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"Let Us Bury and Forget:" Civil War Memory and Identity in Cabell County, West Virginia, 1865-1915

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**“LET US BURY AND FORGET:” CIVIL WAR MEMORY AND IDENTITY IN CABELL
COUNTY, WEST VIRGINIA, 1865-1915**

A thesis submitted to
the Graduate College of
Marshall University
In partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of
Master of the Arts

In
History

by

Seth Adam Nichols

Approved by

Dr. Michael Woods, Committee Chairperson

Dr. Kevin Barksdale

Mr. Jack Dickinson

Marshall University
May 2016

APPROVAL OF THESIS

We, the faculty supervising the work of Seth Adam Nichols, affirm that the thesis, "*Let Us Bury and Forget*": *Civil War Memory and Identity in Cabell County, West Virginia, 1865-1915*, meets the high academic standards for original scholarship and creative work established by the History Program and the College of Liberal Arts. This work also conforms to the editorial standards of our discipline and the Graduate College of Marshall University. With our signatures, we approve the manuscript for publication.



Dr. Michael Woods, Department of History

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ABSTRACT

This thesis covers the events of the Civil War in Cabell County, West Virginia, and how those events were remembered by the county's residents in the decades after the war. It provides a brief look at the early development of the county and how its inhabitants sought to exploit the county's topography in order to facilitate commercial investment in the region. Cabell Countians were deeply divided and several skirmishes between Union and Confederate forces produced a time of terror and hardship. When the war was over, Cabell Countians sought a return to normality and to renew projects that might bring economic prosperity to the region. However, the animosity of the war was not easily forgotten and political acts such as proscription and loyalty oaths continued to engender hostility. Collis P. Huntington's announcement of his desire to finish the C&O railroad and create a new town in the county provided economic opportunity to many in the region. Wealthy landowners and businessmen on both sides attempted to settle the differences of the war through shared and mutual financial success. Their desire to build a city together necessitated forgetting the divisions that had set the inhabitants against one another. Both factions suffered from a strong identity crisis and because of this neither group could project a clear understanding of their side's reasons for fighting. Cabell Countians were unable to achieve reconciliation, despite their mutual cooperation, because neither side was ready to tackle the issues that had plunged them into war. The economic opportunities offered by industrialism had helped mitigate much of the animosity of the war years, but due to the incomplete nature of reconciliation Union and Confederate veterans were unable to convey a resonant account of their participation in the Civil War and what the war had meant to their side.

INTRODUCTION

HUNTINGTON, WEST VIRGINIA, AND THE LEGACY OF THE CIVIL WAR

On the intersection of Ninth Street and Fifth Avenue in Huntington, West Virginia stood an old iron statue. By 1915, this silent sentinel had stood guard for over thirty-five years and had watched Huntington grow from a small town to a bustling city. His view on Fifth Avenue had seen several businesses flourish and grow. Across the avenue from him stood the Fifth Avenue Hotel owned by Hansford Watts who was also the owner of a realty company, organizer of the United Fuel Gas Company, and a partner in the Thornburg Insurance Agency. The Hotel directly faced the Carnegie Library, named after its famously wealthy donor, and one of only three such donations in the state of West Virginia.¹ On August 6, 1915 local men came to take the faithful soldier down from his post and escorted him to his final destination: the city junk heap.² This symbol of remembrance celebrated in 1880 was not welcome thirty five years later. What had changed? The destruction of the Union statue is one of the many clues revealing the complicated issues and feelings regarding memory of the Civil War within Cabell County.

During the Civil War, West Virginia broke away from Confederate Virginia and became a separate Union state. This simple history glosses over the thousands of residents who did not support the new state or the Union and fought against them during the war. Although the state of West Virginia was not included in the Reconstruction Acts of 1867, it faced the imposing challenges of determining what freedom meant for newly emancipated slaves, how Confederates

¹ James Casto, "Lost Huntington: The Missing Statue," *The Herald Dispatch*, accessed September 12, 2014; James Casto, *Cabell County* (Charleston: Arcadia, 2001) 44.

² Julian E. Caton, "Old Veteran Sent to the Junk Heap," *Huntington Advertiser*, August 7, 1915.

might reintegrate into society, and the fallout from the break with Virginia. The complicated nature of these issues divided West Virginians largely along their war-time loyalties within the early years of Reconstruction. Reconciliationist sentiment returned several years after the war, but it came through a desire for economic investment in the region. Local and state elites worked alongside out of state industrialists in order to develop industry in various areas of the state. The economic investment in the region required stability and support among the local populace, and led to a renewed desire for reconciliation. This mutual desire born from the economic opportunities of the time was not full reconciliation, as it did not address the differences that led West Virginians to choose sides during the war. Rather, this reconciliationist sentiment was predicated on the widespread “forgetting” of the war, and the ideologies that had caused it. The legacy of the war and its meaning still divided West Virginians in their writings, their communities, and their stories to the next generation. Confederates conflicted with former Unionists (and amongst themselves) over how to instill in future generations their own interpretations of Civil War memory. Within Cabell County, a region quickly occupied by Union forces early in the war but having strong Confederate sympathies, the war remained a contested memory. This area saw rapid urbanization following the creation of the new industrial town of Huntington and grew swiftly amidst the boom of industry and economic speculation that expanded the region. Feelings and animosities that had caused such conflict during the war were mitigated by the potential for prosperity offered by economic growth. These feelings were calmed, but not completely forgotten. Public discourse of the war could quickly resurface old tensions that had been boiling just beneath the surface.

The legacy of the Civil War had a strong impact on the development of Cabell County and the city of Huntington. Continued animosity between Unionist and Confederate veterans plagued much of the following years after the war. The growth of the manufacturing and railroad hub of Huntington offered economic prosperity to the region, and shared economic development appeared to Cabell County residents more fruitful and rewarding than pursuing sectional animosities. A conservative coalition of businessmen representing both sides of the war thus helped to diminish sectional animosities and helped promote a common unifying spirit of economic growth. However, developments within the state and the nation played their part in exacerbating conflict over the meaning of the war and its commemoration. The unity of economic growth could smooth over the differences of the two former enemies, but could not completely erase the deep seated feelings for which both sides fought. These developments weakened the Unionist aspects of the war in Cabell County, memories centered on emancipation and the importance of the Union, but helped to organize and develop the Confederate view of the war. This view promoted support for the “Lost Cause” mythology and advocated white supremacist history and practices. Although a coalition of wealthy industrialist veterans had hoped to put aside differences between former enemies in hopes of bringing greater wealth and prosperity to the region, animosity still ran deep by the fiftieth anniversary of the war’s end.

Civil War memory is a well-trodden historical field with many academics trying to determine the full legacy of Reconstruction. This field of academic research was revitalized by David Blight’s trailblazing analysis of the legacy of the war, *Race and Reunion*.³ Blight argued that three different memories emerged from the war: reconciliation and reunion, race and

³ David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2001).

emancipation, and a white supremacist memory. The reconciliationist aspect of memory dealt with the sentimental desire to make sense of a devastating war, and to find common ground amidst the dead and surviving soldiers. The emancipationist element of memory emerged as a complex assortment of African-Americans' understanding of freedom, and the belief that the Union represented a liberating force set out to elevate freed slaves to their full Constitutional rights. The white supremacist form of memory detailed the continued desire to subjugate African Americans and often to the form of violence and terror. In the fifty years after the war, the reunion and reconciliationist memory along with the white supremacist aspect overwhelmed race and emancipation as the prevailing legacy of the war. While Blight's book helped to create the sub-field of Civil War memorial studies, memorial studies were already growing in World and American history. Memorial studies blend cultural analysis with a political, economic, and social history to produce a sub-field with a wide encompassing scope. In 2013, Caroline Janney released her book, *Remembering the Civil War: Reunion and The Limits of Reconciliation*, which argued that Blight's original assertion of the primacy of the reunion and reconciliationist aspect of memory was flawed.⁴ While there was reunion between the sections, reconciliation was not fully achieved, and both sides continued to fight over the meaning and legacy of the Civil War. The main argument of this thesis continues Janney's assertion that reconciliation was a goal much harder to achieve, and that sectional loyalties remained after the war as both sides conflicted on how to portray the war's meaning and the state's involvement within it. This thesis borrows from Blight's original thesis showcasing the outcome of conflicting elements of

⁴ Caroline E. Janney, *Remembering the Civil War: Reunion and The Limits of Reconciliation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013).

memory, but agrees with Janney's assertion that reunion between both sides did not constitute full reconciliation and thus obscures the continued fight over the meaning of the war.

Amidst the broad discussion of national memory, historians have reflected on these new ideas and explored how they apply to regional, state, institutional, biographical, and local topics. David Goldfield shows the depths to which the South was shaped by the Civil War in *Still Fighting the Civil War: The American South and Southern History*. Goldfield shows that the tragic legacy of the war helped to foster in white southerners a conviction to uphold their principles of white supremacy and patriarchy.⁵ In *Reconstructing Appalachia: The Civil War's Aftermath*, Andrew Slap brought together many prominent Appalachian historians to reflect on how the war shaped the vital region of Appalachia. Though not necessarily focusing on the memory of the war, these essays touch upon the nature of the war's legacy and how Appalachians dealt with the realities of its aftermath.⁶ These studies have shown that there is still much scholarly work to be done in Reconstruction-era Appalachia, and more importantly in the field of West Virginia Reconstruction. The essays included in the book still focus primarily on the political history of West Virginia, neglecting the lives of individual West Virginians. Others have turned to individual states to understand the legacies of the war. Anne E. Marshall's *Creating a Confederate Kentucky: The Lost Cause and Civil War Memory in a Border State*, debunks the old view that Kentucky waited until after the war to secede from the Union by arguing that Kentucky had always shared connections with the seceding southern states. The

⁵ David Goldfield, *Still Fighting the Civil War: The American South and Southern History*, Updated ed. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2013)

⁶ Andrew L. Slap, ed. *Reconstructing Appalachia: The Civil War's Aftermath* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2010.)

state's rebellion from the emancipationist legacy of the war during Reconstruction was simply a continued adherence to a white supremacist political ideology.⁷ As Marshall's book shows, the assertion of white supremacist memory was not absolute, and often overshadows a fluid dialogue amongst former Unionists, Confederates, and African Americans on the legacy of the war. Karen Cox's *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* illustrates the complex hierarchy of one such institution and the power it wielded to define and propagate its imagining of "true" southern history.⁸ The Daughters had a strong presence in West Virginia and was one of the primary shapers of Civil War memory. Participants in the war, like Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson, have also undergone memorial analysis. In *Inventing Stonewall Jackson: A Civil War Hero in History and Memory*, Wallace Hettle illustrates how modern portrayals of the general have rested on the heroic exaggerations of Jackson's friends and admirers.⁹ Historians have run with the idea of historical memory of the Civil War since Blight's thesis in 2001, and the field has continued to grow.¹⁰ As the field of Civil War memorial studies has grown, diverging interpretations have emerged to define the field

⁷ Anne E. Marshall, *Creating A Confederate Kentucky: The Lost Cause and Civil War Memory in a Border State* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

⁸ Karen Cox, *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003).

⁹ Wallace Hettle, *Inventing Stonewall Jackson: A Civil War Hero in History and Memory* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2011).

¹⁰ While the following paragraph provides a small glimpse into the field of Civil War memorial studies there remains a large degree of historical work that cannot be covered in so focused an essay as this one. For additional interest in the field of Civil War memorial studies see: Alice Fahs and Joan Waugh, eds. *The Memory of the Civil War in American Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); W. Stuart Towns, *Enduring Legacy: Rhetoric and Ritual of the Lost Cause* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2012); Linda Barnickel, *Milliken's Bend: A Civil War Battle in History and Memory* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2013); Timothy B. Smith, *The Great Battlefield of Shiloh: History, Memory, and the Establishment of a Civil War National Military Park* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2006); Brian Craig Miller, *John Bell Hood and the Fight for Civil War Memory* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2010); Gary W. Gallagher, *Lee and His Generals in War and Memory* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998); Benjamin G. Cloyd, *Haunted by Atrocity: Civil War Prisons in American Memory* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2010).

with many historians falling into camps supporting either Blight or Janney's thesis. This conflicting interpretation rests on the determination of how earnest was support among nationalistic reconciliation rhetoric from both sides. Was the constructed reconciliation between Northern and Southern whites a heartfelt determination to bury the hatchet and put to rest the turbulent ideology of the Civil War, or did it represent the veneer of civility that rested on a continued bitterness that further served to divide the nation as war time memories continued to smolder among separate cultural forces.

Historians of West Virginia have paid little attention to Civil War memory, but their extensive coverage of economic development during the postwar period is critical to understanding the context within which Mountaineers argued over the legacy of the conflict. Much of West Virginia history has been focused on the rise of industrialization, and related political developments. Historians like Ronald Lewis, Ronald Eller, Ken Fones-Wolf, Altina Waller, Jerry Bruce Thomas, and others have chronicled the significant economic changes that occurred a few decades after the Civil War. In Ronald Lewis' *Transforming the Appalachian Countryside*, we see through the lens of the timber industry how outside industrialists transformed the landscape and economy of West Virginia. Surging into rural "backcounties," industrialists created booming commercial centers that spurred growth and made small towns boom as resources were harvested from nearby land. However, by the 1920s when the forests were barren, capital ceased to flow into the state, hurting the economy and forcing many small farmers to turn to wage labor to survive.¹¹ Altina Waller demonstrates the on-the ground aspect of

¹¹ Ronald Lewis, *Transforming the Appalachian Countryside: Railroads, Deforestation, and Social Change in West Virginia, 1880-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

this by illustrating, through the Hatfield-McCoy feud, that a time of economic and social change was occurring as many small time timber operators were thrust into national markets that necessitated growth or brought about ruin. Competition between locals became heated and big timber operators fanned the flames in order to undercut these small businesses and acquire their lands.¹² Ronald Eller's book, *Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers: Industrialization of the Appalachian South, 1880-1930*, showed how the rise of industry isolated and trapped Appalachians in a cycle of poverty caused by modernization.¹³ These themes extend beyond the scope of this analysis, but their continuation within subsequent decades of West Virginia history illustrates their impact.¹⁴

Historians have thoroughly mined the veins of West Virginia's economic history after the Civil War, and it is testament to the complexity and scope of this topic in West Virginia history that historians are still finding more to argue and discuss. However, the same cannot be said for analyses of West Virginia's political history after statehood. Although this history is deeply

¹² Altina Waller, *Feud: Hatfields, McCoys, and Social Change in Appalachia, 1860-1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988).

¹³ Ronald Eller, *Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers: Industrialization of the Appalachian South, 1880-1900* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1982).

¹⁴ This subject represents some of the most important historical questions in the field of West Virginia History. Some important works include: Ken Fones-Wolf, *Glass Towns: Industry, Labor, and Political Economy in Appalachia, 1890-1930s* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007); Ronald G. Garay, *U.S. Steel and Gary, West Virginia: Corporate Paternalism in Appalachia* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2011); Deborah R. Weiner, *Coalfield Jews: An Appalachian History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006). Although I have covered some of the material within the development of industry in the region, there is a large body of literature that continues this discussion beyond the scope of this analysis. Here are listed some important works that have contributed to this body of literature and helped to develop my reasoning of West Virginia's economic history. Jerry Bruce Thomas, *An Appalachian New Deal: West Virginia in the Great Depression* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1998); Ronald Eller, *Uneven Ground: Appalachia Since 1945* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2008); Jerry Bruce Thomas, *An Appalachian Reawakening: West Virginia and the Perils of the New Machine Age* (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2010.); Ken Fones-Wolf and Ronald Lewis, eds., *Transnational West Virginia: Ethnic Communities and Economic Change, 1840-1940* (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2011).

complex and extensive, historians have neglected the topic for several years in spite of new approaches and perspectives that could help to reinvigorate the topic by providing new questions and answers.

Early scholarly discussion of West Virginia Reconstruction emerged from the Dunning School emphasis on the evils of Radical Republican development in the state.¹⁵ Throughout academia in the 1890s-1940s, this interpretation (named after Yale Professor William A. Dunning) held sway over depictions of Reconstruction in the South. Their sharply critical view of Radical Republicans, unanimous support of a defeated Confederacy, and racist depictions of African Americans as inept and easily manipulated were only slightly tweaked by historians analyzing West Virginia's Reconstruction. Virgil Lewis, Charles A. Ambler, and Milton Gerofsky articulated the deplorable actions of the Radicals within their work, but neglected African American participation or involvement within the state.¹⁶ For these early historians the story of Reconstruction occurred in a historical bubble between the Civil War and 1876 without any context to the rest of West Virginia history. The state government held by the Radicals was an abortive encroachment by the national government into the state government, and it was beaten off by the common consent of a majority of West Virginians. Their story of Reconstruction was a story that highlighted the developments in the state legislature along

¹⁵ Richard O. Curry, "A Reappraisal of Statehood Politics in West Virginia," *The Journal of Southern History* 28, no. 4 (Nov. 1962) 403. Curry utilized the phrase "Pro-Union apologists" to classify the likes of Charles Ambler and others who argued for the barbarity of the Radical Republican government against the victim ex-Confederates.

¹⁶ Virgil A. Lewis, *History and Government of West Virginia* (Chicago: Werner School Book Company, 1896); Virgil A. Lewis, *History of West Virginia in Two Parts* (Philadelphia: Hubbard Brothers, 1889); Charles A. Ambler, *A History of Education in West Virginia: From Early Colonial Times to 1949* (Huntington: Standard Printing & Publishing Company, 1951); Charles A. Ambler, *A History of West Virginia* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1933); Charles A. Ambler, *West Virginia: The Mountain State* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1940); Milton Gerofsky, "Reconstruction in West Virginia (Part I)," *West Virginia History* 6, no.4 (July 1945): 295-360; Milton Gerofsky, "Reconstruction in West Virginia (Part II)," *West Virginia History* 7, no. 1 (October 1945): 5-39.

partisan lines, and completely ignored developments outside the capital. Their story discussed the development of industry, but neglected to show the connections between political leaders and outside business interests. It took a new generation of historians to draw these connections, and incorporate the “bubble” of West Virginia Reconstruction into the rest of its’ history.

By the early 1960s revisionist historians began to chip away at this traditionalist interpretation. Richard Orr Curry, in his work on the politics of statehood, began to draw far larger connections to preexisting political developments in West Virginia. His analysis on the Copperhead movement in West Virginia highlighted the conservative elements within the Unionist coalition that emerged as the Republican Party during the war. These conservatives, known during the war as Copperheads for their believed sympathy to the rebellious states, were the foundations for the breakup of the Republican Party in the early years of the 1870s. These conservatives had been pro-Union and had joined with radical Republicans to form a Republican Union Party unified by their loyalty to the United States. However, when the war was over the conservatives balked at emancipation and the radical course of Reconstruction. Curry argued that these members had not betrayed their Radical Republican counterparts, but had stayed true to their conservative nature when Congressional Reconstruction began to enact civil rights legislation for African Americans. Curry’s work demonstrated the strength of the statehood movement in keeping the various political groups unified during the Civil War, and showing their fragility once the war ended.

The most significant historian of West Virginia Reconstruction, John Alexander Williams, was one of the first to tie the events of Reconstruction to the rest of the state’s economic development. Williams studied under C. Vann Woodward at Yale University, where

his dissertation, “Davis and Elkins of West Virginia: Businessmen in Politics” (1967) helped to develop his thinking on the events within West Virginia during Reconstruction. Williams’s dissertation and his book, *West Virginia and the Captains of Industry*, viewed Reconstruction as a political reshuffling of the deck.¹⁷ The state had always been a fundamentally conservative state, although one predicated on agricultural wealth. As Reconstruction developed, these old elites worked to tear down the coalition that made up the Republican Union Party. They then worked with, fought, and were supplanted by outside industrialists and their allies to form a new dominant conservative political force that dominated West Virginia politics for several decades.¹⁸

For Williams, this perspective helped to put the story of Reconstruction within its proper context. No longer was the story retained in the political bubble utilized by historians such as Charles Ambler. Instead, Williams thought that by looking at the economic motives of the partisan groups within West Virginia politics, one is better able to understand not only Reconstruction but the industrial developments that occurred well into the 1920s. This perspective coincided with a major trend in the larger field of Appalachian Studies. During the 1960s and 70s, historians discussing Appalachia had argued that many of the inhabitants were mired in poverty and adopted values that reinforced these conditions. This “culture of poverty” as advocated by Appalachian writers such as Harry Caudill and Jack Wells, sparked a

¹⁷ John A. Williams, “Davis and Elkins of West Virginia: Businessmen in Politics,” (PhD diss. Yale University, 1967); John A. Williams, *West Virginia and the Captains of Industry*, Rev. ed. (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2003).

¹⁸ John A. Williams, “The New Dominion and the Old: Antebellum Statehood Politics as the Background of West Virginia’s ‘Bourbon Democracy,’” *West Virginia* 33, no. 4 (July 1972), 317-407.

development in social activism within academics and Appalachia overall.¹⁹ This social activism was not foreseen by culture of poverty advocates who believed that only outside development could change the region for the better. Native Appalachians organized into grassroots groups to counteract the ever encroaching effects of industrialization and economic stagnation on their region, and this energy brought renewed study into the region's history. This "Appalachian Revisionism" explains the connections Williams was making with regards to understanding the nature of Reconstruction and the subsequent development of industry in West Virginia.²⁰

An analysis of West Virginia's history during Reconstruction and up to the height of industrial development within the state by the early 1920s has been discussed but has not received as much attention as it deserves. By analyzing this period through the perspective of memory, historians can attempt to display the full repercussions of the Civil War on the state and its subsequent development. What were the effects of the Civil War on West Virginians not just during Reconstruction, but in popular discussion for decades afterward? How did the role of business, industry, and market forces shape and influence the legacy of the Civil War? Did these concerns override older sectional animosities and ideologies?

¹⁹ Harry Caudill and Jack Weller were two writers who helped to develop the idea of the subculture of poverty theory within Appalachian historiography. Caudill is most known for his book, *Night Comes to the Cumberlandlands* (1963) and Jack Weller is known for his book, *Yesterday's People* (1965). Harry M. Caudill, *Night Comes to the Cumberlandlands: A Biography of a Depressed Area* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1963); Jack Weller, *Yesterday's People: Life in Contemporary Appalachia* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1965).

²⁰ Dwight B. Billings, "Writing Appalachia: Old Ways, New Ways, and WVU Ways," in *Culture, Class, and Politics in Modern Appalachia: Essays in Honor of Ronald L. Lewis*, eds. Jennifer Egolf, Ronald L. Lewis, Louis C. Martin, and Ken Fones-Wolf (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2009), 1-28; Kenneth W. Noe, "Appalachia Before Mr. Peabody," *Virginia Magazine of History & Biography* 110, no. 1. (2002) 5-34; Andrew L. Slap, "A New Frontier: Historians, Appalachian History, and the Aftermath of the Civil War," in *Reconstructing Appalachia: The Civil War's Aftermath*, ed. Andrew L. Slap (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2010) 23-48.; John D. Fowler, "Appalachia's Agony: A Historiographical Essay on Modernization and Development in the Appalachian Region," *Filson Club Historical Quarterly* 72, no. 3 (1998) 305-328.

This thesis analyzes a period before, during, and after the Civil War from roughly 1850 to the 1920s within Cabell County, West Virginia. After the creation of Huntington in 1871, the county grew industrially for the rest of the century. Exploration of Cabell County's contentious loyalties during the Civil War along with this growing economic development in the last few decades of the nineteenth century will demonstrate the interwoven connections between public remembrance of the Civil War and industrial growth. This thesis analyzes political developments of the state, but will illustrate these developments through the lives of ordinary West Virginians within Cabell County.²¹ Through this perspective, this thesis illustrates the continued conflict over the issues raised by the war, and shows the attempts by local elites to utilize economic prosperity as a means to halt the sectional bitterness imposed by wartime suffering. The thesis also demonstrates the short-term success but long term failure of this approach to quell the animosity felt between former Union and Confederate veterans and their descendants.

²¹ Stephen B. Engle, "Mountaineer Reconstruction: Blacks in the Political Reconstruction of West Virginia," *Journal of Negro History* 78, no. 3 (Summer 1993) 137-165.

CHAPTER 1

BUILDING TO WAR

Even before the rise of industrialism in West Virginia, Cabell County was a central hub for commerce in the region. Throughout the years before the Civil War, the residents of Cabell County maintained a commitment toward economic prosperity. They attempted to ignore the national discussion on the issue of slavery until the issue was brought home to the area. Although there emerged a small but determined faction that was committed to protecting the institution of slavery, the county at large remained resolute in favor of calls for moderation and sought a return to normality. As the cataclysmic chain of events spiraled out of control, Cabell Countians must have wondered whether all they had been working toward was to be dashed upon the wave of imminent war.

Cabell County was formed out of Kanawha County in 1809 and named after former Virginia governor (1805-1808) William H. Cabell. Several commissioners, assigned to find a suitable county seat, agreed upon a small plot of land in a field owned by William Holderby near the Guyandotte River.¹ The town of Guyandotte formed around the county seat the following year. The county seat remained at Guyandotte until 1814 where it was moved to the new town of Barboursville. These two towns remained the economic and political centers of the county until the creation of Huntington in 1871.

After the arrival of the county seat, Barboursville grew steadily into a large manufacturing town. Residents cheered on the economic growth spurred by the creation of livery stables, a fan mill factory, a wagon and buggy factory, a hat factory, a furniture factory, a large

¹ George Seldon Wallace, *Cabell County Annals and Families* (Richmond: Garrett & Massie Publishers, 1935), 10.

tannery, and several harness shops, tailors, blacksmiths, and shoemakers.² A large mill owned by Miller & Moore cut out the bottoms of steamboats and cleared lumber over 36 feet long.³ Barboursville, like Guyandotte, was the center of trade for outlying communities such as Pea Ridge, Union Ridge, Cabell Creek, and Ona.⁴ Although the town itself was a center of manufacturing it was surrounded by small but prosperous farms. Primary products were large quantities of grain, fat hogs, sheep, and cattle, with hogs being the accepted “cash crop.”⁵ The town saw much of this early commercial success thanks to the creation of the Kanawha and James River Turnpike that ran from Covington, Virginia, to the Big Sandy River. This road brought visitors, settlers, businessmen, and politicians across the Blue Ridge Mountains into the wilderness of Western Virginia.

In contrast to Barboursville, Guyandotte was an important port along the Ohio River between Cincinnati and Pt. Pleasant. Situated at the mouth of the Guyandotte River as it flows into the Ohio, the town was situated as a perfect spot for shipping and trading into the interior of Western Virginia. The completion of locks and dams within and a suspension bridge over the Guyandotte River, further benefited the town’s economic prospects. The Board of Public Works of Virginia began as early as 1853 to construct a railroad from Covington to the Ohio River with work proceeding around Guyandotte and Barboursville.⁶ As the debate over slavery began spilling out into civil war, many Cabell County residents urged the Virginia Legislature to finish

² J.W. Miller, *History of Barboursville Community* (Morgantown: Agricultural Extension Division, 1925), 1.

³ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁴ Mrs. W.A. Millard and Allene Wilson, *Farm Bureau Community of History of Pea Ridge* (n.p., 1924), 1; Mrs. Walter Mitchell, *History of Cabell Creek Community* (Morgantown: Agricultural Extension Division, 1925), 6.

⁵ Miller, 2

⁶ Joe Geiger Jr. *Civil War in Cabell County, West Virginia 1861 -1865* (Charleston: Pictorial Histories Publishing Company, 1991), 2. Geiger’s, *Civil War in Cabell County*, provides an exemplary in depth analysis of Cabell County’s development and commercial history before the Civil War. Much of the analysis in this section describing and commenting on the economic concerns of Cabell Countians before the war rests on Geiger’s early analysis.

the railroad.⁷ Before and after the Civil War, Guyandotte became one of the frequent stops for lumber and coal exported from communities like Logan and Salt Rock further up the river. The town itself remained busy with several hotels and businesses operating along Main Street. The announcement that the terminus of a railroad commissioned by the Board of Public Works of Virginia was to be built in Guyandotte was widely celebrated. However work was abandoned because of the Civil War, and the railroad was not completed (and the terminus moved to the new town of Huntington) until after the war.⁸

Before the Civil War many of the western counties of Virginia suffered from lack of infrastructure and because of this large sections of the state remained as small communities. However the accessibility provided by the Guyandotte and Ohio Rivers as well as the Kanawha and James River Turnpike, afforded Cabell County a larger degree of connection to the rest of the nation. Several of its citizens were able to become extremely wealthy by strategically acquiring large amounts of land and taking advantage of the availability of close transportation. Sampson Sanders, perhaps the richest man in the county, was also one of its biggest landowners. Sanders farmed his large section of land with several dozen slaves, owned and operated a grist and saw mill, and was one of the commissioners to help install the locks and dams along the Guyandotte River. Upon his death in 1848, his will offered a provision that all of his slaves were freed upon his death, and fifteen hundred dollars was assigned to help them acquire homes for themselves.⁹

⁷ Ibid, 2; Wallace, *Cabell County Annals and Families*, 125.

⁸Geiger, *Civil War in Cabell County*, 2.

⁹ Ibid, 5.

Other communities in Cabell County prospered thanks to the efforts of local wealthy families. William Jenkins moved to the area of northern Cabell County known as Greenbottom in 1825 after earning a name as a successful businessman in shipping goods up and down the James River. He purchased 4,395 acres of land around Greenbottom for \$15,000, and set up the largest plantation in the county. His plantation grew corn and grain and utilized the work of over thirty-seven slaves.¹⁰ Several other influential settlers left such a lasting impression upon the landscape that their names became synonymous with certain regions of the county. Paul M. Davis, a Virginian who moved to Cabell County in 1832, formed the small community of Davis Creek.¹¹ William T. Cox moved to Cabell County in 1835 and bought a huge tract of land along the Ohio River. This area, soon to be known as Cox's Landing, was where he raised eleven sons and one daughter and sold lumber off his farm to fuel the steamboats traveling along the river.¹²

Like the rest of the nation in the 1850s, the heated discussion over the institution of slavery slowly divided the small county. In 1857 Massachusetts Congressman Eli Thayer organized several meetings within Cabell and neighboring Wayne County to propose his new settlement of Ceredo. Thayer's plan was to "colonize" the southern states: by settling northerners in industrious settlements throughout the South, slavery might eventually die out peacefully as northerners slowly formed sizeable and wealthy factions in state and local politics and ended the institution legally. Thayer's plans were ambitious, but early trials in Kansas had proven promising and Thayer was able to find sufficient backing for his plan. On July 21, 1857 Thayer

¹⁰ Jack Dickinson, *Historical Survey of Greenbottom, Cabell County, West Virginia* (West Virginia: J.L. Dickinson, 1988), 3-5.

¹¹ James T. Blankenship, *A Brief History of Davis Creek Community* (Morgantown: Agricultural Extension Division, 1925), 1.

¹² Mrs. John Kyle, *Early History of Little Seven Mile Community* (Morgantown: Agricultural Extension Division, n.d.), 1-2.

addressed a meeting of citizens in Guyandotte and argued for the necessity of a large manufacturing center between Guyandotte and the Big Sandy River. Thayer conveyed his message in business terms in order to make the proposal more appealing to the locals. The meeting was deemed “eminently practical” and Thayer was welcomed by the community.¹³

Thayer, however, hadn’t faced his biggest challenge yet. Fellow congressman Albert Gallatin Jenkins, son of William Jenkins of Greenbottom, was managing his father’s plantation and was an ardent defender of slavery. In response to the Guyandotte meeting on July 21, Jenkins held a meeting of his own where several Guyandotte citizens, including some of Jenkins’ close friends, passed resolutions expressing their conviction to destroy any attempts at abolitionism within the county.¹⁴ The feuding between Thayer and Jenkins continued until it died out by 1858, but had succeeded in polarizing the region. Continuing his ardent defense of slavery in a speech given to Congress on April 26, 1860, Jenkins explained the economic impact of a loss of millions of dollars worth of property, and the dangers of a free African-American population. More ominously, Jenkins declared that if the North did not cease its abolitionist efforts the slaveholding states must pursue, “whatever course the South in her extremity may see proper to take, on you will rest the responsibility.”¹⁵

The verbal attacks against Thayer and Jenkins brought the growing national divide closer to home, and soon many in Guyandotte had to decide where their loyalties lay. Cabell Countians were divided over the issue of slavery, but having faced the tumultuous issue first hand in the

¹³ Jack Dickinson and Kay Stamper Dickinson, *Soldier of Greenbottom: The Life of Brig. Gen. Albert Gallatin Jenkins, CSA* (Huntington: J. Dickinson, 2011), 41-43.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, 45.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, 172. Enclosed in the appendices of Mr. and Mrs. Dickinson’s, *Soldier of Greenbottom*, is a full copy of the speech Jenkins delivered to Congress.

feuding of Eli Thayer and Albert Jenkins, many hedged their bets on a moderate Unionist candidate for president. Stephen Douglas carried the county with 407 votes, followed by John Bell with 316, while a sizeable and pro-Southern faction brought a significant number of votes, 161, to the Southern Democrat John Breckinridge, and Abraham Lincoln received only four votes in the entire county.¹⁶ Lincoln's victory in the national election set off alarms both nationally and locally. Already concerned by the actions of abolitionists in the North and now worried by the election of a "Free Soil" Republican, several of Jenkins's friends and associates formed a militia to protect a Virginia flag banked on the edge of the Ohio River on December 10, 1860.¹⁷ While it is unsure whether they suspected eminent invasion, their show of force was apparent to many in the surrounding area. South Carolina seceded ten days later, followed by six more states by the beginning of February. It was not clear whether Virginia might secede from the Union, but no matter what the state's stance the actions of these Guyandotte militiamen demonstrated that the time for talk was ending.

Virginia's decision determined the nature of the conflict within Cabell County. The mustering of men ready to fight it out within Guyandotte only added to the unease of those Cabell County residents who sought moderation and a return to the status quo. On January 14, 1861, the General Assembly of Virginia passed an act appointing a special convention to decide upon the issue of secession. Cabell County elected former Congressman William McComas of Barboursville to the secession convention. McComas, a former Jacksonian Congressman from

¹⁶ Geiger, *Civil War in Cabell County*, 10.

¹⁷ James D. Sedinger, James D. Sedinger Diary, Accession 2001/0703.297, Rosanna Blake Library, James E. Morrow Library, Marshall University, Huntington, WV.

1830 to 1833, became and was elected as an anti-Jacksonian from 1834 to 1837.¹⁸ His Whig party leanings made him an appealing choice for Cabell County citizens who were deeply fearful of both extremes. They reasoned that such a man could be relied upon to vote with the sympathies of the majority of the population. Cabell Countians had worked hard on improving the commercial sector of the area, and conflict could only ruin all they had worked toward.

Although Virginia rejects secession on April 4, 1861, eight days later Fort Sumter is fired upon by Confederate forces. Lincoln's call for 75,000 volunteers reached the assembled delegates on April 15, 1861, and with this news several delegates changed their vote. On April 17, 1861 the Virginia convention voted for secession. McComas, like many other representatives from the western counties, voted against secession, but could not stand up against the united support of the eastern counties. War had been inaugurated and Virginia with a vote of 88 to 55 in favor of secession, cast its lot with the Confederacy pending approval by popular vote.¹⁹ Three days after Virginia's decision, on April 20, 1861, Albert Jenkins returned to Guyandotte after completing his last day as a U.S. Congressman. He assembled the militiamen of Guyandotte and other concerned men with southern sympathies from around the county at his plantation at Greenbottom. This militia, known as the Border Rangers, later became Company E of the 8th Virginia Cavalry. Many of these men were longtime friends of Jenkins and included members who had earlier supported his attempts at foiling the plans of Eli Thayer and his "northern colony" of Ceredo.²⁰ On May 23, 1861 the residents of Cabell County voted alongside

¹⁸ Biographical Directory of the United States Congress 1774-Present, "William McComas," <http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=M000352>, accessed June 24, 2016.

¹⁹ Wallace, *Cabell County Annals and Families*, 34.

²⁰ Dickinson and Dickinson, *Gentleman Soldier of Greenbottom*, 44-45; Geiger, *Civil War in Cabell County*, 49. Several of the committee members of an anti-Thayer meeting that Jenkins held on August 26, 1857 included Ira J.

Virginians throughout the state, but unlike a majority of voters the county voted overwhelmingly against secession.²¹ The only exception to this rule appeared to be Guyandotte, which, one *Wheeling Daily Intelligencer* correspondent claimed, “was a hot bed of secession and the southern folks do about as they please.”²²

With the creation of the Border Rangers, Cabell County had its first organized military force march through the county and it was not the last. Residents had long worked to improve the county by attracting businesses and capitalizing on the opportunities afforded by navigable rivers and well maintained roads. The advent of civil war threw all of this work into jeopardy, and threatened to tear apart the region. While sources prevent us from knowing exactly how Cabell Countians felt in April 1861, we can see a prevailing trend towards moderate, union supporters

McGinnis (the first captain of the Border Rangers), John Everett, Dr. G.C. Ricketts, and Louis Sedinger (all of whom had sons serve in the Border Rangers).

²¹ Richard Curry, *A House Divided: A Study of Statehood Politics and the Copperhead Movement in West Virginia* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1964), Appendix I, 141-147. The actual voting record for the popular vote on secession in Virginia does not exist according to historian Richard Curry. Curry is able to provide evidence of several counties' votes through other sources, primarily newspapers such as the *Wheeling Daily Intelligencer*, but also numerous manuscript collections at archives in the West Virginia University Library, Library of Congress, and the Virginia State Library in Richmond. Curry's analysis, although extensive and rational, needs a fresh look to explore newly uncovered sources and research. However, the conclusions reached by Curry on the estimated vote appear to conform to existing sources. Fourteen counties were covered by the *Wheeling Daily Intelligencer* on June 1, 1861 with the number of votes for both sides announced, and for nineteen other counties in Northwestern Virginia the winning side and its majority vote over the other was recorded. Cabell County was listed as one of the nineteen where it voted against secession with a majority of 650 votes over those supporting secession. By analyzing the percentage of the electorate that voted on the issue from counties whose numbers were reported, Curry argues that approximately 80% of the electorate voted in each county. When compared to Cabell County's voting population in 1861, 1,490, Curry argues that the vote in Cabell County was approximately 271 votes for secession and 971 votes against it.

²² Wallace, *Cabell County Annals and Families*, 34. There are several stories found in the Fred Lambert Collection at Marshall University, *Kanawha Valley Star* newspaper, and by accounts from memoirs of various members of the community, such as W.S. Laidley, in Wallace's *Cabell County Annals and Families* as well as J.W. Miller's account in *History of the Barboursville Community* to support the idea that Guyandotte had a strong presence of rebel sympathizers. While many of these accounts were published long after the end of the war and make many of their more exact claims suspect, sources of the time period seem to agree with this assertion. It is unknown how many of these citizens could have been labeled as such, since anywhere from five to one hundred Union sympathizing men were captured in the raid on Nov. 11. I argue that Guyandotte was more than likely the most contested area of the County and if Confederates didn't have majority support in the town before the raid, they definitely did after it.

with a small elite that held pro-slavery and secessionist sympathies. The influence of this minority faction provides the best explanation for prevailing notions after the war that “Cabell County was Southern in its sympathies.”²³ This assertion does not mean that the county was a bastion of Union sentiment, but demonstrates the influence Confederate veterans had after the war in shaping a county history more favorable to the Confederate cause. On the eve of war, Confederates and Confederate sympathizers were the exception not the rule.

WAR COMES TO THE COUNTY

Much of the actual violence of the war occurred early on for Cabell Countians with skirmishes occurring around Barboursville and Guyandotte within the war’s first several months. Although there was very little bloodshed in these skirmishes, a raid by the Border Rangers into Guyandotte on November 10, 1861, killed several Union men and captured many Union sympathizing civilians. This raid and the subsequent burning of Guyandotte destabilized the region and brought to life the worst fears of many of the unionist and secessionist men in the county. The dynamics of this raid illustrate the climate of fear that permeated citizens and soldiers of both sides.

In order to understand the exaggerations of memory that occurred after the war years, a thorough understanding of the first year of the war needs to be established. Throughout the late spring and early summer of 1861, Union and Confederate armies briefly clashed with one another in skirmishes along the border states. Skirmishes at Romney and Phillippi, Virginia, illustrated both sides’ inexperience and shortcomings, but also reminded West Virginians how

²³ Ibid, 39.

close the war was to home. With many residents of Cabell County still unsure of what side they might take, the Border Rangers set out from Guyandotte in May 1861.

The Border Rangers had moved from Guyandotte to their camp in the Kanawha Valley and then rushed toward Point Pleasant where they captured several Union sympathizers. Men under the command of Colonel Jesse S. Norton left their camp at Gallipolis and pursued the Confederates across the river. Although they were unable to catch up to the Border Rangers, they captured over thirty secessionists in Mason County and shipped them back over the Ohio to Camp Chase Prison in Columbus, Ohio.²⁴ Although the captured civilians from both sides were eventually released this set a precedent that sparked fear on both sides of the Ohio. These “captures” of large numbers of civilians on both sides is largely forgotten in later accounts of the war. These events heightened the fear and uncertainty within the region, and made the war feel more akin to marauding guerrillas which was not the way either side wished to be remembered.

On June 6 the *Ironton Weekly Register* reported that men from Guyandotte brought down the secessionist flag in Guyandotte. Regardless of who brought down the flag, the absence of the Border Rangers demonstrated a weakened support for secession and likely meant that Confederate sympathizers did not have the means of establishing a firm hold over the town without force.²⁵ Not far behind the Confederates were Union troops under the command of General Jacob Cox who gathered his forces on the other side of the river. Cox moved his forces forward on July 11 and took control of Guyandotte shortly after landing. Upon arriving in Guyandotte, Union men questioned secessionists in the town and confiscated horses owned by

²⁴ Geiger, *Civil War in Cabell County*, 14-15.

²⁵ *Ironton Weekly Register*, June 6, 1861.

the retiring Confederates. The town, although described as a troublesome “Secession Hole,” and troublesome by two Unionist newspapers, was also home to many loyal civilians. These Unionist sympathizers were largely ignored by contemporary reporters of the time, and in many accounts after the war only mentioned as prisoners captured at the subsequent raid at Guyandotte several months later.²⁶ With the Confederates retiring from the town and the advance of the Yankees, many of the families and relatives who supported the Confederacy fled from Guyandotte. The Union forces under Colonel William E. Woodruff, with the advice and help of Union sympathizers in Guyandotte, set out for Barboursville where Confederate forces were camped. The Confederate forces, however, were mostly militia, and some weren’t even secessionists. The *Ironton Weekly Register* mentions several of the militia men were Unionist, but were misled by rumors of Federal atrocities in Guyandotte.²⁷ However, the greater portion of the force was Confederate militiamen from Cabell and neighboring counties Wayne and Logan, along with the Border Rangers, who had rushed to defend the county seat.

On July 12, 1861, the two forces briefly skirmished outside the town along a covered bridge over the Guyandotte River. The 2nd Kentuckians moved to cross the covered bridge and were met with a hail of fire from the ridge overlooking the bridge from the opposite side. The Union soldiers returned fire but then charged with bayonets and sent the militiamen retreating

²⁶ *Ironton Weekly Register*, July 18, 1861; *Wheeling Daily Intelligencer*, July 18, 1861; “‘Uncle Billy’ Miller, 90 Years Old, Recalls Battle of Mud River,” Miscellaneous Civil War Materials, Rosanna Blake Library, James E. Morrow Library, Marshall University, Huntington, WV. There appears to be a consensual agreement that there was a higher proportion of secessionists in Guyandotte than in other parts of the county. Although Union sympathizing men were present in the town (the Guyandotte Raid in November of 1861 will drag away somewhere between five to a hundred Union sympathizers to Prisoner of War Camps), many accounts fail to account for or neglect to mention their presence within the town.

²⁷ *Ironton Weekly Register*, July 18, 1861; Geiger, *Civil War in Cabell County*, 25. The *Ironton Weekly Register* mentions that subsequent interviews with surrendering secessionists found that many of them were led to believe that the Federals were terrorizing the citizens of Cabell County as they went.

down the ridge. Within a week, recollections began to inflate the size, casualties, and bravery of one or the other side fighting.²⁸ Although this battle was only a minor skirmish, it became a defining moment for many recollections of the war, for it demonstrated the resolve of the citizens of Cabell County to attempt to repel the “invaders” which helped Confederate sympathizers to equate their feelings with those of the rest of the county.

The most controversial event of the entire war for Cabell Countians took place in November 1861 as the contested town of Guyandotte was raided by Confederate forces, and then burned by Union forces after it had been recaptured. For many Confederate sympathizers the raid remained fresh in accounts of the war because it added to the belief that Guyandotte and the Cabell County area were strongly secessionist, but also vindicated their choice by showing the Union soldiers as being despicable. Unionists recalled the treachery of the Guyandotte citizens who appeared to be complicit in knowledge of the raid and attempted to thwart any action by Federal forces in mounting a defense. Well into the 1930s and 1940s, the various accounts of the Raid on Guyandotte seemed to favor the Confederate memory of the war either through written collaboration or omission.²⁹ Many who recalled the raid seemed more focused on the burning of the town rather than the events that preceded it.

For the several months before the raid the residents of Cabell County slowly came to grips with the realities of the war as the fighting drifted further east. Cabell County remained in

²⁸ James D. Sedinger, typescript copy of James D. Sedinger diary, 21 pages, Accession 2001/0703.297, Special Collections, Rosanna Blake Library, Marshall University, Huntington, WV; *Wheeling Daily Intelligencer*, July 18, 1861; *Ironton Weekly Register*, July 18, 1861; “‘Uncle Billy’ Miller, 90 Years Old, Recalls Battle of Mud River,” Miscellaneous Civil War Materials, Rosanna Blake Library, James E. Morrow Library, Marshall University, Huntington, WV. Several of these accounts occurred soon after the skirmish had happened, but still attempt to dramatize the actions of both forces; see the articles in the *Wheeling Daily Intelligencer* and the *Ironton Weekly Register*.

²⁹ Wallace, *Cabell County Annals and Families*, 39; Wiatt Smith, “Four Score Years in Guyandotte,” in *Guyandotte Centennial* (Guyandotte Centennial and Cabell County Home Coming Association, 1910), 79-80.

Union hands throughout the war, and Guyandotte was set up as a camp to recruit new Union soldiers for the 9th West Virginia Regiment under Major Kellian V. Whaley. On November 5, 1861, Confederate forces under General John B. Floyd sent a detachment of his Confederate forces on a morale-boosting raid to the Ohio River. Included was the 8th Virginia Cavalry, Company E, known formerly as the Border Rangers, and many of them cheerfully welcomed this news since they were “going home for the first time since we left in the spring.”³⁰ The Confederates made their way into Cabell County and progressed to the outskirts of Guyandotte by the evening of November 10 where they attacked late into the evening. The Confederates made quick work of killing the pickets posted around town and before night had fallen the town lay in Confederate hands. Dr. J. H. Rouse, one of the prisoners taken during the raid and who later became a Surgeon for the 9th Virginia Regiment (U.S.), wrote a year later in 1862 his account of the raid. In it he described in vivid imagery the barbarism of the Confederate troops who committed several atrocities such as brutally executing a surrendering Union soldier. One surrendering Union soldier upon being captured by the rebels was “seized by the hair of the head by the chief of the rebels, Wilson B. Moore, who placing a revolver to his victim’s temples, discharged its contents into his head, literally blowing his brains out, mutilating his head in a shocking manner.” Then the secessionist women of Guyandotte, Rouse claimed, “became so elated that they offered up cheer after cheer to his Satanic majesty (Jeff Davis) that they became hoarse.”³¹ While other newspapers corroborate the horrible “Massacre” at Guyandotte, many of

³⁰ James D. Sedinger, typescript copy of James D. Sedinger diary, 21 pages, Accession 2001/0703.297, Special Collections, Rosanna Blake Library, Marshall University, Huntington, WV.

³¹ Dr. J.H. Rouse, *Horrible Massacre at Guyandotte, Va., and A Journey to the Rebel Capital with a Description of Prison Life in a Tobacco Warehouse at Richmond* (n.p., 1862), 11.

the Confederate accounts remain terse or omit the details of the raid.³² James Sedinger, a corporal in the 8th Virginia Cavalry, wrote with levity that upon securing Guyandotte the boys “crossed the Bridge over into town and kissed all the girls in town.”³³

On the morning of November 11, the Confederates began evacuating the town, taking with them around five to one hundred prisoners of war. Many of the prisoners were Union soldiers of the 9th Virginia (U.S.) but several of them were Union sympathizers such as Dr. Rouse, William Douthitt, Albert White, John W. Alford, Matthew Thompson, Thomas Kyle, and a Mr. Morey. These men were known as “Tories” and were forced to march along with the Union soldiers all the way to Richmond to be sent to prison camps. As the Confederates began to leave the city, Union soldiers from 5th Virginia (U.S.) and several Proctorville Home Guard units from across the river arrived just above Guyandotte. As their steamer the *Boston* approached the shore, adjutant J.C. Wheeler of the 9th Virginia reported: “The hypocritical secessionist citizens, who had been instrumental in getting up the attack, came on the bank of the Ohio with a great number of white flags, which they waived with great apparent earnestness.”³⁴ These citizens were more than likely those Unionists who had managed to escape or who had hidden and were looking for help from the approaching Federals. However, after hearing stories of the Guyandotte citizens’ efforts to help the Confederate raiders, the Union soldiers were not in any mood to assist any of the residents of the town. After the Federal forces fired on the retreating Confederates, several of the soldiers and Home Guards began to set fire to the town. Unionist

³² *Ironton Weekly Register*, November 14, 1861; *Wheeling Daily Intelligencer* November 13, 1861.

³³ James D. Sedinger, typescript copy of James D. Sedinger diary, 21 pages, Accession 2001/0703.297, Special Collections, Rosanna Blake Library, Marshall University, Huntington, WV.

³⁴ United States War Department. *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901). Series I, Volume V, 411-412.

and Confederate sympathizers alike saw their houses put to the torch as the Federal forces reoccupied the town.³⁵ As the fire raged, Union forces captured sixteen secessionists and sent them across the river toward the Union prison camp, Camp Chase.³⁶ Union forces held Guyandotte and much of Cabell County throughout the remaining years of the war.

The raid on Guyandotte was the most significant event in Cabell County during the war. It set the precedent for much of the subsequent course of the war. William Dusenberry early in January 1862, only two months after the raid, wrote: “The Civil War now distracting our beloved country, has ruined our business and is causing everything along the border here to be destroyed. Being a Union man I do not know what moment I may be stripped of everything and driven from my home. My greatest wish is that before this day 1863 peace and harmony will be restored and we will be a united and happy people again.”³⁷ The raid had killed around twelve Union soldiers, with 30 wounded, and many captured.³⁸ The Confederates lost significantly less with around three dead and a few wounded, but had about sixteen secessionists captured from Guyandotte after Federal forces retook the town. What was most important was the effect these attacks had upon the civilian population. While many had already chosen sides by the first few months and the clash at Barboursville, a cloud of fear had descended upon the county. Neighbors had turned upon each other and many were betrayed to soldiers on both sides who looted stores and businesses, took prisoners to disease ridden camps, and even killed some civilians on the spot.³⁹

³⁵ Smith, *Guyandotte Centennial*, 79-80.

³⁶ Geiger, *Civil War in Cabell County*, 58.

³⁷ William F. Dusenberry. Carrie Eldridge Collection “Dusenberry Diaries,” January 1, 1863, Accession 1992/01.0551, Special Collections, James E. Morrow Library, Marshall University, Huntington, WV.

³⁸ Geiger, *Civil War in Cabell County*, 57.

³⁹ Geiger, *Civil War in Cabell County*, 54; Fred B. Lambert, Fred B. Lambert Collection Accession 1978/06.0236, Box 2, Notebook 19, “Achilles Fuller,” pgs. 21-22, Special Collections, James E. Morrow Library, Marshall University, Huntington WV. Geiger outlines a feud between two families, the Sheltons and the Fullers. According to events, Henry Shelton, a secessionist, wanted to turn over one of the sons of Achilles Fuller to Confederate

The following years of the war were tied to these developments as civilians and soldiers on both sides descended into lawlessness. Although Union forces were stationed at Guyandotte throughout much of the remainder of the war, the threat of another Confederate raid in Cabell County always remained a possibility. Jenkins and his cavalymen often returned to visit family, and skirmished with the Union garrison.⁴⁰ Bandits plagued the county; on January 5, 1863, bandits stole county tax books from the courthouse in Barboursville.⁴¹ The courts were moved back to Guyandotte due to the presence of Union forces garrisoned there. Courts were reopened under the authority of the new state of West Virginia in November 1863 and began to issue indictments and verdicts against citizens in rebellion and rebel sympathizers. Many indictments concerned not registering taxes under the new state government for those adhering to the state of Virginia. Other notable crimes were those suspected of feeding armed rebels, and others for the stealing of provisions and horses meant for the service of Confederates.⁴² Perhaps in retaliation in January 1864, Confederates under Captain Hurston Spurlock of the 16th Virginia raided the area around Guyandotte and took prisoners of veterans of the 5th and 9th West Virginia, and also several civilians including deputy sheriff Smith, magistrate John Ferguson, and the revenue commissioner of the county, Wright.⁴³ In April, two members of the 13th West Virginia were shot in Mud Bridge on the eastern edge of the county by bushwackers and both were critically injured.⁴⁴ Many other instances of violence and banditry were reported and many times the

authorities believing him to be a Union messenger. Achilles and John Fuller went to Shelton's home with hunting rifles and killed Henry Shelton. Along the way to Guyandotte, the sons of Henry Shelton, serving as Confederate cavalymen under Jenkins, appeared at the door to Achilles Fuller, greeted him at the door, and shot him on his porch.

⁴⁰ Geiger, *Civil War in Cabell County*, 71-78.

⁴¹ Ibid, 79; Wallace, *Cabell County Annals and Families*, 11-13.

⁴² Ibid, 13-15.

⁴³ Geiger, *Civil War in Cabell County*, 87.

⁴⁴ Ibid, 89.

Union garrison in Guyandotte was called to pursue suspected criminals and rebels. Cabell County was not alone in this regard, as neighboring Wayne, Putnam, and Mason Counties all suffered from frequent raids and bushwacker activity.

As the war drew to a close in April 1865, locals expressed jubilation, anger, and relief. For many loyal citizens these feelings quickly turned to sorrow when news arrived of the assassination of Abraham Lincoln on April 15. This sadness soon turned to anger as Confederates began to return and attempt to go back to their everyday lives. Four years of terror was not soon forgiven and many Confederates were forced out of the town by vengeful loyalist citizens. Tensions had already been boiling as returning Confederates had demanded a restoration of the status quo and to be allowed their rights under the United States government. During a session of the Cabell County Circuit Court, Dr. William A. Jenkins, brother to Albert G. Jenkins (who had been killed at the Battle of Cloyd's Mountain in May 1864), tried to have the previous decisions of the court against him set aside while he had been away fighting in the war. This action sparked a fiery debate in the court in regards to the imposition of the "test oaths" passed by the late state legislature. These "test oaths" were passed on February 25, 1865, and allowed any voter to be challenged by a citizen to take an oath that they had never voluntarily borne arms against or taken an office hostile to the United States, or the state of West Virginia. These oaths were passed as a war measure, but many in the state legislature argued that the oaths were necessary to prevent the return to power of influential Confederates. A voter's registration law was passed in 1866 and it went a step above and completely disenfranchised Confederates. Judge Nash from Gallipolis, Ohio, claimed that the state was unable to make such a law as "treason against the State" and argued vehemently that a man had every right to go fight in a rebellion and then return and be fully restored to his former rights without taking any kind of

test oath. Nash even threatened to “raise an army, march over into our State, and compel us to recognize them as citizens not as aliens.” At this, attorney James Ferguson shot back at Nash reminding him that the “free state of Ohio” should remember that these men he was threatening were “Union men.” Getting more and more worked up Ferguson vented the sentiments of many of these Union men throughout the county. Reported by the *Point Pleasant Register* Ferguson stated: “Dr. Jenkins was not satisfied with the old government, and with his associates had deluged this country with blood, and now when there is no hope of their ‘confederacy,’ they come sneaking back and declared every ‘devil of them ought to be hung.’”⁴⁵

Another notable incident occurred in Guyandotte, the so called hotbed of secession for the county. On May 24, several prominent Guyandotte lawyers who had served for several years in the Confederate cavalry that had raided the county, attempted to return to their law careers by signing a petition allowing for their admittance to the county court and persuading influential residents to sign it. For many Union men this was too much. Dusenberry described how several Union officers, loyal men of Guyandotte, and himself “happened in there and we gave them thunder.”⁴⁶ Several members had already been persuaded to sign, but on the following day others had a change of heart and asked to be removed from the petition. News had already been spread among the citizenry and the mood quickly turned against the former Confederates. “Old Man Ballard hunted up [Vinc] Samuels and told him he had to leave. The others were also ordered to leave... The excitement of the soldiers is very great.”⁴⁷ The *Parkersburg State Journal* reported

⁴⁵ “Cabell County Circuit Court,” *Parkersburg State Journal*, April 4, 1865.

⁴⁶ William F. Dusenberry. Carrie Eldridge Collection “Dusenberry Diaries,” May 24-25, 1865, Accession 1992/01.0551, Special Collections, James E. Morrow Library, Marshall University, Huntington, WV.

⁴⁷ William F. Dusenberry. Carrie Eldridge Collection “Dusenberry Diaries,” May 25, 1865, Accession 1992/01.0551, Special Collections, James E. Morrow Library, Marshall University, Huntington, WV.

on the event personifying the county of Cabell as an old invalid woman who having been laid low with rebellious fever for four years was assaulted in her own home by four rebel ruffians.⁴⁸ The men later returned to the town, but the influence they had once had was now severally weakened. However, not all was lost as many people's desire for a return to normalcy was already beginning to erode the animosity.

CABELL COUNTY DURING EARLY RECONSTRUCTION

On May 31, 1865, the *Parkersburg State Journal* reported on a mass meeting held in Barboursville on May 20. Attending were some of the most influential loyal citizens of Barboursville including Thomas Thornburg, Judge H.J. Samuels, and Rev. William McComas. Speeches were given by McComas and Samuels, before some resolutions were adopted by those in attendance. The most notable resolution was, "That it is the duty of every individual to lay aside all malice, hatred, and ill will, and forgive all personal wrong and injuries growing out of the war, and use every endeavor to unite and blend together in good will . . . the various elements of society . . . and burying the past in oblivion."⁴⁹ These influential Cabell Countians called for a return to normality and stability after four long years of conflict, and a desire to bury the hatchet. However, the death of Rev. William McComas two weeks after this meeting was a severe blow to a reconciliationist movement forming in the county. McComas had been widely influential throughout the southern counties of West Virginia (including those with strong Confederate sympathies).⁵⁰ The county did not return to normalcy with the war's end, but a new war was beginning in the political halls of state and local governments. As ex-Confederates attempted to

⁴⁸ *Parkersburg State Journal*, May 31, 1865.

⁴⁹"Mass Meeting at Barboursville, West Virginia," *Parkersburg State Journal*, May 31, 1865.

⁵⁰"Sudden Death," *Parkersburg State Journal*, June 14, 1865.

insert themselves back into their seats of local and state power, loyal union men switched tactics and closed ranks to combat against growing reconciliationist support for a release from wartime animosity.

A Fourth of July celebration in Guyandotte renewed tensions. As loyal citizens celebrated throughout the streets “rebels and their sympathizers” remained “holed up” within their homes.⁵¹ While newspapers dismissed the curmudgeonly attitude of the former Confederates their reports hinted at the possible continuation of conflict. “They [rebels]. . . boast that the Union people of the County could not succeed with a celebration unless the traitors would condescend to cast their mite in favor of an abolition Government.”⁵² As the rebels hinted, returning Confederates throughout the state had never ceased fighting against the laws that rendered them non-citizens.

While some Union men had argued against the injustice of the test oath, there remained a significant outcry against the former Confederates. Many Union troops remained in West Virginia well past the end of hostilities to ensure that the laws of the new state government were enforced and upheld. Loyalists in favor of reconciliationist policies such as amending the test oath were worried about commerce and infrastructure. In a letter posted in the *Ironton Weekly Register* on October 12, 1865, an individual identified only as “C.” lamented that townships were unorganized, the free school system was not in operation, infrastructure was damaged and had not been repaired, and in general stagnation had taken hold of public business.⁵³ These sentiments were held by many wealthy men in Cabell County who sought a return to prewar levels of commercial activity. These men found willing cohorts in wealthy ex-Confederates who

⁵¹ “The 4th Celebrated at Guyandotte, West Va.” *Parkersburg State Journal*, July 19, 1865; “The Fourth Celebrated at Guyandotte, West Virginia,” *Ironton Weekly Register*, July 27, 1865.

⁵² “The Fourth Celebrated at Guyandotte, West Virginia,” *Ironton Weekly Register*, July 27, 1865.

⁵³ “Letter from West Virginia,” *Ironton Weekly Register*, October 12, 1865.

were more than happy to let bygones be bygones and to trade economic development in the region in exchange for citizenship. Other reconciliationists saw a distinction between the leaders and common soldiers of the Confederacy, and wished to shape the disfranchising amendment to target wealthy and influential ex-Confederates. One of them was James Ferguson (the man who believed that the rebels should be “hanged”) who ran for the House of Delegates against the retired Union General John S. Witcher and was labeled derisively a “Copperhead.”⁵⁴ Those who had been labeled as “Copperheads” during the war were Northern Peace Democrats who had been viewed as traitors and had wanted to settle issues with the Confederacy peacefully. The newspaper’s labeling of Ferguson as a “Copperhead” was meant to illustrate his conciliatory approach to returning Confederates and label him a traitor. In a mass Union meeting on April 19, 1866, Ferguson defended his actions believing that a modification was needed in the disfranchising amendment in order to not persecute those who had followed these leaders into rebellion.⁵⁵ These concerns demonstrated the fracturing opinions of the loyalist side in peacetime that soon lead to the return of rights to the ex-Confederates.

This fight over the disenfranchisement of ex-Confederates demonstrated the continuance of conflict well after the firing had ceased. The number of ex-Confederates in the state made it impossible for some towns to even conduct basic civil government.⁵⁶ A Lewisburg registrar, Dr. J.F. Caldwell, came to be known as “Old Scratch” for his prolific erasing of names off the voting register, and was rumored to have once set the voting record to only seven people.⁵⁷ The

⁵⁴ “Return of Election,” *Parkersburg State Journal*, November 1, 1865.

⁵⁵ “Proceedings of a Union Meeting at Cabell C.H., April 19th” *Parkersburg State Journal*, May 5, 1866.

⁵⁶ “Letter from West Virginia,” *Ironton Weekly Register*, October 12, 1865.

⁵⁷ Otis Rice and Stephen W. Brown, *West Virginia: A History*, 2nd ed. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1993) 156-157.

elections of 1865 demonstrated the strength of the reconciliationist movement and the disregard of ex-Confederates for the state laws. The election of Confederate Major Henry Mason Matthews of Greenbrier County to the state Senate forced ardent loyalists to close ranks and proceeded to bind up the fraying political cords of the state's Republican Party. In Cabell County as in much of the state, Republicans rehashed wartime messages and reminded their recalcitrant party members of their unity during wartime. These measures were taken to bring back Ferguson and those who had voted for him (at least a quarter of the voting men in the county), and to ensure continued Republican solidarity. In August 1866, the Union men of Cabell County convened at the courthouse to appoint nominees for the Union State Convention to be held on August 30. Their resolutions reveal the effort to ensure unity among the Unionists. They endorsed the government of Governor Arthur Boreman and of the former delegate John S. Witcher (who was also a part of the convention), but came out strongly against the current policy of President Andrew Johnson, who showed a reconciliatory policy toward ex-Confederates by signing thousands of pardons for leading members of the Confederacy. However, just as important, the convention resolved that "we are opposed in every form to conferring the elective franchise upon persons of the African race."⁵⁸ The loyalist members remained ardently loyal to the Republican Party, but made it clear that they were not in the radical wing of their party and were completely opposed to the views of Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner. Stevens and Sumner sought not only to enfranchise African Americans, but also to pass civil rights legislation to protect them from discrimination and persecution. By the time of the 1866 elections, the men of Cabell County and many leading officials in the Republican Party reminded voters to "Remember the

⁵⁸ "Proceedings of Union Convention in Cabell County," *Parkersburg State Journal*, August 28, 1866.

Dead heroes of West Virginia and . . . remember that it is the murderers of those gallant spirits for whom the conservatives of our state are now enlisted and are trying to place in power.”⁵⁹

Cabell Countians apparently had not forgotten as they voted overwhelmingly for Governor Arthur Boreman, who won re-election. The Republican victories continued sweeping former Cabell County delegate John S. Witcher into the office of Secretary of State, B.D. McGinnis as prosecuting attorney, and James Ferguson replacing his former rival, Witcher, as the new delegate of Cabell County. Republicans maintained a firm hold of the county offices in the following years of 1867 and 1868.

Many of the events that played out in Cabell County can best be illustrated by viewing the greater conflict emerging within state politics. These events within the county were representative of a steady trickle down of the consequences of Republican actions on the national level, which had influenced state leaders, and which in turn changed the political environment at the county level. Republicans had maintained a firm hold over state government by relying on wartime measures such as the test oaths and disenfranchisement. These measures had allowed them to sustain their political power after the war when it was clear there was strong support for a conservative Democratic Party. In some counties over eighty-five percent of voters were not allowed to vote due to these proscriptive methods.⁶⁰ The state Republicans generally supported the role of the Radical Republicans in their fight against Johnson, but as national Republicans began to assert a more radical agenda with their calls for racial equality, many West Virginia party members grew unsettled. Violence in several counties against proscription also played a

⁵⁹ “Union Men, Remember the Dead Heroes of West Virginia, and Honor Them Next Thursday at the Polls,” *Parkersburg State Journal*, October 24, 1866.

⁶⁰ Rice and Brown, *West Virginia*, 157.

great part in the beginnings of a relaxed stance toward ex-Confederates. The election of 1868 showed that the Republican Party was starting to lose its edge despite proscription. In the closest race for governor the state had seen so far, William E. Stevenson (Rep.) won the governorship in a vote of 26,931 to 22,052 against his opponent, James N. Camden (Dem.). Cabell County had voted for William Stevenson, by a majority of only 72 votes.⁶¹ If the similar number of voters had been maintained as in the 1866 election, then out of 470 voters the vote had been very close (even with many Confederates disenfranchised).⁶² This assertion is especially noteworthy when it is recalled that there were almost 1500 registered voters before the war.

This election alarmed state Republicans, whose attempts to close ranks based on wartime issues were splintering under the weight of the more radicalized agenda of the national party. When the Republican-controlled Congress passed the Fifteenth amendment in February 1869, West Virginia Republicans became even more divided over issues of suffrage. The alliance based on wartime loyalty could not handle the growing fissures between businessmen who supported economic policies that crossed party lines, loyal but racist party members who desired ex-Confederates rather than enfranchise African Americans, and a growing number of war-weary party members who grew disillusioned with continued efforts to continue wartime policies.

Cabell Countians demonstrated their growing disillusionment with the policies of the state government. A letter written to the *Cabell County Press* on July 31, 1869, wondered aloud why the state government had failed to select a register for the county since registering was to commence by the first Monday in August. The author argued, “If the Radical party by the acts of

⁶¹ *Parkersburg State Journal*, October 10, 1868.

⁶² This vote count is taken from the number of votes for governor placed by Cabell County voters as seen in the “Election Returns from Cabell, Mason, Boone, and Pocahontas Counties,” *Parkersburg State Journal*, November 14, 1866.

their Board of Registration have rendered the office so detestable to public opinion that no radical can be found in the county . . . let the Governor appoint three honest Conservatives who will lift the office from disgrace.”⁶³ In September the registrar for Grant Township in Cabell County had accepted registration for nine names that previous registrars had turned down for being ex-Confederates. The names were released in the *Cabell County Press* and a call was placed for information regarding how they had registered and under what law they acted.⁶⁴ For Cabell County Republicans the most damning turn came in October when former delegate Gen. John S. Witcher publicly endorsed the overthrow of proscription. A former Union officer, Witcher argued that former Federal troops and Confederate soldiers were now living together as friends and neighbors with only politicians, “contending for place and power,” fighting the battles of the late war.⁶⁵ Witcher like many of those who were tired of war rhetoric, were reinvigorating the reconciliationist movement in the state. This reconciliationist faction of Republicans, much like wartime Republicans, were an alliance of various disillusioned party members who balked at the radical measures of the party nationally and within the state. This reconciliationist faction supported Democratic candidates who endorsed an end to proscription.

In the Cabell County election of 1869, these Republicans helped push the Democrats to a narrow victory of 30 votes over Republican candidates.⁶⁶ Although William Holstein, the Republican candidate for the House of Delegates, said that he would vote against the Fifteenth amendment, his stance on proscription doomed his chances of acquiring the support needed from

⁶³ *Cabell County Press*, July 31, 1869.

⁶⁴ *Cabell County Press*, September 6, 1869.

⁶⁵ “A Letter from General Witcher,” *Cabell County Press*, October 9, 1869.

⁶⁶ *Cabell County Press*, November 1, 1869; the election may not have been as close as perceived. According to the editorial it seems that many Democrats had stayed away from the polls believing the victory for the Republicans a sure thing.

Liberal Republicans. Democrats meanwhile selected a former Union veteran, Mitchell Cook, to represent them. His unquestionable loyalty to the Union and his desire to let the war end by stopping proscription swayed enough support from the Republican coalition. Cabell County demonstrated that wartime patriotism and rhetoric was no longer a sufficient means to political office.

Pressured from above by radical policies, and finding growing resentment from county governments, the state government was left in a precarious position. Even strong pro-Unionist members in Cabell County, like Gen. Witcher, were becoming more lenient in their views of the former Confederates. Former delegate from Cabell County to the State Convention in 1863 Granville Parker published an article in the *Cabell County Press* advising, “I should in this particular exigency, vote for the ratification, under the belief that its approval would be so unanimous as to embody the popular will.”⁶⁷ The state Republican Party knew that soon, regardless of proscription, it was to be driven from power if this policy was not changed. Around early August, outgoing governor Arthur Boreman wrote in a confidential letter to Craven Berry, Esq., a member of the Braxton County Board of Registration,

I can say to you frankly that I agree with you that hasty enfranchisement would put our state into the hands of those who have been its enemies, and from all I have been able to learn a large majority of our union people are opposed to it, but are willing to have these disabilities removed as soon as they deem it safe to do so.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Granville Parker, *The Formation of the State of West Virginia and Other Incidents of the Late Civil War*, (Wellsburg: Glass & Son, 1875), 419-420.

⁶⁸ Letter from Arthur Boreman to Craven Berry, Esq., n.d., Arthur Boreman Collection, Ar -1723, Folder #339, The West Virginia State Archives, Cultural Center, Charleston, WV. The letter is written on the back of a paper used for

In an effort to stem the tide of resentment over the issue of proscription, the newly elected Republican governor Stevenson advocated re-enfranchising ex-Confederates and encouraged the legislature to move toward such a policy. It is perhaps telling of the whole experience that Delegate William H.H. Flick, himself a Union veteran, drafted what became known as the Flick Amendment. The amendment removed voting restrictions on over twenty thousand ex-Confederates. Although four years of open hostility had brought both Unionists and Confederate soldiers and sympathizers to the point of persecution, kidnapping, and murder, Cabell Countians signaled their desire for the end of animosity. Many Union veterans had come out and supported the policy of re-enfranchisement advocated by these reconciliationist Republicans. The wartime alliances had broken under the tide of growing economic pressure from businessmen eyeing the state's natural resources, and a growing determination to maintain the subordination of African Americans within the state. When faced with the alternatives, West Virginians who had supported the Union found common political ground with their Confederate opposites.

Cabell Countians, like their counterparts in the border states and throughout the South, suffered wartime destruction firsthand. The prospective growth of the county had been halted, then reversed, and had left many of the residents disenfranchised. It is no surprise to anyone that wartime emotions and tensions did not end as soon as the war was over, but within the next four years much of the animosity had already begun to recede into the background. With the achievement of re-enfranchisement, former Confederates swept Democratic candidates into

Arthur Boreman's notes for an unspecified Governor's Proclamation. It is unknown whether he sent out the letter; it appears as though the letter continues but the second or subsequent pages were not contained in the folder.

office and severely weakened the state Republican Party. This development signaled a significant shift in the agenda of political officials as thoughts turned away from wartime loyalties and toward expanding and developing an economic policy to encourage outside investment into the new state. This new development brought significant changes to Cabell County, as outside capitalists began to notice the strategic economic value of the region.

CHAPTER 2

THE BIRTH OF A CITY

While former Unionists and Confederates grappled politically over the legacies of the war, the political and financial elite on both sides returned to business soon after the war ended. Wealthy merchants and large landowners in Cabell County returned to pick up their businesses and continued working toward substantial commercial development by improving upon the economic opportunities within the region. The creation of Huntington in 1871 offered many wealthy residents opportunities to expand beyond agriculture and invest in large-scale commercial and industrial production. These wealthy elites were more concerned with financial gain than sectional animosity, and as such were willing to deal with anyone regardless of their wartime service. Politically, businessmen and industrialists could find common ground in turning a profit from the natural resources within the new state of West Virginia. This emphasis on a mutually beneficial economic policy offered both sides the potential of unprecedented levels of wealth through cooperation. Northern businessmen, like Collis P. Huntington, moved to the region and worked with local and state elites to create railroads and extractive industries. With the end of the war Collis Huntington saw, like other entrepreneurs, the opportunity afforded by the untapped natural resources within the state. The growth of the Chesapeake & Ohio (C&O) Railroad and the town of Huntington worked hand in hand with the growing interest and investment in extractive businesses linked to timber, coal, and oil. These developments affected not only Cabell County, but the entire state and its government. As West Virginia politicians grappled with the still lingering effects of the Civil War, the wheels were already turning in the state capital for industry to take a proactive plan in setting public policy. Sectional animosity thrived through heated contention between the Republican and Democratic Parties until the

ascension of Democratic supremacy in the state government by 1872. This animosity was quickly supplanted by fighting between factions in the dominant Democratic Party over economic policies and the development of industry in the state. However, the survival of sectional animosity continued in local communities as former foes struggled to retain control over the meaning and legacy of the war. It was here, in small local communities like Huntington, that soldiers and those who lived through the war resisted the efforts of local and state leaders to “forget” the Civil War and impose a reconciliation based on shared commercial prosperity.

Collis P. Huntington’s birth in the North along with his travels to the South and West provide an important parallel to his role in Reconstruction. As a railroad builder, Huntington’s railroads served as stitches for the wounded nation binding up old wounds to try to bring the sections of the nation back together under the medicine of economic progress. He was born in 1821 in Harrington, Connecticut and journeyed to the South in his teens as a street peddler. During the California Gold Rush, Huntington, like many young men, traveled west to make his fortune. Unlike most of them, Huntington did make a fortune, by selling supplies to miners. Huntington began working with railroads in the 1850s. He, along with three partners, was able to raise enough funds to begin work on a railroad running eastward from California. This Central Pacific railroad became the western section of the first transcontinental railroad in 1869, and Huntington also completed work on a Southern Pacific railroad that extended from California to New Orleans.

During the late 1860s, West Virginia and Virginia despite continued debate over West Virginia’s stake in Virginia’s debt, had agreed that completing the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad was essential to ensuring economic opportunities for both states. In an 1867 meeting of businessmen from Virginia and West Virginia who were raising money to build the railroad, it

was settled that each of the counties through which it was to pass must help pay for its construction with Cabell County being given the second largest sum to raise (\$300,000). It became clear by 1868 that raising funds for the railroad was proving more difficult than expected as only \$3,599,000 had been raised out of an estimated five million dollars. Despite this lag in fundraising, the company elected a new president and board of directors. The company directors removed Edmund Fontaine as president, an ex-Confederate and typical Virginia gentleman, and replaced him with General Williams Carter Wickham who shared all of the traits of his predecessor but had become a Republican after the war.¹

Wickham had heard of the completion of the monumental two railroads that Huntington had completed and convinced Huntington to help the beleaguering Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad. In 1869 Huntington became the president of the Chesapeake and Ohio Company. He agreed to complete the railroad to the mouth of the Big Sandy River in three years. However there was some early contention, as there was great anxiety over not only the completion of the road by Northern industrialists, but of a fear of giving so much power and authority to a group headquartered out of state. Supporters of the plan, however, believed that, “it was time to set political differences aside, the majority of stockholders were not apprehensive about the possible problems of Northern financial control, and they even suggested that the move would take the organization of the road out of the influence of ever changing local politics.”²

¹ Ronald Eller, “Mountain Road: A Study of the Construction of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad in Southern West Virginia, 1863-1873,” (Thesis, University of North Carolina, 1973), 20-24.

² Ibid, 27; Robert L. Archer, Robert L. Archer Collection “Chronicles of Early Huntington, 1871-1896,” Accession 530 (Manuscript 124), Special Collections, James E. Morrow Library, Marshall University, Huntington, WV; James E. Casto, “Collis P. Huntington,” e-WV: The West Virginia Encyclopedia, <http://www.wvencyclopedia.org/articles/753>, accessed March 20, 2016.

When Huntington took on the task of the Chesapeake and Ohio railroad, he was no doubt aware of the extensive work that had already begun on the project. In 1850, the Virginia Legislature passed an ordinance to change the name of the Louisa Railroad Company in Virginia to the Central Virginia Railroad, and repurpose it to create a railroad that linked the Virginia coast to the Ohio River Valley.³ Western Virginians had agitated for years for a means of access out of the mountainous region to transport goods and resources. Although this act proved too late in helping to bind the two regions of Virginia before the Civil War ripped them apart, it had begun the process of creating an avenue through which to transport West Virginia's natural resources. The project was abandoned soon after the firing on Ft. Sumter, and was not resumed until the passing of acts in both states in 1867 permitting its revival as the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad.⁴

These laws were in and of themselves significant for several reasons. First, the cooperation between the two states came amidst bitter debate over the inclusion of Jefferson and Berkeley counties within West Virginia and settlement of West Virginia's portion of the Virginia state debt. Secondly, these actions recognized the legitimacy of the Virginia state government at a time when Congress did not since it had not ratified the 14th Amendment. Finally, these actions demonstrated the desire for state and local politicians in West Virginia to look past sectional animosity and wartime issues in order to create new economic opportunities and expand infrastructure within the new state.

³George Seldon Wallace, *Cabell Annals and Families* (Richmond: Garret & Massie, Publishers. 1935), 125-127.

⁴Otis Rice and Stephen W. Brown, *West Virginia: A History*, 2nd ed. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1993) 185.

Not all West Virginians were awestruck by the promise of prosperity that outside industrialists lauded. Granville Parker outlined some issues in an editorial to the *Wheeling Daily Intelligencer* where he cautiously warned of the danger posed by such reckless pursuit of foreign investment without implementing state oversight of the company. He argued that “if it shall be built, it will be controlled by a Company likely to possess three times the power possessed by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, which has ever since our State was created, set our laws at defiance, with entire impunity.”⁵ However, these cries were not enough to dissuade the state’s leading investors or the average citizen.

Soon after acquiring the railroad, Huntington toured its potential course. Huntington historians Robert Archer and George Seldon Wallace describe how Huntington and his travelling party of brother-in-law and business partner, D.W. Emmons, General Wickham, and a representative of the banking firm Fisk & Hatch were amazed at the beautiful land on the south bank of the Ohio and west of the Guyandotte River.⁶ Huntington determined that here on this stretch of land, the western terminus of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad was to be built.

These historians tell a story filled with romantic destiny and idealism, but the truth was probably far more pragmatic. Huntington knew of the commercial opportunities afforded by the two rivers as they had been for decades a primary influence on the early industrial and commercial growth of the region. Huntington already envisioned the connections this railroad might make and saw the enormous financial windfall that might arise from opening up the area

⁵ Granville Parker, *The Formation of the State of West Virginia and Other Incidents of the Late Civil War* (Wellsburg: Glass & Son, 1875), 326.

⁶ Robert L. Archer, Robert L. Archer Collection “Chronicles of Early Huntington, 1871-1896,” Accession 530 (Manuscript 124), Special Collections, James E. Morrow Library, Marshall University, Huntington, WV; George Seldon Wallace, *Huntington Through Seventy-Five Years* (Huntington: n.p., 1947) 9-10.

to the railroad. Many of the state's natural resources could flow out through this area, and on into factories in Ohio. By owning the land and encouraging industry to move to the area, Huntington then controlled not only the railroad but also the means in which to turn those raw materials into goods to ship back along his own railroads. An article appearing in the *Cabell County Press* described all these considerations for the future site of the city and determined it to be the most ideal location along the Ohio River for such a terminus.⁷ Huntington had not become one of the most wealthy railroad tycoons by passing up such an opportunity.

Huntington commissioned "Col." Delos W. Emmons (the title was a nickname; Emmons had never served in the military) to begin work collecting titles to the land around his proposed western terminus. Emmons contracted local lawyer, Albert Laidley, a former Confederate, and together they bought out over twenty farms for the proposed site. Some of Huntington's most influential first families were among the landowners who sold their land to Laidley, who then sold it to the Central Land Company. Some of these landowners included the town's first mayor P.C. Buffington; the first treasurer, J. Harvey Poage; Judge W. H. Hagen; W.P. Holderby; Charles Everett; and John Laidley. Rufus Cook was hired to lay out most of the future city, and the sale of lots began earnestly in the winter of 1871-1872.⁸

While many of the local elite were pleased with the new town, there were apparently some grumblings about what it might mean for the region. Huntington was revitalizing the commercial economy of the county, and Cabell Countians had voted in support of a railroad in

⁷ "The Railroad Terminus," *Cabell County Press*, February 28, 1870.

⁸ Robert L. Archer, Robert L. Archer Collection "Chronicles of Early Huntington, 1871-1896," Accession 530 (Manuscript 124), Special Collections, James E. Morrow Library, Marshall University, Huntington, WV

1867 along with the rest of the state.⁹ At the time, Granville Parker cautiously mused in a post script on his letter to the *Wheeling Daily Intelligencer*:

Could our legislators have *realized*, when they voted for the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad bill, that they were authorizing the mammoth company to purchase and hold, for ten years after the completion of their road, one-third of all the land comprised in the State? . . . And all this land to be exempted from taxation until the State shall be able to prove that the Company is realizing ten per cent. on its capital. . . We can hardly afford to be thus liberal to foreign capitalists.¹⁰

Parker's caution had merit. The Baltimore and Ohio railroad had, since the creation of West Virginia, openly balked at state regulations and tax measures.¹¹ The vast benefits offered to the Chesapeake and Ohio may incite the company to build the railroad, but deprive the state of a vast swath of tax revenue for the perceived hope that the railroad might bring outside capital into the state. Parker's cautious article came amidst a time of continued debate over the nature of Confederate disenfranchisement and issues surviving the war. The desire for a railroad that ran across the state had been around since before the Civil War, and after the war the need was ever more apparent. The lawmakers' enticing deal was a shortsighted measure to ensure the construction of a railroad. However, for Cabell Countians there appeared to be little worry about generous concessions to the C&O railroad. Swept away by promises of an industrial powerhouse built upon the shores of the Ohio, many residents eagerly welcomed the C&O.

⁹ "R.R. Election in Cabell County," *Parkersburg State Journal*, October 2, 1867.

¹⁰ Granville Parker, *The Formation of the State of West Virginia*, 323.

¹¹ *Ibid*, 326.

When the fine details were being worked on, however, there appears to have been some contention on Mr. Huntington's choice. In a series of letters posted in the *Cabell County Press* two individuals named "Native" and "Citizen" argued over the ideal site for the railroad terminus: Maple Grove or Guyandotte.¹² Native argued that the site of Maple Grove offered more reasonable rates for land, the advantage of fewer landowners to buy from, and access to a narrower portion of the Ohio River, which made bridge-building easier. Citizen countered by saying that Guyandotte had the best harbor "unsurpassed by any for a hundred miles up and down the Ohio River," and had the advantage of its connection to the Guyandotte River that had already been used for decades to haul natural resources out of the state.¹³ Although Guyandotte boasted such advantages, from an article by the editor of the *Press*, George Creel, Huntington had already set about purchasing land near and around the small community of Maple Grove.¹⁴ Many of the local elites had already sold much of the land to Huntington through his representative D.W. Emmons and local lawyer Albert Laidley, and some even retained land in the heart of the city (no doubt hoping the price for this land might increase exponentially). This development shows that many of the local elites cooperated with the railroad in order to advance their own interests in the new city, and to expand from a largely agricultural area with some manufacturing to a growing industrial center. Large landowners were shifting their focus towards accommodating the industrial demands that many believed might flock to the region as soon as the railroad was complete. An article in the *Huntington Argus* in 1873 simply titled, "Our Duty," reflected the prevailing attitude toward the region's recent growth "Manufactories is what we

¹² "The Railroad Terminus," *Cabell County Press*, February 14, 1870; "The Railroad Terminus," *Cabell County Press*, February 21, 1870; "The Railroad Terminus," *Cabell County Press*, February 28, 1870.

¹³ "The Railroad Terminus," *Cabell County Press*, February 28, 1870.

¹⁴ *Cabell County Press*, March 7, 1870.

need and must have . . . If we wish to prosper we must bestir ourselves . . . We must also build workshops of various kinds . . . thereby showing to the outside capitalist that we are an enterprising people and are determined to make Huntington an important and prosperous place.”¹⁵

The first city council of Huntington was comprised of wealthy residents, and by viewing the connections of the city’s first mayor, P.C. Buffington, one can begin to see the interconnections of business, politics, and veteran service. P.C. Buffington along with his son, Edward Stanford Buffington (later Huntington’s sixth mayor), served in the Confederate Army: P.C. Buffington as a Quartermaster officer and Edward as an officer after graduating from the Virginia Military Institute. P.C. Buffington’s sister was also the wife of fellow councilman Judge W. H. Hagen. When the town of Huntington was being mapped out, Collis P. Huntington commissioned Albert Laidley (himself a veteran and delegate for Cabell County in the Virginia General Assembly during the Civil War) to acquire the lands along the southern bank of the Ohio.¹⁶ The land encompassed seventeen farms, six of which belonged to the Buffington family: four belonged to P.C.’s younger brothers, James H., Dr. John N., and Henry; P.C. Buffington owned the other two.¹⁷ P.C. Buffington also owned the land near Marshall Academy, and held onto it until his death in 1875.¹⁸ (see Pictures 2.1, 2.2, 2.3) He was also elected the first president of

¹⁵ Robert L. Archer, Robert L. Archer Collection “Chronicles of Early Huntington, 1871-1896,” Accession 530 (Manuscript 124), Special Collections, James E. Morrow Library, Marshall University, Huntington, WV.

¹⁶ Wallace, *Cabell County Annals and Families*, 35-36. Albert Laidley was also one of the first recorded people who took the oath of allegiance before the Provost Marshall in Charleston, West Virginia, near the close of the war.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, 170.

¹⁸ Rufus Cook, *Huntington, Cabell County, West Virginia* [map], 1000 feet per inch. 1871; J.L. Thornburg, *Map of Addition No.1 and Changes in Huntington, Cabell County, West Virginia: Supplement to the Map of Huntington made by Rufus Cook* [map], 100 feet per inch, July 9, 1880; J.L. Thornburg, *Map of Addition No.2 and Changes in Huntington, Cabell County, West Virginia: Second Supplement to the Map of Huntington made by Rufus Cook*

the fledgling Bank of Huntington, the first bank in the city.¹⁹ P.C. Buffington left a lasting impact on the burgeoning town; soon after his passing Buffington Avenue was created on land formerly owned by him near Marshall College.²⁰

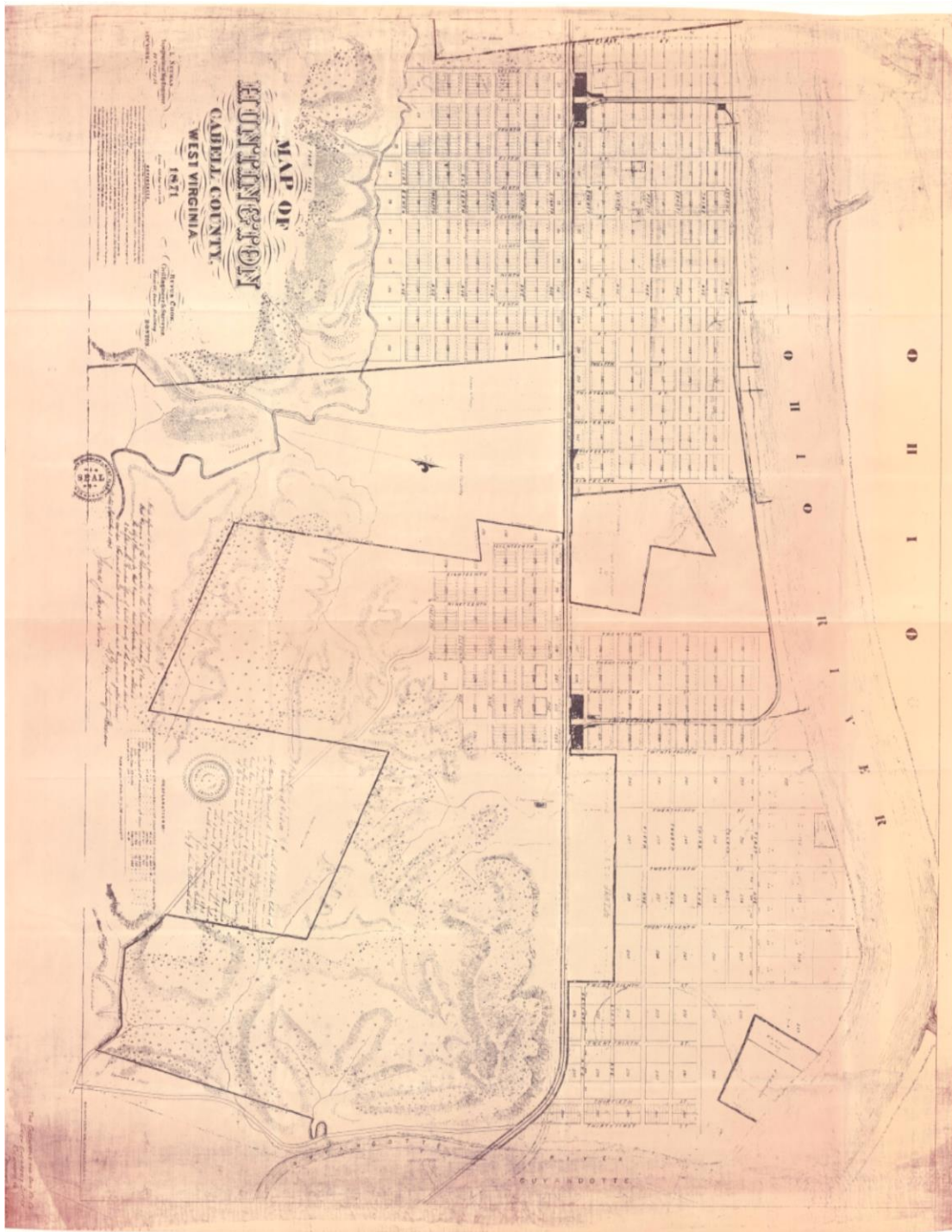
For several of the councilmen no records exist of their involvement in either side of the Civil War, but those who did serve were largely Confederate. J. Harvey Poage, treasurer, Judge W. H. Hagen, councilman, and Lewis H. Burks, assessor, also sold land to Collis P. Huntington for the creation of his new town. Although there are no records of these men serving in the Confederate army, neither did they serve in the Union army. Edward S. Holderby, councilman, did not serve in the Confederacy but his brother William P. Holderby did and was one of the landowners bought out by Huntington. Edward also had an uncle and three cousins (two were killed during the war) who fought for the Confederacy. Charles Everett was a Confederate and served time in a Wheeling prisoner of war camp.²¹ The only Union veteran on the council was General John Hunt Oley, the recorder. Oley had served as a major in a regiment he had raised in Charleston in 1861 and served throughout the war eventually becoming a brigadier general. After the war, he moved back to his home state of New York and became close associates with Collis P. Huntington. Although Oley was the only Union veteran on the

[map], 100 feet per inch, 1880. All of these maps can be found in the Huntington Map Drawer located in Special Collections, James E. Morrow Library, Marshall University, Huntington, WV. The maps demonstrate the level of land ownership held by leading individuals within the new town. The addendum maps demonstrate how P.C. Buffington's land was utilized after he passed away in 1875. The new layout of the land was matched to conform to the style of the city outlined by Rufus Cook.

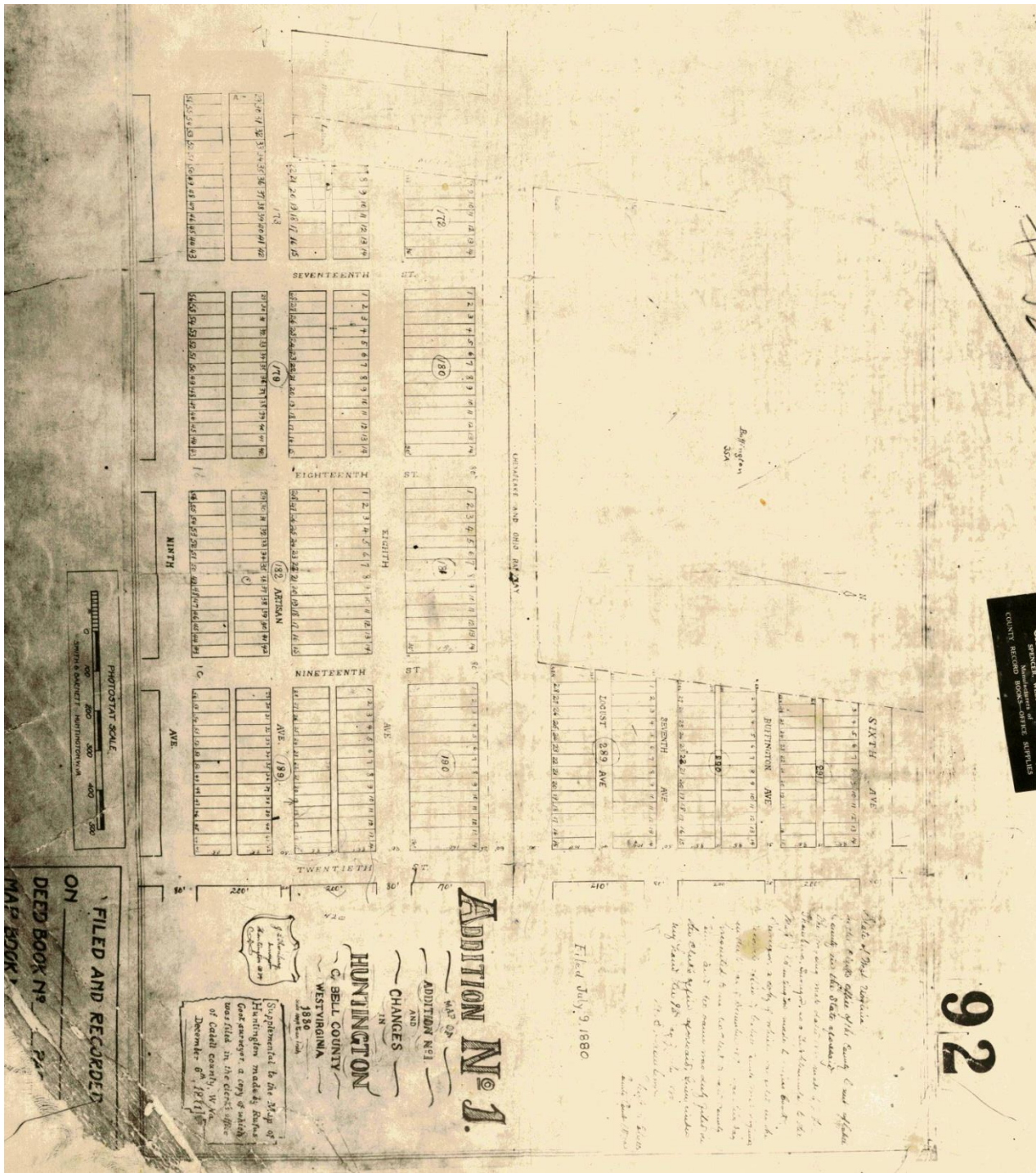
¹⁹ Rick Baumgartner, *First Families of Huntington* (Huntington: Rick Baumgartner, 1977), 35.

²⁰ Charles Moffat, *Marshall University: An Institution Comes of Age, 1837-1980* (Huntington: Marshall University Alumni Association, 1980), 13-14.

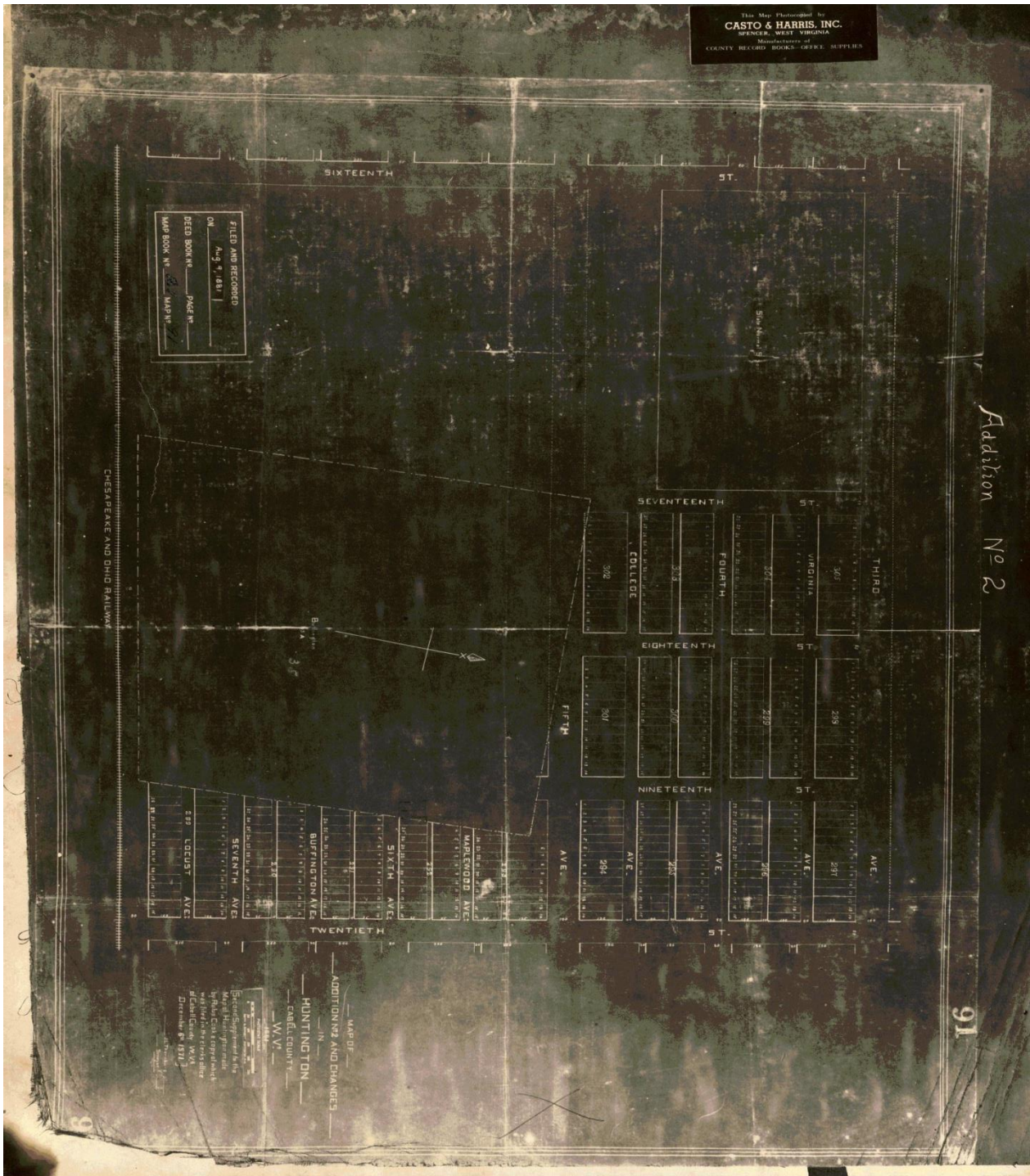
²¹ Carrie Eldridge, *Torn Apart: How Cabell Countians Fought the Civil War* (Chesapeake: Carrie Eldridge, 2000) 27.



Picture 2.1 Map of Huntington 1871: The map created by Rufus Cook detailing the organization of lots to be sold to future residents. The map also details several tracts of land still owned by private landowners within the town. Notable landowners include Peter C. Buffington, Edward Holderby, and James H. Poage. This map courtesy of Special Collections Department, James E. Morrow Library, Marshall University, Huntington, WV.



Picture 2.2 Map of Huntington 1872 Addition No.1: The first addition map to the Rufus Cook, 1871 map illustrates the added land from purchases made along Peter C. Buffington’s land in the middle of Huntington. The additions connect between Sixth Avenue and Eight Avenue and Sixteenth Street and Twentieth Street. This map courtesy of Special Collections Department, James E. Morrow Library, Marshall University, Huntington, WV.



Picture 2.3 Map of Huntington 1872 Addition No.2: The second addition map to the Rufus Cook, 1871 map illustrates the continued addition of lots around the land of landowner, Peter C. Buffington. It details the additions between Third Avenue and Seventh Avenue and Sixteenth Street and Twentieth Street. It is notable that one of the added avenues to the area was named Buffington Avenue. This map courtesy of Special Collections Department, James E. Morrow Library, Marshall University, Huntington, WV.

council, he was so well liked that he was known as the “first citizen of Huntington.”²² It is important to note here, that with the creation of Huntington there represented a balance between the mostly Confederate local elites (the Buffingtons, Holderby, Everett, Laidley, Burks, Poage, Hagan) and the symbolically Union representation of the railroad company (Huntington and Emmons did not serve in the war but remained within the U.S., and Oley the U.S. major general). These former foes were now able to set aside their animosity to work toward the creation of the town and ensure the success of the railroad and the industry that was to follow in its wake. This cooperation demonstrates the ability of industrialism and economic opportunity to mitigate the sectional animosity that lingered after the war.

Cabell County saw this balance tested, and although sectional memory of the war remained it became largely overshadowed by the cooperative development of industry. Cabell County was going through a transition from a largely agriculture driven economy to one centered on industrial development and the railroad center in Huntington. It had benefited from access to the Ohio and Guyandotte Rivers, and had grown through its development of commercial agriculture. The election of Huntington’s mayors provides one example of the continued debate over the economic issue of agriculture and industrialism, and demonstrates the debate’s ability to blur the lines of sectional identities. Peter C. Buffington, one of the most influential large landowners in the county and an ex-Confederate, was the first mayor. Thomas J. Burke, another large landowner and ex-Confederate, succeeded him and was affiliated with various early local businesses. Next, M.G. Nichols, elected mayor in 1876, was wharf master of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad Company landing and demonstrated early attempts at industrial political

²² Baumgartner, *First Families of Huntington*, 37-38.

maneuvering on the local level. Thomas Burke was reelected after Nichols to another term. E.A. Bennet, mayor of 1885-86, was a Union veteran, a contrast to the many ex-Confederate mayors, but all were businessmen who stood to profit from the growth in the region. Although Huntington and the effects of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad are largely sidelined in favor of discussion of Johnson N. Camden and Henry G. Davis' more influential impact on state politics, the development of the town and its industry provided early momentum for industrialists.²³

Huntington's early development centered on its ability to attract new industry. The railroad was not completed until late in 1872 and the first train did not pass through until January 29, 1873. But Huntington appeared to be on a promising path as industries like the Ensign Manufacturing Company were already moving to the region. However, the Financial Panic of 1873 put an immediate halt to local growth, and an epidemic of smallpox in the fall of 1872 caused concerns over municipal health and public safety.²⁴ The council created a board of public health and a fire department in order to allay these concerns. The city physician was elected by 1873 and a hook and ladder company was created that same year. The foreman for the hook and ladder company was Thomas Sikes, a former colonel in the Union army. By 1875, the mayor organized a public meeting for the creation of another fire company that was to be called the Excelsior Fire Company. This new company elected as its foreman, Eustace Gibson, a former captain in the Confederate Army and now practicing attorney.²⁵ Both companies competed for business and the city's budget for several years. Many leading officials in the city council spent

²³ Robert L. Archer, Robert L. Archer Collection "Chronicles of Early Huntington, 1871-1896," Accession 530 (Manuscript 124), Special Collections, James E. Morrow Library, Marshall University, Huntington, WV; Rice and Brown, *West Virginia*, 165-204.

²⁴ Wallace, *Cabell County Annals and Families*, 174, 245.

²⁵ *Ibid*, 178-179.

time as one of the firefighters assigned by the two companies, several including Sam Gideon and W. Gibson, were Union veterans. Others, such as Frank B. Enslow, H.C. Simms, and J.K. Oney had strong business connections to Confederate veterans such as Eustace Gibson.²⁶

During the 1870s there was a significant increase of population in Cabell County, but there remained anxiety over whether the town was going to succeed. Eller points out that in the counties involved with the C&O railroad, a population increase of 17% had occurred in 1860 compared to a 40% increase during the 1870s.²⁷ However, by 1872 Huntington had a population of fewer than 1,000 people, and grew slowly until the beginning of the 1880s as the town grew more commercially viable, accelerating further and reaching a population of 10,000 by 1890.²⁸ Although veterans from both sides held powerful municipal positions early on, the success of the city was more important than lingering feelings from the Civil War. Businesses were encouraged by leading members of the C&O railroad, such as D.W. Emmons, to flock to the town. An advertisement he designed was submitted to the local newspaper, the *Huntington Independent*, discussing the future of Huntington and the many amenities it offered. The advertisement, also passed around in a pamphlet form, listed the city's strategic position along navigable rivers, and the value of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad as the bridge linking the east into the railroad trunks of the west. The advertisement lauded the manufacturing capabilities of the town citing its proximity to iron beds, coalfields, and timber. Adding to its mineral wealth the pamphlet discussed the potential of the city's commercial opportunities at the crossroads of the "great

²⁶ Ibid, 179.

²⁷ Eller, "Mountain Road," 59.

²⁸ Baumgartner, *First Families of Huntington*, 30; James Casto, "Huntington," *e-WV: The West Virginia Encyclopedia*, May 30, 2013, accessed December 15, 2015.

staples of the West,” along with the “manufacturing States of the East and of Europe.”²⁹ Finally, the pamphlet mentioned that, “as a place of residence, no more inviting locality can be found than the City of Huntington,” illustrating its good-natured residents and beautiful amenities.³⁰

The development of Huntington was slowed early on due to a concern over the future success of the C&O railroad and a lack of capital caused by the financial Panic of 1873. Eller explains that early on in 1873, Huntington was not sure that coal was a viable source of revenue for the railroad. “Huntington hesitated to develop long feeder lines during the depression of the seventies and concentrated his efforts on extending the main termini instead.”³¹ Huntington’s idea was to complete a full transcontinental railroad in which he owned the lines that fed from the East Coast to the West Coast. He also wanted the development of Huntington to proceed more quickly as he had invested heavily in its growth. Huntington utilized money he had acquired through the C&O to purchase the property that became Huntington, and had divested that land to the Central Land Company of which he was president. According to Eller, Huntington utilized many of his resources from the C&O to inflate the values of land in Huntington and other towns in order to turn a large profit upon the completion of the railroad.³² In effect, many of the early difficulties surrounding Huntington occurred due to the desire for increased profits by some of the leading Northern backers of the town. For many local residents, even those not involved in land speculation, there remained many opportunities for wealth by getting in on the ground floor of the enterprise. These early years saw the creation of many long-

²⁹ Delos W. Emmons, “The City of Huntington on the Ohio River,” in Miscellaneous Papers, Huntington Maps Drawer, Special Collections, James E. Morrow Library, Marshall University, Huntington, WV.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Eller, “Mountain Road,” 62.

³² Ibid, 73-85.

lived businesses, and also demonstrated early difficulties that kept investors anxious about future success.

A map of the city in 1873 lists several notable businesses and veterans from both sides owned many of them.³³ (See Picture 2.4) Sam Gideon an immigrant from Germany who owned a clothing store, H. C. Parsons, an official of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad, and O.G. Chase, the proprietor of the first Huntington newspaper the *Huntington Independent* were all Union men.³⁴ Eustace Gibson, an attorney from Virginia, and Thomas J. Burke, a real estate agent who owned a store that sold liquor, wine, and cigars, were new arrivals who had served as Confederate soldiers.³⁵ John Hooe Russel, a wholesale grocer, was not a veteran but had lived in Alabama during the war and his plantation home “Russel Hill” had been burned to the ground by General Sherman in 1864.³⁶ The most interesting example is the law firm of Ferguson and Harvey. James Ferguson, who once had furiously claimed of rebels that every “devil of them ought to be hung,” now worked alongside Thomas H. Harvey, a former Confederate soldier.³⁷ It is impossible to tell how much of the cooperative sentiment pervaded the new town, but Ferguson’s example appears to show that hard-line Unionists were able to put aside their

³³ M. Wood White, “Huntington.” Map. In *White’s New County and District Atlas of the State of West Virginia. Comprising Fifty-four Counties; Three Hundred and Twenty-seven Township Districts; and Two Thousand Five Hundred and Sixty-seven School Districts. From the Most Recent Surveys and Authentic Sources.*, 58. Series 28. Grafton, WV: M. Wood White, 1873. Accessed December 15, 2015. http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~28430~1120364:Huntington-?sort=Pub_List_No_InitialSort,Pub_Date,Pub_List_No,Series_No&qvq=q:Huntington;sort:Pub_List_No_InitialSort,Pub_Date,Pub_List_No,Series_No;lc:RUMSEY~8~1&mi=123&trs=183

³⁴ Baumgartner, *First Families of Huntington*, 10, 17-18; U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Soldiers and Sailors Database*, “Owen G. Chase,” <https://www.nps.gov/civilwar/search-soldiers-detail.htm?soldierId=50DBA78C-DC7A-DF11-BF36-B8AC6F5D926A>, accessed April 14, 2016.

³⁵ Baumgartner, *First Families of Huntington*, 38-39; Jack Dickinson and Mark Meadows, eds. *A History of Camp Garnett, United Confederate Veterans: UCV Camp #902 at Huntington, WV* (Huntington: n.p., 1987); J.N. Potts and John Henry Cammack, eds. *Huntington (West Virginia) Directory For 1891-1892* (Hamilton: Hamilton Publishing Co., 1892).

³⁶ Baumgartner, *First Families of Huntington*, 35.

³⁷ “Cabell County Circuit Court,” *Parkersburg State Journal*, April 4, 1865.

differences many years after the conflict. On July 20, 1872, the *Huntington Argus* published an article titled “What Huntington Needs.” In the article W.F. Wallace, the *Argus* editor, wrote, “One of the first things needed is what is called in the military company *esprit du’ corps*; a feeling which binds the citizens together . . . and there should be no distinction between those from different sections . . . no man who has the interest of this place at heart will speak one word to revive old prejudices between the sections.”³⁸

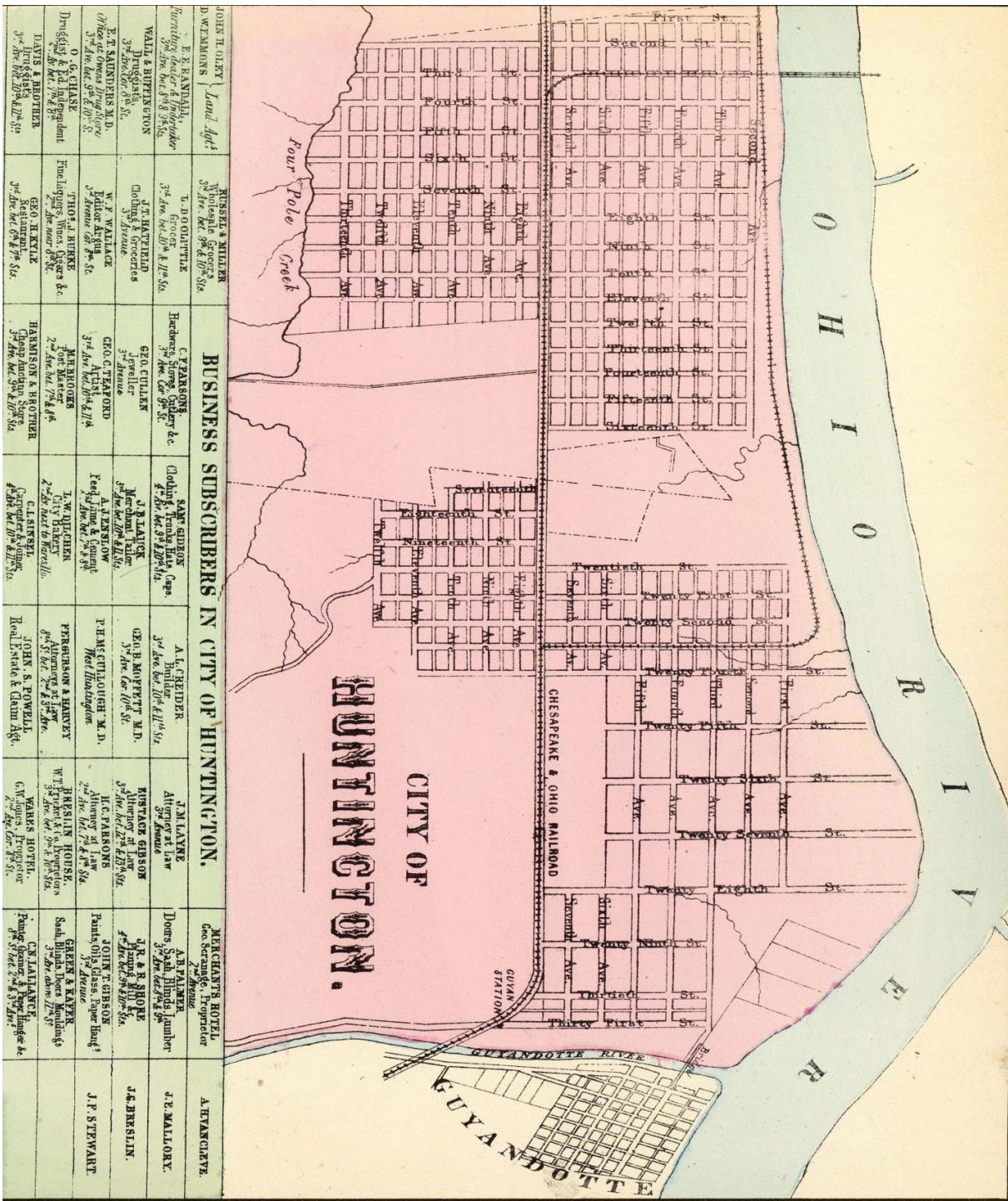
Another article in the *Huntington Advertiser* several years later reflected this call for an end to animosity. It mentioned the arrival of the “Stonewall Jackson Band” and called for several old Union Civil War companies (The Lincoln Rangers, Logan Wildcats, Cabell Regulars, and Wayne Mounted Infantry) to meet the band they had faced during wartime. The article concluded with another refrain to the end of sectional prejudice proclaiming, “Let us bury and forget all sectional and party prejudices and have a harmonious and happy time on that day.”³⁹ These articles demonstrate along with Ferguson’s example the pervading sentiment that sectional identity should be forgotten in order to focus on expanding and enriching the new city of Huntington.

EARLY BUSINESS AND INDUSTRIES

For most of the 1870s and into the 1880s, residents took this message to heart and worked toward creating an appealing site for businesses to relocate. One of the earliest businesses was the Ensign Manufacturing Company incorporated in 1871 with the capital of over

³⁸ W.F. Wallace, “What Huntington Needs,” *Huntington Argus*, July 20, 1872.

³⁹ O.G. Chase, “The Glorious Fourth,” *Huntington Advertiser*, June 29, 1876.



Picture 2.4 Map of Huntington 1873 with Huntington Businesses: This map created two years after Huntington was incorporated details some of the earliest records of businesses originating in the area. Notable inclusions are Sam Gideon (Union veteran), O. G. Chase (Union veteran), John Hunt Oley (Union veteran), J. G. Breslin (Union veteran), Thomas J. Burke (Confederate veteran), Eustace Gibson (Confederate veteran). This map courtesy of Special Collections Department, James E. Morrow Library, Marshall University, Huntington, WV.

\$60,000 and a senator from Connecticut, W.H. Barnum, as president.⁴⁰ The Ensign Manufacturing Company employed 70 people when it first opened in 1872 with a stock of \$10 a share; by 1881 the stock soared to over \$100 a share.⁴¹ It had originally been the idea of Ely Ensign, a friend of Collis P. Huntington's from Connecticut, who utilized his networking with Huntington and fellow industrialist William H. Barnum, to build his car manufacturing company in Huntington.⁴² Although Barnum remained the president of the company until his death in 1889, Ensign managed the company at its location in Huntington. By 1881, Ensign made the fateful decision to begin production of full rail cars and expanded the business which brought the company national attention as a leading designer of wooden cars.⁴³ The company's expansion brought more jobs to the area, and became one of the lifeblood industries of Huntington. This factory later expanded into the American Car & Foundry Company. Ensign and the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad built dozens of affordable houses for their workers. This move by the two companies helped to demonstrate the appeal of the new city not just to business owners but to laborers who were desperately needed for the businesses the city hoped to attract. In a speech given for the celebration of the first railroad to enter Huntington, "General" J.S. Breslin mentioned the need to encourage this immigration. He explained:

If we wish to prosper we must bestir ourselves . . . We must also build workshops of various kinds, and comfortable tenement houses for the accommodation of the

⁴⁰ Robert L. Archer, Robert L. Archer Collection "Chronicles of Early Huntington, 1871-1896," Accession 530 (Manuscript 124), Special Collections, James E. Morrow Library, Marshall University, Huntington, WV; Wallace, *Cabell County Annals and Families*, 205.

⁴¹ Jack Dickinson, *Ely Ensign and the Ensign Manufacturing Company of Huntington, West Virginia: Forerunner of American Car & Foundry (ACF)* (Huntington: John Deaver Drinko Academy for the American Political Institution and Civic Culture, 2013), 42.

⁴² *Ibid*, 29-36.

⁴³ *Ibid*, 40-43.

mechanics and laborer, thereby showing to [sic] the outside capitalist that we are an enterprising people and are determined to make Huntington an important and prosperous place, and thus induce them to come here and invest their money; and by so doing aid us in building up our young and promising city.⁴⁴

This advertising campaign encouraged immigration to the area. Although the city's population remained relatively small for its first decade, immigration brought together a great variety of people from both sections to West Virginia (mostly people from the Midwest, along with those from Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New England).⁴⁵

Other prominent businesses such as the First National Bank of Huntington and the Central Land Company fostered speculation by offering reduced rates for land and access to a large supply of startup capital. The Central Land Company offered the early industries of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad, and the Ensign Manufacturing Company the discounted lands that served to house their employees. Without the cooperation of the Central Land Company and the connections of the First National Bank of Huntington it is unclear whether some of these early industries could have survived the Panic of 1873. The First National Bank's board of directors encompassed many of the leading citizens of the city. P.C. Buffington was elected the

⁴⁴ Robert L. Archer, Robert L. Archer Collection "Chronicles of Early Huntington, 1871-1896," Accession 530 (Manuscript 124), Special Collections, James E. Morrow Library, Marshall University, Huntington, WV.

⁴⁵ Ibid; In the section of his manuscript, "Chronicles of Early Huntington," Robert Archer recalls the composite population of the town as comprising many residents who had traveled to the city from many states but most hailing from Virginia, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New England. While we have no statistics of how much of the city was made up by non-native West Virginians this claim does back up information I have come across from many of the leading figures in Huntington coming from outside the state. General John Hunt Oley was originally from New York as was Delos W. Emmons and Bradley W. Foster, Sam Gideon was from Germany and later moved to Illinois before arriving in Huntington, William F. Wallace editor of the *Huntington Argus* was from Pennsylvania, John Hooe Russel from Alabama, Henry C. Parsons, real estate agent in Huntington, was from Vermont, Andrew Jackson Enslow the city's first street commissioner was from Virginia as well as Eustace Gibson and Major William S. Downer, Ely Ensign was born in Connecticut along with the founder of Huntington, Collis P. Huntington.

first president of the company with John Hooe Russel, John N. Buffington, D.W. Emmons, J.H. Poage, W.H. Hagen, B.W. Foster and Robert T. Oney as board members. The company was started with a capital of \$25,000 and helped to finance several local businesses.⁴⁶

These companies gave added prestige to the fledgling town, and demonstrated the capacity for the city to grow exponentially and convince visitors to become residents. While this growth did not occur as rapidly as local leaders may have liked, the promise of economic opportunity was attracting laborer and entrepreneur alike. Young men and women came to the city believing in its promise of economic opportunity and generous community. One was Gustavus Northcott, son of Union veteran General Robert S. Northcott, who came to the city in the mid-1880s and partnered with Heath Kelley to start a clothing store for gentlemen's furnishings. Thanks to Kelley's familial connections (his sister was married to the wealthy life insurance agent, Edward Bliss Enslow). Gustavus was able to ingratiate himself with the wealthy leading men of the city.⁴⁷ Mike and Julius Broh, much like Gustavus Northcott, were the sons of a Civil War veteran, Confederate Corporal Adolph Broh. After the war, Adolph Broh opened a tailoring business and in 1887 sent his two sons to manage the new store opening in Huntington. The boys were very successful in operating their father's clothing store, and became friends with competitor and Union veteran, Sam Gideon. Mike Broh even married Sam Gideon's daughter Ida. Their father eventually moved to the city as well and was an active member of Camp Garnett, the local Huntington chapter of the United Confederate Veterans national organization.⁴⁸ Another new resident in 1887 was Dr. William P. Walker. Walker was a Baptist

⁴⁶ Wallace, *Cabell County Annals and Families*, 205; Baumgartner, *First Families of Huntington*, 15.

⁴⁷ Baumgartner, *First Families of Huntington*, 28.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 32-33.

preacher in Williamstown, West Virginia, and was invited to preach at the Fifth Avenue Baptist Church, which had never had an appointed preacher. Walker was invited by some of the most influential congregation members including J.N. Potts, H.D. Stewart, Thomas J. Burke (Huntington's second Mayor), and W.S. Downer. All of these men, including Dr. Walker, were Confederate veterans and several of them including Burke, Potts, Downer, and Walker led and were active members of the Camp Garnet United Confederate Veterans organization.⁴⁹

Unfortunately for historians, much of what is known about the presence of Union veterans in the city comes from Confederate or scattered and incomplete sources. Despite the scarcity of sources, there are some clues that can help demonstrate how large their presence was in the city. On December 18, 1888, the Grand Army of the Republic (G.A.R.) Department of West Virginia sent out its General Orders #8 noting that it had 2,592 members in the state in good standing, with 879 members suspended.⁵⁰ Although about one-fourth of the total membership of the organization in the state was in arrears, there were 3,471 members by this year with at least 94 separate posts throughout the state. By 1908, pictures 2.5 and 2.6 demonstrate there was a resoundingly large parade devoted to the G.A.R. veterans in the city. By 1915, the organization still retained over 75 members in Huntington, and was the third largest post in the entire Department of West Virginia.⁵¹ The strength of their presence within

⁴⁹ Ibid, 30-31.

⁵⁰ Thomas A. Maulsby, "General Orders, No. 8," Grand Army of the Republic, Department of West Virginia Collection, Ms 80-7, The West Virginia State Archives, Cultural Center, Charleston, WV. Huntington's Bailey Post is not listed among the posts with missing dues. We can infer that the organization was probably well run and maintained.

⁵¹ Grand Army of the Republic, "Roster of Department of West Virginia, G.A.R., 1915," Grand Army of the Republic, Department of West Virginia, Ms 80-7, The West Virginia State Archives, Cultural Center, Charleston, WV.

Huntington emerged as the growing popularity of the movement spread in the late 1870s and 80s.

The Grand Army of the Republic was a Union veterans' organization that had sprung up soon after the end of the war. On April 6, 1866, the first G.A.R. organization was formed in Decatur, Illinois and by the end of the year it held its first national encampment. The organization was formed to preserve the comradeship of wartime, give aid to soldiers' widows and orphans, fight for pension benefits, and honor and preserve the memory of their fallen comrades. The group was nonpolitical but had an overwhelmingly Republican bias and often became a powerful bloc of the Republican Party. At its peak in 1890 the organization had over 400,000 members.⁵² It is unknown when the Huntington G.A.R. post formed, but its presence was already significant by 1891. That year, Huntington G.A.R., Bailey Post no. 5, was important enough to host the state encampment with the principal speaker being former president Rutherford B. Hayes.⁵³ The Bailey Post seems to have originated sometime before 1887.

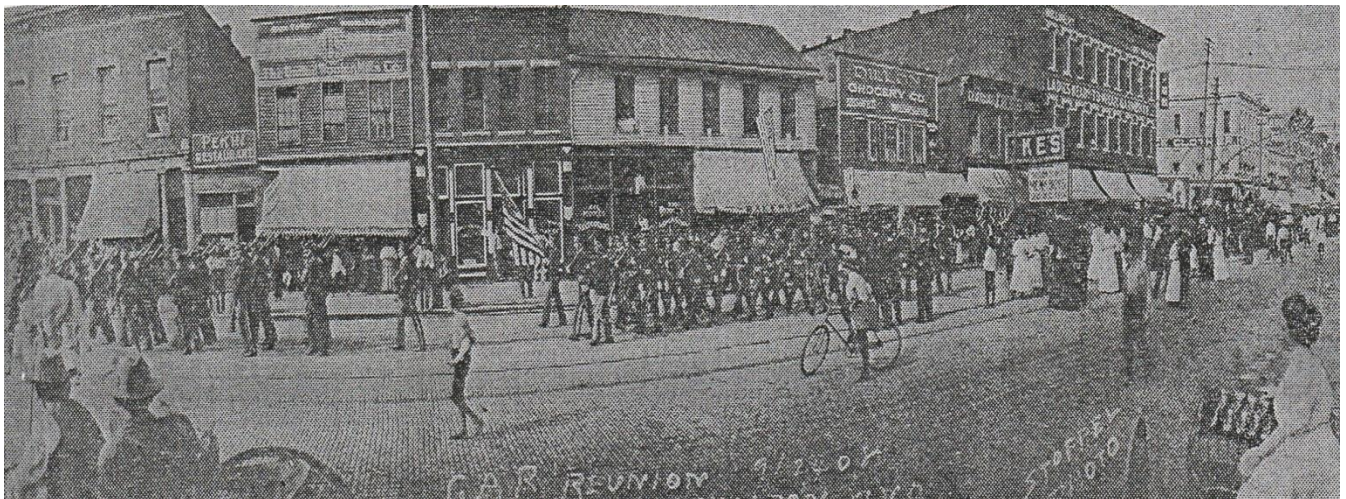
Of what little is known about the Huntington G.A.R. it is clear that Sam Gideon was its most successful and recognizable member. Gideon, owner of the most successful clothing store in the city, was also a Union veteran and former city council member. Gideon had run for mayor of the city in 1879 but had lost to the son of former Mayor Peter C. Buffington, Dr. Edward S. After securing the work of the Huntington Water Company, the company offered the

⁵² "Grand Army of the Republic". 2016. In *The Columbia Encyclopedia*. New York: Columbia University Press, https://musso.marshall.edu/cas/login?service=http%3A%2F%2Fliterati.credoreference.com%2Fcontent%2Fentry%2Fcolumnency%2Fgrand_army_of_the_republic%2F0, accessed April 14, 2016; David Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 171.

⁵³ Robert L. Archer, Robert L. Archer Collection "Chronicles of Early Huntington, 1871-1896," Accession 530 (Manuscript 124), Special Collections, James E. Morrow Library, Marshall University, Huntington, WV.



Picture 2.5 Photograph of Grand Army of the Republic Parade 1: An early photograph of the 1908 G.A.R. Reunion parade held in the city of Huntington, WV. The parade route appears to have come up 8th St. and turned down 5th Ave. in front of the courthouse. Located within the Cabell-Wayne Historical Society, “Parades and Celebrations,” Accession 1975/06.0099 at Marshall University. This photo courtesy of the Special Collections Department, James E. Morrow Library, Marshall University, Huntington, WV.



Picture 2.6 Photograph of Grand Army of the Republic Parade 2: Another photograph showcasing the G.A.R. Reunion parade of 1908. It shows the parade traveling down 3rd Ave. where it would turn up 8th St. Located within the Cabell-Wayne Historical Society, “Parades and Celebrations,” Accession 1975/06.0099 at Marshall University. This photo courtesy of the Special Collections, James E. Morrow Library, Marshall University, Huntington, WV.

Buffington, a Confederate veteran. Gideon was known for his drive towards improving the conditions of the city, and was instrumental in helping to organize its first water works in 1886.⁵⁴ city a gift of two water fountains one on Third Avenue and Tenth Street and the other on Fifth Avenue and Ninth Street.⁵⁵ Above these two water fountains stood statues of Union soldiers standing with their arms shouldered. These statues were meant to commemorate the sacrifice of Union soldiers and were probably made in gratitude of Sam Gideon's efforts on the company's behalf.⁵⁶

INDUSTRY, SECTIONAL IDENTITY, AND THE STATE OF WEST VIRGINIA

To better understand the early development of Huntington and the continuance of sectional memory in the area, it is important to illustrate the significant changes occurring in the state government throughout the 1870s and 80s. Sectional animosity remained a persistent issue in state politics as embodied in the loyalty oaths that disenfranchised former Confederates. By 1872, sectional animosity became a moot issue by the revisions of the Democratic Party (headed by many former Confederates) on previously pro-Union Republican state policies such as loyalty oaths, the 1863 State Constitution, and the creation of the township system instead of the former county court. The surge of Democrats into the state legislature signaled the end of sectional conflict within state politics. As sectional issues faded, discussion in the state government illustrated a new power struggle was breaking out in the Democratic Party. Industrialists clashed with Redeemers, proponents of the gentrified political system in

⁵⁴ Baumgartner, *First Families of Huntington*, 17; Robert L. Archer, Robert L. Archer Collection "Chronicles of Early Huntington, 1871-1896," Accession 530 (Manuscript 124), Special Collections, James E. Morrow Library, Marshall University, Huntington, WV. The first use of water by the Huntington Water Company was at the Gideon's clothing store.

⁵⁵ "Soldier's Mate Sold for Junk," *Huntington Advertiser*, August 3, 1915.

⁵⁶ "Sam Gideon Made Fountain Deal," *Huntington Advertiser*, August 3, 1915.

antebellum Virginia who were largely former Confederates, and Agrarians over how to develop industry within West Virginia. Industrialists favored economic policies that allowed industry and railroads generous boons and attracted capital into the state, whereas the Redeemers and Agrarians favored limited industrial growth and strict legislation that taxed and regulated these industries in order to safeguard small farmers and large landowners. Huntington developed during a time when sectional animosity was subsiding amongst state leaders in Charleston, as a new power struggle gripped the Democratic Party between Industrialists and Agrarians.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Cabell County citizens had changed significantly in their opinion of the treatment of ex-Confederates after the war. Largely due to the radical positions of many Republicans in Congress, such as Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner, the desire for the re-enfranchisement of ex-Confederates grew. Across the state the Democratic Party gained power pushing for this policy. Through close elections in the gubernatorial race and strong wins in district elections in the south and east, Democrats gained power much to the consternation of the state's Republican Party. Republicans, fearful of continuing disenfranchising whites while pushing for African American enfranchisement, hoped to pass the Flick Amendment in order to prevent disruption in their party and quell Democratic support. Passing the Flick Amendment in 1871 brought about the opposite reaction pushing Democrats to victory in the state elections of 1872. Democrats then pressed for a new state constitution in 1872, which signaled the defeat of wartime Unionism and with it the Republican Party within state politics.⁵⁷ Democrats had surged into power utilizing ex-Confederate opposition to wartime

⁵⁷ For a more extensive coverage of the political development of the state government in West Virginia during Reconstruction see: Rice and Brown, *West Virginia*, 154-173.

Republicanism, yet there were many within the party that had other agendas. Republicans recognized the already evident factions emerging within the Democratic coalition. A friend of William H.H. Flick noted, “If you will recollect we agreed that we were of the opinion that such men as Walker, Baker, H.G. Davis [& co.] were not so much interested in the Rebels voting as they were in holding on to the offices which I believe is the case.”⁵⁸ These men used the continued sectional turmoil in the state to place themselves into positions that helped advance legislation supportive to outside industry and the railroads. Sectional animosity became the vehicle that ushered in a turning point for the economic future of the state.

These men were later classified by historians as “Regulars” within the Democratic Party, and they stood in contrast with their fellow Democrats whose support stemmed from yeoman farmers in rural areas of the state. Nationally Republicans were identified as the party representing industrial growth and big business, but the party’s ties to black suffrage weakened their standing among West Virginia’s largely conservative population. By working closely with the federal government and the national Republican Party during the Civil War, the state’s Republican founding leaders had created the new state. But this close relationship had ultimately doomed the state Republican Party in West Virginia by forcing them to support black suffrage, an issue harder for voting West Virginians to swallow than enfranchising ex-Confederates. This relationship demonstrates significant credence to Blight’s thesis that the aspect of white supremacist memory was working alongside the reconciliationist aspect of memory to form a new remembrance of the war that ignored the element of emancipation and African-Americans’

⁵⁸ Letter from Jacob V. [C. Law] to William H. H. Flick, William H.H. Flick Papers, A&M 1349, Microfilm, Regional History Center, West Virginia University, Morgantown, WV.

memory of the war.⁵⁹ Former Unionists and Republicans, finding the national Republican Party's agenda with Reconstruction unpalatable to West Virginia voters, were unable to garner significant strength to utilize "bloody shirt" tactics to win votes.

Ex-Confederates and their Democratic allies' victories in the 1871-1872 elections demonstrated that the majority of West Virginians were committed to halting any further legislation for African American civil liberties or proscriptions against former Confederates.⁶⁰ When John Jacob, West Virginia's first Democratic governor, in his conciliatory message to the legislature in 1872 called for an end to the hostility from the late war his message did not come from a repentant enemy but a victorious one. "The State was but recently formed, and that in the midst of a bloody struggle, yet all branches of the public service are fully organized, and the bitterness of those unhappy times has passed away and their memory will only serve to bind us more closely together."⁶¹ Ex-Confederates in the Democratic Party had settled sectional issues by reasserting dominance over state politics at negating many of the victories of wartime Unionists. Their calls to rebind the nation's wounds played lip service to the reconciliationist sentiment that helped them to rise to power, yet by 1872 ex-Confederates and their Democratic allies had solidified their control over state politics within West Virginia.

Meanwhile other groups within the Democratic Party were now in a position to assert their own interests. These "Regulars," like Johnson Newlon Camden and Henry G. Davis, represented industrial influence, and sought to pass legislation that made conditions favorable for

⁵⁹ David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2001).

⁶⁰ Stephen D. Engle, "Mountaineer Reconstruction: Blacks in the Political Reconstruction of West Virginia," *The Journal of Negro History* 78, No. 3 (Summer 1993), 137-165.

⁶¹ John J. Jacob, Message to the Legislature, West Virginia Senate, Journal of the Senate 1872 (Henry S. Walker: Charleston, 1872) 32.

outside business interests. When West Virginia formed in 1863 over ninety percent of its people and economy were tied to agriculture.⁶² Industrialists flocked to the region as transportation slowly opened the mineral-rich interior of the state. Railroads such as the Chesapeake and Ohio allowed coal mining and other extractive industries to develop around small towns such as Quinnimont, Stone Cliff, Fire Creek, and Hawk's Nest. As these towns grew and provided their owners with a rush of capital, many of these men emerged into the state and national political world in order to protect their interests from competition and government interference. Johnson Newlon Camden was one such Regular, an early excavator of oil around Parkersburg in Wood County. Just before the outbreak of the Civil War, Camden created one of the first oil wells in Parkersburg. He managed and grew his business throughout the Civil War and later partnered with John D. Rockefeller's Standard Oil Company. He entered state politics in order to protect Standard Oil's monopoly in the state. During this early period of Democratic rule, Camden struggled against the combined influence of the Redeemer and Agrarian factions within his party. These factions felt threatened by Camden's economic policies that placed heavy burdens on small farmers. Small farmers were charged high shipping rates for their relatively small cargo of crops (compared to large extractive industries), and were put under immense financial strain. Camden failed to achieve the governor's seat in 1868 and 1872, and due to his controversial connection to Standard Oil lost his chance for a Senate seat in both 1875 and 1877. Camden's business connections tied him to the development of industry, and therefore connected him to the growing town of Huntington along with the interests of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad. In November 1900, Camden entered an agreement with several leading men in Huntington in order

⁶² Rice and Brown, *West Virginia*, 183.

to purchase and trade stock in a new railroad connecting Huntington to Catlettsburg, Kentucky and reconstruct the lines that extended from Huntington to Ashland, Kentucky and Ironton, Ohio.⁶³ Many of these leading men were former veterans on both sides, including B.W. Foster (Union), L. H. Burks (Confederate), J. L. Caldwell (Union), John H. Russell (Confederate), T. H. Harvey (Confederate). One's sectional sentiments and military past did not preclude a business partnership in Camden's West Virginia.

Opposed to many of the Regulars' political designs was a coalition of former ex-Confederates and large landowners. These "Redeemers" were similar to many ex-Confederate Redeemer groups throughout the South and were led by men such as Samuel Price, Charles James Faulkner Jr., Allen T. Caperton, and Johnathan M. Bennett.⁶⁴ They represented the old political gentry and often allied with the Agrarian faction Democratic Party against the monopolistic policies of industrialists. Agrarians like E. Willis Wilson agreed with the Redeemers that the privileges of railroads and industries were detrimental to the state's population and economic policy. However, the Redeemers' focus was maintaining race relations as close to pre-war ideals as possible, and undoing the work of the previous Republican government by re-enfranchising former Confederates, repealing or amending the wartime state constitution, and enacting restrictions to prevent newly enfranchised African Americans from voting. These men were disenfranchised after the war and had seen their return to power as a validation by the state population against the Republicans and their platform on race relations. Many of the men who led this faction were political and military leaders in the Confederacy

⁶³ Johnson N. Camden, Miscellaneous Folder 1, Box 71, Johnson Newlon Camden Papers, A&M 7, West Virginia Regional History Center, West Virginia University, Morgantown, WV.

⁶⁴ Rice and Brown, *West Virginia*, 168.

itself: Samuel Price was a lieutenant governor of Confederate Virginia, Charles James Faulkner, Jr. was a Confederate veteran, and Allen T. Caperton was a member of the Confederate Senate. Their ability to capitalize on the post-war tensions of returning Confederates and their sympathizers allowed them to gain power within the Democratic Party and state throughout the 1870s. They were able to roll back many of the reforms that the Republicans had achieved, but were unable to maintain a consolidated force as sectional issues became less of a motivating force in the state's political culture.

The new conflict between the industrial elements of the Democratic Party and the Agrarian/Redeemer allies began soon after the collapse of Republican resistance. By 1872, with the new constitution ratified by a large majority of the state, the Democratic Party had repealed the last vestiges of the former Republican government. While some still hoped to punish further their former pro-Union foes, most Democrats began to deal with the growing ideological split in their party.⁶⁵ The State Constitution Convention of 1872 had been presided over by Samuel Price, former Lt. Governor of Confederate Virginia, and represented the dominance of the Redeemer faction within the Democratic Party. By 1876 the Redeemers had elected their gubernatorial candidate, former Confederate major Henry Mason Matthews, and had prevented the leader of the Regulars (Industrialists) faction, J.N. Camden from acquiring a U.S. Senate seat. The true differences between the Regulars and Redeemers rested on their political and economic

⁶⁵ According to a *Wheeling Daily Intelligencer* article dated January 25, 1872, a sarcastic resolution was proposed in the state convention to change the name of the new counties Grant and Lincoln to the more Confederate names of Lee and Davis. *Wheeling Daily Intelligencer*, "State Convention," January 25, 1872. There is also the more legal and binding action passed by the House of Delegates titled "An Act providing for ascertaining the amount of public property, and its value, destroyed in the State by the Federal Army during the late civil war" allowing a recorder in each county to summon witnesses and provide a list of damages and their value to be provided to the state senators for compensation. Acts of the West Virginia Legislature, Tenth sess., 1872, House of Delegates, ch.135, p. 184 – 185.

ideologies. Redeemers represented the political ideals of the antebellum period. Many of these politicians represented their constituents in a similar manner as their antebellum forbearers. They conducted political campaigns through open communication meetings organized at local town halls, personal interaction and addressing local issues, and were made up of large landowners who were often descendents of previous politicians. The political culture of the day was not as efficient as the new modern political system that began to develop after the Civil War. Regulars utilized interstate resources to champion their political campaigns, often utilizing their business connections to network with national and state politicians and appease local constituencies.⁶⁶ With the advent of industrialism, wealthy industrialists and merchants clashed with this old political structure based around large landowners and farmers over issues surrounding economic policies such as high tariffs to protect industry.

The Redeemer faction cooperated with the Agrarians on economic policies. Both shared a deep skepticism of railroad companies and often felt that these businesses were not paying their fair share of taxes and placing a heavy burden on small farmers through unfair shipping rates that prioritized large industrial shipping. However, they by no means wanted to fully get rid of the railroads. As historian Ronald Eller puts it, “On the one hand, they [Redeemers] desired modernization; on the other, they clung to outdated legal institutions and philosophies that hindered their ability to achieve the very goal they so ardently desired.”⁶⁷ As such, they passed legislation such as the Railroad Incorporation Act of 1873, which allowed the state to create and enforce legislation regulating railroads, provided four classes of rates for transportation, defined

⁶⁶ Williams, *West Virginia and the Captains of Industry*, 11-12.

⁶⁷ Ronald Lewis, *Transforming the Appalachian Countryside: Railroads, Deforestation, and Social Change in West Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 105.

what materials shipped were designated under each group of transportation, and empowered the state to act against any railroad that strayed from these guidelines.⁶⁸ Although they made early inroads in curtailing the power of B&O and C&O railroads, the industrialists retained many powerful figures within the state government. Many of these “Regulars” benefited from the new style of political campaigning that began to emerge soon after the Civil War. In the antebellum period, politicians were largely lawyers and sons of former politicians, and were often the dominant political force in their locality thanks to their ownership of large tracts of land. After the war, there emerged a new class of elite (the Regulars) from individuals (foreign and state-born) whose wealth was derived from investment in industry such as in railroads and natural resource extraction. These new elites benefited from the wide influence of the companies they had worked with and promised to bring wealth to regions of the state. They had boosters in the newspapers across the state and were more tied to national figures in politics and wealth than their Redeemer and Agrarian counterparts.⁶⁹

These Redeemer/Agrarian factions frequently opposed Camden and some of them were even willing to extend a hand to Republicans to oppose his influence. A letter addressed to E. Sehon from one of his friends claimed that Democratic State Senator John D. Alderson was in Martinsburg talking to Republican Party leaders:

He [Alderson] paid us a visit . . . ostensibly on political business, and held his conference entirely with the Republicans and one or two [discredited?] Democrats of the Lucas element, and did not see a one of our party leaders. As repeated to

⁶⁸ Acts of the West Virginia Legislature, Eleventh sess., 1873, House of Delegates, ch.227, p. 710-724.

⁶⁹ Williams, *West Virginia and the Captains of Industry*, 7-15.

me for a purpose by the principal Rep. with whom he talked, he said in substance that he would prefer seeing Nathan Goff [Republican] or Flick [Republican] in the Senate to Johnson N. Camden and intended traveling into every County in the State, using his time & money to defeat him.⁷⁰

Amidst the fighting over economic policy and the direction of the young state, even former enemies were unlikely allies. Waitman T. Willey, the respected Republican senator who helped to create West Virginia, mentioned he “admired” Senator Camden and claimed, “Personally I think you have done as much or . . . more for West Va. than any other Democrat from our state could have done.”⁷¹ The situation in the state legislature represented a complex crossing of old and new political elites, and illustrated how the sectional issues of the war no longer determined economic policy.

Camden, Davis, and other Regulars helped to ensure the creation of a pro-industry state and national government.⁷² During the transition from Republican rule to Democratic rule between 1868 and 1875, Camden nominally led the Democratic Party. His increasing pushes for state laws that benefited the oil production of his Camden Consolidated Oil Company (a secret subsidiary of Standard Oil), along with his support for the light tariff that Grover Cleveland promised ended up costing him much of the support in his party. Davis on the other hand emerged as the more politically powerful leader in the Democratic Party. Davis was not only a Democrat, but had been a Unionist during the war. His support of removing the restrictions on

⁷⁰ Letter from David C. Westenhaver to E. Sehon May 26, 1886, Folder 5, Box 35, Johnson Newlon Camden Papers, A&M 7, West Virginia Regional History Center, West Virginia University, Morgantown, WV.

⁷¹ Letter from Waitman T. Willey to Senator Johnson N. Camden Nov. 17, 1886, Folder 5, Box 35, Johnson Newlon Camden Papers, A&M 7, West Virginia Regional History Center, West Virginia University, Morgantown, WV.

⁷² Williams, *West Virginia and the Captains of Industry*, 4.

ex-Confederates in 1868 along with his appeal as a Unionist during the war and clean political background gave him the boost he needed to win the Senate seat vacated by Waitman T. Willey in 1871.⁷³ He spent much of his time in the United States Senate, in which he served until 1883. Davis especially influenced the Democrats in West Virginia toward a strong pro-industrial stance and later allied with Stephen Elkins and the Republican Party on maintaining this pro-industrial economic policy in the 1890s. These industrialists produced an environment so conducive to industry in the state that the effects of that connection are still felt today.

Despite the rising conflict between proponents of commercial agriculture and industry, the Democratic Party maintained an uneasy balance during the 1880s. Although Democrats differed on these key issues, the binding “mortar” that held them together was the “overwhelmingly rural character of the state and party devotion to Jeffersonian principles of low taxes, economy in government, and states’ rights.”⁷⁴ Regulars, despite their national focus, still worked to set pro-industrial policies. Their interstate resources (business connections, wealth, and easy access to national politicians) gave Regulars stronger advantages in influencing the state Democratic Party toward a strong pro-industrial economic policy.

However, it was not just the Democrats who affected this transition. Although the Democrats remained in power throughout most of the transition to an industrial economy, by the 1890s Republicans, reorganized under the leadership of Stephen B. Elkins (Davis’ son-in-law), advocated a similar message. Republicans struggled for years after their loss of power in 1871 to find a unified message that did not reopen the wounds of the Civil War. When Elkins emerged as

⁷³ Rice and Brown, *West Virginia*, 166-167.

⁷⁴Ibid, 168.

one of the prominent party leaders, he allied with Davis to reach a bipartisan agreement between Republicans and Regulars within the Democratic Party to support industrial economic policies. The influence of Elkins and the Republican Party's new platform advocating a strong pro-industrial agenda provided Republicans with an issue which gave them a broader appeal. With the Regulars dominating much of the Democratic Party, what resulted was a largely bipartisan economic policy that brought Republican politicians support from West Virginians. Although these groups still argued over issues relating to local politics throughout the state, their main priority was a secure political base for industry to thrive.⁷⁵

Huntington's growth as a commercial and industrial center was a direct result of this appeasement of industrial interests perpetuated by leading industrialists in the Democratic Party. During the 1870s and 80s, Regulars within the Democratic Party wrested control from Redeemer politicians and proposed new policies that favored railroads and extraction industries. Huntington benefited from many of these new economic policies which allowed for companies such as the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad to find tax loopholes. Although Huntington's C&O railroad was not directly affiliated with Davis's coal industries, the presence of an industrial-friendly state government assured Huntington that there was going to be no interference in the town's industries by the governing body. Huntington's shipping of resources across West Virginia into Virginia and also into the Midwest provided opportunities for C&O since it ran counter to the direction of Davis' coal industries which mostly supplied its coal to buyers in New England.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Williams, *West Virginia and the Captains of Industry*, 16.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 20-21.

By the end of the 1890s and 1900s, Stephen Elkins had reorganized the Republican Party and brought it to power within the state government by assuring Regulars within the Democratic Party (such as Davis) that a pro-industrial state policy was maintained. This agreement ensured that despite bickering amongst Democrats and Republicans the state remained a friend to industry. For the town of Huntington this had already seemed like inevitability. It grew steadily, attracting more and more new residents looking for work in the town's many businesses and industries. Many of its prominent citizens maintained a close connection to the industries created by wealthy financiers from out of state. Huntington survived despite financial panic, antagonism from supporters of commercial agriculture, and state political disputes.

Although sectional animosity had faded in state politics in the early 1870s, it never disappeared from the minds of those who had fought the war. Despite the lack of discussion in the halls of the state legislature, the meaning of the war was not settled by Democratic dominance throughout the last three decades of the 1800s. The regulation of railroads and industry, and the future of commercial agriculture in the state dampened sectional animosity but did not replace it on the local level. The ongoing war for the memory of the war turned from the legislature in Charleston to the many public spaces in local communities. Locally, the fires of the war remained despite the renewed promises of economic growth that industry brought to the state. Although ex-Confederates had seemingly "won the peace," both former Unionists and Confederates continued to fight a war, no longer with bullets and guns but with parades and monuments, for public memory of the war. The creation of veterans' organizations in the 1890s and 1900s encouraged a coordinated drive that saw soldiers' memories renew the fight for the legacy of the war.

CHAPTER 3

CIVIL WAR VETERANS AND THEIR ROLE IN MEMORY

By the 1890s the fledgling commercial town of Huntington was seeing a steady growth in both population and industry. The population had swelled from barely 3,000 by the end of the 1870s to 11,000 by 1891.¹ Huntington had also seen a spike in industrial development with the expanding Ensign Manufacturing Company (which employed over 1,100 men), Emmons & Marr Hardware and Stoves Manufacturers, the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad Repair Shops, and the Fitzgerald Patent Prepared Plaster Company. These businesses were growing at an exceptional rate thanks to “cheap fuel, cheap iron, and cheap lumber.”² As the city grew, it attracted more and more migrants searching for work. These new residents came from other regions with differing attitudes and contrasting views on the conduct of the Civil War and its legacy. Yet amid such widespread immigration to Huntington from both the North and South there remained remarkably muted public contention over the legacy of the war. Regardless of their views, veterans of both sides could not forsake their present conditions for the sake of the past. Veterans worked and cooperated with their sectional adversaries in order to ensure Huntington’s continued prosperity. This preference illustrates the importance of the veterans’ current economic status in facilitating reconciliationist sentiment. However, once the success of the city was ensured, veterans returned to separate and conflicting attitudes that stressed their sectional narrative over their counterparts. By not providing any structural narrative that satisfied former Northern and

¹ James N. Potts and James H. Cammack, eds., *Huntington, WV City Directory* (Hamilton: Hamilton, Publishing Company, 1892).

² *Ibid.*, vii.

Southern veterans concerned with maintaining their wartime identity, economic prosperity provided only a temporary truce in the long debate over the meaning of the Civil War among Huntington's veterans.

In order to do so, Civil War veterans maintained close connections with one another, and sought to maintain these bonds by forming veterans' organizations. The G.A.R. had formed in 1866, and maintained a steadily growing membership over the next two decades. By the 1880s and 90s they were a considerable voting bloc of the Republican Party, and constantly lobbied political officials to remember the pensions promised by the government for the sacrifices of Union veterans during the Civil War.

Confederate veterans, although as vocal as their Union counterparts, took considerably longer to organize into a large national organization. The United Confederate Veterans was able to extoll the shared meaning of the war and helped to solidify the Lost Cause within southern society by becoming a public link to antebellum Southern society. The U.C.V. and its sister organization, the Daughters of the Confederacy, continually reminded ex-Confederates and their families of the values and confidence they had lost in the war. In Huntington, former Confederates worked towards linking their experiences to the larger national debate on the meaning of the war. Confederate veterans sought to distinguish themselves from their Union counterparts by segregating their events from general memorial commemorations and by striving to commemorate broad-reaching themes of Southern identity as opposed to the particular experiences of the members during war time. Despite such discrepancy there remained very little contention between the two former enemies. The economic prosperity of Huntington remained the top priority of many of the city's residents. Although the separation of the two groups and disagreement over public monuments demonstrated that there remained significant divides, the

success of the city demanded a unity that served to placate but not subdue conflict over the war's legacy.

Confederate veterans had not remained silent but became increasingly vocal in literature, newspapers, and public squares arguing against Union interpretations of the war. In Huntington, as in West Virginia as a whole, Confederates were largely cut out of predominant southern views of the war and its legacy. West Virginia lacked many of the staples of Southern identity. The mountainous terrain in the region made plantation agriculture difficult and mass amounts of cotton production impossible. The state lacked a large African-American slave population in the years prior to the war, and the significant portions that were present were employed in early industrial areas such as the Kanawha Valley to labor on salt works and early coal mines.³ Part of the message given by Confederate veterans in Huntington was an attempt to reach out from the region and connect with the larger Confederate identity. For these Confederates residing in West Virginia, a state born antagonistic to the very cause they held dear, it was critical that their world and views not be ignored or obscured. This understanding necessitated a very active organization, unified and vocal, to remind local, state, and national audiences of their presence and voice within the annals of Civil War history.

Nationally by the 1890s, Confederate veterans unified into a structure similar to the G.A.R. but built upon different foundations. Although the G.A.R. was dedicated to reminding the nation of the valiant sacrifices and determination of Union veterans, the United Confederate Veterans (U.C.V.) formed around a growing fear of the loss of Southern identity and memory.

³ Otis Rice and Stephen Brown, *West Virginia: A History*, 2nd ed. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1993), 80-83.

Confederate veterans had seen the South change significantly after the war and Reconstruction. Many veterans had grown up in a world that was lost to them now. The “Old South” had been a society based on agriculture, mainly cotton production, and was maintained by a small elite, slaveholding aristocracy which held large amounts of property and political power. The largest percentage of the white population was a class of white yeoman farmers striving to maintain their independence, and possibly achieve “gentry” status. African-American slaves represented the lowest caste in the “Old South” hierarchy and were utilized to maintain the large plantations and farms of landowning whites. This society had collapsed after the Civil War and the advent of emancipation, and white southerners had struggled to rebuild their society ever since.⁴

Confederate West Virginians’ lives and local society were very different. Western Virginia, and particularly the region around Cabell, was locked in a proto-industrial state. The main focus was on small scale agriculture by white yeoman farmers; however, there existed small manufacturing and industrial centers, like the salt works in the Kanawha Valley, which served local needs. West Virginians were aware of the wealth that the natural resources of their area could provide, but lacked sufficient start-up capital, infrastructure, and labor to achieve

⁴To attempt to explain the entirety of the historiography of the Old South is too much for a footnote and beyond the capacity of this thesis. This footnote will instead seek to give the reader a brief overview of relevant source material that has influenced the work of this essay. Much of the thought that has shaped this thesis on southern society comes from the short but widely informative book by historian Mark M. Smith, *Debating Slavery: Economy and Society in the Antebellum American South* (1998). Along with the work of Bertram Wyatt-Brown and especially his books *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (1982) and his shortened version, *Honor and Violence in the Old South* (1986), these analyses of the Old South’s economy and society have provided a larger scope in which to orient this thesis. For an understanding of the economic impact of slavery on the Old South in both its capitalist and non-capitalist aspects see: Eugene Genovese’s books, *The Political Economy of Slavery* (1989); *Roll, Jordan, Roll* (1974); and *The Slaveholders’ Dilemma* (1992); Robert William Fogel’s and Stanley L. Engerman’s *Time on the Cross* (1974); James Oakes’s *The Ruling Race* (1982) and *Slavery and Freedom* (1990); Shearer Davis Bowman’s *Masters and Lords* (1993); and Gavin Wright’s *Old South, New South* (1997). To better understand the ways in which the Old South society operated and what part white yeoman farmers played in it see: Steve Hahn’s *The Roots of Southern Populism* (1983); Lacy K. Ford’s *Origins of Southern Radicalism* (1988); and with a greater emphasis on the antebellum views of mountain whites and slavery in Appalachia, William Dunaway’s *Slavery in the American Mountain South* (2003).

significant economic growth. On top of this, Virginia state politics heavily favored the large plantation owners of the eastern region of the state making state development of the region impossible for much of the antebellum period.⁵ Some Western Virginians, such as Sampson Sanders and Albert G. Jenkins, were able to live the plantation lifestyle similar to their eastern counterparts, but most could not amass enough favorable land to make commercial agriculture viable. Many former Confederates lived like their counterparts, Union soldiers, with allegiances owed to personal and familial reasons.

Nationally, Reconstruction brought about new challenges to Southern society and white southerners reacted in various ways. Some embraced these new developments and sought to adopt the industrial ways of Northern cities. These southerners lauded the natural resources within the region and encouraged Northern investors to invest in the South and bring large amounts of capital to the region. Some white southerners resentful of the power and wealth that large landowners held both before and after the Civil War banded together with poor blacks to form a political coalition known as the Populist movement. Their efforts crossed racial lines and were a major threat to the solidly Democratic South, whose leaders relied on racial rhetoric to separate whites and blacks from unifying against wealthy white conservatives. Racial attitudes remained in flux for several decades after the Civil War as white and black southerners adjusted to the new freed status of African Americans. During the 1880s and 1890s, white southerners experimented with attempts to curtail the advances of African-American citizenship and enfranchisement and laid the foundation for a system of discrimination known as Jim Crow.⁶ The

⁵ Rice and Brown, *West Virginia*, 80-98.

⁶ The system known as Jim Crow is an extensive topic of debate amongst historians. Primarily the focus occurs around the concepts of how, why, and when. This debate is much too large and out of scope for this thesis to cover

postwar South was divided and adrift, struggling to maintain some semblance of regional identity and pride. Several groups proposed new answers to the problems facing the region, but each new answer seemed to bring its own set of problems or only made the situation worse.⁷

For many former Confederates caught up in the confusion and dismayed at the current state of the region, a growing nostalgia emerged for the “Old South.” This was a time, thought former Confederates, where the South had found a balance to the problems surrounding race, class, and society. Veterans recalled past days of dutiful and loyal slaves, honorable and chivalrous behavior among all men (rich and poor), and a region brimming with wealth and success. Although this nostalgia was not based in fact, many veterans believed strongly that the antebellum society of the South had been a pristine order that had made the region successful and that the war and emancipation had utterly decimated not only Southern society, but the very idea of what made them Southerners. This myth of the “Lost Cause” of the valiant stand by Confederates against the forces of modernity became a balm to soothe the injured pride and

in its entirety. For a great introduction to the detailed historiography of Jim Crow see: John David Smith, *When Did Southern Segregation Begin?* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2002).

⁷ There is a lot of debate on the issues surrounding the post-bellum society of the South and of the particular changes and influence the “New South” ideology had on the region. Several political and societal changes would shape the region during the last few decades of the nineteenth century, and in my belief one of the most important and interesting was the reimagining of the region by proponents of this ideology. These debates are far too large to incorporate within this paper, but a few have shaped the direction and insights within this paper. Edward Ayers’ *Southern Crossing: A History of the American South, 1877-1906* (1995), which is a shortened version of his *The Promise of the New South: Life After Reconstruction*, is a primary guide in this work. Ayer’s depictions of the railroad as a means by which progress entered into the New South, his view on the reforming actions of the Populist Movement, and his incorporation of the cultural life of the region into its political and societal constraints provide a lot of insight into this paper. Huntington matches Ayers’ description of a New South city with its booming industrial development after the introduction of the railroad to the area, and its commercial influence on society. While this book utilizes Ayers’ approach to the future of the New South, it relies on the wisdom portrayed in C. Vann Woodward’s *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* (1966), which encompasses more of a connection to the past and antebellum Southern society. Through Woodward we can see more of a debate with the past that is characteristic of the Southerners’ mindset and see what difficulties and challenges “New South” spokesmen took to change the region and society.

frustration of many white southerners. This turn to the past represented a desire to reject the advances and changes in society that had reshaped the region after the war.

Although there had been numerous fraternal organizations in place before the creation of the United Confederate Veterans, the various organizations lacked any connection beyond the immediate local area. The U.C.V. brought together veterans under a national umbrella organization modeled after the former Confederate government. Although the organization was formed in 1889, Confederate veterans had not been silent observers to the actions of their northern counterparts. They wrote books, memoirs, and personal correspondence to set the record straight on the causes and meaning of their stance during the Civil War.⁸ When the U.C.V. formed its national structure, Confederates found another outlet by which to imbue their remembrance of the war in a public setting.

This unifying structure allowed Huntington Confederate veterans a means to enter into discussions about the memory of the war with their fellow southerners. No doubt worried about their place in history, many of these veterans utilized rhetoric, monument making, public celebrations, and social events to separate themselves from their Union counterparts, with whom they shared more of an antebellum past than with Confederates from the Deep South. As will be seen later, the Confederate veterans of Huntington's attempt to build a monument to the "Women of the South" helped to remind the local population of the region's connection to the South as a whole and served to remind Southern audiences of the same message. This dual message was essential for Confederate veterans in West Virginia to remind their state and the South of their legacy and participation in the war. The failure of the monument's creation also

⁸ David Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 158.

demonstrates the difficulty that Confederate veterans had in remaining a unified voice and in mustering support from the population of Huntington.

Veterans' organizations on both sides tasked themselves with guarding the ideals for which they had fought, and instilling them in future generations. Through the public events of monument making, social events, and Decoration Day commemorations, veterans' organizations shaped the public sphere in order to remind their local community of the legacy of the war. A local G.A.R. post, or U.C.V. camp, might raise funds for the creation of a public monument in a populated area, or organize a banquet or other event where food and drinks provided opportunities for speeches and commemoration ceremonies. Decoration Day (an early version of Memorial Day) became the most important day for Civil War veterans. On the last Monday in May (various Confederate U.C.V. groups held their "Confederate Decoration Day" on another day, usually in early June), veterans' groups carried out plans that had been organized several months in advance. The day was marked by parades, speeches, a walk to the graves of soldiers, and the ceremonial decorating of the graves in remembrance of their sacrifice. These activities ritualized the remembrance of the war and underscored the importance of the issues at stake in the conflict. For Confederate soldiers the ritualized activities had a more eulogizing effect as speeches and ceremonies reflected on the loss of the Confederacy and of a way of life. For Confederates remembering the war served as both catharsis and grief often adding another layer of reverence to the commemoration.⁹

⁹ A lot of great works have been written on how veterans commemorated the war. Some notable works are: Caroline E. Janney, *Burying the Dead But Not the Past: Ladies' Memorial Associations and the Lost Cause*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), Karen Cox, *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture*. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), and Barbara A. Gannon, *The Won Cause: Black and White Comradship in the Grand Army of the Republic*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014).

In Huntington the two veterans' groups often operated alongside one another, but also remained characteristically separate. Although the work of the past few decades had shown the capability of economic growth to serve as an agent of reconciliation, former Union and Confederate veterans, when engaged in active remembrance of the war, continued to operate separately. Their groups had separate Decoration Days, raised funds for separate monuments, and even endorsed separate politicians for local and state offices. During the 1890s and 1900s the veterans' organizations recruited hundreds of members and shaped public perception of the war. By the 1910s and 20s the organizations struggled under the weight of low membership due to advancing age and the onset of the Great Depression in the late 1920s.¹⁰ However, these veterans' organizations were able to instill within the town of Huntington a mixed legacy, neither fully southern in identity nor northern in its sympathies. The town remained, as it always had, a center for commercial expansion concerned with the attraction of industry and maintenance of a peaceful community. Though monuments remained on city streets, courthouse steps, and cemetery plots, the town grew more and more distant from its past. It was several decades before Huntington began to nurture and cultivate its historical legacy, and the effects that veterans had in the shaping of the city.

¹⁰ Grand Army of the Republic, "Roster of Department of West Virginia, G.A.R., 1915," Grand Army of the Republic, Department of West Virginia, Ms 80-7, The West Virginia State Archives, Cultural Center, Charleston, WV; "Decoration Day Takes New Meaning; Homage Paid Four Wars' Heroes," *Huntington Advertiser*, May 30, 1921. With the Roster we can see that there were clearly 75 members on active register with the G.A.R., and within the next six years there was reported that there were now not enough members to hold a separate G.A.R. memorial for Decoration Day without assistance from the American Legion.

VETERANS IN HUNTINGTON

This thesis has demonstrated so far the influence Civil War veterans had upon the founding and commercial growth of the town of Huntington. By the 1890s, veterans played a much more significant role in shaping public perceptions of the war and its meaning. Various factors contributed to the turn of Civil War veterans from city-building to legacy-shaping. First, was the resurgence in the late 1880s and early 1890s of accounts written by Civil War veterans and renewed interest in veterans' groups. The G.A.R. languished in membership during the 1870s but exploded in popularity during the 1880s.¹¹ The U.C.V. organization was formed in 1889 in no small part due to this renewed interest in the war. Second, Huntington's growth had stabilized by the 1890s; with the influx of new businesses and residents the city was no longer in danger of failing. Finally, the arrival of new residents brought in new ideas and experiences from various parts of the nation. These experiences were different from the Civil War memories of longtime residents and thus were more able to connect with a wider state and national discussion than those who experienced the war only in Cabell County. These new developments initiated a growing membership in Huntington's veterans' groups, a new drive towards monument making, and a greater emphasis on Decoration Day and other commemoration events.

The records of the G.A.R. in Huntington have unfortunately been lost, but historians can grasp some of the organization's impact from other sources. The earliest mention we have of the Huntington G.A.R. comes from 1887.¹² While we do not have any official documentation of the presence of the G.A.R. in Huntington before 1887, some sources may imply the presence of the

¹¹ Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 170-171.

¹² *Huntington Advertiser*, May 27, 1887.

organization as early as 1880.¹³ In the 1891-1892 City Directory there is mention of a G.A.R. post in Huntington identified as the Bailey Post no.4 with George A. Floding, a manufacturer of regalia, as Commander.¹⁴ The organization was active throughout the 1890s, meeting once a month at the International Order of Odd Fellows Building. Members worked towards Decoration Day commemorative events as their presence is noted in newspaper coverage, and sometimes used their influence to support local and state politicians. In 1897, the post endorsed the candidacy of Gordon B. Gibbens of Parkersburg for the position of U.S. Marshal. The post's commander, George W. Hutchinson, wrote to Senator Stephen B. Elkins and Congressman Blackburn B. Dovener of West Virginia for the endorsement.¹⁵ Both men were Republicans and both had served as Union soldiers. The Huntington post was working toward securing pensions and political appointments for fellow veterans, much like G.A.R. posts in other states. The endorsements show the post to be closely attuned to the political situation in the state, and demonstrates the influence of the post's standing throughout the state.

¹³ According to G.A.R. records supplied by the Sons of Union Veterans, the legacy organization in charge of relocating G.A.R. records, the Provisional Department of West Virginia in the G.A.R. organization was founded in the state in 1868. It became a permanent department with 12 posts later in that year, however, by 1871 the department was declared disbanded. It was restored to provisional status in November of 1880 and then reinstated as permanent three years later. During the first run of the organization it appears that the Posts were numbered chronologically upon submitting application status to join the provisional department. However, when the department disbanded posts would have to reapply and be given new post numbers under this new department. This would explain some of the inconsistencies in the records. For instance, both the Huntington Bailey Post, and the Thoburn Post in Wheeling share the number "Post No. 4." However it is impossible for Huntington to have been in the early West Virginia Department since it was disbanded in 1871 right when the town was being built. So Thoburn Post may have been the initial "Post no. 4" but when they were reorganized in 1880 the Huntington Post was given the number under the new West Virginia department. This would therefore mean that the Huntington Bailey Post would have been active by at least 1880 under the new West Virginia Department which is far more likely than it being an organization at the founding of Huntington before 1871. Records for WV State organization of the G.A.R. were found on garrecords.org, the site used by the Sons of Union Veterans to list where G.A.R. materials in archival repositories are being held. See: Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War, "Grand Army of the Republic Records Project," Garrecords.org.

¹⁴ Potts and Cammack, eds., *Huntington, WV City Directory*, xiv, 36.

¹⁵ Gordon B. Gibbens Papers, A&M No. 2816, West Virginia Regional History Center, West Virginia University Libraries, Morgantown, WV.

The Bailey Post was not active just in politics, but reminded residents about the patriotism and sacrifice of the nation's Union veterans. Aside from the aforementioned Union veteran water fountains placed on Third and Fifth Avenue, the Bailey Post also commissioned a monument housed on the courthouse steps. The monument is dedicated to the Union veterans who had made the ultimate sacrifice during the war, and its position in front of the courthouse lent more legitimacy to the organization. The Bailey Post was also a prominent organization during Decoration Day celebrations and patriotic events such as a parade for the United States' naval victory at Manila Bay on May 1, 1898.¹⁶ The Bailey Post also hosted the state reunion for G.A.R. members in 1908 that contained an eventful parade celebration that was described as "the largest, the greatest, the most gorgeous, the most brilliant and most representative of Huntington of any, if indeed not all together of the large parades that were ever given in the city."¹⁷ It is therefore reasonable to conclude that the organization held a significant presence within the city and contained a substantial membership during its existence.

Although it formed later, the United Confederate Veterans Camp Garnett #902 quickly grew in strength to combat the Unionist interpretation of the war. The U.C.V. was probably formed sometime in late 1889 as its first recorded minutes start in February 1890.¹⁸ The Camp was named after the Confederate General Robert S. Garnett, who held the distinction of being the first general officer to die in the Civil War on July 13, 1861, in Tucker County, West

¹⁶ There are several newspaper articles from the *Huntington Advertiser* commenting on the presence of G.A.R. veterans during memorial celebrations lasting from 1896 well past 1916. The celebratory parade was listed in: "Happenings of Interest," *Huntington Advertiser*, May 27, 1898.

¹⁷ "Parade the Greatest in Our History," *Huntington Advertiser*, September 24, 1908.

¹⁸ Jack Dickinson and Mark Meadows, *A History of Camp Garnett United Confederate Veterans: Camp #902, Huntington, WV* (Huntington: n.p., 1987). Pamphlet is housed in the Special Collections, Rosanna Blake Library, Marshall University, Huntington, WV.

Virginia. It was comprised early on by several soldiers from the 8th Virginia Cavalry, 16th Virginia Cavalry, 22nd Virginia Infantry, and the 36th Virginia Infantry, which were formed from volunteers from the western counties of West Virginia. Unlike the G.A.R. Bailey Post, Camp Garnett's records have been preserved and give us a fuller picture of how the organization operated and the scope of its membership. Unlike Union veterans, the Camp Garnett members attempted to stay out of politics. In their listing under the city directories in 1892 and 1896 they claimed their purpose to be:

to perpetuate the memory of fallen comrades and minister to the wants of those who were permanently disabled in the service; to preserve and maintain that sentiment of fraternity, born of the hardships and dangers shared in the march, the bivouac, and the battlefield. We propose to avoid anything which partakes of partisanship in religion and politics, and at the same time we will lend our aid to the maintenance of law and the preservation of order.¹⁹

From what their records claim there appears to be a great degree of truth in this statement. Camp Garnett did not endorse any potential political candidates (although their very actions in reshaping public memory were political in nature) and seemed more focused on helping former Confederates and their fallen brethren. Much of their early work in the community was centered on locating deceased Confederates on battlefields scattered throughout the nation and reinterring them in Huntington's Spring Hill Cemetery. The city of Huntington gave Union and Confederate veterans separate plots in the cemetery to house fallen veterans in

¹⁹Potts and Cammack, eds., *Huntington, WV City Directory* (1892), xvi; James N. Potts and James H. Cammack, eds., *Huntington, WV City Directory* (1896), 17.

1894, although it appears they were relocating graves as early as 1890.²⁰ In 1892 they had relocated the remains of Gen. Albert G. Jenkins from his family plot in Greenbottom and had him reinterred in Spring Hill Cemetery.²¹ They also gave money to financially troubled members for rent or to help pay for a comrade's funeral. These measures show that the Camp's focus was more on memorial and charitable activities as opposed to the politically-minded G.A.R. veterans.

Another primary concern for the Confederate veterans was reaching out to the state and national organization in order to connect to their Southern identity. For many of the veterans it was important to be recognized as members of the larger community of Confederate veterans in order to demonstrate their wartime contributions. The Camp Garnett veterans conducted several measures to reach out beyond the state. They submitted articles and letters to the national U.C.V. magazine, *The Confederate Veteran*; paid for members to go to statue unveilings like the Lee Statue in Richmond; sent members to national and state reunions; proposed the erection of monuments dedicated to national as opposed to local memorialization; and sent money to help finance the Stone Mountain Memorial Project in Georgia.²² At its peak in 1895, the organization had more than 252 members. Like their Union counterparts, the Camp Garnett veterans maintained a sizeable membership, and were active in the Huntington community.

²⁰George Seldon Wallace, *Huntington Through Seventy-Five Years* (Huntington: n.p., 1947), 284; Dickinson and Meadows, *A History of Camp Garnett*.

²¹Ibid, p.38.of

²²Dickinson and Meadows, *A History of Camp Garnett*.; United Confederate Veterans, Garnett Camp. U.C.V. Camp Garnett Records. Accession 2001/ 703.205. Rosanna Blake Library, James E. Morrow Library, Marshall University, Huntington, WV.

DECORATION DAY

For veterans' organizations the most important time of the year for memorialization was Decoration Day, the precursor to the modern Memorial Day. On May 30 (June 6 for Confederate veterans) the holiday was recognized by decorating graves of fallen veterans, marching in celebratory parades, and giving solemn memorial speeches. The day had its origins in Charleston, South Carolina, where black southerners and their northern allies celebrated the sacrifice of fallen soldiers on May 1, 1865, by decorating the graves of local soldiers.²³ The event achieved a national standing in 1868 and 1869 after national G.A.R. commander-in-chief General John A. Logan called for a national holiday observed by Union veterans in which the decoration of graves was practiced.²⁴

The first appearance of a symbolic act of decorating soldiers' graves around the end of May in Huntington comes from the diary of William Dusenberry. On May 30, 1885 William Dusenberry mentioned his son Caleb (referred to affectionately as "Cale") journeying across the Ohio River to plant flowers at soldiers' graves.²⁵ It is hard to ascertain the widespread recognition and participation of the Huntington population in conducting this ritualized decoration ceremony. Surviving newspaper records do not mention the event in 1885 or 1886. It was not until 1887 that the *Huntington Advertiser* mentioned the observance of Decoration Day by the G.A.R. Bailey Post no. 4, providing the first recorded appearance of the organization in the city. The first Decoration Day event was a small and somber affair as it began at 8 in the

²³ Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 65.

²⁴ Ibid, 71.

²⁵ William F. Dusenberry. Carrie Eldridge Collection "Dusenberry Diaries," May 30, 1885, Accession 1992/01.0551, Special Collections, James E. Morrow Library, Marshall University, Huntington, WV.

morning with a procession from the Odd Fellows Hall to the cemetery, the ceremony decorating the flowers, and then a return to the city to hear memorial services by Chaplin Poling and Rev. Samuel Jones.²⁶ For many years after the first Decoration Day was observed, the day remained a largely selectively observed day with a minority of the population as participants. In 1888 the observance of Decoration Day occurred in Ohio rather than Huntington with Sam Gideon being one of the prominent speakers at the Memorial Service in Proctorville.²⁷

By 1890, Decoration Day had become more prominent in the city, but the commemoration was not singled out completely by Union memory of the war. The unveiling of the Robert E. Lee Memorial Statue in Richmond Virginia occurred on May 29, 1890. In a tone of weariness and sorrow, William Dusenberry wrote in his diary of the unveiling of the statue, “Rebels as much Rebels as ever.”²⁸ For the Friday evening copy of the *Huntington Advertiser*, the biggest story of the day was the Lee statue. While Lee’s statue took a prominent place on page one of the newspaper, 1890 was the first time Decoration Day became a local article of note with its own title and significant coverage of the event. In the sweltering heat of midday, the procession of commemorators made their way over a mile to the cemetery. A company of young girls representing the States of the Union were overcome by the heat and the arduous trek of the procession. Several observers were also quick to exit the procession and memorial service due to the unbearable heat and make their way to the shade of the trees for lunch and refreshment.

²⁶*Huntington Advertiser*, May 27, 1887; *Huntington Advertiser*, June 4, 1887. The cemetery referred to in the paper is probably Spring Hill Cemetery located over 2.1 miles away. Adding on the return trip to Marshall for the memorial services and the entire procession was a long dedicated walk of over 4 miles. The following paper (June 4th) mentions the event as “Memorial Day” which would be used interchangeably with “Decoration Day” until 1967 when the day became the official federal holiday of “Memorial Day.” Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 65.

²⁷*Huntington Advertiser*, June 2, 1888.

²⁸William F. Dusenberry. Carrie Eldridge Collection “Dusenberry Diaries,” May 29, 1890, Accession 1992/01.0551, Special Collections, James E. Morrow Library, Marshall University, Huntington, WV.

However, despite the conditions, a large gathering of Huntington and Guyandotte residents were present at the ceremonial decoration and memorial service. While Union veterans' graves were decorated, Rev. W.P. Walker, conductor of the memorial service and Confederate veteran, reminded the assembled crowd that Confederate graves were to be decorated on June 9.²⁹ Walker's presence as conductor of ceremonies can be seen as an attempt to reach out to Confederate veterans for a joint Decoration Day commemoration and a settling of disputes. However, Dusenberry's disparaging remarks about the "Rebels," as well as the separate Confederate Decoration Day event, illuminate the deep running animosity that still played a part in public commemoration of the war.

Although a joint commemoration was held in 1891, the absence of another joint commemoration and subsequent separate Decoration Day events by both sides until 1898 proved that this reconciliationist event was too difficult for either side to condone. William Dusenberry's account of the Decoration Day of 1891 paints the picture of a unified and reconciliationist event organized and observed by Union and Confederate veterans. He reported, "about 2 o'clock the Procession headed by the Hun. Band and Military Co. passed composed of the Grand Army Vets and the Ex-Rebels all united and going to the Cemetery to decorate the graves of the Soldiers of both armies, the Blue and the Gray united."³⁰ This united presence seemed to lend excitement to the course of events. Three years earlier, commemoration had been minimal, but this time

²⁹ "Decoration Day," *Huntington Advertiser*, May 30 1890; William F. Dusenberry. Carrie Eldridge Collection "Dusenberry Diaries," May 30, 1890, Accession 1992/01.0551, Special Collections, James E. Morrow Library, Marshall University, Huntington, WV. It is unknown why June 9 was chosen as the Confederate Decoration Day; eventually the day of June 6 (the week after Memorial Day) would become the staple day for Confederate Decoration Day.

³⁰ William F. Dusenberry. Carrie Eldridge Collection "Dusenberry Diaries," May 30, 1891, Accession 1992/01.0551, Special Collections, James E. Morrow Library, Marshall University, Huntington, WV.

several businesses were closed and flags were adorned throughout the town.³¹ Yet, despite the unity and public festivity, why were joint commemoration not mentioned for several years after?

While we do not know what was said at such events it seems that this joint event necessitated a muted memorial service devoid of legacy shaping rhetoric from both sides. Politically charged speech might provoke the very issues that had led to war and prove intolerable. A joint event, although symbolically unified, served neither group in shaping the legacy of the war. A unified event conveyed a more local response focusing on the particular individuals at the graveyard, their shared bravery, and the strong bonds that formed across familial and community lines. For Confederates especially concerned over connecting to a larger national Southern identity, holding a joint commemoration meant giving up any attempts at maintaining that link to the Lost Cause.

The years following 1891 saw a growing support for commemorating Decoration Day, but the divergence of the two ceremonies reflected the different attitudes towards the event. By 1893 Decoration Day had become a more popular holiday for the city with the closing of businesses, the orchestration of a city-wide event, and the invitation for various local and state groups to participate. In 1893, G.A.R. members and members of the Knights of the Golden Eagle, a fraternal organization, from Ironton and Charleston were present at the ceremonies.³² By 1896 the day had become, “A Day of Memory,” as the *Huntington Advertiser* called it in bold letters on the front page.³³ Memorial services now extended beyond the day itself, and the entire

³¹Ibid. Dusenberry even comments on the inadequacy of his sons’ use of “two small dirty flags” to adorn his business while stores next to him were fully bedecked and beautifully decorated. This shows the emergence of a strong adherence to the holiday within the town as it has become more popular amongst the population.

³² Ibid.

³³“A Day of Memory,” *Huntington Advertiser*, June 1, 1896.

city was halted in observance.³⁴ The day now encompassed a wide regional attendance as observers not only participated in the Huntington procession but traveled to nearby towns in both Kentucky and Ohio.³⁵ The next year saw a Decoration Day “grand military concert” performed by the Second Regiment band of Huntington in Ashland, Kentucky, open to all.³⁶ Street cars were decorated, businesses were closed, and a general “holiday air” hung about the occasion.³⁷ The event had become more than a simple and solemn procession but a new holiday that was much more celebratory than its earlier observances. Decoration Day was becoming akin to another Fourth of July with the accompaniment of thousands of national flags and ceremonies. No doubt, the G.A.R. members of Huntington felt a sense of pride in equating such a commemorative ceremony with the celebratory message of victory and jubilation. By utilizing such parallels the public consciousness of Decoration Day was a continual reminder of the victory of the United States and the gallant courage of the Union veterans. On this day, Union veterans and their fallen brethren were championed and honored in ways not seen since the end of the Civil War. This positive portrayal of the war reminded and reeducated the local populace of the patriotism and sacrifice of these Union veterans.

Confederate Decoration Day, on the other hand, was a stark contrast to the joyous festivities of Memorial Day. The memorial ceremony was a quiet affair attended by mostly veterans and their families. The solemnity was appropriate: Union veterans celebrated the sacrifices achieved for victory on their Memorial Day, but former Confederates saw the graves

³⁴ “Memorial Sermon,” *Huntington Advertiser*, May 25, 1896. Rev. F.N. Lynch of the Methodist Episcopal Church presented a memorial sermon to the members of the G.A.R. observed before Decoration Day as opposed to after it.

³⁵ “A Day of Memory,” *Huntington Advertiser*, June 1, 1896. A list of nearby towns that are recognized in the article are Cattlesburg, KY; Ashland, KY; Getaway, OH; Gallipolis, OH; and Portsmouth, OH.

³⁶ “Decoration Day,” *Huntington Advertiser*, May 28, 1897.

³⁷ “A Day of Memory,” *Huntington Advertiser*, June 1, 1896.

of their comrades as a reminder of their defeat. This was a day for reflection, and could be seen as a yearly pilgrimage to reaffirm faith and devotion to the memory of the Lost Cause. It began, upon arriving at the cemetery, with the repair and maintenance of the graves to ensure they were presentable and in good order. Following this, the ceremony began and reflected on the valiance of the dead. Unlike the Union celebration though, former Confederates' commemoration was characterized with a strong sense of loss. Newspaper coverage of the event discussed singing old songs filled with weariness and emotion. "I saw a way-worn traveler in tattered garment clad," was one such verse sung by these old veterans still clinging to memories of the past.³⁸ After the ceremony, attendees relaxed and most of the attendees gathered for a communal dinner.³⁹

The year 1898 saw the greatest effort toward a reconciliationist Memorial Day, as both sides again strove to bury the sectional hatchet. On May 31, 1898, Huntington, like most of the rest of the nation, was celebrating Commodore George Dewey's victory over Spanish forces in the Battle of Manila Bay (May 1, 1898). Memorial Day and "Dewey Day" had merged into a celebration of the services of military men both living and dead.⁴⁰ This united military effort led to a more relaxed and fraternal feeling toward all Civil War veterans. Military camaraderie appeared to be the bridge that might facilitate an end to the differences of veterans. "To honor and respect a foe who believes he is right," opined a Huntington newspaper editor, "is in keeping with our national creed and in line with the teachings of God."⁴¹ Dr. Walker of Fifth Avenue Baptist Church was once again asked to open the ceremonies with prayer asking that

³⁸ "Confederate Decoration Day," *Huntington Advertiser*, June 7, 1897.

³⁹ "Confederate Dead Remembered," *Huntington Advertiser*, June 6, 1896. The article mentions a parade and dinner were missed due to the primary for the state election. I believe due to other articles mentioning the solemnity of the occasion that the "parade" would have been more a procession and didn't necessarily reflect "jubilant festivities."

⁴⁰ "Remembered the Dead and Praised the Living," *Huntington Advertiser*, May 31, 1898.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

Americans “be conservative and forgiving even to our enemies.”⁴² During Memorial Day celebrations and Confederate Decoration Day ceremonies both Union and Confederate graves were decorated by G.A.R. and U.C.V. members side by side. The Union veterans assisted in cleaning up and maintaining the graves of their fallen enemies, giving a writer for the *Huntington Advertiser* pause to reflect that “indications are decidedly that by next year there will be but one Memorial Day for both wearers of the blue and gray, and that the graves of each will alike be decorated with flowers by the old opposing comrades of the two armies.”⁴³ However, the writer’s optimism proved premature. The next year’s Memorial Day remained an amicable affair with former Union soldiers decorating the graves of their Confederate adversaries and vice versa, but there remained separate Decoration Day commemorations for many years. What made this last great step toward a unified Decoration Day commemoration fail?

One of the biggest obstacles to further reconciliation was an inability to find common ground beyond shared military service. Existing sources suggest that the ceremony and commemoration of Memorial Day in 1898 was very muted both politically and with regards to the meaning or references to the Civil War. Celebration was centered on America’s recent victories, its national ideas of freedom and democracy, and on America’s committed and brave military men (past and present). This suggests that this event was more a truce than a step toward reconciliation because, although both sides were amicable to one another, no steps were taken to address the differing narratives of the veterans. Neither side wanted to bring up the meaning of the war, because to do so was to reopen the old wounds. It is never stated in any newspaper

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ “Flowers for Confederates,” *Huntington Advertiser*, June 6, 1898.

article or record of the veterans' groups whether serious consideration was ever given to a joint Decoration Day event. The meaning of the war for both sides was not conducive to a shared program. David Blight, in *Race and Reunion*, illustrates that for Union veterans, race and the cause for emancipation had played a strong part in the Union legacy of the war.⁴⁴ However, in regards to Union veterans in Huntington, there appears to be no strong indicator on their views in regards to the cause of emancipation and race. There are no records relating to Union veterans' connections to the African American communities in Huntington or to shared bi-racial celebrations or events. Union veterans in Huntington connected their cause to the greater history of America and combined their memories of the war to the growing sentiment of patriotism and in some parts "jingoism" of the 1890s. Their legacy of the war had as much to do with reminding the public of their contribution to the war, and the determination of the United States' volunteers to suppress the Southern rebellion.

Despite such reminders of the rebellious nature of former Confederates, Union veterans could have found more common ground with their counterparts since race appeared to play a peripheral role in their message. Former Confederates, on the other hand, could not take steps toward reconciliation without losing a greater part of their Southern identity. Many of the Confederates in Huntington came from the Cabell County area, and remained adamant about their Virginia heritage. Cabell County had been a thriving area for commercial development on top of having fairer terrain more conducive to plantation agriculture. This development made the area more connected to Southern and Northern markets, and many of its most influential plantation owners, including members of the Jenkins and Sanders families, styled themselves

⁴⁴ Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 2-3.

Virginia aristocrats. While this sentiment did not apply to all of these former Confederates, it gave them exposure to Southern culture and identity. Family connections and this Southern perspective drove many to fight for the Confederacy and to reconcile must mean the abandonment of this connection to Southern tradition and identity. Ex-Confederates were unable to fully reconcile with Union veterans without giving up the idea that they were themselves displaced Southerners, heirs to a civilized and harmonious society that had become ingrained in Lost Cause rhetoric.

Decoration Day remained a separate holiday for both former Confederate and Union veterans. Although Memorial Day/ Decoration Day events were held by the G.A.R. and U.C.V. well into the 1920s their influence receded along with their numbers. By 1919, a U.C.V. Decoration Day on June 3 saw only thirty members present for the ceremony.⁴⁵ With their diminished numbers came an increasing challenge for control over the meaning of the holiday. After World War I, Memorial Day became more associated with all American veterans rather than just Civil War veterans. Values such as military service and valor became increasingly dominant over regional identity and the legacy of a war that was almost sixty years past. These values appealed to all Americans regardless of which side their fathers or grandfathers had fought, and allowed for the holiday to become more celebratory than ceremonious. One Union veteran, B.W. Ingham lamented, “To our discredit, Memorial Day has lost some of its significance. The day when we are supposed to commemorate the great sacrifice of life is not a gala holiday, but a time when the heroism of the men of the sixties should cause a weighing of

⁴⁵ “Cross of Honor is Conferred Upon Veteran Phillips,” *Huntington Advertiser*, June 3, 1919.

our own patriotism”⁴⁶ By 1921, the G.A.R. lacked enough resources to effectively coordinate Memorial Day commemorations and asked for the American Legion to help orchestrate the event signaling a “new meaning” for the holiday.⁴⁷

MONUMENT-MAKING AND THE SEARCH FOR IDENTITY

For veterans of the Civil War one of the most powerful connections they could make between the present and the past was through public monuments. Monuments were powerful symbols that were constant reminders to the community of the veterans’ collective memory of the war. They perfectly encapsulated the most important elements of the veterans’ respective messages. Huntington veterans were keenly aware of the importance monuments had in developing a lasting and accepted narrative of the war. As early as the early 1880s veterans were already setting up monuments throughout the city to remind locals why they had chosen a side and fought against former neighbors, friends, and family. Although several of these monuments were destroyed or never progressed beyond the fundraising stage, their influence upon Huntington remained great. Raising funds along with a public dedication of the completed monument made the process of monument-making a very personal affair for many residents, including those who were unaffiliated with the veterans’ groups. Giving money for the creation of a monument required a personal connection to veterans and remained an important link that bound residents to a sectional identity. The amount of time and effort behind monument making also served to reopen old wounds and reignite the embers of sectional animosity. Although veterans never returned to the violence they had unleashed back in the 1860s, these conflicts over

⁴⁶ “Memorial Day is Not Gala Holiday,” *Huntington Advertiser*, May 26, 1919.

⁴⁷ “Decoration Day Takes New Meaning; Homage Paid Four Wars’ Heroes,” *Huntington Advertiser*, May 30, 1921.

monuments served to demonstrate how tenaciously these veterans clung to their identity, values, and respective legacies of the war.

In 1880, Sam Gideon, a clothing merchant and Union veteran, negotiated as chairman of the city council a proposal with the Huntington Water Company to provide water access to hundreds of Huntington's residents. As a gift of appreciation to the city, the Huntington Water Company commissioned two water fountains to be erected: one on the corner of Fifth Avenue and Ninth Street and the other on Third Avenue and Tenth Street. On these fountains were built statues of Union veterans shouldering arms, and became the first monuments in the town regarding the American Civil War. Sam Gideon's specific role and motives in securing these fountains is unknown, but as a strong proponent of the G.A.R. in later years, this may have been one of the first attempts to organize former Union veterans or at least pay homage to their service.⁴⁸

These monuments were commissioned in the same year as an important mayoral debate between the Republican nominee Sam Gideon (Union veteran) and the Democratic nominee Dr. Edward S. Buffington (Confederate veteran and son of Huntington's first mayor, Peter C. Buffington).⁴⁹ Dr. Buffington was elected Huntington's sixth mayor, and Gideon refrained from reentering politics until 1886 when he was elected again to the city council. The election of Dr. Buffington could be viewed as a victory for former Confederates proof, that the area retained a stronger base of support for Confederate sympathy after the war. However, such views are too narrow a conclusion to draw on such small evidence, and it behooves historians to remember two

⁴⁸ "Sam Gideon Made Fountain Deal," *Huntington Advertiser*, August 3, 1915.

⁴⁹ Baumgartner, *First Families of Huntington*, 17.

important political and social aspects of this scenario. First, there was a great upheaval occurring in state and local politics in West Virginia during the late 1870s and early 1880s as outlined in Chapter One. Second, familial and local connections influenced decision making in the Cabell County area, and these factors favored Dr. Buffington (a Cabell County native and son of a former mayor and large landowner) over Sam Gideon (a German immigrant who lived in Illinois before and during the war and then moved to the area in 1871). While historians should not forget these two important caveats, the symbolic importance surrounding their former sectional loyalties should not be forgotten. Unfortunately, there remains little evidence about the importance or tone of the election other than its occurrence, but it is strikingly coincidental that the creation of a monument to the sacrifice of Union veterans was conducted in the same year.⁵⁰

With the growing importance of the Decoration Day commemorations, Civil War veterans turned toward improving the grave sites of their fallen comrades to serve as headstones for individual soldiers but also as a noticeable, growing monumental area. Although veterans had passed away in the many decades since the end of the war, many were interred in their local cemetery or next to various family members in private cemeteries. By 1892, Camp Garnett veterans had decided upon creating a lot for their deceased comrades and to reclaim deceased comrades who had been buried in faraway battlefields.⁵¹ The first to be interred in this new lot was General Albert G. Jenkins who had been killed at the Battle of Cloyd's Mountain in 1864

⁵⁰ "Sam Gideon Made Fountain Deal," *Huntington Advertiser*, August 3, 1915.

⁵¹ Dickinson and Meadows, *A History of Camp Garnett*. According to the minute books of the Camp Garnett veterans, they mention a "Camp lot" in Spring Hill Cemetery as early as 1892. However, George Seldon Wallace's book, *Huntington Through Seventy-Five Years*, mentions in its last page that the city council awarded both Confederate veterans and Union veterans a lot for their fallen comrades in 1894. A further note in the minutes of Camp Garnett (dated Dec. 1, 1894) suggest that the veterans had purchased several adjacent lots in the cemetery for their own uses, but were given back the money by 1894 by the city council and "officially" given a specific plot to bury their fallen comrades.

and buried at the battlefield. For the next few years, the Camp Garnett veterans located former comrades buried on several battlefields and re-interred them at Spring Hill Cemetery. This development gave veterans space to conduct separate Decoration Day commemorations and land for remembering the cause of their respective sides. The U.C.V. of Camp Garnett saw the potential uses of a dedicated area for veneration of fallen comrades as it could serve the needs of the living by instructing descendants and new residents about the conviction and bravery of these former Confederate soldiers. By August 6, 1898, Camp Garnett veterans decided on the “importance of erecting a suitable monument on our lots in Spring Hill Cemetery,” and appointed an eleven-man committee to begin soliciting contributions.⁵² The monument was completed by May 1900 and the public dedication was scheduled for June 23, 1900.⁵³

For Huntington ex-Confederates, the monument was a way of reinforcing and connecting to a larger Confederate and “Southern” identity. This monument which was dedicated to the “memory of soldiers of the Confederate Army” connected the graves of Huntington’s veterans with fallen Confederates on battlefields and cemeteries throughout the South.⁵⁴ Their attempts to reach out to this larger culture of Confederate memorialization can be illustrated by their submission of their dedication to the national magazine, *Confederate Veteran*. Although local sources covering the monument’s dedication have been lost, an article written by the Camp

⁵² Dickinson and Meadows, *A History of Camp Garnett*. The entry was dated “Aug. 6, 1898.”

⁵³ Dickinson and Meadows, *A History of Camp Garnett*. It is unknown exactly who gave money for the monument or how much money was raised over the course of almost two years’ worth of effort. The collection of funds was not without its hiccups though. One member, Ed B. Talley, was elected to the committee to help solicit funds for the monument and given the list of subscriptions (paid and unpaid) for the Monument. Upon the completion of the monument and asked for the money, Talley had lost the list of subscriptions. An ad was taken out in the newspaper, for all persons who had donated money or were planning to and had signed onto the list to report to the commander Cameron L. Thompson. Talley was also told to give over all the money he had received in regards to the monument fund or face charges of embezzlement and expulsion.

⁵⁴Confederate Monument, Spring Hill Cemetery, Huntington, WV.

Garnett veterans was sent to the magazine detailing the event and its scope. The monument was jointly dedicated by the U.C.V. Camp Garnett veterans and the local chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy led by their longtime president, Lou Garland Buffington (second wife of Peter Cline Buffington).⁵⁵ It was the second Civil War monument to be dedicated in West Virginia and attracted “hundreds of veterans from adjoining counties” to make a crowd of “several thousand persons.”⁵⁶ The song “Carry Me Back to Old Virginia” was played and the monument unveiled to reveal a tall stone obelisk with a polished bronze soldier standing atop it. Upon the monument was inscribed on a bronze plaque which read, “To the memory of the soldiers of the Confederate Army who lie here and their comrades who sleep in this cemetery, who defended with life and fortune and sacred honor, their liberties and their homes.”⁵⁷ This public dedication and article demonstrate these ex-Confederates’ enthusiastic desire to connect to this identity in hopes of validating their service.

During the Civil War, West Virginia had torn itself apart. West Virginians’ political affiliations as Unionists or Confederates were largely determined by their sectional identity. After the war, West Virginia’s status as a Union state deprived local ex-Confederates of an important part of their “Southern” identity. These ex-Confederates lived in a Union state, and away from the tumultuous difficulties raised during the Reconstruction Acts that hit the former Confederacy. On top of that, as the commercial center that was Huntington grew up around them, these ex-Confederates became more closely identified to the rise of industrialism that was closely associated with Northern cities or even worse the “New South” cities that sought to adapt

⁵⁵ S.A. Cunningham, ed. “The Monument at Huntington, W.Va.,” *Confederate Veteran*, Vol. 8, No.9, (September 1900), 403; Baumgartner, *First Families of Huntington*, 6.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Confederate Monument, Spring Hill Cemetery, Huntington, WV.

Southern culture to emulate a Northern ideal. Their lack of identity or, more importantly, a connection to their perceived identity seemed to invalidate their struggle. Huntington's ex-Confederates' tried to make up for this omission through enthusiasm and fund-raising. By drawing attention to the Confederate cause through monuments, separate Decoration Days, and social events they maintained a public reminder of their separate identity. This dedication to the larger theme of Confederate memorialization was characteristic of other ex-Confederates in West Virginia. For instance the U.C.V. organization in Charleston erected a statue on the grounds of the state legislature to the famous Confederate general, and West Virginia native, Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson. This monument connected the state's Confederate veterans with veterans from other states by demonstrating their contributions to the war effort. Huntington's fervor in memorializing and vindicating the Confederacy came from a deep identity crisis that was common to many ex-Confederates in the border states.⁵⁸

Interestingly, Union veterans suffered from a similar identity crisis, one that was more political than social. This chapter has already discussed the more politically conscious nature of the city's G.A.R. members, but has not explained why. Why were the G.A.R. members of Huntington more inclined than their Confederate comrades to participate in and shape the political landscape? Looking at the inverse of the Confederate crisis of identity provides a clue. Union veterans (unlike Confederates) resided in a state identified with the Union, separate from the Reconstruction Acts and their association with the South, and within a growing industrial city

⁵⁸ Historians have recently taken a renewed approach to viewing the issue of the border states and their development after the Civil War; some notable works include: Anne Marshall, *Creating A Confederate Kentucky: The Lost Cause and Civil War Memory* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013); M.M. Manning, "Community and Memory After the Civil War: The Case of Daniel Ashby in Chariton County, Missouri," *Gateway Heritage: The Magazine of the Missouri Historical Society* 13, no. 3 (Winter 1993), 34-47; Stephen McBride, "Camp Nelson and Kentucky's Civil War Memory," *Historical Archaeology* 47, no. 3 (2013), 69-80.

characteristic of Northern manufacturing. Yet, how much did that characterize their Northern sectional identity? Many Northerners and especially Union veterans equated their Northern identity with another important element: being a Republican. Blight describes Union veterans and especially G.A.R. members as “a ‘voting machine’ for Republicans.”⁵⁹ G.A.R. posts were already characterized by their continual tendency to vote Republican, but the situation proved more complicated in West Virginia. The coalition of Republicans that had maintained “Radical” rule in the state had collapsed by 1872, and the Democratic Party held power thereafter.

Democrats also held power in Huntington for much of its history, and the first Republican mayor, A.H. Woodworth, was elected in 1886 in a major political upset.⁶⁰ Union veterans were increasingly aware that despite the Union identity they believed they shared with their state, they remained continually frustrated politically by the Democratic Party. Despite the G.A.R.’s significant membership, they were unable to wield much influence in local and state politics.⁶¹

Although monuments served many purposes, they were very important in helping to draw attention to the veterans’ concerns over identity. While veterans’ groups themselves reminded

⁵⁹ Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 157.

⁶⁰ The political situation in Huntington was much like the compromises and splits in West Virginia’s state politics. Throughout much of its history, the town had a Democratic mayor. Although several members of the city council were Republican (including Sam Gideon) they were never really threatened by a strong Republican party. Like in state politics, most Republicans in the state did not agree with the “Radical” platform of the party but contended with Democrats over financial issues or maintained loyalty to the party that had seen them through the war. On two occasions there were major upsets to this pattern: Firstly, the election of A.H. Woodworth which came after the election of E.A. Bennet, a Union veteran from West Virginia (who was a Democrat). Secondly, the election of W.F. Hite in 1896 when the Democrats split over the Free Silver Movement and gave the Republicans the victory. See: Robert L. Archer, Robert L. Archer Collection “Chronicles of Early Huntington, 1871-1896,” Accession 530 (Manuscript 124), Special Collections, James E. Morrow Library, Marshall University, Huntington, WV; George Seldon Wallace, *Huntington Through Seventy-Five Years*, (Huntington: 1947), 282-283.

⁶¹ Grand Army of the Republic, “Roster of Department of West Virginia, G.A.R., 1915,” Grand Army of the Republic, Department of West Virginia, Ms 80-7, The West Virginia State Archives, Cultural Center, Charleston, WV. The G.A.R.’s membership has never been able to be accurately determined. The only known clue as to the size of the G.A.R. membership comes from hints and clues in newspapers and a small pamphlet printed off for the 1915 Annual Reunion of West Virginia G.A.R. members.

local audiences of their national affiliation, monuments were able to portray this connection more effectively. That could also work in reverse: by reinforcing national ideas and themes within a local context. For example, sometime after the creation of the new Cabell County Courthouse in 1903, G.A.R. members erected a monument on the courthouse grounds. The monument is simply titled, “In Memoriam” and details the name of the organization and the acting officers.⁶² Why was such a large monument with such a small title and message placed in such a public area? The monument’s placement on the courthouse grounds demonstrates the symbolic effort of G.A.R. members to reinforce the Northern identity of Huntington. Frustrated by years of Democratic control and the demonstration of Confederate support in the area as illustrated by their large monument dedication in 1900, Union veterans erected a monument on the very steps of the courthouse. This development proclaimed that despite the southern sympathies in the town, Huntington maintained a strong connection and identity to the Union. The presence of strong Union support for the war did not evaporate after the war was over, and Union veterans hoped to remind the residents of Huntington of that connection. More importantly, the G.A.R. as an important voting bloc of the Republican Party emphasized their presence and efforts in electing Republican candidates to the very courthouse where the monument stands (and throughout the city and county as well). The use of these monuments as important symbols of identity resulted in the strongest clash between former Union and Confederate veterans in the city.

⁶² Grand Army of the Republic Monument, Cabell County Courthouse, Huntington, WV.

As early as August 1914, the U.C.V. members of Camp Garnett assembled a committee to raise funds and organize the creation of a new monument to be erected in Ritter Park.⁶³ The monument was to be dedicated to the “Women of the South,” and thereby fulfill the veterans’ desire to connect to the broader Confederate culture. In October they began sending out letters asking for donations, and by January news coverage reported that the organization was sending the prospectus to other Confederate camps for donations.⁶⁴ The committee was assisted by the local Daughters of the Confederacy and even requested their President, Lou Garland Buffington, be the model for one of the mother sculptures.⁶⁵ Funds were raised throughout much of 1915 eagerly anticipating the creation of the monument.

Meanwhile, early in August a news report circulated in the *Huntington Advertiser* that mentioned the removal of the union statue, “Old Iron Soldier,” on the corner of Fifth Avenue and Ninth Street.⁶⁶ The report mentioned that the soldier was being moved due to the decision by the board of education to create a new walkway around the Carnegie library next to the statue. The statue was also mentioned to have been vandalized with its gun having been recently stolen, and upon its removal to Ritter Park a replacement gun was to be issued.⁶⁷ An article published two days later mentioned that a new pedestal was to be erected for the statue to stand on alongside two cannons given to the city by the federal government.⁶⁸ The city took the utmost care in maintaining the reverence and solemnity of moving this long standing memorial, and attempted

⁶³ United Confederate Veterans, Garnett Camp. U.C.V. Camp Garnett Records. Accession 2001/ 703.205. Rosanna Blake Library, James E. Morrow Library, Marshall University, Huntington, WV. The records suggest that there was an earlier committee appointed at a previous meeting but no other record is found in their minute book of when that committee was organized.

⁶⁴ Ibid.; “Perspective of Monument Sent,” *Huntington Advertiser*, January 22, 1915.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ “Old Iron Soldier May be Moved to City’s New Park,” *Huntington Advertiser*, August 2, 1915.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ “Provide a Pedestal for Old Iron Statue,” *Huntington Advertiser*, August 4, 1915.

to provide it with suitable lodging at the new Huntington park. It is not known whether the city council was aware of the Confederate veterans' plan to build a large Confederate monument close by the proposed placement of the Union statue. Nevertheless, the idea of moving the Union statue next to the Confederate memorial sparked instant distress among Union veterans. A unionist-sympathizing businessman, A.B. Brode, along with the local G.A.R. members, filed a protest against the actions of the city in moving the statue to the park. Brode claimed:

Strangers entering the park could not help but draw the contrast between the handsome Confederate monument and the small, obsolete drinking fountain, topped by a Union soldier and worn with many years buffeting of the winds and rain . . . The contrast would be discreditable to the Union cause through no fault of the local post.⁶⁹

Brode's claim was reasonable: how could anyone feel pride in the Union's cause if the Confederate monument appeared far more grandiose and overpowering? The domineering presence of such a monument provided its own context, and may have demonstrated to new residents that locals sympathized with the Confederacy more than the Union. The seriousness with which the Union veterans took this action suggests that the public image of the war and of the legacy of both sides remained contentious. Neither side it seemed held too much influence over the other with both veterans groups maintaining close to 80-100 members by 1915.⁷⁰ It was left to the mayor and the city

⁶⁹ "Protest to Mayor Against Removal of Statue to the Park," *Huntington Advertiser*, August 6, 1915.

⁷⁰ The members in the G.A.R. Bailey Post in Huntington in 1915 can be found in a roster book of the G.A.R. Department of West Virginia. In it, the pamphlet claims Huntington contained 75 members. See Grand Army of the Republic, Department of West Virginia Collection. Ms 80-7. West Virginia State Archives, Culture Center, Charleston, WV.

council to decide the fate of the Union statue. No records remain of the conversation held between the mayor, city council, and the G.A.R., but the records show that instead of moving the statue to Ritter Park it was instead scrapped and sent to the junk heap.⁷¹ It seems odd that Union veterans might abandon one of their last remaining symbols of the Unionist legacy in the city, and not seek to create a new one. Unfortunately, the lack of adequate records of Huntington's G.A.R. post prevents historians from knowing their reaction to this event. However, their silence after the destruction of the statue is telling.

As Unionist memory of the war slowly faded away, the Lost Cause carved out a niche of support amongst future generations. Despite the U.C.V.'s fundraising to build a memorial to the "Women of the South," sufficient capital was never raised for such a venture. The ongoing saga over what to do with the money already raised lasted well into the 1930s.⁷² Although ex-Confederates and Unionists still maintained monuments throughout Huntington, only a few remained to demonstrate the groups' legacies on the city.⁷³ In the waning years of the 1920s, the loss of Civil War veterans mirrored their declining participation in and influence over the public memory of the Civil War. Decoration Day became a more joyous celebration associated with all veterans in

⁷¹ "Old Veteran Sent to the Junk Heap," *Huntington Advertiser*, August 7, 1915.

⁷² Letters within the Camp Garnett Records illustrate that debates arose among the U.C.V. and the Daughters of the Confederacy over how best to utilize the one thousand dollars raised for the monument. Eventually by the late 1920s/early 1930s the groups agreed upon the purchase of a plaque at Stone Mountain National park in Atlanta, Georgia, which read "Camp Garnett, No. 902. U.C.V., Huntington, West Va., In memory of, 'The Women of the South.'" See: United Confederate Veterans, Garnett Camp. U.C.V. Camp Garnett Records. Accession 2001/703.205. Rosanna Blake Library, James E. Morrow Library, Marshall University, Huntington, WV.

⁷³ There was also a monument to J.L. Caldwell, prominent businessman, Union veteran, and G.A.R. commander, that was located on a hill overlooking Ritter Park. Blueprints from the 1940s detail the presence of this monument and a photo exists of it located in the Images of America book, *Huntington* written by Don Daniel McMillian. The book mentions that the monument was also desecrated by vandals. It asserts that Caldwell's daughter, Ouida, claimed that the monument was being intentionally neglected due to political posturing. See, Don Daniel McMillian, *Images of America: Huntington* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2003) 123.

American wars as opposed to a strictly solemn affair for Civil War veterans. Monuments were removed, and fundraising ventures were no longer successful enough to build new ones. Huntington residents seemed to lose focus on the Civil War. With the cessation of activities and public demonstrations of commemoration, the Civil War receded from public discussion. True, such sentiments remained with older residents and were to some degree passed down through subsequent generations.⁷⁴ These sentiments took on an increasingly antiquated look relevant only for history books and old soldiers tales. When people discussed the war, they were often quick to point out the conflict on both sides, and diplomatically argue that the meaning of the war was not up to the author to decide.⁷⁵

Union and Confederate veterans had spent a large amount of time between the 1870s and the 1890s working toward improving Huntington. Economic prosperity had overcome the sectional differences of the former foes allowing for a temporary truce. This lack of strong political and sectional strife had allowed the town to emerge as an important commercial and industrial center along the Ohio River. However, below the veneer of reconciliation lay the same passionate feelings that had led men off to battle back in 1861. Union and Confederate veterans had never reached out to discuss the issues or motivations behind the war, and had thus opened the way for sectional identities to continue to influence historical memory. For instance, there remains a strong Sons of

⁷⁴ Wiatt Smith, *Guyandotte Centennial Program, 1810-1910* (Huntington: Standard Printing & Publishing Co, 1910) 79-80. In a segment entitled, "Four Score Years in Guyandotte," Charlotte Temple Douthitt discusses how despite her and her husband's Unionist sympathies the Union soldiers had burned her house down after the Battle of Guyandotte. The Confederates are mentioned as having kidnapped her husband and son, but much of the focus on the war years in her recollection are fixated on the Union soldiers' decision to burn their house and how much she had lost. It feels as if such feelings had not been healed by time. The widespread use of this program for the Guyandotte centennial can be seen as an attempt to focus the issue of the Battle of Guyandotte on the subsequent burning of the town.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 26, 79-80.

Confederate Veterans presence in Huntington in 2016.⁷⁶ Their continued devotion to the creed of their ancestors is a by-product of these veterans' lack of open communication between the two groups. Regardless of their shared economic background, their shared valor on the battlefield, and their shared familial connections, the veterans' groups in Huntington were never able to fully reconcile and remained as divided as they had been at the beginning of the Civil War.

⁷⁶ The Robert S. Garnett SCV Camp #1470 operates in the Huntington/Charleston Metro Region. Ernest Blevins, "Sons of Confederate Veterans honor history," *Charleston Daily Mail*, August 3, 2015. Robert S. Garnett Camp SCV Camp 1470, "Robert S. Garnet Camp SCV Camp 1470 Facebook Page," <https://www.facebook.com/RobertSGarnettSCV1470/>, accessed January 15, 2017.

CONCLUSION

As veterans passed away, it fell to subsequent generations to pass along memories and meanings of the Civil War. Some burned with inherited passion and continued the legacy of social organizations, through groups such as the Sons of Union Veterans, the Sons of Confederate Veterans, and the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Others may have merely reminded their children of their grandfathers' service upon passing a solitary stone soldier along the sidewalk. Veterans had left their marks upon the landscape of Huntington and Cabell County. Their monuments towered over public places, their graves clustered in special lots in several cemeteries, and their stories still occasionally appeared in the local newspaper.¹ David Blight has argued that the continued national memory of the war was forged amidst a shared experience in wartime mixed with white supremacist sentiment.² Cabell County followed a similar path. But veterans in West Virginia, and Cabell County in particular, also shared a common bond in experiencing the quick and sudden rush of industrialism in the area. This rapid industrialism often bound former enemies together in the mutually beneficial economic opportunities that came with the railroads and burgeoning industry. However, the underlying differences that had led the two sides to fight one another for four years did not vanish with economic prosperity.

When the Civil War started, sectional animosity permeated every aspect of daily life in western Virginia. Ideology suppressed the sentimentality of neighbors who had lived beside one another for decades and passed along memories of bitterness and hatred. Infused with this sectionalism, soldiers and civilians changed their daily practices, purchases, and concerns. As the

¹ "'Uncle Billy' Miller, 90 Years Old, Recalls Battle of Mud River," Miscellaneous Civil War Materials, Rosanna Blake Library, James E. Morrow Library, Marshall University, Huntington, WV.

² David Blight, *Race and Reunion*.

war concluded, these feelings retreated from their dominating position in the lives of West Virginians. As economic issues grew in importance, the legacy of sectional animosity retreated from public political discussion. While these feelings lost ground in public discourse, they smoldered within the memories of those who had lived through it. The Civil War continued on at the local level, buoyed by former soldiers who feared that their legacy might be forgotten.

Before and throughout the Civil War, Cabell County was rocked by severe dissension between pro-Northern and pro-Southern supporters. The area had been richly developed and served as an intersection between the industries of the North and the commercial agriculture characteristic of the South. As tensions grew stronger and war loomed on the horizon, Cabell Countians split over how to handle these profound political and sectional animosities. During the first year of the war attacks by both sides further destabilized the region and left bitter memories of war atrocities. Throughout the war years, pro-Union and pro-Confederate civilians continued to live next to one another. After the war ended, these sentiments still lingered and many Union and Confederate soldiers returned to an embittered county, the culmination of both sides' relentless denunciations, attacks, and reprisals. The early years of Reconstruction mirrored the climate in the state's capital as victorious Unionists angered by years of war sought to punish their Confederate neighbors. In Cabell County, ex-Confederates' attempts to reenter society were met with obstruction. As time passed, however, a growing reconciliationist movement began to develop among Unionists. These conciliatory Unionists saw the development of the Radical Republican policy of enfranchisement and civil liberties for African Americans as abhorrent. They abandoned the liberal policies of Radical Republicans and sided with former Confederates to maintain a strict racial hierarchy within the region. By 1872, West Virginia Democrats with

their ex-Confederate allies had achieved dominance in the state and many in Cabell County welcomed it.

How the legacy of the Civil War continued to be remembered and shaped beyond the 1920s remains undiscovered. The dynamic shifts that had occurred in the late 19th and early 20th century had a profound impact on the development of the region. How further political, social, and economic effects played out on the region may have significantly altered the way Cabell Countians and other West Virginians perceived the Civil War and its meaning and legacy. The passing of the veterans left their work to their children, and how much they continued to shape this public memory is unclear. Veterans had taken an active role on the local level to influence their communities' perceptions of the war. Their effects were hampered and delayed by the rush of industrialism in the area, but their message remained long after the region had changed. It remains to other historians to provide a more comprehensive breakdown of sectional differences between state and local politics throughout the rest of the state. Such a study might show the severity or pointless effect of industrialism on the shaping of a public memory of the Civil War in local communities.

There remains another aspect to be analyzed by future historians. As the town of Huntington grew and more jobs became available, the town attracted a sizeable African-American population. In his in-depth and thorough dissertation, Cicero Fain analyzes the black community that developed in the town.³ Although Fain does a wonderful job of explaining the narrative of African-Americans in the town, there is missing some critical development on the

³ Cicero Fain, III, "Race, River and the Railroad: Black Huntington, West Virginia, 1871-1929" (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 2009).

influence of sectionalism upon white West Virginians and their relationship with black West Virginians. For instance, how much influence did emancipation play out in stories retelling the significance of the war? Did African Americans help to shape that memory, and how much of a relationship did they have with the Unionist G.A.R. in the region? The evidence of these relationships may no longer exist, but this was a critical element of the Union legacy of the war and the effect it had on West Virginians is important. A telling example of this relationship is the curious case of Jack Washington. Jack Washington was listed in the United Confederate Veterans roster as belonging to the Quartermaster Division of the 36th Virginia Cavalry Battalion [a.k.a. Sweeney's Battalion] but was also given the solitary distinction: "col.," colored.⁴ Jack Washington was afforded a place on the U.C.V.'s roster and was given donations for burdens he suffered after the war. There is no mention of any Jack Washington fighting in a Virginia regiment during the Civil War, so what relationship did he have with the men of U.C.V. Camp Garnett? How much did this relationship affect the message of the Lost Cause in Huntington or shape the emancipationist element of the Unionist legacy? Jack Washington has his own tombstone placed in the Confederate lot in Spring Hill Cemetery only a few feet from the grave of Albert Jenkins. [Picture 4.1]

The issue of industrialism in West Virginia has received a lot of attention from notable historians such as Ronald Eller, Ronald Lewis, Jerry Bruce Thomas, and Ken-Fones Wolf, but how has it developed amidst the lingering sectional tensions in the state? A new focus should seek to create local studies demonstrating the changes occurring in areas severely impacted by extractive industries in the state and how they internalized their memories and meaning of the

⁴ Dickinson and Meadows, *A History of Camp Garnett*.

Civil War. Did they have the opposite effect of veterans in Cabell County where lingering tensions of the war continued many years after the war, and only with the development of coal, timber, and oil industries slowly lose their ability to shape a large public memory of the war? What effects might this have had on a reconciliationist movement between the two former adversaries?

This thesis demonstrates the conflicting and inter-related dynamics between the societal and economic forces at play in the development of Civil War memory. Although the promise of economic prosperity under industrialization served to mitigate more overt tension between the two groups, it was unable to reconcile the two conflicting sides that tore the nation apart. It demonstrates that the cultural forces surrounding Civil War memory developed into a whole new battlefield for Americans to fight over for decades to come. Within Huntington, West Virginia, the determination to pass along a definitive legacy of the Civil War was the driving force for both veterans groups. Yet, because there never materialized a definitive legacy of the war, Huntington remained a conflicted city with two memories of the war. Two legacies that are embodied by the silent stone monuments that continue to wage the war that their creators had never stopped fighting.



Picture 4.1 Photograph of the Grave of Jack Washington: The grave of Jack Washington located in the Confederate lot of the Spring Hill Cemetery in Huntington, WV. An unknown figure in the U.C.V. Camp Garnett, there is very little mention of him in the records of the organization. There is a mention of a monetary donation from the organization to him to help with his needs, and a roster that includes his name followed by the abbreviation: “col.” This photo courtesy of Seth Nichols. “Jack Washington Tombstone © 2016 Seth Nichols”

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APPENDIX A: OFFICE OF RESEARCH INTEGRITY APPROVAL LETTER



Office of Research Integrity

March 2, 2017

Seth Adam Nichols
2285 Saunders Creek Road
Milton, WV 25541

Dear Mr. Nichols:

This letter is in response to the submitted thesis abstract entitled "*Let us bury and forget*": *Civil War Memory and Identity in Cabell County, West Virginia, 1865-1915*. After assessing the abstract it has been deemed not to be human subject research and therefore exempt from oversight of the Marshall University Institutional Review Board (IRB). The Code of Federal Regulations (45CFR46) has set forth the criteria utilized in making this determination. Since the information in this study does not involve human subjects as defined in the above referenced instruction it is not considered human subject research. If there are any changes to the abstract you provided then you would need to resubmit that information to the Office of Research Integrity for review and a determination.

I appreciate your willingness to submit the abstract for determination. Please feel free to contact the Office of Research Integrity if you have any questions regarding future protocols that may require IRB review.

Sincerely,

Bruce F. Day, ThD, CIP
Director

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