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"I Rode Six Miles to Zion": The Experiences of a Circuit Rider in Virginia

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"I RODE SIX MILES TO ZION":
THE EXPERIENCES OF A CIRCUIT RIDER
IN VIRGINIA

A Thesis

Presented to
The Faculty of the Department of History
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirement for the Degree of
Master of Arts

by
Joseph G. Servis
1996

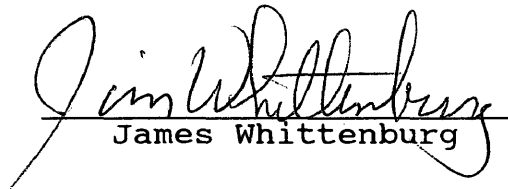
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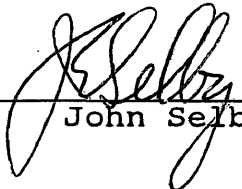
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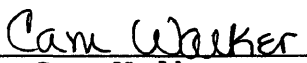
Master of Arts


Author

Approved, May 1996


James Whittenburg


John Selby


Cam Walker

For my wife, Cheryl.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | Page |
|-------------------------|-------------|
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS | v |
| ABSTRACT | vi |
| INTRODUCTION | 2 |
| PROLOGUE | 5 |
| DIARY | 34 |
| EPILOGUE | 87 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | 94 |

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to describe the experience of civilians in Central Virginia during the American Civil War. The work is a biography of the Rev. Mr. Blassengame Harvey Johnson, and contains an edited diary he kept from October of 1862 until September of 1863.

The first part of the biography follows Johnson through his childhood, young adulthood, and early years as a circuit riding Methodist minister. This part of the biography sets the background for the diary and describes the landscape and society in which Johnson lived.

The diary itself describes Johnson's experiences in his own words. Occasionally the diary is interrupted with editorial comments which serve to further define and illuminate specific incidents.

The final section of the biography follows Johnson's life after the war through his death in 1872. Since Johnson was a Methodist circuit rider particular attention is given to religion and society throughout the work. In the diary the primitive conditions Virginians were reduced to during the war are revealed, as well as the manner in which they were able to preserve their beliefs and culture. Although the work is based on the experiences of Johnson, it is primarily a social history of Central Virginia during the war.

**"I RODE SIX MILES TO ZION:"
THE EXPERIENCES OF A CIRCUIT RIDER
IN VIRGINIA**

INTRODUCTION

"I rode six miles to Zion...", is a phrase taken out of context, but one that gives insight into the man who wrote the diaries from which this work is drawn. This story is about Virginia during the mid-nineteenth century, as revealed through the words of one man and his family. All the family papers will be used, but this work is principally an edited version of the diary the Rev. Mr. Blassengame Harvey Johnson kept during the winter of 1862 through the fall of 1863. The Rev. Mr. Blassengame Harvey Johnson, known as B. H., was a simple man who led a quiet, unassuming yet fascinating life. As a circuit riding minister he not only traversed the frontier-like areas of Virginia but also his own spiritual wilderness. He explored and discovered himself and the people he ministered to as well. He was not a prime mover in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, or a large landowner, or even a seeker of political glory. He was, however, a witness to a critical period for both Virginia and his church.

During the 1840's the Methodist Episcopal Church split along regional lines, North and South. Less than two decades later the nation divided the same way. Many of the same

issues were behind both divisions; slavery, regional rights, limits on central authority, and the rights of the minority versus the majority. Whether the divisions ultimately stemmed from moral questions or merely from political and economic considerations was and will continue to be a matter of debate.

With the benefit of hindsight we may look back on the American Civil War and see a wide range of ethical and moral questions open to consideration and debate. As a faithful minister and southern patriot Johnson had clear and unquestioned sympathies. He tended to see his world in black and white, as did many people on both sides of the struggle. This work concerns itself with the issues of the time as seen through the eyes of Johnson and his family. Although the Johnson family was not an average southern family, as defined by Frank Owsley and other historians, they were a normal southern family. Their lifestyle may have been different from that of the majority of Virginians, but their beliefs and values were not.

From the diaries, papers, and memoirs of the various family members it is possible to gain access to their observations and opinions. Diaries from that period are not uncommon, but they tend to be the work of soldiers, politicians, or the wealthy and influential. Johnson's diaries open the door on life for a large number of people in Virginia who did not participate in the making of the political decisions that shaped history, but had to live with

the consequences of those decisions. The story of the Johnsons allows glimpses into the lives of rural whites in Virginia, but there are still several gaps. The most conspicuous of these is the near invisibility of African-Americans until after the Civil War. Both slaves and free blacks are mentioned in the various diaries, but none of the members of the family chose to reflect upon them in any detail, at least not until after the war was over. Since the majority of the Rev. Johnson's observations on African-Americans are in the diary he kept in 1868 and 1869, most of his opinions are not addressed here.

Most of the family's contact with African-Americans was with other people's slaves. Johnson owned slaves but did not keep them in his household; he hired them out. None of the family's slaves left behind any reminiscences that have been discovered yet, so little is known about them. It is not until after the war Johnson began to write about African-Americans, the freed men and women. Though somewhat more enlightened than his neighbors, he still usually compared the actions of African-Americans unfavorably to what he considered their more appropriate behavior during and before the war. There are other gaps in the diary, but they generally concern people and events that Johnson considered to be too routine or mundane to record, and are more understandable.

PROLOGUE

CENTRAL VIRGINIA BEFORE THE WAR

Central Virginia in the nineteenth century was a land of fields and rolling hills, crisscrossed with small rivers and creeks. Much of the land had been cleared for tobacco and corn; however, large patches of trees and scrub still stretched across the countryside. Situated between the Tidewater and the mountains, the region drew its features and its society from both of those areas. Central Virginia had its share of plantations owned by wealthy families and worked by overseers and slaves, but it also had hundreds of small farms worked by the families that owned them. The larger towns, Lynchburg, Farmville, and Danville among others, were generally on the rivers and featured tobacco warehouses among their more prominent buildings. Most of the people from the countryside lived and worked on farms, but the occasional craftsman's shop, store, or parsonage was scattered here and there.

The area was in many ways still a frontier, or at the

very least ungroomed, undeveloped back country. Transportation was slow, roads few and poorly maintained, and the land sparsely settled. Considerable stretches of what could only be called untamed wilderness still existed. The towns and smaller settlements were widely scattered, hence the need for circuit riding ministers as well as circuit riding courts of law. New counties were still being carved out of older larger ones, right up until the last quarter of the century, as population continued to grow, both through settlement as well as natural increase.

Politically Central Virginia tended to follow the Tidewater. The two regions shared an economy based on agriculture and much of the best acreage was controlled by wealthy landholders from east of Richmond. The same families who controlled eastern Virginia had been among the first to buy land in the West. They needed the new land to replace their original over cultivated and worn out holdings. Although extremely influential, the "first families," usually only owned the land and lived elsewhere. As a result they relied on overseers and other agents to manage their holding and produce profit for them.

Most of the people actually living in Central Virginia were not descendants of the Tidewater aristocrats. They were a mixture of people with English, Irish, and Scotch roots living alongside a substantial population of slaves of African heritage. The Native Americans, mostly a tribe known as the

Monacans, had disappeared into the hills and woods, dying off or marrying into the waves of immigrants. The survivors kept their Indian roots secret in an attempt to maintain a toehold on their land. Only recently in this century have they begun to re-emerge and reassert their heritage. In the realm of spirituality the population was Protestant, principally Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian. However, the majority of people claimed no religious affiliation at all.¹ In short Central Virginia was a typical southern American region.

Blassengame Harvey Johnson was born in Charlotte County Virginia on March 20, 1811. Blassengame, or B. H., was a second generation Virginian; his grandfather, John Johnson had emigrated from Ireland in the mid-eighteenth century and settled where the land and opportunities were available, west of the fall line. Little is known about John Johnson. He settled in either Charlotte or Prince Edward County, was married, and had at least two daughters, and one son, Thomas.² Thomas Johnson, B. H.'s father, gained his foothold in life as an overseer for a member of the Randolph family. On January 27, 1792, Thomas Johnson married Elizabeth Paulette. The service was performed by a Presbyterian minister, the Rev. Mr.

¹ Dickson D. Bruce Jr., And They All Sang Hallelujah; Plain-Folk Camp-Meetings Religion, 1800-1845, (Knoxville, Tennessee : University of Tennessee Press, 1974), 4.

² Spottswood Harvey Johnson, The Partial Autobiography and Memoirs of Spottswood Harvey Johnson, from the family papers of Royce E. Charlton Jr., Dilwyn, Virginia, 1.

William Mahone.³ B. H.'s mother, Elizabeth Paulette Johnson, known as Betsie to her friends and family, and her husband had very similar backgrounds. Both she and her husband had grown up on the Prince Edward-Charlotte County line near the village of Merriman's Shop now known as Pamplin City.⁴

Thomas and Betsie prospered through their association with the Randolphs. The Randolph for whom Thomas worked, was an absentee land holder and may have employed a number of overseers. It seems likely that the Mr. Randolph in question was related to the famous Randolphs of Virginia, who had invested heavily in land in the region around the headwaters of the Appomattox River.⁵ Relationships between the Johnsons and the Randolphs seem to have been good, since Thomas and Betsie named at least one of their children, Peyton, after a member of the Randolph family.⁶

³ Catherine Lindsay, compiler, Marriage Bonds and Minister Returns of Charlotte County, Virginia, (Easley, South Carolina : Southern Historical Press, 1982), 187.

⁴ S. H. Johnson, 1-3.

⁵ Thomas Ailsworth, compiler, Charlotte County: Rich Indeed (Charlotte County Virginia : Charlotte County Board of Supervisors, 1979), 42-49.

⁶ S. H. Johnson, 1-2. *A Peyton Randolph of Chesterfield County was an absentee landholder in Prince Edward County. Since he employed several different overseers for his estates it is probable that Thomas worked for him, even though no direct record of this exists.* United States Bureau of the Census, The Third Census of the United States, 1810, Prince Edward County, (Washington D. C. : National Archives of the United States), Microcopy Number 252, Roll Number 70, 255. Fourth Census of the United States, 1820, Prince Edward County, (Washington D. C. : National Archives of the United States), Microcopy Number 33, Roll Number 131, 53.

Although it is impossible to determine when Thomas started working for the Randolphs, he was clearly an ambitious man from a very young age. In 1791, when he was only twenty two, he must have already been an overseer and a successful one at that. That year he was able to purchase three hundred and thirty acres in Campbell County. Eight years later he bought an additional ninety-five acres. By 1812 Thomas had purchased another four hundred and two acres in Campbell County; however, he did not move his growing family there until 1815. The farm, located on Swan Creek near the settlement of Pigeon Run, eventually encompassed eight hundred twenty-seven acres.⁷

Pigeon Run took its name from the seasonal roosting of pigeons. The area was a haven for local hunters who flocked there during the fall to take advantage of the hunting grounds.⁸ About fifteen miles south of Lynchburg, Pigeon Run was just outside the first true foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains, which dominated the western skyline. To the north of Pigeon Run was a lone hill, Long Mountain, and around it in all directions were tobacco fields and forests. Like most Virginia planters tobacco Thomas Johnson made tobacco his principal cash crop but not his sole pursuit. He also raised cattle, sheep, pigs, and various crops to feed his family and

⁷ R. H. Early, Campbell Chronicles and Family Sketches Embracing the History of Campbell County Virginia, 1782-1927, (Lynchburg, Virginia : J. P. Bell Company, 1927), 16-17.

⁸ Ibid.

stock.⁹

At least three of Thomas' sons followed in his footsteps turning to working the land. Even B. H. was something of a farmer, at least at heart. Although called to the ministry he remained interested in agriculture, commenting on the subject knowledgeably throughout his life. He frequently discussed it with his many neighbors, and his brother Albert consulted with him from time to time.¹⁰ On several different occasions B. H. even attempted to purchase a farm, obviously looking for financial security. He evidently still felt the call to work the land.¹¹

B. H. had grown up working with his brothers in the field where he learned a skill common among southern land owners, how to manage slaves. Thomas Johnson owned thirty-one slaves in 1830, and twenty-five at the time of his death.¹² Of those twenty-five, thirteen were children. Among those was one

⁹ Clerk of the Circuit Court's Office, Campbell County, Virginia, Will of Thomas Johnson, Campbell County Will Book Number 12, 425-426.

¹⁰ B. H. Johnson, Diary 1868-1869, from the family papers of Royce E. Charlton Jr., Dilwyn, Virginia, see entries on April 16 and May 1, 1868.

¹¹ B. H. Johnson, Diary 1862-1863, from the family papers of Royce E. Charlton Jr., Dilwyn, Virginia, see entries on March 4 and April 10, 1863.

¹² United States Bureau of the Census, Fifth Census of the United States, 1830, Population Schedules for Prince Edward County, (Washington D. C. : National Archives of the United States), Microcopy Number 9, Roll Number 194, 371. Will of Thomas Johnson, Will Book 12, 425.

named Julia, who was "diseased" and unable to work.¹³ By the standards of the day Thomas was a successful man with a sizable farm and considerable investment in human property. At the time of his death in 1840 his personal property alone was valued at \$10,734.12. Some of this property was sold to cover his debts, the rest was left to his children. Betsie was allowed to retain control of the land, tools, and as many slaves as she would need to work the farm working. After her death the farm and other holdings were to be divided equally among the surviving children. Even after all these arrangements, Thomas was able to leave each of his children an inheritance valued at \$742 at the time of his death.¹⁴

B. H.'s share of the inheritance consisted of one feather bed and accompanying furniture, a slave named Louisa, who was valued at \$575, and \$248.50 in cash. Because he inherited \$81.45 over his fair share he was directed to pay his brother Peyton \$32.20 and another brother, Robert, \$49.25 to balance things out.¹⁵ The true significance of the inheritance went beyond its mere dollar value. As a slave owner, B. H. suddenly had a vested interest in a debate that was raging across the whole country, in both secular and religious circles.

Religion more than any other force became the center of

¹³ Will of Thomas Johnson, Will Book 12, 425.

¹⁴ Ibid., 429.

¹⁵ Ibid., 430.

B. H.'s life. Although his parents had little or no interest in religion, B. H. developed a curiosity about it early in life. In the vicinity of Pigeon Run there were several churches. The first one founded in the area was Molly's Creek Church, which was probably within a few minutes walk of B. H.'s home. The meeting house, used by both Methodists and Baptists, was probably where B. H. received his first exposure to religion. In 1830 a wind storm destroyed the building, but it was quickly replaced by several new churches. Instead of sharing space again, the Baptists, Methodists, and Episcopalians each constructed their own buildings.¹⁶ After completing a "study of disputed doctrine" of several different denominations, B. H. began attending Wesleybury Methodist Church in November of 1830 at the age of nineteen.¹⁷ On December 22, 1832, two years later, he converted and began his journey toward becoming a minister.¹⁸

While working on his father's farm, B. H. attended one of the semi-private "academies" that were widespread in Virginia during the nineteenth century. He may have attended the nearby school founded by a Dr. Moorman. Presumably Dr. Moorman was a minister who taught school to supplement his

¹⁶ Early, 120-122.

¹⁷ Campbell County Bicentennial Committee, Methodism Comes to Campbell County; A Great Harvest of Souls, (Campbell County, Virginia : Campbell County Bicentennial Committee, 1976), 103.

¹⁸ B. H. Johnson, Diary 1862-1863, see entry on December 22, 1863.

income.¹⁹ B. H. received a basic education, learning to read, write, and "cipher"- to do basic mathematics that is. He must have been a diligent student because his diaries reveal an excellent grasp of grammar and the use of uniform spelling.

Perhaps due to competition from his brothers as to who would take over the farm, B. H. began to pursue careers outside of farming. His first profession was that of school teacher. He taught the basic lessons of reading, writing, and mathematics to his students, but excluded grammar. His school was in the eastern most part of Campbell County, in an area that would eventually become part of Appomattox County.²⁰ While teaching he also attended class meetings at Wesleybury Church, delving deeper into the religious teachings of Methodism. The first step for B. H. was to become a class leader, a position of leadership for laity at the local level.²¹ Eventually he felt the call to the ministry and at the age of twenty-seven B. H. was received into the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church on February 28, 1838.²²

As a probationary minister he was sent to his appointed

¹⁹ Early, 121.

²⁰ S. H. Johnson, 2.

²¹ Dickson D. Bruce, Jr., And They All Sang Hallelujah; Plain-Folk Camp-Meetings Religion, 1800-1845, (Knoxville, Tennessee : University of Tennessee Press, 1974), 49.

²² B. H. Johnson, Diary 1868-1869, see entry on February 28, 1868. Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, 1872, (Richmond, Virginia : Christian Advocate Office, 1872), 42.

circuit with an older more experienced minister to serve a type of apprenticeship. B. H.'s first station was at Greenville with the Rev. Mr. R. G. Bess.²³ This would be the first experience he would have doing the work that would consume him for the next thirty-four years. The life of a circuit rider agreed with him in the early years. His health was good and his devotion to his faith strong. At the time B. H. started preaching he was described as being five feet six inches tall "in his sock-feet," and strong and active. He had a florid complexion, high forehead, and fine, thin hair that curled at the end when it grew long.²⁴ He also had one unusual feature that led to some jokes: his "topaz nose," which was large, red, and "roman in shape." By all accounts he was a deeply and sincerely pious man with an open and friendly manner.²⁵

Physically, mentally, and spiritually ready for the task he had chosen, B. H. spent the next few years traveling from circuit to circuit. From Greenville he went to Petersburg, and from Petersburg to Murfreesboro in North Carolina. During those years he was admitted as a full member of the ministry

²³ Minutes of the Annual Conferences of Methodist Episcopal Church, 1839-1849, (New York : T. Mason and G. Lane, 1850), 528.

²⁴ S. H. Johnson, 3.

²⁵ Drewry, D. H., The Story of a Church; A History of the Washington Street Church, Methodist Episcopal Church South at Petersburg 1773-1923, (Petersburg, Virginia : Plummer Printing Company, Inc., 1923), 158.

and in 1840 became a deacon at a ceremony held in Farmville.²⁶

In the following year another dramatic change took place in his life; he took his first wife. Her name was Maria Evelyn Cousins, she was from Amelia County and she was the first of three wives B. H. would have.²⁷ Throughout his life B. H. was a meticulous record keeper and very much concerned about financial security.²⁸ That may have been one of the reasons why he waited to marry until he was thirty. At that time he may have felt he could support a family with his inheritance supplementing his salary. On the other hand, however, it is just as likely he was simply waiting for the right person.

Maria accompanied B. H. on his circuit from Murfreesboro to Bedford, which included part of Campbell County.²⁹ This brought B. H. close to his home and his widowed mother. B. H. and Maria had moved to Bedford County by November of 1843 and were there when their first child, Elizabeth Ann, was born. Their second child, Thomas Emmory, followed two years later. The early joys of a new family turned to tragedy that same year. Elizabeth Ann, only one year and ten months old, died in September 1845. Thomas Emmory followed a few months later

²⁶ Minutes 1839-1849, 34.

²⁷ Johnson family Bible, from the family papers of Royce E. Charlton Jr., Dilwyn, Virginia.

²⁸ B. H. Johnson, Diary 1862-1863, see entries on November 15 and 16, December 30, 1862, et al.

²⁹ Minutes 1839-1849, 36.

on the first day of May, 1846. Maria passed away the same year of "Consumption", or tuberculosis. Once again the Rev. Mr. Blassengame H. Johnson was alone.³⁰

As his personal life was falling into disarray, so was the church he served. In 1844 the Methodist Episcopal Church split. The controversy over slavery was the principal cause.³¹ At the time of the founding of the Methodist church in America the morality of owning slaves had been questioned. John Wesley, the founder of the church, was a fervent opponent of slavery, and initially so was his church. In the interest of converting slave owners, the church began to soften its stand on the question. It allowed slave holders to join and remain active members, so long as they were not in the business of slave trading. For a while after that ruling the church still tried to exert its influence on slave owners to emancipate their human property. Eventually, however, the gradual loosening of the rules on slave holders led to a complete reversal of the original policies.³²

The policy reversal was spearheaded by influential members of the church from the South who saw opportunities to increase the membership, wealth and influence of the Methodists by actively courting wealthy slave holders. It

³⁰ S. H. Johnson, 3., Johnson Family Bible.

³¹ Hunter Dickinson Farish, The Circuit Rider Dismounts; A Social History of Southern Methodism, 1865-1900, (Richmond, Virginia : The Dietz Press, 1938), 12.

³² Ibid., 2-12.

became acceptable for lay members to hold and even buy and sell slaves. The next step came when ministers, like B. H., were no longer questioned as to whether they owned slaves. In the South a Methodist slave owner became the rule rather than the exception. Things had truly turned full circle when some conferences of the church began prohibiting men who were abolitionists from joining the ministry during the late 1830's.³³ The Methodists had jumped over the fence on the slave question and landed firmly on the other side.³⁴ The Methodist church went from being a church of abolitionists to the church of slave holders.³⁵

It is not surprising that the arguments used by southern church leaders to justify their moral position were very similar to those used by southern politicians. Just as southern politicians advocated state's rights and strict constitutional interpretation, southern church leaders advocated literal interpretations of the Bible. They argued that the Bible not only fails to condemn slavery as a moral wrong, but in fact condones it and sets up guidelines for

³³ John Nelson Norwood, The Schism in the Methodist Church, 1844: A Study of Slavery and Ecclesiastical Politics, (Philadelphia : Porcupine Press, 1976), 39-57. Frederick Abbott Norwood, The Story of American Methodism: A History of the United Methodists and Their Relations, (Nashville, Tennessee : Abingdon Press, 1974), 185-196.

³⁴ William Warren Sweet, Virginia Methodism; A History, (Richmond, Virginia : Whittet & Shepperson, 1955), 188-226.

³⁵ Bruce, 57-58.

being a good Christian master.³⁶ Such interpretations of the Bible reinforced the pro-slavery arguments of George Fitzhugh and others, who stressed the supposed economic and social benefits of slavery.³⁷ The rift in the Methodist church grew when the number of abolitionist and "free soil" Methodists began growing in the north. They resented the virtual "gag rule" that prohibited them from joining the Methodist ministry.³⁸ In what became the classic model for North-South splits, the two sides became entrenched in their positions to the point that discussion was no longer possible and division was the only course either side could or would agree upon.

Although quite similar to the later national split, the break-up of the church differed in one significant way from that of the nation. Initially both sides of the Methodist Church agreed that the break would be mutually beneficial. When the two sides sat down and developed a plan for separation, it was partially masked, or at least justified, as a necessary step to eliminate problems in administering such a large organization. At first this course of action was acceptable to both sides. The Methodist Episcopal Church was now the northern branch, and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South was the southern. Trouble began almost immediately,

³⁶ Sweet, 201-204.

³⁷ Avery O. Craven, The Growth of Southern Nationalism, 1848-1861, (Baton Rouge, Louisiana : Louisiana State University Press : 1973), 260-264.

³⁸ Sweet, 205-211.

however, with the "Border War" that erupted between the two denominations. Within months of the separation the two sides began to colonize one another. They did so by establishing new parishes within the other's boundary in an attempt to spread their version of Methodism.³⁹ The ownership of church buildings and other property was disputed as the border of one side's territory blurred into the other's. Often two different ministers, one northern the other southern, would compete for congregations, even going so far as to hold public debates to win supporters.⁴⁰

The rivalry escalated and led to greater bitterness, so much so that in 1848 the northern branch of Methodism brought litigation against the southern church. The Northern Methodists based the suit on the grounds that the plan for separation had been a farce and all property and assets of the Methodist Episcopal Church still belonged to the them. They contended that the Methodist Episcopal Church, South had been founded by schismatics, and therefore the new church was a separate entity altogether. The northern leaders even contended that the southern church had never been a part of the original organization. In their opinion all property of the old Methodist Episcopal Church located in the southern states was rightfully their's. The suit was eventually

³⁹ Sweet, 247-250.

⁴⁰ Wilson Lee Spottswood, Brief Annals, (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania : Publishing Department, Methodist Episcopal Book Room, 1888), 68-70, 82-96.

unsuccessful, but it drove the wedge of division even deeper.⁴¹

Of course, this religious conflict did not exist in a vacuum. The various Baptist congregations also split along North-South lines and serious rifts developed in the Presbyterian and Episcopal churches as well. The problems facing the four largest Protestant denominations were symptomatic of a larger issue dividing the nation as a whole. Spiritually and politically the United State was truly a house divided. Virginia itself was a microcosm of the same problem, except the division ran between the east and west, not north and south. Virginia, which comprised what is now Virginia and the state of West Virginia, was already two different states in the minds of some of the people living there, even before the official split in 1863. The divisions ran deep, deeper than the slave controversy, which was simply salt on an old wound. Certainly many of the Virginians who opposed slavery were from the western portion of the state but other issues, such as education and internal improvements, also contributed to the division.⁴² Mostly the people living in the mountains believed they were being victimized by the "Tidewater

⁴¹ Farish, 15-17.

⁴² Charles S. Sydnor, The Development of Southern Sectionalism; 1819-1848, (Baton Rouge, Louisiana : Louisiana State University Press, 1968), 228-229, 62-63, 83-86.

Geniuses" who had gerrymandered the state to maintain control.⁴³

The east-west rivalry grew as the population in the mountainous part of the state increased. By the mid-nineteenth century the populations were nearly equal, yet those people living east of the mountains still had a controlling majority in Richmond. Even the site of the capital was an issue. The people of western Virginia maintained that Richmond was too far away from them to be an effective center of government. Representatives from the west had to travel too far, and they believed their voice was too faint from such a distance. Central Virginia was caught between the two politically as well as geographically. The people of the Piedmont, the area west of the fall line and east of the mountains, traditionally voted with the Tidewater's population, but there were pockets of voters who sided with the mountaineers.⁴⁴

Although living near the foothills of the mountains, B. H. and his family were tobacco growers. Their interests clearly fell with the planters of the east. B. H. may have been somewhat sympathetic to the position of the mountaineers since he traveled there on church business several times and

⁴³ Virginius Dabney, Virginia: The New Dominion, (Charlottesville, Virginia : University Press of Virginia, 1989) 211-223.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

even invested in land there.⁴⁵ Whatever understanding he may have had, however, made little difference. His heart and his vote belonged to old Virginia.

During the political and religious upheavals of the time B. H. remained faithful to his duties. He traveled his circuit and attended the Virginia Conference meetings but was not a noted leader in any area. His duties took him very nearly the length of the state. He was assigned in circuits that ranged from Norfolk to the Shenandoah Valley and almost every point in between.⁴⁶ As a circuit rider B. H. was responsible for the spiritual and financial maintenance of the congregations under his care. His duties required him to visit each of the churches in his circuit regularly and to give spiritual guidance to the members through his sermons. Additionally, he was supposed to arrange for the class leaders in each church to perform religious services when he could not be present. Outside of his purely religious duties B. H. was also responsible for collecting money for the church and overseeing the distribution of funds for each congregation.

On January 11, 1854, seven years after the death of his first wife, B. H. married a second time. His second wife was Mary Virginia Wingfield from Hanover County. Mary Virginia was a young, "very pretty, very modest, and deeply pious"

⁴⁵ Will of B. H. Johnson, from the family papers of Royce E. Charlton, Dilwyn, Virginia.

⁴⁶ Minutes 1846, 20. Minutes 1848, 177.

woman with dark hair and a long face.⁴⁷ She had converted to Methodism at age twelve and had a deeply held affection for her church, an affection that probably helped overcome the difficulties involved in marrying a man nineteen years her senior.⁴⁸ Although B. H. was still stationed at Scottsville, the couple used Marl Ridge, the seat of the Wingfield family, as their home.

Marl Ridge in Hanover County was an old house even when Mary Virginia was born. Although its exact date of construction is unknown, it had been built by the early eighteenth century if not earlier. It was a story and a half high with a steep roof without dormers and white clapboard walls that concealed brick nogging.⁴⁹ B. H. briefly found tranquil family life, for a second time, at Marl Ridge. Once again, however, it was soon disrupted. On October 18 of that same year Mary Virginia gave birth to a son only to die nine days later of "congestive fever", a type of septic poisoning that sometimes occurs as a result of childbirth.⁵⁰ She lived long enough to give her son a name, Spottswood Harvey, and

⁴⁷ S. H. Johnson, 3.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 6.

⁴⁹ Hanover County Historical Society, editors, Old Homes of Hanover County, (Hanover, Virginia : Hanover County Historical Society, 1983), 89-90.

⁵⁰ S. H. Johnson, 6.

expressed her wish that he join the ministry.⁵¹

B. H. must have felt he was reliving the events that had taken place seven years before. Not only was his wife dead, but his son Harvey was not expected to survive. B. H. may have petitioned the General Conference to station him near Hanover because he was assigned to Fredericksburg the next year.⁵² Harvey's health remained poor, and at the age of two he fell seriously ill and was given up as hopeless by the attending doctor. Upon hearing this news, B. H. retired to a room at Marl Ridge and prayed that if his son were allowed to live, he would dedicate him to the ministry. B. H. had his faith validated, his son recovered and made a slow climb toward good health.⁵³

Without a doubt B. H.'s faith and devotion to the Methodist Church were his principal motivations through his life. Certainly they helped him through the many difficult times he faced. As sincerely and deeply pious as he was, he still played an active role in the society around him. He was very much involved in his community, giving of his time and his money. Unlike most Virginians, however, his community was not just one county, but the whole state. Whatever he was involved in, his family, his finances, or his politics, he

⁵¹ John J. Lafferty, Sketches and Portraits of the Virginia Conference, (Richmond, Virginia : Christian Advocate Office, 1901), 277.

⁵² Minutes 1854, 538.

⁵³ Lafferty, 277.

interpreted it through his religion. Few aspects of his life were not touched by his profession and beliefs.

Even with his deep devotion and obvious concern for converting new members for his church, there is no evidence he placed undue pressure on Harvey to follow him into the ministry. Although going to church meetings was a central part of their family life, neither father nor son ever mentioned discussing plans for Harvey to go into the ministry. In fact Harvey only learned that his parents dedicated him to that calling after both were deceased and he was already on a course toward becoming a minister.⁵⁴ If B. H. ever hinted at his wishes concerning his son, the hints must have been too subtle for his son to notice. However, perhaps B. H. simply put his faith in God to work His own will.

In the several descriptions of B. H. that survive, there is one trait all who spoke of him mentioned, his piety. His diaries are filled with entries on his own religious devotion as well as his deep concern for the spiritual state of those around him, as well as his own personal failings. Two of his wives, and possibly all three were also deeply religious and active members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Although B. H. was never a prime mover in the politics of the church, he did attend the Annual Conferences regularly, chaired important committees, wrote reports and presented them to the members of the Conference. Although active at the

⁵⁴ S. H. Johnson, 6-8.

conference level B. H. never became a prominent leader in his church.

B. H. was always conscious of the religious preferences of the people he encountered during his travels and commented on them frequently. He was not entirely tolerant of religious views contrary to his own. He was generally friendly to all people he met, but on several occasions took great pleasure in baiting Baptists in public and debating doctrine with them whenever the opportunity presented itself.⁵⁵ His comparative study of sects before joining the Methodists made him a formidable opponent, for he was successful on several occasions in winning religious arguments, at least to his own satisfaction.

During the late 1850's divisions between the North and South widened. During the growing crisis B. H. remained faithful to the southern branch of the Methodist church and its stand on slavery. At some point he acquired two male slaves and hired them out to his nephew, Thomas Murrell in Lynchburg.⁵⁶ He probably hoped to supplement his income, which he apparently was saving to purchase land. When his mother died in 1857 her land was divided among her eight surviving children and B. H. inherited ninety-three and three-fourths acres. He sold it to his younger brother Robert who

⁵⁵ B. H. Johnson, Diary 1862-1863, see entries on August 18 and 21, 1863.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, see entry on February 4.

stayed on the "home place" to continue farming that land.⁵⁷ The \$357.93 B. H. received was undoubtedly placed in his growing fund for purchasing land of his own.⁵⁸

B. H. continued to move from circuit to circuit. Except for two years in North Carolina as the financial agent for Murfreesboro College, a Methodist institution for girls, he managed to stay within a few hours train ride of Hanover and Marl Ridge.⁵⁹ In 1860, B. H. was living in the general vicinity of Richmond, which was an interesting place to be that year. The southern states made what they hoped would be their permanent separation from the United States of America, and Richmond was the hub of the decision on the question of secession in Virginia.

Antebellum Richmond was one of the few true cities of the South. Although not as populous as Charleston or New Orleans it had a metropolitan character due to its industry. The Tredegar Iron Works on the north banks of the James River were the only iron working facilities in the South that could be compared with the industrial centers of the North.⁶⁰ B. H. was no stranger to the city, having traveled there on numerous

⁵⁷ S. H. Johnson, 2.

⁵⁸ Clerk of the Circuit Court's Office, Campbell County, Virginia, Probate records for the Estate of Thomas Johnson, Campbell County Will Book 14, 18-21.

⁵⁹ Minutes 1854, 538, Minutes 1855, 617, Minutes 1856, 690, and Minutes 1857, 769.

⁶⁰ Emmory Thomas, The Confederate Nation; 1861-1865, (New York : Harper & Row Publishers, 1979), 62.

occasions on both church and personal business.

Just before the outbreak of the Civil War B. H. was sent west to Patrick County. Perhaps it was then, or maybe on some earlier trip to the western counties of the state, that he met the Kennerly family. The Rev. Mr. Samuel Kennerly was a circuit rider like B. H., but he had retired in Augusta County by the late 1850's. The Rev. Mr. Kennerly's daughter, Susan Arabella Kennerly, developed a close relationship with B. H. and in December of 1861 she became his third wife. Susan Arabella, or Bella, was only twenty-five when she married B. H. and in some other respects very similar to his second wife Maria.⁶¹ Bella was not only considerably younger than her husband but she was also a devout Methodist from a very young age. She had some education and wrote with great passion and sincerity but occasionally used some erratic spelling and grammar.

Her childhood had been unhappy because of the death of her mother and her father's subsequent remarriage. Her stepmother was unpleasant to her and the rest of the family and brought discord to what had been a close and loving family. The death of the stepmother in 1861 and Bella's own marriage were a form of deliverance to her.⁶² Devoted to but intimidated by her older husband, she worried about their age

⁶¹ Johnson family Bible

⁶² Arabella Johnson, Bella's Little Book, from the family papers of Royce E. Charlton Jr., Dilwyn, Virginia, 1-4.

difference as well as his long absences. B. H. was affectionate to his wife but was also relieved to have someone to take care of domestic responsibilities and allow him to devote more time to his ministry. As all consuming as his passion for the ministry was, B. H. did not abandon his family. He frequently cancelled trips or returned early if his son or wife was ill. Perhaps his early losses taught him to take illness seriously. He stayed home to comfort his family when necessary but was racked with guilt for doing so, feeling he was neglecting the people in his spiritual charge.

When the war descended on Virginia, the Johnsons were caught up in it. Too old for military service as a private soldier, and not having served in the military before B. H. was not an obvious choice for the officer corps. He remained a civilian and served his county in his own way. B. H. was constantly on the move and was therefore no stranger to the fighting or the havoc the war caused. Even his family, who rarely travelled with him, witnessed the destruction firsthand.

During the first months of their marriage Bella stayed with the Wingfield family, the grandparents of Harvey.⁶³ She strove to live up to her vision of the perfect minister's wife: patient, devoted and above all, subservient. "Oh that I am worthy of him [B. H.]", she wrote, "and capable of discharging all the duties of a ministers wife... hearing Mr.

⁶³ S. H. Johnson, 12.

J's [B. H.] fine conversation, his upright [talk has] been to me consistent reminders of my own unfaithfulness."⁶⁴ Bella was devoted to B. H. and in his own way he to her, although his duties as minister took precedence. She resigned herself to this priority. "Mr. J. expected to be gone about ten days. It seems a long while, but God forbid that I should interfere with his sense of duty."⁶⁵ Having grown up as the daughter of a minister, she clearly understood what duties were required of a circuit rider's wife.

In spite of some concerns about the age difference Bella eagerly married B. H., having rejected several other offers. "I was told before our marriage that the disparity in our ages was too great," she wrote, "that we would mentally feel a want of companionship. But experience has proven this to be a grand mistake. I enjoy no other company so much as his".⁶⁶ Though troubled by his long absences, her doubts were usually internalized and centered on herself, not B. H. She wrote frequently of her deep affection for her husband and praised him for his kindness, affection and consideration.

Bella clearly felt that B. H. was a kind and sensitive husband and father. He was attentive to his family's needs and always looked for ways to provide for their security. He regretted his long absences from them but his sense of duty

⁶⁴ A. Johnson, 2.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 7.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 6.

forced him to ride his circuit faithfully. His recorded thoughts were often of his wife and family, but he wrote more often of his religious concerns. Unquestionably his devotion to his church and religious duties came first.

Within his family B. H. was the head of the household, even when not present. Although he firmly believed in his authority, he was willing to extend to his wife freedom of choice. On one occasion he felt the necessity to flee Augusta County with Harvey, fearing he would be arrested by nearby Federal soldiers. During the war the Methodist Church used its political influence to seize the property of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The leaders in the northern church even persuaded President Lincoln to allow Federal soldiers to arrest any ministers from the southern Church who were "preaching treason" by supporting the Confederacy.⁶⁷ Since B. H. fell under that category he requested that Bella leave her father and younger sisters behind and come with him. Bella declined; "it has caused me no little pain to do, for the first time, what I knew he disapproved of, though he left me free to act for myself and duties conflicting."⁶⁸ In a situation of dire necessity both were willing to forgo the traditional husband-wife hierarchy they adhered to, though both were uncomfortable in doing so. Considering the tragic

⁶⁷ E. Merton Coulter, The Confederate States of America, 1861-1865, (Baton Rouge, Louisiana : Louisiana State University Press, 1950), 524-525.

⁶⁸ A. Johnson, 9.

ending of his previous marriages B. H. was most likely inclined to be gentle and accommodating husband to Bella.

The first months of the marriage were uncomfortable for Bella at the very least. In addition to having a war going on around her she had to leave her family for the first time, move into the home of her husband's former in-laws and was then thrust into the role of mother to a young half orphaned boy. Harvey and Bella eventually developed affection for one another but initially viewed each other with reservation. In Bella's opinion "He is an interesting little boy,... He makes me blush sometimes when he calls me 'Ma' which I have not yet become accustomed."⁶⁹ Harvey's first impression of his new "Ma" were somewhat different. "The marriage took place on Dec. 10, and a few days later Father arrived at Marl Ridge with the 'new Ma'- 220 or 230 pounds of her".⁷⁰ An interesting and challenging little boy he must have been indeed, particularly for his young and inexperienced step-mother.

For two months Bella and Harvey lived at Marl Ridge, home of the Wingfield family. The house was seated on a six hundred acre farm that had, as its name implied, rich deposits of marl to help keep the land fertile.⁷¹ Joseph Spottswood Wingfield, Harvey's grandfather, was a farmer who dabbled in

⁶⁹ A. Johnson, 3.

⁷⁰ S. H. Johnson, 12.

⁷¹ Old Homes of Hanover, 89-90.

medicine. Harvey described him as being of medium height, with a slight build, stooped shoulders, and gray hair. A fairly well educated and prosperous man, he was generous in helping his son-in-law and grandson whenever they called on him. His wife, Cynthia Hudson Wingfield, was a small, nervous woman with wavy black hair.⁷² Bella felt the Wingfields were kind to her but that they were constantly scrutinizing her. For the first several weeks following the marriage she was exiled at Marl Ridge, not able to leave because of weather and with no one to talk to except her new step-son and his grandparents.⁷³

The weeks at Marl Ridge were anxious times for Bella. She felt unable to relax and act and react as she normally would have. When she was allowed to return to her father's farm, "Spring Valley", she was overjoyed. The farm was nine miles north of Waynesboro on the east side of the South River. The Rev. Mr. Samuel Kennerly, a superannuated member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South had accumulated a considerable amount of land in Augusta County, including an old resort known as "Black Rock Springs".⁷⁴ Known as "Parson" Kennerly to his neighbors, he was in good standing in the county and even held the office of magistrate despite his Unionist stand at the beginning of the war. Like many other

⁷² S. H. Johnson, 9.

⁷³ A. Johnson, 3-4.

⁷⁴ S. H. Johnson, 15.

Virginians his initial Unionism faded and evolved into deep southern patriotism as the war progressed.⁷⁵

Spring Valley would be the Johnson's home for most of the war, and it was there that B. H. would begin the most stable years of his domestic life. The world around him did not reflect this stability, of course. In the fall of 1862, as the war began to reach its full fury in Virginia, Bella and B. H. welcomed their first child into the world. His diary opens with the announcement of that event.

⁷⁵ S. H. Johnson, 12.

THE DIARY

Words in italics encased by [] are notes added by the editor, { } indicates a word crossed out by the author, === indicates where the manuscript is missing, --- indicates a passage in the manuscript that is smudged or otherwise illegible.

October 1862

Sa 18th- This morning at a quarter after midnight my wife presented me with a little daughter. Ten months ago to-day we were united in matrimony. May God enable us to raise up our dear little one in His fear. Dr. Samuel Kennerly, brother of my wife was with her. She and the babe both seem to be doing well. At night on this day bro. Kennerly brought his wife to his fathers. They were married some months since in Fluvanna c. Va.

This morning about sunrise Genl. Stuart with 1800 men crossed the Potomack river between Sheppardstown and Hancock and went into Pennsylvania and made a complete raid around McClelland's army and crossed the Potomack below Harpers Ferry same day without having any one killed.

[This raid actually took place between October 10 and 12.⁷⁶ Although B. H. did not hear of this raid until several days after it had occurred, he was in the habit of recording news of a battle on the day it actually happened rather than on the day he heard of it.]

S 19th- I preached today to a small congregation at New Hope in Augusta Co. Va. {W-----th}

⁷⁶ E. B. Long with Barbara Long, The Civil War Day by Day: 1861-1865, (New York : Da Capo Press, Inc., 1985) 277-278.

[An English traveller in Virginia during the war described a Methodist meeting house and church service as follows.

It (the church) was raised on poles of timber some two feet from the ground: a plain square old building, with two common square doors at the gable and nearest the road; a door at each corner, when one, a trifle larger, in the middle, would have answered just as well; and looked a vast deal better. But these two proved to be in accordance with Methodist custom of dividing the congregation, all the ladies entering one door, and accompanying their side of the "house", and all gentlemen the other... Unpainted seats, unpainted window frames, no two of which corresponded, unpainted beams and rafters, and unpainted desk, if the rough platform and queer construction upon it, could be called a desk. Two "ministers" seemed indispensable to perform the service, which consisted of alternate singing and praying for about six times.]⁷⁷

M 20th- My wife who had been doing well since the birth of our little daughter and with whom I have been constantly was taken ill beginning about five o'clock =====all or an ague which lai[=====]ne and was successful in breaking a high fever which greatly prostrated her. I sent for her half-brother Dr. Samuel Kennerly who paid her a visit and gave her medicines. I feel exceedingly uneasy about her.

Tu 21st- My wife still continued to have considerable fever. The Dr. again visited her.

W 22nd- I had expected to leave to-day for my circuit but was prevented by the sickness of my wife. She had less fever to-day but is very feeble.

Th 23rd- The Dr. visited my wife again to-day. She does not seem to recover her strength much. She lost considerable sleep last night by the fretfulness of the child, which brought several times for her to nurse.

Fr 24- Mrs. Crawford a nice kind lady came and took charge of our child last night that Fannie Berry (my wife's sister) might get some rest===== was less interrupted and to-day =====fever and much better. The=====ain, but less no medicine=====

Sa 25- The child (which my wife has named Lucy Virginia) was troublesome last night and the loss of rest has affected my wife so that she does not appear to be any better than

⁷⁷ Catherine Cooper Hopley, Life in the South; From the Commencement of the War By A Blockaded British Subject, Volume I., (New York : Augustus M. Kelley, 1971), 56-57.

yesterday. My 4th quarterly meeting commences to-day at Powell's Chapel. I regret much my inability to be there but I cannot with prudence leave my wife. I have written to Rev. Robt. S. Peatross to attend to the matters of the circuit and my own matters for me. O that my wife may soon recover so that I can go back to my work.

{S 26th- I preached with considerable liberty at New Hope, Augusta.}

S 26th- A rainy day, which I spent at my father in law's. My wife I hope is improving.

M 27th- Spent [the day] at Mr. K's.[Kennerly's]

Tu 28th- In the ===== my wife had a ===== succeeded by a =====My little son Harvey was taken with a high fever which continued all night and this morning I sent for Dr. Kennerly.

W 29th- My wife's fever continuing so high I sent for Dr. Kennerly who visited her, and gave her medicine. She is considerably weakened. At night we bathed her feet in warm water.

Th 30- My wife today had no fever and seems to be improving but was too feeble for me yet to leave her, and so I shall have to disappoint my congregations on next Sunday on my circuit.

Fr 31st- To-day my wife was more feeble than on yesterday in consequence of breaking of her rest by the babe during last night.

NOVEMBER

Sa 1- My wife rested well last night and to-day she is much better and sat up out of bed long enough for it to be made; which she has not been able to do for a good while, I am hopeful she will continue to make a recovery.

S 2- I preached to a tolerable congregation at New Hope, Augusta Co. Va Bro. Flinger, a preacher of the circuit living in Allegheny county sick. I returned to Mr. Kennerly's my wife continues to improve. Mrs. {Cro} Hawlans spent the day and night with my wife so as to attend to the child.

M 3rd- Spent the day at Mr. Kennerly's. The weather is beautiful. My wife appears much better this morning and sat up a part of the day, but about four o'clock PM she was taken

with a chill that lasted her for about four hours, and which was followed by a very high fever which continued with some abatement during the night prostrating her very much.

Tu 4th- My wife to-day was better being entirely free from fever, but very much debilita[ted by the] chill and fever of yesterday.

w 5th- I had ===== started to my circuit but I am not able to do so in consequence of my wife's sickness.

Th 6th- Spent the day at Mr. Kennerly's. My wife is improving. The weather is cold.

Fr 7th- Snow The weather was very cold. A few flakes of snow fell, but not enough to cover the ground at Mr. Kennerly's.

Sa 8th- I left Mr. Kennerly's this morning at about 4 o'clock accompanied by my little son. We rode about nine miles to Waynesboro and took the cars for Hanover C.H. We got there about sun-set and I shouldered my valise and saddle bags and we walked about two miles to Mr. Wingfield's, and found the family well. There was a heavy fall of snow here yesterday. Would have been, it was thought, more than a foot in depth but that it melted. The family was very much pleased at===== my wife better bu===== set up out of bed.

S 9th- Mr. Wingfield loaned me a horse and I rode some fifteen or sixteen miles and preached to a small congregation at Powell's chapel. Dined at Bro. Nicholson's and spent the night at bro. J.A. Woodward's.

M 10th- I learned this morning that on last friday week Miss Lucella daughter of bro. W. W. Garrett died and I rode some eight or ten miles and dined the deeply distressed family and spent the night at bro. Leroy Timberlake's. Miss G. was a very nice young lady and a member of the M. E. Church South.

Tu 11th- Dined at Mr. Taliaferro's & spent [the night] at Rev. R. S. Peatros'. Held the late quarterly meeting, rec'd only \$96.65 paid in and exclusive of my traveling expenses. I have not received one fourth of my claim for this year on my circuit.

W 12- I dined at Garlick Hill's and spent the night at Mr. Wingfield's. Mr. W. and my little son went to Richmond in the morning and I came to spend the night at house else Mrs. W. had been alone.

Th 13- This was a very warm day which I spent at Mr. W.'s.

Mr. W., Emma & Harvey returned from Richmond in the afternoon.

F 14th- I left Mr. Wingfield's in the morning & dined at Dr. Wortham's and spent the night at bro. Thos. Price Johnson's

Sa 15- Attended a called meeting of the stewards at Bethel for a final settlement of the assessment of the circuit. Rec'd \$33.25. The amount assessed is more than \$3000.00 !!! The amount gathered on the circuit amounts only to \$235.65. I dined at bro. Rob. S. Peatros's & spent the night at bro. Horace A. Richard's.

S 16th- Preached to a small congregation at Bethel and closed my labors on the King William circuit for this year. I fear that I have been instrumental in doing but little good, the interruptions from the invasion by the yankees & other causes have operated very much against us. Another circuit has paid but little towards giving me a support. My claim independent of travelling expenses was \$460 they increased subsequently to \$224.22 have paid me \$170.60 leaving me deficient \$294.40. I trust that God will take care of me and my family and forgive the circuit for its delinquencies. I dined at Mr. Tunstall's and spent the night at Mr. Joseph Wingfield's.

M 17th- I spent the day at Mr. Wingfield's writing letters and getting my reports ready for Conference.

Tu 18th- Got on the cars at Hanover C.H. at about noon. passed rapidly through Richmond and arrived in Petersburg about dark and found my home at bro. Joseph Venable's.

W 19- Conf. commenced its session in the Washington Street. Church Bishop Early presiding. There were a tolerable number of the brethren present. A good many have had to leave their circuit during the year on account of the yankeys.

[B. H. had been stationed at the Washington Street Methodist Church in 1840.]⁷⁸

Fr 28- Conference closed its session today at about 2 o'clock P.M. The business was conducted with great harmony & brotherly kindness. Two preachers were expelled viz. Rev. Charles A. Davis, who holds a chaplaincy in the United [States] army and for which he was expelled by decision of the Conference and Richard C. Littleton for Fraud in obtaining the signature of bro. Myrick of Dinwiddie Co. Va. to a bond under false pretenses. A large number of the preachers were constrained to leave their fields of labor during the year. And having a large portion of our Conference overrun by the

⁷⁸ Minutes 1839-1849, 43.

Abolitionists and to which we could not send preachers a great many lack nominal appointments for the ensuing year. Four of the members of the Conf. were called during the year from their labor to their reward. viz. Rev. Frank Handy, Rev. [name blank] Robertson, [name blank] Atanne & [name blank]. The Conference collections were sufficient to pay all the claims of its beneficiaries. I was appointed to the Caroline circuit which I traveled in 1842 & 1843. I left Petersburg about 4 1/2 o'clock and spent the night in Richmond at the house of Rev. Samuel Moorman's. Our next Conference will be in Richmond.

Fr 29th- I left Richmond on the Central R. Road at 2 1/4 O'clock P.M. and got off at Hanover C.H. and there I found Mr. Wingfield's boy there waiting my arrival. I spent the night at Mr. Wingfield's.

S 30th- I spent the day at Mr. Wingfield's with my child.

DECEMBER

M 1st- I remained at Mr. Wingfield's

Tu 2nd- I left Mr. Wingfield's this morning & took the cars at Hanover C.H. for Waynesboro, Augusta Co. where we arrived about 4 1/2 o'clock P.M. Here I found a horse {&} buggy & several awaiting my arrival to take me to my father-in-law's Rev. S. Kennerly's. We arrived at his house a little before 7 O'clock and I found my wife able to leave her room to come down and meet me.

W 3rd- Spent the day at Mr. Kennerly's

Th 4th- Do - [Ditto]

Fr 5- Snow To-day it clouded up and snow fell to the depth of three or four inches.

Sa 6- The day was clear and very cold. I spent the day at Mr. Kennerly's.

S 7th- A very cold day which I spent at Mr. Kennerly's.

M 8th- Another cold day. The snow has melted but very little. I packed my trunk preparatory to leaving for my circuit.

Tu 9th- This morning the weather was milder. I left Mr. Kennerly's about 8 O'clock and {and} crossed the Blue Ridge of mountains at Rockfish Gap. I found the traveling in my sulky

very rough as consequence of the stones & rocks in the roads, in other respects things went good. I spent the night at Brownsville with Dr. Buck Miller, about thirteen miles above Charlottesville. Traveled about 25 miles.

Wed 10th- Twelve months ago I was married to my present wife, who is indeed a help mate. I fed my horse in Charlottesville and spent the night twelve miles below at Bro. Campbell's, a member of the Baptist Church. Made 25 miles. The day was very pleasant over head.

Th 11th- I dined at Louisa C.H. with Dr. Smith a steward of the M.E. Church, South after riding twenty miles- rode ten miles further and spent the night at bro. George Harn's. On the rail lines two miles below Toberville depot. This was a beautiful day. This morning the Abolitionists under Genl. Burnside attempted to cross the Rappahanoak river at three points, one above, one in and another below Fredericksburg, but they were driven back with the exception of the last named place two miles below the city.

*[The Army of the Potomac under General Ambrose Burnside constructed three pontoon bridges to cross the Rappahannock. Burnside occupied Fredericksburg that evening.]*⁷⁹

Fr 12th- I rode about 15 miles and dined at Capt. Paitter's on my circuit crossing the North Anna river on Davenport's bridge and then rode six miles to Dr. George F. Swan's and spent the night. The Dr. is one of the stewards, and was converted twenty years ago last summer while I was on the Caroline Circuit. He gave me a very cordial welcome to his house.

Fight continued at Fredericksburg.

Sa 13th- This morning while I write the artillery is booming in the direction of Fredericksburg which is about twenty miles from here. O Lord drive back our enemies and give us the victory, spare the effusion of blood & save the souls of those that fall. After dinner I left Dr. Swann's and rode to bro. Dabney W. Waller's and spent the night. Bro. S. Edgar Swann and his wife came to Dr. S.'s and spent the day.

Heavy fighting at Fredericksburg. The yankeys repulsed at all parts 25,000 Their loss estimated at 10,000, ours at from 1200 to 2500 killed, wounded and missing. Genl Cobb killed.

["Battle of Fredericksburg", Federal casualties 12,653, Confederate 5,309. One Federal soldier said of it, "It was a

⁷⁹ Long, 294.

great slaughter pen... they might as well have tried to take Hell."⁸⁰ Thomas Reade Cobb, a prominent Georgia politician, was commander of Cobb's Legion from August of 1861 until November of 1862 when he was promoted to Brigadier General. He was serving in Major General Lafayette McLaw's division at Fredericksburg when he was killed.]⁸¹

S 14th- I attended my appointment at Pisgah but had no congregation. I dined at Mr. Oliver's. In the afternoon I attended my appointment at Wright's Chapel. Very few persons present. I commented on the 12 Chap. of Acts and spent the night at Rev. Luther Wright. There was heavy cannonading all day about Fredericksburg for the greater part of the day. The enemy I understand asked for permission to bury their dead which was granted.

Heavy and continuous canonading.

M 15th- I rode to bro. Hugh Chandlers in the morning and remained during the day and night. At night there was a great storm, wind and rain, and the yankeys left Fredericksburg. We know not for what point. They were awfully whipped. Their loss is estimated at from fifteen to twenty thousand ours at from 1800 to 2500.

The yankeys leave Fredericksburg after [-----] seizing it. They crossed over the Rappahanoak.

Tu 16- Spent the day and night at bro. Hugh Chandler's.

W 17- I rode to Dr. Worsham's to dinner and spent the night at Mr. J. S. Wingfield's near Hanover C.H. After having had very pleasant weather for some time past this afternoon it turned very cold and snowed some.

Th 18th- Spent the day at Mr. Wingfield's

Fr 19th- Mr. Wingfield and I walked over the farm adjoining his and which I have some idea of buying if it should be sold shortly. I rode after dinner to Rev. Robt. D. Peatross's and spent the night.

Sa 20th- A very cold day. I had an appointment at Vernon but the house is uncomfortable and my horse having had a kick which caused his knee to be much swooled I did not go to my

⁸⁰ Long, 296.

⁸¹ Mark M. Boatner III, The Civil War Dictionary, Revised edition, (New York : David McKay Company, Inc., 1988), 160.

appointment but went to bro. Wm. B. Wyatt's and spent the day & night. The weather is very cold.

S 21- I preached at St. Paul's to a small congregation. The day was very cold. I met with many of my old acquaintances they gave me a very cordial welcome to the circuit. I went to Rev. F. W. Scott's & spent the night. Got two letters from my dear wife. She and my child well. Thank God for all His goodness to me & them.

M 22nd- This is the 33rd Anniversary of my commission to God. O how small are my religious attainments compared with my privileges! Lord forgive me my unfaithfulness and guard me by thy Spirit. I dined and spent the night at bro. Levi Sturn's near Chesterfield depot. The weather was very pleasant.

Tu 23- Left bro. Sturn's after dinner and rode to Mr. Jemell's and spent the night. His wife and four daughters are members of the Church on my circuit.

W 24th- I left Mr. Jemell's in the morning & rode to bro Silas F. Broaddus' near Shiloh church, crossing the Mattapony river at the Ready Mills. I dined and spent the night at bro. Broaddus.

Th 25th- Christmas day! Twelve months ago I was with my wife at her father's in Augusta. My health was feeble. I am now enjoying good health but suffering with an eruption almost over my whole body. My wife & child are now in Augusta. How many have died since last Christmas while I still live through the mercy of God. I trust that I feel thankful to Him for His goodness and a fired determination to be a better Christian and more faithful member of Jesus Christ. I spent the day at bro. Silas F. Broaddus'.

[Before the war B. H. had apparently been in relatively good health. During the last decade of his life, however, there was a marked decline in his physical condition.]

Fr 26th- I dined at Mr. Thos. Kidd's, (whose wife and daughters (Missus Pagis) and his step Daughters are Methodists) and spent the night there.

Sat 27th- Dined and spent the night at bro. Oliver Broaddus'. It clouded up and rained some during the night.

Yankeys attack Vicksburg & are repulsed.

[General William T. Sherman attacked north of Vicksburg, minor

*skirmishing resulted.]*⁸²

S 28th- I preached at Shiloh to a tolerable congregation. There was a fine state of feeling in the Congregation and I hope that good was done. I dined at bro. Silas F. Broaddus' and spent the night at bro. Atwell Burness'. This was a very pleasant day.

Yankeys renew the attack on Vicksburg and are again repulsed.

[Continuation of the previous day's fighting.]

M 29th- I rode to bro. Hugh Chandler's to dinner and spent the night. I read a letter today from my wife and was truly pleased to learn that she was well.

Yankeys again repulsed. We took 400 prisoners & 5 stands of colors.

*["Battle of Chickasaw Bayou", Sherman attack General William Pemberton's heavily fortified position north of Vicksburg. Federal casualties, 1776 out of 31,000. Confederate losses 207 out of 14,000.]*⁸³

Tu 30th- Attended meeting of the Stewards at Wrights Chapel. Hugh Chandler, Dabney W. Waller, and Dr. Geo. F. Swann were present.

My quarterage claim as in discipline was

| | |
|-------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| for self & wife & two children | 370 00 |
| Quarterage additional on account of times | 100 00 |
| Board for 11 months | 980 00 |
| Travelling Expenses | 50 00 |
| Servants hire | 80 00 |
| Assessed | <u>\$ 1580 00</u> |

| | | |
|--------------|-----------|----------------|
| To Rehoborah | 375 | |
| " St Paul's | 375 | |
| " Weights | 375 | |
| " Shiloh | 217 | |
| " Pisgah | 168 | |
| " Vernon | <u>70</u> | <u>1580 00</u> |

This does not include the Presiding Elder claim, and the District Stewards have not had their making yet. I fear that this am't will not be raised. I am to procure board where I

⁸² Long, 301.

⁸³ Ibid., 301.

can, I have as yet made no arrangements about it. I spent the night at bro. S Edgar Swann's.

W 31st- Dined at bro. S. E. Swann's and then rode to Dr. Geo. F. Swann's and spent the night. Another year has fled and borne its account to the records of eternity and has borne its millions of souls to their dread account and through the mercy of God I yet live. O how grateful ought I to be for all His goodness towards me. O how little have I done during the past year to glorify God and save souls. Lord forgive my unfaithfulness. O how has our Country and especially Virginia suffered from the ravages of war. How has her soil been drenched in blood. How many of her sons have fallen.

Battle near Murfreesboro Tennessee Genl Bragg gains a victory over Rosecrans.

*["Battle of Murfreesboro", or "Stone's River". Federal General Rosecrans was driven back but reformed his line and held his position along the bank of the river. Both armies prepared for more fighting which came on January 2, General Bragg, the Confederate commander, withdrew after a tactical victory.]*⁸⁴

JANUARY 1863

Th Jan 1st- Thanks be to God that I am spared to see the beginning of another year. Shall I live to see it close? This question none but God can answer. Will I trust that I feel a renewed determination to serve God more faithfully the balance of my Life whither it shall close this year or extended over many to come. Lord help me. I am not feeling well this morning having taken Blue mass last night and cream of Tartar this morning for an eruption I have been suffering with for several weeks.

Fr 2nd- I observed this as a day of fasting and prayer for the Church and county it having been appointed as such by our last Conference. Dr. Swann and I rode to see sister Young she is now about 80 years of age, and very infirm. I received her into the church upwards of twenty years ago. She recognized my voice directly and before she saw me although I had not seen her for upwards of nineteen years. I returned to Dr. Swann's and spent the night.

Sat 3rd- I dined and spent the night at bro. S. Edgar Swann's. It was a very pleasant day.

⁸⁴ Long, 302, 307, 308.

S 4th- Preached at {Pisgah} Rehoborah to a good and attentive congregation. Here in 1842 I organized a class of five members and when I left in 1843 there were between 25 & 30 who worshiped in an old ordinary house, now there is a large and beautiful brick edifice and we have between 50 & 60 members and many of them exerting much good influence. Only one of the original members remains there. I met with a good many of my old acquaintances who seemed glad to meet with me. I took something for myself and horse to eat, and after preaching I rode about sixteen miles and spent the night at bro. Henry Doggat's who is now upwards of seventy years of age.

M 5- I rode to Mr. Jos. S. Wingfield's to dinner. Here I found his son Capt. Henry W. Wingfield of the Confederate Army having the first visit he has made to his home since the 22 of Oct 1861. He is looking very well. My little son S. Harvey Johnson was tolerably well, but has had the croup since I saw him.

Tu 6th- Left Mr. Wingfield's in the morning & went to Richmond on cars from Hanover C.H. I collected int. [interest] on Va. & Conf. bonds and bought a Conf. bond for \$500.00. I spent the night at Rev. Samuel T. Moorman's.

W 7th- In the afternoon returned to Mr. Wingfield's and spent the night. Today the legislature of Virginia assembled. The house of delegates elected their Speaker Hugh Sheffey of Augusta. He delivered a very pretty and sensible speech upon taking the chair. There is a considerable change in the weather and at night it was very cold.

*[Hugh Sheffey was Speaker of the House of Delegates until the end of the war. He had been active in Virginia politics since the 1840's.]*⁸⁵

Th 8- Left Mr. Wingfield's in the morning and rode to bro. Atwell Burrass' to dinner and spent the night at his home. The weather got cold but calm.

Fr 9th- Dined at bro. Hugh Chandler's & spent the night at Rev. Luther Wright's.

Sa 10th- A cloudy and rainy day. I rode to Sister Anne J. Wright's to dinner and remained until the next day. Her husband, Bernett Wright, was one of the stewards when I travelled Caroline circuit twenty years ago. He has been dead

⁸⁵ Cynthia M. Leonard, compiler, General Assembly of Virginia July 30, 1619 - January 11, 1978; A Bicentennial Register of Members, (Richmond, Virginia : Virginia State Library, 1978), 421, 478.

many years.

S 11th- I preached to a very small congregation at Pisgah. Since I was there four weeks ago some worthless person or persons had broken out twenty odd panes of glass out of the windows of the church. I rode on to Wright's chapel and preached to a small congregation in the afternoon and then rode seven miles to bro. Saml. Edgar Swann's and spent the night.

M 12th- I left bro Swann's between 4 & 5 o'clock A.M. and rode to Beaverdam depot where I took the cars a little before 10 O'clock and arrived at Waynesboro about 4 P.M. & where I found a boy with a horse to take me to Mr. Kennerly's. I got to Mr. Kennerly's about 6 o'clock and found my dear wife and child and the rest of the family well. I had been absent five weeks lacking a few hours. My child has grown very much.

Tu 13th- Spent the day at Mr. K.'s quite unwell having taken salts for headache and for an eruption with which I have been suffering for a good while.

W 14th- Spent the day at Mr. K.'s.

Th 15th- Today I also spent at Mr. Kennerly's.

Fr 16th- Do [Ditto] Do

Sa 17- A very cold day. Received the papers containing President Davis's first message to Congress. He expresses his purpose of turning over to the authorities of the different states all the commissioned officers of the Federal army, that may here after be taken to be dealt with as their laws may direct in the case of persons inciting the slaves to insurrection as President Lincoln's proclamation has declared the negroes free and virtually advises them to insurrection, and is employing them in his military service.

*[On January 1 Abraham Lincoln issued the final version of the Emancipation Proclamation. Davis gave his response in his address to the Confederate Congress on January 12.]*⁸⁶

S 18- I spent the day at Mr. Kennerly's. There are several cases of "Small pox" at New Hope village about four miles from here.

M 19th- Spent the day at Mr. Kennerly's

Tu 20th- Spent the day at Mr. K.'s. It commenced snowing a

⁸⁶ Long, 311.

little in the afternoon and about dark commenced hailing and continued to hail or rather snow all night.

W 21st- This morning the ground was covered with snow to the depth of about ten inches and it continued to snow nearly all day.

Th 22nd- I left Mr. Kennerly's this morning about 5 O'clock and rode about nine miles to Waynesboro where I got on the cars and arrived at Beaversdam depot about 3 1/2 O'clock P.M. and paid a boy one dollar to carry me two miles on horse back to the North Anna river which was very much swollen by the heavy rains- (We had no snow below Charlottesville) where I found my horse waiting for me. I arrived at bro. Edgar Swann's about dark. The ride in the afternoon was a very muddy one.

Fr 23rd- I dined at bro. Hugh Chandler's & then rode to bro. Atwell Burruss's & spent the night.

S 24- I attended my appointment at Vernon, but found nobody there. I dined at Mr. Jno. Thomas's and then rode about eight or ten miles and spent the night at bro. Silas Broaddus's. Sister Upshur a daughter of bro. Broaddus died on the 10th last, rather suddenly leaving an infant only a few days old. The family are much distressed.

S 25- I preached to a small congregation at Shiloh . The roads are so cut up with Confederate waggons hauling to the army that they are almost impassible and the poor wicked waggoners have torn off some of the weatherboarding and broken down a great deal of the plastering of the church and otherwise desecrated it, and this is a very common thing with them. I dined at bro. Broaddus's.

M 26th- I rode to Mr. Wingfield's in Hanover to see my little son and found him and the family well and Miss Emma J. W. had just received a letter from my wife who was well.

Tu 27th- I spent the day at Mr. Wingfield's.

W 28th- A very snowy day but [the] snow melted considerably. I remained at Mr. W's.

Th 29th- Left Mr. Wingfield in the morning and dined at Dr. Wortham's and got the Dr. to vaccinate me, it having been twenty or thirty years since I was vaccinated, and there are so many cases of Small pox in the county I deemed it best to do so. I rode to bro. Wm. K. B. Wyatt's and spent the night.

Fr 30th- Left bro. Wyatt's early in the morning and rode some eighteen to twenty miles to bro. S. Edgar Swann's to dinner

and remained until the next morning. I found the roads muddy indeed.

Sa 31st- Rode to Dr. Geo. F. Swann's in the morning and spent the day and night a very pleasant day over head and the snow melted considerably .

FEBRUARY

Feb S 1- I preached at Rehoborah to a tolerable congregation. The roads are in such a horrible condition that they are almost impassible in some places. I went home with Mr. Albert G. Ware and spent the night.

Our Iron clads run the enemy's blockading vessels from Charleston harbor *Mercedita* & *Keystone State* injured.

*[Confederate gunboats Chicora and Palmetto State damage the federal ships Mercedita and Keystone State. This naval engagement temporarily disrupted the federal blockade and was a tremendous boost to Confederate morale.]*⁸⁷

M 2nd- This morning rode to bro. Saml. Edgar Swann's and he and I rode over a farm near his house on the opposite side of the river which is for sale and which I had some thought of buying & now occupied by Mr. Garrett I spent the night at bro. Swann's. It turned very cold during the night.

Tu 3rd- This was the coldest day and night we have had for a number of years. I spent the time at bro. Swann's.

W 4th- The weather still very cold. I left bro. Swann's in the morning and rode about twelve miles to bro. Hugh Chandler's. Here I received a letter from my wife, one from my bro. Albert Johnson and one from my nephew Tho. E. Murrell of Lynchburg. The later containing a certif. of deposit for \$215. for the hire of my two men last year. My wife was well, my little daughter had been threatened with the croup. I spent the day and night at bro. Chandler's. The ground was very hard frozen.

[The practice of renting slaves out to another was a common way of making money from surplus slave labor. As many as fifteen thousand slaves were hired out in Virginia alone

⁸⁷ Long, 317.

during the 1850's.⁸⁸ Thomas Edward Murrell was the daughter of Lavinia Johnson Murrell, B. H.'s older sister. Though Thomas Murrell lived in Lynchburg, he was probably working on his father's farm in Campbell County. He was eventually conscripted into the Confederate army and served in company C of the Eleventh Virginia Infantry.]⁸⁹

Th 5th- This morning it commenced snowing & snowed the greater part of the morning. In the afternoon it commenced raining and the snow all disappeared during the night.

Fr 6th- Left bro. Chandler's in the afternoon and spent the night at Sister Betsey Burness's. It cleaned off beautifully in the latter part of the day.

Sat 7th- In the morning I rode about eight miles to Bro. Peter R. Catlett's and spent the day and night. Mrs C. was a member of the Baptist Church & was converted at one of my meetings last July was twenty years ago at Pisgah. The corpse of her brother-in-law Mr. Thorton had just arrived at the old family burial ground and I walked over to the interment. The army hospital is in the house where Mrs, Catlett formerly lived about one mile from Guinea's depot and had a large number of patients. The Small pox hospital is but a short distance from there and has about sixty patients at this time.

S 8th- Preached at Pisgah in the morning to a small congregation and to a larger one at Wright's in the afternoon and spent the night at Mrs. Coghill's. She is a Baptist, her husband who has been dead upwards of two years was a Methodist & a Steward.

M 9th- Dined at Hugh Chandlers & spent the night at Dr. Wesley Wrights. His wife is a Protestant Episcopalian, was a Miss Swann, and was converted at one of my meetings last {August} summer was twenty one years ago.

Tu 10th- I rode to Mr. J. S. Wingfield's in Hanover to dinner & found my little son and the family well. The Widow of Oscar Wingfield (bro of Mr. W.) died about two weeks ago and their three children will live at Mr. Wingfield's. One of them is only about two years old.

⁸⁸ Kenneth Stamp, The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South, (New York : Random House, Inc., 1989), 67-69.

⁸⁹ S. H. Johnson, 1-2. Robert T. Bell, Eleventh Virginia Infantry, Second Edition, (Lynchburg, Virginia : H. E. Howard Inc., 1985) 87.

W 11th- Left Mr. Wingfield's in company with Rev. Benj. Spiller of our Conf. in the afternoon and rode together to bro. Robert Peatross' and spent the night Bro. Peatross's three sons belonging to the army were all at home. Bro Speller has recently been appointed Chaplain in one of the Cavalry regiments and was on his way to the army. We had a rainy disagreeable afternoon, yesterday was almost like summer.

Th 12th- Cleared off during the {night} morning and had a lovely pleasant day but turned cold and windy during the night. I dined at bro. Wm. R. B. Wyatt's and spent the night at Mr. John George Coleman's. He is a member of the Campbellite Church.

Fr 13th- Rode in the morning to bro. Levi Stearn near Centerfield depot. I received a letter from my dear wife who is at her father's in Augusta. She was not well. To-day I met with Dr. now Capt. W. W. Parker, who is capt. of an Artillery company encamped near Carmel Church in this neighborhood. I took tea with him at Mr Burruss's and was introduced to his wife, a very pleasant lady. They are boarding there at present. I returned to bro. Stearn's and spent the night.

Sa 14th- Dined at bro. Stearn's and then rode some two or three miles to Rev. Robert Scott's a member of the Conf. and spent the night. He and his wife seemed very glad to see me.

S 15th- I rode to St Paul's through the rain, but had no congregation. Dr. Wesley Wright and his wife and Sister Harriet Jones were there, and had promised to let Lieutenant Frasier know through Sister Wright if [their niece] could marry him next Tuesday. I dined at bro. Yarborough's and then rode to bro. Atwell Burruss's and spent the night. It ceased raining early in the afternoon.

M 16th- Dined at Mr. [name blank] Garnett's and spent the night.

Tu 17th- This morning it commenced snowing just before day and continued until near the middle of the day and then it changed to rain which continued until night. I rode about four miles to Dr. Wesley Wright's and married his niece Miss Mary E. Haley and Lieutenant Andrew M. Frasier and after dinner rode to Mr. John Walter Scott's about five miles and spent the night. He is a Lieutenant in the army and was at home. His wife is a member of the Baptist Church.

W 18th- Left Mr. Scott's in the morning and rode about four miles to Mr. Christopher Collins and preached the funeral of his wife, brother and three children to about ten or twelve

persons in a little cabin and then rode about four miles to Mr. Garrett's and spent the night. This was a close rainy, and very disagreeable day. Mr. Scott left home this morning to rejoin his company which belongs to General Pickett's division and which left its encampment near Fredericksburg last Monday for Richmond and some suppose from thence for North or South Carolina.

Th 19th- Another damp misty and disagreeable day. I left Mr. Garnett's in the morning and rode about four miles to Rev. Allen L. Thomas's (a local preacher) and dined and after prayers with the family I rode to bro. Ira S. Thomas's and spent the night I suffered severely with head-ache nearly all day and until I returned at night the sun made its appearance just before setting which was the first time since last Monday.

Fr 20th- Spent the day and night at Ira Thomas' but paid a visit in the afternoon to bro. Wm. L. Thomas. A pleasant day.

Sat 21st- I preached with some liberty to a small congregation at Vernon and went in the afternoon to bro. Atwell Burness's and spent the night. Weather pleasant until near night when it clouded up and became quite cold. Commenced snowing early in the night.

S 22nd- This morning the ground was covered with snow to a considerable depth and it continued to snow and hail, with heavy wind nearly all day. The snow at night was about ten inches deep generally & in some places much deeper.

Heavy fall of snow.

M 23rd- Left bro. Burness's in the morning and rode about ten miles to bro. Wm. R. B. Wyatt's to dinner and then went to bro. Jno. V. Wyatt's in Hanover and spent the night the roads were in a shocking condition. I left my horse at bro. Wm. R. B. Wyatt's till I shall return from Augusta.

Tu 24th- Bro. Jno. Wyatt sent me this morning to the junction where I took the cars for Waynesboro and there I found a servant and horse of my father in law, Rev. Sam'l Kennerly waiting for me. We got to his house, nine miles from the former place about dark and found my dear wife and child well. I had been absent nearly five weeks.

At [-----] confederate ram *Queen of the West* [-----] the yankeys and the [-----] captured the yankey ironclad steamer *Indianola* & crew on Red river.

[On the Mississippi River the *Queen of the West*, a captured

federal gunboat and three other Confederate gunboats attacked and seriously damaged the Federal gunboat Indianola forcing Lieutenant Commander George Brown to surrender her.]⁹⁰

W 25th- Spent the day at Mr. Kennerly's

Th 26th- A warm and pleasant day. Snow melted considerably. Spent the day at Mr. K's. At night there was a heavy fall of rain.

Fr 27th- The South river was quite full and continued to rise until sometime in the afternoon. I spent the day at Mr. K's.

Sa 28th- I intended returning to Caroline Circuit today but South river being impassible I had to remain at Mr. Kennerly's. It became fordable in the afternoon but then very deep and rapid. I am thus compelled to neglect my appointment for tomorrow at Rehoborah on my circuit. But it is providential and I ought to be content.

MARCH

S March 1st- I spent the day at Mr. Kennerly's & often thought of my appointment at Rehoborah. It was a pretty day but rather windy but fine for drying the ground.

M 2nd- I remained at Mr. Kennerly's. The ground dried considerably today. The weather was pleasant.

Tu 3rd- Left Mr. Kennerly's about day light to return to my circuit. Got on the cars at Waynesboro about 8 O'clock A.M. and got off at Hanover C. House about 5 O'clock P.M. and then walked about two miles to Mr. J. S. Wingfield's & found my little son and all the family well.

W 4th- I attended the sale of the land of the estate of Joseph (Hismeny) Wingfield and bid for it the sum of \$2780.00. (225 acres) but it was sold to King & Rowe of Fredericksburg for, I believe \$2850. I regret that I did not buy it. I spent the night at Mr. Wingfield's. A cold day and very cold night. Two years ago Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated President of the United States. O what changes have taken place since that time!!!

Th 5th- Left Mr. Wingfield's in the morning. Took the cars at Hanover C. House for the junction where I found a horse waiting to take me to bro. Jno. Wyatt's and on the opposite

⁹⁰ Long 322.

side of the river my horse waiting to take me to bro. Wm. R. B. Wyatt's where I dined and then rode to Rev. F. W. Scott's and spent the night. If I had come down from Augusta on last Saturday I could not have crossed the North Anna as it was very high.

Fr 6th- Rode to bro. Hugh Chandler's to dinner and spent the night. I received letters from several correspondents. Rev. Ja' D. Coulling, P[*residing*] Elder arrived in the afternoon. He was just from Fredericksburg where a revival of religion has been progressing amongst the soldiers for sometime past. Near a hundred are said to have embraced religion. We had some rain in the morning and afternoon.

Sa 7th- Attended 1st quarterly meeting for the circuit held at Wright's. Day unfavorable Very few out. Bro. Coulling P. E. preached. Held quarterly Conf. Only three of the official members present. Paid in \$217.00 {my} Deficiency for 1 quarter \$164.25. I rode to Sis. Coghill's (Baptist) and spent the night. The weather windy enough for March, I am sure. At night we had a considerable amount of thunder and rain. The first thunder we have had this year.

S 8th- A cloudy and damp day. And at night a considerable fall of rain. Bro. Coulling (P.E.) who staid last night at bro. Hugh Chandler's failing to attend his appointment to-day at Wright's Chapel I preached to a sad congregation, with some liberty. I dined at Rev. Luther Wright's, (who has recently lost his wife) and spent the night at bro. Hugh Chandler's with Bro. Coulling. He did not attend the appointment because he did not think there would be a congregation.

M 9th- A beautiful day which I spent at bro Chandler's.

Tu 10th- It commenced {raini} snowing early this morning and snowed rapidly for some hours and then rained and hailed and snowed moderately the balance of the day and {at} in the night we had quite a heavy fall of rain. I rode in the morning about five or six miles to bro. Jos. D. Smiths and remained until next morning. The roads are in shocking condition - almost impassible!

W 11th- Rode in the morning to bro. S. Edgar Swann's and remained until next morning. The day was tolerably pleasant, but it was cold at night.

Th 12th- A very cold day. The passing clouds frequently letting fall showers of snow flakes. I spent the day and night at Mr. Albert G. Ware's.

Fr 13th- Before leaving Mr. Ware's this morning I called to see Sister Brooks, formerly Miss Fannie Potter, and one of the

five original members at Rehoborah on this circuit. Her husband was Overseer for Mr. Bernard near Fredericksburg, and at the time of the late battles there they lost everything they possessed excepting what they had on. The yankeys commenced shelling the house, and they escaped only with their lives. I prayed with the family and on leaving gave her \$500 to assist in relieving her necessities. May God take care of her and all of us in these trying times. I dined at bro. Hugh Chandler's and rode to bro. Levi Sturm's and spent the night. Got a letter from my dear wife. She and the babe tolerably well. This has been a very cold day with frequent showers of snow.

*[The \$500 that B. H. gave the Potter family may not have come out of his own pocket. After getting word of the severe hardships suffered by civilians in the Fredericksburg area several denominations in Virginia started a "Fredericksburg Fund" to give relief and assistance to the displaced.]*⁹¹

Sa 14th- Rode to Rev. F. W. Scott's in the morning and spent the day and night. The weather quite cold and disagreeable. We have had but little pleasant weather since the last of January and have had rain and snow in abundance.

Enemy attack Port Hudson at night and repulsed with Heavy loss. The Mississippi burnt and several other vessels riddled.

*[Admiral David Farragut led his squadron up the Mississippi past the batteries of Port Hudson. Farragut's flag ship, the Hartford, and one other ship were successful in running the battery, the remaining three ships in his squadron were left behind.]*⁹²

S 15th- I preached at St. Paul's to a small congregation. The weather, preacher and congregation all cold. Lord help us.

I dined at bro. William O. Doggitt's and spent the night at Dr. Robert Wortham's. It rained some in the afternoon. At night it thundered and lightened [*lightninged*], and rained and froze making a considerable sleet.

M 16th- Dined at Mr. J. S. Wingfield's. Went on the cars to

⁹¹ William P. Buck, editor, Sad Earth, Sweet Heaven: The Diary of Lucy Rebecca Buck During the War Between the States, Front Royal, Virginia, December 25, 1861, April 15, 1865, (Birmingham, Alabama : Buck Publishing Company, 1992), 164.

⁹² Long, 328.

Richmond. Spent the night at Rev. Saml. T. Mooreman's.

Tu 17th- Spent the day in Richmond. The night at Rev. S. T. Mooreman's. I intended going to Petersburg but declined.

Fight near Kelley's farm in Culpeper Va. Col. Pelham of Stuart's Artillery killed. Enemy driven back.

["The Battle of Kelly's Ford", Federal cavalry crossed the Rappahannock River but were repulsed. Federal casualties, 78, Confederate, 133.⁹³ Lt. Colonel John Pelham, "The Gallant Pelham", was a popular figure in the Confederacy. He was personally recognized by General R. E. Lee after the battle of Fredericksburg and was considered a rising officer in the Army of Northern Virginia.]⁹⁴

W 18th- Left Richmond this morning but found some difficulty in getting out on the cars as the most of the cars were required last night to transport troop to the neighborhood of Fredericksburg. It is expected that a fight will soon take place as the Yankees are in motion and seem to design on onward movement. Got [to] Mr. Wingfield's about 9 O'clock A.M.

Th 19th- Spent the day at Mr. Wingfield's. Weather cold and threatening snow. It commenced snowing about an hour before night.

F 20th- This is my birth day. I am fifty-two years old to-day. God has mercifully spared me while so many thousands have died. I trust that I feel truly thankful to God for the great goodness toward me. This morning it was still snowing and continued until 4 O'clock P.M. The snow was some six or eight inches deep. I rode in the afternoon to Mr. John Chandler's in Caroline Co. and spent the night.

Sa 21st- Quite unwell all day. Snowed again in the morning and misty a good part of the day and rainy all afternoon. I rode to Vernon, but there was no congregation. I dined at bro. Ira Thomas's and then rode to bro. Atwell Burruss's and spent the night. Rode about thirteen miles today.

S 21st- I did not attend my appointment at Shiloh as the ground was covered with snow and the weather cloudy and the roads in the neighborhood almost impassible. I dined at bro. Hugh Chandler's and spent the night at Mr. A. G. Ware's. It cleared away about the middle of the day and the afternoon was

⁹³ Long, 329.

⁹⁴ Boatner, 630.

beautiful.

M 23- Dined and spent the night at bro. S. Edgar Swann's. A cloudy day threatening rain.

Tu 24th- Bro. Swann sent me five miles to the North Anna river to Anderson's mill. The river was too full to {cross} ford. I crossed over in a small boat and then walked about two miles to Beaver dam depot on the Central rail road. I got to Waynesboro Augusta County about 5 1/4 o'clock P.M. and found Mr. Kennerly's boy waiting with a horse to take me to his house, where I arrived after upwards to two hours ride through the rain and mud and found my dear wife, child and all the family well.

W 25th- I spent the day at Mr. Kennerly's. The river near his house quite high. Day tolerably fair.

Th 26th- Spent the day at Mr. Kennerly's. Cloudy in the afternoon.

Fr 27th- National Fast day. The weather beautiful. I preached for Mr. Kennerly at Zion, a Lutheran Church about three miles below Waynesboro. We had a large and attentive congregation. O that God may hear and answer the prayers that have been offered up to him this day in behalf of our bleeding country. Mr. Kennerly and I dined at the widow Hanger's near the church and then returned to his house.

Sa 28th- It commenced raining last night and continued a good part of today.

S 29- A clear cold and windy day. I preached at New Hope with considerable liberty to a tolerable congregation and returned to Mr. Kennerly's and spent the night. Rev. Saml. Mullen of the Western Va. Conf. spent the night at Mr. Kennerly's. He was once a member of the Va. Conf. I had not seen him since 1845 or 1846.

M 30th- A pleasant day.

Tu 31st- This morning at daylight the ground was covered with snow which continued to fall until afternoon, and lay to the depth of six or eight inches. I spent the day at Mr. Kennerly's.

APRIL

April 1st- A pleasant day. The snow disappeared very rapidly. Wm. Thomas Kennerly a nephew of Rev. Saml. Kennerly

& Son of Jacob Kennerly of Indiana arrived at Mr. Saml. Kennerly's about 2 O'clock P.M. Having left Indiana on the 3rd of March and passed through Kentucky to Virginia.

Th 2- A beautiful day which I spent at Mr. Kennerly's. The ground dried very rapidly.

Fr 3rd- I left Mr. Kennerly's this morning about light for Waynesboro to take the cars for Beaver dam depot. Mr. Wm. Thos. Kennerly of Indiana accompanied me and took my horse back. We left Waynesboro at 8 1/2 O'clock A.M. and reached Beaver dam at 3 1/2 P.M. I walked about two miles to the North Anna river which was past fording and where I found my horse sent by bro. Swann waiting for me. I got to his house a little before sunset. The weather turned quite cold towards night.

Sa 4th- In the afternoon I rode to Dr. Swann's. A little after dark it commenced snowing while we had a very high wind from the north. It snowed all night and continued until about the middle of the next day. Snow four or five inches deep.

S 5th- In consequence of snow I did not attend my appointment at Rehoborah. No one attended. I spent the day at Dr. Swann's.

M 6th- I rested and dined at Johnson Newton's. His wife is a Methodist. He is a Baptist. I spent the night at bro. Edmund S. Dunn's near Rehoborah Church. To-day a portion of our Cavalry passed up towards Culpeper which had been down in Essex Co.

Tu 7th- Dined at bro. S. Edgar Swann's and spent the night at bro. John Newton's. Bro. Newton is a merchant on a small capital. A few evenings ago while he was at supper and only about two hundred yards from his store. Some person or persons broke into it and carried off about \$600. in money and about \$200 worth of goods. There is a great deal of stealing about here by soldiers and others.

The Yankee fleet of {nine} seven iron monitors and other vessels commenced the bombardment of forts Sumter and Moultrie. We sank the Keokuk and we suffered very little damage.

[Federal Naval attack on Charleston. A fleet of nine ironclads under command of Flag Officer Samuel Du Pont attacked Fort Sumter. Five of the ships were disabled and the Keokuk sank the following day. Fort Sumter was heavily damaged but quickly repaired. Casualties were light on both

*sides.]*⁹⁵

W 8th- I left bro. Newton's after dinner called at the boot maker's and paid him \$ 3.00 for putting a pair of half soles. I furnished the leather!! I spent the night at Mr. Albert G. Ware's. The weather is quite cool and sharp frosts. The roads are improving, but awfully bad.

Th 9th- Left Mr. Ware's after breakfast. Last night he had two of his hogs stolen- killed not far from his house. I dined at bro. Hugh Chandler's and spent the night at bro. Levi Sturm's near Chesterfield depot. The Confederate government has been sending soldiers to the neighborhood of Fredericksburg recently and a fight is expected there soon.

*[General Joseph Hooker was moving the Army of the Potomac along the Rappahannock. Hooker had replaced Burnside as commander on January 25.]*⁹⁶

Fr 10th- To-day attended the sale of Mr. Burruss's land at Chesterfield Depot. Bro. Hugh Chandler bid \$7245- about \$32 60 per acre. We wanted the place for a parsonage. Bro. Levi Sturm would have taken what land we did not want. It was cried out to the Brother {[----]} of Mr. Burruss and [---] thought that it is no sale. I rode to bro Wm. O. Doggitt's and spent the night. Pleasant day.

Sa 11th- Spent the day at bro. W. O. Doggitt's. The day was warm, fair and windy and the ground dried very rapid.

S 12th- Preached at St. Paul's to a tolerably good congregation. Dined at Bro. Wm. O. Doggitt's & rode to Mr. J. S. Wingfield's and spent the night. Found my little son and the family well. This was a beautiful day with a little sprinkle of rain in the afternoon.

M 13- In the afternoon rode to bro. George K. Hararley's in Hanover and spent the night. He was in King & Queen County. So I was disappointed in not seeing him. Pleasant day.

Tu 14th- Rode to Richmond in the morning. Exchanged \$4500 Confederate 6 per cent for 8 percent stock & bought \$500 bond of same, additional. I suffered most awfully with headache. I returned from Richmond and spent the night at bro. B. B. Beadle's of the Va. Conf.

[Bonds were a common way for the Confederacy to raise revenue

⁹⁵ Long, 335-336.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 314, 337.

to cover its loans and other expenses. Generally bond holders would be paid off with the revenues from customs dues and export duties. The bonds were exceedingly unstable and were generally considered a poor investment as early as December of 1861. Although financial gain was still possible with such bonds, by 1863 patriotism was probably a stronger motivation for buying them.]⁹⁷

W 15th- A very rainy day accompanied with high wind. I spent the day at bro. Beadle's. Thunder in the evening.

Th 16th- Left bro. Beadle's in the morning dined at Mr. J. S. Wingfield's and spent the night at bro. Wm. R. B. Wyatt's-Tolerable pleasant day. Roads very muddy.

Fr 17th- Dined at bro. Wm. O. Doggitt's and left his nag which I have been riding since last Sunday. I there rode to bro. Hugh Chandler's and spent the night. Bro. & Sister Chandler both sick. I fear that sister C. will not recover. She is one of the excellent of the earth. May the Lord spare her.

Sa 18th- Dined at Sister Elizabeth Burruss's and spent the night at Sister Ann Wright's. This has been a beautiful day.

S 19th- Preached at Pisgah at 11 O'clock A.M. to a small congregation. Dined at Mr. Philip Samuel's and preached in the afternoon at Wright's Chapel to a large congregation. I had considerable liberty in preaching. After preaching at Wrights I administered the sacramental supper, but there were but few of the members of the Church present to commune. I spent the night at Mr. Oliver's {Cobb's}. This was a beautiful day.

M 20th- Called this morning at bro. Patrick Canneal's spent an hour and prayed with the family and there rode to Mr. Haley['s] and dined intending to leave after dinner but it commenced raining and we had a wet afternoon so I spent the night. Sister H. is a very pious lady.

Tu 21st- I left Mr. Haley's early in the morning and called at bro. Chandler's. Here I found two letters from my wife. This is the first time I have heard from her since I left her on the 3d inst. her letters having been delayed on the way. Sister Chandler is very ill. I doubt if she will ever recover. I prayed with her and then rode to Dr. Wesley Wright's and dined and spent the night at Mr. Jerrell's.

⁹⁷ Richard N. Current, Editor-in-Chief, Encyclopedia of the Confederacy, Volume I, (New York : Simon and Schuster, 1993), s. v. Douglas B. Ball, "Bonds", 187-190.

W 22nd- Spent the day at Mr. Jerrell's reading writing & in the afternoon paid a visit to the family of Mr. Southworth who lives close by. The day cool and clouded up late in the afternoon.

Th 23rd- It commenced raining last night and this has been a very rainy day So that I was not able to leave Mr. Jerrell's as I intended and go to bro. William Thomas's. Suffered with sore throat and headache.

Fr 24th- In the morning I rode to bro. Wm. F. Thomas's and spent the day. It commenced raining about 10 O'clock and continued nearly all day and a part of the time accompanied with very high wind. The sun set clear and the clouds disappeared a little after dark.

Sa 25th- I preached at Vernon to a small congregation dined at Ira Thomas's- prayed with the family and then rode about nine or ten miles and spent the night at bro. Silas Broaddus's. This was a clear windy day drying the ground rapidly.

S 26th- Preached with considerable liberty at Shiloh to a good congregation. I was prevented from reaching my last two appointments at this place in consequence of snow which also prevented congregation. I dined at bro. Broaddus's and in the afternoon rode to Dr. Wm. Quessenberry, a steward of the circuit and spent the night.

M 27th- Left Dr. Quessenberry's in the afternoon & rode to Mr. Thos. Kidd's and spent the night. Dr. Quessenberry is the representative of this district in the Virginia Legislature and a very pleasant gentleman. His wife is a daughter of Mr. Jam' Thomas of Richmond. [She] Is a very pleasant lady and a member of the Baptist Church. They have been married I believe a little upwards of a year. I spent the time very pleasantly at his house. This was a beautiful day.

*[Dr. William Quessenberry of Caroline County was active in the Virginia Senate and House of Delegates almost continuously from 1860 through 1898. He served as President Pro Tempore of the Virginia Senate from 1875 to 1879.]*⁹⁸

Tu 28th- I left Mr Kidd's early in the morning and rode to bro. Silas Broaddus's intending to dine and proceed on up the circuit but it commenced raining and I have been suffering with a cold and cough for several days and was afraid to ride so I spent the balance of the day and night at bro B's.

⁹⁸ Leonard, xviii, 473, 565,

W 29th- Left bro. Broaddus's in the morning & rode to Mr. Philip Reynold's to dinner and remained until next morning. It clouded up and thundered and commenced raining and continued to rain all night.

The yankeys commenced crossing and skirmishing at Fredericksburg.

*[Hooker crossed the Rappahannock in an attempt to get on Lee's left flank. Widespread skirmishing around Fredericksburg ensued]*⁹⁹

Th 30th- It rained considerably this morning but cleared off in the afternoon. I dined at bro. Hugh Chandlers and spent the night at Mr. Albert G. Ware's. Sister Chandler's health much improved. There was considerable cannonading in the neighborhood of Fredericksburg this afternoon. The artillery has been ordered up from the neighborhood of the Northanna river.

Between midnight and day the yankeys under Gen Hooker in considerable numbers crossed the Rappahanoak river just below Fredericksburg.

*[Hooker encamps the Army of the Potomac at Chancellorsville.]*¹⁰⁰

MAY

May F 1st- I left Mr. Ware's in the morning. Dined at bro. Sam'l. Edgar Swann's and spent the night at Dr. Geo. F. Swann's. I suffered considerably all day with my cold and cough and had considerable fever. At night I bathed my feet in warm water and took some Paregon which gave me some relief. This was a beautiful day.

Heavy skirmishing resulted in driving the enemy back several miles.

*["Battle of Chancellorsville".]*¹⁰¹

Sa 2nd- This morning by the time it was light Cannonading was

⁹⁹ Long, 342-343.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 343-344.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 344.

heard considerably above Fredericksburg and between eight and nine O'clock A.M. I was terrified. It continued all day. I spent the day at Dr. Swann's. I felt much better than I did on yesterday but still had a cough and some soariness about the throat, attended with considerable hoarseness. The day was a beautiful one. A stiff breeze from the South.

S 3rd- I preached to a small congregation at Rehoborah and administered the Lord's supper. Dined at bro. William James Hancock's and spent the night at bro. Edmund S. Dunn's. There was heavy cannonading at Fredericksburg this morning and above there at Chancellorsville. We learned to-day that yankees had taken and burnt Louisa C.House, Tolesville & Frederick hall and Hanover C.H. on the Central Rail road and only sixteen miles from the latter place. And there was a large force of Yankey Cavalry & Artillery about three or four miles above Beaverdam station in the Central railroad. One hundred and forty five yankee prisoners passed down by Capt. Parlow's Tavern and Davenport bridge on their way to Richmond. There has been heavy fighting to-day.

Battle commenced early. Jackson gained the rear of Genl. Hooker. Two of Genl Longstreet's divisions on H's [Hooker's] front. Jackson drove the enemy down from the wilderness to within two miles of Chancellorsville captured 5000 prisoners.

M 4th- To-day I expected to get to see my wife who is in Augusta Co. and whom I have not seen upwards of four weeks; but the yankeys have possession of the Rail road and I cannot go. Bro. Ed. Dunn and I rode to Beaverdam station this morning and learned that the Yankees were only about three miles and a half above and were expected every minute at the depot. We remained a short time and returned to Caroline County. I dined at bro. Dunn's and spent the night at Mr. Albert S. Ware's.

Heavy fighting at Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville principally at the latter place. At Fredericksburg the enemy captured the Washington Artillery but in the next morning we retook the position of the pieces and drove them across the river. Genl Jackson was wounded and had to have his arm amputated. Genl Early and Genl McLaws and Anderson met the enemy at Salem Church four miles above F'bg.

Tu 5th- Mr. Ware returned home last night from the battlefield at Chancellorsville ten miles above Fredericksburg. The two armies are still close together and there has been fighting. I passed by bro. Saml. E. Swann, dined at bro. Dabney W. Waller's and then rode to Dr.[name blank] Hancock's a member of my charge and spent the night. I learn that the yankees have not been driven across the Rappahannock rivers I had been informed but are in position in

front of us at Chancellorsville, and between there and Fredericksburg. I learned by a wounded soldier who dined at bro. Waller's to-day, and by whom I sent a letter to my wife to be mailed in Charlottesville that it was reported at Guinea Station this morning that the yankee Cavalry were crossing the Rappahannock at Port Royal and they were making the best preparation to receive them at Guinea that they could. Guinea depot is only five miles from Dr. Hancock's. We had a thunder cloud and a heavy fall of rain and I believe it rained all night.

To-day the fighting about the Rappahanock closed. We captured about ten or twelve thousand prisoners and a large number of pieces of artillery and many thousands of muskets. The yankees have been driven across the Rappahannock. The loss of the yankees in killed wounded and prisoner is estimated at 35,000, ours at 8 to 10 thousand.

*[Hooker withdrew across the Rappahannock and prevented Lee from following up on his successes. Federal casualties, 17,238 out of 133,868. Confederate casualties 12,763 out of 60,000.]*¹⁰²

W 6th- I intended going to-day to the battlefield about fifteen or eighteen miles from Dr. H's but it rained so during the day and I was suffering so with a cough that I declined doing so, and spent the day at the Dr.'s.

Th 7- To-day accompanied by Dr. Hancock and Mr. Robert Burness I rode over a portion of the battlefield above Fredericksburg. We left the Telegraph road at Massaponnax run and fell into the Plank road about three or four miles below Chancellorsville and kept down this road to Fredericksburg and then through the city down by Bernard's farm and on by Hamilton's crossing & back onto the Telegraph road near Massaponnax Church and got back to the Dr.'s about ten O'clock at night. {This led us} We did not see the principal battlefield of the recent fight around and about Fredericksburg as that was at Chancellorsville; but there was a considerably severe fight Sunday afternoon at Salem {Bethel} Church and through this we passed and saw a great many graves and a large number of yankees at this and other places unburied though they had been dead for some days. Five we saw below Fredericksburg when they were killed last Friday. They were horrid spectacles, swollen and putrefying. We saw in some ten or fifteen in this condition, from where we [-----] the field of confederates are less. We also saw some seven or eight wounded yankees lying in a house a short distance above Salem {Bethel} Church. What a field of battle was that which

¹⁰² Long, 348-349.

the first fight took place! A semicircle formed by high hills, and the two extremely resting near the river and our batteries and forces occupying these, and the yankees to approach them had to pass over a level field a mile or two in breadth. No wonder that so many were slain. Fredericksburg seems almost entirely deserted, and awfully torn by shots and shell. Our forces had returned to their camps, having driven the enemy across the river. Their tents are in full view, as far as the eye can reach. This was a damp disagreeable day and I saw much fate [--] by my [----].

Fr 8th- I left Dr. Hancock's in the morning and rode to bro. Saml. Edgar Swann's to dinner and spent the night at bro. John Newton's. I have not seen the sun since last Tuesday afternoon. This has been quite a cloudy damp day. {I [----]}

Sa 9th- Wrote to my wife who is in Augusta Co. but do not know when she will get my letter as the yankees under Genl. Stoneman have done such damage to the Central rail road that the cars have not run over it since last Sunday. I dined at bro. Hugh Chandler's and saw the papers, the first that I have seen for upwards of a week. Stunning times since them. The yankee Cavalry under Stoneman have burned {Louisa C.H. Depot} the depot at Tolesville and at Hanover C.H. Burnt up the stores at [---] in King William Co. Destroyed the depot at Ashland on the R. & Fredericksburg rail road torn up the rail road and burnt a number of bridges and carried off a great many horses and negroes. In western Virginia we have destroyed a number of bridges on the Baltimore and Ohio and on the Parkersburg branch of it. And in Georgia Forrest has captured 1600 yankees Cavalry, their horses and carbines. I left bro. Chandlers in the afternoon and spent the night at bro. Wm. O. Doggitts. A beautiful day. Thos. Chandler who was wounded in the knee or leg got to his father's this afternoon.

S 10th- Preached at St. Paul's to a tolerable congregation and went home with bro. F. W. Scott and remained until next morning. It was a beautiful day.

Genl Tho. J. Jackson died of his wounds (rec'd on Sat night the 2nd) at 3 1/4 O'clock P.M. at Mr. Tho. Chandler's near Guinea depot Caroline Co. Va.

*[Some of the cavalry who raided Guinea Station also visited Marl Ridge.]*¹⁰³

M 11th- I spent the day in visiting. Called in the morning to see Mr. Robinson's family at the Glebe. He is not a member

¹⁰³ S. H. Johnson, 17-18.

but all his family are members of the Church. Dined at bro. Daniel Turner's. Called in the afternoon at bro. Albert G. Bendall's and at Sister Jackson's and prayed with their families and spent the night at bro. Hugh Chandler's. Bro. Turner has lost two sons in the army. Bro. Bendall has two, and bro. Christer has one that is wounded. Oh the horror of war. To-day we received the sad intelligence of the death of Genl Thos J. Jackson. He died yesterday at 3 1/4 O'clock P.M. at the house of Mr. Thos. Chandler near Guinea depot Caroline Co. Va. of the wound received at the fight at Chancellorsville a few days ago- the loss of his left arm. This is a national loss! And the nation mourns it. God's ways are inscrutable but wise and good, and we will trust in Him. This has been a beautiful day.

*[Lt. General Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson was mortally wounded by his own men on May 2. He died of complications from the wound and subsequent amputation of his arm. After hearing of Jackson's death General R. E. Lee commented, "I know not how to replace him." His death was viewed as a crippling loss for the Confederacy.]*¹⁰⁴

Tu 12th- I dined at Mr. [name blank] Carneal's near Milford depot. His wife is a member of the Methodist and he of the Baptist church. I called in the afternoon at camp and spent a short time with Capt (Dr.) Wm. W. Parker and then went to bro. John T. Lewis's about five miles above Bowlinggreen and spent the night. Bro. Lewis is about forty seven years of age but is a volunteer and belongs to the signal corp of the army. He is a truly pious man. I was very much grateful to find him at home. But his horse was saddled for his departure for his company but he remained until next morning. It has been many years since I have seen him or his wife. They seemed much pleased at seeing me. This has been a very warm day. I learned through bro. Lewis that Genl. Hooker was certainly wounded in the late engagement near Chancellorsville.

W 13th- Spent the day at bro. John T. Lewis's reading writing Le[tters]. A warm day and a little rain in the afternoon.

Th 14th- Left bro. Lewis's in the morning and rode about ten miles to bro. Fitzhugh Carlett's near Guinea depot. I remained until next morning. Bro. C's wife is a member of the Protestant E. Church. A very pleasant family. We had a thunder cloud & a considerable fall of rain in the afternoon and I believe some hail.

Fr 15th- Dined at bro. Peter Carlett's and spent the night at sister Anne Wright's. The weather much cooler to-day than for

¹⁰⁴ Boatner, 432.

several past.

Sa 16th- I attended in the afternoon the funeral of Mr. [name blank] Goodloe who was mortally wounded in the recent battle near Chancellorsville. His funeral was preached at his mother's in Spottsylvania by Rev. Mr. [name blank] a Baptist the pastor of the deceased. I returned and spent the night at sister Wright's.

S 17th- Preached at Pisgah at 11 O'clock to a congregation two or three times as large as any we have had before at that place. And after preaching administered the sacramental supper. I dined at Mr. Philip Samuel's and in the afternoon preached to a large congregation at Wright's Chapel and spent the night at Rev. Luther Wright's.

M 18th- Dined at bro. Hugh Chandler's and spent the night at Lieutenant Jno. W. Scott's. He was at home. His division (Pickett's) is at Hanover Junction.

Tu 19th- I left Mr Scott's in the morning and rode to my father-in-laws, Mr. Jos. S. Wingfield's to dinner. I found my little son and the family well. On last Sunday night was a week ago. The Yankees in their raid passed by Mr. W's and took three of his horses and then proceeded to Hanover C. House and burnt the railroad depot.

[See Editor's note on May 10.]

W 20th- Preached in the 18th Reg. Va. Vol near Taylorsville Hanover Co. Va. to a very attentive congregation of soldiers. Rev. John Cawthorn a Baptist minister and an old and intimate friend of my youth concluded services for me. He is from Appomattox Co. and on a visit to his son. My nephew Capt. Wm. T. Johnson is in command of the 18 Reg. I also met with my nephew Robert A. Murrell of the 11th Va. Reg. I had not seen him for four or five years. He and Capt. Johnson are both members of the Methodist E. Church South and seem to be pious. I met also with several of my relations. I dined in Camp and spent the night at bro. Jno. V. Wyatt's.

[Captain William T. Johnson was the son of Albert Johnson, B. H.'s younger brother. William was a farmer from Appomattox who was elected First Lieutenant of Company "H" of the 18th Virginia Infantry. He was promoted to the rank of captain in December 11, 1861.¹⁰⁵ Robert A. Murrell was the brother of Thomas Murrell. Robert joined the 11th Virginia Infantry in March of 1862 and served with that unit until he was captured

¹⁰⁵ James Robertson, The Eighteenth Virginia Infantry 2nd Edition, (Lynchburg, Virginia : H. E. Howard, Inc., 1984), 64.

on April 1, 1865. He was held in a prison camp until June of that year.¹⁰⁶ The religious service that B. H. and the Rev. Cawthorn performed may have been loosely associated with the widespread "revival" of religion in the Army of Northern Virginia going on at that time. The revival took place during the months the Confederates were encamped around Fredericksburg and lasted from December of 1862 until October of 1863]¹⁰⁷

Th 21st- I called this morning at Mr. Baughn's and prayed with the family. He is greatly affected with Rheumatism and is helpless and with out the comfort of religion. I called on bro. Wm. Ancarrow's and prayed with his family. He was not at home. I dined and spent the night at bro. Ira Thomas's.

Fr. 22nd- Spent the day at bro. Ira Thomas's. Went fishing in the Mattapony. Caught a good dish of fish.

Sa 23rd- I preached to a small congregation at Vernon, dined at bro. Ira Thomas's and there rode to bro. Silas J. Broaddus's and spent the night. This was a very warm day.

S 24th- Preached at Shiloh to a good Congregation and administered the Lord's supper. Dined at bro. Geo. Burnuss's, prayed with the family and then rode to bro. William O. Doggett's and spent the night. A very warm day and very [----]. Turned cool during the night.

M 25th- Preached at St. Paul's the funeral of bro. [name blank] Turner who was killed in the battle of Sharpsburg and there rode to bro. Saml. Edgar Swann's and spent the night. A very cloudy day.

Tu 26th- Bro. Swann sent me to Beaver dam depot where I met my little boy on the cars. Mr. Wingfield- his grand pa having come with him to that place and then we proceeded on to Waynesboro where we found the Buggy awaiting to take us to Mr. Kennerly's where we arrived about sunset and found my wife, babe, and all the family of Mr. K. well. I have been separated from my wife for upwards of seven weeks.

W 27th- I spent the day at Mr. K's suffering much with headache

Th 28th- Spent the day at Mr. Kennerly's.

¹⁰⁶ Bell, 87.

¹⁰⁷ J. William Jones, Christ in the Camp; Or Religion in the Confederate Army, (Atlanta, Georgia : The Martin & Hoyt Company, 1904), 242-246.

Fr 29th- This morning the wife of John Kennerly my wife's brother, was pronounced by Dr. Saml Kennerly to have Diptheria very badly. She and her husband came up on a visit. I fear that she will not recover.

Sa 30th- Spent the day at Mr. Kennerly's. Mrs. John Kennerly no better. Dr. Kennerly was to see her again.

S 31st- I preached to-day at New Hope to a small congregation. Before preaching my father-in-law, Rev. Saml. Kennerly baptized my little daughter Lucie Virginia. Myself, wife, & Harvey dined at Old Sister Stuart's near New Hope and in the afternoon attended the funeral of Sister Abby Johnson, preached by her pastor Bro. Smith in the Church at New Hope. She was a worthy, active member of the Church at that place. An immense congregation attended her funeral. We got back to Mr. Kennerly's about sunset, and found Jno. Kennerly's wife no better. Dr. Kennerly thinks her situation a very dangerous one. She had [---] a bad night of it.

JUNE

June M 1st- I spent the day at Mr. Kennerly's. Mr. Joseph Kennerly, nephew of Rev. Kennerly and son of Rev. Tho. Kennerly arrived in company with Capt. Richards and Mr. Page at Mr. K's and spent the night. They belong to the cavalry of the Confederate Army. Sally Kennerly gets worse and but little hope is entertained of her recovery. Seventeen years ago to-day my beloved wife Maria Evelyn died in the Lord. An Isrealite indeed!

Tu 2- This evening bro. and sister Haden the parents of Mrs. Kennerly arrived at Mr. K's just after sunset and about 10 1/2 P.M. their daughter breathed out her life, and we trust entered into her eternal rest. She was a sweet spirited and pious lady, was 20 years old on the 5th of last March and was married to Mr. John F. Kennerly on the 29th July 1862. She died in peace. May God sustain her husband and parents & sanctify her death to his eternal salvation. She will be buried in Fluvanna County. She requested that I should, and I have promised to preach her funeral sermon.

W 3rd- Spent the day at Mr. Kennerly's. Poor John seems to be almost broken hearted. May God sustain him.

Th 4th- We, John K. Mrs. Haden, and Fannie Berry and myself with the corpse left Waynesboro on the cars for Charlottesville, where we got out and rode about eighteen miles to Mr. Beverly Haden's, the father of the deceased. We

arrived there about 5 1/2 P.M. A number of friends were awaiting the arrival of the corpse. I spent the night at Rev. Jno. Halls close by.

Fr 5th- I preached the funeral of Mrs. Kennerly to-day at 11 O'clock to a large and attentive Congregation who seemed to be deeply affected. I returned to bro. Hall's and spent the night. We had little rain in the afternoon and at night.

Sat 6th- Rode about fourteen miles to Keswick depot and took the cars for Beavers dam, where I was met by bro. Edmund Dunn with a horse to take me to his house, and where I spent the night. There was a light shower of rain and some hail late in the afternoon.

S 7th- Preached at Rehoborah in the morning the funeral sermon of sister Mary Waller to large congregation of attentive hearers and in the afternoon at Dr. Geo. F. Swann's a funeral of three colored persons to a large congregation of negroes and a number of whites. I spent the night at Mr. Albert G. Ware's. The day was quite cool.

M 8th- Rode in the morning and met the larger portion of Picket's division, between Carmel Church, Caroline County and Hanover junction on their way to Culpeper. I met with my nephews Robt. A. and Charles H. Murrell and Capt Wm T. Johnson. The latter and Rev. Jos. R. Wagner of the Va. Conf. dined with me at Mr. Albert E. Ware's. The army encamped near New Market Spottsylvania Co. I spent the night at bro. Edmund S. Dunn's who has kindly lent me a horse to ride while mine is grazing at bro. S. E. Swann's.

*[Charles Murrell, another brother of Thomas Murrell, enlisted in the Eleventh Virginia Infantry in May of 1861. He was captured March 30, 1864 and remained a prisoner of war until February 1865.]*¹⁰⁸

Tu 9th- I dined at bro. Dunn's and spent the night at Dr Joseph Dejeanatt's in Spottsylvania. He is a member of my charge. There was a fight near Brandy station to-day on Barbowo's farm between Genl. Stuart's cavalry and the enemy.

*["Battle of Brandy Station", the largest cavalry battle of the war. Federal casualties 860 out of 10,000, Confederate 523 out of 10,000.]*¹⁰⁹

Fight near Brandy station in Culpeper Co. Genl Stuart

¹⁰⁸ Bell, 87.

¹⁰⁹ Long, 363-364.

surprised but repelled the attack and drove the enemy across the Rappahanock. We lost many as did the enemy.

W 10th- Spent the day and night at Dr. Dejeanatt's. Weather very warm and dry.

Th 11th- Called this morning to see a servant of Mr. Joseph Parttow's who is in the last stage of Consumption. Conversed and prayed with him. Poor man he is without religion. Dined at Leiu't Wm. Jos. Hancock's and spent the night at bro. S. Edgar Swann's.

Fr 12th- After dinner I left bro. Swann's and rode to Dr. Thos. Scott's and spent the night. Got a letter from my wife. Several cases of diptheria in her father's family since I left. Sister Wynn was taken suddenly quite ill at bro. Swann's

Sat 13th- Commenced the 2nd quarterly meting at St. Paul's. Bro. Jos. D. Coulling the presiding Elder was present and preached to a small congregation. Only one steward was present. The circuit is considerably be hind in finances. We dined and spent the night at bro. F. W. Scott's.

Ewell commenced a aftermath [--] c[-----] at [--] Ch[----] Va.

S 14th- Had love feast in the morning. Bro. Coulling preached at 11 O'clock a most excellent sermon. We dined at bro. Wm. R. B. Wyatt's and spent the night at Dr. Wertham's with bro. Coulling.

[-----] Ewell [-----]

["Battle of Second Winchester", General Richard Ewell advanced down the Shenandoah Valley toward Winchester. This was one of the events leading to the invasion of Pennsylvania.]¹¹⁰

M 15th- I dined and spent the night at Mr. Jos. S. Wingfield's. The weather intensely warm.

[-----] of[--] yankee [---] cavalry in the morning. Mack[--] also.

[The second and final day of the battle. Federal retreated in confusion. Federal casualties 4443, of which 4000 are missing or captured. Additionally a large amount of supplies and war material captured by Ewell. Confederate casualties, 269.]¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ Long, 365.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 366.

Tu 16th- Left Mr. Wingfield's in the morning and rode to Rev. Robert S. Peatross's to dinner. I felt unwell in the afternoon and during the night I was attacked with Diorrhoea with which I suffered considerably.

W 17th- I spent the day at bro. R. S. Peatross's and during the morning suffered considerably with the disease with which I was attacked last night but was much better in the afternoon and spent a pleasant night.

Th 18th- A very hot day. I rode to bro. Hugh Chandler's in the morning. Received a letter from my wife dated the 14th inst. Taken that morning with diphtheria says the symptoms very mild, urged me not to leave my work to visit her. Precious woman! God bless her and speedily restore her. Rain about dark I had a slight attack of cramp chills in the night.

Fr 19th- I spent the day and night at bro. Chandler's quite unwell. The papers of to-day state that we have repulsed twenty seven assaults made upon the entrenchments at Port Hudson, Vicksburg still holds out. A dispatch from Genl. Lee says that we have taken Martinsburg Va. capturing several pieces of artillery and two hundred prisoners.

Sa 20th- Left bro. Chandler's in the morning and rode to bro. Alexander McKenny's and spent the day and night. He has not returned from Texas, whither he went last December. Sister Betsy Barnes an old member of the church at Wright's Chapel died this morning at 3 O'clock of Paralysis. I felt very unwell all day and took calomel.

S 21st- I took fifteen grains of calomel from noon yesterday till midnight last night which caused me to discharge a great deal of bile. I preached this morning at Pisgah and in the afternoon at Wright's. Dined at Mr. Philip Samuel's & spent the night at Dr. Swann's. Rode about twenty three miles and stronger at night than in the morning.

M 22nd- Intended going to Augusta to see my wife and children. Arrived at Beaversdam too late for cars. They having changed time of running. Took accommodation train and spent the night at Sister Smith's at Louisa C.H.

Tu 23rd- Left Louisa C.H. at 11 O'clock and arrived at Waynesboro a little after 5 P.M. and found a horse waiting to take me to my father-in laws, when I arrived little before sunset and found my dear wife & children and the family well.
Thank God

W 24th- Spent the day at Mr. Kennerly's. Not feeling well.

Th 25th- Spent the day at same place quite unwell. Day

cloudy and some rain.

Fr 26th- Rose before day. Very unwell. Was in a great quandary whether to undertake to get to my circuit or remain and take medicine. Concluded to go. Rode about ten miles to Waynesboro. Got a little damp from rain. Got off cars at Beaversdam at 3. P.M. Bro. Edmund S. Dunn brought me a horse. Rode about twelve miles and spent the night at bro. Jos. Smith's. To-day the yankees cut the telegraph wires in the neighborhood of Hanover C.H. and at night burnt the Central rail road bridge across South Anna river.

[One of many Federal cavalry raids targeting railroads.]

Yankee raid into Hanover Co. They burnt the Central R.R. Bridge over South Anna river and killed and captured a number of our men.

Sa 27th- Rode about sixteen miles to my appointment at Vernon. Three persons present. Read and commented on Romans V. Dined [at] bro. Wm Thomas's. Prayed with the family & rode about six miles to Dr. Quessenberry's and spent the night. Quite unwell all day. Suffered with Diarrhea.

S 28th- Preached at Shiloh to a tolerable congregation and returned to Dr. Quessenberry's to dinner and spent the night. A cloudy day and some rain. I was quite unwell with Diarrhea. My liver is in bad condition. To-day I took up a missionary collection and subscription. Collection \$35.00 subscription about \$40.00.

M 29th- I rode to Newton and dined at Mr. Frank Dew's. He is a Baptist and his wife a Methodist. Very nice and intelligent people. After dinner we had prayers and I rode to bro. Silas Broaddus's & spent the night.

Tu 30th- A rainy morning. In the afternoon I left bro. Broaddus' and rode to bro. Wm. R. B. Wyatt's and spent the night. There had been quite a heavy fall of rain here during the day.

JULY

July w 1st- I spent the day at Bro. Wm. R. B. Wyatt's. I intended going to Richmond but the weather was threatening rain and I declined.

Commenced of fighting at Gettysburg Pa. Conf.[ederates] successful.

Th 2nd- Went to Hanover Junction to proceed to Richmond. Accommodation train not running returned to bro. W's. In afternoon rode to Chesterfield Depot. Stopped at bro. Sturm's intending to spend the night. News came about 10 O'clock P.M. that the yankees were close by. I redressed myself and rode about twelve miles to bro. S. Edgar Swann's when I arrived about 1 1/2 O'clock next morning. It turned out that this like a great many other reports of today about the yankee was false.

Continued of fight at Gettysburg Pa. Very heavy fighting well after dark. Confederates had the best of it.

Fr 3rd- I to-day returned bro. Edmund S. Dunn's mare and took my own horse which has been at bro. S. E. Swanns's for some time past. I dined at bro S.E. Swann's and spent the night at his bro.'s Dr. Geo. F. Swann's.

Continued heavy fighting. Genl. Lee had to fall back. Genls, Barksdale, Wharton & Garnett killed.

["Battle of Gettysburg", despite initial Confederate success after the third day of battle Lee was forced to retreat back to Virginia. Federal casualties 23,049 out of 85,000, Confederate casualties 20,451 out of 65,000.¹¹² General Richard Garnett and General William Barksdale were killed during the fighting. There were no Confederate generals named Wharton at the battle. Additionally General Lewis Armisted was killed and two other generals, William Pender and Paul J. Semmes were mortally wounded.¹¹³ News of the battle trickled into Virginia very slowly, and there were many conflicting accounts. The first news of the battle arrived in Richmond on July 5 in several newspapers published in the north and were generally regarded as being unreliable. Rumors of Confederate victories at Gettysburg, as well as Vicksburg, were very common and circulated rapidly, Confused, unconfirmed reports, variously claiming victory and defeat went back and forth for over a week. Finally on July 17 an official dispatch from the Army of Northern Virginia arrived in Richmond, stating that Lee had retreated across the Potomac, confirming that he had not been victorious.]¹¹⁴

¹¹² Long, 377-378.

¹¹³ The Civil War Book of Lists, (Conshocken, Pennsylvania : Combined Books, 1994), 86.

¹¹⁴ Mary D. Robertson, editor, Lucy Breckinridge of Grove Hill; The Journal of a Virginia Girl, (Kent, Ohio : Kent State University Press, 1979), 124-125. John Beauchamp Jones, A Rebel War Clerk's Diary at the Confederate States Capital,

Sa 4th- I preached at Sister Mahala Harris's who died sometime since in one [----] military hospital about Richmond. Spent the night at bro. S. Edgar Swann's.

Vicksburg surrendered and about 25,000 prisoners by Genl. Pemberton to Genl. Grant.

*[29,000 Confederate soldiers are paroled by General Ulysses S. Grant at Vicksburg. After the capture of the city federal forces control the Mississippi River, effectively cutting the Confederacy in half.]*¹¹⁵

S 5th- I preached at Rehoborah and went home with Col. Jno. Mercer Wallet, a member of the Protestant E. Church. I have been very unwell for nearly three weeks, suffering with torpidity of liver, and Diarrhea and the effort of preaching yesterday and to-day completely prostrated me. I acted unwisely in attempting to preach, but I cannot bear to disappoint a congregation.

M 6th- I intended going to-day in my sulky to see my family but was entirely too unwell. Sent for Dr. Swann who gave me pills of Blue mass: four grains in each with a 1/4 grain of opium and 1/4 grain of ippecac. Just before night I was taken with a dull heavy pain in the region of my liver, which continued all night. I fear it is Biliary Calculus. O! how I dread an attack of it! I think I should not survive a severe attack. The Col. and his family are very kind to me.

*[Biliary calculus is a condition where stones consisting of bile pigments and calcium salts form in the biliary tract. If left untreated they can lead to jaundice, right upper quadrant pain, and inflammation of the gallbladder. This recurring condition probably contributed to B. H.'s declining health.]*¹¹⁶

Tu 7th- I felt some relief about my liver after my medicine commenced operating, but still suffered pain. I write to my wife that she might know the cause of my failure to get to Augusta as soon as I anticipated; and Col. Waller sent the letter to Beaversdam Depot to be mailed. The papers received

Volume I, edited by Howard Swiggert, (New York : Old Hickory Bookshop, 1935), 369-386. Buck, 209-216.

¹¹⁵ Long, 378.

¹¹⁶ Walter D. Glanze, Managing Editor, Mosby's Medical Dictionary, Revised Second Edition, (St. Louis : The C. V. Mosby Company, 1987), 135.

today give an account of a heavy battle fought at Gettysburg Pa. commencing on last Wednesday and was in progress on Friday with what definite result was not known; but we infer from yankee accounts, favorable to the South.

W 8th- I still suffered with soreness and pain in my liver and took additional Mass pills and towards night felt better. Had considerable rain.

Th 9th- I left Col. Waller's this morning on my sulky and rode about thirty-two or three miles to bro. Frank West's in the Greenspring neighborhood in Louisa Co. where I spent the night. I suffered with soreness in my liver. There has been a great deal of rain and much damage done to the wheat. The little shocks are green with the sprouted wheat.

Port Hudson surrendered.

*[Port Hudson officially surrendered on July 8, but the ceremony did not take place until the next day. Approximately 7000 confederates are taken prisoner.]*¹¹⁷

Fr 10th- I fed my horse in Charlottesville and paid \$1.50 for half a gallon of corn and some hay for him to eat! I spent the night at Mr. Thos. Fritwell's seven miles above Charlottesville.

Sa 11th- Left Mr. F's this morning at 6 1/2 O'clock and arrived at Mr. Kennerly's about 6 P.M. crossing the mountains at Rockfish gap. I found my family well, but my little son Harvey had been suffering with sore throat. William Kennerly arrived at his father's about 10 O'clock P.M. and reported that he left the army on the other side of the Potomac on last Tuesday.

S 12th- I spent the day at Mr. Kennerly's.

M 13th- I spent the day at Mr. Kennerly's my unwell

Tu 14th- At Mr. Kennerly's. A considerable rain during the day.

W 15th- Myself, wife, children, and Miss Sally Weaver and a servant girl, Mag, went in a waggon to the Union Chalybeate Springs [*Black Rock Springs*] to spend some week or so. We fixed up our bed in one of the old cabins about noon and went to House keeping. My health has been bad for about four weeks past. I hope to be benefited by the use of the waters.

¹¹⁷ Long, 381-382.

Th 16th- We had a heavy fall of rain commencing about dark, and continued all night our cabin leaked some, but I had repaired the roof so that we suffered but little inconvenience from the rain.

Fr 17th- My father-in-law Mr. Kennerly came up and dined with us, bringing the Richmond paper of last tuesday. The news is not so bad about our cause at Gettysburg as we first heard it was. Port Hudson is said to have surrendered on the 9th and the yankees have made another attack on our fortifications near Charleston, but were driven back. Lincoln has called out 300,000 or 400,000 more men. May God help us. He can and I trust will, and if so we shall not be overpowered. It rained again.

Sa 18th- William Kennerly, my wife's brother came up and dined with us and Miss Sally Weaver left us, and went down to Mr. Kennerly's with him. She is a very pleasant and agreeable young lady. I feel much better than when I came to the springs. I have been taking till to-day Nitric Acid. 6 or 8 drops three times a day, and a pill prescribed by Dr. Buckler of Baltimore at night. Mag has been complaining and at night I gave her a pill.

S 19th- Spent the day at the Spring. In addition of morning and evening prayers we assembled together at noon and read the scripture and sang and prayed.

M 20th- Mr. Kennerly sent for us and we left the springs about 1 1/2 O'clock P.M. I think that I derived considerable benefit from the use of the waters. My liver, stomach and bowels seem to be in much better condition. I wish that I could have stayed several days longer.

Tu 21st- Spent the day at Mr. Kennerly's. Some six or eight soldiers sick and wounded are at his house. Our army has recrossed the Potomac to the Virginia shore. Jno. Kennerly got to his father's today.

W 22nd- Spent the day at Mr. Kennerly's.

Th 23rd- To-day John F. and William Kennerly left home to rejoin their regiment what with the Brigade has gone east of the Blue ridge of mountains.

F 24th- Left Mr. K's for my circuit not well. Detained four or five hours at "Frederik's hall" Freight train was off the tracks just below Got to Hanover Junction about 9 O'clock P.M. Spent the night at bro. Spicer's. Bro. R. B. Wyatt had sent for me but the boy had left with the horse.

Sa 25th- Left Bro. Spicer's after breakfast. Found bro.

Wyatt's boy at Depot with a horse for me. At bro. W's I found Jno. W. Scott's filly which I am to guard for him. Dined at F. W. Scott's and spent the night at Jno. W. Scott's. The accident on the railroad yesterday caused me to miss my appointment to-day at Vernon.

S 26th- In much feebleness I attended my appointment at Shiloh; doubtful whether I should be able to preach. But the Lord gave me strength to preach twice. Six or seven persons made a profession of religion and there was great rejoicing amongst Christian and weeping amongst sinners. O that many more may be converted before the meeting closes. I felt decidedly stronger and better in health than for several days past. I spent the night at Mr. Friaser's. He is in the army. His bro. lives on the farm with his wife.

[This sort of "protracted meeting" was a common event in the south where evangelical denominations like the Methodists and Baptists were active and interested in expansion. Often these meetings were more of a social gathering than religious one, much to the chagrin of the ministers organizing them.¹¹⁸ Similar in form to the great camp meetings from earlier in the century, the protracted meetings were smaller, drew participants from a smaller region, and were somewhat less exuberant.

Sermons during these meetings were usually prepared in advance and were concerned with doctrinal or moral issues. They were meant to be instruction in proper religious belief so that new converts would know what was expected of them.]¹¹⁹

M 27th- The meeting continued at Shiloh. I preached with meaning. Bro. Allen J. Thomas arrived in the afternoon and gave us an exhortation. A number of persons made a profession of religion. I spent the night at bro. Silas Broaddus's

[The exhortation was a form of sermon, generally given by a younger minister, inviting "sinners" to make a public profession of faith. They exhorted them by warning those who had not come forward of the possibility of damnation if they failed to convert.]¹²⁰

Tu 28th- I preached in the morning and bro. Thomas in the afternoon. We had a glorious time some fourteen or fifteen

¹¹⁸ Frank Lawrence Owsley, Plain Folk of the Old South, (Chicago : Quadrangle Books, 1965), 98-100.

¹¹⁹ Bruce, 51, 56-57, 88-89.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 74-75.

persons made a profession of religion late in the afternoon after I had delivered some thoughts on baptism & received five persons into the church and baptized three of them and at night when the meeting closed there were ten mourners at the altar. I & bro Thomas spent the night at bro. Broaddus's.

*[During the process of conversion the convert, or mourner, would have to present themselves in front of the pulpit, an area known variously as the altar, mourner's bench, or anxious seat.]*¹²¹

W 29th- The meeting continued at Shiloh with great interest. Had a good congregation and a good many converts. I preached in the fore and bro. Thomas in the after noon. I baptized a good many persons by sprinkling and pouring.

Th 30th- Our meeting at Shiloh closed having continued five days. Forty one persons made a profession of religion. Twenty two connected themselves with the Church. A good many will join the Baptists. Their parents being members of that church and their children not grown. We have had rain I believe every day of the meeting but with but little interruption of the services.

Fr 31st- I baptized Six persons by immersion this morning. One of them, Mr. Henry Kidd told me he intended to join the Baptist Church of which his wife is a member, but he wanted me to baptize him which I did. I wonder what the Baptist Church will think of this? I dined at bro. Hugh Chandler's on my way to my quarterly meeting at Rehoborah. Bro. Chandler was in Richmond and I suppose will not be at the qu'ty m.

AUGUST

Aug Sa 1st- Commenced at Rehoborah our 3rd quarterly meeting. Bro. Coulling our P. Elder was with us. Congregation small. Circuit quite in arrears. We spent the night at Dr. Geo. F. Swann's.

S 2nd- Bro. Coulling preached at 11 O'clock took up missionary collection and subscription amounted about \$140.00. Then administered sacramental supper. I preached in the afternoon. Congregation large. We spent the night at bro. Edmund S. Swann's. Weather excessively hot.

M 3rd- Meeting continued. Bro. Coulling preached at 11 O'clock and I in the afternoon. Congregation not large and

¹²¹ Bruce, 71.

not much feeling manifested. We spent the night at Dr. Joseph Dejeanetts.

Tu 4th- Meeting continued. Bro. C. preached in the afternoon. Considerable feeling. Had four mourners and three of them professed religion. And after I had preached in the afternoon I received them into the Church and baptized one (Miss Judith Anna Wallis) by sprinkling. We spent the night at bro. S. Edgar Swann's. The weather very warm.

W 5th- Bro. Coulling preached at 11 O'clock. Two persons made a profession of religion and joined the Church. I baptized one of them. Mr. Thos. Waller. We closed the meeting in the afternoon and rode about fifteen miles to Rev. F. W. Scott's and spent the night. The meeting was quite interesting yesterday and to-day.

Th 6th- Left bro. Scott's and rode to Mr. Spott. Wingfield's to dinner and spent the night. A good rain in the afternoon.

Fr 7th- Went to Richmond in the morning in Central railroad. Got my Conf. bond for \$5000 S collected int, on \$3000 Va 6's and returned to Mr. Wingfield's and spent the night. The weather very hot.

Sa 8th- Packed up my library at Mr. Wingfield's to be sent to Geo. S. Bidgood in Richmond to be out of danger from the yankees. I dined at Dr. Robt. Wortham's and spent the night at bro. Wm. R. B. Wyatt's in Caroline County.

S 9th- Preached at St. Paul's to a large and attentive congregation. Took up Missionary subscription amounting to upwards of ninety dollars. In the afternoon rode about ten miles to Vernon and preached to a good congregation. Spent the night at Ira Thomas's.

M 10th- Meeting continued at Vernon. The Rev. Richard Fox of the Baptist Church preached for us in the morning. I followed with an exhortation. Three young ladies made a profession of religion. I preached in the afternoon I spent the night at bro. Wm. Thomas's. The weather has been intensely hot for the last ten days.

Tu 11th- Meeting continued. I preached at 11 O'clock and bro. Allen J. Thomas L.P. gave an exhortation in the afternoon. Five persons made a profession of religion and four joined the Church. The congregation was larger than it has been since the meeting commenced. I spent the night at Bro. Wm. Ancason's. I baptized all four of the young ladies that joined the church by sprinkling. Took the Conf. collection & subscription amounting to \$35.50.

W 12th- I preached at Vernon again at 11 O'clock and in the afternoon bro. A. J. Thomas gave an exhortation. We had no converts or mourners to-day. In the afternoon I received persons into the Church and baptized one of them, the other having been baptized in infancy. We closed the meeting and I spent the night at bro. Woollard's, a member of the Baptist church.

Th 13th- Very unwell. Liver and bowells greatly disordered. I dined at bro. Atwell Burness's and spent the night at Mr. Jos. Sernell's. We had a fine rain to-day.

Fr 14th- Very unwell. Rode to bro. Hugh Chandler's to dinner. Calling awhile at Dr. Wesley Wrights. At bro. Chandler's I received a letter from my wife and little son. Thank God they and my little daughter were all well. Mr. Kennerly has lost a little negro with Diptheria and another is expected to die. A soldier died there of Typhoid fever recently. If it is the will of my heavenly Father I hope my children may escape Diptheria. I think that I can confidently trust them in his hands. I spent the night at bro. Chandler's. At night I took a pill of Blue Mass and Opium.

Sa 15th- Spent the day and night at bro. C's. I felt much better in the afternoon and after my medicine had [----]ted. I trust that I shall be strengthened to preach successfully at the protracted meeting which is to commence at Wright's tomorrow.

S 16th- Commenced protracted meeting at Wrights. Weather very warm. Congregation very large. I preached in the morning and bro. Luther Wright in the afternoon. Not much feeling manifested. Took up Conf. collection & subscription amounting to about \$70.00. I spent the night at Mr. Cobb's who is a Baptist but whose wife is a Methodist. Twenty one years ago at this time we had a great revival going on at this place. About fifty persons made a profession of religion.

M 17th- In the morning early I visited a sister Mable and prayed with her. She is an Irish lady, a member of the church. Her husband was a Frenchman and a Romanist. He died {this} four or five years ago. I preached at 11 O'clock and again in the afternoon at Wrights. Two persons made a profession of religion. I spent the night at the house of sister Dorothy Swann who was converted when I was on this circuit twenty one years ago. The weather to-day was pleasantly cool.

Tu 18th- Preached twice to-day at Wright's. Congregation good. Three persons made a profession of religion. Four joined the church, and I baptized three by sprinkling. I made some remarks on the subject of baptism and some of the

Baptists "look snuff" though I said nothing that was justly offensive. I spent the night at sister Dorothy Swann's. The day was pleasant.

W 19th- I preached twice at Wright's. One person made a profession of religion and four other persons presented themselves as penitents for the prayers of the congregation. I spent the night at bro. Hugh Chandler's.

Th 20th- I preached twice at Wrights. Two persons made a profession of religion and great seriousness pervaded the congregation. I went home with old sister Coghill of the Baptist Church. She has not attended preaching service since the death of the son William some three years ago nearly. He was one of the stewards of this circuit. I suffered with head-ache during the day.

Fr 21st- This was the National fast day appointed by President Davis. And I suppose generally observed. I ate nothing until about 5 1/2 O'clock P.M. In the morning at Mrs. Coghill's I preached a funeral of four of her servants who died some time since. I preached at Wright's at 11 O'clock to a large congregation from Jonah III 5-10. Prayer meeting commenced at about 9 1/2 P.M. Three of four persons made a profession of religion to-day-- thirteen since the meeting commenced. Making 69 {[----]} in the last four weeks. At the close of the sermon to-day I baptized four out of the six persons who joined the Church the other two had been baptized. I made a few remarks on baptism and the Baptists were very restive. Bro. L. Wright will continue the meeting to-morrow. I rode to bro. Chandler's and spent the night. I have preached twenty five times in less than four weeks, and God has so strengthened me that I feel much stronger and better than when I commenced those protracted labors.

Sa 22nd- Left bro. Chandler's in the morning. Dined bro. Atwell Burness's and spent the night at Dr. Wm. D. Quessenberry's.

S 23rd- Preached at Shiloh to a good congregation, baptized Bro. Atwell Burness's two children and took up a conference collection of \$43.25. I dined at bro. Geo. Burness's & spent the night at bro. Wm. R. B. Wyatt's.

M 24th- Left bro. Wyatt's this morning. Got on the cars at Hanover Junction between 8 & 9 O'clock on my way to Augusta to visit my family whom I have not seen for upwards of four weeks. I found a boy with a buggy waiting for me at Waynesboro. I got to My father-in-laws about dark and found all well. To-day's papers state that the yankees have about demolished fort Sumpter and have thrown some shot two miles an five eighths into Charleston and by notice sent our

authorities that at 11 O'clock to-day they would commence a regular bombardment of that city. May God help us and that right early.

*[On August 23, after weeks of bombardment, Ft. Sumter was reduced to a pile of smoldering rubble. Even though it was almost completely demolished the fort did not fall until February 13, 1865.]*¹²²

Tu 25th- Spent the day at Mr. Kennerly's, quite unwell. A considerable rain.

W 26th- Mr. Kennerly sent me and my wife and two children to the Blackrock Springs where I wish to spend a few days for the improvement of my health. The weather turned very cool.

Th 27th- Spent the day at the Springs, keeping house in one of the old cabins. The place looks quite desolate. We being the only persons visiting then.

Fr 28th- Spent the day at the Springs. A party of ten persons came over from Brown's Cove in Albemarle. Amongst the number was bro. Robbins, the junior preacher on the Albemarle circuit. They did not know there was any one at the spring. They spent several hours with us. In the afternoon an hour or two before sunset two deserters, (N. Carolinian) from our army passed by and requested something to eat which we gave them. There are a great many deserters from that State passing through this section of the country. These seem desirous of "peace upon any terms" I hope that the pickets at Rockfish gap will catch them. The weather here is very cool.

[In the wake of Gettysburg both Confederate and Federal deserters took refuge in the mountains to avoid returning to the armies.]

Sa 29th- We spent the day at the springs. A very cool day. A shower of rain in the morning. Our cabin leaked some. The wind blew quite hard during the night.

S 30th- I missed the privilege of the sanctuary I read my Bible, Clarke on the New Testament and heard my little son read a good many Chapters both in the old & New Testament. And hope that the day was not unprofitably spent. Recorded and read a letter from my Bro. Robert informing me that my bro. Albert's son Capt. Wm. F. Johnson was not killed at the battle of Gettysburg as reported but had a flesh wound that was improving, but he was sick with fever. Mr. Kennedy also sent up the newspaper, and something for us to eat. This was

¹²² Long, 400, 638.

also a cool day.

*[William Johnson was seriously wounded at Gettysburg and was severely disfigured by the injuries. He was captured on the third day of the battle during "Pickett's Charge" and held in various prison camps until December of 1864.]*¹²³

M 31st- Still at the springs. I read in the Clarke's Commentaries, on Matthew. His comments on the Lord's sermon on the mound are excellent.

SEPTEMBER

Sept Tu. 1st- Spent the day at the springs.

W 2nd- Mr. Kennerly sent for us. We left the Springs at 2 O'clock P.M. and got home about 5. Sarah one of the servants we found still very sick with Typhoid fever and with which she has been confined for upwards of a week. Dr. Kennerly thinks her case a critical one.

Th 3rd- I rode to a sale some two miles from Mr. Kennerly's and spent some two or three hours and then returned. The weather has turned much warmer then it has been for a week past.

Fr 4th- Left Mr. Kennerly's about 5 O'clock A.M. Took cars at Waynesboro at 8 A.M. Arrived at the Junction about 4 P.M. Rode about three miles and spent the night at bro. Wm. R. B. Wyatt's

Sa 5th- Left bro. Wyatt's after breakfast. Dined at bro. Lew. Stern's & spent the night at Mr. Albert G. Ware's. Quite unwell during the day.

S 6th- Preached at Rehoborah at 11 O'clock and took Conf. collection amounting to \$35.85. Dined at Misses Durnell's and in the afternoon preached their house the funeral of their mother & brother. I spent the night at Capt. Lancelot Partton's.

M 7th- Dined at bro. Paschal Mitchell's who was converted and joined the Church when I was here twenty one years ago. I spent the night at Dr. Swann's.

Tu 8th- Dined at S. Edgar Swann's and spent the night at bro.

¹²³ S. H. Johnson, 2. Robertson, 64.

James D. Smith's. To-day I fell in with Hood's Division of our army on its way from the neighborhood of Fredericksburg for some place farther South- perhaps Chattanooga or Charleston.

*[Probably forces detached to reinforce Bragg at Chattanooga. The next day General James Longstreet's First Corp of the Army of Northern Virginia would be sent.]*¹²⁴

W 9th- Called at bro. William T. Noud's and prayed with his wife. He was not at home. Dined at bro. S. Sturns, and spent the night at Rev. Robert Scott's.

Th 10th- Passed the day in visiting, particularly visited bro. James B. Carmal's, bro. Leroy Youngs, Mr. Jones and sister Still's. Dined at bro. Young's and spent the night at Rev. F. W. Scott's.

Fr 11th- Spent the day at bro. Scott's, quite unwell.

Sa 12th- Commenced a protracted meeting at St. Paul's. Congregation small. I preached the funeral sermon of Mr. [name blank] Carter to a small congregation at the house of sister Still, his mother-in-law. Four persons knelt down for the prayers of the congregation. I do trust that we shall have a glorious revival during our protracted meeting at St Paul's. I dined and spent the night at bro. Wm. O. Doggett's.

S 13th- I preached at St. Paul's at 11 O'clock A.M. to a large and attentive congregation and there administered the sacramental supper. Bro. F. W. Scott gave an exhortation and called for penitents & several came to the alter Bro. F. W. Scott preached in the afternoon. Some ten or twelve mourners. Four professed to be converted. Took up Conf. collection and subscription amounted to \$60.25. I spent the night at bro. Wm. O. Doggett's.

M 14th- Meeting continued at St. Paul's. I preached at 11 O'clock and bro. Luther Wright in the after noon. Eight persons made a profession of religion. Eleven joined the Church. I baptized three, two by sprinkling and one by pouring. Five wish to be immersed. I learned to-day that the Baptist Church at Beulah has received Mr. Henry Kidd upon the Baptism that administered to him by immersion on the 31st July last! This is contrary to their general teachings.

Tu 15th- At 8 1/2 O'clock A.M. preached the funeral of Mr. Jos. Duvall's a little daughter who died of Diptheria yesterday. He made me a promise of \$15. Rode to St. Paul's

¹²⁴ Long, 407.

to forenoon preaching Bro. Robt. Scott preached in the morning and bro. Luther Wright in the afternoon. Two persons made a profession of religion. I spent the night at bro. Wm. O. Dogget's. Received a letter from my niece Miss Mary F. Murrell I learn that my nephew Capt. Johnson who was wounded at Gettysburg is there a prisoner.

W 16th- Preached at St. Paul's at 11 O'clock and Bro. Allen J. Thomas preached in the afternoon. Six persons made a profession of religion, and six joined the Church and I baptized them. I spent the night at bro. Daniel Turner's.

Th 17th- Preached at St. Paul's at 11 O'clock, and bro. A. J. Thomas in the afternoon. Five persons made a profession of religion and joined the church. I baptized four of them, the other having been baptized. We closed the meeting. Twenty eight persons have professed conversion during the meeting and twenty two have joined the Church. Since Sunday morning July 26th ninety seven persons have professed conversion on this circuit and most have joined the church. I spent the night at bro. Atwell Burruss's.

Fr 18th- Eighteen years ago to-day my dear little Ann died. To-day I baptized four persons by immersion and one by sprinkling at Mr. Wright's mill pond. Three others were to be baptized by immersion but it was raining and they did not come. I spent the night at bro. Hugh Chandler's.

Commencement of fight at Chickamauga Ga. Genl. Bragg & Rosecrans.

Sa 19th- Left bro. Chandler's after dinner and rode to bro. Pleasant Burness's and spent the night. A very cloudy day with little rain.

Fight continued. [*Chickamauga*]

S 20th- Commenced a protracted meeting at Pisgah Congregation not large. I preached in the morning & bro. Luther Wright in the afternoon. Weather very cold spent the night at sister Wright's.

Bragg victorious. Took 40 pieces artillery & 30 stands colors 15,000 small arms & 7000 prisoners.

[*"The Battle of Chickamauga", a tactical Confederate victory. Federal casualties 16,170 out of 58,000, Confederate 18,454 out of 66,000. This would be one of the last Confederate victories of the war.*]¹²⁵

¹²⁵ Long, 410-412.

M 21st- Meeting continued I preached at 11 O'clock. Bro S. Wright in the afternoon. One person professed conversion. Two others penitent at the altar. Spent the night at bro. Peter R. Caltell's.

Tu 22nd- I preached at Pisgah at 11 O'clock. Rev. Dr. Rice & Rev. Mr. Cragle of the Baptist Church were present. The Rev. Mr. Cragle preached in the afternoon an excellent sermon. I suffered severely all day with head ache. Closed the meeting. Spent the night at Sis. Au[---].

W 23rd- Called to see and prayed with old sister Dwonill who [is] very feeble. Can't live long. Dined at bro. Abraham McKenney's and spent the night at bro. Hugh Chandlers.

EPILOGUE
LATE 1863 AND ON

B. H.'s account of his experiences ended in September but his life did not. He continued to travel his circuit throughout the rest of the year. He and his family spent most of the war at Spring Valley although Harvey would visit his grandparents in Hanover from time to time. Virginia became increasingly chaotic as the Confederate government not only lost ground in the war but also lost the ability to maintain a stable government and economy. The war continued to create problems for the Methodist Episcopal Church, South as well. B. H. was reappointed to the Caroline circuit for a third year, a breach of Methodist procedures, but one precipitated by the war.¹²⁶ He continued to shuttle from Hanover to Caroline to Augusta as the conditions of weather and war would permit. Raids of Federal cavalry on railroads and telegraph lines increased in number, as did deserters from both armies who took to the hills to seek refuge from the fighting.

Additionally, theft of property, everything from sporadic raids of chicken coops to well organized gangs of horse thieves, became increasingly common. B. H. felt it necessary

¹²⁶ S. H. Johnson, 12.

to take the law into his own hands on at least one occasion when a group of thieves stole the Rev. Mr. Kennerly's horses. With his father-in-law's blessing, and authority as magistrate, B. H. organized a posse and tracked the thieves over three counties, capturing them and securing the stolen mounts. The rogues were later released without being charged by a sheriff who seemed indifferent to a crime committed outside of his jurisdiction. B. H. was able to return to Spring Valley with the horses.¹²⁷

In 1865 the Johnsons were able to enjoy a more stable family life. B. H. attended the annual meeting of the Virginia Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South in Danville in the early part of the year.¹²⁸ The church had suffered greatly during the war, its finances and organization were almost as fragmented as that of the Confederate government. In addition the already weakened authority of the church was further undermined by interference from the northern Methodists.¹²⁹ Still, the Virginia Conference persevered. B. H. was appointed to the Batesville Circuit in the Charlottesville District. As before, no parsonage existed for the circuit, but B. H. was able to rent half of a house in Nelson County and settle his wife, son and young daughter

¹²⁷ S. H. Johnson, 14-15.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 20.

¹²⁹ Ralph E. Morrow, Northern Methodism and Reconstruction, (East Lansing, Michigan : Michigan State University Press, 1956), 29-57.

there.¹³⁰ Life for the family at least settled down some in spite of the war. B. H. no longer had to cross the length of the state to attend his appointments and see his family.

As difficult as life became as the war dragged on, conditions took a dramatic turn for the worse after the war. By the end of the war the Johnsons, like so many other families, were almost completely ruined financially. B. H. had invested heavily in Confederate war bonds and lost several thousand dollars, in addition to the loss of his slaves. Although it is difficult to feel sympathetic for the loss of the latter, B. H. was reduced from a man who could attend land auctions to one who had to pinch pennies and take up selling sewing machines as a sideline.¹³¹ After being reappointed to the same circuit B. H. was able to move his family to Batesville into a more comfortable home. Harvey's education was turned over to a Mr. Marshall Dinwiddie. On November 16, 1867 a son, Samuel Paulette, was born in the Batesville house. Shortly after the birth of Samuel the family moved to Farmville, Virginia.¹³²

Although the stay in Farmville was brief, only one year, it allowed the Johnsons to witness some of the more turbulent aspects of Reconstruction. Farmville was one of the towns where Federal troops were garrisoned after the war. Tension

¹³⁰ S. H. Johnson, 20.

¹³¹ Ibid., 27.

¹³² Ibid., 22-23.

between military authorities and the townspeople was constant and was aggravated by growing racial tension. In Farmville and Prince Edward County whites were the minority, a fact that B. H. was aware of.¹³³ Although he shared a degree of racial prejudice, B. H. was very much concerned about the black population. On the one hand he naturally assumed that the person or persons raiding his garden had to be black but on the other he made great efforts to keep blacks in the Methodist fold. He strove not only to keep them in the church but also to foster good relations with the African Methodist Episcopal Church, giving as much attention and consideration to them as he did to predominantly white congregations.¹³⁴

After the year in Farmville the Johnsons moved to Mecklenburg County, near the town of South Hill. B. H.'s income was still far below what was expected and pledged by the various congregations, and the General Conference was only able to give him meager compensation.¹³⁵ Beyond supporting his family, he was greatly concerned with the education of his children and tried to set aside funds to provide for them. Harvey continued to go to local schools until the fall of 1869 when he was sent to his uncle's school in Hanover County. The

¹³³ Herbert Clarence Bradshaw, History of Prince Edward County, Virginia; From its Earliest Settlements Through its Establishment in 1754 to its Bicentennial Year, (Farmville, Virginia : Published by author, 1955), 419-422, 447-453, 669.

¹³⁴ B. H. Johnson, Diary 1868-1869, see entry on August 15, 1868.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, see entries on June 6 and 7, 1868.

following spring the uncle was hired as part of the faculty of the newly re-established Randolph-Macon college in Ashland, so Harvey was sent there to continue his studies.¹³⁶

Though living far away from any city or train depot, B. H. continued to travel and remain active in the church on the Conference level. His health, however, was declining rapidly and was undoubtedly aggravated by his traveling. As his physical health declined so did his financial well being. In 1870 B. H. had only four hundred dollars in personal property and some real estate in Richmond and West Virginia.¹³⁷ He was either planning on using the properties in cases of dire emergency, or perhaps he still had hopes of becoming a farmer after retiring from the ministry. Either way, he obviously was planning for future financial security.

In the summer of 1872 B. H. travelled to Ashland to attend the commencement exercise at Randolph-Macon. He was going to arrange Harvey's re-admission to the institute. Harvey had decided to leave the college but after semester's absence he wanted to return. After succeeding in his mission B. H. began his return trip, but within twenty miles of his home he fell ill. He suffered an attack of some unnamed sickness, like many others that had increasingly plagued him

¹³⁶ S. H. Johnson, 26.

¹³⁷ United States Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census of the United States, 1870, Population Schedule, Mecklenburg County, Virginia, (Washington, D. C. : National Archives of the United States), Microcopy Number 593, Roll Number 1663, 408. The Will of B. H. Johnson.

during the last years his life. He struggled on as long as he could, resting frequently. Finally after making it to the home of an acquaintance, Thomas Walker, he found he was unable to go on. His family was summoned. Then on July 8, 1872, after several days of intense suffering, he died.¹³⁸

Although not as secure as he had been before the war, his careful financial planning paid off. Harvey was old enough to help support himself. Bella, however, had to provide for her two young children so she decided to sell some B. H.'s property in Richmond and buy a farm.¹³⁹ She never remarried but with the help of Harvey she ran her farm, raised her children, and lived until 1910. Lucy wed a Robert O. Morse and remained in Virginia.¹⁴⁰ Samuel, however, like so many young men in the decades after the war, moved west to look for land.¹⁴¹ Harvey did not return to school, but he did fulfill his father's ambition for him, he became a minister in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

After the Civil War the railroads were slowly rebuilt and other signs of economic and social stability gradually returned to the Old Dominion. The countryside of Central Virginia was further tamed, a few acres at a time. During the Civil War the Methodist Episcopal Church, South had suffered,

¹³⁸ Minutes 1872, 42.

¹³⁹ S. H. Johnson, 27-28.

¹⁴⁰ Johnson family Bible.

¹⁴¹ S. H. Johnson, 3.

just as Virginia had. The church had lost a third of its membership and was slow to recover. It was not until 1875 that membership reached the level it had been at in 1860. In 1876 the northern and southern church held their first joint conference since 1844, but the two would not reunite until 1939. Even so, the old wounds began to heal and were gradually forgotten.

The last decades of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth brought better roads, better education, and faster communication to Central Virginia. The land became more rural and less frontier like, but it was a slow change and an incomplete one at that. The feeling of open space and isolation can still be felt along the winding back roads that overlap the old paths of the circuit riders.

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