[78] As a result, special legislation provided that in Washington County when one-third or more of the inhabitants of any school district wanted to hire a teacher for the common benefit, the commissioner would call a meeting of the free inhabitants to deliberate on the issue. The majority of persons attending the meeting with school age children would decide what the assessment for each should be. This would cover the pay for the teacher and incidental expenses. If anyone refused to contribute their assessment, they could not send their children to school. The district would still receive money from

76. Virginia, *Acts of Assembly 1845–1846*, 29–36; Virginia, *Acts of Assembly 1846*, 37–38.

77. Virginia, *Journal of House of Delegates*, March 10, 1847; Maddox, *Free School Idea*, 154–157.

78. Petition to General Assembly 199/251/42, January 5, 1846. David Campbell's name headed the list.

the Literary Fund for poor children, and those funds would go toward paying the salaries of teachers.[79]

Whether county leaders did this to avoid taxes, to evade control from Richmond, or because they feared that they could not get two-thirds of the voters to approve the system, or some other reason is not known. Yet, Washington County, among ten counties and four cities was "typical of the best American educational development of the time and may be said to have marked the culmination of ante-bellum progress in public education in Virginia."[80] This was the system that remained in force in Washington County until the Civil War when the literary funds were shifted to the defense of the state. True public schools for all only came into existence with Article 8, Section 1 of the Virginia Constitution of 1870 when education finally became public, free, and compulsory.

Students in Schools in 1850 and 1860

The 1850 census reported that Washington County had a total of 1,512 pupils in thirty-six common schools with thirty-six teachers. All were one room schools with a single instructor for all subjects and an average of forty-two students at each school at every level and age with students arriving or leaving at any time during the session.

The census in 1860 showed that the county had forty-eight schools with forty-eight teachers and 1,861 students. The county received $3,850 from the state with another $3,635 coming from assessments on parents. Forty-six of the teachers could be identified in the records. Of these, seventeen were female (37%) and twenty-nine males (63%). Two teachers were only sixteen years old and the oldest was sixty. Most of them were young with 20% being in their teens and 52% in their twenties. It appears that the basic requirement for teaching was completion of secondary school. In a society where females had little opportunity to draw a salary, teaching did give some of them an income. The number of students per teacher averaged thirty-nine which differed little from 1850. A few male teachers headed their households but most teachers lived with their families, with the head of the household usually being a farmer, or boarded in private homes with people who had other family names. Most were not married.

The census bureau in 1860 divided the county into fifteen districts. Each district had at least one school with most being in the Abingdon area. It had eighteen teachers, Bluff Ridge one, Clear Branch one, Emory two, Forks one, Glade Spring three, Goodson one, Laurel three, Liberty Hall one, Lodi one, Love's Mill one, Mock's Mill one, Raven's Nest two, Saltville two, and Smith's Creek four.[81]

Emory and Henry College

In the 1830s, the people of Washington County showed enthusiasm for higher education as they had for other schools. When they learned that the Methodist Church sought to establish a college, they contributed public and private funds as well as land for a place to build the institution. The result was Emory and Henry College.

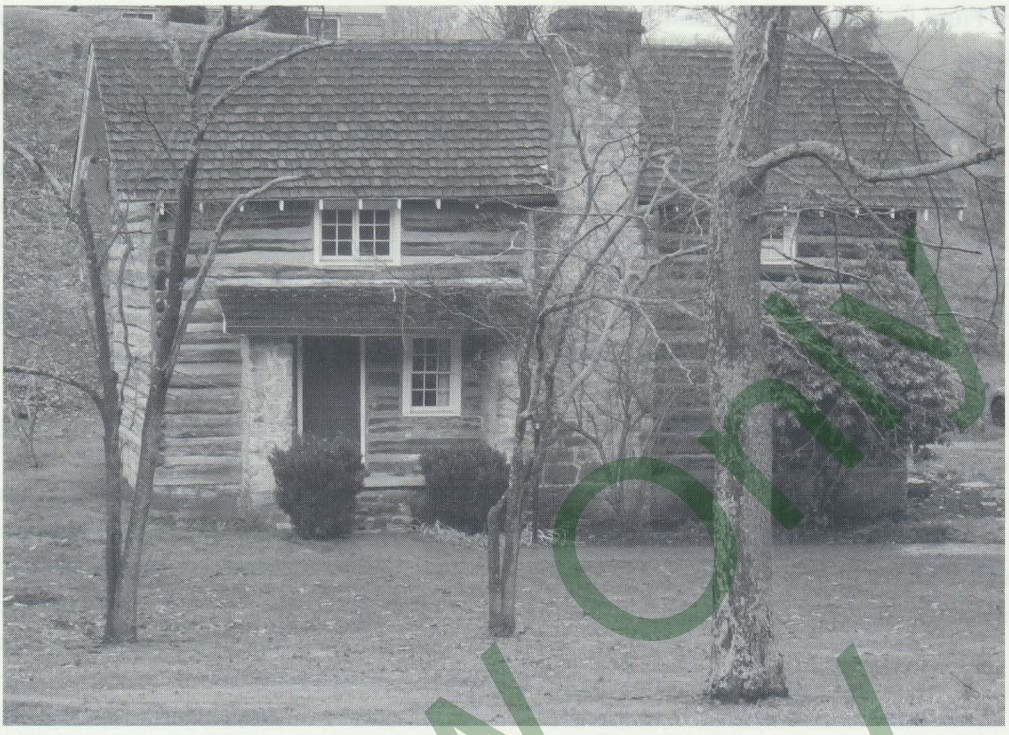
The desire for the establishment of a college by the Methodists coincided with the manual labor movement which blossomed in the United States in 1830 and died about 1848. The movement began with schools founded in Switzerland by Philipp Emanuel von Fellenberg whose ideas came from Pestalozzi. Students were to select their own studies according to their individual needs such as languages, mathematics, historical studies, geographical statistics and political economy. Like Pestalozzi, Fellenberg did not favor any form of artificial incentives or the fear of punishment. Manual labor on a farm would develop the students' mental capacities, induce health, and be a form of joy. Arguments for the Fellenberg type of schools claimed that "the system of education in practice at that time jeopardized the health of the students, tended to effeminate the mind, was perilous to morals, failed to stimulate effort, destroyed habits of industry, and was so expensive that its practical results were noticeably anti-democratic."[82] In addition, work would help provide the food for the students and help pay the costs of education. It also kept the students busy most hours of the day. Ultimately, the movement failed because many of the students came from farms and were looking to advance into other fields, those who

79. "Act Concerning the Schools of Washington County" passed March 21, 1848, Virginia, *Acts of Assembly, 1847–48*, 77.

80. Maddox, *Free School Idea*, 194.

81. Previously census reports did not have this information.

82. Edgar Wallace Knight, *Public Education in the South* (Boston: Ginn, 1922), 98



Tobias Smyth house. It was moved from its original site to the Emory and Henry College campus in the 1920s.

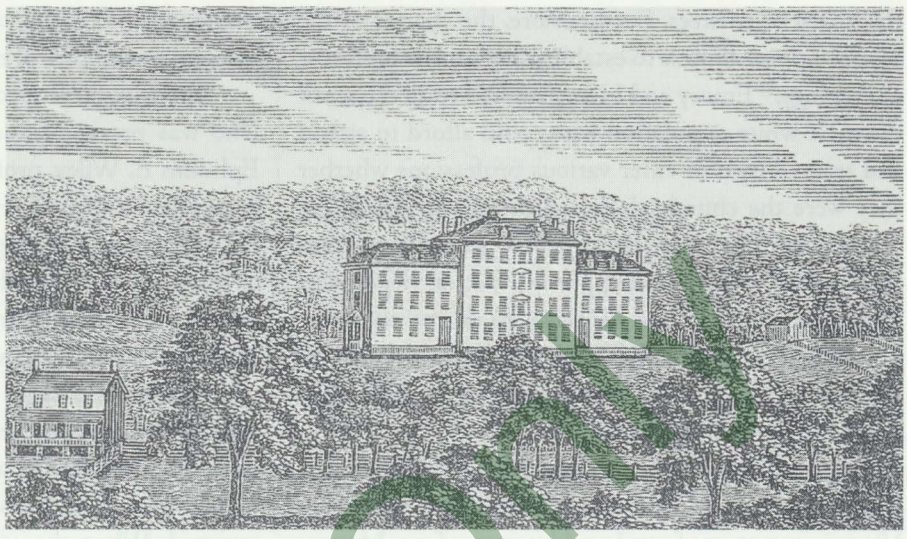
came from wealthy families did not like doing the work usually associated with servants or slaves, and it was not profitable.[83] Furthermore, it is doubtful that few found "joy" plowing fields and mucking manure.

As early as 1820 the General Conference of the Methodist church recommended that they become involved in education. Unlike the Presbyterians and Episcopalians, the early Methodists did not require that their clergy be educated, but over time, they, too, saw the need and decided to build their own colleges. Otherwise their ministers would have to attend colleges of other faiths or secular schools which might lead them astray.

The Methodists in the area first established a school at New Market in Jefferson County, Tennessee which they named Holston Seminary. It began operation about 1832 but did not fare well. The Rev. Creed Fulton proposed turning it into a manual labor college at a conference meeting at Abingdon in 1835. On his way home to Grayson County, he visited Tobias Smyth in Washington County who was a leading layman, in the Methodist Church. Smyth pointed out that a school could be built on a site of over 500 acres near where he lived. The land belonged to heirs of the Rev. Edward Crawford who had been the minister of Ebbing Spring Presbyterian Church. None of his heirs lived on the farm and most resided in other places. Therefore, it would be easy to persuade them to sell the property. Smyth offered to provide $500 toward the purchase of the land, and over the next few weeks others made pledges of more than $1,000. Fulton called a meeting of the conference and on January 1, 1836, the members visited the farm and decided to build the Holston Conference Manual Labor School in Washington County. The church leaders gave the school at New Market an opportunity to match the offer, but they could not and expressed resentment that they had lost their school.

In an address on the subject on January 23, 1836, at Abingdon, Fulton spoke at great length about why a manual labor school should be established. Like Jefferson and others, he believed that education prevented tyranny saying "In a government truly republican, the power belongs to the people by right, and should be exercised by them in fact. We cast our eyes over the whole earth and find but one such government. And that is

83. Herbert G. Lull, "The Manual Labor Movement in the United States," *Bulletin of the University of Washington, University Studies No. 8*, (July, 1914), 375–388.



Original building at Emory and Henry College. Torn Down in 1912. (Howe, Historical Collections of Virginia)

emphatically ours. "Furthermore, the Manual Labor system provided for the body and the mind. "The morals are always more secure when every hour is occupied in a well directed and useful activity of the youthful powers." Manual labor would also "prove almost a bulwark against the invading plans of mischief that leads student's astray." He concluded his speech by talking about the economic benefits of the system. Other colleges cost between $100 and $200 per year which meant that only about one in twenty students could afford to attend. On the other hand, the manual arts system meant that a poor man with twelve sons could afford to educate all of them. To support his argument, Creed pointed out that students at such schools as Maine Wesleyan Seminary, the Oneida Institute, Cumberland College, the Manual Labor School in Greenfield, Massachusetts, Waterville College in Maine, and the Pennsylvania Manual Labor Institute had been able to pay one-third to one-half of the costs of their education.[84]

Fundraising went well. Pledges soon amounted to $44,089.98 although only about half that was received. The greatest cash contribution by an individual, $600, came from William Byars, a planter in the county, but the largest amount, about $11,000, was given by the court of Washington County. Other counties in Southwest Virginia supported the school and provided $9,000. Most other contributions amounted to $5 to $50 with Governor David Campbell giving $100.[85]

The name Holston Conference Manual Labor School was quickly changed to Emory and Henry College to honor John Emory, a celebrated bishop of the Methodist church, and Patrick Henry, the Revolutionary leader and governor of the state. Unfortunately, Thomas L. Preston, who had served on the board of trustees but had been removed because he did not attend meetings, created a fable that the Henry part of the name of the college came from Elizabeth Henry Campbell Russell, his grandmother. The claim is false. Indeed, the college had to be very careful in choosing its name because the Virginia legislature believed in strict separation of church and state and resisted naming institutions for religious leaders, especially two Methodists. Had the college been named for Madam Russell, her maiden name would not have been used.[86] John Emory was one of the first church leaders to be educated and had made a strong impression on others of the faith. He became a bishop in 1832 and died in a carriage accident in 1835.[87] Emory University in Atlanta also bears his name. Though founded by the Methodists, the constitution of the institution provided that no one religious denomination could have a majority on

84. Creed Fulton, *Address on the Subject of a Manual Labor College: By a Committee of the Holston Conference* (Abingdon: Virginia Statesman, 1836).

85. George James Stevenson, *Increase in Excellence, a History of Emory and Henry College* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1963), 38–40.

86. A thorough study of the name has been made by Robert J. Vejnar II, "From Bishop and a Patriot to a Bishop and a Saint" *The Smithfield Review, XII* (2008), 35–62.

87. Robert J. Vejnar *et al, Legacy and Vision: A Pictorial History of Emory and Henry College* (2011), 6–7.

the board of trustees. Furthermore, the charter of the school did not allow it to establish a school or professor of theology.[88] Emory and Henry catered to all classes of the male white population who could afford to attend and trained men to enter various professions whether they were the church, the state, or private enterprise. Work soon began on construction with the cornerstone of the building being put in place on September 30, 1836. One man lent his slaves to do the construction which counted as his contribution. Although the trustees had planned to begin operation in 1837, they could not meet that deadline.

The school opened on April 13, 1838 with exactly 100 students. Most of them came from Southwest Virginia except one from Lynchburg, two from Monroe County, one from Maryland, one from Kentucky, and fourteen from Tennessee with the greatest number, thirty-eight, coming from Washington County. Only five of these gave their residence as Abingdon which demonstrates widespread need in the county for higher education.[89] The College did not incorporate until a year after it opening. It had a board of trustees, who held legal responsibility for the college and a board of visitors who did little except help make decisions regarding the hiring of professors.[90] The Visitors consisted mostly of Methodists ministers, providing a way for the Methodists to control appointments to the faculty.[91]

The Emory and Henry catalogue of 1838–1839 listed the names of the two boards and the examiners. Due to the difficulties of travel, most lived not far from the college. The first board of trustees consisted of thirteen men, eleven of whom came from Washington County with one from Smyth and another from Russell County. Twelve men made up the board of visitors, with one each from Russell, Wythe, and Smyth counties and the rest from Washington. The trustees selected a committee of educated men who gave oral examinations which the students faced at the end of the school year. These came from Abingdon except for one person from Marion. Thus, from the beginning, Emory and Henry College had strong ties with Washington County. Furthermore, the lists of trustees, visitors, and examiners indicate a solid core of educated citizens in the county.

The first faculty consisted of the Charles Collins who was president and professor of natural science, Ephraim E. Wiley, professor of ancient languages and literature, William T. Harlow, professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, and, at that time not hired, a professor of agricultural chemistry and scientific farming, as well as Laurence B. Sheffey, who served as a tutor. Joseph Haskew was the steward and farmer.

Like most colleges of the time, it consisted of one building of four stories that contained classrooms, a dormitory, and faculty apartments, but with an increasing number of students, other buildings had to be constructed. When the college began operation, it hired some white servants but rented slaves did most of the work such as cooking, washing, cleaning, and farming.

The founders of the college located it in an isolated area to prevent the students from being corrupted by urban vices. That meant that the nearest stores, post offices, and stagecoach stops were three miles away at Glade Spring or Cedarville. The campus was located near the Great Road but its poor state of maintenance only reinforced the students' isolation. The Report of the Examining Committee at the end of the school year in 1849 said:

> Being situated about ten miles from any town or village, in one of the most healthful, quiet and retired districts in Southwestern Virginia, the students are, in a great measure, secluded from the many temptations to idleness, dissipation, and extravagance, which so often infest our seats of learning to the destruction of many a parent's hopes and the ruin of many a promising youth.[92]

But when the railroad came through it 1856, the college greeted it with much satisfaction and gave the students a day off from classes.

Students had little choice of accommodations or food. They complained about both as they lived rather Spartan lives. Except for the bedstead, student supplied the furniture for their rooms, cut wood for their fires, and brought in their water from a spring. The college boarding house supplied simple food about which the students constantly complained with breakfast usually

88. Stevenson, *Emory and Henry*, 48.

89. *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Emory and Henry College, Washington County, Va.*, (Abingdon: 1839).

90. Virginia, *Acts of Assembly, 1839*, 135–137.

91. Vejnar, "From Bishop and a Patriot to a Bishop and a Saint."

92. *Abingdon Virginian*, June 23, 1849.

consisting of bread, butter and coffee, dinner of bread, meat, and vegetables, and supper again bread, butter and coffee. Desserts appeared two or three times per week.[93] On occasion, students stole food. Rachel Ann Scott who lived near the college described a raid on her family's large flocks of turkeys. One night her mother, hearing, a noise outside alerted her husband who, carrying his gun, followed a number of Emory and Henry students who ate on occasion with her Uncle Wesley. The students were carrying at least seven turkeys, six of which they left on the road for further use. One they presented to Wesley apparently in return for meals which he had fed them in the past. When Scott's grandfather, Tobias Smyth, who then was a trustee of the college, heard this news, he called for a faculty meeting which resulted in some of the students being punished. Scott wrote "This sounds dreadful, but much dissatisfaction existed because of the fare at the Byars House." Other students stayed in private homes, and reports circulated that they bought food from slaves which they cooked in their rooms.[94]

While the college operated as a manual labor school, the institution kept the students busy from the time they got up until they went to bed. In the 1830s, the students' days were filled from 5 a.m. to 9 p.m.

DAILY SCHEDULE FOR STUDENTS AT EMORY AND HENRY IN THE EARLY DAYS[95]

5:00—first bell
5:30—morning prayer
6:00—first class
6:30—second class
7:00—breakfast
8:00 to 1 p.m.—classes
1 p.m.—dinner
2–5 p.m.—manual labor
5 p.m.—supper and prayers
7–9—study
9:00 —retiring bell

Some students got up at 4:30 in order to take a shower. Others jumped from bed as late as they could and ran to the chapel. In the winter, no fire burned in the fireplace, and one student, David Sullins, later president of the college, reported shivering while a professor read the lesson by candle while the wind whistled through the keyhole of the building and snow a foot deep covered the ground outside. In 1838 for their manual labor, they were divided into groups of ten which elected one of their members as the over master. Each student received two to five cent an hour for his work.[96] Although the college stopped requiring the system after a time, some students chose to continue working on the farm to help pay their tuition.[97]

The catalogues of the college show that tuition in 1838–39 cost $10 per session and $15 in 1843–44, but the students had to pay an additional cost of fifty cents for the library. Board was $1.50 per week and $1.25 had to be paid for "bell-ringing, sweeping, general damages, &c." The students did not have to pay for their rooms, fuel and washing although these things were expensive at similar institutions. Emory and Henry was, indeed, an inexpensive college considering that private primary and secondary schools in Abingdon usually charged about $10 per session for tuition alone.

Between 1838 and 1843, Emory and Henry College changed in a number of ways. A preparatory school was added, and a large number of irregular students began attending. The latter did not seek a diploma but pursued a course of their own selection, paid the regular fees, and upon completion received a certificate of attainment.

To be admitted to the college, a student had to have completed arithmetic, English grammar, geography, ancient and modern history, Latin grammar, six books of Virgil plus the *Bucolics* in Latin, Caesar's *Commentaries on the Gallic Wars* in Latin, select orations of Cicero in Latin, Dillaway's *Roman Antiquities and Mythology*, Fisk's *Greek Grammar*, and Jacobs' *Latin Reader* or their equivalents.

Once admitted, all students who sought a degree followed the same stringent curriculum of classical and practical subjects.

93. David Sullins, *Recollections of An Old Man: Seventy Years in Dixie, 1827–1897* (Bristol, King Printing, 1910), 83; Stevenson, *Emory and Henry*, 40, 51, 53, 59, 61, 63.

94. Scott, "Reminiscences," 14.

95. The schedule varied slightly from time to time. In 1838, students worked three hours a day on the farm but this was later reduced to two. This schedule is pieced together from the catalogues, Sullins, *Recollections*, Stevenson, *Emory and Henry*, and Heatwole, *History of Education in Virginia*.

96. Sullins, *Recollections*. 83–84; Sullins graduated from Emory and Henry in 1850 and served as its president from 1880–1885.

97. Stevenson, *Emory and Henry*, 56, 74.

Course of Study in 1843–1844
Catalogue of Emory and Henry

FRESHMAN YEAR

Classics

Latin: Ovid, with strict attention to prosody and mythology, Livy

Greek: extracts from Xenophon, Isocrates, Herodotus

Mathematics

Algebra, Geometry

English

Grammar, Composition and Elocution

SOPHOMORE YEAR

Classics

Latin: Horace, Odes and Epodes; Cicero, *Ars Poetica* [Art of Poetry], *de Senectute* [On Old Age], and *de Amicitia* [On Friendship]

Greek: Socrates, *Memorabilia*; Plato, Polyaenus, Aelianus, Thucydides

Mathematics

Geometry: application of Algebra to Geometry, Plane and Spherical Geometry, Trigonometry, Mensuration, Surveying and Navigation

English

Rhetoric; Composition and Elocution

JUNIOR YEAR

Classics

Latin: Tacitus, *Life of Agricola and Manners of the Germans*

Greek: Homer; Euripides' *Medea*, Lyrics, Odes, Epigrams

Mathematics

Analytical Geometry, including Conic Sections; Calculus

English

Logic—Mental Philosophy; Political Economy; Chemistry

SENIOR YEAR

Mathematics

Mechanical Philosophy, Astronomy; Optics

Natural Science

Hydrostatics; Pneumatics, Acoustics; Electricity; Chemistry; Mineralogy; Geology, Philosophy of Natural History

English

Moral Philosophy; Paley's Evidences; Paley's *Natural Theology*; Bayard's *Constitution of the United States*; Public Declamation of Original compositions, Written Forensic Discussions

In addition to these required courses, instruction could be had in French, Spanish, and German. Noticeably absent are English and American literature, history, and biology.

Financially Emory and Henry usually did well in the early years. From time to time in the 1830's, the state granted it money from the Literary Fund and in 1843 loaned the college $18,000 which allowed it to settle its debts. In justification for this loan, the directors of the Literary Fund stated that the college was "one of the most efficient and valuable literary institutions of the State" which had "conferred already signal benefits upon the particular region where it is located" especially "since it combines a liberal and high grade of education with extraordinary cheapness."[98]

In 1843–44, Emory and Henry had thirty-two students in its college preparatory division, forty-five irregular students, fourteen freshmen, eleven sophomores, fourteen juniors, and seven seniors for a total of 123. The reputation of the college had become known by this time. While 54% of the students were from Virginia, ten came from Alabama, one from Kentucky, one from Mississippi, twenty from North Carolina, and twenty-three from Tennessee. In some cases, two of three students from a distant town had the same family name and were probably brothers or cousins.

The college provided important political leaders to the county, state, and nation as well as businessmen, clergymen, attorneys, educators, physicians, soldiers, and scientists. The college's wide reputation was noted in an oration in 1850 in Richmond by John R. Thompson who declared that the most important task for higher education was the provision of competent teachers. He lauded not just the University of Virginia and Virginia Military Institute for providing instructors, but stated: "The College of Emory and Henry presents another instance of the wise adoption of this plan of educating teachers which might well be made a part of the system of instruction at every collegiate institution asking for State aid." He advocated that each college receive an amount of state funding for deserving young men subject only to the condition that they open and teach in a school somewhere in the state after they completed their studies. He believed that enough young men would come forward to raise the standard of education and replace those in the schools who were incompetent.[99]

98. Virginia, *Acts of Assembly, 1849–1850*, 36.

99. A. J. Morrison, *The Beginnings of Public Education in Virginia 1776–1860* (Richmond: 1917), 76.

On campus, the dominant student organizations were the Calliopean and Hermesian societies. Literary societies such as these preceded fraternities and some turned into purely social organizations, but not at E&H. They had names derived from ancient Greek or Latin sources and served as an adjunct to their classical training, featuring debates, discourses, and other original work. In addition to providing social interaction and helping them to think clearly, these organizations provided training for law, politics, and other professions. These literary societies fiercely opposed each other and resulted in life-long friendships as well as enmities.[100]

The 1850 census showed that Emory and Henry had 122 students with most born in Virginia or nearby states. They ranged in age from fifteen to twenty-four. The youngest ones took the college preparatory courses.

States Where E&H Students Were Born According to 1850 Census

Virginia	65
Tennessee	27
North Carolina	21
Georgia	4
Missouri	2
Alabama	1
Louisiana	1
Arkansas	1

Assuming they lived in the states where they were born, fifty-seven students or 47% came from other states.

The 1860 census showed the school had increased to 196 students with more states represented and a considerable number from the Deep South. The youngest student was fourteen with the oldest two being twenty-two. Very likely the reputation of the school attracted them as well as its location and climate, something that the college always liked to emphasize. Also, by this time one could travel by railroad from southern cities as far as New Orleans. The out of state students totaled 53% of the student body.

States Where E&H Students Were Born According to 1860 Census

Virginia	93
Tennessee	31
Mississippi	15
Georgia	14
Louisiana	13
North Carolina	11
Alabama	6
Arkansas	4
South Carolina	3
Florida	2
Texas	2
Kentucky	1
Missouri	1

In May 1861 soon after the Civil War began, the college closed its doors and students returned to their homes or volunteered for military service. Confederate officers wanted to make the building into military barracks but the board of the college refused to accept that. Instead, the military rented the building for a small amount of money and made it into the Emory Confederate States Military Hospital. The school reopened in August 1865.[101]

Martha Washington College

The people of Washington County also wanted higher education for females. The movement began in 1851 when a committee of the Holston Conference of the Methodist Church met in Abingdon and proposed establishing a female college within the conference. No action was taken at that time, but the idea took root. The members of McCabe Lodge, Number 56, Independent Order of Odd Fellows, which had been formed in Abingdon in 1847, supported the idea and in 1853, they became the driving force to establish such a school in Abingdon. The lodge had become very popular in the town and many leading citizens belonged to it. When the idea of promoting a female college was first brought up before the Lodge, some members reacted strongly against the idea calling it "preposterous;" however, after they made a thorough study, other became convinced of the "visionary" plan. The lodge then issued a proclamation stating that they were "deeply sensible of the want of any institution for the education of the female portion of the Country" and believed that "the female mind can be taught to its utmost capacity in all the various branches of learning as well as all the accomplishment

100. Calliope was the Greek muse of epic poetry and Hermes was the Greek god of transitions and boundaries.

101. Stevenson, *Emory and Henry*, 90–92.

of the fine arts." In addition, "everything like Sectionality either in personal feeling or religious prejudice must be wholly discarded" since these had proved "the bane of existence" of other institutions.[102] Furthermore, the Odd Fellows saw themselves as one of the few institutions which merged "all the various divisions, parties, sects, and classes of men into one great Fraternity for the amelioration of man's conditions." Col. John Campbell suggested that the institute be known as Martha Washington College to honor the wife of the first president, especially since the county was named for him.

The by-laws provided that the college would be governed by McCabe lodge with twelve members serving as the board of trustees. They had the power to appoint the president and professors and remove them if they felt it were necessary. The president had to be an Odd Fellow in good standing, at least thirty years old, a member of some Protestant church, and "a man of family." The steward who took care of the grounds, the hiring of servants, and such things as keeping the furniture of the domestic department in proper order also had to be a family man and was required to live on campus.[103]

Events moved quickly. The lodge began a fund raising campaign with four members of the lodge pledging $600 each. Others made promises of $100–$500 while all of the members took part in fund raising. In a short time, they had promises of $25,000. In January, 1854, the lodge petitioned the General Assembly for a charter for the college in order for it to make contracts and enter into other legal agreements, and on March 3, 1854, the state complied. The lodge purchased eleven acres of land on Stonewall Heights on which to build the college. W. W. Blackford, a man with many talents and a member of the lodge, drew up the plans and the cornerstone was laid on July 4, 1854 with Thomas B. McCabe, the man for whom the lodge had been named, delivering the address.[104]

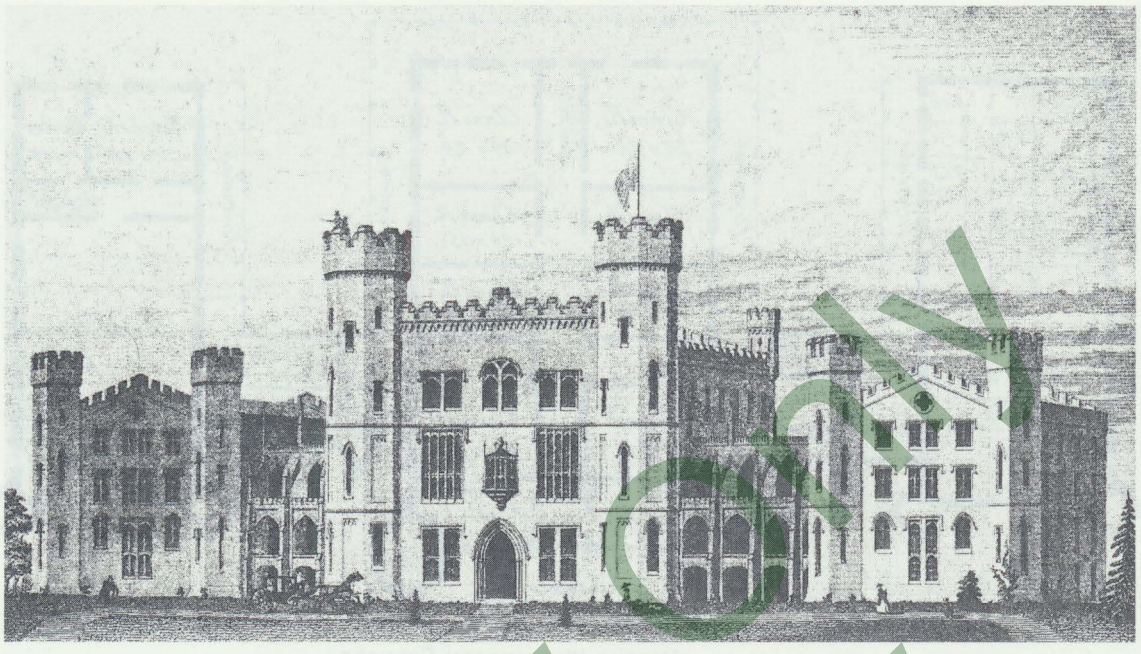
The Odd Fellows appealed to the Grand Lodge of Virginia for support which agreed to "adopt the College as the Institution of the Order in Virginia, with great enthusiasm and entire unanimity." The Grand Lodge proposed that each of the 8,000 members in Virginia donate $1 per year for five years, something they believed would ensure the success of the institution; however, this seems to have never happened. In order to promote the college, Lodge 56 also published a booklet entitled *Announcement of Character, Plan, Government, &c of Martha Washington College*. The publication stated that the Rev. William D. Jones, "the late Principal of the Old Fellows' Female College at Rogersville, Tennessee," had been named the president of the institution and listed a notable group of people in the town as the board of trustees. The plan called for a building containing 160 rooms including twelve lecture rooms, fourteen music rooms, apartments for the faculty and the president, dormitory rooms for 202 students, sitting rooms, eighteen bathrooms, a dining hall, kitchen, pantries, and various offices. The main building was planned to have four floors and be joined to a wing on either side. The length of the front was 240 feet and the towers were 82 feet high. The lodge proudly proclaimed that the entire building would be centrally heated and cooled by Chilson's Furnaces and ventilators. The aim of the school was "to elevate the standard of female education" and "to insure their thorough instruction in every branch of education upon which they may attend."

The Odd Fellows proposed seven departments "for a thorough *English* Course" including a primary, two academic and four college departments. Both the arts and sciences would be taught including subjects such as English literature, history, chemistry, botany, rhetoric, political economy, composition, and the reading and study of the Bible. Ancient and modern languages, vocal and instrumental music, painting, drawing and embroidery were optional studies. The academic year would last forty weeks with fees of $25–40 for most levels while there would be additional charges for the elective courses. The cost for

102. Claude David Curtis, *Three Quarters of a Century at Martha Washington College* (Bristol, Tennessee: King Printing Company, 1928), 5–6.

103. "The Independent Order of Odd Fellows Establishes Martha Washington Female College at Abingdon, Virginia, 1853" in Edgar Wallace Knight, *A Documentary History of Education in the South Before 1860* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1953) IV, 412–415.

104. Petition to the General Assembly, January 23, 1854, 199/251/85; Charles H. Carson, "Highways and Byways," *Bristol Herald Courier*, May 30, 1948; Curtis, *Martha Washington College*, 1–3; Summers, *Southwest Virginia*, 568–571, Arthur P. Wilner, *Abingdon, Virginia: A Sketch of Its History* (Lynchburg: J. P. Bell, 1889), 8–10; Coale, *Wilburn Waters*, 209–211; Deborah Saunders, "A Historical Study of Martha Washington College," (1974), MS in HSWCV.



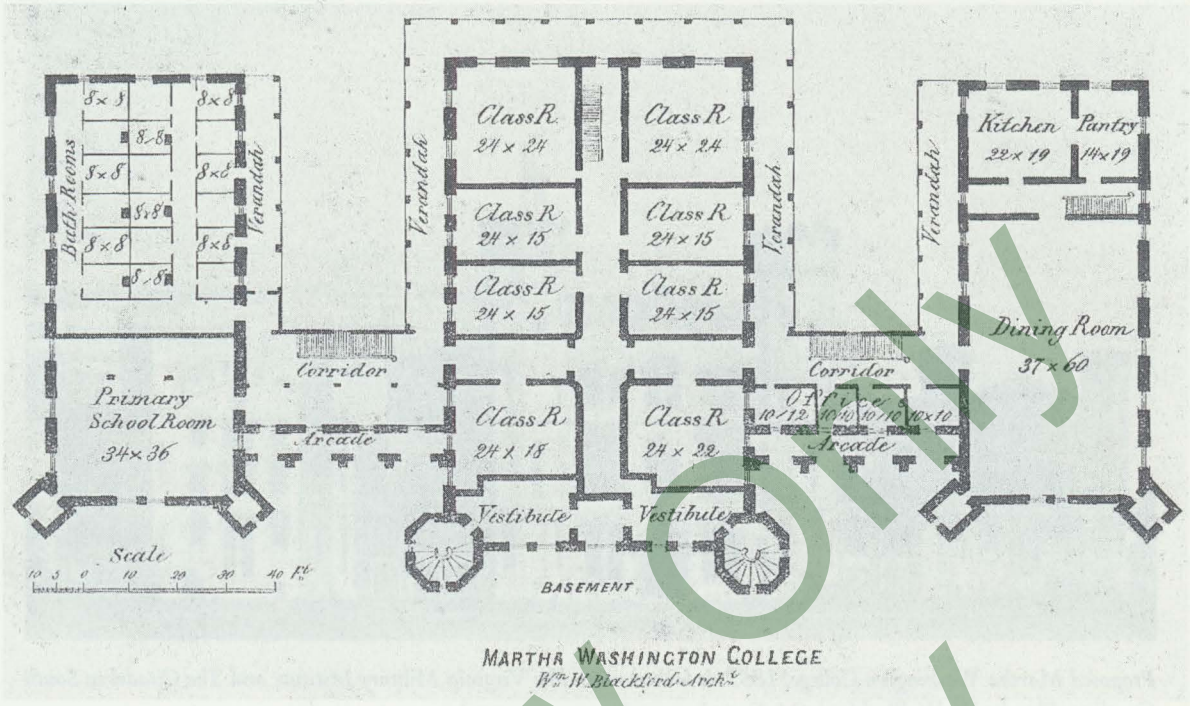
Proposed Martha Washington College, 1855. It looked much like Virginia Military Institute and The Citadel in South Carolina. Plan by W. W. Blackford. (McCabe Lodge, Announcement)

boarding was set at $1.75 per week. They planned to begin the first session in September 1856.[105]

By 1855, the brick walls and the roof of the main building had been completed, but the Odd Fellows ran out of money and had to stop work on the structure. To raise additional funds, the lodge set up a "Splendid Gift Enterprise," actually a lottery with another name because the 1850 Virginia Constitution outlawed lotteries. Large advertisements appeared in the *Abingdon Virginian* in 1855. The goal was to sell 50,000 tickets for $1 each with the grand prize being a tract of farmland of 150 acres. Other prizes included a house and lot in Abingdon, a piano, carriages, furniture, shot guns, and watches. The newspaper on August 1, 1855 proclaimed that the great enterprise was under way, but the contractors had to be paid as work progressed. Thus, the editor urged people to buy tickets, but he stated that he could not guarantee when the tickets would be drawn. Even with the promise of valuable prizes, it was difficult to raise enough money. On May 3, 1856, the awarding of the prizes had not taken place. The newspaper reported the event had been postponed because almost "400 agents had not sent in their returns" but the drawing would take place on "the 4th day of July next." The July 12, 1856 issue of the *Abingdon Virginian* reported that the drawing commenced "on Tuesday last, is still in progress, and will not be finished for 10 or 12 days. As a very large number of tickets remain unsold, and of course are in possession of the Lodge, no one need be surprised if that body should get many of the prizes." The paper also promised to give a list of the prizes drawn up to that point in the next issue of the paper, but that edition has not survived and the winners are not known.

Meanwhile disaster had struck. During the winter of 1855–1856, a great snowstorm struck the town. The weight of the snow caused the roof of the building to fall in which in turn damaged the walls so much that the structure had to be condemned. In addition, the house in Abingdon that was to be one of the big lottery prizes burned down. These events, no doubt, account for the difficulty in selling the lottery tickets.

105. McCabe Lodge, *Announcement of the Character, Plan, Government, &c., of Martha Washington College, Abingdon, Virginia. 1855. Projected by M'Cabe Lodge, No. 56, I. O. O. F., To Be Under the Control of the R. W. Grand Lodge of Virginia. A Monument to the Virtues of Martha, Wife of Washington* (Abingdon: Coale & Barr, 1855). William D. Jones had many testimonials, some of which the Odd Fellows published in their pamphlet. Chilson's Furnaces and Ventilators had been installed in the public schools buildings in Boston and testimonials for the system came from the principal of the Castleton Vermont Seminary, the U. S. Commissioner for the World Fair in London, Yale University, the Principal of the High School in Philadelphia, and the President of Girard College, in Pennsylvania.



Martha Washington College basement (ground floor) plan, 1855. (McCabe Lodge, Announcement)

Having already spent $30,000 on the project, the lodge in September 1856 decided to abandon it.[106] Had the building been completed, it would have been one of the grandest in Virginia.

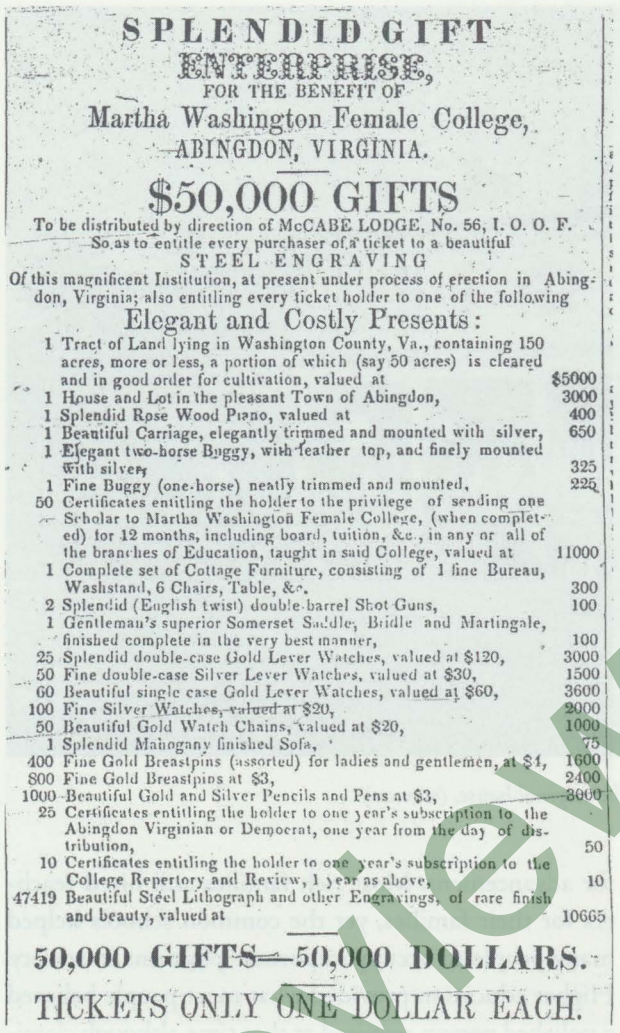
After that the Methodists began to show interest again. They appointed a committee to look into the possibility of taking over the proposed college. Subsequently, the lodge returned the land to the previous owner, sold the building materials for $8,000, and turned the college over to the Methodists in return for their paying off the debt of $10,000. In 1858, the church purchased the land and house of Francis Preston.[107] Then the Methodists requested that the legislature amend the act of incorporation which occurred on February 22, 1860. The charter of the college, like the one for Emory and Henry, provided for boards of trustees and visitors who jointly had power to direct the programs and faculty of the college.

Classes began at the college on March 15, 1860 and lasted twenty weeks beginning with Washington's Birthday and ending with Independence Day. The school is reported to have had 150 students with fifty of them boarding at the school and the remainder living in the town. The president, William A. Harris, graduated from Virginia Military Institute, taught school a few years, practiced law, and studied for the ministry although he never had a church. He stayed at the school until 1865 and later worked at other female colleges. He was a noted reformer who allowed students to have some elective courses rather than strictly following a prescribed curriculum, something the Odd Fellows had proposed.

In extravagant prose, Charles Coale proclaimed that the "buildings and ground are the most elaborate and magnificent, unsurpassed for beauty and convenience in the South or out of it." The campus had eight acres of trees and flowers and about a mile of serpentine walks for promenading." The faculty, he praised as equal to that anywhere. The four brick buildings had steam heating and electric lights. According to Coale, the young men of the town were half crazy to see the students with their "bright eyes, sunny curls and fairy-like forms."

106. *Abingdon Virginian*, August 1, 1855, March 29, 1856; May 3, 1856, July 12, 1856, July 23, 1863, July 1, 1864, July 14, 1864; Coale, *Wilburn Waters*, 209–211; Saunders, "A Historical Study of Martha Washington College;" Summers, *Southwest Virginia*, 645–646.

107. The date of the building has been given as 1832; however, David Campbell wrote in October, 1833 that "Genl. Preston has commenced his large brick house on the knoll in the field in front of us and will have the wall up this fall." David Campbell to Virginia Campbell, October 31, 1833. Campbell Family Papers. And Thomas L. Preston wrote that his family moved into the house in 1836.



SPLENDID GIFT
ENTERPRISE,
FOR THE BENEFIT OF
Martha Washington Female College,
ABINGDON, VIRGINIA.

$50,000 GIFTS

To be distributed by direction of McCABE LODGE, No. 56, I. O. O. F. So as to entitle every purchaser of a ticket to a beautiful STEEL ENGRAVING Of this magnificent Institution, at present under process of erection in Abingdon, Virginia; also entitling every ticket holder to one of the following

Elegant and Costly Presents:

1	Tract of Land lying in Washington County, Va., containing 150 acres, more or less, a portion of which (say 50 acres) is cleared and in good order for cultivation, valued at	$5000
1	House and Lot in the pleasant Town of Abingdon,	3000
1	Splendid Rose Wood Piano, valued at	400
1	Beautiful Carriage, elegantly trimmed and mounted with silver,	650
1	Elegant two-horse Buggy, with feather top, and finely mounted with silver,	325
1	Fine Buggy (one-horse) neatly trimmed and mounted,	225
50	Certificates entitling the holder to the privilege of sending one Scholar to Martha Washington Female College, (when completed) for 12 months, including board, tuition, &c., in any or all of the branches of Education, taught in said College, valued at	11000
1	Complete set of Cottage Furniture, consisting of 1 fine Bureau, Washstand, 6 Chairs, Table, &c.	300
2	Splendid (English twist) double-barrel Shot Guns,	100
1	Gentleman's superior Somerset Saddle, Bridle and Martingale, finished complete in the very best manner,	100
25	Splendid double-case Gold Lever Watches, valued at $120,	3000
50	Fine double-case Silver Lever Watches, valued at $30,	1500
60	Beautiful single case Gold Lever Watches, valued at $60,	3600
100	Fine Silver Watches, valued at $20,	2000
50	Beautiful Gold Watch Chains, valued at $20,	1000
1	Splendid Mahogany finished Sofa,	75
400	Fine Gold Breastpins (assorted) for ladies and gentlemen, at $1,	1600
800	Fine Gold Breastpins at $3,	2400
1000	Beautiful Gold and Silver Pencils and Pens at $3,	3000
25	Certificates entitling the holder to one year's subscription to the Abingdon Virginian or Democrat, one year from the day of distribution,	50
10	Certificates entitling the holder to one year's subscription to the College Repertory and Review, 1 year as above,	10
47419	Beautiful Steel Lithograph and other Engravings, of rare finish and beauty, valued at	10665

50,000 GIFTS—50,000 DOLLARS.

TICKETS ONLY ONE DOLLAR EACH.

Splendid Gift Enterprise for raising money for Martha Washington College. This is only half of the advertisement. (ABINGDON VIRGINIAN)

At the time, courses included geography, grammar, mathematics, and natural and moral philosophy. Despite the Civil War, the college reported in 1862 to the Holston Conference that it was doing well with eighty or ninety students; however, it had hard times in 1863 and because of inflation of the Confederate currency, it had to raise its rates. In fact, the college preferred to receive payment in butter, meat, meal, lard, and dried fruit.

The first class had its examinations beginning on July 1 and graduation ceremony on July14, 1864. At the ceremony Josie French of Chattanooga, Tennessee had completed all fields of studies, while Ellen W. Preston of Sullivan County, Tennessee, had finished moral philosophy, and Julia A. Thomas of Abingdon graduated in mathematics. The *Abingdon Virginian* newspaper effusively reported on the ceremony with language that seems extreme even for Coale. He stated "I must not praise their beauty or commend for admiration their personal charms, lest with such boldness, I should incur their displeasure, yet I would collect countless gems, more brilliant than were found in the Golconda [a great palace in India] of the mind to decorate fair daughters of the Sunny South." Then he warned the women that they were going out into a world that would endeavor to hold them in "bondage by breathing in your ear music sweeter than the fabled strains of Orpheus' lute." He ended in a condescending manner by saying that they should "study poultry as well as poetry, the cook book as well as etiquette, domestic duties as well as philosophy, the music of the frying pan as well as that of the piano." In other words, he expected the women be able to do everything as has often been their fate.

The college continued operation through the Civil War with the exception of a short time in 1863; however, frequent threats of raids occurred. At those times, people in town took the students under their care for a while.[108] Its first session after the war began on September 3, 1865.[109]

108. Charles H. Carson, "Highways and Byways," *Bristol Herald Courier*, May 30, 1948; Curtis, *Martha Washington College*, 1–3; *Abingdon Virginian*, August 1, 1855, May 3, 1856; Summers, *Southwest Virginia*, 568–571, Wilner, *Abingdon, Virginia*, 8–10; Coale, *Wilburn Waters*, 209–211; Saunders, "A Historical Study of Martha Washington College."

109. *Abingdon Virginian*, December 8, 1866. After the war, the main fields of study were languages, mathematics, moral philosophy, natural science, literature, and music. Edith Bolling Galt Wilson from Wytheville, the wife of President Woodrow Wilson, who acted as if she were president after he suffered a stroke, attended Martha Washington to study music as it had a renowned professor. She stated that the man in charge seemed to come from the pages of a Dickens' novel. By the time of World War I and the great influenza epidemic of 1918 in which several students died, the college had many debts and merged with Emory and Henry College. After that it operated as a junior college, indeed, more of a finishing school. Due to the Great Depression, it closed in 1931. Afterwards the building passed through a number of hands until it became the Martha Washington Inn in 1935. Edith Bolling Galt Wilson, *My Memoir* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1939), 13; Mary Kathryn Jewett, "Separate and Unequal: A Case History of Women at Martha Washington College and Emory and Henry College" (Emory and Henry College, 1975), MS at HSWCV; L. C. Angle, "The Story of Martha Washington Inn," *HSWCV Bulletin*, Ser. II, Nr. 28 (1998), 1–35. Some of the guests have been Eleanor Roosevelt, Lady Bird Johnson, Jimmy Carter, and Elizabeth Taylor as well as actors who came to give performances at the Barter Theatre.

Francis Preston house, Martha Washington College. The center is the original house. (HSWCV)

In 1860, a few citizens sought to have a military school established in Abingdon "on a plan similar to the one at Lexington in this state." They stated that there was a building "already erected which will accommodate a large number of students, and which can be obtained from the present owners on very favorable terms." Nothing came of that.[110]

§

LEADERS IN THE COUNTY constantly tried to provide better educational opportunities for the white children. They realized how important education was for advancement. Most rich families still hired teachers for their families, yet the common schools helped many people to occupy important positions in society. Higher education provided what most people believed a polished person required at that time although classical education has mostly disappeared in more modern times. The curriculum at Emory and Henry College was a difficult one, and virtually no one in the 21st century would have the necessary qualifications for admission or graduation. Yet, their emphasis on science and mathematics as well as practical subjects such as surveying and navigation was forward looking. Furthermore, at a time when many believed that it was a waste of time to educate women, Martha Washington College proved that young women could excel in all branches of learning.

110. Petition to General Assembly, January 11, 1860, 199/251/98. Eighteen people signed the petition but did not say which building was available.

8

Religion

The people who settled in Washington County brought their religious views with them. Some had no affiliation which was not unusual in the late 18th century, but that did not mean they were not believers in a deity. Most of those who professed religious sentiments were Protestants although a few Roman Catholics were present. Among the religious groups in the county were Anglicans, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Swedenborgians, Methodists, Disciples of Christ, Lutherans, Baptists, and possibly a few German Reformed and Moravians.

Christians differed on a number of issues but especially on doctrines of salvation, *i.e.*, being freed from their sins and their souls achieving an eternal life. The Roman Catholics believed that salvation depended on both faith and good works. Martin Luther, who broke away from the Catholic Church, taught that salvation depended on faith alone. Henry VIII of England created the Anglican Church by separating from Rome for dynastic reasons. Initially, it was basically the same church except the king was the head rather than the pope. As a result of the religious settlement of Elizabeth I, the church became more Protestant. Most Protestant denominations adopted either the theology of John Calvin who led the Reformation in Geneva, Switzerland or Jacobus Arminius of the Netherlands. The Calvinists believed that people did not have free will or control over their salvation while those who held to the ideas of Arminius taught that people had free will and could determine their own destinies. Differences on other matters caused Protestantism to divide into many churches, all of which based their positions on Biblical texts.

The Anglican Church

In colonial Virginia, the Church of England was the established church and enjoyed the support of the government through taxes. It also carried out a number of duties that the state later assumed, notably social services. When a county came into being, so did a parish. People had to attend church every Sunday and if they failed to do so, according to a law of 1631, they had to pay a fine of one shilling unless they had a lawful or reasonable excuse. There being no separation of church and state, the colonial legislature in 1661/62, required that each parish have a minister to officiate on Sunday, but on occasions when he might be away, the parish was to choose "a grave and sober person of good life and conversation to read divine service." Other regulations required the use of the Book of Common Prayer, observation of Sunday as a day of rest and worship, and certain fast days observed. In addition, no one could be married except by the Church of England.[1]

The Anglican Church retained its status in the late colonial period despite the growing importance of other religious groups such as the Presbyterians and Baptists. Indeed, the Anglican Church could count only a slight majority of the white population. Furthermore, there was a shortage of ministers and no resident bishop. In order to have ministers for the church, individuals from Virginia who sought to be ordained had to go to London or ministers had to be sent out from the British Isles.

1. Hening, *Statutes*, I, 155; II, 46–54, IX, 164–165.

In October 1776, the church began to lose its power when the state legislature provided that all laws passed by the British Parliament to be invalid that criminalized "any opinions in matters of religion" or outlawed any mode of worship. In addition, "dissenters, of whatever denomination" were "totally free and exempt from all levies, taxes, and impositions" for the support of the church.[2] Determined to go further, Thomas Jefferson introduced his Statute of Religious Freedom in 1779. After much discussion and delay, that became law in 1785 when the legislature decided that "no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever" and should not "suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief."[3]

The only known Anglican cleric in the area was the Rev. John Lyth who was born in Newton Pickering, Yorkshire, England. Bright but poor, he was admitted as a *sizar* at Clare College in Cambridge University in 1751. This was a scholarship which provided an allowance for him to pay his university expenses in return for which he functioned as a servant to more privileged students. He matriculated in 1752 and received his bachelor's degree in 1756. The Bishop of London, who had jurisdiction over colonial areas, licensed him as a minister to Virginia on October 10, 1763, and he received a "king's bounty" of £20 to pay for his travel to the colony on December 8, 1763. Since travel on the North Atlantic could be quite risky in the stormy winter months, he probably arrived in the spring or summer of 1764. The next known record places him in Boonesboro, Kentucky, then part of Virginia, where Richard Henderson was attempting to set up a territorial government for his Transylvania Company in 1775. Lyth served as a delegate to the assembly where he proposed a bill "to prevent profane swearing and Sabbath-breaking." While at that gathering, he led a religious service and is credited by most historians of Kentucky with having been the first to do so in that state although Baptists insist that members of their faith were active before then.[4]

About this time, for reasons unknown, he took the alias of Terry and appears under that name in the Order Book of Joseph Martin during the expedition against the Cherokees led by William Christian in 1776. He received the appointment of second surgeon and was referred to as "Doctr. Terry," a title that was loosely used at that time: he would have been a medic in more modern terminology. Yet, he received £34.3.10 in pay on October 3, 1777 for being a chaplain.[5] He most likely accompanied William Russell who led militia troops from Washington County on that campaign.

He is next known to have volunteered to accompany Russell's 13th Regiment as a chaplain when the colonel gathered a force to join the Continental Army. Before going off to war, he gave power of attorney to William Preston on April 2, 1777, for some promissory notes that he held from Dr. William Bennett, whose title also seems inflated, saying that he had been "engaged to Chaplain to Coll. Russell's Regiment and am now upon my journey, as life is uncertain to all especially to those who are faithful in ye service." He filed the document in Botetourt County. Official records showed him serving as a chaplain in 1777.[6] What followed after this is not certain, but sources agree he was killed by Indians on January 13, 1778. In August of that year, the Washington County court appointed John Reed as the administrator of his estate, indicating he had been a resident of the county. Nothing more was noted until 1782 when an inventory of his estate listed the two bonds that he held from William Bennett, and

2. *Ibid.*, IX, 164–167.

3. *Ibid.*, XII, 84–86.; Thomas E. Buckley, *Church and State in Revolutionary Virginia, 1776–1787* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1977).

4. William Wilson Manross, *The Fulham Papers in the Lambeth Palace Library: American Colonial Section* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 207, 330; Edward Lewis Goodwin, *The Colonial Church in Virginia* (Milwaukee: Morehouse Publishing Co., 1927), 288; William Stevens Perry, *The Churchman's Year Book, with Kalendar for the Year of Grace 1870* (Hartford: Church Press Co., 1870), 264–265; *Collections for the Protestant Episcopal Historical Society for the Year 1851* (1851), 119; Wyndham B. Blanton, *Medicine in Virginia in the Eighteenth Century* (Richmond: Garrett & Massie, 1931), 393; William D. Nowlin, *Kentucky Baptist History, 1772–1922* (Louisville: Baptist Book Concern, 1922), 22–23; William Erastus Arnold, *A History of Methodism in Kentucky* (Louisville: Pentecostal Press, 1935), I, 1.

5. Orderly Book of Joseph Martin, September 25, 1776, Draper MS 8ZZ72, 6; Gordon Aronhime, "Physicians on the Holston in the 18th Century," *HSWCV Bulletin* Ser. II, Nr. 13 (1976), 15–33; *Virginia Military Records; from the Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, the William and Mary College Quarterly, and Tyler's Quarterly* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1983), I, 486.

6. Summers, *Annals*, I, 568; John W. Gwathmey, *Historical Register of Virginians in the Revolution: Soldiers, Sailors, Marines, 1775–1783* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1987), 491.

Arthur Campbell made a claim of £12 against the estate. There he is referred to as John Lyth, alias John Terry, more proof of his residence.[7] In addition, Gordon Aronhime claimed that the minister owned two plots of land totaling 500 acres in Washington County, one on the North Fork of the Holston River at the mouth of Smith's Creek and the other on Laurel Creek, but it is not known where Aronhime found those records. It is very likely that Lyth travelled about Washington County and western Virginia holding services and marrying people from time to time, much as the Methodists later did.

During the Revolution, the Church of England had difficult times as it lost its status as the state church and had only fifty-seven clergyman in the Commonwealth, far too few for the established parishes of the state.[8] That was not a time that clergymen could be sent out to the far frontiers. As one historian put it, the church was "fearful, powerless, and unprepared" and "without organization, without leadership, and without defence." The Church of England no longer had jurisdiction in the United States, and the Virginia state government "acted inconsistently and with almost fatal hesitation."[9] Not until 1784 did the legislature pass an act which allowed the clergy *and* laymen to form a corporate body, an unsettling development for the clergy who had expected to have sole authority as had been the practice. Then on May 18, 1785, a convention, dominated by laymen, began in the capitol in Richmond which resulted in the formation of the Diocese of Virginia of the Protestant Episcopal Church.[10]

Episcopal Church

The first bishop, James Madison, a cousin of President Madison, concentrated on church unity especially with the Methodists, but he was not successful in that matter. His successor Richard Channing who presided from 1814–1841, worn down by his duties after fourteen years, requested the appointment of an assistant Bishop. William Meade served in that capacity from1829 until 1842 when he succeeded Channing. Soon after his consecration as the assistant bishop, Meade became very active in reaching out to the entire diocese making a number of tours each year. "He was especially interested in extending the Church in the Western and Southwestern parts of the State where Bishops had been previously unknown, and he made the rounds of the widely separated congregations in those sections every two or three years."[11]

Meade is known to have been in the Washington County area as early as 1831, and a missionary who came to the area was James M. Cofer, a graduate of the Virginia Seminary in 1835. After Meade became the third bishop of Virginia, he visited Abingdon in 1842 along with a Mr. Atkinson of Lynchburg. They preached night and day for a full week in the Presbyterian Church performing communion, presiding over two confirmations, and admitting seven members—two Mrs. Triggs, Miss M. Trigg, Eliza Johnston, Charlotte Mitchell, a Miss White, and a Mr. Hayden. Every person who commented about his visit "was much pleased with the bishop & he went away leaving a most favourable opinion of his church. Many gentlemen attended regularly during the week and nearly 300 dollars was raised for a preacher who is to be sent in the spring."

7. WC Minute Book I, August 20, November 17, 1778, March 2, 1782, August 23, 1782. Lyth provided that in the event of his death the proceeds of the bonds should go to Betty Breckenridge, a sister of William Preston, but if she displeased her mother in marriage the money was to go to Betty Preston, daughter of the colonel, and if she did not make an agreeable marriage, Preston could do with the money as he wished. Another minister by the name of Lyth, whose first name is not known, received an appointment to Virginia in 1767; however, he appears to be a different man because Governor Fauquier wrote Bishop Terrick of London on January 14, 1767, reporting that Lyth had recently arrived in the colony and preached once in a parish but had been sent back to England because he was suspected of being insane. Also, a man named Lyth appeared in and departed from South Carolina that year and is probably the same individual. Frederick Dalcho, *An Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in South-Carolina from the First Settlement of the Province, To the War of the Revolution* (Charleston: E. Thayer, 1820), 434. In the days of sailing vessels, the winds carried ships southward in the Atlantic where they met new winds that carried them to the north. Thus, Charleston was often the first port on the mainland for many European travelers, and the minister could have arrived there first.

8. G. McLaren Brydon, *Highlights Along the Road of the Anglican Church: The Church of England in England and Her Oldest Daughter, the Protestant Episcopal Church of Virginia* (Richmond: Virginia Diocesan Library, 1957), 25–35.

9. Goodwin, *The Colonial Church in Virginia*, 106.

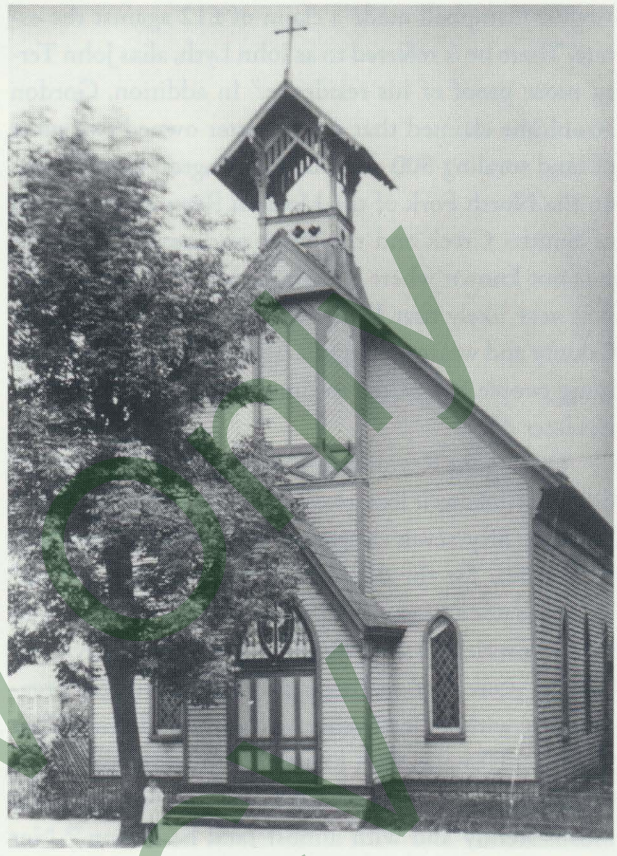
10. Hening, *Statutes*, XI, 532–537; Goodwin, *The Colonial Church in Virginia*, 105–117.

11. Goodwin, *The Colonial Church in Virginia*, 132, 151, 165.

Another $50 was raised to pay the bishop, but he refused the money. The event was also a social success as each night a prominent family entertained the bishop at dinner.[12] A minister may have arrived as promised for 1843, but no record of that has yet been found.

Virginia Campbell, who wrote about Meade's successful visit to Abingdon, spoke of attending a sewing circle "composed principally of the ladies of the Episcopal Church, who meet once a week & make little articles for sale to be appropriated to their church." The fact that she refers to the Episcopal Church indicates that members of that denomination had some sort of organization even if they did not have a permanent building or a resident rector, in similar fashion to the Methodists and others who worshipped in houses or any place large enough for an assembly for many years.[13]

In 1846, the Rev. James McCabe, with support from the Evangelical Church Missionary Society and a few friends, established St. Thomas Church in Abingdon. At the consecration of the "Mother Church of Southwest Virginia," where Bishop John Johns, the Assistant Bishop to Meade, and later the fourth bishop of Virginia, presided,[14] members of the clergy held three days of preaching. Some of the supporters in establishing the church were Thomas L. Preston, Mary Smith Wyndham, and David Campbell, the last because his wife who had been a Methodist converted to the Episcopal church while he served as governor in Richmond. During its early days, St. Thomas Church sent out missions to the Knobs and Damascus.



Original St. Thomas Church, Abingdon, Va. (HSWCV)

The founding rector, the Rev. James Dabney McCabe, of Irish descent, was born in Richmond. He received both an MD and a DDS but in 1829 became a Methodist minister who worked on his own assisting other pastors or filling in where needed instead of joining a conference. In 1845, he left the Methodist church and became a deacon in the Episcopal Church and came to Abingdon where he laid the cornerstone for St. Thomas Church on June 24, 1846. He preached at the court house until the church was consecrated on October 22, 1846. McCabe served the congregation for four years and then moved to Wheeling, now West Virginia, and later to Maryland where he died in 1875. Twice members of the clergy nominated him to be a bishop, but he declined to accept that position. In addition, to his work at St. Thomas, he played the leading role in founding McCabe Lodge Number 56, Independent Order of

12. Virginia Campbell to Catherine Campbell, November 26, 1842, Campbell Family Papers; Allan Yuill, "William Meade, 1789–1862, Third Bishop of Virginia, The 'Beloved Diocesan'"; William Meade, *Old Church Ministers and Families of Virginia* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1910), II, 66.

13. She was much impressed with the sewing circle saying "It is the best institution to become acquainted with the character of each individual I have ever witnessed. I have been much amused at their meetings, three of which have been held. There is to be seen the perfect lady, dignified & courteous, genteel in all her remarks, honest & conscientious in every suggestion: there the silent, good intentioned but more compromising; again there is the familiar range in conversation. This society will cause much sociability during the winter, making us meet once a week when otherwise we would not see each other for months. It is composed of the Prestons, that is Mrs. R. R., Mrs. Tom Preston, Miss Jane (here now), Eliza Johnston, the Triggs, a few school girls & me & best of all Mrs. Hayden's family. It is hoped Mrs. Watson will join & a few others. They have met at Mrs. Dr. Triggs & Mrs. Hayden's & next Wednesday at 3 o'clock we meet at Mrs. Thom. Preston's."

14. Johns was the leader of the "Low Church" in Virginia and like Meade visited throughout the diocese. He "was doubtless the greatest preacher, not even excepting Bishop Randolph, that the Church in Virginia has ever had." Goodwin, *The Colonial Church in Virginia*, 179

Odd Fellows in Abingdon, an institution that worked diligently to provide schools for Washington County.

In 1862 a group of men established the Emmanuel Episcopal Church in Goodson, now Bristol. One of the rectors who led services was Rev. William Mowbray, an Englishman from Chattanooga who was licensed by the Washington County court to perform marriages on September 25, 1861. That congregation met in a number of buildings but when Charles P. Rodifer, an 1861 graduate of the Virginia Seminary, came to St. Thomas Church in Abingdon, he also led Emmanuel and in 1863 accepted a gift of land from Presbyterian minister James King for building the church.[15]

The Episcopal Church did not split into two factions during the Civil War as did the Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians.

The Presbyterians

The Presbyterians were the first denomination to establish permanent congregations in the county, although there may have been other religious groups holding services such as the Baptists and Anglicans.[16] In 1769 the Hanover Presbytery which was the ruling body at that time for Presbyterians in Virginia,[17] anxious to spread the faith, sent out ministers to establish churches in the New River Valley. Next they sought to expand into the Holston River area. On April 10, 1771, the Rev. Charles Cummings reported that he had gone out according to instructions and established the Big Spring congregation in the house of Robert Buchanan on the upward reaches of the Middle Fork of the Holston River. While this church did not appear in records after that, it seems to have become first the Black Lick Church and then the Rural Retreat Church in present Smyth County.[18]

When the Hanover Presbytery held its annual meeting in April, 1772, there was a call, or invitation, for Rev. James Campbell to serve the Sinking Spring and Ebbing Spring congregations in Washington County, both of which were likely formed in 1771, or perhaps even earlier as they had to be organized some time prior to April, 1772. A number of other congregations also wanted Campbell, a popular preacher at the time; however, he did not accept any calls and died a short time later.[19] At that same meeting, Charles Cummings asked the Presbytery to end his pastoral relations with his congregation of North Mountain in Augusta County where he had been for five years because it could not support him. As this was the only reason for Cummings' request the Presbytery dissolved the relationship. At the same time, it recommended that Cummings take a tour through the western areas to see the needs of the people there. At their October meeting, the church leaders asked for "calls and supplications" from various places including the Holston area.[20]

At the next meeting of the Presbytery on June 2, 1773, the Sinking Spring and Ebbing Spring churches called for Cummings to serve their churches. Cummings, born in Ireland, came to Virginia as an adult and settled first in the Northern Neck of Virginia where in 1766, he married Milley Carter while studying theology. Like most ministers of the Presbyterian Church, he had a sound knowledge of Latin, Greek and Hebrew.[21] When Samuel Edmiston presented the call to the Pres-

15. Edward L. Bond and Joan R. Gunderson, *The Episcopal Church in Virginia, 1607–2007* (Episcopal Diocese of Virginia, 2007), 41–47; Charles Francis Cocke, *Parish Lines, Diocese of Southwestern Virginia* (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1950), 176; Lowry Bowman, "St. Thomas Church" (1996), copy in HSWCV; C. Lloyd Lipscomb, "History of St. Thomas Episcopal Church, Abingdon, Virginia," August 11, 1968, VF, HSWCV; Katharine L. Brown, *Hills of the Lord: Background of the Episcopal Church in Southwestern Virginia, 1738–1938* (Roanoke: Diocese of Southwestern Virginia, 1979), 60–62. His son James Dabney McCabe, Jr. (1842–1883) wrote for the *Abingdon Virginian* when he was only fourteen years old. He composed plays during the Civil War including *The Guerilla*. Later he authored more than thirty books.

16. There were quite a few Baptist ministers in Kentucky in 1775. Washington County may have had some who left no record.

17. John R. Herndon, "A Sketch of Abingdon Presbytery," *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, III, (1903), 390–397.

18. Goodridge A. Wilson, *History of the Abingdon Presbytery*, www.NewRiverNotes.com.

19. *Ibid.*

20. Hanover Presbytery Minutes, April 9, 1772, October 14, 1772, Minutes of the Presbytery, May 2, 1764–August, 1785, Transcription by Prentiss Price, Calvin McClung Historical Collection, Knox County Public Library, Knoxville, Tennessee. The members of the Presbytery examined potential members of the clergy, appointed those who qualified, supplied ministers to congregations that had no permanent pastor, dismissed ministers, heard some cases regarding matters such as parentage, and among other things sought to take the faith to new areas.

21. David Campbell, "Charles Cummings, 1767–1812," in William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit or Commemorative Notices of Distinguished American Clergymen of Various Denominations* (New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1858), III, 285–288; Hanover Presbytery Minutes, June 2, 1773.

bytery, Cummings immediately accepted indicating that discussions had been carried on previously. The document said that the people were destitute "for the ordinances of God's house statedly administered," and that many of them were "under distressing spiritual languishment" with many perishing in their sins "for want of the bread of life" broken among them. Furthermore, the Sabbaths were "too much profaned" or spent silently at home. Since they had enjoyed part of his labor to their abundant satisfaction and well pleased with his abilities, piety, literature, prudence and peculiar agreeableness of his qualification, they agreed to call, invite, and entreat him to become a pastor among them.

They promised that they would hear the word of God from his mouth, follow his instructions and reproofs, submit to the discipline of the church, and pay him £90 per year starting with his acceptance of their call. David Campbell who administered the estate of Cummings, said in one document that 120 people signed the call while in another he gave the number as 138. Summers in his *Southwest Virginia* published 136 names while in his *Annals of Southwest Virginia*, he included only 120, but added Joseph Craig who does not appear on the longer list, all of which raises some questions about the accuracy of names as the actual list has not survived. One female, Margaret Edmiston, appears on the lists;[22] she apparently was the mother of William Edmiston (c. 1734 to1822). As a widow, she was not subject to a man and had the right to take legal action on her own, something a married woman could not do. The call to Cummings constituted a legal contract to hire and pay him.

Cummings soon moved to Wolf Hills where he held services at Sinking Spring in a meeting house. He bought property about two miles from that point on Highway 19 where he built a small cabin. He was about five feet, ten inches tall, with a strong and articulate voice. Because of possible Indian raids, Cummings and the other men of the congregation came to church armed with rifles in the early days. Before he entered the church, he had the habit of taking a short walk and speaking a few words at the door of the church with an elder or two. Then he walked down the aisle, climbed the steps to the pulpit, put his rifle and ammunition in a corner nearby and began to preach. This, along with his serving as a military chaplain, resulted in his being called the "Fighting Parson." He gave two sermons each Sunday with a brief pause between them. "His mind was good, but not brilliant" and he spoke with "great gravity" and expected the same tone from his listeners. While Cummings preached, he would not allow any movement in the meeting house; the parishioners had to remain in place and be silent. About twice a year the congregation took communion which was usually held outside in a grove of trees.[23] "He was a Presbyterian of the old stamp, rigid in his faith, strict in the observance of the Sabbath, and faithful in teaching his children–and servants the catechism." At times, he also preached at churches on the Clinch River.[24]

Cummings displayed some of his rigidness when a controversy raged in the two churches over what songs could be sung at services. John Calvin had introduced congregational singing of the *Psalms* which had been set to music, something that was a significant departure from the practices of the Roman Catholic Church. For the *Psalms* to be sung in a modern language, they had to be reworded in order to obtain rhyme and rhythm. Some of them were put in a Christian context as if David, the Jewish king, who is attributed with writing the Psalms, were a Christian. The first part of the 23rd psalm in the King James Version of the Bible reads:

> The Lord is my shepherd: I shall not want.
> He maketh me to lie down in green pastures:
> He leadeth me beside the still waters.
> He restoreth my soul:
> He leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for his name's sake.

Set to music by Thomas Sternhold the words were

22. Mattie Roundtree Stephenson, *Historical Sketch of Sinking Spring Presbyterian Church of Abingdon, Virginia, 1773–1948* (Abingdon: Sinking Spring Church, 1948), 4–6. For Margaret Edmiston, the wife, see: Preston in his *Reminiscences*, 19–22, lists 138 names. The number of 120 came from David Campbell and appeared in William Henry Foote, *Sketches of Virginia, Historical and Biographical* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1855), 122, but on pages 115–117, he lists 138 names. Campbell at that time, 1851, was seventy-two years of age and his letters show that age had had an effect on his memory. The lists can be found in Summers, *Southwest Virginia*,140–141; Lewis Preston Summers, *Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769–1800* (1929), II, 1354–1355; Gordon Aronhime, "The 1772 Cummings Petition: Location of the Homes of the Signers," *HSWCV Bulletin*, Ser. II, Nr. 16 (1991), 3–24.

23. Campbell, "Charles Cummings," 286–287; Hanover Presbytery Minutes, October 14, 1773.

24. Campbell, "Charles Cummings," 287.

"A Communion Gathering in the Olden Time," like those held at Sinking Spring Church. (Presbyterian Reunion: A Memorial Volume, *1837–1871*, between pages 24 and 25)

altered:

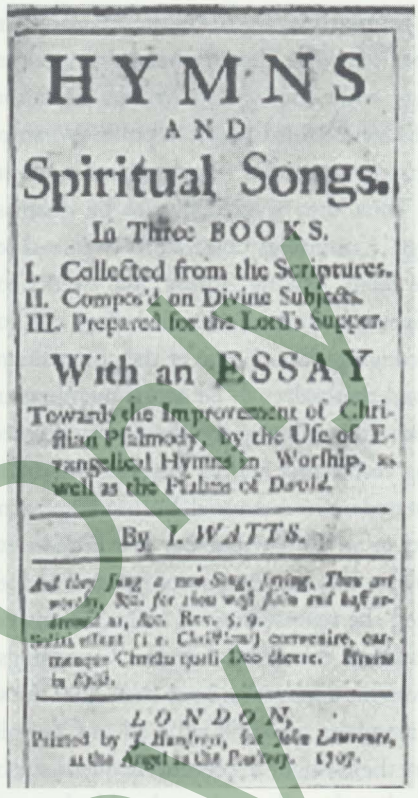
My Shepherd is the living Lord,
Nothing therefore I need:
In pastures fair, near pleasant streams,
He setteth me to feed.
He shall convert and glad my soul,
And bring my mind in frame
To walk in paths of righteousness
For his most holy Name.[25]

Later other religious figures wrote new hymns based on Christian ideals but not psalms. The greatest of the composers was Isaac Watts (1674–1748) who wrote about 750 hymns. Most everyone has heard the words of the Christmas carol "Joy to the World." Following is the first stanza:

Joy to the world! The Lord is come:
Let earth receive her King,
Let every heart prepare him room,
And heaven and nature sing.

Another well-known of his hymns is "Our God, Our Help in Ages Past" which begins:

Our God, our help in ages past,


HYMNS
AND
Spiritual Songs.
In Three BOOKS.
I. Collected from the Scriptures.
II. Compos'd on Divine Subjects.
III. Prepared for the Lord's Supper.
With an ESSAY
Towards the Improvement of Christian Psalmody, by the Use of Evangelical Hymns in Worship, as well as the Psalms of David.
By I. WATTS.
LONDON,

Watt's Hymns.

Our hope for years to come,
Our shelter from the stormy blast,
And our eternal home.[26]

The controversy over the choice between the Psalms or the hymn book of Watts resulted in dissension in Cummings' two congregations. The Presbytery decided "it being reported to us that Dissatisfactions and Dissentions are subsisting between Mr. Cummings respecting the Use of Doctr. Watt's versions of psalms and hymns" that the two parties appear before the next meeting of the Presbytery.[27] At the May 15, 1781, meeting the consideration of the dispute was postponed until the ministers had a chance to study the issue more fully. Meanwhile, the Presbytery appointed a committee of six members to meet at Sinking Spring to prepare a report. The committee met on May 31, 1781, and drew up a memorial to be sent to the General Assembly of the Church.

25. Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins, *The Whole Booke of Psalmes Collected into Englysh Metre* (London: John Day, 1574). The modernized verses given here come from *The Whole Book of Psalms Collected into English Metre* (Oxford University Press, 1812).

26. For a biography, see N. A.Woychuk, *Isaac Watts: the Father of English Hymnology* (St. Louis: SMF Press, 2002).

27. Hanover Presbytery Minutes, October 26, 27, 1780.

The petition was heard by the Hanover Presbytery on October 24, 1781. Those favoring only psalms charged Cummings with "singing Dr. Watts's Imitation of the Psalms of David & his Hymns in pubic Worship without their Consent; as also for treating them in an unfriendly manner." Thus, they wanted him to be "dismissed from his Charge." Cummings objected to twenty-three names of people from Sinking Spring and twenty-four from Ebbing Spring because, he claimed, they did not belong to those congregations. Some of the complainants, however, proved themselves to be actual members under his charge with the result that the Presbytery decided against examining each name and to consider the merits of the cause as stated in the memorial. Both sides presented their arguments in an all-day meeting that lasted until 9 p.m. The following day the Presbytery ruled "that the persons who signed the representations from Sinking & Ebbing Springs against the Revd. Charles Cummings be dismissed from his Charge," and pay their dues the same way as other members who still adhered to Cummings. The Presbytery then sought to prevent further disturbances by recommending that all members should take much care to "to preserve the peace & Harmony" of particular churches and that ministers and elders "take particular pains to inform the minds of the people as fully as possible upon the Subject" before it was made a "decided practice."[28]

Even so, the churches broke apart. In 1782, the Great Knobs Church, later known as the Green Spring Church, and Rock Creek churches asked for supply ministers. Furthermore, those from the Great Knobs Church settled their accounts with Sinking Spring, and Rock Creek settled with Ebbing Spring. Two days later, Cummings "thinking that he had but little prospect of being useful" at Sinking Spring and Ebbing Spring asked that he be "liberated from them." The Presbytery considered his reasons, judged them proper, granted his request, and dismissed him. Although he served no church, he remained active in the meetings of the Presbytery.

A call came from one group at Sinking Spring on May 21, 1783, for Adam Rankin to be the minister while another asked for Cummings. The Presbytery told the people to be more unanimous. Two days later the body ruled that neither minister be allowed to preach at Sinking Spring until a compromise had been made.[29]

Another petition arrived concerning Cummings in May, 1784, which asked that he not be allowed to preach. The Presbytery ruled "that there will be no danger in attending upon the word preached by Mr. Cummings or any other regular member of our Presbytery." The Presbytery asked people to "lay aside prejudice & party spirit" in order for them to hear him and other supplies sent to them. The ruling body then appointed Rankin to supply the Knobs and Sinking Spring churches.[30] No mention was made of Cummings supplying churches.

Then on October 28, 1784, the elders of Sinking Spring Congregation and Cummings lodged a complaint against Rankin for baptizing the children of John and Thomas Berry and others who had been under suspension by the church for some years. The Presbytery ordered him to appear in May 1785.[31] After that matters are not clear, but at that meeting, the hearing regarding Rankin was delayed as well as the case of Sinking Spring. Then Charles Cummings along with Hezekiah Balch and Samuel Doak from present-day Tennessee asked to form their own Presbytery giving as their reason the distance to the Hanover meetings. The Presbytery granted permission and Abingdon Presbytery came into existence. Unfortunately, the minutes of the Abingdon Presbytery before 1806 are missing,[32] but Cummings apparently regained his position at Sinking Springs about 1786, thus not being the preacher at Sinking Spring for about four years.

This ongoing dispute may have involved more than church business as Cummings from 1782–1785 helped lead the movement to establish the western state of Frankland which resulted in great controversy and sharply divided the people of Washington County. The "party spirit" which the Presbytery spoke about in 1784 seems to have been a reference to the controversy over this issue. By 1786 the Frankland movement had failed.

Abingdon Presbytery became part of the Synod of Carolina while Rankin and his followers became members of the Transylvania Presbytery and constituted part of the Synod of Virginia. In 1802 the Holston members also became part of the Synod of Virginia.[33]

28. *Ibid.*, October 25, 26, 1781.

29. *Ibid.*, May 21, 23, 1783

30. *Ibid.*, May 18, 19, 20, 1784.

31. *Ibid.*, October 28, 1784.

32. *Ibid.*, May 19, 20, 21, 1785; Herndon, "A Sketch of the Abingdon Presbytery," 392.

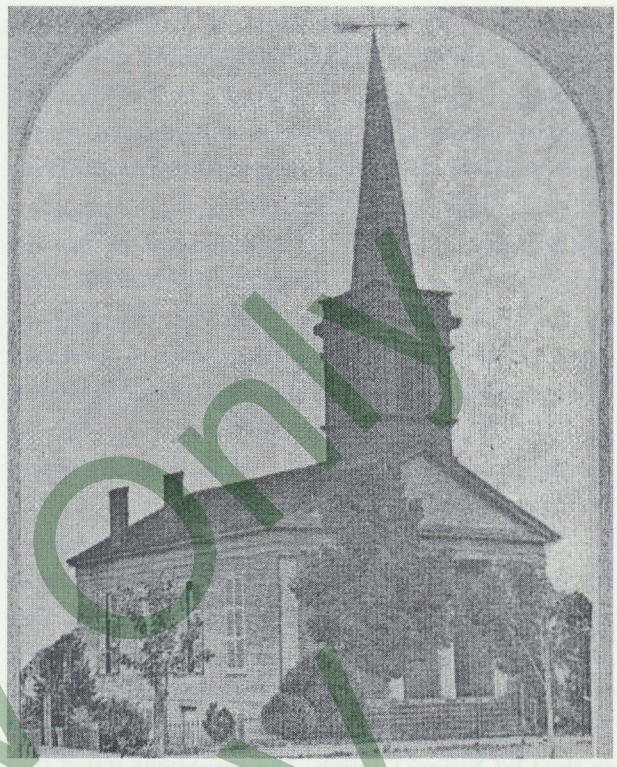
33. Herndon, "A Sketch of the Abingdon Presbytery," 125.

Sinking Spring Church of 1833. The old church constitutes the auditorium of the theatre. The front part is a later addition.

Apparently, Cummings continued to serve as pastor until about 1796. In his later years he did not attend meetings of the Synod, possibly because of poor health. He died in 1812.[34]

In 1796, Stephen Bovelle ministered to the Sinking Spring Church and continued for about five years. The Rev. Lewis F. Cosby described him as "a minister of the olden stamp with white hair, tremulous voice and faltering steps." After Bovelle, John Doak, son of Samuel Doak, served as the stated supply (temporary appointee) for about a year but died suddenly. The Sinking Spring and Green Spring churches requested Bovelle's return in 1806, and evidently he served those churches until 1827 when he was dismissed.[35] After him came William Galliher for a short time and then Thomas Ogden for about two years.

The first meeting house of the Sinking Spring Congregation was "a very large cabin of unhewn logs, from eighty to one hundred feet long and from thirty to forty wide and stood about the middle of the present grave yard." A second one was built near it by 1783 with the original not being torn down until about 1785.[36] The



1851 Sinking Spring Church. This neo-classical building with a steeple was torn down and replaced on the same site in 1896 after only forty-five years of use. (Sinking Spring Church)

second meeting house was described as being weatherboarded outside and ceiled inside." By the time David R. Preston served as stated supply (1830 to 1835), the second church needed to be replaced. Preston urged the building of a new church which was constructed from 1831–1833. Built of red brick it was located on the north side of Main Street. Later the Sons of Temperance owned the building and added to the front of the structure.

Unfortunately, the old controversy over which songs they should sing revived in 1837. This time the differences resulted in the church splitting into two congregations. The Old School faction met in the brick church while the other moved to the southeast corner of Slaughter (later Pecan) and Main Streets. During the schism, the Old School churches joined the Montgomery Presbytery of the Synod of Virginia and the New School adherents became part of the New River Presbytery and New School Synod of Tennessee.

What building the New School church used for meetings after 1837 is not known, but in 1851 they

34. Stephenson, *Sinking Spring Church*, 14–17.

35. Bovelle and his wife Ann (Nancy) Middleton Craig migrated to Randolph County Missouri in 1836. See: roots.com/RTB-p/Mitchell-map.htm.

36. Letter of David Campbell, July 26, 1851, Campbell Family Papers.

11

Slaves and Free People of Color

Slavery existed in Washington County before it came into being and lasted until the Civil War ended the practice. In1860, enslaved people constituted 15% of the population of the county. In addition to slaves, there were free people of color who lived there, most of whom seem to have obtained their freedom before they reached the area. All had some African blood, but mingling of the races had resulted in some mulattos who had mostly European ancestors and could pass for white persons. Virginia had harsh laws dealing with slaves, and the free people of color (FPC) had to deal with rules that were designed to control them closely. Yet, the authorities appear in records to have been rather lenient with both groups. Most of the people with African blood put up with their situation. They did not rebel and not many ran away before the Civil War. On the other hand, nothing is known about the severity of their treatment on the farms and in the homes at a time when corporal punishment was the norm; nor are their opinions known about such matters.

Slaves in Early Washington County

It is possible that slaves came with the Thomas Walker and his surveyors in 1748 and 1750. Although Walker does not mention any, it is hard to imagine those wealthy speculators performing all the hard tasks themselves. A few might have also existed among the early traders and hunters. When settlers arrived, some brought slaves with them, but any documents regarding their acquisitions would have appeared in older areas of the state. Furthermore, owners would not have made the difficult journey to Ft. Chiswell in Fincastle County, about sixty miles distant just to record a document or before that to Botetourt County. Slaves, however, are mentioned in early accounts such as William Russell's two slaves who set out with him for Kentucky in 1773 and Charles Cummings' slave who left Black's Fort with him in an attempt to go to his house in 1776.

Will Book I of Washington County contains a number of wills or inventories that dealt with slaves. For example, in 1774 Samuel Buchanan wrote his will in which he mentioned a "negro wench" and a slave boy; in 1777 David Campbell, Sr. gave Patrick Campbell a female slave; William Todd Livingston's inventory showed that he had six slaves; in 1778 Robert Gillespie left a slave boy to his wife during her lifetime and Casleton Brooks owned one male slave; in 1779 Humphrey Dickenson's inventory showed four slaves; Benjamin Gray owned two men and one woman; and Robert Edmondson mentioned two slaves when he wrote his will in 1779.[1]

Others were noted in later wills and inventories, but a more accurate idea of the number of slaves in early Washington County can be gained from the list of tithables in Washington County in 1782, at which time 160 slaves were owned by fifty-six slave holders, most of whom usually had one or two. Those with the greatest numbers were Joseph Bishop with twelve, Rev. Charles Cummings with eleven, Alexander Outlaw

1. WC Will Book I, 9, 14, 16, 24, 27, 38, 62, 93. Documents were often not recorded for years and many probably never were due to distance, costs, and unwillingness of owners to pay taxes on them.

with ten, Lawrence Van Hook with eight and William Gilmore with seven.[2]

Slaves in 1782 List of Tithables

Precinct	Tithables	Owners	Nr. Slaves
James Dysart	117	10	30
Arthur Campbell	91	0	0
John Kincaid	63	3	16
William Edmondson	85	11	29
James Montgomery	53	0	0
Alexander Montgomery	67	9	14
Robert Craig	40	5	8
Joseph Black	48	7	32
Aaron Lewis	115	7	31
Totals	679	56	160

Since neither the first nor the second census reports for Virginia has survived, the next official numbers begin with the 1810 census. Each enumeration from 1810 to 1860 shows an increase in the number of slaves except for 1840 which reflects part of the county being incorporated into Smyth County in 1832.

Slaves in Censuses

1810	1,448
1820	1,898
1830	2,568
1840	2,058
1850	2,131
1860	2,547[3]

Status of Slaves

At first, Virginia regarded Africans as apprentices, much the same as they treated English boys, convicts, working men, and wives, but their status soon declined and they faced ever stricter regulations. As early as 1639/40, the colony made a legal distinction between slaves and others in an act that said "ALL persons except negroes to be provided with arms and ammunition or be fined at pleasure of the Governor and Council."[4] Act I of the legislature in 1669 entitled "An act about the casual killing of slaves" states that owners needed violent means to suppress slaves, and if one resisted an owner, he could be killed without it being considered a felony.[5] Then in 1705, the legislature reduced the status of slaves to that of real estate, no more than a plot of land, but that law resulted in much controversy and many lawsuits. Therefore, a new law in 1727 declared African slaves to be chattels, or personal property.[6]

Slaves, however, were not mere property. As of 1662, the colony ruled that all servants should be provided an adequate diet, clothing and lodging, and that the "bounds of moderation" should not be exceeded in correcting them. Furthermore, slaves and servants could complain to a magistrate and be heard at a meeting of the county court. While it is doubtful that any slaves exercised that right, it did provide a means by which white servants could be heard.[7]

Although slaves, servants, mulattos, and Indians could not bear witness against free whites, they could do so in cases involving people of their own status,[8] but if they falsely testified, an early law provided that the court could order them to have one ear nailed to a pillory for one hour and then have the ear cut off, then the same would happen to the other ear which was followed by thirty-nine lashes of a whip.[9]

Race Mixing

As early as 1630, the colony became concerned about race mixing as shown by the fact that in that year, a white man received a punishment of whipping for having had a sexual encounter with a slave woman,[10] and in 1640, another received the same treatment when he caused

2. Margaret R. David, "Tithables in Washington County, Virginia in 1782," *HSWCV Bulletin*, Ser. II, Nr. 7 (1968–1969), 39–42, Nr. 8 (1970), 40–43.

3. Figures are from Federal Census Browser at http://mapserver.lib.virginia.edu/. They do not always agree with other counts and should not be considered absolutely correct.

4. Hening, *Statutes*, I, 226.

5. *Ibid.*, II, 270.

6. "An Act declaring the Negro, Mulatto, and Indian slaves within this dominion to be real estate," *Ibid.*, III, 333; "An Act to explain and Amend the Act For declaring the Negro, Mulatto, and Indian Slaves within this Realm to be Real Estate," *Ibid.*, IV, 222–228.

7. *Ibid.*, II, 117–118.

8. "No negro or mulatto shall be a witness, except in pleas of the commonwealth against negroes or mulattoes, or in civil pleas wherein negroes or mulattoes alone shall be parties." *ibid.*, XII,. 182.

9. *Ibid.*, IV, 126–134.

10. *Ibid.*, I, 146.

a slave woman to become pregnant.[11] As of 1642, laws forbade servants of all types to marry without consent of their master or fornicate, both of which could add to their length of service.[12] Because of the confusion caused by mixing the races and the fact that fathers were often unknown or white men fathered children by their slaves, legislation in 1662 determined that "all children borne in this country shall be held bond or free only according to the condition of the mother,"[13] an act that was contrary to common law. Thereafter, if a white mother had a mulatto child, which seems to have been a rarity, it was free, and if a black slave mother had a mulatto, it was a slave. White women who had mulatto children probably gave them to slaves or free persons of color or killed them. New legislation in 1691 sought to prevent the "abominable mixture and spurious issue" of races, by banishing from the state forever any whites that married blacks, mulattos or Indians. In addition, ministers could not conduct wedding services between whites and blacks or mulattos, Indians, "popish recusants," and others "not being Christian."[14]

Runaways

In hope of escaping the harsh system under which many of them lived, slaves ran away from time to time. As of 1680, those captured could be killed if they resisted being taken, and by 1691, the colony considered them to be a danger to the state and required sheriffs to pursue them at public expense. As before they could be killed if they resisted capture, but, in addition, the colony reimbursed the owner for his loss of property. In early Virginia, returned slaves were branded on their face with an "R" and when owners did not claim their escaped property or the owner could not be found, the sheriff placed them in jail, hired them out for work, and put iron collars around their necks with "P. G." (Prisoner of the Gaol) stamped on it.[15]

$30 REWARD,

WILL be given for the apprehension, delivery or confinement in jail, so that I get him, for my man PATRICK commonly called EMB R. He is about 5ft 6 inches high (height not known exact) spare built, of bright gingerbread color and about 25 years old—polite, speaks quick when spoken to and quite smart. He has been working in a shoe and boot shop in the town of Abingdon, Va., for the last month where he ran off on the 20th of April. He is a good rough carpenter—cooper—and commences to play the fiddle. I think he has a slight scare about one eye. He had in his possession a forged free pass, and passed himself off as TRIM ARCHER. No doubt he is endeavoring to get to a free State and will try and get another pass, as he has lost the Trim Archer pass. He has been run away from his home in Prince Edward county, Va., for some 14 or 15 months. The above reward will be paid if secured anywhere west of the Blue Ridge mountains, or out of the State of Virginia.

ALLEN WATSON.
Prince Edward C. H., Va.
May 3, 1856—3t

Runaway Slave from Abingdon. (The Democrat, 1856)

Fears of Insurrections

While authorities considered runaways to be a threat to security as well as a loss of property, they truly feared an armed uprising by the slaves. As a result, the General Assembly enacted laws that restricting their movements and gatherings. In 1680, "An act for preventing Negroes Insurrections" forbade slaves to attend feasts and burials, carry any sort of weapon, go anywhere from the master's property without a pass, or lift up their hands in opposition to any Christian (white person), or to hide out.[16] By 1723, the General Assembly considered this legislation to be insufficient because of the "tumultuous and unlawful meetings" of the slaves. Thus, gatherings of five or more slaves became a felony punishable by death.[17] After the Nat Turner Insurrection in 1831 in Southampton County, "slaves, free Negroes, and mulattoes" could not preach or hold any religious meeting at day or night with the punishment for doing so being up to thirty-nine lashes. Furthermore, slaves and free persons of color could not attend religious meetings conducted by a free black

11. June Purcell Guild, *Black Laws of Virginia: A Summary of the Legislative Acts of Virginia Concerning Negroes from Earliest Times to the Present* (Richmond: Whittier & Shepperson, 1936), 21.

12. Hening, *Statutes*, I, 252–253, 310

13. *Ibid.*, II, 170.

14. *Ibid.*, III, 447–462. Indians had the same low status as Africans. Marriages such as that of Pocahontas and John Rolfe in the early days of the colony were not tolerated.

15. *Ibid.*, I, 225, II, 481–482, III, 86–88, IV, 168–175.

16. *Ibid.*, II, 481–482.

17. *Ibid.*, IV, 126–134.

preacher, ordained or not, nor attend religious services at night held by a white minister without the permission of their masters. Slaves and free blacks could, however, attend religious service during the day led by a white minister. Additionally, slaves and free blacks could not sell any sort of alcoholic beverages near public assemblies or write or print anything advising insurrection or rebellion.[18]

Punishments for Slaves

Punishments for slaves and free people of color differed from those of the white population with the free persons of color sometimes being less severely penalized than slaves. Whites usually had to pay fines but also could be ordered to stand in the pillory, endure lashings of the whip, go to prison, or suffer execution by hanging. On the other hand, slaves and most free people of color did not have the wherewithal to pay fines, so they usually had to endure corporal punishments. For a long time, slaves could also be burned on the hand in open court. Though the law was later repealed, it was in effect in 1796 when Methodist Bishop Francis Asbury preached in Abingdon on a court day during which two people were burned in their hands.[19] Slaves could also suffer dismemberment for wrongdoing, and if a slave died in the process no one involved could be held responsible unless it was willful and malicious. The law did not explain what body parts could be cut off, but it probably usually resulted in castration of males; however, in 1769, castration was disallowed except when a slave attempted to rape a white woman. When someone accused a slave of a serious crime, he or she was quickly taken prisoner, "well laden with irons," and brought before a commission of *oyer* and *terminer* (to hear and determine) which could arraign and indict the offender. At the hearing, witnesses would be heard by the magistrates, and if slaves were found guilty, they could expect a hard sentence.

By the time of the Civil War, a slave in Virginia could receive the death penalty for many crimes included plotting rebellion, insurrection, murder, breaking and entering, preparing medicine with intent to poison, manslaughter, house breaking at night, burglary of twenty shillings or more, stealing hogs for the third time, setting fire to a barn, stable or other structure, and rape of a white woman. In 1847, convicted slaves could be transported outside the country in lieu of hanging with the owner being reimbursed for his loss. Lesser crimes such as hog killing the first time, being present at unlawful meetings, leaving a plantation without permission, raising a hand against a white person except if assaulted first, stealing, using menacing gestures to white people, giving a seditious speech, administering medicine without permission, using provoking language against whites, and selling liquor without a license resulted in whippings of ten to thirty-nine well laid on lashes on their bare backs.[20]

Despite the severe laws of the Old Dominion, not many slaves in Washington County faced criminal charges and few received harsh punishments. The magistrates seemed to have often ignored the laws. An examination of the minute books from 1840–1860, that time being a period when the minute books are continuous and there were no major upheavals, shows that seventeen slaves were accused of crimes out of a population of 2,058 in 1840, 2,131 in 1850, and 2,547 in 1860. Four were accused of murder, but in two cases the only record is a request for pay for their arrests and the calling of witnesses which could mean that the charges were dropped. Two others received punishments: one was Margaret who was sold into slavery and transported outside the United States and the other was Green who was sentenced to be hanged for the stabbing death of another slave; in his case, the court recommended that the governor show clemency and that he be sold and transported. Three other slaves were charged with administering drugs to induce abortion which resulted in deaths, but the charge against Frank was quashed and the other against Rank and Lewis was deemed a misdemeanor and outside the purview of the court; however, they received ten stripes for killing a horse. Two slaves faced charges for attempted rape, but the court found them not guilty although one of them received ten lashes for abusive and provoking language. Two slaves were charged with assault, one of them against a white man, but he was found not guilty, and

18. Guild, *Black Laws*, 106–108.

19. Asbury, *Journal*, II, 84.

20. Hening, *Statutes*, IV, 326, III, 102–103, IV, 126–134, VIII, 358; James Curtis Ballach, *A History of Slavery in Virginia* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1902), 85–87.

Sale of Valuable Slaves.

ON the 1st day of the December Court, I shall proceed to sell to the highest bidder, at the front door of the Court-house,

FIVE SERVANTS,

belonging to the estate of the late Dr. Daniel Trigg. to wit: FRANK, aged about 33 years, who is a good dining room servant, gardner and hostler; TOM, aged about 20 years, who is also a good house servant and hostler; MARY ANN, aged about 37 years, who is a good washerwoman and house servant; and ARMINA, aged about 25 years, with her child, aged about 2 years. Armina is a good cook and house servant.

Credits of six and twelve months will be given the purchaser, in every instance, executing his bond with ample security. JOHN A. CAMPBELL,
Adm'r of Daniel Trigg dec'd.

Abingdon, Dec. 2. 1854.—4w.

Slave Auction. (THE DEMOCRAT, 1854)

Negroes for Sale.

THE undersigned, as administrator of the estate of Chrisley Fleenor, dec'd, will sell, at the Court-House in Abingdon, on the first day of November Court, (27th.)

SIX LIKELY NEGROES,

consisting of two women, one aged about 32 and the other about 18; one boy, aged about 14, one girl about 6, and a girl and a boy about 2.

TERMS—A credit of six months will be given, the purchaser or purchasers giving bond with approved security.

N. E. CALDWELL,
Oct. 28, 1854.—4w. Administrator.

Negroes for Sale. Slave auctions were held on the court house steps in Abingdon. Other sales were by private arrangements. Purchasers could buy them on credit. (THE DEMOCRAT, 1854)

Negroes Wanted!

HARDY & CLARK desire to purchase an unlimited number of likely young negroes, for whom they will give the highest prices in CASH! Persons having such property to sell will find it to their advantage to call on us before disposing of it elsewhere. Letters may be addressed to George H. Hardy, Adingdon, Va.; or to Dr. H. Clark, Rural Retreat, Va.

N. B.—Messrs Hurt, near Abingdon Depot, will attend to all applicants in the absence of Mr. Hardy.

G. H. HARDY,
april 16, '59—tf H. CLARK.

Slave Dealers Paid Cash. The slaves were sold into the Deep South. (THE DEMOCRAT, JUNE 11, 1859)

NEGROES WANTED,

For the Southern Market.

THE Sucscriber wishes to purchase likely young NEGROES for the Southern Market, for whom the highest prices will be paid in

CASH.

For any information desired address Goodson, Virginia. HENRY ROSENHEIM.

April 13, 1860.—1y.

(THE DEMOCRAT, OCTOBER 26, 1860)

the other case was discharged. One slave was charged with barn burning but found not guilty and another was charged with burning a house and other structures but also found innocent. Another case involved petty larceny which resulted in three months in jail. A constable received pay for the arrest of three other slaves that belonged to Jacob Campbell, but nothing further was recorded about that.

Altogether most of the charges resulted in acquittals, the cases being quashed, dismissed, or never heard of again. Some of the charges appear to have been made with little or no evidence. Their accusers may have made charges because of some personal slight, but the court appears to have given them fair hearings. On the other hand, the justices could have been reluctant to cause a slaveholder to lose his property, even if he were reimbursed by the state, or have the individual damaged by being lashed with a whip.

The Cost of Slaves

THE COST OF SLAVES varied over time due to economic and political conditions, the buying power of the currency then in use, their skills, gender, ages, and the nature of the work to be done. The will of James Meek in 1845 and deeds disposing of Col. James White's slaves in 1852 illustrate the assessed worth of their slaves.

Meek had forty-two slaves ranging in value from $125 to $700. The most expensive was Dred, a blacksmith at $700, while the two least valuable at $125 were Mary Jane, age 3 and Milley, age 56. Only seven were over the age of thirty.[21]

21. WC Will Book X, 71.

James Meek's Slaves, 1845

Value	M	F	Ages Males	Ages Females
$700	1		29	
$600–699	1		27	
$500–599	5	2	16, 18, 19, 29, 31	20,* 25*
$400–499	2	2	12, 15	14, 17
$300–399	5	3	10, 11, 13, 25, 31	12, 36, 40*
$200–299	3	3	5, 8, 36	4, 7, 36*
$125–199	3	4	3, 3, 4	3, 3, 3, 56

Total 34 slaves (20 men, 14 women)

Total Value $11,550. Average Value $340. *=had infants.

Deeds for the disposal of Col. James L. White's slaves present a somewhat different picture. White, who was born in Pennsylvania, moved to Abingdon in 1798 and became the richest man in the county. He also held at least 324 slaves in Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Alabama with the greatest number at his estate at Bellefont Farm in Jackson County, in northeastern Alabama. Eighty of his slaves lived in Virginia although the specific locations are not evident in the deeds. The Virginia slaves of White ranged in value from nothing to $800. Of the eight slaves with no value, four were listed as old and three with having scrofula or king's evil, both being names then in common use for a tuberculosis infection of the lymph nodes, while the other was three years old. Males in their teens and twenties were most valued because of their strength and future usefulness. The number of old slaves reflects the requirement of owners to maintain them if they could no longer work. Even so, most of his slaves, like those of Meek, were under the age of thirty.

James White's Virginia Slaves, Deeds Made in 1852[22]

Value	M	F	Ages Males	Ages Female
$800	1		34	
$700–799	5	7	1.5, 19, 22, 22, 39	1.5, 16, 17, 20, 23, 46, 51
$600–699	7	4	12, 14, 15, 16, 18, 20, 31	4, 14, 19, 33
$500–599	4	6	16, 24, 26, 28	4, 5, 12, 12, 28, 39
$400–499	4	5	19, 27, 32, 34	10, 10, 12, 12, 35
$300–399	4	8	5, 5, 50, 57	5, 5, 6, 6, 7, 7, 8, 8
$200–299	3	4	2, 2, 4	3, 4, 5, 50
$100–199	5	4	.33, 1, 1.5, 54, 55	.33, .66, 2, 58
$60		1	.5	
$0	6	2	3, 40, 49, 62, old, old	old, old

Total 80 slaves (39 men, 41 women)

Total Value $31,460. Average Value $393

James White House, 171 East Main Street. The main part of this Federal Style House which is to the left was built after the family's house across the street burned in the fire of 1812. It was completed in 1819. The addition to the right was used as a store and office building and was completed in 1828.[23] It was not burned in the fire of 1864.

White's female slaves slightly outnumbered the males. White owned many mercantile business and many slaves on his plantations. They would have been used in his stores as well as household servants, gardeners, stable hands, spinners, and weavers as opposed to Meek who seems to have had mostly farm laborers. For some reason, two children, Jim Turk, Jr., and Flora, who were only one and one-half years of age, were appraised at the high values of $750 and $700. Like Meek's slaves, those in their teens and twenties were considered most valuable.[24]

22. Although James L. White died in 1838, the estate was not fully settled until 1873 because of disagreements among his heirs. The inventory of his property consisted of 229 pages in two volumes with a total value of about $700,000, an enormous amount for that time.

23. King, *Places in Time*, I, 8. According to Preston in his *Reminiscences*, 62. White at one time owned some forty-five businesses in Virginia, Tennessee, Alabama, and Georgia. He also acquired a lease for the Salt Works and invested in the Lead Mines.

24. WC Deed Book 21, 7–18.

Crockett Lee Johnson. A former Slave from Glade Spring shown with his wife, Mary A. Weeks, and daughter Gillyard in 1890. (HSWCV)

Slave Owners

The 1860 census for Washington County shows 417 owners of slaves with a total of 2,511 slaves which would mean that owners or renters of slaves had on average six. Averages, however, can be misleading; in this case ninety-eight owners had only one slave, forty had two, and forty-nine had three. Those 325 slaves probably worked in the house or alongside the owners in the fields or shops. On the other hand, some people possessed fairly large numbers who obviously toiled on the farms of the county. The greatest slave holder that year was Wyndham Robertson, a former governor of the state.

A list of the largest slave holders shows that some owned many; however, the possibility exists that some of these numbers were undercounts since owners had to pay taxes on each slave that had value. It would have been to their benefit to hide some of them or send them to a distant field when the tax appraiser came around. On the other hand, owners quickly appeared before the county court to request a tax exemption for old, infirm, or injured slaves.[25]

Slave Holders in 1860 Census with 15 or More Slaves

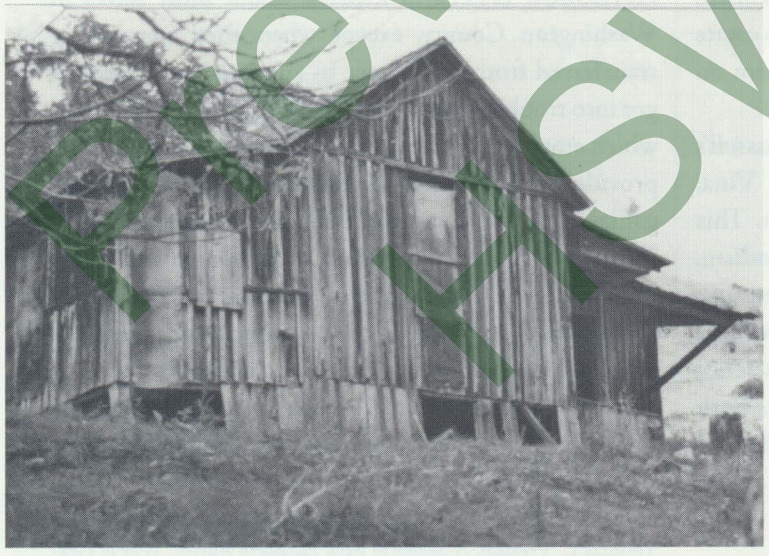
	Slaves	Cabins	Area
Wyndham Robertson	72	10	Abingdon
John Preston	45	7	Abingdon
W. Y. C. White	45	12	Abingdon
George Litchfield	42	6	Abingdon
Whitley Fuller	35	4	Abingdon
William A. Preston	32	6	Abingdon
James P. Strother	32	4	Glade Spring
Newton K. White	31	12	Abingdon
George W. Pettyjohn	28	6	Clear Branch
James L. White	28	5	Abingdon
Adam Hickman	26	6	Abingdon
Milton White	26	7	Abingdon
A. R. Preston	24	4	Goodson
James K. Gibson	23	3	Abingdon
John N. Humes	21	4	Abingdon
John F. Preston	21	4	Goodson
Abram Mongle	20	6	Holston
Henry Preston	20	3	Abingdon
D. C. Dunn &Reynolds	19	2	Abingdon
Thomas & Alex Findley	19	3	Abingdon
Charles Reynolds, Va. & Dunn	19	2	Abingdon
Augustine Mallicote	18	2	Abingdon
Francis Preston	18	4	Abingdon
William Byars	17	2	Glade Spring
Samuel E. Goodson	17	4	Goodson
Absalom Beatie	16	3	Glade Spring
Madison Beatie	16	3	Glade Spring
William Rhea	15	2	Three Springs
James L. White (admin.)	15	4	Abingdon

Manumission

Although, a number of slaves received their freedom and remained in early Virginia, legislation in 1691 required them to leave the colony within six months because, even at that early date, the whites feared a

25. The figures given here are from the author's count of the 1860 census and differ from those of the Federal Census Browser at the University of Virginia, http://mapserver.lib.virginia.edu/. They also differ from those of Kenneth W. Noe, *Southwest Virginia's Railroad: Modernization and the Sectional Crisis* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 72, where he says there were 390 slaveholders.

Eastern and Western Virginia. Howe in his Historical Collections, first published in 1845, depicted differences between Eastern and Western Virginia. The western man is show with his dog, rifle, a fallen deer, log cabin and out buildings while the East is shown with a big frame house, black and white children playing together, an adult female slave and a row of slave cabins in the background. The big estates in Washington County probably looked much like those in the eastern part of the state.



Fleenor slave quarters. The Fleenor family near Mendota housed their slaves in this building which was just back of their house. Most slave quarters probably looked much like this. (HSWCV)

Slave quarters, Bazil Talbert house. The slave house was immediately behind his house, and although the owner's was larger, it did not look much better. A photo of his house can be found in Chapter 9. (HSWCV)

because, even at that early date, the whites feared a growing free mulatto population.[26] That seems to have been unsuccessful because after 1733, a person could be freed only by meritorious service which the governor and council had to approve. After that, few manumissions took place until 1782 when new legislation provided that slaves could be freed by a last will, deed, or another document which had been witnessed by two free people. To avoid having these people becoming wards of the state, the former owners still had to maintain those who could not care for themselves. The freed slaves received a copy of the document which they were supposed to carry with them. They also had to pay taxes, and if they could not, the sheriff hired them out until they fulfilled their obligation.[27] Freed slaves could own property including slaves which meant that some were able to purchase their relatives and others if they had the funds for doing so.

The most perplexing cases of manumission involved Elizabeth Henry Campbell Russell who converted to Methodism in 1788 after which, some people believe, she freed all her slaves; however, she did not do that immediately, nor were all her slaves truly freed. The records in the Washington County will books are confusing because she first married Gen. William Campbell who died in 1781and then Gen. William Russell who died in 1793. William Campbell owned seven slaves at the time of his death. When William Russell died, he owed twelve slaves for which his estate received £716.17.7 from the sale of some of them on April 20, 1795.

On July 21, 1795, two years after Gen. Russell's death, Mrs. Russell freed six slaves named Vina, Adam, Nancy, Sr., Nancy, Jr., Kitty, and Selah. This was seven years after her conversion to Methodism. In freeing them she stated that they had "come into my possession by the direction of providence, and conceiving from the clearest conviction of conscience aided by the power of a good and just God, it is both sinful and unjust, as they are by nature equally free with myself, to continue them in Slavery."[28] It is not known what became of them after that.

On May 16, 1797, Mrs. Russell freed Kiah Broady, "alias Kiah the blacksmith" for her lifetime but with the proviso that he had to work for William King at the Salt Works for two years as had been previously agreed and turn his salary of £50 over to her. Broady had belonged to William Campbell, but would have belonged to William Russell after she married him.

Her grandson, Thomas L. Preston, said that "she manumitted absolutely all the slaves she owned in fee simple [outright ownership] and those she held by right of dower were set free during her life" which means that they reverted to being slaves upon her death. Preston stated "It is a striking fact, and worthy of mention in this connection, that not one of the dower negroes attempted to escape during the period of their temporary freedom." Seemingly, they continued to labor for Mrs. Russell during the time she lived. After her death, Francis Preston used some of them as house and body slaves and distributed the rest among his children.

Complicating these arrangements were the facts that the laws of Virginia did not provide for temporary freedom, the people that she supposedly freed did not register as free persons of color, and none is known to have left the state as required by law.[29]

Cohabitation Records

Although little is known about most slaves in Washington County, except when they were being transferred from one owner to another, were freed, or got into trouble with the law, the Cohabitation Records which employees of Freedmen's Bureau created in 1866 provide some glimpses into their lives as slaves. The organization came about in 1865 when Congress passed "An Act to Establish a Bureau of Freedmen and Refugees" to look after the "the immediate and temporary shelter and supply of destitute and suffering refugees and freedmen and their wives and children."[30]

Most slaves had little experience in taking care of themselves, and found themselves set adrift. A "Circular

26. Hening, *Statutes*, III, 86–88. Not until 1837 could a slave apply for permission to remain in the state. Guild, *Black Laws*, 111.

27. Hening, *Statutes*, XI, 39–40.

28. WC Will Book II, 128.

29. WC Will Book I, 22, II, 22, 26–38, 59, 128, 162–171; Thomas L. Preston, *A Sketch of Mrs. Elizabeth Russell, Wife of General William Campbell and Sister of Patrick Henry* (Nashville: M. E. Church South, 1888), 26. Preston's filiopietistic account is not always trustworthy.

30. U.S., *Statutes at Large, Treaties and Proclamations of the United States of America* (Boston: 1866), XIII, 507–509.

prising Eighteen Counties of the Southwestern portion of the State" on December 1, 1865 urged them to look after their own interests saying "You are masters now of your own families and of yourselves. To your own exertions and by your own judgment and industry your salvation must be worked out for good or evil. Work diligently and provide [for your families].[31]

Since slaves had not been able to make legal contracts, they could not marry. Therefore, one of the tasks undertaken by the Freedmen's Bureau in Washington County was the recording of their unofficial marriages in order that their unions might have legal status. Employees of the Freedmen's Bureau traveled about the county to collect such information which they recorded in a book called the Cohabitation List.[32] The records are not always trustworthy because the writing and spelling are poor with names of slave owners sometimes spelled differently on the same entry. In addition, the slaves and free people of color had no records of their own. Very few of them would have been able to read or write or know their exact ages. Slave holders were also normally ignorant of the ages of their chattels, most likely claiming any reasonable age that would prove most profitable in a sale.[33] Furthermore, even recorded cohabitations are suspect, leaving unclear if both parties were present to declare their relationships, if the unions had been constant, if other partnerships had occurred, if people had actually lived together, and if children came from a single union or more than one. Having no other choice, the extant records, for the most part, have been accepted here as they appear.

The document has 359 records with the names of 718 husbands and wives and 808 children for a total of 1,526 persons. Each listing gives the name of the husband, his age, where he was born, where he was living in 1866, his last owner, the place of residence of his last owner, the name of his wife, her age, her place of birth, her residence in 1866, her last owner, the residence of her last owner, the children of the couple, and the year cohabitation began. No occupation is listed for slave women although most would have been employed in some manner.

The list contains information on some free persons of color as well as slaves. A number of free men married slave women and some free women married slaves. No indication is given of their housing arrangements or how a slave man could help support a free wife and children. Both the husband and wife of seven couples were free, thirteen free men married slaves, and eleven free women married slaves. Thus, thirty-one of the 359 couples were free or partially free before the end of slavery.

Although a majority of the slaves were born in Washington County, a number came from other places in Virginia and outside the state. For the most part, those people, as one would expect, came from eastern parts of the Old Dominion.

Birth Places, Slaves & FPCs, Outside Washington County by Counties, Towns & States

Place	Males	Females
Alabama	3	1
Albemarle	4	1
Amelia		1
Appomattox	1	1
Augusta	1	1
Bath	1	
Bedford	3	4
Buckingham	2	2
Campbell	4	6
Carlisle		1
Chesterfield	1	1
Culpepper	2	2
Cumberland	1	
Dinwiddie		1
Eastern Virginia	9	4
Elizabeth	1	1
Fairfax		1
Franklin	1	
Gloucester	1	
Grayson	1	2
Halifax		1
Hanover	1	
King George	2	
Kentucky	9	2
King and Queen		1

31. Circular, Emory and Henry College, Special Collections. Copy in HSWCV.

32. After these records had been taken, the state legislature ordered them to be placed in county clerk's offices "to preserve evidences for legitimizing the offspring of such marriages.""Register of Marriages of Colored Persons Taken by Officers of United States to Be Preserved," *Third Edition of the Code of Virginia, Including Legislation to January 1, 1874* (Richmond: 1873), Chapter 104, Section 13; J. Tivis Wicker, "Virginia's Legitimization Act of 1866," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 83 (July, 1978), 339–344.

33. The HSWCV has a digital copy and the original can be found at the court house.

Lancaster	2	
Lee		1
Loudon	4	
Louisiana	1	2
Lynchburg	2	1
Madison	1	
Manchester	1	
Maryland	1	1
Matthews	2	1
Missouri	1	
Montgomery	3	4
North Carolina	10	8
Nelson	2	
Norfolk	2	
Powhatan	1	3
Pulaski		1
Prince Edward	1	1
Richmond	7	3
Roanoke	3	3
Rockbridge	1	
Russell	4	3
South Carolina	3	5
Scott	3	2
Smyth	11	16
South		1
Southampton	1	
Stafford	1	
Tazewell	5	2
Tennessee	10	10
Unknown		4
Virginia[34]	18	12
Winchester	1	
Wythe	8	2

At least 32% of the females were born outside Washington County with eighty-seven coming from other counties, usually in eastern Virginia. For the men, 35% or 124 were born outside Washington County.

County, Town, or State Where Last Held as Slave Outside Washington County

Place	Males	Females
Alabama	2	
Albemarle	2	1
Bedford	2	
Campbell	2	4
Culpepper	2	1
Cumberland	1	
Fairfax		1
Grayson		1
Kentucky	6	
Louisiana		1
Lynchburg	2	1
Montgomery	4	4
North Carolina		1
Nelson	1	
Norfolk	1	
Powhatan	1	2
Prince Edward	1	
Roanoke	2	1
Russell	1	4
Scott	4	1
Smyth	7	11
Tazewell	1	1
Tennessee	7	
Virginia*	4	3
Wythe	4	2

*Apparently Outside Washington County

Most slaves did not take the names of their last owners. Apparently they had adopted family names some time before their last servitude, perhaps from former owners or simply chose family names for themselves. Only nineteen men had the same names as their owners, and for women, the number was eighteen. The largest slave holders, such as Wyndham Robertson and John Preston, had no slaves with their family names.

Of the 359 couples, seventy-one had been owned by the same masters. Others usually lived on adjacent lands. At least for these couples, theirs were not long distance or part time relationships. Most of the men worked on farms, but several had other professions.

Occupations of Males in Cohabitation List

	Slaves	FPC
Barber		1
Blacksmith	13	1
Butler	1	
Carpenter	2	1
Class leader	1	
Cook	3	
Farmer	287	14
Gardener	2	
House Servant	3	
Livery Stable Keeper	1	
Laborer	3	
Mason	2	
Miller	1	
Not Known	3	

34. No exact location given.

Railroader	3	
Salt Maker	3	1
Shoemaker	2	2
Soldier	1	
Tailor	1	
Tanner	3	
Wagoner	1	
Waiter	3	

The class leader, Charles Morton, age fifty-seven, who was born in Prince Edward County, may have worked in one of the short-lived schools set up by in the county for freedmen, or he could have been a leader in the Methodist church. His fifty-three year old wife, Catherine Smith, was born in Kentucky and they had four children: June twenty-two, Elizabeth twenty-two, James twenty-one, and Mary eighteen. Their cohabitation began in 1842. The soldier, David Campbell, without doubt, served in the federal forces. He listed his previous residence as Texas with his last owner being Robert F. Preston of Washington County. His age was twenty-four and his wife's was eighteen. They had cohabitated since 1861 and had a two year-old child.

Many couples had lived together for many years, three as early as 1820 or for forty-six years, something, if accurate, shows a striking stability in slave families. Although the lengths of some unions are doubtful, one does not get the impression of many families being torn apart through sales to distant points. At the same time, members of some families are known to have belonged to different owners in the county.

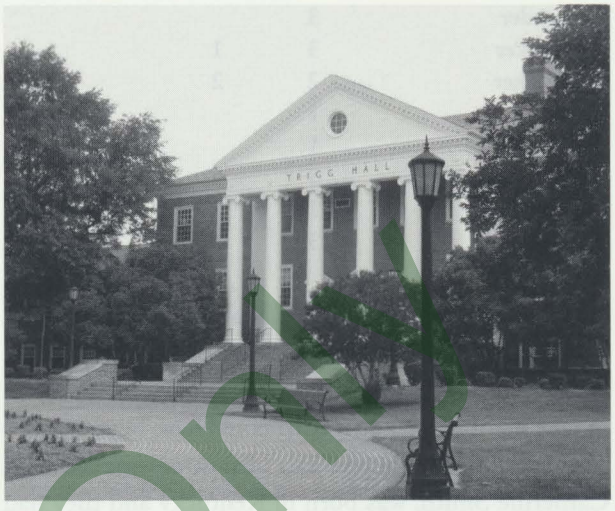
Longest Cohabitations, 1820–1835[35]

Year	Husband	Age	Wife	Age	Nr. Of Years
1820	Robert James	85	Idia Smith	68	46
1820	Simon Brown	71	Patsy King	68	46
1820	Aleck Hutchinson	66	Eliza Gillespie	62	46
1826	Andy Thompson	65	Jane Clark	63	40
1826	Washington McClahan	63	Annie Adams	58	40
1826	Dery Mills	80	Charlotte	60	40
1830	Jack Freeman	58	Biddy Bridgett	69	36
1831	Aleck Fraction	64	Darky Brown	62	35
1832	Drew Seal	50	Minerva Johnson	50	34
1832	Giles Pope	56	Fannie Watson	46	34
1832	Billy Moody	60	Mary McCall	54	34
1833	George W. Jones	63	Nancy Perry	65	33
1834	Jefferson Jones	61	Cynthia Price	50	32
1834	John Brody	52	Emma Brody	49	32
1834	Absalom Baty	52	Celie McClalahan	49	32
1834	Edward Taylor	63	July Lilly	50	32
1834	John Long, FPC	54	Eliza Lawrance	50	32
1835	Sparty Fullen	51	Esther Smith	51	31
1835	Aleck Burr	50	Dicy Black	47	31

35. Three couples were not included in this list because the wives would have been too young, i.e. 4 or 5 years at the time cohabitation began; however, their relationships probably were quite long. Those excluded were Orvel Black, age 55 and Angela Kiles, age 42, since 1820; Louis Hawkins, age 60 and Mimi Hawkins, age 45 since 1826; and Henry Brown, age 58, and Malinda Branch, age 41 since 1830.

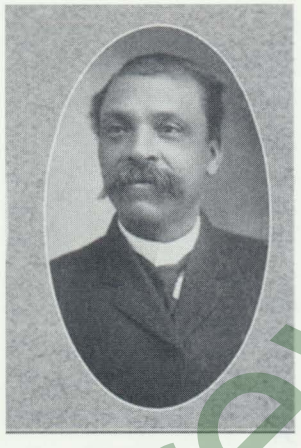
Some couples had many children. Drew Seal and Minerva Johnson who began to live as man and wife in 1832 had the largest family with twelve children ages two to twenty-eight. A number of others had as many as eight.

Surviving men were reported to be older when compared with women; two of them were in their 80s, three in their 70s, twenty-two in their 60s and forty-four in their 50s. The oldest man was Robert James, 85, while the oldest woman, Biddy Bridgett, was 69. No women were in their 80s or 70s, eleven were in their 60s and twenty-nine in their 50s. Since this is a cohabitation list, it did not include older women whose husbands had died.



Trigg Hall, University of Maryland-Eastern Shore. (UM-Eastern Shore)

Frank Trigg



Frank Trigg. (HSWCV)

A successful former slave in Washington County was Professor Frank Trigg (1850–1933) who was born at the Governor's Mansion in Richmond when his parents were slaves of Governor John B. Floyd. After Floyd's term of office ended, he moved back to Abingdon accompanied by the Trigg family who may have lived in Washington County before going with him to the capital. Trigg served as the young body servant of Floyd when he became a commander during the Civil War. After the death of Floyd in 1863, Trigg became property of a Robert W. Hughes, an attorney in Abingdon who helped settle Floyd's estate. He continued on the Hughes' farm after freedom where he worked as a laborer until losing an arm in a threshing machine. Also living with the Hughes was William W. Berkeley, a teacher who probably taught Trigg. In 1870, at the age of twenty, Trigg enrolled as a student at Hampton Institute where he became a friend of Booker T. Washington and graduated in 1873. After another year of study at Norwich Academy in Connecticut, he returned to Abingdon where he taught school and married Ellen Preston Taylor who had also attended Hampton Institute and was a fellow member of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The couple remained in Abingdon until 1880 when they moved to Lynchburg. He was a teacher and principal there for twenty-two years, organized a normal school for African Americans teachers, co-founded the African American Virginia Teachers Association, and set up a library for people of color. Later he moved to Princess Anne Academy in Maryland, now the University of Maryland-Eastern Shore where he followed the same curriculum as at Hampton Institute. He retired from Princess Anne in 1910 but was persuaded to continue teaching at Virginia Collegiate and Industrial Institution where he stayed for six years. Then in 1916 he became the president of Bennett College in Greensboro, North Carolina where he stayed another ten years until his retirement at which time he and his wife moved back to Lynchburg. He died in 1933 and is buried in the Old City Cemetery in that city.[36]

36. Jane Baber White, "Lynchburg's Professor Frank Trigg: From Slave to College Professor," *Lynch's Ferry, A Journal of Local History* (Lynchburg: Historical Foundation, 2000), 30–31. He is listed in the 1870 census in Washington County and appears in the 1875 Washington County Personal Property List, 28. In the 1860, census Floyd had two slaves and one cabin, a male age 4, and a female age eleven, both mulattos. The one listed as a female may actually have been a male.

Landon Boyd

Another former slave of some note was Landon Boyd (1838–1900). According to his descendants, he was the son of Charlotte Boyd and Gov. Wyndham Robertson along with two siblings, Jane Boyd, and Clara Boyd. His mother was a servant in the Robertson household. Landon probably was born in Richmond as Robertson served in the General Assembly from 1837–1841 and then moved to Abingdon where he became a justice of the peace in 1842. Boyd lived in Abingdon a number of years but in 1867, he resided in Richmond where he was chosen to serve on the petit jury for the federal court which had the duty of trying ex-president of the Confederacy, Jefferson Davis, for treason. In the end, no trial was held and Davis was released. About 1878 Boyd returned to Abingdon where he died at the turn of the century. He was buried in the Sinking Spring Cemetery section for African Americans. A park in Abingdon has been named in his honor. [37]

Free Persons of Color

Ex-slaves were legally free, but the fact that they were called free people of color and not simply free people shows they were different from whites. Quite a number of laws treated them as a separate class, and with the passage of time, the restrictions on them increased. According to Joseph F. Trigg Campbell, who had been a slave on the Cummings' land and in Abingdon, "nobody white or colored had much to do with a free African."[38] Indeed, the whites generally would have been happy to get rid of them because their numbers increased and slave owners feared they might induce the slaves to rebel.

John Taylor in his *Arator*, published in 1814, summed up the fears when he asserted that having a class of people between whites and slaves who had rights different from both constituted a great peril to the nation because of the "excitement to insurrection with which it perpetually goads the slaves, the channels for communication it affords, and the reservoir for recruits it provides." It was, he said "this very policy, which first doomed the whites, and then the mulattoes themselves" in the bloody rebellion in Haiti. "The only remedy is to get rid of it." His solution was to remove them to unsettled lands of the west. He also wrote that the situation of the free class of persons of color was "calculated to force it into every species of vice. Cut off from most of the rights of citizens, and from all the allowances of slaves, it is driven into every species of crime for subsistence; and destined to a life of idleness, anxiety and guilt." [39]

A petition to the General Assembly in 1831 signed by seventeen citizens of Washington County including David Campbell, Francis Smith, and Andrew Russell stated much the same:

> The time has arrived when it is not only proper but has become the imperious duty of the General Assembly to require the removal from the Commonwealth of the free people of colour except such as have been emancipated for making known insurrections or attempts at insurrections. These people may not be more prone to engage in insurrectionary movements than the slaves, but they are generally a great nuisance in our society and their presence makes the slaves more discontented.

Furthermore, they proclaimed "it is the duty of your honorable body to make provision for a gradual reduction of the number of slaves in the Commonwealth by purchase and removal out of the limits of the United States."[40]

In 1793, two years after the slave revolt broke out in Haiti, the Virginia General Assembly required FPCs to register with the county where the clerk recorded their age, name, color, status, who had freed them, and where they had been freed. They received a certificate, which was supposed to be renewed every

37. Eleanor Grasselli, Dale Elaine Anderson Douthit, and Audrey Ola Anderson Jones, "The Family of Landon Boyd," HSWCV *Bulletin*, Series II, No. 30 (2013), 5–8; "Jefferson Davis's Imprisonment," http://encyclopediavirginia.org/Jerrerson_Davis s Imprisonment.

38. S. F. Hurt swore on April 18, 1941, that the statement of Campbell was true. VF, African American People, HSWCV.

39. Taylor, *Arator*, 40–41. All indications are that the free people of color had very difficult lives and few opportunities.

40. Petition to General Assembly, December 12, 1831, 198/250/71.

three (later five) years, and without it in their possession, they could be jailed. In addition, freed persons were forbidden to move into Virginia from another state and if they tried, they were sent back to their place of origin.[41] And if ex-slaves moved to another county in Virginia, the magistrates there could arrest them if they could not prove they had work. Otherwise they could be treated as vagrants and had to leave that county.[42]

Free Persons of Color in Washington County Censuses, 1810–1860

1810	127
1820	153
1830	261
1849	212
1850	112
1860	249

A law in 1832 provided that FPCs who had been convicted of a crime that previously required two years of jail were to be whipped and then sold as slaves outside the United States. Other acts followed which banished FPCs for beating a white person, denied them reentry into the state if they went elsewhere to be educated, and prevented them from running an ordinary or tavern. Also, they could not meet at any school house, church, meeting house, or other place to teach reading and writing either in the day or the night, and any white person attempting to instruct them could be fined and jailed. Finally, their situation became so precarious that they needed protection, and in 1861 women age eighteen and men twenty-one or more could choose a master and voluntarily return to slavery.[43]

The Minute Books of the Washington County Court from 1840–1860 show that only six men freed sixteen slaves with Robertson Gannaway, a free person of color, freeing eleven of his relatives, one being his wife, Maria Waterford, with the rest being their children or Waterford's by a previous union. Of the sixteen freed people, five registered with the county: David Byrd (freed by the will of David Campbell), Solomon (freed by Jane Montgomery and Adam M. Dunn), Henry Waterford, and Maria Waterford (freed by Gannaway), and John Weeks (freed by Jacob and Richard Lynch).

In addition to Gannaway who sought to keep his family together, Rosanna Hill who had achieved her own freedom was concerned about other members of her family still in bondage. Samuel W. Montgomery had purchased one of her sons, Jarrett, but he ran away. After Jarrett's capture, Montgomery wanted to sell him because he feared that he might run away again, especially because he had very fair skin and could pass for a white person and might be able to escape to free territory without raising suspicion. Hill wanted Adam Hickman to buy him since he already owned some of her family, was a "good master," and Jarrett would not fall into the hands of "some one who would take him off." Hickman was "unwilling to make the risque of making purchase without a sufficient guarantee and indemnity against his loss." Therefore, the mother agreed to make a deed of trust with Hickman for three of her slaves, Caroline, Thomas, and Lucy Dibose serving as security. She was to keep the three and pay taxes on them, but should Jarrett run away, Hickman could sell them.[44] This case presents the interesting situation of a former slave owning slaves while her children remained slaves of others. Jarrett apparently did not run away again because he appears in the 1870 and 1880 census reports. In 1870, he was listed as being fifty years old which means he probably was about twenty-seven when the deed of trust was made

The county records do not mention all the manumissions of people, because seventeen people were charged with not leaving the state as required or requested to stay in the county, but there are no records of their being freed unless it happened in other counties. Five of these were surnamed Hill with four of them requesting to stay in the county on the same day in 1852, and four with the name Gordan applied on the same day in 1840. The Gordans were allowed to stay while the Hills had their cases discharged. In addition to those two families, John Weaks, who witnesses swore was good, peaceable, industrious, and had

41. *Virginia Code of 1849*, chapter 107.

42. Virginia followed English law which showed great antipathy toward vagrants. Their children were taken and put out for apprenticeships and the men returned to their previous place of residence where they could be treated and whipped as runaways, fined, placed in jail and then hired out until they could pay their fine. Hening, *Statutes*, II, 298, VI, 29, XII, 577.

43. Virginia, *Code of 1860*, Chapter 103; Guild, *Black Laws*, 120–122.

44. WC Deed Book 18, September 20, 1847.

no vices, was allowed to remain in the county; however, the court decided that three people should be sold back into slavery because they had not left the state and rejected the petitions of three others which possibly means they suffered the same fate. The minutes do not say what happened to two other individuals.

Freed people such as these faced a very difficult situation because Virginia law required them to leave the Old Dominion, but other slave states would not allow them entrance. Therefore, the only option was Ohio which then shared a border with Virginia. In addition, they had to go to a place that was totally unknown to them without friends or relatives and possibly with no money unless the person who freed them providing them with funds.

Although a law required free people of color to register every five years, some never did and others waited several years. A few registered a second time in 1853 only because they needed their papers to leave the country. For those, the court recognized their children as being free and named them in the minutes. The justices probably knew who the free people of color were and did not bother to make them register.

In the twenty year period of 1840–1860, at least nineteen of these people had encounters with the law. The prosecutor declined to prosecute nine while in three cases the only records consist of constables receiving pay for their arrests and for providing witnesses. Possibly the attorney for the commonwealth did not choose to prosecute those cases. Three others were found not guilty, one for charge of burglary, one for the selling ardent spirits without a license, and the other for stealing a bay mare. Two men Campbell and Benjamin Smith faced charges of raping a white woman, and George Smith for raping a slave girl by the name of Grace. The justices referred the cases to the circuit court which had separate trials for Campbell and Benjamin Smith while there is no further record of George Smith. The jury in the case against Campbell Smith apparently weighed the evidence carefully because they had to meet a number of times before deciding on a sentence of death by hanging. Summers had access to a newspaper account, now missing, that related the hanging of Campbell Smith on October 23, 1852, which took place at noon before a large crowd the journal estimated to be three or four thousand people. At the execution, Methodist minister, George R. Barr, provided a short religious service at which the convicted individual stated that he was a religious man but had done the crime under the influence of alcohol and would have delivered the same sentence on another man who might have committed such an offence. The executioner then placed a noose around his neck while he was standing on a wagon. When the horse pulled the wagon forward, he struggled for some time as he strangled to death.[45] The jury took longer to decide on the guilt of Benjamin Smith. The case began on September 1, 1852, but they could not agree on his guilt. They then reconvened on September 2, 3, 29, and June 8, 1853, and finally decided that he was to be hanged on August 12 of that year.[46]

Emigrants to Liberia

Some religious groups, especially the Quakers, wanted to end slavery while authorities in slave owning states wanted to drive free people of color from their borders. That raised the question of what to do with them. Some people wanted to send them to the West, but that found few supporters because of the complications that might arise as the United States expanded into that area.

Sending them to Africa had more support among both groups, an idea that had been discussed even in colonial times. During the American Revolution a number of slaves had sought refuge with the British army and subsequently settled in Nova Scotia. In 1787, the harsh winters there drove about 1,200 of them to Sierra Leone in West Africa. Although some American leaders saw Sierra Leone as a possible outlet after it became a British colony in 1792, troubles arose there, and attention shifted to the area that became Liberia, just to the south of Sierra Leone.

The American Colonization Society was created in 1816 with the aim of transplanting the free people of color to Africa, but generations had passed since their ancestors arrived in Virginia and many of them

45. WC Court Minutes, June 28, 1852, Summers, *Southwest Virginia*, 505–506. As was the practice, the attorney received pay of $25 for defending Campbell and Benjamin Smith.

46. WC Law Order Book C, 355, 356, 358, 360, 362, 381, 382, 384, 385, 405. No newspapers for that time are known to have survived.

had more European than African blood. The 2,887 who arrived in Liberia from 1831 to 1843 found it a hard place with 42% dying from diseases and other problems while another 12% abandoned the colony. In 1847, Liberia declared its independence after which more Americans arrived with one-third coming from Virginia; by 1867, the ACS had assisted more than 13,000 on the long journey where they formed a three layered society with the light skinned people at the top, darker ones and Jamaicans in the middle, and native Africans at the bottom.[47]

At least forty-two individuals from Washington County made the voyage to Liberia. Three of them arrived in 1842 before independence while the others arrived in 1853. The three early arrivals, Lucinda, Mary, and Henry Preston (mother, daughter, and grandson) had been freed by John Preston. They sailed to Monrovia from Norfolk on the ship Maripose and arrived on August 21, 1842 with a group that came mostly from East Tennessee. On September 27, 1842, a little more than a month after their arrival, Mary Preston wrote back to her former master and mistress telling them that the ship had not encountered storms and the only time the decks got wet was when it rained. The voyage was an easy one and only a few of the approximately 240 people onboard suffered from seasickness. Lucinda said she had not felt better in years. Unfortunately that did not remain the case as a report indicated that she had become ill with fever and died the following year. Mary remarked about the oranges, lemons, a fruit that they called "jawerjop" which was about the size of a watermelon, and another that she referred to as "air-root." Henry had recovered from a fever and had "a fine patch of pertaters." They stayed in a large house with a family where Mary expected to remain for six months. She sent warm regards to James Clark, Miss Lizebeth, Miss White, and Miss Eland, but said she never wanted to meet James Walter again. Furthermore, she wanted Miss Lizebeth to kiss John and Charles and sent her regards to aunt Farow, Robert Nody, Andy, Moses, James, and Esther, as well as John, George and Charles. She closed the letter by bidding "fairwell" to her master and Mistress and hoped to meet them both in heaven.[48] This letter not only tells of her new life in Liberia but displays her warm feelings for both the whites and slaves, except James Walter. In addition, it showed that she could read and write although her spelling was imperfect. Her son also could "spell" according to the list of Virginia Emigrants to Liberia.

Like the Prestons, others travelled mostly as families on the ship Banshee which departed on November 1, 1853. All were freeborn except Elsey May Willoughby and William Willoughby who had been freed by a Mrs. Keywood's will in 1853,[49] and Botetourt Boyer, whose wife Delilah had purchased him. She had been emancipated by Robert Craig in 1852; however, she is not on the ship's manifest. A number registered with county officials for the first time in 1853 and three of them re-registered because they needed proper papers to travel to the port from which they departed, probably Norfolk. Two of the people, Andrew Dotton and James Dunson appeared in the 1850 census. Eight of the others from Washington County can be found on tax rolls, and all were mentioned in the county court minutes with the exception of James Dunson and Viney Watson.

Free People of Color Who Went to Liberia from Washington County[50]

Name	Age	Regis.	Tax Rolls
Boyer, Botetourt	58	1853	
Dotton, Andrew	36	1848, 1853	
Dotton, David H.	2		
Dotton, Eliza Jane	25	1853	
Dotton, Jane	25	1853	1852
Dotton, John W.	5		
Dotton, Sarah	20	1853	1852, 1853
Dotton, Sara B.	2		
Dotton, Susan C.	7		
Dotton, William	38	1846, 1853	1851, 1852
Dunson, Austin	18	1853	1852
Dunson, Earl B	7		

47. Eric Burin, *Slavery and the Peculiar Solution: A History of the American Colonization Society* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005), 6–30, 141–142, 171; Marie Tyler-McGraw, *An African Republic: Black and White Virginians in the Making of Liberia* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2007), 4–8, 127–128.

48. "A Letter from Mary Preston, a Freed Slave," *HSWCV Bulletin*, Ser. II, Nr. 36 (1999), 27–28. No record of the Preston slaves before their departure could be found.

49. The will of Mrs. Keywood could not be found in Washington County records.

50. Emigrants to Liberia, http://ccharity.com; Virginia Emigrants to Liberia, http://www.vcdh.edu/liberia.

Dunson, James	64		1851, 1852
Dunson, Jane Amanda	14	1853	
Dunson, Sally	41	1850, 1853	1851, 1852
Fields, Dabney	24		1851
Preston, Henry	18		
Preston, Lucinda	55		
Preston, Mary	35		
Watson, Abram B.	9		
Watson, Esther	7		
Watson, Margaret Ann	.33		
Watson, Nancy	11		
Watson, Sally	6		
Watson, Sarah Louise	13	1853	
Watson, Susan	30	1853	
Watson, Susan	2		
Watson, Thomas	49	1853	
Watson, Thomas	4		
Watson, Viney	25		1851, 1852
Watson, William	2		
Willoughby, Ann	22	1853	1851, 1852, 1853
Willoughby, Catherine	24		1851, 1853
Willoughby, Charles	6		
Willoughby, David	11		
Willoughby, Elizabeth	17		
Willoughby, Elsey	10		
Willoughby, Elsey Ann	2		
Willoughby, Mary	12		
Willoughby, Thomas	22	1853	
Willoughby William	66	1853	
Willoughby, William F.	2		

Among other things, this list reveals that the free persons of color did not always pay personal property taxes as they were obligated, and the county seemed to ignore it. Apparently, if people did not have money, there was not much that could be done.

Apprenticeships for Free People of Color

The minute books for Washington County for the years 1840–1860 show that forty-one free persons of color, eleven females and thirty males, were apprenticed to thirty-three masters and two mistresses. Two of them had new masters appointed before they completed their tenure as servants. While nine of the individuals received training to be a farmer, most became house servants or a person with a trade which would have enabled them eventually to earn a livable income. Most of the mothers of apprenticed children were single.

FPC Apprentices. 1840–1860

Profession	Number	Ages If Given
Blacksmith	4	15
Brick Mason & Plasterer	1	
Carpentry	1	
Cook & Washer	1	
Farmer	9	4, 4, 20
Hostler & House Servant	1	
House Servant	8	3, 6, 9, 10, 14, 16
Mantua (Dress) Maker	1	12
Some Trade	12	4, 5, 8, 9, 15, 16
Tanner	1	
Wagon Maker	1	
Weaver	1	

Professions of Free Persons of Color, 1860

The 1860 census revealed that ninety-four free persons of color, forty-three women and fifty-three men, had work of some type. More women were listed as housekeepers than any other profession, but the census does not make clear if that meant maintaining their home or working as a servant in a white household. More men were listed as day laborers than other professions. As for their skin color, seventy were classified as mulattos, twenty-three as blacks, and one as Indian. The last can be questioned as people who claimed to be Native Americans had African blood instead. Most often they had considerably more European ancestry than African, but since they could not quite pass for Caucasian, they claimed to be Indians. Some FPCs could pass for whites, and if they got a chance, moved away. A good example of people who came to believe they had no African blood, but had Portuguese ancestors were the Melungeons in Southwest Virginia and Tennessee. Scientists, however, have proven by DNA testing that they were a mixture of sub-Sahara African men and northern European women who probably formed unions in the 1660s in eastern Virginia.[51]

51. Robert J. Estes, Jack H. Goin, Penny Ferguson, and Janet Lewis Crain, "Melungeons, A Multiethnic Population," *Journal of Genetic Genealogy* VII, (Fall, 2011); *Washington Post*, May 24, 2012.

THE WORK OF FPCs

1860 CENSUS	NUMBER	AGE RANGE
Attends Engines	1	60
Barber	2	18, 36
Barn Keeper	1	36
Blacksmith	4	19, 19, 21, 68
Carriage Driver	1	46
Chambermaid	2	25, 25
Confectioner	1	39
Cook	1	65
Cooper	1	71
Day Laborer	23	14–60
Farm Laborer	8	16, 26, 36, 40, 42, 50, 58, 68
Farmer	2	33, 43
Field Hand	1	35
Housekeeper	27	18–65
House Servant	1	33
House Work	1	21
Shoemaker	2	18, 58
Spinster	2	18, 19
Stone Mason	3	21, 23, 36
Washer	9	16–27
Wood Carpenter	1	37

EXAMPLES OF FREE PERSONS OF COLOR

A STUDY OF A NUMBER of free men of color showed that some of them achieved a measure of success.[52] Among them were John Brody, Sr., Steven Beaty, John Freeman, Neptune Peters, and Fincastle and Theodore Sterrett.

After Francis Preston manumitted John Brody in 1793, the freedman became a farmer but ran into economic difficulty as did many white persons as seen in the large number of cases that appeared before the county court. Neither he nor his son John Brody, Jr. owned the land they worked although the son owned more personal property. Stephen Beaty, another FPC, acquired fifty acres of land on Laurel Fork as of 1822, but by 1846 he had lost it and was held in jail as a lunatic. John (or Jack) Freeman received two tracts of land totaling fifty acres from the state in payment for some service. His will indicated that he seemed to do well as a small farmer; however, he had seven children who were slaves to owners in the area. Neptune Peters purchased 300 acres of land on Laurel Fork Road and in 1820, ten acres on Wolf Creek. He lived in Knoxville, Tennessee from 1829–1832, but after that returned to Washington County. Although he had to put up a bond in 1820 to assure that he kept the peace, he seems to have otherwise fared well.

The best documented free person of color was Fincastle Sterrett, usually known as Fin, who was born about 1780. At some point, he became one of the slaves of William King and became his favorite because of his good conduct, industry and integrity and was ultimately entrusted by King with the care or large amounts of money and property. "This confidence was never violated."[53] After King died in 1808, Sterrett became the property of Charles S. Carson who provided for his freedom in late 1811, and the following year the legislature passed a law that allowed him to remain in the state.[54] Sterrett then started to purchase land that was being sold for non-payment of taxes. He simply had to pay the taxes and the land was his. In October 1815, he bought 500 acres and four town lots. Two years later he owned six town lots and 289 acres in the county.

Sterrett opened a house of entertainment on two of his lots on Main Street in 1819.

> There the plain people took their meals and lodged, and there the hard drinkers congregated. Fin played the "fiddle" and many uproarious jig dances were performed under the inspiration of Fin's "Fisher's Hornpipe" and similar dance music. Tact and management were exercised by Fin, and his house was never regarded as a nuisance, and so conservative and respectful was his conduct that he kept the esteem of the better class of the citizens. The white man's inn was kept by a Mr. Saul [Soule]."[55]

About the same time that he opened the tavern Sterrett sold his land in the country. He died in November 1832 and his will provided for the settlement of any debts, the sale of his property, some assistance for his sister's children in Kentucky, and the purchase of his son, Theodore, who was still a slave. In 1837, the administrator of Fin's will, John H. Fulton,

52. Michael J. Puglisi, "The Forgotten Population: The Free Black Community in Washington County, 1800–1850," *HSWCV Bulletin*, Ser. II, Nr. 38 (2001), 18–42

53. Petition to General Assembly, 198/254/5, December 5, 1834.

54. Guild, *Black Laws*, 97.

55. Preston, *Reminiscences*, 95–96. "Fisher's Hornpipe" dates back at least to 18th century England.

used the proceeds from the sale of his real and person property to purchase the freedom of Theodore from Thomas Findlay who had bought the tavern. Findlay stated that he "was induced to part with him at a very moderate price (about $700) only in consideration of his extraordinary merit, and the extreme anxiety of his Father in his life-time . . . that he should be emancipated." Findlay also said that he had once been offered $1,500 for young Sterrett and would not have sold him for less than $3,000. The county court allowed Sterrett to remain in the county where he worked as a barber, although a petition to the General Assembly for that purpose was rejected despite the fact that eighty-six citizens signed it.[56]

§

Overall, the slaves and free people of color in Washington County do not appear to have had lives as desperate and tortured as those in the Deep South. Most seem to have made the best they could of their situations.

While there is no account of the beatings of slaves by owners in Washington County, Joseph Doddridge, who lived in Maryland as a youth, told horrific stories of the treatment of slaves, servants, and convicts – who could serve their sentences in private homes. The residents of the place where he lived held many slaves and convicts who received torture almost daily. He witnessed a convict servant who had been accused of some trivial offence being tied with his hands over his head to a limb of a tree. First he was beaten by hickory sticks on his back in rapid strokes with the full strength of the master until he received at least fifty strokes with the result that his back was a bloody mess. The convict then confessed to what he had been accused, no doubt hoping to end the torture, but the master was not finished because he said the man had put him to the trouble of beating him. The man's pants were then removed and his back side was then beaten until it was raw and bleeding after which his wounds were washed with salty water. On another occasion, two wagoners who caught a man stealing took turns beating him seeing who could make the deepest cuts. The beating continued for hours with the result that the victim was near death and the wagoners drunk. At other times, men were tied up and neighbors took turns beating them. One man gave a number of lashes and stopped to have a swig of rum. The victim was then allowed "to cool" for a while after which other men took turns beating him. On some occasions the victim would receive a certain number of lashes over several days a process known as "ticking up the old scabs." Women servants and slaves received beatings as well. Passing through a yard one cold winter day, Doddridge saw a white woman stripped naked who received a beating with a hickory stick. When the master finished with her, he called out a black slave who received the same punishment. Numerous stripes showed she had previously received many beatings.[57]

While one cannot know if such torture happened in Washington County, people of that era firmly believed in corporal punishment for servants, slaves, children, criminals, and, no doubt, wives. Judging by the events that Doddridge witnessed in Maryland, not only masters but neighbors enjoyed cruel torture which they accompanied with alcohol until they reached the point of drunkenness.

56. Petition to General Assembly, 198/2514, November 24, December 5, 1834; Puglisi, "The Forgotten Population;" Gordon Aronhime, "Slavery on the Upper Holston," *HSWCV Bulletin*, Ser. II, Nr. 18 (1981), 3–15. At times, Aronhime inferred too much from the facts that he had available.

57. Doddridge, *Notes*, 175–180.

12

Civil War

During the Civil War (1861–1865), a large number of men from Washington County marched off to take part in the conflict. Some of the early volunteers saw it as a gallant adventure and were unmindful of death, wounds, disease or imprisonment. After the initial enthusiasm, more reluctant warriors were drafted into service. As the war continued, their military units were greatly reduced in number, and when the war ended few remained. In their absence, farms and businesses often were ruined. Many families became destitute and were on the verge of starvation by 1863. In addition, great numbers of confederate troops gathered in the county, especially in 1863, consuming so much food and fodder that civilians considered them as occupiers who created more problems than an invading federal army might have done. Constant fears of invasion and two incursions in 1863 kept people on edge. Meanwhile the county court expended all the funds it could raise to try to feed the families of the destitute. Then in 1864, federal troops swept through the county and burned Bristol, Abingdon, and Glade Spring. For Washington County, the war brought four years of great misery.

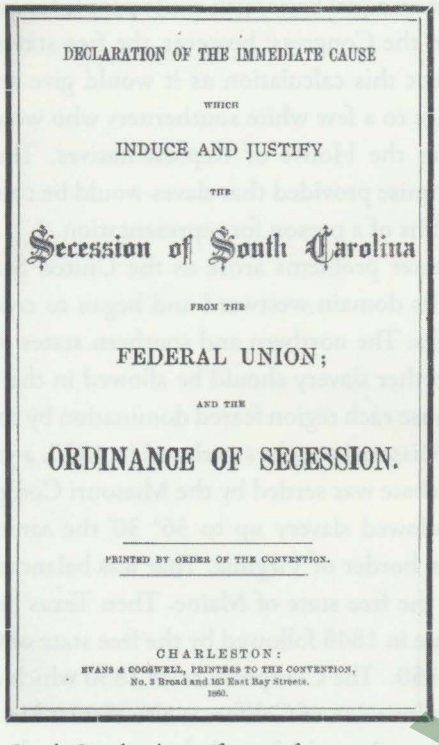
The Road to War

While some have argued that disputes over states' rights caused the Civil War, virtually all professional historians disagree, blaming long-standing clashes over slavery for the conflict. Proponents of states' rights have contended that the union resulted from a compact among the states, and thus a state could reject legislation of the national government or withdraw from the union if it wished. That may have been true for the failed confederation, but the Constitution of 1787 sought to correct such possibilities. The Preamble states: "We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union…do ordain and establish this Constitution." Thus, the constitution derived from the people rather than a contract by states, something that three Supreme Court cases affirmed before the Civil War—Chisholm v. Georgia in 1793,[1] Martin v. Hunter's Lessee in 1816,[2] and McCulloch v. Maryland in 1819.[3] The claim that states could ignore or override federal legislation or take unilateral action to break the supposed contract, as South Carolina did, was a means to an end, that end being to maintain and expand slavery.

The Confederates claimed in 1860–1861 that the Declaration of Independence contained a justification for breaking apart; however, that document says "that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes." Such action should occur only after "a long train of abuses and usurpations" which evince "a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism."

The Convention in South Carolina which adopted the Ordinance of Secession makes it perfectly clear that the issue was slavery, and only slavery, rather than any other concern. Their *Declaration of the Immediate Causes Which Induce and Justify the Secession of South Carolina from the Federal Union* first argues that the federal union was a compact among states and then

1. 2 US (2 Dall.) 419.
2. 14 US (1 Wheat.), 304.
3. 17 US (4 Wheat.) 316.



DECLARATION OF THE IMMEDIATE CAUSE

WHICH

INDUCE AND JUSTIFY

THE

Secession of South Carolina

FROM THE

FEDERAL UNION;

AND THE

ORDINANCE OF SECESSION.

PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE CONVENTION.

CHARLESTON:
EVANS & COGSWELL, PRINTERS TO THE CONVENTION,
No. 2 Broad and 103 East Bay Streets.
1860.

South Carolina's justification for secession.

proclaims, among other things, that slaves could not become free by escaping to free territory,[4] that the "right of property in slaves" was recognized by the Constitution, "that fifteen of the states had been destructive of the slave holding states," and that Lincoln was hostile to slavery. The secessionists also claimed that the non-slave states had "encouraged and assisted thousands of our slaves to leave their homes; and those who remain, have been incited by emissaries, books and pictures to servile insurrection" and some of the states had elevated "to citizenship, persons [African Americans] who, by the supreme law of the land, are incapable of becoming citizens,[5] and their votes have been used to inaugurate a new policy hostile to the South and destructive of its beliefs and safety."[6]

The Joint Resolutions of the General Assembly of Alabama also speaks of slavery and the election of Lincoln.[7] The same is true for the Mississippi Resolution on Secession,[8] while the General Assembly of Virginia resolved:

> That if all efforts to reconcile the unhappy differences existing between the two sections of the country shall prove to be abortive, then, in the opinion of the General Assembly, every consideration of honor and interest demands that Virginia shall unite her destiny with the slave-holding States of the South.[9]

The evidence in these documents belies the claim that the Civil War was fought over any issue but slavery.

While defenders of the Confederacy generally assert that only a few soldiers, usually 10% or less, owned slaves; this figure is misleading because most soldiers were too young to own farms, businesses, or slaves, although many of their families did. According to the 1860 census in Mississippi, 49% of families held slaves; South Carolina, 46%, Georgia, 37%, Alabama, 35%, Florida, 34%, Louisiana, 29%, Texas, 28%, North Carolina, 28%; and Virginia, 26%. The Virginia figure included present-day West Virginia which had few slaves, strong economic ties with the northern industrial economy, and seceded from the Old Dominion.[10] Joseph T. Glatthaar in his statistical study of the Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia found that 62.5% of the soldiers were not married and 37.2% either owned slaves or came from slave holding families.[11] Therefore, the claim that only 10% or fewer of the soldiers were involved in slavery is untenable. In addition, most volunteers for the armed forces in any era would

4. This refers to the Fugitive Slave Law.

5. This refers to the Dred Scott Decision.

6. *Journal of the Convention of the People of South Carolina Held in 1860, 1861 and* 1862 (Columbia: 1862), 461–466; *Declaration of the Immediate Causes Which Induce and Justify the Secession of South Carolina from the Federal Union; and the Ordinance of Secession* (Charleston: 1860).

7. *The History and Debates of the Convention of the People of Alabama* (Montgomery: 1861), 9–10; http://civilwarcauses.org/bamares.htm.

8. *Laws of the State of Mississippi Passed at a Called Session of the Mississippi Legislature, Held in the City of Jackson, November, 1860,* 43–45; http://civilwarcauses.org/missres.htm.

9. Joint Resolution Concerning the Position of Virginia in the Event of the Dissolution of the Union, January 21, 1861, *Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Virginia, Passed in 1861,* 333; *Official Records,* Ser. IV, Vol. 1, 77; http://civilwarcauses.org/vares.htm.

10. http://civilwarcauses.org/stat.htm. Some people seem to be of two minds on this subject. Since slaves were a measure of wealth, they boast about how many slaves their ancestors owned, but also claim that slavery was not the cause of the war.

11. Joseph T. Glatthaar, *Soldiering in the Army of Northern Virginia: A Statistical Portrait of the Troops Who Served Under Robert E. Lee* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2011), 127, 155.

not own more than a minimal amount of property. Once the draft was instituted in April, 1862, men were conscripted regardless of what they believed or owned.

But why did other men volunteer to fight during the first year of the war? J. D. G. DeBow, one of the South's most prominent proponents of slavery, partly answered that in 1860. He pointed out that those not holding slaves benefitted economically because of the cheapness of their labor. Should slavery be ended, the southern economy would collapse. Furthermore, most white Southerners hoped to own slaves one day, and once they built up some wealth, they began to acquire them. "The universal disposition is to purchase" as one's status was determined by the number of slaves he owned more than the acreage of his land.[12] Other motivations include the notion of white racial superiority, the Southerners' sense of honor, their belief that defeat would degrade them to the status of slaves, the achievement of manhood, the defense of their homeland, the desire for adventure, the wish to travel, and the pay of $11 per month.[13]

In addition, many faced pressure from friends, families, and communities, the likes of Miss Lizzie Hardin, a teacher at Martha Washington College, who delivered a speech upon the presentation of a flag to the Washington Mounted Rifles in mid-April 1861, exhorting them with a phrase of the Greco-Roman writer Plutarch (c. 46–120 AD) quoting Spartan women who told their men to "return with their shields or upon them." The expression results from the large shields used by the Spartans for full-body protection as well as for litters for the dead. She also used a phrase from Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*: "The coward dies a thousand deaths, the brave man dies but one!" Her audience was urged to think of their mothers, sisters, and wives that they had left behind, and remember "tis for them you draw the sword."[14]

Slavery had bedeviled the United States from the colonial period onward. When the constitution of 1787 was being written, southern states wanted to count slaves on an equal basis with white people for representation in the Congress; however, the free states would not accept this calculation as it would give an unfair advantage to a few white southerners who would then dominate the House of Representatives. The Great Compromise provided that slaves would be counted as three-fifths of a person for representation.

Greater problems arose as the United States extended its domain westward and began to create new territories. The northern and southern states disputed over whether slavery should be allowed in the new areas because each region feared domination by the other. When Missouri sought statehood in 1820, a great national debate was settled by the Missouri Compromise which allowed slavery up to 36° 30' the same as the southern border of Virginia. That was balanced by admitting the free state of Maine. Then Texas became a slave state in 1845 followed by the free state of California in 1850. The Compromise of 1850 which allowed for the admission of California also resulted in the Fugitive Slave Act which said that runaway slaves who reached free territory could be pursued and returned to their slave masters.

Tensions developed again in 1854 when the Kansas-Nebraska Act allowed those territories to decide for themselves whether they would be free or slave. This overthrew the Missouri Compromise. The act also brought about the creation of the Republican Party whose goal was to stop the spread of slavery.

Then, in 1857, the Supreme Court issued the Dred Scott Decision. Scott, born a slave in Virginia, had lived with his master in the free state of Wisconsin. When he was taken to Missouri, he sued to obtain his freedom because he had lived in a free state, but the court ruled that all persons of African descent, even if free, were not citizens and could not claim any of the rights and privileges guaranteed by the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution.

The following year Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas debated this issue in their contest for a US senate seat in Illinois. In his speeches, Lincoln repeatedly stated that "a house divided could not stand" and that people with African blood were entitled to the same rights of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" as whites. Lincoln published his discourses

12. J. D. G. DeBow, *The Interest in Slavery of the Southern Non-Slaveholder* (Charleston: 1860).

13. Joseph T. Glatthaar, *General Lee's Army: From Victory to Collapse* (New York: Free Press, 1998), 28–41.

14. Plutarch, *Morals*, 241, Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, Act 2, Scene 2. Both are slightly misquoted. Her speech was printed in the *Abingdon Virginian*, April 26, 1861 and reprinted in "Reunion of Company D, First Virginia Cavalry, Confederate States Army, Held at Abingdon, Virginia, July 4, 1892." *Southern Historical Papers*, 20 (1892), 39–48.

paving the way for his nomination for president by the Republican Party in 1860.

Then, on October 16, 1859, John Brown, an abolitionist, along with some supporters made a raid on the US arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, intending to arm the local slaves for a general uprising; however, federal troops led by Col. Robert E. Lee and Lt. J. E. B. Stuart ended the insurrection.

In the 1860 presidential election, Democrats were split over the question of slavery which allowed Lincoln to be elected by only northern states. Although slave states feared he would abolish slavery, at the time Lincoln believed that each state should make its own decision. Even before his inauguration in March, 1861, South Carolina proclaimed that it had seceded and Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, and Louisiana joined with the Palmetto State to form the Confederate States of America. Yet, Lincoln said in his First Inaugural Address: "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so." But the states of the Deep South had not waited to hear his speech. The Civil War is considered to have begun on April 12, 1861, when South Carolina forces fired on the federal fort of Ft. Sumter in Charleston Harbor.

Secession in Virginia

Union sentiment was strong in Virginia largely because its favorite sons, Washington, Jefferson, and Madison had led in the creation of the republic, and the Commonwealth hesitated to go to war, hoping that, as before, a compromise could be reached. In December, 1860, the state supported the Crittenden Compromise which would have reinstated the 36° 30′ line that had been a part of the Missouri Compromise, but the Republicans would not agree to any extension of slavery and the effort failed. Further attempts were made to secure peace and work out some arrangement at a state constitution conference and at a Peace Conference in Washington.

In January, 1861, the state legislature called for the election of delegates on February 4th to a convention to meet on February 13th in Richmond to decide what action to take. Voters in Washington County could vote for two delegates and whether the decision made by the convention would need to be ratified by the voters in a second ballot.[15] In Washington County, the candidates for union were John A. Campbell and Robert E. Grant while William Y. C. White, and John B. Floyd, recently US Secretary of War, favored secession. In the election, each voter could choose two people which resulted in Campbell receiving 1,555 votes; Grant, 1,374; White, 622; and Floyd, 529. Clearly the voters in the county favored union as White's and Floyd's combined vote of 1,151 was less that of either Campbell or Grant. As for whether there should be a second vote to accept or reject the decision of the convention, the vote was 1,551 (69%) for and 476 against. By a considerable margin, the voters did not want to join the secessionists at that time, certainly not without having a voice in the matter.[16]

Fewer than 20% of those voting in Virginia favored secession. When the 152 delegates met in Richmond, the supporters of secession came mostly from the Tidewater and Piedmont areas while the western part of the state favored union. The members of the convention elected John Janney, a Unionist from Loudoun County as president whose first important act was to appoint a Federal Relations Committee to which all motions would be forwarded. The committee consisted of twenty-one members, four of whom were secessionists, ten moderates, and seven unionists. The committee delayed taking any action until Lincoln delivered his inaugural speech and the outcome of the Peace Commission was known.

The Peace Commission, which Virginia led in establishing, was a conference of representatives from states meeting in Washington from February 4 to 27. Former president John Tyler of Virginia presided over the meetings; however, those negotiations failed as thirteen US states did not send delegates.

Meanwhile the members of the convention talked and talked and talked with nothing being accomplished. One member complained it took "as much time to elect door-keepers . . . as the Convention of S.C. used to dissolve the Union."[17] When the proceedings were

15. *Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Virginia Passed in 1861*, Chap. 3, 24–27.

16. Summers, *Southwest Virginia*, 512–513.

17. James I. Robertson, Jr., "The Virginia State Convention of 1861," in William C. Davis and James I. Robertson, Jr. (eds.), *Virginia at War, 1861* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2005), 5.

published, they filled four thick volumes.[18] The two unionist delegates from Washington County refreshingly had little to say, but they did reflect the changing opinion in the county and the state.

About three weeks after the convention began its debates, a great many people gathered in Abingdon at the time of the country court meeting. Some secessionists stretched a rope across Main Street with the Confederate flag on it upsetting the unionists who led by, William B. Clark, demanded that "the damned rag" be removed because it was "not the flag of our fathers." He ripped it down himself. Other secessionists arrived, and it appeared there would be a brawl, but things cooled down after a while, and the incident came to an end.[19] Obviously, feelings on both sides were intense.

Not until April 4 did the convention take a vote on secession. Since sentiment had been changing in the state, the secessionists expected a victory but were shocked when ninety delegates voted for union and only forty-five for disunion. Despite the vote, the convention continued to meet and talk. But with the failure of the Peace Commission, the bombardment of Ft. Sumter and Lincoln's calling for volunteers to fight the insurrection, the convention, on April 17, acting on a motion by William Ballard Preston of Montgomery County, passed the Ordinance of Secession by a vote of eighty-eight for secession and fifty-five against. Late and absentee votes plus those who changed their vote resulted in 103 for secession and forty-six against. Lincoln's call for troops from Virginia on April 15 had forced the Old Dominion to make a choice—send troops to suppress other Southerners or join the rebellion. In either case, war would be fought on Virginia soil.

The referendum on whether to approve the actions of the convention took place on May 23th. Voters in Virginia passed the measure by a vote of 125,950 (76%) to 30,373 while the tally in Washington County was extremely lopsided with 1,906 in favor of secession (99%) and 20 against. This indicates a huge change of opinion by the residents of the county. [20] On the other hand, in the highly charged emotionalism that had developed, some voters may have been afraid to announce their choice *viva voce* and have their names recorded. Certainly fewer voters took part than in the initial ballots.

The Washington Mounted Rifles

Even before the convention had met, William W. Blackford took the lead in forming the Washington Mounted Rifles, the first of the military units in the county. The son of a diplomat and editor, he married Mary, a daughter of Wyndham Robertson, and joined with his father-in-law at the Buena Vista Plaster Co. in Washington County after serving as the resident engineer on the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad.

Blackford had not previously paid a great deal of attention to the slavery disputes. He wrote in his account of his experiences in the war:

> We read much in the papers about the excited political feeling in Kansas upon the slavery questions; and there was the usual supply of inflammatory gas exhaled from the so-called representative men, on both sides, in Congress—all of which was read by the businessmen of the country about as they read of horse races and prize fights, and with about as little idea that such folly could involve the country in war, in the one case or the other.

He further saw the prewar events as being like seeing "a half drunken crowd quarrelling in a barroom" and within an hour "cooling down when their senseless gabble ceased to attract attention" but let the "most worthless vagabond of the lot" strike a blow and a general fight would ensue. That, he saw, was what happened at Harper's Ferry. Furthermore, the "abolition fanatics had worked themselves up into the belief that the negroes had a grievance" but "they were happy and contented with their lot," a statement that many slave owners claimed to be true after the war was over despite the harsh conditions which many of the slaves and free people of color had to endure and the thousands who fled their places of servitude during and after the war.

Blackford also wrote that "after the John Brown affair, I was so firmly convinced that there might be trouble that I took active steps to raise a cavalry company in Washington County." Apparently he formed

18. George H. Reese (ed.), *Proceedings of the Virginia State Convention of 1861, February 13–May 1* (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1965).

19. Summers, *Southwest Virginia*, 513.

20. Robertson, "Virginia State Convention," 18–19; *Proceedings of the Convention*, IV, 145–146.

his company in late 1859 or early 1860 out of concern of a possible slave insurrection. "At first only a dozen or so took interest in it but during the winter of 1860–61 many more joined" his unit.

He had been "opposed to secession and voted against the secession candidate to the convention, ex-Gov. John B. Floyd." Although Lincoln was a sectional candidate, Blackford believed that he had been constitutionally elected, and Virginia should wait before it took any action. The event that changed his opinion was when Lincoln called for troops from Virginia to suppress the rebellion, and "we had to take one side or the other, then of course I was for going with the South in her mad schemes, right or wrong." Lincoln's call to arms of 75,000 resulted in men rushing to enroll in volunteer companies in Virginia. In response, Jefferson Davis made a similar call for 100,000 volunteers and was met with such enthusiasm that some units had to be turned down.[21]

One of the hundred soldiers recruited by Blackford was John Singleton Mosby who wrote that the first training of the unit was on January court day in 1861. He borrowed a horse and rode up from his home in Bristol to Abingdon. After the drill, the troops heard a speech given by ex-Gov. Floyd. Mosby had supported Stephen A. Douglas, the Northern Democrat in the 1860 election, one of a few men in the area to do so, and was not a secessionist. He was the person who took the news of secession to Floyd who remarked that it "would be the bloodiest war the world had ever seen."[22] Although he proved correct in his assessment, very few people, North or South, would have agreed with him at the time.[23]

Blackford found Abingdon in "a blaze of excitement." Instead of returning to his home near Saltville which he did not see again for four years, he and his unit prepared to march off to war. His wife came down from Saltville to Abingdon where they stayed at the Meadows. Though Blackford had formed the unit, he wanted William E. Jones to lead it. Jones was from Glade Spring, had attended Emory and Henry College, graduated from the US Military Academy at West Point in 1848, and had served as a cavalryman in the West until 1857 when he resigned to become a farmer. "Grumble" Jones, as he was known because of his harsh treatment, vulgarity, and constant berating of people, first went to Richmond in hopes of obtaining a higher rank, but when that did not happen, he agreed to command the company with the usual rank of captain while Blackford served as a lieutenant.[24]

The Mounted Rifles went into camp in a half-finished building at Martha Washington College where they slept on straw pallets. After a few days, the Mounted Rifles moved their campground and stayed in plank sheds.[25] When they were ordered to go to Richmond in July, 1861,

21. W. W. Blackford, *War Years with Jeb Stuart* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946), 13–14.

22. John Singleton Mosby, *Memoirs* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1959), 1–18.

23. Mosby was born in Albemarle County and attended Hampden-Sydney College and the University of Virginia where he became involved in an altercation and shot another man. His defense attorney impressed him and he began to study law while serving his one year sentence in jail. He and his new wife moved to Bristol in 1857. He enlisted as a private, but J. E. B. Stuart promoted him to the rank of first lieutenant. He later became a colonel and led his Partisan Rangers. Because of his daring raids and quick disappearances, he became known as the Gray Ghost. In September, 1864, union forces captured and executed seven member of his unit. With authorization from Robert E. Lee, Mosby ordered the execution of an equal number of federal prisoners who were forced to draw numbers. Three were hanged, two shot but survived, and two escaped. After the war ended, he refused to surrender and a price was placed on his head, but U. S. Grant pardoned him. He later became a Republican. For the executions, see William E. Boyle, "Under the Black Flag: Execution and Retaliation in Mosby's Confederacy," *Military Law Review*, 144 (1948), 148–163. For his military career, see his *Memoirs* and Michael K. Shaffer, *Washington County, Virginia, in the Civil War* (Charleston: History Press, 2012), 29–31.

24. Blackford, *War Years*, 11–15. Jones served under J. E. B. Stuart in the Shenandoah Valley where he was promoted to the rank of brigadier general. He constantly argued with other army officers, especially Stuart, his superior, over various issues such as rank. Matters came to the attention of the confederate Secretary of War who wrote to Gen. Lee "The well-ascertained sentiment of the people in the Valley of Virginia, concurring with the best judgment I can form in relations to the operations of Gen. W. E. Jones in that region constrains me to request that he may be relieved from his command there." Lee complied with the directive although he said "I beg leave to say, in justice to Gen. Jones, that I do not know that under the circumstances, with his force and that opposed to him, any one would have done better." Jones was reassigned to the Department of Southwestern Virginia and East Tennessee. Seddon to Lee, February 26, 1863, Lee to Seddon, March 4, 1863, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. 25, Part 2, 641, 654. He later again served in the Shenandoah Valley but was killed in the Battle of Piedmont on June 5, 1864. Dobbie Edward Lambert, *Grumble: The W. E. Jones Brigade, 1863–1864* (Wahiawa, HI: 1992); Shaffer, *Washington County*, 27–36.

25. Mosby, *Memoirs*, 22–23.

Jones determined that the unit would ride on their horses while the 37th Infantry departed on trains. Jones used the two-week trip to instruct his troops. Mosby reported that "There was not a dry eye to be seen on the crowded street as the flower of the county marched away—many of them never to return." The first day they travelled only ten miles and spent the night in private homes.[26] The next morning they rendezvoused at Glade Spring Church where the "men were boiling with enthusiasm and afraid that the war would be over before they got to the firing line" The same sort of welcome was true in the towns along the route where:

> Ladies lined the streets of the towns and showered flowers upon us—every delicacy the country could afford was spread before us, and we imagined ourselves heroes. The only care we felt was the dread that the war would be over before we got there. It is amusing now to recall how general this feeling was—everyone seemed to think one battle would settle it, and those in authority, who had brought on all the trouble, who ought to have known better, unfortunately thought so too.[27]

The Mounted Rifles were assigned to the 1st Virginia Calvary led by J. E. B. Stuart of the Army of Northern Virginia with Blackford becoming his aide. When Stuart was killed in May 1864, Blackford was assigned to the engineers at Petersburg where he soon was promoted to lieutenant colonel. He supervised the digging of shafts and tunnels which led to the Battle of the Crater. He served until Lee's surrendered at Appomattox Court House.[28]

Early in the war, he wrote new lyrics for "The Pirate's Glee" which he called "The Cavalier's Glee." The first stanza, of three, and the chorus read:

> Spur on, spur on, we love the bounding
> Of barbs that bear us to the fray;
> "The Charge" our bugles now are sounding,
> And our bold Stuart leads the way.
>
> The Path of honor lies before us,
> Our hated foeman gathers fast,
> At home bright eyes are sparkling for us,
> And we'll defend them to the last.[29]

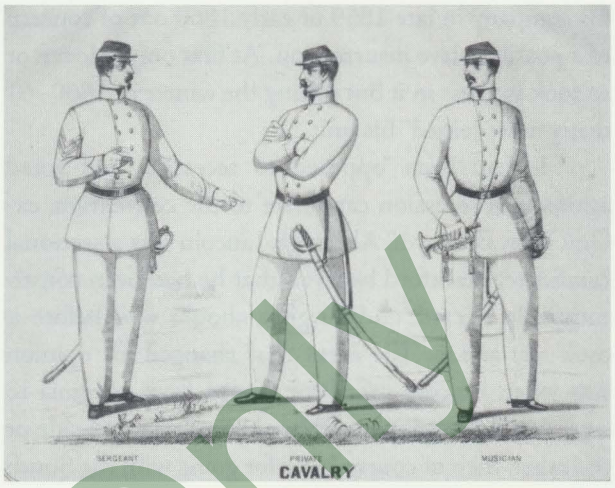


*Illustration XII.1. Confederate Cavalry Uniforms. A sergeant, private, and musician. Actually most of them fought with pistols and sometimes rifles. W. W. Blackburn threw his sword away after a time. (*Uniform and Dress of the Army of the Confederate States [Richmond: Chas. W. Wynne], 1861)

48th Virginia Infantry Regiment

After secession, other companies were formed, one being the 48th Infantry Regiment which was led by John A. Campbell who had been a member of the convention. Gov. Floyd complained that Campbell, a "submission member of the Convention from Washington County had been parading the country with a view of raising what he calls 'his regiment.'" Floyd also reported that Campbell had convened about two hundred men with different captains at the Abingdon post who refused to be mustered into service until Campbell received his appointment, threating to disband and go home. Furthermore, "That little village [Abingdon] is the seat of all union-shrieking influences." and if Campbell got the position, "it will exert a very injurious influence in this section of the State, by encouraging the Union spirit, now struggling for life" which was already dominant in Carter and Johnson counties in Tennessee.[30] Despite Floyd's objections, Campbell got his commission. Floyd's opposition seems to have been motivated by the fact that Campbell had defeated him in the election for the Convention.

26. *Ibid.*, 27.

27. Blackford, *War Years*, 15,

28. *Ibid.*, *passim*; http://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Blackford W W 1831–1905.

29. *American War Songs* (Philadelphia: Colonial Dames of America, 1925), 135–136.

30. Floyd to Gen. S. Cooper, June 26, 1861, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. 2, 955–956.

The regiment incorporated various companies that had been formed in neighboring Smyth, Russell, Scott, and Lee counties and three from Washington: The Holston Foresters, led by David A. P. Campbell which was formed on July 9, 1861 with seventy-five men; the Mountain Marksmen, under the command of James Cummings Campbell, with ninety-two men, formed on June 18th; Campbell's Greys, led by Milton White which had ninety-five men, and was formed on June 20, 1861.[31]

When these companies were taken into the 48th Regiment, they lost their original names with the Holston Foresters becoming Company F; the Mountain Marksmen Company E; and Campbell's Grays Company G. Over time, all the men of these three companies were reassigned to other units. The enlisted men elected the individuals who had formed the companies as their commanding officers as they knew and trusted them. The officers were acquainted with the men and their families which sometime could cause friction, favoritism, or sympathy; however, some of those commanders were inept, and many men in the same area could be killed or captured at the same time.

The battalion began with 912 officers and enlisted men. Information on 764 of the men in the regiment was recorded and showed that almost 69% were farmers or farm laborers (in many cases their fathers' lands), and about 16% were laborers. In addition, there were thirteen educators, thirteen carpenters, twelve students, eleven blacksmiths, seven clerks, seven shoe and boot makers, five physicians, four millers, four brick masons, and three each of millwrights, cabinet makers, and merchants. Various other professions included boatmen, miners, tanners, a constable, a deputy sheriff, a coach trimmer, etc. Data for 831 men of the men show they were on average 23.75 years of age. The height for 211 men was, on average, five feet eight inches, with the tallest being six feet one and the shortest five feet. The oldest was fifty-eight years while four were only sixteen.

Confederate Infantry Uniforms. A sergeant, private and musician. (Uniform and Dress of the Army, 1861)

These volunteers proved to be difficult to train as many were independent country boys who resisted discipline. One lieutenant said the regiment consisted mostly of "big mountaineers" who fought well in battle but were "difficult in barracks." Another, lieutenant who was a VMI graduate, said that when he told the troops to "Hold yr. head up —put your feet together —put your hands down like a soldier," he got the response "you go to hell." The abrupt change of the way they lived caused a considerable number of the troops to go AWOL (away without leave) soon after their training began.

The reports on this and other units show how difficult it was to maintain a fighting force with some present for duty, others present but sick, and others who were AWOL or sick in hospitals. After January, 1863, when 226 enlisted men and one officer were AWOL, the unit never regained its strength.[32]

31. The company was the smallest unit in the army. Ideally it consisted of 100 men and was led by a captain and two or more lieutenants. Frequently companies and regiments had far fewer soldiers, especially as the war continued. Ten companies formed a regiment which was led by a colonel who was assisted by a lieutenant colonel and a major. Regiments were grouped into brigades which then formed divisions. Two or more divisions under one commander constituted a corps, and above that were armies such as the Army of Northern Virginia and the Army of Tennessee. Regiments were often moved from one brigade, corps, or army to another. There were three types of units – infantry, cavalry, and artillery.

32. Being AWOL meant that a unit did not know the whereabouts of a soldier. Some could have been lost, dead, wounded, in prison, or in hospital, but such a large number indicates that many had fled since they did not return to the unit, although some could have been absorbed into other units.

Regimental Reports, 48th Infantry Regiment

	Present		Sick		AWOL		Hospital	
	OFF	EM	OFF	EM	OFF	EM	OFF	EM
Oct 61	33	478	1	69	2	32	8	184
Nov 61	24	376	6	153	4	37	4	165
Feb 62	20	350	2	34	3	60	7	93
Mar 62	20	364	5	82	5	96	5	82
Apr 62	44	512	0	56	0	83	1	106
Aug 62	20	273	3	7	1	213	8	159
Jan 63	21	185	1	61	1	226	0	0
0ct 63	6	46	0	0	0	30	4	34
Jan 64	8	71	1	0	0	12	1	21

Selling Rats at Elmira Prison. The photo is staged but it represents true events. They said rats tasted like squirrels. (Toney, *The Privations of a Private*)

At first, the regiment served in the Army of the Northwest in Virginia but was transferred to the Army of Northern Virginia where it took part in some of the bloodiest battles of the war including Seven Days, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Cold Harbor and Petersburg. Only four officers and thirty-eight enlisted men were present at the surrender at Appomattox.[33]

John D. Chapla, who wrote the history of the regiment, listed all the men who could be identified as serving in the unit along with what happened to them during the war. Records show that of the 136 members of Company B fourteen were killed in action (10%); nineteen wounded (14%); twenty-eight went AWOL at some time (21%), some two or three times; thirty-six became prisoners of war (26%), some more than once; nine died of disease or wounds; seven died while prisoners of war; and sixteen discharged for some reason, usually health, injury, or age. One man, James Clark deserted to the enemy, and Thomas M. Geer and J. R. Montgomery asked to stay in the North after being taken prisoner. Geer then joined the 1st Connecticut Cavalry. James Odum went AWOL but was captured, court-martialed, and sentenced to be shot, but President Davis reduced his sentence to hard labor with a ball and a chain. Thomas Taylor also was court-martialed for desertion and received the sentence of hard labor with a ball and chain; however, after he petitioned to return to duty, which was accepted, he was taken prisoner and subsequently

33. John D. Chapla, *48th Virginia Infantry* (Lynchburg: H. E. Howard, 1989). 1–7, 14, 15, 19, 22, 32, 48, 83.

Arrest the Deserters.

Camp 48th Va. Vols.,
Feb. 26th, 1864.

ALL persons are requested to apprehend privates Wm. H. Harn and Abel J. B. Harn of my company, (F) 48th Va. Regt., who went home on furlough some time ago and have failed to return to their command. The above named deserters live on the North Fork, in the lower end of Washington county. The usual reward of thirty ($30) dollars each will be paid for their arrest.

DAVID N. CLARK,
Lieut. Comdg. Co. F, 48th Va. Vols.

Deserters from the 48th Regiment. (Abingdon Virginian, March 18, 1865)

Casualties in the 48th Va. Regt.

The following is a list of casualties in the 48th Va. Infantry, in the recent battles, commencing at the Wilderness Church and continuing to Spotsylvania Court-house:

Wounded—Lt. Col. Oscar White slightly in arm; Maj. Wilson Farris side very seriously. Missing—Sergt. Maj. J. S. Fanning.

Co. A—Killed, Lt. J. A. Smith; corpl. James Clayton; private Saml. Calton. Wounded—Sergt. Winfield Carter leg; privates J. Calton arm; Wm. Martin foot slightly; James Hammons hand; sergt. John Williams head slightly; private A. J. Spear leg severely. Missing—privates Jas. V. Lyon; Mahlon Barnet; sergt. Jno. Clayton; corpl. Dutton Hood; privates Wm. Stewart; Joel Carter; Austin Brown; corpl. Joshua Ford.

Co. B—Killed, sergt. Thos. Dutton; privates Wm. Arden; Bej. M. Blackwell. Wounded—Thompson McHenry, and died next day; Jacob Jackson knee; Lewis Maiden left arm amputated; Jno. Holly; Joseph Woodward thigh. Missing—Lt. R. H. Thompson; sergt. Jno. C. Merrit; corpl. Henry Baley; ensign Andrew Sullens; privates S. F. Bull; John Burns; W. B. Cally; Jno. R. Montague; Wm. Mink, —— Mink; Jno. J. Estridge; William Thompson; A. Woodward; David Kingsolver, sergt. J. H. Merrit; privates Caleb Grabe; James Casey; Rufus Person; sergt. James Pafford; corpl. Wm. F. Maiden; T. Shultz; private George W. Duffey.

Co. C—Killed, Lt. R. B. Sexton. Wounded—Lt. Jno. F. Stair right arm amputated; sergt. E. H. Quillen left hand ampt. Missing—sergt. M. V. Darnell; corpl. F. H. Dean; Jno. Lucas; private D. L. Kidd.

Co. D—Killed, privates Eli Pierce; Wm. Thompson; H. T. Dale; Franklin Plummer. Wounded—Lt. Jno. L. Gollehon shoulder seriously; privates Jno. Thompson thigh; Thos. Farris slightly; Wm. Rice back very slightly; John Buchanan; Jacob Wyma bowels seriously; Geo. Luttrell leg ampt; sergt. J. W. Haywood; John Ryan shoulder; S. R. Sherwood ankle; Wm. P. Wolfe knee. Missing—Sergt. D. H. Sheets; Capt. S. P. Buchanan; sergt. Geo. W. Hopkins; corpl. N. B. Hopkins; privates T. B. Scales; Jas. A. Dempsey; Wm. H. H. Farris; W. F. Snavely; Henry Bevins.

Co. E—Killed, Sergt. Geo. W. Strong. Wounded—Lt. W. W. Frasier; sergt. Jno. A. Norvell; corpl. D. Frasier. Missing—Capt. Wm. S. McConnell; corpl. F. W. Larmar; privates C. O. Williams; Parker Rasenbalm; —— Ramsey; corpl. Samuel Perry; privates W. W. Peters, S. D. South, Jno. W. Staffe-

Co. G—Killed, C. Y. Umbarger; J. M. Stewart; Ham. Beasly. Wounded—J. H. Fletcher leg ampt; Hugh Gollehon shoulder; G. W. Poff thigh; J. W. Campbell lungs severely; Amos Lawson; E. G. Lawson. Missing—Lt. C. D. Hall; sergt. J. P. Cox; corpl. B. Kirk; private E. A. Gobble; sergt. H. C. Fugate; Wm. Calton.

Co. H—Killed, Sergt. J. S. M. Agee; private A. E. Dooly. Missing—privates J. D. Click; W. N. Click; Wm. P. Catron; J. Cress; W. H. Fleenor; J. H. Housley; Joseph Hauser; W. P. Hilton; W. L. Hilton; sergt. J. M. Hilton; J. E. Tate; privates H. H. Smith; G. W. and W. J. Vineyard.

Co. I—Killed, none. Wounded—Lt. P. P. Choice thigh slightly; corpl. A. G. Music severely; Martin Shaver right hand. Missing—privates James T. Wilson; A. F. Kingsolver; W. W. Fleenor; Capt. T. M. Gobble; sergt. Jno. Humphreys; A. Branson; D. G. Hayes; corpl. A. H. Ingle; privates J. B. Bowser; R. M. Crowell; H. G. Fleenor; J. W. L. Guess; N. C. Guess; J. C. Guess; Wm. F. Hagy; J. M. Harly; T. W. Music; A. F. Mongle; A. R. Myers; Jno. H. and Jas. M. White; Henry C. Parrott; George Hayden.

Co K—Killed, Sergt. T. P. Lee; corpl. H. B. Williams; privates C. H. Williams; Jno. Ramsey. Wounded—Sergt. J. P. Hamilton; S. L. Maiden hand; L. L. Pickle; J. H. Pickle face seriously; Wm. H. Hurt; Geo. W. Hackey side and left arm amputated. Missing—Capt. E. P. Skinker; privates Jno. Kestner; A. J. Williams; G. K. Cleftan; Wm. Patterson; Wm. Powers.

Casualties in the 50th Va. Regt.

The following is a list of casualties in the 50th Va. Infantry, in the recent battles, commencing at the Wilderness Church and continuing to Spotsylvania Court-house:

Field and Staff—missing—Col. A. S. Vandeventer, Maj L. J. Perkins; Adjt. Morgan Stickley.

Co. A—Killed, Priv. T. J. Duff. Wounded—Lt. F. B. Cox right shoulder; sergt. Jno. Brooks; Leonard B. Duncan; corpl. Robt. Rogers right arm ampt; privates W. N. G. Barron right side severely; James Bush left arm ampt; Ira Johnson slightly; Hiram Yeary slightly; David Hall hand; Yaney Mannis right side. Missing—Lt. R. W. Legg; sergt. J. N. Dingus; J. B. Pennington; corpls. W. W. Duff; Nathan Cox; privates Jas. M. Whisman; John M. Burgin; Ahart Sally; Jas. K. P. Sally; Rich'd Wilson; Jos. Gallaway; Calvin Seymore; Melvin C. Ward; Jonathan

sergt. Jas. M. Durham, corpl. [illegible] shell; privates Marion Price; E. Clark; two Muncys; Adam Clause; Wilborn Stanly; Wm. G. Stanly; Conley Adams; James Johnson; Levi Johnson; —— Rutherford; James Check; Wm. F. Smith; Stafford Gott; and a few others whose names we could not obtain, leaving only four men present in the company.

Co. C—Wounded, Thos. Boring right arm; S. Vernon foot; J. Buckland arm. Missing—Capt. Kelly; Lts. Grever and Wallace; sergts. Boling; J. M. Stephenson; G. C. Fox; corpl. Osborn; privates A. P. Bowling; W. B. Crockett; Idle Burcharn; B. P. Snider; Joe Johnson; D. Scott; B. F. Fortner; leaving one present.

Co. D—Killed, Sergt. J. H. Pickle (ensign); corpls. J. M. Pugh and E. T. Anderson; privt. Wm. Caldwell. Wounded—corpl. L. N. Perkins; privts. W. T. Sills; G. W. Jones; R. Spurrier; H. Baldwin; H. Davis. Missing—Wm. M. Baldwin; R. Pugh; Wm. Pugh; James Patrick; James Peets; W. T. Perkins; J. B. Jones; John Duncan; Isaac Farmer; Martin Noonkister; J. P. Greer; Wm. Walker; Henderson McGarey; W. D. Mitchell; O. K. Parsons; Wilburn Peak; G. W. Dillon; Marion Dillon; Andrew Rudy; Archibald Sexton; S. H. Weiss; sergt. Noah Peak; Daniel York; Wiley Walton.

Co. E—Wounded, sergt J. R. Anderson slight; privt J. P. Southen foot. Missing—Capt. A. King; Lts. J. F. Buchanan; J. A. Burnett; —— Gannaway; sergt. C. J. Hubble; L. D. Hancock; J. A. Hancock; P. D. Cox; corpls. W. J. Gillespie; J. Lambert; B. W. Hughs; privts. T. T. Buchanan; J. W. Baskell; W. Burges; B. Brown; R. Bryant; A. Bryant; N. Cornwell; J. R. Cornwell; R. R. Call; J. Clark; C. Courtess; G. Cox; T. Cox; M. Cox; S. F. Delany; J. Gates; J. Hammons; W. Hancock; T. Hess; T. King; W. K. Montgomery; T. Taylor; J. S. Humphreys; C. J. Wolfe; S. Wolfe; S. H. Williams.

Co. F—Wounded, Napoleon S. Snead back. Missing—Lts. G. T. Sale; W. E. Steen, sergts. P. O. Burton; H. C. Williams; H. J. B. Fuqua; Jas. F. Gardner; Wm. Ridgeway; Privts. George H. Burton; R. M. Carter; Thos. P. Carter; Wm. B. Casey; Jno. H. Cross; Willis Casey; L. C. Dawson; Jno. W. Everett; E. Everett; R. S. Ellis; G. W. Fangates; Ro. H. Rogers; Wyatt Gillespie; Wm. Gillespie; J. C. Gillespie; Wyatt Gatewood; R. L. Hicks; D. H. Hertless; John T. Knuckels; C. E. Kent; L. T. Moorman; Zach Moorman; Wm. McDaniel; C. L. McDaniel; Ira Wolfe; Geo. T. Phillips; Jno. W. Ingle; L. C. Stanton; Peter P. Thornton; [illegible] E. Warren; W. L.

Partial List of Casualties at the Wilderness and Spotsylvania. Such lists appeared in the newspaper from time to time. (*Abingdon Virginian*, June 10, 1864)

asked to remain in the North. Second lieutenant R. H. Thompson was taken prisoner, but when he was exchanged he lost his rank and was discharged for failing to pass a proficiency examination. He was later restored to his rank but again became a POW.[34]

Prisoners of war were exchanged for soldiers from the opposite side in the first part of the war, but after some time, both armies established prison camps, the most notorious federal one being at Elmira, New York. Many of the POWs from Washington County spent time there. Though they had tents and barracks to live

34. Some of the men fit into more than one of the categories. The regimental history has more information than the list drawn up by L. P. Summers which can be found at the Washington County Court House. This was transcribed by James L. Douthat as "Civil War Records, Washington County, Va., 1861–1865" in 1985. Douthat did not give credit to Summers for the list and made quite a number of spelling errors of names and places.

in, they suffered from malnutrition, the harsh winter, diseases, and lack of medical care with the result that about 25% died.[35]

37th Volunteer Infantry Regiment

The 37th Virginia Volunteer Infantry Regiment was organized in Washington County in May, 1861, and was accepted into the Confederate Army in July. It served until the end of the war. The men who joined the regiment came from Washington, Lee, Russell, and Scott counties with some joining from East Tennessee. The regiment was commanded by Samuel V. Fulkerson until he was killed in 1862, Titus V. Williams until 1865, and John A. Preston for the last few months of the war. The regiment, like the 48th first constituted a part of the Army of the Northwest but later was moved to Army of Northern Virginia. Several units that had already formed earlier became part of the 37th Regiment: Goodson Rifle Guards became Company A; Virginia Mountain Boys, Company B; Glade Spring Rifles, Company F; King's Mountain Mounted Rifles, Company H; Washington Independents, Company K.

Of the 136 men in Company B, 114 came from Washington County. Their commanders were Dr. William White, until he resigned because of health in 1862, and Benjamin Morrison until March 1864. They saw their first action at the Battle of Laurel Hill in July, 1861, in Northwest Virginia. After that they spent the rest of the war in Northern Virginia and fought in battles such as Sharpsburg, Gettysburg, Chancellorsville, the Wilderness, Spotsylvania, and Appomattox. An analysis of Company B by Scott Arnold showed that the average age of the soldiers was twenty-five with twenty-two members being officers and 137 enlisted men. Farmers constituted the largest group being 48.2% of the total. According to tax rolls, the officers had considerably more property than the enlisted men with about 50% of the latter paying no property taxes. In many cases, this can be attributed to their youth. Almost all of them joined (91.9%) the unit in 1861 and 1862. During the fighting, the death rate amounted to 21.3% with more dying from disease (12.5%) than as a result of battlefield action. The total casualty rate was 38.9%, while 50% were hospitalized at some time, 38.2% were taken prisoner, and 21.3% deserted at least once.[36] Only two officers and thirty enlisted men of the regiment remained to surrender at Appomattox.

Opposition

In the immediate aftermath of secession, a few people were charged with being union supporters. In June, 1861, Elias, a slave of Henry Mock, was jailed for conspiring with Archibald and David Lethco, white persons, and David and William Lethco, free persons of color, to rebel and create an insurrection. The court tried only Elias, but they found him not guilty and discharged him. In addition, Charles Eckerbusch was arrested and jailed on suspicion "that he is not true to the institutions of the South," but the court released him after he took an oath to be faithful and true to the Commonwealth.[37] The following month, Ned Thomas, alias Ned Hubbard, a free person of color was jailed because he "feloniously, expressed his adherence to the enemies of the Commonwealth by saying he would rejoice to see Lincoln and his forces come to the State at which time Lincoln and the free negroes would have their way." His attorney said that he believed his client was not guilty, but the court delayed action because of the "excited state of the country and remanded him to jail, until such time as arrangements could be made to get him out of the state.[38] After that, no other charges were made. Apparently, other opponents of secession kept quiet or moved to safer territory. If they stayed, they were likely to be conscripted into the army.

Conscription

The number of volunteers for the confederate army proved to be insufficient for a protracted war, partly because their term of service was only one year which was, for most regiments, due to expire in the

35. Michael Horigan, *Elmira: Death Camp of the North* (Mechanicsburg: Stackpole Books, 2002). For a personal account, see Marcus B. Toney, *The Privations of a Private* (Nashville: 1905).

36. Thomas M. Rankin, *37th Virginia Infantry* (Lynchburg: H. E. Howard, 1987), *passim*; http://www.civilwar.nps.gov/cwss/regiments.cfm; Scott Arnold, "Profile of the Virginia Mountain Boys, 37th Infantry, Company B," *HSWCV Bulletin*, Series II, Nr. 32 (1995), 19–37.

37. WC Court Minutes, June 24, 25, 1861.

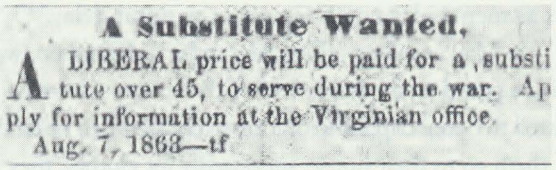
38. *Abingdon, Virginian*, June 24, July 23, 1861

spring or summer of 1862. To deal with this crisis, the Confederate Congress passed the Conscription Act on April 16, 1862. This act extended the term of service for the volunteers from one to three years and provided for a draft of all white men between eighteen and thirty-five years of age for a term of three years unless the war ended sooner.[39]

Another act exempted certain professions deemed necessary for the civilian population and the war effort. These included state officers, mail carriers, employees on railroads, telegraph operators, ministers, professors in colleges and academies, nurses, teachers of twenty or more students, overseers of slaves, and one druggist for each pharmacy.[40] Some abuses resulted such as school teachers quickly taking in more students, and people seeking employment as nurses.

In addition, people with wealth could hire substitutes, often paying as much as $6,000. This caused a great deal of resentment as it reinforced the idea that the conflict was a rich man's war and a poor man's fight. Men who hired substitutes tried to remain anonymous by using a newspaper, company, bank, or business office.[41] An advertisement on May 29, 1863 stated: "Any non-conscript desiring to make a pile by going into the army as a substitute can have a chance by applying to this office."[42] Some substitutes took advantage of this to get paid more than once, by deserting and then getting paid again to substitute for another person; however, the Bureau of Conscription in Richmond issued orders on July 21, 1863 that: "Hereafter any one furnishing a substitute will become liable in his own person whenever the services of the substitute are lost to the Government from any cause other than the casualties of war."[43]

The draft was not popular and in one case in Washington County, it almost resulted in murder. In August 1862, John Collins was charged with attempting to kill with a loaded gun David A. P. Campbell, Andrew R. Humes, and Benjamin C. Clark who were engaged in enrolling and mustering conscripts. The court dismissed the charge, but found him guilty of breach of peace and fined him $100.[44]


A Substitute Wanted.

A LIBERAL price will be paid for a substitute over 45, to serve during the war. Apply for information at the Virginian office.

Aug. 7, 1863—tf

Advertisement for substitute. (Abingdon Virginian, September 11, 1863)

The first Conscription Act failed to provide the number of soldiers needed, so on September 17, 1862, the Confederate Congress passed the Second Conscription Act which raised the upper age of draftees to forty-five. Efforts to enroll those who had previously been exempt from the draft got under way in Abingdon in February, 1863. A great crowd of restless and uneasy men assembled to be examined, "some limping, some with crutches, others with their heads tied up or their arms in slings." A rumor, perhaps true, spread among them that 160 persons that had previously been exempted in Wythe County had appeared before the board, and all were inducted into the army but one who died of consumption the next day.[45] Maj. John F. Terry examined and enrolled about 300 men in four days, but it was doubtful that all would report for duty. The enrolling officials therefore published "The Last Notice" that said:

> The law will be rigidly enforced against all delinquents. Those who report at once will be allowed the same privileges granted to those who reported under the first call. Those who delay will be promptly arrested. P.S. All persons who are received by the Examining Board for service will report to us at once at Abingdon, prepared to go to Camp of instruction.[46]

The editors of the newspaper added: "These gentlemen mean what they say, and it is hoped for the credit of those citizens who have been conscribed, they will

39. *The Statutes at Large of the Confederate States of America, First Session, First Congress, 1862*, Chap. XXXI.

40. An Act to Exempt Certain Persons from Enrollment for Service in the Armies of the Confederate States, April 21, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vol. 1, 1081

41. Albert Burton Moore, *Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy* (New York: McMillan, 1924), *passim*.

42. *Abingdon Virginian*, May 29, 1863.

43. *Ibid.*, September 4, 1863.

44. WC Court Minutes, June 25, 1861, August 25, 28, 1861.

45. *Abingdon Virginian*, February 13, 1863.

46. *Ibid.*

act as men and report themselves without delay."[47]

In May, enrolling officer Alexander C. Branscom went with a guard to the lower end of the county where he arrested two conscripts and one deserter, but when he let two of them go to their house, supposedly for clothes, they returned with guns aimed at Branscom and the guard threatening to kill them unless they were given exemption papers. Deciding that discretion was more important than valor, Branscom let them go. A few days later, the agent went back with more guards, but the "birds had flown the coop." Finding several other conscripts, they began their return to Abingdon when one of them, Granville Barker, attempted to escape. Since he refused to stop after several warnings, the officers shot and killed him.[48]

In response to a proclamation by Jefferson Davis, the officers attempted to draft more men in September. Everyone not previously enrolled in the 13th Congressional District between eighteen and forty-five, even if residents of other parts of the state or other states, was ordered to appear before the medical board and the enrolling officer for examination and enrollment. Potential conscripts were ordered to bring three days of food which indicated that they would be inducted immediately.[49]

At the same time, it was announced that a garrison company was to be established at the railroad either in Bristol or Abingdon to guard the stations. People who joined would be paid the same as soldiers, have comfortable quarters, and would elect their leaders. The company would be made up of persons then exempt such as those aged fifteen to seventeen. The advertisement promised that they would never hear "the booming cannon or the rattle of musketry," but would be rendering their country valuable service. When they turned eighteen, they would continue to serve in the unit and would not be liable to conscription.[50] No doubt, some volunteered for that option rather than being drafted and sent into battle.

On February 17, 1864, the Third Conscription Act required white males from seventeen to fifty to serve. That same session of the confederate congress also ended the practice of hiring substitutes.[51]

47. *Ibid.*

48. *Ibid.*, May 1, 1863.

49. *Ibid.*, September 11, 1863.

50. *Ibid.*

51. *Statutes at Large of the Confederate States of America, First Session, Second Congress, 1864*, Chap. 65; *Abingdon Virginian*, April 22, 1864.

The 63rd Virginia Infantry Regiment

The First Conscription Act prompted the creation of another regiment, the 63rd Infantry. This unit was formed with ten companies on May 24, 1862, in Washington County with John J. McMahon, the minister of Glade Spring Presbyterian Church, in command. The members of the unit came from Washington, Smyth, Grayson, Wythe, Carroll, and Montgomery counties. One hundred men were enlisted in A Company, seventy-six in B, ninety-three in E and sixty-one in H. Only one each served in F, G, and H companies. As the fighting progressed, men were added to these companies, transferred, killed, or deserted which resulted in changes of the total.

Company A was formed on March 31–April 1, 1862 under the command of William L. Hunter and consisted mostly of residents of Washington County. Company B, led by Connally H. Lynch, was organized on April 5 and included men from Washington and Sullivan County, Tennessee. Company E was formed May 2, 1862, at Glade Spring and consisted of men from that area who were led by David O. Rush. Company I, commanded by David C. Dunn, originally known as Floyd's Blues, was organized on July 5, 1861 as Company B, of the 50th Infantry, but became part of the 63rd Regiment on April 1, 1862.

In 1863 the regiment was reorganized and the original Company I was dissolved with its men placed in other companies. Lynch commanded the 63rd a short time but was removed for being ineffective and was replaced by David C. Dunn on May 10, 1862. After that, James M. French led the regiment until near the end of the war when Connally H. Lynch again became the commander. Members of this regiment were older than those who joined in 1861, some because they had been previously exempted while others were unionists or individuals who had never wanted to fight. A few took the opportunity to escape into northern territory. This unit lacked respect because of its rumored unionist sentiments.

The 63rd was one of the few Virginia units that did not fight in the Army of Northern Virginia though it did take part in more than seventy engagements, most

of which occurred under the command of the Army of Tennessee. It fought at Chickamauga, Missionary Ridge, Chattanooga, Kennesaw Mountain, Nashville, and Atlanta. It surrendered at Durham, NC on April 26, 1865. The historian of the regiment estimated that the number of desertions was 546, deaths 248, and prisoners of war 246. Of those who were captured, thirty took an oath of allegiance to the United States, and between forty and fifty died in prison.[52]

The 63rd regiment had so many desertions in 1863 and 1864 that Gen. Joseph E. Johnston[53] gave orders that anyone leaving the unit was subject to being court martialed and shot. When fifteen men tried to desert at Dalton, Georgia, they were caught, tried, and condemned to death. After conviction, they were paraded before the other troops with an ambulance following with their coffins. Then they were blindfolded and told to sit in front of their coffins. After a chaplain offered condolences and a prayer, shots rang out, but these first shots were intentionally off-target and served the purpose of frightening them. The deserters were killed by the second volley.[54] It was a gruesome warning to other troopers.

The 21st Virginia Cavalry

Another contingent created after the First Conscription Act was the 21st Virginia Cavalry. The foundation for this organization was the Second Regiment, Virginia State Line, which Col. William Elisha Peters, a former professor at Emory and Henry College, had formed in 1862. Peters had served as the colonel of the 45th Virginia Regiment, but when that body was reorganized in 1862, he lost his position so he sought permission to form a cavalry unit from Southwest Virginia, appealing to Gen. Samuel Jones, then the commander of the Department of Southwestern Virginia. Jones referred him to Confederate Secretary of War, James A. Seddon, who authorized Peters to form an infantry rather than a cavalry regiment because the confederates did not need more cavalry units. Whether Seddon's instructions were unclear or ignored, Peters went on to lay the basis for mounted troops. He was joined in this effort by Capt. David Edmundson, of the 4th Virginia State Line, a man who had been seriously wounded at the First Battle of Manassas and like Peters wanted a new command. Although Seddon disliked this turn of events, he eventually let things be. He did warn Gen. Samuel Jones that the State Line men lacked discipline and recommended a careful inquiry and consideration of the conduct of the officers before they were fully entrusted with their commands. The 21st Virginia Cavalry began its existence on August 27, 1863 with Peters as the colonel and Edmundson the lieutenant colonel. Seventy percent of the men came from Southwest Virginia with two companies primarily from Washington County: Company C (originally G) organized on July 17, 1863 with captains Alexander C. Branscom and Robert J. Preston; and Company F, organized on August 13, 1863 with the captain being Frederick G. Tray.

Records show that 71% of the members of the regiment were farmers, 9% blacksmiths, with the rest mostly tradesmen, although one was a teacher. The youngest was fifteen and the oldest fifty with the average age being 25.7. Their average height was five feet nine with two privates being five feet two while another was six feet four. The regimental surgeon who examined them stated that the troops had the greatest amount of skin disease that he had ever seen.

Their first skirmishes came in East Tennessee. When they returned to Washington County in October, the county court protested to Col. Peters that groups of his men from the 21st Regiment had robbed citizens of money, clothing and horses. The county justices wanted them to be arrested and people to be paid for the things taken, but it is not known if they got any satisfaction for their demands. The lack of discipline, however, continued and about 250 of the men

52. Jeffrey C. Weaver, *63rd Virginia Infantry* (Lynchburg: H. E. Howard, 1991), *passim*; 63rd "Virginia Infantry, Confederate States Army," http://www.newrivernotes.cm/cw_va/63rdva.htm; http://www.civilwar.nps.gov/cwss/regiments.cfm.

53. Joseph Eggleston Johnston (1807–1891) was born near Farmville, Virginia. When he was four, his family moved to Washington County where he lived until he went to West Point from which he graduated in 1829. He served in Indian wars in Florida and the West and the Mexican War. When the Civil War broke out, he resigned from the U.S. Army and received the rank of brigadier general in the southern forces. After the war, he lived in Savannah and Richmond. He published his *Narrative of Military Operations: Directed During the Late War Between the States* (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1874) in which he criticized both Davis and Lee. For a biography, see: Craig L. Symonds, *Joseph E. Johnston: A Civil War Biography* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1992); Shaffer, *Washington County*, 41–44.

54. James Buchanan Ballard, "Judgment at Dalton," *HSWCV Bulletin*, Ser. II, Nr. 40 (2003), 23–32.

were AWOL or deserted at some time.[55] During the course of the war, the 21st saw action in East Tennessee, Southwest Virginia, and the Shenandoah Valley.

The 22nd Virginia Cavalry

Another cavalry unit including soldiers from Washington County was the 22nd Virginia Cavalry which grew out of Col. Henry S. Bowen's 188th Tazewell County Militia, quite a few of whom deserted before the 22nd regiment was organized on October 27, 1863. The 22nd did not fight in battles but as partisan rangers mostly doing such things as scouting, harassing, and raiding. The men who served in this unit came from Tazewell, Buchanan, Washington, Russell, Wythe, Carroll, and Montgomery counties. The Washington County men served in two of the ten companies: Company C which was organized on August 13, 1863 and led by Captain John C. Stanfield; and Company E organized on August 4, 1862 and led by Capt. Reese M. Baldwin. Originally it had served as Baldwin's Squadron Virginia Cavalry or Partisan Rangers.

On average the soldiers in the 22nd were thirty-four years old when the unit was formed which makes them some twelve or thirteen years older than most soldiers from the area. Their average height was about five feet eight, and it was noted that many of them had blue eyes, fair complexions, and light colored hair.

Even before it was fully organized, the regiment had to report to East Tennessee to help deal with federal excursions into that area with its first engagement coming at Jonesboro. It later spent time patrolling in Southwest Virginia and then was sent to the Shenandoah Valley where it took part in several encounters in the Washington area, Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia. At the end of the war only two men remained, both from Company G. The estimated number of deserters was 350 although that number includes some who eventually returned and others who deserted more than once. Ninety-six were taken prisoner with thirty-six of them dying in confinement before the end of the war. According to the regimental historian, the unit had "few exceptional men" and "certainly no military heroes."[56]

Men from Washington County served in many other organizations as can be seen in the list drawn up by Summers early in the 20th century. Some units had a considerable number while others had only a few.

Additional Units in Which Men From Washington County Served[57]

Barr's Battalion
Confederate States Navy
Davidson's Battalion
Floyd's Brigade
Jefrey's Battalion
King's Battalion
Levi's Battery
VMI
2nd Kentucky Cavalry
4th Kentucky Cavalry
8th Virginia Cavalry
11th Virginia Infantry
13th Battalion Reserves, Co. E, F, I
16th Kentucky Cavalry
20th Virginia Cavalry
21st Virginia Cavalry, Co. C, F
26th Virginia Infantry, Co., I
29th Virginia Infantry
30th Virginia Sharpshooters, Co. I
32nd Kentucky Cavalry
33rd Virginia Cavalry
34th Virginia Cavalry
37th Kentucky Cavalry
45th Virginia Infantry
50th Virginia Infantry

Additionally, some served in the Vigilance Committee and the town militia which had jurisdiction in Abingdon and three and a half miles outside. When the town militia was reorganized in 1864, those belonging to it were youths between sixteen and eighteen years, all persons between eighteen and 45 who were not in active service of the confederate government such as discharged and disabled soldiers, artisans, railroad employees, clerks of banks, clerks in public offices, editors of newspapers and their employees, refugees, foreign-

55. John E. Olson, *21st Virginia Cavalry* (Lynchburg: H. E. Howard, 1989), 1–13;

56. Jeffrey C. Weaver, *22nd Virginia Cavalry* (Lynchburg: H. E. Howard, 1991), 67; Other information comes from 22nd Virginia Cavalry," http://www.newrivernotes.com/cw_vacav.htm; http://www.civilwar.nps.gov/cwss/regiments.cfm.

57. Douthat, "Civil War Records."

ers, and those between forty-five and fifty-five. While not required to drill or serve outside their area, they were expected to rally if the enemy were nearby and did not have to serve outside their area.[58]

A Soldier's Song

A confederate soldier on duty in Washington County wrote a song to the air of "I Want to Be an Angel" which the *Abingdon Virginian* printed in 1862 with the title "I Want to Be a Soldier." It probably represented the attitude of many of the troopers. Since most Washington County soldiers served in the Army of Northern Virginia or the Army of Tennessee, the writer may have been from one of the various units from Kentucky that spent time in the county.

I want to be a soldier,
But not to stay in camp.
I'd rather not expose myself
To Bullets, dust and damp;
I'd rather be an officer,
With gold upon my arm,
Receive the pay and rations due,
And keep away from harm.

I never do get weary
Of walking round the town,
But, strange to say, the shortest march
Is sure to break me down:
I know the ranks don't suit me,
For when I get away
From camp and go back home again
I don't feel sick a day!

I know I'm brave as any man
But no man wants to die,
Altho' I own that some will stand
Where balls and grape-shot fly;
I'd much prefer to stay at home
And eat good butter'd bread
Than fight all day with naught to eat
The solid ground for my bed.

I think it is a right hard case
That men should have to go
And join the army, whether they
Should want to fight or no;
But then you're made a conscript,
If you don't go ahead.
And all the ladies scorn you so,
You might as well be dead.

And so I'd be a soldier,
And with the soldiers stand,
I'd talk as much of Southern Rights
As any in the land;
For if a fellow chooses
And plays his cards all right
He can always leave the army
When there's going to be a fight.[59]

Desertion

Desertions from the military increased as the defeats, hardships, hunger, concern for families, and anxiety grew. While some deserters returned to their units two or three times, most without serious consequences, others were tried and executed.

One example of an execution in Abingdon was that of a young man by the name of Jacob Mullins of Wise County who belonged to Company C, Lt. Col. Prentice's Battalion. He went over to the enemy but was later captured by southern troops. Sadly "he was an exceeding, ignorant young man—almost a heathen—having never read the Bible or heard it read until after his conviction, and never heard a sermon in his life." The post chaplain and other ministers counseled and consoled him, and he seemed to be penitent. At the place of execution he was sitting on his coffin with his fingers in his ears when five balls tore into his chest.[60]

Deserters often had support of relatives or friends. An amusing story involves two brothers Levi and John Mitchell who deserted from the 22nd Virginia Cavalry and returned home. One Sunday they were attending church at Holston when the congregation noticed that the building was surrounded by soldiers. They began to sing loudly while the women removed some of their garments and dressed Levi and John in their clothing. When the service concluded, the congregation walked out of the

58. Scott C. Cole, *34th Virginia Cavalry* (Lynchburg, H. E. Howard, 1993); Summers, *Southwest Virginia*, 515, 521, 530, 531; There is also a curious account of Captain Frank Findlay and the Partizan Rangers from Washington County, all of whom were supposed to be under the age of eighteen that reportedly made a raid into Wyoming County and captured a Capt. Godfrey, a leader of a Union company, and ten other men.

59. *Abingdon Virginian*, December 5, 1862

60. *Ibid.*, February 5, 1864.

ARREST THE DESERTERS.

Names.	Co.	Rank.	Description.				Supposed whereabouts.	No. ts. desert-ed.	Remarks.
			Hair	Eyes	Complex'n	Height.			
Thos. Taylor,	B	Privt.	dark	blue	florid	about 5 ft. 9 in	near Saltville.	1	
Samuel Colly,	"	"	"	"	fair	5 " 6 "	"	3	
John Holly,	"	"	"	gray	dark	6 "	"	2	
Jas. Y. Clark,	"	"	"	dark	"	5 " 5 "	"	2	
Padison Moore,	"	"	"	gray	"	6 "	"	3	
David Colley,	F	"	light	blue	fair	5 " 6½ "	"	3.....	Afraid of
Jack Vipperman,	"	"	"	gray	"	6 "	"	2	deserters
Lewis Green,	A	"	dark	bl'k	dark	5 " 10 "	Sullivan co. Ten	2.....	Has been
David C. Cox,	C	"	red	gray	florid	5 " 9 "	Osborn's Ford, Scott co., Va.	1	absent 14 mos. Dos.
Henry Rhoton,	"	"	light	blue	fair	5 " 8 "	Stony Cr., Sco. co	1	5th inst.
Daniel Goin,	"	"	dark	gray	dark	5 " 10 "	Rye Cove, Sco. co	1.....	Was for-
Robert Lany,	"	"	"	blue	fair	5 " 11 "	Stony Cr. Sco. co	1	merly a
David Honeycutt.	"	"	"	"	"	5 " 10 "	Osbn's Fd. Sco. co	1	good sol.
Raleigh Darnel,	"	"	"	gray	"	5 " 10 "	Irving's Mill, Sco.	2.....	Note bad
Joseph F. Nelson,	"	"	"	bl'k	dark	5 " 11 "	Stony Cr., Sco. co	1	soldier.
John S. Mullins,	"	"	"	"	"	5 " 9 "	Rye Cove, Sco. co	2.....	Single a-
Wm. H. Dorton,	E	"	light	gray	light	5 " 10 "	Nickelsville, Sco.	1	dozen de-
Jacob C. Peters,	"	"	dark	blue	dark	5 " 11 "	Estillville, Scott,	2	serters.
P. J. Steffey,	"	"	red	"	florid	5 " 9 "	Nickelsville, Sco.	1	
A. M. Hartsock,	"	"	"	gray	"	5 " 11 "	Dickensonville, Russell co.	1.....	Bad sol-
H. F. Fraley,	"	"	"	blue	"	5 " 10 "	Nickelsville Sco.	2	dier.
John Thomas,	"	"	dark	dark	dark	5 " 8 "	Washington co.	1.....	Conscript

The first (7) of these men deserted the 1st inst., the next twelve (12) the 5th, and the three last named sometime in July. The usual reward of $30 each will be given for their apprehension and delivery to any military post C. S. A. And it is hoped that Conscript officers and good citizens generally, will use every effort for their arrest. They are *our bad lot*, and justly deserve the reward we have in store for them.

R. H. DUNGAN, Lt. Col.

Aug. 21, 1863—tf

Some deserters. Many "Arrest the Deserters" notices appeared in the newspaper. (Abingdon Virginian, August 28, 1863)

church between two lines of soldiers who did not recognize the men in their dresses, shawls, and bonnets. One of the soldiers remarked: "My God, what a foot that woman has!" It was Levi who wore a size twelve shoe.[61]

A deadly incident occurred in August, 1863, when John McCracken killed Joseph Thomas in the northwest part of the county, probably near Mendota. Thomas was a deserter and McCracken reported his whereabouts to officers who were looking for such men. When Thomas heard that, he threatened to kill McCracken the first opportunity that he had. They chanced to meet on a Friday near a Mr. Kaylor's place. McCracken who knew of the threat attempted to avoid contact with Thomas, but the latter picked up a rock and McCracken did as well. They threw at each other at the same time but neither was injured. Thomas then tried to attack McCracken with a stick. As he aimed his blow, McCracken dodged under him and stabbed him with a knife in the stomach. He died in about fifteen minutes.[62]

61. Information handed down in the Mitchell family and collected by Edward Mitchell.

62. *Abingdon Virginian*, August 21, 1863. Some deserters went to the north far from the confederate lines. In 1863, one deserter, Lt. L. S. Ellis reportedly from Abingdon, at one time a recruiting officer, had been sentenced to be shot, apparently for disloyalty. He was located by a confederate spy at Niagara Falls, New York near the Canadian border. Col. James B. Fry to Maj. General Dix, November 25, 1863. *Official Records*, Ser. III, Vol. 3, 1099.

Assistance by the County

On April 22, 1861, five days after the delegates in Richmond voted to secede from the United States, the county court voted unanimously to provide $5,000 for supplies, equipment, and the raising of troops. They planned to procure the money by selling bonds which would be repaid over three years.[63] On Saturday of that same week, the court decided they needed an addition $10,000 which they duly approved.[64] By October, the court realized that the $10,000 was insufficient and authorized another $2,500 for clothing and other needs of the companies then in service and another $2,500 for the sick, wounded and disabled. As usual, they sold bonds to raise this money.[65] Who bought the bonds is unknown. Since confederate money inflated rapidly after it was first issued in April, 1861, the cash that people were paid back had only a fraction of the buying power that it had when the bonds were purchased. Still, the county was able to sell bonds until 1864.

A study of confederate currency's inflation showed that while a dollar was worth 90% of a US gold dollar at the beginning of the war, by the end it was worth only .017% which was an inflation rate was 9,000%.[66] With a rate like that, a merchant might sell a product but have to pay twice the amount shortly afterward to buy a replacement at wholesale prices. Retailers, therefore, were reluctant to sell goods for cash. Rachel Ann Scott wrote that there was a lot of money around but nothing to buy with it since the ports were blockaded. Sugar and coffee could not be found and very little cotton for making dresses. They made summer hats from plaited straw and remnants of woolen cloth were fashioned into hats and caps for men.[67]

The county court also felt it necessary to have a patrol in the neighborhood of Little Moccasin Gap and appointed five men from that area to serve for the next three months.[68] Such patrols went out to watch for any signs of unrest among the slaves which reveals fear of a slave uprising in the area. Patrols had been sent out in 1855 to the Emory and Henry and Stone Castle areas "to visit all negro quarters or other places suspected of having unlawful assemblies, and in 1856 patrols had been send to the west of Abingdon, Halls Bottom, Emory, the south side of the Knobs, Three Springs, and north of the Island Road.[69]

In addition, the court set up a system of police by creating the Vigilance Committee. Each of the county's nine districts was to supply one or more voluntary companies of at least forty men with a captain, two lieutenants, four sergeants, all of whom were to be elected by the men. Each man had to supply his own arms, either a rifle, musket or shot gun, but the county would furnish weapons to people who had none. The justices soon found that muskets that had been supplied by the state for the militia were scattered throughout the county and in such disrepair that they had no value. So magistrates ordered them to be collected and repaired by the sheriff.[70] Two months later, the court decided that a larger police force was needed and authorized the formation of groups of twenty "discreet" men to act in conjunction with or independent of the units created in May. James T. Preston led this organization.[71]

Jerry, Jim, and Jack

In October, 1862, three slaves caused a great alarm for those who feared an insurrection. Two of them, Jim and Jack belonged to James Allen of Jefferson County, Tennessee. The third, Jerry, a brother of Jim, had belonged to the estate of S. W. Montgomery of Washington County but had been sold to Robert Evans in Greene County, Tennessee.

On October 4, William McDaniel, who lived on the Samuel Preston place about four miles east of Bristol discovered the three slaves with a large roll of leather while he was squirrel hunting. When McDaniel,

63. WC Court Minutes, April 22, 1861.

64. *Ibid.*, April 27, 1861

65. *Ibid.*, October 27, 28, 1861.

66. Richard C. K. Burdekin and Farrokh K. Langana, "War Finances in the Southern Confederacy, 1861–1865," *Explorations in Economic History* 30 (1993), 352–376.

67. Scott, "Reminiscences," 19

68. WC Court Minutes, April 23, 1861. The minutes say Moccasin Gap, but it was Little Moccasin Gap that was in Washington County. Big Moccasin Gap runs through Clinch Mountain in Scott County. People often referred to it as Moccasin Gap rather than Little Moccasin Gap.

69. WC Court Minutes, July 25, 1855, December 22, 1856. Stone Castle was what has been called Fort Kilmakronen.

70. WC Court Minutes May 27, 29, 1861.

71. *Ibid.*, July 23, 1861. They also lent ten muskets to the town of Goodson for its defense.

suspicious of their activity, questioned them, they told him that they had acquired the leather in Tennessee and were taking it to Saltville. McDaniel replied that no goods were supposed to be coming into Virginia from Tennessee. According to Jerry, McDaniel told them "Boys, it looks mighty strange to see you carrying such big rolls of leather through the woods — pick it up and take it to Mr. Preston's." Jim then said to McDaniel, "you stay there by the leather till we go to the spring and get a drink of water and then we'll come back and carry it to Mr. Preston's." When Jerry put a hand in his pocket as if he were going to pull out a pistol, McDaniel, with his gun cocked, warned him not to come too close to which Jerry responded "shoot and be damned. I've got as many shooting irons as anybody." Jerry then told Jack to "get over the fence there and take hold of him." Jack grabbed McDaniel while Jerry tried to take the gun from his hands which caused the gun to fire. Snatching the gun from McDaniel's hand, Jerry "hit him three or four licks, and cut a long gash on his temple, and one on his arm, with the gun."

Leaving McDaniel for dead, the three fled with the leather into some pines. When one of Preston's men approached, they guided him through the woods so he would not see the body. Jerry, who had left his clothes behind, told Jim to go back to get them and cover up McDaniel, but when Jim returned, he reported that McDaniel was not dead. The three then put McDaniel beside a log and covered him. Between sunset and dark, they returned, tore up a sack, tied McDaniel by his feet and neck, and started to carry him on his gun, but the stock broke. Jerry then got a rail and Jack and Jim carried him to a creek with McDaniel dying on the way. They left him in the creek with a large rock on top.[72]

When McDaniel did not return, his family and neighbors became concerned and searched during the night but found nothing. The following day, they discovered signs of violence and some clotted blood. Late in the afternoon, about three quarters of a mile from where the blood had been found, one of the searchers found McDaniel's body. Cognizant of a number of runaway slaves in the area, including the "notorious Montgomery's Jerry," they concluded that slaves had murdered him.

Jerry had been at large for four years committing "depredations under the cover of night" usually between Abingdon and Bristol, but sometimes as far into Tennessee as Greenville. He was believed to be in the lower part of the county near Bristol. The newspaper described him as having a dark copper color, about 5 feet 10 inches tall, and twenty-five years old and his companions as mulattos. A reward of $1,000 was offered for the arrest of Jerry.

Although many people searched for the offenders, they did not find them until December 1. After the murder, the three had fled to Greene County where they stayed a week or two and then went to the neighborhood of Estillville (Gate City). After that they had returned to the area where they had killed McDaniel. Col. Preston's slaves, along with Frank Preston, Roland Legard, and others, discovered and trapped them. Some people wanted to lynch them immediately, but others insisted on taking them to the jail in Abingdon for trial. The details of the murder are known because Jerry and Jim made confessions which were written for them, sent to their mothers, and printed in the newspaper.

At their trial on December 22, the three slaves were charged with killing McDaniel with "a gun, and with clubs and staves and rocks, and fists." The court appointed attorney managed to get the three tried separately. Jerry was tried first and found guilty with the court deciding that he should be hanged on January 23, 1863. Next, Jim was brought before the court where he pled not guilty, but after hearing evidence, the court also condemned him to be hanged on the same day as Jerry. Jack's attorney pled that he was not guilty, and the court unanimously agreed but found him guilty of being an accessory after the fact. He was sentenced to thirty-nine lashes of a whip to be administered by the sheriff the following day and another thirty-nine ten days later. The attorneys received the usual payment of $25 for defending the offenders.[73] In retrospect, the three seem to have received fair trials. Indeed, it is surprising that Jack was not also condemned to death considering the war was in progress and the people's fear of an insurrection.

To guard against an insurrection, the county court

72. When the three were tried by the county court, it was charged that McDaniel died instantly.

73. *Abingdon Virginian*, October 10, 17, December 5, 1862, January 10, 30, 1863; WC Court Minutes, December 22, 23, 1862, January 23, June 28, 1863.

Patrollers. (Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, July 11, 1863)

directed that one or more patrols be ordered out in each of the nine magisterial districts of the county. Also, Mayor Samuel Carnahan of Abingdon established a patrol to arrest any blacks found in the streets after nine o'clock and ordered that assemblies of slaves were to be dispersed unless white people were in charge. He believed that the curfew was successful because only two gatherings of slaves took place after the trial, a wedding at the home of a lawyer and a "negro ball" that took place near the house of John B. Floyd, both of which were overseen by trusted white townspeople.[74]

The court ordered Noble J. McGinnis to distribute the leather among the indigent families of soldiers unless an owner should come forward.

On the day of the execution, people began arriving early from all over Washington and surrounding counties. The *Abingdon Virginian* in its usual extravagant prose reported that:

> They came by railroad, in wagons, on horses and mules, and hundreds came wading up to their knees in mud. Some rode bare-backed, others on sheep-skins, and others again with halters and blind-bridles. Little boys and negroes, galloped into town almost breathless, bespattered with mud and wild with excitement to see two negroes choked to death.

The paper also said that probably "no less than a thousand hearty, robust young men jostled and elbowed their way through the dense mass of humanity" [75] while a confederate soldier in town who witnessed the hangings reported "a great many people were present." [76] When the execution took place, Jerry and Jim stood on the scaffold and fell to their deaths at the same instant shortly after noon. The newspaper reported that Jim struggled some fifteen minutes before he died, but according to the other account, they both died quickly.[77] There were other murders in the county during the war, but none of them received such attention.

Hungry Families

County leaders gave close attention to the families of soldiers who were absent in the army. In May, 1861, the court ordered Thomas G. McConnell to visit the families and see to their needs.[78] By early 1862, many faced hard times as food was scarce and wives and children were unable to farm the land. Cotton goods were also needed. In April, the justices learned that articles of cotton could be purchased in North Carolina at cost provided the goods would not be subject to speculation or impressment by the government and would go to the families in need. They sent Rev. Thomas K.

74. Brian D. McKnight, *Contested Borderland: The Civil War in Appalachian Kentucky and Virginia* (Lexington: UK Press, 2006), 132.

75. *Abingdon Virginian*, October 10, December 5, 1862, January 10, 30, 1863

76. Diary of an Unknown Confederate Soldier, Doc. 51573, HSWCV. The soldier came from the North and volunteered to serve with an unnamed unit. He may have originally been from the South.

77. Executions took place on Gallows Hill. The *Abingdon Virginian*, May 29, 1863, made reference to the place when a prisoner, James L. Duff from Tennessee, who was being taken from the jail to the court house, escaped and "made for Gallows Hill." Since it was court day, many people were in town and in a few minutes he "had a hundred men and boys at his heels." But when a pistol was fired, he "gin it up" very quietly and walked back to the court house no worse for the wear except for being out of breath. He was "charged with stealing a pistol and marrying as many wives as two men are entitled to." Gallows Hill seems to have been on Stonewall Heights as the jail was on Valley Street and he would not have run toward the court house.

78. WC Court Minutes, May 27, 29, June 24, 1861.

Catlett with $2,000 to purchase goods for the indigent. In addition, the court dispatched James M. Byars to obtain 2,000 bushels of corn in Georgia or wherever he might find it.[79] Some private donations also came from Henry Preston who provided $300 and Stuart, Buchanan & Company which contributed $1,000.[80] In October, Rev. L. F. Cosby proposed that individuals should donate five bushels of wheat for the families; however only Theodore P. Clapp responded by contributing twenty-five bushels.[81]

In the autumn of 1862,[82] the newspaper urged people to help because: "Winter is upon us, and if we would avert starvation and suffering, no time is to be lost. If the families of our absent defenders are not provided for, God only knows the suffering they must endure." Helping the troops and their families was "neither patriotism, philanthropy nor benevolence," it was "a stern and imperious duty." The editor urged:

> Let the people, then—not those engaged in unlawful speculation and extortion, for the milk of human kindness in them has dried up—but let the people forget their own ease and comfort for a time, and relieve the necessities of those who are doing so much for us, and those who have been deprived of their natural protectors for the defence of our rights and property.[83]

Others also referred to extortion and speculation in Washington County. "Farmer" wrote the newspaper complaining that innocent people were being imposed on by "unprincipled speculators" who falsely represented themselves as government agents and impressed goods and then sold them to the government. These people were "doing the Southern cause more injury than twice as many Yankees.[84] A sharper comment came from Edward Guerrant who wrote in his diary:

> Things look (as usual) gloomy enough about Abingdon. Inhabitants principally of three classes: Extortionists, Speculators & relieved Officers. Everybody seems "for himself." It is a great day for reading human nature. It lifts the curtain that smiles & silk & sunshine throw over hearts & actions, base & selfish beneath. A day of revelation.[85]

Relief aid was also hindered by the fact that "Many poor women would rather suffer than let it be known they were in circumstances of destitution and want."[86]

Despite many difficulties, including heavy rains for about three weeks in May and June, farmers in Washington County were able to plant a good deal of wheat in 1863, but when time came in July to harvest it, few workers were available. A suggestion was made that the military forces could detail a few men from their units to help. The result would be "bread for thousands;" however, there is no evidence that took place.[87]

In October, the *Abingdon Virginian* again warned of the oncoming winter. It pointed out that it would be difficult for many women who needed assistance to walk through the snow and mud to get food. To help provide for those people, Wyndham Robertson donated $500.[88] Despite the shortage of workers, the harvest that year was adequate to feed the people of the county. Even so, some residents hoarded their grain. The newspaper warned:

> That there are numbers of persons all over the country who are hoarding up provisions for the future, there can be no doubt…Our advice, therefore, to all who have provisions to spare is, to sell them now, and not wait to be deprived of them without consideration. No man will stand by and see his children cry for bread while his neighbor's garner is full. The man who thinks so is an idiot or a lunatic.

The situation became so serious that in November, the county court deemed it necessary to provide more assistance for the families of soldiers. They authorized, John C. Kreger to borrow $10,000 by issuing bonds. Yet, by the end of the year, the justices reported that the county was threatened with famine.[89]

The year 1864 proved to be no better. The court again reported that provisions were scarce and people

79. *Ibid.*, February 24, 1862, *Abingdon Virginian*, February 20, 1862.
80. WC Court Minutes, April 28, 1862.
81. *Abingdon Virginian*, October 24, 1862.
82. WC Court Minutes, August 25, 1862.
83. *Ibid.*, August 25, October 27, 1862; *Abingdon Virginian*, November 21, 1862.
84. *Abingdon Virginian*, April 3, 1863.
85. Guerrant, *Bluegrass Confederate*, 384, December 1, 1863.
86. *Abingdon Virginian*, May 29, 1863.
87. *Ibid.*, July 3, 1863.
88. *Ibid.*, October 2, 1863; WC Court Minutes, October 26, 1863.
89. WC Court Minutes, December 29, 1863.

were suffering. The only way to relieve the misery was to procure more people to help with cultivating the earth, but no one would work for confederate money. Instead, workers demanded payment in food and cloth, but these were too limited to provide to workers.[90]

On March 11, 1864, a number of women from the River Hills along the North Fork of the Holston took matters into their own hands by entering a store in Abingdon armed with pistols and knives where they "pressed" three bundles of cotton from a merchant. Upon learning that they were in extreme poverty, the storekeeper gave the cotton to them. When the women's success became known around the county, another group of women from the south side of the county went into one of the stores where they took two bolts of domestic. But on this occasion, an officer arrested them when they emerged from the store, seized the goods, and took them to a magistrate who required them to give bail for their future appearance. Apparently, that ended the matter.[91]

The events prompted the county court to appoint Thomas G. McConnell as an agent to purchase and distribute cotton, cotton yarn, and cotton cloth. At the same time, the justices imposed a levy of $50,000 on the county in order to buy 6,000 bushels of corn in Georgia or elsewhere to be distributed among the poor and the families of soldiers who were indigent. Aaron L. Hendrick had the task of purchasing the grain and making arrangements with confederate authorities to have it transported to the county.[92] These efforts failed although authorities were able to obtain small amounts of grain from the neighboring counties in Tennessee by bartering salt.[93] Washington County, which before the war had produced large amounts of wheat and corn for sale to the cities of the east, did not have enough to feed its population.

Meanwhile the newspaper printed an editorial on "Bread and Meat" in which it recommended that people eat less and, if necessary, put themselves on "half rations" which would make them mentally and physically healthier. In addition, every person that could handle a hoe, rake, or spade, needed to raise food, even if they had no more than a tiny plot. The editorial concluded with these words:

> Be assured the future story,
> Of the days now dark to you;
> Will record His word of Glory—
> Wait and see what God will do.[94]

More concerned as time passed, the justices proposed using 1,680 bushels of the county's allotment of salt being held by Stuart, Buchanan & Co. to be used to barter for goods in Tennessee or elsewhere and appointed James S. Kelly as agent to carry out this plan. They also solicited the donation of grain of any kind, meat, and money for the benefit of the indigent families of soldiers.[95] The situation grew so desperate that the county leaders approved an additional $10,000 in bonds.[96]

Meanwhile, the General Assembly, on March 9, 1864, passed an act that authorized the governor to set up a state agency to purchase and sell cotton and woolen goods for the people of the state. The law required factories in Virginia to sell these goods at cost to the state which then distributed them to the counties based on their population. The counties, in turn, sold the goods to their inhabitants. When the goods reached Washington County in August, preference went to the families of soldiers then in active service and the families of those who had died or been killed in the war. After their needs had been fulfilled, the surplus could be sold to other citizens with first choice going to the poorest and neediest.[97]

The actions taken by the court offered some relief as far as clothing was concerned, but by late 1864, some families were near starvation. To deal with this situation, the General Assembly had passed an act for their relief on October 31, 1863, which required county courts, at their expense, to provide relief in "such liberal amount and in such proportion as they may think just and sufficient for their maintenance." The Washington County Court did not act on this legislation until almost a year later when it ordered the lists to be drawn up. The law provided that the county could purchase

90. *Ibid.*, February 24, 1864.
91. *Abingdon Virginian*, March 18, 1864.
92. WC Court Minutes, April 25, 1864.
93. *Ibid.*, July 26, 1864.
94. *Abingdon Virginian*, April 8, 1864.
95. WC Court Minutes, May 23, 1864.
96. *Ibid.*, June 28, 1864.
97. Virginia, *Acts of the General Assembly, 1864*, Chap. 28; WC Court Minutes, August 24, 1864.

the products and impress them if necessary.[98] The court appointed William K. Duff as the Impressing Agent for Washington County along with a person from each of the districts to acquire supplies of grain, meat, and other articles for the needs of the indigent families of solders. If people refused to sell the goods, the Impressing Agent had authority to seize them. Recognizing that the funds previously provided for the families were not sufficient, the court decided to issue yet more bonds for another $10,000.[99]

The following month, federal forces swept through the county, and nothing further is recorded about the needs of the families. Without doubt, the county officials had done their best to help the unfortunate people.

Impressment of Slaves

The General Assembly on October 3, 1862, granted authority to the governor to impress 10,000 slaves between the ages of eighteen and forty-five for up to sixty days for building fortifications for Richmond. The owners would receive $16 per month while the slaves would be provided with food, shelter, and medical treatment. The local court was charged with counting the slaves in their county and deciding how many each owner would have to provide.[100]

The news of this impressment law received mixed reception in Washington County. Some opposed the measure arguing that it would be detrimental to agricultural production. Proponents argued that "as the war is now waged for the abolition of slavery, the owners of slaves should furnish their labor." The editor of the newspaper remarked that "no matter what the arguments pro and con, the negroes will have to go, we presume, bread or no bread, the coming season. We have as yet scarcely begun to make sacrifices, and in order to make both ends meet, those who remain at home must work the harder and waste less."[101]

The quota of slaves for Washington County was 120. The justices counted 2,787 of all ages and 614 between the ages of eighteen and forty-five. Eighty-six owners fulfilled the quota. Some had to provide only one slave; however, five owners had to supply two slaves, two owners three, T. R. Friend five, Stuart, Buchanan & Company eight, and Charles Scott & Co. nine.[102] The court appointed John L. Bradley, Moses Brooks, and W. A. Rader as overseers to accompany the slaves to Richmond and supervise them while being used by the confederate government. They were assembled at the depots in Goodson, Abingdon, and Glade Spring on February 2, 1863 and were shipped to Richmond by rail.[103]

The General Assembly amended the first impressment act in March 1863. Recognizing the need for fairness, this act gave the governor power to exempt those counties that had lost a large portion of their slaves who had escaped to federal territory and those contiguous to enemy territory. Furthermore, it increased the age limit of the slaves to fifty-five, and provided that employers of hired slaves would be considered their owners as regards impressment, and raised the payment to owners to $20 per month.[104]

Gov. John Letcher sent out a new requisition on August 13, 1863 which required another enumeration of male slaves since the age limit had increased to fifty-five. But the Washington County justices argued that they could not carry out the inventory because they had met twice and both times their gatherings had been interrupted "by the advent of the public enemy." Therefore, they asked Letcher to exempt the county from the law because the last raid "was very destructive to the grain and forage of the Citizens along the line of the enemy's march." Even worse, the confederate army had caused greater destruction in the middle and western portions of the county which had been "almost entirely devastated" of corn by 3,000 to 4,000 confederate cavalry troops and their horses that had been in the area for ten to fourteen days. Forage was further limited by refugees who lived in border counties of Tennessee who

98. Virginia, *Acts of the General Assembly, 1863;* WC Court Minutes, October 24, 27, 1864.

99. WC Court Minutes, November 25, 28, 1864.

100. Virginia, *Acts of Assembly, 1862*, Chap. 2; Bernard H. Nelson, "Confederate Slave Impressment Legislation, 1861–1865," *Journal of Negro History*, 31 (October, 1946), 392–410.

101. *Abingdon Virginian*, February 13, 1863; General Orders, April 6, 1863, *General Orders from the Adjutant and Inspector General's Office, Confederate States Army, for the Year 1863* (Richmond: A. Morris, 1865), 34–39. The 1860 census had shown 2,547 slaves in the county. This show an increase of 240.

102. Charles Scott and Co. was located in Glade Spring Depot and like Stuart, Buchanan & Co. was engaged in the salt business.

103. *Abingdon Virginian*, February 20, 1863; WC Court Minutes, February 11, 13, 16, 17, 24, 1863.

104. *Acts of the General Assembly, 1863*, Chap. 5.

Pages 279-294
not included in
this Preview

"On a day in mid-April, I rode limping along on my lame mare, Magic, up the street of Abingdon. What a contrast to the way I left the place with my splendid company of cavalry, one hundred strong, four years ago." The infantry men were not so fortunate for they had to walk home because the railroad lines had been destroyed and had to beg or steal their food.[186]

When he reached the Meadows, he found that his wife had invested in tobacco which was selling at a very high price of $1 per pound. With money from that and by swapping his horse for another that belonged to Alex Stuart at Saltville, he was able to purchase two carloads of salt which he sold for $500 in greenbacks. Thus, he settled all his debts and bought a donkey for his children. Some of the salt went to two doctors in Abingdon who, to his surprise and displeasure, had provided medical care for his family and slaves during the war but had refused to accept payment in confederate money. In total, they claimed that he owned them $3,200, much of it for his slaves who were then free. He refused to pay. Instead, he offered to give each a hundred pounds of salt which they accepted.

At the time he returned to Abingdon, the county was beginning to fill with returning soldiers who were able to provide some order from the lawlessness from roving bands "though it was many weeks before law resumed its sway." The greatest problem was the bushwhackers and horse thieves who remained in the mountains near the Tennessee border "who levied blackmail on the country" and "ran off horses whenever they felt like it." A group of six of them passed near the Meadows and stole a bridle decorated with rosettes for the donkey that he had bought for his children. A young slave reported the theft to the colonel who found the man who took it, raised his pistol, and ordered him to return it—which he did. A few weeks later he had his horse in a field with those of others when bushwhackers took those belonging to others but left his. Word came back to him that the men said: "If Colonel Blackford will ride ten miles after a *bridle*, my God! How far would he go after a *horse*?"

In addition to the bushwhackers in the mountains, bands of former slaves were passing through the county going to Tennessee most of whom were peaceful but others robbing as they went. One day near Saltville, when Blackford stopped at a barn because of heavy rain, he heard someone praying in low tones. As he neared the person, the praying got louder and louder. Soon he found a slave who belonged to the place who was much relieved to see him because a gang of twenty to thirty black thieves had just robbed the house and he had hidden in the barn. The thieves had taken what they wanted from the house, the smoke house, the storeroom, and the dairy. Blackford and the owner gave chase through Abingdon and down the Great Road collecting a posse of about thirty or forty men. They reached the group before they got to the Tennessee border and after a skirmish arrested them. They took them back to Abingdon where they jailed them, but after a few days they were let go because there was no authority to try them. They promised that they would leave the area.[187]

On July 27, 1865, Capt. W. H. McCartney gave a speech in Abingdon on the occasion of the "welcome home" of the soldiers of the town. He closed his speech with: "The fullness of my heart is the downfall and destruction of African slavery in America. Join with me, my friends, in performing the last sad, but most welcome rites over the grave of that modern enormity! The second fullness of his heart was "the rapid decay and swift passing away of Southern Chivalry—mysterious myth! Ghost of a very ghost!" The last fullness was the "valor and prowess of the common soldier. No doubts or misgiving here! Weave crowns of laurels, maidens: speak orators; sing poets; give charity; live long line of grateful remembrances."[188] Thus the horrors of death, destruction, mangled bodies, disorder, and near starvation of the war passed, and the romantization of the events began.

§

"War is hell."

186. The author's grandfather, James Louis Harrison Hagy enlisted in the 48th Regiment at the age of 17 or 18 and served throughout the war. He was one of a few of that regiment at Lee's surrender at Appomattox. As the soldiers walked home, people would not give them food and the men he was with stole it. Being a strong Methodist, he would not steal, but he would help eat the food. One cannot fault the people who lived along the roads as they probably had little or nothing for themselves, certainly not enough to feed hordes of soldiers.

187. Blackford, *War Years*, 296–305

188. *The Norfolk Post*, August 2, 1865. McCartney fought with the 60th Regiment Virginia Infantry, also known as the Wise Legion.

Afterword

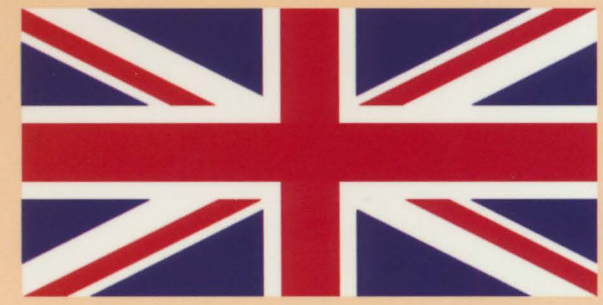
Washington County, Virginia has a remarkable past from the time of the wooly mammoths to end of the Civil War. A considerable number of farmers prospered from its soil, streams, and sunshine while the town of Abingdon developed into a distribution center for surrounding areas and exported and imported goods from eastern cities such as Philadelphia. The county's political, military, economic, and social institutions were dominated by a few families who gained their wealth from early grants and purchases of land, the exploitation of mineral resources, political offices, business ventures, and military commands. They enjoyed high status, something that was accepted by the ordinary citizens. The population was composed mostly of people of northern European extraction, especially Scotch-Irish and Germans. Slaves and free persons of color whose ancestors originated in Africa, made up a significant proportion of the residents; however, during and after the Civil War, they steadily declined in numbers until they made up only a miniscule portion of the population by the 21st century. Abingdon had a number of middle class individuals who engaged in trades and professions. Many people, however, earned their livelihood by working as day laborers on the farms and or in the town in competition with slaves. All residents endured warfare. At first, there were frequent conflicts with the Cherokees and to a lesser extent with the Shawnees. During the American Revolution, they battled not only with the natives, but also the British and the Loyalists. Not very long after that came the War of 1812–1815. A generation later they fought the Mexican War. Meanwhile conflicts between the North and South over slavery divided the nation and ended with the bloodiest conflict of all, the American Civil War, which raised a number of leaders of the county to fame but also proved to be overwhelmingly destructive to the mass of soldiers and citizens at home. Throughout this period, constant discontent with Old Virginia which dominated the state resulted in alienation, feelings of neglect, and separateness which were expressed by the attempt in the 1780s to create a detached state of Frankland. Although the movement failed, some of those feelings still linger in the mountains and rolling landscapes along the Holston Rivers.

Many Washington Countians exhibit great pride in their distant past, especially the Battle of Kings Mountain and the Civil War. Yet, they overlook many other facets of their history which are also significant and should not be ignored.

Perhaps someday, someone will systematically study the events since 1865 and publish a work that carries the story forward. Meanwhile, there are many accounts that can be told which, hopefully, will be less romanticized and void of myths than some in the past.

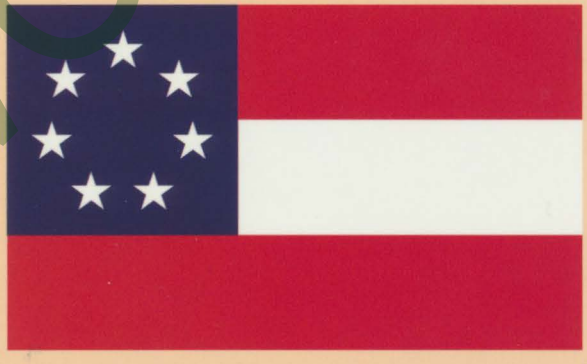
Index of Personal Names

The names in the index appear in the book on the pages indicated. A number followed by an "n" indicates the name appears in a footnote. Sometimes more than one person has the same name but they could not be distinguished one from another. On the other hand, the same first and family names appear some with initials, some without. This could be the same person or a quite different one. The use of Jr. and Sr. after the same name does not necessarily mean father and son, but that one is older than the other, and of course, a junior can later be designated as a senior. Names are spelled as they appeared in sources. Thus, the same person may have different spellings of the family name. Families such as the Campbells used the same first name without a middle name by more than one person at the same time and used the same name in two or three generations. These often cannot be clearly identified. Military titles are not used except when no first name appears except for Gen. William Campbell. This was done in an attempt to distinguish him from others with the same name. In instances where only a first name appears, the person is usually a slave or free person of color without a known family name. Married women are listed under their husband's family name, if known.



British Flag, 1801

American Flag, 1776



First Confederate Flag, 1861

Virginia Flag, 1861

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Washington County, Virginia has an interesting past from prehistoric eras to 1865. Remains of Native American culture have been found from as early as 14,500 years ago while the first European incursion probably occurred in 1567, when Juan Pardo, a Spanish explorer, came into the county to reach an Indian settlement of some importance, perhaps great importance, at or near Saltville, possibly in both Washington and Smyth counties. That was forty years before Jamestown was settled. White hunters and traders passed through the area quite early, possibly as soon as 1673. A few settlers arrived by the 1740s, and the Virginia government made huge land grants to the Patton Company in 1745 and the Loyal Company in 1748. Neither had to pay a shilling for the 900,000 acres they were given simply because of their political and social connections in Virginia. They claimed the best lands in Far Southwest Virginia, which created problems for individuals for the next hundred years. Indian attacks caused the earliest settlers to flee during the French and Indian War (1754–1763), but after that they returned, slowly at first, but in 1769 considerable numbers arrived even though the lands were supposed to be reserved to the natives.

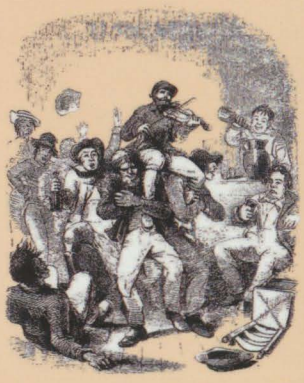
John B. Floyd

Wyndham Robertson

David Campbell

The coming of permanent white residents resulted in frequent conflicts with the Indians, especially with the Overhill Cherokees who lived in present-day East Tennessee and the Shawnee who lived in the north. Then came war against the British who ruled from the Atlantic to the Appalachian Mountains. A number of residents of the county fought with the regular army, but their greatest concerns were the Cherokees, whose power was broken in 1776, and the Tories who sought to remain loyal to the king. They were defeated at the Battle of Kings Mountain in 1780.

A Remote Cabin



Revelers in a Tavern

During the Revolution the Virginia legislature created Washington County on January 1, 1777, the second county in the United States to be named for the man who later became the first president. The county government and politics were dominated by early arriving Scotch-Irish families, especially the Campbells and Prestons. After the Revolution, the ideas of self-government and freedom from control of outsiders as well as ambition and alienation led to quite a few people in Washington County wishing to separate themselves from Old Virginia by creating a new state of Frankland.

A considerable amount of the economy rested on the backs of servile laborers who grew and harvested crops, produced salt, built the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad, and constructed institutions such Emory and Henry College. The residents of the county hesitated to join with those who wished to break away from the United States, but ultimately they enthusiastically hurried to take part in the fray believing that one battle would settle the issue, but found it to be the worst war in America's history with devastating consequences.

Slave Woman and Man.

A Spinster

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