

**The Ten Years After the Civil War: Life and Politics in the
Continental Divide Counties of Southwest Virginia**

by

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(ABSTRACT)

Weekly newspapers of Montgomery, Giles and Roanoke Counties, the Continental Divide Counties covering the period from 1866 to 1876 are used to assess the lives of southwest Virginians. The newspapers reflect a strong traditional political, economic and social conservatism during a period of economic struggle for small subsistence farmers. In order to better their marketing, the citizens resorted to a variety of internal improvement schemes, but it was not until the unsolicited Republican capital of Philadelphia businessmen invaded that a major railroad link was built. Whereas attempts to channelize the New River failed, efforts to improve municipal waterworks were largely successful. The inhabitants were people of strong moral convictions, as evidenced by their enthusiasm for the temperance movement and their endorsement of the southern Civil War memorial associations. Reluctantly turning from their Jacksonian principles, the Ninth District embraced organized political conservatism through convention politics, in a statewide conservative effort to destroy Radical Republicanism.

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PREFACE

From 1866 until 1876, four major newspapers cover the events of the southwestern Virginia counties of Montgomery, Giles and Roanoke in extensive detail, and the counties of Pulaski, Floyd and Craig with sufficient sensitivity to allow an indepth analysis of the political and social climate for the Reconstruction and Redemption years. This block of counties is called the Continental Divide, and represents a portion of the Ninth Congressional District. These Virginians were farmers raising grains and dairy cattle. They were also men with strong democratic principles, and a distrust for centralized politics.

The isolation of southwest Virginia had not spared it from the ravages of the Civil War. Its citizens' sense of independence had produced enough secession and Union sentiment in 1861-1865 to leave a real legacy of dissent. The road system isolated them, and a single rail line from Lynchburg to Bristol only skirted the eastern fringe of the district. Isolation also frustrated these farmers in the post war recovery scramble to bring economic growth to their counties. As a result, almost any of their efforts to make internal improvements was received with unquestioning enthusiasm, whether it was to canalize the shallow New River, to macadamize major thoroughfares, or to build a railroad link from the Virginia and Tennessee rail depot at Radford to Bluefield, West Virginia. Unfortunately, their enthusiasm was severely hampered by the region's lack of private capital and these southwest Virginians' dislike of taxation. The chance combination of these factors opened the door to

northern capital before the Continental Divide farmers were hardly aware of it.

Immediately following the war, democrats of the Ninth Congressional District faced an uncertain future pressed with the statewide paranoia that blacks would take political control of the state. For this reason, the local press urged citizens to join together under the banner of the statewide Conservative Party to establish white political supremacy. At the same time most southwest Virginians recognized that the threat of radical control in their own section was so minimal that the rank-and-file supported politicians with Jacksonian inclinations rather than those selected by a caucus of political leaders in closer touch with eastern Virginia. There was a real demand for open political conventions in which the delegates's ballots, not backstairs bargains, decided the victor. At the same time that independent candidates frustrated the central hegemony of the Conservative Party, they nonetheless assured a substantial following throughout the Ninth District.

Whereas politics occupied a part of these farmers' thoughts, often they seemed more concerned about moral issues like the temperance crusade or patriotic movements like the Confederate memorial associations. Both attracted large followings, but not without their detractors. Whether the citizens of the Continental Divide counties joined these popular movements from social reasons or out of a sense of moral duty, both enjoyed considerable support through the weekly newspapers.

My research for this thesis has provided a broad base of human endeavor during the postwar decade of 1866-1876. A topical discussion of weekly newspapers would cover several volumes, including discussions on

crime, race relations, education, literature, entertainment, and religion. I have sought to focus attention on the Continental Divide counties with minimal attention to state-wide or state-level politics. I wish to point out particularly that in writing what I conceive to be a social history of a particular region, I have abbreviated discussion of the state debt controversy that led to the defeat of the Conservative Party by Readjusters. How to deal with Virginia's pre-Civil War state debt was hotly debated in the press. Many a state legislator saw his fortunes rise or fall based on this single issue but the question of the state debt was not directly at issue in the congressional elections. Many political actors of the Ninth District rose to William Mahone's call for the Readjuster party.

Finally, I have sought to emphasize the high-spirited, democratic principles of the transmontane Virginians. Whether in a convention or editorial, these Virginians did not meekly resign themselves to central rule. To them Richmond was far away. The center of their social and economic world was the county courthouse town.

INTRODUCTION: THE DECADE AFTER THE WAR

The end of the Civil War brought an uneasy calm to the mountainous counties of Roanoke, Montgomery and Giles. These three counties represented the eastern portion of the Eighth Congressional district, which became the Ninth District following reapportionment in 1872. This study examines the events of the Ninth as they contributed to the dynamics of Virginia political and social history. The counties of the Ninth were Bland, Buchanan, Craig, Giles, Lee, Montgomery, Pulaski, Roanoke, Russell, Scott, Smyth, Tazewell, Washington, Wise, and Wythe. Within the expanded Eighth district were the counties of Carroll, Floyd, and Grayson. For purposes of demographics, the Ninth Congressional District constitutes southwest Virginia.

Even though the various counties were included in varying state Senatorial and House of Delegates' districts and by varying cast of personnel, they shared the common experience between 1869 and 1876 in eradicating Radical Republicanism. They differed from the rest of the Old Dominion in that they themselves did not give high priority to eliminating black political influence. Following the Redemption of the State with the gubernatorial election of Gilbert C. Walker in 1869, and the restoration of the State in January, 1870, Virginians could put many larger, national issues aside and address problems closer to home. In the process, the Ninth would become a bastion of Republicanism in Virginia.

During the ten-year period following the war, Southwest Virginians, like most southern whites, wished to reestablish traditional,

conservative government. Following the war, the myriad of pre-war party distinctions surfaced briefly during the organizational period of the Conservative Party. After 1867, antebellum distinctions such as Whigs, Douglas Democrats, Bell Constitutional Unionists, Breckenridge Democrats, and Know-Nothings were of antiquarian interest. Although politics certainly did not monopolize the lives or thoughts of these Virginians they did comprise the single most popular newspaper subject.

In one way or another Southwestern Virginians depended upon the land for their sustenance. In 1870, only thirty per cent of the Ninth district's 10,278 farms were larger than one hundred acres, while less than two per cent exceeded five hundred acres. The district's usual production of wheat, corn, oats and rye was its largest source of income amounting to just over four million dollars. Its corn crop fetched nearly two and a half million dollars at market. Its dairy products of cheese and butter represented a larger investment than its \$452,000 market value in a day when butter cost twenty five cents a pound and cheese at twenty cents a pound. Because tobacco cultivation is labor intensive, before 1865 it had provided economic justification for the use of slave labor. In the postwar period tobacco gradually accounted for less agricultural production and profit in the Ninth district. Only Roanoke and Montgomery Counties produced any significant amounts of the once all-powerful staple, and then only 280,500 and 204,700 pounds respectively. For a brief period, Salem boasted a tobacco warehouse. Unfortunately attempts to establish a cigar factory were not successful because the quality of the leaf produced an inferior cigar.

Other than general farming, there were three additional occupational

categories that produced income. Besides home manufacture of non-agricultural goods there were small manufacturers for leather making, carriage production, furniture making, and slaughter-houses. Pork represented the most important livestock commodity. Washington County had the largest slaughterhouse. That county, with its principal city of Abingdon located on the Virginia and Tennessee railroad, reported the largest manufacturing wages at \$41,966. Finally there was the important extractive industries which mined ore and converted it into ingots. Wythe County's zinc and lead mines were the largest in 1870 and paid out \$18,000 in wages. In 1870 Montgomery was the only other county to report mining income. It was not until 1880 that the mining of coal ore contributed substantially to the incomes of the western portion of the district. Since the extraction of ore was contingent on the means to move it to market, the construction of the New River railroad link from Radford to the Greenbrier River became an imperative antecedent to opening western Virginia.¹

A remarkable relationship existed between the district's sixteen

¹ Statistics are taken from the 1870 Federal Enumeration and Agricultural census. Please see Appendix C for a tabular presentation of this data. Market values are established from the 1870 Lynchburg market. With the exception of tobacco, market prices remained flat for the entire year. Studies on post war economics generally focus on the relationship between labor intensive crops and capital expenditures. An excellent departure from this focus is Roger L. Ransom and Richard Sutch, One Kind of Freedom: the Economic Consequences of Emancipation, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 40-105. Post war recovery in railroad corridors was fairly rapid. James D. Smith, "Virginia During Reconstruction, 1865-1870 - A Political, Economic and Social Study" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1960), pp. 187-226, discusses the depressed economy of post war Virginia using the 8th and 9th Federal Censuses.

counties in population, production, proximity to the railroad and the number of black inhabitants as shown in Table 2. Craig County's \$66.72 per capita income was the highest per capita and its 8 per cent black population among the six lowest counties. With the second highest per capita, Roanoke County had the highest per centage of blacks with 33.5 of the total county population. Giles and Montgomery Counties had black populations of 10.2 and 22.9 per cent respectively, and per capita incomes of \$53.33 and \$47.43. Counties without a convenient railroad depot and having a low black population enjoyed a higher per capita income than counties with a higher black population and no convenient railroad depot. Counties with convenient railroad depots had both a relatively high black population and a high per capita income. Younger blacks moved to the railroad counties to obtain work, either directly on the lines or with ancillary businesses. Their agricultural labor output minimized by age, older blacks remained near their former master's farms. This condition of welfare would account for high black populations in some counties with a relatively low per capita income.²

The election of 1870 may be considered the last of Reconstruction Virginia and the first of Redeemed Virginia. Since the Registration Oath was based on the Iron Clad Oath, former Confederates without a presidential pardon were disfranchised. Of the total 135,346 people

² Estimates for per capita income are based on averaging the market value for fifteen listed commodities found in the 1870 census and the Lynchburg agricultural market, home manufacturing values, and mining and manufacturing wages. No attempt was made in this study to actually distinguish between men capable of production and those incapable. Data on the actual numbers of black and white citizens is provided in Appendix D.

County	Per capita income	Per cent black	Depot?
Craig	\$66.72	7.8	No
Roanoke	\$65.10	33.5	Yes
Lee	\$61.95	7.6	No
Buchanan	\$58.10	1.2	No
Washington	\$57.36	16.0	Yes
Pulaski	\$54.41	27.6	Yes
Wythe	\$54.27	20.2	Yes
Giles	\$53.33	10.2	No
Wise	\$51.58	1.4	No
Montgomery	\$47.43	22.9	Yes
Russell	\$46.89	10.5	No
Tazewell	\$46.89	14.8	No
Bland	\$43.42	5.4	No
Scott	\$41.58	4.0	No
Smyth	\$41.29	14.0	No

Figure 2. 1870 Ninth District Estimated Wealth, Black Population, Railroad Depots

inhabiting the Ninth District in 1870, there were only 22,697 white males 21 and over. Black males over 21 represented 14.8 per cent of the possible electorate, or 3,938. In the Ninth district the congressional election of 1870 returned 3,922 Republican votes, which certainly contained many of its whites as well as a majority of its blacks.

There was a direct relationship between a higher per capita county income and access to the railroad. The quality of roads had been poor before the Civil War. It was now abysmal. Neither state nor county provided for their upkeep. Of the Continental Divide counties, none had so critical a need for internal improvements as Giles County. The concerns of Roanoke and Montgomery Counties focused more on macadamizing existing roads and their upkeep under the poorly run supervisors of the road system of antebellum Virginia. The county seats of Salem in Roanoke County, Christiansburg in Montgomery County, and Pearisburg in Giles County, each published a weekly newspaper. The newspapers of these Continental Divide counties faithfully mirrored the life of southwest Virginians during the postwar decade.³

³ See Walter K. Wood, "The Allegheny Turnpike, and Internal Improvements, 1805-1850" (MA thesis, VPI & SU, 1969).

CHAPTER ONE: NEWSPAPERS OF THE CONTINENTAL DIVIDE COUNTIES

"There was a time," said the Richmond Daily Dispatch in 1859, "when a newspaper might be likened to a tavern kept by a private individual at his own expense.... In his wildest dreams of prosperity the proprietor did not venture to imagine that his types, paper and type-setting were his own property and could be rightfully withheld from the publication of anything which anybody chose to suppose was for the interest of the public."⁴ Long after the Civil War, Virginia's country newspapers still faced this dilemma. Handicapped by a minuscule budget, the editor wore the various hats of advertising agent, copy writer, collection agent, and reporter. The county paper also served as a tool by which local editors themselves entered into the political arena.

In 1870 the circulation of all newspapers published in Virginia was circulation of 111,420. Virginia's total population was 1,200,834, of whom 269,242 were men over 21. Of these men, 161,500 were white and 133,854 of both races could at least read enough to satisfy the census takers. In 1870, the average circulation of Virginia's weekly newspapers was 1,094.

Nine of the thirteen western counties in Virginia published at least a weekly newspaper during the decade after the Civil War. This study seeks to examine the extent to which newspapers of the Continental Divide

⁴ As quoted in Lester J. Cappon, Virginia Newspapers 1821-1935, a Bibliography with Historical Introduction and Notes (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1936), 9.

Counties influenced politics and within the social context of that time. The Continental Divide Counties are Montgomery, Giles and Roanoke Counties.

The estimated number of white males over 21 years of age, in Giles, Montgomery, and Roanoke Counties was 1,023, 1,896, 1,431 respectively. Unfortunately the 80 per cent literacy of the state at large did not apply to the mountainous counties on Virginia's Continental Divide. In his study of Virginia newspapers, Lester J. Cappon's estimate of illiteracy is based on the total population -- adults, minors, males, females, whites and blacks--- the majority of whom were not eligible for the franchise. In a county, the influence of a newspaper was greater than its subscribers, and even its literates. In a day when the politics of deference still had weight, more heeded than read political editorials. Cappon's estimates that most weeklies enjoyed a readership of between 500 - 1,000 seems valid for the three counties under consideration. The majority of their citizens who did vote, read or had access to a county weekly. These local newspapers were unanimous in praising the end of Reconstruction and the Virginia Conservative Party coalition that achieved it, but they also encouraged political debate between rivals for conservative nominations for office. ⁵

County weeklies used much the same format, obsolete in comparison with the postbellum dailies in Virginia urban centers. The four page

⁵ Cappon, Virginia Newspapers, 30-31; Francis A. Walker, A Compendium of The Ninth Census (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872); John H. Franklin, "Reconstruction and the Negro," in New Frontiers of the American Reconstruction, ed. Harold M. Hyman (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1966), pp. 66.

weeklies were divided into four distinct sections. The literary interests of the women readers commanded the first page, interspersed with local trade cards. The second page contained the editorial material and selected state, national and international news. Editors printed local news on page three: court dockets, church news, school activities and, most important to the farmers, commodity prices quoted from the Lynchburg and Richmond markets. On the fourth page, editors usually framed a single column dealing with improved agriculture with advertising. Advertising absorbed nearly 40 per cent of the total paper.⁶

County newspapers usually employed an obsolete "Washington" press. Front and back pages were composed first by their "devil", or the young man responsible for setting the type by hand. This allowed the editor to set in type last minute news and analysis just before the run.⁷

Four papers form the main foundation of this study. The Roanoke Times, and the Salem Weekly Register, both published in Salem, the county seat of Roanoke County; the Pearisburg Gazette of Giles County, and the Montgomery Messenger of Christiansburg, the county seat of Montgomery County. The basis of this study is formed by 850 copies of weekly papers with at least two years continuity. Just as local editors cited the Richmond Dispatch most frequently of all the major dailies, it has been

⁶ See Appendices A and B for examples of county newspapers. When editors used the front page for non-literary copy, they apologized to the women; Montgomery Messenger, June 12, 1874.

⁷ The Pearisburg Gazette printed an eight page weekly from September until December of 1870. Editor A. Lloyd Fry did not have the advertising to support this enlarged format.

the most helpful to this study.⁸

Significant numbers of local papers for southwest Virginia counties other than Montgomery, Giles and Roanoke simply do not exist. This is unfortunate since Virginia's political independence was the strongest within the western counties. There in the mid-1880s the Republican party arose slowly from the internal disintegration of the Conservative party. Because editors liberally rebutted and quoted one another, from 1866 until 1876, we have a fair idea of the political stance of these fugitive newspapers. Following the congressional campaign of 1876, there are few preserved copies of local papers. This is not corrected until the 1880s.

Charles Webber published the Roanoke Times from June 8, 1866 until June 20, 1868. With the October 4, 1873 issue of the Salem Weekly Register, Webber returned to the printing trade. Although he stayed with the Weekly Register until 1883, extant copies end in October 1876. The Pearisburg Gazette copies exist from August 1869 until November 7, 1874. This period covers the editorial life of A. Lloyd Fry of Pearisburg. The Montgomery Messenger began publishing in December 1869, but continuity exists only for 1873 and 1874. For the earlier period a great many scattered issues remain. For 1876, only the Weekly Register remains. For the total ten year study section, the reconstruction period, the state restoration, and the ascendancy of the Conservative Party are well documented.

The most colorful editor of the Continental Divide was Charles

⁸ Scattered holdings of other southwest Virginia newspapers exist, and they are used in text.

Webber. A printer from Lewisburg, West Virginia, Webber worked with a series of "silent" partners. His editorial style was distinctive. A fierce independent, Webber espoused the Conservative cause, but strongly disliked "caucus" conventions. By 1876, Webber's political fence straddling became a serious problem for him when the Conservative Party's edict forbade independents from enjoying the benefits of the Conservative party. Regardless, Webber ran and won as an independent in 1876.⁹

Webber began publishing the successful Roanoke Times on June 8, 1866. He sold the paper in 1868 to Charles A. McCaulley. In June of 1873, Charles Webber and his brother Frank, who also ran a shoe repair business, leased the Roanoke Times from its proprietor, Capt. John A. McCaull, for a period of five years. Foolishly, Webber stated, he gave McCaull control over the editorial column.

The 38 year old McCaull spent most of his time in Richmond as a member of the House of Delegates. A dashing Confederate veteran, the bachelor McCaull enjoyed the social life of the capital and the opportunity to engage in trotting races, driving his steed "Orange Blossom" on the tracks. In the election of 1873 McCaull and Webber disagreed on county candidates and policy. "While it was like parting with one of our children when we severed our connection with the Times,"

⁹ Cappon, Virginia Newspapers, 202; Fry's Gazette made a point of Webber's political views when the Salem Weekly Register resumed publication: "With the political views of the Weekly Register we have nothing to say, but it does seem a little 'out of order' for a conservative paper to support an independent when there is a nominee in the field." see Pearisburg Gazette, September 11, 1873; Webber described his paper as a "red-hot independent journal. Corruption exposed where ever found"; see Salem Weekly Register, October 28, 1873.

Webber wrote, "yet we are always willing to sacrifice anything to maintain that independence that characterizes the being who deserves to be called a man." The Webbers purchased the Salem Weekly Register from Jordon Woodrum, its owner since 1854. They printed the paper from their office over the Farmer's National Bank on Salem's Main Street.¹⁰

Montgomery County's antebellum paper The New Star did not survive the war. From 1867 through 1869, the Southwest appeared under the banner of John Lyle, who later became the county judge. On December 1, 1869, the residents again enjoyed a Democratic organ, the Montgomery Messenger edited by John Sower, formerly of the Pearisburg Gazette, and Charles H. Carper. After two years of trying Sower finally sold his half of the paper to the Reverend Thomas N. Conrad. Sower removed to Floyd where he published the Floyd Reporter. Carper sold his interest to Conrad in 1877, although he continued as a publisher.¹¹

A native of Fairfax Courthouse, Conrad had received his A. B. and A. M. degrees from Dickenson College in Pennsylvania. Following service as a Confederate spy Conrad turned to preaching and education. As the principal of the small Methodist Preston and Olin College at Blacksburg, Conrad believed he would become the head of the agricultural and

¹⁰ Roanoke Times, June 18, November 16, 1867; March 30 and June 20, 1868; McCaull's service biography is from The Old Dominion 4 (April 15, 1870): 237-8, Rare Books Collection, the University of Virginia; Salem Weekly Register, October 4 and December 23, 1873, and September 1, 1874.

¹¹ Pearisburg Gazette, September 18, 1869. Cappon, Virginia Newspapers, 69, lists Joseph M. Gardner as the Southwest's editor; Pearisburg Gazette, November 29, 1869 and September 6, 1873; Montgomery Messenger, February 24, 1871, January 31, 1873, and January 5, 1877.

mechanical college when the state and federal authorities transformed the school into a land grant college. Although he campaigned throughout the county for a \$20,000 bond referendum needed to secure the college, the Board of Visitors denied him the post of president for the Virginia Agriculture and Mechanical College (VAMC) because of his outspoken and candid manner. Out of a job, Conrad, who still preached an occasional Sunday, devoted himself to improving the Messenger. He replaced the straw-based newsprint with a rag paper stock, increased the number of newspaper exchanges to thirty, and drew from six agricultural journals. Conrad made the Messenger a solid Conservative party organ that consistently advocated the convention as the only viable means of selecting candidates for public office. He also used his paper to launch vituperative attacks on the VAMC Board of Visitors for excessive spending and for infrequent attendance at college functions.¹²

In contrast to Conrad, A. Lloyd Fry, the editor of the Pearisburg Gazette between 1869 and 1872, promised not "to mingle with politics, but will, at all times, endeavor to keep our readers posted as regards the proper course." A transplanted Texan, he used the paper as a vehicle to promote the Methodist Episcopal church, temperance, and internal improvements. He admonished constantly the people of Giles to take a more active interest in their community. Only in his late twenties, Fry also enjoyed social life. He played baseball, and danced at the New River

¹² July 24, 1874 Montgomery Messenger; March 7, 1873 Montgomery Messenger; Duncan L. Kinnear, The First 100 Years, A History of Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University (Blacksburg, VPI & SU, 1972), pp. 110-125. Conrad wrote of his war experiences in A Confederate Spy.

White Spring resort in nearby Eggleston. Gregarious, but proper, Fry enjoyed the protracted Methodist camp ground meetings. Following the sale of his paper in 1872, Fry returned to Texas.¹³

The universal \$2.00 annual subscription rate to a county weekly did not pay the editor's salary. Advertising, just as now, justified the paper's existence. The rates for a single insertion of ten lines stayed at \$1.00 for the 1866-1876 period. The block rates decreased from \$10.00 for a three month schedule in 1866 to \$5.00 in 1875. Additionally, editors paid homage to their advertisers with "puffs." A puff gave a positive editorial comment to each new advertiser. Editors did not apologize for this, even though they were aware that many of the products had questionable value. Should there be some question regarding the advertiser's ability to pay, editors quickly labeled the product a fraud.¹⁴

The county editors made their living not from their newspapers, but from the commercial press business they ran concurrently. In addition to printing county Orders of Publication, warrants and court expense vouchers, their smaller job presses printed everything from election ballots, fliers, to invitations to parties. The Salem Weekly Register published the Roanoke College student newspaper The Collegian and Reverend McDuffey's Methodist Our Church Work. From the later Reverend Daniel Blain derived his inspiration for the Presbyterian Home Church

¹³ Pearisburg Gazette, August 14, 1869 and May 25, 1872..

¹⁴ Roanoke Times, June 22 and November 2, 1866, March 19, 1867, and February 22, 1868; Pearisburg Gazette, August 19, 1871 and October 11, 1873; Salem Weekly Register, March 16, 1875.

which the Messenger printed. If an editor did not receive the local printing business he was furious. The Virginia People of Newbern, then Pulaski county seat, criticized the neighboring town of Dublin for having its incorporation charter printed by the Gazette in Giles County. Fry attributed his good fortune to the extraordinary high prices of the former.¹⁵

"Mose Skinner" demonstrated the dependence on the commercial press. In his article "Recollections of a Lazy Life", printed in the Boston True Flag, Skinner takes advantage of the additional space on his wife's tombstone thus:

To the Memory of Tabitha,
Wife of Mose Skinner, Esq.,
the gentlemanly editor of the Trombone.
A kind mother, and exemplary wife.
Terms \$2 a year, invariably in advance.
Office at Hanson's grocery up two flights.
Knock hard.
"We shall miss thee, mother."
Job Printing solicited.¹⁶

The laws regarding newspapers protected the editors. Even through 1874, the liability for collecting the postage fell upon the shoulders of the postmaster. From July 1, 1874 until the end of the year, intra-county delivery was free. Publishers received their exchanges for free. Subscribers could not discontinue their paper subscription if they owed for past deliveries. Subscribers had to produce a written order for

¹⁵ Roanoke Times, November 23, 1867; Pearisburg Gazette, February 21, 1874 and October 4, 1873; The Roanoke Times bragged about its new Gordon Job Press. Fry said, regarding devils, that a year as a newspaper apprentice was worth two years in a common school. Salem Weekly Register, May 4, 1875.

¹⁶ Pearisburg Gazette, December 6, 1869.

discontinuance. Should a non-subscriber pick up a paper at the post office and read it, he was then considered a subscriber and could be billed. With the installation of pre-paid postage, the editors paid twenty cents per annum per unit and editors held postmasters liable for failing to secure the papers.¹⁷

"A man to rob a banker or steal from the treasury might be pardoned; but the thief who would steal from a poor printer should be lynched upon the spot." This complaint from the Messenger's editor upon discovering his smokehouse robbed echoes the complaints of all the county editors on their penury. When Charles Heerman offered his safe for sale, the Salem Weekly Register bellowed, "Of course that safe is for sale. What use has a country editor for a safe!" When the editor of the Liberty News in Bedford advertised the sale of his buggy. Pearisburg's editor Fry told him: "Sell it, old fel; you will never get a horse to put to it as long as you run a newspaper." Fry knew about horses from experience. One of his "saddest" experiences involved writing the obituary notice of his horse "Tut" which was hit by a train.¹⁸

In the years immediately following the war, county editors begged for specie payments for subscriptions to their journals. They found themselves making the rounds on court days trying to collect from unrelenting subscribers. If greenbacks were not available, miserable editors even accepted as payment a load of wood, a bushel of apples,

¹⁷ Pearisburg Gazette, July 11 and August 1, 1874; Salem Weekly Register, May 12, 1874; Montgomery Messenger, March 21, 1873.

¹⁸ Montgomery Messenger, June 19, 1874; Pearisburg Gazette, September 10, 1870, December 20, 1873, and July 4, 1874..

credit accounts at the country stores, or laundry services. If barter failed to satisfy an outstanding account, maudlin editors printed piteous reminders. If all else failed, editors threatened to take laggards to court, but seldom did so.¹⁹

A county paper had no real reporters, other than its editor. Often he chose editorial copy from the telegraph, correspondents, or exchanges. The telegraph office was located either at the post office or the train station depot. Editors relied very little on the telegraph. Correspondents lived within the various communities serviced by the paper. Unremunerated, these writers apparently wrote either out of a sense of civic pride, or, by their own admission, the joy of seeing their copy in print. The editors provided specific instructions to them: good penmanship, no editorializing, signed (although anonymity was given), and a willingness not to have the originals returned. Editors solicited correspondents of either sex.²⁰

Newspaper exchanges simply meant trading newspapers. Country papers mailed each other their papers. Country papers mailed their weeklies to the major dailies, but it seems unlikely that the dailies mailed their papers gratis. Country editors used this exchange to share views, and frequently to pass information down the line. The agricultural and

¹⁹ Roanoke Times, eceember 18, 1866, June 18, 1867, February 29, 1868, and November 17, 1871; Montgomery Messenger, March 2, 1870 and November 17, 1871; State Line Gazette, March 20, 1867.

²⁰ Roanoke Times, August 24, 1866; Montgomery Messenger, January 23, 1874; the Messenger told T. D. H. of Blacksburg to sign his next diatribe against the paper if he wanted it published; see April 11, 1873.

literary features came from any number of monthly journals each paper received in exchange for free advertising. Occasionally an editor would publish an unsolicited fiction.²¹

The county paper only cost a bushel of wheat. With this in mind editors promoted their papers as the best investment a farmer could make in his own future, and the future of the county. A variety of reasons were touted for purchasing the local paper. These reasons have not changed in a hundred years: local papers provide detailed local news and promote the county's growth. The Messenger described succinctly this view: "Without a county paper, the county is without a tongue, without vocal organs by which attention can be arrested, without a spokesman..."²²

The county editors obviously took their jobs very seriously. Their love for their newspapers was often animated, certainly defensive, and on occasion antagonistic. The intra-county rivalry between the Roanoke Times and the Salem Weekly Register ran much deeper than competition for subscribers. On this level, McCaull and Webber could be humorous although in the political arena, they were brutally vicious. Webber consistently defended the rights of men to run as independent conservatives. Webber's attack on the Montgomery Messenger's Conrad was more direct and more

²¹ Roanoke Times, February 22, 1868. "Hand him around" generally referred to escaped criminals and wayward daughters; see, for instance, Salem Weekly Register, January 27, 1874; and Montgomery Messenger, March 16, 1870.

²² Roanoke Times, September 24, 1866; Montgomery Messenger, July 9, 1875; "Show us a man who does not take his county paper and we will point you to both an ignorant and a miserly man - a man of contracted ideas - if he has any - about everything," in Roanoke Times, June 26, 1866; eloquent arguments appeared periodically in support of county papers; see the outstanding example Roanoke Times, June 11, 1867.

destructive. A man could not serve both God and politics. Even more to the point, Webber accused Conrad of purchasing the Christiansburg paper only to vent his frustrations at being denied the VAMC presidency. Conrad became so agitated with another newspaper editor, W. C. Pendleton of the Marion Patriot and Herald, that he punched him in the face. When Judge W. P. Cecil, delegate to the House from Tazewell County, interceded, Conrad hit him, too.²³

In sum, the gentlemen editors of the three counties studied for their editorial reactions to political events of 1866 - 1876 represent both similar and contrasting viewpoints. In addition to surviving newspapers, the willingness of other editors cited to praise or condemn county fugitive newspapers of southwest Virginia provides an irreplaceable mosaic of the political climate of the period. As a result, this study often presents a viewpoint different from those which rely conventionally upon the major daily newspapers. Editors of the weekly press of the Continental Divide counties of Virginia possessed strong moral and

²³ The battles between the Roanoke Times and the Salem Weekly Register provide a useful tool in ascertaining the political views of the Roanoke Times, for which no hard copies co-exist. This running battle may be sampled in Salem Weekly Register, March 24 and April 4, 1874, and April 5, 1875. Before Webber had local competition, he would take on other papers to gain circulation. An amusing exchange occurred between him and the Fincastle Herald, Roanoke Times, May 14, and 28, 1867. For Conrad, see Salem Weekly Register, February 3, 1874 and December 10, 1875. Dueling between editors was not that uncommon. See Pearisburg Gazette, July 17, 1871 for a comment on the H. Chamerlayne of the Petersbrug Index and R. B. Parham of the Courier duel; the altercation in which R. H. Glass of the Lynchburg Republican lost an eye, is in the Roanoke Times, June 25, 1867. A general review of the code duello is James T. Moore, "The Death of the Duel: The Code Duello in Readjuster Virginia, 1879-1883," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 83 (July 1975), 259-276.

political convictions of their own and directly influenced rural opinion. Intimately involved with their counties's future, they usually fostered the growth of the Conservative party alliance as the salvation of Virginia in 1872. On the other hand, they were traditionalists whose antebellum sentiments of honor rendered them less realistic than the situation deserved.

The decade 1866-1876 was an important transition for Virginians. The reluctance to discard old south attitudes and to enter a progressive new era had to be broken. The vision of a "New South" of commercial growth hung on the heels of an internal improvements program which could only be financed by northern capital. Our editors knew this. They provided the rhetorical platform, which effectively, and permanently altered their constituents' attitudes.

CHAPTER TWO: THE DEMAND FOR INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS

Giles County, lamented editor Lloyd Fry of the Pearisburg Gazette, "like many of her sister counties, has suffered her share from the hands of a wicked enemy and a ravagious war." The difficulty, Fry continued, was that the county existed swallowed up within the bowels of the mountains. Why can't the farmers, he asked, have a railroad charter to connect the Virginia and Tennessee line, running from Lynchburg to Bristol, to the Chesapeake and Ohio railroad on the Greenbrier River of West Virginia or a charter to render the New River navigable? Navigation of the New River would be difficult, but not an impossibility despite irregular seasonal flows resulting in a minimal depth at times of only twelve inches. In places gorges, sheer cliffs and huge boulders impeded the course of the old river. The landlocked farmers of Giles were not alone among the southwestern Virginia farmers in desiring transportation routes, but they were the principal organizers in 1867 of the New River Improvement Company for channelizing the river from the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad at Radford through Giles County to the Greenbrier River. The Virginia General Assembly passed a bill to charter the company, but the State Senate did not act, presumably because it preferred a scheme to connect the James River and Kanawha Canal to the New River.²⁴

Simultaneously there was a more serious plan to open the New River

²⁴ Roanoke Times September 7, 1867; Pearisburg Gazette August 14, 1869.

to steamboat navigation organized by Captain Charles Newburgh. After examining the river from French's Mill to the mouth of Crab Creek at the New River Bridge, he promised to construct weirs for the sum of \$2,500 in order to make the river navigable for eight months of the year by flat boats pulled by a small train or mules on a towpath. His request for an advance of \$2,000 was not entirely consistent with his prideful offer to purchase all the stock of the company if the river proved unnavigable. Confidence is sometimes contagious. The directors, including future governor J. Hoge Tyler, determined to undertake the work and ordered subscribers to make a ten per cent payment on their stock. Post-war Virginians were quick to endorse any internal improvement plan, but hopelessly unable to pay for it. By August 1871, the company collected only \$20 - \$30. The overconfident Newburgh expended in June, 1871 \$200 of his own money to purchase the tools and to hire laborers at a dollar a day and board.²⁵

In the summer of 1871 Newburgh continued the work at his own expense near McCoy Falls in Montgomery County excavating channels, laying gravel beds and dynamiting boulders. In response to his continual petitions that the stockholders pay him, the board of directors issued to stockholders a revised schedule requiring payment of capital into the company in June

²⁵ Trifling says "New River" to the Pearisburg Gazette, June 19 and 26, August 12, 19 and 26, 1871. On Tyler, see Thomas E. Gay, Jr., "The Life and Political Career of J. Hoge Tyler, Governor of Virginia, 1898-1902" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1969). At this time, the 26 year old Tyler actively promoted southwest Virginia's agricultural interests. He naturally endorsed the canal, given his antithesis toward political railroads. Gay did not use the Pearisburg Gazette in his research, so the canal adventure is not mentioned.

of 1872 under threat of legal action. The previous legislature amended the charter of the New River Improvement Company to include new territory. Before that time, however, plans for new railroad construction in the area first distracted and then disrupted plans for improved navigation.²⁶

Persuaded that channelizing the New River would be nearly impossible, Ninth district congressman General William Terry recommended the cessation of further work until the U. S. Corps of Engineers completed a feasibility study. Terry made public statements against partial channelization, rather endorsing an improvement of the river from the Lead Mines at Wytheville to the mouth of the Greenbrier, a distance of 100 miles. Lloyd Fry supported him in the Pearisburg Gazette. Fry reasoned that Terry would surely obtain an engineering study, that Congress would fund the entire project, and that Giles County would prosper accordingly. Fry didn't count on Terry losing his bid for re-election in 1872.²⁷

In July 1872, Col. N. H. Hutton brought a party from the Corps of Engineers to Wytheville to begin surveying the New River at the mouth of Cripple Creek, just above the Lead Mines. In his report issued early in 1873 he advised that river could be made suitable for steamboat navigation by channelization at a cost of \$1,017,000 to include twelve locks. In a speech before the House of Representatives on March 13, 1872, Terry

²⁶ Pearisburg Gazette September 23, and December 2, 1871, and November 25, 1872.

²⁷ Terry had received information from Major Frank Hereford, an engineer stationed in West Virginia, that channelizing the New River would be nearly impossible. Pearisburg Gazette May 4, 1872.

requested funding.²⁸

Meanwhile, James M. Harris, engineer and superintendent for the James River and Kanawha Canal Company issued his own report. Addressing his report to Major Charles S. Carrington, president of the Canal company, Harris reiterated the results of the Hutton survey, and a more critical survey by Col. William P. Craighill. Harris laconically observed that U. S. Corps of Engineers estimates tended to come in at only one-fourth the actual cost of construction. The feasibility of improving the New River by lockage depended on the U. S. Government's willingness to pay for it. The river improvement would be meaningless unless there was cooperation between the A M & O and C & O railroads to permit inter-railroad freight. This the rival railroads were unwilling to provide. Work on the New River in Giles never resumed.²⁹

²⁸ Pearisburg Gazette July 27, 1872, January 11 and February 22, 1873, gives the lengthy report of engineers Charles R. Boyd and Major (possibly Col. William P.) Craighill. Boyd touted the immense natural resources of the area. Pearisburg Gazette March 1, 1873.

²⁹ Pearisburg Gazette, June 21, 1873; Col. J. M. French addressed the people of Giles on the James River and Kanawha Canal during July court, 1874; see Pearisburg Gazette, July 18, 1874. The report on the James River and Kanawha Canal may be found in James M. Harris, "The James River and Kanawha Canal. Report on Lockage, and Cost of Construction and the Practicality of Locks and Dams on the New River," (Richmond: Clemmitt and Jones, Book and Job Printers, 1874), held in Rare Books, Alderman Library, U. Va.; A. G. Pendleton addressed the people on the New River railroad on the same court day; an effort to dredge the New began near the Lead Mines in 1877; see the Wytheville Dispatch, August 2, 1877. The importance of the James River and Kanawha Canal, which extended to Buchanan in Botetourt County, is briefly discussed in Michael Chesson, Richmond After the War, 1865-1890 (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1981), 5; and in Smith, "Virginia During Reconstruction, 1865-1870 - A Political, Economic and Social Study" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1960), pp. 278-282.

The New River Railroad provides another example of a locality's willingness to endorse plans for an internal improvement and its concomitant reluctance and/or inability to provide the necessary capital for its realization. Southwest Virginia developers, politicians and speculators sought with some success to enlist the aid of the Atlantic, Mississippi and Ohio Railroad through General William Mahone, president of the consolidated line.³⁰

The New River Railroad was General Gabriel Wharton's dream. During Wharton's service in the Virginia House of Delegates between 1870 and 1872, he garnered a plum for himself and his friends in the form of a charter to develop a railroad line from his hometown of Radford to the line of the Cheasapeake and Ohio at Bluefield, West Virginia. The New River Railroad, Mining and Manufacturing Company (NRMMco.) was authorized to sell \$100 shares for a total capitalization of \$2 million, provided its organizers raised \$100,000 to incorporate. Since companies could subscribe with two percent cash down payment, the organizers believed they could raise the capital easily. The public was encouraged to subscribe one-half of the capital stock. The Pearisburg Gazette's editor Fry suggested that Gile's County increase its capitation tax by twenty cents in order to raise its share. He argued for citizens to view this tax as an investment which would increase by fifty percent the value of commodities shipped by railroads. Richard B. Roane, an engineer from Richmond, accepted the responsibility of securing mineral and property

³⁰ Smith, "Virginia During Reconstruction," pp. 227-265; Allen W. Moger, "Railroad Practices and Policies in Virginia after the Civil War," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 59 (October, 1951): 425.

rights along the proposed route contingent upon completion of the railroad line within five years.³¹

On a business trip to Richmond, Roane was introduced by Governor Gilbert C. Walker to Thomas Graham, a Philadelphia capitalist. Roane's relationship with Graham and T. B. English, secretary-treasurer of Graham's company, quickly matured. Roane agreed to serve the Philadelphia interests in securing control of the NRMCo. In return for taking Graham on a tour of the mineral resources of the southwest, Roane expected to become a stockholder in the former's company and promised not to reveal its plans to others on the MRMMCo. board whom he was betraying. In future communications, Walker, Graham, Roane, English and Roane's contact, W. Wood of Radford would play as interacting confidants.³²

Graham instructed Roane to take no confidants within the company,

³¹ Wharton secured the charter on March 7, 1872. The town of Radford was then known as Lovely Mount, and Bluefield was known as Flat Top. Their names changed with their respective incorporations as cities. Demands for rail lines were epidemic in 1872. See Susan Bracely Sheppard, "Oh! for a Railroad. Oh! for Power," Virginia Cavalcade 33 (Spring, 1984): 154-167. The movement toward industrialization culminated in several propagandists' books being written. The best of these is Thomas Bruce, Southwest Virginia and Shennandoah Valley, (Richmond: J. L. Hill Publishing Co., 1891), 54-57; Pearisburg Gazette, March 11, 1870, June 12, 1871, and June 22 and July 27, 1872; the cost of construction calculated at \$5- 10,000 a mile. John B. Radford was elected the company's first president. He died two weeks later, to be replaced by John T. Cowan. For more on the life of Radford, see Rodger Streitmatter, "John Blair Radford of Arnheim: New River Doctor and Businessman," Virginia Cavalcade 28 (Spring, 1979): 180-5.

³² Bruce, Southwest Virginia, pp. 58ff; for a review essay on Walker see Crandall A. Shifflett, "Gilbert Carlton Walker Carpetbag Conservative," in Edward Younger (ed.) The Governors of Virginia 1860-1978 (Charlottesville: Virginia University Press, 1982), pp. 57-67.

including John T. Cowan, a wealthy Montgomery County farmer, and Gabriel Wharton. At a board meeting in April, 1874, he presented Graham's request to become a stockholder. He was turned down. At the same time that Graham instructed Roane quietly to obtain mineral and right-of-way leases in the name of Graham's attorney, Graham negotiated a separate, secret agreement with John Cowan to lease the later's extensive coal holdings along the New River.³³

Having thus packed the deck of corporate cards, a confident Thomas Graham was on hand to attend the New River Railroad's annual board meeting at the Montgomery White Sulphur Springs on May 25, 1874. When the board refused Roane's request to open the books for additional subscribers, Roane withdrew his \$5,000 subscription. This maneuver forced the Board to reopen the books thus allowing Graham to purchase \$50,000 of the \$100,000 required to charter the company. Graham now owned an unassailable controlling interest and dictated the election of his lawyer J. Dickinson Sergeant as president, himself as vice-president, English as secretary-treasurer, and Roane as purchasing agent and engineer. Walker and Mahone were out. Wharton and other local interests were pacified by

³³ Bruce, Southwest Virginia, pp. 62-3; Cowan to his wife Margie, undated letter from Williamsburg: "I will probably sell my own interest when I go to Baltimore. The purchasers of the Kanawha interests want to buy mine also- I have made up my mind to offer to sell to them for \$70,000 -& I am not anxious for them to buy. Coal properties are very valuable... You and your sister (Elizabeth Kent) have been wanting to be near a railroad - I don't think it will be very long before there will be a road up New River." Cowan to Mrs. M. K. Cowan, a telegram from Baltimore, March 22, 1872, reads: "Business arranged satisfactorily." In a letter written that same day to his wife, Cowan expresses doubts that he will sell. J. T. Cowan letters are in the possession of Elizabeth Kent Adams, his granddaughter.

minor offices in order to facilitate raising \$50,000 in subscriptions in Giles County.³⁴

The people of Giles met in convention on May 19, 1874 to derive a consensus on requesting the Board of Supervisors for a bond referendum. The railroad lobby pressed for the full \$50,000 to be paid in thirty years with \$3,000 annual interest. The people felt that \$30,000 would be more in line with their abilities to pay taxes. Satisfied with this amount, the NRMCo. obtained a court order to have the matter brought to the people at the next election, November 3, 1874. To assure a successful campaign, the company selected a large number of canvassers to promote the referendum.³⁵

Unaware of other political machinations, Roane continued his development of the ore leases. For his extraordinary effort, without which the Philadelphia interests could have never pulled off their coup, Roane's compensation was to be 1/16th ownership of the NRMCo., contingent upon his purchasing that interest. On March 17, 1879, Roane complained to Sergeant that he did not have the money to make this purchase. It didn't matter. The mineral rights and land leases were held separate from the railroad company. During the 1879-1881 period, Graham apparently began negotiating with Philadelphia capitalist Clarence H. Clark to sell his

³⁴ Pearisburg Gazette, May 30, 1874; Wharton later became surety on a bond to use state convict labor for the grading of the line, which commenced in 1878.

³⁵ Pearisburg Gazette, May 23, July 11 and 25, and October 24, 1874; General A. A. Chapman of Roanoke was the most aggressive canvasser. See Pearisburg Gazette, October 17, 1874 for his letter to the Richmond Dispatch.

interest in the railroad. This transaction was in place when Clark purchased Mahone's Atlantic, Mississippi and Ohio railroad at auction on February 10, 1881. The first train ran the completed New River line in June, 1883. The NRMCo. became a part of the Norfolk and Western Railroad.³⁶

Although railroads and canals were perhaps the two most usual forms of internal improvements in 19th Century America, there were also bridge, ferry, fire, turnpike and water companies. By 1850 in Southwest Virginia, the bridge, ferry and turnpike companies had been consolidated into the state-owned Southwest Virginia Turnpike Company. For the ten years following the war, road maintenance returned to the poorly managed volunteer system under a Supervisor of the Roads. Attempts at organizing new turnpike companies largely failed, although by 1880 several main routes were macadamized. Water and fire companies were traditionally a municipal concern.³⁷

The principal towns of the Continental Divide counties drew their water from a town pump, and employed bucket brigades to combat fires. It usually took a fire or near-disaster before they improved ways of providing water delivery and fire protection.

The town of Salem was the first in the area to install an up-to-date water delivery system following a fire in its town hall. The fire had originated in E. F. Mynatt's store-house and quickly spread. Although

³⁶ Bruce, Southwest Virginia, pp. 72ff.

³⁷ Wood, "Alleghany Turnpike" and Smith, "Virginia During Reconstruction," pp. 266-277.

the Salem Fire Company responded to the call promptly, its efforts to save the buildings were futile. The students of Roanoke College joined local citizens in a spirited community effort to fight the blaze through the night. An exploding keg of gun powder in Mynatt's store injured several students, but did not disrupt efforts to remove portables from the burning structures. The town leased the first floor of the building from Tipton Evans. The upper floor was used by the Sons of Temperance, Odd Fellows and Masons. As sundry users carried no insurance on the hall and its out buildings, they lost all their \$20,000 estimated value. Mynatt had insurance of \$7,000 on his \$12,000 loss. The Roanoke Times praised the efforts of the volunteers, while lamenting the town's lack of "a better fire apparatus." The county paper pointedly remarked that the expenditure of a few thousand dollars would have saved many times that amount. The internal improvements program of Salem concerned installing a water system. The frame construction of the majority of the buildings in the small towns of the Southwest generated occasional copy for the local papers when consumed by fire. Fires certainly were not endemic to the southwest, but as the people of the southwest began to revitalize their interests in their communities, they looked for ways of providing services, and conveniences well established in most cities and in the north. The principal towns of the Continental Divide counties still drew their water from a town pump, and bucket brigaded their fires.³⁸

Four years later a fire in Fincastle almost wiped out the town. It destroyed fifteen buildings and five private residences. Presumably an

³⁸ Roanoke Times, January 22, 1867.

incendiary started the fire in the stable of Mrs. Price. High winds spread the flames. When previous neglect of their water pumper rendered it useless, the press of the region called attention to the fact. In Giles County, a chimney fire in the residence of Judge W. F. Mahood inspired the Pearisburg Gazette to exclaim: "What will a fire engine cost!" The Montgomery Messenger chided its Salem neighbor for using scare tactics to promote the purchase of a fire engine when the Roanoke Times fulminated over the death of a pony in a stable fire at W. B. Yonce of Roanoke College. Ironically, a similar event in Christiansburg had served as a catalyst for the organization of a fire company and selling subscriptions to purchase an engine. Sadly, it took fires to persuade citizens to pay for fire protection.³⁹

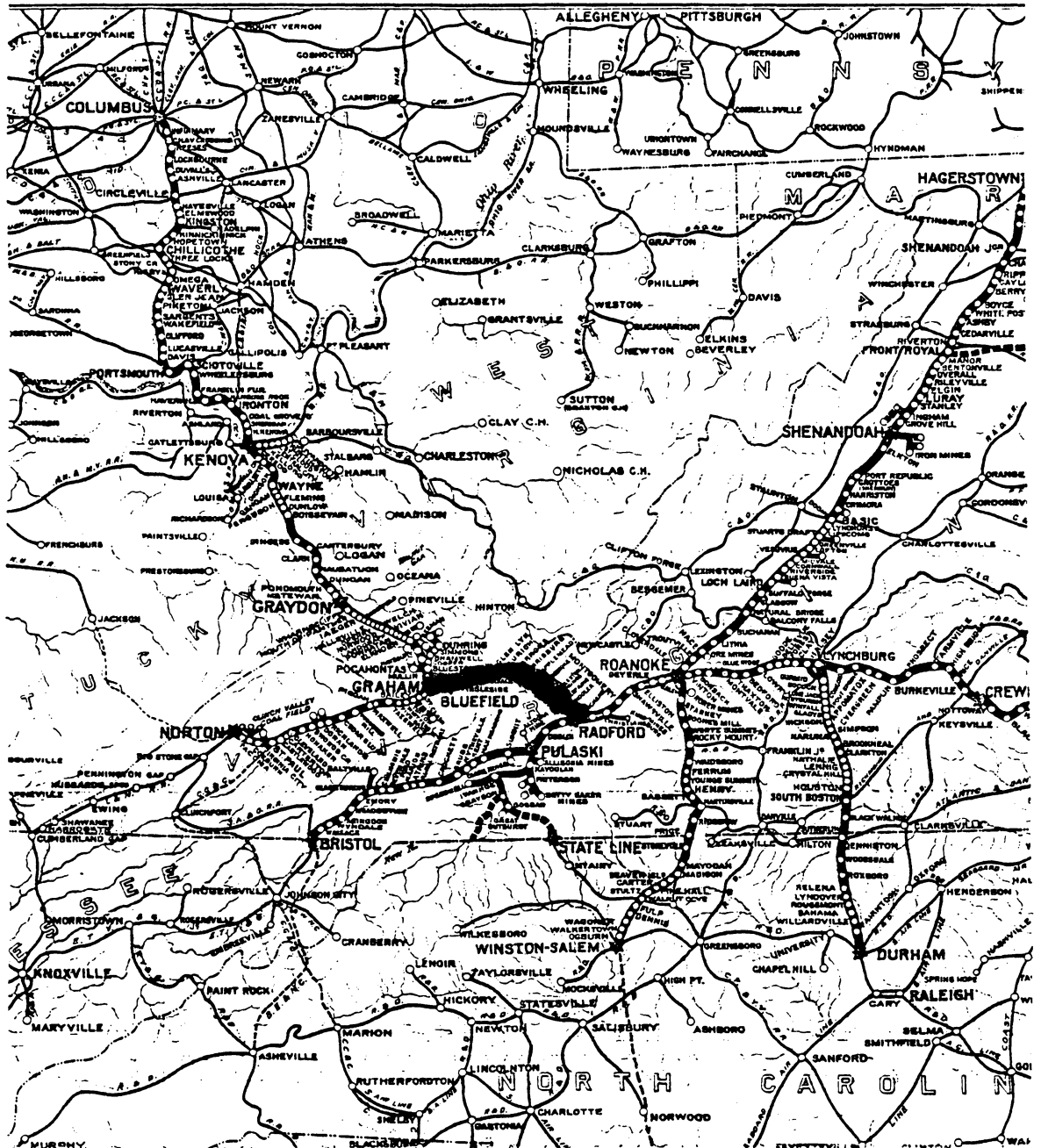
Pearisburg began the 1870s with a low-key debate on the methods by which the town could acquire better water works. The proposal that the town own these was not a matter of argument since it already was charged with the responsibility of keeping sources for the town water clean. A proposal that the town build a sophisticated water-line system along the main streets of Pearisburg did not fare so well. In his Pearisburg Gazette Lloyd Fry scoffed at such extravagances, declaring that nothing more than a better spring house was needed. Salem's water story had a happier conclusion. Throughout the fall of 1874 and winter of 1875, the Salem Weekly Register reflected a debate on the propriety, nature and expense of a municipal water system. When a Mr. Daniel of Birmingham, Alabama,

³⁹ Pearisburg Gazette, July 23, 1870 and December 16, 1871; Montgomery Messenger, March 2, 1870.

offered to subscribe one-half of the stock in a water company, editor Charles Webber questioned his motives and expertise. He called on the town council to "make known their views and plans on the water question; and we warrant if they be sound and feasible, no objection will be made by the citizens to adopting them. The council responded by appointing Col. Thomas Lewis to "examine the feasibility of supplying our town with water." Even though Lewis clouded the issue by devoting much of his report to the merits of impounding water to serve as a power source for potential factories, the momentum for a water works grew. There were temporary set-backs. Attendants at a public meeting in March, 1875, inveighed against expending money for the proposed water works. In response, Webber chided the citizens: Would it require a fire costing \$50,000 to encourage the citizens to erect a water works costing \$10,000. He denounced Councilman William Karnes' "cussing" against the proposed system saying that Salem would always have some "croakers" to complain no matter which side of the fence council takes. The next week Salem town council approved by a vote of four to two the establishment of a waterworks through the sale of bonds. At the same time it awarded the contract to F. J. Chapman, a local developer and proprietor of the Lake Springs Hotel and Red Sulphur Springs resort. Completed by the end of May, 1876, Salem's water works were the first in the Continental Divide counties.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Pearisburg Gazette, June 12 and July 10, 1871; Salem Weekly Register, February 9, and 23, 1875; March 10, 17 and 24, 1876. The latter issue contains the contract and details for the original Salem water works. The detailed rate schedule appears in the Salem Weekly Register, May 5 and 26, 1876.

Figure 3. The New River Railroad Line in 1883



CHAPTER THREE: SOCIAL MORALITY -TEMPERANCE AND REMEMBRANCE

The demand for internal improvements, better roads, more efficient means to move produce to markets, systems by which towns could be upgraded placed an emphasis on a new social order. A careful reading of these newspapers clearly demonstrates the birth and augmentation of a new class order built on the middle-class, the working people. Charles Webber places a strong emphasis on the mechanic, by which he means the men who work with their hands and who fought the battles. Trust your mechanics, he says, they will not let you down. This philosophy was echoed by Lloyd Fry in Pearisburg, but more by example than by citation. Thomas Conrad does not explicitly address the social issue. This may in part reflect his training, that of an academician. His arguments with regards to the direction Virginia's land grant college should take certainly reflects a commitment to upgrading the mechanical skills of the society.

Priorities of the period reflect the moral convictions of southwest Virginians. Education was particularly important, but the newspapers are not clear whether this should be funded through the State or through tuition. For those that could afford an education, opportunities abounded. The Lutheran Church's Roanoke College in Salem offered a classical education for young men, and the debating societies provided a source of weekly entertainment for the residents. Hollins College at nearby Botetourt Springs Hollins College was a young ladies' finishing school. Music, foreign languages, and literary discussions prepared the women for an ordered class society. The Presbyterian Church's Montgomery

Female College in Christiansburg educated high school aged women. Begun in 1872, the Virginia Agricultural and Mechanical College in Blacksburg, prepared young men for careers in scientific agriculture. In Giles County, Pearisburg struggled with limited success for years to raise funds for a learning academy. The Walker's Creek High School provided proudly a basic education.⁴¹

The Constitution of 1869 mandated a public school system. But funding was erratic, the bureaucracy cumbersome, and the commitment of local funds virtually non-existent. The press of Southwest Virginia gave the public school issue very little attention. More important to the Continental Divide editors was the issue of temperance. The crusade for temperance grew in statewide significance later in the century, but for the ten years following the war, the seeds for a sweeping political campaign based on this growing moral conviction were nurtured.⁴²

From austere beginnings in 1826 at the Ash Camp Meeting House in Charlotte County, Virginia, by the beginning of the Civil War the temperance movement enjoyed substantial patronage. The formation of the Sons of Temperance in New York City in 1842 accelerated its conversions. The next year, University of Virginia president John Hartnell Cocke welcomed the movement into Virginia. The University of Virginia remained the center for Sons of Temperance activism through its pre-war president, John Hartnell Cocke and faculty members John B. Minor and William

⁴¹ Smith, "Virginia During Reconstruction," pp. 283-341.

⁴² C. C. Pearson and J. Edwin Hendricks, Liquor and Anti-Liquor in Virginia 1619 - 1919 (Durham: Duke University Press, 1967).

McGuffey.⁴³

The Sons gave their officers mysterious titles, reflecting their ties with masonry. The annually elected chief officer of the Sons of Temperance was the "Worthy Patriarch." He would assemble members quarterly as a General Division. In the fall, a "Grand Worthy Patriarch" was elected for state representation along with national delegates. Various organizational positions were often filled successively with the same individuals successively when the organization proved too small to allow rotation.⁴⁴

The use of alcohol was so integrated into the lives of Virginians that even the churches cautiously proceeded with their antagonism. Of the 6,634 merchants licensed in 1859, over 2,000 could sell liquor. The term "grocerie" and later "drug store" became synonymous with liquor sales. The reluctance of pre-war churches to endorse the temperance movement radically changed in the postwar years. In 1874, the Southern Methodist Conference resolved to debar anyone involved with alcohol.⁴⁵

Following the war, the Friends of Temperance outpaced the more radical nationally organized Sons of Temperance, whose postwar insistence on integration forced a split into a southern division. On November 29,

⁴³ Pearson and Hendricks, p. 98.

⁴⁴ Pearson and Hendricks, p. 100; Jed Dannenbaum, Drink and Disorder. Temperance Reform in Cincinnati from the Washington Revival to the WCTU (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), p.43. Other colorful titles were: Grand Scribe, Grand Treasurer, Recording Scribe, Conductor, Grand Worshipful Potentate, Grand Lecturer, Outside and Inside Sentinels. See Appendix G for Continental Divide membership in the temperance movement.

⁴⁵ ibid., p. 117.

1865 the Friends re-organized at a statewide meeting held in Petersburg. In Montgomery County, John C. Wade called for the abandonment of the Sons in favor of the Friends with membership restricted to whites.⁴⁶

Certain legal restrictions on the sale of alcohol followed the grass roots efforts of the Sons of Temperance. By an Act of the 1866-67 General Assembly, alcohol could not be sold on election days. In 1870-71, the General Assembly disallowed the sale of alcohol within three miles of a religious service. By 1893, this provision included temperance meetings. Without their parents' permission sales to minors were forbidden in 1874. Sunday selling became illegal in 1879. In 1886, towns were given local option to decide if they wanted alcohol within their jurisdictions.

Prior to the General Local Option Act, the legislature interceded on behalf of Marion in 1872, and Bland and Giles Counties in 1874 by giving authority to town councils to issue permits, which then had to be presented to the county judge. Since retailers could petition the higher courts for relief, the Assembly increased the authority of Montgomery County's judge to close down a particular noxious saloon in Blacksburg.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ "The Most Worthy Patriarch of the National Division has addressed a communication to a high official of the Order within this State, in which he says that if the Grand Division of a State refuse to grant a charter to Negroes who apply in proper form, that in that event the charter will, in all cases, be granted by the National Division." Montgomery Messenger, November 24, 1871. The Virginia leader for the Sons of Temperance was Waller Staples of Montgomery County. Details on the Petersburg convention are in the Wytheville Dispatch, November 18, 1865.

⁴⁷ Pearisburg Gazette, May 20, 1870, and March 15, 1873. An attempt to allow towns of less than 5,000 to control liquor licensing failed to pass the Assembly. See the Pearisburg Gazette, February 21, 1874 on

"There would be very few liquor sellers if there were no drinkers," said Charles Webber of the Roanoke Times, "both in and out of the church." His editorial position remained constant and until he joined the Sons of Temperance in 1867, he gladly accepted a gift of beer and wine at Captain Crawford's Salem Central Hotel. When County Judge Board issued a moratorium on granting liquor licenses, Webber came out strongly on closing down stills instead. Webber reminded readers, closing taverns only deprived the state of an important source of tax. In addition, Tazewell County had to reinstate licensing because of the number of drunken brawls. Webber suggested that it was "better to have your son go to a bar than to find some Negro buy him a pint of brandy for a quarter." Besides, wrote Webber, women dominated the temperance movement and this generated more ills than alcohol since their domestic duties suffered. "What the world wants to stop drinking to excess," suggested Webber, "is a great moral reform upon the subject among the people generally, and to this end ladies may wonderfully... contribute without in any respect departing from the proprieties of her sex." Webber preferred more subtle methods, like refusing to do business with an intemperate man.⁴⁸

the local option legislation; Pearisburg Gazette, April 26, 1873; March 14, 1874; Salem Weekly Register, May 12, 1874; In Salem Weekly Register, February 11, 1876, Webber reminded readers that Marion had 40 convictions for illicit alcohol retailing. The removal of licensing does not stop consumption. Alcohol sales are forced underground and legitimate businesses such as Salem's Duvall House suffer. Webber's words were prophetic; Pearisburg Gazette, May 10, 1873. In Salem Weekly Register, April 14, 1874, Wytheville, Wythe County, defeated prohibition by a vote of 188 to 52. A local grog-shop in Blacksburg was accused of corrupting the morals of the students at VAMC, see Pearson and Hendricks, Liquor and Anti-Liquor, p. 168.

⁴⁸ Salem Weekly Register, March 10, 1876; Roanoke Times, April 16,

A. Lloyd Fry of the Pearisburg Gazette took the Friends of Temperance very seriously. He zealously proselytized for both Methodism and for temperance through his paper, although his feelings about drinking were mixed when the movement first started in Giles County in January of 1870. As his own attitudes coalesced, he could easily endorse the view of "Alpha," who wrote in 1865 that any professing Christian who sells alcohol was no better than "the Rabble who cried out, 'Crucify him!'" Temperance picnics took on the atmosphere of revivals, partially social, partially political, and partially evangelical, as witnessed in the grand picnic during the summer of 1872 which attracted nearly 1,000 people of all ages.⁴⁹

During 1873 the local issue came to a critical point within the Giles County court. G. W. Trinkle applied for a license and asked lawyers J. D. Johnston, J. B. Peck, and E. T. Mahood successively to defend his petition. Each refused. Defeat returned the next month when A. J. Hunter, of Newport, applied for a license to keep an ordinary. William Keister and Joseph Echols defended the application with the assistance of Col. Charles A. Ronald. Fry gloated:

November 9, 1867; and January 8, 1868; Webber is elected the Worthy Patriarch; Salem Weekly Register, January 27, 1874, W. H. Ruffner, Virginia's first superintendent of public education, stated that the \$12,000,000 in liquor purchases exceeded what Virginians made on wheat production. Salem Weekly Register, March 3, 1874; the editor of the Virginia People endorsed Webber's view, see the Salem Weekly Register, April 14, 1874. In the February 11, 1876 Weekly Register, Webber severely criticized Rev. Dr. Bittle, president of Roanoke College, a Lutheran leader in the temperance movement, for doing business with an intemperate man.

⁴⁹ Wytheville Dispatch, December 28, 1865; Pearisburg Gazette, January 18 and November 28, 1870, and June 15, 1872.

Newport is once more free from the curse of a whiskey shop. From the very bottom of our heart, we congratulate them. Now let them unite and go to work, kindly, and reclaim those, if there be any, who have been led astray by the too frequent use of intoxicating drinks.⁵⁰

This insult to Newport began a running battle between the Pearisburg Gazette and Joseph A. Peck, Jr. whose "drug store" carried medicinal alcohol. Fry suggested that a great many prescriptions must have floated on the June, 1874 election day. In a rash of communications between "Vide" and "Cady" regarding some election improprieties, Fry lambasted the drug store's contribution to Newport's reputation for drinking and fighting. Peck reasoned that transients caused the problem and offered to send them to Pearisburg.⁵¹

The consumption of "Buck", or moonshine, was always in evidence on court days. Efforts to curtail the production of moonshine usually touched off small wars, and moonshiners frequently won. Hill denizens ambushed federal agents while they looked for stills in Lee County. Federal Treasury agents attempted to close down a still in Washington County, only

⁵⁰ Pearisburg Gazette, April 19, 1873; April 20 and May 25, 1872; In Pearisburg Gazette May 24, 1873, two applications were made for license to see alcohol. Sam Early's request to open an ordinary in Newport was refused, whereas Stewart Crockett's request to sell alcohol in his general merchandise store near the West Virginia line was granted. In Pearisburg Gazette, June 15, 1872, Fry thanked confectioners Hollman and Woods for refusing to sell brandied peaches.

⁵¹ The debate between Peck, Cady and Vide may be found in Pearisburg Gazette June 13, 20, 27 and July 4, 1874. Fry began the debate after printing a comment on his visit to Newport and seeing Peck's "grocery" or "drug store" and failing to witness any drugs except for the whiskey bottles on a shelf. That same night several transient workers associated with a small iron foundry assaulted a peaceful old Negro. No charges were preferred against them. Reported in Pearisburg Gazette May 30, 1874.

to be duped into accepting the bribe of a farm that the shiner didn't own. As retribution for alerting federal agents, Charles Thomas of Floyd County received a thrashing at the hands of unappreciative neighbors. On the Virginia-Tennessee border, 25 mounted men under the leadership of Major Jacob Wagner destroyed sixteen distilleries run by Civil War "bushwhackers." Later in 1875, Wagner and Deputy Marshall W. C. Austin routed another group of moonshiners from Lee County. In Franklin County, J. G. Meadow, S. W. Huff, James Simms, and Peyton Stanly were charged with illicit distilling. The courts of the Continental Divide Counties frequently tried men for moonshining.⁵²

While the temperance movement occupied the minds of the more nobly inspired gentlemen of the Continental Divide counties, the ladies focused their attention on salvaging honor from the ashes of a Confederate defeat. The Memorial Associations which formed, first in Richmond, then throughout the South, served a very useful purpose in equalizing those tensions between defeat and the principle. In addition, the Memorial Associations represented a sanctioned outlet for political expression otherwise denied the women. It was perfectly appropriate for women to involve themselves in this movement. After all, weren't they charged with keeping the home fires burning during the war and binding the wounds of the nation of men exhausted from defeat?⁵³

⁵² Pearisburg Gazette, December 6 and 20, 1869; March 11, 1870; Salem Weekly Register, June 21, 1873; May 18 and August 31, 1875; and August 25, 1876.

⁵³ Mary H. Mitchell, Hollywood Cemetery: The History of a Southern Shrine (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1985). Roanoke Times, June 8, 1866.

Shortly after the widely publicized call for funds to support the efforts of the Hollywood Cemetery Association and the Ladies Memorial Association of Richmond, local efforts coalesced on creating a tribute to the fallen brave buried in scattered graves throughout southwest Virginia. Echoing the cry, Charles Webber called for the ladies to decorate and refurbish the graves in Salem. To lend to the festive nature of the call, Webber volunteered the services of the Roanoke Grays and the Salem Artillery. On July 16, 1866 several women of Salem formed a Memorial Association and set themselves to the task of raising funds and devising some means to reinter the soldiers into an appropriate memorial park.⁵⁴

During the first few weeks of the movement, emotions ran deeply. Characteristically, Laeno wrote:

Though no ties of consanguinity may bind us to those whose graves are scattered here and there throughout our country, they nevertheless, have a claim upon our attention high and holy in its nature. But for their participation in the effort to sustain our rights unimpeached, they might now be enjoying the comforts and companionship of homes rendered desolate by their absence. Sacrifices such as they made demand something more than a falling tear of sympathy or a sigh over their untimely end.⁵⁵

For the balance of the summer, the women conducted a series of fund raising events including an old fashioned Virginia barbecue, and smaller entertainments. With the occasional prodding of the Roanoke Times the movement sought a suitable reinterment site.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ The envisioned park for the seventy-five fallen heroes would incorporate a quarter acre landscape park with a white picket fence and obelisk monument. Roanoke Times, July 6, 20, and 27, 1866.

⁵⁵ Roanoke Times, August 31, 1866.

⁵⁶ Roanoke Times, September 21, November 2 and 27, 1866; January 8, 1867.

During the Spring of 1867, the women of Salem contented themselves with floral tributes to the Confederate soldiers. Fussing about how the money should be handled, several local men got involved. After a visit to the Gettysburg field, correspondent "G" to the Times suggested supporting the Hollywood Cemetery project instead. Correspondent "O" countered by reminding readers of the financially destitute of the south needing a greater portion of attention than the dead. Although he supported the projects, his inclination was to leave them buried where they lay. In a final testimony to male trivialization, Andrew L. Pitzer wondered what Captain Holland did with the funds the Ladies Memorial Association entrusted to his care.⁵⁷

During the spring of 1868, the women accomplished a donation of land from C. W. Burwell. As no further action was taken, Robert B. Moorman announced the formation of a joint stock cemetery corporation, offering a portion of their cemetery as a Civil War memorial.⁵⁸

By 1875, the public cemetery became a reality. During March, W. Griffin began a campaign to have the remains of Captain A. Huff removed in a public ceremony encompassing all the sentiment for the CSA dead. Huff had been a well loved tin smith before his death in battle. Griffin organized a large parade, bands, and speakers of the July 5 ceremony. The festive occasion was so successful, that a movement began to remove

⁵⁷ Roanoke Times, April 27 and 30, June 25, and July 20, 1867; February 29, March 7 and 14, 1868. The male/female role relationship remained status quo from the ante bellum days. See Bertram Wyatt-Brown, Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 272-291.

⁵⁸ Roanoke Times, March 30 and May 16, 1868.

the remains of General Andrew Lewis. Had the Times not lampooned the idea, a reinterment would have become an annual event.⁵⁹

The Montgomery Messenger called for ex-Confederate soldiers to meet on December 27, 1870 to begin work on erecting a monument for Montgomery County's soldiers. The next year, a Ladies Memorial Association formed to make arrangements on the decoration of the graves at Montgomery White Sulphur Springs, which had served as a Confederate hospital during the later part of the war. In June 1873, on the anniversary of their formation, the celebration mixed solemnity with gaiety. Dr. Cox's Montgomery Female College and the young men from the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Blacksburg processed to White Sulphur with flowers and dirges. After adjourning to decorate selected cemeteries in the area, they reconvened at the Springs for a festive ball and dinner.⁶⁰

The Montgomery Ladies Memorial Association fully organized in 1874 to canvass for funds to erect the monument at White Sulphur Springs. Although the group's organizational abilities were impressive, their successes were limited to decorating the graves which they repeated in 1875.⁶¹

Although not from want of trying, Lloyd Fry could not motivate the

⁵⁹ Even Karl Merz, formerly of Salem, then teaching at Oxford (Ohio) University, offered a "trifling" toward the expenses. Salem Weekly Register, March 30, June 22, July 13 and 18, 1875; August 4, 1876 for the life of Andrew Lewis; and August 11, 1876.

⁶⁰ Montgomery Messenger, December 9, 1870; May 12, 1871; and June 20, 1873.

⁶¹ See Appendix H for membership in this Association. Montgomery Messenger, June 12 and 19, 1874; July 2, 1875.

women of Giles County to maintain their memorial to their Confederate dead. In 1869, he asked the Memorial Association to replace the weathered headboards of the town cemetery. The cattle freely roaming the streets had taken to grazing on the lush cemetery greens and in the process, had dislodged the new fencing erected by the women. Four years later Fry was still prodding them. In 1874, correspondent "Observer" aggravated readers over the condition of the town plot. Unlikely as it was, Fry even suggested that a town tax be applied to upkeep the cemetery. With the demise of the Ladies Memorial Association, Fry suggested that the young women of the community call for a clean-up date. He was sure their charms would attract an equal number of young men.⁶²

The people of the Continental Divide Counties reflected a conservatism in their personal lives that manifested itself in their public duties. Temperance and honor were not isolated issues, but rather expressions of deep moral convictions. Further, men dominated life in the Southwest and for better or worse, a woman's public posture must demure to that of the men. The temperance movement in the Southwest was male dominated; the memorial movement was male influenced, and most importantly, male sanctioned. Male education was on the one hand practical, on the other traditional, whereas women learned cultural appreciation. In the political arena only men faced combat.

⁶² Pearisburg Gazette, November 15, 1869; November 22, 1870; July 26, 1873; July 4 and August 1, 1874.

CHAPTER FOUR: SOUTHWEST VIRGINIANS HEAR THE CONVENTION CALL

Scholars of Virginia's emergence from Reconstruction often have dwelt more on the negative aspects of events between between April of 1865 and January of 1869 than upon positive beginnings. It is well known that in 1869 former Whigs and Democrats formed a conservative coalition that laid the basis for readmitting the Old Dominion to the Union; and that this basis was white acceptance of the black's right to vote in return for enfranchisement of former Confederates. There were, however, earlier moves to effect this conservative coalition. Following a meeting of ante-bellum Whig and Democratic leaders in Richmond, in the summer of 1866 the Richmond Dispatch issued a call for counties to conduct mass meetings in order to select delegates for a National Union convention to be held in Philadelphia that August. This convention represented an attempt to continue the wartime Union party as a moderate north-south coalition with the purpose of strengthening the hand of President Andrew Johnson against Radical Republicans desirous of severe punishment of the South. The Alexandria government had removed to Richmond. Radical elements of that government, particularly John Hawxhurst, mobilized blacks and southern pro-union opportunists to take control of the state through a total disfranchisement of all former Confederate soldiers, leaders, and sympathizers.⁶³

⁶³ Hamilton J. Eckenrode, The Political History of Virginia During the Reconstruction (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1904), 47-49.

Editor William M. Barnitz of the Roanoke Times issued a qualified call for that county's mass meeting, although, as he wrote, "We have not had much stomach for national politics of late." Barnitz was frank in expressing his hope that a Union party could prevail over radical Republicans in Congress particularly by not giving blacks an unrestricted right to vote.⁶⁴

In July Bedford County conservatives held a mass meeting at their courthouse in Liberty but it is uncertain whether other counties in the southwest did so. In any case, Col. Henry Edmundson of Roanoke County and George R. Cowan of Buchanan attended the Philadelphia convention.⁶⁵

The Roanoke Times's hopes for the Union Party's ability to preserve "principles of free government" against "usurping radicalism" were overshadowed by the Southern Union Convention held in Philadelphia the next month. Alternately identified as the "Disunion Convention" or the "Mulatto Convention", delegates were appointed by the Central Committee to attend. Many southern delegates tended to be more radical than their northern counterparts, yet Virginia's outstanding Civil War Unionist John Minor Botts proved to be the singular voice of reason in a convention which eventually reduced to lukewarm resolutions their sense of national

⁶⁴ Roanoke Times June 29, July 6, and July 20, 1866.

⁶⁵ Roanoke Times, July 27, 1866; at the July 23 gathering, Cornelius Pate was chairman, A. A. Arthur, secretary, W. L. Goggin, G. L. Brown, W. A. Wright, A. V. Jordon and J. F. Johnson formed a committee to report resolutions. James F. Johnson and E. C. Burks were appointed delegates. Roanoke Times, August 10, 1866; September 21, 1866 and August 24, 1866. Cowan would sit on the committee for resolutions.

unity.⁶⁶

The patriot heart of most white Virginians was so "downcast with grief and heavily laden with evil forebodings" that they found little comfort in the political climate of 1867. With hopes for congressional representation having been destroyed in the elections of 1865, most Virginians had accustomed themselves to a moderate governance by the Unionist Provisional Governor Francis Pierpont. In 1867, Congress enacted the Sherman-Shellabarger Bill which designated Virginia Military district No. One with General John Schofield in command. Because Schofield was a lenient conservative more interested in preventing problems than solving them, many Virginians found his leadership preferable to Radical rule. To almost all white Virginians to institute black suffrage, would be "an outrage, insult and injury." Although black suffrage did not portend black local dominion of the southwest, black ascendancy in state politics called up "visions of court martials, banishments, confiscation and disfranchisement."⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Roanoke Times, August 17, and August 24, 1866. The delegate for Montgomery County was William Barnitz; for Wythe County James Tipton, Frank Bryant, Joshua Percival, Steven S. Crockett for Lee County J. D. Everett; for Pulaski County H. H. Harris; and for Roanoke County Rev. C. Campbell; Roanoke Times, August 31, September 7, and 28, 1866.

⁶⁷ Roanoke Times, March 12, 1867. Congress enacted the Sherman-Shellabarger Act, March 2, 1867, to provide for the famous Iron Clad oath. States promptly outlined the provisions for constitutional conventions. Accordingly, on March 23 the General Assembly called upon Schofield to set the date for a Constitutional convention and the election of delegates. The election to be set by the governor prior to April 10, 1867. Negro suffrage was intended by the federal act; F. H. Pierpont to John Hawxhurst, March 1, 1867, Bristol-Goodson, State Line Gazette March 13, 1867. The Virginia Senate's bill was passed by the House on March 9 with an attached

On April 2, Schofield issued "Special Orders No. 1" establishing selecting election superintendents to comply with the Sherman-Shellabarger Act. An officer of the army or Freedmen's Bureau would sit on each county or municipal board composed of men loyal to the Union. The registrar's duty was to canvas the district and make a pure list of all entitled to vote.⁶⁸

Schofield's General Orders No. 9 and No. 28 set the guidelines for registration. The county president of the board impaneled three white and three black voters from each district to challenge the right of any person to be registered. Schofield's General Orders No. 28 defined as eligible all males over 21 who did not voluntarily serve the rebellion, either in a civil or military capacity, or by rendering material support. This effectively eliminated the majority of whites. Immediately Virginia white

protest. See Alan B. Bromberg, "The Virginia Congressional Elections of 1865: A Test of Southern Loyalty," The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, 84, (January, 1976, 1); Ronald E. Shibley, "Election Laws and Electoral Practices in Virginia, 1867-1902: An Administrative and Political History," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Virginia, 1972); and Smith, "Virginia During Reconstruction".

⁶⁸ Signed by S. F. Chaffin, Assistant Adjutant General, Roanoke Times, April 16, 1867. The following registrars were appointed: for Roanoke County: 2nd Lt. H. G. Hunt, President of the Board; John Delacroy, at large; Samuel Custer, 1st district; William Barnitz, 2nd district; J. C. Stover, 4th district. The 1st district five day registration at the store of Walker and Co., commenced on June 21, 1867; at the Salem, Roanoke County courthouse, the 2nd district six day registration began on June 26; the 3rd district five day registration began on July 9 in Cave Spring; and the 4th (Big Lick) district five day registration began on July 3. For Floyd, Brevet Col. F. L. Gunther, President of the Board; John B. Hilton, at large, Peter Cofner, 1st district; William Foster, 2nd district; Matthew Scott, 3rd district; George Eller, 4th district; and John Towers, 5th district; Roanoke Times, June 18, 1867.

leaders and newspaper editors commenced arguments for the rightful ascendancy of whites in the political process.⁶⁹

Given the extreme restrictions of the Registration Oath, the Roanoke Times mounted an intense campaign to get every eligible white to register, saying that whites who had not served their state in the late war must now do their duty to save the state from carpetbagger, black radicalism.⁷⁰

Mobilizing the blacks through the Freedmen's Bureau and the Union League Virginia Republicans seized the opportunity to use the unschooled newly franchised black citizens to establish radical control. White conservatives saw in transmontane whites their only chance to defeat the radicals. In the west Civil War sympathies were mixed and black influence the least. Transmontane Virginia witnessed an intense rivalry between radicals seeking to register blacks and conservatives to register whites. In May, 1867, the radicals formed a Union League at Salem. Its first assembly mustered over 1,000 men, women and children to listen to a Dr. Brown whom the Roanoke Times described as a black "itinerant political emissary of the great party of philanthropy and progress." Brown admonished blacks to gain equality through industry and education, instead of through confiscation. When he appealed to the crowd to join the Union League, "there was a perfect rush" of blacks to pay the ten-cent initiation fee to join. Therefore the registration of blacks in the west

⁶⁹ Roanoke Times, May 21, June 11, 18, and 25, 1867.

⁷⁰ Roanoke Times, June 18, 1867.

for maximizing the radical potential of the election was critical.⁷¹

Charles Webber of the Roanoke Times exhorted blacks and whites to work together to restore peace and harmony to the south, saying that the former had conducted their affairs "more harmlessly, more orderly and more humbly than was expected by our friends or by our foes." The Roanoke editor typified conventional white wisdom of that time, hoping that blacks would ally with their former masters who regarded them with paternalistic forbearance instead of becoming tools for "the bad men who are seeking to array him in causeless hostility toward the white race in this state". Webber anticipated the argument of several generations of white historians that the black man's reluctance to trust good whites was the foundation stone of racism. The secretive Union League made whites so suspicious that they accused the League of discouraging its members from working by providing "emergency" relief and the promise of free farms. With or without encouragement from the Union League, radicalized blacks seemed to be willing to use physical force to keep other blacks from supporting the Conservative Party.⁷²

⁷¹ The League is given undue credit, in light of the evidence for converting the blacks to radicalism. The Union League and Freedmen's Bureau obviously did influence blacks in the southwest, but more as support groups than as instigators of political action. See Frank L. Klement, Dark Lanterns - Secret Political Societies, Conspiracies, and Treason Trials in the Civil War (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984), 34-63; Roanoke Times May 21, 1867; Donald G. Nieman, To Set the Law in Motion: The Freedmen's Bureau and the Legal Rights of Blacks, 1865-1868 (Millwood, New York: KTO Press, 1979), 72-102; on the failure of the Bureau, see Robert J. Kaczorowski, The Politics of Judicial Interpretation: The Federal Courts, Department of Justice and Civil Rights, 1866-1876 (New York: Oceana Publications, Inc., 1985), 27-44.

⁷² Claude F. Oubre, Forty Acres and a Mule, The Freedmen's Bureau and

Apathy best describes the attitude of the white citizens of the southwest toward registration. In Roanoke County's Salem district, 322 whites and 264 blacks registered. In its Catawba district, 364 whites and 145 blacks took the Ironclad oath. Fear of the registration board should be dismissed, although the equal presence of black registrars may have discouraged some white registrants. Chastising the entire electorate for their "absolute infatuation" with apathy, the Roanoke Times professed that the blacks intended "to disfranchise all who participated in the rebellion; prescribe impossible test-oaths to all applicants for license to exercise any calling or profession, tax property to death; apply the revenues to their own uses and purposes; enact such laws as will render miserable or drive into exile all southern men..."⁷³

Black Land Ownership, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978), 22-89; John H. Franklin, Reconstruction: After the Civil War, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 123-126; James S. Allen, Reconstruction: The Battle for Democracy 1865-1876, (New York: International Publishers, 1937), 91-98; Roanoke Times, March 12, and October 26, 1867; the Lynchburg News reported that a Negro named Ned Horton voted Conservative in the delegate election. He was pursued by an angry mob of blacks. Federal officer Lt. Williams brought out his garrison and saved the hapless Ned from being killed. Ned seriously injured three blacks. A similar incident occurred in Richmond. See also George C. Rable, But There Was No Peace--The Role Of Violence in the Politics of Reconstruction (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1984), 85-100.

⁷³ Roanoke Times, July 6, 1867; June 25, 1867. In Craig County, 410 whites and 47 blacks registered. The registrars for Craig were: Lt. J. L. Johnston, President; John Good, at large; Timothy Huffman, 1st district; Robrt R. Doss, 2nd district; and Lewis Francisco, 3rd district. In Montgomery County, the white majority was 558; Roanoke Times, July 13, 1867; a letter from Prince Edward County, signed "S", remonstrated against the northern agitators encouraging blacks to assume total political control as the superior race. There is no evidence to suggest anything more than an attempt to acclimate blacks to their electoral prerogatives.

In his General Order No. 65 of September 12, 1867, Schofield ordered the election of 105 delegates to a statewide constitutional convention. Beginning at 7 AM on October 22, and continuing until sunset, polls would opened at the places of registration throughout the state. The more heavily populated counties of the southwest would elect two delegates, most would elect one, and Pulaski and Giles and Roanoke and Allegheny Counties would elect one. In addition to choosing delegates, voters would decide on whether they in fact wanted a convention. The novel use of printed paper ballots replaced the "manly", traditional method of voting viva voce. The ballots of blacks and whites would be filed separately. Finally, all liquor shops would be closed on election day.⁷⁴

On September 23, Craig County organized a public meeting which resulted in the formation of a committee of three to attend similar committees in Roanoke and Alleghany Counties. The committee selected New Castle, Craig County, as the site for its district convention on October 12, 1867.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Roanoke Times, September 21 and 28, and October 12, 1867.

⁷⁵ Robert M. Doss, chairman; John S. Webb, vice-president; John F. Jones, secretary; Major B. L. Woodson lead the discussion in which Capt. Thomas D. Houston, C. G. Hill, C. C. Carper, A. J. Elmore, and Major Spessard participated; Roanoke Times, September 28, 1867; on October 7, 1867, Roanoke County citizens met in mass Isaac F. Penn, chairman; F. J. Ribble, secretary. The mass meeting expressed conservative sympathies and selected the following delegates, viz, R. W. Barke, A. M. Jordon, Hugh H. Lee, Chas. M. Webber, D. B. Strouse, A. S. McLavy, Dillard, and Isaac F. Penn. Additionally, four men from each magisterial district were selected: Cave Spring, John Coon, S. H. C. Greenwood, S. F. Simmons, and David Sloan; Catawba district, William Woods, James McConkey, Giles Barnett, Giles Thomas; Big Lick, William Watts, John Trout, George P. Tayloe, and B. T. Tinsley. A similar meeting was held in Covington. A list of their delegates may be found in Roanoke Times, October 12, 1867.

The poorly attended New Castle convention selected Roanoke County's Hugh H. Lee as the Conservative candidate for election to the Constitutional convention. In his acceptance card, Colonel Lee had been a constitutional unionist during the war; he promised to restore the law to Virginia; and to treat blacks as free men.⁷⁶

Although "Many Voters" had supported B. L. Woodson, and although Woodson would remain active in the Conservative movement, he did not win the conservatives nod. Elijah Poage also announced as a candidate for the district convention. He had been a Union man during the War and was now a magistrate who received compliments on his conservatism. On the evening of the Conservative convention, Poage withdrew because he found the conservative crowd too radical in their toleration of black suffrage.⁷⁷

John W. Woltz decided to run as an independent because he felt Lee's views too extreme. The Times quickly labeled Woltz as the candidate for

⁷⁶ Roanoke Times, October 19, 1867; the New Castle convention convened on October 12, 1867, with W. W. Ballard, chair, Dr. D. M. Phillips, secretary. Thomas Kenirie was the only delegate present from Alleghany County. However, William Scott and Dennis Shanahan being present from Alleghany were invited to take seats in the convention. Col. R. M. Wiley nominated Dennis Shanahan. Capt. C. G. Hill of Craig nominated John Goode. M. D. B. Strouse of Roanoke nominated Maj. B. L. Woodson of Craig and Capt. Hugh H. Lee. Woodson declined. He felt his active part in organizing the convention might be misconstrued. The voting proceeded with delegates receiving proportional voting strength. Goode was dropped after the first ballot. Both Lee and Shanahan gave brief remarks in support of Johnson's reconstruction policy. Col. Wiley and Scott gave addresses supporting Shanahan. Woodson and Strouse spoke in favor of Lee. On the next ballot, Lee easily won. Lee was a lawyer in partnership with the firm of Holland and Lee. His father Hon. George H. Lee of Clarksburg, West Virginia was a judge on the Virginia Court of Appeals.

⁷⁷ Roanoke Times, February 4, March 26, September 28, October 12, October 5, and October 19, 1867.

the Loyal League (Union League), a tag he never overcame. He had not served in the CSA, and he had supported free schools. Because the black voters rallied around him, nothing Woltz could say would persuade conservatives that he was not a Radical. His opposition to a candidate chosen by a convention earned him the distinction of being the first postwar southwest Virginian to run as an independent candidate. Independents were candidates whose political philosophy remained conservative, but they opposed the convention system because it often was so undemocratic. Unfairly, the press usually attributed Radical characteristics to independents.⁷⁸

The second aspect of the October 22 election called for a referendum on the convention itself. In opposing a Constitutional convention the Roanoke Times gave three reasons: first, recent successes of northern democrats intimated a fall of the Radical Congress and a restoration of President Johnson's reconstruction program; second, the apathy of Virginia whites and the disfranchisement white leaders guaranteed a radical constitutional convention; third, a genuine fear pervaded that a new state constitution would legalize black votes and equality.⁷⁹

As most had feared, the statewide election returned a Radical

⁷⁸ Roanoke Times, November 2 and October 26, 1867. After the election the Roanoke Times apologized to Woltz for calling him a Radical and advised him in the future to "repudiate all affiliation with Negro or Radical organizations and stand or fall upon the white man's ticket."

⁷⁹ Roanoke Times, October 19, 1867. The Times anti-constitution shift on the eve of the election arose from a recognition that white citizens across Virginia were not registering. See Roanoke Times, September 28, 1867 for a pro-convention editorial.

constitutional convention. In Roanoke County Woltz's 245 black and 28 white votes won him a 208 majority. In the Salem district, Lee received 192 white votes and one black vote. Alleghany County gave Lee 201 and Woltz 73 with a majority against the convention. In Craig County, of the 246 votes cast, Lee received a 184 vote majority. Again, the convention failed. In Montgomery County, Radical A. H. Flannagan beat Dr. Evans, the Conservative. In Pulaski, Conservative Eustace Gibson, to become one of the most eloquent voices of the convention, was elected. Dr. Gibboney, a Conservative, commanded a 300 vote majority in Wythe County. The counties of the Ninth Congressional District sent seven conservatives and two Radicals to the convention. Conservatives of Virginia would now address themselves to building a political machine which could withstand a disfavorable constitutional document and which would pave the way for the eventual restoration of the State with a Conservative government. Clearly, the whites were still in the majority.⁸⁰

Why didn't the whites vote? Correspondent "Leon" of Craig County believed that "... too many of the older men are still deeply diseased with Whiggery or Democracy. It is to be hoped... that we will hear no more of old party lines. If the white people wish to rule their own and their children's destinies, they must discard past differences, and

⁸⁰ Eckenrode, The Political History, 87, 89; Jack P. Maddex, The Virginia Conservatives 1867-1879: A Study in Reconstruction Politics (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1970), 44ff.; Roanoke Times, October 26 and December 2, 1867. One writer to the Times suggested that conservatives should instruct their delegates through a local committee to which the delegate would refer all questions. See the Roanoke Times, November 9, 1867.

henceforth meet organization with organization."⁸¹

The Constitutional convention election did arouse Virginian conservatism. When disillusioned ex-Republicans, old-line Whigs like A. H. H. Stuart of Staunton, and Democrats issued a call for a Conservative convention at Richmond on December 11, 1867, just a week after the convening of the Constitutional convention, local mass meetings in southwest Virginia selected delegates to attend the former and present resolutions condemning blacks' "secret organizations." To facilitate attendance General William Mahone offered delegates half-price fare on the AM & O Railroad. Only six of the twenty allotted to Roanoke County attended.⁸²

When the 800-man Conservative convention assembled in the Theatre in Richmond it elected A. H. H. Stuart president. Among the vice-presidents were R. M. T. Hunter, Thomas S. Bocock, and ex-Governor Letcher, respectively Virginia's U. S. Senator, Congressman and pre-War governor. The Conservative Party platform resolved to restore the state

⁸¹ Roanoke Times, November 2, 1867.

⁸² On November 18, 1867 a mass meeting in Salem established procedures for selecting twenty delegates to attend the Richmond gathering. Craig County met on November 30, 1867. Roanoke Times, November 9, 1867; H. K. Ellyson, Roanoke County, issued the Conservative call on November 7, 1867. The purpose: "effecting an organization of the conservatives of the State." Roanoke Times, November 16, 1867; the Times called for a Roanoke County mass meeting on the next court day. Wythe County organized on the 11th; see Roanoke Times, November 23 and 30, 1867; Mahone made his railroad offer in a note to Colonel T. Dodamead, which subsequently was published in the Conservative press. Mahone's involvement in Virginia politics was extensive, but unbeknownst to the readers of southwest Virginia newspapers until 1878. On Mahone, see William M. Blake's William Mahone of Virginia: Soldier and Political Insurgent, (Richmond: Garrett & Massie, Publishers, 1935), p. 97.

without prejudice and with full accord to the U. S. Constitution; to reduce the political influence of blacks without engendering hostility toward them; and to establish state government under strict white control, as was their inherent right. The Conservative convention adopted a party plan which created a central committee of 33 members overseen by a Chief Director representing the Richmond Congressional district. The eight associate directors had to reside in Richmond, but each represented one of the state's other congressional districts. There were three Consulting Members per Congressional district who reported to its Associate Director. The County Chairmen reported to their Congressional district directors. Precinct (magisterial district) superintendents reported to each County Chairman. The Conservative Party plan was so detailed that it even grouped voters into units of ten, of which one functioned as a leader reporting to the next level, the Chiefs of Fifty, or five ten man cells. Only the selection of the members of the county committees was by a county-wide vote.⁸³

As Commander of Military district No. One, General Schofield dismissed the General Assembly on October 31, 1867 in order to clear the capitol building for the state constitutional convention. Because the convention elected the carpetbagger Judge John C. Underwood as its president it usually has been called the Underwood Convention. The press also labeled it the Mulatto or Negro Convention, the Schofield Convention, and the Brown and Tan Convention. When the \$100,000 appropriated for the

⁸³ Roanoke Times, December 14, 1867; the Roanoke delegates were H. H. Lee, G. P. Tayloe, F. Johnston, J. B. I. Logan, John Trout, and J. S. A. Crawford; Roanoke Times, December 21, 1867.

convention were exhausted, another \$65,000 was issued in their form of certificates of indebtedness. The editor of the Roanoke Times asked his readers why, at eight dollars a day, should the fieldhands in convention adjourn? The Times reported that changes proposed in the Bill of Rights smell "strongly of the Negro as he is the end of all law and government." Webber complained that not only did blacks demand free and integrated schools, equal access to all colleges, and the closure of VMI, but they desired that taxes be upon the land and not polls. He agreed with Conservative Party spokesman Raleigh T. Daniels that these provisions of the constitution "will amount to a virtual confiscation of the property of the whites for the benefit of the blacks."⁸⁴

The Roanoke Times made little mention of Roanoke County's delegate, H. H. Lee, except to report that he declined to serve on a committee appointed to wait upon General Grant when he visited Richmond, because one of its members was a black.⁸⁵

The Roanoke Times also gave extensive coverage to the debates on the franchise. The old Union Whig John Minor Botts appealed to Congress to force members of the convention to take the Test Oath, which would have excluded supporters of the Rebellion. Saying that he feared that such a provision would jeopardize the success of the convention, General

⁸⁴ Roanoke Times, December 7 and 14, 1867; March 14, 1868; January 8 and 11, April 4, June 18 and 27, 1868; March 21, 1868.

⁸⁵ Samuel F. Kelso, delegate from Campbell County, was appointed to the Grant calling party. Quoting the Richmond Whig, the black servant at the house where Grant was stopping refused Kelso admittance to the General's audience. Roanoke Times, January 18 and April 25, 1868. See also William S. McFeely, Grant: A Biography (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1981), 274ff.

Schofield excused participants from taking the oath.⁸⁶

When Congressman Benjamin F. Butler made an unannounced appearance before the convention, the conservatives of the convention walked out en masse. They did so because of the General's notoriety as administrator of New Orleans. Butler appealed for a limited franchise based upon a liberal education.⁸⁷

On March 9, the convention adopted a clause incorporating the federal Test Oath into Virginia's constitution, thus, excluding all those who supported the Rebellion, including taxpayers and even parents extending acts of kindness.⁸⁸

The convention adjourned on April 17, 1868. Schofield issued the call for the ratification election, as well as the election of all state officers to take place on June 2, 1868. Registration lists would be opened at courthouses fourteen days before the election. In a futile effort to insure Virginia's restoration to the Union, Schofield corresponded with Grant and Congress that Virginians be allowed to vote on the franchise clause of the constitution separate from the main body of the document. Frustrated in his appeal, Schofield then withheld funds for the election rather than to see the constitution defeated. Meanwhile,

⁸⁶ By his reading of the March 2, 1867 Reconstruction Acts, Schofield did not believe convention delegates were technically officers of the State. Roanoke Times, December 7, 1867.

⁸⁷ Earlier the Richmond press recommended snubbing the General. Roanoke Times, January 18 and 25, 1868; Hans L. Trefousse, Ben Butler: The South Called Him Beast! (New York: Octagon Books, 1974), 107-134, 217 -233.

⁸⁸ Roanoke Times, February 15, March 7 and 14, April 25, 1868.

the Conservative Party published a long criticism of the Constitution, emphasizing its benefits to Negroes. Col. H. A. Edmundson, Conservative constitutional canvasser, told a meeting of Roanoke County conservatives that the Constitution was framed "to the scorn and contempt of the white people" by a "miserable gang of interlopers and adventurers." The Conservative Party then called for a constitutional officers nominating convention to take place on May 7, 1868, and issued a list of state canvassers.⁸⁹

The May Conservative convention selected Col. Robert E. Withers to run for governor, General James Walker, of Pulaski County for lieutenant governor, and John L. Marye, Jr., of Spottsylvania County for attorney general. Considerable discussion followed Withers nomination as to the propriety of selecting someone who could not pass the requirements of the franchise clause of the Constitution. Withers commanded the 18th Virginia Infantry until being wounded at the Battle of Gaines' Mill. Walker, then 36, served as a Captain of the 4th Virginia Infantry, and was promoted to Brigadier in command of the Stonewall Brigade. He was also severely wounded. Marye served in the wartime House of Delegates, and most recently as a member of the Constitutional convention.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Roanoke Times, May 9, 1868. Allan W. Moger, Virginia Bourbonism to Byrd (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1968), 8; Roanoke Times, March 23 and 28, April 18, and May 23, 1868. John Trout organized the meeting, with Charles McCauley as secretary. James Foote Johnston lambasted the Constitution. Roanoke Times, April 25, 1868. Canvassers for the Eighth Congressional district were Waller R. Staples, Montgomery County, Joseph T. Campbell, Washington County, and Henry S. Kane of Scott County.

⁹⁰ Roanoke Times, May 16, 1868; A. H. H. Stuart and Col. J. B. Baldwin removed themselves from nomination because they did not qualify under

The first Radical ticket was announced in June, 1868. For governor, General Wells and for lieutenant governor, James Clements. No candidate was announced for the Eighth Congressional district. All of the Radical Republican candidates were carpetbaggers.⁹¹

James F. Johnston of Bedford County and Col. H. A. Edmundson of Roanoke County addressed a May Conservative convention in Roanoke County which endorsed the Conservative Party ticket. This convention resolved to defeat the constitution. Not having a local candidate, the Roanoke caucus endorsed Col. Edmund Pendleton for the State Senate, and after considerable dissension chose Elijah Poage for House of Delegates.⁹²

On Christmas Day, 1868, a letter from A. H. H. Stuart appeared in the Richmond Dispatch and Whig over the pseudonym "Senex". This famous letter called for acceptance of the Negro franchise. The following week, Stuart formed his "Committee of Nine." This group personally appealed to both houses of Congress to allow Virginians to vote separately on the disfranchising clause and the Constitution. Future Governor Gilbert C. Walker accompanied the committee. Although vehemently opposed by radical Republicans, Grant interceded before Congress on April 10, 1869. The

the Reconstruction Acts. This convention also selected delegates for the Democratic Presidential Convention to assemble in New York the next July. R. W. Hughes was one of these delegates. Hughes would become the Republican gubernatorial candidate in 1873, and the Republican challenger in two Congressional elections in southwest Virginia.

⁹¹ Roanoke Times, June 20, 1868.

⁹² Roanoke Times, May 9 and 23, 1868.

Constitution, set for a July 6, 1869 vote, was split.⁹³

The May 7 Conservative ticket dissatisfied General Mahone. Mahone's interests in extending his consolidated railroad, and in creating a conservative Republican government could not be fulfilled by the Conservative ticket. A third political party was created, through careful maneuvering, to thwart the Radical interests. Mahone had been instrumental in creating a Radical ticket slightly altered from the previous one, in which black J. D. Harris was slotted for the lieutenant governor position. This would obviously be wholly unacceptable to white Virginians, but Radicals felt confident of their victory. Likewise, Mahone eased his friend Gilbert Walker into the new Conservative ticket, which was engineered by a handful of Richmond politicians. In the scramble for readmission, the original Conservative ticket was withdrawn. Withers, whom Mahone believed could not be elected, was replaced by Walker. John F. Lewis was selected for lieutenant governor, and James C. Taylor, previously a Commonwealth Attorney in Montgomery County was chosen for attorney general. Raleigh T. Daniel called for a convention on April 28, 1869 to consider the matter of the new slate of candidates before a full convention. At this time, Fayette McMullin, who would be much maligned in later Ninth Congressional District elections, was active in organizing the new party.⁹⁴

With 220,739 votes cast, the Walker ticket won with an 18,331

⁹³ Moger, Virginia, p. 9; Maddex, Virginia Conservatives, pp. 69-73.

⁹⁴ Moger, Virginia, 11-12; Maddex, Virginia Conservatives, 79-85; and Eckenrode, The Political History, 117 -121.

majority. The Constitution was easily ratified, and the disfranchising clauses (Article III, Section I, clause 4; and Article III, Section VII) soundly defeated. The Virginia Senate during the winter session tried to force the Test Oath issue, but an appeal from Stuart to Grant rescinded the order. Gilbert Walker was sworn in on September 21, 1869. On October 8, the 14th and 15th Amendments to the U. S. Constitution were ratified.⁹⁵

Congress restored Virginia to the Union on January 26, 1870. The Executive Committee of the Conservative Party issued the following statement:

Charged with the duty of promoting the efficiency of our organization, we warn you earnestly that what we have achieved by such arduous labor must be maintained by equally enduring and persistent effort; and the common, but fatal delusion must be avoided of underrating the vigor and resources of a beaten adversary; for the Radical party was beaten, not conquered... We have 'scotched the snake, not killed it.'⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Eckenrode, The Political History, 126-127; Moger, Virginia Bourbonism, 12.

⁹⁶ Pearisburg Gazette, August 20, 1870.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE NINTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT - 1865-1876

The eastern quarter of the district is the "Continental Divide" counties of Montgomery, Giles, Roanoke, Floyd and Pulaski, with the former three providing comprehensive newspaper coverage during this period. It is from this period that the Ninth earned its reputation for mercurial politics. Four newspapers of the Continental Divide counties provide a comprehensive, albeit partisan, record. The unfortunate lack of extant newspapers for Russell, Smyth and Lee Counties is partially salvaged by Charles Webber of the Salem Weekly Register. Webber's penchant for political editorial squabbling in response to the views of other southwest Virginia newspapers provides a substantial record on the variant political views of the Ninth.

Perhaps the existence of a Radical congress in Washington dampened the district's enthusiasm for congressional elections in the district prior to the redemption of the State in 1870. The Conservative Party overcame the strong tradition of distinct political parties which had been especially strong in the decades between Jackson and Lincoln. The second test for the Conservative Party was the nomination and election of James Lawson Kemper as governor in 1873. The Congressional elections provided an opportunity for the party to strengthen its organization, develop a rhetoric against Independents, and to inspire the local convention as a new tradition. The campaign issues throughout the period remained the same: party loyalty and strict

adherence to convention tactics.⁹⁷

Statewide, the Conservative organization emulated the Democratic organization in the north by vesting executive power in a central committee. In theory the central committee derived its power from district committees and they from the local conventions which elected them. Although statewide the Conservative Party would focus on the political supremacy of the white, in the Ninth the issue would be maintaining the integrity of the Conservative Party through the defeat of independent-conservative candidates. Conservative Party organs would champion the cause of the Conservative movement and its conventions while independent newspapers would focus on the non-threat of the Republican party, of the black minority, and endorse an traditional open field election canvas. Independents were always conservatives, often renegade party members. They rejected uniformly the convention process.

The newspapers of southwest Virginia acknowledged the presence of a Radical political element, but gave the Republicans very little press, and none favorable. As will be seen, Republicans received votes. It appears that a strong faithful Republican minority existed. The black population, roughly 14 per cent of the electorate, supported the

⁹⁷ Robert R. Jones, "James Lawson Kemper - Native Son Redeemer," in The Governors of Virginia 1860-1978, ed. Edward Younger (Charlottesville: Virginia University Press, 1982), pp. 69-79. Jack P. Maddex, Jr., "Virginia, The Persistence of Centrist Hegemony," in ed. Otto H. Olsen, Reconstruction and Redemption in the South (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980), pp. 113-55. It is important to note that Robert Hughes, who ran against Kemper and was twice a congressional candidate in the Ninth District was an old line Democrat, new found Conservative, and eventually converted to Republicanism.

Republican movement in all elections. The Union League and the Freedmen's Bureau organized the blacks. The amount of success realized by these two federally inspired organizations is immaterial compared to how successful the conservative press thought them to be. The press openly denigrated black men, and if by this example black men chose parties, the Republican would be their logical choice.

Many Virginians questioned the propriety of the congressional elections for 1865. Governor Francis H. Pierpont set October 12 as the date for electing congressmen and state legislators. All adult white males could vote under the provisions of President Johnson's amnesty proclamation. Pierpont, fresh from the Alexandria government experience, ordered that no one who had served the Confederacy could hold office. Otherwise, the franchise appeared lenient. This policy won Pierpont some plaudits from conservative republicans, but the Radicals disapproved. Most conservative republicans believed their best course of action involved granting black suffrage and supporting Johnson's programs. Most Radicals believed that no man who had in any fashion supported the war should ever serve in public office. The "Iron Clad Oath" would limit those men who could serve since it required acknowledgment of past and future loyalty to the Union. Even a presidential pardon could not exonerate individuals for their past disloyalty. The question of a candidates ability to take the oath became the only campaign issue.⁹⁸

⁹⁸ Alan B. Bromberg, "The Virginia Congressional Elections of 1865, a Test of Southern Loyalty," The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 84 (January, 1976, 1): 76-78. On the issue of the oath, see Harold Hyman, The Era of the Oath, Northern Loyalty Tests During the Civil War and Reconstruction (Philadelphia: University of

Only 40,000 men voted in 1865, the smallest election ever recorded in Virginia. Several of the elected congressmen refused to take the test oath, including A. H. H. Stuart. All of the congressmen-elect were conservatives. When the congressmen-elect applied for their seats that December, the clerk of the House, McPherson, omitted their names from the role. The elected returned home. The restoration of the state to the Union on January 28, 1870, ended the dispute over oaths of allegiance and definition of the electorate. Now all black and white adult males could vote without reference to their war service.⁹⁹

Almost immediately following the state's restoration, Fayette McMullen announced, as he would for the next twelve years, his candidacy for the district's congressional seat. McMullen's perception of his public appeal was not entirely misguided. As congressional elections approached, the cantankerous "old waggoner" regularly shook hands and pontificated at court days of Washington, Smythe, and Lee Counties on the need for reform and retrenchment. While in the antebellum Virginia General Assembly, he had sought pay for jurors, increased jurisdiction of magistrates, a cap on sheriffs' commissions for executing foreclosures, and shorter, less frequent sessions of the legislature. In the federal House of Representatives during the 1850s, and then in the Confederate Congress, he advocated a homestead bill that would give every citizen 180 acres of land. His uninspired solution to Virginia's vexing

Philadelphia Press, 1954), 153-186; and Jonathon T. Dorris, Pardon and Amnesty under Lincoln and Johnson (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953), 6-7.

⁹⁹ Eckenrode, The Political History, 37-39.

state debt would force the federal government to see to it that West Virginia pay its "just portion." He opposed repudiation. Northern bondholders should not be exempt from taxation of their bonds. On his political philosophy, McMullen stated: "I am a Democrat upon principle. The first vote I ever cast was for Andrew Jackson, and I have given my support to all the Democratic administrations from his down to that of Mr. Buchanan." He admitted no fondness for district conventions, but should they be properly constituted, fairly emanating from the people, he pledged to support them. Since McMullen's never received the endorsement of a district convention, he openly criticized the process from his platform as an independent candidate. He was a Conservative and regularly served in minor assignments through the Central Committee. His unwillingness to support the convention candidates won him no friends in the press, and strained his relationship with the central Conservative Party.¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ Pearisburg Gazette, April 29, 1870; McMullen wrote his biography on May 23, 1874; it appeared in Pearisburg Gazette, June 13, 1874 and Salem Weekly Register, August 11, 1874. He served in the House during the sessions of 1832/33; 1833/34; 1835/36 for Scott County. He served in the state senate for the terms of 1836/37; 1838 (January); 1839 (January); 1839/40; 1840/41; 1841/42; 1842/43; 1843/44; 1844/45; 1845/46; and 1846/47. He served eight years in the U. S. Congress and a brief term during the Confederate congress. McMullen earned the sobriquet "old waggoner" by traveling the district in a wagon. The title of governor came from a brief term as governor of the Washington territory during Buchanan's presidency. He was born in 1805, and died on November 8, 1880. See Earl Swem and John Williams, A Register of the General Assembly of Virginia, 1776-1918, (Richmond: State of Virginia, 1918). At the formation of the Conservative Party at Richmond in December of 1867, McMullen was selected as a member of district Eight's three man committee. See the Roanoke Times, December 21, 1867 for a complete description of the party's organization. At the State Conservative convention of May 7, 1868, he chaired the committee selecting delegates to the national Democratic convention;

While the various townships held meetings in June 1870 to select delegates for the district Conservative convention to be held in Marion, McMullen gingerly proclaimed himself the "Peoples Candidate". He derived his mandate from the "hundreds" of constituents and lay his campaign rhetoric before anyone showing a nodding interest. True to form, he promised to reduce Congressional salaries from \$5,000 to \$3,000 a year. Should Congress not agree with his sense of propriety, he would accept the full salary and donate the surplus \$2,000 to charity. Disguised as an Independent, his showmanship irritated Lloyd Fry of the Pearisburg Gazette. "His Royal Highness ex-Governor McMullin," wrote Fry, "in a harangue made up of slang phrases, stale anecdotes [claimed] that if it had not been for him, the... district would have been a howling wilderness." Fry concluded with a terse reference to the notoriously difficult Salt Pond Mountain pass, "Hitch up your wagon and take a trip up Salt by the overland route."¹⁰¹

On Thursday, July 28, 1870, the Marion Conservative convention met with Col. William Watts, Roanoke County, as presiding chairman. Having rejected a voting formula based on rewarding counties for their Conservative performance in the election of Governor Gilbert Walker, the convention chose to allow each county a single vote. It also rejected the proposal that a candidate must receive a two-thirds majority to secure nomination by adopting the simple majority resolution of General James

See the Roanoke Times, May 16, 1868 for a complete description of the convention which selected Col. Robert E. Withers as its gubernatorial candidate in the ill-fated election of 1868.

¹⁰¹ Pearisburg Gazette, August 20, 1870.

A. Walker of Pulaski.¹⁰²

The following morning Joseph Combs, Russell County, presented himself as a delegate. General Walker opposed his admission; McGinnis favored. Brooding over his ill tempered behavior the previous night, Henry W. Holdway sensed a lull in the proceedings, rose and apologized to the convention. Without losing the tempo of the debate Capt. John W. Shelton of Montgomery County motioned for the ejection the Russell delegate. The delegates vetoed the motion of Isaac B. Dunn, of Abingdon, for a postponement in order to cool tempers. Walker motion passed. The rancorous proceedings frustrated serious participation. Candidates W. H. Burns and Col. J. W. Humes had their names withdrawn. Friends of General Bowen refused to submit his name before the convention. Shelton nominated William Terry of Wythe County. The convention chose Terry, the only nominee, by unanimous acclamation.¹⁰³

Washington County "Democrat" complained to the Lynchburg News, that the Marion convention violated the state conservative guidelines in choosing their delegates by townships. The Christiansburg Messenger defended the selection process saying that not only had counties chosen their delegates prior to the issuance of the state guidelines but the

¹⁰² Watts served in the House of Delegates 1875-77; Pearisburg Gazette, August 6, 1870.

¹⁰³ Dunn served in the House for the sessions of 1849/50, 1852, 1853/54. A native of Amherst County, Terry studied law, and eventually established a practice in Wytheville. He edited a paper in Wytheville. Politically, Terry was a Whig. He served as a mason. During the war, he raised a company, which was assigned to the 4th Regiment, a part of Stonewall Brigade. After the war, he returned to Wythe County to assume an active roll in the organization of the Conservative Party for the 1869 campaign; Pearisburg Gazette, August 6, 1870.

citizens preferred the county mass meeting, the traditional public forum. Denying that Terry's friends packed the convention, the Messenger described that gathering as a "warm and friendly contest." The Messenger understated the temperature. To calm the waters, Raleigh Travers Daniel, state Conservative Party chairman wrote an open letter endorsing the convention's selection of Terry. He called upon the people to avoid dissension, reminding them that only the Independents and a Radical stood to gain. "Keep party ranks firm and its discipline intact," he commanded.¹⁰⁴

In late September Robert W. Hughes entered the congressional contest as a Republican. With uncharacteristic modesty, he disdained an interest in the campaign, but felt compelled through the will of the people to assume the mantle of duty without the troublesome necessity of Republican conventions. Conservatives viewed his candidacy as a serious threat since the three candidates Terry, McMullen and Hughes might dilute the electorate enough for Hughes to win a plurality. Conservatives now insisted that democrats abandon McMullen to serve the Conservative cause.¹⁰⁵

The conservative press concentrated their attacks on McMullen instead of Hughes. McMullen set the stage for an unusual campaign by

¹⁰⁴ Montgomery Messenger, October 14, 1870.

¹⁰⁵ Pearisburg Gazette, August 3, October 24, and December 12, 1870; McMullen attributed his defeat to the same plurality. In Richmond Dispatch, November 14, 1870 McMullen is labeled a poor loser who should learn to accept defeat like a man and retire. In his Lynchburg address, McMullen contemplated contesting the election on the grounds that Terry was ineligible. He also declined to seek a seat in the U. S. Senate; see also Pearisburg Gazette, November 21, 1870.

inviting Terry to stump the district with him. Terry did. McMullen believed the Republican vote would have shifted to him if Hughes had not run. The evidence clearly demonstrates, as future elections would indicate, the Republican vote might erode, but the conservative Democrats and independent Democrats would vote as a coalition. Republicans remained loyal to their ideology. As Table 4 indicates, of the 18,694 votes cast in the 1870 election, Terry received 10,388. McMullen brought in 4,384 and Hughes 3,922. McMullen only carried Floyd and Tazewell. Hughes polled a plurality of eleven votes in Roanoke in Roanoke County. It appears that if McMullen had not run, Terry would have received a clear majority in Roanoke. ¹⁰⁶

By 1872, the national mood shifted from Radicalism to Conservatism, congressional districts in Virginia increased to nine, and the state conservative organization directed its attention to the upcoming election. The conservatives were justifiably cocky. As in 1870, undeclared candidates began to surface. In June, Col. Robert A. Richardson of Marion announced his interest as the convention candidate followed by General James A. Walker, Pulaski County, and Col. J. M.

¹⁰⁶ Pearisburg Gazette, September 24, 1870. The Norfolk Journal related an amusing anecdote on McMullen. "As evidence of McMullen's fondness of hearing himself talk... At an execution of a criminal not long since, the usual courtesy of an opportunity to make a 'last dying speech and confession' was proffered to him, but the poor fellow declared he had nothing to say. Whereupon Governor McMullen, who was present, immediately called to the assembled crowd that, as the culprit declined speaking, he would improve the opportunity by saying a few words on the subject of his going to congress." The crowd agreed to listen if he would agree to go with the criminal; as quoted in the Pearisburg Gazette, October 10, 1870. Election results are from the Richmond Dispatch, November 15, 1870, and Pearisburg Gazette, November 28 1870.

County	Terry	McMullin	Hughes	est. Blacks
Wythe	912	66	248	481
Giles	524	130	118	121
Bland	261	215	58	44
Floyd	389	465	142	---
Buchanan	360	180	5	8
Wise	345	183	76	12
Lee	874	148	71	188
Pulaski	464	51	287	378
Montgomery	788	175	315	529
Roanoke	600	50	611	685
Washington	940	677	616	560
Smyth	721	352	155	252
Scott	665	238	381	96
Tazewell	589	638	109	310
Grayson	567	113	274	---
Carroll	421	381	115	---
Russell	732	227	280	227
Craig	236	95	61	47
Totals	10,388	4,384	3,922	

Figure 4. 1870 Returns for the Eighth district

French, state senator from Giles and district canvasser for the state conservative party's Greeley/Brown presidential campaign. Major W. P. Cecil briefly campaigned as an Independent candidate. While endorsing James A. Johnston, "Citizen" of Walker's Creek, Giles County, suggested the convention should "take all these over anxious souls off the track and select some good man that has not put himself forward." Samuel Bane of Waterside, Giles, pleaded the case of Major Joseph Cloyd of Pulaski County, and agreed with "Citizen".¹⁰⁷

For Congressman Terry to run on his record during the Seventy-eighth Congress proved insufficient, although his industry and focus were outstanding. Opposed to protective tariffs and big government, he voted against the wholesale distribution of government lands to the Pacific Railroad and to the Baltimore and Ohio. He tacitly disliked any increase on tobacco taxes, yet compromised in order to obtain a stronger position on more critical legislation to the district. Although he credited himself with the increase in the number of post offices and postal routes, much of this represented a natural post war increase. He unsuccessfully worked toward a creative financing package to endow agricultural colleges. Terry attempted a more realistic repayment scheme for monies loaned by the

¹⁰⁷ Lloyd Fry of the Pearisburg Gazette argued that Gile's County deserved to have a congressman, since that honor had never befallen her. Pearisburg Gazette, June 15 and 29, 1872. The U. S. district Court indicted Walker for violating the 14th Amendment by serving in the House of Delegates. The charge would be dropped with repeal of the Iron Clad Oath in February, 1871. Walker's terms in the House were: 1871-73; see Pearisburg Gazette, April 13, 1872; on Cecil see Pearisburg Gazette, July 6, September 7, and October 6, 1872; the Gazette endorsed Johnston; see the Pearisburg Gazette, July 27 and August August 17, 1872.

states to help finance the War of 1812. Eventually coming to the states in the form of educational assistance, Terry visualized paying the interest on Virginia's pre-War debt. He endeared himself to the farmers of Giles County by obtaining a channelization survey of the New River by the U. S. Corps of Engineers.¹⁰⁸

Representing the Central Committee, James C. Taylor announced the selection of Abingdon for the August 22, 1872 congressional convention. With Central Committee approbation, the district Committee made their choice independently.¹⁰⁹

When R. W. Hughes announced as the Republican candidate, Col. French, elector and candidate for the Ninth, posted his speaking schedule in which he invited Hughes and the other candidates to join. The Gazette ridiculed Hughes proclaiming that General Terry, the favorite, "can settle his hash." Hughes recognized the improbability of winning the 1872 Congressional and 1873 gubernatorial campaigns, but by keeping his name before the Republican party, other political favors would come his way, not the least of which would be subsequent appointment as a Federal Judge

¹⁰⁸ Pearisburg Gazette, June 22, 1872; see Chapter One for a discussion of the channelization.

¹⁰⁹ Pearisburg Gazette, August 3, 1872; The district Committeemen were James A. Walker, William Watts, and Col. Cummings. Pearisburg Gazette, July 6, 1872; Central Committee selected Col J.M. French, Bland, Archer A. Phlegar, Montgomery, and Col. I. B. Dunn as canvassers at large for the conservative party. John R. Compton, chairman of the Bland citizens meeting, recommended Sharon Springs for the convention; see Pearisburg Gazette, July 6, 1872; the Montgomery White Sulphur Springs, Montgomery County, received the Gazette's endorsement; see Pearisburg Gazette, June 29, 1872.

for Eastern Virginia.¹¹⁰

All over the district, townships held district delegate selection conventions. J. D. Johnston called for all of the townships of Giles to meet in Pearisburg on August 20 in a single convention on court day. Congressional candidates Terry, Walker, and French entertained the electorate "for several hours by eloquent and humorous addresses." Townships then adjourned to separate courthouse apartments to select their delegates.¹¹¹

At noon on August 22, 1872, J. B. Richmond, Scott County, called the Abingdon convention to order in town hall. Col. Abram Fulkerson of Goodson and later a leader in the Readjuster movement, served as temporary chairman. Charles W. Webber, editor of the Salem Weekly Register assumed secretarial duties. W. B. Aston, Russell, moved to have each county select one delegate to serve as the basis for the convention. The convention defeated his motion. John A. McCaull of the Roanoke Times offered the acceptable alternative of two delegates per county one each for a committee on organization and credentials.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ Pearisburg Gazette, August 3, 1872; Gordon B. McKinney, Southern Mountain Republicans 1865-1900 Politics and the Appalachian Community (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978), 59-61.

¹¹¹ Pearisburg Gazette, July 20, August 3 and 24, 1872. The convention chose James B. Peck and A. Lloyd Fry, Pearisburg, D. R. Cecil and Samuel Shannon, Walker's Creek, and Hiram T. Jones and T. J. Hardwick, Newport, as their delegates. The Bland convention elected T. S. Munsey and R. S. Hoge, Mechanisburg, S. W. Williams and A. N. Thompson, Seddon, A. Honaker and James Justice, Rocky Gap, and Eli Groseclose and George Kinser, Sharon; see Pearisburg Gazette, August 17, 1872.

¹¹² Pearisburg Gazette, August 31, 1872.

The organizational committee quickly recommended Colonel Fulkerson as president. McCaull moved, as he had in 1870, that each county delegation receive a proportional vote based on its population. Robert Kent of Wythe County, offered the substitute that delegations be based on the number of votes cast for Walker in 1869. This substitute passed 53 to 45 but Peck of Giles County moved a substitute for the substitute that disrupted the convention for two days. His motion based delegate representation on the aggregate all non-Republican votes cast in the last election. Counties such as Tazewell and Washington would receive disproportionate strength because of their support for independents. Peck's motion stirred the oratorical passions of the delegates. Could the delegates accept the independents as conservatives? Finally, Kent moved that the credential committee's report be accepted because the true Conservative voting strength of each township could not be ascertained. Further, he suggested that the nominee receiving the least votes on each ballot be dropped from subsequent ballots. In orderly fashion, William Terry, Col I. P. Dunn, Gen. Reese T. Bowen, Gen. James A. Walker, Capt. R. A. Richmond, and H. W. Holdway were nominated before the dinner break. On the first ballot Terry and Bowen tied for first. Walker polled a weak third. Holdway was dropped. On the second ballot, Dunn withdrew and Richardson dropped. On the final ballot, Bowen picked up the plurality and received the 2/3rds majority he needed for the nomination. Terry's loss shocked his friends who indignantly complained that, thanks to a rigged convention, the strongest candidate in the field lost! Actually the vociferousness of Terry's partisans turned some delegates to

Bowen.¹¹³

Major Cecil tried to persuade the electorate with public engagements. As slim crowds rejected his anti-Abingdon rhetoric, a respected gentleman saw his credibility diminish. He "sensibly" withdrew. Failing to draw good crowds, Col. I. B. Dunn canvassed the district for Greeley and Brown. Captain William H. Howe, Smyth, and Gov. Fayette McMullin announced as Independents. When confronted with his promise to Bowen that he would not run as an Independent if Bowen received the nomination McMullen said, "I know I did, but who in the name of heavens ever thought Gen. Bowen would get the nomination."¹¹⁴

Capitalizing on the public distaste for machine politics and the corruption of the Grant regime, Bowen declared: "I do not regard myself to be a great man, or a skilled politician, or versed in schemes or intrigues." His platform stood on his personal integrity. Bowen supported the national alliance of democrats and Liberal Republicans and their presidential candidate, Horace Greeley. Bowen promised to support liberal Republican congressmen working to restore the south's prosperity. Bowen's nomination at the unusually open Abingdon convention virtually assured his victory.¹¹⁵

As seen in Table 5, of the 15,676 votes cast, Bowen defeated Hughes two to one. Republicans expressed a slightly greater interest in the

¹¹³ ibid.; Salem Weekly Register, February 3, 1874.

¹¹⁴ Pearisburg Gazette, September 7 and 21, 1872; Montgomery Messenger, October 11, 1872; Salem Weekly Register, February 3, 1874.

¹¹⁵ Pearisburg Gazette, September 7 and August 17, 1872.

presidential election on than conservatives but the emphasis was on local politics and many saw little logic in voting the presidential ballot.¹¹⁶

The returns indicate a strong and loyal republican minority comprising 30 per cent of the population, and reflecting a measure of pro-Union philosophy. In the Ninth District, no lessons of political control had been learned. The press and the electorate found that it was not easy to wean themselves from traditional, informal methods of choosing candidates on court day when many independent aspirants addressed the crowd for hours. Like their cohorts throughout Virginia, most conservatives of the Ninth District believed that they represented the ideals of Jefferson/Jacksonian democracy. They distrusted organized politics. Only the corrupt machinations of the Republican Party, they said, induced them to engage in organized politics.

The election of 1874 provides an opportunity to examine the effectiveness of the Conservative organization following its decisive success of the 1873 House elections. There were two obstacles to party organization: McMullen and the fear that conventions were corrupt and dishonest.

McMullen, the perennial old anti-caucus independent candidate was a disruptive force in orderly political organization; yet he was routinely welcomed into the folds of conservatives. By 1874 eleven Ninth District newspapers favored an open election. Only the Bristol News and the Montgomery Messenger favored the party convention plan. The perception

¹¹⁶ Election results are from the Richmond Dispatch, November 28 and December 8, 1872.

County	Bowen	Hughes	Grant	Greeley
Lee	1,057	289	288	1,051
Scott	730	589	590	672
Wise	427	179	179	424
Buchanan	225	48	53	214
Washington	1,503	712	439	1,100
Russell	765	36	363	742
Tazewell	775	189	214	718
Smyth	820	376	377	815
Wythe	921	389	390	725
Pulaski	464	340	341	446
Bland	341	90	98	338
Montgomery	786	893	876	783
Giles	529	202	204	526
Roanoke	690	618	617	687
Craig	319	58	67	309
Total	10,352	5,324	5,296	9,950

Figure 5. 1872 Returns for the Ninth District

that Bowen upset Terry in the 1870 Marion convention persuaded the press that the convention process was unjust. The Ninth District convention of 1874 would exacerbate fears about the nomination process.

The "old waggoner" McMullen reveled in the debate. He had demonstrated in the past campaign that an independent could canvas the constituency, and with great dignity bow out at the last minute. McMullen professed a willingness to submit to a fair convention but his name never came before a convention. He promised, if allowed to run unopposed, he would not run for re-election. His fervent desire was to end his political career with one postwar term in Congress, and he believed that all his competitors could afford to sit out for two years. His previous defeats were due to convention tricks, and he threatened that "...if you 'double team' upon me as you did in the Terry and Hughes campaign...[I will be] a candidate for Congress until I can have a fair, single handed race." Occasionally he would modify his theme for aspirants to leave the field between Terry and himself. McMullen believed that his strength would outweigh the Republican vote. Further, like a great many conservatives, McMullen believed the Republicans would vote for conservatives. On the contrary, disillusioned Republicans and conservatives simply did not vote. The press treated McMullen with no mercy. The Wytheville Enterprise even hinted that McMullen might be a member of the new populist society, the Grangers.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷ Salem Weekly Register, April 21, May 26, June 13, August 11 and 25, 1874; Montgomery Messenger, May 20, 1874; Pearisburg Gazette, May 16, 1874. The Grangers became an effective political voice in the late 1870s and 1880s. The equalization of freight rates for agricultural products and the cooperative exchange of farming knowledge drew the

The restraints on the farmers' time, the inconvenience of traveling, and unseasonably hot weather dampened convention enthusiasm during the summer of 1874. Yet, as the convention date approached, papers grew more cautious. Only the Montgomery Messenger solicited the convention site. On June 23, James T. Miller chaired a special gathering of conservative voters in Christiansburg. A committee drafted resolutions to request of the central committee to hold the next convention either at the Montgomery White Sulphur Springs or the Montgomery Yellow Sulphur Springs.¹¹⁸

In calling for the district convention to meet in Marion on September 2, the Central Committee published guidelines for the selection of delegates. Conventions must be called in districts which has a clear conservative majority in 1872. In other areas, the county committees were given discretion to convene either township or county conventions. Apportionment of delegates was based on the Conservative turnout in the Kemper election. Most important, the Central Committee, in a statement released by Chairman John A. Meredith, declared its "earnest purpose not only to throw the whole weight of the party organization against Radical candidates... but... to treat bolters from our organization, or [Independent] opponents of our candidates, in all respects as Radicals."¹¹⁹

Grangers' attention in the southwest. See Fred A. Shannon, The Farmer's Last Frontier: Agriculture 1860-1897 (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1945), 329-348.

¹¹⁸ Montgomery Messenger, June 26, 1874; committee members were Capt. George G. Junkin, H. P. Wilson, F. Henderson, D. Willis and Major James C. Taylor.

¹¹⁹ Pearisburg Gazette, July 18 and October 10, 1874; Montgomery

The Central Committee's decision to ignore votes cast for independents in apportioning delegates answered the loudest criticism against conventions. Forced to take sides, for the first time fence straddlers could no longer enjoy both the benefits of a party and still run as an independent.¹²⁰

When the Giles and Roanoke county conservatives called their township conventions for August the Pearisburg Gazette and the Salem Weekly Register abstained from their usual criticism of the convention process in the interest of the Conservative movement. When the four Roanoke townships met on August 15, a majority predictably supported Terry. The Montgomery Messenger remained an unrestrained advocate for the Conservative Party urging former Republicans "who are ready to leave it or the Civil Rights question and act in good faith...[to] vote with us."¹²¹

Messenger, July 17, 1874; James A. Walker, Jno. A. McCaull, delegates to the State Conservative Party. Apportionment based on one delegate for every 100 votes, and one delegate for every fraction over 50 votes. The distribution gave Lee (15), Scott (13), Russell (11), Buchanan (5), Washington (20), Tazewell (14), Smyth (12), Wythe (14), Pulaski (7), Bland (5), Montgomery (11), Giles (9), Roanoke (10), Craig (5), and Wise (5). The delegate distribution for townships followed the same plan.

¹²⁰ Newbern's Virginia People position is typical, see Pearisburg Gazette, June 20, 1874; the Salem Weekly Register was emphatically independent, although editor Webber was certainly active as a Conservative; Salem Weekly Register, May 12, June 2 and 10, 1874. Webber served in the House as an independent conservative during the 1874/75 session.

¹²¹ Pearisburg Gazette, July 25 and August 15, 1874. George Easley issued the Giles call in Pearisburg Gazette, August 11, 1874; Salem Weekly Register, July 28 and August 4, 1874; Montgomery Messenger, August 14, 1874; clear support for the Conservative Party in Montgomery and Craig Counties reflected in Montgomery Messenger, July 17, 1874.

At the August township conventions for Montgomery County there were uneven turnouts. 105 gathered in Christiansburg to elect Capt. John W. Shelton, county Judge John N. Lyle, Joseph E. Crush, and John H. Kipps. Professor Charles Martin chaired the Blacksburg meeting which chose Henry C. Barnett, Francis Henderson and Dr. Robert F. Hoge. Captain Heth chaired the meeting in Radford as a few friends elected editors Thomas Carper and Charles Conrad of the Messenger as delegate and alternate.¹²²

The cautionary announcements for the Giles County convention suggested that the convention would be a matter of course and the citizens might as well give it their full support. George W. Easley requested a full attendance in order to secure good men as delegates to be "sent to the convention untrammelled by instructions." The question of not instructing delegates could hardly be avoided. Most delegates were chosen based on their endorsements.¹²³

Editor Charles Conrad frequently corresponded from Richmond. While reporting the names of many prominent southwest Virginia men mentioned as possible candidates, he added a precautionary note. The Central Committee had issued directives against pre-convention canvassing considering such tactics as "indelicate, unwise, and dangerous to the unity and harmony of the Conservative Party. Those who practice it should be made to feel the cut of the party whip." They reminded conservatives of the results of Terry's and Walker's previous campaigns: they "spoke,

¹²² Montgomery Messenger, August 28, 1874; Martin was associated with the Christiansburg Presbyterian church and the Virginia Agricultural and Mechanical College.

¹²³ Pearisburg Gazette, July 18 and August 15, 1874.

rode and electioneered in every county of our district and had the satisfaction of going to Abingdon and witnessing each other's defeat..."¹²⁴

Potential candidates and independents surfaced predictably in the pre-convention weeks. Col. Joseph T. Campbell, answering to a letter signed "A Voter" in the Abingdon Virginian, endorsed the convention process in defense of his own candidacy for the seat. Col. A. Fulkerson, guilty of using the "unmanly" pseudonym, had questioned Campbell's loyalty and aroused sufficient wrath for Campbell to demand justice. Col. James M. French decided not to wait for the convention, and announced as an independent, placing himself and McMullen into the field. This decision was not well received by the press. The Messenger cautioned French against discrediting his service as a legislator, and dividing the party's strength against a potential Radical challenge. "The nominee will be selected, we know that, but such action produces factions in the party which may ultimately ruin it." Surprised by French's action, the Gazette recommended to him that he "think again before [taking] this rash step. If the convention or your party treats you badly, then will be time enough to 'bolt' and become an 'Independent'." Politically, French's views mirrored McMullin's. He chastised the convention process and took Terry to task for his vote on the tobacco tax and the so-called salary grab. French withdrew in October. He was convinced, wrote "W" to the Lynchburg News that "the sentiment of the people (is) against Independents,

¹²⁴ Pearisburg Gazette, March 21, 1874; Montgomery Messenger, August 14 and September 4, 1874.

disorganizers, and Radicals in this noble and Conservative district."¹²⁵

The Salem Weekly Register and the Wytheville Enterprise strongly endorsed Terry. Because of his close friendship to Terry, Webber could not support Bowen, although "if he never does us any good, we are sure he will never do us any harm." On July 11 Bowen announced for re-election.¹²⁶

"P" put the hat of James D. Johnston into the ring. Johnston, a "high toned religious gentleman" would satisfy the need to have Giles represented in Congress. "P" promised an end to Radicalism in southwest Virginia with Johnston's election. Another correspondent endorsed General Gabriel C. Wharton. Had not Wharton, he asked, done more to secure the success of the region? Look at the Agricultural College locating in Blacksburg; the efforts to get the Poverty Creek route opened to the James River and Kanawha Canal; and the late war? "no man did more for the success of the 'lost cause.'" Wharton impressed the Montgomery media, particularly with a House appropriation of \$45,000 to the VAMC and his remarkable war service. The Messenger expressed reservations toward the other candidates. Col. James T. Campbell's war record was "not the most

¹²⁵ Montgomery Messenger, September 4, 1874; Pearisburg Gazette, August 29 and October 3, 1874. The Gazette remarked that Terry would have been a fool to decline the salary as set by law; October 10, 1874.

¹²⁶ Salem Weekly Register, May 12 and September 1, 1874. Commenting on the nomination of Col. Cabell of Floyd district, Webber reminisced, "This looks like getting back to old times when none but the best men were selected for Congress; see August 25, 1874 on the selection of pro-Terry delegates in the Craig County convention; Salem Weekly Register, February 3, 1874; Webber answered allegations from a Washington, D.C. correspondent to the Wytheville Enterprise that the Register degraded Bowen's service to the district.

patriotic and self-sacrificing." General Terry would make a good second choice. Major Kent fought from the rear and "faced not the grape and cannister."¹²⁷

On September 2, General James A. Walker opened the convention proceedings in Marion with J. W. Marshall of Craig seated as president, and Major W. H. Davis of Pulaski as secretary. The credentials committee apportioned the vote according to Conservative strength in each county. A simple majority elected the candidate. Delegates placed the names of Joseph T. Campbell of Washington County, Gabriel C. Wharton of Montgomery County, William Terry of Wythe County, and Reese T. Bowen of Tazewell County before the convention. Unlike previous years, candidates could be introduced into the ballot until a nominee emerged. This tactic diluted the vote, gave delegates a chance to petition for their candidates, and encouraged a lot of heated debate.¹²⁸

On the first ballot, and subsequent ballots, Terry maintained a comfortable margin. Efforts to keep Bowen in the race continued, even to the point of re-introducing his name in the fifth. Campbell enjoyed good survivorship while other men, like Wharton, Sheffey, Johnston, Dunn and Walker lasted only through a single ballot. Wharton's name came up again in the fourth as delegates attempted to take advantage of a stalemate. Each round followed with cacophonous debate, and pleadings for

¹²⁷ Radicalism in southwest Virginia was never a threat; Pearisburg Gazette, August 8 and 22, 1874 and picked up in Montgomery Messenger, August 21, 1874. Robert Kent was from Wythe County.

¹²⁸ Pearisburg Gazette, September 5, 1874; Salem Weekly Register, September 8, 1874.

adjournments in order to retrench. A five minute break after the seventh resolved the crisis as the contest narrowed to Campbell and Terry. On the ninth ballot, Campbell received 7500 and Terry 8100. Upon Terry's nomination, the crowd broke into unparalleled cheers and celebration. The editor of the Messenger sent the following telegram:

"General Terry was nominated on the ninth ballot amidst the wildest enthusiasm; Jim Crush getting on top of a chair - Judge Lyle, with hat in hand yelling like a wild Indian, climbing on a table for a speech; Jno Kipps, with eyes like a pair of full moons and face spreading like a sunflower, is pushing for Terry. Bill Bell don't know whether he is on his head or his heels. Wat. Shelton, the Terry wheelhouse, has chased McMullen to the bushes and rallying for another charge! Marshall of Craig is yelling out 'go on with the love feast' - whilst Dr. Logon, the Longfellow of Giles, who nominated Terry, is still yelling - 'Giles solid for Terry!'"¹²⁹

The losers received their accolades. The convention acknowledged their grateful support for the service of General Bowen who responded, "This district could send abler men to Congress than I, but none more honest, faithful, or devoted to the interests of the people."¹³⁰

In questioning the Marion Herald's unwillingness to support Terry, the Weekly Register accused them of selling out to McMullen over a \$400 debt. McMullen, Webber said, promised to square off the debt for their support. McMullen told Webber that he had a deed of trust against the Herald, and "could shut it up at any moment." The Salem Weekly Register's editors would "beg our bread from door to door, and allow our family, as dearly as we love them, to be carried to the poor house and

¹²⁹ Salem Weekly Register, September 8, 1874.

¹³⁰ ibid.; Montgomery Messenger, September 11, 1874. Although not officially a candidate, James D. Johnston received "complimentary" support from Tazewell, Buchanan, Pulaski and Giles. Pearisburg Gazette, September 5, 1874.

there remain forever" before allowing such a threat. The Herald denied the charge, but the Weekly Register countered with their source: the "brother of one of the editors of the Herald, a young man engaged in a boot and shoe house in Richmond."¹³¹

Both Terry and McMullen made regular appearances together on court days. One would lead off with an hour's speech, followed by fifteen minute rebuttals. McMullen criticized the Marion convention and the manner in which delegates were chosen. In some counties a mass meeting was apparently called rather than township meetings. By the central conservative committee rules, the criticism was not valid. McMullen lambasted Terry's service in Congress, particularly Terry's vote on the "educational bill" and the "tobacco tax". He complained about the "salary grab", reiterating his pledge to return \$2,000 to the district. Even the VAMC might receive a portion of the kick-back. General Terry's rebuttal would "completely demolish the governor", tear "his speech all to pieces" not even leaving a "greasy spot." In Christiansburg, McMullen faced his worst reception. The Messenger suggested that McMullen canvas with the Radicals. Although neither man was seriously injured, in Estillville, Lee County, Terry and McMullen exchanged blows. The "old waggoner's" face, read the exchange notice, "bears somewhat the appearance of a variegated hollyhoc." In addition to a rigorous speaking schedule, Terry selected canvassers to work on his behalf in the western portion of the

¹³¹ Ten of twelve Smyth County delegates supported Terry. Salem Weekly Register, September 8 and 15, 1874; Terry used sarcasms to demean McMullen. See Montgomery Messenger, October 2., 1874.

district.¹³²

The Montgomery Messenger characterized the Republican convention held in Wytheville as a farce. Seven votes nominated George W. Henderlite of Smyth County. Since Henderlite received no Conservative press coverage of his canvas, his success as a candidate relied entirely upon his party's ability to publicize his candidacy. Given the poor organization of the Republican party in the west, he received only the traditional black and pro-Union Republican votes.¹³³

The proposed constitutional amendments would further alienate blacks and poor whites from the Conservative mainstream. The establishment of voting pre-requisites by payment of a capitation tax and voting viva voce worked a hardship on the poorer classes, subject, as they were, to social pressures from their employers. Finally, the elimination of townships by these amendments, while billed as a savings to the Commonwealth through the reduction in the number of constitutional offices, allowed for the gerrymandering of magisterial district borders. This gave the legislature a valuable tool in areas with a high black population. The papers of the southwest endorsed the acceptance of the amendments.

The county Conservative Party prepared the ballots. The committee

¹³² Montgomery Messenger October 2, 1874; Pearisburg Gazette October 3, 1874; the scuffle appeared in the Lee County Sentinel and was picked up in the Pearisburg Gazette for October 24, 1874 and Salem Weekly Register, October 27, 1874. Terry canvassed in 43 towns from October 6 until November 2; Pearisburg Gazette, October 10, 1874; Montgomery Messenger, September 16, 1874.

¹³³ Yost of Tazewell chaired the Republican convention. Surface of Montgomery served as the secretary; Pearisburg Gazette, October 3, 1874; Montgomery Messenger, September 4 and 16, and October 30, 1874.

made available two versions of the ballots for constitutional amendments. One ballot read, "For the amendments to the constitution," and the other read, "Against the amendments to the constitution." A third ballot listed the election candidates. Opposing tickets would be printed by the Republican party. The manner of preparing and distributing ballots worked a hardship on the illiterate and opened the door for ballot box stuffing. There is no evidence of this happening in the southwest. In Giles County, a third ballot box existed for the deposit of the vote on the county subscription to support the New River Railroad, Mining and Manufacturing Co. On these ballots each voter had to write or print his name, and write or print "For subscription" or "Against subscription." The county clerk would determine if the voter's freehold status.¹³⁴

Perhaps Terry's attention to this campaign reflected some concerns regarding his victory. He did not leave much to chance. Most of the press debate focused on his margin. Given his 6,000 vote margin in 1870, 5,000 seemed a safe bet. Some question remained regarding the counties McMullen would carry. Anti-convention sentiment in the western counties of Tazewell, Lee, Scott, Russell and Wise concerned Terry and rightfully so, as McMullen would show his strongest support in the west where his returns gave him a substantial increase over past years. Terry's margins, as seen in Table 6, were substantially smaller than predicted. Of the 16,633 votes cast, Terry received less than 50 per cent. Henderlite polled a

¹³⁴ See Shibley, "Election Laws," for an indepth analysis of election fraud; Montgomery Messenger, October 3, 1874; H. W. Broderick, clerk of court for Giles was also an incumbent in this election; Pearisburg Gazette, October 24, 1874.

weak 11 per cent, compared to Hughes' 21 per cent in 1870. McMullen returned 41 per cent, compared to 23 per cent in 1870.¹³⁵

Almost the entire electorate voted on the constitutional amendment package which received 10,933 ballots "for" and 3,625 ballots "against". The New River Railroad referendum for Giles County passed 603 to 170. Confusion between convention conservative and independent conservative, the press' apathy toward the convention resulted in the turnover in independent strength. Terry's showing in the Roanoke, Montgomery, Wythe, and Giles Counties demonstrated the effectiveness of the press in this section of the Ninth.¹³⁶

Fayette McMullen's surprising show of strength in the 1874 election gave him the independent base that he needed to attempt the campaign of 1876. He anticipated running against Terry, a man with a debatable congressional record. McMullen did not portend the entry of Auburn Pridemore whose phenomenal popularity forced McMullen quietly to withdraw.¹³⁷

With the sentiment of the press against him, McMullen appealed to

¹³⁵ Terry received 6,231 votes over Henderlite, and 1,292 over McMullen; Henderlite and McMullen together held a 529 majority over Terry; Richmond Dispatch, November 25, 1874.

¹³⁶ Ibid; Salem Weekly Register, November 10, 1874; Doris F. Cullop, "The Ninth District in Virginia Politics 1865-1901," (MA Thesis, Radford University, 1965), p. 31. Cullop suggests that Terry's victory was due to his position as a Funder and McMullen's as a Readjuster. The state debt issue did not make inroads in Congressional elections until 1876, and even then, it was minimal.

¹³⁷ On McMullen's withdrawal, the Newbern Virginia People extracts from a letter to A. L. Pridemore from F. McMullen, dated at Abingdon August 28, 1876; quoted in Salem Weekly Register, September 8, 1876.

County	Terry	Henderlite	McMullin
Lee	657	82	751
Scott	285	87	1249
Wise	262	10	427
Buchanan	148	16	426
Washington	784	122	663
Russell	395	80	965
Tazewell	706	59	921
Smyth	556	265	455
Wythe	887	30	114
Pulaski	588	240	134
Bland	110	3	57
Montgomery	870	241	82
Giles	526	55	159
Roanoke	890	524	68
Craig	388	7	89
totals	8,052	1,821	6,760

Figure 6. 1874 Returns for the Ninth District

the popular sentiment against holding conventions. His plan backfired, however, when Pridemore, following a speech by F. W. M. Holliday, charged McMullen with complicity. McMullen had said, charged Pridemore, "...that the convention process was unfair and that he did not believe in conventions, when at the same time, [he] had written to friends in the district to attend the primary meetings, and if they could not get delegates for him, to break up the meeting to make it appear that the people did not want a convention." McMullen did not deny the charge. In fact, the hisses and yells greeting him in Roanoke forced a curtailment of his rebuttal. After the "debate", the Pridemore standard bearers continued their merriment at the Salem Duvall House.¹³⁸

Most of the early support in the district came to Terry who was still in Washington D.C. He appealed to his friends to canvass for him. Judge Charles C. Campbell complimented Terry's performance as a congressman.

¹³⁸ Future Governor Holliday was the state elector for Gov. Samuel Tilden and Gov. Thomas A. Hendricks on the National Democratic ticket; Salem Weekly Register, September 8 and 22, 1876; the Lee Sentinel rebukes McMullen; the Bristol Courier, responding to the implication that McMullen could carry Craig and Giles: "If this is the only chance for the 'old waggoner' we pity him. It would be a novel thing to see Craig go against a nominee once." In the Salem Weekly Register, September 29, 1876, a communication to the Conservative, signed "Craig", suggests that the county is pro-McMullin. The Weekly Register calls "Craig" an interloper, a friend of McMullen's or State Senator James W. Marshall; Salem Weekly Register, July 28, 1876; Marshall, who denied the charge, had said "if Pridemore was nominated he would not hesitate to stump the district against him, in Salem Weekly Register, October 6, 1876, "Virginian" denounces The Conservative's pro Virginia editorializing "to nauseation." If farmers of Craig, he suggests, would spend more time raising profitable crops they would not need to banter representative Terry's name, Salem Weekly Register, July 7, 1876; "X" complains of party division by the introduction of friendly challengers to the congressional seat, Salem Weekly Register, July 28, 1876.

Campbell then announced his own candidacy. The Montgomery Messenger criticized Campbell's lack of military service. To elect Campbell or any non-Confederate "would be untrue to the record of the 'Old Stonewall Brigade.'" The Lynchburg Star said Terry should be renominated for his "faithful adherence to party principle." The Wytheville Dispatch preferred Terry's value as a incumbent. The Scott County Banner, while not wishing to discourage native son Pridemore, praised Terry's work on the committees for military affairs and public expenditures. Charles Heerman's Virginia People sarcastically suggested the overworked Terry should be replaced. "Voter", writing to the Messenger, reminded readers that the Ninth would never gain recognition in Congress unless they allowed the congressman to build seniority. A correspondent to the Wytheville Enterprise reminded voters that the failure to get an appropriation for the channelization of the New River lay with the voters who did not return Terry in 1872. A correspondent from Craig challenged the mounting opposition to "refer to a single instance in which Gen. Terry is amenable to the charge of sectionalism, or in which he has failed to represent with marked ability and unflinching fidelity the interests of the whole district."¹³⁹

Toward the end of July, convention fever settled on the southwest.

¹³⁹ From the Bristol News, as quoted in Salem Weekly Register; July 28 and July 21, 1876; in the Salem Weekly Register, August 4, 1876, Terry submitted a report exposing inflated costs for renovating government rental property, the Riggs House and the Randall Building, to be used to house the Quartermaster General's Department; Salem Weekly Register, July 7, 1876. After Heerman's became Treasurer of VAMC, he actively supported the Readjuster movement; see Shibley, "Election Laws," pp. 107-08.

The district Conservative committee chose Abingdon for the August 23, 1876 convention. The Messenger set the premise:

Let the Ninth District remember [her honor] and nominate at Abingdon, not a negative, not a candidate with a suspected [war] record, not a hot-spur or rash speaker, but a discreet, resolute, working man, whose record for development and success in matters of public enterprise are known - whose acts for the Southwest speak for themselves - whose maxim has been "conciliate enemies, prove true to friends."¹⁴⁰

With the constitutional change from township to magisterial districts, delegates could not have relative voting strengths based on past performance. Instead, each district chose their two delegates. By the order of George P. Terrill, chairman of the Roanoke County executive committee, August 19 was that county's convention date. Roanoke held magisterial district conventions. Craig held a county mass meeting. The chairman, Dr. P. D. Grove, appointed Craig's delegates on their August 8 court day convention. Upon motion, Grove's name was added to the list of delegates. A heated discussion followed the delegate selection as to whether the delegates should go untrammelled. The vote decided against instructing the delegates. This was not so in Salem district. After a twenty minute pro-Terry speech by H. A. Edmundson, delegates W. Griffin and Charles M. Webber were instructed to support Terry. In Big Lick, Henry S. Trout, chairman, and J. A. Watts, secretary, conducted the convention.

¹⁴⁰ Ninth District committeemen were: James C. Taylor, H. C. Woods, and A. Fulkerson; Fulkerson took advantage of a split in the Conservative Party during the mid-1870s to join Mahone as a principle in the Readjuster movement. Although the Funder/Readjuster movement is not addressed at the congressional level, in state elections it was a critical issue. See James T. Moore, Two Paths to the New South: The Virginia Debt Controversy, 1870-1883 (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1974), 54-82. Webber was always outspoken in his preferences; quote in Salem Weekly Register, July 28, 1876.

Capt. R. B. Moorman and Palmer St. Clair were instructed on Tayloe's motion to support Terry. The Catawba meeting did not instruct delegates Capt. W. W. Brand and George W. Lewis. This followed considerable debate. They did instruct the alternates, should they go, to support Col. William Watts.¹⁴¹

The Abingdon convention surprised many delegates. After a cacophonous two days, General Auburn L. Pridemore found himself the Conservative nominee. The selection of committees followed the old plan. Archer A. Phlegar, Montgomery, moved to apportion the vote according to the 1873 Kemper election. J. A. I. Lee, Craig, amended this motion to allow each county to use its own discretion in apportioning their votes. Heermans suggested giving each candidate ten minutes to address the convention. No candidate's name could be placed in nomination more than three times. The candidate receiving the lowest ballot would be dropped on each round. Each of these motions afforded the delegates an opportunity to rise in their chairs and contest.¹⁴²

After the dinner break, balloting proceeded. Pridemore and Judge

¹⁴¹ Salem Weekly Register, July 28, and August 11, 1876; Craig delegates: Alleghany district, John A. I. Lee and Alexander Trenor; Simonsville district, George W. Hutchison and John D. Caldwell; New Castle district, Major M. P. Spessard and Paris V. Jones; Salem Weekly Register, August 18, 1876 and August 11, 1876. T. M. Sharkey and William A. Henderson, elected delegates for Roanoke County's Cave Spring district; in the Catawba convention, Thomas Pollard chaired, and W. I. Crawford transcribed; Salem Weekly Register, August 25, 1876.

¹⁴² Col. Fulkerson called the meeting to order. Charles A. Heermans took the temporary chair, and in the afternoon session, Robert A. Richardson became the permanent president. Webber took the minutes. Salem Weekly Register, September 1, 1876.

Campbell held on in each round. Terry lost his bid in the third, after which the convention adjourned until the next morning. The next day, Charles A. Ronald, G. C. Wharton, John L. Buchanan, and Col. R. A. Richardson, who declined, enjoyed a brief moment as favorite sons. During the afternoon session, Heermans nominated General James Walker who nearly took the nomination, but the re-nomination of Terry diluted Walker's ballots, and both men lost their bids through counties suddenly switching their allegiances. On a motion from A. Lee, Pridemore was unanimously chosen. The convention followed with a declaration of support for the St. Louis Democratic convention: Tilden, Hendricks and Reform.¹⁴³

Virginians knew Auburn L. Pridemore well. Born into Lincolnesque surroundings in Scott County, Pridemore entered the war in 1861. He obtained the rank of colonel. In 1869, he was elected to the Virginia Senate, and served from 1870 until 1875. He was twice married. He met his second wife, a Crockett from Lee County, while serving as the temporary editor of the Lee Sentinel. The Bristol News described him as nearly forty, six feet, stout, black eyes and a thick crop of hair. McMullin nicknamed him Big Injun. A "good fellow", Pridemore demonstrated a natural oratorical style which could have taken him into a theatrical career.¹⁴⁴

Pridemore campaigned exclusively on solidifying the Conservative Party at the expense of the independent movement. Only within the party, Pridemore reminded voters, would farmers have a political voice. He

¹⁴³ Ibid. Tazewell switched to Pridemore with 937; Terry with 231; and Walker 284. Montgomery went solid for Pridemore with 1092. Giles followed with 875.

¹⁴⁴ Salem Weekly Register, September 8, 1876.

assailed McMullen's loyalty to the South, suggesting that McMullen's only effort to raise his arm during the war was to get votes. When the heavy guns came to the southwest to show their support for Pridemore, the constituency quickly raised the Pridemore standard. While the Weekly Register, Richmond State, and Petersburg Post filed their regrets on the loss of Terry Congress, other papers quickly endorsed Pridemore. Thomas East of Back Creek, Pulaski County, provided a 75 foot pole for a rally and barbecue in Roanoke County. Tongue-in-cheek, Col. G. A. Hubbert provided a two and one-half feet pole for the McMullen rally in front of the courthouse.¹⁴⁵

Sometime before the election, McMullen withdrew. The Republicans ran with Col. George E. Egbert, a man with no extensive political experience and no press support. The growing Conservative momentum and better statewide campaign organization gave Pridemore the most decisive victory since Redemption. He received a 10,336 majority over Egbert. Several men, including "Jack", gathered a few write-in ballots. Egbert gathered 24 per cent of the 19,918 ballots cast. This more than doubled his returns over Henderlite, but remained in the vicinity of the ballots received by Hughes. With McMullen out of the race, independent conservatives would vote for the Conservative Party nominee.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁵ Salem Weekly Register, September 22, 1876; Col. F. W. M. Holliday and John W. Daniel, electors for the state at large, D. S. Pierce, district elector, Gen. Terry, Ex-mayor Gregory of Petersburg, and General James Walker stumped for Pridemore. The presence of Terry and Walker demonstrated party unity; Salem Weekly Register, September 1 and 8, 1876.

¹⁴⁶ Election results are taken from the Richmond Dispatch, November 18, 1876 and Salem Weekly Register, October 6, 1876.

County	Pridemore	Egbert
Lee	1,092	277
Scott	1,106	501
Wise	471	141
Buchanan	311	6
Washington	1,969	725
Russell	962	112
Tazewell	1,203	142
Smyth	1,283	274
Wythe	1,600	430
Pulaski	790	387
Bland	562	65
Montgomery	1,471	788
Giles	756	117
Roanoke	1,146	773
Craig	405	53
Total	15,127	4,791

Figure 7. 1876 Returns for the Ninth District

CONCLUSION: FOCUSING ON THE DECADE

Although the Census of 1880 showed that the population of the the state as a whole increased 21 percent to 1,512,565 citizens, Ninth Congressional District had grown nearly 25 percent to 180,394. Little else had changed in the way of demographics for southwest Virginia. Blacks still represented nearly 15 percent of the Ninth District's total population. By contrast, the economic picture had improved dramatically during the decade, but only to approximate those numbers 1860. While the industrial labor force of men, women and children remained the same three percent of the population as it had been in 1870, the number of children in the labor force doubled. Among the Continental Divide counties only in Roanoke County was there significant employment of children, where six tobacco factories hired 70. In the decade before 1880 the number of Virginia industries decreased from 5,933 to 5,710, while their capital investment increased by one-third to \$27 million, in line with a statewide increase in the value of production went from \$38 million in 1870 to almost \$52 million in 1880. Agricultural commodities still accounted for 98 percent of the Ninth District's capital resources. This would change by 1890 with the completion of the New River railroad link between the new city of Radford, Virginia, Bluefield, West Virginia, and the rich coal deposits lying in the more western portions of the Ninth District. For all that the Continental Divide counties represented in the 1870s a bucolic, mercurial frontier lifestyle, full of noble aspirations and an intimacy among God, family and country, the end of the decade was

dominated by the land speculator, the railroad monopoly, and the ill-fated Populist Party.¹⁴⁷

The 1866-1876 period under study reflected a remarkable transition for the counties of the Ninth Congressional District. The immediate postwar political apathy was only a reflection of the general malaise affecting all of Virginia. Although Radical Reconstruction lasted only five years, this period offered the conservatives of Virginia an opportunity to negotiate tolerable terms for participation within the Union, and to lay the ground work for white male control of the state. At worst, the Iron Clad Oath robbed some aristocrats of some dignity and introduced connivance into their political existence. The creation of a successful central political organization appeared to be sufficiently dictatorial to appall many free-spirited independent conservatives by its crude exploitation of the electorate's fear of a statewide black political control. While local Democrats had difficulties balancing these contrasting considerations, the problems of local Republicans were less and contributed to the growth of a strong following for the party in all of Appalachian mountain counties.¹⁴⁸

In most respects, most newspaper editors of the Continental Divide, such as Charles Webber, Lloyd Fry and Thomas Conrad were more independent

¹⁴⁷ Statistics of the United States at the Tenth Census (June 1, 1880) (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883).

¹⁴⁸ Frederick Pollock, "The Oath of Allegiance," MacMillan's Magazine 42 (May, 1880): 312-20; E. B. Tylor, "Ordeals and Oaths," MacMillan's Magazine 39 (May, 1876): 1-11; Edward A. Thomas, "Oaths in Legal Proceedings," North American Review (September, 1882): 222. McKinney, Southern Mountain 203-4, makes this point in his thorough discussion of the growth of Republicanism following Radical reconstruction.

than Democratic. They were impractical, quixotic heroes, using their four-page weeklies to proselytize for essentially Populist causes. By the end of the decade, however, the new generation of editors was more nostalgic about the war and more willing to hold in check blacks and poor whites. A new leadership was emerging. No one debated the merits or demerits of Jacksonian democracy in antebellum days. For a brief moment, a few independent editors argued with party-line editors whether the District should reach its political decisions by party prescription, a "drugstore" or by an open election free of party tags. Expedient organization of conservatives became the order of the day. Newspaper editors were deeply involved in this transition.

How confusing and mysterious these arguments for centralizing and control must have been to the farmers. Most of their days were spent behind a Wilson plow pulled by a team of oxen or mules, their nights spent in restless exhaustion. Their diversion was a trip to the county seat to barter for household needs at small country stores and to pick up gossip, mail, and a weekly paper. The postwar bitterness associated with Radical Republicanism had subsided by 1880. Most of the issues the conservatives had used to build their momentum now seemed foolish, as the Conservative Party crumbled before the compelling needs of fiscal re-evaluation and control expressed in the Readjuster movement. Although they strongly supported the statewide political hegemony, national Republicanism represented a fiscal security for the democrats of southwest Virginia. Access to Republican capital was badly needed in the southwestern counties, and local leaders turned to the largess and patronage of national Republicans.

Fayette McMullin, the antebellum perennial independent, pulling his wagon of ideas from town to town like a patent medicine salesman, would have delighted in the outcome. For all the editorial rhetoric to the contrary, anti-caucus, free-thinking independents would look to their own interests in choosing congressional representatives following the ascendancy of the state Democratic party in 1883.

The paucity of blacks in the transmontane regions represented an almost insurmountable obstacle to state-level conservatives' desire to place racism on the political platform for the western conservatives. Southwestern Virginia citizens were more concerned about internal improvements, better marketing advantages, fair railroad rates and outside capital investment. As blacks in the Continental Divide counties quietly went their way in humble occupations, they acquired land and developed small communities. Because they, like most southern blacks simply wanted to be a part of the organic society, they modeled their lives as best they could on the Victorian values of the day. Most of their white neighbors thought southwest Virginian blacks were content. Comfortable with their numerical superiority, white farmers of the Continental Divide counties paid little attention to the racial tensions of the east and southside.¹⁴⁹

The people of Roanoke, Floyd, Giles, Montgomery, Craig, and Pulaski Counties enjoyed life. Even though they were largely tied to their occupations, they looked forward to occasions where they could escape the

¹⁴⁹ Joel Williamson, A Rage For Order: Black-White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 45-47.

tedium of toil. For the most part, socializing occurred within the church communities. Young people would take advantage of horseback trips to Mountain Lake in Giles County, of outings to the New River, or of participating in Elizabethian jousts. In the latter, young men would vie for the attention of their chosen damsel by daring equestrian contests. Often couples met at one of the many mineral springs of the area for repasts and dancing. Periodically the spring resorts of Allegheny Springs, Montgomery White Sulphur, Montgomery Yellow Sulphur, Roanoke Red Sulphur, and the New River White in Giles County sponsored formal balls. Picnics and barbecues, whether associated with a Methodist campground revival, a political campaign, a temperance gathering or just a friendly get together remained favorites. Like their contemporaries throughout agrarian America of small towns isolated by poor roads, the gregariousness of southwest Virginians willingly endured hours of political harangue. As memories of the war eroded, and a new generation of farmers came of age, they focused more on sustaining their families and enjoying what little free time they had, while elders fought forensic battles to salvage honor for the south.

The late 1860s and the decade of the 1870s represented a time of resettling. In politics and in routines, the men and women of southwest Virginia were a people of the land, representing the conservative values of integrity, industry, and an unwillingness to change. With minor ripples of independence on the conservative sea, the southwestern Virginia electorate supported the new statewide Democratic leadership. Yet when given a choice on the congressional and national level, the people considered their options carefully, and developed ties to the political

leaders of the Progressive Age.

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APPENDIX C. 1870 AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION IN THE NINTH DISTRICT

Number of Farms and Acreage

County	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Bland	326	16	25	85	104	90	6
Buchanan	634	122	207	242	54	9	0
Craig	283	6	9	48	111	107	1
Giles	495	34	53	119	143	142	4
Lee	930	28	60	243	324	271	4
Montgomery	639	10	34	145	168	258	24
Pulaski	332	12	8	49	84	146	33
Roanoke	555	3	25	115	140	263	9
Russell	825	27	76	251	257	198	16
Scott	1,083	24	96	356	366	238	3
Smyth	418	2	12	82	127	187	8
Tazewell	619	19	44	182	175	182	17
Washington	1,865	271	263	505	434	360	32
Wise	678	74	111	313	130	50	0
Wythe	596	40	36	106	117	264	33
Totals	10,278					2,765 190	

1. Number of farms
2. Number of farms under ten acres.
3. Number of farms over ten and under twenty acres.
4. Number of farms over twenty and under fifty acres.
5. Number of farms over fifty and under one hundred acres.
6. Number of farms over one hundred and less than five hundred acres.
7. Number of farms over five hundred acres.

1870 Agricultural Production of Select Crops¹⁵⁰

Average Wholesale Price					
County	7.5/100# Commodity	.38/#	1.0/bu	.60/bu	.25/#
	Tobacco	Wool	Peas	Potatoes	Butter
Bland	24.4	10,819	0	3,582	36,098
Buchanan	64.24	7,997	1,862	6,726	71,955
Craig	157.5	7,148	14	4,276	48,080
Giles	306.53	10,299	379	3,420	39,676
Lee	0	21,864	763	12,108	132,547
Montgomery	2,047.47	13,737	1,252	12,273	159,212
Pulaski	185.8	9,605	348	6,120	53,100
Roanoke	2,805.5	4,365	191	8,417	120,980
Russell	172.82	27,100	818	7,983	124,631
Scott	165.57	24,249	187	8,544	95,354
Smyth	15.75	10,514	60	6,049	64,910
Tazewell	50.26	19,812	200	9,675	95,175
Washington	278.64	28,936	739	11,383	187,010
Wise	81.28	12,482	1,579	9,842	75,213
Wythe	4.78	19,827	56	17,057	86,144
Total	6,360.54	228,754	8,448	127,455	1,390,085
In Dollars	47,704	86,926	8,448	76,473	347,521

Average Wholesale Price					
County	.20/# Commodity	18./ton	1.80/bu Flax seed	.45/gal molasses	.30/# bees' wax
	Cheese	Hay			
Bland	818	1,883	140	1,958	64
Buchanan	0	79	392	4,732	1,201
Craig	498	1,605	236	0	189
Giles	622	1,351	164	8,527	280
Lee	1,935	1,246	628	17,197	480
Montgomery	3,690	4,106	301	7,340	271
Pulaski	335	2,817	10	1,474	3
Roanoke	30	3,481	74	4,600	422
Russell	4,779	1,898	239	13,978	1,460
Scott	973	1,150	447	13,980	1,236
Smyth	26,820	3,327	65	5,123	406
Tazewell	4,360	5,301	156	9,548	165
Washington	3,552	5,008	370	20,503	775
Wise	255	387	218	7,373	478
Wythe	3,701	4,445	281	1,167	90
Total	52,368	38,084	3,721	117,500	7,520
In dollars	104,736	685,512	66,978	52,875	2,256

¹⁵⁰ Crops selected based on listings in the Lynchburg wholesale market, published weekly in the Pearisburg Gazette for 1870.

1870 Agricultural Production of Select Crops (continued)

Average Wholesale Price		1. 20/bu	. 90/bu	1. 10/bu	. 50/bu	\$10/head ¹⁵¹
County	Commodity	wheat	rye	corn	oats	swine
Bland		16,518	4,064	42,057	28,392	2,987
Buchanan		3,184	3,047	82,624	14,990	6,686
Craig		23,854	11,772	44,242	31,486	3,442
Giles		53,598	12,663	105,402	23,474	5,247
Lee		1,620	3,645	367,790	66,831	14,564
Montgomery		100,760	16,252	146,723	78,168	8,089
Pulaski		38,401	7,623	96,690	27,301	3,447
Roanoke		203,226	8,167	86,943	89,558	7,344
Russell		40,985	9,443	205,968	56,216	7,964
Scott		53,583	4,403	222,254	68,730	10,076
Smyth		44,681	9,756	96,829	66,323	5,059
Tazewell		38,020	6,242	155,133	69,189	6,651
Washington		106,520	10,863	351,732	183,147	14,733
Wise		6,844	4,443	90,187	17,953	6,891
Wythe		71,913	17,913	115,175	79,234	8,160
Total		883,707	130,296	2,209,749	900,992	11,224
In dollars		1,060,448	117,266	2,430,724	450,496	112,240

¹⁵¹ Based on average weight of 1,000 pounds.

Relative Wealth Per County Per Capita

Counties are rank ordered from lowest per capita relative income. Total agriculture is based on fifteen commodities taken from the Lynchburg wholesale market listings as reported weekly by the Pearisburg Gazette. These fifteen items were selected because the 1870 agricultural census reported county holdings for them. The ranking and the per capita income are relative, although the estimates are probably close. In addition to the agricultural data, home manufacturing, manufacturing and mining wages are used to estimate relative wealth.

1. Smyth County	Total Agriculture	\$344,485
Home manufacturing		\$ 11,061
Manufacturing wages		\$ 11,880
Mining Wages		\$ 0
Total Estimated		\$367,426
Per capita income		\$41.29
2. Scott County	Total Agriculture	\$515,838
Home manufacturing		\$ 25,161
Manufacturing Wages		\$ 1,070
Mining Wages		\$ 0
Total Estimated		\$542,069
Per Capita Income		\$41.58
3. Bland County	Total Agriculture	\$164,486
Home Manufacturing		\$ 423
Manufacturing Wages		\$ 8,759
Mining wages		\$ 0
Total Estimated		\$173,668
Per Capita Income		\$43.42
4. Tazewell County	Total Agriculture	\$461,616
Home Manufacturing		\$ 23,920
Manufacturing Wages		\$ 4,660
Mining Wages		\$ 0
Total Estimated		\$490,196
Per Capita Income		\$45.63
5. Russell County	Total Agriculture	\$482,632
Home Manufacturing		\$ 35,818
Manufacturing Wages		\$ 2,123
Mining Wages		\$ 0
Total Estimated		\$520,573
Per Capita Income		\$46.89

Relative Wealth Per County Per Capita (continued)

6. Montgomery County	Total Agriculture	\$564,475
Home Manufacturing		\$ 12,709
Manufacturing Wages		\$ 16,065
Mining Wages		\$ 2,314
Total Estimated		\$595,563
Per Capita Income		\$47.43
7. Wise County	Total Agriculture	\$231,814
Home Manufacturing		\$ 14,781
Manufacturing Wages		\$ 200
Mining Wages		\$ 0
Total Estimated		\$246,795
Per Capita Income		\$51.58
8. Giles County	Total Agriculture	\$303,086
Home Manufacturing		\$ 7,695
Manufacturing Wages		\$ 2,543
Mining Wages		\$ 0
Total Estimated		\$313,323
Per Capita Income		\$53.33
9. Wythe County	Total Agriculture	\$471,532
Home Manufacturing		\$118,587
Manufacturing Wages		\$ 22,020
Mining Wages		\$ 18,000
Total Estimated		\$630,139
Per Capita Income		\$54.27
10. Pulaski County	Total Agriculture	\$290,216
Home Manufacturing		\$ 3,391
Manufacturing Wages		\$ 62,110
Mining Wages		\$ 0
Total Estimated		\$355,717
Per Capita Income		\$54.41
11. Washington County	Total Agriculture	\$911,142
Home Manufacturing		\$ 11,511
Manufacturing Wages		\$ 41,966
Mining Wages		\$ 0
Total Estimated		\$964,619
Per Capita Income		\$57.36

Relative Wealth Per County Per Capita (continued)

12. Buchanan County	Total Agriculture	\$203,829
Home Manufacturing		\$ 15,782
Manufacturing Wages		\$ 240
Mining Wages		\$ 0
Total Estimated		\$219,851
Per Capita Income		\$58.20
13. Lee County	Total Agriculture	\$766,151
Home Manufacturing		\$ 43,539
Manufacturing Wages		\$ 12,248
Mining Wages		\$ 0
Total Estimated		\$821,938
Per Capita Income		\$61.95
14. Roanoke County	Total Agriculture	\$588,257
Home Manufacturing		\$ 1,601
Manufacturing Wages		\$ 18,886
Mining Wages		\$ 0
Total Estimated		\$608,744
Per Capita Income		\$65.10
15. Craig County	Total Agriculture	\$186,016
Home Manufacturing		\$ 7,414
Manufacturing Wages		\$ 2,864
Mining Wages		\$ 0
Total Estimated		\$196,294
Per Capita Income		\$66.72

APPENDIX D. 1870 CENSUS BY COUNTY AND DISTRICT

with estimates of black and white males over 21

County	District	Total	Whites	Blacks
Bland	Mechanicsburg	1,233		
	Rocky Gap	1,000		
	Seddon	828		
	Sharon	939		
Total		4,000	753	44
Buchanan	Garden	1,045		
	Grundy	1,152		
	Sand Lick	1,580		
Total		3,777	643	8
Craig	Alleghany	938		
	New Castle	1,388		
	Summons ville	815		
Total		2,942	554	47
Giles	Newport	1,007		
	Pearisburg	1,653		
	Pembroke	1,327		
	Staffordsville	1,888		
Total		5,875	1,068	121
Lee	Jonesville	3,643		
	Rocky Station	2,304		
	Rose Hill	3,023		
	White Shoals	2,750		
	Yokum Station	1,822		
Total		13,268	2,289	188
Montgomery	Alleghany	2,504		
	Auburn	3,171		
	Blacksburg	3,565		
	Christiansburg	4,180		
Total		12,556	1,783	529

Population by County and District (continued)

Pulaski	Dublin	2,722		
	High Wassie	1,897		
	Newbern	1,919		
Total		6,538	991	378
Roanoke	Big Lick	2,592		
	Catawba	845		
	Cave Spring	2,261		
	Salem	5,007		
Total		9,350	1,359	685
Russell	Castle Woods	1,886		
	Copper Creek	1,339		
	Elk Garden	2,023		
	Lebanon	2,455		
	Moccasin	1,229		
	New Garden	2,380		
Total		11,103	1,932	227
Scott	Dekalb	1,975		
	Estillville	2,506		
	Floyd	1,171		
	Fulkerson	1,576		
	Johnston	1,870		
	Powell	2,261		
	Taylor	1,783		
	Total		13,036	2,301
Smyth	Marion	4,147		
	Rich Valley	3,572		
	St. Clair	1,547		
Total		8,898	1,563	252
Tazewell	Clear Fork	3,415		
	Jeffersonville	3,682		
	Maiden Spring	3,694		
Total		10,791	1,783	310
Washington	Abingdon	3,878		
	Glade Spring	2,898		
	Goodson	3,835		
	Kinderhook	2,391		
	North Fork	2,058		
	Saltville	2,471		
Total		16,816	2,937	560

Population by County and District (continued)

Wise	Gladeville	1,252		
	Richmond	743		
	Robinson	769		
	Tipps	985		
	Walker	1,036		
Total		4,785	842	12
Wythe	Black Lick	3,489		
	Fort Chiswell	4,034		
	Wytheville	1,671		
	Speedwell	4,088		
Total		11,611	1,899	481
Aggregate		135,346	22,697	3,938

Male Blacks over 21 represent 14.8 per cent of the Ninth Congressional District population.

APPENDIX E. FORMATION OF SELECT COUNTY CONSERVATIVE PARTIES

Montgomery County¹⁵²

On February 3, 1868 the Montgomery County Conservative Party formed. G. F. Hall, chair, and James M. Wade, secretary. J. N. Lyle, editor of the Southwest, proposed establishing a county committee based on the Party plan, i. e. , three members from each magisterial district. This was seconded by Col. C. A. Ronald. Appointments were: 1st District, Floyd Smith, C. B. Gardner, H. Harmon; 2nd District, Isaiah Cabridge, Wm. R. Perfater, John T. Howe; 3rd District, Daniel Slusser, Jr., Dr. H. Black, M. D. Bennett; 4th District, Paris Tayler, Hon. H. A. Edmundson, Jas. W. Kirby; 5th District, Thomas B. Hall, Thomas D. Childress, H. P. Wilson. Hon. W. R. Staples and Col. T. T. Wade gave pertinent addresses.

Franklin County¹⁵³

Peter Sanders, Jr., chair and James Patterson, secretary. The group was addressed by Col. Hughes Dillard and William Martin. A committee of two persons from each district selected to form the county central committee.

Roanoke County¹⁵⁴

Without benefit of a mass meeting, representatives were appointed. 1st District: (Catawba) Wm. M. Brand (Chair), Giles Barnett, Wm. Woods, Hanson Bennett, and James G. McConkey; 2nd District (Salem), Henry E. Blair (Chair), R. B. Moorman, Tazewell M. McCorkle, A. M. Jordan, and A. J. Deyerle; 3rd District (Cave Spring), S. H. C. Greenwood (Chair), Thomas S. Sublett, Jordan Woodrum, Tazewell Price, and James S. Persinger; 4th District (Big Lick), John Trout (Chair), Wm. B. Preston, John D. Edington, John M. Evans and Palmer St. Clair.

In Craig¹⁵⁵

At a public meeting of the citizens of Craig county, held at the Courthouse on Monday the 27th of April (Court day) on motion Capt. C. G. Hill was elected Chairman and Maj. M. P. Spessard chosen Secretary. By request of the Chair, Maj. B. L. Woodson explained the object of the

¹⁵² Roanoke Times February 8, 1868.

¹⁵³ Roanoke Times, March 14, 1868

¹⁵⁴ Roanoke Times March 28, 1868. February 15, 1868 reports vary slightly. Instead of Wm. B. it is C. J. Preston; instead of Hanson it is Harrison Bennett.

¹⁵⁵ Roanoke Times May 9, 1868

meeting which was to organize the Conservative Party of the county upon the plan proposed by the Richmond Conservative Convention.

The following officers were then elected, seriatim, to fill the several posts mentioned:

Maj. B. L. Woodson, County Superintendent; William Reynolds, Superintendent first district; William C. Mann, Superintendent second district; Major Andrew McCartney, Superintendent third district.

Chiefs of Fifties- First District- Martin Huffman, George W. Hutchison, Adam McPherson and Wm. L. Ferrier.

Second District- Col. Robert M. Wiley, C. C. Carper, E. B. Waggoner, Lyoyd Caldwell.

Third District- T. B. McCartney, John S. Kale, F. B. Carper, Z. F. Nutter.

Advisory Board- C. G. Hill, W. W. Ballard, Jos. W. Holt, Wm. A. Waugh, John W. Younger, Maj. M. P. Spessard, A. F. Givens, Floyd Givens.

On Motion of W. W. Ballard,

Resolved, That the people of Craig county in mass meeting assembled do cordially invite the people of Alleghany county to meet with them in holding a District Convention at Covington, on the third Monday in May, 1868, to nominate a candidate to represent this district in the Legislature, provided the proposed Constitution is adopted.

Resolved, That Majors McCartney, Spessard, and Woodson, and Jos. W. Holt, Benton Wiley, C. G. Hill, A. F. Givens, A. J. Elmore, M. P. Ferrier, Jas. F. Givens, W. W. Ballard and E. B. Waggener be appointed as delegates to represent this county in said Convention.

On motion, Resolved, That the Fincastle Herald and Roanoke Times be requested to publish the proceedings of this meeting.

The meeting was ably addressed by Messrs. Ballard, Elmore, and others, and then , on motion adjourned.

C. G. HILL, Chairman.

M. P. Spessard, Sec'y.

APPENDIX F. CONSERVATIVE CANVASSERS FOR THE STATE CONSTITUTION

State Canvassers for the Eighth Congressional District¹⁵⁶

CONSERVATIVE STATE COMMITTEE
RICHMOND, VA. APRIL 17, 1868

By authority conferred upon us by the Conservative State Convention held on the 11th of December, 1867, a convention is hereby called to assemble in the city of Richmond at 12 o'clock M. on Thursday, May 7, 1868, to be composed of the superintendents of counties and cities, and the resident and consulting members of the State Committee, for the purpose of nominating candidates for State offices, and for the transaction of such other business as may be brought before it.

By order of the Committee.

R. T. DANIEL, Chairman

THE CONSERVATIVE CAMPAIGN

The Conservative Central State Committee at Richmond has announced its canvassers for the approaching campaign on the adoption of the Constitution, as follows:

STATE CANVASSERS AT LARGE, EIGHTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

Waller R. Staples of Montgomery
Jos. T. Campbell of Washington
Henry S. Kane of Scott

COUNTY CANVASSERS

Lee- S. Graham, E. S. Graham, Patrick Hagan, P. C. Johnston.
Scott- H. W. Holdway, E. S. Tiller, E. S. Martin.
Wise- J. T. Chase, J. S. French.
Buchanan- Elijah T. Countz.
Russell- Alphonzo F. Smith, J. F. McElheny, W. B. Aston.
Washington- J. W. Humes, J. W. Johnson, A. C. Commings, Ira J. McGinnis.
Grayson- Alexander M. Davis, G. Matthews.
Smyth- J. W. Sheffey, R. A. Richardson.
Tazewell- W. P. Cecil, A. F. Henderson, A. J. May, Wm. Yost.
Bland- Alonzo McGinnis, J. M. French.
Wythe- Gen. W. Terry, J. H. Fulton, Jr., R. Kent.
Carroll- L. F. Woltz, T. B. Wigfall, Jos. Smith.
Pulaski- J. A. Walker
Giles- Eustace Gibson, A. G. Pendleton, Wm. Eggleston.
Montgomery- C. A. Ronald, J. J. Wade, J. E. Taylor.

¹⁵⁶ Roanoke Times April 25, 1868.

Floyd- John Merritt.

Roanoke- Wm. Watts, Henry Blair, H. H. Lee.

Craig- B. L. Woodson, R. M. Wiley.

APPENDIX G. THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT

Published Players in the Temperance Movement

1. The Roanoke Division of the Sons of Temperance formed a literary group with the following officers: G. G. Brooke, President, George W. Holland, vice-president, Col. Hugh H. Lee, secretary. (Roanoke Times November 27, 1866.)
2. Temperance meeting at the Salem Methodist Church with the following speakers: Rev. G. G. Brooke, G. B. Fitzgerald, Wm. M. Barnitz, and Henry E. Blair. Salem Brass Band played. (Roanoke Times September 28, 1867.)
3. Roanoke Division No. 202 of the Sons of Temperance officers: Wm. M. Barnitz (WP), Charles M. Webber (WA), P. McGee (RS), James Miller (ARS), P. Whitesell (FS), Jno. N. Cridlin (T), A. H. Whitesell (C), H. Woltz (AC), Frank G. Webber (LS), Wm. Coon (OS), Z. Boon (Chaplain). (Roanoke Times October 15, 1867.)
4. Thirteen young men formed the Cave Spring order for the Sons of Temperance. The following men spoke: H. E. Blair, Rev. Mr. Brooke, Mr. Fitzgerald, and Major Pitzer. (Roanoke Times November 9, 1867.)
5. Sons of Temperance, Roanoke Division, officers for the quarter: Charles Webber (Worthy Patriarch), R. H. Ligon (Worthy Associate), Peter Magee (Recording Scribe), F. L. Johnston (Assistant Recording Scribe), J. N. Cridlin (Treasurer), M. Kaufman (Financial Scribe), Thos. Forsyth (Conductor), George Parrish (Assistant Conductor), Frank G. Webber (Inside Sentinel), Chalres Woltz (Outside Sentinel), G. B. Fitzgerald (Chaplain), Wm. M. Barnitz (Past Worthy Patriarch). (Roanoke Times January 8, 1868.)
6. Sons of Temperance march on Salem Lutheran church for conference. The following men gave addresses: J. P. Houts, Edward McCauley, John McCaull, and G. B. Fitzgerald. (Roanoke Times March 28, 1868.)
7. Sons of Temperance, Roanoke Division, officers for the ensuing quarter: R. H. Liggon (WP), M. Kaufman (WA), Jno A. McCaull (RS), E. A. McCauley (ARS), Jno. Francis (FS), R. W. Page (T), T. H. Forsyth (C), F. G. Webber (AC), Chas. Woltz (IS), W. O. Woltz (OS), Z. Boon (Chaplain), C. M. Webber (PWP). (Roanoke Times April 4, 1868.)
8. Pearisburg, Giles county, council of the Friends of Temperance, organized with the following officers: James D. Johnston (President), C. C. Woolwine (Associate), Rev. T. F. Smyth (Chaplain), A. L. Fry (Secretary), H. G. Dennis (Treasurer), Geo. W. Easley (Conductor), E. T. Mahood (Associate Conductor), Wm. H. Douthat (Inside Sentinel). meeting fixed for Friday evenings in the jury room over the Clerk's

- office. (Pearisburg Gazette November 28, 1870.)
9. Pearisburg Friends of Temperance, with twenty seven members, elects officers for the quarter commencing January 1, 1871: James D. Johnston (President), Henry G. Dennis (Associate), Rev. F. T. Smyth (Chaplain), E. T. Mahood (Secretary), R. C. Mahood (Fin'l Sec'y), James M. Peters (Treasurer), Geo. W. Easley (Conductor), Jesse H. Woodrum (Asst Conductor), Olive C. Peters (Ins Sentinel), Thos A Mahood (Outside Sentinel). (Pearisburg Gazette January 9, 1871.)
 10. Pearisburg Council No. 123, semi-annual election of officers: James D. Johnston (President), B. O. Morgan (ex-president), H. G. Dennis (Associate), T. F. Smyth (Chaplain), E. T. Mahood (Secretary), W. M. Woolwine (Financial Secretary), J. M. Peters (Treasurer), Geo. W. Easley (Conductor), T. A. Mahood (Assistant Conductor), Jno. D. Foote (Inside Sentinel), Jonas Manning (Outside Sentinel). (Pearisburg Gazette July 3, 1871.)
 11. Pearisburg Council No. 123, Friends of Temperance, elected: Branch O. Morgan (President), Chas. E. Peck (Associate), Rev. T. F. Smyth (Chaplain), E. T. Mahood (Secretary), E. W. Charlton (F. Secretary), J. M. Peters (Treasurer), Geo. W. Easley (Conductor), C. B. Mahood (A. Conductor), Edward Hale (I. Sentinel), John H. Woods Jr. (O. Sentinel), Jas. D. Johnston (Ex-president). (Pearisburg Gazette January 6, 1872.)
 12. Newport Friends of Temperance chartered as council No. 27. (Pearisburg Gazette June 22, 1872.)
 13. Newport, Giles county, Friends of Temperance officers: R. F. Darnall (President), G. W. Hines (Associate), Leo Butt (Chaplain), W. J. Payne (Secretary), R. H. Payne (Financial Secretary), Wm. Keister (Treasurer), C. C. Wingo (Conductor), W. L. Keister (Asst. Conductor), O. F. Payne (Inside Sentinel), Bittle Keister (Outside Sentinel), Jos. Echols (Ex. President). (Pearisburg Gazette June 29, 1872.)
 14. Pearisburg Friends of Temperance No. 123 officers for the ensuing term: J. D. Peters (President), H. G. Dennis (Associate), J. H. Douthat (Chaplain), B. O. Morgan (Secretary), O. H. Johnston (Financial Secretary), J. M. Peters (Treasurer), T. J. Pearson (Conductor), G. F. McComas (Asst. Con), Jno. B. Dennis (In. Sentinel), Johnston Manning (O. Sentinel). (Pearisburg Gazette January 18, 1873.)
 15. A council for the Friends of Temperance organized in Tazewell county following speeches by Sterling F. Watts, H. B. Estill, S. W. Williams, A. P. Brown, and Rev. Mr. Frazier. Fifty members joined. (Pearisburg Gazette March 8, 1873.)
 16. Pearisburg Council for the Friends of Temperance elect the following

officers for the ensuing term: John D. Peters (President), Thos. A. Mahood (Associate), H. G. Dennis (Chaplain), E. T. Mahood (Conductor), G. F. McComas (Ast. Conductor), J. M. Peters (Treasurer), B. O. Morgan (Secretary), O. H. Johnston (Fin. Secretary), W. R. Powell (In. Sentinel), Thomas Johnston (O. Sentinel), G. W. Easley (Ex. President). (Pearisburg Gazette July 5, 1873.)

17. Wade Shelborne lectured on the cause of temperance in Montgomery County. (Montgomery Messenger October 3, 1873.)
18. J. C. Wade Division of the Sons of Temperance, Christiansburg, Montgomery county, elected officers for the ensuing quarter: C. H. Dunklee (WP), W. M. Dunklee (WA), J. C. Wade (RS), C. S. Bullard (ARS), J. D. Johnson (FS), J. H. Dunklee (Treas.), Wm. H. Haver, Jr. (Con), W. G. Lucas (A. Con.), G. A. Sowyer (IS), T. Moore (OS), T. Hendry (PWP), J. Calhoon (Chaplain). (Montgomery Messenger October 3, 1873.)
19. J. C. Wade Division No. 166, Montgomery county, elects officers for the ensuing quarter: P. . Barnitz (WP), H. D. Wade (Past Worthy), W. W. Carty (Worthy Associate), G. L. Edie (Recording Scribe), C. A. Johnston (Ast. RS), W. A. Bragg (Financial Scribe), J. H. Dunklee (Treasurer), B. H. Cooper (Conductor), J. G. Charlton (Ast. Conductor), J. A. Shields (Inside Sentinel), D. M. Hobson (Outside Sentinel), W. M. Dunklee (Chaplain). (Montgomery Messenger July 9, 1875.)

APPENDIX H. LADIES MEMORIAL ASSOCIATIONS

A meeting of the Montgomery Ladies Memorial Association in Blacksburg. Called to order by Mr. Wildhelm(?), with President Mrs. Gen. Robert Preston presiding. Maj. Wm. G. Anderson appointed secretary. Rev. Mr. Harris of the M. E. Church offered a prayer. The following committees appointed:

Decorations

Christiansburg: Mrs. Thomas Spindle, Mrs. James Wade, Mrs. Pollack, Mrs. James C. Taylor, Mrs. Kyle Montague.

Shawsville: Mrs. H. Read, Mrs. Dr. White, Mrs. A. C. White, Mrs. C. L. Barnett, Miss Ana Crockett, Miss Milly Crockett, Miss Fanny Barnett, Miss Elisa Barnett.

Central Depot: Mrs. Capt. Heth, Mrs. T. N. Conrad, Mrs. Richard Adams.

Christiansburg Depot: Mrs. Robert Mitchell, Mrs. John Jordan, Mrs. Joseph Linkous.

Roanoke: Mrs. Daniel Hoge, Mrs. Charles Miller, Miss Millie J. Hoge.

Blacksburg: Mrs. Giles Thomas, Mrs. Capt. Roberts, Mrs. J. P. Hawley, Mrs. Mary Luster, Mrs. Col. Ronald, Miss Sallie Dawson, Miss Virgie Bodell.

Tom's Creek and Mt. Tabor: Mrs. Charlotte Price, Mrs. William Bell, Mrs. Col. Newlee.

Matamoras: Mrs. R. A. Preston, Mrs. Floyd Wall, Mrs. Dr. Otey.

Snowville: Mrs. Wm. Smith, Miss Fowlkes, Mrs. G. Y. Booker, Mrs. Henry Fowlkes.

Committees to solicit contributions for the Christiansburg monument.

Christiansburg: Mrs. Henry Spindle, Miss Lizzie Spindle, Mrs. Col. J. J. Wade, Miss Mary Gardner, Mrs. Snider.

Shawsville: Miss Nannie Anderson, Miss Mary Langhorne, Miss Lizzie Kendrick, Miss Bettie Davidson, Miss Sallie Edmundson, Mrs. Willie Erthe(?), Mrs. John Barnett, Mrs. James W. Helms.

Central Depot: Mrs. Gen. Wharton, Mrs. Dr. Elliott, Mrs. James Hoffman.

Christiansburg Depot: Mrs. John Kipps, Mrs. Mollie Kent, Miss Nannie Davis.

Roanoke: Mrs. Henry Earheart, Miss Hulda Hoge, Miss Ada Henderson, Miss Mollie Brown.

Blacksburg: Mrs. Gray Carroll, Mrs. Turner, Mrs. M. Francisco, Miss Henderson, Miss Mag Wilson, Miss Mag Evans, Miss Alice Harris.

Tom's Creek and Mt. Tabor: Miss Mollie Ribble, Miss Hattie Martin, Miss Cabrich.

Matamoras: Miss Fanny Price, Miss Ella McDonald.

Snowville: Mrs. G. T. Booker, Mrs. Henry Fowlkes.

Committee for the clearing off of the graveyards.

Captain Calhoun, Mr. Willis Ellias, Mr. James Evans, Mr. Willie Shields, Mr. Alan Eckridge, Mr. Montgomery Thomas, Mr. William Wyley.

General William Terry accepted the deliverance of the memorial address at Montgomery White Sulphur Springs on the 13th. The ladies of Christiansburg were requested to select a treasurer to replace Miss Mattie Montague, resigned. The Blacksburg committee revealed plans to erect a

monument at Montgomery White.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁷ June 12, 1874 Montgomery Messenger

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