

Hickmans and Servants: Two Appalachian Families

H. William Gabriel*

Some there are who have left behind them a name to be commemorated in story. Others are unremembered; they have perished as though they had never existed, as though they had never been born; so too it was with their children after them.
Ecclesiasticus, 44:8-9

Some tend to think that only important and famous people save their letters to preserve the history of their time on earth. However, the way ordinary people once lived can be as interesting and historic as the lives of the rich and famous — if we can find the traces of those lives.

The material presented here is from a collection of documents telling the story of several generations of farmers, preachers, judges, teachers, and soldiers as they participated in the growth of the country. In compiling those papers I was struck by how two families, white and black, remained associated for more than a hundred years — before and after the Civil War. The documents mention four generations in one black family and provide glimpses of their lives among the Hickmans of Back Creek in Bath County, Virginia.¹ Such records of black ancestry are rare and usually come, as here, from the history of the former masters.

This record of the black family begins with an 1822 bill of sale in which James Elliot sold a woman named Sophia to his brother-in-law, William Hickman:²

Know all men by these preasents that I James Elliot of Rockbridge County & State of Virginia hath this day Bargained & Sold to William Hickman of Bath County & State aforesaid on Negroe Girl Named Sophia together with all her preasent & future Issue for the Sum of Three Hundred & Fifty Dollars in hand paid the receipt whereof is hereby Acknowledge & doth warrant the Same Girl to be healthy so far as my Knowledge Extends & doth warrant & defend the wright

from the Claim or Claims of any person or persons whatever. Witness
my hand & Seal this Seventh Day of January 1822

Signd in presents of

James Elliot [seal]

Arthur Hickman

James E Hickman

Although we have no record of her date of birth, Sophia was probably eighteen to twenty years old and had a two-month-old son named Benjamin. She must, indeed, have been healthy, for in twenty-three years Sophia bore eleven children, only one of whom died in infancy — a remarkable record for that time. The name of their father was not noted, but the names and dates of Sophia's offspring were recorded as follows by the Hickmans:³

Births of the Blacks

Sophias Children

[Sophia died in 1847]

Benjamin was born Oct. 27th 1821

Benjamin died May the 21st
1888

Samuel was born Feb. 14th 1825

Jacob was born March 17th 1827

Peter was born Feb. 20th 1830

Mary was born Jan. 26th 1832

Celia was born Aug. 30th 1833

Martha was born Aug. 28th 1835

Jesse was born Sept. 23rd 1837

Sarah was born Oct. 17th 1839

Huldah was born Feb. 19th 1842

Huldah Died the 11th Feb.
1862 at 8 Oclock:

George was born Sept. 10th 1844

George died Sept 1845

The Hickman farm on Back Creek could support only so many people, and eight of the nine children of William Hickman (1770-1843) left that narrow mountain valley to seek their fortunes elsewhere. Their youngest brother, Roger Hickman (1813-1889), remained at the ancestral home and saved the letters they wrote home to him. Later, some of Roger's eighteen children wrote letters to their brother Peter Lightner Hickman (1858-1937), who stayed on the family farm when most others of his generation moved on.

A growing black population also strained the resources of the farm so that, as with William Hickman's children and grandchildren, it would be the fate of many of Sophia's offspring to leave Back Creek and live



The home of William Hickman (1770–1843), Roger Hickman (1813–1889) and Lula Georgia Hickman Rose (1874–1943) in 1936, the year the federal Works Progress Administration (WPA) determined the home to be of historical significance.⁴

their lives elsewhere. The first date we have of her children leaving is 1837, when William gave Peter, Sophia's fourth child, to his son Andrew Johnson Hickman (1811-1880). Andrew took the seven-year-old boy across the mountains to Greenbrier County where he was expected to help look after Andrew's infant son, George Johnson Hickman (1837-?). It was the custom of the time, for those who could afford it, to have a black child serve as "nurse" and companion for their children. As the children grew older, the relationship changed to that of a personal servant, valet, or whatever.

Williamsburg Greenbrier County January 26 AD1838

Honored Friends

... G. Johnson stood the ride verry well fretted none oandley the night at Calisons; Mother to you he has been a verry good Child since wee got to house Keeping and looks fine his Cheeks has gotten as red, and looks harty; him and Peter is playing on the floor now and Nancy is Spinning and I am writting that is our imployment to night

...tell Sofa that Peter is well and doing well and is getting as fat as a pig;

In letters home to Roger, Andrew usually sent word to Sophia about the growth and progress of her son.

Sinking Creek. Nov 9th AD 1838

Honored Brother

...I have not got any grain yet only as I use it I am ferfull this will Bee a hard winter for me to put over grain is not to Be Bought at any prise hardly Crops was so light that people has not got it to share...

...tell Sofa that Peter is well and grows fine:

Peter was a great help to Andrew's wife,⁵ but it would be a number of years before he grew large enough to help Andrew with the heavier work of a pioneer farm in the mountains where master and slave worked side-by-side to grow the food and fiber needed to support the household. By 1841 he was large enough to help repair rail fences as Andrew hacked a new farm out of the Nicholas County forest.

Nicholas Co. February 23th AD 1841

Most Dear Brother

...I went 2 trips to Cannaway for salt salt is worth 2 cts pr lb. by the Barrel 2 1/2 retale I hawled 43 Bush one load with 3 horses...

...tell Sopha that Peter is well and grows fast and is a fine Boy; wee are now repairing fence he sets the stakes while I hull them and rider...

Andrew mentioned Peter in other letters over the years.

Nicholas Cty Beaver Creek Jen. 17 1843

Honored Brother

...I want to make another trip this winter Either there or to Lewisburg with venison hams; I cilled 21 deer 19 Turkeys that is my hunt this fall; I miss my tan yard very much...

...tell Sofa that Peter is well and I will try and Let him go and see her as soon as I can...

Nicholas Cty Va. February 20th: AD 1844

Honored Brother

I rased a noble crop of corn last summer and Better rye could hardly Be My meadow was fine Oats and wheat modderate...

...tell Sofa that Peter is well and grows finely ——

Nicholas C H Va Feb 5th 1845

Honored Brother

I do not know when wee will get to pay you a visit as you know that I am cept Busy on a knew place like this I am still trying to clear a little I am still chopping the timber down...

...Give Howdy to Lanty and Lizzy to Arthur and Reb — tell Sofa that Peter is well he is nearly as tall as I am — ...

Six years later, in the spring of 1851, the twenty-one-year-old Peter ran away from Andrew's home and, as far as I know, that was the last time Andrew owned a slave. We do not know where Peter went, but Andrew thought he had crossed the Ohio River.

There is no record of how far, or how hard, anyone searched for Peter, but Andrew's nephew, William W. Hickman (1828-1872), did go to Ohio looking for the runaway. Ohio was on the trunk line of the "Underground Railroad," an organization that smuggled runaway slaves to Canada. Thousands of slaves were said to have passed through Ohio before the Civil War and whole towns there ignored the Fugitive Slave Act to help them.

Two letters from William P. Hickman (1810-1864), brother of Roger and Andrew and uncle of William W., mention the search for Peter.

Wytheville Nov. 19th 1851.

Dear Brother

...I recd. a letter from Wm. last May informing me that Andrew had lost Pete. Do you know whether he has had any account of him yet? I neglected to answer Wm's letter immediately, & now I do not know where to address him....

Wytheville Jan. 7th 1852.

Dear William:

I received a letter from you when in Ohio hunting for Pete; but from multiplicity of business, cases &c. I failed to answer it directly, & then after delaying some time, I hardly knew whether it was worth while to address you at Summersville....

An 1853 letter from Andrew, written more than two years after Peter took off, contains the last mention of Peter in the Hickman papers.

Beaver Creek Nicholas Cty July 26th 53

Honored Brother

...George is now sitting in the Deore reading Nancy is in the Other House Spinning; the little children is playing in pourch the 2 Oaldest Girls is a cross the river a going to school they purposed coming home next Saturday and the Leady they are Boarding with...

...I have not gotton any infermation respecting Peat — whare he has landed himself I have not any idea: ...

In 1842 William Hickman the patriarch sold to his youngest son Sophia's tenth child, an infant girl named Huldah, for only \$1.00. The infant continued to live with her mother because Roger remained on his father's farm and inherited it a bit over a year later. The bill of sale is notable as the only place in the Hickman papers where the word slave was used to describe a person.

Know all men by these presents, that I, William Hickman of Bath County for and in consideration of the sum of one Dollar to me in hand paid by Roger Hickman of said county at and before the sealing and delivery of these presents (the receipt whereof I do hereby acknowledge) have bargained, sold, granted and confirmed and by these presents do bargain, sell grant and confirm, to the said Roger Hickman a certain female negro slave named Huldah: To have and to hold the said female negro slave, and her future increase to the only proper use and behoof of the said Roger Hickman his executor, administrators and assigns for ever. And I the said William Hickman, for myself me executors and administrators the said female negro slave, with her future increase to the said Roger Hickman, his executors, administators and assigns, against me, the said William Hickman my executors, administrators and assigns, and against all and every other person and persons whatsoever, shall and will warrant and forever defend, by these presents. In witness whereof I have here unto set my hand, and affixed my seal this 1st day September in the year of our Lord 1842

W^m Hickman

Sealed and delived, and possession
delivered, in presence of
Jn^o. D. Hamilton

The only other references to Huldah in the Hickman family papers come nearly twenty years later. Huldah died just before her twentieth birthday.

Births of the Blacks

Huldahs Child was Born Jan. 6st 1860

Huldah Died the 11th Feb. 1862 at 8 O'clock:

& Her Child a 1 O'clock the saim day

William Hickman had been ill for some time when he prepared his will just five days after selling Huldah to Roger.

I, William Hickman, of the County of Bath and State of Virginia being in perfect health and of perfect mind and memory do make and ordain this my last will and testament.

First I give and bequeath to my eldest daughter, Martha wife of Stuart Taylor, to her and her heirs forever a negro girl named Mary and her future increase.

Second I give to my Granddaughter, Nancy wife of Isaac Hartman, to her and her heirs forever a negro girl named Celia and her future increase, upon the following conditions (to-wit) That the said Nancy, wife of Isaac Hartman, to pay or cause to be paid unto her seven sisters and one brother being the children of my daughter Jane Bradshaw Dec'd. the sum of Twenty-two Dollars and twenty-five cents each.

Third, I give to my eldest son Arthur Hickman the land which I have heretofore conveyed to him by deed upon conditions that he pay or cause to be paid unto my third son William Hickman the sum of One Hundred Dollars.

Fourth, I give to my second son James E. Hickman all the property that he took away with him when he left me.

Fifth, I give to my third son William Hickman and his heirs forever a negro boy named Jesse and a negro girl named Sarah and her future increase.

Sixth, I give to my third daughter Huldah, wife of Isaac Callison, all the property that she took away with her when she left me.

Seventh, I give to my fourth son Andrew Hickman all the property that he took away with him when he left me.

Eighth, I give to my fifth son Roger Hickman, the plantation upon which I now live and all my adjoining lands and its appurtenances to him and his heirs forever and also one negro man named Benjamin

and a negro woman named Sophia and a negro girl named Martha and their future increase to him and his heirs forever, and also all my carpenter tools, farming utensils, household and kitchen furniture of every description upon the following conditions (to-wit) that he pay or cause to be paid unto my third son William Hickman the sum of Two Hundred Dollars. Lastly I do make and ordain my fifth son Roger Hickman sole executor of this my last will and testament; In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 6th day of September in the year One Thousand Eight Hundred and forty-two.

Wm. Hickman (seal)

Signed and sealed in
presence of:

Thos. Campbell
Peter Lightner

Whereas, I, William Hickman of the County of Bath and State of Virginia have by my last will and testament in writing duly executed, bearing date on the 6th day of September 1842, given and bequeathed to my third son William Hickman a negro girl named Sarah; Now, I, the said William Hickman being desirous of altering my said will in respect to the said negro girl Sarah do therefore make this present writing which I will and direct to be annexed as a codicil to my said will and taken as a part thereof, and I do hereby revoke that part of my said will which gave to my third son William the said negro girl Sarah; and I do give and bequeath the said negro girl named Sarah and her increase to my eldest daughter Martha, wife of Stuart Taylor; and I do ratify and confirm my said will in everything except where the same is hereby revoked and altered as aforesaid.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 14th day of October in the year of our Lord One Thousand eight hundred and forty-three.

Wm. Hickman (seal)

Witnesses:

Thos. Campbell
Peter Lightner⁶

Three of the eight bequests concerned the distribution of personal property in the form of servants — the children of Sophia — who would leave the plantation to live with William's children elsewhere. Roger inherited the plantation, its appurtenances, and the tools and equipment

required to operate it. He also inherited Sophia and two of her children (he had purchased another child the previous year).

Three of Sophia's sons are not mentioned in William Hickman's will or the appraisal of his personal property, but we know that Peter was given to Andrew J. Hickman in 1837. It is possible that William gave Samuel and Jacob to his sons Arthur and James Elliott some time before his death. Unfortunately, few letters survive from those two sons, and none mention slaves.

At the bottom of the inventory of William Hickman's personal property were listed the names and appraised values of five servants whose value made up \$1,300 of the total \$1,466.50½ appraised personal property in his estate. Sophia and Benjamin, purchased for \$350 in 1822, were now appraised at \$650, and two of her other children, Jessie and Sarah, were appraised at \$225 and \$200. Patsy was unrelated to Sophia and was said to be the wife of Benjamin.

...
1 Negro Woman named	Sophia	150.00
1 Boy	Ben	500.00
1 Girl	Patsey	225.00
1 Boy	Jessie	225.00
1 Girl	Sarah	200.00
Cash on hand		<u>\$2.50</u>
		1466.50½

Since no other names appear on the list, William Hickman's heirs may have received most of their inheritance before the appraisal was compiled. But two of those named were too young to leave their mother and too small to be of much help to their new masters, so Jesse and Sarah had been left behind. Sarah was supposed to go to Martha Elliott Hickman (1800-1875), the wife of Stuart Taylor. About a year later Martha wrote to Roger concerning the disposition of the five-year-old Sarah.

Rockbridge County Oct. 30th 1844

Dear Brother

... we have been consulting what we had best be don with the little black girl Father left us and have concluded to let you keep her at the appraisment as you Said last Spring you ware willing to do we have a good dail of help of hir size and it Seams hard to take her away from her mother and the famaly So young and if you think proper to keep

her at the appraisal and pay interest from then and charge nothing
fer her keeping you may do so and may have the use of the money
perhaps fo some years if you should not wish to keep her please let us
know amediatly by letter directed to Ceder Grove or otherwise — or
send her by some waggoner if conveneint with whom you can trust
her to Lexington to Thomas Kirkpatrick one door above Doct. Pains
and if so you will be receipted for her the first chance we have ...⁷

Mr Roger Hickman

Martha E. Taylor

Stuart Taylor

NB please let us know your will as to the above amediatly

S. T. & M. E. T.

Sarah had been appraised at \$200, so Martha and Stuart Taylor asked for that amount, with simple interest on the unpaid balance, and gave Roger a number of years to pay the debt.⁸ Thus Sarah was able to remain with her mother on Back Creek. The Taylors probably had taken Sarah's older sister, Mary, who was then almost twelve, the year before.

We know that people's attitudes may change over time and that actions may not conform to words, so this letter from Martha Hickman and Stuart Taylor raises questions about how attitudes toward slavery may have changed in that family. Stuart Taylor was a lay preacher in the Methodist Episcopal Church which, about four months after their letter was written, divided into northern and southern churches over the question of slavery. Their first son, William Taylor (1821-1902), was a well-known Methodist Episcopal preacher riding a circuit in the mountains of Virginia. He was to become famous as a missionary, an opponent of slavery, and finally the Bishop of Africa. William Taylor owned no slaves, but when he married in 1846 his wife did. Taylor described his solution to that problem in his autobiography:

...I said, "Mr. Chairman, since the session of Conference last year the Lord has given me a wife. My wife is an heir to an undivided estate in which there are about a dozen slaves. She is anxious to manumit her portion of them, but they will not come into her possession, nor hence be at her disposal in any way, till the youngest heir reaches her majority by age or marriage. As we shall have much to do with the training of her coheirs—her young brother and two younger sisters—we hope, by the will of God and the concurrence of all concerned, to manumit the whole of the slaves together and thus avoid the separation of families...."

Within four years from that time the youngest heir was married, and on the night of her marriage a deed of manumission was executed, signed by all the claimant heirs, and from my own pocket I gave them one thousand dollars in gold and my father engaged their passage and put them aboard a ship bound for Liberia, where they arrived safely in due time.⁹

Did his parents, who said “we have a good deal of help of her size” also free their slaves? It has been said that Stuart Taylor gave his slaves their freedom and \$50 each, but I do not know if, or when, that actually happened. Nor do I know if they also went to Liberia, a new country in West Africa purchased in 1821 for the purpose of resettling freed slaves, or if among those freed was one named Mary, a child of Sophia.

This was a particularly hard time for Roger Hickman. His mother died in 1842; his father, his wife, and one daughter all died in 1843; and his brothers and sisters had left home, so he was left to operate a mountain farm of over 1,000 acres without the accustomed support of an extended family. Usually in those days there were spinster aunts or sisters in a household to help out when children were orphaned, but Roger had no such aid in the three years between the death of his first wife and his second marriage.¹⁰ Nor did he have male kin to help with the heavier work.

In that situation Sophia and her children were critical to the farm’s success, and it was a hard time for them also. In the absence of Hickman women, Sophia (pregnant with George), Patsy, and Martha (only eight years old herself) took on all the household chores and looked after Roger’s surviving two children and also Sofia’s youngest children. In the stress of the time Sophia’s youngest, George, died in 1845 and Sophia herself died in 1847.

The farmers on Back Creek cooperated in many of their tasks and most particularly at harvest time, hog-butchering time, house or barn raising, and so forth. Roger had other male slaves, unrelated to Sophia, to work on the day-to-day operations of the farm, but Benjamin was probably his chief help in the fields, the grist mill, and the sawmill that were parts of the Hickman property. It is doubtful that Roger and the Hickman ancestral farm could have carried on without the slaves. But, survive they did, and Roger Hickman eventually prospered and became a Justice of the Bath County Court, a ruling elder in his Presbyterian Church, and the father of eighteen children.

With Roger's siblings dispersed to other counties in Virginia — and a sister in Illinois — the family kept in touch through letters and the occasional visit by horseback over very poor roads. While maintaining their own contacts, the Hickmans also helped the black family to stay in touch through occasional visits and frequent mention in the letters home to Roger.

The next series of letters is from the Rev. William P. Hickman, a Presbyterian minister and the only one of that generation of Hickmans with a college education. By the terms of William Hickman's will, his son William P. was to receive Sophia's six-year-old son Jesse and \$300 to be paid to him by two of his brothers. However, Jesse was too small in 1843 to be of much help, and William P. left him on Back Creek with Roger for a couple of years.

Scottsville July 9th 1844

Dear Brother

You say that father left me Jesse, & some moneys to be paid me by you & Arthur. Is Jesse worth his victuals & clothes to you? & are you willing to keep him a few months for me? Mrs. Kerr says that she will take him, if I can do no better. And would it be convenient for you & Arther to let me have a little money now? I owe a little which I should like to pay soon. If you could let me have fifty or a hundred dollars between you, it would relieve me. Let me know as soon as you can.

Remember me to Arthur & his family. And give my love to Sophia.

Scottsville Oct. 3rd 1844

Dear Brother

We have been very dry here this Fall; but had a fine rain last Saturday. The river has been so low that there was not watter enough to keep up the canal, so that there has been very little boating done for some weeks past.

...Come down & see us as soon as you are done seeding; & stay a week.— Margaret sends much love to you. Remember me to Arthur & family; & to Sophia ...

Scottsville April 14th 1845

Dear Brother

...Margaret & the little one are both very well. Our little babe grows finely. We are very much in need of a nurse for it & have been trying

for some time to get one either for love or money, or for both, but have hitherto failed in getting one that is any thing like suitable. How would Jess do? Do you think that he could mind the child? Would he be able to carry her for Margaret when she wants to go to visit neighbors? How old is he? for I really have no idea of his age? And Margaret asks, has he learned to talk plainly yet? I want you to write me as soon as you can after you get this; & let me know whether you think that he could nurse for Margaret or not....

Write forth with on the reception of this & let me know whether you think that Jess would answer our purpose.

Remember me to Arthur; Rebecca & family. And to Sophia.

By 1845, however, his wife needed help with their first child, and William took Jesse to his new home in Wythe County. The eight-year-old black boy was to be a “nurse” for their first child just as his brother Peter had been for Andrew’s first child.¹¹

This willingness to own a slave also represents a change in attitude. About ten years earlier William P. Hickman had written an essay as a student at Washington College in Lexington, Virginia, expressing his belief in the benefits of freeing his country from the ruinous consequences of slavery and supporting the role of the American Colonization Society in the transportation of freed slaves to Liberia. His statements as a student reflected the general skepticism of the benefits of slavery among the Scots-Irish Presbyterians of trans-mountain Virginia at that time. While not actually advocating abolition of slavery, such feelings were particularly strong around Lexington and at Washington College in the 1830s.¹²

Wythe County Dec. 3rd 1845

Dear Brother

...Jesse has been well, & is doing very well & seems to be very well contented. The truth is, I believe that he would be contented any where if he could only get enough to eat & to ware; but the eating seems to him the most important....

Remember me to Arthur & Rebecca &c. & to Sophia.

Yours most affectionately

W. P. Hickman

In letters home to Roger, William P. Hickman included items on Jesse’s progress for Roger to pass on to the boy’s mother.

Wythe County Jan. 21st 1846

Dear Brother

I rec.d your letter day-before-yesterday. I was glad to hear from you. We have been generally very well since I wrote with the exception of colds, which we all have had. Eliza Jane grows finely.– is beginning to talk a little, & is very mischievous. Jesse is also well ...

The weather has been very unfavourable for preaching this winter. My congregations have been small. But as large as I expected....

Wythe County Va. March 18th 1846

Dear Brother

...Tell Sophia that Jesse is well, & grows fast. & is upon the who a pretty good boy. He is beginning to be a great help to Margaret. He has improved very much in his mode of doing business latterly. I expect to bring him with us whenever we come to see you. I asked Jesse what I should tell his mama: & he said to tell her that he was well & liked to stay here....

I have been very hard at work for three days. On Monday I made me a sled. Tuesday Jesse & I halled wood in the forenoon & in the afternoon halled manure on the garden. to day I have been repairing the pailing around it; which were in a very delapidated state. I was exceedingly tired this evening. But after eating a very hearty supper & smoaking two pipes of tobaco, & penning this espistle I feel quite rested....

Wythe County Aug. 4th 1846

Dear Brother

...I was very much surprised to hear of your marriage. Tho' I need not have been. Well I congratulate you; & hope that your Mag will divide your sorrows & double your joys....

Our health is good. Mine is better than it was when I was in Bath last Fall. Eliza grows finely, And can talk pretty well. Jesse is well; & is doing very well. I dont know how Margaret could do without him. ...Tell Sophia that Jesse is well, & I will bring him to see her whenever I come....

Wythe County Oct. 20th 1846

Dear Brother

...I do not expect to get to see you before next Spring, unless you pay us a visit. But I have been laying my plans to go on to Bath from

Presbyty which is to meet in Blacksburg the first Thursday in May. Could not you meet us there Jesse is well & doing well. He can catch & saddle my horse for me.

Jesse's mother died in 1847. There is no record among the Hickman papers of Sophia's date of birth, but if she was about eighteen when she had her first child, then Sophia died at about age forty-three and a bit over a year after the death of her youngest child.

March 1st 1847

Dear Brother

...I was truly sorry to hear of Sophia death. You must miss her very much indeed. We have no black woman yet, & get along very well without one, by getting our washing done at Mr. Crockett's.

I have had some thought of trying to get Matilda M. Bradshaw to come & live with me. Is she at home yet? what kind of girl is she? do you know anything about her? How would she do? I think that I could do as much for her perhaps as her father...

Friday 5th. I have not been to town since I wrote. Hence the delay. Jesse is now going to the office. All well.

Sophia had served in the Hickman household on Back Creek for twenty-five years, and Roger and his siblings must have truly missed her, for they had known Sophia much of their lives. Her youngest son, Jesse, was almost ten years old, and he would take the letter to the post office.

William said they got along well without a black woman servant because they had their laundry done at a neighbor's. But he often inquired about getting one or another of his nieces to live with them to help Margaret. In turn, William offered to provide the girl's education. In this instance he asked about the second daughter, then fifteen, of his deceased sister, Jane Elliott Hickman (1802-c.1841).

In the next two letters William P. inquired about Benjamin, at twenty-six the oldest of Sophia's children. We have no hint of what may have been wrong — possibly Ben was grieving for his mother — but it is likely that he had suffered some injury on the farm or in the mills.

Wytheville Jan. 13th 1848

Dear Brother

...We have moved to town. And are very comfortably fixed. we occupy a house belonging to Mr. Walker, the use of which I get for instructing his two daughters privately.... I hall my own wood, & so I

am gitting a long very cheaply. I have a little one horse waggon which answers admirably well, I cut & load & Jesse drives. —...

...The children both grow finely. Mary is beginning to talk some. I am anxious to hear from you, to know how you all are, & how Ben has got....

Since William P. Hickman continued to put news of Jesse in his letters long after Sophia's death, we must conclude that he had not been doing so only for her benefit. Of course the news was important to Ben, Martha, Sarah, and Huldah — Jesse's siblings on Roger's farm — but the Hickmans had their personal interests in the black family.

Wytheville Nov. 21st 1848

Dear Brother

...Jesse is well, & grows very well; but he is still very thoughtless. I hope however when he get older he will get over it. I bought a black woman & child in May. The woman is about 28 years old; & her child — a female — was born the 30th of March. I gave \$500. for them. She is very industrious, &, although she had the reputation when I bought her, of not being very truthful & honest, yet she has thus far done very well, & I hope she will continue to do so. Her name is Jane. Her child is also quite sick today. She is effected very much like my children, & I suppose, she is also taking the whooping-cough....

I am very anxious to hear from you; I suppose that you can also say another, by this time. How has Ben got? I want you to write to me soon....

Not being able to find free domestic help among his family, William decided to purchase a black woman to do the washing, ironing, cleaning, and other work required to maintain a rural household full of small children in nineteenth century Virginia. By acquiring additional slaves William was following a trend among landowners in Southwest Virginia where, contrary to trends in other parts of the state, the slave population was growing in both numbers and as a proportion of the total population. In Montgomery County alone, the slave population increased by 50.9 percent during the 1850s.¹³

He left us no explanation, but two years later William sold the servant and her child. Since he also sold some of his wife's property, it may be that he needed to raise cash.

July 29th 1850

Dear Brother

It has been a long time since I wrote to you. Indeed, I believe it is near two years. For I do not remember of writing to since a few weeks after James Brown was born; & he will be two years old the 18th of next November....

... I have sold the negro woman & child that I bought some time ago. I sold them the 12th of last month \$600. I gave \$500 the 12 day of May 1848. I have also sold Margaret's interest in the land near the iron works, I got \$500 for it. — ...

Montgomery Co. Va. June 22nd 1853

Dear Brother.

...We think it probable that we – Myself wife – five children & Jesse – will pay you a visit about the first day of Sept. if we can make the arrangements, & provided also, you think you could find room for such a swarm, a few days....

Pulaski Co. Aug. 9th 1855.

Dear Brother.

...We are all very well. The children had a very hard time of it last summer with the whooping-cough. But we all have enjoyed excellent health this summer thus far; except Jesse, who has been laid up for two weeks with sleight brush of fever. He is better & beginning to get about a little again. Lizzie, Mary, & James are going to school this summer; & two of Moses Hoge's daughters are boarding with me, which with my own five & an orphan boy we have makes us quite abundant in children....

William was again looking for domestic help for Margaret when he wrote the following letter to Roger and the second one to his nineteen-year-old niece, Mary Elizabeth Hickman (1840–1909), Roger's oldest daughter.

Blacksburg Montgomery Co. Va Dec. 20th 1858

Dear Brother.

...Bring Lizzie & let her stay several months with us it would do her good. We have plenty of room now, as I enlarged my house last Summer. And I have corn enout to feed her on for a few months any how....

... Margaret is in her chamber caring for the little one, & the girls are at school & James has gone with Jesse to the field with a load of

manure & to bring back a load of fodder for the cows — they would all join in much love to you & family one & all.

Yours as ever
W. P. Hickman

By this time James Brown Hickman was ten years old and Jesse was twenty-one.

Blacksburg Va. Sept 16th 1859

Dear Lizzie,

...Could not your Pa bring you out to Synod, & leave you with us all winter; & Lanty could come after you in the Spring, or I could take you home in the Spring, if he could not come....

...Tell Ben that Jesse is to be married tomorrow night, if his fair-lady-love does not jilt him; of which she gave some symptoms a week ago....

Jesse, the youngest surviving son of Sophia, was twenty-two years old in 1859, and there is no further word about him or his marriage, nor do we know the name of the bride, or that of her master. Nor is there any record of the surname Jesse might have taken if he lived long enough to gain his freedom after the Civil War.¹⁴

First mentioned in 1843 in the inventory and appraisal of William Hickman's estate, Patsy turns up next in the Hickman records as the mother of six children. Ben was said to be the father of Patsy's children. So here we have Sophia's grandchildren, the third generation of her family on the Hickman farm.

Births of the Blacks

Patsies Childrens Births

George Henry was born Nov. the 14th 1852

Archey [—?—] was born June 6st 1854

Archey died the
4th May 1856

Charles Lewis was born January 11th 1856

John Anson was born the 4 day of June 1858

Jesse Stuart was born the 2nd of Jan 1861

Lucy Jane was born Sept. 5ft 1863

Patsy bore her last children in 1861 and 1863, but deaths exceeded births on Roger Hickman's farm during the Civil War. Among the slaves, Sophia's daughter Huldah and her two-year-old child both died in February 1862.



Lanty William Hickman (1838–1906), Company F, 11th Virginia Cavalry Regiment, was the eldest child of Roger Hickman and Martha Ann Lockridge and brother of Mary Elizabeth Hickman, pictured on page 52 of The Smithfield Review, vol. 3 (1999).

Roger lost a fourteen-year-old daughter in 1861, and his second wife died in 1862. A son died about 1864, but in the confusion of the times the date was not recorded in the family bible, and he has no headstone in the family cemetery.¹⁵ Roger Hickman married a third time, and the first two children of that marriage died as infants in 1867 and 1868.¹⁶ No letters survive from the Civil War period, so we have no record of the cause of all the deaths during that time, but disease and malnutrition associated with the war and reconstruction are likely culprits. Roger's eldest son, Lanty William Hickman (1838–1906), served in a Confederate cavalry regiment and survived the war, although his service record noted that he was sent home twice to recover from illness or disease.

William P. Hickman did not survive the war. He was killed, and his fifteen-year-old son James Brown was wounded, not far from their home in Pulaski County, at the Battle of Cloyd's Mountain in May of 1864.¹⁷ Andrew's son, William Robert Hickman (1844–1864), died of disease in 1864 while serving in a Confederate infantry regiment.

Sophia's family is mentioned rarely in letters after the Civil War, and fewer records exist of the births and relationships of the free blacks after emancipation, so we must look to memoirs and stories passed down through the Hickman family for word of her descendants. Among those stories is one of how some of Sophia's children and grandchildren remained on Roger Hickman's farm after emancipation:

Aunt Patsy was mentioned frequently by all the older members of the family when I was a child. It took me some time to figure out who she was, but because I asked a lot of questions, someone finally told me. She and Uncle Ben had been two of the devoted slaves that had remained on the farm after the Civil War. At the end of the conflict Roger Hickman had called the slaves together to announce their freedom. The younger ones left, but the older ones had no place to go and they were too old to start life over again in a strange place so many of them stayed. John, Bill, and Charlie Robinson, Aunt Patsy's sons stayed too. Charlie died on the farm, and I have mentioned John before....¹⁸

By custom, older slaves had been addressed as "aunt" and "uncle", and that is how Benjamin and Patsy were remembered by my grandfather and his siblings and mentioned in their letters. In the following letter Emma Susan Sabina Hickman (1852–1919) asked her sister Lizzie about Uncle Ben.

Monday Morn Jan 18 /79

Sister Lizzie:—

...How is Pappys health this winter & how is Cousin Polly with much love to all I will close. How is old Uncle Ben tell him he might have come to see me Xmas as none of the rest would come ...

Benjamin, born in 1821, spent all but two months of his life with the Hickmans on Back Creek, where he died on 21 May 1888. Emma Sue's pappy, Roger Hickman, died in 1889, and the farm was more-or-less divided between two of his surviving children.

In an 1891 letter Roger's daughter, Virginia Alice Hickman (1848-1933), whose husband discovered two gold mines in California after serving in the Civil War with her older brother, Lanty, asked a younger brother, Peter, about Patsy and two other ex-slaves.

Julian San Diego Co. December 3rd, 1891

Dear Brother

...tell Aunt Patsy I often think of her & uncle Bill how is mother & John getting along are they still with you all John I would like to hear him pick the bango, from you dovoted

Sister Jennie

Patsy was probably about seventy-six years of age when she died in January 1909 and was laid to rest in the old slave cemetery across the

road to the west of the Hickman home. An old RECEIPTS book belonging to Lula Georgia Hickman's husband¹⁹ shows the following entries:

Jan 20, 1909, From John A Robinson,
\$6.00 Dollars on Patsys Coffin
Jan 21s 1909, From C. R. Robinson,
Patsys Coffin 1/2 6.00 dollars

John Anson Robinson, Charles Lewis Robinson, and Jesse Stuart Robinson were sons of Patsy and Benjamin, and thus grandsons of Sophia. They took the surname Robinson after emancipation, but I could not determine its origin.²⁰ The three brothers were born before the war at about the same time as my grandfather, Peter Lightner Hickman (1858–1937), and all four boys grew up together on the Hickman farm. The Robinson brothers remained on Back Creek into the 1920s.

Another of the Hickman stories was of Peter L. Hickman and Sophia's grandchildren playing during the Civil War:

...One day...she came upon several of the children of the family and of the slaves playing together. There was an argument over which one would be "pappy." The argument seemed to have been between Uncle Pete [Peter L. Hickman] and John Robinson, and Cousin Polly [Mary H. Hickman] commented that a fine looking "pappy" either one of them would make, and the children — both black and white — scattered in every direction. When I was a child John Robinson would show up every fall to "help out" with the butchering. He seemed to be a very old man, but very gentle and was well thought of by the family.²¹

When Peter L. Hickman went to Ohio in 1895 to woo and wed Ollie G. Lockridge, John A. Robinson ran Peter's half of the farm for two to three years and wrote letters detailing harvests, sales, and local gossip.²²

Sun Rise Bath County Va.
Dec the 27th 1895

Dear friend

I Received your kind letter a few days ago and was truly glad to here from you and your wife ...

...we gathered the corn you had 401 1/2 Barrels of corn I had the same this is the corn that was Raised on the New ground and on the

old Part you had 8 I had 4 I had the little field cleaned out now and
fenced and the fence Below your house...

I will tell you and your wife about a big meeting at the Innkard church
hel By Rev Mr. Clark...

...Excuse my Bad Spelling wright Soon and tell me all the news
your truly John A. Robinson

John A. Robinson left Back Creek for a time, and when he returned he had a wife — a white woman twelve years his senior. Mixed marriages were unusual at that time, but John and Martha were one of several such couples in the county. John and Martha Robinson settled into a log house across Back Creek and later moved into what came to be known as “the John house” across the road from the old Hickman home.

Marian Rose Hoge MacKenzie (1920–) remembered, when she was a small child, seeing “Marthy” Robinson on her death bed in the house across from Marian’s grandmother’s home:

I had a yellow dress on and Mother later told me that they had taken me to see Marthy because she had given me a piece of yellow organdy to make me a dress and grandmother or mother had made it and they took me up to show it to her. Someone must have lifted me up because I remember looking down at her. She was covered to her chin and had a scarf of some sort around her head. I understand she died a few days later.²³

Martha was in her late seventies when she died 5 March 1923. In a time when people were born at home in the bed of their mother, they usually died at home in their own bed with family and friends around them. My mother — then fifteen-years-old — and uncle remembered sitting up all night with Martha’s body the night she died, and two neighbors kept the vigil with the young Hickmans.

Martha M. Robinson was buried in the “slave graveyard” on Back Creek. I could still locate seventeen sunken graves there in 1995, most marked only by field stones, but there were two readable headstones, including one saying

Martha M.
wife of
John A.
Robinson
Apr. 26, 1846
Mar. 5, 1923



*Jesse Stuart Robinson
(1861–192–?)
in 1918.*

Charles L. Robinson lived in the “old Hickman place” with the family of Lula Georgia Hickman Rose until he died. Jesse Stuart Robinson had a room in the home of Lizzie Hickman Ryder until her death in 1909 — the same year his mother, Patsy, died — when he moved into the small bedroom above the kitchen in the Peter L. Hickman home. My mother and aunt both had fond memories and stories of “Stuarty,” who was about the age of their father. Among my aunt’s treasured possessions from her childhood home on Back Creek was what she called her “slave bed,” a narrow “spool” bed used by Stuart Robinson. A small photo taken in 1918 shows Stuart Robinson when he was fifty-seven.

After Martha’s death, John and Stuart left Back Creek and went across the mountain to Marlinton, West Virginia, to live with relatives, although John would return to Back Creek on into the 1930s to help with hog butchering in the fall of the year.

John Robinson was not the only ex-slave to make periodic visits to the Hickman farm. The following description of a visit by another former Hickman slave, though not a member of Sophia’s family, can add to our picture of racial relations on Back Creek sixty-some years after the Civil War:

One rainy day in the summer of 1931 or 1932 grandmother got a call from John Lindsay, who lived across Back Creek Mountain, telling her that Uncle Sam was on his way to our house across the old buffalo

trail. It was only about five miles by trail but about thirty miles by road. Grandmother was frantic, so she called Ray Chestnut (also known as Ray Bird) to take a mule and go to meet him. I had no idea who Uncle Sam was. Several hours later Ray walked in leading the mule with the tallest, gauntest black man I had ever seen. He was also one of the oldest men I had ever seen. He spotted me as he climbed down from the mule and said, "Come shake hands with your Uncle Lanty's black boy." He stayed around for a week or so, then some of his relatives came from W. Va. and took him home. He died a few years later and there was a tribute to him printed in the *Pocahontas Times*.²⁴

Sam Stewart's obituary gives some idea of the role of a "nurse" and describes how slaves were moved around as gifts and inheritances within some white families.

UNCLE SAM

To him that overcometh.

I wish to express my appreciation of Uncle Sam Stewart, recently deceased at a ripe old age. When I was a very small child, he was my nurse. Mother often told me many little things about Sam. When I was about seven months old I refused to let him rock me in the little old wooden cradle. Mother would rock me to sleep, as she thought, and Sam would crawl in on the floor to rock me without being seen. I soon caught on to this trick, and raised the yell.

My father often told us of sending Sam to the run to wash his feet before going to bed. The boy stayed so long, he went to look after him. He found him sitting on a big rock fast asleep with his feet in the water.

Such things recall happy childhood days — mother, home and heaven.

Roger Hickman, my grandfather, gave Sam to my father, Lanty Hickman, in 1860.

Father and mother, Mary Wiley, were married December 18, 1859. They went to housekeeping the spring following. I think Sam was about 12 years of age at that time. He was with us until the close of the war.

My grandmother was Martha Lockridge, daughter of Colonel Lanty Lockridge, of Pocahontas county. Sam came to her as a slave from her father.

Sam came to visit me in Durbin 28 years ago. He had kept up with me all those years, proving his loyalty to the family he had served.



*A young Susie Green (c. 1890–1929)
at the Hickman home.*

I was delighted to have him. I gave him the best dinner I could have prepared, some presents and tried to make him happy. He said “Miss Mary, I am so glad you got such a fine man.” I said, “I am too; are you surprised?” “No, bless your life; no ketch too good for you!”

I am glad to read the good words that have been said of Uncle Sam.

Mary Hickman Folk²⁵

Durbin, W.Va.

Susie Green, the granddaughter of Patsy and great-granddaughter of Sophia, was the child of Lucy Jane and the Uncle Bill mentioned in Jennie Hickman’s 1891 letter. In later years Susie, whose mother was born a slave in 1863, continued to live on the old Hickman home place, cooking for Lula Hickman Rose and looking after Lula’s children and grandchildren — the fourth generation in Sophia’s family to work in the house built by William Hickman prior to 1800.

Marian Rose Hoge MacKenzie, who was born in the old Hickman home in 1920, told of Susie in her memoir:

Perhaps now is the place to say a word or two about Susie [Green]. She was the grandchild of Uncle Ben and Aunt Patsy.... Susie was the child of a daughter of Aunt Patsy [possibly Lucy Jane], I think. She had been a child of ten or so when mother [Hallie Grey Rose, 1901–1976] was born, and she helped grandmother look after mother. When her mother moved away, Susie stayed behind. She was smart



Susie Green, a great-granddaughter of Sophia, in front of the Hickman home, about 1925. The children sitting on the mounting blocks are great-grandchildren of Roger Hickman: Marian Rose Hoge, George Robert Hoge, and Lula Grey Hoge. The blocks were at different heights to make mounting horses easier for people of different sizes.

as a whip and grandmother taught her to read and write, and one of the governesses taught her to play the organ. I remember her as the boss of the household, and she was really missed after her untimely death at the age of thirty-eight.²⁶

Stricken with an ovarian cyst, Susie died in surgery at the only hospital in Bath County, the Community House in Hot Springs, just before Thanksgiving of 1929. Her body was laid out in the parlor of the old Hickman home and the funeral conducted in that house where Susie, her mother, grandmother, and great-grandmother had worked with five generations of Hickmans. The three Hiner brothers, white men who owned the general store five miles down the road at Mountain Grove, sang at the service. Susie's relatives came from Marlinton, West Virginia, for the funeral, and her body was taken across the mountain for burial there.²⁷ And thus ended over a hundred years of interdependence of the two families on the Hickman farm.

All are gone now, one generation vanishing after another. And nearly all traces of the former Hickman farms are gone, the buildings torn down in the 1970s to make way for the pumped-storage hydro-electric dam and reservoir on Back Creek. But our forefathers should be remembered, black and white, and the history of their time on earth.

Appendix: Sophia's Descendants

The following outline of four generations of Sophia's family on Back Creek in Bath County, Virginia, was compiled from various Hickman documents. Slaves were permitted no family names, and selected their surnames after emancipation.

1. Sophia (ca. 1802–1847) bought by William Hickman in 1822 [name of consort/husband not recorded]
 2. Benjamin (27 / X / 1821 – 21 / V / 1888) consort/husband of Patsy (?-? / I / 1909), remained on farm with Roger
 3. George Henry (14 / XI / 1852 – ?)
 3. Archey [—?—] (6 / VI / 1854 – 4 / V / 1856)
 3. Charles Lewis (11 / I / 1856 – ca. 193?) took Robinson surname after emancipation
 3. John Anson (4 / VI / 1858 – ca. 193?) took Robinson surname and married Martha M. (26 / IV / 1846 – 5 / III / 1923), a white woman
 3. Jesse Stuart (2 / I / 1861 – ca. 193?) took Robinson surname
 3. Lucy Jane (5 / IX / 1863 – ?) [name of husband not recorded, but probably Bill]
 4. Susie Green (ca. 1890 – ? / XI / 1929)
 2. Samuel (14 / II / 1825 – ?)
 2. Jacob (17 / III / 1827 – ?)
 2. Peter (20 / II / 1830 – ?) given to Andrew J. Hickman ca. 1837, ran away from Andrew to freedom in Ohio
 2. Mary (26 / I / 1832 – ?) given to Martha Hickman Taylor in 1843
 2. Celia (30 / VIII / 1833 – ?) given to Nancy M. Bradshaw in 1843
 2. Martha (28 / VIII / 1835 – ?) remained on farm with Roger Hickman
 2. Jesse (23 / IX / 1837 – ?) given to William P. Hickman in 1843, married 17 / IX / 1859 to ? in Pulaski Co.

Appendix: Sophia's Descendants, continued

2. Sarah (17 / X / 1839 – ?) given to Martha Hickman Taylor in 1843 but then purchased by Roger Hickman
2. Huldah (19 / II / 1842 – 11 / II / 1862) sold to Roger Hickman in 1842
3. Huldah's child (6/I/1860–11/II/1862)
2. George (10/IX/1844–?/IX/1845)

Endnotes

- * H. William Gabriel grew up in Virginia, graduated from Virginia Tech, and received his Ph.D. at the University of Montana. Now retired, he serves as a Director and the Secretary of the National Museum of Forest Service History, Missoula, Montana. The letters reproduced here are among a large collection of Hickman family papers saved by Roger Hickman (1813–1889) and passed down to his son, Peter Lightner Hickman (1858–1937), then to his granddaughter Ruth Gertrude Hickman (1908–1997) and grandson Clare Brown Hickman (1905–1997), and finally to Roger's great-grandson, the author of this article.
1. A Willa Cather novel of black-white relations is set on another Back Creek in Frederick County, Virginia: *Sapphira and the Slave Girl* (New York: Knopf, 1940; Vintage, 1975).
 2. William Hickman's wife was Mary Elliot (1771–1842), daughter of Capt. James Elliot of Rockbridge County. The two witnesses to the document were their eldest sons.
 3. Slave parents did not necessarily belong to one owner, so Sophia's husband may have resided somewhere in Rockbridge County. The convention of the time in trans-mountain Virginia was to permit the man to make conjugal visits on week-ends.
 4. Described in *Works Progress Administration of Virginia Historical Inventory* 73, January 13, 1937. The house was torn down in the 1970s to make way for the VEPCO pumped-storage hydro-electric dam project on Back Creek.
 5. Nancy Wallace Hickman (1813–?) was Andrew Johnson Hickman's second wife.
 6. The witnesses were William Hickman's neighbors. Thomas Campbell (1800-1876) was the father of Margaret Brown Campbell (1824-1862), who would become Roger Hickman's second wife. When Highland County was created in 1847, he was named county surveyor and created the first map of the county. Peter Lightner (1816-1871) was the namesake of Roger Hickman's eleventh child.
 7. Thomas Kirkpatrick was the husband of Martha Elliott Hickman's daughter, Eliza Jane Taylor (1825–?).
 8. Compound interest was illegal at that time in Virginia, and those who charged it could forfeit the entire debt.
 9. William Taylor, *Story of My Life*, John Clark Ridpath, ed. (New York: Hunt & Eaton, 1896), p. 91. Taylor also wrote two anti-slavery pamphlets published in England: *American Slavery, Its Development and Outcome*, and *The Cause and Probable Results*

- of the Civil War in America. He refused to preach in, or even to visit, the slave states after 1849.
10. Roger Hickman's first wife was Martha Ann Lockridge (1816–1843), and his second wife was Margaret Brown Campbell (1824–1862).
 11. William P. Hickman's wife was Margaret Reid Hoge (1821–1904), and their first child was Elizabeth "Eliza" Jane Hickman (1844–1872).
 12. Ollinger Crenshaw, *General Lee's College: The Rise and Growth of Washington and Lee University* (New York:Random House, 1969), 36, 49, 58.
 13. This increase in slave numbers can be attributed to the coming of the Virginia & Tennessee Railroad. Kenneth W. Noe, *Southwest Virginia's Railroad: Modernization and the Sectional Crisis* (Chicago: Univ. Illinois Press, 1994), 67–84.
 14. We can only guess at the type of wedding ceremony Jesse and his bride might have had, because the conventional "till death do you part" wording of a Christian wedding could not apply to a slave couple. However, William's White Glade Presbyterian Church had begun accepting black members in 1850 and had eight "coloured" members by 1853 — probably all free blacks.
 15. There may have been a wooden marker that rotted away over time.
 16. Roger Hickman's third wife was Rebecca Ann Lowry (1835-1896).
 17. For more about the last years of the Rev. William P. Hickman, see H. William Gabriel, "William P. Hickman in the New River Valley, 1852-1864," *The Smithfield Review*, 3(1999), 52-82. Hickman's death in the Civil War is mentioned in various histories of Southwest Virginia.
 18. Marian Hoge MacKenzie and James Clinton Hickman, *The Hickman Family of Bath County Virginia* (Heaters, WV: James Clinton Hickman, 1978).
 19. Lula Georgia Hickman's husband was George Washington Rose (1864–1962).
 20. For a discussion of freed slaves picking surnames see Booker T. Washington, *Up From Slavery* (New York:Modern Library paperback, 1999), p. 17.
 21. MacKenzie and Hickman, *The Hickman Family of Bath County Virginia*.
 22. Peter Lightner Hickman (1858–1937) was, like his father, a Justice of the Bath County Court and an elder in the Presbyterian Church, but he had only seven children. His wife, Ollie Gertrude Lockridge (1870–1965), was the Sun Rise postmaster from 1902 until the little office was closed in 1936. Their son, Julian Kenneth Hickman (1911–1964), was the Commonwealth's Attorney for Bath County and later a federal judge.
 23. MacKenzie and Hickman, *The Hickman Family of Bath County Virginia*.
 24. MacKenzie and Hickman, *The Hickman Family of Bath County Virginia*.
 25. Mary Elizabeth Hickman (1861–1948), first child of Lanty William Hickman (1838–1906), was married to James Frank Folk. Clipping from *Pocahontas Times*, no date.
 26. MacKenzie and Hickman, *The Hickman Family of Bath County Virginia*.
 27. Unpublished memoirs of Marian Rose Hoge MacKenzie, granddaughter of Lula Georgia Hickman Rose, as told to H. William Gabriel.
