The Smithfield Review

Studies in the history of the region west of the Blue Ridge

Volume 23, 2019

Published by the
Smithfield-Preston Foundation
and the Department of History, Virginia Tech

Published online by University Libraries
Virginia Tech, Blacksburg, Virginia

The Smithfield Review is published each spring by the Smithfield-Preston Foundation and the Department of History, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University (Virginia Tech); it is published online by University Libraries, Virginia Tech, Blacksburg, Virginia.

Subscriptions are $14 per year plus sales tax (currently 5.3 percent) and $3.50 shipping/handling per copy. Individual copies are available from

Smithfield Museum Store
1000 Plantation Road
Blacksburg, VA 24060

or by calling 1/540-231-3947 or e-mailing *info@smithfieldplantation.org*.

Multiple copies, including the entire set of 23 volumes, are available at a discount. Use the above contact information to inquire about multiple copies and/or sets.

ISSN 1093-9652

Printed in the United States of America by McNaughton & Gunn

Smithfield is an important historic property adjacent to and surrounded by the campus of Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University in Blacksburg, Virginia. The manor house, constructed around 1774 on the Virginia frontier, is a premier example of early American architecture and is one of few such regional structures of that period to survive. It was the last home of Col. William Preston, who immigrated to the Virginia Colony from Ireland in 1739. Preston was a noted surveyor and developer of western lands who served as an important colonial and Revolutionary War leader. He named the 1,860-acre plantation Smithfield in honor of his wife, Susanna Smith.

The Prestons' commitment to education as well as Preston farmlands were both critical factors in the creation of Preston and Olin Institute and its subsequent conversion into Virginia Agricultural and Mechanical College (VAMC) in 1872. VAMC has now evolved into a world-class, land-grant university—Virginia Tech.

The manor house and outbuildings are now a museum, interpreted and administered by a large group of volunteers. Historic Smithfield© is owned and operated by the Smithfield-Preston Foundation, Inc. The primary goal of the foundation is education about the Preston legacy and life in the region during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This goal is realized using both historic and contemporary venues for programming, educational activities, meetings, arts presentations, music, and commemorations.

Under the auspices of the foundation, *The Smithfield Review* was founded in 1997 with the purpose of helping to preserve often-neglected history of the region west of the Blue Ridge Mountains in Virginia and adjacent states. Articles accepted for publication in the journal have focused—and continue to principally focus—on important people and events; archaeological

discoveries; and analyses of the social, political, economic, and architectural history of the region. Whenever possible and appropriate, these articles have incorporated letters, diaries, business papers and reports, speeches, and other primary documents that convey a direct sense of the past to the reader.

Beginning in 2018 with volume 22, the Smithfield-Preston Foundation and the Department of History, Virginia Tech, joined together to co-publish *The Smithfield Review*. The department had financially supported the journal for numerous years though the Frank L. Curtis Fund and continues to do so, in addition to providing other forms of support. Starting in 2017 with volume 21, University Libraries, Virginia Tech, began publishing *The Smithfield Review* online at *//scholar.lib.vt.edu/ejournals/smithfieldreview/*. This trio of publishers has broadened the visibility of, enhanced the prospective author pool of, and brought greater prominence to the journal.

Additional information about Historic Smithfield© and its programs can be found on its website at *historicsmithfield.org*. To learn more about the Department of History, go to *//liberalarts.vt.edu/departments-and-schools/department-of-history.html*. For more information about the VT Publishing arm of University Libraries, see *//publishing.vt.edu/*. Inquiries about *The Smithfield Review* should be directed to Editor Clara B. Cox via e-mail at *history@vt.edu.*

William G. Foster
Chairman of the Board
Smithfield-Preston Foundation

A Message from the Editor

Announcements

Unlike the previous two years, when several major changes were made in *The Smithfield Review*—most importantly, adding a co-publisher and putting the journal online—volume 23 includes only one significant change. In an effort to broaden our readers' knowledge of the history of the region west of the Blue Ridge Mountains in Virginia and surrounding states, the *TSR* Editorial Board has decided to feature a regional historical site and/or museum in each volume. This new content appears—and will continue to appear—on the inside back cover.

Less significant, but certainly more graphically appealing, the online version of *TSR*, beginning with the 2018 volume, includes several color photographs. That practice will continue whenever color images are available. For now, however, printed copies will appear in black and white.

TSR is also happy to report that another member has been added to the editorial board: Sherry Joines Wyatt, curator of the Montgomery Museum of Art and History in Christiansburg, Virginia. Wyatt is a past contributor to *The Smithfield Review*, having co-authored an article on early roads in Montgomery County for volume 21 (2017).

Contents of Volume 23

The articles that follow cover a wide range of topics, from the Prestons of Smithfield to western Virginia Civil War newspapers and from the Botetourt County (Virginia) Resolutions of the Revolutionary era to the Montgomery County (Virginia) poorhouse in pre-Civil War times. The information uncovered by the authors of these articles expands the body of knowledge in each of these areas.

The first article, "'The original purchase was blood, and mine shall seal the surrender': The Importance of Place in Botetourt County's Resolutions, 1775," relates the experiences of Botetourt County settlers as they moved into and settled the frontier region. Author/historian Sarah E. McCartney points out how those experiences affected the way these pioneers crafted the county's resolutions that supported and instructed their delegates to the Second Virginia Convention. McCartney also follows clues uncovered in her research to identify at least some of the heretofore anonymous writers of the resolutions.

In the next article, "The War in Words: Union and Confederate Civil War Military Camp Newspapers in Western Virginia," author Stewart Plein describes two Civil War newspapers—one produced by Rebels, the other by Yankees—from the size to the contents of each newspaper. She relates information these "rarely examined" soldier-produced publications add to knowledge of the 1862 Battle

of Charleston, Virginia (West Virginia the following year) and emphasizes that these publications are part of the documentary evidence of the struggle of western Virginia counties to create the new state of West Virginia.

Few people probably know that some of the poor amongst the nineteenth-century population of Montgomery County, Virginia, were aided by placing them in a poorhouse, much less that the county had such a facility. In the third article, "Life on Poorhouse Knob: Poor-relief in Montgomery County, Virginia, 1830−1860," author Jennifer A. Gallagher describes the types of poor-relief provided by the county before the Civil War and how the poor were treated and viewed. She also compares local poor-aid and treatment of the poor with that in other parts of the country, notably the rural South and urban North.

The fourth article is the anxiously awaited continuation of Laura Jones Wedin's work on the historically prominent Preston family: "A Summary of Nineteenth-Century Smithfield, Part 2: The Early War Years, 1861−1862." In it, Wedin provides new insights into the lives of the three sons of Gov. James Patton Preston: William Ballard, Robert Taylor, and James Francis Preston, who inherited the adjoining Smithfield, Solitude, and White Thorn properties, respectively, upon their father's death. Additionally and, perhaps, most importantly, she reports new findings she uncovered about the brothers' enslaved communities and the efforts of Ballard Preston to get a relative reinstated to a position of military leadership.

A University of Virginia Press review/synopsis of Daniel B. Thorp's book, *Facing Freedom*, follows the last article. In his book, Thorp, who is the history advisor for *The Smithfield Review* and a member of its editorial board, relates the experiences of African Americans in Montgomery County from the Civil War to the early twentieth century.

The editor extends appreciation to these authors and particularly thanks Barbara Corbett, graphic designer; the anonymous reviewers who provided feedback on articles; Sharon B. Watkins of the editorial board for editorial assistance; Daniel B. Thorp of the editorial board for influencing prospective authors to submit manuscripts; Mark Barrow, chair of the Department of History, Virginia Tech, for promoting *TSR* among the department's faculty and students; and the three publishers for making *TSR* possible in both printed and electronic formats.

See volumes 21 and 22 of *The Smithfield Review* online at *//scholar.lib.vt.edu/ejournals/smithfieldreview/*.

"The original purchase was blood, and mine shall seal the surrender": The Importance of Place in Botetourt County's Resolutions, 1775

Sarah E. McCartney

On March 11, 1775, the *Virginia Gazette* published a statement of support and instruction from the freeholders of Botetourt County to their delegates at the upcoming Second Virginia Convention, scheduled to begin just nine days later.[1] The Second Virginia Convention, held at St. John's Church in Richmond, Virginia, is best remembered as the place of Patrick Henry's "Liberty or Death" speech; however, Henry's passionate address and statement that he had "but one lamp by which my feet are guided; and that is the lamp of experience" were not the first stirring sentiments or emphasis on history and experience expressed in Virginia in 1775.[2] Through the winter months of 1775, four counties—Augusta, Botetourt, Fincastle, and Pittsylvania—which were part of Virginia's frontier region known as the "backcountry" and spanned the Shenandoah Valley and Allegheny Mountains, published resolutions articulating their agreement with the growing patriotic fervor.[3] These resolutions also gave instructions to county delegates and Virginia's patriot leaders to champion the revolutionary cause. This article specifically considers the resolutions from Botetourt County and situates those resolutions within the context of the region's settlement history and experience, arguing for the importance of place as a foundational element of revolutionary-era sentiment in a frontier region where historians often focus on movement and impermanence.

The Botetourt Resolutions

Resolutions from Fincastle County, Botetourt County's neighbor, were the first in a wave of statements issued by Virginia's western counties through the winter months of 1775, and they have received substantial attention from historians;[4] however, the Botetourt Resolutions (see Appendix) are less well known despite similar language and a compelling portrait of backcountry hardships and experience. The Botetourt Resolutions were written by Botetourt County's freeholders and were addressed to the

county's delegates to the Second Virginia Convention, Andrew Lewis and John Bowyer. Lewis and Bowyer were prominent residents of Botetourt County, and both had risen to positions of leadership in Augusta County prior to Botetourt's formation in 1769. Beyond "freeholder," the identities of the men who drafted the Botetourt Resolutions are unknown; however, the law stated that a freeholder was a property-owning male over the age of twenty-one who owned at least one hundred acres of land, twenty-five acres of land with a house or plantation, or a lot or house located in a town or city.[5] Additionally, the freeholders likely met at the county courthouse, located in present-day Fincastle, Virginia, to draft their statement. The town of Fincastle was situated on the eastern edge of a county spanning more than one hundred and fifty miles of mountainous terrain from the Shenandoah Valley to the Ohio River, so it is likely that the eastern portion of the county had better representation among the authors of the Botetourt Resolutions than the western areas of the county.[6]

The Botetourt Resolutions began with an expression of gratitude to Andrew Lewis and John Bowyer for their service, which, in the case of Lewis, was particularly in recognition of his leadership a few months earlier during an October 1774 expedition against the Shawnees. The expedition, which is known as Lord Dunmore's War, was organized by Virginia's royal governor, John Murray, the Fourth Earl of Dunmore, who appointed Lewis as the commander of the expedition's southern army, which was traveling west from a rendezvous point in the Greenbrier Valley along the New and Kanawha rivers.[7] The "war," culminating with a battle at Point Pleasant on the banks of the Ohio River, was a pivotal moment for backcountry Virginians as it was the first time the recently formed frontier counties united and, led by Lewis and his company of men from eastern Botetourt County, made a full-scale offensive attack against Native Americans.[8] The recognition for Lewis's service was even more pronounced because Lord Dunmore himself, who was expected to travel a northern route down the Ohio River, never arrived at the battle, so Lewis and his southern army faced the Shawnees alone.

After beginning the Botetourt Resolutions with the statement of gratitude to Lewis and Bowyer, Botetourt County freeholders discussed their view of Britain. Describing "hearts replete with the most grateful and loyal veneration" for the House of Hanover, which had ruled Britain since the early 1700s, and "dutiful affection for our Sovereign," they declared their contempt for the king's councilors, whom they described as "a set of miscreants, unworthy to administer the laws of Britain's empire."[9] This language of regard for King George and disgust for Parliament stands out among the resolutions from Augusta and Fincastle counties, which

expressed frustration in more subdued references to "respect for the parent state" and an unwillingness to consider submitting their liberty or property to "the will of a corrupt Ministry"; however, all three counties conveyed their displeasure with royal authority.[10]

The Botetourt County freeholders went on to illustrate an acute awareness of both their situation on the western edge of Virginia and the unity across the North American colonies during a time when revolutionary fervor directed toward Britain was beginning to boil. Referring to events in Boston more than a year earlier, the freeholders stated that "the subjects of Britain are ONE; and when the honest man of Boston, who has broke no law, has his property wrested from him, the hunter on the Allegany must take the alarm [emphasis in original document]."[11] By expressing their support for the people of Boston, whose harbor had been closed in 1774 as part of the Crown's reaction to the infamous tea party, Botetourt County freeholders belatedly joined the public outcry against Britain cutting off Boston's trade activity.[12] The animosity toward Britain continued to grow as legislatures and citizens throughout the American colonies expressed concern that what had happened in Massachusetts could soon occur in their own colonies.[13]

In Williamsburg, Virginia, the House of Burgesses declared a day of fasting and prayer at the end of May 1774 to protest the "hostile Invasion of the city of Boston" and the closing of Boston Harbor.[14] Lord Dunmore, who saw the protest as an affront to the king, responded by dissolving the House of Burgesses, whose members famously moved their planned meeting down the Duke of Gloucester Street from the Capitol to Raleigh Tavern. Dunmore's actions spurred Virginia's delegates toward the First Virginia Convention in August 1774, the Continental Congress a month later, and eventually a declaration of independence.[15] While these activities took place in eastern Virginia through the spring and summer of 1774, Virginia's backcountry settlers looked west toward the Ohio River in preparation for Dunmore's expedition. By the time the backcountry counties regrouped after Lord Dunmore's War and issued their statements, the freeholders ensured that their voices joined the chorus of scorn and solidarity against the Boston Port Bill, although months later.

After beginning the Botetourt Resolutions with a declaration of steadfast respect for the king, disgust for Parliament, and support for the people of Boston, Botetourt's freeholders used the resolutions to speak specifically to Virginia's backcountry history and the violence that was part of the settlement experience. With language intended to remind county delegates and any other readers about the sacrifices backcountry settlers made to secure their homes and land, as well as the region's role as the colony's barrier against western threats from Native Americans and other

European nations through the French and Indian War, the freeholders offered a rousing charge to Lewis and Bowyer, writing:

> Gentlemen, my gun, my tomahawk, my life, I desire you to tender to the honour of my King and country; but my LIBERTY, to range these woods on the same terms my father has done is not mine to give up; it was not purchased by me, and purchased it was, it is entailed on my son, and the tenure is sacred. Watch over it, Gentlemen, for to him it must descend unviolated, if my arm can defend it; but if not, if wicked power is permitted to prevail against me, the original purchase was blood, and mine shall seal the surrender [emphasis in original document].[16]

While the emotion and language Botetourt County freeholders used to express their frustration is generally representative of the ideology of the American Revolution, Botetourt settlers were also describing their specific experiences and hardships via the reference to gun and tomahawk.

As Botetourt freeholders expressed the trials of settlement, they associated those trials specifically with land and a connection to place. Referring to their liberty "to range these woods on the same terms my father has done," the importance of passing this land-related liberty to their sons, and the "original purchase" in blood, the Botetourt freeholders argued that claiming their lands had not simply been an issue of paper and pen but one that required their sweat and blood—and even their lives.[17] For the freeholders, these sacrifices cemented their land claims and gave them a greater reason to defend their homes.[18] The reference to these personal experiences also increased the significance of the Botetourt Resolutions for settlers and their communities.[19]

At the conclusion of the resolutions, Botetourt County freeholders turned back to the broader patriot rhetoric, asking that their statement be published so "that our countrymen, and the world, may know our disposition" and that the members of the First Continental Congress accept their gratitude for actions taken in Philadelphia the previous autumn.[20] They also thanked their delegates, described as "SONS of WORTH and FREEDOM," and pledged to "religiously observe their resolutions, and obey their instructions, in contempt of our power, and temporary interest [emphasis in original document]"[21] Should the economic boycott and non-exportation measures Congress took the previous October fail to produce the desired result, Botetourt's citizens declared that they would "stand prepared for every Contingency."[22]

While it is impossible to discover the identity of each Botetourt County freeholder supporting the resolutions because of the scarcity of records in this frontier county, examining settlement patterns, militia rosters, and

county records reveals the identities of some men and offers greater insight into residents' connection to place through the experiences of those whose identities are known. Although the freeholders were unidentified in the resolutions, the county's gentlemen justices, more than sixteen men whose names are known from the court order books, were by definition among the county's freeholders and likely spearheaded drafting the resolutions.[23] In addition to the justices, militia officers were appointed by the county court and typically came from the upper tiers of colonial Virginia society, so the six officers who survived the battle at Point Pleasant would certainly have been freeholders in the county as well.[24] There is some overlap between the men who served as both justices and officers; however, altogether there are roughly twenty men whose positions ensured their status as freeholders and were likely among the signers of the Botetourt Resolutions.

Among the known freeholders who were also justices or militia officers, roughly half of the men lived in the eastern fourth of Botetourt County, while the others were from areas beyond the Shenandoah Valley, such as the Greenbrier Valley and the area known at the time as "western Botetourt" along the Kanawha River in present-day West Virginia. The minimal number of justices from the county's western region demonstrates that county governance in Botetourt County was carried out primarily by men who lived in areas east of the Allegheny Mountains and who experienced less instability from warfare and violence in the 1770s; however, only a few decades earlier, those areas and residents were on the frontlines of the Indian wars, and many had endured hardships as children moving into the region with their families.

Settling Botetourt County

Settlers first moved into the Shenandoah Valley in the early eighteenth century, and by 1740, Augusta County stretched from the Blue Ridge Mountains to the western "limits of Virginia."[25] The southern "Upper Valley" region was settled primarily by an influx of Protestant Irish, known as the Scots-Irish today, whose settlements were so extensive in the region that it became known as the "Irish Tract."[26] There were settlers from other areas of Europe and England, but the Irish were so prevalent in the Upper Valley that German-speaking Moravians traveling from Pennsylvania to the Carolinas described a 150-mile route through the Irish communities.[27]

During the 1750s, settlers pushed farther west out of the Shenandoah Valley into the Greenbrier River Valley and Kanawha River Valley at present-day Lewisburg and Charleston, West Virginia, respectively, where they encroached on Native American lands.[28] Historian Gregory Evans Dowd noted that the Shawnees saw this movement through the area that

became Botetourt County, along a route that paralleled much of present-day Interstate-64 at the Virginia–West Virginia border, as a "dangerous westward thrust of British Settlement" across the Appalachian Mountains, and they responded with action and a message that they would resist the Virginians' continued intrusion.[29]

The French and Indian War of the 1750s also brought increased violence to the Virginia backcountry as Native Americans and their French allies waged a devastating war against British settlers who were ever moving toward the Ohio country.[30] In the summer of 1755, a series of Indian attacks occurred throughout southern Augusta County with loss of life in Draper's Meadows, located in present-day Blacksburg, Virginia, and further west on the New River and Greenbrier River in present-day West Virginia.[31] The violence often wiped out an entire community and certainly devastated individual families since husbands and fathers were frequently killed while women and children were taken captive. In 1756, an attack at the settlements near Jackson's River (known today as Jackson River), which zigzags across today's Interstate-64 between Clifton Forge and Covington, Virginia, resulted in thirteen deaths and twenty-nine settlers taken captive.[32] While Native Americans delivered many captives to Fort Pitt at the end of the French and Indian War, recently returned family members created a new challenge for backcountry settlers as they attempted to assimilate their relatives, many of whom had been captured as young children and considered themselves as Indians, back into colonial society.[33] In spite of the danger, settlers did not immediately abandon western areas when periods of violence began, although many settlers living beyond the Allegheny Mountains eventually retreated to less vulnerable communities in the east until the violence ended.

After the French and Indian War, settlers again pressed west into the mountains, but the period of peace was short-lived as many native groups embraced Delaware prophet Neolin's call for Native Americans to reject all elements of white society and to expel them from the frontier. This ideology spread throughout the backcountry as part of Pontiac's War, and in Virginia, Shawnees, led by Cornstalk, attacked settlements in the Greenbrier Valley at Muddy Creek Mountain, as well as the nearby Clendenin settlement, then moved further east to again attack settlements along Jackson's River.[34] By the end of the war, the Shawnees had taken more captives from the intrusive western peninsula of British settlement that became Botetourt County, especially the Greenbrier Valley and Jackson's River settlements, than from any other Virginia backcountry area.[35]

In the mid-1760s, the Virginia backcountry was a key territory in various treaty negotiations and legal actions by the Crown and its colonial

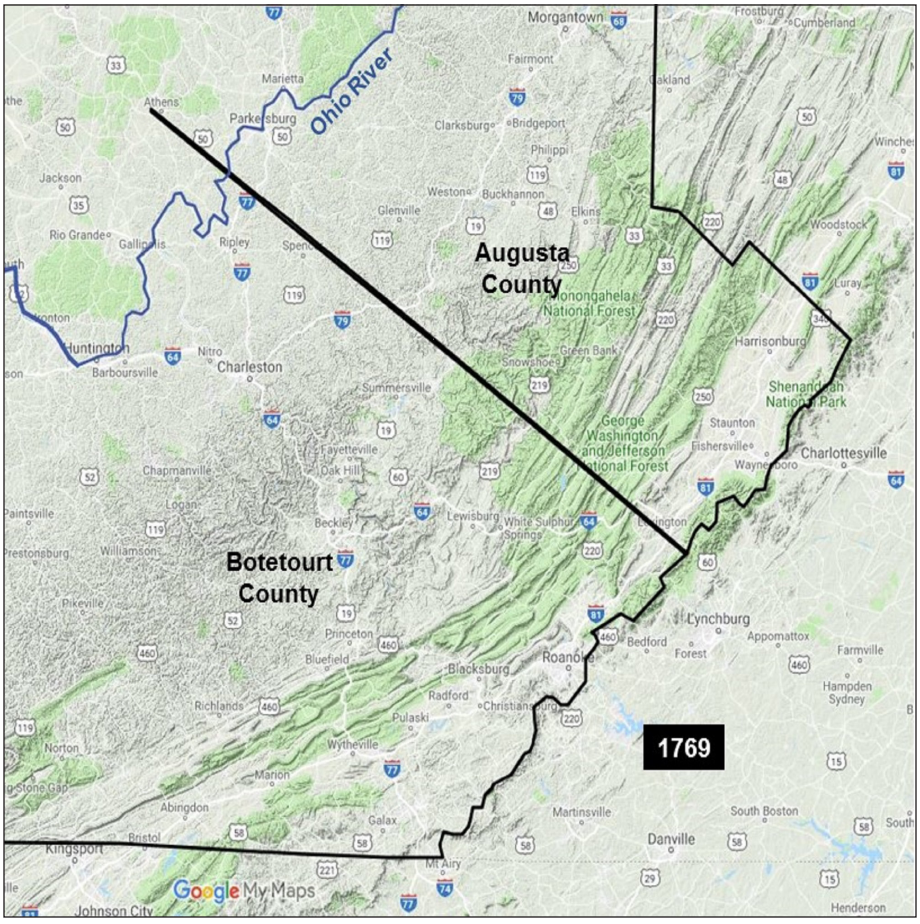


Figure 1: Map of Augusta County and Botetourt County, 1769 (created by Sarah E. McCartney using Google Maps and Microsoft Powerpoint).

representatives even as the population continued to swell from settlers moving west. Whether by the Royal Proclamation of 1763, the treaties at Fort Stanwix and Hard Labor in 1769, or the 1770 Treaty of Lochaber and treaty line established by John Donelson, Britain sought to balance her imperial interests with those of land speculators and settlers in addition to placating native peoples.[36] By the time the last treaty was finalized in 1771, Native Americans had roughly ten million fewer acres along the tributaries of the Ohio River, and Virginia had created a new backcountry county as a result of population growth in the area. The new county, which was called Botetourt after Virginia's beloved royal governor, Norborne Berkeley, Lord Botetourt, was formed from the southern portion of Augusta County in 1769 (see Figure 1).[37] Botetourt County's boundaries were redrawn in 1772 when

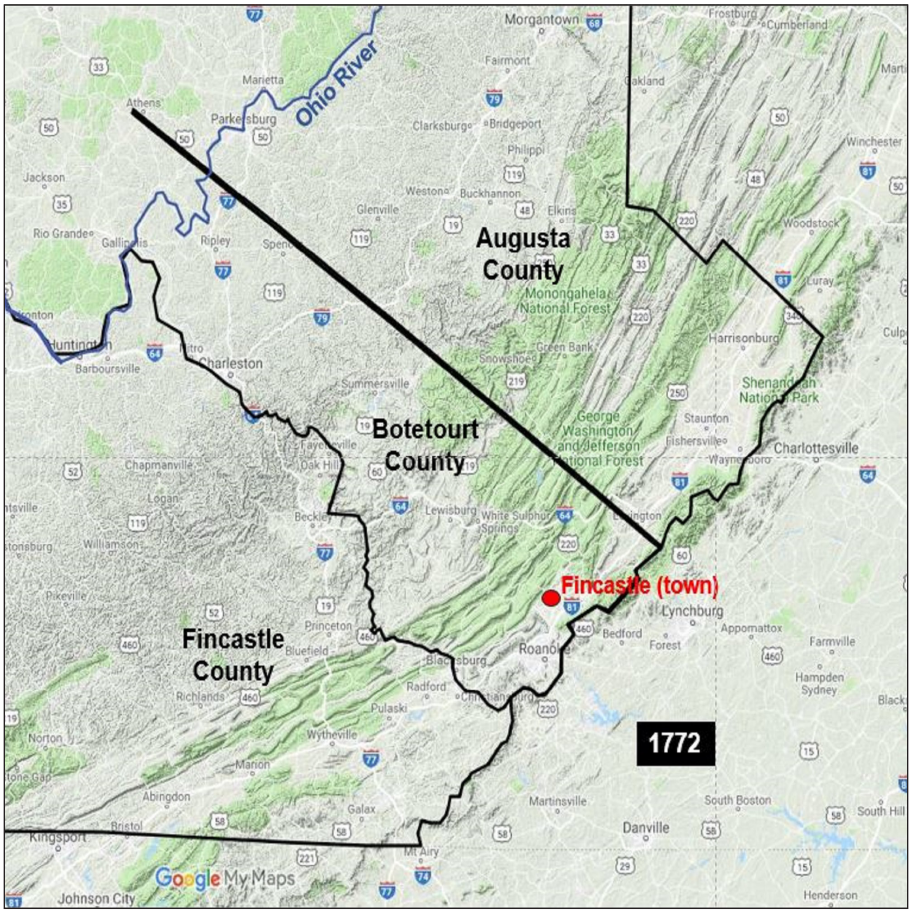


Figure 2. Map of Augusta County, Botetourt County, and Fincastle County, 1772 (created by Sarah E. McCartney using Google Maps and Microsoft Powerpoint).

the territory to the west and southwest of the Kanawha River and New River in present-day West Virginia became Fincastle County (see Figure 2).[38]

By the time of the expedition against the Shawnees in 1774 and Lord Dunmore's mobilization of Virginia's western counties, backcountry settlers were committed to their homes and lands and were well accustomed to violence and uncertainty. This connection to place meant that they were willing, and even enthusiastic, to take offensive action against a Native American threat if they believed it would secure their families and communities.[39] In August 1774, Andrew Lewis and nearly fifteen hundred backcountry men flooded the Levels of the Greenbrier Valley near present-day Lewisburg, West Virginia, and within weeks they began their march across more than one hundred miles of the Appalachian Plateau toward the

Ohio River.[40] Roughly six weeks later, just before sunrise on October 10, 1774, two militiamen discovered a Shawnee camp within a few miles of the army's encampment at the confluence of the Kanawha and Ohio rivers, and the battle began.[41] When the conflict ended late in the day, the survivors faced the task of caring for the wounded and burying their slain comrades.[42]

In the aftermath of Lord Dunmore's War, the fresh loss of life and the reality that many men would live out their lives with wounds from the expedition further strengthened settlers' connection to place. Some men, like William Fleming, had such extensive wounds that they were not expected to survive, and rumors of Fleming's death circulated in the *Virginia Gazette* alongside the first accounts of the battle, although he lived until the 1790s. Meanwhile, Andrew Lewis's youngest brother, Charles Lewis, who was a highly respected and admired officer, died during the battle.[43] Andrew Lewis addressed the troops after his brother's death, giving insight into the camaraderie of the men and the devastation of loss on the battlefield, stating, "You have lost your brave leader & I in him have lost the best of Brothers."[44] The family of John Vanbibber had survived the Indian attacks at Muddy Creek more than a decade earlier, but he lost one of the two brothers he fought alongside at Point Pleasant. Robert McClenachan, brother of Botetourt County Justice William McClenachan, also died in the battle.[45] If kinship did not sharpen the pain of loss and settlers' connection to place, friendship certainly did. Robert McClenachan and John Stuart had moved from the Shenandoah Valley to the Greenbrier Valley of Botetourt County together as young men, and both served as captains of Greenbrier's Botetourt County regiment at Point Pleasant, but only Stuart returned from the battle.[46] When the Botetourt County freeholders published their resolutions, the recent sacrifices of their family members, friends, and comrades at Point Pleasant further strengthened the power of place as a reminder that there was a physical and emotional cost to settling in the Virginia backcountry that physically linked them to the region.[47]

In December 1774, Lord Dunmore returned to Williamsburg from the expedition against the Shawnees and penned a letter to the Earl of Dartmouth illuminating his thoughts about backcountry Virginians. He wrote that he had "frequent opportunities to reflect upon the emigrating Spirit of the Americans" and the inability to restrain them through established authority and government.[48] He also noted his observations, likely drawn from his recent experience in the backcountry, that these people had "no attachment to Place: But wandering about Seems engrafted in their Nature; and it is a weakness incident to it, that they Should for ever imagine the Lands further off, are Still better than those upon which they are already Settled."[49] By

expressing these views, Dunmore, who first arrived in the American colonies in 1770 and in Virginia in 1771, proved to be oblivious to the experiences and sentiments of backcountry settlers. His statement demonstrated his ignorance about the trials backcountry Virginians experienced through decades of settlement that strengthened the bonds of their communities and the importance of place, which was at the root of their eagerness to strike against Native Americans the previous autumn.

The history of backcountry settlement and the personal experience of Botetourt County inhabitants and freeholders reveal the importance of place and deepen our understanding of the fiery sentiments expressed in the Botetourt Resolutions. By offering "my gun, my tomahawk, my life" for the liberty to continue living on the lands first claimed by their fathers and entailed on their sons, Botetourt County settlers recalled the multi-generational settlement experience of moving to the Shenandoah Valley with their parents and seeing the hardships of settlement as children. The violence and warfare settlers experienced impacted everyone, regardless of age or gender, and the settlers' perspective that they had "purchased" these lands not only with land claims, but also with their blood, strengthened the importance of place and their commitment to defend the region. The statements expressed in the resolutions were not new but rather were a continuation of the sentiment Botetourt County settlers had already demonstrated in their actions, though the emotion was aimed in a different direction than it had been previously. Instead of facing west toward French or Native American opponents, Botetourt County's residents now faced east and were prepared to offer the same dedication and perseverance against a new adversary, in the form of Britain, as they pledged to defend hearth and home against all foes.

Appendix: The Botetourt Resolutions

To Col. ANDREW LEWIS, *and Mr.* JOHN BOWYER.

Gentlemen,

For your past service, you have our thanks, and we presume it is all the reward ye desire. And as we have again committed you the greatest trust we can confer (that of appearing for us in the great council of the colony) we think it expedient [you] hear our sentiments at this important juncture. And first, we require you to represent us with hearts replete with the most grateful and loyal veneration for the race of Brunswick, for they have been truly our fathers; and at the same time the most dutiful affection for our Sovereign, of whose honest heart we cannot entertain any diffidence; but sorry we are to add, that in his councils we can no longer confide. A set of miscreants, unworthy to administer the laws of Britain's empire, have been permitted impiously to sway. How unjustly, cruelly, and tyrannically, they have invaded our rights, we need not now put you in mind. We only say, and we assert it with pride, that the subjects of Britain are one; and when the honest man of Boston, who has broke no law, has his property wrested from him, the hunter on the Allegany must take the alarm, and, as a Freeman of American, he will fly to his Representatives and thus instruct them. Gentlemen, my gun, my tomahawk, my life, I desire you to tender to the honour of my King and country; but my LIBERTY, to range these woods on the same terms my father has done is not mine to give up; it was not purchased by me, and purchased it was, it is entailed on my son, and the tenure is sacred. Watch over it, Gentlemen, for to him it must descend unviolated, if my arm can defend it; but if not, if wicked power is permitted to prevail against me, the original purchase was blood, and mine shall seal the surrender.

That our countrymen, and the world, may know our disposition, we choose that this be published. And we have one request to add, that is, that the SONS of WORTH and FREEDOM who appeared for us at Philadelphia will accept our most ardent, grateful acknowledgments; and we hereby plight them our faith, that we will religiously observe their resolutions, and obey their instructions, in contempt of our power, and temporary interest; and should the measures they have wisely calculated for our relief fail, *we will stand prepared for every Contingency.* We are Gentlemen, your dutiful, &c.

The Freeholders of Botetourt.

Source: *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Hunter), 11 March 1775, 3.

Endnotes

1. Woody Holton, *Forced Founders: Indians, Debtors, Slaves & the Making of the American Revolution in Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 119. The First Continental Congress met from 5 September through 24 October 1774 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. See Brent Tarter and Robert L. Scribner, eds., *Revolutionary Virginia: The Road to Independence* 2 (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1969) 103−105.
2. William Wirt, *Sketches of the life and character of Patrick Henry* (Philadelphia: James Webster, 1817), 120.
3. Warren Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia: Settlement and Landscape in the Shenandoah Valley* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 1−16.
4. Thad Tate, "The Fincastle Resolutions: Southwest Virginia's Commitment," *Journal of the Roanoke Valley Historical Society* 9, no. 2 (1975): 19−31; Mary Kegley, "Who the 15 Signers Were," *Journal of the Roanoke Valley Historical Society* 9, no. 2 (1975): 32−37; Jim Glanville, "The Fincastle Resolutions," *The Smithfield Review* 14 (2010): 69−119; Kegley, "Another look at the Fincastle Resolutions," *Historical Society of Western Virginia Journal* 1 (2013): 66−71.
5. *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Hunter), 11 March 1775, 3; "freeholders" were those adult white males over the age of twenty-one in the colony who had "an estate of freehold, or other greater estate," which was comprised of at least one hundred acres of land (if no settlement be made upon it), or twenty-five acres with a house or plantation in the possession of him or his tenants, or property in a city or town. See William Waller Hening, *The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia* (Richmond: Franklin Press, 1820), 4:475−478.
6. In a statement of support and instruction to Virginia's representatives to the Continental Congress published two weeks later, Botetourt County's "freeholders and inhabitants" specifically noted that they "assembled at the courthouse" to compose their statement. See *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), 24 March 1775, 3.
7. Joseph Addison Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County, Virginia, from 1726 to 1871* (1901; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 180.
8. Pittsylvania, the most eastern of these backcountry counties, was formed in 1766, Botetourt County was formed out of Augusta County in 1769, and Fincastle County was formed out of Botetourt County in 1772.
9. *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Hunter), 11 March 1775, 3.
10. The writers of the Fincastle Resolutions stated that they "cannot think of submitting our liberty or property to the power of a venal British parliament, or to the will of a corrupt Ministry." See *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), 10 February 1775, 3. Augusta County described an unwillingness to "surrender . . . to any minister, to any parliament, or any body of men upon earth, by whom we are not represented." See *Virginia Gazette* (Pinkney), 16 March 1775, 2).
11. *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Hunter), 11 March 1775, 3.
12. Robert A. Gross, *The Minutemen and Their World* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1976), 47−50; T.H. Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 1−3.
13. American colonists supported Boston both with official statements and physical goods no longer available because of the port's closure. For example, Connecticut farmers sent livestock, Pennsylvanians sent grain, and South Carolinians sent rice.
14. Tarter and Scribner,*Revolutionary Virginia,* 93−95.
15. Historians have argued that the resolution for a day of prayer was a strategic move by the younger burgesses to close the courts, thus allowing indebted tobacco farmers to support plans to drive up the price of tobacco through non-exportation while avoiding prosecution, but nonetheless, the juxtaposition of events in Williamsburg and the backcountry is striking. See Holton, *Forced Founders*, 116-118.

16. *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Hunter), 11 March 1775, 3.
17. *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Hunter), 11 March 1775, 3.
18. *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Hunter), 11 March 1775, 3.
19. According to Albert Tillson, "By relating the patriot ideology to their region's special experiences and values, the upper valley gentry gave that ideology a heightened relevance for their communities." See Albert H. Tillson, *Gentry and Common Folk: Political Culture on a Virginia Frontier, 1740–1789* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1991), 80.
20. *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Hunter), 11 March 1775, 3.
21. *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Hunter), 11 March 1775, 3.
22. Holton, *Forced Founders*, 121−122; *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Hunter), 11 March 1775, 3.
23. The Botetourt County justices included William Fleming, Philip Love, Matthew Arbuckle, John Lewis, John Stuart, Andrew Lewis, Samuel Lewis, John Maxwell, David Robinson, George Skillern, Adam Smyth, James Trimble, James Henderson, Benjamin Estill, John Bowman, John Murray, William Madison, John Bowyer, William McKee, Andrew Donnally, Richard May, Andrew Woods, James Templeton, Thomas Bowyer, Andrew Boyd, James McAfee, William Hugart, Patrick Lockhart, John Vanbibber, Henry Pauling, Henry Smith, and William McClenachan. See "Minutes of the County Court" in *Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769–1800*, Lewis Preston Summers, ed. (Abingdon, VA.: Lewis Preston Summers, 1929): 238−250; H. R. McIlwaine, *Bulletin of the Virginia State Library* 14, nos. 2−3 (April, July 1921), 121−122, 126; Rhys Isaac, *Transformation of Virginia, 1740–1790* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 30, 90–91.
24. Isaac, *Transformation of Virginia,* 104−110; Michael A. McDonnell, *The Politics of War: Race, Class & Conflict in Revolutionary Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 37−38l. The officers who survived the battle at Point Pleasant were William Fleming, Philip Love, John Lewis, John Stuart, Henry Pauling, and Matthew Arbuckle. Botetourt County officers Robert McClenachan, James Ward, and John Murray were killed at Point Pleasant.
25. "An Act for erecting two new Counties, and Parishes; and granting certain encouragements to the Inhabitants thereof," Hening, *The Statutes at Large*: *Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia* (Richmond: Franklin Press, 1819) 5:78−80.
26. Katharine L. Brown and Kenneth W. Keller, "Searching for Status: Virginia's Irish Tract, 1770−1790," in Warren R. Hofstra, ed., *Ulster to America: The Scots-Irish Migration Experience, 1680−1830* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2011): 124.
27. The Reverend Leonhard Schnell wrote that he "had no desire to take this way, and as no one could tell me the right way I felt somewhat depressed" when he discovered he had to travel through the Irish Tract. See William J. Hinke and Charles E. Kemper, eds., "Moravian Diaries of Travels through Virginia (Continued)," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 11, no. 4 (April 1904): 374.
28. "Physiographic Provinces of West Virginia," West Virginia Geological and Economic Survey, *www.wvgs.wvnet.edu/www/geology/geolphyp.htm,* accessed 17 November 2016.
29. Gregory Evans Dowd, *War under Heaven: Pontiac, the Indian Nations, & the British Empire* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 143.
30. Sami Lakomäki, *Gathering Together: The Shawnee People through Diaspora and Nationhood, 1600−1870* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2014), 73.
31. Patricia Givens Johnson, *James Patton and the Appalachian Colonists* (Charlotte: Jostens, 1983), 94, 201−208.
32. Ian K. Steele, *Setting all the Captives Free* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013), 105.
33. Steele, *Setting all the Captives Free*, 355−383. Felix Renick recounted his mother's stories about the physical and emotional challenges of assimilating children who grew up as Native American captives back into their families. See Felix Renick, "A Trip to the West" in *American Pioneer* 1, no. 2 (February 1842): 78−79.

34. For a description of "the Cornstalk," see Tarter and Scribner, *Revolutionary Virginia: The Road to Independence* 2, 105; Colin G. Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Commuities* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 162; Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745−1815* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 67. Cornstalk was an influential leader among the Shawnee neutralists as someone who opposed militancy in Dunmore's War, but he had organized the Shawnees to defend themselves against the invading Virginians, and after the battle at Point Pleasant, he had again supported neutrality. See Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance*, 67.
35. Dowd, *War under Heaven*, 143−144.
36. Woody Holton argued that the 1768 treaties were ineffective at undoing the 1763 line; however, he combined present-day West Virginia and Kentucky and, therefore, overlooked the impact that the 1768 treaties had on the near-west regions along the Greenbrier and Kanawha rivers (Holton, "Ohio Indians and the Coming of the American Revolution in Virginia," *Journal of Southern History* 60, no. 3 (August 1994): 453); "Treaty between the Cherokee Nation and John Stuart, agent of George III, King of Great Britain, concerning the boundary between Cherokee land and Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina," 14 October 1768, in *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* 7, William Laurence Saunders, ed. (Raleigh: P. M. Hale, Printer to the State, 1886): 851−855; *Documenting the American South*, University Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2007, *docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr07-0350*; "Instructions from Lord Botetourt to Col. Lewis and Dr. Walker," 20 December 1768, in "Virginia and the Cherokees, &c.: The Treaties of 1768 and 1770," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 13, no. 1 (July 1905): 28.
37. *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie & Dixon), 23 November 1769, 3; *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), 23 November 1769, 2; Mary B. Kegley and F. B. Kegley, *Early Adventurers on the Western Waters* 1 (Orange, VA.: Green Publishers, Inc., 1980), 91.
38. The new county boundary between Botetourt and Fincastle County ran along a route that roughly followed present-day U.S. 460 through Christiansburg and Blacksburg, Virginia, then entered into present-day West Virginia along the New River and Kanawha River until it reached the Ohio River. See "Dividing Line between Botetourt County and Fincastle County," 3 May 1773, Botetourt County Land Records microfilm, Deed Book 1, 1770−1773, local government records collection, Botetourt County Court (Virginia) Reel 1, Library of Virginia, Richmond.
39. John Dunmore circular letter to Col. William Preston, 10 June 1774, Draper Mss., 3QQ39, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.
40. Col. William Fleming to his wife, 4 September 1774, in *Documentary History of Dunmore's War, 1774*, Reuben Golds Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg, eds. (1905; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012),181; Col. Andrew Lewis to Col. William Preston, 8 September 1774, Draper Mss., 3QQ93, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.
41. *Virginia Gazette* (Pinkney), 10 November 1774, 2. John Stuart said that these men were hunting, while J. F. D. Smyth wrote that they were getting water at a nearby spring. See John Stuart, "Transcript of the memoir of Indian wars and other occurances, 1749−1780," Virginia Historical Society; Smyth, *A Tour in the United States of America* 1 (Dublin: G. Perrin, 1784), 163; Isaac Shelby to John Shelby, 16 October 1774, in *Documentary History,* 271−272.
42. Todd reported that the men collected spoils of war strewn about the battlefield, including "23 Guns 80 Blankets 27 Tomahawks with Match coats Skins Shout [shot] pouches pow[d]erhorns Warclubs &c. The Tomhawks guns & Shout pouches were sold & amounted to near 100." See William Fleming, "Orderly Book, Journal of the Expedition," in *Documentary History,* 345−347.
43. *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie & Dixon), 10 November 1774, 4; Col. William Fleming to William Bowyer, undated, in *Documentary History,* 309; Col. William Fleming to Nancy Fleming, undated, in *Documentary History,* 253.

44. Fleming, "Orderly Book," in *Documentary History*, 348.
45. Peter Vanbibber (spelled alternatively as "Van Bibber," "Vanbeaver," "Van Bebber," etc.) served as an express rider. Capt. Robert McClenachan's wife, Katey, received a pension of £50, and Isaac Vanbibber's wife, Sarah, received a £40 pension based on rank. See Dunmore's War (Virginia Payrolls/Public Service Claims, 1775), microfilm 125 and 182; Warren Skidmore and Donna Kaminsky, *Lord Dunmore's Little War of 1774* (Westminister, MD: Heritage Books, Inc. 2002), 194−200.
46. Fleming, "Orderly Book," in *Documentary History*, 255.
47. Isaac, *Transformation of Virginia*, 104−110; McDonnell, *The Politics of War*, 37−38.
48. Lord Dunmore to Earl of Dartmouth, 24 December 1774, in *Documentary History,* 371.
49. Dunmore to Dartmouth, 24 December 1774, in *Documentary History,* 371.

About the Author: Sarah E. McCartney holds a Ph.D. in American history from the University of North Carolina at Greensboro (UNCG). She teaches at UNCG, at the College of William and Mary (W&M), and with W&M's National Institute of American History and Democracy Pre-College Program. She is in the process of adapting her dissertation, which focuses on the role of "place" in the revolutionary-era Greenbrier Valley of present-day West Virginia, for publication.

The War in Words: Union and Confederate Civil War Military Camp Newspapers in Western Virginia

Stewart Plein

Surviving issues of Civil War military camp newspapers are few and far between, but the news they printed is still valuable to us today. As troops entered a town, if there were newspapermen among the regiment—and from the number and variety of papers printed there often were[1]—they took it upon themselves to take over the local press and use it to print their own newspaper.[2] The press may have been abandoned by fleeing residents, it may have been confiscated by troops,[3] or the unit may have carried a portable press,[4] but in any case, the rare survivors of Civil War news often reflect the movement of troops, the availability of soldiers skilled as newspapermen, and the proximity of a usable press.

A Union soldier once asked, "Does not a newspaper follow a Yankee march everywhere?"[5] It certainly seemed that way. More than fifteen Civil War military camp newspapers were published on confiscated presses for army units on active duty in western Virginia. The names of these regimental publications point to their loyalties: the *American Union*, the *Yankee*, the *Knapsack*, the *Old Flag*, and the *Wandering Soldier*, all Union newspapers. The only Confederate military camp newspaper printed in what became West Virginia was the *Guerilla*.

Military camp newspapers are invaluable for several reasons. They document the movement of both Union and Confederate troops within western Virginia, the struggle of the western counties for independence from Virginia, and the constant need to support and bolster troop morale. Though a number of camp newspapers were printed in various locations throughout the war, they were never common. The few copies that survive are extremely valuable for their reports of daily camp life, including religious meetings and other popular forms of entertainment enjoyed by soldiers in camp, as well as battle reports, politics, and local news.

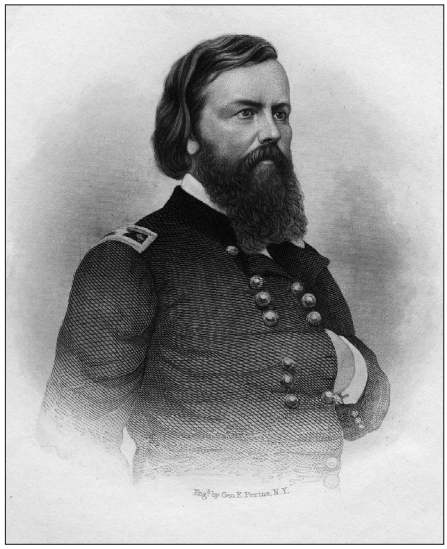
A rarely examined primary resource, camp newspapers recorded the events of the Civil War and the daily lives of soldiers in their own words. As far back as the 1930s, some scholars began to look at "soldier" newspapers,

examining them for their ingenuity and their records of soldiers' experiences in battle and at rest. Over the years, the few scholars who have worked diligently to study camp newspapers have also sought to record a list of the papers extant throughout the United States. These scholarly efforts have located approximately three hundred camp papers; unfortunately, these lists have been lost, are unknown, or have not been located. Only one list remains extant,[6] and it provides a valuable resource for the number and variety of surviving examples of soldier newspapers.

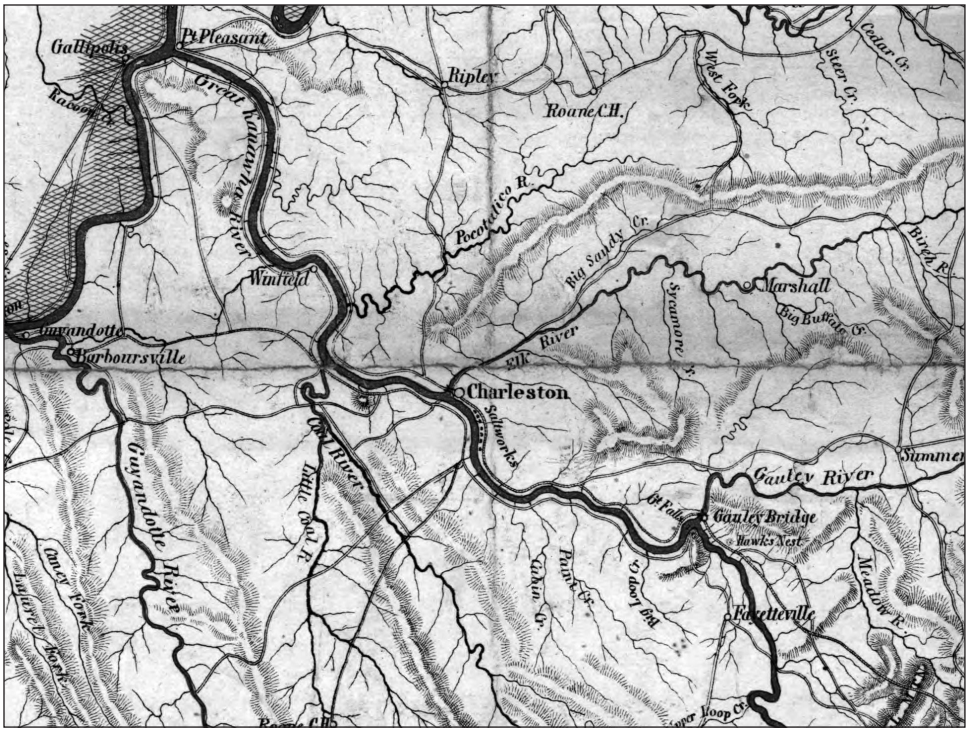
This article looks at the surviving issues of two Civil War military camp newspapers that were published by occupation forces in western Virginia. Two camp newspapers—one Union and one Confederate—are among the survivors of western Virginia campaigns that were printed by successive occupying forces in Charleston, Virginia (West Virginia after 1863). Both newspapers reveal the life of citizens and soldiers under occupation. The *Guerilla*, a Confederate newspaper published by the Associate Printers of the Confederate Army, and the *Knapsack*, a Union newspaper published by the 5th Virginia Volunteer Infantry.[7] Both publications continued the battle, not just on the field, but also on the printed page.

The Battle for Charleston

In the heat of late August 1862, a daring and wildly successful Confederate raid on the Union supply depot at Catlett's Station in northern Virginia earned the Confederacy a handful of Federal troops as prisoners and a supply cache. This raid proved most embarrassing for Union Maj. Gen. John Pope because the most important item captured during the raid was one that would give the Confederacy an unexpected insight into the Union's upcoming movements: his personal dispatch book. While the loss of his uniform, horses, and money was embarrassing enough, the loss of the dispatch book meant that Rebel forces now controlled what Pope described in his report as "information of great importance."[8]



Union Maj. Gen. John Pope (West Virginia and Regional History Center, West Virginia University Libraries).



The Kanawha Valley (Library of Congress).

After Confederate Secretary of War George Randolph learned of the captured prize, he alerted Maj. Gen. William Wing Loring, advising him that Pope's captured dispatch book revealed Union plans, including the North's imminent departure from the Kanawha Valley (see map above). Randolph devised a plan to send Loring to "[c]lear the valley of the Kanawha and operate northwardly to a junction with our army in the valley."[9]

Under this order, Loring led five thousand men—among them many soldiers with ties to western Virginia—from Giles County Court House in Pearisburg, Virginia, into the Kanawha Valley and headed toward Charleston. Col. Joseph Andrew Jackson Lightburn, commander of the 4th Brigade holding the Kanawha Valley, was warned by Gen. H. W. Halleck on September 8 of the approaching forces and advised to retreat if necessary. The Confederate forces quickly advanced, successfully routing Federal troops at Fayette Court House on September 11 and then continuing toward Charleston. Once there, the Confederates engaged Colonel Lightburn's troops, who had been camped at Gauley Bridge, a Union stronghold approximately forty miles upriver from Charleston. Before the engagement,

Lightburn encouraged Unionist citizens to flee the area in expectation of the coming contest. The fighting, much of which took place within the city itself, is now known as the Battle of Charleston.[10] Lightburn was forced to retreat, and much of the downtown area was burned when Confederates fired hot projectiles that ignited whatever they hit.[11] Lightburn, who grew up with Confederate Gen. Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson in Lewis County,[12] now handed control of his home region to General Loring's forces. Loring now occupied Charleston and his control of the area stretched across the Kanawha Valley.

Confederate Occupation

The Confederates' Newspaper

Once Confederates settled into the occupation, they soon requisitioned the printing office of the *Kanawha Valley Star,* a weekly newspaper*,* and printed, as their first order of business, a proclamation. Printed in the form of a broadside and signed by Loring, this proclamation informed the residents of Charleston that they would receive no threat from the occupation forces unless they continued to support the restored government in Wheeling, Virginia (West Virginia the following year).[13] This proclamation established the *Guerilla*'s goals: keeping Charleston citizens informed for the duration and promoting the occupying forces as liberators rather than occupiers. The newspaper sold for ten cents a copy or fifty cents a week. The edition (volume 1, number 2,) pictured on page 26, is dated September 29, 1862. A single sheet of paper, twelve inches by eighteen inches, folded once, provided four pages for news.

While Union camp papers gave publication credit to the regiment, the *Guerilla* credited its publication to the Associate Printers, most likely an early forerunner of the Press Association of the Confederate States of America, a cooperative news agency whose task was to gather and disseminate news concerning Confederate interests to both town and camp newspapers.

The contents of the *Guerilla* for the September 29, 1862, issue included what would have been standard fare for camp newspapers, whether Union or Confederate: a heartbreaking poem on soldier life; the disclosure of the failure of the news to arrive via the subscribed service, either the Associated Press,[14] often relied upon by the Union, or the Confederate Associate Printers[15] (as stated by the *Guerilla*: "owing to the non-arrival of the mail, up to the hour of going to press, we are without the latest Eastern news"); politics; general orders; and reports from the field. Specifically, this issue contained news related to the Confederate occupation forces, including a

morale-boosting[16] notice of the successful occupation of Charleston and the Kanawha Valley. The paper proclaimed,

> The North seems fully aware of the great loss they have sustained in having to give up the Kanawha, and are free to acknowledge the great importance of its acquisition to our cause. They are bitter against their government for having withdrawn the troops, and acknowledge that we have destroyed in a week what took millions of money and an army of fifteen or twenty thousand men fifteen months to accomplish. They seem to have no hopes of attempting to retake it this season, at least, as they are now in need of every available man in Kentucky and Maryland; but, let them come when and in what force they please, we have no fears but that they would be made to reenact in full style the Lightburn double quick.[17]

Additional news included the announcement of a meeting to establish a fair price for salt; a notice of soldiers' deaths in the September 10 battle at Fayette(ville), Virginia; documentation of the names of those lost in the battle; and a statement that death notices would be sent to Richmond for publication. Other war-related news included an announcement that Thomas Morris had been appointed brigadier general in the Confederate Army and would preside over western Virginia, as well as general orders issued by Loring and others.

The basic outline of the Confederate occupation agenda can also be determined from the *Guerilla's* pages. That agenda consisted of three major goals: claiming territory, assuring local businesses that Confederate money was good,[18] and encouraging Unionists to defect to the Confederate cause. Unfortunately for the Confederates, these goals were easier to print than to obtain.

The first goal, to claim territory, was announced in a published proclamation. General Loring stated the army's desire

> to rescue the people from the despotism of the counterfeit State Government imposed upon you by Northern bayonets, and to restore the country once more to its natural allegiance to the State. We fight for peace and the possession of our own territory.[19]

In other words, Unionist Virginians were encouraged to defect to their Confederate counterparts.[20] When Loring called the government "counterfeit," he referred to the Restored or Reorganized Government of

Virginia, established July 1, 1861. In essence, this body made it possible to re-establish the government functions of the state of Virginia as part of the Union in order to pave the way for the creation of the state of West Virginia.[21]

The second item on the agenda concerned the acceptance of Confederate dollars. At the outset of the war, Confederate dollars were on par with gold. However, as the war continued, inflation rates caused the Confederate dollar to decline in value. Understandably, local merchants in Charleston were reluctant to accept Confederate dollars, despite Loring's urging that they open their stores to the Confederate soldiers. According to the *Guerilla*,

> The streets of Charleston are becoming gay. A great many merchants have re-opened their stores to the public. Others, however, still keep themselves and their goods shut up in the dark, because they have some scruples about taking Confederate money, etc. We hope they will soon come to their senses, and show that they appreciate their deliverance from Northern vandals, by immediately opening their stores and offering goods at the same rate they sold to Yankees.

Failure to attain the third goal was a disappointment to Loring for several reasons. The Confederate occupation of Charleston was a welcome assignment for soldiers of the 22nd Virginia, many of whom had lived in the area and were eager to return home after a year away. Since many of Loring's forces hailed from the region, he anticipated a groundswell of support for the occupation and hoped to recruit five thousand new soldiers. His hopes went unrealized, however, since there was no one left to recruit. Local Kanawhans as well as Unionists had fled rather than face Confederate conscription. This situation became a topic under the heading, "Exodus From Kanawha," for the *Guerilla*, which reported,

> During the past few days the Kanawha and Ohio rivers, between this point and Gauley, have been full of flatboats, batteaux, skiffs, rafts, and all manner of buoyant conveyance, laden with families of Unionists who find themselves compelled to flee on the approach of the Confederate army, fearing the rebel General will carry into execution his recently made threat to hang every citizen "Yankee" he found in the Kanawha Valley[22]

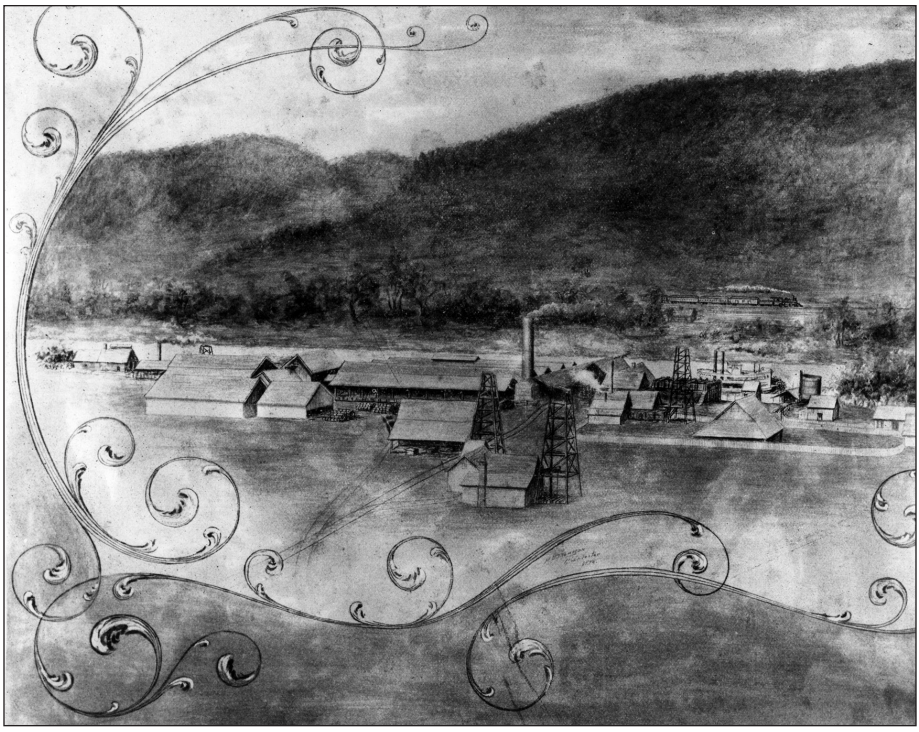
Loring Ignores His Orders

Loring, never reluctant to engage in disputes with his superiors, could be a stubborn man, a trait that rose to the surface in Charleston. Secretary Randolph had originally planned for Loring to take the valley and then move to join Gen. Robert E. Lee in western Maryland. Loring, however, felt that this plan left him too exposed and suggested that his best move was to stay in Charleston to safeguard the Kanawha Salines.

This region outside Charleston offered a valuable commodity to soldiers and civilians alike: salt. Desperately needed during the Civil War, salt helped to preserve food, especially meat, and the region around Charleston was a major antebellum source. Known as the Kanawha Salines, this area was one of the largest in Virginia actively engaged in salt production. The salt fields lay along both banks of the Kanawha River until the waters reached Charleston, a distance of approximately ten miles.

As early as 1808, the Kanawha Salines were put to production, and a salt-making and refining industry was developed by Joseph and David Ruffner, who drilled for brine and established furnaces to process it. The area, particularly around present-day Malden, West Virginia,[23] where the salinity reached a high point, would develop into an important resource for the meat packing industry. By 1815, furnaces dotted the landscape, leading to the development of the area as one of the great salt manufacturing regions

Early drawing of salt works in the Kanawha Valley (West Virginia and Regional History Center, West Virginia University Libraries)



Kanawha Salines Salt Manufacturing (West Virginia and Regional History Center, West Virginia University Libraries)

in the United States, as the use of salt to pack meat for shipment ensured it would arrive at destinations in good condition.

The Confederacy was desperate for salt, and Loring believed that maintaining control over the salt reserves was more important.[24] He decided to stay put, and as a major general, he felt that he could ignore Randolph's orders. However, making the salt industry operative again was not an easy undertaking. Loring found the salt works intact but damaged by a flood in September 1861. No enslaved people could be found for the labor needed since they had either fled with their owners or escaped. Despite these setbacks, Loring was able to make the salt works functional again and was soon producing enough salt to help supply the Confederacy.[25]

Merchants Continue to Resist Taking Confederate Money

Local business owners continued to refuse Confederate dollars in payment, and when they were compelled to accept the currency, they raised prices.[26] Business owners, for the most part, accepted only Federal currency, which Loring had in limited supply. With all of the challenges the occupiers faced, the refusal to accept Confederate money was one of the deepest cuts

to Loring and his troops. He entered Charleston believing his men would be welcomed home; instead, the Confederate forces found support lacking. [27]

In sum, the *Guerilla* was printed as a mouthpiece for the commanding presence of General Loring. Through the publication of proclamations, general orders, and an array of solicitations and downright threats to the citizenry of Charleston, Loring saw his expectations for submission thwarted at every turn. Following the fiery advance of Confederate troops upon their city, many residents had fled to avoid conscription, dominance, or enslavement, while those who had remained stood their ground; refused to accept Confederate currency, with a few minor concessions; and generally failed to comply with Loring's desires, despite his assurances early on that the Confederate forces were liberators, not occupiers.

Contents of Surviving Issues of the Guerilla

The Confederate occupation of Charleston in September and October of 1862 lasted a mere six weeks before the Union regained control of the area. However brief their occupation, the Confederates managed to produce the *Guerilla,* which, according to its masthead, was "Devoted to Southern Rights and Institutions" and "Published Every Afternoon." Despite the fact that it was a product of the war, the *Guerilla* also has the distinction of being the first daily paper published in Charleston.[28] Surviving issues are extremely rare. Only six are definitely known to have been printed between September 27 and October 8, 1862, with the possibility that three more may have been produced. Only two issues survive of the possible nine that were published.

The two surviving issues of the *Guerilla* are dated September 29 and October 3, 1862. The first column of both issues contains poetry. The poem "Lines on the March," author unknown, is dated September 26, Charleston, and contains the heading, "For the *Guerilla*"; it appears in the September 29 issue. This poem must have struck a chord with readers since it describes a soldier's travails:

> All day long with his heavy load,
> Weary and sore, in the mountain road,
> And over the desolate plain;
> All day long through the crusted mud,
> Over the snow, and through the flood.
> Marking his way with a track of blood, he followed the winding train.[29]

The October 3 issue called attention to Yankee losses, reporting on the wounding of several generals in Western Maryland, among them Joseph

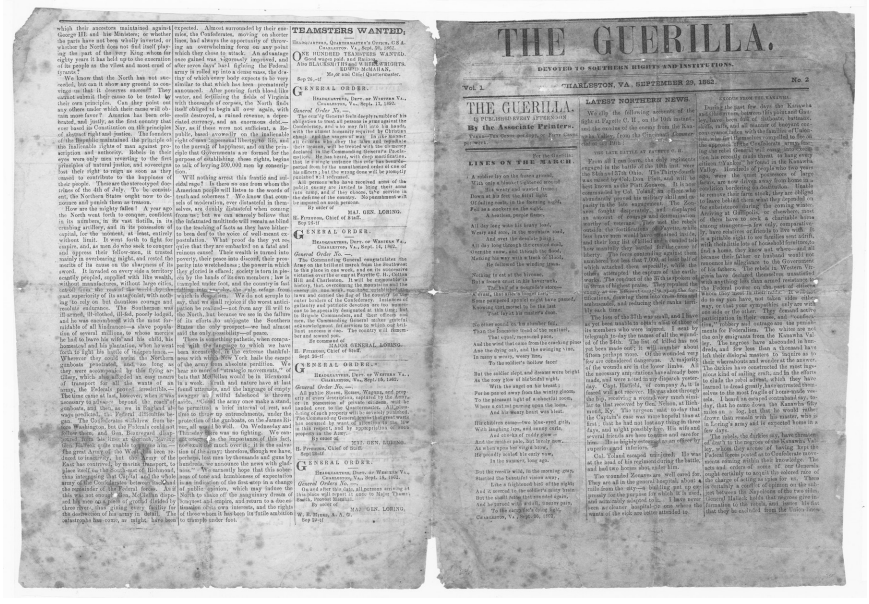
Hooker, John Sedgwick, Isaac Rodman, Israel Richardson, George Hartsuff, Michael Dana, Max Weber, Thomas Meagher, and Abram Duryeé,[30] with one, Brig. Gen. Joseph King Fenno Mansfield, killed in action. Praise from Loring also appeared as a general order on the "brilliant march from the southwest to this place in one week, and on the successive victories at Fayette C. H. [Court House], Cotton Hill and Charleston."[31]

The *Guerilla* reprinted a dispatch from the *Philadelphia Inquirer* covering the massive Union loss at Harpers Ferry, Virginia:

> By this surrender—it cannot be called a capture—the rebels took fourteen thousand five hundred men, one hundred tuns [sic] of ammunition, rations for fourteen thousand men for twenty days, fifty-seven guns, . . . fourteen thousand stand of arms and four batteries of field artillery.

An entire column on page four of the *Guerilla* provided an account of the scene after the surrender at Harpers Ferry.[32]

Two items in the October 3 issue were repeated from the September 29 issue. The first was a notice of the "non-arrival of mail." The second, an announcement of the establishment of a "Flying Battery"[33] for the aid of Brig. Gen. Albert G. Jenkins's cavalry brigade, including a call for recruits with the admonition, "*No half-asleep men need apply*!" (Emphasis included in original.)



THE GUERILLA.

DEVOTED TO SOUTHERN RIGHTS AND INSTITUTIONS.

Vol. 1. "CHARLESTON, VA. SEPTEMBER 29, 1862. No. 2

TEAMSTERS WANTED,

THE GUERILLA.

LATEST NORTHERN NEWS.

LINES ON THE WATCH.

September 29, 1862, issue of the *Guerilla* (West Virginia and Regional History Center, West Virginia University Libraries)

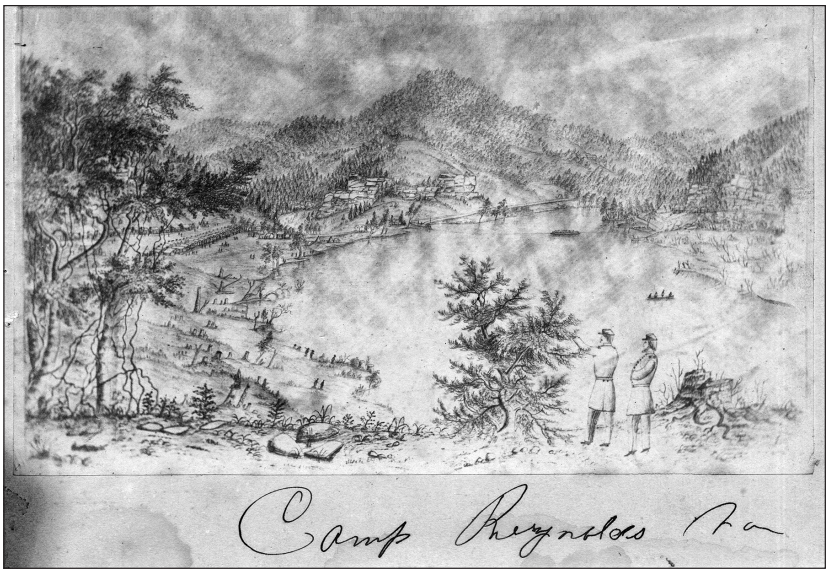
This collection of reports and dispatches regarding Confederate victories was designed not just to inform, but also to boost the morale of the troops. Coupled with soldier contributions, such as the poetic odes to the travails of a soldier's daily life, the *Guerilla* recognized the life of a soldier in camp and the sacrifices he endured while bolstering his morale with a recount of military successes. Under the influence of Gen. Loring, the *Guerilla* was designed for two audiences: first, to inform the citizens of occupation expectations and, second, to recognize the sacrifices made by the soldiers as well as to inform and celebrate their accomplishments.

Union Occupation

As Federal forces neared Charleston with plans to retake the Kanawha Valley, Loring was forced to retreat, beginning October 9, 1862.[34] Though the occupation of Charleston was never meant to be lengthy—as mentioned above, Randolph's goal from the beginning was for Loring to meet Gen. Robert E. Lee in Maryland—Confederate control of the region lasted only six weeks. Randolph's belief that Union forces would be unable to reclaim the Kanawha Valley was shattered when troops began closing in with plans to retake the valley. Following through with his original plan, Randolph redirected Loring to move northward toward Pennsylvania, where he was to support General Lee. That plan collapsed when "Loring interpreted the Confederate need for salt to outweigh his orders from Randolph."[35] But now the time had come to depart, and Loring was compelled to leave the Kanawha Valley and its rich stores of salt.

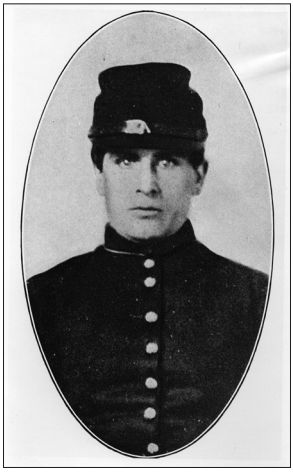
The October 3, 1862, issue of the *Guerilla* may have been the last one printed since by October 5, Loring was aware of the approaching Federal forces. On October 7, he wrote to Randolph, informing him that he had received a letter from General Lee on October 4, written on September 25, recommending that Loring attack the railroad at Fairmont and join Lee in Pennsylvania. Loring disagreed with Lee's plan and offered his own: to fall back to Lewisburg, move on to Monterey, and join Lee in Pennsylvania from that direction. Believing the Kanawha could not be held, Loring stated in his response to the general that he would follow his own plans unless otherwise ordered.[36] Facing a recalcitrant citizenry and the advancement of Federal troops, Loring was forced to give up the valued prize of the Kanawha Salines, abandon the city, and move ahead to support Lee.

Federal forces once again moved into the area after the admission of West Virginia into the Union on June 20, 1863. That fall, soldiers of the Union's 5th Virginia Infantry found themselves stationed in the tiny town of Gauley Bridge.[37] The Union occupation proved to be fairly calm. Though

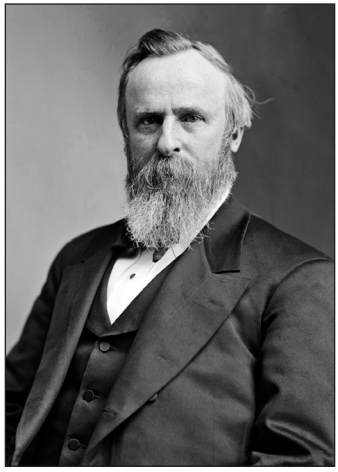


Camp Reynolds served the 23rd Ohio Volunteer Infantry, commanded by Col. Rutherford B. Hayes and Lt. William McKinley both of whom became U.S. presidents (West Virginia and Regional History Center, West Virginia University Libraries).

Rebel skirmishes and engagements were sometimes near, the occupation of Gauley Bridge was quiet enough for the wife and children of future U.S. President Rutherford B. Hayes, who commanded the occupying troops, to visit for extended periods of time.[38] Another future U.S. president, William McKinley Jr., was also part of the Union occupation.[39]



Left: William McKinley (West Virginia and Regional History Center, West Virginia University Libraries)



Right: Rutherford B. Hayes (Good Free Photos, *http://www.goodfreephotos.com*)

Union Soldiers Produce the Knapsack

With time on their hands, the men promptly set about establishing a regimental newspaper. Having formed the Fifth Virginia Publishing Association, they soon began issuing copies of the four-page *Knapsack* [40] every Thursday morning at five cents a copy, fifteeen cents a month. The *Knapsack* held an active and widely distributed subscriber base for its short duration. Although only published for a few months, it illuminated much about soldier life and the politics of war.

The paper was far-reaching and gained recognition within the pages of the *Wheeling Daily Intelligencer*, an early newspaper of note in West Virginia that described the *Knapsack* as a "spicy little sheet."[41] In addition, the *Pomeroy Telegraph* (Ohio) printed the following about the *Knapsack*:

> [I]t is not, as some might be led to suppose[,] a mere vehicle of fun for the momentary amusement of the boys, but will be, if continued in the spirit of the present number, a real source of improvement to the regiment . . . . We wish it abundant success.[42]

The first issue of the *Knapsack* bore the motto, "Fear not death, men, but fear dishonor.[43] The purpose of the Union paper was lofty and far-reaching. As stated in the first issue, dated September 3, 1863, under the title "Salutatory":

> More than anything else, the paper will see to the military, moral and intellectual interests of the regiment; it will seek to improve the mind, and throw out such hints and advice that will make it of general interest to every one of us, not only while its publication lasts, but hereafter, when the war is over, and when we have returned to our homes, to our families and friends; we can then turn over its leaves and read, with pleasure and happy recollections, to an eager listening circle of contented and joyous faces, the history of our *regiment*, and the incidents transpired when we were members of it [emphasis included in original].[44]

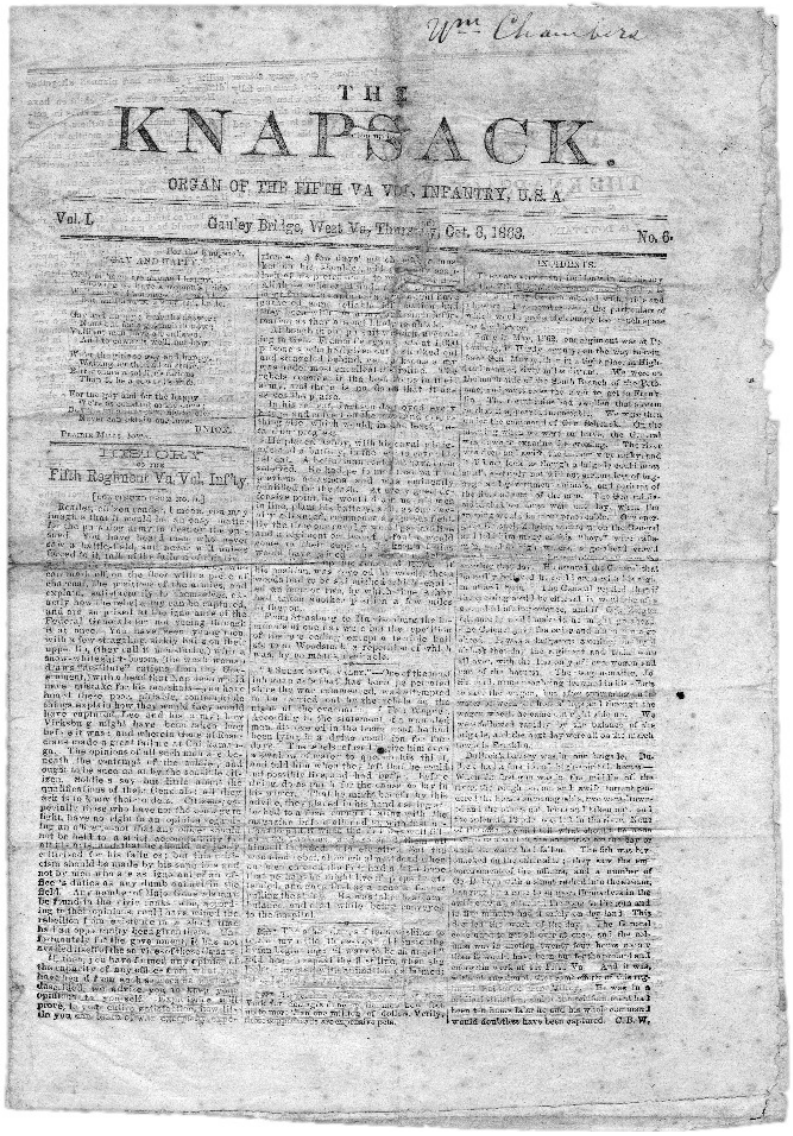
Indeed, the *Knapsack* followed through on at least one of these goals: a serialized history of the regiment was published in every issue.

The September 17, 1863, issue reported on the *Knapsack*'s subscription and circulation. The information was posted in the "Local Column" under the heading "Subscribe":

> In subscribing by the month, our readers will get the paper cheaper as per single copy, the price being 15 cents a month for one copy.

> The Orderly Sergeants of the different companies are requested to act as agents and receive subscriptions inside of their companies at the above rates.[45]

Additionally, a circulation report in the "Local Column" boasted of eight hundred subscribers, with continual increases. Although an official regimental total is not known, the number of subscribers this early in the


Wm Chambers

THE

KNAPSACK.

ORGAN OF THE FIFTH VA VOL. INFANTRY, U.S.A.

Vol. I. Gauley Bridge, West Va., Thursday, Oct. 3, 1863. No. 6.

GAY AND HAPPY

HISTORY

OF THE

Fifth Regiment Va. Vol. Inf'ty

IN THIS ISSUE:

The *Knapsack* (West Virginia and Regional History Center, West Virginia University Libraries)

occupation is significant, showing how important the newspaper was in the daily life of the soldier as a source of both news and entertainment.

Subscriptions also extended beyond camp. The September 24, 1863, issue reported that the paper was read aloud in the streets of Cannelton, West Virginia, a distance of thirty miles from Gauley Bridge. A follow-up in the October 1, 1863, issue stated that "twenty more new subscribers" from Cannelton had been added, bringing the total to fifty.

The format of the *Knapsack* is of interest, especially in comparison to the *Guerilla*. The *Knapsack* was printed on a single sheet of paper, folded in half, making it comparable to a folio in size. It measured sixteen inches high by nine inches wide, and the edges of the paper remained untrimmed, possibly due to being printed on a small, tabletop, portable press[46] operated by the soldiers in camp. The *Knapsack* also differed from the *Guerilla* in the size of paper each used. It also described itself differently:

> The Knapsack: this is a very common name . . . yet be it remembered that the faithful knapsack has always brought a blessing and a comfort to its companions. May the Knapsack of the 5th prove equally true on its mission.[47]

Following its initial review of the paper, the *Wheeling Daily Intelligencer* continued to report news gleaned from the pages of the *Knapsack,* in essence making it a conduit to civilian papers sympathetic to the Union. More than half a dozen reports appeared in the *Wheeling Daily Intelligencer* on a variety of subjects, including politics (the *Knapsack* was pro-Brough, a staunch Unionist, in the Ohio gubernatorial race running against Vallandigham, a copperhead known for his criticism of Lincoln); the beauty of the local scenery ("The 'Hawk's Nest,' eight miles from camp, up New River, is a . . . stupendous pile of rocks at a short bend in the river"); entertainment ("The boys of Simmons' battery have been enjoying themselves by dancing in the open air, these pleasant moonlight nights"); munitions ("James S. Ward of Co. G, 5th Virginia Infantry, exhibited to us a few evenings since . . . a rifle ball made of brass, several thousand of which he captured last week while on a scout"); poetry ("Ode to Disloyalty.– We have received a rather clever thing in the way of a poem under this title, but it is too long to prove of general interest, and we must decline it"); and deserters ("Deserters from the rebel army, especially Lee's and Longstreet's corps, are pouring into camp daily, a dozen at a time, sometimes. They say that they are tired of the war, and express a willingness to 'give up,' before coming in sight of the last ditch").[48]

It was difficult enough to receive current news via telegraph, but the editors of the *Knapsack,* 1st Lt. William Shelling[49] and Sgt. Maj. James G. Downtain, who served as both treasurer and editor, also found themselves combatting camp rumors. In the September 10, 1863, issue, they addressed rumors regarding extra pay for publishing the newspaper. The paper printed the following announcement under the title "A Great Mistake":

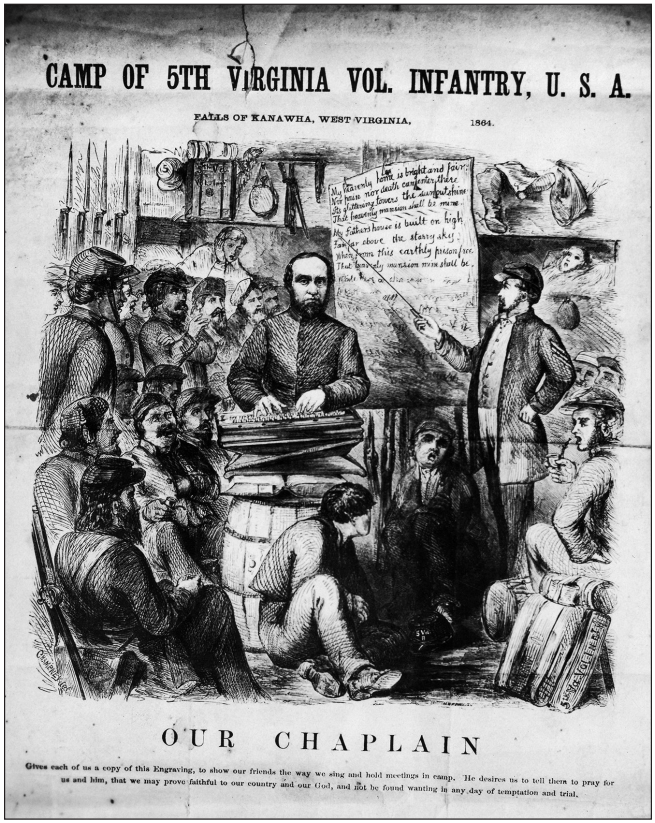
> It is whispered by the "boys" by some "unreliable gentlemen" that the Fifth Va. Publ. Association issues the "Knapsack" for the purpose of making money out of its publication. This is not correct, as it will take a long time, if, indeed, not the entire time until the regiment is discharged, ere the proceeds of the paper yield sufficient money to pay for the press, types, and the running expenses. Neither editors nor printers receive anything whatever for their services, they having rendered them gratuitously. We though[t] we [should] mention this fact so that there be an understanding in the matter.[50]

The same issue posted a column titled "Latest By Telegraph!! Special Dispatches to The Knapsack," reporting news of the Army of the Potomac skirmishing across the Rappahannock on the "extreme right flank." Other news reported an "ambuscade" perpetrated on a scouting party of the Ohio 6th, while returning to Federal lines, with thirty soldiers, killed, wounded, or captured. Perhaps most interesting from this report is the story of a deserter from Battery I, 4th New York Artillery, "disguised in [a] Lt. Col's uniform," who brazenly stole two horses, "mounted a companion villain on one side as his orderly," then rode together through the infantry lines in their escape. The October 1, 1863, issue's headline in this column, "Female Bread Riot at Mobile," with the dateline Washington, September 28, reported that "there was a female bread riot at Mobile on the 14th. The Governor ordered the 17th Ala. reg't. to put down the disturbance, but they refused. The Mobile Cadets essayed it but were forced to fly by the women."[51]

In a regular, and often extensive column, "Medical Department," Dr. Daniel Mayer, editor and the regiment's assistant surgeon, addressed important issues, such as care for the feet, "poisoned" wounds, and a recipe for "an excellent hair wash." Other medical news for the soldiers included a blurb announcing that increased consumption of blackberries among the troops since their return to Virginia saved the government "nearly a million of dollars" in medical and hospital stores.

An engraving, now among the holdings of West Virginia University, illustrates an important facet of the October 8, 1863, issue, which reported

on the "schedule of religious services." A wave of religious fervor known as "The Great Revival" swept the country during the Civil War, rising to its highpoint during the last years of the conflict, notably 1863−1864.[52] Revivals served both Northern and Southern forces as a much-anticipated form of social activity—and perhaps even as a form of entertainment—since services contained sermons at a time when speeches, lectures, and orations were popular and were accompanied by music performed by soldiers in camp.[53] The 1864 engraving of the camp of 5th Virginia Volunteer Infantry portrays the soldiers singing, playing music, and holding a religious service. "Our Chaplain Gives each of us a copy of this engraving,"[54] the *Knapsack* reported, "to show our friends the way we sing and hold meetings in camp. He desires us to tell them to pray for us and him, that we may prove faithful to our country and our God, and not be found wanting in any day of temptation and trial."[55]



Engraving of the 5th Virginia Volunteer Infantry holding a religious service in camp (West Virginia and Regional History Center, West Virginia University Libraries)

Beyond reports of religious services, the pages of the *Knapsack* were filled with announcements about the good conduct of the men. Calling themselves and their comrades "sons of temperance," the *Knapsack* editors proudly stated that "there hasn't been a pint of whiskey within camp or within twenty miles of it . . . for ever so long," and as a result of the men's sobriety, "there has been no guard-house for two months."[56]

This good conduct was marred by one continuing problem: the men were notoriously profligate users of foul language. Although the use of profanity may have been expected as a daily fixture in a soldier's life, the publishers of the *Knapsack* frowned upon it. On the subject, the newspaper stated,

> [I]t would be well for those persons addicted to this ungentlemanly habit to consider one moment this fact, that at some time they will again return to civil life, and be seeking the society of ladies; then they will find it difficult indeed to abstain from the vulgar habit of swearing, and we presume no gentleman would like a reprimand or be sneered at on account of giving way to a habit.[57]

Conclusion

By examining these two occupation newspapers, inhabiting the same general area, we can see differences in the goals of each paper, given their circumstances. While the goal presented by the Confederate *Guerilla* was to regain control of the area through force and submission, the goal of the Federally issued *Knapsack* was to maintain the life and health of the soldier by reporting soldier activities and social life through a variety of columns that worked to ensure their health; instruct them on manners and deportment; and recount spiritual and moral accomplishments such as high attendances for religious events and an abstinence of alcohol, while also chastising the "boys" for swearing, even in camp. The *Knapsack*, from the beginning, strived to preserve the troop's military history while preparing soldiers to re-enter life after the war's end. In addition, by increasing the subscriber base to neighboring communities and submitting articles and updates to local newspapers, the *Knapsack* was, in effect, re-inserting the idea of Union to the region at large. The goal of the *Knapsack* was not of the moment, like that of the *Guerilla*, but one with an eye to the future, to a restored Union and a return to family life.

As evidenced by these Civil War military camp newspapers printed in western Virginia,[58] the urge to tell the story of the regiment; to share the events of the soldiers' daily camp life; to relieve the tedium of the long, slow hours; and to lessen the tension of battle was great indeed. In their

efforts to inform the troops as well as the local community, these papers relied on the official reporting of general orders, original content submitted by soldiers, and news supplied by associated services and the civilian press.

Camp newspapers as a whole shared common goals. Within their pages, they aspired to encourage a sense of pride in the regiment; to improve morale; to provide, in some cases, propaganda or at least promote positive relations to those in occupied territory; to provide a legacy of service; and to preserve the memories of those who fought. Camp papers also served as an official reporting organ of the government, a platform to criticize the enemy, and a means to memorialize the dead and minimize losses.

Although both the *Guerilla* and the *Knapsack* shared the common ground of support for the troops and a record of service, they also followed divergent paths. An examination of these two camp newspapers, printed by two occupying forces, reveals a difference in tone. A certain degree of tension, disappointment, and frustration is evident within the pages of the *Guerilla*, whose attempts at persuasion and propaganda were clear efforts to win over the local populace.

In contrast, the longer and peaceful duration of the occupying Union forces gave the *Knapsack* a totally different perspective on camp life. With no engagements on the horizon, soldiers had time to explore local scenery, attend religious services, and partake of leisure activities such as playing music and dancing. The *Knapsack*'s tone reveals more of the daily life in camp and less about local citizens.

Methods of production and printing also differed between the two papers, although both followed what has been described by scholars as the common means of printing by forces, either by using a confiscated or abandoned press or a portable press.[59] The *Guerilla* was printed on the confiscated press of the *Kanawha Valley Star*,[60] while the *Knapsack* was printed on a portable press that could be packed to move with troops at a moment's notice and set up in any camp. These methods show valuable insights into the papers themselves. Confederate printing of the *Guerilla* was reliant on a captured or confiscated local press. The Union press was mobile, yet it lent a degree of permanence as a paper explicitly designed for the soldiers. In addition, outfitting a regiment with a portable press shows a level of commitment by the Union to keep soldiers informed, while the availability of a town press was more of a random event.

While an analysis of these papers is limited by the surviving issues, it is important to study them as evidence of life in camp as well as firsthand reporting of battles. These publications form part of the documentary evidence of the war in the region and the events leading up to the creation of

a state. These scarce and valuable resources shed light on an important but often-neglected side of army life in an often-overlooked theatre of the war.

With these points in mind, West Virginia University has committed to digitizing these rare survivors due to their crucial importance in understanding the history of the Civil War in western Virginia and the birth of the state of West Virginia. The university's West Virginia and Regional History Center owns, in its archives, nearly a dozen newspapers, either the original paper copy, microfilm, or photocopy of the eighteen camp newspapers that were published in western Virginia. A National Endowment for the Humanities National Digital Newspaper Project grant, in partnership with the Library of Congress, provides the funding necessary for digitization of these and other historic West Virginia newspapers to make them available on *chroniclingamerica.loc.gov.* The surviving issues of the *Guerilla* and the October 8, 1863, issue of the *Knapsack*, which are currently available, provide a first-hand perspective on the soldiers who fought in the Civil War.

Endnotes

1. Earle Lutz reported that he had compiled a list of 260 camp newspapers. See Lutz, "Soldier Newspapers of the Civil War," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 46, no. 4 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 4th quarter, 1952): 373-386, *www.jstor.org/stable/24298547.* Walter E. Eberhard stated that he had compiled a list of 175 camp newspapers. See Eberhard, "Editors in Uniform: The Historiography of Civil War Soldier Newspapers," presented at the Symposium on the 19th Century Press, the Civil War, and Free Expression, November 10, 2006.
2. Comrade William Williams, Company F, 5th Pennsylvania Reserves, Catawissa, Pennsylvania, wrote that in July 1861, his regiment had taken possession of the office of the *Piedmont Independent* (West Virginia) and had issued a newspaper from it called the *Pennsylvania Reserves* (National Tribune (Washington, D.C.), April 17, 1884, 8, *chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82016187/1884-04-17/ed-1/seq-8/*).
3. Although scholarship on camp newspapers is sparse, scholars Bell I. Wiley, Earle Lutz, Ford Risley, David Kasner, and Chandra Manning all concurred on the method of press takeovers.
4. See note 46 for a description of the portable press.
5. Augustine Joseph Hickey Duganne, *Camps and Prisons: Twenty Months in the Department of the Gulf*, chapter 36, 338, Google Books, *books.google.com/books?id=ur-EMGtqf_8C&pg=PA338&lpg=PA338&dq=%E2%80%9CDoes+not+a+newspaper+follow+a+Yankee+march+everywhere?%E2%80%9D&source=bl&ots=k_H19AZim6&sig=nyqI-rzs7vPLF1VR30xFxoXxMU4&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiqrPH-u4bfAhUE0FkKHcxbBaIQ6AEwAnoECAAQAQ#v=onepage&q=%E2%80%9CDoes%20not%20a%20newspaper%20follow%20a%20Yankee%20march%20everywhere%3F%E2%80%9D&f=false.* This phrase has been used often by a number of researchers, including Zac Cowsert, "'A Very Spicy Little Sheet': *The Knapsack,* A Soldiers' Newspaper and the Politics of War," Civil Discourse blog post, March 07, 2016, *www.civildiscourse-historyblog.com/blog/2016/3/7/a-very-spicy-little-sheet-the-knapsack-a-soldiers-newspaper-and-the-politics-of-war;* Christy Perry Tuohey, "Does not a newspaper follow a Yankee march everywhere?" Panther Mountain blog post, n.d., *panthermt.com/?p=325.*
6. Over time, several scholars have attempted to compile lists of soldier papers, e.g., Lutz, "Soldier Newspapers," and Eberhard, "Editors in Uniform." Both of these lists have been lost or are

unrecoverable. The only extant list of camp newspapers available today, other than Lutz's list of Illinois camp papers in his article, "The Stars and Stripes of Illinois Boys in Blue," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* (1908−1984) 46, no. 2 (summer, 1953): 132−141, is the list compiled by Chandra Manning in "What This Cruel War Was Over: Why Union and Confederate Soldiers Thought They Were Fighting the Civil War," Ph.D. dissertation, May 2002, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

7. While it is confusing, the 5th Virginia Volunteer Infantry is Union, not Confederate. The 5th Virginia would become the 5th West Virginia Infantry. For the purposes of this article, the wording "5th Virginia Volunteer Infantry" will be used since the *Knapsack* masthead states it was published by the 5th Virginia Volunteer Infantry during the newspaper's entire run in Gauley Bridge, West Virginia.
8. United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (O.R.) 19, part 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880−1901), 1060, digitized text hosted by Cornell and Hathi Trust, *collections.library.cornell.edu/moanew/waro.html.*
9. O.R., series 1, vol. 19, part 2, 1069. See also the *Guerilla* camp newspaper essay by Zac Cowsert (Chronicling America, *chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85059834/);* and Scott Alexander MacKenzie, "The Civil War in Kanawha County, West Virginia 1860−1865," master's thesis, July 2007, Department of History, University of Calgary, Canada.
10. The battle for control of Charleston, Virginia, September 13, 1862, has largely been overshadowed. Eclipsed by the horrific losses at Antietam on September 17, just a few days later, the conflict between Union Col. A. J. Lightburn and Confederate Maj. Gen. William Wing Loring for the contested lands and valuable resources of the Kanawha Valley has lacked scholarly consideration for the important role the battle and its aftermath played in re-shaping the state of Virginia and the birth of West Virginia. This clash was largely between native western Virginians. Lightburn, from Lewis County, had little military experience. Loring, from North Carolina, had a long and deep military background. He was considered the consummate soldier, and he brought with him a significant number of troops who hailed from the western region of the state. Lightburn was tasked with holding onto lands he knew well. For Loring's troops, taking the Kanawha Valley would be considered a sort of homecoming. Following the Battle of Charleston, both Federal and Confederate forces alternately held the area. First were Loring's Confederate troops, who held Charleston and the Kanawha Valley in the fall of 1862. After Loring's forces were called to support Gen. Robert E. Lee in Maryland, Federal troops moved back into the Kanawha Valley and occupied the area after West Virginia became a Union state on June 20, 1863. Each occupation force printed its own newspaper and each recorded the events of its occupation within its newspaper's pages. See also Billy Joe Peyton, "Battle of Charleston," *e-WV: The West Virginia Encyclopedia*, January 8, 2015, *www.wvencyclopedia.org/articles/2425.*
11. Roy Bird Cook, "The Civil War Comes to Charleston," *West Virginia History*, 153−167, *www.wvculture.org/history/journal_wvh/wvh23-1.html.*
12. Tim McKinney, "Joseph A. J. Lightburn," *e-WV: The West Virginia Encyclopedia,* last revised December 7, 2015, *www.wvencyclopedia.org/articles/1382.*
13. David J. Emmick, *The Amick Partisan Rangers* (New York, Lincoln, Shanghai: iUniverse Inc., 2007), 337−340. In the section "The Confederate Newspaper called the *Guerilla*," Emmick included the proclamation in its entirety on page 340.
14. Ford Risley, *Civil War Journalism, www.essentialcivilwarcurriculum.com/civil-war-journalism.html.* Risley stated that the Associated Press stationed correspondents at various locations to cover events. Northern newspapers heavily relied upon these telegraphed columns.
15. According to Risley, telegraphic news sources available to Southern newspapers went through a variety of iterations before the founding of the Press Association of the Confederate States of America. See also Risley, "The Confederate Press Association: Cooperative News Reporting of the War," *Civil War History* 47, no. 3 (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 2001): 222−239.

Risley reported that the Confederacy struggled to find the means of acquiring news; hence, there were various attempts operating under different names prior to the establishment of the Press Association of the Confederate States of America in 1863.

16. For a discussion of Confederate morale, see J. Cutler Andrews, "The Confederate Press and Public Morale," *The Journal of Southern History* 32, no. 4 (November 1966): 445−465. Andrews said that scholars concur that morale was at its highest at the outset of the war and dropped precipitously following the summer of 1863.
17. *Guerilla*, September 29, 1862, Chronicling America, *chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85059834/1862-09-29/ed-1/seq-1/.*
18. "The money issued by the Confederate Government is secure; and it is receivable in payment of public dues, and convertible into Eight percent Bonds. Citizens owe it to the Country to receive it in trade; it will therefore be regarded as good in payment for supplies purchased for the army. . . . MAJ. GEN. LORING" ("General Order. Headquarters, Dept. of Western Va., Charleston, Va., Sept. 24, 1862," *Guerilla*, October 3, 1862, 3).
19. Emmick, *The Amick Partisan Rangers*, 337−340.
20. Confederate presses sought to induce Unionists to "climb on the band wagon" (Andrews, "The Confederate Press and Public Morale," 445−465, particularly see 448).
21. Kenneth R. Bailey, "Reorganized Government of Virginia," *e-WV: The West Virginia Encyclopedia* (August 25, 2015), *www.wvencyclopedia.org/articles/62.*
22. *Guerilla*, September 29, 1862.
23. "Our History," *J. Q. Dickinson Salt Works*, 2016, *www.jqdsalt.com/our-story/.*
24. MacKenzie, "The Civil War in Kanawha County," 78–89. Mackenzie quoted a letter written by Loring to Randolph, although he did not provide a citation for it, in which Loring said: "In this valley there are large amounts of salt, corn and coal-oil, which should either be consumed by our armies or carried into the confederacy. From this base too, with my cavalry under efficient leadership of General Jenkins, I think I can reclaim all of the western part of the state during the autumn."
25. MacKenzie, "The Civil War in Kanawha County," 78–89.
26. It is little wonder that businessmen in Charleston refused to accept Confederate currency. The September 17, 1863, issue of the *Knapsack* reported that the Confederate "dollar" was worth six cents on the gold dollar. In addition, the Richmond *Examiner* reported that even President Davis wanted two thousand dollars of his salary paid to him in Federal gold (William C. Davis and James I. Robertson Jr., eds., *Virginia at War, 1864* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2009), 46.
27. MacKenzie, "The Civil War in Kanawha County," 78–89.
28. Roy Bird Cook, "The Civil War Comes to Charleston." *West Virginia History* 23, no. 2 (January 1962): 153−167, *www.wvculture.org/history/journal_wvh/wvh23-1.html.*
29. *Guerilla*, September 29, 1862.
30. All of the commanders mentioned in this brief notice in the October 3, 1862, issue of the *Guerilla* (Chronicling America: *chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85059834/1862-10-03/ed-1/seq-1/)* were wounded in the Battle of Antietam. Mansfield died the next day, Sedgwick was hit three times during the battle, and Meagher was injured and believed wounded when his horse was shot from under him. Presumably, the spelling of Rodman as Rodmad in the *Guerilla* was a typographical error, as was also the case with Duryea, which should have been Duryée (National Park Service, *www.nps.gov/anti/learn/historyculture/6generals.htm).*
31. *Guerilla*, October 3, 1862.
32. *Guerilla*, October 3, 1862.
33. A "Flying Battery" refers to the maneuvering of two or more horse-drawn cannons by crossing the battlefield, stopping, firing, and then moving or "limbering" up the field, giving the impression of more guns than were actually available or in use (Civil War Trust Glossary of Civil War Terms, *www.civilwar.org/glossary-civil-war-terms).*

34. Lowry, *The Battle of Charleston*, 315.
35. MacKenzie, "The Civil War in Kanawha County," 78–89.
36. Lowry, *The Battle of Charleston*, 297–300.
37. After Loring's troops left, Charleston and the surrounding area were unoccupied until Federal troops moved back into the area after West Virginia was admitted to the Union.
38. Hayes wrote to his uncle from Camp Reynolds, Virginia, on February 24, 1863:

> DEAR UNCLE: --We are all well. Lucy and the boys enjoy camp life and keep healthy. . . . Two of our companies have gone down the river to Charleston preparatory to moving the Twenty-third there. We expect to follow in two or three weeks. We care nothing about the change. It brings us into easier communication with home and has other advantages. We shall possibly remain there the whole spring. If so, after weather settles in May, it will be a pleasant trip for you to visit us if you can spare time. I have no idea when Lucy will return home. The boys are doing well here. Sincerely, R. B. HAYES

See Charles Richard Williams, ed., *Diary and Letters of Rutherford Birchard Hayes: Nineteenth President of the United States* 2, 1861 (Ohio State Archeological and Historical Society, 1922), Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Library and Museums, *resources.ohiohistory.org/hayes/results.php.*

39. Williams, ed., *Diary and Letters of Rutherford Birchard Hayes.*
40. West Virginia University holds the October 8, 1863, issue (vol. 1, no. 6). The university also owns one issue of the *Knapsack* in the original hard copy. The Library of Virginia in Richmond has a six-issue run in its holdings.
41. *Wheeling Daily Intelligencer* (Wheeling, West Virginia), September 11, 1863, 3, Chronicling America, *chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84026845/1863-10-08/ed-1/seq-3/.*
42. Printed in the *Knapsack*, October 8, 1863, 2, Chronicling America, *chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85059623/1863-10-08/ed-1/seq-1/.*
43. *Knapsack*, October 8, 1863.
44. *Knapsack*, October 8, 1863.
45. *Knapsack*, September 17, 1863, 3, Library of Virginia, Richmond.
46. The portable press used to print the *Knapsack* was most likely Adams's "Cottage" Press. See the article on Civil War field printing, Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of American History, *americanhistory.si.edu/exhibitions/civil-war-field-printing.*
47. *Knapsack*, September 10, 1863, 4, Library of Virginia.
48. *Wheeling Daily Intelligencer*, September 11, 1863, 3.
49. According to the National Park Service website on soldier details, the spelling is actually Schelling *(www.nps.gov/civilwar/search-soldiers.htm?submitted=1&firstName=william&lastName=schelling&stateCode=WV&warSideCode=U&battleUnitName=).*
50. *Knapsack*, September 10, 1893.
51. For an excellent overview of the women's bread riot, see Ted Tunnel, "A Patriotic Press: Virginia's Confederate Newspapers, 1861–1865," *Virginia at War, 1864*, Davis and Robertson, eds., 35−50.
52. Mark Summers, "The Great Harvest: Revival in the Confederate Army during the Civil War," *Religion & Liberty* 21, no. 3 (September 28, 2011)*, acton.org/great-harvest-revival-confederate-army-during-civil-war.* See also Gordon Leidner, "Religious Revival in Civil War Armies," Great American History, *www.greatamericanhistory.net/revival.htm.*
53. *The Wheeling Daily Intelligencer* reported from the *Knapsack* that there were "good players" in camp, including soldiers who played the violin and violincello (*Wheeling Daily Intelligencer*, October 8, 1863, 1, Chronicling America, *chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84026844/).*

54. Roy Bird Cook Papers, Archives and Manuscripts 1561, West Virginia and Regional History Center, West Virginia University Libraries, Morgantown.
55. *Knapsack*, October 8, 1863, 3.
56. "Local Column," *Knapsack*, October 8, 1863, 3.
57. *Knapsack*, October 8, 1863, 4.
58. Delf Norona and Charles Shetler recorded eighteen Civil War military camp newspapers printed in western Virginia (Norona, ed., and Norona and Shetler, compilers, *West Virginia Imprints* 1790–1863 (Moundsville: West Virginia Library Association, 1958).

About the Author: A native of Abingdon, Virginia, Stewart Plein is the curator of rare books and printed resources and the Appalachian bibliographer for the West Virginia and Regional History Center at West Virginia University. Her research and publishing interests include West Virginia history and Appalachian studies, and among her forthcoming publications are a book chapter in an eco-critical anthology, *Appalachian Nature, Appalachian Environment* (West Virginia University Press) and an article in the online journal, the *Appalachian Curator*.

Life on Poorhouse Knob: Poor-relief in Montgomery County, Virginia, 1830−1860

Jennifer A. Gallagher

In 1850, a twenty-seven-year-old woman named Maria Rose resided atop Poorhouse Knob in the Montgomery County (Virginia) Poorhouse, sharing the dwelling with eleven other "paupers," the supervisor of the poor, and his wife and four children.[1] A full decade later, Maria's economic circumstances had apparently not changed, as she was still living on Poorhouse Knob. She was now, however, surrounded by entirely different people. In 1860, she was keeping company with only six other "paupers," a different supervisor, and his wife and five young children.[2] As is often the case for society's most vulnerable citizens, history has only left us the barest glimpse of Maria's life. She lived in the poorhouse during the prime of her life, at least from ages twenty-seven to thirty-six, and possibly longer. She could read and write, and she was a native Virginian. She most likely had a daughter living with her in the poorhouse because in 1850, an eleven-year-old named Amanda Rose was listed as a resident.[3] Although we can speculate on what life may have been like for Maria and her daughter on this rural poor farm in southwestern Virginia, their actual daily experience cannot be retrieved from the depths of more than a century. Taken together with other historical fragments, however, our limited history of Maria Rose can provide a window into how rural, southern communities understood and addressed poverty in the nineteenth century.

This article will examine how government officials perceived poverty in the community of Montgomery County, Virginia, from 1830 to 1860 and will also attempt to shed what little light history will allow upon the daily experience of recipients of poor relief. The source base will be comprised of claims for poor relief housed in the Montgomery County Courthouse; county order books, which detail county expenditures; Virginia law codes; and newspapers and other publications from the period. Although these documents are sparse and contain only brief mentions of our historical subjects, they can provide a worthwhile glimpse of poverty in nineteenth-century rural Virginia. These documents will illustrate how government officials spoke about and legislated for the poor. This article

will complicate the narrative that the nineteenth-century poor were solely viewed as worthless, lazy, and shiftless burdens by their fellow citizens.[4] A study of poor relief in Montgomery County will demonstrate that, in fact, during the early to mid-nineteenth century, the poor were seen as neighbors in temporary need of help.[5] This is not to say that the lives of the poor were easy or comfortable, however; to the contrary, their status as poor meant that they were given enough help to survive, but in exchange they were often required to sacrifice their own personal and bodily autonomy.

The field of poverty studies is relatively small, and the field of southern poor relief is even more limited. When discussing the history of poor relief in this period (1830−1860), two bodies of scholarship must be consulted. The first is the historiography of American poor relief, which spans the whole of U.S. history from the colonial era to the present. This research speaks of general trends in poverty relief and how they developed over time.

Scholars within this field, such as Michael Katz, David Lightner, Stephen Pimpare, and David Wagner, refer to the historical tendency to divide the poor into two categories: the worthy (of aid) and the unworthy. The worthy poor consisted of the elderly and infirm, and widows and children. The unworthy poor were unmarried mothers and any adults deemed capable of work. These two categories of "unworthy" poor were accused of the moral failings of promiscuity and laziness, respectively. Relating to the concept of the undeserving poor, scholars of poverty also referred to the role of the poorhouse as a means of both caring for and controlling those living in poverty in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Admittance to the poorhouse required adherence to a number of rules regulating the lives of the inhabitants, with the purpose of "moralizing" the poor and teaching them the value of labor. Within the walls of the poorhouse, residents lost much of their personal autonomy. They were told what to eat and drink (or not drink, in the case of alcohol), what work they must perform to earn their keep, whether they could leave, and whether they could receive medical treatment. The poorhouse was meant to serve as a refuge for the truly destitute but, at the same time, be unappealing enough to discourage citizens from relying on it and be morally reformative to those who did rely on it.[6]

The historiography of national poverty and welfare has focused on the concepts of "worthy" versus "unworthy," the controlling and reformative intentions of poor relief, the value differences between indoor and outdoor relief (money or goods provided "outdoors" of an institution), and (more recently) the impact of race on the experience of poverty. This body of research tends to focus on the urban areas of northeastern and midwestern states. Within this historiography, however, sits a smaller body of research

specifically on southern poor relief. These scholars identify the ways in which the South followed national trends and which policies and attitudes were unique to the South.

Writing in the 1970s, historian John Hope Franklin discussed poor relief in the South as it related to changes resulting from the Civil War. He argued that southern states had neglected social problems during the antebellum era since they were focused on maintaining slavery and little else; he argued that they only began to take notice of social issues such as poverty during Reconstruction.[7] In recent years, this argument has been refuted by historians such as Elna Green and Timothy Lockley, both of whom argue that poor relief existed in the South to a degree equal to, or even greater than, in the North.

In her work on poor relief in Richmond, Virginia, from 1740 to 1940, Elna Green argues that poor relief indeed existed in the antebellum South and that it was primarily offered by local governments, with private organizations filling in gaps where needed. She maintains that contrary to popular assumption, Southerners did look to their governments for relief, especially during times of great economic stress, such as the Civil War. She places the history of southern poor relief within the national historiography, noting that there were small local variations but that, in general, poor relief in the South followed national trends. Specifically, she argues that poor relief in the South was just as focused on the dichotomy of worthy/unworthy as in the North and that it was also equally concerned with keeping the costs of serving the poor as low as possible.[8]

In the most recent and comprehensive work on the subject, Timothy Lockley argues that poor relief was even more prevalent in the South than in the North and was comprised of both public and private efforts (as Green also notes). Acknowledging that his conclusions were drawn from a severely limited source base, Lockley still maintains that antebellum poor relief offered a uniquely southern approach that included both governmental solutions and private charity work. Furthermore, he maintains that in many cases, relief was more generous in the South than in the North.[9]

By shifting the focus of the histories of welfare reform and poverty from the national or state level to the very local level, insights can be uncovered that have until now been obscured. Montgomery County adhered to the national distinctions of indoor and outdoor relief, but the extant sources regarding this county's treatment of the poor lack the scorn and disapproving judgment of more populous areas. Rather, the sources in Montgomery County support Timothy Lockley's assertion that poor relief in the South was both generous and abundant (in comparison to the North).[10] Notions of obligation permeate

the records: the obligation of citizens to provide support to their own family members if they are able to do so, and the obligation of the government to step in if they cannot. Through a discourse analysis of county records regarding the poor, as well as an examination of the goods and services provided to the county's destitute citizens, this article will argue that the county government viewed the poor (of both races) in their community as neighbors in need of assistance, but that in exchange for this assistance, the poor were required to relinquish a great deal of their personal autonomy.

History of Montgomery County and Poor Relief in Virginia

A brief history of the county will prove useful before beginning an analysis of the sources. Located in southwestern Virginia, Montgomery County was created from portions of Fincastle, Ausgusta, and Botetourt counties in 1776. By this time, the land had already been inhabited for millennia by Native Americans. English explorers began arriving in the mid-1600s, and the area was the site of numerous exploratory expeditions over the next fifty years. English, and possibly German, settlements began to emerge as early as the 1730s. By 1750, the region that would come to be known as the New River Valley was home to the native population and roughly three hundred additional people of mostly English, German, and Scots-Irish ancestry.[11] Over the course of the next fifty years, the European settlers raised livestock, farmed, and engaged in trade by way of a trail connecting the New River Valley to the Shenandoah Valley to the north, in addition to engaging in a number of violent conflicts, first with the native population and during the Revolutionary years, with the British as well.[12] During the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the county's economy began to transition from a primary reliance on raising livestock to an increasing dependence on farming.[13]

Rural Montgomery County experienced a number of changes over the three decades leading up to the Civil War. In 1830, the county's population sat at 12,306 and fell significantly during the 1830s as parts of the county were carved out to form the neighboring counties of Floyd and Pulaski. By 1850, the county's population totaled 8,359. The antebellum period witnessed significant development in the county, including the opening of mineral springs tourist resorts, the development of turnpikes, and the arrival of the Virginia & Tennessee Railroad.[14]

Throughout its history, the ways in which residents of Montgomery County cared for their poor was heavily influenced by the practices of poor relief throughout the state. As in the other colonies, the Virginia colonists

brought English poor laws across the sea with them. Michael Katz identified the characteristics of poor relief that American society adopted from Britain: the notion that the responsibility for caring for the poor fell first to the individual's family; the obligation of the local government to fill this role if the family could not; and the practice of apprenticing poor children to local farmers or artisans.[15] In colonial Virginia, poor children were indeed apprenticed out, and poor adults were given outdoor relief. A special poor tax was collected for this purpose.[16]

In 1755, the colony enacted legislation allowing counties to erect poorhouses to accommodate the growing population of the poor, having concluded that outdoor relief alone was no longer sufficient:

> *Whereas,* The number of poor people hath of late years much increased throughout this colony, and it will be the most proper method for their maintenance, and for the prevention of great mischiefs arising from such numbers of unemployed poor, to provide houses for their reception and employment.[17]

From 1755 to 1785, the operation of the county poorhouse fell to the vestry, a group of local leaders responsible for the civic and religious administration of the parish. In 1786, Virginia's General Assembly passed the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom, disestablishing the Anglican Church as the official state religion. The collection of taxes for poor relief, as well as the administration of poor relief, transferred to the newly created constitutional office of the Overseer of the Poor.[18] Each locality elected its overseer for a term of three years, followed by eligibility for reelection, and it was not unusual for an overseer to remain in office for multiple terms. This office remained in existence until poorhouses fell out of use in the early twentieth century.[19]

The Montgomery County Poorhouse was established in 1830 and remained in use at least until 1927.[20] In Montgomery County, the house was often referred to as a "poor farm" since it was not just a residence, but an actual working farm. If the residents were physically able, they were expected to perform labor to help with household chores, farming, or tending the livestock. Census records and poor-farm reports, however, suggest that during any given time, a significant percentage of residents were either mentally or physically disabled and unable to perform work. In many cases, the poorhouse stood in for what would later emerge as mental hospitals, orphanages, and old age homes, and it was common for the majority of residents to suffer from physical or mental disabilities.[21]

In the nineteenth century, the county's poorhouse was most likely located atop Poorhouse Knob outside Christiansburg and several miles from the town center in a period when transportation was not easy, especially for the impoverished. The poorhouse was overseen by an appointed supervisor of the poor. This appointee lived on the farm with the residents, as did his wife and children. The supervisor's family contributed the majority of the labor on the farm, including fixing meals and taking care of the infirm. The supervisor was paid for his service and was sometimes only slightly financially better off than the residents he oversaw.[22]

Indoor and Outdoor Relief

As noted previously, the institution of the Virginia poorhouse was overseen by Montgomery County's overseer of the poor, who was charged with administering the county's poor-relief efforts. This included not only the functioning of the actual poorhouse, but also the administration of outdoor relief, or providing funds or goods directly to individuals who did not reside in the poorhouse. The overseer also paid out funds to private citizens who agreed to house the indigent for both short- and long-term periods. This article defines indoor relief as accommodation within the poorhouse and outdoor relief as the provision of cash or goods to individuals within their own homes or the binding out of the poor to live with other community members. Prior to 1830, the county provided relief solely through outdoor relief, but the construction of a poorhouse in 1830 allowed for a combination of the two. For the remainder of the antebellum period (and indeed, until the closing of the poorhouse in 1927), the county provided both indoor and outdoor relief.

Although their construction of a poorhouse appears to confirm that Montgomery County's government ascribed to the national trend toward moving the poor into institutions in an attempt to reform them, documents suggest that they did not, in fact, view the poorhouse as a punitive or reforming institution. In their own documents, the overseers of the poor make no mention of a reforming agenda for the poorhouse. Edmund B. Goodrich, clerk of the Board of Overseers of the Poor, made the following notation at the end of the 1830 report to the auditor of public accounts in Richmond:

> You will see from reference to the last [year's account] that there is a great difference between last [year's account] and this. The reason is this that the court of this county has purchased land and erected a poor house and the $2000 is for the purpose of furnishing it with cooking utensils & bedding and the Overseers were uncertain as to the number of paupers that would go to the Poorhouse.[23]

As with the vast majority of the existing overseers-of-the-poor documents, this notation by Goodrich does not convey any sense of moral condemnation of the poor or reluctance to provide for their needs.

Goodrich's note also makes clear that the overseers were not planning to move all recipients of outdoor relief into the poorhouse. Their yearly records indicated how many individuals were receiving outdoor relief and who they were; Goodrich's statement that they did not know how many residents to expect indicates that they did not intend for the poorhouse to completely replace outdoor relief. This suggests that although they constructed a poorhouse, they saw it as a last resort to provide relief to individuals who could not get by with outdoor relief. In other words, their main concern was relief, not moral reform.

An examination of the records reveals that this community primarily housed the infirm, elderly, and very young in the poorhouse and provided outdoor relief to everyone else. During the antebellum years for which data on physical infirmity is available, the majority of poorhouse residents are listed as "unable to work."[24] The Overseer of the Poor Reports, which provide this data, do not include the residents' ages, but the U.S. census can provide that information for the years 1850 and 1860. In 1850, twelve individuals resided at the poorhouse. Of those, five were more than fifty-five years old, four were less than twelve years old, and three (all women) were middle-aged.[25] In 1860, of seven residents, three were more than fifty-five, one was a child, and three (all women) were middle-aged.[26] These numbers indicate that the Montgomery County poorhouse provided aid primarily for the aged, the young, and the infirm, while the "able-bodied" poor were provided with outdoor relief. This stands in contrast to the recommendations of the Quincy and Yates reports, which suggest exactly the opposite: that the able-bodied be sent to the poorhouse for punishment and reform.[27]

If it holds true that a community's values are reflected in its budgets, Montgomery County possessed a strong commitment to its poorest residents. The $2,000 expenditure referred to by Clerk Goodrich for furnishing the house followed an initial expense of $1,760 for purchasing the land and constructing the house and outbuildings. The county's expenses for 1830 came to $2,209.33, making the poorhouse expenses nearly 80 percent of the total year's costs. The construction of the poorhouse raised the individual tithe for the annual levy from $0.30 to $0.95, a significant increase.[28] Additionally, the overseers made frequent purchases throughout the year to support the residents. In 1846, the county submitted twenty-nine payments totaling $351.16 to individuals or businesses for supplies and services at the poorhouse.[29] Two years later, in 1846, they made twenty-five payments for

a total of $335.50.[30] Unfortunately, comprehensive records only exist for these two years, but individual invoices throughout the period reflect that the supervisor of the poor made regular purchases for medical care, food, and supplies for the residents in his care.

Although one may be tempted to argue that county officials were motivated by efforts to decrease poor relief costs and not a commitment to supporting its poor neighbors, the data again prove otherwise. Reformers of the period did indeed argue that indoor relief would be less expensive than outdoor relief, but this was never the case in Montgomery County, where indoor relief was significantly more expensive, per person, than outdoor relief during the entire antebellum period.

Although the county employed indoor relief more often than outdoor relief in the 1840s, by the 1850s, outdoor relief had become more predominant. This relief could take the form of goods or services or a cash payment. The goods could be provided outright, as when eighteen bushels of corn were provided to Thomas Littens' family (see Image 1), or the recipient could receive credit for goods with a local merchant.[31] Credits and cash payments could be provided on a one-time basis or continually at regular intervals, such as when the board approved in 1849 to "continue to furnish Mr. E Woods supplies at the rate of two 50/100 dollars per month from date until otherwise directed [see Image 2]."[32] The increasing use of outdoor relief, combined with the general infirmity of individuals in the poorhouse, suggests that the county's main concern continued to be providing a basic

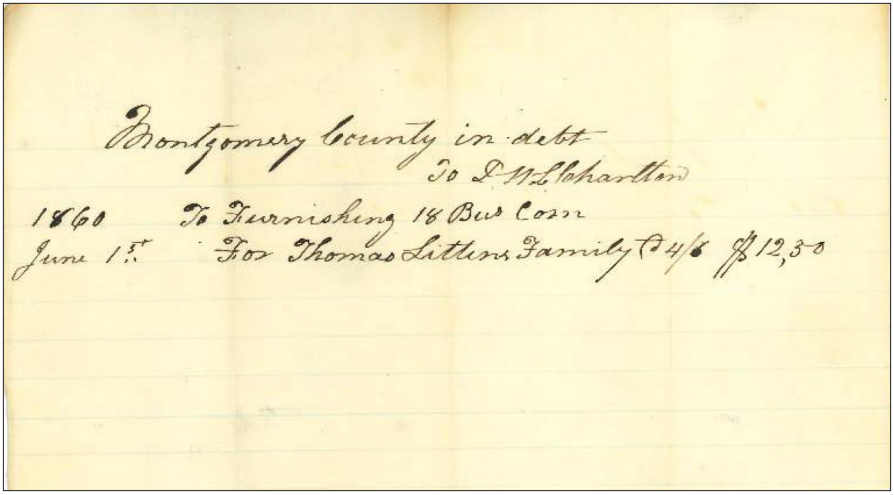

Montgomery County in debt
To D. M. Charlton
1860 To Furnishing 18 Bus Corn
June 15th For Thomas Littens Family @ 4/6 $12,30

Image 1. From the John Nicolay Papers, Ms1987−027, Special Collections, University Libraries, Virginia Tech, Blacksburg, Virginia (photographed by Jennifer A. Gallagher)

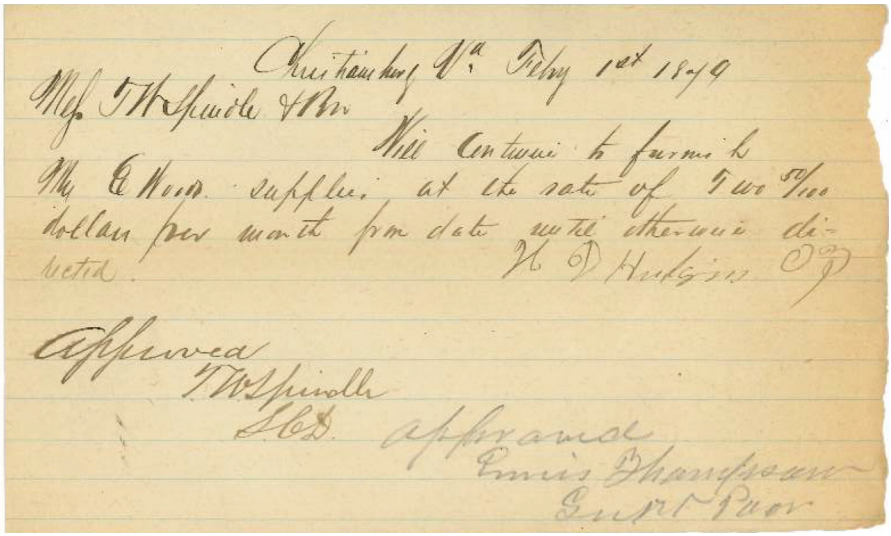


Image 2. From the Nicolay Papers, Special Collections, Virginia Tech (photographed by Jennifer A. Gallagher)

level of subsistence; if an individual was able to remain in his own home or the home of another community member and could survive with the assistance of cash or goods, that situation remained preferable to moving him or her to the poorhouse.

In lieu of providing cash or goods, or moving an individual to the poorhouse, the county also frequently bound out struggling citizens, both children and adults, to live with other members of the community. Such was the case in this 1831 entry from the county court's order book: "Ordered that the overseers of the poor of this county bind out according to law, Patsy, Mary Ann, Sally, Susan Williams & James Trusler orphans of William Trusler deceased."[33] Demonstrating the biracial nature of this type of relief, a similar entry from 1832 orders that "overseers of the poor for this county, bind out according to law Dana a mulatto child, to John R. Guerrant."[34] Although the county employed the practice of "binding out" as a means to provide relief, recipients would have sacrified a great deal of their own autonomy in exchange for the "privelege" of this relief. They would be in an unfamiliar home and would be expected to carry out whatever work or tasks were required by their host. Similar to residents of the poorhouse, the recipients who were bound out to third parties would have had little control over their own lives; their daily activities, living arrangements, food, and access to medical care would all have been primarily determined by someone else.

Just as the nature of the poor relief that was provided suggests that Montgomery County was defying national trends, so does the manner in which the county spoke about the poor. Two aspects of its language, in particular, demonstrate that community leaders considered poverty to be a natural condition of life and viewed the poor as neighbors in need of temporary assistance as opposed to morally deficient, lazy citizens. In the extant documents, the poor are nearly always referred to by name; they are rarely identified as simply "pauper." Additionally, although the designation of "pauper," or "poor person" is usually appended to their names, these identifiers seldom contain any pejorative adjectives. Both of these characteristics sit in opposition to documents from other localities during this period.

According to historian Nancy Isenberg, the decades leading up to the Civil War gave rise to the term "poor white trash," as poor white southerners began to be "classified as a 'race' that passed on horrific traits, eliminating any possibility of improvement or social mobility."[35] She provides this scathing summary of attitudes toward poor southern whites in the antebellum years:

> Few were concerned about, much less offered any solution to, their terrible poverty. Regarded as specimens more than cognitive beings, white trash sandhillers and clay-eaters loomed as abnormalities, deformities, a "notorious race" that would persist, generation after generation, unaffected by the inroads being made by social reformers.[36]

Supporting Isenberg's claim, numerous references to the white poor in antebellum publications cast the poor in an extremely negative light. A short piece in the *New York Observer and Chronicle* from 1856 conveys a common theme:

> WHY THE POOR ARE POOR. – Recently I had an interview with the minister of a parish in Scotland – (and I may observe he was not an abstainer) – when he said, "I am trustee for some money which is for the *virtuous* poor. Two things in my opinion are essential to virtue – 1st, industry; 2d, sobriety. The result is," said the minister, "I cannot get quit of the money, for all the needy poor about here are either *drunken or idle*" [italics in original].[37]

This brief article manages to encapsulate nearly all of the prevailing attitudes about the poor in antebellum America: the dichotomy of the worthy versus the unworthy poor, the belief that poverty resulted from personal moral

failures such as laziness or drunkenness, the implied connection between an individual's worth and his capitalist output, and the insinuation that a government's role rests primarily in providing reform rather than relief.

These attitudes were reflected in the terms that Americans used to speak about the poor. Newspaper articles on the subject of pauperism contain morally loaded phrases such as "unrestrained indulgence of vices," "drunkard," "prostitute," "deterioration of public morals,"[38] "evil," "indolence," "poor beggars . . . clamorous and importunate with open hands and extended fingers,"[39] "abuse of ardent spirits," "below the level of a brute," "an outcast from all respectable society," and "habitual indolence,"[40] to provide a small representative sample.

Whereas the poor during this period were consistently characterized as lazy, dissolute, or drunk, this did not appear to be the case in Montgomery County. This author did not find any such references to recipients of poor relief during the period 1830−1860. Rather, the recipients were almost universally referred to by name and characterized as "pauper" or "poor person," if they were characterized at all. This is significant considering the rise of denigrating language about the poor during this period; despite the prevalence of negative attitudes toward the poor in national publications and documents of the era, none of this condescension and judgment exists in the Montgomery County sources.

The poor in Montgomery County were referred to by name, occasionally with an added designation of "pauper" or "poor person." The nearly universal use of individuals' names in poor relief documents in Montgomery County illustrates that community leaders had not dehumanized them as merely "paupers"; rather, they were neighbors in need of assistance. A few examples will demonstrate the point. On November 26, 1837, a claim was submitted to the overseers for "making a coffin for Ann Shelor." Similarly, a claim from 1857 was submitted for "making walnut coffin for Martha Hundley[,] daughter of James Hundley." The identification of Martha Hundley as the daughter of James Hundley is significant. This clarification suggests that the writer of the document knew the family well enough to identify the deceased as the daughter of Mr. Hundley. She was not simply a poor person who could not afford her own coffin; she was the daughter of James Hundley. The only circumstance under which a recipient of relicf was not identified by name was when the claim referred to a child. For example, an1860 claim requested repayment for "making one coffin for Wm Peilars child." While children were seldom identified by name, this was a factor of their age, not their socioeconomic status.

TABLE 1: POOR RELIEF BY TYPE, MONTGOMERY COUNTY, 1829–1854				
	Outdoor Relief - White	Outdoor Relief - Free Black	Maintained at Poorhouse	Boarded Out
1829	32	1		
1830	8	0		
1833	4	0	4	
1834	3	0	3	
1835	5	0	5	
1840	11	1	7	5
1841	14	1	9	6
1842	9	1	8	2
1843	11	1	7	5
1844	17	1	9	9
1851	9	1	12	10
1852	16	1	11	17
1853	26	3	12	29
1854	7	1	8	6

The historiography of southern poor relief focuses on relief for white citizens, as most scholars maintain that free black residents were not offered relief. The documentary evidence in Montgomery County suggests, however, that although government officials remained highly conscious of race while discharging their duties, they did not categorically deny relief to free black residents. Throughout the antebellum era, the county provided outdoor relief, indoor relief, medical care, and burial to free black residents. As was the case with white poor-relief recipients, officials generally referred to the black poor by name (albeit, often only by first name). The Overseer of the Poor Reports that were submitted every year to Richmond categorized the poor by four categories: (1) "poor whites maintained at public charge," (2) "free blacks maintained at public charge," (3) "poor maintained at poor or work house," and (4) "poor boarded out" (see Table 1 above). In addition to listing total numbers, the reports for some years included addendums providing the names and races of the individuals in each group. Officials' attention to categorizing poor relief recipients by race, as well as their practice of using the terms "free black" or "colored" when identifying

black recipients in the records, suggests that race was a relevant factor in providing relief but certainly not a disqualifying factor.

An examination of the Overseer of the Poor Reports over the antebellum period illustrates the biracial nature of Montgomery County's poor relief. An elderly black man identified only as Paul resided in the poorhouse for at least the five-year period 1850−1855. The only facts about Paul left to us by history are that he was approximately ninety years old in 1850, and he was described as "unable to work" by the overseer of the poor.[44] During the same period, a free black man named James Ligon was receiving outdoor relief.[45] We know a little more about James; he was in his forties in 1860 and described as "5'8", 'very black,' two small scars over his right eye, several small scars on the right hand, and had his two middle fingers of the right hand cut off. He was the son of Sarah, who was emancipated by deed from Robert Shanklin."[46] He had clearly fallen on hard times by 1851 and, thus, was receiving outdoor relief from the county.

The historiography of poor-relief references black residents of antebellum poorhouses, usually in the context of how communities attempted to segregate the poor within these institutions based on race, but references to free blacks receiving outdoor relief are far more elusive. It is, therefore, significant that for ten of the fourteen years for which records survive, outdoor relief was provided to at least one free black county resident. Furthermore, the black recipients received a level of support comparable to that of their white neighbors. For the twelve months ending March 31, 1851, the county provided outdoor support to nine white and one black resident (Mr. Ligon). The average amount expended per person for the white residents was $23.77; the amount provided for Mr. Ligon's care was much higher at $50.00. For the following calendar year, the average amount expended per person for the white residents was $18.03; for Mr. Ligon, $25.00.[47] These numbers make it clear that Mr. Ligon did not receive an inferior level of service due to his race.

The Overseer of the Poor Report for the year ending March 31, 1853, provides further evidence that free black citizens received poor relief services. During this year, in addition to providing support to Mr. Ligon, the county provided outdoor relief to a black man identified only as "Simian" and to a black child who remained unnamed. The average amount expended per white citizen during this year sat at $20.12; the average amount per black citizen, slightly below at $19.16.[48] It should be noted that the three black recipients of outdoor relief – Mr. Ligon, Simian, and the child – were most likely not given the poor relief funds directly. Although they were not housed in the poorhouse and, thus, were technically recipients of

TABLE 2: PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION RECEIVING POOR RELIEF, BY RACE		
YEAR	*White*	*Free Black*
1851	.29%	3%
1852	.38%	3%
1853	.54%	6%
1854	.18%	3%

outdoor relief, they were residing with other county residents. The head of the household in which they were residing would have received the funds. Interestingly, though, not all three of the heads of household were white. Two were indeed prominent white citizens, but Simian lived with a free black man referred to only as "King."[49] The fact that funds were provided to free black citizens who housed poor black residents suggests that the county's main concern lay in providing for the destitute, regardless of race.

An analysis of the percentage of the white and free black population who received poor relief provides further evidence that Montgomery County officials provided significant relief to their free black neighbors. The 1850 United States census identified 6,822 white residents and 66 free black residents.[50] Based on those totals, the county provided relief to a

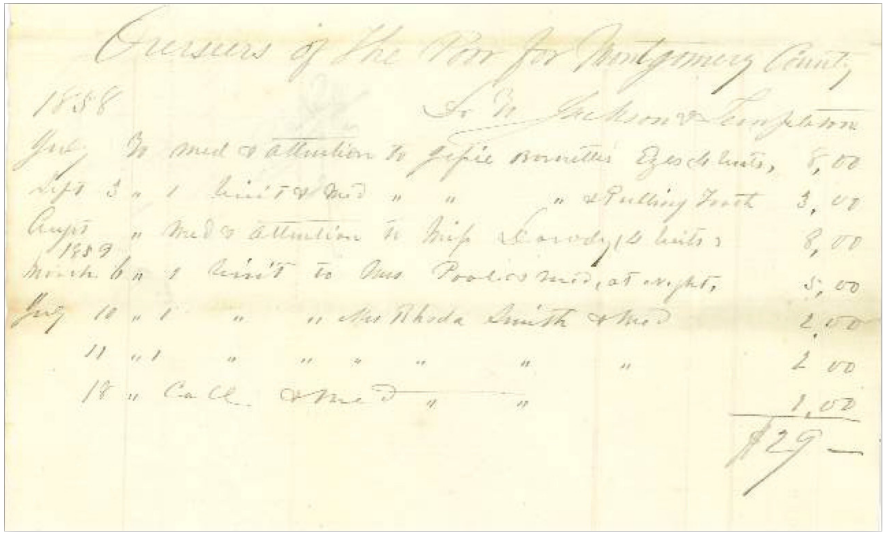


Image 3. From the Nicolay Papers, Special Collections, Virginia Tech (photographed by Jennifer A. Gallagher)

higher percentage of the free black population than of the white population (see Table 2) during the first four years of the 1850s (the only years of that decade for which comprehensive records have survived).[51] As Table 2 illustrates, county officials did not consider race to be a (dis)qualifying factor for receiving aid.

The documentary evidence from Montgomery County supports the claim put forth by Green and Lockley that public poor-relief did indeed exist in the South. In Montgomery County, the local government saw to the needs of the poor throughout the antebellum period. In contrast to the negative narrative of poverty that was developing nationally, the documents suggest that the local government saw poor relief as an obligation to their fellow citizens, not as handouts to unworthy paupers.

Medical Care

The county's sense of obligation for providing for its most vulnerable citizens can also be surmised from their commitment to medical care. Invoices from doctors constitute a significant portion of the extant documentary body. One such example includes seven itemizations for treatment from July 1858 to July 1859. The $29 invoice (see Image 3 on page 54) included charges ranging from $1 to $8 apiece. One poorhouse resident, Jessie Bornettes, was the patient of four of the seven visits. Interestingly, the physician characterized these visits as "med & attention to Jessie [Bornettes'] eyes," and also charged $3 for pulling a tooth for another resident."[52] These two items are of particular interest as reflections of societal obligations toward the poor because they do not pertain to life-threatening illness. Being willing to pay for eye care and tooth extraction for poorhouse residents suggests a greater concern for their welfare than simply maintaining their physical survival.[53]

The act of caring for the poor upon death further illustrates this point. When a resident died and did not have family able to afford his/her burial, the county assumed responsibility. The county contracted a local carpenter to make a coffin, at $3−$6 apiece during this period.[54]

Although the access to medical care does indicate an attempt to tend to the well-being of the poor, it is important to note that access to care was dependent upon the discretion of the overseers of the poor or the supervisor of the poorhouse. The residents did not have control over their own health; the summoning of the doctor and the administration of surgery or other medical care was determined by the administrators. This speaks to the trade-off that poor citizens were forced to make in exchange for assistance;

in order to receive shelter, they sacrificed their bodily autonomy. Someone else decided for them whether they were ill enough to receive medical attention and, if so, whether they could receive treatment.

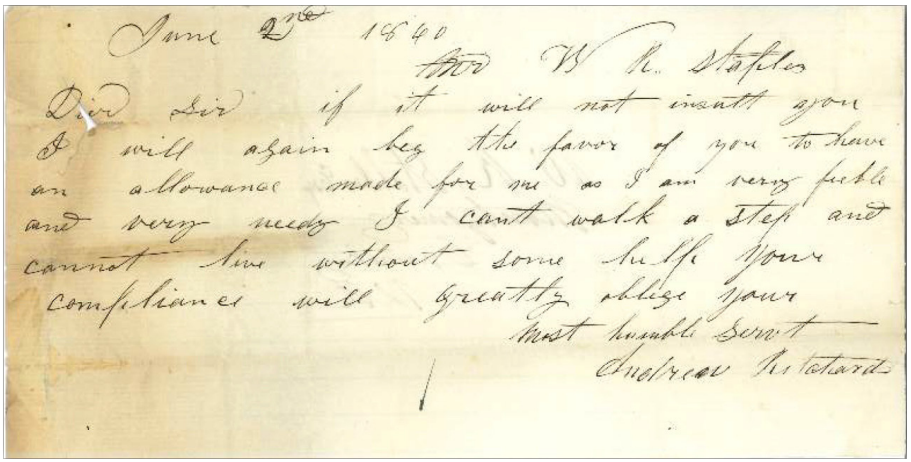
It is also important to note the role that services to the poor played in the local economy. Elna Green identified the contribution of poor-relief efforts to local economies in her work on poor relief in Richmond, and the same principle applies in a rural setting.[55] Although no such documents exist from this period, documents from the early 1900s illustrate that local physicians placed bids to serve under contract as the doctor for the poorhouse, indicating that this was a coveted business opportunity.[56] It is not clear if doctors did or did not bid for contracts during the mid-nineteenth century, but whether one or several physicians provided medical services, the net impact on the local economy remained the same. It must be acknowledged that although the county government did indeed take responsibility for its poor, there was a tangible benefit to the community in doing so; this was not an entirely altruistic enterprise.

Similar to the poor claims for indoor and outdoor relief, the invoice requests for medical care also frequently identify the poor by name. This speaks to one of the fundamental differences between poor relief in the rural South and in the urban North. In Montgomery County, the recipients of poor relief are almost always referred to by name, whereas this is not the case in more urban, northern areas. Perhaps due to a greater sense of community obligation in Montgomery County, or the increased likelihood that the poor were known personally to the community (and were not "strangers," to support Katz's theory), the poor in Montgomery County were not denied their personhood in the documents. This suggests that they were seen by their neighbors as people first and as "paupers" second.

Daily Life

The sources for Montgomery County indicate that the local government sought to provide for its most vulnerable citizens by offering a range of poor-relief services. These included indoor relief, outdoor relief, and medical care. Although these services often literally kept people alive, it would be instructive to attempt a reconstruction of what daily life was like for the poor in order to appreciate the sacrifices they were required to make in exchange for these services.

Although officials referred to the poor with respect in their documents, poverty in nineteenth-century culture was considered a source of shame and was widely feared. Popular literature of the time contained numerous references to the misfortune of "paupers" and often offered them up as


June 2nd 1840

Hon W R. Staples

Dear Sir if it will not insault you I will again beg the favor of you to have an allowance made for me as I am very feeble and very needy I cant walk a Step and cannot live without some help your compliance will greatly oblige your most humble Servt

Andrew Pritchard

Image 4. From the Nicolay Papers, Special Collections, Virginia Tech (photographed by Jennifer A. Gallagher)

cautionary tales for their readers. For example, a *Harper's Weekly* article from 1859 suggested that "a visit to the paupers of a county poor-house should be a part of every boy's education. Here, and here alone, is seen the denouement of unsuccessful life struggles."[57] The message is clear: the poorhouse can (and most definitely *should*) be avoided through a commitment to hard work.

On occasion, the voices of the poor themselves have survived the passage of time, shedding light on how completely recipients of poor relief had internalized the prevailing societal attitudes towards poverty. In one of the few extant documents in Montgomery County written by a recipient of poor relief, as opposed to a third party, Andrew Pritchard pleads his case for outdoor relief in a clear, strong script (see Image 4).[58]

His precise phrasing conveys his understanding of societal concepts of poverty. With his description of himself as "very feeble and very needy" and noting that he "[can't] walk a step," he qualified himself as being of the "worthy" poor; he was emphasizing that his need was due to infirmity, not idleness. His choice of the word "beg," as well as identifying himself as "your most humble servant," paid deference to the belief that recipients of relief should be sufficiently grateful for aid. Although the local government considered poor relief an obligation, they most likely expected gratitude and compliance from the recipients in exchange for their assistance.

When a resident, like Maria Rose from our opening vignette, found herself desperate enough to enter the poorhouse, she was removed to a farmhouse in the country, isolated from any friends or family. She was quite literally stranded, as she could not leave unless by foot (and with permission

from the superintendent), and the poorhouse was several miles from the town center in Christiansburg. Lockley illustrates this forced isolation by relating the experience of John Brown, a resident of a rural, North Carolina poorhouse. John asked the overseers to allow him to go back home because he missed his friends. His request was denied.[59]

In 1850, Maria Rose was thus isolated in the Montgomery County Poorhouse. She lived on the farm with her eleven-year-old daughter; the supervisor, Nathan Buckingham; his wife; and their four children, who ranged in age from sixteen to twenty-one. Her fellow "paupers" were an elderly married couple, a middle-aged man, a middle-aged woman, a forty-year-old woman with her eleven-year-old son, a twenty-seven-year-old woman with her toddler daughter and infant son, and an elderly black man.[60] This was her community. Did her daughter play with the other children? Did Maria and her daughter work the farm? How were they treated by the Buckingham family? Did the other residents interact with the elderly black man, Paul, or was he socially isolated as the only black resident? We cannot answer these questions, but they are worth considering in order to obtain a glimpse of what life would have been like in the Montgomery County Poorhouse.

As a resident, Maria would have been under the supervision of Mr. and Mrs. Buckingham. She would be expected to follow their orders and would be subject to their constant authority. Mrs. Buckingham, most likely, prepared meals, leaving Maria and her daughter with little control even over what they ate. If one of them became ill, it would be up to Mr. Buckingham's discretion whether to call a physician. If a doctor did see them, it would again be Mr. Buckingham's decision as to whether they could receive treatment.

No documents exist to describe the physical condition of Maria's poorhouse, but many of the poorhouses of this period were extremely unpleasant environments. An 1857 report on a Charleston, South Carolina, poorhouse described the environment thus:

> The Yard was uncleansed – the surface drains filled with offensive matter – the Privies in a most filthy state – the floors most unwashed, many of the windows obscured by apparently many months accumulation of dust and cobwebs – nearly all the beds and bedding in a disgustingly neglected state, and in some localities swimming with vermin.[61]

Nor was this poorhouse an outlier; the secondary literature is rife with equally disturbing descriptions of abominable living conditions within poorhouses.[62] The description of this South Carolina poorhouse provides an

opportunity to imagine what the conditions may have been like for Maria and her young daughter. Having only been constructed in 1830, it is likely that the Montgomery County Poorhouse was still structurally in good condition in 1850, but whether the living quarters were kept clean cannot be known.

The poor relief provided by the county allowed residents like Maria just enough support to stay alive but could not offer any substantial increase in quality of life. In exchange for housing, food, and basic medical care, Maria sacrificed not only her own autonomy, but also that of her young child. They both would have fallen under the supervision of overseer-of-the-poor officials, and choices about where to live, with whom to keep company, what to eat, what work to perform, and how to spend their free time would not have been their own.

Conclusion

Historians such as Michael Katz and Stephen Pimpare have eloquently demonstrated the plight of America's poor throughout history. Scholars of southern history, such as Elna Green and Timothy Lockley, have highlighted the obligation felt by communities in the South in the nineteenth century to provide for their poor neighbors. Although these two notions may appear to be mutually exclusive, an examination of poor relief in Montgomery County, Virginia, demonstrates that they are entirely compatible. The local government in Montgomery County *did* offer poor relief to the truly indigent who had nowhere else to turn, but the recipients of this relief still lived a hard, unenviable existence.

The local government of Montgomery County considered poor relief to be a governmental obligation. In contrast to officials in northern cities, the Montgomery County overseers did not denigrate or depersonalize the poor in their official documents; rather, they referred to them as if they were simply neighbors in temporary need of assistance. Without exception, the extant Montgomery County documents refer to aid recipients as "pauper" or "poor" without the addition of any denigrating adjectives or accusations of moral failure.

Several factors contributed to the significant difference in how the poor were talked about in urban northeastern and rural southern communities. Part of this difference resulted from the demographics, as Katz makes clear in his discussion of the role of strangers in attitudes about the poor.[63] The larger the population, the less likely it was that individuals would personally know someone who was receiving poor relief, and the easier it was to stereotype the poor and begrudge the resources they were provided. The high rates of foreign immigration in the urban Northeast further exacerbated this effect;

immigrants were seen as "other" and as taking resources away from the non-immigrant community.[64] In the rural South, where foreign immigration was minimal, social ties between members of a small community fostered a sense of obligation to one another that was lacking in the urban North.

The structure of government in the South further contributed to the differing perceptions of poor relief. Laura Edwards has described post-revolutionary government in the South as a hybrid system that developed as a means to restore and maintain the public peace. She describes this peace as "a hierarchical order that forced everyone into its patriarchal embrace and raised its collective interests over those of any given individual."[65] Maintaining the peace took precedent over strict adherence to laws. She discusses the effect of this concept on poor relief, noting that the southern concept of the "kindness of friends" required that Southerners assist their impoverished neighbors.[66] This speaks to the sense of obligation evident within Montgomery County's poor relief practices. Families were expected to help their struggling kin, and if they were unable to do so, the obligation for assistance fell to the local government.

This sense of obligation applied to both white and black members of the poor community. For nearly the entire duration of its existence, the poorhouse in Montgomery County was an integrated institution. Although some larger poorhouses segregated residents into different wings of the house, this does not seem likely in the smaller structures that were used in Montgomery County.[67] Therefore, residents of both races would have interacted freely with one another and with the overseer and his family.

In addition to indoor relief, black residents were also approved for other services, such as receiving medical care and burial expenses. Although governmental officials were always careful to note the race of these recipients, they did not deny service because of race, at least in the existing records. This conclusion should be tempered, however, by the possibility that records of denials may not have survived. Indeed, in 1866, the local representative of the Freedman's Bureau, Charles Schaeffer, reported that the overseers of the poor had instructed the county to ignore claims from black community members.[68] Willingness to provide relief to the black community may have been highly variable depending on the character of the officials during any given time period. Thus, although black residents were (at least at times) provided with poor relief by the local government, race was and continued to be an issue that complicated the sense of obligation felt by the community.

Although the extant records indicate that the rural, southern community of Montgomery County, Virginia, took pains to provide for the poor within the community, both black and white, the poor did not lead

easy lives. In exchange for services to literally keep them alive, they traded their personal—and often bodily—autonomy. They lived among strangers, ate what they were offered, were isolated in the countryside on a farm or in a stranger's home, were told when to work and what work to do, and were told whether they could see a doctor and receive treatment for illness. Psychologically, the poor of this period would have most likely known that the larger culture categorized them as a sub-class, as an example of a life lived the wrong way. Their condition was the cautionary tale told to young people: "Don't end up in the poorhouse."

Although the poorhouse in Montgomery County closed down nearly a hundred years ago, citizens living in poverty today would have no trouble identifying with the psychological impact of poverty felt by Maria Rose and her companions in the poorhouse of 1850. Now, as then, recipients of welfare are expected to be subservient, grateful, and receptive to the moral reformation imposed upon them by the larger society.[69] Then, as now, much of society failed to recognize the social, economic, and medical forces that push people into poverty and hold them there. Modern society has made great strides towards the humane treatment of the poor during the last century and a half; we no longer remove poor children from their parents, bind the poor out to strangers, or remove those living in poverty to isolated poorhouses (yet we do still require them to relinquish a great deal of autonomy in exchange for help).

Although our methods of poor relief have improved, however, the same cannot be said for our beliefs about poverty or our discourse on the poor. One can still find numerous references in modern publications blaming the poor for their own condition, suggesting that they deserve their poverty and that their destitution results from poor personal choices instead of societal forces. These beliefs are exemplified by the following comments posted online in response to a *Roanoke Times* op-ed addressing the impact of poverty on Americans:

> If there was a poverty of food in America, we would see pictures of malnourished youth and adults. The absence of which is prima facie evidence that there is no poverty like there is in third world countries like certain areas of Africa. . . . What we see everyday by walking out in and around our Great Country are images of obesity manifested in poor parenting decisions (influencing young people what to eat). . . . All the efforts of 50 yrs of federal policy and former First Lady Michelle to teach downward to parents is impotent because "parents do what they want to do" with their children and "society gets what it

> gets from negligent parenting" . . . . Sorry to choose not to embellish your line of "political correctness" but the only poverty in America is a "Poverty of Spirit" . . . . There may be a violence connected to that but I would not want to follow into that "political correct trap" . . . . Only God knows where the money/income coming into the household is spent. The parents are responsible for its expenditure. Government cannot and should not be supplementing the mismanagement of household income. Just follow the money and see where it is spent. . . . It is called individual responsibility and not intended to morph into a "safety net."[70]

Here we find concepts that would have been entirely familiar in an industrializing, nineteenth-century America: that the poor suffer from a "poverty of spirit," not a poverty of opportunity; that the poor create their own condition through poor decisions, financial irresponsibility, and a lack of personal responsibility; and that a governmental "safety net" would only exacerbate the problem. Fortunately for Maria Rose and her companions in the poorhouse, these views had not yet reached prominence in antebellum Montgomery County. Perhaps her story and the scraps of life stories that can be reconstructed about the other recipients of poor relief in antebellum Montgomery County can remind twenty-first century Southwest Virginians that the poor amongst us are neighbors in need of help, not morally deficient citizens in need of reform.

Endnotes

1. 1850 U.S. Census, Montgomery County, Virginia, population schedule I, forty-first district, dwelling 3, family 495, digital image, Ancestry.com, accessed February 9, 2018.
2. 1860 U.S. Census, Montgomery County, population schedule I, sheet 49, dwelling 349, family 334, digital image, Ancestry.com, accessed February 9, 2018.
3. 1850 U.S. Census, Montgomery County, family 495.
4. For a comprehensive history of the denigration of the poor, see Nancy Isenberg, *White Trash: The 400-Year Untold History of Class in America* (New York: Viking, 2016).
5. See Michael Katz, *The Undeserving Poor* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1989), for a further discussion on the "neighbors in need" philosophy of poor relief, which he argues was common in the pre-industrial era.
6. Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse* (New York: Basic Books, 1986); David L. Lightner, *Asylum, Prison, and Poorhouse* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999); Stephen Pimpare, *A People's History of Poverty in America* (New York: The New Press, 2008); David Wagner, *The Poorhouse: America's Forgotten Institution* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005).
7. John Hope Franklin,"Public Welfare in the South during the Reconstruction Era, 1865−1880," *The Social Service Review* 44, no. 4 (December 1970): 379−392.
8. Elna C. Green, *This Business of Relief: Confronting Poverty in a Southern City*, *1740−1940* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003).

9. Timothy James Lockley, *Welfare and Charity in the Antebellum South* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2007).
10. Lockley, *Welfare and Charity in the Antebellum South.*
11. Despite the original ties of Native Americans to the land that would become Montgomery County, this article has not been able to include their voices in the history of nineteenth-century poor relief for one reason: if a native population still resided in the county by 1830, its members were rendered mute by the documentary body.
12. Mary Elizabeth Lindon, ed., *Virginia's Montgomery County* (Christiansburg, VA: Montgomery Museum and Lewis Miller Regional Art Center, 2009); Lula Porterfield Givens, *Highlights in the Early History of Montgomery County, Virginia* (Pulaski, VA: B. D. Smith & Bros., Printers, 1975).
13. Lindon, *Virginia's Montgomery County,* 208–209.
14. Lindon, *Virginia's Montgomery County*, 42, 132, 245, 297−301.
15. Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse,* 13−14.
16. Virginia Department of Welfare and Institutions, *Disappearance of the County Almshouse in Virginia* (Richmond: Superintendent of Public Printing, 1926), 5.
17. Virginia Department of Welfare and Institutions, *Disappearance of the County Almshouse,* 8.
18. Carl H. Esbeck, "Protestant Dissent and the Virginia Disestablishment, 1776−1786," *Public Policy* 7 (2009): 55.
19. Virginia Department of Welfare and Institutions, *Disappearance of the County Almshouse in Virginia,* 12.
20. John Nicolay, "Virginia Poverty: Paupers and the Almshouse: An Examination of Montgomery County's Response to Poverty, 1790−1860," 1984, in John Nicolay Papers, Ms1987-027, box 1, folder 5, Special Collections, University Libraries, Virginia Tech, Blacksburg, Virginia; Poor Farm Report, June 31, 1927, Poor Farm Reports, Montgomery County Clerk of Court, Christiansburg, Virginia.
21. Lockley, *Welfare and Charity in the Antebellum South,* 16.
22. Wagner, *The Poorhouse: America's Forgotten Institution.*
23. Edmund B. Goodrich to the Auditing Office, Richmond, Virginia, November 30, 1830, accession APA 739, box 8, folder 4, Library of Virginia, Richmond.
24. Overseer of the Poor Reports, 1851−1855, Library of Virginia.
25. 1850 U.S. Census.
26. 1860 U.S. Census.
27. John Van Ness Yates, "Report of the Secretary of State in 1824 on the Relief and Settlement of the Poor," reprinted in D. J. Rothman, *The Almshouse Experience: The Historical Record* (New York: Arno Press and *New York Times*, 1971); Josiah Quincy III, "Report of the Committee on the Pauper Laws of this Commonwealth" (Boston: Shaw and Shoemaker, 1821).
28. Montgomery County Order Book 25, June 1830, 78−79, Montgomery County Courthouse, Christiansburg, Virginia.
29. William Wade, A List of Claims Allowed by the Overseers of the Poor for Montgomery County, 1846, John Nicolay Papers, folder 5.
30. Wade, A List of Claims Allowed by the Overseers of the Poor for Montgomery County, 1848, Nicolay Papers, folder 3.
31. Nicolay Papers, folder 1.
32. Nicolay Papers, folder 1.
33. Montgomery County Order Book 25, October 3, 1831, 225.
34. Montgomery County Order Book 25, November 6, 1832, 347.
35. Isenberg, *White Trash,* 136.
36. Isenberg, *White Trash*, 152.
37. "Why the Poor Are Poor," *New York Observer and Chronicle (1833−1912)*, October 30, 1856.
38. "The Honorable the Delegates to the General Assembly of Maryland, from Baltimore City and County," *Baltimore Patriot & Mercantile Advertiser* 21, no. 41, January 15, 1823.

39. "Pauperism," *Independent Chronicle and Boston Patriot* 21, issue 11, March 1, 1823.
40. "Causes, Consequences, and Cure of Pauperism," *Hampshire Gazette* 44, no. 2274 (Northampton, Massachusetts), March 31, 1830.
41. Nicolay Papers, folder 1.
42. Nicolay Papers, folder 1.
43. Nicolay Papers, folder 1.
44. Montgomery Overseer of the Poor Reports, 1829−1835, 1840−1845, 1851−1855, Nicolay Papers, folder 2.
45. James's last name was spelled in a variety of ways in different documents: Ligon, Liggins, Liggons, and Liggans.
46. Lindon, *Virginia's Montgomery County*, 620.
47. Montgomery Report of the Poor, 1851, Overseers of the Poor Annual Reports and Checklist, Montgomery County, 1800−1909, accession APA 739, Library of Virginia; Montgomery Report of the Poor, 1852.
48. Montgomery Report of the Poor, 1853.
49. Montgomery Report of the Poor, 1853. According to Daniel B. Thorp, history advisor for *The Smithfield Review* (electronic communication with the editor, March 11, 2019), this reference likely referred to King James, who was manumitted in 1849. In 1850, he purchased the land on which he was living outside what is now Radford. He left the county in 1858 and emigrated to Ohio.
50. 1850 U.S. Census.
51. Montgomery Report of the Poor, 1851, 1852, 1853, 1854.
52. Jackson & Templeton to Overseers of the Poor for Montgomery County, July 1859, Nicolay Papers, folders 6 and 1.
53. Jackson & Templeton to Overseers of the Poor.
54. Anonymous to Overseers of the Poor for Montgomery County, 1868, Poor Claims, Montgomery County Clerk of Court, Christiansburg, Virginia; Hickok & Brothers to Overseers of the Poor for Montgomery County, 1872, Poor Claims.
55. Green, *This Business of Relief.*
56. Andrew S. Ellett to Board of Supervisors of Montgomery County, 1912, Poor Farm Reports; F. Sidney Roop *et. al*. to Board of Supervisors of Montgomery County, January 15, 1912, Poor Farm Reports.
57. Ellett to Board of Supervisors; Roop *et. al*. to Board of Supervisors.
58. Andrew Pritchard to W. R. Staples, June 2, 1860, Nicolay Papers, folder 1.
59. Lockley, *Welfare and Charity in the Antebellum South,* 34.
60. 1850 U.S. Census, family 495.
61. Charleston commissioners, quoted in Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse,* 26.
62. See Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse*; Wagner, *The Poorhouse: America's Forgotten Institution*; Lightner, *Asylum, Prison, and Poorhouse*.
63. Katz, *The Undeserving Poor*, 6−7.
64. Wagner, *Ordinary People: In and Out of Poverty in the Gilded Age.*
65. Laura F. Edwards, *The People and Their Peace: Legal Culture and the Transformation of Inequality in the Post-Revolutionary South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 7.
66. Edwards, *The People and Their Peace,* 150.
67. Virginia Department of Welfare and Institutions, *Disappearance of the County Almshouse in Virginia*.
68. Daniel B. Thorp, *Facing Freedom: An African American Community in Virginia from Reconstruction to Jim Crow* (The American South Series) (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2017), 191−192.

69. Katz, *The Undeserving Poor*; Pimpare, *A People's History of Poverty in America*; Jennifer Sherman, *Those Who Work, Those Who Don't: Poverty, Morality, and Family in Rural America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009); Chris Hedges and Joe Sacco, *Days of Destruction, Days of Revolt* (New York: Nation Books, 2012).
70. Randy Scott, November 11, 2018, online comment on Sam Rasoul, "The Violence of Poverty," *Roanoke Times* (Roanoke, Virginia), November 11, 2018, *www.roanoke.com/opinion/commentary/rasoul-the-violence-of-poverty/article_9c531220-1270-5b71-a5e7-36efea5cd9f2.html* (reproduced as written; all errors in the original).

About the Author: A second-year master's student in the departments of history and education at Virginia Tech, Jennifer A. "Jenni" Gallagher plans to teach social studies in Southwest Virginia after completing her graduate education. In addition to working on her master's degree, she chairs the Montgomery County Democratic Committee.

Family of James Patton Preston, His Children, and Their Children

Parents: William Preston (1729–1783) m. Susanna Smith (1740–1823) in 1760

James Patton Preston (1774–1843) m. Ann (Nancy) Barraud Taylor (1778–1861) in 1801

Children:

1. Sarah Barraud Preston (1804–1804)
2. **William Ballard Preston** (1805–1862) m. Lucinda (Lucy) Staples Redd (1819–1891) in 1839
    1. Waller Redd Preston (1841–1872) m. Harriett Jane Milling Means (1846-1869) in 1866
    2. Ann Taylor Preston (1843-1868) m. Walter Coles (1839-1892) in 1864
    3. James Patton Preston (1845–1920)
    4. Lucy Redd Preston (1848–1928) m. William Radford Beale (1839–1917) in 1866
    5. Jane Grace Preston (1849–1930) m. Aubin Lee Boulware (1843–1897) in 1878
    6. Keziah Preston (1853–1861)
3. **Robert Taylor Preston** (1809–1880) m. Mary Hart (1810–1881) in 1833
    1. Virginia Ann Emily Preston (1834–1898) m. Robert Stark Means (1833–1874) in 1856
    2. Benjamin Hart Preston (1836–1851)
    3. James Patton Preston (1838–1901)
4. **James Francis Preston** (1813–1862) m. Sarah Ann Caperton (1826–1908) in 1855
    1. Hugh Caperton Preston (1856–1935) m. Caroline [Cary] Marx Baldwin (1858–1935) in 1878
    2. William Ballard Preston (1858–1901) m. Elizabeth Blackford Scott (1864–1920) in 1888
    3. James Francis Preston (1860–1862)
5. Virginia Ann Preston (1816–1833)
6. Susan Edmonia Preston (1818–1823)
7. Catharine Jane Preston (1821-1852) m. George Gilmer (1810–1875) in 1845
    1. James Preston Gilmer (1851–1852)
8. Susan Preston (1824–1835)

A Summary of Nineteenth-Century Smithfield, Part 2: The Early War Years, 1861−1862

Laura Jones Wedin

Introduction

In the mid-eighteenth century, Col. William Preston (1729−1783) established the plantation of Smithfield, which he named in honor of his wife, Susanna Smith (1740−1823). Much has been written of the prominent, wealthy colonel and his wife, but no one written work has summarized his descendants through the death of the last Preston to live on the historic estate. This multi-part article provides a chronology of events; looks at the contributions of the Preston family to Blacksburg, the commonwealth, and the nation; and recounts the lives of the people who carried Smithfield from the new United States through the Civil War and Reconstruction and into the twentieth century.

Part I of the article, published in volume 18 of *The Smithfield Review*,[1] presented an antebellum overview of the properties of Smithfield Plantation, Solitude, and White Thorn, homes belonging to each of the three sons of Virginia Governor James Patton Preston (1774−1843), son of the colonel and his wife. Part II, which follows, examines the Preston family from the early years of the Civil War through the death of William Ballard Preston, a man who played important and historic roles throughout his adult life.

The Sons, Their Families, and Their Plantations

At the outset of the Civil War in the spring of 1861, William Ballard Preston, Robert Taylor Preston, and James Francis Preston operated three plantations west of the town of Blacksburg, Virginia. The three properties had originally been a single plantation, Smithfield, begun by their grandfather, Col. William Preston, and maintained by their father, James Patton Preston. Following their father's death in 1843, Smithfield was divided among his heirs, and his three sons settled on three plantations – Smithfield, Solitude, and White Thorn – adjacent to one another. By 1861, the three plantations were at their pinnacle of success. The land was well suited for cattle grazing and raising corn and wheat. A macadamized road, the Southwest Turnpike, eased travel to and within the area, and construction of the Virginia &

Tennessee Railroad in the early to mid-1850s had linked the area's nearest depot, located near Christiansburg, Virginia, and fewer than ten miles from Blacksburg, to the eastern part of the state. Goods, services, mail, and people could then move easily into and out of the area. The telegraph that soon followed enhanced communication beyond the U.S. mail and letters exchanged with families and friends.[2]

The governor's eldest son, William Ballard Preston (1805−1862), known as Ballard, lived at the core estate, Smithfield. A well-known lawyer and former U.S. congressman, he briefly served as secretary of the navy under President Zachary Taylor. He and his wife, Lucinda Staples Redd (1819−1891), shared the old Tidewater-style manor house with Ballard's widowed mother, Ann Barraud Taylor Preston (1778−1861). In 1861, their family included sons Waller, age twenty, and James Patton, called Patton or sometimes Pat, age fifteen, and daughters Ann, known as Nannie, eighteen; Lucy, thirteen; and Jane, eleven. Their youngest daughter, Keziah, had died at the age of eight in January of that year.

Smithfield manor house, c. 1900 (from the collection of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, Dr. Harvey Black Chapter, Special Collections, University Libraries, Virginia Tech)

Over the years, the governor's second son, Robert Taylor Preston (1809−1880), and his wife, Mary Hart (1810−1881), had enlarged and faced an original 1801 log structure at Solitude to give it the look of a gracious plantation home. Their son, James, listed in the 1860 census as a student, lived with them, along with Patrick Bohan, their gardener from Ireland. Their daughter, Virginia (1834−1898), had married Robert Stark Means (1833−1874) of South Carolina in 1856. They were living in Fairfield, South Carolina, near his parents and had given Robert and Mary their first grandchildren, Robert, four; Sallie, fifteen months; and Mary, born in February 1861.[3]

Two Cousins, One Name

They were first cousins born seven years apart, and both were named James Patton Preston. Historically, they have been confused in academic, military, and death records.

Both were named for their grandfather, Gov. James Patton Preston, who was named for his mother's uncle, James Patton. Neither cousin married, and both served in the same company in the Confederate States Army. Both are buried in unmarked graves in the Preston cemetery near Smithfield.

James Patton Preston (1838−1901) – son of Robert Taylor and Mary Hart Preston. Known as James. Attended University of Virginia. Served in E Company (Montgomery Highlanders), 4th Virginia Infantry April−August 1861.Was to be transferred to 28th Infantry led by his father but went home instead. After two years, re-enlisted as a private on September 1, 1863, in G Company, 14th Virginia Cavalry, along with younger cousin, Patton; present at surrender at Appomattox in April 1865. Lived with parents at Solitude until their deaths in 1880 and 1881. Applied for Home for Disabled Ex-Confederate Soldiers in 1886 but was later dropped. Listed in 1900 census as a boarder with John H. Kipps, hotelkeeper, in Montgomery County. Died in 1901 at age sixty-three.

James Patton Preston (1845−1920) – son of William Ballard and Lucinda Preston. Known as "Pat" or "Patton" and usually signed his name "J. Patton Preston." Educated at Virginia Military Institute. Initially enlisted as a private in G Company, 14th Virginia Cavalry on September 1, 1863, the unit of his older brother, Waller; recommended for promotion to sergeant in December 1864; present at surrender at Appomattox in April 1865. Living at Smithfield with mother in 1870 and 1880 censuses. Living in Christiansburg in 1900. Moved to Roanoke in May 1908, and applied for Virginia Confederate veteran's pension in July 1909. Received $36 payment in 1910. Family history has him living in a Blacksburg hotel later in life. Died in 1920 at age seventy-five.

Laura Jones Wedin

James Francis Preston (1813−1862), the youngest of the governor's sons and the last to be settled, lived with his family at White Thorn, a large brick Italian villa antebellum-style home he had built in 1856−1857. An attorney as well as a farmer, James was forty-two when he married Sarah Ann Caperton (1826−1908), age twenty-nine, in 1855. The bride was the youngest daughter of Hugh Caperton (1781−1847), a slave owner and U.S. congressman from Union, Virginia (later West Virginia), and Jane Erskine (1786−1831). When Sarah was five, her mother died, and she had close relationships with her siblings, especially her older brother, William Gaston Caperton (1815−1852).[4] Sarah was educated at the Convent of the Visitation, Georgetown, D.C., and at a progressive Christian women's school, Belmont Academy, at Belmont Plantation in Loudoun County, Virginia.[5]

Her time at the well-appointed Belmont estate may have contributed to her cultivated tastes since White Thorn, her home with James Preston, was beautifully furnished and soon became known for its lovely grounds and garden. By 1861, Sarah and James had three young sons: Hugh, five; William, three; and Jimmie, one. Despite a later-in-life start of home and family, the couple must have felt gratified at establishing a beautiful home.[6]

The Preston brothers' success was due in large part to the labor of enslaved people—most of them had been inherited from Governor

White Thorn, 1898 (Special Collections, Virginia Tech)

Preston—on their properties. By 1860, Robert had thirty-three slaves at Solitude, and James, twenty-two at White Thorn. With fifty slaves at Smithfield, Ballard was the third largest slave owner in Montgomery County. His largest slave holdings and wealth, however, were largely based at his Horsepasture Plantation in Henry County, Virginia, where he owned more than one hundred sixty African Americans who were under the supervision of three different overseers.[7]

Together, the three Preston homes created their own village of sorts, interlinked by roads and probably sharing resources, with an interconnected network of enslaved families. Some enslaved couples were fortunate to live at the same home. For others, the husband worked at one home and the wife lived and worked at another. Some of the enslaved house servants may have lived in the Preston homes, but those who worked around the homes and in the fields may have been housed in nearby cabins in a slave-quarters community based at each of the brothers' farms.[8]

Owners of a larger number of slaves often depended on overseers to manage their labor force, particularly for agricultural production on the plantation. In the 1860 census, James Petty (Pettit in other sources), age thirty-four, was listed as the overseer of Smithfield and lived near the manor house with his wife and four children. William Linkous, listed as Smithfield's "manager" in the 1850 census, apparently moved later to Henry County to manage Ballard's land and slaves at that location.[9] Anderson Ledgerwood (1823−1892), overseer for White Thorn, may have lived with his family in a smaller home adjacent to the main house. It appears that Robert Preston may have managed much of his farm operations himself with the help of an enslaved "head man."[10]

The Preston brothers were leaders in the community. Understanding that the education of young people in the area was key to growth and prosperity, Ballard had been instrumental in founding the Olin and Preston Institute, a Methodist school for boys in Blacksburg, and was honored with the second part of the institute's name. Ballard and Robert were trustees of the new school, and James joined them on the board in 1854. Ballard likely had served as president of the board in the early years of the school. All three were involved with the contract to construct a three-story building for the school in 1855. This structure would later become the foundation building for the new land-grant school, Virginia Agricultural and Mechanical College (today's Virginia Tech), which succeeded Preston and Olin Institute (the second name of the Olin and Preston Institute).[11]

War Begins; Prestons Answer the Call to Duty

Abraham Lincoln was elected president on November 6, 1860, and by the time he took office in early 1861, the unraveling of the United States was already under way as Southern state after state left the Union. With the firing on Fort Sumter on April 12, 1861, the War Between the States began. Ballard Preston, a member of the Virginia Convention, had reluctantly proposed the resolution that separated Virginia from the Union that same month. After hostilities started, Virginia seceded and joined the Confederacy. As local military units were hastily assembled, some from existing militia groups and others formed as new units, many of the able men of Montgomery County volunteered for Confederate service, leaving their wives, families, and communities behind.[12]

The entire spring was an anxious one for the Preston families since the men of Smithfield, Solitude, and White Thorn also answered the call to duty. Ballard, who was experienced in government at both state and federal levels, served with the new Provisional Confederate Congress. James was first assigned to command the 75th Virginia State Militia of Montgomery County and then, as units were organized, was named a colonel and put in command of the 4th Virginia Infantry. Three of the local units or companies—the Guards, the Wise Fencibles (Company G), and the Montgomery Highlanders (Company E)—would come under James Preston's 4th Virginia Infantry, which would eventually become part of the famed Stonewall Brigade. Gen. Robert E. Lee, named in 1862 to head the Confederate troops, later appointed Robert to the rank of colonel and regimental commander of the 28th Virginia Infantry. It was composed of companies from Botetourt, Craig, Bedford, and Roanoke counties.[13]

The eligible two grandsons of Governor Preston also answered the call. Ballard's son, Waller (1841–1872), having completed a year at the University of Virginia, was mustered into service on April 25, 1861, as a private in Capt. Robert C. Trigg's company, the Montgomery Fencibles (later Company G), 4th Virginia Infantry. Ballard's other son, Pat, born in 1845, was too young to enlist.[14] Robert's son, James, born in 1838, enlisted on April 18 and became a private in Capt. Charles Ronald's company, the Montgomery Highlanders, which became Company E, 4th Virginia Infantry.[15]

By late April 1861, the Montgomery County companies had arrived at Harper's Ferry, Virginia (West Virginia in 1863). In May, Virginia authorities stationed troops at Manassas Junction (Tudor Hall Post Office), Virginia, and established a supply depot and place of rendezvous for Confederate troops. General Lee determined that the area of Bull Run Creek, near Manassas Junction, Virginia, was the best place to focus a defensive line.[16]

Associated Family and Friends of the Prestons

George Henry Caperton (1823−1895) – youngest brother of Sarah Ann Caperton Preston, physician in Lynchburg area.

Mary Eliza Henderson Caperton (1836−1900) – sister-in-law to Sarah Ann Caperton Preston, married to George Henry Caperton.

Waller Redd Staples (1826−1897) – lawyer (practiced with Ballard Preston); slave owner; first cousin to Ballard Preston's wife, Lucinda Staples Redd. Elected to First and Second Confederate Congress, later served in C.S.A. House of Representatives until end of the war. Involved with revising Virginia laws during Reconstruction. Served on board of visitors of Virginia Agricultural and Mechanical College (today's Virginia Tech) in 1886.

John Echols (1823−1896) – brother-in-law of Sarah Ann Caperton Preston. Married to Mary Jane Caperton (1822–1874), sister of Allen T. Caperton. Commanded 27th Virginia, achieving rank of brigadier general.

Allen T. Caperton (1810−1878) – older brother of Sarah Ann Caperton Preston. Married to John Echols' sister, Harriette (1813−1856). Member of Virginia Secession Convention, senator in Confederate States Congress.

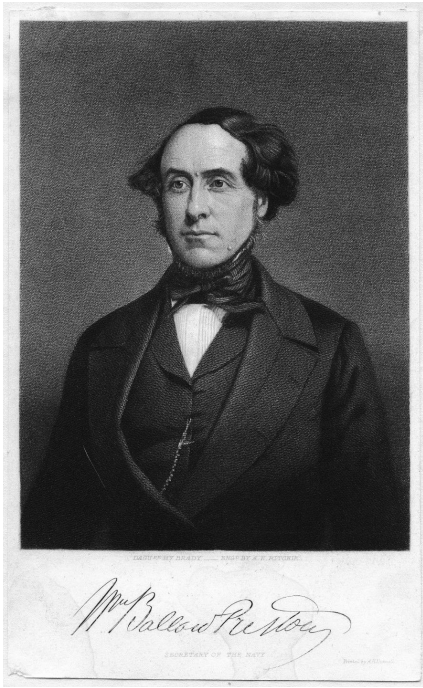
Charles B. Gardner (1813−1875) – friend and business associate of James F. Preston, lived in Christiansburg.

Harvey Black (1827−1888) – Blacksburg physician, grandson of John Black and nephew of William Black, who founded Blacksburg in 1798. Served as surgeon with 4th Virginia until end of war. His son Alex later built the Alexander Black House (now a Blacksburg museum).

Col. James Preston's 4th Virginia Infantry garrisoned at the Camp Heritage Fairgrounds near Richmond, Virginia. Fifteen years earlier, James had raised a company of grenadiers at his own expense and had served from 1847 to 1848 in Mexico during the Mexican War as captain of the 1st Virginia Volunteers. Thus, he understood more clearly than the newly minted recruits serving under him that the risks of war were becoming more apparent by the day. An attorney, he astutely wrote his will on May 1, 1861, describing himself as "being of sound mind and body, but being aware of the uncertainty of danger of the service I am now in." He named as executor his good friend, Charles B. Gardner (1813−1875), a businessman who lived in Christiansburg with his wife and six children. James's concerns were

warranted. On May 8, the Confederacy moved its capital from Montgomery, Alabama, to Richmond when Southern leaders thought their capital should be nearer the upper Southern states, where heavy fighting might occur. Consequently, the one hundred miles between Richmond and Washington became the main battle area of the war. [17]

On May 2, 1861, Ballard Preston returned to Smithfield after spending much of the spring in Richmond deliberating the future of the commonwealth as a member of the Virginia Convention. In the early 1830s, as a young representative in the Virginia General Assembly and a member of the Whig party, he had championed the idea of the gradual emancipation of slaves. By 1840, however, he had become a slave owner like his father and grandfather before him. Through his marriage to Lucinda, he had inherited the Henry County property and its numerous slaves. Thus, his wealth had become largely dependent on the enslaved laborers who worked his two plantations, probably leading to an alteration of his attitude toward the institution. Though he went to the Virginia Convention as a moderate and conditional Unionist, he finally proposed, on April 16, 1861, the Ordinance of Secession, legislation through which Virginia joined seven other slave-owning states in forming the Confederate States of America. Ballard must have known that Virginia, as a border state, would become a battleground.[18] (More details of this action by Ballard Preston can be found in Part 1 of this article.)



William Ballard Preston, c. 1847 (engraving from original 1849 daguerreotype by Matthew Brady)

In a May 4 letter to his Henry County farm manager, William Linkous, Ballard described the urgency and pressing needs of the crisis and his commitment to what was ahead as he directed Linkous[19] to increase crop production:

> The demand for bread stuffs and provisions will be great during this Summer and if the war is carried on during the next year the demand will be very great. I therefore send John over to you to say that I want you at once to put in at all the places increased crops of corn, potatoes, vegetables beans peas & everything that men require for food, and try by all means to have a little to spare for our country and for its defenders. In that way we can give as good help to the war as any other [underlining in original letter].[20]

On the same day, James wrote to his wife's younger brother, George Henry Caperton (1828−1895), who was a physician in the Lynchburg area, inviting Henry's family to stay with the Prestons at White Thorn, noting that Henry's wife and children "would be a great comfort to Sarah + perhaps not disagreeable to your wife."[21] Henry may have felt that his family would be safer at the home of his older sister in the southwestern part of the state than at Ivy Ledge, their home near Lynchburg. By May 4, his wife, Mary Eliza Henderson Caperton (1836−1900), had arrived to stay at White Thorn with their three children—Eliza, Allen, and Henry—and remained at least until the summer of 1862, when she returned to Ivy Ledge.[22] Even though the children were similar in age to Sarah's boys, Sarah herself was ten years older than her sister-in-law and may have assumed a protective, older sister role.

Mary Eliza's letters to her husband, written not long after her move, candidly reveal an intimate view of activity at the associated properties of Smithfield in the first months of the war and provide a glimpse of the wartime life of those left behind. The letters convey an urgency of activity, anxiety, and purpose. "We are all very well & Sarah Ann & her friends are so kind as they can be," she wrote on May 4, adding, "It is a comfort to [me to] be with her." She also noted that James had written Sarah that he was not well and had "almost suffocated with the heat." In that letter to Sarah, James had reiterated his advice that Henry not volunteer for the military yet and stated his hope that Mary Eliza and the children would continue to stay at White Thorn.[23]

In a letter written to Henry on May 6, 1861, Mary Eliza described the confusion regarding the initial aspects of the war. Ballard had visited White Thorn the morning before and had noted his hope that peace would be proclaimed if the Federal army made no attacks on Harper's Ferry within the next week. He said the cavalry would not be called into service; that

only one company in Richmond had been ordered; and that 443 doctors had offered their services as surgeons in the army when only 50 were needed, an indication that the military did not anticipate a drawn-out conflict. Leadership for the Confederate forces was being selected, the letter continued, and

> Col. [James] Preston was elected Col. in the army [4th Virginia] without one disenting [sic] voice. . . . S. A. [Sarah Ann] send[s] her best love and says she is very anxious for you should get an appointment in the army. She seems very ambitious just now and seems gratified at Col P[reston's] promotion. I told her yesterday after Mr. P [Ballard Preston] left that I knew it was not patriotic in me to say so, but that I felt pleased at the idea of the cavelry [sic] not being called into service. She seemed quite shocked and beged [sic] I would not say so before her mother [Ann Preston, James's mother].[24]

Sarah had chided Mary Eliza for verbalizing unpatriotic thoughts, a good example of the stance of elite Confederate women described in the essay "War Comes Home" by Lisa Tendrich Frank. According to Frank, the women were often "the best recruiting officers" because they refused "to tolerate, or admit to their society any young man who refuses to enlist." A woman derived her status from her husband; that Sarah was "gratified" at her husband's appointment as a colonel could well have reflected the status and respect accorded her as a colonel's wife.[25]

Ballard had been home barely a week before receiving the call to return to Richmond, a two-day journey by horse/wagon and train. One can image the heavy thoughts weighing on Ballard's mind during his uncomfortable journey, considering his concern for Virginia and for his properties. As an absentee owner, he was especially concerned about his Horsepasture Plantation in Henry County, which grew profitable tobacco crops through the efforts of the slaves there.[26]

Death Comes to Smithfield

In the early spring of 1861, the health of Ann Preston, often known as Nancy, mother to Ballard, James, and Robert, began to decline. In early May, Ballard had written to a friend, "My old and venerable mother is better today but still in bed."[27] On May 26, called to sit with her mother-in-law, Sarah left her sons in the care of Mary Eliza and enslaved caregivers, with the possible exception of one-year-old Jimmie, who most likely went with her.

As the elderly Preston woman's health began failing rapidly and she no longer recognized Sarah Ann, the family realized that she would not be spared many more days. James considered requesting leave to go home, but

Ballard wrote him to say it would all be over before he could get there. On June 8, at the age of eighty-three, Ann Barraud Taylor Preston, widow of Gov. James Patton Preston, died. Mary Eliza described her funeral in a letter dated two days later:

> The dear old lady died as she had lived calmly and quietly. . . . She was buried yesterday and I never witnessed such an imposing funeral. It was estimated that between 3 & 400 persons assembled at Smithfield. Mr. [Theodore M.] Carson the Methodist minister preached a short but eloquent sermon in the parlor [or drawing room of Smithfield]. Mr. [Ballard] Preston requested that we all follow the herse [sic] on foot to the grave. . . . After the Episcopal burial service was read and the coffin lowered, the servants assembled around the grave and sang a beautiful hymn . . . . [28]

Ann was interred in the same grave as her husband, a family tradition begun by the governor's mother, Susanna Preston, when she stipulated in her will that she be "buried in grave with the remains of my beloved husband," Col. William Preston. Upon her death in 1823, her wishes were followed.[29]

Slave Revolts Feared on the Homefront

With the start of the war, many slave owners became concerned about the behavior of their slaves. In Ballard's May 4 letter to William Linkous, he expressed the paternalistic view typical of slave owners:

> All over Virginia the Negroes are quiet & much alarmed at the state of things. They are afraid & docile & obedient than ever known and only want to be strictly managed, kept at home, and at work. I am sure proper steps are taken in Henry [County] for patroles [sic] & keep my Negroes at home at all the places both day & night and keep others away.[30]

However, in a May 9 letter, Mary Eliza described an "uneasiness" about possible unrest among slaves in Montgomery County, noting

> that old Uncle Davy who is the husband of one of S. A.['s] women, had made a speech to his brethren in Blacksburg and said "that Lincoln was a second Christ and that all that the white people said about Lincoln was a lie from beginning to end." Mrs. [Mary] Preston told me that she would send for him [Uncle Davy] and ask him if he had made this speech and if so he should never come on her place again although he is the father of their head man, in whom the Gen. [Robert Preston]

> has the greatest confidence—however you must not let this make you anxious, for I believe with Mr. Ballard Preston that we are as safe here as we could be any where in the U.S.[31]

When Mary Eliza wrote her husband five days later, concern about the potential for a slave rebellion had heightened, as had the Union sentiment of residents living west of Blacksburg:

> He [Dr. Otey] and Gen [Robert] Preston seemed much concerned about the Union feeling in the county. There is a settlement [Prices Fork] about a mile and a half from here composed of poor people who are very rampant just now. The Prices, who live upon Col. [James] Preston's bounty[,] have gone over to the enemy. Dr. Otey says that he has [N]egro evidence that they are inciting the slaves to rebelion [sic].

In the interval between her two letters, Mary Eliza had begun to hear reports of a slave insurrection hatched by Enos Price, a white "stone cutter" living in Prices Fork. Price allegedly met with a slave belonging to Dr. James Otey, also a neighbor of the Prestons, to plan coordinated attacks in which slaves on several of the largest plantations in the area – including those of the Prestons – would "put their masters out of the way." Saturday, May 18, was the date Price selected for the uprising, but his co-conspirator told Dr. Otey, and two days before the attacks were to begin, Price was arrested and jailed in Christiansburg. Word of his plans quickly appeared in the local newspaper, and with tensions already running high, a spring storm caused even more anxiety at White Thorn.[32]

In late May, several days after the Price affair, a severe thunderstorm passed through the area in the middle of the night. According to a May 27 letter written by Mary Eliza, "a severe clap of thunder and a vivid flash of lightning" set fire to a nearby structure, causing her to fear that "the Prices were about to attack us." It was eventually discovered that the barn was on fire, but the noise of the storm made the family at Smithfield fear that a slave revolt was underway. According to Mary Eliza,

> The consternation at Smithfield they say was truly awful. The storm was not so bad there and they did not think of the lightning. The servants gave the alarm and Mr. [Ballard] Preston jumped up, called for his pistol and knife and started off. . . . 4 of the home guard from Blacksburg came riding up with guns, but Mr. Legerwood told them they could put down their horses and guns and come help fight the fire. . . . Mr. Preston said he would send Dr. Otey up to remain during

> the night, which he did after the fire was extinguished. Mr. P. returned home to try and keep S. A. quiet until daylight. Before he left he sent her word we were all safe.[33]

Adding to the tension that month were concerns about the upcoming referendum in which Virginia voters were to endorse or reject the convention's call for Virginia to secede from the Union. Voting was scheduled for May 23, and in the run-up to the referendum, the Prestons worried that their neighbors in Prices Fork might vote against secession. According to Mary Eliza,

> Gen. Preston and Dr. Otey have been trying for some time to get their men [the troublesome residents of Prices Fork] to volenteer [sic], but they will not. . . . [Gen. Preston] says we are in the midst of a revolution and if he is in the county Thursday week and these men dare to oppose the actions of the convention that there will be blood spilled in Montgomery. . . . They will make an effort to have the young men of the settlement drafted.[34]

Even though no actual military draft existed at the time, Robert Preston, Otey, and other elite leaders of the area planned to force the men to volunteer as if there were.

The Prestons Continue Service to the Confederacy

In May 1861, Robert Taylor Preston was appointed colonel of the 28th Virginia Regiment for duty in Lynchburg. By 1846, some fifteen years earlier, Robert had attained the rank of colonel of the militia. Previous service in the Mexican War had shaped and connected Robert, James, and several men from the Blacksburg area, including Dr. Harvey Black (1827−1888), grandson of John Black and nephew of William Black, who had founded Blacksburg in 1898; John had been among the first town trustees. In 1846, nineteen-year-old Harvey had enlisted in James Preston's 1st Virginia Volunteer Regiment and had served through 1847. He had then attended medical school at the University of Virginia and started a medical practice in Blacksburg in 1852. Since at least 1855, all three Preston brothers had utilized his medical services for their families and enslaved communities. Dr. Black volunteered early and on May 4 was appointed surgeon for James Preston's 4th Virginia.

While Robert was receiving an appointment as a colonel, James was encamped in Richmond with his troops. He had bravely attempted to keep pace with a schedule of four drill exercises and a dress parade each day. But by the time the companies of the 4th Virginia departed on May 10 for duty

at Harper's Ferry, he had become so unwell that he was forced to remain behind in Richmond for most of the month. In his absence, Lt. Col. Lewis T. Moore commanded the 4th.[35]

Mary Eliza, fearing that a battle was eminent, wrote her husband on May 20 that everyone seemed

> to concur that there will be a bloody battle somewhere in Virginia within the next ten days. Col. [James] Preston wrote S. Ann that he hoped to leave Richmond on last Friday—he has been very sick.[36]

In late May, Robert's 28th Virginia was ordered to proceed to Manassas Junction. The troops boarded trains in Lynchburg and rolled into Manassas Junction the evening of May 28, then marched to Camp Pickens, a few miles from town.[37] On that same day, apparently with no appointment forthcoming, Henry Caperton decided to enlist for one year as a private in Company G (Radford's Rangers) in the 30th Virginia Volunteer Mounted Infantry (later to be re-designated as 2nd Virginia Cavalry) at Forest Depot. He was mustered into service at Camp Davis Fairgrounds near Lynchburg.[38] By May 29, he had been offered a lieutenancy, which his wife hoped he would accept: "I think for your children's sake you should be willing to accept a promotion."[39]

By the end of May, James had recovered from his illness but still was not on active duty. He had written to his wife, according to a letter Mary Eliza wrote to Henry, that Captain Trigg's company (Montgomery Fencibles, which later became Company G, 4th Virginia Infantry, C.S.A.) had been quartered on the Maryland Heights without tents, exposed for fifteen hours to a hard storm. James had also noted, according to Mary Eliza's letter, that Ballard's son, Waller, part of Company G,

> had stripped the bark from a large chestnut tree and made himself quite comfortable. The Col. [James] thought it a good idea and I hope you will profit by the information. Col. Preston says Waller takes care of no one and he thinks he has a[s] good a chance for returning home as any one in the crowd.[40]

By the summer of 1861, the Preston men were spread across various regiments that were still struggling to form officially. Robert Preston led the 28th Virginia Infantry, Fifth Brigade, Army of the Potomac, commanded by Brig. Gen. G. T. Beauregard. At the end of June, Robert's son, James, who had begun his service in the 4th Virginia Infantry, had transferred to his father's unit, the 28th Virginia.[41] On June 19, Henry Caperton was appointed

regimental quartermaster sergeant of the Radford Rangers, whom he had joined as a volunteer in May. On July 20, the Radford Rangers were assigned to Col. R. C. W. Radford's Squadron Cavalry, 30th Virginia Cavalry (later 2nd Virginia Cavalry), which, in turn, became part of the First Brigade of the Army of the Potomoc, led by Brig. Gen. Milledge L. Bonham.[42]

In the Army of the Shenandoah, commanded by Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, James was colonel of the 4th Virginia, First Brigade, which was led by Brig. Gen. Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson. Waller was part of Company G of the 4th, although he had been listed as sick since his enlistment in April 1861 in Martinsburg, Virginia (later West Virginia). Sarah Ann's brother-in-law, John Echols, commanded the 27th Virginia, also part of the First Brigade.[43]

Despite frequent absences due to illness, James Preston apparently had the respect of his men. One of the soldiers of the 4th Virginia Regiment, Ted Barclay, of Company I (Liberty Hall Volunteers), described the regiment's leadership in early July:

> We have the best captain [J. J. White] and Co[lonel, James Preston], both are so kind that I do not know which is the kindest, but I suppose the captain. Col. Preston comes to our camp almost daily inquiring about our health, eating, etc.[44]

Prestons Fight in First Manassas (Bull Run)

Jackson's First Brigade held against Union forces on July 21 in the Battle of First Manassas or First Bull Run. A week later, James wrote to Sarah, describing his experience in the battle.

> [T]he balls begun [sic] to pass very near us[.] The first shill [shell] that [illegible] . . . in our line burst in the south of Capt. White's (of Lexington) company killing instantly one man and wounding mortally 2 others + one who may recover[.] I was standing so near that the blood was thrown on my pantaloons and [Maj.] Kent's jacket as man + mire spattered. Soon another shell burst in Edmondson[']s company killing and wounding I think 7 officers. . . . But I will not go on with these fearful details + will only say that we lost in killed + wounded 15 or 16 men in this position[.] I consider this the strongest proof of courage that men can give __ to lay [sic] for two hours + be shot at without being able to return the fire or see the enemy__[.] The 4th Regiment did it.[45]

The legendary "rebel yell" was said to have originated when General Jackson continued to press his attacks, telling soldiers of the 4th Virginia Infantry: "Reserve your fire until they come within fifty yards! Then fire

and give them the bayonet! And when you charge, yell like furies!"[46] With only about twenty soldiers, a fraction of the regiment, and with Col. James Preston at the head, these men led the pursing column.[47] According to James,

> My line became much disordered in crossing the fence + in the thicket + I attempted to form it again but many of the men could not be restrained . . . . I however succeeded in getting a portion of them in line__+ joined a part of Col Harper's [5th Virginia] regiment which was passing at the moment + we together with a party of some Georgia troops [7th Georgia Regiment] formed a line + charged after a battery of guns + took them. . . . I got possion [sic] of a [Y]ankie horse + rode him down to the guns + was the first person at them. I do not claim that I took the Guns but I do that I was first at them + by my order a flag was placed on them. One of my men took the flag of the battery with it. I now have it in my possession. It is called Sherman's battery + there will be much controversy about it. The flag is marked in embroidery "8 Regt N.Y.S.A" (8th New York Regiment).
>
> The capture of the battery + the charge is in my opinion nothing compared to the two hours they lay upon the ground. I am sure of one thing[,] that the charge made by the 4th Regt[,] the 27th Regt [under Col. Echols,] Col Cummings + Col Allan who moved about the same time + all of Jackson's brigade determined the fate of the day[;] I may all most [almost] say charged at Johnston's Division_ of which Jackson's Brigade was a part did most of the hard fighting . . . .[48]

While some modern-day accounts of the 4th's involvement include references that Col. James Preston "fell wounded," he himself wrote: "Whilst passing through the cedars a ball passed through the cuff of my right coat sleeve near enough to leave a blue mark on the skin for a time but did not injure me."[49]

For its perseverance in battle, the First Brigade and its leader earned the name "Stonewall Brigade." The First Battle of Bull Run was considered an important Confederate victory, strategically as well as emotionally. Three Preston men—James; Robert; and Robert's son, James—had been involved in the battle, but the elder James most directly so.[50]

The Prestons Face Health and Other Problems

The summer of 1861 brought a number of serious health issues to the Preston family and their households. At White Thorn, a male slave named Ballard, who served in a critical role as a house servant, died.[51] On

August 21, James Francis asked his friend, Charles Gardner, for assistance in replacing the servant, writing:

> You doubtless have heard of the death of my servant Ballard. It leaves Mrs. [Sarah] Preston in great want of a house servant + ask the favour of you to inquire + look round for one for her. I want a steady sober man + good servant who know[s] something about gardening if possible + I want a reliable man which can be managed by a lady. If you can hire one of this sort I beg you will do so I will pay any reasonable (+ if he comes fully up to the description any unreasonable) price for him. I [bother?] you with this because it is of absolute necessity to Mrs. Preston + I cannot aid her.[52]

Apparently, securing another enslaved servant for his wife was crucial for James, even to the point of paying "any unreasonable price." He clearly felt helpless in trying to assist his wife at home while he was serving in the military. The comment about finding someone who knew something about gardening may indicate that Ballard, the deceased slave, had had some part in the management of the well-known gardens at White Thorn.[53]

At the beginning of August, Robert's son, James, was discharged from his father's Virginia 28th regiment. From service records, it is unclear if he actually served with the 28th. Nor is it known if he had been wounded or sustained trauma or why he had been discharged. Dr. Harvey Black had visited him several times in 1860 and the year before that, so he may have had a chronic illness. With his father commanding a regiment, the decision could have been made that James was needed for farm operations at Solitude.[54]

Similarly, in late August, Waller missed the Company G muster of the 4th Virginia because he was sick enough to be confined in the general hospital. His illness continued through the fall.[55] His father, Ballard, had written him on November 24, "Your health is the most important thing to be attended to . . . without good health there cannot be a good soldier." His father, hopeful that his son would receive an officer appointment, also wrote, "[M]ake yourself competent for command and I am sure you will obtain it" and added, "[T]hough you are but a 'high private' 'tis the noblest of all posts and I beg of you to fill it nobly."[56]

In late summer, word reached Robert and Mary that their six-month-old granddaughter, Mary Hart Means, named for her grandmother, had passed away on August 17, 1861. The child's mother, Virginia, Robert and Mary's daughter, still lived in South Carolina with her husband, a physician who was serving as a second lieutenant in the 6th Infantry, Company C, South

Carolina. For Virginia, it must have been even more difficult to lose a child while her husband served in the military and to be so far from her parents.[57]

In September, Henry Caperton contracted a near-fatal case of measles and recovered quite slowly. Mary Eliza, still at White Thorn, wrote to her ailing husband on October 8, sharing war news that she and others in the community had heard. As the impact of war casualties and disease settled in, it became clear that the fighting would continue, and hopes of peace dimmed. Mary Eliza told Henry what many others had begun to understand, "I fear now, that we are in for a long war [underlining in original letter]."[58]

With the approach of fall, anxiety about illness grew. With poor, unsanitary conditions in the soldiers' encampments, the war had increased the spread of disease. Typhoid fever, measles, and diarrhea plagued Robert's regiment, and Robert himself became ill.[59] The illnesses were not limited to military camps. "There is scarlet fever in the neighborhood and we have felt uneasy about it," Mary Eliza wrote to her spouse.[60]

On November 23, 1861, Samuel McConkey, surgeon of the 28th, supported Robert's application for a medical leave of absence because of "symptoms for incepient [sic] Typhoid fever."[61] Typhoid was a fairly common disease before the application of twentieth-century sanitation techniques. Caused by ingesting food or water contaminated by the feces of a person infected with the *Samonella typhi* bacterium, it was a feverish, month-long attack most people could survive, but for the very young and compromised, it was a common cause of death. The disease flourished in crowded war encampments with inadequate latrine facilities, as well as at homes with "outhouses" and lack of protected water supplies. For everyone, soldiers and civilians alike, the stress of war, contaminated water, bad food, and/or lack of proper food increased the threat.[62] By mid-December, Robert had been at home for about ten or twelve days on sick leave with typhoid fever although his condition was improving.[63] He had requested and been granted an extension of his leave of absence.[64]

The Prestons Add to Their Records of Service

As 1861 drew to a close, Ballard Preston was elected to the First Confederate Congress as a senator. His wife's cousin, Waller Redd Staples (1826−1897), a friend who had served with him in the Provisional Congress, was elected as a representative to the House of the First Confederate Congress. Ballard's political commitments did not interfere with his selling needed livestock and horses to the Confederate Army. In September, he sold two brown horses for $325, followed by two bay mares in early December for $225.[65]

On the war front, when General Jackson was promoted to major general and given command of the lower valley district, James, as senior regimental colonel, became interim commander of the Stonewall Brigade. However, the combination of cold weather, camp conditions, and a severe attack of rheumatism rendered him unfit for effective command. While in Winchester, he remained as interim commander, at least in name, through the early part of November.[66] Because James's poor health continued, command of the 4th Virginia finally moved to Col. James Allen of the 2nd Regiment. On December 2, Jackson wrote the adjutant general in Richmond to plead his case for a good brigade commander. On December 5, Brig. Gen. Richard B. Garnett, originally of Essex County, Virginia, received the assignment. When Garnett arrived in Winchester, Colonel Preston accompanied him to New Centreville to greet his troops, lined up in silence to meet their new leader.[67] Despite his frequent absences due to illness, in the time that he served, James apparently earned the deep respect of other leaders and, in particular, that of his troops.

On December 18, James's wife, Sarah Ann, wrote a letter to her widowed sister-in-law, Harriet Boswell Caperton (1820−1899), that she had not heard from James for a day or two but that he was almost entirely well when he last wrote after having been

> confined for some time at Winchester with a severe attack of rheumatism__He could have suffered less perhaps if he had consented to leave the camp sooner__ but he will have a vast amount of pain before he gives up his business of whatever character it may be. I have a hope of seeing him at home about Xmas __ he had not said that he would be at home, but I have "a feeling" that he will![68]

It is not known if James became healthy enough to return to White Thorn by Christmas day. Sarah also noted in her letter that Ballard had not yet returned home and that his wife and daughter were still considering traveling to Norfolk, apparently a trip that had been planned earlier.

While Waller Preston closed 1861 in poor health, 1862 brought him good health, a transfer, and a promotion. On April 16, he was transferred from the 4th Virginia Infantry to Col. Turner Ashby's command segment in the 7th Virginia Cavalry. Waller became a captain of Company B in the 7th (which later became the 14th Virginia Cavalry), despite the fact that he had served barely a month as a private in Company G of the 4th. Sick, he had been absent from muster for nearly eight months.[69]

A Difficult Year Comes to a Close

The year 1861 ended with the country and Virginia torn apart by war, illness, and death. Although the sentiments of the Prestons themselves had not been divided by the war, their service in the war had physically separated them from each other, and illness and death continued to haunt them. James and Robert Preston and Henry Caperton were ill, and on December 30, Robert lost another granddaughter, Sallie Stark, just shy of her second birthday.[70]

James did eventually return to White Thorn, so all three Preston brothers were at their homes for much of the winter holidays. There was little cheer. Weak from illness at the close of a difficult year of change and hardship, James and Robert—and their brother, Ballard—were perhaps feeling helpless, anxious, and even fearful for themselves; their families; their community; and, ultimately, Virginia. They could not know that the grim year ahead would change Smithfield and the Preston family forever.

In the Shadow of Death: 1862

Illness spread rapidly in the winter of 1861−1862. Ballard was back at Smithfield with a serious infection, described by the *Daily Dispatch* of Richmond as a "dangerous attack of erysipelas." By then, the newspaper reported, "his condition is generally improved. He is now considered out of danger and in a fair way for a rapid recovery. He will be able to resume his duties in Congress in the course of a few weeks." Thus, all three brothers and other family members continued to struggle to recover.[71]

The next few weeks brought a string of deaths and heartache for the Prestons. Having been ill or in poor health nearly the entire time of his military service, James Preston died at home, at age forty-nine, on January 20, 1862, with his local physician, Dr. David Wade, present.[72] The county death record lists rheumatism as the cause of death. As noted earlier, some sources claimed that he died as a result of injuries from battle, although James himself wrote otherwise in a letter to his wife. One source suggested that he died of influenza, but Sarah had written in December that he had been suffering from rheumatism. Another source blamed the exposure incidental to his military service for his death. He likely died of the cumulative effect of disease and exposure from deplorable camp conditions or of possible heart disease caused by rheumatic fever, or he may have been weakened by a strep infection similar to the one that had attacked Ballard Preston.[73]

In a brief letter written the day James died, Mary Eliza informed her husband:

> Col Preston left us this morning for the rest that remaineth for the people of God. He died as he lived calmly quietly, trusting in Jesus. Poor S. A. [Sarah Ann] is ill - Dr. Payne who came up last night says she has typhoid fever. She does not shed a tear and says she does not feel. God be with her. . . . All is confusion darling and I cannot say more.[74]

In late January, James was buried in the Preston cemetery located on a knoll southeast of the Smithfield manor house, where his mother had been laid to rest six months earlier. It is not known if Sarah's own illness prevented her from attending his funeral. Following James's death, condolences to Robert Preston from Maj. Joseph F. Kent of Wytheville notified him that Major Kent's present place of encampment had been named Camp Preston "in honor of its late commander."[75]

Not long after James died, the Prestons suffered yet more losses of family members. On February 2, Eliza, the seven-year-old daughter of Mary Eliza and Henry Caperton, died at White Thorn.[76] The following week—and only two weeks after her husband's death—Sarah's twenty-two-month-old

Gravestone of James Francis Preston in the Preston cemetery (2013 photograph by Laura Jones Wedin)

Memento mori photo of Sarah Caperton Preston with her son, James Francis "Little Jimmie" Preston, who died February 9, 1862 (original photo in family files courtesy of Braxton Gutierrez)

son, James Francis "Little Jimmie," died of scarlet fever.[77] After his death, Sarah had a photographed *memento mori* (remember death) portrait made (see above). In widow's attire, weak from illness and grief, she appears numb and expressionless, holding her seemingly sleeping son on her lap. When Little Jimmie was laid to rest next to the grave of his father,[78] Sarah plunged into grieving for both her husband and her youngest son.

On February 18, not even a month after his brother and nephew died, Ballard had to return to Richmond to begin his term as a senator for the Confederate Congress, which was meeting in Richmond for the first time since the capital had been moved from Alabama. Robert, meanwhile, because of his brother's death and perhaps as a result of his own ill health and/or that of others in the household, requested additional leave of absence from the 28th Virginia.[79]

At White Thorn, the Capertons lost yet another child. Their four-year-old son, Allen, died on March 2, leaving just the youngest, Henry (Harry), not yet two, still living. Ballard had not known about Allen's death when he wrote to Robert on March 4 from Richmond, but he knew that the child

was very sick. Robert apparently had returned to his unit in March since Ballard remarked that "I hear your hut is comfortable + I hope you will not have your quarters 'beaten up.'" At the time, Ballard was living in a rented house in Richmond; his wife and family would soon join him.[80] Regarding domestic events back home, Ballard also wrote to Robert,

> He [Waller Redd Staples] and I will keep our every [illegible] as to House & plantation affairs. These look most gloo[my?]. I will do the best I can & will go to Sarah's aid is agreed. I [expect my] wife [in Richmond] this week. Waller has no appointment yet & I am hesitating whether he shall not accept Colo Echols['s] offer as adjutant instead of any others.

He closed, "I will write often, as you are my only brother now the circle has diminished."[81]

In March, Sarah began to settle the affairs of her dead husband. James had written his will the previous May (1861) and in it had noted:

> It is not my wish that any of my slaves should be sold unless it shall be deemed necessary by my executors or by my wife in consequence of unsubordination [sic] or other bad conduct or unless it should be necessary to make sale of them or some of them to pay my debts & in the later case it is my wish that good homes should be provided for them in Virginia if possible.[82]

He had been reluctant to break up his enslaved families unless absolutely necessary, but at the same time, he had recognized the possibility of that happening. Like many slave owners, James held a paternalistic attitude toward the enslaved on his plantation.

Preston's will authorized his friend and executor, Charles Gardner, to sell or convey by proper deeds all or any part of his outlying lands to satisfy any debt as well as make proper deed or deeds to his brothers for the division of their father's real estate among them. He also left Sarah the option of freeing his manservant, Taylor, or retaining him for her use, trusting Sarah's "kind of sound discretion in the matter." It appears that Sarah may have hired out Taylor since he apparently began working for Dr. Harvey Black.[83]

The appraisal of the White Thorn estate was completed in May 1862, setting the value of the estate at $30,517.82. The farm's eighteen slaves provided the largest percentage of James's property value. The list of household and farming equipment, along with livestock, reveals the fine standard of living their household enjoyed.[84]

In mid-April, Sarah Ann Preston wrote Harriet Caperton, expressing her struggle with delayed grief at the loss of her husband and youngest son:

> My sorrow seemed greater now than in the beginning! At first I was without feeling __ but lately I have [begun] to realize my later desolation! Sometimes I think I cannot give him up! Oh Harriet there are not many such husbands as mine! Oh what a loss I have sustained! . . . I have now resummed [sic] my housekeeping, farther than to give some directions about things that must go on; I feel as if I did not care to become engrossed any more in my household concerns[.] I am well[,] perfectly well, but I have no spirit to work __ I used to take great interest in my house and household - but I had since one then to please __one who always seemed pleased to see me interested __ but he is gone now -- what have I to stimulate now [underlining in original letter]?[85]

Mary Hinnet, a "genteel Irish girl," moved to White Thorn to keep house for Sarah until her sister and brother-in-law, Mary Jane and John Echols, came to stay. C.S.A. General Echols had become the legal guardian of Sarah's sons, Hugh and William. He had been severely wounded on March 23 during the Battle of First Kernstown near Winchester, Virginia. Sarah wrote: "I hope it will not be very long before he [John] is able to be moved. How thankful I feel that God spared his life! Poor Mary Jane was spared a heavy blow though she is deeply afflicted."[86]

Surviving Preston Brothers Address Military Issues

Sarah had noted in a letter that the family was "uneasy now for brother Robert" because he and his unit had gone to Yorktown, where they feared a bloody battle was inevitable. In late April 1862, after months of extended sick leave and little time with his unit, Robert Taylor Preston was not re-elected to his leadership role with the Virginia 28th,[87] even though he himself was admired. According to the memoirs, *End of an Era*, of John Wise:

> At the outbreak of the war, he commanded a regiment in the [First] Manassas campaign; brave as a lion, he was utterly ignorant of military tactics; . . . Colonel Bob was honored, respected, and counted one of the gamest fighters in the army; and nothing but the infirmities of age had reconciled his beloved "28th" to parting with him.[88]

Maj. Robert C. Allen assumed command of the 28th. Robert Preston soon requested that he be allowed to re-join, and testimonies were given to his honorable character as a soldier. By mid-May, he had been authorized

to raise a regiment of militia volunteers from Montgomery, Roanoke, Botetourt, Craig, Monroe, and Giles counties as part of the Virginia State Line military units.[89]

Meanwhile, Ballard was attempting to get a relative restored to a position of military leadership. John Buchanan Floyd (1806−1863) was a first cousin to the Preston brothers and a former governor of Virginia (1849−1852). He was serving as a C.S.A. brigadier general, commanding a brigade of volunteers that was sent to West Virginia. He had been relieved of his command by Confederate President Jefferson Davis on March 11, 1861, on several counts but without a court of inquiry. On May 11, Ballard wrote a letter to President Davis, asking that Floyd be reinstated. His persuasive letter pointed out that the fertile country of southwestern Virginia "furnishes a large part of the supplies and horses of the army" and that it contained "almost the only deposits of salt, lead, and saltpeter relied on for prosecuting the war." He asked that Davis appreciate the value of the area to the commonwealth and the Confederacy and noted that General Floyd was instrumental in efforts to protect these resources at the Battle of the Cross Lands and defense of the Gauley River. He reiterated that Floyd was a native of the area and that "his fathers have led their fathers to battle in every war from its first white settlement." Ballard cited the importance of trust that Floyd's men had for him, that "among those men no one possesses more the popular confidence in his courage and military capacity than General John B. Floyd." It is interesting that he mentioned he had "separated from General Floyd by a radical difference of political principle" but that "the revolution in which these differences have perished has also consumed any feeling of personal or party animosity." Ballard asked that Floyd be restored to command and be assigned to local forces and that "such forces be employed in Southwestern Virginia." His letter to Davis was accompanied by letters of support from B. R. Johnston and Judge Andrew S. Fulton (1800−1884) of Abington. Three others, David McComas, Evermont Ward, and G. D. Camden, concurred with the views and opinion of Fulton.[90] It appears that Davis was swayed by the plea since Floyd resumed his commission, this time as a major general of the Virginia Militia.[91]

Prestons Endure More Bad News, Another Death

September 1862 brought more bad news to Robert's family. In the battle of South Mountain, Boonsboro, Maryland, on September 14, 1862, Robert and Mary's son-in-law, Robert Means, was wounded in both legs. Apparently, once his injuries had been stabilized, Robert became part of the invalid corps as a recruiting officer in South Carolina.[92]

At the end of a difficult autumn and in one—if not the most—significant event for the Preston family, Ballard Preston died at Smithfield on November 16, 1862, two weeks before his fifty-eighth birthday. The cause listed was heart disease. Statements made after his death indicate that he had been in poor health. The statesman, who had provided leadership for his family, his community, the United States, and Virginia in her desperate hour of need, was gone.

Ballard had closed his remarks at the Virginia Secession Convention in March of the preceding year with an appeal for all to stand with the commonwealth and "to vindicate every right that belongs to her." He noted how his ancestors had fought and died in her defense, adding that should he "fall elsewhere," he wanted to be returned to the "consecrated earth of my mother Virginia" for burial in his own meadow. Then it could be said, he added, that "[a]fter life's fitful fever, he sleeps well." He was, indeed, buried in his own meadow at Smithfield, but it probably is not conjecture that Ballard died a stressed, conflicted man over the issue of slavery and his

Gravestone of William Ballard Preston in the Preston cemetery (2017 photograph by Laura Jones Wedin)

duty to the Commonwealth of Virginia and seeing his beloved mother state torn apart by war.[93]

[Editor's Note: The author will cover the remaining war years, from the end of 1862 to April 1865, and the effect of Reconstruction on the Prestons in subsequent parts of her article.

Endnotes

1. Laura Jones Wedin, "A Summary of Nineteenth-Century Smithfield, Part I: The Years before the Civil War," *The Smithfield Review* 18 (2014): 79−95.
2. Charles L. Grant, "An Appalachian Portrait: Black and White in Montgomery County, Virginia, before the Civil War" (master's thesis, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University [Virginia Tech], Blacksburg, Virginia, 1987), 5; John Frederick Dorman, *The Prestons of Smithfield and Greenfield in Virginia: Descendants of John and Elizabeth (Patton) Preston through Five Generations* (Louisville, KY: Filson Club), 1982; Wedin, "A Summary of Nineteenth-Century Smithfield, Part I." Wedin expands on this information in Part I of this article.
3. Gibson Worsham, "Solitude Historic Structure Report" (Christiansburg, VA: G. Worsham), 3; Dorman, *The Prestons of Smithfield*, 264−265; U.S. Bureau of the Census, "The Population |Slave| Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States: 1860" (National Archives, 1394: 1967, Virginia).
4. Dorman, *The Prestons of Smithfield*, 266−267; William Alexander Gordon, *The Killing of Adam Caperton by Indians at Estill's Defeat near Mt. Sterling, Kentucky, 22 March 1782; Sketch of the Caperton Family, Will of Hugh Caperton of Elmwood, Genealogy of Hugh Caperton of Elmwood* (London: Forgotten Books, May 11, 2017; first publication, Louisville, KY: John P. Morton and Company, 1915).
5. Margaret Mercer (1791–1846), daughter of a former Maryland governor, purchased the Belmont Plantation, located in Loudoun County, Virginia, in 1836 and established the manor house as a progressive Christian-Episcopalian school for girls. See Caspar Morris, M. D., *Memoir of Miss Margaret Mercer* (Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston, 1848); Sarah Ann Caperton to William G. Caperton, June 10, 1842, Caperton Family Papers 1729–1973, Mss 1C1716a, Virginia Historical Society.
6. Cary Baldwin Preston Gary (1883–1960) to Jeannette Heth, June 21, 1947, copy of letter from Heth family private papers; Worsham, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: nomination of Whitethorn, submitted to Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 1988, 2.
7. Ninety-one slaves were listed in the property appraisal of James Patton Preston (1774–1843). See Montgomery County Circuit Court Records, Will Book 7, Montgomery County Courthouse, 130. James Kent was the largest slave owner in the county with 123. John Radford was second with 70. See Federal Census of 1860, Slave Schedule, Montgomery County, Virginia. James Kent had more slaves, but Ballard Preston listed more personal property wealth. This was probably due, in part, to his large slave holdings based at his Horsepasture Plantation in Henry County, Virginia. See Federal Census of 1860, Population and Slave Schedule, Henry County. Overall, Montgomery County, located on the edge of mountains that separated the area from nearby counties that became part of West Virginia, had fewer slave owners. For example, the county listed 2,219 slaves in 1860, 21 percent of the county population, which was fewer than the average 38 percent in the eastern part of Virginia but more than nearby outlying areas such as Prices Fork.
8. Federal Census of 1860, slave schedule. Ballard Preston had eight dwellings for his enslaved community; Robert had ten; and James, six. Today, Solitude is the only home of the three that has an extant outbuilding that likely was used as an enslaved dwelling. See Michael J. Pulice,

"The log outbuilding at Solitude: an architectural and archaeological investigation of Virginia Tech's second oldest building" (master of architecture thesis, Virginia Tech, 1999). The ruins of an early foundation have been found at Smithfield northeast of the manor home. In the early 1970s, when the Hethwood housing development was implemented, the cabins from the former White Thorn home—now the Heth home—were removed. One was offered for use at Smithfield, and under guidance from Virginia Tech Professor Herman J. Heikkenen, a Boy Scout explorer troop dismantled the cabin and moved it to the previous foundation northeast of the Smithfield manor home. The logs had already been numbered, and dendrochronology studies have dated it to the 1820s. It is possible that the cabin could have been moved from another area near the Smithfield manor house to White Thorn after the latter house was built in the late 1850s, or it could have been part of a "quarter" area housing slaves to work that part of the plantation fields. See Worsham, "Smithfield Historic Structure Report," 35, 49.

9. Federal Census of 1850, Montgomery County, Virginia; Federal Census of 1860, Henry County, Virginia.
10. Federal Census of 1860, Population Schedule, Montgomery County.
11. Clara B. Cox, "Olin and Preston Institute and Preston and Olin Institute: The Early Years of Virginia Polytechnic and State University: Part I," *The Smithfield Review* 19 (2015)
12. James I. Robertson Jr., *Civil War! America Becomes One Nation* (New York: Random House, 1996), 170. Details of William Ballard Preston's involvement in Virginia's secession can be found in Wedin, "A Summary of Nineteenth Century Smithfield, Part I."
13. "The Manassas Campaign, Virginia, July 16–22, 1861," *www.firstbullrun.co.uk/Shenandoah/First%20Brigade/4th-virginia-infantry.html*.
14. Dorman, *Prestons of Smithfield*, 262–263.
15. Dorman, *Prestons of Smithfield*, 266. Confusion surrounding two James Patton Prestons, first cousins born seven years apart and both from Blacksburg, persisted through military, genealogy, and other records.
16. William C. Davis, *Battle at Bull Run: A History of the First Major Campaign of the Civil War* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1977; 2nd ed., 1995), 29; Harry Hanson, *The Civil War: A History* (New York: Signet, 1957).
17. James F. Preston, 1846–1848, United States Mexican War Index and Service Records, 1846−1848, *FamilySearch, familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QLXQ-68V*, accessed March 13, 2018; Will of James Preston; Federal Census of 1860. Gardner, age forty-six, was a businessman, working as a bank cashier; he lived in Christiansburg with his wife and six children. See Robertson, *Civil War!* 35.
18. Peter Wallenstein, "William Ballard Preston and the Politics of Slavery, 1832–1862," *The Smithfield Review* 1 (1997): 63. Lucy's grandfather, John F. Redd, died in 1850; thus, the inheritance most likely came from him.
19. Federal Census of 1860, slave schedule, Henry County.
20. W. Ballard Preston to William Linkous, May 4, 1861, Alice Preston Moore Collection, Preston Family Papers, 1745–1882, Ms 1962-004, Special Collections, Virginia Tech.
21. James Francis Preston to George Henry Caperton, May 4, 1861, Caperton Family Papers 1729–1973, Mss 1C1716a, Virginia Historical Society.
22. Mary Eliza Caperton to George Henry Caperton, August 13, 1862, Caperton Papers; Federal Census of 1860, Campbell County, Virginia.
23. Some sources say her name was Mary Elizabeth, but family records have it as Eliza. See M. E. Caperton to G. H. Caperton, May 4, 1861.
24. M. E. Caperton to G. H. Caperton, May 6, 1861.
25. Lisa Tendrich Frank, "War Comes Home," in Wallenstein and Bertram Wyatt-Brown, eds., *Virginia's Civil War* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2009): 125.
26. "Railroads of the Confederacy," *www.civilwar.org/education/history/warfare-and-logistics/logistics/railroads.html*.

27. W. B. Preston to W. Linkous.
28. M. E. Caperton to G. H. Caperton, June 10, 1861; Montgomery County Register of Deaths. No cause was listed. Overseer James Petty (Pettit) was the informant. Although a standard U.S. military marble memorial marker for the governor now stands in the Preston cemetery, the exact location of the grave of the governor remains unknown.
29. Dorman, *Prestons of Smithfield*, 13.
30. W. B. Preston to W. Linkous.
31. M. E. Caperton to G. H. Caperton, May 9, 1861.
32. Daniel B. Thorp, "'Learn your wives and daughters how to use the gun and pistol': The Secession Crisis in Montgomery County, Virginia," *The Smithfield Review* 17 (2013): 75−92.
33. M. E. Caperton to G. H. Caperton, May 27, 1861.
34. M. E. Caperton to G. H. Caperton, May 14, 1861; Thorp, "The Secession Crisis," 90−91.
35. Robertson, *4th Virginia Infantry* (Virginia Regimental Histories Series), 2nd ed. (Lynchburg, VA: H. E. Howard, 1983), 2.
36. M. E. Caperton to G. H. Caperton, May 20, 1861.
37. Frank E. Fields Jr., *28th Virginia Infantry* (Lynchburg: H. E. Howard, 1985), 4.
38. Robert J. Driver Jr., *2nd Virginia Cavalry* (Lynchburg: H. E. Howard, 1995), 203.
39. M. E. Caperton to G. H. Caperton, June 4, 1861. Caperton enlisted for one year as a private in Company G, 2nd Virginia Calvary Regiment (originally the 30th Virginia Mounted Infantry) at Forest Depot, Virginia, on May 28, 1861.
40. M. E. Caperton to G. H. Caperton, May 29, 1861.
41. Fields, *28th Virginia Infantry*, 3; Virginia, Civil War Service Records of Confederate Soldiers, 1861−1865, *familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:J3HR-PR5*, accessed December 5, 2014; Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of Virginia, database, *Fold3.com*, *www.fold3.com*, n.d., citing military unit Fourth Infantry, NARA microfilm publication M324 (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, 1961), roll 410; Virginia Civil War Service Records of Confederate Soldiers, *familysearch.org/ark:/619031:1:J34G-7R8*, accessed December 5, 2014; Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers, citing military unit Second Cavalry, NARA microfilm publication M324, roll 16.
42. Radford's Squadron Cavalry, *www.firs3bullrun.co.uk/Potomac/First%20Brigade/radfords-squadron-cavalry.html*.
43. Lowell Reidenbaugh, *27th Virginia Infantry* (Lynchburg: H. E. Howard, 1993), 141.
44. Charles Turner, *Ted Barclay, Liberty Hall Volunteers: Letters from the Stonewall Brigade 1861−1864* (Natural Bridge Station, VA: Rockbridge Publishing Company, 1992), 133.
45. James Francis Preston to Sarah Caperton Preston, July 28, 1861, 2, Preston Family Correspondence, 1861, 1872, Ms 2010-070, Special Collections, Virginia Tech.
46. William C. Davis, "First Battle of Manassas," National Park Civil War Series (Fort Washington, PA: Eastern National Park and Monument Association, 1995), 30; "First Battle of Bull Run," *en.wikipedia.org/wiki/First_Battle_of_Bull_Run*; Ethan S. Rafuse, *A Single Grand Victory: The First Campaign and Battle of Manassas* (Wilmington, DE: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2002), 315; David J. Eicher, *The Longest Night: A Military History of the Civil War* (New York: 47.
47. J. F. Preston
48. J. F. Preston to S. C. Preston.
49. Robertson, *4th Virginia*, 7; J. F. Preston to S. C. Preston.
50. Robertson, *4th Virginia*, 5.
51. Montgomery County death records of 1861 cite the death of a male slave of James Francis Preston, reported by overseer Anderson Ledgerwood. No name, month, or day is listed. See Montgomery County Register of Death Records 1853−1868. Just the name "Ballard" appears in Dr. Black's account book under "JFP [James Francis Preston]" for medical treatment in 1855 and 1856. See Black account book, Black, Kent, and Apperson Family Papers, Ms 1974-003, Special Collections, Virginia Tech. Ballard, age seventeen, is listed in the 1843 James Patton Preston

slave inventory as the son of William Mc[Norton]. See personal estate of James P. Preston decs. Nov. 16, 1843, Montgomery County Will Book 7, Montgomery County Courthouse, 130.

52. James F. Preston to Charles [Gardner], August 21, 1861, personal papers collection 41577, Library of Virginia, Richmond.
53. J. F. Preston to Charles [Gardner].
54. Robertson, *4th Virginia Infantry*, 68. From September 3 to October 5, 1859, Dr. Black visited, prescribed medications for, and medicated James Preston nearly every day. He made three visits in 1860. See Black account book, Black, Kent, and Apperson Family Papers.
55. Virginia, Civil War Service Records of Confederate Soldiers; Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers, citing military unit Fourth Infantry, NARA microfilm publication M324, roll 410.
56. Ballard Preston to my son [Waller] Preston, November 24, 1861, Letters of William Ballard Preston, Ms 62-004, Special Collections, Virginia Tech.
57. Dorman, *The Prestons of Smithfield*, 265−266.
58. M. E. Caperton to G. H. Caperton, October 8, 1861.
59. Fields, *28th Virginia Infantry*, 9.
60. M. E. Caperton to G. H. Caperton, October 8, 1861.
61. "Near Centreville. Certificate granting Col. Preston a medical leave of absence. Signed: Saml. A. McConkey," November 23, 1861, Papers of Robert Taylor Preston, Ms 1992-002 box 1: 7, Special Collections, Virginia Tech.
62. Typhoid Fever, *en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Typhoid_fever*.
63. Sarah C. Preston to Harriet Boswell Caperton, December 18, 1861, Caperton Papers.
64. Letter, camp of the 28th Regiment Va. Volunteers, near Centreville, "Col. Preston wished and is recommended an extension of leave for 30 days. Signed: Saml. A. McConkey," December 19, 1861, Papers of Robert Taylor Preston.
65. Kenneth C. Martis, *The Historical Atlas of the Congresses of the Confederate States of America: 1861−1865* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994); Confederate Papers Relating to Citizens or Business Firms, 1861−1865, M346, 2133274; Waller Redd Staples, *en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Waller_Redd_Staples*.
66. Robertson, *4th Virginia Infantry*, 8.
67. Sarah C. Preston to Harriet B. Caperton, December 18, 1861; Robertson, *The Stonewall Brigade* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1963), 54. Rheumatic fever was an infectious disease, causing fever, pain, swelling of the joints, and inflammation of the valves of the heart. See Rheumatic Fever, *en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rheumatic_fever*. Rheumatism is often an archaic term for rheumatic fever. See Rheumatism, *en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rheumatism*.
68. Sarah C. Preston to Harriet B. Caperton.
69. Dorman, *Prestons of Smithfield*, 262; Richard L. Armstrong, *7th Virginia* Cavalry (Lynchburg: H. E. Howard, 1992), 210; Robert J. Driver Jr., *14th Virginia Cavalry* (Lynchburg: H. E. Howard, 1988), 167.
70. Preston/Means marker in the Preston cemetery.
71. *Daily Dispatch* (Richmond, Virginia), January 14, 1862; *Richmond Dispatch* (Cowardin & Hammersley), January 14, 1862, microfilm, Ann Arbor, Michigan, Proquest, microfilm reel (35 mm). Erysipelas is an acute infection of the upper dermis and superficial lymphatics, usually caused by the *Streptococcus* bacteria. Patients typically develop symptoms including high fevers, shaking, chills, fatigue, headaches, vomiting, and general illness within forty-eight hours of the initial infection. An erythematous skin lesion enlarges rapidly and appears as a red, swollen, warm, hardened, and painful rash, similar in consistency to an orange peel. More severe infections can result in vesicles, bullae, and petechiae, with possible skin necrosis. Lymph nodes may be swollen, and lymphedema may occur. Occasionally, a red streak extending to the lymph node can be seen. See Erysipelas, *en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Erysipelas*.
72. Montgomery County Register of Deaths; M. E. Caperton to G. H. Caperton, January 20, 1862. David Wade, who was James Preston's physician, was born in 1820 in Christiansburg. In 1860,

he was forty years old and living with his wife and four children. He attended the University of Pennsylvania Medical Department and served with the 27th Battalion Cavalry as a surgeon, then later with the 54th Virginia infantry. He resigned from the military on February 17, 1864, due to health issues. Dr. Wade died in Maryland in 1896. See Federal Census of 1860; *www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=80738295*; Carded Records Showing Military Service of Soldiers Who Fought in Confederate Organizations, documenting the period 1861−1865, compiled 1903−1927, National Archives, *www.archives.gov/research/military/civil-war/resources*.

73. Montgomery County Register of Deaths, 8; Robertson, *4th Virginia Infantry*, 7−8; James F. Preston to Sarah C. Preston; James F. Preston to Charles [Gardner]; Turner, *Letters from the Stonewall Brigade*, 50; Carded Records; Phillip Alexander Bruce, *Virginia: Rebirth of the Old Dominion* 5 (Chicago and New York: Lewis Publishing Co., 1929), 239.
74. M. E. Capterton to G. H. Caperton, January 20, 1862; Federal Census of 1860, Montgomery County. The only Payne found in the 1860 Montgomery County census is listed as a farmer, but it was not uncommon for doctors to be listed as such.
75. Dr. Harvey Black of Blacksburg also served with the 4th Virginia as the surgeon. See J. F. Kent to Robert Taylor Preston, February 5, 1862, Papers of Robert Taylor Preston. The location was known as Camp Preston for some years afterward. Subsequent leaders were often compared unfavorably with the respected Preston, and his death caused confusion as well as sadness. John Herbert Roper, ed., *Repairing the March of Mars: The Civil War Dairies of John Samuel Apperson, Hospital Steward in the Stonewall Brigade*, 1861−1865 (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2001), footnote 94 ("Notes about Preston provided by Glenn McMullen"), 90.
76. Eliza, who was born on May 12, 1855, probably died of scarlet fever or diphtheria. See Caperton Family Bible Record 1791–1929, 20436, Library of Virginia Digital Collection, *image.lva.virginia.gov/Bible/20436.pdf Bible Record Image*.
77. Montgomery County Register of Deaths, 8.
78. James J. Broomall, "Photography during the Civil War," *Encyclopedia Virginia*, *www.EncyclopediaVirginia.org/Photography_During_the_Civil_War*, 2015. Post-mortem or mourning photography, especially of children, was common during the Civil War and the Victorian period that followed. Because of the high childhood and infant mortality rate, this was a significant way to memorialize lost family members. See marker at the Preston cemetery.
79. "From: Mount Joy. Request for continued leave of absence. Signed: Wm. T. Patton," February 22, 1862, Papers of Robert Taylor Preston.
80. The Montgomery County Register of Deaths of 1862 attributes fifty-four deaths to diphtheria, almost all of them children under the age of ten. However, neither this child nor Eliza is listed in these death records. It is not known where the Caperton children were buried. Given the circumstances, it is possible that they lie in unmarked graves at the Preston cemetery. See Ballard Preston to Robert Preston, March 4, 1862, Papers of Robert Taylor Preston.
81. Ballard Preston to Robert Preston, March 9, 1862, Papers of Robert Taylor Preston.
82. Will of James Francis Preston, Will Book 9, 388, proved March 1862. See Dorman, *The Prestons of Smithfield*, 266.
83. Will of James Francis Preston. See Dorman, *The Prestons of Smithfield*, 266. A "Taylor," age twenty-two, is listed in James Patton Preston's slave inventory of 1843 in what looks like a family grouping, in which case, his father could have been William Mc[Norton], age forty-two. Taylor served in the Mexican War with James Francis Preston as an enslaved cook for the officer's mess of Preston's company, 1st Virginia Volunteers. He applied for a pension in 1887. See United States Mexican War Pension Index, 1887−1926, *familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:K8H4-QBM*, accessed October 3, 2018; personal communication with historian Daniel Thorp. This could also be the Taylor McNorton (or McNaughton) found in the Montgomery County Cohabitation Register of 1866 and the 1867 Freedmen's census. He and his family are listed as working for Sarah Preston. A "Taylor" was also listed among the slaves of James Francis Preston listed in the account book of Dr. Harvey Black. See Black, Kent, and Apperson Family Papers. A slave

named Taylor is not found in the list of slaves in the 1862 appraisement of James Francis Preston. It appears that he was working for Dr. Black as a cook. See Thorp, "Soldiers, Servants, and Very Interested Bystanders: Montgomery County's African American Community during the Civil War," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 126, no. 4: 386−387. Taylor McNorton is found in the 1870 Montgomery County Census. At the time he was age fifty, married to Serena, and working as a coachman. See A list of the personal estate of James P. Preston, deceased November 16, 1843, Montgomery County Will Book 7, Montgomery County Courthouse, 130.

84. Inventory, March 1862, Estate of James F. Preston, Will Book 9, 418−423, January 1863, Montgomery County Court Records.
85. Sarah C. Preston to Harriet B. Caperton, April 18, 1862, Caperton Papers.
86. Sarah C. Preston to Harriet B. Caperton, April 18, 1862, Caperton Papers; Montgomery County Court Records. John Echols was Sarah Caperton's brother-in-law. He was named guardian of the sons of James Preston and Sarah Caperton Preston. See John Echols, *en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Echols*; Inventory, March 1862, Estate of James F. Preston.
87. Sarah C. Preston to Harriet B. Caperton. Robert Taylor Preston had been considered incompetent in a military role. See Field, *28th Virginia Infantry,* 5.
88. John S. Wise, *End of an Era*, (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1899), 373−375.
89. Papers of Robert Taylor Preston. Robert's unit may have been the 6th Regiment of the Virginia State Line, although it is possible that he never raised a regiment. If he did, the possibility also exists that Col. Winston Fontaine assumed command of the regiment Preston was raising. Since no information has been located about the 6th, the organization could have existed only on paper. If this was the case, it would exemplify another facet of Maj. Gen. John B. Floyd's numbers game of claiming soldiers recruited by others as his own recruits. See "The Virginia State Line," *www.americancivilwarforum.com/the-virginia-state-line-1525425.html*.
90. John Buchanan Floyd was the son of Col. William Preston's daughter, Letitia Preston (1779−1852), and Dr. John Floyd (1783−1837), who served as the twenty-fifth governor of Virginia (1830−1834). John Buchanan was born in the manor house of Smithfield and was a first cousin to Ballard and his brothers. For Ballard Preston's letter, see William Ballard Preston to President Jefferson Davis, May 11, 1862, in *The War of the Rebellion*, a compilation of the official records of the Union and Confederate Armies, series I, vol. 10 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1884), 512−515. Judge Fulton was a member of the Whig Party (1847−1849) and a judge of the fifteenth judicial circuit of Virginia (1852−1869). Beverly R. Johnston was a member of the Abingdon bar and later served as commonwealth's attorney. See Andrew S. Fulton, *Wikipedia*, *en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Andrew_S._Fulton*; Lewis Preston Summers, *History of Southwest Virginia, 1746−1786, Washington County, 1777−1870* (Richmond: J. L. Hill Printing Company, 1903).
91. Dorman, *The Prestons of Smithfield*, 289−291.
92. Dorman, *The Prestons of Smithfield*, 266; gravestone, Preston cemetery. The Meanses had three more children after the war, but only two sons, Robert Preston Means, b. 1857, and John Hughes Means, b. 1863, lived into adulthood.
93. Wallenstein, "William Ballard Preston and the Politics of Slavery," 95.

About the Author: Laura Jones Wedin, who holds a Master of Fine Arts from Virginia Tech, is the associate director of student and young alumni engagement for Tech's Office of Alumni Relations. She has conducted extensive research on Smithfield, its cemetery, and the Preston family. Part of the archaeology community in the state since 2002, she is a certified archaeological technician with the Commonwealth of Virginia and a member of the Archaeological Society of Virginia and the Council of Virginia Archaeologists.

Book Review:

Facing Freedom Examines Lives of Post-Civil War African Americans in Montgomery County, Virginia

The synopsis of *Facing Freedom: An African American Community in Virginia from Reconstruction to Jim Crow*, which follows (indented), is used with permission from the University of Virginia Press in Charlottesville.

Facing Freedom was written by Daniel B. Thorp, associate professor of history and associate dean for undergraduate academic affairs in Virginia Tech's College of Liberal Arts and Human Sciences. He has served as the history advisor for *The Smithfield Review* and has been a member of the journal's editorial board since 2017.

In describing the book, the University of Virginia Press said,

> The history of African Americans in southern Appalachia after the Civil War has largely escaped the attention of scholars of both African Americans and the region. In *Facing Freedom*, Daniel Thorp relates the complex experience of an African American community in southern Appalachia as it negotiated a radically new world in the four decades following the Civil War.
>
> Drawing on extensive research in private collections as well as local, state, and federal records, Thorp narrates in intimate detail the experiences of black Appalachians as they struggled to establish autonomous families, improve their economic standing, operate black schools within a white-controlled school system, form independent black churches, and exercise expanded—if contested—roles as citizens and members of the body politic.
>
> Black out-migration increased markedly near the close of the nineteenth century, but the generation that transitioned from slavery to freedom in Montgomery County [Virginia] established the community institutions that would survive disenfranchisement and Jim Crow. *Facing Freedom* reveals the stories and strategies of those who pioneered these resilient bulwarks against the rising tide of racism.

The 304-page book, which includes notes, a bibliography, and an index, was published in late 2017 and is available in hardcover, paperback, and electronic formats. It is part of the American South Series, edited by Elizabeth R. Varon and Orville Vernon Burton.

Thorp's work has received favorable reviews, including a number from historians and historical publications. According to Jane Dailey, author of both *Before Jim Crow: The Politics of Race in Postemancipation Virginia* and *The Age of Jim Crow* and a faculty member at the University of Chicago, it is "[a] lucid and moving contribution to the history of Virginia and southern Appalachia." John C. Inscoe, the Albert B. Saye Professor of History at the University of Georgia, called the book "meticulously documented and multidimensional" in its coverage of the African American community in Montgomery County from the Civil War to the early twentieth century. And the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* said that it

> delivers exactly what it promises—the stories and struggles of an African American community in Virginia that made its way forward despite a host of obstacles—some deliberately put in its path by racist white people, others a function of the capitalist society in which the community lived.

The book can be purchased at bookstores and online.

– Editor

Index to Volume 23

Clara B. Cox